TRANS-CULTURAL CITIES

SYMPOSIUM PROCEEDINGS

An interdisciplinary symposium focusing on placemaking and cross-cultural understanding in the contemporary built environment

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TRANSCULTURAL CITIES

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TRANSCULTURAL CITIES SYMPOSIUM

OVERVIEW

In cities around the world, immigration and movement of people and ideas have continued to shape the local demographics, urban experiences, and city form. Building on, yet going beyond the notion of multiculturalism, how can cities and urban places facilitate cross-cultural transactions and understanding? How can cross-cultural understanding be constructed, "staged," or engendered through social and spatial practices in the contemporary urban environment? How can a better understanding of the transcultural processes inform the transformation of the contemporary city?

This symposium investigates Transcultural Urbanism as a critical agenda for inquiry, social actions, and placemaking. Specifically, it engages in an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural examination of a variety of contemporary cultural and spatial practices and their collective outcomes and potential in locations and contexts, ranging from Seattle to Sydney and Italy to Indonesia.

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ABSTRACT: On the cusp of dramatic economic, demographic and cultural transformations, Salt Lake City offers a window onto the challenges faced by a city grappling with multiculturalism and struggling anew with issues of diversity that other cities have been dealing with for years. This parallels renewed engagements with urgent questions of race and ethnicity that is pushing urban theory in new directions to come to terms with our multicultural, cities. Holding true to the South African anti-apartheid wisdom that "nothing about us, without us, is for us," the theory and practice of transcultural community building offers a participatory approach that explicitly engages with questions of race and ethnicity. The case study reports upon a participatory action research project conducted with young people in Salt Lake City, Utah focused on the intersection of immigration and education as an example that points to some of the ways a participatory process shifts traditional ways of doing research and working with communities.

The road to hell is paved with good intentions. This sums up much of historic and contemporary planning practices. Rarely are planners from the neighborhoods they work with or are charged with making decisions for, and seldom are issues of positionality, privilege, and relationship engaged with as part of the planning process. This is further exacerbated by a deficit orientation towards lower income, and urban communities of color in particular. Urban scholars Kretzmann & Mcknight (1996) argue that the focus upon overwhelmingly stereotypical negative images of urban neighborhoods functions as a kind of "mental map" of the community that is regarded as the whole truth of the neighborhood (rather then part of it) and determines how problems are addressed. There are long term repercussions to an orientation that reinscribes a one-dimensional notion of communities as troubled, broken, and helpless, and that conversely, reinforces the expert authority of outsiders (Tuck, 2010). Not only does this deny the long-term wisdom of community members, but the framing of neighborhoods or community members as "at risk" and in need of help serves to justify their disinvestment, dispossession and dependence (op cit).

This paper focuses on the road less traveled (ibid), mapping out the contours of transcultural community building as a theory of change that calls for new ways of thinking about how we work with communities. Following post colonial scholars who point out the obvious problem of academic research being a conversation of 'us' with 'us' about 'them' (Kelley 1997), how might research/planning look different when it is done with, by, and for communities? Holding true to the South African anti-apartheid wisdom that "nothing about us, without us, is for us, "[1] the theory and practice of transcultural community building suggests a participatory approach that explicitly engages with questions of race and ethnicity. In this case study, I discuss a participatory action research project conducted with young people in Salt Lake City, Utah focused on the intersection of immigration and education as an example that points to some of the ways a participatory process shifts traditional ways of doing research and working with communities. After introducing the case, I will discuss the transcultural community building process. Then I will explore in more depth the *Easy Targets* participatory action research project as a way of highlighting the key contributions of transcultural community building. To conclude I reflect upon the tensions and challenges in doing this work with the hopes of identifying critical theoretical and practical insights for the field of community builders, planners, and researchers who are committed to the struggle for a more just, democratic, and equitable world.

Introduction

> I am smart. I am hard-working. I can be your assistant or I can build your house --I can do all these things. But the moment that you shut me out, you cut my arms and legs off, and I cannot move. And there is nothing left, sometimes, but a feeling of … desperation. Because then you are reminded that you don't belong here. - Rafael, undocumented student

Rafael has lived in Salt Lake City, Utah since he was a child. In high school Rafael found out he was undocumented. This is a familiar story. Often it is not until they apply for college that undocumented students find out their citizenship status and its dramatic implications for their future. From this precarious location Rafael articulates a yearning undercut by a deep sense of dispossession, that speaks to the profound inequalities of global urban restructuring where a shadow state of exploitation and "permanent temporariness" is quietly tolerated and even encouraged (Yiftachel, 2009, 89).

Raphael's experience of disenfranchisement is an example of structural relations unfolding in big and small cities around the world. His story is not new but echoes the experiences of immigrants throughout history who came to the US to make a better life and struggle to achieve the American Dream in the land of opportunity. What is new is the way that the bodies of immigrants, and in particular young undocumented students, have unwittingly become key sites for the political and cultural struggles of globalization (Flores 2003). There are of course, well-founded concerns about dramatic socio-political changes, especially within the context of our ongoing economic crisis. But blaming undocumented young people for dramatic sociopolitical changes loses sight of the role of global economic policy (ie NAFTA) and wealthy countries' exploitation of poorer 'developing' countries as a driving force in immigration. Forced to move to find the means of social reproduction, undocumented immigrants find themselves stuck in a cycle of survival; once here in the US, they find their situation is not so dissimilar from their countries of origin. Kristin Koptiuch identifies this process as 'third-worlding at home', referring to 'the effects of a process of exploitative incorporation and hegemonic domination – and its fierce contestation by subjugated peoples – that used to take place at a safe, reassuring distance' (1991, 85).

Reporting upon *Easy Targets*, a youth participatory research project focusing upon the challenges of undocumented students trying to pursue higher education, here I will consider how the questions, concerns, and experiences of young undocumented immigrants offers a new vantage from which to understand the struggles over neoliberal global restructuring. Specifically I want to understand how transcultural community building might provide an opening for not only including excluded perspectives that have been marginalized, distorted, or otherwise silenced (Cahill, 2010), but harnessing this knowledge. A transcultural community building practice pries open a space for a transformative counter politics grounded in a participatory practice of "re-membering" (bodies, history, knowledge etc.) and interrogating the relationships between privilege, power, and social inequities (Fine & Torre, 2004).

Transcultural Community Building

On the cusp of dramatic economic, demographic and cultural transformations, Salt Lake City offers a window onto the challenges faced by a city grappling with multiculturalism and struggling anew with issues of diversity that other cities have been dealing with for years. This parallels renewed engagements with urgent questions of race and ethnicity that pushs urban theory to take seriously the questions Leonie Sandercock poses "How can 'we' (all of us), in all of our differences be 'at home' in the multicultural and multiethnic cities of the 21st century?" (2003, 1), or, more bluntly: "How can we stroppy strangers live together without doing each other too much violence" (Donald, 1999, 147 cited Sandercock, 2003)? While urban scholarship celebrates the possibilities of diversity, connection, and creating new ways of being and living together, what this means in practice -- on the ground and in neighborhoods -- is not straightforward (Valentine, 2008). What does it mean to truly be "at home" ? The experience of undocumented young people, like Raphael, blows this question wide open.

Assuming that the city is a site of contestation and dissent, my analysis moves beyond the romanticization of the 'urban encounter' and 'melting pot' public space pipe dreams, to think through how we might develop meaningful intercultural exchanges and urban spaces (Valentine, 2008; Askins & Pain, in press; Amin, 2002).   By transcultural, I mean something specific. If a critical multiculturalism suggests that rather then merely celebrating or accepting differences, we need to ask (and understand) how it is achieved and not just tolerated (Thomas, 2008), transculturalism involves interrogating the differences. Critical questions are raised as to who gets to tolerate? multiculturalism for whom? who has to accommodate who? Slippery questions of privilege lie just beneath the surface (Cahill, 2010). Originally the term transculturation replaced overly reductive concepts of acculturation and assimilation, to theorize the agency of oppressed cultures in their relationship with colonialism (Pratt, 1992). This is described by postcolonial linguistic scholar Mary Louise Pratt in her theory of the contact zone which she describes as the "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (Pratt, 1992, 4). Critiquing "imagined communities" of consensus, the contact zone is a social space where different cultural groups meet and interact, often in conflict, emphasizing 'how

subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other …in terms of copresence, interaction, [and] interlocking understandings and practices" (Pratt 1992, 7). Cities immediately come to mind. As spaces of intimate and intense contact across difference, urban contexts exemplify both the transformative possibilities and tensions of transculturalism.

In this chapter however I want to focus upon transcultural community building as opposed to transcultural cities. By focusing upon the community as a scale of analysis, rather then the city, I want to place emphasis upon the on the ground, collective, and democratic ways we (all of us) might engage, make change, and work across difference. For most of us, '"the city" is too big, and feels almost abstract, beyond our reach from which we can engage meaningfully. The city presumes a distanced mantel from which to understand and act upon urban issues that necessarily involves an expert authority (urban planner). Moving away from the master plan mindset, here I want to sketch out transcultural community building as a relational *process, as opposed to something static or fixed. Instead, assuming that community as something we must attend to, as an intentional process, critical questions of inclusion are raised: who is part of this community? who is missing ? why ? whose voices are fore-grounded? How do we address dissent ? how do, we in effect, create and sustain a participatory democracy?*

This is a radical departure from urban planning as a comprehensive modernist project where the ends justify the means and the messiness of process is swept under the rug. Following Sandercock, as she suggests in her "love song to our mongrel cities": "I want to suggest a different sensibility from the bureaucratic (or regulatory) planning that dominated the twentieth century- a sensibility that is alert to the emotional economies of the city as it is to the political economies; as alert to city senses (of sound, sight touch, smell, taste) as to city censuses; as alert to the soft-wired desires of citizens as it is to the hard-wired infrastructures.. as alert about the spirit of place as it is critical of capitalist excesses…" (ibid, 10). But what does this look like in practice? Drawing upon our participatory project, I want to sketch out the contours of a transcultural community building process. There is much that could be said about community building, critical multiculturalism, and participatory research, but here I will focus my attention on two related commitments that I think are especially important : 1) an asset-based participatory process and 2) foregrounding race and ethnicity.

First and foremost, as an asset-based participatory process transcultural community building starts with "the understanding that people—especially those who have experienced historic oppression—hold deep knowledge about their lives and experiences, and should help shape the questions, [and] frame the interpretations" (Torre and Fine, 2006). Recognizing that insiders 'simply know things that outsiders don't' (Fine et al., 2001), transcultural communities build upon participants' capacity to analyze and transform their own lives. Transcultural community building is therefore, a necessarily active and dynamic process; a verb rather then a noun. As an ongoing practice, transcultural community building is not an end, but rather a method of engagement across difference (Torre, 2006; Askins & Pain, in press). As a collaborative process it has to take into account different perspectives, and then grapple with the spaces between the different standpoints; or, as María Elena Torre argues, a diverse group would produce knowledge that is so 'implicitly optically and ethically layered, that it will have to address issues that otherwise might be left uninterrogated' (Torre, 2003b, 2).

How can we work *with*, and not around or in spite of, differences of power and privilege (Torre, 2006, 33)? A transcultural community building process pays explicit attention to the relationships between race, privilege and equity. As Omi and Winant (1994) suggest, opposing racism requires that we notice race, not ignore it. Highly attuned to the asymmetrical relations of our cities, transcultural community building does not assume a level playing field. As Sonia Sanchez reminds us (2004), "integration is not just putting bodies next to each other," or living in the same city. Challenging the notion of a liberal universalized public sphere that assumes that everyone is playing the same game by the same rules, a transcultural community building practice pries open what's taken for granted. Rather then smoothing over disjunctures or assuming a royal "we" to achieve consensus, instead we might engage with a more finely grained understanding of human interaction beyond binaries of oppressor/oppressed, black/white (op cit).

Case Study: Immigration & Education in Salt Lake City

Immigration is one of the most inflammatory issues in Utah and in the United States as a whole. Currently undocumented immigrants in the U.S. number about 11.9 million (4% of the population), with almost 60% coming from Mexico according to a recent study by the Pew Hispanic Center (2009). Significantly, nearly half of the Mexicans who are undocumented immigrants have arrived in the US since 2000 (Ibid). In Utah, the number of undocumented immigrants grew faster than in the country as a whole in recent years (Pew, 2009). The majority of newcomer immigrants have moved to the state's urban areas. In Salt Lake City, for example, more than 40% of the west side residents (the site of our research project) are ethnic minorities, predominantly Latino, and from Mexico in particular. From 2000- 2004, 75% of the enrollment increase in Utah's public school system was students of color (Perlich, 2006). Today, many of Salt Lake City's school districts are minority-majority reflecting the changing demographics. Political and public debate over immigration status, schooling, geographic boundaries, and states' rights have become increasingly hostile as Utah's 90% white majority has decreased in the last ten years.

This is the context for our participatory research project, *Easy Targets* that focuses upon the challenges that undocumented students face in trying to go to college. The *Easy Targets* research project developed out of concerns about friends, family members, and classmates dropping out of high school because they did not see college as a viable option. As one student put it when faced with filling out a form for college credit: 'Mexicans don't go to college.' Fears of deportation compounded with the everyday struggles of just trying to get through high school lead many young people to consider whether it's even worth it to stay the course. Why bother finishing high school if college is unattainable? In fact, the high school drop or push out rate for Latino students in Utah, documented or not, is unconscionably high (Alemán and Rorrer, 2006). Our research questions focused specifically on the challenges faced by undocumented students in their pursuit of going to college. We hoped that through our research we might identify ways to address the questions, concerns and challenges of undocumented students.

Easy Targets was developed as part of the Growing Up in Salt Lake City research project. Growing Up in Salt Lake City is part of an international collaboration with UNESCO's Grow-

ing Up In Cities project which has actively engaged young people in community evaluation, action and change in low income communities in over fifty sites around the world (cf Cahill, 2008 for more information about the GUIC project). Growing Up in Salt Lake City consciously situates young people's perceptions of their own lives and communities at the center of an action research agenda. In a community-based participatory action research (PAR) process, young people are repositioned as co-researchers as they identify priority issues and develop proposals for change. Youth researchers were involved in all aspects of the research, framing the questions to be addressed, collecting and analyzing the data, and developing presentations of research.

The theories and practice of community-based participatory action research (PAR) are particularly relevant to our understandings of transcultural community building and the potential for intercultural urban exchange. Building upon long-standing traditions of asset-based community development and grassroots activism, PAR reflects a commitment to building capacity and doing research that will be useful to the community. Communities, particularly communities of color, have rarely benefited from the results of research conducted and planning interventions (Breitbart, 2003). To this end, a PAR approach could be understood as a response to the exploitative research practices of "outsiders" (the academy/ planners / policy makers, etc.) who have used communities as laboratories.

The *Easy Targets* youth research team reflected the diversity of Salt Lake City's West Side; the most diverse zip code in the state of Utah and home to many immigrant and working class families. A small group of students aged 14-18 was recruited to work on this project as part of an afterschool program entitled *Growing Up In Salt Lake City* (see Cahill, 2009 for more info about project). Youth researchers were paid a stipend to work on this project as it evolved over the course of two years (2007-9). Our research team included Latino, White, African American, and biracial young people, faculty and community members. My role as a co-facilitator involved mentoring the youth researchers and working collaboratively on our research. As a university professor/ researcher with the unearned privilege of being born in America and being white, my practice involves an articulated self-reflexivity and positionality (ibid). Our process is youth led and emphasizes the particular contribution and access that young people bring to understanding their everyday lives.

At the same time, our project embodies what Chavez and Soep (2005, p. 3) identified as a "pedagogy of collegiality"—"a context in which young people and adults mutually depend on one another's skills, perspectives, and collaborative efforts to generate original, multitextual, professional quality work for outside audiences." We all—youth researchers and adult mentors—had a stake in the project, in terms of the integrity of the research, the personal and political implications involved in representation, the production of knowledge, and the potential impacts (Cahill et al., 2008; Chavez & Soep, 2005).

Collectively, we decided to produce a video based on our research in order to create a "safer" space for undocumented students to speak out to a broad public audience about their experiences and participate in the civic dialogue on immigration rights. Not only did we want to reach policymakers who made decisions that dramatically impacted the everyday lives of undocumented communities, but we also wanted to reach undocumented students to inform them of their educational rights. For our documentary, we conducted interviews with undocumented students and their family members (many of their faces shadowed to protect their confidentiality), administrators, teachers, and legislators. In addition, we documented legislative sessions and community meetings, filming over 20 hours of tape (the documentary is 25 minutes long) (for more info about the project cf Cahill, 2009; Cahill et al., 2008). Through our research we identified five key "challenges" faced by undocumented students in order of priority: lack of information, financial insecurity, fear, loss of hope, and feeling excluded.

Education & Immigration

> So some Latino Students are FINALLY, ACTUALLY doing what is expected of any OTHER US American student in school?? Gee, should they get an honorary pHD for doing their homework, and not "doing" another gang member?… Every hour a teacher spends on an illegal child is an hour taken away from teaching an American student whose parents are LAW-ABIDING citizens.
> - Salt Lake Tribune comment board July 2009

> And by putting you as an illegal person, right, they have stripped you of your humanity.. and by taking your humanity, you are no longer allowed the same rights, and even the same respect you would give a stranger, and I feel comfortable in saying, an animal. People don't kick dogs, but they feel very comfortable kicking a person who has no humanity or is evil or is

undocumented. - Raphael, undocumented student.

Being brown is central to the experiences of undocumented students and sometimes difficult to disentangle from their citizenship status. Our research adopts the lens of what X.Yvette González Coronado (2009) calls "living in this skin," engaging race & ethnicity and interrogating how systematic structures of power, privilege, and inequalities take shape in their everyday lives. To this end our research traced the arguments that frame the debates over immigration and education, analyzing racist anti-immigrant discourses side-by-side with narratives of hope articulated by young undocumented people who are working to try to get through high school. Juxtaposing the anonymous comment board post with Raphael's quote (above) stakes out the polarities of the debate. However for obvious reasons, undocumented students do not often speak publically due to the great risks involved. As a result, policy makers, the media, and general public rarely hear from the actual students or families whose lives are dramatically impacted by their decisions. Instead, the immigration debate is dominated by the fears and concerns of anglos. Conflating emotional and economic insecurities, the immigration rhetoric assumes a white audience and has become a code word for the dangers of losing "our" jobs, "our" language, "our" culture, and "our" way of life."

Challenging the privileges of the 'ivory tower', PAR involves de-centering whiteness and foregrounding the concerns of those who are "most affected" [2] (remembering that we are *all* affected, Koopman, 2008). Delgado Bernal and Villalpando (2002) argue that there is an "apartheid of knowledge" in the academy, since the scholarship, epistemologies, and cultural resources of communities of color are consistently devalued and marginalized within the context of institutional racism. Committed to bringing "new" and underrepresented voices into the academy, PAR follows in the footsteps of feminist and critical race scholars, who have shown how women and people of color entering the academy not only have an opportunity to transform themselves but also effectively transform the institution (Hill-Collins, 2000; Kelley, 1998). In terms of our research, how do the questions and concerns of young undocumented immigrants reframe our understandings of immigration (Cahill, 2010)? And push scholarship in new directions?

Our research focuses upon education. As Michelle Fine and others have suggested, "schools have come to be a primary site where U.S. struggles over immigration, national iden-

tity, democracy, imperialism, multiculturalism and linguistic diversity erupt and are worked through" (Fine et al., 2005, 1) . At the scale of the neighborhood, schools are arguably one of the most important public civic institutions. This is especially true in a city like Salt Lake that has few vital public spaces. For young people and young newcomer immigrants in particular, schools have the potential to be critical sites of identification, integration, and socialization. But instead of a sense of belonging and attachment, the undocumented students we interviewed express feeling alienated and excluded.

While Ash Amin (2002) argues that everyday "spaces of habitual engagement" such as schools might have the potential to be critical "micro-publics" of interethnic understanding, our research and other scholars working in Salt Lake City (Buendia & Ares, 2004; Aleman & Rorrer, 2006; Red Flags, 2008) demonstrates the opposite. Students of color, many who are from immigrant and Latino backgrounds in particular, have dramatically high drop out rates (Aleman & Rorrer, 2006). The 'achievement gap' reflects the inequitable educational outcomes of white and Latino students and the structural failures of Utah's already overwhelmed public school system to adequately serve *all* students. White students in Utah are three times more likely to attend college than students of color, this gap is the widest in the nation.[3]   And the situation is even starker for undocumented students for whom the stakes are higher, and who are also less likely to go to school. Many of the undocumented students we spoke with expressed feeling alienated from school, most did not even know they had the right to go to college, much less know what was needed to prepare and apply for college, as expressed by Neyeli, an undocumented high school student we interviewed:

> "Yeah I never heard about what we could do to go on, or I never heard them talking to us about scholarships. Probably they picked the people that they thought would actually go on, you know, and not like us. Probably they thought we wouldn't go on and just drop out before we graduated. It made me feel kind of sad because you know, we, some of us do want to go on, but we don't know how. So that's why we never try to."

Yet undocumented students know the value of education. For many, their families risked everything in order that they (their children) might be able to go to a good school and pursue the American Dream. The significance of education is not only about personal gain, but also about the well-being of their families and communities. As Isabella explains, without access to education she knows she will be stuck in a cycle of survival, like her parents:

> "My parents come home really exhausted everyday. My mom knows that --and to this day-- she is 52, she still works in a sweat shop; she works in a factory, and my dad works in construction. So they both actually do. And they've both told me that if I don't get a good education, good skills and a decent job, then I'm going to end up just like them. And they made me promise that I would never work in a sweatshop. " - Isabella, 19, undocumented university student

Education represents the possibility of mobility in the land of opportunity. But because so many undocumented students, like Neyeli did not realize they could go to college, many end up dropping out. Trapped in a state of "permanent temporariness" (Yiftachel, 2009), as Raphael suggested earlier, "the moment that you shut me out, you cut my arms and legs off, and I cannot move."

Significantly Utah is one of nine states in the country that currently provides undocumented students with the right to in state tuition if they meet certain residency conditions (House Bill 144, passed 2002). In state tuition is a big deal. Without it undocumented students would not be able to go to college as it would be at least three times more expensive (for example in 2009, resident tuition at the University of Utah was approximately $5000 per year and non-resident tuition was $15,000). Less then four hundred undocumented students take advantage of in state tuition rights each year (under House Bill 144, passed 2002) due to the fact that many do not even know this right exists. The number one issue both our research projects identified is the lack of information. Most students we surveyed (75%) in our research had never heard of HB 144 and didn't know that they could go to college. Not surprisingly, this policy is highly contested. Every year, including this year (2011), legislators attempt to repeal this right and there is a much public discussion about the rights of undocumented students. And every year, undocumented students hold their breath and pray that this right does is not taken away. Still okay.

Conclusion: Building the Transcultural Community

We distributed a short version of our documentary to state representatives, senators, and the press during the 2008 state legislature session. Collaborating with a coalition of organi-

zations that supported undocumented students educational rights, we held a press conference where political and business leaders spoke out in support of in-state tuition. Our documentary was aired on the radio and screened locally in libraries and schools. The documentary provided a safer space for undocumented students to speak out, enter the fray and be included in national dialogues on educational inequities and immigration rights that too often silences the stories of those who have the most to gain and lose (Cahill et al., 2008). By participating, the students and families put forth a

> claim to belonging in Utah, motivated by a "desire to participate as 'citizens', that is 'as active contributing members of society who care and think about the world they live in' despite their 'legal' status and marginalization"(Quijada, 2008).

There is a growing movement of undocumented students who are "coming out" of the shadows inspired by the gay rights movement, challenging the fear and silencing of their community to demand their educational rights. Raphael, for example, decided not to hide his face in our documentary quoting the famous words of the revolutionary Mexican leader Emiliano Zapata: "It is better to die on one's feet than to live on one's knees" "*Prefiero morir de pie que vivir siempre arrodillado!*" But this is not often the case, the reality is that for obvious reasons, most undocumented students continue to live in the shadows, as Neyeli does literally in our video, her face darkened to conceal her identity.

What this means is that for the most part undocumented students depend upon others, "allies" who will advocate and speak about the significance of education for undocumented students and our society more generally. But as antiracist Mark Warren (2010) argues, ally may not an accurate term as it implies supporting someone else's struggle, not embracing the struggle as one's own. How can people who are different come together, negotiate differences and come to understand their "linked fate" (Guinier & Torres, 2002), or "cultivate a sense of "we" (Warren, 2010, 231)?

Along these lines, the recently signed Utah Compact is an excellent example of coalition building. A statement of principles addressing the "complex challenges of a broken immigration system" that was signed off in November 2010 by political, business, law-enforcement and religious leaders from across the spectrum. Recognizing immigrants values as workers

and taxpayers, the Utah Compact insists "that reform can be –must be-pro-immigrant, pro-business, pro-family, pro-law-enforcement, all at the same time" (NY Times, December 4, 2010). The Compact also exemplifies the principle of interest convergence, where whites support policies that benefit communities of color when those interests also benefit Whites. As Peter Marcuse argues, "if the needs of the Included can be linked to the needs of the Excluded, a powerful force for change can be brought into existence" (Marcuse, 2009, 252). While politically strategic and often effective, this does nothing to challenge the representation of undocumented people as illegal, criminal, and unworthy of rights. Neyeli is still stuck in the shadows. As Raphael suggested earlier "by taking your humanity, you are no longer allowed the same rights, and even the same respect you would give a stranger, and I feel comfortable in saying, an animal." And while the Utah Compact is heralded around the country as an approach to humane comprehensive immigration reform Utah state legislators just passed HB 497, "Arizona light," a copycat law to Arizona's SB 1070 which essentially legalizes racial profiling. There is much work to do. As Alemán and Alemán (2010) rightly point out, the incremental gains of interest convergence are absent a critique of the centrality of racism and therefore do not transform the policies and institutions that disadvantage people of color.

Transcultural community building takes a different departure point, explicitly paying attention to differences of race, privilege, and power as both part of our analysis and method. To begin, a transcultural community process recognizes that our social positionings are ever present among us, and that the challenge is to create conditions for collaboration and equal participation (Torre, 2006). At the most fundamental level, a transcultural community process takes seriously the processes of collaboration, therefore supporting the development of social research skills amongst all participants. In a deeper way this involves creating a "contact zone," an intentional space where we might organize around our differences and *work* them (Ibid). In our case this involved all of us investigating our personal/political relationship to the focus of our project, education & immigration. As our project involved undocumented students, recent immigrants, white and brown American citizens, administrators, policymakers, and family members, we were positioned differently around these issues. Participants involved who hadn't previously identified as privileged came to understand how being born in America meant that they had certain rights denied

to others that they had taken for granted (going to school for example). Learning from each other and grappling with our different experiences, we engaged in a thick, deep analysis.

While our process was characterized by exchange and collective negotiation, we consciously foregrounded the epistemic privilege of the perspective of undocumented students, recognizing that their experiences of marginalization reveal problems in our society that need to be addressed. "The first sign of a danger that threatens us all" (Guinier & Torres, 2002, 12), the fragile threads of our economy hangs upon the exploitation of undocumented communities, and this is not only accepted and tolerated, but aggressively defended (Cahill, 2010). Our research follows the lead of undocumented students who demonstrated the critical role of educational access and how it connects with everything else –family, labor, security, stability, community, well-being, and political participation.

In our research we document not only the stark inequities of our political economic context but how they are felt and experienced. And… "In the process something very powerful happens: white participants experience knowledge not as power but as pain, the way indigenous people have often experienced it. As we approach this next millennium, that space of pain, sad to say, may be the most constructive space in which the struggle for peace and justice can go forward" (Pratt, 1996, 15).

The road less traveled is bumpy, slower, and not easy but it offers a promising route towards a more just, inclusive world where "nothing about us, without us, is for us. "

Acknowledgments

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Endnotes

[1] "Nothing About Us Without Us" is also a slogan of the disability rights movement and New Orleans residents after Katrina

[2] As Sara Koopman points out, the language we use makes a difference in our ways of understanding an issue; using "the most affected" reminds us that we are all affected, Koopman, 2008, 294

[3] Utah System of Higher Education, Data Book 2004-07, http://www.utahsbr.edu/finance/databook.htm (Accessed 1 April 2010).
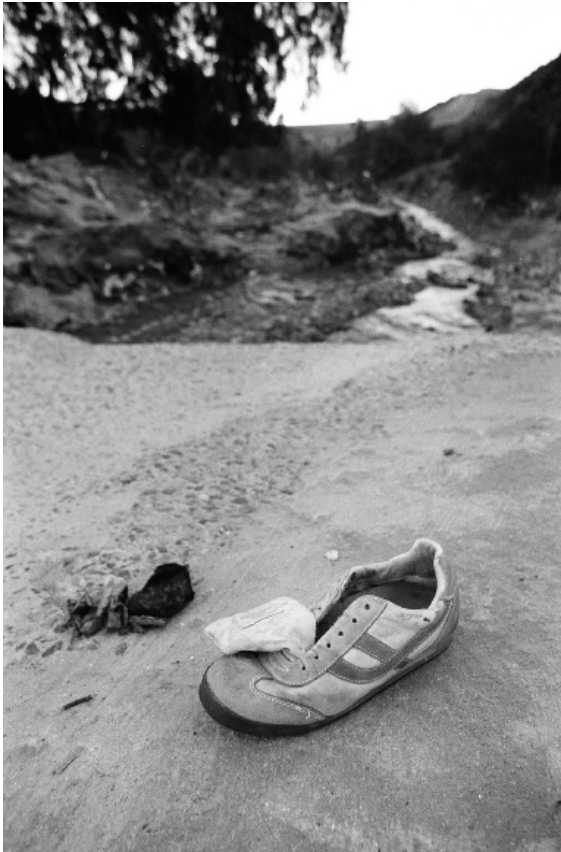
Figure 1: "El Teni" photograph by Georgina Alvarez

Figure 2: "Monica" still from Easy Targets documentary

'We are the Fruit Bowl': Place, Cultural Identity and Social Ties among Immigrant Residents in Public Housing

Lynne C. Manzo

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the lived experience of place among immigrant residents of a public housing site in the Pacific Northwest of the U.S. that is undergoing redevelopment through a national program called HOPE VI. Before redevelopment, this site was comprised of 569 extraordinarily diverse households. As many as 18 different languages were spoken by residents, although Vietnamese, Somali and Cambodian predominate along with English. Most residents are immigrants, many refugees from their home countries. This paper focuses on the intersection of place meaning and cultural identity with social support networks, as well as the role of transcultural networks in the lives of immigrant residents. This research is based on census data, administrative records, a survey of 512 households, as well as individual interviews and focus groups with a sample of residents. Findings suggest that place meaning, social support, ethnicity, immigrant status, economic status, and the nature and role of public housing intersect in complex ways. While residents connected with others of similar cultural background, social ties with diverse neighbors were also prominent in their daily lives, aiding immigrant adaptation. Data also reveal how immigrants walk a tightrope between different worldviews and that this experience influenced their responses to redevelopment. This research suggests that a better understanding the socio-culturally based experiences of residents can shed light on the social costs and benefits of public housing redevelopment programs that must be taken into account to better promote socially and politically equitable communities. Implications for policy and participatory practices are also discussed.

"They[HUD] only gave a small percent [of the HOPE VI grant for translating languages. I think that was one percent of the budget, and I said 'That's impossible for us' [paraphrasing the HUD person]: 'Oh you just need to translate it into Spanish' and I go 'no!' and he goes 'No? What do you mean, no?' 'There's eighteen different languages!' and it just blew the whole room. They could not comprehend it. We are one community and we are a mixture of people. We are the fruit bowl." - resident and community leader

Toward Transcultural Cities

To consider a city transcultural implies that it is more than multicultural; it is a place that provides opportunities not only for the spatial expression of multiple cultural identities, but more importantly, to traverse different worldviews and enable new cultural encounters and spatial practices to emerge. A transcultural city, then, is a space that offers opportunities to engage in cosmopolitanism as Hannertz (1996) defines it – as an orientation and willingness to engage with the Other (p 103). It calls for a greater appreciation of the fluidity and hybridity of urban space, not solely considering transnational networks and spaces of flows (Castells, 1989) but enabling critical encounters with difference within the same local urban space. In doing so, the goal to achieve the transcultural city calls for us to be greater than individually situated ourselves, to advance beyond the status quo and to move our cities toward greater spatial justice. In this view, then, the transcultural city is an aspirational project.

Geographers, urban theorists and planners have been considering how to achieve the transcultural city for at least two decades (Al Sayyad, 2001; Fainstein, 2005; Hannertz, 1996; Rishbeth 2004; Sandercock, 1998; Sandercock & Lyssiotis 2003; Sandercock & Attilli, 2009). For example, Sandercock (2003) offers an image of *cosmopolis* as "a construction site of the mind and heart, a city in which there is genuine acceptance of, connection with, and respect and space for 'the stranger' (outsider, foreigner . . .), in which there exists the possibility of working together on matters of common destiny, of forging new hybrid cultures and communities" (xiv). This is similar to what Al Sayyad (2001) describes as "hybrid places' – places where cultural identities meet and transform each other. Sandercock & Attilli (2009) argue that such cross cultural transactions can offer:

> …a sense of belonging that comes from being associated with other cultures, gaining in strength and compassion from accommodation among and interrelations with others, and it is important to recognize and nurture those spaces of accommodation and intermingling (p. 222).

Emily Talen (2006b) observes that "there is a pervasive view among intellectuals that diversity is a positive force in a global society, constituting a mode of existence that enhances human experience" (p. 236). She identifies four reasons why diversity is beneficial to the city—place vital-

ity, economic health, sustainability, and social equity. One of the earlier writers on the subject, Ulf Hannerz (1996) put forward seven arguments for cultural diversity: (1) the moral right to one's culture; (2) the ecological advantage of different orientations; (3) a form of cultural resistance; (4) pleasurable experience of different worldviews; (5) possibility of confrontation that can generate new cultural processes; (6) a source of creativity; and (7) a fund of tested knowledge (pps 56-57). Similarly, Glaeser (2000) argues that close proximity of people of diverse backgrounds creates "intellectual spillovers" outside of the marketplace. In other words, the sharing of information outside of the marketplace sparks creativity, innovation and mutual support among members who are alienated from the marketplace (Miller, forthcoming).

Few would doubt the value of diversity – at least among academic and community development circles – but in the context of neoliberalism, the allocation of spatial, political and economic resources favors economic growth rather than wider social benefits (Fainstein, 2010) and diversity is seen as less important, irrelevant, or worse, contrary to that agenda. Nonetheless, increased cultural diversity is redefining immigrant-receiving cities and multi-cultural planning is imperative for a "socially cohesive and sustainable urban environment" (Pestieau & Wallace, 2003, p. 257). Evidence of urban transcultural "moments" and locations are described both in this paper and the other papers in these proceedings. Yet, as some work shows (see for example Cahill in this volume) such transcultural moments can be locations of contestation. I would argue, therefore, that this is a critical juncture for cities across the United States, and it is no small task to embrae diversity in a way that would move our cities to be considered transcultural in the ways described above. Yet, doing so provides a crucial opportunity to move our urban centers toward being more just cities (Fainstein, 2010).

In considering how to achieve the transcultural city (as opposed to assuming transcultural cities just exist because diverse populations co-exist in urban spaces) it is helpful to take into account three moments in the production of space offered by LeFebvre (1991, and as summarized in McCann, 1999, p. 172). First, are *representations of place* – this is the space of planners and bureaucrats. Constructed through discourse, it remains purely conceived rather than directly lived, yet it shapes how we conceptualize ordered space. Second is *representational space*, which is the space of imagination through which life is directly experienced and lived through its inhabitants. This includes the construction of counter-discourses. Finally, there are *spatial practices*, the everyday routines and place experiences that produce their own social spaces. These practices are mediated by representations of space and representational space. As I will demonstrate with the case study presented in this paper, formal bureaucratic representations of space are often at odds with lived representational space, and notably at odds with spatial practices particularly those among poor communities of color and immigrant communities. It is in examining the tensions between these different aspects of the production of urban space that we can better understand how to move closer to achieving a functioning transcultural city.

This three-pronged framework is especially useful for understanding the kind of urban restructuring program taking place in U.S. cities today in mixed income developments and in public housing redevelopment programs like HOPE VI (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere). HOPE VI is a competitive grants program administered by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) whose four main goals are to: (1) to improve the living environment for public housing residents of severely distressed public housing projects through the demolition, rehabilitation, reconfiguration, or replacement of obsolete public housing projects; (2) to revitalize sites on which such public housing projects are located and contribute to the improvement of the surrounding neighborhood; (3) to provide housing that will avoid or decrease the concentration of very low-income families; and (4) to build sustainable communities.[1] Such program are part of a larger suite of critical urban policy decisions made to strategize urban development, to erase stigmatized structures from the landscape, and to re-image the city as a safe zone (Crump, 2002). However, such strategies typically come at the cost of poor communities of color whose very existence challenges the formal representations of space that are sought by decision-makers. Indeed, since the inception of the HOPE VI program in 1993, as many as 206 cities across the country have implemented 559 of these redevelopment projects, resulting in the demolition of tens of thousands of public housing units and the displacement of more than a hundred thousand poor households (Manzo, 2010).

This paper examines the lived experience of place among immigrant residents of an ethnically diverse public housing site in the Pacific Northwest of the U.S. that is undergoing redevel-

opment through HOPE VI to understand the intersection of place meaning, cultural identity and social support networks among and across diverse residents. This research demonstrates that such communities can be seen as microcosms of the transcultural city, particularly when mutual support networking traverses racial, ethnic and linguistic boundaries to enhance quality of life and provide critical support that aids community members in the common project of living with limited resources. Together, residents of this neighborhood all, in their own way, struggled to survive economically, maintain a household and participate in community life. These shared efforts and goals are what can be called "the common life" (Fullilove, 2004; Levy, 2004; Manzo, Kleit and Couch, 2008). No matter how diverse this community was before it was demolished, there was a shared common project of trying to get by that transcended cultural barriers and can provide important lessons for achieving the transcultural city.

Immigrants and Social Ties

Research shows that immigrants' ability to empower themselves through mobilization and solidarity may be made easier through spatial concentration (Mazumdar, 2000; Crump, 2002; Goetz, 2003; Miller, forthcoming). For example, Hmong public housing residents felt that "spatial concentration facilitated childcare and promoted mutual support" (Crump, 2002, p. 589). Concentration also helped maintain identity & obtain services. The spatial concentration of businesses, social gathering opportunities and places of worship has also been shown to be critical to the success of West African immigrant cultures in receiving cities like Seattle (Miller, forthcoming). Conversely, living among diverse neighbors may help immigrants adapt to a new country and navigate the ways of doing things in the adopted country (Sonn, 2002). In ethnically diverse communities there is also opportunity for transcultural mutual support networks to evolve (Manzo et al, 2008) and the sharing of one's culture with outsiders.

A special issue of Housing, Theory and Society (2003) on ethnic minorities and housing noted that more detailed-level studies offer "a much-needed refocus on qualitative research that begins to examine processes of labeling, interpersonal discrimination and exclusion, as well as seeing members of ethnic minorities as real live people with their own fears and hopes, whose situation can only be understood by examining the way the host country deals with them." (n.a. 2003, p. 1). This paper will contribute to that body of knowledge by offering findings from a detailed case study of immigrants' experience of place in this diverse public housing community and offer insights for achieving the trranscultural city.

Methods

This study took a mixed-method approach using both quantitative and qualitative strategies to strike a balance between the ability to generalize through statistical analysis and the deeper insight provided through a more in-depth exploration of the lived experience of place.2 Quantitative data were collected via survey with 512 of the 566 household heads living on site at the time of the research. Administrative records kept by the Housing Authority also provided key household information. Qualitative data were collected through in-depth interviews with a sample of 47 English-speaking heads of households and focus groups with the four main ethnic groups on site - English, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Somali. These methods were used to probe more deeply into residents' experience of living in the development, their social ties and place attachments, their reactions to the redevelopment, and their housing needs and concerns. Both the interviews and focus groups lasted about an hour and a half on average, were audio-taped and transcribed. The non-English language focus groups were translated into English by bilingual interviewers before they were transcribed.

All interviews and focus group discussions were coded and analyzed using the Atlas.ti 5.0 qualitative analysis software program that is based upon grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). With this approach, researchers can identify themes and patterns that emerge in the interview data. After content-analyzing all interviews, we examined them for common meta-themes across all interviews. Through this process, the thoughts, suggestions, comments, concerns, and values expressed by each of the interviewees were compared. During this phase, the final "axial coding" was conducted. Here, "the data are put back together again in new ways creating new connections between the various categories, resulting in new conceptualization of the data" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 97).

Study Site and Population Profile

The public housing development that was the focus of this study is located in the Pacific Northwest of the United States. Originally built in 1943 as housing for defense industry workers, it was converted into a low-income housing de-

velopment by the local Public Housing Authority in 1954. The site included 600 units of duplex, garden-style units, although at the time of the research 566 units were occupied.

In terms of the resident population, over half of the households on site were families with children, while one in five housed elders, and a quarter had disabled residents. Sixty percent of all household heads were women and 40% were men. Many residents have limited formal education. Half of all residents do not have a high school degree; while about a quarter have a high school degree or the equivalent (28%). About a third of the heads of household were employed and 41% of households had someone in them who received income from employment or a business. The average household income was about $12,000 a year. For those who worked, most of their occupations were in the service industry.

This was a very ethnically and racially diverse community with a total of 24 different languages spoken by residents. The predominant ethnicity of residents was Vietnamese (33%), with Somali (13%) and Cambodian (13%) the next most frequent (Figure 1). After English, the most frequently spoken languages were Vietnamese (36%), Somali (14%), and Cambodian (13%). The remaining quarter (26%) of household heads spoke one of 21 other languages (Arabic, Russian, Swahili, Ukrainian, Farsi, Spanish, Samoan, Amharic, Slavic Languages, Chinese, Polish, French, Italian, Khmer, Kurdish, Swahili, Albanian, German, Punjabi, Tagalog, Thai, Tongan) revealing the enormous cultural diversity on site.

This diversity reflects the role of this community as a haven to new immigrants; the majority of household heads were born outside of the U.S., and 34% of the heads of household were not U.S. citizens. Only about a quarter (23%) of household heads were born in the U.S.

A Good Place to Live

For residents, public housing meant stable, affordable housing. Survey results show that residents felt their housing community has been a stabilizing force in their lives enabling them to provide for their families and keep their families intact. This was reflected in both the length of residency of households and in their housing histories. The average household has lived on site for about 5 years although length of residency ranged from several months to 35 years.

In terms of housing history, foreign-born residents were the least mobile, either not moving much - or at all - prior to coming to the U.S. Indeed, interviewees who were immigrants mentioned a residence in their home country when identifying where they lived the longest. One Vietnamese resident explained that remaining in one family home was typical "in the Vietnamese culture…I always live [in] one house." Once they arrived in the U.S., foreign-born residents experienced some mobility, but when considering residential history from the time of arrival in the U.S., a full 82% of foreign-born interviewees lived at least half of their time in the U.S. at the study site, and within that group, 41% spent all or almost all of their time in the U.S. living there. This means that public housing provided them with critical stability.

Findings across all three data sets (Needs Assessment, Interview and Focus Groups) consistently show that residents thought their community was a good place. In fact, when asked to compare their housing development with the surrounding neighborhood, over half (60%) of residents thought that their community was a better place to live and a quarter (26%) thought that they were about the same. This was certainly true of immigrant residents. For example, Cambodian and Vietnamese focus group discussions illustrate how public housing provided a key stabilizing force compared to a tumultuous life in their home countries. As one member of the Vietnamese focus group noted:

> We can be considered lucky people living in the U.S. If one says that public housing includes only old people, that's not right - or just unemployed people, that's not right either. There are many kinds of people living here but for us, this generation---the newly arrived Vietnamese are the new minority immigrants. For education and other things, compared to major immigrants before us, we are far behind. That's why our life is not stable and so we choose public housing to live in.

One Cambodian resident explained that living at the study site was a vast improvement from the circumstances she escaped in her home country:

> I got bad, oh bad dreams before…like Pol Pot killing somebody…and I left from, I left my country to live here…it's better. It's peaceful.

One interviewee was a refugee from Iraq. He had spent time in an Iraqi prison for not voting for Saddam Hussein in a recent election before he fled to the U.S. with his family:

> They took me and put me in jail. And the first three months, they tortured me everywhere on my body, my chest, my ears, everywhere. And they put the rope in my hand, like, they tied it and they strap my body everywhere with the cable, wire cable. Was like that for three months. And then they, they let me go. After, week after, they come and take me again.

Later in the interview he explained that while he was struggling to adjust to life here, he felt he had a better quality of life now. He and his wife had recently become citizens and he was determined to make a good life here. Such accounts help us to appreciate the complexity of residents' lives, particularly immigrants and refugees, and the difficult pasts that have led them to the U.S. and to public housing in particular.

Overall, residents are quite attached to the community. Residents reported significant attachment to the housing development as a whole and to their unit, with an average score of 8 for each on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being not at all attached and 10 being strongly attached. The great majority of residents were also very satisfied with their development, block and unit. On average, residents rated their satisfaction with each at an 8 on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being not at all satisfied and 10 being completely satisfied. But it is in the qualitative data that we get a fuller picture of their assessment. For example, when describing what they liked about the development, numerous comments focused on the physical layout of units and various qualities of the physical environment. A number of residents mentioned having a yard, a view, the opportunity to plant flowers, and a feeling that the units were "house-like" (because they had their own front door, a ground unit and a porch) as aspects with which they were particularly satisfied. For example, one resident explained: "The outside I love because it's not like being in an apartment. Here you can plant. My hobby is landscaping. I love planting." For some immigrant residents, yards, porches and patios have cultural relevance. Members of the Cambodian focus group mentioned that according to the Khmer culture, outdoor activities were common and that every house should have a patio for barbequing, cooking, drying clothes, and to be outdoors in the good weather — "to breathe the air."

Safety and peacefulness was also an important source of satisfaction among interviewees. In these cases, residents enjoyed the fact that it was quiet, without trouble of crime or violence. As one resident put it, "This place is the best. It's peaceful. No one bothers you. It's the best." One non-immigrant resident, in describing what she likes about the housing development, mentioned peace and quiet. Interestingly, she thought that her refugee neighbors shared this value: "They are very tired because they come from countries with fights and they just want peace and quiet, too."

Sense of Community

At the study site, a thriving social community enjoyed a long history. Residents have remarkably rich social relationships with their neighbors. Neighbors tend to know one another well and provide substantial support to each other. They went shopping together, gave advice to one another, shared food, helped each other with errands, borrowed small items from each other, and watched each other's children. They took out each other's garbage, watered their plants, and gave their grandkids candy. Their kids played together and they went to each other's birthday parties. They told heartening stories about looking out for one another and helping each other when they could — moving an elderly neighbor's television for her, giving away unwanted furniture or helping a wheelchair-bound neighbor make it up the hill. For those with limited resources who struggle just to keep their households running, this mutual support made an important difference in the quality of their lives. It also demonstrates the power of human connection that forms the foundation of a healthy community.

Transcultural Mutual Support Networks

The fact that the housing development was comprised of people from many different places and ethnic groups emerged as an important theme in residents' interview discussions about their experiences living there. Fully 77% of residents discussed explicitly and without prompt, diversity as a positive feature of the community which they valued. Some residents also thought it was good for their children to be exposed to people of different backgrounds and cultures: "I think it's been good for the kids to grow up with such a variety of cultures. And they basically are kind of color-blind, which I think is positive." Although such diversity also meant there were language differences, these did not preclude residents from engaging with their neighbors and developing positive relationships with them. On the contrary, there was a remarkable degree of

mutual support networking among diverse neighbors. As one native English speaking white woman commented, "When I want to make a friend, I make a friend, I don't care who." Often residents described situations in which they figured out how to communicate non-verbally: "I helped a lady one night, in a domestic situation, and neither of us, we never did speak. It was completely nonverbal, hand gestures, and so on." Being able to communicate across different languages and help in emergency situations was not rare. Another interviewee described a time when she was able to help her neighbor who seemed to be having a heart attack even though they spoke different languages:

> Yes, one of my neighbors here — they're Vietnamese and they don't know any English. I think he was having almost like a heart attack. I've learned on my own how to speak with your hands, even you don't know somebody's language. That's the way I was able to communicate to 911 what the problem was. I think it was great that I could help that day.

Even those neighbors who have difficulty communicating because of language differences still socialized with and provided mutual support to one another. For example, another resident explained that while she could not carry on full conversations with her neighbor who speaks only Arabic, they still brought food to one another. Another resident described a friendship that she developed with a neighbor who spoke a different language than her own:

> I had a neighbor who unfortunately moved away, who was just a doll, just would bring extra food from the Food Bank that she didn't need or want, bring us plants and flowers, and she was limited English-speaking, but there was still the, kind of, there was still a mutual, you know, affection between us.

Food, in fact, was an important commodity in this community often used in exchange for help, but also used as a way of sharing one's culture or expressing appreciation for neighbors. For example, a Filipino resident cooked one of her native dishes for a curious neighbor: "Like Filipino food, she smelled it, and she always wanted to taste it. So I let her taste it, and she asked me would I cook her some and [I did]." This kind of sharing seemed to bring about a better appreciation of residents' commonalities. Clearly mutual support crossed cultural boundaries and language "barriers" have not kept people from neighboring. Despite language and cultural differences, many residents recognized that they shared some basic interest in the common project of living within limited means.

Helping with Adjustments

Interviewees' descriptions of neighbor relationships suggest that there is an added value for immigrant residents in interacting with their neighbors, especially their American neighbors or those immigrants who have lived in the U.S. longer. As one Somali woman commented, "There's a lot of different cultures here. So, some of the people are from where I lived…at the same time, "I am learning about American and other cultures." One resident who emigrated from Russia talked about how helpful her neighbor was when her family first moved into the housing development and were learning how to get by in a new country:

> We have a neighbor … she used to live here for several years before she moved away. Without her, I mean, she'd been supporting us from in and out, to cheer us up, to getting used to this whole place, and she helped watch the family, she came here to help, teach [us] how to do things, take care of little stuff that, that will make us happy.

Other immigrant interviewees also described how neighbors helped them to acclimate to life in the U.S.: "Around here very, very nice people. They help us a lot because before we live here, we don't know anything. We learn about life, too — through the people. So, yeah, they help."

Another American-born white man explained how he believed word of mouth has spread among his immigrant neighbors about how he is willing to help:

> I'm pretty sure they pass it down to everybody, like "That's the guy down there you should know. You should know him and ask him some things." I pretty much help a lot. A lot of people may not know where things are around here and I can pretty much show them.

Within Group Social Ties

While residents enjoyed the diversity of their neighbors and developed social relationships with people across cultural backgrounds, immigrant residents enjoyed the presence of others from their homeland. Many found that being around people from their same background was a source of comfort and reassurance, and that it "felt good." As one Cambodian refugee interviewee declared laughingly when asked what it was like living in the development as a Cambodian, "It's normal! Because there are so many other Cambodians around." As a Vietnamese interviewee put it: "I'm happy to

see my country people. Because I never go back to Vietnam." So he was pleased that he could find a cultural connection to other Vietnamese while still making a new life for himself in the U.S. Similarly, another Vietnamese interviewee explained, "Our friends are from Vietnam who came over here. Oftentimes, we meet a friend who lives in another part and they come over and we can talk." Another Vietnamese resident also said he had friends on site whom he knew from Vietnam and who shared his difficult past: "In Vietnam, we worked together. In 1975, we went to jail for about six or seven years. Then they let us go to America and so we know each other."

Such social support among members of one's own ethnic group was evident in other ethnic groups as well. For example, one Somali interviewee mentioned that, "All of my friends speak my language and are originally from Somalia." She explained that she liked the area in general because it had a large Somali population. When she was planning to move to the U.S., she called many people all over the country whom she knew from Somalia, or who were friends of friends, to inquire about what life was like there. When she came to visit in Seattle, she said of the Somalis here, "everyone says welcome." They took her to restaurants and didn't ask her to pay. When she moved here, they shopped for her, they bought beds for her and her son, and one friend even got her a job.

The presence of ethnic-based services and amenities both in the area and on site strengthened feelings of belonging to a cultural community. For example, a number of people regularly went to the local supermarkets and social halls to see other people and talk. Some residents also talked about the value of having bilingual service providers and staff on site, particularly for getting information on the relocation process that everyone could understand

Walking the Tightrope – Emergent Hybrid Identities

While residents certainly connected to residents of similar background, there was also evidence that immigrants' experiences in the community added a new dimension to their cultural identity. For example, the Somali resident quoted earlier about her experience coming to the U.S. and integrating into the community described those neighbors from her home country as coming from her "first culture" and while she appreciates their presence, at the same time, she enjoyed learning about American and other cultures.

The fact that she referred to her own culture as her "first culture" suggests that she saw herself belonging to several cultures at once, and that her cultural identity was evolving based on her newer experiences living in the U.S.

Data from the Vietnamese and Cambodian focus groups also depicted how immigrants walk a tightrope between different worldviews, and how new cultural understandings emerged from a blending of experiences from one's home country and the accumulation of experiences in the U.S. Interviews with immigrant residents reveal how they often relied on their children to serve as cultural translators, not merely in terms of literal translations of information but to understand how to get things done, for example, how to fill out forms or communicate with service agencies. Findings reveal how the children seemed to straddle two worlds – that of their immigrant limited-English speaking parents with their past experiences, values and traditions and the American world of school and their young peers. Housing Authority staff were also quite helpful with the cultural translation as well, as many staff were multi-lingual and even immigrants themselves.

But the hybrid identity also manifests itself in the mix of feelings and attitudes residents had about their situation and living environment as they negotiated the challenges and stigma of living in public housing. While the process of redevelopment of the community was intended to be participatory, refugees in particular struggled with feeling able to speak their minds to "government official." As one Cambodian resident noted in the focus group discussion:

> They asked us once or twice...what did we need from them? We can't order them. It's up to them. Because we are average people, in whatever condition they allow us to live is up to them. It's up to people at the top, the high ranking officers.

Cambodian residents also struggled with the necessity for them to have government assistance yet still encountering prejudice from their fellow Cambodians were did not live in public housing as this excerpt of the discussion shows:

> P 1: Some time ago, when I joined a ceremony at the [Khmer] temple, they said that "those people who live in the public housing meet dead end...they could find a way out."
>
> P6: I fully heard from both of my ears...

If we feel shameful, just walk out.

P8: Let them say whatever they want to say...
they are not giving our rice to eat.

Later in that same discussion a resident noted, "That mentality has passed from one generation to the next, even after when we came here. It happens everywhere but it also depends on each family. But in general, it happens in our community."

The idea of adjustment to a life in the U.S. and to public housing in particular is well summarized by a participant in the Vietnamese focus group:

> For the Vietnamese, in general, we follow our ancestors' advice "If we live in a tube, we become thin and long. If we live in a gourd bottle, we become big and short." That's why we can adapt ourselves well to different circumstances.

Discussion

As Fainstein (2005) notes, "Diversity has become the new orthodoxy of city planning: (p. 3). It comes in many forms – cultural, racial/ethnic, income, uses and architectural design. In the study site, the housing type and household incomes were homogeneous, but the population was enormously ethnically diverse. As a place of transcultural interaction, this housing community can be considered one of Al Sayyad's (2001) hybrid places, where cultural identities meet and transform each other. Despite significant differences in culture and language, a strong sense of community and a remarkable degree of mutual support took place among diverse neighbors, as residents traversed differences that might otherwise be seen as barriers. Through the emic perspective of the residents, it is clear that "the projects" are not abstracted space – homogenized sites of distress that call for significant interventions – rather they are homes where the tasks of everyday life and the common project of living unfold (Vale, 2002; Manzo et al, 2008).

Yet, as noted earlier, HUD has deemed this site "severely distressed" and warranting demolition. Hence, the community described here was studied on the eve of its destruction. Shortly after the study the community was relocated, and new mixed income housing was built in its place. Such a strategy, like many mixed-income housing programs, seeks economic diversity by deconcentrating poverty. This begs the question of what kind of diversity is important, as this socially well-functioning transcultural community was destroyed to create a new income-diverse community. Is it that income diversity is more important than cultural diversity? In some ways it seems the answer is yes. Or more accurately, it is not so much that diversity is being valued here, but that in claiming to advance income diversity the program is reclaiming critical urban space from poor communities and re-imaging the city as a safe zone for increasingly mobile capital to settle (see also Crump, 2002). Such a strategy falls very much in line with LeFebvre's notion of representations of place – the master narrative of bureaucrats constructed through formalized discourse (policy) or order urban space. Here the rhetoric of distress is deployed to erase stigmatized structures from the landscape. But detailed case studies such as the one presented here illustrate LeFebvre's critical spatial practices of people's everyday routines and place experiences. These in turn reveal contradictions in the different moment of socially produced urban space which must be interrogated if we are to achieve the transcultural city, and not merely orchestrate staged diversity. Only then can we move toward a more just city.

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Endnotes

[1] These goals were stated in: US Department of Housing and Urban Development, FY 2008, Notice of Funding Availability for HOPE VI Revitalization Grants.

[2] This study was conducted as formal evaluation of the HOPEVI redevelopment of this particular site. The research was conducted in collaboration with Dr. Rachel Garshick Kleit of the UW Evans School of Public Affairs.
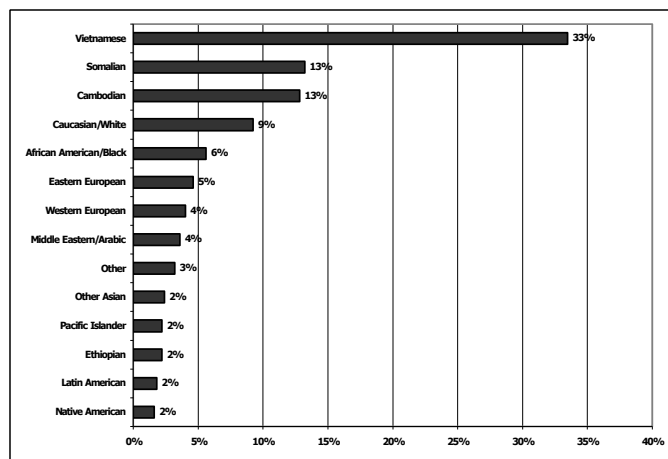

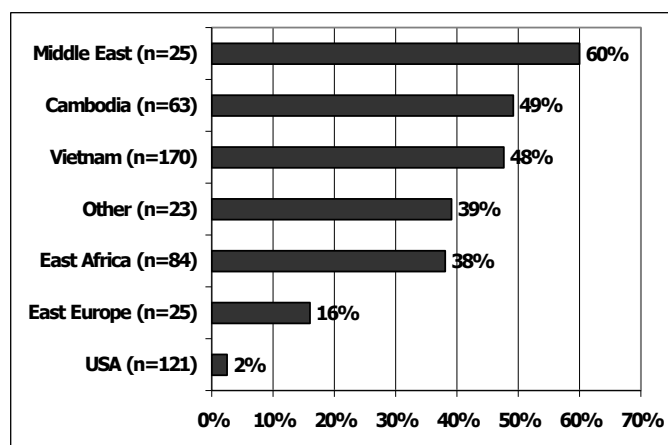Figure 1. Ethnicity of Household Heads (n=499)

Figure 2. Perceptions of Cultural Barriers by Place of Birth

Boundary Dialectics and Spatial Narratives of Cultural Ecotones – Surveying the Cultural Niches of Keelung's Hoping Island

Min Jay Kang

ABSTRACT: Ecotone refers to a transitional zone bounded between two or more adjacent but different biotic communities. An ecotone often appears to exhibit a habitat relationship or an inter-dependent network of ecological niches which is diversified and rich, complex and ever-changing. Accordingly, cultural ecotones further suggest in-between areas of clearly demarcated territories in the typology of human settlements - those ambiguous borderlands not controlled by land-use zoning or administrative principles, or those landscapes suspended by the deferred developments yet unguarded by the resisting forces of preservation or the convergent zones of critical multiculturalism. Within the cultural ecotones, micro-scale and self-evolving mechanisms reach a dynamic equilibrium which sustains the co-existence of contradictions and harmony. The apparently chaotic territorial relationships between cultural niches are in essence an expression of an intricate ecological network and an evolutional order out of organic growth, which indicate a landscape paradigm rarely explored by environmental planning and design discourses and methodologies yet conducive to alternative social imaginations. The field research of cultural ecotone focuses on the variegated hillside settlements of Keelung's Peace Island at the northern tip of Taiwan. The habitats territorialized by many generations of immigrants after WW II, Hoping Island gradually evolved into a model of cultural ecotone out of its fertile sediment of history. The interplay of the island's grand narrative of history, pico-narrative of everyday life, and the representation of memory is reconstructed into a narrative route, as a close reading of its socio-spatial fabric, which transgresses spatial and temporal boundaries throughout the cultural niches of Hoping Island.

In the name of peace

Hoping Island, or Peace Island by translation, acquired its name through an excruciating historical process. Originally known as She-liao Island, this "head of Taiwan" accommodated different generations of colonizers and immigrants from all over the world. Immediately after the Second World War, the anti-Nationalist-regime uprising of 228 Incident of 1947 culminated the ethnic tension between the Chinese expatriates and local Taiwanese (Chinese Han immigrants of earlier stages). The political outburst soon span into severe massacre,

and around Keelung area where the Chinese troop first landed, hundreds of people were executed at the north-western tip of She-liao Island, even some of the remaining Okinawa immigrants on the island could not escape the calamity and never made the ways back to their homeland. Given the name of Peace, Hoping Island finally resumed its mundane living with a heavy toll of lives. Yet its symbol understatedly carried on another island fate thereafter, the separate land of 66 hectares 74 meters from mainland Taiwan and the harbor city of Keelung became a site of inclusionary shelters and symbiotic living for various social sub-groups of distinct cultural traits. Embedded in different processes and reasons of immigration, each group gradually develops a niche of its own and territorizes a recognizable habitat on the island. Altogether they interweave a cultural ecotone beyond the imposed rationale and restrictions of subsequent urban planning. Hoping Island mirrors the colonial history of Taiwan, but the burden of the grand narrative does not overwhelm the squatters who are still marking their ecotopes through daily practices on the island. Nestled between the cracks of military zone dominating the northeastern hill of the island and a major shipyard flanking the concrete-surface west side, and suspended between the temporal dimensions of colonization and globalization, the organic settlements somehow survive with a tangible sense of peace - an equilibrium carelessly retained among the complexity of the island's social and historical layers.

Cultural ecotone

Ecotone, a compound word of ecology and Greek –*tonos* (tension), by definition is a transitional zone of ecological tension bounded between two or more adjacent but different biotic communities (Smith, 1974). Mediating landscape shift from an ecological front to the other, it is relatively unstable and sensitive to environmental changes. The ecotone transition may undergo subtle and gradual courses, but it can also take a drastic ecological turn from any of the neighboring systems to exhibit diametrical characteristics (Decamps and Naiman, 1990). An ecotone often allows accesses for species which transgress across boundaries from either side or migrate from other regions but easily adapt to the transient environment. It is tolerant rather than exclusive in essence. But an ecotone is also a dynamic setting where distinctive species contend for limited resources in constrained spaces then establish each own niches, among which they live differently and more dangerously than on their independent home turfs. The apparently exuberant micro-cosmos is in fact infused

with struggles, competitions, exchanges, negotiations, and compromises. It's noteworthy that ecotone represents an 'edge effect' at the borderland, a landscape form along the boundary area shaped by a broader range of ecological niches with highly adaptable species (Odum, 1997), constantly responding to changing environmental conditions and exogenous forces. The 'emergent' status of ecotone therefore denotes an uncertainty of on-going transformation. Individual agents of action always affect the autonomous evolution of the overall ecotone, and the internal boundaries between different habitats incessantly concretize and collapse with each collective effort of reinforcement, permeation, and encroachment.

The transitional and adaptive traits of ecotone also imply the paradigm shift of domination. The prevailing species (such as a distinctive plant and its concomitant biological chain) may show signs of recoil approaching the ecological front; while in the symbiotic system of ecotone, the mechanism of mutual reinforcement and counteraction replaces the manipulation of a singular overbearing force. For a large part of migrating animals, such an inclusive environment that accepts exploration and reclamation of a variety of habitats is most suitable for staying. Through patterns of migration or seasonal sojourn, the animal society of the ecotone locale can establish an ecosystem sagaciously responding to temporal cycles. Life and death mingle, and death is easily transformed into nutrient for the living. Gregarious animals further deepen their sense of belonging and identity in their activity turf via the processes of occupying and territorizing, yet their territories continue to adjust due to the effects of natural forces and resources contention between species, and the ecotone eventually reaches a dynamic equilibrium of an ecological development.

Based on the concept of biological ecotone, cultural ecotone further suggests in-between areas of clearly demarcated territories in the typology of human settlements - those ambiguous borderlands not controlled by land-use zoning or administrative principles, or those landscapes suspended by deferred developments yet unguarded by the resisting forces of preservation, or the convergent zones of critical multiculturalism. Within the cultural ecotone, a micro-scale self-evolving mechanism orchestrates migration, immigration, squatting, juxtaposition, transition, conflict, cooperation, alliance, conviviality, boundary transgression, territorization, de-territorization, re-territorization, construction of territorial identities, vicissitudes of life-and-death, interdependence, and symbiosis

into vibrant spatial currents and undercurrents which sustains the co-existence of contradictions and harmony. The apparently chaotic territorial relationships are in actuality an expression of an intricate ecological network and an evolutional order out of organic growth, which indicate a landscape paradigm less explored by environmental planning and design discourses and methodologies yet conducive to alternative social imaginations.

Cultural ecotone reveals a particular social facet of the human world with little attempt to replace the extant world order. Its 'live and let live' stance, however, may be stigmatized as an anarchic depravity which needs to be fixed by the rational hands. To certain extent, the post-WW II spatial evolution of Hoping Island conjures up a model of cultural ecotone out of the fertile sediment of history. The interplay of the island's grand narrative of history, pico-narrative of everyday life, and the flow-of-consciousness of memory can be reconstructed into a narrative route, as a close reading of its socio-spatial fabric, which transgresses spatial and temporal boundaries throughout the cultural ecotone. And while the implementation of Keelung's urban renewal is impending, such reading will argue against the slum-clearing logic of zoning strategies and top-down administrative decisions.

The diachronic succession of She-liao Island

If the post-War development of Hoping Island is perceived as a landscape of difference (or diffe*r*ance based on Derrida's word play of difference and defer) due to deferred capital investment and public improvement in urban periphery, it also fosters a favorable condition for the sprawl of informal construction and squatting on public land. Yet the conundrum of Hoping Island is heightened by its embedment in the historical significance; in another word, to study the island as a cultural ecotone must also probe into its historical fragments to retrieve remaining legends, anecdotes, and spaces as a form of collective memory.

This separate isle is a frontier precinct (both in terms of urban development and the national territory) of strategic importance (Fig. 1), and has been claimed and dominated by more than different nations, regimes, or ethnic groups. Fig. 1 The strategic location of Hoping Island

A linear history of Hoping Island will trace back the indigenous Ketagalan time prior to the early 17th century, during which the legend of the valiant Bacay tribe conquering the

ocean with their flying darts prevailed. The original island title She-liao is derived from the gathering common house of Ketagalan, whose remaining offspring can still be found on the main street of the island though their traditional raised houses no longer exist. At the turn of the 17th century Han merchants of the Ming Dynasty and Japanese pirates both landed on She-liao Island, and brought in Mah-Zu (Goddess of the South China Sea) religion and Samurai knife. The Spanish expedition fleet occupied the island harbor in 1626 and soon built Fort San Salvador around the harbor, then erected citadel Koevo at the commanding elevation of the Dragon Hill and a roundel near the narrow strait (Dai, 1995). The military role of the island thus began, yet the brief Spanish colonial period also ushered in Catholic religion, European gardens, and San Salvador Street with shops, a church, and a school, among the traditional Ketagalan settlement.

The Hollanders' exploitation of northern Taiwan's coal and sulfur mines led to their invasion of She-liao Island at 1642 to obtain necessary navigation access. They ended the 16-year Spanish sovereignty and refurbished Fort San Salvador into Fort Noort Holland, citadel Koevo into Rondeel Victoria, and the roundel into Reduit Eltenburgh (Fig. 2).

The island's critical role of coastal guarding resumed, but the most direct impact on local daily life of the Dutch period was the introduction of modern economic tools such as accounting and taxation (Pan, 2007). In the meanwhile, Christianity found its way into She-liao Island. The Western governance over the island was taken over by Koxinga's rule since 1669. The pride of Han culture finally swayed on She-liao Island, but the oceanic warfare also reached its climax. Gradually skilled boat-repairing labors and their families from Fu-zhou (of Mainland China's Fukien Province) across the Black Channel (Taiwan Strait) increased and conglomerated around She-liao Island's harbor area, where the once prosperous Fu-zhou Street witnessed their glory days. This was one of the earliest records in Taiwan that a street name carried the identity of a specific immigrant origin.

Then the flag of Ching Dynasty dominated the Island in 1683, which further propelled the maturing of the Han settlement. Immigrants from Zhang-zhou of Fukien area chose to settle down at the western side (She-wei, the 'tail' part) of She-liao Island, while the Ketagalan village dwelled on the lower east side (She-tou, the 'head' part) with a portion of earlier settlers. It's noteworthy that Chuan-zhou immi-

grants, the long-term feud of Zhang-zhou immigrants established their turf on the other side of the narrow strait to avoid direct confrontation. Fishery and mining industry in Keelung area supported most of the immigrants' livelihood. According to the census made by the Japanese in 1895 when Taiwan was ceded to the new colonial power, there were 198 households in She-liao Island, including 721 Han immigrants and 116 Ketagalan tribal members (National Taiwan University Building and Planning Foundation, 2008).

But before the Japanese, the French troop gave She-liao Island the final Western colonial touch in 1884 during the Sino-French War. A French troop occupied She-liao Island (known to the French as 'Palm Island') and set up a harbor commanding headquarter, military posts, and coal storage warehouses to gain control of the area's mining resources. After the war, the Ching Governor of Taiwan, Liu Ming-Chuan, decided to reinforce the defensive bases of She-liao Island and transformed the Dutch Rondeel Victoria into a cannon fortress (later to be taken over and expanded by the Japanese regime and the present-day army). He also sent more than one hundred soldiers to be stationed on the island, most of them from An-hui and Jiang-su Provinces of central Mainland China. This could be the first wave of substantial Chinese troop to be located on the island, and the next sign of people from this Mainland region might be spotted after the Second World War when the Chinese veterans of Jiang-su origin squatted in.

The Japanese colonial period saw the most progressive development of She-liao Island, both in terms of military defense and economic infrastructure. In between 1895 and 1945, the colonial government further established the island as a military commending outpost, ship-building industry base, and fishery hub of northern Taiwan. The cross-strait bridge (first in Taiwan) was constructed in 1935 to improve the island's accessibility from inland Keelung; then the western seaboard of the island was reclaimed for the land of a modern ship-building plant in 1937. The She-liao settlement soon expanded to a population of 4,000 due to the job opportunities and many small downstream businesses and services spun off from the major industries. She-liao Island became an island of hodge-podge East Asian cultures where indigenous Ketagalan, Han Taiwanese (earlier Chinese immigrants), Japanese, Korean, and Okinawa immigrants mingled with different languages spoken. The Okinawa quarter was particularly vivid near the Fu-zhou Street area, and many of its inhabitants resumed their

residencies after the Second World War was over till, tragically and ironically, the outbreak of the 228 Incident victimized more than 30 of them as the sacrifice of complicated identity politics between Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese[1].

The spatial patchwork of Hoping Island

The post-War development of Hoping Island largely followed the Japanese blueprint, with an unexpected twist. First the 'Da-chen compatriots,' who left their homeland in Da-chen Islands of Mainland China's Zhe-jiang Province altogether to follow Chiang Kai-shek's regime, came around 1954 and 1955 when the Nationalist KMT regime finally retreated from the last wave of military combat and lost its territorial claim of Da-chen to the Communists. More than 20,000 De-chen immigrants were allocated to various cities and regions all over Taiwan, and Hoping Island was not an option at first. Yet for those who used to make a living on fishing around Da-chen's abundant ocean, they found Hoping Island to be most like home (Pan and Chen, 2002). Tens of the Da-chen immigrants returned to the small island to establish a low-rise and low-tech settlement in the recessed valley of Dragon Hill, nearly invisible from the main streets. The authority and the military jurisdiction turned a blind eye to their illegal constructions, considering their loyalty to the ruling regime. Then some of the veterans from Hoping Island's military compound followed suit. Humble structures, grouped as clusters or free-standing units, mushroomed along different valley lines - but all on the southern side of the protective Dragon Hill. The cluster type even reflected the veterans' collective association with their homeland origins; for instance, one of the squatter clusters behind Da-chen settlement's ridgeline was composed mostly of veterans from Mainland's Jiang-su Province.

The spatial structure of the squatter village is self-organized along a main staircase trail and a few serpentine routes following the hilly topography (Fig. 3). Its informal appearance is a result of stack-up conglomeration of small-scale buildings made of mixed materials (including new, weathered, and recycled) and various modes of appropriation, negotiation, transitional occupation, and shared use of public spaces. Even though the basic infrastructure may seem to be inadequate and the squatters' collective efforts to fight against the adverse winter weather through small gadgets seem primitive and whimsical (i.e. tightening down the shingle with ropes), the village retains a down-to-earth vernacularism that represents a physical-cum-social niche for the 'new' immigrants at the absence of planning.

Based on the overlay of aerial maps of different periods and local interviews, the Da-chen settlement evolved gradually from a habitat of single immigrant-identity to a village of multiple immigrant niches. Particularly noteworthy are immigrants of Hakka ethnicity from central part of Taiwan who came for industrial opportunities and settled down along the serpentine routes off the main trail (Fig. 4), and eventually seeped into the boundary of the Da-chen identity enclave. The same boundary was further transgressed by the indigenous Amis from Hua-lien County when some of the Da-chen families and their offspring decided to move out due to the wane of fishery and left their houses empty. It's rather disconsolate that while the fourth generation of the Da-chen immigrants has begun to enter the Hoping Elementary School, only few families still retain their strongholds on the island.

The first Amis indigenous immigrants from east-coast Taiwan appeared on Hoping Island right after the Nationalist regime reclaimed the territory from Japan. They were drawn to the island because of its plentiful fishery and the island fishermen's incredible technique, especially shooting swordfish with a flying dart. The Amis people were also famous for their affinity to ocean and their excellent fishing skill, so the setting of Hoping Island would be ideal if they could find inexpensive places to live. In the early 1960s, the Amis' migration from Tai-dong to Hoping Island boomed when Keelung area's fishing industry reached its peak. They rented cheap rooms for themselves and their families, but the burden of monthly rent was always acute. The untended hillside land became their primary target after they decided to squat and build after a few drinking meetings in the early 1970s (Pan and Chen, 2002). There were 11 low-rise huts erected in their first attempt, yet the local policemen hindered their illegal activities a few times and demolished their self-built shelters. Eventually the authority tacitly recognized their perseverance and ignored their approaches the fourth time around. The Amis settlement gradually sprawled downhill to get closer to the water source of the historical Dragon-Eye well, then later uphill along the trail to She-liao East Cannon Fortress on the other side of the valley. They named the small village Alapauwan, meaning 'a place where one easily gets lost.'

While Alapauwan signifies the Amis settlement from Tai-dong County, the Amis encroachment in the previously Da-chen territory is more low-key and tacitly claimed by the later-phase immigrants from Hua-lien County of the east coast[2] (Fig. 5). The former housing types reflect the self-built and collage mode of construction often found in the marginal urban settlement of the Amis and express the tribesmen's love of the open-air front porch; yet the latter make the best use of the existing buildings and if necessary, extend the living spaces to the fronting alley. Many Amis immigrants considered Hoping Island a land with more promises than their homeland and a place where they could enjoy the affiliation with their tribal people, even when other immigrant groups started to leave the island for better opportunities elsewhere since the 1990s. And though their board-frame construction jobs were not stable in competition with the cheaper south-east Asian labors, they could find simple livelihood out of the island's resources – small-scale farming, picking up snails, fishing, etc. Curious enough, the Hua-lien Amis don't seem to belong to Alapauwan, yet they have not officially settled in a new tribal title.

The squatters march spread and continued. Hoping Island's ship-building industry drew in a large amount of rural-urban labor surplus from central and southern Taiwan's agricultural sectors in the 1960s under the economic 'take-off' policies of the government, yet the Taiwan Ship-building Company did not provide housing or room-and-board alternatives for the subcontracted blue-collar labors[3]; and as a consequence, the tenants-turned-squatters began to exploit the uncharted hillside land behind the main streets adjacent to the ship-building plant (Fig. 6). The immigrant backgrounds ranged from the southern counties and cities of Kaohsiung and Ping-dong to the central areas of Nan-tou and Zhang-hua and the east-coat Hua-lien. The settings of their clusters were not as identifiable or exclusive as the Da-chen settlement or Alapauwan, and some of them evolved directly from the border of the Da-chen territory.

The rural-urban immigrants' settlements represent grass-roots tactics of appropriating unused or underused public lands for subsistence under the deficiency of housing policies and intervention of the developmentalist state or industry during the economic restructuring periods. The basic housing units are not spacious, considering the available land for squatting at the outset, largely due to the uncertainty of investment (particularly under the implicit consent of local authority) and the restriction of ready capital for such investment. Once the first-generation squatters settled without impending threat, they either spread the message of opportunities to their relatives and friends at hometown for future venture or cultivated adjacent lands for small-scale farming.

The overall population of Hoping Island grew to more than 20,000 in the mid-1970s, thanks to the continuing prosperity of fishery and ship-building industry. The Amis immigrants further expanded the scale of Alapauwan, and began the same squatting process at the Ba-chi-men hill right across the narrow strait and established another settlement called Kihaw-niyaro. While Alapauwan was half hidden in the valley, Kihaw-niyaro was exposed along the hill. It extended to such an obvious scope that photographers and reporters came to document it almost as a spectacle. Up till the mid-1980s, the Amis men of these settlements all went out to sea and women were in charge of daily and tribal affairs, similar to their original maternal society back in the east coast. The government finally perceived the sprawl of the squatter settlements as serious housing and environmental problems, and built the first public housing specifically for the marginal aboriginal nomads in 1988. Yet the housing design and implementation were almost modernistic without any patterns derived from Amis' tribal culture. Comparatively, Alapauwan's self-help, self-built mode of village building at least exhibited lively nature of Amis' perception of what homes and living should be like. But nearly when the public housing was ready to accommodate, the industrial vitality of Hoping Island fell plumb down. Both ship-building and fishing productivity declined so heavily that many inhabitants of Hoping Island decided to leave - except for the Amis who quickly adjusted to the situation by shifting their vocations to construction labor.

The single veterans' and seniors' dormitories make up another piece of Hoping Island's crazy-quilt (Fig. 7). More than 20 of them live in seclusion at an independent corner of the island, and their status underlines a serious reality beyond social grouping of different cultural backgrounds: the 2007 demographic census of Hoping Island indicates that the overall population has dropped to 5,804, among whom citizens above age 65 comprise of 12.82% (744 people) – much higher than an aging society index of 7% or the national average of 10%. Yet the seniors rarely get together across their habitat boundaries in Hoping Island, their affiliations with the neighboring or cultural community are still palpable.

The Wang-ye (Expeller of Pestilence) Patrol as a narrative route of boundary crossing and the contention of meanings through narratives

A quick survey of the route and symbolic floats of the Wang-ye Patrol in July reveals a cross-boundary relationship or tension between different habitats. Wang-ye is popular in many fishing villages all over Taiwan because of his believed power of expelling pestilence, either contributing a float to join the parade or being visited by Wang-ye's sedan is a sign of being protected by the Lord. The patrol route circulates nearly half of the island (except for the military zone) and marches outward across Hoping Bridge to the other side of the strait to pay tribute to other deities, yet it does not reach the hillside squatter settlements though some of the hillside temples do contribute floats to the parade. Excluding the Amis who are mostly Catholic or Christian, a great proportion of Hoping Island's population worship Taoist deities of diverse capacities. The original She-liao settlement is well guarded by Mah-zu in Tian-hou Temple – the oldest Mah-zu temple in northern Taiwan, and Guanyin (Goddess of Mercy) in Fu-yun Shrine; and the Fu-zhou Street (immigrants from Fukien/Fu-zhou) community is associated with San-shan Wang-ye (popular in Fukien area) Temple; the mix of Han-Ketagalan settlement near the strait worships She-tou's (the 'head') Lord of the Land; while the quarter near the harbor is blessed by another Lord of the Land (She-wei, the 'tail'). But when Wang-ye's sedan parades on, his pilgrimage circle expands and includes all of the above, and more (Fig. 8).

The prominent seat of the illegal-shrine-turned-Tian-xian temple at the top the Da-chen settlement, with a commanding view of the entire island, is saved for the Lord of Five Revelations - originally a little known deity in an immigrant family's private hut but later worshiped by tens of thousands who contribute generously to build an enormous temple for him. Yet the Mah-zu patrol, the other important event on the island, shuns her visit to this even larger yet illegal temple up on the hill. The tension between the two dominant temples on Hoping Island subtly reflects the relationship between the original She-liao settlement and the informal hillside village of squatter immigrants.

The Mah-zu Patrol does not cover the other squatters' settlements of the rural-urban immigrants either, even though they all build temples of various deities near their clusters. The rural-urban immigrants or migrating labors sometimes prayed for the blessings of deities in their homelands when they left, and once they were able to settle down they would 'divide the incenses' of their guardian deities to their new residencies and accommodate such spirits in temples – despite that they had to build new temples independently. Those deities may not be the best-known or most popular ones like Guanyin, Mah-zu, or Buhda, but their distinctive capacities are connected to the subconscious fear and desire of the immigrants' societies and root deeply in their identities. The temples at Hoping-Island's rural-urban immigrant settlements, regardless of being divided from other counties of Taiwan, mostly share such traits. Their pilgrimage circles are not localized, but rather reflect the lineage of the temples' neighboring settlements to their original homelands. Yet a gesture of contributing a float in the island's grand parade may be seen as a longing to be subsumed as a part of the bigger community, like Sheng-an Temple's float (representing the rural-urban immigrant squatters from Hua-lien county) following the Wang-ye Patrol.

Interesting enough, one of the most distinguished teams in the patrols are the delegates of Alapauwan whose religious doctrines are insupportable of idol worshiping. But most of the delegates are young kid drummers from Hoping Elementary School, who are deliberately trained by local community mobilizes and school teachers to join the yearly events. Their parents rarely go to Hoping Island's chapel or church, but choose to join the other churches in the nearby region where they can meet more Amis fellow tribesmen. Geographically Alapauwan or Hua-lien Amis' habitats in the Da-chen settlement are integral part of Hoping Island, but identity-wise the Amis are still affiliated with their tribal community outside the everyday-life routines. Even though the inhabitants of Han ethnicity of the original She-liao settlement 'recognize' the existence of the aborigines in the island, there are few interactions between them. Yet their children all go to the same school, hence Hoping Elementary School should become a common ground where differences meet and interact, where boundaries dissolve, and where discrimination subsides. Some might see the little marching drummers in the patrols as token representatives of diversity, but they are also embedded in an important narrative route of Hoping Island with particular roles. It's noteworthy that some 'public' institutions or spaces, such as the elementary school, temples, and churches, are in nature trans-cultural agencies and boundary breakers, but they are often bounded in their own ideologies and territorial claims by the dominant groups.

There was a hidden conflict between local cultural builders, who constantly emphasize the significance of Hoping Island's incredible history and attempt to close the historical wells near Alapauwan for an archeological survey, and the Amis who often hoist water from the wells. One day out of the blue, the Amis decided to paint the wall around one of the wells and inscribe the title of Alapauwan in Chinese to claim their right to the well. The conflict never surfaces, but a poorly-designed plaza, a gazebo, and a historical description plaque were implemented by Keelung's municipal government as a demonstration of historical legitimacy around the Dragon-Eye well, now registered as a historical landmark and just a five-minute walk to the inscribed well of Alapauwan, fronting a huge concrete retaining wall with romanticized yet tribally-incorrect totem graffiti painted by a non-aboriginal landscape firm. Here lies the contrast of identity acquired through historical discourse and territorial ascendancy vs. identity established by everyday-life narrative of fighting for basic necessities (Fig. 9).

A few decades have passed since the first-generation Amis squatters settled down in Hoping Island, and they even have their traditional harvest festival on the Dragon-eye-well plaza[4]. But they still bury the deceased back in Hua-lien and Tai-dong where they consider homelands. Each year, they will go back 'home' during the tomb-sweeping days to pay tribute to their ancestors though it's regarded as a Han-ethnicity tradition. Actually, an investigation of the spatial relationship of the island inhabitants' living domain and their ancestors' resting places reveals that only the residents of the original She-liao and Ketagalan settlements might consider Peace Island to be their true homeland - if homeland indicates an un-severable tie with one's own blood lineage or cultural roots. For the Chinese veterans, rural-urban immigrants, Da-chen compatriots, Hakka, Amis on Peace Island, their settlements are conceived as their 'temporary' habitats though their residencies have endured a few decades. And except for Alapauwan, the post-WW II immigrant societies of Hoping Island rarely name their own settlements or perform their traditional rituals. Even the hillside temples (excluding the transformed Tian-xian Temple), a sign of immigrants' rooting with local land, respond more to their remote connections with the far-away homelands than to any attempt of blending themselves into the local community.

Squatter settlements, as habitats, are at best 'the other homeland' (or homeland for 'the Other' - the marginal Other) for the migrating settlers or sojourners. Not until the duration

of their residencies is extended to allow the second or third generation to root for the place, can it become their true homeland. It is arguable that in a cultural ecotone such as Peace Island, loose identity with a particular place or community might actually help to sustain a multicultural society; while intentionally strengthening a specific kind of identity (often through monopolizing the grand discourse or narrative) can exclude some members of the land (sometimes simply by their titles or ownerships to the land) as the others. This concept is similar to Leach's (2002) critique of the Heideggerian construction of identity and place, especially in the urban context. The more deep-rooted the identity becomes, the less transgressable the boundary wall may be. Hoping Island can hardly be qualified as an ideal society or community, yet it does exhibit a rare anarchic quality of differences co-existing that makes planned multiculturalism seem forced and pretentious.

Multiculturalism in cultural ecotones

Place identity is a dynamic intensity where tensions are sustained and sustainable. – Dovey 2010

If Peace Island is conceived as an integrated community, its present identity as a place is ambiguous; but if it's perceived as a cultural ecotone of diversity, its multiple identities - either in temporal or social-spatial dimension - deserve to be further investigated as an alternative community paradigm. Multiculturalism implied by the concept of cultural ecotone can be a controversial term between the disciplines of cultural studies and anthropology. Cultural studies are grounded on identity politics of resistance and oftentimes essentialize culture in multiculturalism as a given and 'equal' entity among cultural differences, or even reduce cultures as ethnic or racial identities. But anthropology tends to analyze the power and domination relationship in different societies and cultures in terms of cultural relativism, as well as how cultures and societies are generated and transformed in the complicated historical process (Upadhya, 2002). Turner (1993) also reminds that multiculturalism over-emphasizes self-completeness and intrinsic homogeneity within individual cultural frames, and nearly fetishizes the cultural labels under group identification. Devadas(2005) points out that multiculturalism is based on the political discourses of pluralism, therefore is not able to avoid the inherent contradictions of pluralism. It's necessary to confront such contradictions and challenge the identity of culture itself to explore multiculturalism, and to innovate through incessant revolutions, actions, and transformations - because pluralism is heterogeneous and consciously critical, and a key witness of its internal

injustice. Discourses on multiculturalism must continue to expand on this grounding, rather than become politically-correct rhetoric. Eagleton (2000) even argues that 'at the worst, an open society becomes one which encourages a whole range of closed cultures. Liberal pluralism and communitarianism are in this sense mirror images of one another. The predatory actions of capitalism breed, by way of defensive reaction, a multitude of closed cultures, which the pluralist ideology of capitalism can then celebrate as a rich diversity of life-forms.'

Multiculturalism in cultural ecotone suggests the contention of spatial meanings, and identity politics is an inevitable issue in terms of rewriting its 'public history' (Hayden, 1996). Deutsche (1996) argues that a 'democratic public space' is a domain of resisting authoritarian powers and is constituted by conflicts and differences rather than homogeneity. It is also a realm of uncertainty where the meanings of people are constructed and at risk when the absolute power is absent. A democratic public space, cultural ecotone likewise, therefore should be understood as multi-discursive (Jaaniste, 2006). A cultural ecotone is a borderland with a multitude of internal boundaries, and the multi-discursive is at the same time a decentralized meandering within the borderland and a new narrative route that breaks its boundaries. In *To Live in the Borderlands Means You*, Anzaldúa (2001) depicts,

> *In the Borderlands*
> *you are the battleground*
> *where enemies are kin to each other;*
> *you are at home, a stranger*
> *the border disputes have been settled*
> *the volley of shots has shattered the truce*
> *you are wounded, lost in action*
> *dead, fighting back;*

then she concludes,

> *To survive the Borderlands*
> *you must live sin fronteras*
> *be a crossroads.*

She manifests the cruel reality between the US-Mexico borderlands, and with poetic power also unfolds the subtle situations and moods of living in the ecotone of Peace Island.

Niche dynamics

Back to the ecological perspective. Different species, regardless of how marginal their status may be in an ecosystem, are considered 'ecological equivalents' in their own niches (Odum, 1997). Yet it is important to understand that to maintain biodiversity in an ecosystem, the biomass level of a particular habitat is crucial. According to scientific researches, biodiversity is greatest at medium level of biomass simply because that greater level of biomass may turn into the dominant species and lower level of biomass productivity will weaken the species' competitivity. Biodiversity is essential to maintain the stability of ecosystem processes in changing environments; and to sustain certain level of biomass, it requires necessary nutrients, protection, and territory. These principles of ecology may be applied to researches of cultural ecotones or the case study of Hoping Island. What used to serve as 'nutrients' of the ecotone, such as fishery, ship-building industry, natural resources, or its strategic location, seem to gradually lose their advantages - hence the shrinking of various biomasses. Yet the wax and wane of different cultural niches on Hoping Island continue to uphold and loosen up the habitat boundaries, while local events (such as Wang-ye patrol) weave their differences into an identifiable collage without strengthening a unified community identity. The scenes on Hoping Island are special but not alone, and oftentimes re-surface at the crevices of urbanization or places of half-blown urbanization in Taiwan as (labeled) 'derelict areas' in the shadow of urban renewal and development. It is only a thin line between a 'lost space' and a cultural ecotone.

Time, rather than planning, is the key to keep shaping the island fabric and ecotone psyche. But whether Hoping Island should evolve into a history house or an eco-museum, an attic deposited with memories, a 'free grassroots' land' where everything goes, or all of them together depends on the spatial narratives to be constructed. At present moment, a few outsider groups and individuals intend to play the role of narrative weavers, bringing new plots and perspectives to re-read Hoping Island's cultural landscapes as an image-able entity or spatial narratives; while local cultural builders and history writers (largely Han-ethnicity) continue to cross the cultural boundaries and interpret the island's genealogy. But whether the attempts of cultural planning should emphasize trans-cultural integration to coerce more interactions between different social/cultural groups and establish place identity ('intensive multiplicity' or 'a bowl of soup of various ingredients' motif) or a less deliberate critical-multiculturalism

to recognize differences yet foster mutual understanding ('extensive multiplicity' or 'a bag of jelly beans' motif, Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) remains unclear. Perhaps rather than arguing a dialectical relationship between them, there can be a 'twofold' (Dovey, 2010) approach to encompass differences and identity issues. And perhaps the narratives should be open-ended with many detours where the inhabitants can tell their own stories to interfere the historical discourse, or multi-layered with memory lanes intercepting the everyday-life routines, or randomly spread out like a rhizome (ibid.) pattern where each niche carries its own voice. The routes of spatial narrative may transgress the boundary politics.

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Endnotes

1   More than 30 Okinawa immigrants were misidentified as local Taiwanese and murdered by the KMT regime which took over the sovereignty of Taiwan from Japan after WW II. (http://taiwancivilgovernment.ning.com/forum/topics/ding-zui-ji-nian?xg_source=activity, accessed 27th, Feb, 2011)

2   Tai-dong and Hua-lien are both counties on east-coast Taiwan where Amis comprise of the majority of the indigenous settlers.

3   Some of the formal employees of the ship-building company were accommodated in the dormitories, but the company also subcontracted many jobs to informal labors when the industry boomed and provided no extra benefit for those labors who also worked in the same plant.

4   Many families in Alapauwan belong to True Jesus Church which strictly forbids its disciples to worship idols or objects, so they choose not to participate in the harvest festival.
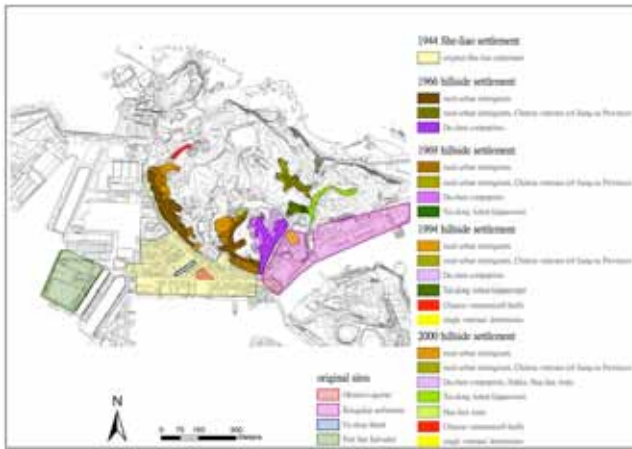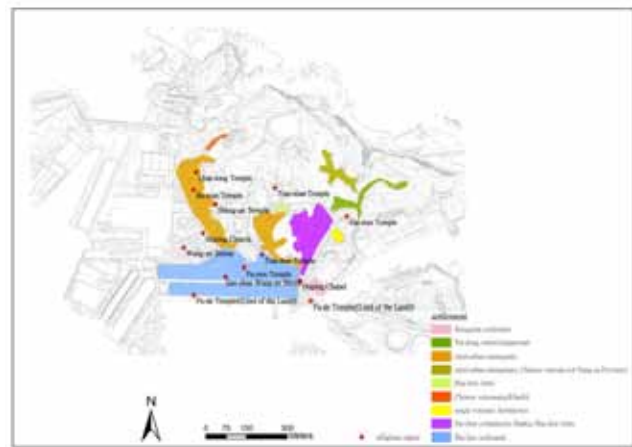
Figure 1

Figure 2

Intertwined Spaces: Transcultural Spaces along

Figure 3

Devon Avenue, Chicago

Arijit Sen

ABSTRACT: A lack of knowledge and familiarity with Muslims is a central problem facing multicultural acceptance of this group in the United States. Devon Avenue, Chicago is a significant site within the quotidian landscape of immigrant Muslims in the American Midwest. The street encapsulates a perfect multicultural geography in which cultural, religious and economic institutions serve as places of contact between Muslims and the larger American community. This paper examines Muslim immigrant owned restaurants along Devon Avenue as public spaces where various social constituencies come in contact with each other. These restaurants are more than places where food is produced and consumed. They are also places where immigrants display their complex identity and mediate religious and cultural practices within the public realm. Prayer spaces and family rooms in these restaurants not only cater to various subgroups and sustain multiple forms of peoplehood but also create myriad temporal urban rhythms.

Transcultural Geography along Devon Avenue

The ethnic composition of Chicago's neighborhoods have seen drastic changes in the last 10 years.[1] Along Devon Avenue, on the northern border of this city, in the neighborhoods called West Ridge, the local chamber of commerce responded to the growing ethnic diversity along the street by coming up with a new moniker to advertise a section of this street between Ridge and Kedzie.[2] They called this multicultural shopping street the "international marketplace." The banners, still available for sponsorship by local businesses cost between $250 to $300 with a modest renewal fee. The banner has greetings inscribed in at least nine languages such as Hebrew, Arabic, Urdu, Hindi, Assyrian, English and Korean. Despite its multicultural demographics, the cultural, institutional, religious, and social spaces of the different ethnic individuals living, shopping and working in this area are not visible to us. What we see when we walk along this street is a bustling marketplace, signs and symbols of difference, and a multitude of ethnic businesses. This project attempts to look at this marketplace, not just as a site of business but also as a lived landscape.

Life along East Devon Avenue, Chicago, continues long after the stores shut down. In the wee midnight hours, through the closed metal collapsible gates of some stores, bands of light emerge, telling us that these premises are still inhabited. Local youngsters hang out in the restaurants and CD shops, chatting, playing cards or listening to Bollywood music while the flickering neon lights on the storefront sizzle intermittently. Occasionally sounds of urban life punctures the atmosphere: beeping city street cleaning trucks meander by, brushing the street edges and spraying the sidewalks with water. Once the truck passes, wafts of Bollywood songs reemerge from half-shut store entrances reminding us that a different social world exists somewhere behind these store doors. I walked into one these stores and discovered that I had entered the social world of local male youth who hung out in these stores. Other stores are converted into living spaces or transformed into social and community meeting sites. Life in the interiors of stores seem to work on a different temporal rhythm than the daytime tempo of the international marketplace.

In the early morning similar "unexpected" scenes are common. Now, the actors are different. Middle aged and elderly Muslim men returning from morning prayers, morning shift cab drivers, and occasional newcomers enter a 24-hour restaurant called Hyderabad House for breakfast. Fried dumplings in lentil soup (*vada sambar*), sweet cream of wheat puddings (*shira*) and other South Indian breakfast food are served to these regulars. Almost all are working class and male. Alternate rhythms of life are also visible during Ramadan, the holy month of daytime fasting. Restaurants are open late for dinner, *shura* breakfasts are served before dawn, advertisements of Ramadan sales are plastered on storefronts, and life on the street continues even later into the night. These social worlds are rendered invisible to most "out-group" customers during the day due to the overpowering bustle on the street and the busy transactions of the marketplace. Only at night when most retail activities cease, we suddenly confront many coinciding coexisting worlds and rhythms along this street. We find that life on Devon Avenue, contrary to popular knowledge and scholarship, is not merely about ethnic stores run by immigrant entrepreneurs or out-of town customers.[3] Rather we find that inside buildings along Devon Avenue there are spaces where people pray, where tenants live, where

store-workers sleep, where teenage men gather, women share childcare, and where children study their religious texts.

In 2009 I began a detailed architectural, observational and ethnographic study of Devon Avenue to document how local South Asian residents, mostly poor, recent arrivals and Muslim, make this retail street their lived environment. I planned collaborations with Dr. Marcia Hermansen who studied a growing number of mosques in the region. Rather than merely documenting the various building types and institutions in the region as is common in architectural heritage documentations, our intention was to identify cultural networks and relationships between the buildings and lived spaces in the neighborhood. We were interested in examining how the built environment had the capacity to accommodate multiple lived worlds. The project is ongoing and this article reports on some of its preliminary findings.

The geography of Devon Avenue has a long multicultural past.[4] Jewish families moved into the area after World War II in the neighborhoods between Damen and Kedzie (Fig. 1) and by 1963 there were around 48,000 Jews in the West Rogers Park area.[5] In 1980s the now-aging original inhabitants and their children began moving into suburban locations like Skokie, Buffalo Grove, Highland Park, and Deerfield and newer immigrants moved in. The newcomers were of South Asian origin - Indians and Pakistanis, (and some Assyrians) who set up businesses that catered to an ethnic clientele.[6] Initial stores included spices and clothes (Indian Sari Palace was the first store to appear in April 6, 1973) and soon electronic items and bags, jewelry and restaurants appeared.[7] (Fig. 2) They were interspersed amidst pre-existing Jewish and non-ethnic stores creating a checkered multicultural street fabric. This heterogeneous ethnic geography made of interspersed South Asian, Jewish, Anglo American, and Latino-owned stores continues to define the character of this street to this date (although the South Asian stores are more dense between California and Western Avenues).

Devon Avenue has became a gateway for most South Asian immigrants in the region due to the concentration of ethnic stores and residences.[8] Once economic advancement allowed the purchase of property, many immigrants and storeowners chose relocation to suburbs such as Lombard, Oak Brook, Naperville, Libertyville and Northbrook. Yet by the turn of the Twenty-first Century growing numbers of South Asians regularly returned to shop, worship and socialize on Devon Avenue. A large number of South Asian elderly also lived in the immediate vicinity of West Ridge and Rogers Park neighborhoods. During the late-90s Muslim immigrants from Bangladesh and Pakistan and India came to this region. This trend was reflected in the Greater Chicago region. Numrich documented the increase of mosques in Greater Chicago area from pre-1965 when only a handful served various groups and locations, to over sixty in 1997. At present (ca. 2008) there may be over 100 religious centers, many newly established ones serving the second and third generations of the community.[9] Devon Avenue served as a point of entry for many less skilled or poorer immigrants. They rented affordable apartment housing on the eastern end near Ridge Avenue or rented apartments above the stores along Devon Avenue. Homes of South Asian immigrants are dispersed across the neighborhood and one may not be able to identify them visually. In proximity to Devon Avenue, there also developed some 13 permanent centers of Islamic worship. These ranged from the Jama Masjid (mosque) that holds thousands for regular Friday services, to a dozen basement gathering places that may each attract as many as several hundred male worshippers on Fridays, while functioning as schools and community centers throughout the rest of the week.[10]

Many new and growing South Asian Muslim residents of this area work in low-paid and unstable jobs.[11] But not all are unskilled; for instance, I interviewed skilled plumbers who due to their low English language skills and/or unstable immigration status cannot find regular and well paid jobs. Because the US census doesn't collect information on religious groups the exact numbers of Muslim immigrants are not documented (except in the membership rolls of local cultural and religious bodies that in the recent political climate is difficult to obtain). Services catering to local Muslim residents include basement mosques (a variety of denominations), legal firms, Islamic book stores, Islamic schools, halal produce stores, women and children-services, and restaurants with prayer spaces. (Fig. 2) Their children are now enrolled in local public schools making these schools more multicultural and diverse.[12] Because they are neither documented through census, nor organized as resident organizations, the new residents are invisible to local governments, scholars and policy makers.

A lack of knowledge and familiarity with the complex and interwoven Muslim cultural landscapes is a central problem facing acceptance of this group in the United States. The cultural practices of contemporary Muslim immigrants differ from earlier immigrants who entered the United States during 19th and 20th century. In the past, theories of assimilation assumed that immigrants enter ethnic ghettos on arrival, but lose their old habits and customs and move into the suburbs over time as they get absorbed into the American mainstream culture.[13] Alternate theories of hybridity and diffusion explained a mixing of old and new customs to produce new creolized forms. Much of these theories explained construction systems and stylistic features in buildings built by immigrants in the United States.[14] Most of the early immigrants were from Europe.

In recent times, theories of transculturation have suggested that immigrants switch codes or translate between different contexts and cultures while retaining multiple cultural identities. Theories of transculturation are useful in the case of settlements where, like Devon Avenue, spaces of different ethnic groups are interwoven. The interwoven character of cultural, religious and economic institutions of ethnic groups cultural contact between various communities. Unlike Herbert Gans' famous urban villages where immigrants could live and interact, almost exclusively, with members of their in-group within the safe cocoon of the ethnic neighborhood, the situation on Devon Avenue is quite different. For instance, if you step out of the IQRA book center (2749 West Devon Avenue) that sells Islamic books and doubles as a meeting place, you cross paths with patients emerging from the Prism Medical Center, (2744 W. Devon Avenue) or the nearby reliable driving school. While the customers in the Tiger International Video store (2750 W Devon Avenue) opposite may be members of the immigrant in-group, those entering the next door Elita Wholesale Video, Audio and CD store (2753 W Devon Avenue) or the Russian Book Store (2746 W. Devon Avenue) on the opposite side of the street will be predominantly Russian immigrants. In transcultural landscapes individuals traverse different ethnic and non-ethnic spatial domains to reach their social and spatial contexts. Following pages will examine how spatial layout, organization and experience sustain transcultural practices and identities even while maintaining social boundaries.[15] I will study three Muslim immigrant-owned restaurants along Devon Avenue, not just as places where food is produced and consumed, but as sites where immigrants mediate religious and secular practices within the public realm. I will focus

on prayer spaces and family rooms inside these restaurants where customers sustain multiple forms of peoplehood, experience myriad temporal urban rhythms, and maintain transcultural identities. By focusing on the layout and morphology of intertwined spaces this paper argues that complex transcultural identity and belonging as Muslim and American can be reconstituted during everyday spatial practices.

My analysis aims to explicate two issues, that of method and relevance. First, architectural analysis together with observational and ethnographic techniques, that I call spatial ethnography, provides me a method to document intertwined landscapes. Second, spatial ethnography uncovers socio-spatial configurations of transcultural spaces. As Sharon Zukin points out in her study of New York, restaurants are simultaneously spaces of production and consumption of food, cosmopolitan culture, consumerism, economic enterprise, ethnic and religious spaces as well as gendered and class-separated social domains.[16]

Method: Three case studies of Restaurants as public spaces

Since 1991 parts of this street have been symbolically renamed "Gandhi Marg," "Muhammad Ali Jinnah Way" and "Sheikh Mujib Road" to represent the Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi communities respectively. Ghareeb Nawaz restaurant (2032 W Devon Ave), Tahoora Sweets and Bakery (2345 West Devon Avenue) and Hyderabad House (226 West Devon Avenue) are three different Muslim immigrant-owned restaurants located east of Western Avenue, in the stretch of the street called Muhammad Ali Jinnah Way (2000 W to 2400 W blocks) and Sheikh Mujib Way (1800 W to 2000 W blocks). These honorary street names, common practice in Chicago, pay homage to the founders of Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively and acknowledge the large Pakistani and Bangladeshi population living and doing business on this street. The national origins of the storeowners do not necessarily follow the honorary monikers - the owner of Tahoora, Salim Shelia is from Mumbai (Fig. 3) and Bashir Bozai of Ghareeb Nawaz is from India and the owner of Hyderabad House was born in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh. Hyderabad House owner is originally from Hyderabad India. Both Tahoora and Ghareeb Nawaz have spaces within the stores that are used for prayers and religious activities while Hyderabad House is a good example of gender-separated domains.

Our first encounter with these stores is visual. (Fig. 4) Even before we decide to enter the store, the facades communicate to us. Elsewhere I have written about the plethora of signage, advertisements, posters, storenames and images on the ethnic storefronts along Devon Avenue and similar South Asian retails streets.[17] There are many kinds of storefront signage. Tall pylon signs are freestanding signs. Monument signs are shorter free standing signs, rare on Devon Street. The most popular signs on Devon are wall signs. Wall signs include awning signs, wall posters and window signs, flat acrylic storenames and board signs, and projecting signs. A profusion of wall signs exist along Devon Avenue. The signs along Devon can be categorized by their permanence. Projecting signs, pylon and monument signs are most permanent indicating a business that has been there for a long time or a more permanent kind of enterprise (retail stores have a high turnover). The most impermanent are the wall and window signs that often take the form of posters and painted boards. The temporality of these signs also allows us to track changes, shopping seasons, seasonal merchandise, and festivals that animate the street. The front facade therefore communicates multiple messages to the world.

For most visitors and shoppers the storenames and storefront visual imagery are consumer advertisements. Whether it is in the nostalgic use of place names (Hyderabad House, Udipi, Charminar, Delhi Durbar) or reuse of common store names from the subcontinent (Sari Palace, Chandni, Noor Meat Mart, Laziza, Taj, Begum), or religious markers (Medina, Tahoora, Ghareeb Nawaz, Mehrab, Laxmi, Devi) each of these names are exotic for members of the out-group. Yet the same names are familiar and hence meaningful to individuals who are part of social sub-groups in very different ways.

Ghareeb Nawaz, the name, refers to Hazrat Shaikh Khwaja Syed Muhammad Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī (1141-1230), a sufi saint of the Chisti order who was known for his charity towards the poor. Chisti's following is large and includes Hindus and Muslims from the subcontinent. Bashir Bozai, 55, manager at Ghareeb Nawaz who hails from India expanded on this reference to the saint, "Our goal is to continue to provide low-cost Indian food to our customers, … When people want Indian food, they usually go to Devon Avenue. The food there is very expensive. We want to provide quality, inexpensive food everyone can enjoy on Devon."[18]

In reality Ghareeb Nawaz caters to a wide range of customers because of their variety and affordable offering. Polyvalent signage is central to the success of their business. The low prices of food in Ghareeb Nawaz brings in customers from a wide spectrum of population - from students, cab drivers, locals, non-South Asians, and take out customers. The storefront of Ghareeb Nawaz communicates low prices, choice and variety - Indian, Pakistani, urdu and Arabic speakers, sandwiches, mediterranean, regional cuisine (*Andhra thali*), Greek gyros are advertised with prices noted. (Fig. 5) Much of the signage has come down due to city regulations and an awareness drive by the local Chamber of Commerce and South Asian business leaders to reduce visual clutter along the street. However storeowner Bashir Bozai has plans to further extend the roof parapet as a neat advertising space.[19] His son, Mohammad, a second generation South Asian American helps his father out and has recently redesigned a modern store interior to cater to its diverse clientele.

Tahoora communicates a different image and its name suggests a different genealogy. It's clean exterior facade with minimal advertisements communicates purity. (Fig. 6) Tahoora means pious and pure in Arabic. It is the quality of people and place in paradise (*Daar-us-Salaam*). Before moving to their present location on 2345 Devon, Tahoora was located across the block on the Northeastern corner of Devon Avenue and North Claremonth Avenue. (Fig.7) The new premise is indeed a spiritually marked location. The sweetshop and deli is on the street level and down in the basement level is a prayer room.

At Tahoora (Fig. 8), the sales counter on the street level is set way back in the interior of the store. Since customers crowding to buy or order crowd in the deep interior, the front zone of the store remains relatively less crowded. On busy hours, people order at the counter, wait for their turn at the delivery counter in front of the emergency exit. (Fig. 9) After they pick up their food, majority move out towards the lighted (and uncrowded) seating area in the front of the store. Only when the front fills up, families move to the back section next to the kitchen. The elongated front zone, 20'0" long, serves yet another function that is not visible to the occasional customer. The front zone, occupying two structural bays, serves as a space for entry and transition for activities in the basement. (Fig. 10)

In the basement of Tahoora is a "community hall" that is used as a basement mosque (*Masjid-e-Tahoora*) during prayer hours. (Fig. 11) A separate room serves women worshippers and community and educational activities. Stairs located at the left hand side of the entrance lead members of the congregation to the lower level with separate entrances to male and female prayer areas. The stairs to the basement has a chain with a sign notifying that the lower level is private and out of bounds. (Fig. 12) Yet, shoppers who know about the basement mosque find their way to the lower level when the congregation meets. The experience of being in the market place or the prayer space inside Tahoora is mediated by the front transition space. This zone has more natural light and is separated from the interior zones by its location and floor level. It is a spatial-fulcrum where the user pauses momentarily and adjusts to the interior before deciding on where to go next. (Fig. 13)

The interior of Ghareeb Nawaz has a prayer space, but the layout and lot specifications produce a different internal spatial configuration. Ghareeb Nawaz is located in an old corner building that is not as deep as the lot line. (Fig 14) At the back of the corner-store is a parking lot. Ghareeb Nawaz's interior is made of two narrow rooms separated by a party wall. The southeast corner entrance leads into the main room where the counter is located at the north end. The front room seems open and empty during lax hours, but during busy hours, the room fills up with people ordering and picking up food. A few tables located along the west and south walls are occupied by people waiting for delivery. A party wall separates the front room from the side room. This bipartite arrangement also produces processional front and back zones. Like Tahoora, the difference between the two interior spaces is experiential in nature.

A large portal leads customers into the back zone, also known as the "family room." (Fig. 15) According to the owner, the room so called to cater to parties with women and children. However, I have never observed strict gender divisions observed in this tiny restaurant. Instead the primary difference between the front and back spaces is haptic. The brightly-lit front room is characterized by fast paced activities, constantly moving customers. The tempo in the less bright back room is slow-paced as people take their food and settle down at the table/booths. The prayer nook is located at the far end of the family room next to the toilets. One has to enter, cross the front room, and then cross over to the side room in order to reach the prayer room. The back zone is visually inac-

cessible, so that a praying cab driver would remain unseen from the front pick up area when he uses the prayer space.

[In December 2010, after this article was written, Mohammad Bozai helped redesign the interiors. The new updated interiors have "modernized" the place. This "modernization" project included a new coat of paint, a new flat screen TV and new counters. But the two most important changes were the location of the counter and the changes made to the wall between the two rooms. The new position of the counter gave the person at the counter visual surveillance over the entire store. The wall between the two rooms was torn down to create a half wall. The new interiors creates a sense of separation while allowing clear lines of sight from the counter. It makes the interior seem more open and lighted. The back room is visually accessible yet the half wall retains the boundary between the two rooms.]

Unlike Tahoora where the prayer space is delineated and separated from the commons by a floor and access is controlled by a barred stairways, Ghareeb Nawaz' prayer space is integrated within the store interiors and its sequentially processional layout. The room, approximately 9'0"x9'0" is enough to hold to 4-5 praying individuals. A rug, floor patterns, and framed images of the *kaaba* distinguishes this room from the other spaces. (Fig. 16) The processional order of the store interiors makes the location of the prayer room secluded and distinct. Its spatial characteristics reflect its non-congregational and temporary use. Ghareeb Nawaz's interior prayer spaces are part of a quotidian landscape of "lived religion" that is distinctly different from sanctioned places of worship like the local Jama Masjid located on 6340 N. Campbell Avenue, three blocks west of Western Avenue or the less formalized but nevertheless formal congregational space in Tahoora Masjid. In their research on New York cab drivers who are Muslims, Courtney Bender and Elta Smith found a network of "free-standing prayer spaces" located across different locations in New York City.[20] In Bender and Smith's study we find that practicing Muslim cab drivers in New York City cannot drive into a mosque to conduct his daily prayers while driving passengers around. They have to find alternative spaces to perform their daily prayers. As a result alternative prayer and meditative spaces are dispersed across the secular domain allowing Muslim immigrants to integrate their religious and spiritual needs within the public and semi-public regions of urban life and to carry out their religious practices even while participating in the mainstream public realm. These spaces represented "an organizational innovation within the

existing field of American mosques and complicate the analysis of immigrant religious life that focuses solely on congregational participation." [21] Calling them spaces of everyday "lived religion," Bender and Smith show the creative role that "immigrants' activities play in reconstructing the boundaries of public and private, ethnic and religious identities" while using such spaces.[22] Such an interweaving of spatial domains is necessary since the public realm in the United States is not set up to support the daily religious and spiritual needs of Muslims.

In Tahoora and Ghareeb Nawaz the experience of traversing elongated processional spaces in order to access the prayer space engages the entire body of the user. Getting to the back spaces is an embodied act since it not only involves necessary bodily cleaning rituals associated with Islamic prayers but also involves walking across and beyond the restaurant space. The linoleum pattern, framed pictures, and lights add to the changed ambience of the prayer zone subconsciously conditioning the user into this temporarily private and sanctified space. In Tahoora, one enters the restaurant and sees the crowded counter before turning and descending the staircase into the back zone. To members of the congregation those people at the counter during daily prayer hours are evidently not practicing Muslims, certainly not practicing members of their particular congregation. In both places, in order to effortlessly cross into the back zone one needs to know the exact location of this space and have a good knowledge of the layout of the restaurant interiors. In both places, the act of crossing over into the prayer zone is an intentional reiteration of Muslim religious practice and an embodied act of belonging in an ethnic community.

Many of these sites are not readily identifiable as Muslim spaces from the outside yet they reflect significant interior modifications and ornamentation. Their distinctive character is created by complex and intersecting factors such as place (store basement, apartment complex room, distinct space), predominant ethnic constituency (Gujerati, Sri Lankan, Indian, mixed) and interpretive and sectarian differences (Mahdavi, Tablighi, Deobandi, Barelvi). Markings on site layout, parking arrangements, and buildings facades do exist. Figure 17 is one such marked location where one may find a basement mosque. The parked vehicle marks the mosque entrance. The front wall is also marked by subtle Islamic graffiti, a couplet in Urdu praising the Prophet, "The coming of Muhammad brought unbelief (*kufr*) to an end, the world belongs to

whoever is accepted by him (*pbuh*)". This marking appeared on the wall some 12 years ago (1996) signaling the mosque congregation's adoption of a sectarian Barelvi identity in which devotion to the Prophet as a superhuman presence is seen as paramount.[23] Such markings are ways in-group members read the "hidden" landscape of community and prayer spaces within the larger neighborhood fabric of Devon Avenue.

Perhaps the most visible example of distinctive facade markings visible from the street is Hyderabad House, the third example in our case studies. (Fig. 18) Hyderabad House restaurant has two premises. The older premises are on the southern side of Devon Avenue with a larger parking lot in from of the store. (Fig.19) The parking lot is often filled with parked cabs, indicating that this restaurant is a favorite haunt for local cab drivers. The signs identifies Dankha's Auto Repair shop in the same premises. Across the street is Hyderabad House Family Dining restaurant. The word "family dining" in the title suggests separated gendered domains. Hyderabad House is mostly occupied by men while the Hyderabad House Family Dining is "family-friendly," or a favorable space for women and children. (Fig. 20) The clean, lighted, decorated interior of Hyderabad House Family Dining is in sharp contrast to the tacky interiors of the original Hyderabad House. (Fig. 21-22) While the latter has tables with a large oil-stained plastic sheet that is mopped with a wet rag as a customer departs, the former has glass-topped table with tablecloths and paper place-settings that are changed after meals. There is no separate prayer space in Hyderabad House. That is because the clientele in the restaurant are often community insiders. Yet as many customer reviews in *Yelp* show, non South Asian Americans often can't read the subtle message in the store names and women end up uncomfortably in the original and "messy" Hyderabad House amongst a room full of working class men. In this particular case, due to the additional fact that most men in Hyderabad House are cabdrivers, the separation of spaces also reflect class distinctions within the community.

Restaurant spaces used by Muslim immigrants along Devon are highly gendered. In the late hours, after the evening dinner customers leave young South Asian Muslim men gather in Daata Darbar restaurant. They hang out, chat and eat late dinners. This restaurant produces opportunities for men in the community to interact with each other outside the boundaries of their private domestic realm. As in the case of the earlier restaurants, a customer's conscious

choice of entering a certain restaurant at a certain time is a reflection of his or her subconscious reiteration of a culturally sanctioned gender-roles and class expectations.

A salient feature of the prayer spaces and family spaces in restaurants described above is its relative illegibility to those who are not practicing members of the congregation (in case of Tahoora) or practicing Muslims (Ghareeb Nawaz). In other words, those customers who are not familiar with Muslim religious practices neither recognize nor acknowledge the presence of these spaces. To an outsider or a tourist, conversant with the exoticized hypervisible ethnic spaces and ethnic enclaves in North America (Chinatown, Little Italy, and even Little India along Devon), the interweaving of domains (marketplace and prayer space in this case) is ideologically incomprehensible. The ontological invisibility of these intertwined spaces is important in the case of Muslims whose legibility and legitimacy in American public realm has been under increased scrutiny, surveillance and misrepresentation since September 11, 2008.[24] During my interviews with the storeowners there was a clear hesitation on the part of the employees to give me their names and identifying details. To these collaborators of their reticence emerges from the negative media images, fear of intrusive government intelligence bodies and a general feeling of vulnerability that recent violent events in Chicago has exacerbated among the local Muslim community.

This very illegibility provides an opportunity for the immigrants to carve out a safe zone for their community within the larger public realm. Despite its religious use, these spaces are in reality bracketed public spaces, more in keeping with the nature of gendered public domains within practicing Muslim communities. Being in these places allow an immigrant to coexist in multiple forms of public spaces.

Relevance: Intertwined Spaces and Relational Visibility

Hannah Arendt, in her discussion of public realm identifies two interrelated phenomena that are necessary for the sustenance of a public. First is the need for visibility, or as Arendt calls it, "appearance."[25] For according to her, our understanding of selves and our identity is intensely related to the existence and visibility of the "other." (50-54) Second, Arendt argues, "the term 'public' signifies the world itself, in so far as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it. ... To live together in the world means essentially that a world of things is between those who have it in common as a table is located between those who sit around it; the world, like every in-between, relates and separates men at the same time."(52) Arendt's public realm exists not simply because of the many perspectives and differences embedded within that realm but also because these differences and perspectival positions are visible and experienced by all. When Arendt mentions visibility, she is not referring to a uniform ability to scrutinize, see and discuss the same reality. Arendt explains that "though the common world is the common meeting ground of all, those who are present have different locations in it, and the location of one can no more coincide with the location of another than the location of two objects. Being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position."[26] Thus the very act of seeing and interpreting the other is dependent on the viewer and his point of view. This "relational visibility" is interactively reproduced when individuals encounter each other in specific locations. A visceral yet differential engagement between people and the public realm ensues.

The notion of public space from the point of view of Arendt is very different from one that assumes commonality and unanimous identification from all. Rather public space takes the form of a ground of political exchange where people sharing a common world also share this common "space of appearance" and where public concerns and issues are articulated and debated from multiple perspectives.[27] Such interactions are not abstract imaginings of a community through national print media as suggested by Benedict Anderson. Rather political engagements of the public realm in the case of Arendt are contextual, performative, interactional and visceral.

The intertwined religious and secular spaces along Devon reproduces a relational visibility that sustain a very different kind of public space than the erstwhile agora and plaza. Here, on the one hand, these spaces sustain multiple publics - various subgroups within the Muslim immigrant community, non-Muslims, South Asians, non South Asians etc. - to participate and see each other. On the other hand, it allows each individual to interpret and recreate these spaces in different (personalized) ways. The configurations of these spaces promote moving in, across and out of these spaces in multiple ways. These movements and experiences reproduce a variety of embodied forms of *being* American, Muslim,

consumer, and ethnic. Civic and the cultural, secular and sacred domains are performatively bridged and crossed.

Intertwining and interweaving of separate domains in a single location occur with increasing frequency in contemporary conditions of trans-culture. The intertwined prayer spaces are what Mary Louise Pratt calls contact zones.[28] As argued by Gupta and Ferguson, a stable isomorphism between place and culture is ruptured when cultures collide and people travel across geographies. [29]This coalescing geography of places and cultural practices, that Amos Rapoport calls "systems of activities and systems of settings," is disrupted, dispersed, and destroyed in the diaspora.[30] Within such frail circumstances the delineation and articulation of social and spatial boundaries become paramount. Boundary maintenance allows individuals to circumscribe a safe in-group area, it allows them to cross the same boundaries and experiment with multiple senses of belonging, and it allows immigrants to manipulate the conditions of liminality to their own advantage. Edges in intertwined spaces maintain the sanctity of the different interweaving domains while at the same time creating flexible conditions by which the boundaries can be transgressed, if necessary.

 When religious and secular spaces, prayer spaces and market places are intertwined then, the boundaries between these spaces are ambiguous. Consider how the embodied act of entering into Tahoora is mediated by its layout. People entering the store immediately see the sales counter and the food display. The long path between the entry and the destination food counters produce habitual and culturally choreographed responses from the users. Moving straight towards the counter is not a separately considered act - that is exactly how one behaves in a food deli. The very act of taking the path to the prayer hall (or prayer space in Ghareeb Nawaz) is an act of religiosity, an intention to pray, and a reiteration of one's Muslim religious identity by customers who are *actively seeking* such spaces. The space between the entrance and the prayer room is an experiential transition space, a boundary between two domains, that Iain Borden calls thick edges that "emerge[s] as not a plane but a zone, not physical but socio-spatial, not a division of things but a negotiation of flows." The seeming innocuous act of walking across an entrance zone and deciding to turn towards the stairs in Tahoora is an embodied act of identity formation and maintenance of allegiances. These quotidian acts of crossing are what Thomas Reed calls "terrestrial crossings." The relative visibility of these intertwined spaces

maintain a delicate balance between multiple coinciding and simultaneous worlds in this neighborhood. In religious studies, the changing nature of transnational forms and practices are encapsulated in Thomas Tweed's spatial metaphors of "crossing and dwelling."[31] According to Tweed the experience of religion is "about finding a place and moving across space, and aquatic metaphors (confluences and flows) signal that religions are not reified substances but complex processes."[32] Individuals "dwell" by mapping, building and inhabiting by drawing boundaries between in-group and out-group. Tweed explains that "[r]eligions are confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and superhuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries."[33] These boundaries, while ambiguous for an outsider, is clear for an insider. For a practicing Muslim, actively crossing a boundary and entering into a prayer space is an act of religiosity, an intention to pray, and a reiteration of one's religious identity. These acts are what Thomas Reed calls "terrestrial crossings." Thomas Tweed's spatial metaphor that the experience of religion is "about finding a place and moving across space, and aquatic metaphors (confluences and flows) signal that religions are not reified substances but complex processes" especially in the case of diasporic populations. Human experiences of crossing domains are, in the words of historian Paul Connerton, "incorporating practices." Incorporating practices are non-representational in nature.[34] They are responses to the environment generated from internalized values, accepted maxims, and customs that are deeply cultural in nature. Incorporating practices are embedded in the taken-for-granted logic that underpins our habitual responses to the ordinary and everyday world around us and our kinesthetic and haptic engagement with that world.[35] Indeed, these everyday, mundane, taken for granted embodied acts - opening a door, bending while entering a room, taking off one's slippers at the threshold, shifting one's gaze, shunning stigmatized spaces - are ways in which individuals experience, interpret and reproduce "secular and sacred" boundaries within intertwined spaces. As a result the role of bodily and performative engagement with the material environment is central to the understanding the reproduction of identity and belonging in a transcultural metropolis.

For a cab driver, to pray publicly in the prayer nook in Ghareeb Nawaz shows how religious identity can be bracketed and performed temporarily even within the secular domain of the market place. Similarly the delineated family spaces in Hyderabad House Family restaurant shows how domestic and

cultural practices of gendered separation can be maintained even while being in a public restaurant. These spaces are not bounded, policed and controlled. They are not separated and zoned. Rather their visual and spatial co-presence within a larger public location provides opportunities for Muslim immigrants to negotiate multiple cultures, practices and identities. If an outsider is not clued into Muslim cultural practices or is not expecting it, he will neither comprehend nor be able to recognize these spaces even if they are right in front of them. Because these spaces are not sequestered behind the walls of residences or specially designed private institutional buildings (e.g. mosques) restaurants such as Ghareeb Nawaz and Tahoora are places where the choice of being Muslim in American can be practiced in public.

Conclusion: New Ethnic Landscapes

Intertwined spaces changes the way we describe ethnic space in the United States. No longer is an ethnic space a site of difference. Instead it is a choreographed experience of difference and boundary crossing.

Over years an urban ethnic retail strip in an American city has become recognizable and identifiable because of its visual and spatial differences. The narrow lots, profusion of signage, cacophony of colors and images, and storefronts, the lack of parking and street litter are all familiar sights of cultural difference that has served as visual cues to recognize ethnic spaces. So are the compact scale of the street, the narrow sidewalks and the one- or two-storied building facades of ethnic retail streets. In some examples, like in Chinatowns, there are additional spatial markers with architectural stylistic features such as pagoda roofs or lantern shaped ornaments. These stereotypical architectural features are often added to excite tourists. Although the visual character of Devon Avenue is not as exotic and touristic as Chinatowns, the cacophony of signage and store signs makes the streetscape like any other "Little Indias" across the country.

Most South Asian storeowners along Devon Avenue occupy buildings that were built in the past by German and Jewish immigrants. [36] Their buildings are neither exceptional nor exotic. Yet these new immigrants use these spaces in deeply embodied and culturally inflected ways thereby recreating a new world in an old setting.[37] They mark their stores and communicate with their customers via signs, banners, pamphlet, and posters.[38] They transform the interiors, sometimes momentarily,

through visual markings, transient behavior, protean performances, and momentary activities. Like linguistic code-switching, by merely changing the signage or altering behavior one transforms the nature and character of these spaces.[39]

This Janus-faced visual character (visibility and invisibility) of the cultural landscape of immigrant Muslims in this neighborhood reproduces two common forms of optical opacity. First, despite substantial South Asian and South Asian Muslims living in this area the general misconception is that the South Asian retail strip is disconnected to the surrounding neighborhood. Scholars write about South Asian storeowners and shoppers visiting Devon from Greater Chicago suburbs or a larger tri-state (Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin) hinterland. Locals often point out that "outsiders" are not as invested in the neighborhood and out-of-towners cause littering and automobile congestions during the day.[40] Much is made of absentee landlords who fail to maintain the apartment buildings along the street lending to the dilapidated looks of the buildings.[41] The daily lived spaces of the local South Asian Muslim residents are rendered invisible.

Second, both scholars and non-scholars see religious spaces used by Muslim immigrants as separate from - if not in opposition to - the secular public domain.[42] Resultantly, the primary lens by which the identity of a Muslim immigrant is construed remains the distinctive frame of religion. Thus most architectural work on Muslim public spaces concentrate on mosques, prayer halls and specially constructed religious buildings.[43] Only a handful of studies consider domestic spaces, housing and workplaces, the privatized domains of home and work.[44] Public spaces such as streets, parks and plazas, or market places are not marked as Islamic, and hence not considered Muslim public space. This reductive logic, that the religious experiences of Muslim immigrants can be distinguished from all other experiences and that the latter is a sole and authentic register of Muslim identity incarcerates, isolates and lumps these immigrants as perpetual "others" in American society. Hermetic separation between ethnic, religious, civic, and secular domains render invisible spaces that perform multiple functions simultaneously. Intertwined spaces such as the restaurants discussed above are not considered as important sites of Muslim cultural landscape by immigration scholars.

This distinction between religious and secular domains is part of a long-standing scholarly tradition emerging from the location of studies in Muslim culture within departments of religion, religious studies or theology. In theological contexts Muslims are seen as having a unified religious identity belonging to a larger transnational *ummah* (peoplehood) composed of Muslims from across the world. To American media and government allegiances to a transnational peoplehood make Muslims suspicious national subjects, whose civic loyalties are mistakenly construed as ambiguous (at best) or seditious (at worst).[45] While this concept of universal peoplehood maybe true in a theological sense it is not exactly true at an individual embodied level. First, how individuals and groups interpret and practice belonging to the *ummah* is certainly not consistent and homogeneous for every individual Muslim immigrant. Muslim identity of immigrants is not uniform and singular. Rather they are fractured by their class, racial, gender, national and occupational backgrounds.[46] Second, being American and being Muslim are neither autochthonous nor independent experiences; they are both performative and interactional, constantly evolving within uniquely local contexts. Finally, recent studies of social groups have shown that coexistence of multiple belongings among immigrants, diasporic populations, and inhabitants of borderlands are common and certainly not a discordant phenomenon. Instead of being universal and global, Brubaker et al show that allegiances, identity, belonging and values are often contextually determined.[47] Individuals can, and do, hold multiple identities and yet display unimpeachable national loyalty. In a transcultural city, protean identities are neither inconsistent nor contradictory but are indeed increasingly the norm. Therefore it should be no surprise to find someone identifying with the *ummah* while praying or celebrating Ramadan, being a modern cosmopolitan consumer while shopping, while also being civic minded during elections. This study of physical settings of restaurants that act as community spaces, market places, as well as prayer spaces serves as a perfect case studies to see *where and how* complex identifications are performed and reproduced in everyday life. It is also a perfect example of how intertwined spatial configurations can sustain complex and transcultural identities (specifically religious and secular in nature) of Muslim immigrants.

Endnotes

1   The area of this study is very diverse. According to the 2000 census, this area has 49.7% white residents, 6.78% black, 15.5% Hispanic, 22.3% Asians and 5.65% counted as "others."

2   The concept originated from Amie Zander, now the Executive Director of the Chamber of Commerce. She thought of it around 2005 when she began work in the organization. Soon local organizations and bodies came on board and the idea became popular.

3   Ishan Ashutosh, "Re-Creating the Community: South Asian Transnationalism on Chicago's Devon Avenue," *Urban Geography* 29, (April 1-May 15, 2008), 224-245.

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4   Archer, Jacque Day and Jamie Wirsbinski Santoro. *Images of America: Roger's Park*. (Arcadia Publishing, 2007).

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5   Irving Cutler, *The Jews of Chicago: From Shtetl to Suburb*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996)

    Adam Langer, *Crossing California*, (New Yzork: Riverbed Press, Penguin Group, 2005)

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[11]   Interview with GB/5/09; AZ/2/09, MH/2/09

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21 Bender and Smith, "Religious Innovations," 76.

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Edward Said shows us that the biased media depiction of Muslims is part of a longer historical discourse of Orientalism. Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Concept of the Orient*, (Routledge, 1980).

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27 Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zunigais (editors) *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*,(New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2003).

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28 Pratt defines contact zones as spaces where multiple social constituencies meet, interact and engage with each other often within unequal power relations.

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30 Amos Rapoport, "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study,* ed. Susan Kent (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9-20.

31 Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion*, (Boston: Harvard, 2008).

32 Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling,* 59

33 Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling,* 54

34 Historian Paul Connerton points out that multisensory bodily engagements produce incorporating practices. These practices are embodied, learned, and incorporated into our daily practices, often unintentionally. According to Connerton, "Bodily practices of a culturally specific kind, entail a combination of cognitive and habit-memory. The appropriate performance of the movements contained in the repertoire of the group not only reminds the performers of systems of classification which the group holds to be important; it requires also the exercise of habit-memory. In the performances explicit classifications and maxims tend to be taken for granted to the extent that they have been remembered as habits. Indeed, it is precisely because what is performed is something to which the performers are habituated that the cognitive content of what the group remembers in common exercises such persuasive and persistent force." Paul Connerton, "Bodily Practices," in *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 88.

35 Maurice Merleau Ponty shows us that the corporeality of the body frames and determines our experience and nature of engagement with the external world. Ponty's formulation shows us that the tactile and sensory engagement with the material world is central to the way we exist and make sense of our world. In that, the way we situate ourselves is not merely a cognitive act described by speech and language but an embodied experience that depends on the nature of our engagement with the material world. Maurice Merleau-Ponty, "Part 1: The Body," in *Phenomenology of Perception,* trans. Colin Smith (New York: Routledge, 1995), 207-42.

36 Recently however, (since 2008) newer buildings built by second generations South Asian entrepreneurs and developers have started reinventing the visual and physical fabric of the street with distinct architectural styles. Stores such as Sahil Boutique, Raj Jewels, Tahoora, and Patel Brothers have opulently redone their building exterior and interiors.

37 Since the buildings used by South Asian immigrants are not built by them, traditional forms of architectural scholarship focusing on immigrant building practices, diffusion of architectural styles and craftsmanship fail to do justice to the world of South Asian Muslim immigrants on Devon Avenue.

38 Arijit Sen, "From Curry Mahals to Chaat Cafes: Spatialities of the South Asian Culinary Landscape" In *Curried Cultures* Tulasi Srinivasan and Krishnendu Ray Editors. (Berkeley: University of California Press, In Press, 2011)

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39 Unlike the retail spaces the visual quality of homes and residences of immigrants are not distinguishable. Much of the neighborhood south of the street are populated by bungalows between 1920s and 1930s. These single story brick buildings with rounded or polygonal front bays and corner or side entrances once catered to the white collared middle class and few working class families moving out of the city. The uniformity and fixed setbacks of these buildings reflected a homogeneity that erased cultural and ethnic differences, emphasizing the ethos of homeownership and assimilation. It is now a mixed neighborhood of primarily middle and upper class anglo residents. The ethnicity of residents can't be discerned from outside or from the architectural features of the bungalows. Occasional personalization of marking on the door or window may give us some information about the residents, but not enough to mark these spaces culturally. In the same way, the prayer spaces in the restaurants described above are difficult to discern.

40 Parking is a huge and highly contested issue here. A community meeting arranged by the South Asian American Policy Research Institute on June 19, 2008, and December 14, 2008, brought together local residents, storeowners and other stakeholders in 2008. Group discussions during the meeting identified parking as the most divisive issue for the community. Also cited in Kalayil et al., *Developing Devon*, 22-23

41 Interviews, "The Devon Avenue Needs Assessment: A Smart Growth Strategy," workshop organized by West Rogers Park Community Organization and SAAPRI on Thursday, June 19, 2008, 7:00 pm–9:00 pm at the Indo American Community Center, 6328 N. California Avenue, Chicago.

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Aminah Mohammed- Arif, *Salaam America: South Asians in New York*, (London: Anthem Press, 2002).

43 A. Lotfi, "Creating Muslim space in the USA: Masajids and Islamic Centers," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 12 (2, 2001), 235-254.

Ihsan Bagby; Paul M. Perl, and Bryan T. Froehle, The Mosque in America: A National Portrait: A Report from the Mosque Study Project (Washington, DC, Council on American-Islamic Relations, 2001), 3.

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44 Karen Leonard, *Locating Home: India's Hyderabadis Abroad*, (Stanford University Press, 2007).

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[46] Karen Leonard, *Muslims in the United States: The State of Research*, (New York: Russell Sage 2003).

[47] Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea, *Nationalist Politics and EverydaywEthnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

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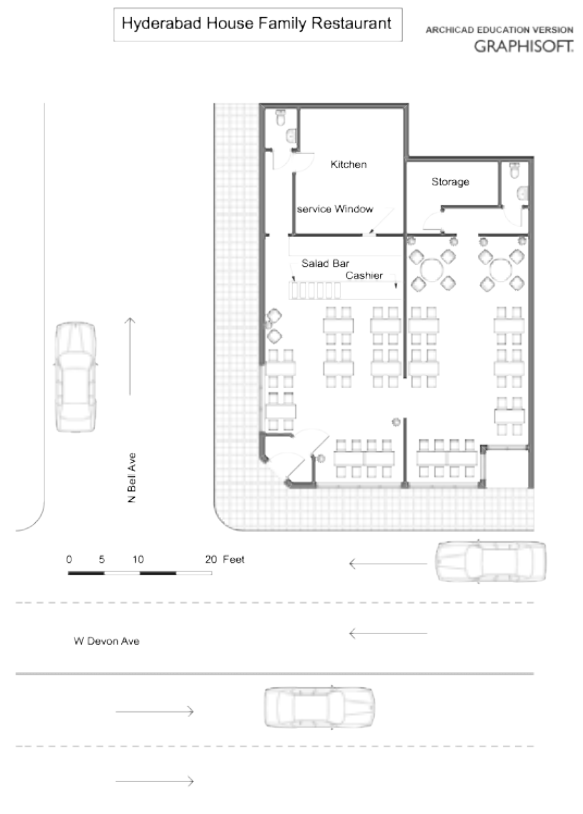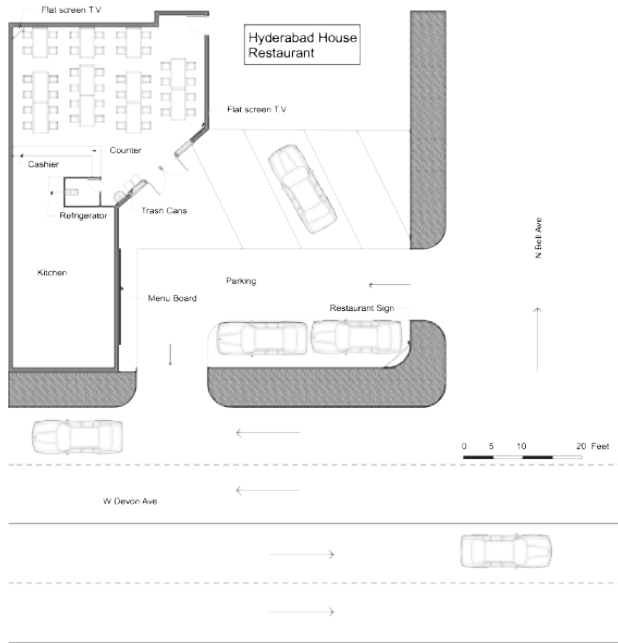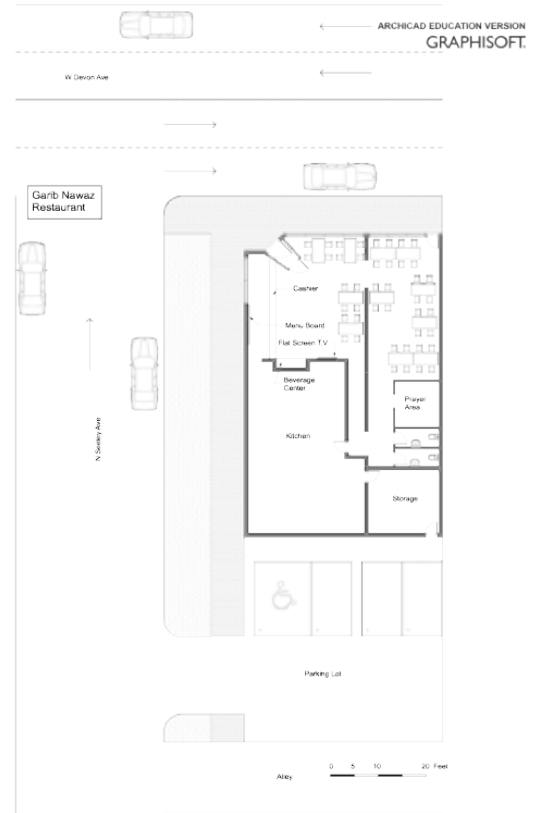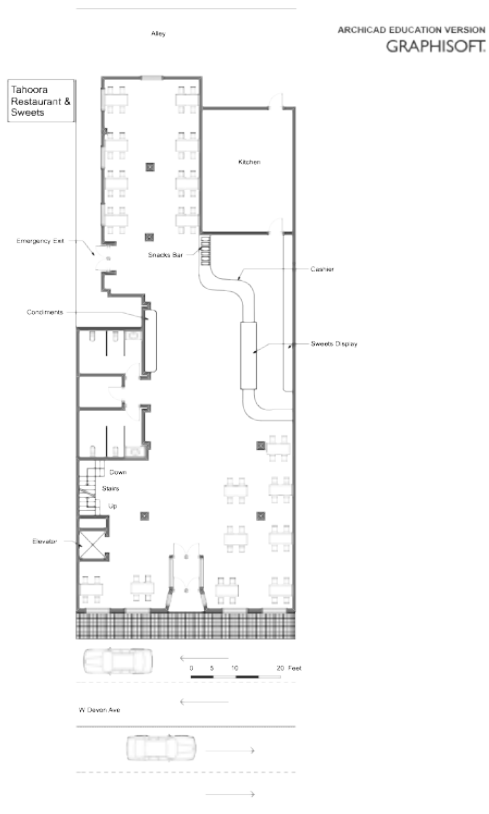
Figure 1

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Figure 4

The Korean Diaspora in Philippine Cities - Amalgamation or Invasion?

José Edgardo Abaya Gomez, Jr.

ABSTRACT: In Philippine urban centers like Metropolitan Manila, Baguio City, Angeles, and Davao, it is not uncommon to hear locals exclaim how "the Koreans are taking over!" with a mix of grim-faced guardedness or cheerful resignation. For over a decade now, a steady stream of students and small entrepreneurs has been flowing in from South Korea, and has introduced visible and not always well-integrated changes in the city fabric. This is a significant transcultural phenomenon, as a more rigid culture of Northeast Asians attempts to plant itself in a more relaxed Southeast Asian culture influenced strongly by Spanish/Latino-American and North American attitudes. Urban changes manifest in the form of corner groceries, evangelical churches, and English language schools catering to Koreans. Philippine urban society, on the other hand, typically remains open to such waves of foreigners, especially because many bring in hard cash, and long-term investments—even if the visitors have not always behaved like guests. Moreover, it should be noted that transcultural communication is inadvertently at the heart of this process, as Koreans often come to the Philippines to learn English, a language which Filipinos themselves absorbed, albeit imperfectly, under colonial rule by the United States. This paper describes this phenomenon, by looking at physical changes in the urban areas, as well as attitudes and policies that lie beneath this meeting of cultures.

Introduction, Scope, and Methodology

In major Philippine urban centers like Metropolitan Manila, Baguio City, Angeles, Dumaguete, and Davao, it is not uncommon to hear the locals exclaim how "*the Koreans are taking over!*" with a mix of grim-faced guardedness or cheerful resignation. For over a decade now, a steady stream of students and small entrepreneurs has been flowing in from the Republic of Korea [South Korea, hence], and has introduced visible and not always well-integrated changes in the city fabric. If only because of the proliferation of commercial signs written in Hangul popping up in the most unlikely street corners and lower-end neighborhoods, that are of course unintelligible to the mass of Filipinos, the Korean population is making its presence abundantly palpable. This is a significant transcultural phenomenon, as a more disciplined culture of Northeast Asians attempts to plant itself in a historically more relaxed Southeast Asian culture influenced strongly by

Spanish/Latino-American and North American attitudes. The urban changes are noticeably manifested in the form of corner groceries, evangelical churches, travel agencies, and English language schools catering to Koreans. Even odder to the host culture is the fact that Koreans are actually staying for years at a time—despite the numerous perceived inefficiencies and travails presented by developing cities. For instance, with the recent hostage fiasco that involved the fatal shooting of eight Hongkong tourists last August 2010, Metro Manila once again became known for the risks it poses to foreigners. Yet Koreans are to be found setting up shop far from the luxurious gated communities used by other expatriates, simply brushing aside the inconveniences of smog, potholed streets, muggers, and occasional extortion by wayward cops. Moreover, it should be noted that transcultural communication is inadvertently at the heart of this process, as Koreans often come to the Philippines to learn English, a language which the Filipinos themselves absorbed, albeit imperfectly, under colonial rule by the United States. The locals wonder why the Koreans, who are perceived to be able to afford migration directly to America, choose to settle in the Philippines. Yet the urban society remains open to such waves of foreigners, especially because many bring in hard cash, and long-term investments—even if the visitors have not always behaved like guests. This paper seeks to take a snapshot of this phenomenon, by looking at both the apparent physical changes in the urban areas, as well as the possible attitudes and policies that lie beneath this intermingling of cultures.

Globalization and international migration in and around Asia

Although international migration has a long history in Asia, it has acquired an unprecedented scale, diversity, and significance, as the voluntary or forced movement of both skilled and unskilled labor has significant impacts on both the sending and receiving states (Hugo, 2005); these latter having been caught in the wave of economic liberalization and global change that enriches some and socially excludes others (Beall, 2002). This has resulted in growth of expatriate employment for developed countries like South Korea, as well as a massive brain drain from developing countries like the Philippines, which exports, and relies on the remittances of nearly 10% of its population who serve overseas. Such movements of people can also be internal to a single state across a wide national area, such as in Indonesia, where mobile upper classes have formed layers of inter-island migrants across the archipelago (Vick-

ers, 2004). Or between close neighbors, like the states of the Korean peninsula and Japan, the latter distinguishing between the *kitachosen* from North Korea, and the *kankoku* from South Korea, who, like other migrants, have few practical opportunities for full integration (Haines et al, 2007). Acceptance by host states is of course controlled in the form of policies, such as in Singapore, which is highly selective of its emigrants, in contrast to the elaborate cultural mediation that it provides for tourists (Hugo, 2005, Ooi, 2001). Another example is in Australia, where "calculated exoticness" of Chinatowns is a management strategy of local governments for maintaining pluralism and integrating foreigners from adjacent Asia (Ip, 2005). Such migration in Asia is characterized by [1] the dominant role of contract labor migration, [2] recruitment and placement left largely in the hands of commercially-motivated agencies, [3] active promotion by the governments of sending countries, even if there are far more people seeking to emigrate than there are destination states to accept them; this is not even to mention the accompanying risks of information deficiencies, poor employment conditions, and abuses (Abella, 2005). Ultimately, according to Friedman et al (1997), the impacts of such foreign migration are experienced at the local level, to which local and national governments must eventually respond.

Multiple Transitioning Cultures in the City, and the Use of Space

The term *transcultural* connotes change or movement across or beyond a prevailing state of culture, possibly driven by the arrival of external influences. Such influences, as brought about by migrants or transients, may be absorbed into a largely homogenous recipient culture, or result in a more multicultural setting—which may or may not be harmonious, and which is becoming more commonplace in a globalizing world. Qadeer (1997) argues that policy makers and urban planners addressing such realities need to hold standards up to the light of different social values and recognize the legitimacy of ethnic neigborhoods that form a mosaic (e.g. Canada since the 1971 Trudeau doctrine), rather than a melting pot (e.g. the United States, historically), where planners understand their profession as a response to urban conditions wrought by immigration (Vitello, 2009). Qadeer (1997) adds, "old residents come calling on planning institutions to protect their interests. The new arrivals seek fair treatment and accommodation of their needs and preferences", such that this may result in multilingual signage and more access to a range of housing choices. This attempt to institutionalize multiculturalism is inherent

to the way cities assemble identity and generate difference, which may be recognized, encouraged, or otherwise tolerated, depending on the stance of government, and which may conceal underlying tensions (Uitermark et al, 2005, Rex and Singh, 2003). The maintenance of immigrants' cultural identity is often accompanied by the formation of what Funkhouser (2000) calls a primary enclave with dense geographic concentrations of immigrants, where an enclave economy is formed out of the synergistic relationship between a given ethnic group and a sector-specific economic structure, such as the successful Korean businesses in Los Angeles, which employed some 80% of its laborers from within the community in the 1980s (Kaplan, 1997). In the literature, the ethnic enclave is a voluntary grouping as opposed to a ghetto, which is often an imposed segregation in a certain part of the city (Varady, 2005). As this ethnic, "stepping-stone" economy matures, immigrants or younger generations disperse into secondary enclaves farther away from the core (Funkhouser, 2000, Kaplan, 1997), especially when they are no longer limited by language barriers and other constraints on leisure (Scott, 2006). In one past example in the west, natural decline of white populations permits ecological succession by more numerous and expanding migrant populations (Aldrich et al, 1989).

The phenomenon of cultural intermingling speaks to several issues about the appropriation and definition of space. Rahder and Milgrom (2004) assert that global mobility makes cities more socially and culturally diverse—a process with no end in sight, that results in the *uncertain city*, where all solutions are partial and temporary, often the result of planners working with others. This unfinished, even disorderly quality, seemingly antithetical to western planning approaches that regulate urban space, can be seen as a manifestation of democratic processes that allow varying forms of public address, to which people react differently, depending on their understanding of local norms (Staeheli, 2010). In the oriental context, this could be interpreted as a reaction to the state's monopoly of cultural space, and a movement towards decoupling of culture, nation, and government. It is precisely this contestation of space by different groups that challenges national identities, and brings into play groups at the center and periphery of a given society (Tiryakian, 2003). Yet at the same time, a globalizing state that pays lip service to the ideas of equity and social justice must work towards ensuring what Parnell and Pieterse (2010) call "the right to the city", especially for the poor and marginalized—which takes

a strange twist in this case, as the Korean visitors are rarely penniless, and certainly do not remain at the margins of Philippine communities for too long, while their neighbors may remain mired in abject poverty. Urban spaces, in summary, become constitutive elements of the reproduction of the social—they inform actions of inhabitants, but are also outcomes of actions, and no other institution but the state is constructed and equipped to shape both the space and the activities therein in such a definitive manner (Zierhofer, 2005).

Push & Pull Factors: Korean Aspects

South Korean society is changing with the world around it. The ever-present threat of invasion from the north, plus a gush of refugees and defectors, has burdened an otherwise robust economy. Unemployment is among the lowest in the region, but structurally makes it difficult to find a job for workers over 50, fresh university graduates, women in general, and the handicapped. Employment is often cornered by vast networks of Koreans with shared regional origin or university affiliation (Bidet, 2009). At the same time, in the last decade, there has been increasing acceptability for Korean men, particularly never-married rural bachelors and divorcees, to marry a foreign woman (Yean-Ju Lee et al, 2006). Coupled with the proliferation of cheap airlines in the region, Koreans, like the Japanese and Chinese, are ranging far and wide to find work and spouses. Simultaneously, the United States has been declining as a destination-of-choice for Koreans, with Canada representing a multiculturally-friendly alternative (Han and Ibbott, 2005). This is possibly because Korean immigrants to the U.S. have cited higher levels of job discrimination, owing to language difficulties (Gee & Ponce, 2010), and have been documented to come into conflict with Blacks and Hispanics (Pyong Gap Min, 2007). Meanwhile, countries of Southeast Asia offer accessible options, with the Philippine islands apparently regarded as a viable alternative site for affordable quality education and acquisition of functional anglophone skills.

The seminal work by Miralao (2007) explains that the despite the increasing number of Koreans that has arrived in the Philippines since the 1990s, the phenomenon is largely temporary, as in the case of students and tourists. On the other hand, Miralao explains that unlike Korean diasporas to other countries in the past (i.e. soon after World War II), the waves of Koreans to the Philippines are the result of prosperity at home during the last decade, that drives business and networks to expand outwards, especially where cheap labor markets for Korean companies and the opportunity to learn English coincide.

Historical and Urban Profile: The Philippines

The archipelago that makes up the Philippine Republic has historically been passed over by the great civilizations and religions of Asia, though records from China indicate that their mariners did visit the islands, on their way to lucrative markets in the Moluccas (Indonesia). Arab and Japanese traders were also known to have sojourned here. By the time Spanish conquistadors returned in 1565 to claim the islands that Ferdinand Magellan had first set foot upon in 1521, Islam and traces of Hinduism mixed with indigenous shamanism had only footholds in central and northern settlements, allowing Spanish soldiers and missionaries to quickly colonize the majority of the islanders with Hispanic culture. Corpuz (2005) as well as other Filipino historians assert that it was rather because of the markets created by Spaniards that the Chinese, and to a lesser extent, the Japanese, began to arrive in droves to settle and integrate into native society, bringing the colony into the economic web of Asia. By 1898, Spain had ceded the Philippines to the United States, a new colonizer who began a process of "benevolent assimilation" that led to government reforms, territorial consolidation, public works, and most significantly, public education with English as medium of instruction. Given this European-American legacy, the Philippines emerged as an independent state in 1946, and began forming its own ties with other Asian states in the diplomatic, sociopolitical, and economic realms. As a nation, Filipinos arguably lie at the edge of the oriental, mixed with occidental influences, which has placed them in a position to exploit their ties with the U.S., but which has also left them still struggling to forge a unique identity in the Asian region, where their more open culture contrasts to inward-looking states like Myanmar or Laos.

Not all Philippine cities are like Metro Manila, the primate national capital region of some 11.5 million inhabitants (2007 Philippine Census), which commands the lion's share of wealth, education, and entertainment, while remaining fraught with urban ills and tourist traps. Quite to the contrary, other urban areas offer both tranquility and diversity (Baguio), idyllic coastal settings (Dumaguete), and crime-free streets (Davao), making them potent alternatives for immigrants wishing to settle down permanently in the laid-back tropics. Over 50% of settlements are coastal, mostly sited on western

shores, away from the battering Pacific Ocean to the east. Town layouts traditionally consist of an old plaza of Hispanic provenance, surrounded by residences of elite families and government buildings. Around this core, modern buildings and roads have sprawled in ribbon or grid patterns. These cities have been undergoing urban renewal fueled by powerful real estate developers with political connections, or bankrolled by Chinese magnates and the smaller number of Filipino industrial giants. The result, in recent years, has been the proliferation of modern concrete-&-steel commercial centers and residences that are not affordable to most citizens, but that offer excellent living conditions for wealthy foreigners.

Context: International Relations and Sociopolitical Drivers of the Korean Wave

Fieldwork for this research provoked the question, "are there directed national policies or laws pushing or pulling the waves of Koreans to Philippine shores?" Apparently not, as explained by the Director for the Northeast Asia Division of the Philippines' Department of Foreign Affairs. General policies on giving tax holidays to investors prevailed for all states having diplomatic relations with the Philippines. However, what did surface often enough to merit attention in terms of high-level bilateral diplomacy were two elements: First there is the importance that older Koreans accorded to the Philippine Expeditionary Forces to Korea (PEFTOK) which fought as part of the United Nations when the Korean War broke out in 1950. This sentiment has added a distinct strength to South Korean-Philippine relations. Second, there is the possibility of a North Korean attack, with Seoul lying within striking distance of missiles from Pyongyang, and hinting at the Philippines as a remote alternative refuge, next to Japan and Taiwan. At present, there are talks at the inter-ministry level to provide Koreans with pre-departure briefing before they leave South Korea, and more police protection upon their arrival in the Philippines, given the increased economic opportunities, but also given the rise in organized crime targeting South Korean nationals. It should be noted that interviewees consistently emphasized that "not all Koreans are rich," or capable of sending their children directly to the U.S. or Canada to study. Ergo, the Philippines has become a viable fallback for those middle-class citizens who aspire to keep their children competitive by having them learn English, but within their limited means. This last note hints at a larger transcultural phenomenon, that perhaps integrates the Philippines as a "stepping stone" for Koreans who learn English enroute to their eventual self-im-

plantation in western cultures. Ergo, the object of transcultural learning, is ironically a more geographically remote state, like the U.S., which has left enough of its imprint and influence in key cities of its former colony for the Koreans to seek out.

Moreover, on the Philippine side, the Department of Tourism has a program for enticing foreigners to retire in the archipelago. From the records of the same government office, Korean tourist arrivals have surpassed Americans in 2006 to become the number 1 in the Philippines, with approximately 936,000 in 2010, up from half a million in mid-decade. As for residents, there are already some 115,000 Koreans around, according to figures from the Bureau of Immigration—this is up from a 2001 estimate of 24,618 (Kutsumi, 2004). It should be noted however, that some Koreans who enter the country with a tourist visa do not actually intend to depart immediately, but find their way into the network of dormitories and enclaves that will be discussed in the next section.

Realities on the Ground
Urban Spaces – Typical Korean Blocks

"Koreanization" has been observed in at least three distinct kinds of urban spaces: residential neighborhoods, university districts, and non-Central Business District (CBD) commercial areas. In most cases, the Korean establishments are identifiable by the distinctive signage in Hangul script, hanging or standing ornamentation that portray the *Taeguk*[1] or the *Sam-Taeguk*[2], and modern boxlike buildings embellished with colorful signs. In the first instance, Koreans become visible in residential neighborhoods when they begin to cluster along a street, and little signs in Hangul begin appearing on the mailbox or fence. The definitive proof comes however, when relatively large residential houses (upward of 300 square meters) that are rented in gated subdivisions, are converted into informal dormitories, where racks for shoes and slippers at the doorway can be glimpsed by Filipinos (the latter who remain calced indoors). A similar phenomenon takes place in the vicinity of universities, where several floors of high-rise apartment buildings within a 3 kilometer radius of the university have been occupied by Korean students, who are sometimes distinguished by the way they dress, and have been observed to study up to late at night. The commercial spaces on the ground floors of such buildings soon start catering to Korean clientele. As for other formal business areas, it is not uncommon to see a neighborhood street with an interspersion of Korean groceries and restaurants, Internet cafés and small shops selling sundry

items that only Koreans patronize. These establishments with commercial signage that are located along main streets and in formal business districts generally have English signs as well, as they are frequented by Filipinos and other foreigners.

Their process of settlement also seems to follow a pattern. After pioneer establishments take root, succeeding waves of Koreans tend to cluster together, but seldom—and this makes them noticeable, in the larger formal commercial districts where the stores of wealthy locals and Filipino-Chinese tycoons already dominate. Formerly sleepy corners or streets along middle-to-lower class districts sprout Korean English-tutorial schools, travel agencies, evangelical churches, groceries, massage parlors and restaurants, roughly in that order during the last decade. In spatial terms, the density of Korean establishments that line a community road varies from 1 per 200 meters (in Barangay[3] Holy Spirit, Quezon City, Metro Manila) to 1 per 30 meters (along Aguirre Avenue in BF Homes Subdivision, Parañaque, Metro Manila). Below these densities, they would probably not be any more noticeable than other foreign establishments mixed in with local buildings. Above these densities, they would make up a "Korean Town", which surprisingly, has not yet happened either, at least in Metro Manila—but has already taken place an hour's drive to the north, in Angeles City, where a kilometer long street has been thoroughly *Koreanized* on both sides, with scarcely a Filipino business or residence to be seen. This latter phenomenon can be observed in a neighborhood beside the former Clark Air Base, which once catered to U.S. military personnel.

Urban Voices – Koreans Share Their Experiences

The stories of both the visitors and the hosts help to illuminate the human motivations behind the urban manifestations of Korea. One M.S. Kim, who has lived in Metro Manila since 2003 explained how her children had wanted to learn English, and that she had heard that life in the Philippines was much less stressful than in Korea, where she claimed that highschool children got only 5 hours of sleep because of the heavy study load. So she came with her husband to Metro Manila, armed with a smattering of classroom English, rented a house, and soon set up an informal dormitory-cum-school where the children of other Koreans could learn English. It took her only 3 months to adjust, though she confessed that she has no business with Filipinos at all, after she had heard stories of how locals swindle hapless Koreans. She ventured to say that many Korean pioneers follow the same pattern: they set up

shop in the Philippines, where operating costs are cheaper, but cater exclusively to Korean clientele, with whom bonds of trust are extremely strong, so that even families back in Korea send their elementary school children to dormitories run by their friends in the Philippines. The ones who set up thriving businesses like groceries or restaurants are usually Korean men with Filipino wives who help their husbands get through the local bureaucracy and establish rapport with the locals. One of her memorable cultural shocks happened when the couple hired laborers to do some house renovations till evening time; this being not an unusual practice in South Korea. An irate neighbor stormed their gate, holding his shotgun and demanding that they stop the din. She related: "my husband had never seen a shotgun before!" (and neither had he ever been threatened with one). From this, they learned that the noise of work was verboten after sunset. However, they find it strange that their Filipino neighbors can stay up all night partying and singing English pop-songs with the karaoke, without caring about dormant neighbors. The couple's daughter, S.H.Song, was more positive, and said that she got along well with Filipino friends in a private highschool.

Another "survivor" is Mrs. K.S.Ryung, who together with her husband, work as pastors of Yoido Full Gospel Church, doing missionary work in Bulacan province, immediately north of Metro Manila. Following a routine similar to other Koreans, they got settled with the help of a contact of her husband, who had resided in the Philippines for some years. Over the last half-decade, the couple has constructed 10 churches, and has penetrated the poorest neighborhoods where they soon won a large following, as their feeding programs have provided hot meals for up to 900 children twice a week—all paid for with Korean money. In contrast to other Koreans, Mrs. Soon Ryung and her husband say "we have many local friends", and foresee themselves staying much longer, to consolidate the gains of Protestant proselytization, though their two teenage children will be eventually be sent to the United States for university.

Another older student, D. Hun Park, about to finish his Master's Degree in Special Education, also came to the Philippines about seven years ago, first to learn English. D.HunPark was from rural Koeje-si in the south of the peninsula, and although he had Korean friends who helped him adjust upon his arrival, he was not well advised, and enrolled in a school of the less-privileged classes, where the students spoke English poorly and spent their after-school hours "drinking and hang-

ing around". He stayed in a Korean-run dormitory, until he had sufficiently adapted, and could live alone. Yet another entrepreneur, Mr. L.D.Choul, married a local, and tried to run a *Norebang,* or karaoke business in Pasay, in central Metro Manila, but folded it up after three years, as he claimed that he was being harassed by the authorities. In 2009, he moved on to try his luck in Subic Bay, the former U.S.Naval Station northwest of the capital, which has been transformed into an economic zone with special incentives for foreign investors.

The patterns reveal some similarities: the chain begins with a pioneer, who invites other Koreans to settle. Whether their interest is entrepreneurial or religious, the Koreans all need to learn to communicate locally, and English becomes the idiom of choice. This is where the transcultural process begins—a local English instructor is sought out, and the relationship develops, depending on how personable the parties behave towards one another.

Urban Voices - Filipinos Ride the Korean Wave

Logically, Filipinos who were asked frequently began their dealings with Koreans because of the latter's search for English tutors. Koreans were perceived as paying "modest" to "low" sums of money, ranging from 200-400 pesos (US$4 to US$8) per hour of tutoring, but the income was easy to obtain, informal—hence untaxed, and the Koreans would throw in some perks like food and gifts on the side, after a good working relationship had developed, as in the case of one Mrs. M. Oliva, who has become "like family" to her Korean tutees after 7 years of interacting with them. She remarked that she was the one who learned their ways, such as how to eat and spice their noodles, how to get value-for-money out of work hours, and how to keep the anteroom clean (free of shoeprints).

On the other hand, there are Filipinos like Ms. K. Suñega, who did not form any long-term close relationship with her employer. She found a "sideline" by working for a Korean named L.S.Soon, who operated an on-line tutorial center for Korean elementary children. Mrs. Suñega prepared booklets and manuals similar to TOEFL[4] reviewers, for a good wage of ₱100 ($3) per hour of writing. Most of the operations were conducted at night, in a largely-vacant building in the Ortigas business district of Metro Manila. The author visited the nondescript premises, covered with dust and loose wiring on the outside, but with state-of-the-art workstations inside a cramped air-conditioned room, where Filipino tutors would sit in front

of screens, coaxing bored-looking Korean schoolchildren to pronounce English words. The setup was lucrative for the Filipinos, but quite taxing, and eventually Ms. Suñega left to take on other jobs, though she had by then won the trust of her Korean employer, who occasionally asked her for advice on such matters as setting up a "summer camp" for Korean children.

Blue collar workers however, have complained that Korean masters are harsh, and have been known to yell at their maidservants, or deduct from the latter's wages for the tithes of the Koreans' congregations. The author has witnessed this in the commercial areas, where Korean businessmen keep a close eye over carpenters, plumbers, and other day-laborers, with the Koreans fretting continuously until the tasks are done exactly as they envisioned the finish product.

Analysis and Discussion

One cannot resist a bio-ecological analogy here: the Korean arrivals can be likened to a hardy plant that sinks roots into soft rock already overlain by moss and lichens (i.e. Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, American), and persists in spreading its layer over the earlier sheaths. The Koreans appear to favor more commensal than symbiotic relationships with Filipino hosts, as they set up economic activity that is a direct extension of their home economy, and that caters to Korean needs and tastes. Moreover, adults are averse to mixing with the locals—the exception invariably being Korean men who have married Filipina women and set up businesses locally. After English has been learned, they move on to continue studies or find jobs back in South Korea, or in North America. Even missionary work is an offshoot of economic forces, as churches would come initially to minister to Korean congregants, and then venture to convert the locals.

There are at least two ways to look at this: the first is to lean towards the conclusion that there is actually very little in the way of transcultural exchange taking place on the ground, as the sample of Koreans interviewed—without exception, admitted that beyond the necessities of learning English, obtaining household services and government permits, they and their countrymen eschew mixing on a personal level with the locals. Direct evidence of Koreans learning Filipino language and mingling has been observed by the author only among students in the university, but even then, Korean students tend to cluster together, and stand out because of their sense of fashion: hair dyed in shades of brown, workshirts worn

unbuttoned over T-shirts, and long socks. Some Filipinos, on the other hand, have developed a taste for *japchae* glass noodles, and follow dubbed *koreanovelas* (TV soap operas) like *Oh Feel Young, Queen Seon Dok* and *My Name is Kim Sam Soon* . These limited exchanges of ideas, tastes, or artifacts have taken place over the duration of the Korean sojourn, as the races learn from one another, inadvertently absorbing values, attitudes, and ideas that transform them, or that they carry with them long after Koreans and Filipinos have parted ways.

The second, simultaneous way to interpret the phenomenon is to realize that this Korean wave is a manifestation of larger (supra-national) transcultural processes, in which the Philippine state and society plays its historical role as a bridge between east and west. The targeted social milieu that Koreans would like to access is western civilization, embodied by countries like the United States or Canada, which promise a degree of prestige, not to mention high-paying jobs or excellent education. It makes sense, therefore, to obtain a foretaste of the west in the Philippines, especially because cost of living is lower, so that middle-class Koreans can thrive here luxuriously. Ironically, the urban manifestation is an enclave, consisting of dormitories where successive families or batches of Korean youngsters spend up to a decade of their lives learning a foreign language-once-removed. It will however, take another study to trace whether or not this strategy actually facilitates integration of the Koreans into western neighborhoods or under western employers, after they leave the Philippines for good.

At the most impersonal level, there is economic gain for Filipinos, specifically in lower-income neighborhoods where the surge in direct cash transactions has an immediate impact on the poverty of residents. While the Koreans are around—for at least four years (the time needed to get a degree), they contribute to the local markets by spending for their daily needs. This is in addition to bilateral development aid, and high-level investments, such as the location of an overseas headquarters of Hanjin Shipping in Subic Bay, a former military base of the U.S. Navy.

From an urban planning and development perspective, the Korean "invasion" is a positive force that drives renewal and new construction, which would otherwise be unaffordable to many local residents. This is, however, unplanned or loosely regulated by local authorities. Neighborhoods, after all, turn into Korean quarters incrementally, and officials at

city hall rarely find the time to make the rounds to check on urban design and inter-functionality with pre-existing structures and activities. Apparently, there is little competition among the Koreans themselves, as the Philippines cities lie like open fields for them to settle in, with enough space for coexistence of several English schools, travel agencies, mini-marts, and so on. However, when enough of them occupy a neighborhood, like in Parañaque City (Metro Manila), or Angeles City (Pampanga Province) the business atmosphere becomes clearly competitive, with signs in loud colors jostling to dominate the pedestrians' field of vision.

What remains questionable from a longer-term social planning and governance perspective is the de facto creation of an "alien" space that is unintelligible to locals—specifically rows of street signs inscribed in Hangul. Local ordinances still fail to address this, with politicians blithely ignoring the phenomenon as a non-issue, as long as the Koreans, like the Chinese with their *Hanzi* script in Chinatown, pay up. Related to this is the issue of social intermingling. Both Filipinos and Koreans will admit that the integration of the latter into Philippine urban society is slow, at best, as the latter generally do not mix with the locals except on a functional basis. While interracial understanding may improve over time, the present manifestation of the separation is the proliferation of ethnic enclaves in the metropolis.

Deconstructing Cultural Stereotypes: A Case for Korean and Filipino Integration

While it cannot be disputed that South Koreans in general appear to be more driven, hierarchical, and stubborn (Rhie, 2002) than their Filipino counterparts, the ability of the former to thrive under Philippine urban conditions suggests that they may at least share some traits or tolerances that enable them to find niches in the host society. Aubrey (2009) posits a list of Korean traits (as he opposes to Japanese), that resonate partially with local dispositions: a preference for full-flavored food, value given to speed and function, and getting things done with little heed to detail, public places that remain unclean, and adherence to Christianity. The reality of corruption is not unknown to Koreans either, as both countries have experienced high-level government corruption, though they lie some 15 ranks apart on Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index. The difference is perhaps in the more historically effective strategies of South Korea to curb corruption in government, which has been characterized

by its determined-environmental strategy, whereby public pressure and non-institutional means have been used to discourage corruption (Rahman,1986). It is perhaps also because of the combination of Filipinos' hospitality—or need for income, and the South Koreans' determination to learn and succeed that partnerships of convenience are engendered, despite the less convenient environs in many Philippine cities, not to mention floods, power outages, traffic, and other urban ills that affect local and foreigner alike.

Conclusion and Looking Ahead

The Korean presence in the Philippines is still growing, though it remains to be seen how and when the energy of population migration will exhaust itself finally, especially because it is driven by economic incentives offered by western developed countries, for which command of the English language becomes a necessary transcultural means of access. As economic fortunes rise and fall on a personal and a countywide level, and as international forces and priorities change, so will cities and their populations. In the meantime, local interaction continues at a modest pace, while Koreans disperse rapidly across the archipelago to form urban enclaves, but unavoidably enter into professional and personal transactions with their Filipino hosts and helpers. Through this contact, ideas and behaviors are learned, first by the receptive native employee, and later by the visiting foreign employer, the latter who often never intended to mingle or settle in the first place. This is ironic, because the Koreans, in their drive to get ahead, hasten the means by which transcultural exchanges can take place, simply by finding homes and building shops in more urban centers—all without any prodding in the form of policies and regulations from either national or local governments. For this author, such accidents of circumstance promise more transcultural exchange rather than belie it, because Philippine history has shown, as in the case of past Asian visitors, that eventually enough the newcomers will take root, intermarry, and graft their culture onto the Philippine sociopolitical stem. This points the reader in the direction of future studies that look at the progress of the Korean wave, and at the spread effects occurring in other parts of the archipelago, as well as in the rest of East and Southeast Asia.

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End Notes

1. The red and blue "Yin-Yang" symbol, found in the center of the Korean flag.

2. Similar to the Taeguk, this symbol includes a yellow field, and the colors are arranged in a slight spiral. Most commonly observed on paper fans and apparel.

3. The barangay < ba-rang-gai > is the smallest political unit in the Philippines, roughly equivalent to a village.

4. Test of English as a Foreign Language

Interviews

M. Suk Kim and S. Hwa Song – 15 October 2010, Quezon City

D. Hun Park – 21 October 2010, Pasay City

K. Sung Ryung – 26 October 2010, Quezon City

L. Dong Choul – mid-2009 (informal)

Mrs. M. D. Oliva, English Tutor – intermittent, October-December 2010

Mrs. K. Suñega-Cruz – intermittent, January 2011

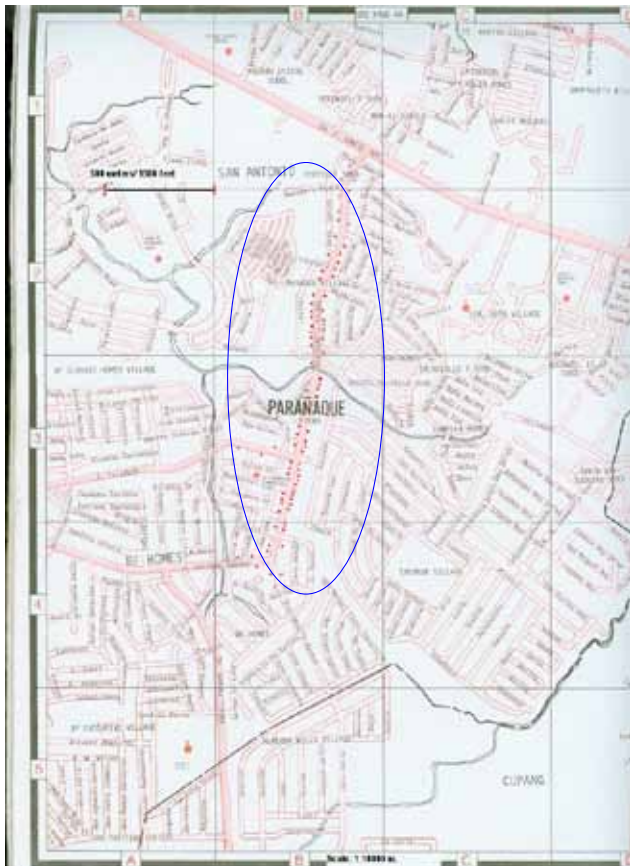Director J. Ignacio, Director for Northeast Asian Division, Department of Foreign Affairs – 27 October 20

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Cross-cultural Understanding Against the Odds: Lion Dances in Yangon,[1] Burma (Myanmar)[2]

Jayde Lin Roberts

ABSTRACT: Certain environments such as the current social-political context in Myanmar would seem to discourage cross-cultural communication and understanding. The State Peace and Development Council, the current military government, has ruled through fear and coercion, driving the diverse citizens and residents of the country to live in a state of uncertainty and distrust. However, despite this inhospitable environment, people in Yangon, the largest city in the country, have found ways to reach across communal and cultural boundaries to do business, participate in celebrations, and form friendships. This paper examines lion dancing in Yangon during Chinese New Year to reveal how this Chinese practice facilitates cross-cultural understanding and temporarily transforms downtown streets from policed public spaces into intimate places for gathering and celebration. As explicated by Hannah Arendt, the public realm is common world that gathers us together and enables the achievement of identity. It is a space of appearances where actions, defined as activities staged in front of others that reveal the agent's identity, are made visible, unveiling differences while enabling people to be with others unlike themselves (Arendt, 1998). In Yangon, these actions are attenuated tactics (Certeau, 1988) that must react nimbly to the moods of the military government and sustain themselves despite unpredictable changes. Based on two years of spatial ethnographic research, this paper offers a story of cross-cultural understanding that occurs against the odds, facilitated rather than deterred by international market forces.

Introduction

Certain environments such as the current social-political context in Myanmar would seem to discourage cross-cultural communication and understanding. The State Peace and Development Council (SPDC),[3] the current military government, has ruled through fear and coercion, driving the diverse citizens and residents of the country to live in a state of uncertainty and distrust. The SPDC routinely uses difference as a pretext for repressing community organizations and oppressing the various ethnic groups living in Burma. Despite this inhospitable environment, people in Yangon, the largest city in the country, have found ways to reach across communal and cultural boundaries to do business, participate in celebrations, and form friendships. This paper examines lion dancing dur-

ing Chinese New Year as an altered traditional practice that is simultaneously fostering Chinese pride and inviting people of various ethnicities to join in on a Chinese holiday, incrementally building cross-cultural understanding against the odds.

This bridging but not dismissal of differences is taking place in a city that has been a center of diversity since its inception as a colonial port in 1852. Although the British did not plan the city as a forum for intercultural communication and understanding, their explicit promotion of international trade brought together a diverse population that slowly and haltingly came to understand each other through everyday interactions in commerce and other practical matters.[4] British colonialists had hoped to find a large labor force within Burma to further Britain's pursuit of global economic dominance but the sparse population within the country meant that they had to find labor elsewhere. To remedy the shortage, they recruited clerks, laborers and merchants from South, Southeast, and East Asia, creating a city where foreigners (Indian, Chinese, British and other Europeans) outnumbered the various indigenous Burmese populations (Burman, Shan, Karen, Kachin, etc.) during the colonial Rangoon (Pearn, 1939).

The Chinese who arrived in Rangoon as a port of last resort have remained small, averaging three to four percent of the total urban population throughout their history in the city. In contrast, Indians once dominated the city, constituting over 50 per cent of the urban population from 1911 through at least 1931 (Pearn, 1939).[5] These various peoples interacted in the marketplace where commerce served both as a force of gathering and competition, leading to both cooperation and conflict. Indians as the numerically dominant foreigners drew more anti-ethnic sentiments than the Chinese and remain the more obviously marked other. However, ethnic relationships between the different foreign and indigenous populations are complex and under-researched. Tensions have existed historically but so have friendships. In contemporary Yangon where the military junta stands out as the number one enemy of all people regardless of ethnicity, cross-cultural understanding is taking place despite governmental disincentives and ethnic differences.

The following analysis is drawn from two years of ethnographic and spatial research in which I witnessed and participated in three Chinese New Years in February 2007, 2008, and 2009. For Chinese overseas, the annual enactment of

New Year customs offers an opportunity to gather together as a common people living in a particular place outside of China, helping them to maintain their shared and yet evolving cultural heritage. As stated by Gadamer and explicated by Weinsheimer, "Tradition is not simply a precondition into which we come. We produce it ourselves, inasmuch as we understand, participate in the evolution of tradition and hence further determine it ourselves" (Weinsheimer & Gadamer, 1985, p. 261). In this extended holiday that traditionally lasts for ten to fifteen days, activities focused on the family are prescribed for each day of the celebration. In overseas Chinese communities, family-based practices have been supplemented with more public celebrations such as lion dancing and competitions. In Yangon, Chinese New Year remains an essential practice among the Chinese in Burma, the Sino-Burmese, but references practices in other overseas Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia rather than China to revitalize and update Chinese tradition.

Chinese New Year in Contemporary Yangon

In contemporary Yangon, signs of the arrival of Chinese New Year first appear in the marketplace. In supermarkets red and gold *duilian* (對聯 rhyming couplet wishing everyone a happy prosperous new year), sparkly Chinese zodiac decorations, red envelopes (紅包), and prepackaged traditional sweets such as sesame covered rice logs are placed on shelves near the cashiers, announcing the holiday to Chinese and non-Chinese alike. Soon after, a temporary Chinese style gate is erected at the mouth of 19th Street, also known as Barbeque Street, where local Sino-Burmese and Burmese often gather to drink beer and enjoy their evenings. About four or five days before the Lunar New Year, the annual open-air Chinese New Year Market begins to materialize on Mahabandoola Boulevard where special products and such as *ang-gu-ge* (紅龜糕, red turtle-shaped cake), *nian-gao* (年糕, sticky rice cake), mandarin oranges, stalks of sugarcane, dragon fruit, and pussy willow are available for three consecutive days. Most of the vendors are not Sino-Burmese[6] but they have learned what the Sino-Burmese community wants during this special holiday and know that these customers are willing to pay a premium for rare and higher quality goods.

After the 1988 People's Uprising, the military government imposed strict regulations on public assembly, making gatherings of five or more people illegal, and discouraged traditional Burmese night time festivals such as Thadingyut (Festival of Lights) and Tazaungdine (end of Buddhist lent). According to Yangonites, Burmese festivals in years past were much more lively and fun because the government did not censor performances or public expression. Local artists remember a time when they could display cartoons critical of the government and everyday residents could enjoy plays that made fun of officials.[7] Although Chinese New Year celebrations carry no political message, the Sino-Burmese community still treads lightly, carefully tracking political and social shifts in order to avoid drawing unwanted attention. Even traditional festivities could mark a group of people as other and the Sino-Burmese celebrate more or less extravagantly, tactically attuning their events, according to the social and political context. The Chinese New Year Market as a commercial event in support of a cultural practice has to date escaped governmental pressure except in the form of fees extracted by the neighborhood officials. Vendors must pay a fee for operating their stalls.[8] Commerce as the ethos of the city and economic development as the explicit goal of the military junta has created a buffer, sheltering this tradition from excessive regulations.[9] In the Sino-Burmese collective memory, this market has taken place every year without fail but there have been times in which the market has been more subdued.

In addition to the bustling market above, traditional Chinese practices are now abundantly evident within and beyond Chinatown. On the first day of the Lunar New Year, and continuing for nine consecutive days, lion and dragon dance troupes appear on the streets (Fig. 1), not only in Chinatown but throughout much of Yangon, drumming, dancing, and marching from one location to the next to *bainian* (拜年 - to wish people a happy new year). Some troupes are small with six or seven people and others are large with over 30 members. These troupes are composed of young men of different ethnic backgrounds – some have the lighter skin stereotypically associated with the Chinese of Burma while others have darker skin and curly hair, exhibiting no obvious signs of Chineseness. Some are of mixed Chinese and Burmese heritage while some have no Chinese blood[10]. They are Sino-Burmese, Indo-Burmese, Indian, and Burmese and seem un-self-consciously immersed in the performances. They grace the homes and businesses of those who have invited them to perform and in exchange for their joyous acrobatics that are believed to bring good luck, receive red envelopes stuffed with cash.

If the troupes need to travel longer distances, they hire trucks on which the lion and dragon dancers and equipment are transported from place to place. En route, the head of the lion or dragon is displayed prominently on top of the cab while musicians standing on the truck bed periodically bang out riotous rhythms that echo through many blocks. Typically, the percussionists play more rigorously as they approach each *bainian* destination to announce their arrival. In Chinese culture, celebrations must be *renao* (熱鬧 —loud and festive) or they are seen as lacking in energy and therefore unsuccessful. Abiding by this general cultural principle, lion and dragon dance troupes must gather as much energy as possible by performing exuberantly and drawing crowds. This requirement would seem to cause problems for the troupes in Yangon where the Myanmar government could clamp down on public activities at any time. However, the Sino-Burmese have been able to test the boundaries of acceptable public behavior, gradually increasing their visibility without incurring obvious government ire or public enmity.

Although governmental oppression and the concomitant societal tension has stifled Chinese New Year celebrations from time to time, locals say that lion dance troupes have performed every year since the Chinese established themselves in Yangon. In 1967, anti-Chinese riots broke out in Yangon and other cities, brutalizing and killing over one thousand Chinese people. Even after these riots when expressing a Chinese identity was a potential threat to one's security, lion dance troupes dazzled the residents of Chinatown by climbing up building façades. However, these performances were restricted to townships such as Chinatown and Kamaryut where many Sino-Burmese resided and conducted business. Today, lion dance troupes travel through and perform in numerous townships, drumming loudly as they go, apparently unconcerned about drawing attention to themselves. They have also organized unprecedented lion dance competitions, inviting everyone, Chinese and non-Chinese, to enjoy the celebrations.

The Sin Oh Dan Lion Dance Competition

In February 2006, the upper block of Sin Oh Dan in Chinatown was transformed from a street into an open-air stage cum living room where over 1000 people gathered to watch the first ever lion dance competition. Announced with a colorful banner at the mouth of the upper block that read, "The Upper Sin Oh Dan Family Chinese Traditional Lion and Dragon Dance Exhibition and Competition", this event

ran for three consecutive nights with dragon dance exhibitions and two lion dance teams competing on each night. The men who organized the competition grew up on or near Sin Oh Dan and see themselves as a family whose home is the street. Most of the organizers had grown up doing martial arts and lion dances and missed the festive New Years of the past. They decided to revitalize Chinese New Year in Yangon by organizing this unprecedented competition, copying the practices in Singapore and Malaysia to take the celebrations back out onto the streets and to reinvigorate a fading tradition. To their surprise and satisfaction, the dragon dance performance and lion dance competition have become more popular each year, drawing participants and audiences from different neighborhoods and communities of Yangon.

In the three lion dance competitions that I witnessed, the organizers provided water, juice, and even snacks for the audience. As more people arrived to watch the lion dances, Sin Oh Dan became so crowded that people could only move in or out by burrowing between those already stationed to watch the performances (Fig. 2). The competition ran from about six o'clock in the evening to about midnight and the organizers became concerned that the audience might become thirsty and hungry during this long period of time. Treating the audience as their guests, they bought juice boxes and sweet rolls to distribute to the spectators. This concern for everyone present transformed the street into the organizers' living room and transfigured the dragon and lion dances from impersonal spectacles into personal invitations to jointly celebrate Chinese New Year.

Since 2006, the Sin Oh Dan Lion Dance Competition has taken place each year and grown in scale. In 2006, four teams competed over two nights with an awards ceremony on the third night. By 2009, nine teams competed over four nights and part of the competition was featured on national television. The organizers were initially concerned about such extensive exposure but ultimately allowed Myawaddy to film during one night of the competition and broadcast it publically. Such visibility in Myanmar is potentially problematic but the organizers decided that this was an opportunity to share a part of Sino-Burmese culture that brings them much pride and joy. By staging Chinese lion dancing in front of non-Chinese people, the men of Sin Oh Dan are making themselves visible as a distinct hyphenated Chinese population, inviting all of the residents of Yangon to interact with each other as people different from each other but living in the same city.

A New Form of Lion Dancing

The organizers are proud because their competition has been a success and because the young men who compete have essentially taught themselves a new art form by watching videos of lion dancing in Malaysia and Singapore. Until the late 1990s, lion dance troupes in Yangon performed on the ground or for special effect, on a 15-foot pole (Fig. 3). Lion dance VCDs from Singapore and Malaysia introduced dancing on a series of posts that the two people composing the lion must step or leap from one to the next (Fig. 4). This newer form of lion dance is much more difficult and dangerous, and the thrill of achieving such a physical skill has been alluring for young men throughout Yangon.

This new form of lion dancing filtered into Yangon along with other influences that entered Burma after the opening of the national economy in 1990. After the Myanmar government opened its doors to the world, Sino-Burmese businessmen ventured out to neighboring Southeast Asian countries to seek business opportunities and young Sino-Burmese left to study in foreign universities. While abroad, they saw the boisterous lion dance competitions held in Singapore and Malaysia and brought home video clips and stories to share with their family and friends. Some enterprising Sino-Burmese filmed these competitions and manufactured VCDs to sell to in the Burmese market. These VCDs became very popular among young Sino-Burmese men and soon lion dance teams began to mimic the Singaporean and Malaysian lion dance movements and new lion dance teams were organized.[11] From about 2005 to 2009, over six lion dance teams were organized, both within existing organizations and through the independent initiative of young men who wanted to perform. Transformed or newly formed, the lion dancers and their coaches carefully studied the routines and techniques in the VCDs and copied the aspects that they found desirable. As the tradition of lion dances had been maintained throughout the years, the new enthusiasts were not starting from zero. Coaches from different associations/martial arts schools could teach the novice lion dancers the basics and help them figure out the new advanced movements.[12]

Concurrently, popular culture from neighboring countries inundated the country, bringing movies, television, music, and fashion from all over Asia. In particular, television series from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China featuring spectacular martial arts were broadcasted on Myanmar television, drawing a wide audience that came to associate Chinese culture with martial expertise. Young Sino-Burmese who had little or no exposure to Chinese culture developed a sense of pride about being Chinese and now make comments such as "Chinese martial arts are the best, better than Burmese and Korean martial arts."[13] Similarly, non-Chinese audiences have transposed the fiction on television into real life, making comments such as "Chinese are good are kungfu"[14] even if they had never seen an actual Chinese person doing martial arts.

Spurred on by these various incentives, those without associational support sought out coaches and sponsors to obtain the necessary teaching, equipment, space, and funding to learn, perform, and compete in the new lion dances.[15] In the past, lion dance teams were part of martial arts schools. Those schools belonged to different secret brotherhoods and were the training grounds for developing the physical prowess necessary to defend one brotherhood against another. Loyalty was the main tenet of these organizations and no one crossed party lines to associate with non-brothers. During the colonial era and into the early part of independent Burma, secret brotherhoods such as Hesheng and Jiande saw each other as archenemies in business and politics and deployed armed squads to brutalize anyone who infringed upon their territory. They trained their brothers in martial arts and used lion dances as a way to compete with each other and assert their dominance. Therefore, when Chinese New Year arrived, lion dance teams only visited those who were affiliated with their specific brotherhoods or neutral parties. Should opposing teams meet each other on the street, violent battles ensued.[16]

The new lion dance teams that arose in the late 1990s did not adhere to those old factional ties and welcomed young men from various backgrounds and ethnicities. Young men who wanted to try the new style of lion dancing did not care about old brotherhood rivalries. Lion dancers now in their 30s remember a time when different troupes would fight each other on the street but say the spirit of the lion has come to represent connections rather than divisions. Ko Myo,[17] captain of the Red Ruby Kungfu Club explained that once they started practicing the new form of lion dance from Malaysia and Singapore, everyone regardless of membership in particular teams became close friends. "We all know each other and help each other. I have taught many people in many teams how to do the lion dance. And we have all belonged to

different teams. For example, I used to be in Dragon Head but now I'm in Red Ruby."[18] Ko Japan, who now serves as a judge in lion dance competitions provided a similar assessment saying, "They all flow back and forth between the teams. They are all great friends. No one fights anymore."[19] This transformation of lion dancing from a practice to assert dominance to a celebratory cultural sport is opening up a space for athletic young men to learn about Chinese culture through their training and performance and for audiences in Yangon to become more familiar with Chinese tradition.

Indeed this cultural art form is now practiced by hundreds of young men regardless of ethnicity. Sino-Burmese, Burmese, and Indo-Burmese youth have joined lion dance teams and practice for about two months before Chinese New Year to prepare for the festivities and lion dance competition. Although lion dances are clearly Chinese in origin and culture, these young men have no qualms about including non-Chinese members or about joining something that is not from their ancestral culture. Part of the reason is practical. The four main lion dancers need about 60 supporters to transport, set up, and most importantly, stabilize the posts. Without this large team of people, the posts would be too shaky for the performers to stand on, much less jump around on. Therefore, these teams recruit wherever necessary and provide food and money to those who are willing to put in the long hours and hard work. However, practical necessities do not fully explain the degree of openness in this rendition of Chinese tradition.

The young Sino-Burmese men who organize the lion dance teams are usually third generation Chinese who are nearly indistinguishable from the other residents of Yangon. They converse with each other in Burmese, not Mandarin, Hokkien, or Cantonese; hang out with friends who are a mix of Sino-Burmese, Burmese, and Indo-Burmese, and find it only natural that they would recruit friends to join the lion dance teams.[20] The Sino-Burmese express pride in the lion dances but this pride is mostly based on the physical prowess necessary to perform the movements and the association with martial arts shown in popular Chinese movies and TV programs in Burma. They are only vaguely aware of the history and meaning of the lion dance and find it sufficient to know that the lion is a symbol of good luck.

Some Sino-Burmese and Burmese in Yangon assume that the young men performing dragon and lion dances are opportunistic non-Chinese youth who use Chinese New Year merely as an opportunity to make money.[21] Online news articles such as the one below from the Irrawaddy claim that contemporary dragon dance teams are mainly composed of unemployed Indian and Burmese youth.

> Members of Rangoon's Chinese community say that performers in the traditional lion and dragon dances—part of the colorful festivities which mark the lunar New Year—are more likely to be unemployed Burmese or Indian youths than Chinese these days.
>
> Aung Win Oo, 16, an ethnic Indian boy from Tarmway Township in Rangoon, belongs to a 40-member troupe that will go from house to house performing the dragon dance, which is believed to bring luck to those who pay for the performance.
>
> Along with many other Burmese or Indian youths, he has been practicing the dance in a Chinese temple, which serves as a sort of community center for local Chinese residents, since the beginning of the month.
>
> After learning how to dance to the accompaniment of traditional Chinese music played on drums and cymbals, Aung Win Oo said he hopes earn 1,500 kyat (around US $1.20) a day, plus meals, for the duration of the New Year's period (Lwin, 2008).

Similarly, Sino-Burmese college students who were at the competition said, "As soon as you look at them, you know they are Burmese." When probed about their statement, they could not answer directly but said that Chinese people are too busy studying and working to do lion or dragon dances. Indeed the dragon and lion dancers are young men who have some time on their hands. The dancers themselves say that it is their unemployment that gives them time to train.

These young men regardless of ethnicity are generally from a low socio-economic class, unable to afford a university education and excluded from the few decent jobs available in Myanmar's depressed economy. Some operate roadside stalls while others do odd jobs. They wish that lion dances could become a professional sport in Myanmar or receive the kind of sponsorships that are available in Singapore and Malaysia to enable them to dedicate themselves to the art without financial concerns. However, the socio-economic status of the lion dancers is not indicative of their ethnicity. Many if not most of these young men are of Chinese or mixed blood

and know the native place of their ancestors. They remember a grandparent speaking Hokkien or Cantonese but cannot speak any of the Chinese languages themselves. There are also members who have no Chinese blood whatsoever. They are of Indian, Burman, and other heritages, drawn to these dances because of the athleticism or because of the potential income.

For the Sino-Burmese, Burmese, and Indian youth who join lion dance teams, mastering the acrobatics of the lion dance provides a sense of pride and bonds the team members together regardless of ethnicity (Fig. 5). Often, the young men, Chinese and non-Chinese, are learning about the lion and dragon dances at the same time. For the Sino-Burmese dancers of full or partial Chinese heritage, Chinese tradition was a remote history little connected to their everyday lives until they discovered lion and dragon dances. For those from other backgrounds, lion and dragon dances provide a way to participate in an athletic pursuit that became popular in Myanmar in the 1990s.

The fascination with Chinese martial arts has compelled some Burmese youth to study kungfu with Sino-Burmese masters and become more proficient in Chinese martial arts culture than most contemporary Sino-Burmese youth. For example, at the grand opening of the Red Ruby Lion Kungfu Club, a Burman youth was the only one who knew the ritual for bringing the lions to life and directed the Sino-Burmese team leaders in the steps necessary to awaken the lions (Fig. 6). As the only person present who could read and speak Mandarin, he recited the necessary incantations in Mandarin bringing some order to the chaos of christening a new organization. Despite his lack of Chinese blood, this Burman youth's knowledge was not questioned by the other youth involved in the ritual who were all Sino-Burmese. He had dedicated many years to studying not only Chinese martial arts but also Chinese language, making him a valuable asset to the team.

When queried about non-Chinese members in lion dance teams, all of the team leaders agreed that it is unexceptional to have people of different ethnicities involved in lion dance. The leaders who are all Sino-Burmese explained that they grew up with all kinds of people so it is logical for them to do lion dances together. Furthermore, this form of lion dance on posts is new to Yangon rendering everyone as relative novices. Through trial and error they have added new movements to make their performances more spectacular and have gradually learned

about the underlying meaning of the lion dance. Everyone involved knows that the lion is a symbol of good luck and many lion dancers believe that the lion has the power to make things flow more smoothly.[22] This knowledge and belief in the lion has been passed down from one lion dancer to the next in the process of training. However, none of the lion dancers seemed to know the origin of the lion and its significance for Chinese New Year.[23] This cultural information has been lost but this loss has not rendered the lion dance less meaningful for the locals. Rather, the separation of the lion dance from the traditional Chinese lore has made the lion dance more approachable to the young men of Yangon regardless of cultural background. They do not need to be steeped in traditional Chinese folktales to appreciate the lion dance and do not need to feel inferior if they are not Chinese. In fact, most of the lion dancers see their pursuit as both a sport and a cultural art form. These young men enjoy the challenge of the difficult movements and derive great satisfaction from mastering the routines. They have also cultivated an almost religious relationship with their lions, taking great care to treat the lion costume properly and to pay respect to the lion before each performance. The lion dancers say in Burmese "*Chinthe ko chit de* (They love the lion.)" For these young men, the cultural background of the lion dance gains importance after they have dedicated time to the physical practice not the other way around.

The transition in their understanding from a pure physical sport to a complex cultural art form has begun to take place among most if not all of the lion dance teams. One organization, the Kamaryut Jiande Brotherhood, has taken it upon itself to provide more information and decided to educate the larger public, not just those performing lion and dragon dances. In 2008 and 2009, they produced two sets of VCDs titled, "The Legendary Chinese Lion and Dragon Dance" to be sold in local video stores (Fig. 7). As evident in the chosen title, the lion and dragon are understood as legendary animals enveloped in myth. Accordingly, the producers offer little historical background. They focus on the performances of two local teams and explain that lions and dragons are symbols of good luck in Chinese culture with a long history. While this simple explanation begs further clarification, the information has become a key source of learning among the various teams. When asked about the history and meaning of lion dances, all of the lion dancers I spoke with referenced these VCDs. The young men involved in the dances do not appear to be concerned about learning the verifiable history of the dragon and lion dances.

They are drawn to these practices for the association with good luck. The VCDs offer enough historical background for these young men to feel satisfied and present the information in an appealing and approachable manner. More importantly, these VCDs make lion and dragon dances more accessible to anyone in Yangon who might be interested. The producers use Burmese voiceover and English subtitles to explain the dances, tailoring their product for the mass audience who speak Burmese as their primary language instead of limiting their focus to the Chinese in Myanmar. In addition, the VCDs are of higher quality than many shows and movies produced in Burma, indicative of the effort and money invested to educate the public and create a good impression of Chinese culture. The producers are proud of this Chinese practice and want the other residents of Yangon to appreciate it as well.

Lion and dragon dancing during Chinese New Year has enabled young men of different heritages to learn about Chinese culture not as a unchanging tradition but as a living practice continually remolded by the local Sino-Burmese. While some Sino-Burmese elders are concerned about the loss of Chinese tradition within their community, they do not insist on a pure Chinese culture. Rather, they seek to formulate a way of living in Yangon that is appropriately Chinese while recognizing and adapting to the local Burmese context. In the past few years, this has included conscious displays of Chinese tradition to make themselves known to the other residents of Myanmar, to make their difference visible in the public realm. This explicit public expression has begun to bridge the various cultures coexisting in the country.

Towards Cross-Cultural Understanding

This is no small feat given the divisive tactics of the military government and the ill will resulting from the Chinese government's explicit support of the Myanmar military. The People's Republic of China has bolstered the SPDC by assisting in large infrastructure projects, selling arms, and turning a blind eye to Myanmar's human rights abuses. This blatant disregard for the populace of Myanmar and the discord between Yunnanese Chinese and Burmese in central and northern Myanmar (Maung, 1994) has made the bridging of Chinese and Myanmar cultures more difficult. However, as stated above, cross-cultural understanding has been occurring by default since the colonial era. The everyday intermingling of the diverse peoples who have been living in the city has enabled most Yangonites to differentiate between the Chinese government and people

of Chinese heritage, even with the entrance of a new group of Chinese from the Sino-Burma border region. These people, known as the Yunnanese, Kokang, Wa and Shan Chinese, are often associated with the military junta, large-scale exploitative enterprises, and the drug trade. Many of them arrived in Yangon with substantial capital, bought large mansions and spent extravagantly, apparently unaware and unconcerned about how they might be perceived by the locals. As latecomers to both the Sino-Burmese and larger Burmese communities, they do not seem interested in integrating themselves into local society, making no effort to learn Burmese or establishing friends with their neighbors. This aloofness has offended some Yangonites but even they are quick to distinguish between the new Chinese from the border regions and the long established Sino-Burmese. In the words of a Burman professional, "They are different. The Chinese from Yangon are like us. The Yunnanese don't even speak Burmese. They don't care about us."[24]

The relatively more positive perception of long-established Sino-Burmese has also been strengthened by the economic and cultural shifts after the opening of the Myanmar economy in 1990. After the military government opened the national economy and dedicated significant effort to attracting Foreign Direct Investment, investors from Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand, and other Asian countries entered Myanmar to capitalize on a virgin market.[25] Many of these investors were of Chinese heritage and found it more convenient to do business with locals who shared a similar culture and language. This rendered Chineseness and Chinese languages (Mandarin, Hokkien, and Cantonese) marketable assets that were soon actively cultivated by local Chinese and non-Chinese residents alike. Today, Mandarin is one of the most popular foreign languages to study, drawing students from Burmese, Indo-Burmese, and Sino-Burmese communities. Savvy businesspeople such as an owner of a shipping company and enterprising college students are seeking out tutors and flocking to the various Chinese schools that have opened their doors in different neighborhoods outside of Chinatown. The benefit of speaking Mandarin in the Myanmar and regional Southeast Asian economy is evident to everyone who hopes to make money and this advantage has contributed to the cross-cultural communication between non-Chinese and Chinese residents of Myanmar.

This incremental foundation of cross-cultural understanding was furthered strengthened by popular media in the 1990s. As stated above, Chinese television series were very

popular. Series such as "Bao Qingtian (包青天) aired in the mid-1990s portrayed the life of a legendary judge in the Song dynasty whose indomitable application of justice made him respected by the masses and feared by the corrupt elite. The series, like many from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and now Korea, was aired in its original language, Mandarin, with Burmese subtitles. *Pauk Chin*, as he was commonly known to all Burmese, was so well liked that whole blocks gathered to watch the show at the homes of people with televisions. Children followed the story with such fervor that they adopted morals from this traditional Chinese lore. Without naming *Pauk Chin*, children who wanted to admonish each other against doing certain deeds would say, "If you do this wrong thing, you will be cut by the *kwe youk*, *kya youk*, or *naga youk*."[26] (Burmese names for the dog head, tiger head, and snake/dragon head, different guillotines used to behead people of different social status: dog head guillotine for the masses, tiger head for government officials, and snake/dragon head for royalty.) *Pauk Chin* became so ingrained in popular Yangon culture that people still remember the names of the characters in the show in 2009 despite the passage of fifteen years.[27]

Conclusion

Even with the above economic and social incentives, the public performances of the lion dancers and the cross-cultural understanding that is beginning to take place are exceptional. The SPDC views the various ethnicities in the country as potential threats to the unity of the nation and has been on a campaign to Burmanize all of the people in Myanmar through nation-wide initiatives such as standardized education in Burmese. The fact that all of the lion dancers, regardless of ethnicity, are poor can explain the degree of risk undertaken. The training and performance often involves serious injuries and hospitalization but the dancers have little to lose and few alternatives for income. The fundamental need to make some money lowers the threshold for interactions across cultures and has engendered some cross-cultural understanding. Furthermore, in comparison to the actual physical injury suffered, social disapproval must seem much less significant.

The fact that this new form of lion dancing comes from Singapore and Malaysia has also increased its appeal because these countries are seen as more advanced than Burma and all things from these countries carry a desirable glow. Lion dancing on posts is not just a traditional Chinese practice, it is a modernized cultural sport that can garner

international attention for the successful lion dancer. The lion dancers that I interviewed regularly check YouTube for lion dance videos and a few were excited to find videos of the Sin Oh Dan Lion Dance Competition online and thank me for bringing them international exposure. I was sad to tell them that I had not posted any videos of them online and have not been able to find those videos myself.

Whether lion dancing will substantially engender cross-cultural understanding remains to be seen. The young men who practice and perform together see each other as good friends. They are learning about each other and their respective cultural heritage in the process but that understanding might remain restricted within their circle of disadvantaged poor fellows. Even the organizers of the Sin Oh Dan Lion Dance Competition recognize the dangers involved in lion dancing and the income disparity between themselves and the lion dancers. Dai Ko Chan, one of the organizers, said that he would not allow his son to become a lion dancer even though he actively promotes lion dancing. However, the increasing popularity and exposure of the Sin Oh Dan lion dance competition is exposing more people to Chinese cultural practices. Even if the audience does not understand the meaning behind the lion dance, they seem to accept the performance as a cultural event that has the right to be staged in public. Perhaps the desire of the Sino-Burmese community to maintain Chinese New Year festivities coupled with their unwillingness to let their own children participate in lion dancing will further open up the art form to non-Chinese residents of Yangon and gradually foster deeper cross-cultural understanding.

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Endnotes

1. Yangon is more widely known as Rangoon, the British Romanization of the name Yangon. The post-1988 military government of Burma has officially declared Yangon as the proper name for the city and asked the international community to respect their right to have their country, cities, and other places known by their Burmese names. This official change in nomenclature was their public denunciation of colonialism. As with the names of Myanmar and Burma, I use the name according to the historical context: Rangoon for all events during the colonial period and Yangon for all other periods.

2. The names of Burma and Myanmar are highly contested (Houtman, 1999). See Mary Callahan's explanation in her book Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma (2003, p. xvi) for an excellent explanation. The military government that assumed power after 1988 declared Myanmar as the official name of the nation, rejecting the so-called colonial imposition of "Burma". Historically, both names were used. Many activists and people sympathetic to the Burmese use the name Burma to express their disapproval of the military regime. I employ these names in their chronological context - Burma for events before 1990, or in both periods; Myanmar for events during and after 1990.

3. After forcefully subduing the August 8, 1988 popular uprising, military leaders established a new government, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). This government was renamed as SPDC in 1997.

4. This is discussed extensively in Chapters II and III of my unpublished dissertation, Tracing the Ethos of the Sino-Burmese in the Urban Fabric of Yangon, Burma (2011). Space does not allow me to provide details. In summary, I argue that market forces in Burma have remained intimate, operating at the scale of mutual influences between individual merchants rather than the overwhelming impersonal transactions of global economics. This intimacy of mostly one-on-one interactions has allowed the various peoples in Yangon to forge a distinct Yangon culture that blends but does not nullify Chinese, Indian, Burmese, and Mon cultural and linguistic practices.

5. Most Burma studies scholars agree that the last reliable census was conducted by the British in 1931.

6. Sino-Burmese defined as those who prioritize their Chinese heritage and actively participate in Chinese events and associations. There are many people in Yangon of mixed Chinese and Burmese blood but do identify with Chinese as their primary identity. When I spoke with these vendors, none except those who were selling duilian could speak Mandarin or Hokkien.

7. Conversations with landlord and lady and conversation with six Burmese artists on April 3, 2007.

8. I tried to ascertain how much the vendors must pay but was not able to get an answer. Although, for fear of drawing too much attention to myself or unintentionally making enemies, I did not pursue the question of fees too assertively. The Sino-Burmese who do not operate the stalls did not know how much the vendors pay.

9. This is discussed in depth in Chapter II of my unpublished dissertation Tracing the Ethos of the Sino-Burmese in the Urban Fabric of Yangon, Burma (2011).

10. In this paper, bloodline is used as a definition of ethnicity and culture, not as a reified truth but as an expression of how the people in Myanmar commonly identify themselves and others.

11. Conversations with organizers of the Sin Oh Dan Family Lion Dance Competition and lion dancers (2007-2009).

12. Ibid and interviews with martial arts teachers/lion dance coaches at Jiande Association and Hongmen (November 25, 2008).

13. Conversation with Ms. Huang, a thirteen-year-old Sino-Burmese student who is clearly proud of being Chinese (January 12, 2009).

14. Several Burman men and women said this to me. The first time was when I first arrived in Yangon in fall 2006 to study Burmese. The two receptionists at the hotel I was staying in said to me while we were watching television, Chinese are good at martial arts. The most memorable incidence was when I caught a falling object and the male Burman housekeeper of the guest house I was staying in said something like, "Look are her kungfu. She is Chinese and all Chinese know kungfu." (December 8, 2008).

15. Interviews with lion dancers and lion dance competition organizers (2007-2009).

16. Ibid although Ko Japan (his nickname) stated this most clearly on January 24, 2009. Ko Japan used to do lion dancing and is now a judge at lion dance competitions.

17 Burmese names usually cannot be separated into a family name and given names. Honorifics are still commonly used. In Burmese, the dominant language, respect for successively older males is indicated by Maung, Ko, and U. For successively older females, it is denoted by Ma and Daw. Nick names are also common as seen in the name Ko Japan.

18 Interview on January 18, 2009.

19 Interview on January 24, 2009.

20 Interviews with lion dancers (2007-2009).

21 Irrawaddy article and conversations with college students.

22 Interviews with lion dancers (2007-2009).

23 The traditional story is that villagers who had long been terrified of the man-eating beast who would raid their village each year finally found a way to protect themselves by dressing up like a lion and scaring away the beast.

24 Interview with Daw Moe Moe Lwin

25 This discussion does not include mega state-level projects such as the Yadana Pipeline from Myanmar to Thailand or the various Myanmar Gas and Oil Enterprises projects. These are directly controlled by the military government, yielding no benefit to the people of Myanmar.

26 Interview with Yin Min (part Burman, part Mon) on April 4, 2009.

27 Bao Qingtian's fearless application of justice and ability to punish those in power must have been attractive to the Burmese audience who were and continue to suffer under an unjust government. The vicarious satisfaction of seeing wrongdoers rightly punished must have provided some sense of solace.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 5

Figure 4

Figure 6

Figure 7

Ideologia y Los de Abajo (Ideology and The Underdogs): Two Cultures of Sustainability Within the Present City of Las Vegas

Daniel Ortega

ABSTRACT: The theme of this symposium, Transcultural Cities: Immigrants, Place and Cross-cultural Understanding, extends the invitation to explore issues relating to the movement of ideas across cultures, and how those movements work to shape local experiences of urbanism and city form. Rather than look at the Transcultural City through an ethnographic lens where one might begin to document the hybridized artifacts of a multi-cultural syncretism, or via the perspective of an economist who might look at transnational, and therefore transcultural, flows of capital, this essay will focus on my observations of the alternate identities that exist between two seemingly different cultures of sustainability. I propose that these two cultures are working towards a common cultural ideal that neither may ever fully recognize as being critically determinant factors in the shaping of our urban environment. It is my contention that until these two cultures can work to produce a transcultural syncretism, they will only be thought of as "discrete, object-like phenomena [that occupy] discrete spaces [thus] becom[ing] implausible for those who inhabit the borderland." (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, p.7) In the case of this work that 'borderland' is not geographical, but cultural. It is in essence a cultural zone occupied by those who do not reflect nor participate in the specific cultural values or activities of either ends of the spectrum of sustainable culture that this work focuses on.

Introduction

The theme of this symposium, *Transcultural Cities: Immigrants, Place and Cross-Cultural Understanding*, extends the invitation to explore issues relating to the movement of ideas across cultures, and how those movements work to shape local experiences of urbanism and city form. Rather than look at the *Transcultural City* through an ethnographic lens where one might begin to document the hybridized artifacts of a multi-cultural syncretism, or via the perspective of an economist who might look at transnational, and therefore transcultural, flows of capital, this essay will focus on my observations of the alternate identities that exist between two seemingly different cultures of sustainability[1] found in Las Vegas, Nevada.

The Current Culture of 'Sustainability' in a 'Sinful' Las Vegas Urban Design Context

The city of Las Vegas offers itself as a particularly salient ground for this discussion. It exemplifies a morally coded notion of 'un-sustainability,' by virtue of its global persona as a place of excess. Recent investigations of Las Vegas have leaned heavily toward indictments of urban sprawl, environmental degradation, and the unavoidable criticism of Las Vegas' willingness to flaunt an air of excess, access, and a general persona of moral ambiguity. These criticisms have been summed up by the urban theorist Mike Davis in his 1995 article, *House of Cards - Las Vegas: Too Many People in the Wrong Place Celebrating Waste as a Way of Life*. In his article, Davis suggests that, "[t]he Las Vegas 'miracle'...demonstrates the fanatical persistence of an environmentally and socially bankrupt system of human settlement." In the same article, Davis furthers his criticism by stating that Las Vegas "recapitulates the 'seven deadly sins' of Los Angeles and its Sunbelt clones"[2] (p. 38) Davis' reference to 'sin' immediately poses assertions of morality.

Perhaps in response to the pejorative connotations related to its persona, Las Vegas' current development trends have swung greatly towards 'green' building practices in a way that is more flamboyant than most others. The most vocal advocates touting Las Vegas' commitment to 'green' building often use Project City Center as their newly birthed icon of success with respect to sustainability. Ironically, in true Las Vegas fashion, the ARIA resort, which is just one constituent piece of the Project City Center campus, is being marketed as "The World's Largest Gold Rated LEED Building," using the U.S. Green Building Council's Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) rating system. (figure 1)

Penance or Greenwash?:
The Culture of Sustainability in a Las Vegas Urban Design Context

Local projects such as those listed above have been championed as a viably ameliorative road to 'sustainable' penance, thus prompting a cultural paradigm shift that promotes quixotic visions of an environmentally enhanced future. The visioning has become so romanticized that any debate focused toward a critique of the projects associated with this particular brand of sustainability has mostly been avoided. It is my argument that this is also true of the 'global culture of sustainability.'

While I agree with much of the critique leveled at Las Vegas' urban design 'sins,' my agreement is merely tangential. I agree that Las Vegas is composed of poorly planned spaces that are detrimental to existing ecological systems. However, I see this as less a problem of a 'sinful,' eco- systemic, urban design ethic and more symptomatic of a Fordist approach to industrial capitalism. For the purposes of this paper, I will refer to Spehr's (2009) definition of Fordism as "a late stage of capitalism characterized by large- scale production, standardization, semi-skilled labor, easy credit and mass consumption" (p. 5). Given that definition, I am suggesting that the environmental 'sins' of Las Vegas can be largely attributed to municipal decision makers who have allowed contemporary Fordists, i.e. real estate developers, to dictate an environmental design ethos for the city, and lesser to the city's inhabitants as is implied by critics such as Davis.

The attempt to repent for their environmental sins, on behalf of Las Vegas' green building industry, has developed into a marketing scheme where one can now travel to Las Vegas to see the worlds largest 'green' building.

The Project City Center campus is a multi-billion dollar casino-resort, luxury condominium and shopping development located on the Las Vegas Strip, it sits as an example worthy of the assertion that sustainability has become an 'extension of industrial capitalism.' Since its inception in 2006, the Project City Center campus has been marketed as a Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) 'Silver Rated' commercial campus. [3] Despite being a voluntary construction rating system, as opposed to a municipal building code, LEED "has become a de facto U.S. national standard for green architecture and development" (Thompson and Sorvig, 2008, p. 7) While its Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design rating has been used as a marketing tool to demonstrate the idea that MGM Mirage, the project's developer, as well as the individual designers associated with the project, employ an environmentally sensitive commitment to urban development, it is my contention that their commitment is dedicated more to their economic bottom line.

In a February 22nd 2009 article in the Las Vegas Review Journal, staff writer Tony Illia states, "gaming's love affair with green construction didn't blossom until the 2005 passage of Assembly Bill 3. The legislation gives projects that achieve a Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design certification up to a decade-long, 50 percent property tax break." In the same article, Illia reports that tax breaks for the $9.1 billion dollar Project City Center alone could cost the state of Nevada millions in tax revenue. The lost tax revenue will affect the people of the state of Nevada in a way that re-positions Kessi's (2009) assertion that the "capitalist order, [of sustainability] leav[es] the social relations and power structures intact and thus leav[es] the mechanisms which led to an overexploitation of the environment and the people in place." (p. 1) Recently critics have suggested that the 'healthy environment' components that dominate the marketability of LEED are less than eco-friendly. Given the fact that the current LEED rating system does very little to take the natural state of a building's site into consideration, and instead focuses its attention on building materials and energy systems, the rating system "can become a little like fat-free cookies – an excuse to consume more because it's better than other brands" (Thompson & Sorvig, 2008, p.8)

In cadence with LEED, the move to 'go green' has equally become more of a marketing campaign than a true call for environmental health. To validate this claim, I point to the recent testimony offered before U.S. Congressional lawmakers; "It is now nearly impossible for the average consumer to get the information that they need to determine whether a product is truly green; how and where they were made and their potential health or environmental impacts"[4] (GreenBiz, 2009, p. 1). In 2008, almost one third of the new products released to American consumers had the word "natural" on its label, while at the same time products claiming to be environmentally friendly rose by almost 200 percent (ibid). Unlike the existing federal standards applied to environmental impact statements, corporate environmental policy statements, which ultimately represent an industrial commitment to the environment, are completely voluntary and not required by law (Ramus & Montiel, 2005). As such, it becomes easy to see how the notion of 'sustainability' has become a convenient greenwash for industrial capitalism and essentially labels corporate America's argument for ecological health more of a strategy for "leaving the mechanisms which led to an overexploitation of the environment and the people in place" (Kessi, 2009).

This is not to say that the original tenets of the sustainability movement as proposed by environmental activists in the early 1970's are without merit: quite the opposite. I merely wish to shed light on the suggestion that the tenets of pioneering environmental activists such as Rachel Carson and Aldo

Leopold have been greenwashed, or perhaps more violently, culturally high jacked, by a media savvy industrial capitalist infrastructure. I will employ a bit of conjecture when I propose that the early environmental activists would agree that "we do not need well-meaning suggestions for reform, but the difficult process of reaching an understanding on a social movement which will attack the core of the problem." (Spehr, 2009, p. 2) At the core of this problem lies the lack of critical thought aimed toward Las Vegas' efforts to 'go green.' Thus resulting in what is tantamount to an urban design greenwash.

Hegemony and the Ecology of Practice

I elect that there is an evident link between the aforementioned examples of Las Vegas urban design practice and the hegemony of sustainability. Combine the reticence to engage in a critical inquiry of the culture of sustainability with the ideological/moralistic belief that in the 'sustainability' movement there exists a superior culture that is "[w]ell ensconced in the rationalities of economic, engineering, and legal thought…" (Princen, 2005, p. 341) and the argument that a hegemonic power structure exists begins to take form. For the purposes of this work, I will define hegemony in the Gramscian sense that those who dominate in any given cultural exchange do so by "winning the consent of competing or marginalized groups." (Gledhill, 1997, p. 348) The hegemony of sustainability has been arranged via the 'consent' that our consumer society has given to the industrial capitalist strategic marketing of 'green' products. Therefore, once again referring to the Gramscian ideal of hegemony, there is an opportunity for people outside of the dominant cultural power structure to find ample room to negotiate "between competing, social, political, and ideological forces through which power is contested, shifted, or reformed" (ibid). I feel that it is important to make this distinction because as Gledhill articulates, "[t]he concepts of hegemony and negotiation… enable us to conceptualize the production of definitions and identities by the media industries in a way that acknowledges both the unequal power relations involved in the struggle and at the same time the space for negotiation and resistance from subordinated groups" (ibid).

To illustrate a 'negotiated response' to the hegemony imposed by the 'consent' culture of sustainability as it currently exists within a Las Vegas context, I will draw upon my observations of two groups of 'underdog' actors who have created what Princen (2005) might refer to as a culture of sufficiency. In converse to the highly lauded (self and otherwise) efforts of Las Vegas

green building practitioners, the daily (re) formed practices of the city's inhabitants are rarely acknowledged within the context of a serious discussion of a local culture of sustainability. Attended to, these practices can illuminate local strategies for engaging and imagining the culture of sustainability beyond what often amounts to empty media-centered discourse. I propose that the activities of these 'underdogs' (re) form a local ecology of practice. When I use the term 'ecology of practice,' I am referring to a literal definition of ecology, meaning the relationship between organisms and their environment. It is through this ecology of practice that I feel validated in labeling these resident actors as working to create a counter-hegemonical culture of sufficiency. The cultural activities embodied by local car wash vendors and 'guerilla marketers,' work to illustrate an existing 'everyday' paradigm of sustainable practice that transcends the 'consent' culture of sustainability.

The Present City of Las Vegas

> Whether encountered by foot, public transit, or car, while sitting on a bench, listening and observing, or through participation, the present city is the taken-for- granted everyday that surrounds us. (Kaliski, 2008, p. 88)

My observations of these two 'underdog' groups took place in several locations throughout the city of Las Vegas. The commonality of each of these sites of observation is that they all occurred in "the taken-for-granted everyday that surrounds us." (Kaliski, 2008, p. 88) As such, the ecology of practice that I am speaking of takes place in the easily ignored parts of the city, such as, parking lots, bus stops, the sidewalk, etc. The 'present city' of Las Vegas exists in stark contrast to a naturalistic view of desert ecologies, and in even more direct contrast to its popular culture perception. The pedestrian oriented environments of the Las Vegas Strip and downtown's Freemont Street Experience cease to exist in the 'present city.' Similar to conditions found in other cities in the Southwestern United States, many of Las Vegas' neighborhoods, especially in older areas that were developed prior to the market demand for master-planned communities, offer very little in terms of robust public/social spaces. Many of these neighborhoods are comprised of narrow sidewalks, and are commercially serviced by strip-mall developments that render large expanses of parking that separate the pedestrian from commercial activity. (figure ???) Combine that with excessively wide streets, that were designed with an automobile first mentality, and these factors work to dissuade significant personal relations. (Diaz, 1995) In short, the 'present

city' of Las Vegas has, as Davis rightly points out, "accepted the resulting dictatorship of the automobile" (1995, p. 38). It is not my intention to bemoan the allegory of the 'sinful' car culture of Las Vegas. Rather, I intend to use the disregard for pedestrian related space(s) and activities as a basis for furthering my argument that a Gramscian ideal of hegemony and its elemental concept of offering room for negotiation do exist within the context of a sustainable culture of sufficiency in Las Vegas.

The first group that is represented within this culture of sufficiency is a local collective of mobile car wash vendors that occupy the edges of vacant parking lots. The second is a more socially anonymous but equally visible group that I will refer to as 'guerilla marketers.' The crux of my observations began to identify what Michel DeCerteau's calls a "tactic" (DeCerteau, 1984, p. xix). DeCerteau's 'tactic' refers to a mobile and temporal blend of "opportunities" in everyday life (ibid). Whereas DeCerteau's contentions contemplate the role of the consumer in everyday life, I propose that the vernacular assemblage of these two commerce related activities found in the 'present city' of Las Vegas could be used to invite the 'everyday' entrepreneur into his discussion of the "tactical" use of spaces of consumption. By doing so, I can begin to illustrate how these two specific groups, that lie subject to the hegemonic categorization established by the contemporary ideology of sustainability, form the opportunity to initiate a new transcultural understanding of sustainability, one that transcends marketing slogans and technical jargon and begins to initiate 'tactics' that foster a milieu of actions that are centered on recognizing the value of what is sufficient versus what is efficient.[5]

By observing the ingredient practices of daily activity that occur in the 'present city' of Las Vegas, I witnessed a positive local cultural infrastructure that exists as 'resistant subordinates' to the hegemonic structure of the 'consent' ideology of sustainability. The residents who form this resistant cultural infrastructure may offer a less romantic opportunity for sustainability that lies outside of its current media-endorsed concept. When thoughtfully considered, this deliberate 'ecology of practice' becomes equally as critical as the 'all natural,' 'eco-friendly,' 'green-technology,' driven 'future healthy environments' that the media and mass-society, via industrial capitalism, associate with sustainability. The irony of this assumedly 'forward thinking' visioning is that, despite the popularity of futurist ponderings associated with the current rhetoric of sustainability, the idealistic visions of a pristine, preserved, natural landscape that often accompanies this way thinking is deeply rooted in a 19th century romantic notion of aesthetics where there existed " a seeming rejection of the city and the culture it represented…" (Oerlemans, 2002, p.3)

Case Study One: The Mobile Car Wash Vendors

In an egalitarian society, the street is a powerful emblem of the public domain (Diaz, 1995; Millar, 2008) Throughout history the public realm has offered sites where individuals can congregate to sell whatever it is they have to sell (McMillan, 2002). Within the 'present city' of Las Vegas, there exists a vibrant and relatively new appropriation of the street-vending paradigm: the Mobile Car Wash. (figure???)The mobile car wash vendors typically set up along the edges of vacant parking lots throughout the 'present city.' Large box retail establishments, who have gone out of business, presumably as a result the recent 'economic downturn,' have vacated most of these parking lots. By re-interpreting existing spatial conditions, i.e. starting a business in a vacant parking lot, the mobile car wash vendors have essentially crafted a re-construction of social and economic conditions "both internally and externally from their bounded communities" (Diaz, 1995, p. 124)[6].

The opportunity for a passing motorist to make an instantaneous decision to patronize any one of the vendors can instigate the urban ideal of "[m]eeting and conversing with friends and strangers in chance situations which have a fluidity that is strikingly normal in a city…" (Diaz, 1995, p. 125) This re- construction of public space into a potentially 'fluid' urban typology essentially begins to initiate a street culture that would typically be negated by the aforementioned poorly designed urban environment. By doing so the vendors have not only initiated the possibility for a vital and energetic public space, they have also initiated what I have been referring to as an 'ecology of practice,' a practice that aides in establishing a unique cultural identity as well as the potential for economic sovereignty.

Case Study Two: The 'Guerilla' Marketers

A second group who has initiated a similar change of socio-spatial programing is a much more ephemeral constituency. It is a group that I will refer to as 'guerila' marketers. Like the flaneur, this group's identity lies in its 'tactical' wanderings. 'Guerilla marketers' are armed with a variety of advertising materials ranging from 8.5" x 11" Xerox photocopies, to cardboard and ink, to more stylish and sophisticated, assumingly self-manufactured stickers. (figure???) Unlike the car wash vendors this group literally employs a pedestrian tactic. The 'guerilla' advertisers rely on those inhabitants of the 'present city' whose daily life centers on walking. Thus employing an urban design tactic that depends on "the essence of human scale...meandering at an unencumbered pace." (ibid). The social equity, economic relationships, and spatial constructs initiated by the 'guerillas' is arguably more democratic than the car wash vendors, since one does not have to acquire their services in order to inhabit the space that they have demarcated. Where the car wash vendors rely on a symbiotic relationship with automobile drivers, the 'guerilla marketers' rely on the 'present city's' most base constituency, the pedestrian. One can argue that these 'guerilla' advertisements are tantamount to ineffective vandalism. However, as the economist John McMillan (2002) asserts, a market exists as long as there are consumers who wish to consume a given product. Based on the sheer quantity of 'guerilla' advertisements in the 'present city,' one can only assume that a market for these products/services exists. Their advertisements do not respond to the 'conventional rules' of industrial market graphic design, and they completely eschew the conventional car to street signage mandate, which suggests that any good signage must be able to be read at 35 miles per hour. Instead their advertisements are placed spontaneously and made available for immediate consideration to those who decide to stop and read them. In this regard they offer a transient version of more established spaces of consumption. I would argue that, similar to Diaz's discussion of Olvera Street's puestos (small merchant booths), these temporary advertisements present a "sociocultural function...of equal importance to the physical form and daily commerce which coincides with the ambience of the street" (Diaz, 1995, p. 125).

'Everyday' Sustainable Practice? - Future Consideration(s)

The majority of this work is dedicated to foregrounding the theoretical context in which I plan to pursue these case studies. The case studies that I have presented above are meant to represent a work in progress. As such, I fully understand that a more in depth construction of a narrative of the practices performed by the constituents of these 'underdog' groups is necessary in order to craft a dialectical reference that can be used to more aptly translate their ecology of practice as a culture of sustainability that can be applied at different scales of 'everyday' consumerism and city dwelling in a transcultural union with the 'consent' culture of sustainability.

Where the mobile car wash vendors and 'guerilla' marketers found in the 'present city' of Las Vegas offer a glimpse into an urban entrepreneurialism that redefines spatial boundaries and traditional consumer-market transaction space(s). I feel that it is their ability to craft an 'ecology of practice' that profits from a culture of sufficiency that renders the most hope for a newly constructed transcultural understanding of sustainability. If I were concerned with the contemporary idealistic contextualization of sustainability, I could make a stretch and offer a thinly veiled argument that by re-appropriating existing mundane urban spaces, i.e. the vacant parking lot or the telephone pole, that the two groups of actors are in effect, re-using space and therefore they must be mitigating the city's existing carbon footprint, etc. Not only would that most likely be inaccurate, in my view, that is nowhere near their most important contribution to the future crafting of a new transcultural understanding of sustainability.

These two groups are involved in an ecology of practice that organizes and utilizes public space in a way that is progressive, active and re-places social patterns that re-engage the street as a fundamental component of daily life in a direct yet ephemeral way. As such, I propose that these actors/actions truly illustrate a literal embodiment of sustainability in that they meet their needs and express their greatest present potential without compromising future generations abilities to do the same.

I would argue that these two groups transcend the hegemonic ideology of sustainability as instituted by a contemporary media endorsed industrial capitalist ideology in the following ways: 1) by virtue of their ability to embody a literal definition of sustainability without being packaged as 'green,' as it is currently defined by mass media, they have created an ecology of practice that can be maintained at a level necessary for success indefinitely ; and, 2) by illustrating the positive results formed by a segment of the city's cultural constituency that exists with no allegiance to the ideology of a romantic view of environmentalism, these actors/ actions can begin to disintegrate the moralistic historical precedent that assumes that good environmentalism must embody a picturesque naturalness.

Conclusion

Based on Lefebvre's (1991) assertion that the most significant 'product' produced in our urban environments is the production of 'space,' and that the production of space is based on values and the social production of meaning, the works of this group of 'underdogs' produce a type of re-constructed commodity- space that is sufficient to meet their needs as well as the needs of their target audience(s) with little to no impact on the greater demographic of the city. Extending beyond the notion of the re-construction of space, the cultural actions performed by these 'underdog' members of society create uniquely identifiable local places. I find it unfortunate that when viewed through the dominant lens of the industrial capitalist version of sustainability, the local places that these two groups have created exist in concert with a traditionally modernist, hegemonic, cultural ethos where "the local is seen as a derogatory site that compounds backwardness as the realm of stagnation against the dynamism of the industrial civilization of capitalism, as the realm of idiosyncratic culture at odds with scientific rationality…" (Guarnizo and Smith, 1998, p. 11) As long as the culturally dominant mass media representation of sustainability is accepted as truth and held above critique, these local places and the cultural activities that occur within them will most likely never be recognized as being sustainable.

As Thomas Princen (2005) affirms in his book, the logic of sufficiency, most discussions on sustainability focus at some point on a rhetoric of change, i.e. a 'restructuring' of consumer values, a 'rethinking' in terms of a more robust commitment to using resources more efficiently, to becoming more responsible, to becoming more adaptive, etc. Essentially, this rhetoric of change validates my earlier accusation that

the current market driven culture of sustainability creates a binary condition of good/bad. However, by offering the opportunity to consider sufficiency, as it applies to a systematic way of considering what is sustainable, Princen departs from the rhetoric of guilt by offering a much less morally taxing approach to sustainability. By focusing his work on a 'grounding of everyday practices,' he contrasts sufficiency with efficiency. As such, by contrasting the culture of sufficiency exhibited by the car wash vendors and the 'guerilla' marketers against the efficiency promises made by the industrial capitalist cultural ethos of sustainability, Princen's hope that a new ecological economy can arise out of "not just what is conceivable, … but in what collectivities have actually done," (p. ix) begins to lay the foundation for a true transcultural redefinition of sustainability within the 'present city' of Las Vegas.

I feel strongly that any future environmental design efforts in Las Vegas must incorporate an urban design ethos that is closely aligned with Norman Millar's assertions that

> [t]he approach supports light-handed and localized tactics to strengthen urban life and economic community through constantly shifting collaborations. The techniques empower voice over form and challenge conventional modes of architectural work, and in order to achieve true sustainability, work in a social setting where the architectural outcome is unknown and, if successful, likely to be invisible (2008, p. 137).

It is my primary hope that this work initiates a critique of the 'highjacking of sustainability' by industrial capitalism. However, at the same time, I am a designer, and I do have concerns relating to the current environmental degradation that has been implemented by the Fordist ideology facilitated by our cities' decision makers. I am not arguing that the answers to a wide range of critically valid environmental concerns lie in the hands of car wash vendors or 'guerilla' advertisers. Rather, I am proposing that as designers, as citizens of the public realm, as participants in the democratic process, we look to the constituent practices of 'everyday' life for the chance encounters of opportunity that lie outside of the canons of urban design and public policy. I am asking that we use a critical sensibility when corporate America launches its next greenwash campaign. I am proposing that we each consider Spehr's contention that "whoever wants "sustainability" cannot simply strive to make industrial capitalism "better", more ecological, less wasteful, but they have to change the social program." (2009, p.6)

Ironically, these two cultures are acting on a belief system that inspires them to work towards a common cultural ideal that neither may ever fully credit as being critically determinant factors in the shaping of their urban environment. It is my contention that until these two cultures can work to produce a transcultural syncretism, they will only be thought of as "discrete, object-like phenomena [that occupy] discrete spaces [thus] becom[ing] implausible for those who inhabit the borderland." (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, p.7) In the case of this work that 'borderland' is not geographical, but cultural. It is in essence a cultural zone occupied by those who do not reflect nor participate in the specific cultural values or activities of either ends of the spectrum of sustainable culture.

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Endnotes

1. For the purposes of this work, I would like to offer a working definition of sustainability as those practices that reflect the use of resources in a way that they do not become permanently depleted and that those same resources are treated in a way that they are readily available to future generations.

2. The "seven deadly sins" of Los Angeles and its Sunbelt clone s can be summarized as having: 1) abandoned a responsible water ethic, 2) fragmented local government and subordinated it to private land-use planning, 3) produced a negligible amount of public space, 4) refused to use "hazard zoning" to mitigate natural disaster and preserve landscape, 5) dispersed land uses over an enormous area, 6) accepted the resulting dictatorship of the automobile, and 7) tolerated extreme social and especially, racial inequality. (Davis, 1995, p.3)

3. Currently the ARIA resort is the world's largest Gold Rated LEED building, whereas, the Project City Center Campus as whole has attained a Silver rating.

4. This testimony was given by Dana O'Rourke, co-founder of the Good Guide Inc., and an associate professor at the University of California, Berkeley. (GreenBiz, 2009, p.1)

5. In order to gain a full understanding of the relationship between sufficiency and efficiency as I use it in the context of this work, please see, Princen, T. (2005). the logic of sufficiency. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

6. While I am directly quoting Diaz it is important to note that, within his text, Diaz properly credits this contextual notion of the re-construction of space to Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre, H. (1991). Critique of everyday life. London, England:Verso.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Listening to Transcultural Voices, Watching Out for Trans-Asian Places: A Case Study of the "Asian-ized" Chinese New Village of Kampung Kanthan in Malaysia

Shenglin Elijah Chang and Yenchew Foo

ABSTRACT: Against the upcoming urbanization of the Perak Region in the west Malaysia, our study investigates how Chinese Malaysians negotiate transcultural socio-spatial boundaries with local-born and newly-arrived Asian immigrants in and around Kampung Kanthan. In our paper, we first introduce the history of Chinese immigrants from colonial to independent Malaysia. Second, we analyze the socio-economic and cultural characters of multiple generations of Chinese immigrants settled in Kampung Kathan and reveal how the local segregated and marginalized landscapes have mirrored Malaysia legal restrictions that have been installed in all Chinese new villages throughout the entire country. Third, we investigate how new Asian immigrant workers have interacted with older and younger generations of Chinese villagers, negotiating new boundaries and transcultural spaces within these Chinese New Villages. Due to the emerging urbanization in the Perak region, many areas of the Kampung Kanthan have been re-zoned into industrial parks and high tech corridors. Large numbers of Asian immigrant workers have relocated to the Perak region to seek better jobs. They have moved into apartments near Chinese new villages or settled in these traditionally Chinese only communities. Their presence and activities have introduce unfamiliar processes and issues into communal spaces within traditionally Chinese-dominated New Villages. In conclusion, we address how the Asian new comers re-define the landscape marginality of Chinese Malaysian communities, and the potential opportunities to re-shape transcultural Asian villages that allows hybrid identities to merge.

"……Listen, I am alone at a crossroads
I'm not at home in my own home
And I've tried and tried to say what's on mind
You should have known……"
- Beyoncé's Listen

Chinese Malaysian contestant Jess Lee was singing Beyoncé's *Listen* at the finals for "*The Avenue of Super Stars*," the Taiwanese version of "*Britian's Got Talent*," on the evening of January 30th 2011. Malaysian TV stations were broadcasting the final round to domestic audiences in Malaysia. That night, at the moment when Jess Lee was announced *as "The Avenue of Super Star's"* new champion on stage in Taiwan, Malaysian audiences cheered in front of their televisions in their Malaysian homes. Jess, a Chinese Malaysian exchange student who studies bioscience at the National Taiwan University, was born and raised in Seremban, West Malaysia, where forty-five percent of the city's population is ethnically Chinese. The Seremban area has been a historically Chinese Malaysian dominated region since the 1970s, perhaps even earlier. Many New Villages, the Malaysian version of Chinatowns, are located in this region.

Beyoncé Knowles is a daughter of Africa American and Creole (hybrid of African, Native American, and French) parents. Her track, *Listen*—especially through Jess Lee's Asian voice, face, and body—attach migration memories and experiences for Chinese Malaysian audiences. When Jess sang, "I am alone at a crossroads. I'm not at home in my own home…," her voice explicitly speaks out the deepest feelings embraced by many Chinese New Villagers who live in their homes in Malaysia's New Villages. For these Chinese New Villagers, their lives have been marginalized due to unjust political and economic policies. Young generations of Chinese New Villagers would rather jump overseas and relocate to other countries—i.e., Singapore, Taiwan, Japan, Canada, United States etc.,—than stay in Malaysia, where they do not see any hope for future prosperity. Jess Lee is among the young generation of Chinese Malaysian New Villagers who seek opportunities outside Malaysia. She made her success at the stage of "*The Avenue of Super Stars*" in Taiwan. However, not everyone is as lucky as Jess. Some young people had to be smuggled into other countries and were forced to explore their dreams underground.

At the same time, other Asian immigrant workers—from Nepal, Indonesia, Thailand, India, etc.,—relocated to areas neighboring Chinese New Villages to work in the industrial parks that developed after the 1980s. These multiple directions of transnational migrations and relocations have opened up different opportunities and provided unexpected circumstances for plural cultures to blend into each other. More importantly, some cultures have melted into a transcultural phase in which people's lifestyles, landscapes, and identities may not be dominated by a single distinguishable cultural practice, but sets of hybrid cultures that intermingle together.

The term, "transcultural" landscape, lifestyle or identity is derived from the evolving concept of transculturalism. The concept is a theoretical breakthrough between the initial concept of multiculturalism and the evolving concept of transculturalism. In his essay "Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today", Wolfgang Welsch points out that traditional concepts of cultures – including classic single culture, interculturalism and multiculturalism – assume that "every culture can be distinguished and remain separated from other folks' cultures"(Welsch 1999, 195). However, transculturalism "sketches a different picture of the relation between cultures, not one of isolation and conflict, but one of entanglement, intermixing, and commonness" (ibid., 205). Welsch argues that we already live in a transcultural context. "Lifestyles no longer end at the borders of national cultures, but go beyond these ... There is no longer anything absolutely foreign ... Today, in a culture's internal relations – among its different ways of life – there exists as much as foreignness as in its external relations with other cultures" (ibid., 197–8). Welsch's conception of transculturalism as an entangled, intermixed relation between cultures is a useful starting point for analyzing the relationship between placemaking and identity transformations.

Taking the transcultural theoretical lens to investigate the society of Malaysia, we recognize that Malaysian history is a history of combining various cultures, different colonial rulers, and mixed migrations. Malaysia was colonized by Portugal, the British Empire and Japan before becoming independent.[1] However, transculturality is not a default cultural norm here. When scholars in Southeast Asian studies tried to analyze multiple layers of ethnic and cultural interactions within a society like Malaysia, they refer to it as an environment with plural cultural practices. For example, in the early twentieth century, Furnivall (1936) argued, this is a country containing a plural-ethnic population. Even this century, Embong (2002) also stated that Malaysia is a society of multi-ethnicities, not multi-civilizations. Diverse types of ethnic peoples co-exist and practice their own cultures, but do not necessarily blend into each other's customs or beliefs. Among its twenty-eight million citizens, Malay, the largest group, comprises a little over half of the population (54.9%). The majority of the remaining population includes Chinese, who make up almost a quarter of Malaysia's population (24.5%, 6.4 million), and about seven percent Indians (7.4%). In addition, there are more than 13% aboriginal and 'others.' This mixed population constitutes the base for Malaysia's multi-racial, multi-cultural, and multi-religious environment. Malay, English, Mandarin, and Hindi are languages one hears daily, while Islamic style buildings, Chinese architecture, mosaics with modern style high-rise towers, and other styles of built form are what one sees in their surroundings. Residents worship Islamic Mohammed, Christian Jesus, or Chinese gods, according to their free choices rooted in their ethnic values. It reminds us of what Sanderlock pointed out in "Mongrel Cities"; we are living in global cities where the cultural and economic integrations are not controlled by any single country or ethnic group. She argued (2003 p. 3) this is "drastically restructuring cities and regions, [and] is now a familiar refrain." In the case of Malaysian Chinese New Villages, we wonder how Chinese and other Asian cultures have been mixed or recreated when residents are busily relocating from one home to another and from one country to the next.

Based on qualitative methods, we investigate how trans-Asian migrations stimulate the transcultural placemaking around the New Villages in the Kampung area.[2] The New Village of Kampung Kanthan is located in West Malaysia not far from Jess Lee's home region, the Seremban area that we mentioned in the beginning of the paper. In the following section, we first introduce the context of Chinese immigrant history and the formation of New Villages, as well as the socio-economic transformation of Chinese Malaysians within those villages. Secondly, we analyze the trans-Asian migrations within the younger generation of Chinese Malaysian New Villagers, while we study the migration of Asian workers outside Malaysia into the New Villages in the Kampung area. We focus on how the younger generation of Chinese Malaysians blend their cultural practice in their newly settled countries, and how other new Asian workers have been negotiating new boundaries and trans-cultural spaces within these Chinese New Villages. In conclusion, we address how Asian newcomers re-define the landscape, and we examine the opportunities to re-shape trans-cultural Asian villages that allow hybrid identities to emerge.

The Center of Chinese Immigrants on the Margin of Malaysia Society

The wave of Chinese immigration began in the early eighteenth century. Due to crises related to famine, landlord exploitation, and over population, Chinese from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces migrated to Malaysia seeking opportunities to live. Three dominant settlement forces structured these Chinese immigrants' residential patterns: urban port, mining, and rural agriculture settlements (Lee, Tan 2000 p1-5). The Brit-

ish encouraged rural agricultural development. They needed Chinese labor to open up the jungle and farm—especially cultivating economic plants i.e., rubber. When British rule brought stability and order to the Malay states, the Chinese came in greater numbers, as laborers, traders, merchants, shopkeepers, and farmers. Some made their fortunes in Malaya (now named Malaysia) and then returned to China, but many more remained in Malaya (Tan, Ho et al. 2005 p9-16).

During World War II, Japan invaded Malaya and defeated the British government. The Japanese occupation (1942-1945) brought harsh political and economic changes. To avoid the Japanese, thousands of urban unemployed Chinese laborers, miners, and estate laborers took to farming the unoccupied lands on the jungle's fringe. Some of them took up arms, hid in the hills and jungles, and created trouble for the Japanese. Many of them became members of the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) (Chor-Swang N. 1985 p35).[3] After World War II, the British returned to re-colonialize Malaya. MCP demanded and fought for Malayan independence. The British declared the MCP an unlawful "terrorist" organization, and this led to the state of emergency, also called "The Emergency." The British officially proclaimed "The Emergency" in Malaya on June 16, 1948, following outbreak of an armed Communist revolt (Nyce 1973 pxxix).[4]

Unlike the Chinatown models of immigration in northern American or European societies (Yip 1985, Anderson 1991, Zhou 1992), Chinese Malaysian New Villages started as concentration camps during the Emergency Period (1948-1960). In this period, under the "Briggs Plan", the British relocated about 1.2 million rural dwellers and squatters, including Chinese, Malay, Indian and *Orang Asli* (aboriginal) into about 600 new settlements (Pan, 2004). The establishment of these resettlement schemes, commonly known as "New Villages", involved forced movement of populations from scattered villages in rural areas, rubber plantations and tin mining regions. The New Villages were planned for supposed national security reasons and carried out hurriedly in order to curb communist insurgents from approaching scattered villages for recruits or logistic support (Ibrahim Ngah 2010). The "Briggs Plan" resettled squatters into New Villages surrounded by fences and police posts that cut the communists off from their source of food, supplies, and manpower.[5] This massive resettlement program mainly affected Chinese immigrants and redefined the residential patterns of Malaya (Tan, Ho et

al. 2005). Due to differences in geographical layout, historical background and data information the states of Sarawak and Sabah in eastern Malaysia are excluded from the analysis. Our analyses focus mainly on New Villages in western Malaysia.

As mentioned above, Malaysia has 450 New Villages on record, as of 2002 (Lin and Fang 2005).[6] Chinese make up more than 82% of the New Villages' population in all states.[7] New Villages have been of marginalized in political, economic and social development in Malaysia. Regarding the economic conditions in particular, Chinese New Villagers were left behind in the multicultural national economic picture in the 1970s. Malaysia's New Economic Policy (NEP) was first announced in 1970 as the principal policy response to the post-election race riots of May 1969[8], of which also resulted in a significant regime change. The NEP was supposed to create the conditions for national unity by reducing interethnic resentment due to socioeconomic disparities. In practice, the NEP policies were seen as pro-Malay, the majority ethnic community (K.S.J. 2004). The economic opportunities for Chinese urban and rural working class actually became worse under the NEP. The problem of socioeconomic under-development in New Villages was largely ignored by the government. The allocation of funds from the government to New Villages was only of a small proportion. According to the newspaper, the Malaysia Plan only allocated a total of 33 million ringgit (around 10.5 million USD) to New Villages for use between 1971 to 2000 (Lin, 2009). In actuality, the Department of Housing and the Local Government only granted 206 million ringgit to the 450 New Villages. Each village had an average of 590 thousand ringgit, totaling 3.1% of all allocated funds under the Eighth Malaysia Plan (Chinese Associations' Recommendations for the Ninth Malaysian Plan 2005).

In and Out of Kanthan New Village: Young Generations' Trans-Asian migrations and Cross-ethnic emotions

Planned during the Emergency period, Kampung Kanthan is one of the Chinese *Hepo Hakka* (dialect group) New Villages located at Perak State, West Malaysia. After mining declined, the area became famous for its cassava plant between 1960 and 1970. However, farming experienced a drastic decline, and most tapioca products were imported from Thailand. The agricultural economy could not support second-generation villagers, many of whom migrated overseas to countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, or Taiwan for career opportunities.

Asian newcomers emigrated to Kampung Kanthan in the Perak region in the 1980s, when the area was industrialized.[9] Due to the emerging urbanization in the Perak region, many areas of Kampung Kanthan were rezoned into industrial parks and resident housing from the 1980's until 2000s. In general, we define the Kampung Kanthan New Village and the new industrial parks and surrounding communities as the Kanthan Area (Figure 1). Perak Hi-Tech Park program from the Ninth Malaysia Plan was among the newly rezoned parks.[10] In the early 2000's, large numbers of Asian immigrant workers, from Indonesia, Thailand, Nepal, Myanmar, India, Cambodia, and Bangladesh relocated to the Perak region to seek better labor-intensive jobs.

Indeed, in the Kanthan Area in the 21st century, many young Chinese Malaysians are jumping overseas while young Asian immigrant workers are swapping into their place (Figure 2). As explained earlier, Chinese New Village settlements have been outside of the mainstream of economic and social development. Young villagers experience the disadvantages—i.e. no home ownership of their houses in Villages, and no prosperous careers in Malaysia. Similar to the Malaysian contestant, Jess Lee, who we introduced in the beginning of our paper, waves of young Villagers have—legally or illegally—migrated to others countries in search of their dreams. Popular destinations of the "jumping overseas" movement include Japan, United Kingdom, United State, Canada, Australia, Taiwan, Singapore and China. Compared to Thai workers who relocate to Demark, the countries listed here do not require people to move too far away from home.[11] However, the Officer of the Public Services and Complaints Department, Datuk Michael Chong Ten Soo, revealed that up to forty-two-thousand Chinese Malaysians (most are New Village residents) had become illegal immigrant workers in Japan in 1993 (Oriental Daily 2010/02/16).

The young New Villagers' jumping overseas movement created transnational families within the New Villages. In the case of the transnational family phenomenon, many Chinese Villagers' families have their children, siblings or relatives scattered in different countries. Much more complicated than Levitt's (2001) transnational Villagers, whose lives intertwined between Boston, USA and the corner of Mayor Carlos Pena's feed store in Dominica, Chinese Malaysian Villagers' family members are scattered in multiple countries. Maybe the term "trans-multi-national families" better depicts the phenomenon. For example, a typical scenario could be as follows: a

family has three siblings, the elder sister works in Singapore, or maybe Japan; the younger studies in Taiwan; and the little brother stay with their grandparents in the Kanthan New Village. During Chinese Lunar New Year, they all return to their home in the New Village and go to their local Malaysian karaoke bar to sing pop music from Taiwan, Korea, Japan and China. Therefore, we will identify karaoke singing and other activities as "*movable transcultrual performances,*" and we will analyze movable performances after we explain how Asian laborers join the transnational movements.

Meanwhile, in terms of Perak's regional labor market, a large of numbers of Malaysian Chinese ventured out to developed countries. However, this led to a domestic industrial need to bring in fresh young labors to fill the hole; the shortage in the work force created a pull for Asian newcomers. The Malaysian government imported Asian immigrant workers to fulfill the needs of the rapid industrialization of the 1980s. Newcomers were from countries including (Figure 3): Indonesia (66.5%), Nepal (9.2%), Bangladesh (8.0%), India (4.5%), and Myanmar (4.2%). Immigrant workers were employed in all major sectors of the economy, with manufacturing accounting the largest share at 30.5%, closely followed by services (25%), agriculture (24.7%), and construction (19.8%). Immigrant workers in the service sector were mainly employed in restaurants, hotels, and as domestic maids (2004 report). The 2007 statistics report from Immigration Department of Malaysia shows that the number of immigrant workers was more than two million. Compared to Chinese New Villagers, the newly-arrived Asian immigrant workers have been placed in even more marginal socio-political ranks than their Chinese predecessors.

Even though Chinese Malaysian Villagers working overseas and Asian newcomers working in the Kanthan area both struggle with their foreign environments, the Chinese Kanthan New Villagers faced strong discrimination from their new Asian neighbors. ChiaHeng is a Chinese Malaysian from the Kanthan area. He became an illegal construction laborer in Japan from 1993 to 1997. He said when he was first working on a construction site in Japan; he was mistreated due to the language barriers. His boss hit his head, and cohorts called him "*an idiot*" or "*bastard.*" Malaysian workers were often discriminated against in Japan. Japanese made fun of Chinese Malaysian workers and their food.[12] In the mean time, Chinese villagers in Kanthan Village also excluded other Asian workers who recently immigrated. Many newcomers lived in crummy

apartments adjacent to the Kanthan Village; few of them lived in the Village with Chinese families around. When these Asian newcomers hung out in Chinese New Villages—e.g., playing basketball, shopping, and gathering—Chinese Villagers felt threatened. CheeWei was afraid of immigrant workers because he thought they intruded into *his* village. A young mother LanMei said "a long time ago, the village was peaceful. Now I don't let my daughter go cycling in front of the house, as I worry about her getting kidnapped by an immigrant worker."

Indeed, Chinese Villagers' feelings about their Asian new neighbors are a mix of fear, worry, concern, and sympathy. When stories like a Nepalese worker being robbed and injured by an unknown India worker came up, the locals showed their humanity. LanMei, a Chinese mom, thought some immigrant workers are "good" guys; others are "bad." Her family members are also immigrant workers in other countries, and may also face unjust abuse by their employers. She realized all of them are in the same boat—regardless of whether they are inside or outside the Kanthan New Village—even though, passengers on the boat may be of different nationalities.

We are on the same boat: movable cross-cultural performances for emerging transcultural spaces

The "same boat" that we pointed out in the last paragraph serves as a perfect metaphor to describe the situation for both Chinese New Villagers and new Asian immigrants who live in the Kanthan area and in other countries. Within this situation, physical and material spaces may not be the mechanism that glues people from different cultures together. Cross-cultural events, actions, activities, and performance-related behaviors transform daily places into transcultural stages. Similar to the trans-Pacific lifestyles defining Taiwanese Americans' dual homes between USA and Taiwan (Chang 2006), this cross-cultural Kanthan "boat" is not constructed by solid materials, but by actions, that is, series of *movable cross-cultural performances*. These cross-cultural actions could flexibly define culturally embedded spaces in which performances take place. Series of *movable cross-cultural performances* refer to bodily-based movements that break boundaries of distinctive cultures. Movements can include—but are not limited to—music, sports, festivals, or ritual practices in ordinary circumstances or special occasions. Indeed, space changes completely when several performing activities come up, no matter in public areas or private places. For example, music in KTV and music in public spaces can both be transculturalized, even though

the former is closed and private and consumes space, and the latter is an open, public space for festivals and parties. When music is present and songs from different countries and cultures are sung, different cultural characteristics are engendered. For the cross-cultural Kanthan boat, three layers of movable performances should be addressed: (1) at sport fields, culture-based body manners in soccer games, (2) at public spaces or private karaoke centers, cross-cultural lyrics and transnational personal attachments, and (3) at the traditional Chinese religious temple, the multiple language music and dances, barrier-free zone for different religious believers.

TransAsian Actions at the Kumpang area's sport fields

Sports and the landscape of sport fields facilitate encounters between people from diverse cultures. New Asian immigrants cross the Kanthan area on their way to the leisure park at Taman Sri Kanthan. They created a comfortable space for themselves to play soccer, volleyball, and to chat (Figure 4). Occasionally, workers from different countries play together, and the field is transformed into a cross-cultural space.

At sport fields in the Kanthan Area, Chinese Malaysians, Thailanders, Nepalese, Indonesians or Bangladeshis play their favorite sports. In general, Chinese Malaysians love basketball, but other Asians enjoy soccer. Soccer games are popular for Asian newcomers. The soccer field of the Kanthan area turns into united Asian nations when the games start. For example, Kuwat, an Indonesian worker, joins games with workers from other Asian countries after work, and Ahmad goes to Taman Sri Kanthan to play soccer and chat with friends. The experienced soccer players can easily identify the movement styles of players from different cultural backgrounds. Usually, Malaysian players enjoy team play, and they value good players only if the individual can support the group. Thai and Indonesians, deeply influenced by their traditional game "Sepak Takraw", tend to shoot the ball high in air, but are less capable in handling ground-level ball movements. Workers from Myanmar (or Burma) historically struggled with and suffered from wars; they tend to have a very tough attitude and make formidable opponents. When you are a ball carrier, as defenders, they will follow you as closely as if they are your shadow; it is extremely hard to get rid of them. Nevertheless, these cross-cultural soccer nuances, among others, intermingle on the field when a game starts.

More importantly, each player's body movements also allows them to reconnect to certain defining moments in their memories—memories of playing in their own home countries, i.e., the triumphant moment of shooting the goal, the moment of being a goal keeper successfully keeping a shot away, the post-game experience of lying on the soft grass watching clouds in the sky, and so on. Memories of these bodily-engaged feelings bring Asian newcomers to revisit their homes back in their motherlands.

Transnational music cultivating transcultural bodies

The cross-cultural lyrics in music—be it in public spaces or private karaoke centers— nurture transnational personal attachments for both Asian newcomers in the Kanthan area and transnational Chinese Malaysian young people in different countries and societies. When Jess Lee, the Chinese Malaysian singer, sang Beyoncé's *Listen*, the lyrics of the song go far beyond Beyoncé's individual life experiences and cultural interpretations. The broadcasted stage at "*The Avenue of Super Stars*" in Taiwan, captivated Chinese Malaysians' attention around the globe. At the moment when Jess sang, intermingled memories, emotions, life experiences and personal meanings emerged from each audience's heart. Transcultural spaces surfaced in people's homes and in commercial clubs as the channel played and each audience member engaged him/herself in Jess's *Listen*.

Music, particularly karaoke, is an important link in the transcultural process for Chinese Malaysian young people who work in different countries. Jane, who worked in Singapore as a project coordinator, liked to shop and sing on weekdays. Chinese Malaysian YokeQi also said she always gathered with friends and sang at KTV or cooked tasty Malaysia food when she worked in Japan. ChiaHeng worked in Chiba-ken in Japan and enjoyed singing at KTV. Many Chinese Malaysians sing popular songs at KTV in Japan or Singapore as a way to blend different culture in a closed space. In our own experiences of living in Malaysia, Taipei or travelling in China, our friends from different countries all love KTV because we can sing songs from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, China and the United States. These pop songs served as our common language, and each of us has our own personal distinct memories and meanings attached to each particular song.

Asian newcomers love to sing, too. Indonesian immigrant workers living in Kanthan Area always play guitar outside their dorm (Figure 5). Interestingly, Indonesian music is very close to Malay language and rhythm. Music is a bridge for immigrant workers to adapt and enjoy their new lives overseas. However, the language of lyrics embodies socio-cultural status and, therefore, sets a boundary between different ethnic groups. For example, Chinese Malaysians seldom sing Malay songs. They prefer to sing popular Hong Kong, Taiwan or Western songs. PeiPei, a Chinese villager told me she didn't sing Malay songs because she thought it was difficult for Chinese speakers to pronounce the Malay language. More importantly, Chinese media networks often broadcast news and pop music from Hong Kong, Taiwan and China. Therefore, local Chinese Malaysians associate themselves with Pan-Chinese pop culture much more than the Malaysian youth culture.

The transcultural stage in front of the traditional Chinese Kwan Tee Meow Temple

Religious spaces and festivals provide the third opportunity to transform plural cultures into intertwined forms. At the traditional Chinese religious temple, the multi-lingual music and dance creates a barrier-free zone for different religious believers.

Horton (1995) observed an amazingly transcultural July 4th Cinco De Mayo in Monterey Park, California, where Asian and Latino Americans celebrated the American National Day with Chinese dragon dances and Latino music and traditional dress. The multicultural festival at Monterey Park is a clear example for how diverse cultures mixed in a significant event that was originally only meaningful for an individual cultural group. In the Kanthan area, the traditional Chinese Kwan Tee Meow Temple bring Asian new comers with different religious believes join Chinese audiences through pop music and bikini girls' hip hop dancing performances. The Kwan Tee Meow Temple has been the religious center for Chinese Villagers for decades. Ever year, the Temple committee coordinates the mid-autumn festival on, lunar calendar, August 15th, dedicated to the Guan Tee god (*Guan Ti* or *Guan Gong* idol who usually found in the hall of most Buddhist temples). The festival's events include *TeoChew* and *Cantonese Opera* (Traditional Chinese Opera), as well as dancing and other performance activities.

Interestingly enough, during the 2010 Moon Festival (lunar August 15th), Chinese villagers and immigrant workers were bored during the traditional *TeoChew* performance. However, these two groups were extremely engaged in the popular dancing and singing, even though it was rainy (Figure 6). That day, a show girl dressed bikini was praying for *Kwan Tee* to bless all attendees with peace in family and plenty of money. After that, six girls wearing red bikini dancing dresses and sang to praise the Kwan Tee god. The rhythm of the song was adapted from a very popular pop song that everyone was familiar with. At the same time, hip hop dancers worshiped the god with their rocking style body movements that young audiences loved, no matter whether they were Chinese or Asian newcomers. Ahmad, an Indonesian worker, told us that although he had already lived in the Village for two years, he still felt *seronok* (happy or excited) when he went to watch the performance. Geni and Ali, also Indonesian, said they had watched the performance in Kwan Tee Meow. Ali expressed that while he did not go inside the hall or eat the food served there because he is a Muslim who follows halal dietary laws; he still enjoyed the show from outside. Even Muslim workers standing outside of the hall with umbrellas remained nearby the hall railing or sat behind Villagers. Some immigrant workers also joined the crowd and sat at the edge of the hall**.**

More importantly, although Villagers and immigrant workers have different religions and beliefs, popular music culture blurred the boundaries between them. As such, Kwan Tee Meow Temple momentarily switched into a trans-cultural space and religion-free zone for Villagers and immigrant workers.

Conclusion

Throughout the paper, we argue a transcultural place cannot be materialized unless certain culturally-meaningful actions are taking place. We hypothesize series of movable cross-cultural performances construct transcultural places. In our cases, we identify three major performances: (1) at sport fields, culture-based body manners in soccer games, (2) at public spaces or private karaoke centers, cross-cultural lyrics and transnational personal attachments, (3) at the traditional Chinese religious temple, the multiple language music and dances, barrier-free zone for different religious believers.

Our story also reveals that transcultural processes can occur any where, at any time. However, in an economically marginalized and resource-hungry community, like the Chinese Malaysian New Village, the daily mood of Chinese villagers may *guard*, not *share*, their public spaces with outsiders. It is only when important festivals are taking place and people are in a celebratory mood do the locals become generous, and are willing to share their spaces with others.

Before closing the story, we hope everyone will not only "listen" to our own hearts, but also each others' hearts carefully. When transnational migrations and transcultural exchanges take place frequently, we all may feel the way Jess sang of in the beginning of our paper: " I am alone at a crossroads. I'm not at home in my own home…." We will feel lonely and insecure if we embrace the old idea that one distinct culture or practice is *the* way to do things. This "not at home in one's own home" feeling of our home, our neighborhood, our community, or our city could be relieved if we cultivate our heart and eyes with multiples ways to interpret situations, and grow a transcultural lens to view our surrounding world.

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Endnotes

[1] Malaysia is a federal constitutional monarchy with 13 states and 3 federal territories (Kuala Lumpur, Labuan and Putra-jaya).

[2] Based on qualitative methods, we applied participant observation and in-depth interviews in the field during a twelve-month period. The majority of the in-depth interviews were conducted between July and October of 2010. Combining the 'snow-ball' method with random selections, we interviewed more than 30 interviewees, including Chinese villagers and immigrant workers.

[3] With the British defeated, MCP became the spearhead of resistance to the Japanese. With the connivance of the British, MCP retreated into the jungle to organize an anti-Japanese movement, and slowly built up a powerful fighting force, known as the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) (Nyce 1973 pxxxiii). According to Tan, Ho and other researchers (Tan, Ho et al. 2005 p44-46), after WWII, the communists launched their armed struggle against the British, and the previously non-political squatters called Min Yuen (mass movement) became an important source of political and material assistance to the guerrillas.

[4] In the portfolio of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (KPKT), New Villages were largely made up under Emergency Period, but they include a few Chinese villages that pre-existed the Emergency and a few others that were constructed after the Emergency.

[5] "The Malayan Emergancy (1947-1960)." Retrieved 31 October, 2010

6   From 1948 to 1969, the planning and development of New Villages was under military command. Many villagers were forcefully uprooted into this new environment. During the period after 1963 independence, Francis Loh Kok Wah highlights, in an overview of the distribution and population growth of the New Villages, five major problems faced by the majority of the New Villages in the 1970s: lack access to land, low income levels, inadequate educational opportunities, housing and overcrowding, and the lack of social facilities and physical amenities (Loh 2000 p 262).

7   "The Over View" Retrieved 30 October, 2010

8   Inter-ethnic political crisis of May 13 1969 in Malaysia.

9   At that time, Malaysian economy has progressed from a heavy dependence on commodities towards industrialization, Perak is developing its own economy in the same direction, particularly since the heydays of tin are long gone (ASLI 2003).

10   These rezoned areas include Taman Sri Kanthan, Taman Naga Kanthan and Taman Perindustrian Kanthan DTI and more. The government acquired the land of Chinese New Villagers, because neither they have the ownership of their land and nor have permits to develop industrial areas.

11   When I visited Copenhagen, Demark, the winter of 2007, surprisingly learned the Thailand government has established official immigrant workers' program with the Demark government. Many hotel service providers are Thai workers, while Thai restaurants are popular on tourist districts. A Thai waitress informed me that there were nonstop flight between Gopenhagen and Thailand at that time.

12   Yoke Qi went to Japan as young as 21 years old. She became illegal housemaid and factory worker. She said Japanese mocking Malaysian rice is food for bird, because Japanese rice is more expensive and tasty.

Figure 1. Map of the Kanthan Area (made by YanChew Foo)

Figure 2. The multui-cultural streescape in the Kanthan area where commercial signs are written in different languages including Malay (Indonesian language too). (photo taken by YanChew Foo)

Figure 3. Myanmarese workers dressed their homey clothes at their dormitory room. (photo taken by YanChew Foo)

Figure 5. Indonesian worker loves play guitar and sing with his friends after work. (photo taken by YanChew Foo)

Figure 4. A sportfield in the Taman Sri Kanthan, group of Nipple workers chatted after their game. (photo taken by YanChew Foo)

Figure 6. Local Chinese new villagers and other Asian new comers watched the hot girls' hip hop dancing together at the Moon Festival in a rainy evening. (photo taken by YanChew Foo)

Placing Sovereignty in the Hiatus of Urban Landscape: Case Study of Little Indonesia in Taipei

Hung-ying Chen

ABSTRACT: In the era of rapid migration, the rights of migrant workers and foreign brides with different citizenships and ethnic identities is stimulating and challenging multicultural urban governance rhetoric in many East Asian countries. This article focuses on the complex relationship of the government's inner divisions and multicultural practices when migrant issues collide with existing urban development agendas, and observes how sovereignty is being spatialized in Little Indonesia, an ethnic gathering place. Using the concept of governmentality, I will examine how these different transnational multicultural practices compete with each other for the right of using the space and recognized representation. For a year starting from April 2007, I practiced participatory observation in the restaurants in Little Indonesia, which is located nearby the Taipei Main Station in downtown Taipei.

I. Introduction

On June.15th, 2005, Jamaica athlete Asafa Powell with the speed of 9'77" broke the 2002 world record in 9'78" via U.S. famous Athlete Tim Montgomery in the track and field meet of Athens Olympic Game. The distance from Little Indonesia to Taipei Main Station is even less than 100 meters. However, even though thousands of millions of people come and go of Taipei Main Station, it is rare to see Taiwanese to visit the Little Indonesia except the Indonesian workers. It is such a pity to ignore the nearest shortcut toward the paradise of Indonesian cuisine, nevertheless, you may regret for missing such fantastic life of experiencing multiculturalism. Do not miss the great opportunity of widening your scope for the sake of merely the distance of 9'77"! *(Pot, resumption No.359)*

The coverage on (Pot) points out the nearest shortcut toward a secret Indonesian cuisine paradise which hides in several old slum-like blocks of the marrow area of Taipei City. Little Indonesia locates in the southeastern part of Taipei Main Station, the most bustling area for traffic, and also a hotspot for urban redevelopment and several urban mega projects. The existence of Little Indonesia entails an alternative urban development agenda which feed Indonesians and other foreigners who have been lacking promised basis of citizenship[1] to seed their network and entertainment with the "authentic" taste and flavor of Indonesia.

Ostensibly, it seems that the alternative urban development bring by Little Indonesia has successfully blocked the original urban redevelopment project at least over a decade. However, how does "Little Indonesia" compete with those real estate developers who have long term eyed on this geographically strategic area? What are the competing forces practicing place-making and place-marking to operate the mechanism of de-territorialization and re-territorialization in Little Indonesia? These questions arouse my curious toward this tiny, disordered but energetic street block. At the beginning of conducting my fieldwork, I found it very difficult to adapt myself comfortably in that place, needless to mention about having long conversation with anyone there. As a Taiwanese outsider to Little Indonesia, I was once puzzled by how to cease the feeling of "uncomfortable intrusion" for the locals. Later, I decided to start my part-time work as a waitress every weekend in one of the biggest Indonesian restaurant there for yearlong since April 2007; later, I also volunteered in a local NGO – Migrant Workers Concern Desk (MWCD) for a few months. In the process of learning from a place which seems to build solid boundary, I surprisingly realize that the "boundary" is not purely drawn by the lines of races, class and gender; On the contrast, the making of transnational place and its obscure boundary is in relation to its openness to the world which was invisible or unacceptable by the bourgeois social norm.

In the following, I discuss the meaning of the existence of Little Indonesia through three parts: In the first section, I look at the location politics by juxtaposing the relocation process of these ethnic entrepreneurs with the flow of the "neoliberal landscape" of cosmopolitan city; Secondly, I depict an epitome of the life in Little Indonesia; in the final part, following the process of relocation, I discuss how the hidden attacks by police, media and neighborhood are coexisting with the milieu of "weekend carnivals" in Little Indonesia.

II. Little Indonesia: Surviving Under the Urban Competition Rationale

As one of the major countries of origin since early 1980s, Indonesian domestic workers and marriage migrants reach the largest workforce in Taiwan which also brings the niche of building their "hometown business". Little Indonesia is born as a social and spatial byproduct under the trend of national labor recruitment policy.

Rivaling with Urban Redevelopment Projects

The current formation of Little Indonesia has experienced three periods of expansion and relocation. The first period[2] noted the origin of Little Indonesia, formed in 1998-2000, some ethnic businesses started their tenant to 2F market-place 'Jin-hwua department store' in Taipei Main Station. At that time, up to 100 more stores crowded in the 11,900 square meter area. Filipino, Thailand, Vietnamese, Indonesian goods and food make the 2 floor of Taipei Main Station the distinct gathering place for many foreign workers. Later, some of successful storekeepers also started their branches in other cities like Taoyuan, and Taipei County. A vibrant ethnic business market had shaped the 'united nation businesses' during 2001 to 2003. At that time, stores were not only crowded in Taipei Main Station but also expanded to the adjacent area south to Taipei Main Station.

The emergence of Little Indonesia can be read under the context of macro and micro urban redevelopment schemes of the former centrality of Taipei Metropolitan area. Of the macro-scale spatial plan, fierce competition of urban redevelopment projects and complex political terrain shaped among different characters have, on the contrast, stagnated the bolstering of urban redevelopment projects. Since early 1970, the initially draft plan "Taipei Main Station Regional Renewal Project" to rebuilding Taipei Main Station area was raised by KMG Architects & Engineers who invited by the then Taipei city mayor Lee, Deng-Hui. Thereafter, the area was planned as 'Taipei Main Station Special District' passed by Ministry of Interior in 1980, the master plan and detailed city plan later had passed in 1990s; in October 2004 'Doubling Visitor Arrivals Plan' had identified this area as an important 'national gate' and launched international design competition by Council for Economic Planning and Development, Administrative Yuan. It thus promoted an urban mega project consisted by six sub-developmental projects (See Pic.3). But this project does not get chance to be completed for the following reason:

Construction projects to make Taipei Main Station a major transportation hub seem to provide a prospective future for this area; however, subway lines, high-speed railway, direct subway from Taipei to Taoyuan airport…construction works one after another, endless disturbances accompany the whole area for more than 20 years. It thus contributes to the political terrain(Chartterjee, 2006) that chiseled among real estate developers, property owners and no-right residents (the migrants) of the place. In the location of current Little Indo-

nesia, most of the land owners cannot stand the living quality and already moved out for a long time. Furthermore, for many property owners, it is more practicable and predictable to receive rent from the ethnic business rather than engaging in an urban renewal project with high risk. Thus, though the 'real residents' do not have the property rights to participate in the decision making process of urban renewal project, while the project kept putting on hold, these real residents can still rest upon the hiatus of this bustling area with cheap rent.

Yet, a question emerges here is: under the ongoing collisions of urban mega projects which signified, how does social consent toward Little Indonesia is shaped and practiced?

Losing the Using Right to Taipei Main Station- A Blessing in Disguise?

Firstly, micro-scale of spatial exclusion plans of Taipei Main Station launched by a series of step: shifting the rights of operation and setting strict barriers of business solicitation to push the "undesirable" ethnic business outside of the Main Station building. In 2003, the former 'Little Indonesia' has already located 3 Indonesian restaurants, 2 Philippines' and 1 Thai's restaurant. However, two times of relocation happened in 2005 and 2007 respectively. The first time is the enforcing close down of 2F 'Jin-hwua department store' due to the turnkey company's breaking contract behavior, most stores forced to move to underground shopping street and formed current Little Indonesia and Little Manila.

The second time of relocation was caused by the transferring of Taipei Main Station's operating rights. In the transition process of operation right[3], it is clearly to see that through the exercise of management skill: Taipei Main Station tries to avoid the space weekly being occupied by foreign workers through a series of collaboration of government divisions. Such announcement aims at reclaiming, strengthening the sovereignty of Taipei Main Station and also exercising to pull the undesirable 'multicultural landscape' out.

> After 9 months preparation, the second floor of Taipei Main Station which has long been occupied by foreign workers will turn into the multicultural food court in the remaking by the Breeze Center. The best deal done by Taiwan Railways Administration will expect to gain a huge income over NT. 50,000,000 dollars per year. On the other side, the Breeze Center will get 12 years-long operating rights, and if it is profitable, the

contract could be prolonged for 6 years in priority. (2007-10-25/ Broadcasting Corporation of China)

Nevertheless, following the action of taking back the using right; to re-establish the operation right over the station becomes a critical task. During the process of transition, Taiwan Railways Administration immediately expelled out the Southeastern Asian ethnic businesses which originally settled in different floors of the main building. Since the contract of operating rights has been revised from the model of small self-employed tenant shift to the model of enterprise with selected brands, the step of re-institutionalization[4] also redefines the hierarky within the spatial use pattern and appears in an **ambivalence form of 'semi-privatization'**. What the 'spatial hierarky' refers to here is the responsibility of spatial management which includes the spatial order and the transformation of operating style is shifting completely into the duty of turnkey company – the Breeze Center. Therefore, the emergence of 'turnkey company' is served as a mediation of dealing with unwanted obstacles during the gentrification process which resulted in the invisible social exclusion.

After replacing 'Jinhwua' which had occupied 2 years Taipei Main Station without paying rent, the newly established Breeze Center Company rise to stardom in the great ovations from media coverage[5]. The CEO of Breeze Center Mr. Liao declared that he will establish a "cosmopolitan food plaza" in Taipei Main Station for people from his sophisticated experience of traveling abroad (See Pic. 4). Yet, the crucial issue of "what will fly globally and what will not" (Robertson, 1995) emerges at the time. Since the exotic cuisine could not ensure to prevent the risk of 'the degradation of spatial quality', in the period of business solicitation, the boss of Sari restaurant in Little Indonesia tried to apply for operating, though the threshold of business owner's qualification[6] which set by Breeze Center Company is very difficult (See Pic. 5). However, after the wrap-lease officer knowing the location of Sari restaurant, he rejected the application with an excuse that the style of Sari restaurant does not fit the image of this place. The seemly common event of sieving out during leasing process actually highlights the 'privatized' transformation of Taipei Main Station. After the power of wrap-lease was shifting from government to private sector, in this process, we could see the original bid threshold which based on capital asset and the potentiality of gaining profit is, however, decided in terms of the hiding agenda of uncertainty fear toward certain ethnic consumers.

In the case of Taipei Main Station, a clear vision of its use of public space will envisage to washout the 'foreign workers' gathering place' and replaced by multicultural restaurants. Such announcement reminds the "owner" of the public place of Taipei Main Station is Taiwan Railway Administration. However, there are still some exceptions[7] with charity looks which reconfigure the 'timing' of which foreign workers can use of Taipei Main Station. In 2003, during the SARS[8] period Taipei Main Station become the memorial meeting venue for 3 sacrificed Indonesian caretakers that hold by Department of Labor, Taipei City. In the competing among different community over the public place, the 'need' which could be tolerance in such a space is been assumed. Taipei Main Station situated in a temporal balance between the benevolence toward 'the sacrificed other' and the market driven force.

III. A Snap Shot of Little Indonesia

On every Sunday, all kinds of business and activities are vibrantly smashing Little Indonesia. Since 5am, employees start the preparation for a long day. Around 8 am, some people already gathered start their Karaoke. The afternoon and early evening would be the peak of every Sunday. The "ghost dancing club" in the weekdays has a long queue in the Sundays. Most of the restaurants run until 8pm. Generally, you can easily find some sort of multi-function store including restaurant, Karaoke, remittance, money exchange, dancing pool, snacks shop, electronic products, magazine, book and hijabs…and so on, at least 7 to 8 types of business incredibly all squeeze into one tiny store with roughly 36 square meter. Some migrant groups are preceding their education and organizing program in the church place. Despite of above mentioned, the columns along the passway of buildings, under the eaves and the stairs of some vacant building, all kinds of corners can be well utilized by street vendors.

Some stores occupied with fixed place have substantially formed the virtual territory with the distinct character of "Indonesian culture". Tagging with one specific culture, this place, indeed, has long attracted lots of Indonesian people, and call for the ideology of ethnic solidarity. All kinds of business, legal and illegal, store, restaurant and street vendors, all kinds of good and service generated by the need. The most common type of business is 3-in-1 restaurant (including restaurant, grocery store plus Karaoke), express service, and catalogue shop which dispatch furniture and electronic goods to Indonesia...etc. The status of employers can be dif-

ferentiated into three types: some are Indonesian-Taiwanese couple co-operate or operate by Indonesian marriage migrant herself; some are Southeast Asian Oversea Chinese (and their foreign spouse); and some others are Taiwanese who cooperate with their Oversea Chinese friends.

Types of Businesses

The business types in Little Indonesia are not all composing by products with "ethnic culture". Some of the businesses get developed by fulfilling the imagination of "making connection between hometown-alien places"; and some are developed in accordance to the real need for survival, such business directly reflect the dilemma many migrant workers have suffered - limited or unrecognized "citizenship".

Business which Connecting Hometown and Alien Place

For those immigrants, migrant workers and Oversea Chinese from Indonesia, the food in Indonesia fulfill their tongues by the "authentic" flavor of Indonesian cuisine (according to the cook from different area of Indonesia, the taste could be quite different store from store) which they barely can find in other place in Taiwan. However, to emphasize on "authentic" is just one of the critical element to compete with other Indonesian restaurants; in the process of profit making, the entrepreneurs need not only the capacity to shoulder the risk, but also the capacity to utilize metaphors and stories, to create their own story for becoming profitable enterprise. For example, two of the biggest restaurants in Little Indonesia show such capacity, these owners combines "ikan goring" (Indonesian style fried fish) and "tempat"(fried soybean) with fried food which generally selling in Taiwanese night market. My former boss even find an Indonesian coincidentally planting Indonesian banana "pisang rastali", so that to have "authentic pisang goreng" without flying back home, become the unique special of the restaurant I was once working for.

For the Taiwanese, second generation of Taiwanese-Indonesian couple, taxi drivers around Taipei Main Station, or some foreigners especially backpackers who has once stayed in the hostel of this area, this place refresh them for being able "to imagine foreign land in hometown", or "to imagine foreign land in other foreign land".

Portable Business and Free Business

From Taipei Main Station to the adjacent districts, the shift of location brings a significant shift in the pattern of the ethnic business. Previously, the logic of attributing space is by renting the unit, some units would divide into more tiny units by the private deal among renters.

After moving to Little Indonesia, many street vendors appear in a parasite way to the beneath store, they pack their tools and products in one portable case, for its convenience of slipping out from police's inspection. Some workers or Indonesian Chinese students adopt this way to create part-time job themselves. A factory worker Jay who is famous for his diligent used to repair discarded battery chargers and then sell to other workers. Yasbi, still a college student, every weekend he always attracts lots of people sitting by him, his business is starting by using his laptop to install latest pop songs into people's mobil phone. Sometimes he also sells second-hand camera and mp3. However, he also said to me that "you don't understand, every Sunday you guys have fun here and there, eating and chatting, I try hard to pretend calm, however, I am actually very anxious to be caught one day…". Such highly unsafety and uncertainty makes it as a quiet and low-key business, no advertisement.

Hope/less Business

"Hope" and "help" also become one of the critical product here selling to those hopeless and despair customers. However, it is the unequal relation among the worker, employer, government and the brokers (or mediators) that create such service (or more precisely- trap) become profitable. Many illegal brokers or strangers hang around Little Indonesia, in many stores they search for workers whose face look sorrow, and promote their service to "largely shorten the time to back home" by introducing their doubtful networks in Immigration Bureau, Police Station, et cetera. A local organization Migrant Workers' Concern Desk (below noted as MWCD) often conduct such cases, many runaway workers find no way out but gamble with their only hope and trust on these problematic "mediators".

MWCD, IPIT and Special Sundays

On the other side, Little Indonesia does not only provide the basic function of social networking, but also provides a venue for the mutual empowerment among female migrant workers. One day I met Father Suwendi in a barber shop operated by an Indonesian marriage migrant. Thereafter I realized that there is another social networking gradually formed by

these migrant empowerment groups. Father Suwendi works in "Migrant Workers' Concern Desk", a service-oriented organization. During the weekdays, he and other Filipina, Vietnamese sisters go visit many detention centers to meet those workers who were caught and waiting for deportation. To document their case, to call their employer and claim their unpaid salary back, and asking support for helping them to pay flight ticket. Every weekend, the migrant group IPIT found by Indonesian sisters in the same place for language class, singing, dancing and advocacy work. Some of the Taiwanese employers wanted to block their employees' participation. After "auditing" these classes and activities, most of the employers become very supportive to their employees.

Father Suwendi also planned to invite some famous Indonesian pop starts, actress to hold concert in Taiwan. I heard about similar practices in Little Manila, and some Nepali communities in Seoul, but when I saw those activities, I was quite surprised by such vibrant connection of transnational entertainment space, which tries to overcome the geographical limitation, to reproduce entertainment scene of home country in a strange land. And, how flexible the role of a religious cadre could be, also reminds me of not knowing how the interweaving of transnational social space is going on.

IV. The Hidden Attacks behind Weekend Carnivals

> Relations of domination are, at the same time, relations of resistance.-- James Scott, 1990:45

> To importing the foreign labors (in Taiwan), it might guide toward a disguised immigration, can we (our society) tolerate more foreign immigrants at all? I think, **if we raise an investigation on whether citizens willing to have a Thai-village, Philippine village or even Malay village in Taiwan or not, to share our opportunities of employment and all the livings here with foreigners, I am afraid that people here barely will agree**.(emphasized by author) -- Zhao, Shou-bo[9], 1992:145

Every year Taipei city government held the Thai Songkran Water festival in the Red House Plaza in order to show its respect toward Thai workers' contribution. Limousines dispatched from different companies unloaded Thai workers one car after another. After all workers gathered, the shows then started with Thai traditional dance, people crazily pouring waters and flours, and the atmosphere hits when the Thai workers' heavy metal band was on the stage. Take a critical look at this kind of

festival funded by the government, you may find it looks like some sort of Southeast Asian cultural circus or itinerant hospital for curing workers' nostalgia. Though such events are designed out of good intention, the tolerance toward the collective existence of migrant workers apparently show its limitation if we comparing the hidden rationale of the former minister of Council of Labour Zhao's word, the forced eviction of ethnic business in Little Indonesia and the modernize and more desirable "cosmopolitan cuisine" designed by Breeze Center.

Little Indonesia also shares very similar carnival-like atmosphere every weekend. Contrast to the regular, boring factory work or domestic work, the high excitement in an ephemeral, informal urban landscape may provide another way for the migrant workers to release the stress and anxiety. However, stigmatized media coverage accompanies with fierce inspection from polices and immigration officers agitated the peace of this place. These different forces of attacks thus provoke people of the place generally become very sensitive and defensive to the Taiwanese outsiders. In this section, I use some examples to describe the forces of attacks and their subtle relations with local business. It also provides a clue for us to understand that the formation of general sensations of both territorialization and de-territorialization are go parallel in Little Indonesia.

Police, Media and the Gaze Relations

The transition of places does not only change the spatial pattern of Little Indonesia, but also bring new skills of spatial surveillance.

Prior to the Taipei Main Station period, even there was a police branch locating in the 1F lobby, polices were seldom go to the 2F 'Jin-hwua' Department store to execute inspection. Boss Mr.D said: *'In the past when we were still in "Jin-hwua", they(police) can come but rarely do, despite of special cases of rob, steal….This is because they are afraid to get into trouble in someone's "department store[10]". Now is different, for the sake of achievement over "runaway workers", every weekend they enjoy visiting here'*. The difference of police may relate to the ambiguity of such a private enterprise-owned public space like "Jin-hwua Department Store".

In the new space, it is definitely freer for the public officers to patrolling around, on the streets and allies in Little Indonesia without scruple, except for the private stores. Previously,

polices are more carefully to keep their relationship with these stores. Because polices often got to court due to illegal invading before the enactment of Article 67 of Immigration Act which authorize the right to 'intrude' private space in the name of enforcing crackdown. Hence, in order to build a long term relationship, both some of the older polices from local branch and entrepreneurs would rather choose to negotiate their relation with each other. After all, a friendlier relation between the local bureau and residents are nothing bad to them.

However, as a popular place for many kinds of migrants, under the severe policy of catching runaway workers with certain quota each year, Little Indonesia also becomes the hot spot for different polices and immigration officers. The most out-of-control time[11] I had ever met was that at the peak one hour, the boss and employees distinguish 12 public officers all gathered around the same restaurant. It includes policemen in uniform or plainclothes who came from different branches of Taipei city and immigration officers, and later they explained it is by merely coincidence[12].

Such tension between police and local residents has lots to do with the media coverage. In the case of Little Indonesia, the impact created by mass media becomes a critical means to bridging and reinforcing the images of ghetto pathology and further legitimating the intervention from the government. Police forces are actually easy to be waived by negative news about Little Indonesia. The existing media coverage of Little Indonesia, for example, could be classified into two types in general, one is the exotic cuisines and multiple compact use of the street activities; the other is story-making on ghetto pathology such as sex trades, human trafficking and the illegal financial exchange market. All the negative images help articulate all kinds of social problem with a specific location. And these invisible pressures further bring the enforcement of population control more hostile to migrant workers. In this case, we can see that the tension and struggles most of migrant workers need to afford, is not only in the space of production (for the domestic workers, most it refers to their employers' home), but also extend to common urban space of reproduction.

In this kind of narrative structure, ethnic minorities and aliens are easily to be represented as the ideal type of 'the other'. As a result, wherever in city or rural areas in Taiwan, the gathering spaces of immigrants and migrant workers

are usually be seen as the symbol of multi-culture, exotics, the cultivating container of sex trade and/or crime.

The governmentality of population surveillance and self-discipline is shaped by the power of interpretation and articulation of media coverage as well as the police power which penetrating to the daily life of Little Indonesia. First, coverage frequently comes as the first hand information of surveillance to utilize as the reference of governance, and enhance the tight and/or loose tendency of governmental flexibility. Second, the body surveillance served by public authorities. The media discourse has formed the invisible pressure on the government practices. Accordingly, such invisible pressures melt into the daily practices between ethnic gathering pocket and governmental apparatus. However, in the 'surveillance-oppressed' relation, the only thing could local people confirmed, is the ethnic identity of surveillants. Those unfamiliar Taiwanese faces may imply the eyes of surveillance and the gaze at spectacular landscape. Thence, 'Taiwan' as a vague but explicit tagging of 'state' which functions as the 'encompassment' in the way of the presence of Taiwanese in Little Indonesia. In other words, the sense of territorial in the ethnic gathering pocket, accompanied with the 'isolated', 'ghetto pathology' discourses is actually fictitious construction to itself since such strong surveillance mechanisms make the place highly porosity.

The Invisible War in the Neighborhood

Sometimes the local neighborhood also impeaches to the environment bureau for the noise of their karaoke and Indonesian music. On the other side, these entrepreneurs do also know how to play back with their Taiwanese neighborhood, such as to turn down the volume when seeing the public officer from the Department of environment coming over. Sometimes they are not that lucky. The tables and chairs occupied on the alley could also become the target of impeachment.

Besides, with the serious competition among some popular restaurants, they sometimes suffered sabotage by their competitors. For example, the police from local branch would receive calls for someone impeaching them for illegally selling Indonesian cigarette, or hiring runaway worker. Such experiences gradually trained every storekeepers and employees in Little Indonesia very sensitive and defensive position to the anonymous Taiwanese strangers.

V. Conclusion

In the case of Little Indonesia, spatial competition process composes a picture which shows that a strong place-making process by migrant agency which has long struggled with both the indirect pressures of real estate developers and direct pressures from the surveillance of media and police forces which tries to "spatialize the state" in Little Indonesia to remind its temporality as an ephemeral territory. The way of spatializing the state in a transcultural place is to ensure the controllable population assets and volume; besides, the rebuilding of territory via national devices within adjustment of stratification and localization(i.e. take back the Taipei Main Station) also show an intention of take back the control over certain public space. In this case, the meaning of "spatializing the state" directly points out the crucial challenge in a bottome-up practice of transcultural place-making, that is -- to carefully and skillfully compensate general nationals' insecurity of their territory in the public space (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002).

From the perspective of urban governmentality it reveals that on planning and management, the interaction and mentality have revised mechanism of governmentality which embarks upon the time that the Taiwan Railways Administration's failure on contracting relationship and the unexpectedly rapidly growth of migrants' gathering spaces. Therefore, during the management modal transition process, thoroughly gentrification over the public space in the station has expelled the original organic spatial use in terms of the 'unwanted' ethnic identity and the corresponding 'ethnic images'.

In terms of the axis of "the spatial logic for Little Indonesia to survive", the ethnic gathering place has existed in the urban central area for over a decade, it is indeed a liberalist view of multicultural landscape for celebrate, but also fit in exactly with the nationalist apartheid logic of spatial segregation. The two extremities find their conjoint point in a subtle dynamic yet balance. Building upon multi-aspects of social consent, the real users (tenants) of Little Indonesia can rest upon the hiatus of governance. However, toward what extent may this conjoint point of social consent collapse? Through the process of spatial reordering in Taipei Main Station, and the obvious racist exclusion, the control over population flow reminds us the crucial truth that debunks the irresponsible rhetoric of multicultural governance driven largely by pro-enterprise tendency of urban governance.

To conclude, through the case of Little Indonesia, I hope the exploration of the social consent toward its existence, do bring some reflections for us to see clearer that under the limitation of substantial citizenship and cruel working condition, how and why the place-making process lead by the strong migrant subjects are struggling hardly with not only national labour policy, but also forces of urban redevelopment project and urban governance.

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Endnotes

[1] In the historical conceptualization process of 'citizenship', it mingled with positive and negative sense. It symbolizes revolution and democracy, but also represents conservative and exclusion. Even, the legalized citizenship could not negotiate with ethnicity well, especially be stigmatized with gender, nationalist, religionist…etc.

[2] Prior to 1998, 1999, Taipei Main Station gradually became a popular gathering venue for many foreign workers. During every holiday, workers from other cities of northern Taiwan were gathering here to enjoy their precious day-offs. Some owners of disco pubs in Chong-San (many dubbed as Little Manila) even dispatch free limousine for direct commuting.

[3] Taiwan Railways Administration amended the governance modality diverting the direct leasehold modal into the ROT (Rehabilitation-Operation-Transfer) and to select the branded corporation carefully for rebuilding the relationship of 'contracting out'. In addition, in order to rebuild the outpost of 'national gate' project for catering the globalization trend, the range of contracting out from only second floor in the past, increasing to the underground and one floor.

[4] In the revised contract property, Taiwan Railways Administration releases large more authority to the turnkey to reduce the interaction cost of dealing with small tenants.

[5] As the Business Times reported: 'The "Kindom" which promoted by the developer Radium Life Tech was sold out in merely 3 months; in the same time the "Twin Towers" project is also going to bid; the new metro line which links the airport to Taipei Main Station is estimated to finish in the coming 5 years. It means Taipei Main Station will be the first national gate except Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport. It makes Mr. Liao (the CEO of Breeze Center) embeds the mission to rebuild the 'national gate'. (2007-03-06/ Business Times/ Face to Face/A4)

[6] The sub-contracting is base on the fixed rental and additional mark-up from the income. Besides the threshold above, the basic payment on interior design is NT.1,000,000 dollars (for ensuring the consistence of 'spatial quality').

[7] Taipei Main Station is also an alternative place during 2006 'Red Shirt protests' which pursuing the former Taiwan president Chen,Sui-Bian to step down for his corruption. Some migrant workers followed with their boss to attend the sit-down strike and shouting with the slogan 'A-Bian step down'.

[8] SARS is the abbreviation of 'severe acute respiratory syndrome'.

[9] Zhao is the former Minister of Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. This speech originally is in Mandarin and delivered on the meeting of Legislative Yuan, Taiwan. Both text translation and the words noted in the brackets are by author.

[10] Being a symbolic failure of running a department store, Jinhwua is just under the name of department store, however, without substantial content. In fact, the spatial form of Jinhwua department store is more similar to a marketplace.

[11] The population and atmosphere in Little Indonesia is different from the street vendors. The latter might largely depend on the weather, however, even in the rainstorm days here is still full of people; to store keepers of Little Indonesia, polices and immigration officers might be the symbolic 'monsters'.

[12] According to local area police's statement, in usual, the routinely patrol on hunt down undocumented workers happens one time per month.

Figure 1. In the weekdays, since most of their main customers- the migrant workers- have to work, Little Indonesia appears to be no people around. Some stores choose to close the shop, some stores take the time to prepare the material for the weekend business. Photograph by Hung-ying Chen

Figure 2. A series of massive crackdown happened during March 2008, the then popular underground bank for remitance and money exchange thus closed their chain stores due to the pressure from media coverage and sequentially the crackdown from police and prosecutor. Photograph by Hung-ying Chen

Figure 3. The urban mega project for 'Taipei Main Station Special District' released by Administrative Yuan. Source: Urban Redevelopment Office, Taipei City Government

Figure 4. Looking upon the newly opened Breeze Center at the 2F of Taipei Main Station. Photograph by Hung-ying Chen

Figure 5. The interior scene of Breeze Center which aims at wiping out the 'dark and less-civilize' image of previous 'Jin-hwua Department Store' period. Photograph by Hung-ying Chen

Peripheralization and Other Roman stories

Lorenzo Rinelli

ABSTRACT: This paper locates one of the new frontiers of Europe within a fundamental paradox of the city of Rome: an inexorable expansion of buildings together with a mounting rejection and marginalization of an emergent immigrant population that is vital to the city's expansion.

Analysis of this paradox is crucial if one is to understand how contemporary borders are being modified within the nation-state and at the core of the urbanscape. First, I explain how the city of Rome is connected with contemporary European policies of migration control. The document that anticipates Rome's new urban plan explicitly links Rome and the Mediterranean. Further, the documentary entitled "The Vittorio Square Orchestra" exemplifies Rome's organized discourse of multiculturalism. A critical reading of the documentary will give me the opportunity to explore how films and media in general can contribute to reinforce configurations of multietchnic society from above.

Disillussioned with official discourses of multiculturalism, I then move my research toward the discursively external part of the city: the periphery. There, in the south-eastern area of Rome, I ultimately recognize the interconnections between Europe's emerging southern border and the urban space of Rome. Like a border, the urban structure does not change spontaneously. Nor does a single powerful agent, such as the state, determine it. Urban borders change in ways that manifest social conflicts generated by urban anxiety and indifference. They are related to forms of inclusion/exclusion that occur through modalities of externalization, or in the case of cityscape, of *peripheralization*.

1. Introduction

The social and political questions posed by present-day European migration control policies and their repercussions lead my investigation of European identity into the urban space, which is migrants' most frequent destination. Immigrants tend to be concentrated in the most important urban areas in each receiving country.

As cities become home to a greater number of immigrants, urban and immigration policies necessarily overlap. For instance, analysis of the architecture of the European Union's border management reveals an interior design that features detention camps for immigrants as ordinary features on the landscapes of the most populated outskirts of European cities.[1]

Immigration policies that are adopted to manage international migrations - visa requirements, biometric filtering, militarization of the border - continuously produce a population "in excess," and anxiety while feeding hostility and discrimination." No migrant enters a neutral ideological context when arriving in the EU. Depending on how external controls situate and catalogue migrants individually and collectively, they differently regulate how, and even whether, people are able to enter the EU's urban centers and call them "home" (Balibar, 2004). Once migrants have crossed the border of the EU, they come to occupy a precarious place that in the city exists at the margins of "integration.

There are two reasons to study the city of Rome in relation to the contemporary European policies of migration control. First, the route that goes from East and Central Africa towards Libya via the Sahara Desert is today the most trafficked and policed in North Africa, and therefore the most dangerous. The main flow of migrants who travel from Sub-Saharan Africa to Europe sails from the Libya's coast and arrives at the southern coast of Italy. Rome represents the place where immigrants in Italy can most quickly find points of reference and social coordinates to build new ways of life.

Like it was before, Rome's vocation is then linked to that of the Mediterranean which leads to the second reason. The new urban plan for the city of Rome explicitly promotes the Mediterranean Sea as a harmonious centre of different cultures with Rome as its epicenter, although the history of urban planning in Rome, and particularly fascist ideology, should problematize the Mediterranean as a mechanism that harmoniously regulates the residency of people in Rome's urban space. Officially the plan aims at giving voice to different sounds of the immigrant communities living in the city; in reality, I sustain, it renders their rhythm unintelligible, their essence never a possibility.

Questions to be explore therefore will be related to the official discourse of multiculturalism set in motion by the Rome's town hall and whether it pushes African migrants to the margins of the city creating a distinct places in the city's peripheries. Once at margins it is important to iden-

tify migrants' tactics of resistance and placemaking that support individuals and their communities. It is important to focus on these tactics since they seem to lead to alternative social imaginations beyond marginalization.

2. Rome Peace Capital of the Mediterranean

Forty-five years after the last urban plan[2], on March 14, 2008, the city council approved a new urban plan for the city of Rome. The introduction to the new plan is solemnly titled 'Rome Peace Capital of The Mediterranean: the new urban plan of Rome.'(Morassut)

The document intended to highlight Rome's crucial role in promoting intercultural and inter-religious dialogue. The key word of the new plan is social cohesion. The document describes a utopian city that is accessible to its inhabitants, that is filled with social opportunities, and that is modern without forgetting its historical character.

But what does exactly this document entail?

At first sight, the link between Rome and the Mediterranean recalls a long distant past perhaps best encapsulated by the Roman imperial tag: *mare nostrum* / our sea. "The Mediterranean as *mare nostrum* is already conceptualized as a homogenous space of confinement, possession, and colonization."(Pugliese 11).

As a matter of fact, the definition *Mare Nostrum* appears on the first page of Ceasar's *De bello gallico* (On the war against Galls) to indicate the confidence to have acquired full control over the Mediterranean and thus a change in Rome's foreign policy now oriented to the North towards the Atlantic. The idea of Mare Nostrum entailed a totality of control over that Sea that ironically was considered by Roman Emperors as a mere lake. Instead, the Mediterranean Sea was never a homogenous space both during the Roman occupation no today when European policies of migration control attempt to purge it of foreign bodies. While this text is under revision for istance, thousands of North Africans are crossing the few miles that separate Europe from Africa entering the Italian territory. 'Interior Minister Roberto Maroni said migrants who have landed on the island of Lampedusa threaten the institutional and social structures of Europe.'("Italy warns Europe over migrants")

To talk of the Mediterranean –of its past, present and future- is to move in this disquieting place. (Chambers, 2008, p. 5).

2.1. Multicultural City

Once the African migrant becomes visible in the urbanscape, once she has navigated the surface of the Mediterranean Sea, she comes to be incorporated, more than often, as a multicultural ingredient that serves the scope to promote the image of a tolerant and multiethnic city. The latter has to be contextualized within the strict relation between market and urban society. Multiculturalism has a major leverage for generating future growth and attracting investment capital and consumers.

This phenomenon illustrates a growing relationship between neo-liberalism and cosmopolitanism, whereby Rome competes with the other great capitals of Europe like Paris and London in a social makeup. It is worth noting here, even if in a few words, that only recently Rome is approaching the discourse of multiculturalism and in a superficial way. It is not necessarily because it does not share the same postcolonial flows of Paris and London, but most importantly because the Italian society did not come to terms yet with its colonial past and less with its contemporary role as country of immigration.

Thus nowadays the immigrant, when visible, stands as a classic example of fetish where multiculturalism and celebration/ construction of difference is the natural outcome of a managerial approach to the city. As Deleuze and Guattari have noted 'the dividing line is not between inside and outside but rather is internal to simultaneous signifying chains and successive subjective choices.'(Deleuze 178). It implies a fulcrum, a homogenizing principle at its core, a white wall on which to design a rainbow cloth. The idea behind the document that introduces the urban plan is that Rome with its monuments and (imperial) history plays this role.

In this sense, the slogan Roma Peace Capital of the Mediterranean signifies a homogeneous space, without conflicts, where therefore the city's market can flourish and different voices can be distinctly heard. Peace, intended as absence of conflict, is then the necessary chamber where to generate harmony. But, where to find harmony other than in an orchestra?

2.2. For whom does the Orchestra play?

The documentary '*L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio*' [Vittorio Square's Orchestra] takes place in the district around Rome's main train station. Today the area is largely populated by immigrants whose activities revolve around a square that is a hub for various cultures, sounds and odors from all corners of the world: Vittorio Emanuele II Square. This Piazza, its essence, inspired musician Mario Tronco, and filmmaker Agostino Ferrente to reunite some of the most extraordinary performers among immigrants, each one unique in origin, instrument, and musical experience, in an orchestra, that plays world music all over the world.

In 2006 a documentary that tells the story of how the project took shape has been released and since then screened in many festival around the world winning several awards (Ferrente). Watching the documentary, we walk in a sort of harmonious melting pot that fits perfectly the official discourse of Rome's as a multicultural place presented with the new urban plan. While the story revolves around the project to revitalized and save an old theatre, the Apollo Theatre, from being transformed in a *Bingo*, we have the impression that immigrants exist simply to provide some color to this political mission: they never participate directly to group's meetings nor are involved in conversations with the town hall representatives. They remained isolated from the political possibility of this endeavor. They are left aside to do what they are good at doing: playing music.

The two central characters, both Italians and both quite established within the art community, seem to enjoying a practice of fishing for new artists in the area around the square. An attentive reading of these scenes reveals an instinctive hesitancy, incomprehension if not hostility, towards the two Italians. When at the beginning of the documentary they enter in different shops to look for any sort of artist, whether a singer or a player of tablas, they do it intruding others' spaces with a sort of nosiness and naivety "only dimly aware of a certain unease in the air."(Floyd) [see Figure 1].

Even when the documentary offers glances of the real life of some of theses musicians while they struggle to survive in the city of Rome, the Italian organizer are preoccupied to accomplish their musical and political project. They panic for example because the date of the concert is close and the Indian player is sent back to India for visa issues or after

several requests of help made by Raul, the Argentinean drummer, because he is going to be evicted from the garage where he live, the documentary does not rest enough upon city's urban policies and market's high renting costs and the consequent marginalization connected to it. It seems like that immigrants exist outside of global capitalist social relations with its corollaries of nationalism and racism.

Mostly the documentary never engages in a dialogue with immigrants who are part of the Orchestra, with those without which, the Orchestra would not even exist. Possibly because creating a dialogue would highlight tensions that occur within the 'organization of difference as a qualitatively homogeneous fetish'(Sharma). In the same way the discourse of multiculturalism presented within the urban plan does not implies a reification of separation between immigrants. Instead, the celebration of difference, both within the Orchestra as well as between the lines of the urban plan celebrates sameness within a generic alterity. The fundamental separation exists within hierarchical differences that aimed at 'reducing complex and overlapping relations.' (Hardt and Negri, 2000). It suggests the preservation of a firm core around which legal and economic status and place meaning revolve as the planets do around their sun. As Fernandes brilliantly put it:

> The West is cosmopolitan only insofar it understands its culture as the final step in a historical movement. Hence Western cosmopolitanism does not celebrate globalization as flows that breed differences but seek to discipline the proliferation of differences through colonial-inspired racial and spatial hierarchies (Fernandes 99).

In conclusion a well-liked project as the *'L'Orchestra di Piazza Vittorio'* despite, and because, its politically-correct multicultural language not only lacks of questioning and investigating the political organization and creation of differences, but also despacializes other ideas of communities and reinforces the homogenization of immigrants' unique experiences of the urban.

Instead, true relationships within the urban occur when they are disconnected from planned idea of difference and they are connected to space through practice. Home comes to be defined then through experience rather than imposed places and identities. At the margins of the city, there it is possible to encounter processes of transculturation that instead of being transcendent rely on continuous negotiation. Processes

of transculturation are indeed linked to subjectification that happen through imaginative reconfigurations of the political in a perennial movement of subjectivity.(Fernandes 133)

4. ROME: MOTHER OR STEP-MOTHER?

In 1962, Pier Paolo Pasolini realized *Mamma Roma,* as a complex critique of the urban development of Rome. Its central character, played by a superb Anna Magnani, is a prostitute who dreams all her life to leave behind her life on the streets, and bring her son with her to have their home *coi signori* (with gentlemen) in one of the new buildings of the expanding southeast periphery of Rome.

It has been said, regarding Neorealist cinema and post-war Italy, that "arguably after architecture, which had to tackle and rebuild physical spaces proper, cinema was the art form most rigorous in confronting the ruinous landscape, charting its provinces, figuring its dimensions, its rifts."(Steimatsky xii). Even if it came after the end of what has been officially recognized as the era of Neorealist cinema, *Mamma Roma* maintains this tradition without lingering in postwar reconciliatory role.

Perhaps in diametrical way with the previous tradition, Pasolini's cinema engaged the territory while questioning social inequalities, myths of the nation and class relations. *Mamma Roma* documents the hope of an entire generation of sub-proletarians who were fighting to survive in the post war Rome. Their faith in liberal growth received instead Pasolini's cynical gaze who, isolate critical voice within the booming years of the 60s', renders the southeast periphery of Rome sublime in its cruelty and immensity. Through recurring wide-angle shots of the urbanscape, the periphery seems a vast desert impossible to comprehend, at the same time overwhelming and irresistible for those who dwell in it. [see Figure 2].

What emerges in *Mamma Roma* is an important urban document that anticipates property speculations connected to the new urban plan of 1962. It is worthy of note that such a film was shown at the prestigious Cannes film festival the same year (1962) the urban plan for Rome was approved. This plan at that time foresaw a boost in Roman population up to 5 million inhabitants. A part from being largely wrong, these estimates substantiated an undisciplined building development whose effects remain until today.

I have chosen *Mamma Roma* firstly to support the idea that cinematic interventions engage the social and urban landscape in which they operate. In the final section, I make the case for the documentary *Like a man on earth* to produce an original and innovative encounter with the society and city of Rome, along the same tradition of Pasolini's cinema, in questioning the distribution of the sensible in term of race, colonial history and migration policy. Secondly, the figure of the landscape that informs Pasolini's aesthetics constitutes the scenario of my research around the station of Anagnina, southeastern appendix of the subway ramification of Rome.

For Pasolini the south of the city, where city meets fields, was opposite to the northern part, where exchanges between people conducted on the basis of reason whereas in the south, life is fed by passion and life. Today this marginal section of the city is again a vital center for the entire city and for all immigrants that live south outside the municipality of Rome and come in the morning at the bus station Anagnina to find a job at the limits of the city. It is the desire to get into the urban dimension, to be part of the legitimized *polis* that drive here the newcomers as much it was driving Mamma Roma and his son with an entire generation of Italian migrants fifty years ago. What follows is an account of this area around the bus station *Anagnina*.

4.1. Anagnina

At the beginning of the documentary '*Like a man on Earth*'*(Segre)*, we sense that Dag, and his companions have finally reached Europe and the city of Rome, after an agonizing odyssey. In the background, grey benches outline the bus station Anagnina, the southeast limit of Rome and until only a short time ago the unmistakable threshold of the urbanscape. Today, the wide-open space is a neuralgic centre/crucial hub for trade and information sharing among migrant workers who, from the countryside, come to find work in the city.

The bus station *Anagnina* is emblematic to understand the peculiarity of Rome. First of all, immigrants not necessarily live in this area because they could not afford to pay the rent. The renting market operates together with immigration laws an effective filter to keep immigrants disconnected from the city without turning down to a cheap workforce. It is worth noting here that the station functions as the southeast door of the city as it welcomes the long distance bus routes that arrive form the small villages and towns along

the coast south of Rome. These towns are been occupied by new arrived immigrants that have revitalized those spaces abandoned by new generations of Italians and boosted, if not basically created from scratch, a renting market otherwise sterile along the coastline during winter seasons.

Basically, who utilizes these long routes as means of transportations is of foreign origins. When then these bus arrive at the Anagnina Station to drop into the underground metropolitan network, immigrants set at the margins, genuine strangers to the city, looking for a good bargain or a some useful information, before scattering along the ring that surround the Eternal city. Every day, the space of the bus station blooms of vendors of every kind of objects.

They mostly come for the former Soviet block, but also from Africa and South Asia. It is a self-sustained, spontaneous market, still at the beginning of its existence and without the official endorsement of the municipal authority. In fact, the authorities have cyclically challenged their presence immigrants have always come back to set up their stands.

This is a transient space, for and by nomads who nonetheless are increasingly involved in organizing a series of social, economic and cultural activities. They dwell in this space that belong to them because they intervene in the 'distribution of the sensible' (Ranciere, 2004) of the political space that otherwise has been sterilized and evacuated. These are border figures who exists in between citizenship and exile, in a space beyond the dichotomy of legitimization - whereas multiculturalism or complete integration - and illegitimization.

Instead of representing a pathological syndrome that can be cut out, the nomads, I claim, personify a indication/a warning of the central paradox of a new urban policy for Rome that permits no alternative to neo-liberal multicultural hegemony. There is a widespread consensus among Italians that the urban condition needs to be taken seriously, that a managerial illuminated multicultural approach from above should be implemented to avoid the otherwise inevitable social calamity (see the riots in Paris' *banlieus* in 2005 and 2007).

As Ranciere put it, consensus far from representing absence of conflict or peace, indicates a subterranean permanent violence intrinsic to any form of social purification and politi-

cal evacuation. The mechanism of externalization related to migration control is indeed an example of consensus wherever it may occur far from the government geographical location or within the metropolitan areas of Europe.

However, it would be erroneous to configure the idea of consensus as a hegemonic and homogenous space, a plaque, where political life occurs separate from naked life. In this space of purity we will be all living dominated by an overwhelming power as Ranciere put it, 'entrapped in the complementarity of bare life and exception.'(Ranciere, The thinking of dissensus: politics and aesthetics. Pag.11).

Instead, proper politics are all about perforating this space, to produce breaks of elocution, which before were only heard as mere noise. As a matter of fact, the urban border appears only in the moment in which has been crossed 'for the border is not a thing but, rather, the materialization of authority' (Chambers, 2008, p. 6) that has been contested and subverted.

The spontaneous meeting point at the station engages the distribution of role in the community as its forms of exclusion, and exists as a transcultural space where practice prevails, while the well-intended project of the Vittorio Square Orchestra provides us with a pre-assembled legitimized world. Multiculturalist projects confuse communal distribution of bodies with the political as Ranciere intended it.

Political argumentation is at one and the same time the demonstration of a possible world, in which, the argument could count as an argument, one that is addressed by a subject qualified to argue over an indentified object, to an addressee who is required to see the object and to hear the argument that he 'normally' has no reason either to see or to hear. It is the construction of a paradoxical world that puts together two separate worlds. (Ranciere, Dissensus, pag 39)

It is possible to come across/enter a paradoxical world few miles from the Anagnina bus station, where the second University of Rome Campus 'Tor Vergata' scatters in a vast desolate industrial area. The neighborhood also quarters a huge mall complex, the comforting blue profile of IKEA, plus quite a lot of clothing factories and home furniture outlets that everyday attract thousands of distracted consumers.

One of the university buildings, the former Faculty of Humanities, is a 12-store blue glass building. Here, without electricity nor heating system, lives a community of 250 refugees for the Horn of Africa, among which almost 30 children. Some of them were born during the exodus through the Sahara Desert and then across the Mediterranean Sea. These are those who survived the strenuous journey crossed many borders and became refugees at the port of Lampedusa, but inexorably crashed against the indifference of the post-political contemporary Europe. After being transferred in identification centers in Sicily, they were set free and like many others before, they caught the first train to Rome, without any help or directions.This is the last frontier of Europe: its most internal one and probably the most difficult to decipher. [**see Figure 4**]

In December 2005 with the support of Action, the building has been occupied but, in 2006, the refugees were cleared out. After that, the city hall have signed a rent contract with the society that own of the building, in the meantime trying to find solutions to accommodate the refugees. These solutions resulted always temporary and according to the refugees, simply inadequate. They complain of the size of the rooms were people had to live with other 5 or 6 people and of night curfew. And many of them who dwell here would like Italian authorities clear their biometric data from within the Eurodac database.

According the Dublin Regultation [2003/343/CE] the state responsible for examining asylum requests is the one through which the asylum seeker first enter in the EU. Once recognized the status of refugee, that person cannot apply to another state where he/she may have better chances of success and living conditions. The aim of this regulation which replaces the original Dublin Convention [1990] is to prevent multiple applications, hordes of moving asylum shoppers around the EU and reinforce the role of border on those state that geographically confine with 'problematic' countries.

It is beyond the scope of this analysis to present the consequences of this reform on the lives of asylum seekers who, more and more, are subject to policies of interception, forced rejection and expulsion. Here it is important to note that the process of externalization operates through the combination of legislation of migration control together with the new urban plan for the city and its renting market. Muse, one of the resident recalls that the 'to find a house in Rome is a massive challenge considering the renting rates. And more,

when they [the landlords] hear that you are a foreigner they say that they do not rent anymore.' ("Fortress Europe: In fuga dall'Eritrea: il deserto, il mare e i ghetti di Roma").

In the face of the pattern of exclusion and peripheralization, is there anything conceivable beyond tactics of survival? Is there anything that can be theorized as an innovative form of place making? Can a cinematic expression constitute a spatial practice by and for immigrants that not only facilitate mutual understanding but also leave a mark in the city while engage the distribution of the sensible?

3. I AM A MAN

I met Dagmawi Imer, aka Dag, in December 2009, one year after the release of 'Like a man on Earth' (Segre 2009). Dag was a student at the Faculty of Law of Addis Ababa University when instances of political oppression and electoral corruption following the general elections of May 2005 ("Ethiopian protesters 'massacred'" 2006) made him leave his community behind and embark on a long and perilous journey to Rome, where, eventually, he has been granted status of refugee.

After having survived the violence of the multiple borders all the way through the arid Sahara Desert and the deep Mediterranean Sea, he arrived in Rome. Next Dag joined the school of Italian language organized by the *Asinitas* cultural association. The school is a meeting space in itself for many African migrants in Rome. Within the safe place of the school, Dag not only learned to speak Italian, but also, became literate in the language of video-documentation. He soon decided then to gather the memories of others who, like him, had journeyed in exile from Ethiopia to Rome.

We do not need to give documentary powers of true representation, to believe that the memories, gestures and body language of the people who are represented recall actual difficult challenges that these contemporary migrants had to face during along their journey. The kitchen where the interviews take place between Dag and his friends becomes a sort of sanctuary where in Aramaic they can share excruciating memories knowing that those memories will not be lost. In doing this they become present. They leave a mark in the space and time of the host society that cannot turn its back to its responsibilities in the construction of their memories. A true place making indeed that is built upon a dialectical process of recognignition.

To further underline the political importance of Dag's documentary, it is important to mention that Like a Man on Earth is part of a larger project, the Migrants Memories' Archive, which, since 2006, has intended to recuperate both the memory and the dignity of the migratory path of many out the Horn of Africa.

The project aims to invert the usual process by which the 'us' (migration experts, academics and journalists) speak on the 'other's' behalf. It important to note how the project seems to challenge the very limits of the concept of archive, intended as a 'closed' system of storage of memories. In this sense, the active and continuous participation of migrants in building the archive renders the project a political act, 'un fare politico' (Segre 2009, 19).

The project is the outcome of conversations between social workers of the Asinitas Association, academic scholars specialized in colonial and postcolonial history of the region of the Horn of Africa, and a group of refugees of the same area. It explores the possibility of filling the lacuna between migrants and the host community.

With regard to this social condition, Abdelmalek Sayad (2004) elaborates the idea of la double absence, which is the alienation of the emigrant/immigrant. She is condemned to be absent twice, respect to both her origins and her new society. Marco Carsetti recalls that the idea of building an archive of memories was born after his experience listening to migrants around Vittorio Square. In one of those recordings, Aziz screams his agony out when he says that "we are nothing that exists here, they do not want se us."(Segre 26)

Through the migrants' active participation in narrating and setting the conditions for the narration, this concept of archive facilitates the spatial and temporal dispersion of the double absence. It succeeds in doing this at the first level by innerving within the official discourse around the theme of migration from Africa to Europe

As a matter of fact, *Like a Man on Earth* rips open the veil that makes the implementation of the contemporary European policies of migration control in Africa invisible and inaudible. Dag's film shows clearly how the European Union's current migration policies externalize a control

regime to the Mediterranean Basin and beyond. North Africa, for example, has increasingly become an active field of policy and conduct where the EU's migration controls are applied in an effort to stem the tide of EU-bound immigrants before they even reach the EU borders.

As with conventional academic approaches with regard to migrations, these insist on a hierarchy of high over low: the subjects/agents, policies and data that are associated with states, politicians, and public figures take priority in life over those that are associated with people such as migrants and their interlocutors. Although there are several academic attempts to examine the dynamics of migration from Africa to Europe(Gebrewold-Tochalo)(Pastore) (Huysmans), scholars tend to either focus on policy analysis and inter-state relations paying no attention to the human dimension, or they attempt to map the route of the flow, almost like a herd, along geographical lines. Each approach is confined within its proper academic locus.

What can be heard and what can be viewed is then commonly filtered by these hierarchies. We hear politicians arguing for the construction of new walls. We hear the media-venting citizens' frustrations about supposed effects of "illegal" migration, such as increasing unemployment, urban insecurity, and cultural contamination. We see boats loaded with desperate people rescued by police authorities. The same is true for what cannot be heard and what must remain invisible. We cannot see a migrant reclaiming her political subjectivity within her new host society and city. In the documentary, Dag himself engages in a conversation with Minister Franco Frattini, at that time EU commissioner in charge of European policies of migration control.

This leads me to the representational and spatial power of Like a Man on Earth. When I consider the aesthetic dimension of this document, I do not mean to compare the its mechanical attributes compared to other documentaries like the Vittorio Square Orchestra. What is important is to read Dag's endeavor as an 'attempt at reconfiguring the partitions of space and time' (Rancière 2005, 13) within the city of Rome. Hegemonic hierarchical framings insist that Third World migrants are not supposed to have autonomous voice apart from colonial and post-colonial ordering structures; but Dag's *Like a Man on Earth* resists the contention.

'*Like a Man on Earth*' succeeds precisely then, not only in revealing what has been kept concealed regarding the recent transformations of policies of migration control in Europe and in Africa. It questions the authority of an immigrant to speak within the political of the nation-state. It also, and perhaps this is more important, questions the multicultural homogenization of a place that of Europe, that is maintained at the center of a globalized world. But Europe and especially European metropolitan areas are spaces constantly being translated, traversed into a striated space; 'striated space is constantly being reversed, returned to a smooth space.'(Deleuze 474). This is at the end the essence of transculturalism: a process of performances between two or more communities and individuals within a dialectical zone of tension.

I read Dag's documentary as an effort to re-appropriate the capacity to voice his and his companions' experiences in a universal (visual) language that breaks the above mentioned hierarchy and traverses the space of the city. The author's capacity of expression reclaims a temporal and spatial mobility both from the society of origin along certain routes and at certain speeds and also within the city. As Benjamin put it:

> The characteristics of the film lie not only in the manner in which man presents himself to mechanical equipment but also in the manner in which, by means of his apparatus, man can represents his environment. (Benjamin 235).

If we conceive the city as a striated space traversed by memories, sounds images and experience, a sort of living and pulsing archive, then *Like a Man on Earth* succeeded to mark a further line on this archive. Taking inspiration form Benjamin's remark I claim that this documentary not only interacted with the environment and society around but also certainly translated and modified it. It demonstrates the role of cinematic projects in creating vibrant public spaces for transcultural dialogue and understanding.

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Endnotes

[1] www.migreurop.org/IMG/pdf/carte-en.pdf

[2] Rome as capital ofthe Italian state had other five urban plans: 1873-1883-1909-1931-1962 but only one, that of 1909 has been adopted by the City Council. The urban history of Rome confirms its peculiarity in terms of transparency of planning mechanisms.

[3] All images are include under fair use.

Figure 1: Tension fishing for a musician around Vittorio Square (Ferrente)

Figure 2. Mamma Roma, and the sublime periphery of high-rise complexes near Cecafumo.(Pasolini)

Figure 3. Refugees at the 'Salam' building. ("Fortress Europe: In fuga dall'Eritrea: il deserto, il mare e i ghetti di Roma")

Figure 4; Dag's profile with Anagnina bus station in the background.(Segre)

Urban Scenes of Everyday Cosmopolitanism and Transcultural Spaces: Brazilian Restaurants in Tokyo, Japan

Vera Zambonelli

ABSTRACT: This paper presents an exploration of placemaking by examining its role in advancing Cosmopolis and cosmopolitan practices in the context of Brazilian restaurants in Tokyo, Japan. Placemaking, in its simplest definition, identifies the process that transforms a space into a place, from the abstracted unfamiliarity associated with the idea of space into a place, familiar and meaningful. Working within a phenomenological and humanistic approach, the notion of placemaking is used to examine the ways in which place is experienced and thus made. Moreover, the paper focuses on the production of experience in a place by attending to the importance of how a place is designed and imaged. In its daily routines and events, Brazilian restaurants as tangible places have anchored processes that lead to transformative cultural practices. These practices are of major significance in Japan where the official discourse denies that it is a multicultural society with immigrant populations. These restaurants are places where images of a culture different from the Japanese mainstream are served and hence consumed and where another culture is imaged and imagined. These forms of consumption lead to enactments that may ignite journeys of personal as well social transformation. They foster intercultural communication and open new venues for making Cosmopolis out of familiar places where we, all of us, can be at home, and exercise our right to the city and its places.

In this paper, I document the emergence of transcultural spaces and cosmopolitan practices by examining migrants' processes of placemaking with a focus on Brazilian restaurants in Tokyo, Japan. Usually, migrants' placemaking has been looked at as the process that leads to the creation of an ethnic enclave and thus the provision of products and services for conational fellows. Differently, this paper presents a study of places where culture and its imaging are indeed used to appropriate space and create places, but become springboard for the emergence of transcultural spaces. What kind of places are these Brazilian restaurants, and what the Japanese responses to it are the main questions that this paper addresses to understand the cultural imaging, negotiations and translations that occur. I begin by providing a

brief review of the notion of placemaking, then introduce how I operationalized it to explain the choice of restaurant and then justify why a focus on the Brazilian population. I conclude by arguing the need to recognize how crucial these places are in moving us closer to the making of Cosmopolis of familiar places where we, all of us, can be at home (Sandercock, 2003), and exercise our right to the city and its space.

Placemaking, in its simplest definition, identifies the process that transforms a space into a place. Hence, from the abstractness and unfamiliarity associated with the idea of space, placemaking transforms space into a place, familiar and meaningful. Placemaking is here understood to identify two different types of activities. There are placemaking activities purposefully aimed at the production of physical, tangible and designed sites -places as location-, and there are also placemaking activities that more or less unintentionally occur in existing locations –experience of place- and transform those material settings into places of significance, memory, and attachment. The former type of placemaking activities entails the envisioning, designing, and constructing of the place (intentional agency) and it is in the realm of a design oriented approach whose focus is on design principles and the role of the form of the built environment in creating 'good' places (Lynch, 1960; 1981). The latter type of placemaking, which may be instructed by such design, results from inhabitance (LeFebvre, 1996; Friedmann, 2007), the centering and marking of a place through everyday routines (Feuchtwang, 2004), in other words, the reiteration of practices and the repetition of seemingly mundane activities make a place (Cresswell, 2004:82).

In selecting ethnic restaurants as sites where diversity is socially negotiated and designed (Zukin, 1995), I was given the opportunity to operationalize placemaking in its tangible as well as intangible aspects. I looked at the restaurant as a tangible place, intentionally manufactured and the result of a creative process, and as a site that could enable its customers, i.e. recipients, to also activate intangible processes of placemaking. Thus, I firstly analyzed the relationship between the maker and the place to yield an understanding of the placemaking activities directed towards the production of the restaurant as a physical place and, secondly, the relationship between the place and its recipients as to generate an understanding of how the place is received, experienced and given meaning.[1]

When I focused on the production side, I interviewed the individuals who created/produced the place in its physical and tangible outcome. I asked questions about the reasons why the restaurant was open in the first place, its naming and history while concurrently observing the use of images and objects to design a Brazilian spatial experience. When I focused on the reception side, I observed how the place was used and what kind of activities were occurring, interviewed costumers and analyzed the content of several food blogs entries.

Out of the eighteen establishments I visited and of whom I interviewed the owners/managers, only four were ran almost entirely by Brazilians and among them only one (Praça 11) was located in central Tokyo. The rest was located in Kawasaki (Chega Mais) and Tsurumi, Yokohama (Cabana and Segredo), a nearby city, South of Tokyo in the Greater Tokyo Area, which is an industrial zone with many factories that hire Brazilians as factory workers. Brazilians are among the largest groups of newcomers to Japan and are granted a special visa to reside and work in Japan if of Japanese ancestry.[2] Hence, the majority of Brazilians in Japan is actually of Japanese descent.

Once in conversation with the owners of these entirely Brazilian places it became clear that they operated as Brazilian ethnic entrepreneurs who originally established a restaurant intended to serve a Brazilian clientele, yet it was equally clear the need to create an inclusive space – a homey place, for a Japanese clientele too. As the owner of Chega Mais told me, he wanted to create a *casa* (home) for his guests, which also resonates with the description of Segredo, a *katei ryori* shop (home cooking) shop and Cabana, *uma casinha simples, aconchegante e hospitaleira* (a simple, welcoming and hospitable small house). These places closely resemble the imaging of a restaurant with a focus on food making and serving in their layout, menus and decorations, which go from a highly decorated Segredo to an almost zero decoration of Cabana. However, they also host monthly music events for which they invite local musicians (not necessarily Brazilian) to enhance the Brazilian experience and provide a space for Japanese enthusiasts of Brazilian music, especially Bossa Nova which is a popular genre in Japan, to play music. In this manner, these places insert themselves in a network of activities that promote Brazilian culture and around which people with interest in Brazil gravitate.

The clientele is necessarily mixed and whereas recently the presence of Brazilians has declined as a result of the economic downturn, the adaptation of the menu to meet Japanese tastes has also been indicated as a major factor in loosing Brazilian patronage in the past. The menu seems to represent a site of proud resistance and remarked authenticity. I was told with a tone of reluctance and willingness to wait for an improvement in the economy about the possibility of loosing a strong Brazilian characterization to meet the Japanese taste (personal conversation with Cabana owner). While debating the need to compromise and offer a real homemade Brazilian meal to attract a larger Japanese clientele is in order in a restaurant entirely ran by Japanese-Brazilians, when the restaurant is ran by Japanese, food has already likely undergone a series of adaptations, like adding sugar to the *fajolada*. In these cases, food is only part of an overall attempt of creating an authentic experience, as other elements are brought into play to present and represent a Brazilian cultural experience in Tokyo. But, how did Japanese get involved in promoting Brazilian food and culture in the first place?

I must admit that to find out that the majority of Brazilian restaurants is entirely ran by Japanese or hires few Brazilians initially puzzled me. Yet, it then made me realize the limited access that non-Japanese have to the urban space and how the space at the margin seems to be more open to the cultural *other*. Moreover, it directed me to the possible related absence of any notion of permanence in Japan on behalf of the Brazilian migrant, unwilling to invest in a place s/he will not be able to call home for long. Though officially it is possible for non-Japanese to own and run a business in Japan, side-mechanisms are in place to make the process difficult, as for example in obtaining loans and discrimination in renting places. This explains why so many of these activities are always run in partnership with Japanese citizens as to ease dealing with the bureaucracy. And, lastly, this speaks to the fact that the majority of Brazilians have situated themselves as blue-collar workers in the local economy coming here to supply the factory demands. Hence, on one hand, I valued even more the efforts of this migrant population, but also questioned what makes an individual –in this case a Japanese individual- open an ethnic restaurant. Is it all about globalization of taste and the cosmopolitanization of practices, i.e. the so-called global economic forces that open up new form of profit making that are seized by local entrepreneurs, or can we identify other phenomena and forces at work? In other words, whereas I was more prepared in imagining a

Brazilian migrant open a Brazilian place and hence invest in his/her culture to appropriate a piece of Tokyo, I was not equally imaginative in understanding what makes a Japanese individual open a Brazilian place in Tokyo. In sum, what motivates a person to become a cultural activist of someone else culture?

This is where some of the stories became very personal and the opening of a restaurant is lived as a new beginning, as in the case of Alvorada. *Alvorada* means dawn in Portuguese and Mr. Kurosawa, the owner, was telling me how hopefully such a name sounded to him, who before deciding to open the restaurant quitted his job as photographer and travelled twice to Brazil. The restaurant was opened on September 17th, and when almost at the end of the interview, he remarked that September 17th is the day that Brazil celebrates its independence, but that day meant –he told me- also his independence, hence a "double meaning" he said, "Brazil independence and my independence" (personal conversation). As Tuan writes, "Naming is power – the creative power to call something into being, to render the invisible visible, to impart a certain character to things" (Tuan 1991 in Cresswell, 2004, p. 98), and this is exactly what the owner of Alvorada did. Mr. Kurosawa has extensively travelled through Brazil and his shop is decorated with all sorts of trinkets he brought back from his travels to Brazil. The shop is also a hub of information on current and past events on and about Brazilian culture. When asked how he recruits his staff, Mr. Kurosawa mentioned how key was that they could speak Portuguese and were knowledgeable of Brazilian culture. This is how he makes himself accountable in being able to create a Brazilian experience in Alvorada.

A similar personal investment was found in the conversations with the makers of the other restaurants: Ilha Branca, Aparecida, and Copo do Dia. The makers of these places always had a personal, and sometimes very emotional story, of what made them decide to open a Brazilian restaurant. Some of them encounter Brazilian culture through the appreciation of its music since the day of high school –as in the case of Aparecida, which hosts a remarkable Brazilian music collection and not only of Bossa nova artists- or by being friend with some Brazilian musicians and performers (Ilha Branca). As in the case of Copo do Dia, run by a young couple of ex-*salary men* who decided to do something different with their life. They opened Copo do Dia as a way to trace back part of the history of their family. The young woman's mother and uncle migrated to Brazil after WWII. Upon my arrival and as a way to break the ice, she

began narrating the story of their family experience in Brazil through the pictures she collected in a chronologically organized photo album. Thanks to the well-preserved pictures, during one of their visits, they decided to visit where family lived in Brazil, just by showing some of those old pictures around. They actually managed to find the old house. The young woman, Tomoko, remarked how little her mother used to talk about the experience, only few words here and there, and how she used to prepare some Brazilian food as a snack for her. This heightened her curiosity in finding more about the place. The couple shared the anxieties associated with running a business, yet they were very happy to have created such a place that people with interest in Brazilian culture could visit. They have a remarkable schedule of events, as the other places do too.

The activities organized really vary, and although always Brazilian themed, they range from music performances, to informational seminars on the relations between Japan and Brazil and slideshows of recent trips to Brazil taken by some of the customers willing to share their experience.

The ambience in these places is welcoming and friendly, perhaps also as a result of the small size of these places. In fact, the tables are few and usually have to be shared with other customers, which becomes conducive to chat with the stranger sitting next to your sit. A phenomenon I personally observed, but also identified by few owners as something special about these places, when I asked what was unique about them. In answering, the word used was *communication* said in English to indicate how the customers were friendly and talkative among themselves, opening up to the other person sitting not too far (personal conversation, Ilha, Alvorada, Favela).

However, what these places also and especially do is that they create a platform for Brazilian to go and placemake, as receiver but also through their music and artistic performances. These places provide a space/place for Brazilians, that otherwise they won't have. In a conversation with a local journalist and filmmaker, Roberto, I was told the existence of this type of places has given him and other people the opportunity to organize a lot of events on Brazil, like film screening or other. One place that does this very well is Que Bom.

Que Bom is located in Asakusa. For Brazilian related matters, Asakusa is famous for its carnival in late August and several samba schools[3] are located in this area. A beautiful mural covers in their entirety the walls of the stairs that take you down to the restaurant. The colorful and lively mural portrays all sorts of Brazilian symbols, such as Afro samba dancers, Tucano birds and soccer players, just to mention few. At the bottom of the stairs, there is a little area with a stand, where books, pamphlets and fliers for events accumulate. Then, a wall with Athleta soccer shirts signed by famous people, and another piece of furniture used to display music CDs and T-shirts on sale. Many nice trinkets decorate this bar area, all rigorously Brazilian themed and colored, with pictures of past events pinned here and there. A glass wall separates the seating and eating area from the entrance and bar area. On this glass wall, engraved the Brazilian national anthem.

Mauro, who is the manager, is Japanese and his name is Tetsu *Mauro* Tajima. Everybody at the restaurant calls him Mauro. He has never been to Brazil or has any special connection to the place. He happened to be the manager of another place and Athleta wanted him to run Que Bom. Neither the cooks are Brazilian, though have learnt how to cook Brazilian food. Half of the staff is Brazilian, and the other half is Japanese with Brazilian names (the importance of naming not only a place, but its people too!).

During the interview, Mauro mentioned he runs the place, but Athleta, a sportswear company, is the owner. Athleta was originally a Brazilian company that produced sport clothes and which was bought by a Japanese company, which has decided to maintain the name and still produces the same items that the Brazilian company originally produced. Athleta opened this Brazilian restaurant to host its clients so to make them experience a little bit of Brazil. When I asked who decorated the restaurant. Mauro told me that Athleta assigned the task to a Japanese interior design company. In other words, the corporate office took all the decisions concerning the opening, the name and the designing of the place and in a very quick manner too. Not really too much of a personal touch at the beginning, yet, through the years, the staff and the several Brazilian performers who work here, managed to make it one of the central place for Brazilian culture and events. Pamela, who waits at Que Bom, twice or three times a week stressed how she enjoyed working in this restaurant because of its atmosphere and the several events that she and other Brazilian fellows in a

group called Rabadas can organize aiming at presenting a more diversified landscape of Brazilian music in a less stereotypical manner.[4] In fact, the images used to represent Brazil are quite repetitive and stereotypical (flag, the green and yellow color, the Tucano, Samba dancers and soccer shirts), but they are not necessarily perceived as a bad thing as one Brazilian friend told me, "Every time that I see an Brazilian flag, or any kind of poster that reminds Brasil I get quite happy." Another Brazilian I befriended, told me he feels "being praised by Japanese when they represent Brazil in their imagery. Although Brazil is seen as a violent country by the Japanese media, people who love Brazil usually represents the country by its happy side such as soccer, carnival and so on." Yet, the constant use of women and samba dancer can be upsetting, as I was told, because "when they use images of women dressed for the carnival, it means they are almost naked, and I feel quite bad." So, although Rio's carnival is Brazilian, so they do represent Brasil or a kind of Brazilian spirit, yet it is at the same time limited.

Hence, there are individuals Brazilian because of birth, but also those *being* Brazilians by affinitive election, true to their own personality and spirit. These individuals feel such a strong passion towards Brazil and things Brazilian that in a diversity of ways embody and embed the place and its culture in their daily life in Tokyo. This can be on the production of the place side, as well as on the consumption of it, as the case of Hayako and Sueyoshi who I met at Espeto Brasil may illustrate.

Espeto Brazil is located in Minami Otsuka, in the Northwest part of Tokyo. The restaurant is located in the basement of the building (as the majority of them due probably to lower rent costs) and, on the walls of the hallway that take downstairs, there is a board with several pictures probably taken during former music and dance performances at the restaurant. On the walls close to the seating part of the restaurant, there are posters, like the ones of tourist travel agencies, which feature Brazil's natural beauties. On the walls of the performance area, the flag of Brazil put in predominant position with Espeto Brazil written in katakana above it. The overall ambience is very cozy and not too pretentious. When there are performances, the place gets crowded very easily, as the physical space available is relatively small In Portuguese Espeto means stick, the one where you put meat to grill/bbq, like a stick for the steak kebob. This name creates a very vivid image of getting through the place called Brazil, almost in a primitive way. Grilled and barbequed, Brazil is served to the custom-

ers, who eat it in small pieces, performance after performance. The menu lists enough food items, but munchies and drinks predominate. I met Hayako during a performance of samba, and Sueyoshi during a music show held at Espeto.

The music show was carried by Ms. Suhehiro, singer, whose artistic name is Sara. Sara, Japanese, lived for many years in Brazil. I began chatting with the person sitting close to me, as he seemed particularly captivated by the music. Sueyoshi is his name. Sueyoshi, a monk, told me he loves Brazil and that travelled the country often and quite extensively. The first time he visited Brazil was during the carnival. "Brazil? Shock desu!" he said several times (Brazil? It's a shock!). He mentioned how he was so shocked by the place and felt so attracted to it, that he had to go back several times. He was singing all the songs along and had even the words of a song printed out. Impressive, I thought. For him, to go to these places is like a way to give continuity to such an important experience.

Hayako did not use the word 'shock' but used the word 'struck.' I befriended Hayako when I went to attend the Samba performance. Accompanied by another friend, we arrived almost at the same time. The place was very crowded due to the samba show and the waitress, Marcia, sat us at the only tiny table available, at the center of the room, just in front of the stage area. Hayako, when asked what brought her there, told me she has been dancing samba for over fifteen years. I was fascinated by her dedication. I asked what triggered it, what moved her to start. "One day, while I was visiting New York City, I was reading this magazine editorial. It was about samba and the love this person had for samba. It struck me and felt it so strongly in my heart I had to start dancing samba, it was like a call," she told me. Hayako dances regularly at Espeto Brasil and other venues. She embraced her love for samba and does her best to live it.

These exchanges made me realize how remarkable is their role in the making of this place. They were there because of a common passion and in need of an outlet to express it. As noted by Griswold in her study of the production of cultural objects, the recipients are "far from being a passive audience, cultural receivers are active meaning makers" (Griswold, 2008, p. 15). In pursuing their own interests and passions, such as Brazilian music and/or samba dance, Hayako, Sueyoshi and others carve a niche in their everyday life in Tokyo. Espeto would not exist the way it does if they were not there. While

receivers at a given moment, they become creators of a shared meaningful experience in a moment that follows because the place allows them to do so. The customers equally participate in the process of place production, therefore as this paper substantiates, the experience of the place may not be restricted to the unidirectional process of production and then consumption, hence a pure commodification of the place experience.

Alternatively, the consumers may not be simply passive recipients, but become active placemakers by attending the place, but also by participating to its existence. Everybody participates fully in the process of place creation/production: from the owner, to the staff, and to the client. Hence, in this active participation of the consumer in the making of the place, there is a guarantee against a process of commodification. Rather then simply consumed, place is fully accessed, paving the way to an enactment of the right to the city and its spaces by its urban dwellers, citizens and non-citizens alike. When a place is produced and it is not simply consumed but also granted the possibility to be used and remade, it activates processes of placemaking that can be understood as a foundational moment in exercising the right to the city, the right to its spaces not simply and exclusively as consumers, but as its makers and members.

Hence, the right to the city as exercised through the possibility and ability to placemaking becomes a new form of citizenship, which is not dependent "upon an explicit consent to enter and remain a bounded community, but instead upon the mere reality of presence and residence in a place" (Varsanyi, 2006, p. 239). In other words, it is "no longer bounded –assuming an a priori political community, but it is instead grounded" (Varsanyi, 2006, p. 239). Similarly, Purcell writes, the LeFebvrian ideal of residence and lived presence in urban space [becomes] the most important and central fact of urban membership. This creates the potential for "a new politics in which inhabitance, not nationality, forms the basis for political community and decision making authority" (Purcell in Varsanyi, 2006, pp. 239-240).

In concluding this paper, I want to refer to a film I recently saw *Do the Right Thing* (1989) by Spike Lee. Given that I am using restaurants as sites of research, I paid particular attention to the role played by Sal's pizzeria in the film. Sal's pizzeria was a focal place for the entire neighborhood. The pizzeria, actually its walls, was the place that caused the story to escalate and where the conflict was staged. For

Buggin' Out those walls were not simply walls, but a contentious terrain in which to inscribe the right to represent and be represented. And, Sal's denial to allow him to put a Black celebrity on the wall of fame (at the end, Sal was serving in a Black neighborhood to a black clientele) meant to Buggin' Out the denial to have a place in his own space.

Buggin' Out was not allowed to appropriate what he thought was supposedly already his own. Ultimately he was denied to be present and represented. The walls of the pizzeria, though a place he daily supported, were not open to him, he had not right upon them. He was just a consumer, a customer, a paying client and nothing else. To buy a slice of pizza did not buy him the right to the pizzeria, put simply. But this does not have always to be the case, and the story I told so far is situated at the opposite pole of the one just described. It is not a story that denies contention. In fact, access to the city and its spaces cannot simply taken for harmoniously granted and it is always potentially ridden with challenges that may lead to conflict where diversity ensues, but not necessarily.

Cosmopolitanism as a mode of practice and competence involves the ability of individuals to navigate different cultures and their respective systems of meanings. Yet rarely is the role that place plays explicitly considered as being crucial for the emergence of this mode of practice and competence to occur, develop and be nurtured. Cosmopolitanism is usually abstracted from everyday life and usually associated with elite traveling across several borders.

Alternatively, this paper looks at localized forms of cosmopolitanism – everyday experiences of cosmopolitanism. *Becoming* cosmopolitan does not happen in a vacuum and I decided to focus on very ordinary and mundane places, such as ethnic restaurants, to locate and observe the making of Cosmopolis at its grassroots.

Hence, the story I have been telling talks of places that open themselves to the people who attend them. Places where the customers are not simply passive consumers of the places, but are also given and take upon themselves the possibility to become active receivers and placemakers, so to make possible the emergence of cosmopolitan oasis where diversity is experienced and embraced. Places where cultures meet and cross boundaries. These places

are not entirely Brazilians neither entirely Japanese. They result from the encountering and mixing of the two. This is when they became the *where* of transcultural spaces.

What I found is that to make this process successful it is needed a grassroots level of analysis. In its focusing on Brazilian restaurants in Tokyo, this paper took note of how in its daily routines and events, some of the restaurants, mundane and ordinary places, anchor processes that do lead to transformative cultural practices and everyday forms of cosmopolitanism. More specifically, I examined how culture and its imaging was used to appropriate space and create places as springboard for conversing with the Japanese mainstream society. Thus, as a response to the difficulties in determining if exposure and modes of consumptions lead to a fundamental change in attitude towards the cultural other, I substantiated how in its daily routines and events, the restaurant as a tangible place anchors processes that do led to transformative cultural practices. They foster intercultural communication and open new venues to the making of the Cosmopolis of familiar places where we, all of us, can be at home, and exercise our right to the city and its places. This is why, I ultimately advocate for the need to understand the importance of how the placemaking of specific types of urban spaces by encouraging and allowing people to exercise their right to the city and its spaces (and walls), we all gain a sense of shared humanity and mutual appreciation.

In sum, the story I have told speaks to the extraordinary of the ordinary. It is the story of so-called ordinary people who create places out of the ordinary, places we could term liminal as in them individuals are "removed from the concerns of their daily, practical lives, open themselves to a different quality of experience" (Duncan 1995, p. 20). Yet, these places cannot be exclusively understood as spaces of escapism. In these places, images of a culture other than the mainstream are to be served and hence consumed, but also, where another culture is imaged and imagined, adapted and negotiated. Places where consumption leads to an enactment that may ignite journeys of personal as well social transformation. This is why I deem them extraordinary and subversive too. Without them, there would not be steps towards Cosmopolis. These are sites, islands of intercultural exchanges, precious and important, though rarely recognized.

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Endnotes

1. This is an adaptation of what in the study of an artistic experience is called the relationships of production address the relationship of production (how and why art is produced) as well as the relationship of reception (how and why it is received/consumed) (Monaco, 2009, p. 34).

2. Originally, due to a mounting labor shortage since the mid-80s, the Japanese government revised its immigration laws to import foreign workers. These revisions aimed specifically to "open the doors to large-scale immigration of workers of Japanese descent (Nikkeijin), predominantly from Latin America" (Douglass and Roberts, 2003, p. 8). The revisions culminated in the Revised Immigration Law in June 1990, which granted a long-term resident visa to third (Sansei) Brazilian and non-Japanese spouses of Nissei and Sansei Brazilian. However, this special visa has not stripped the Japanese immigration laws, and the institutions they represent, of their power in treating these foreigners now living in Japan for more that a decade as temporary. This became evident in the latest times of economic crisis, when Japanese offered to pay to Brazilians a return ticket to Brazil with the initial promise to never return, a condition that was later removed due to a series of protests (NYTimes 4/22/2009, Foreign Policy 4/28/2010, personal conversation with informant)

3. Samba schools don't really a place of their own. As in the case of Capoeira, they usually rent other gym's space or municipal sports' spaces. Capoeira Zoador is the only one who has its own space.

4. From their facebook page, "Because Brazilian culture cannot be reduced to samba and the Asakusa carnival, members of the group 'the Rabadas Cultura Clube' wish to bring another Brazil in Tokyo."
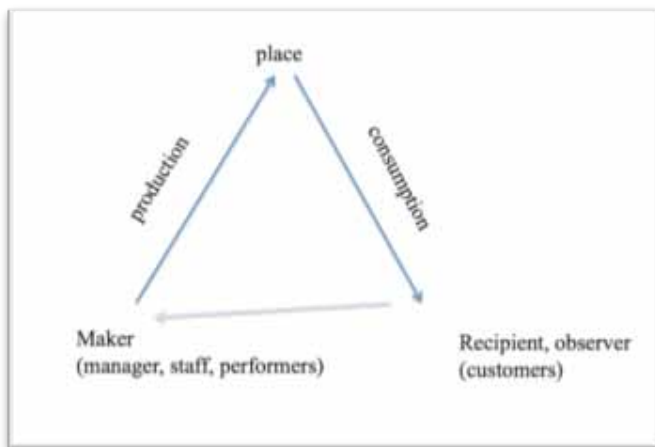
Figure 1. Diagram of the restaurant placemaking experience

Figure 2. Segredo (photo by author)

Figure 3. Cabana (Picture from Cabana website)

The Transcultural Production of Space: Making "Little Shanghai" in Sydney

Duanfang Lu and Hongguang He

ABSTRACT: The global flows of migrants have played an important role in shaping the social and physical landscapes of Australian cities in recent years. Yet despite the palpable and widespread spatial effects brought by immigration, little is understood about how urban spaces are made and re-made by different immigrant communities. This study aims to fill the gap by investigating the production of migrant spaces in Ashfield in the past two decades. A suburb in the inner-west of Sydney, Ashfield's streetscape has been through radical changes in the past two decades. About eighty-five percent of the shops are now Chinese small businesses. As most of these shops are run by migrants from Shanghai, Ashfield is widely known as "Little Shanghai". Drawing upon recent developments in the understanding of the plurality of knowledge, this paper aims to go beyond assimilationaist or integrationist model of migration by examining the co-existence of distinct equally legitimate bodies of knowledge in the transcultural production of urban spaces. It is our hope that the findings will contribute to the development of a new framework which highlights epistemological diversity in urban transformation, and contribute to more sensitive models of urban governance that promote social sustainability by going beyond the "deficit model" of immigrants. By investigating how identity, knowledge and capital are played out through the everyday practices of social actors, the paper argues that the re-territorialization of migrants not only involves complicated social and economic processes, but also entails significant epistemological shifts.

Introduction

The global flows of migrants have played an important role in shaping the social and physical landscapes of Australian cities in recent years (Jordans, 1997; Saeed and Akbarzadeh, 2001; Burnley, 2001; Jupp, 2007). Yet despite the palpable and widespread spatial effects brought by immigration, little is understood about how urban spaces are made and re-made by migrant communities. This paper aims to fill the gap by investigating Chinese migrants' roles in the transformation of public spaces in Ashfield in the past two decades. A multicultural suburb in the inner-west of Sydney, Ashfield's streetscape has been through radical changes in the past two decades. While its main commercial streets had a mix of Anglo, Italian and Greek shopping before the mid-1990s,

about 85 percent of the shops are now Chinese small businesses, including restaurants, supermarkets, barber shops and book stores. As most of these shops are run by migrants from Shanghai, the area is widely known as "Little Shanghai".

The re-territorialization of migrants has involved complex socio-spatial processes and taken various forms (Daly, 1996; Castles, 2000; Tewdr-Jones and Allmendinger, 2006; Hillier, 2007). With the continuing interest in the inclusion of migrants into the host society, many migration studies are dominated by the notions of assimilation and integration, which assume that the process of dropping one culture in favor of another is natural (Qadeer, 1997; Reeves, 2005). Binary categories such as sending society/host society and tradition/adaptation serve to describe migration as a linear and monodirectional movement, with little room left for more complicated orientations (Sandercock, 2003; Watson, 2006). Drawing upon recent developments in the understanding of the plurality of knowledge, this study aims to go beyond assimilationaist or integrationist model of migration by examining the co-existence of distinct equally legitimate bodies of knowledge in the transcultural production of public spaces.[1] It is our hope that the findings will contribute to the development of a new framework which highlights epistemological diversity in urban transformation, and contribute to more sensitive models of urban governance that promote social sustainability by going beyond the "deficit model" of immigrants.

This paper is divided into four sections. It will first offer a theoretical discussion on travelling knowledge. It will then discuss the streetscape of Ashfield as a spatial product resulting from a series of transcultural practices. The third section will focus on how Chinese migrants coped with cultural and economic disjunctions they experienced in Ashfield. It will conclude by providing a summary of the main findings and sketching the beginnings of a knowledge approach to migrant spaces.

Travelling Knowledge

All social practices involve knowledge. Each society has its own criteria regarding what counts as knowledge, and what it means to know. There are different knowledge systems and different modes of knowing. For Plato, knowledge is justified true belief. In contrast, Confucius stated that 'When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it; this is knowledge' (Waley, 1938, 2:17). There is no definitive way of

ordering, classifying, and explaining processes, entities, and relations between things (Santos, Nunes and Meneses, 2007).

Knowledge travels. In his book *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, Edward Said (1983) introduces the concept of travelling theory to address the migration of ideas in an international sphere. According to Said, the travel of theories and ideas occurs in four major stages. First, there is "the point of origin": the location at which the idea first entered discourse. Second, there is "a passage through the pressure of various contexts" as the idea moves to a new time and place. Third, there is a set of conditions of acceptance which allows the introduction or toleration of the transplanted idea. Fourth, the now fully or partly accommodated idea is somewhat transformed by its new uses and new position (Said, 1983, pp. 226–227). Said's concept of travelling theory establishes the spatial movements of ideas as an important aspect of the production of knowledge, although the concept omits to account for the means through which knowledge travels. It should be noted that ideas always travel to new places via vehicles such as travelling individuals and literature. This paper proposes seeing migrants as one of the principal vehicles through which knowledge is circulated across cultural or territorial boundaries. What should be emphasized here is the mutual dynamics between the different bodies of knowledge involved. While the image of "knowledge transfer" implies a one-way process, "travelling knowledge" entails a more fluid mode of exchanges and crossovers. It emphasizes momentary cross-cultural transgression in which ideas intersect, combine and ramify through myriad daily practices. In that process various layers of boundaries are dismantled, and new ideas and practices arise.

The notion of "travelling knowledge" recognizes the legitimacy of different bodies of knowledge and the positive effects that may be produced through border-crossings between them. It therefore provides a way of looking at migration radically different from the "deficit model" of migrants, which implies that the modes of knowledge that migrants have brought from their home country are "inferior" and must be replaced by the knowledge of the host country. Such assumptions are indeed the very barriers for the development of cross-cultural understanding. Only if we recognize the values of other knowledges can we foster mutual respect and create more opportunities for transcultural interaction and connectivity.

It is widely recognized that having been socialized in their home countries, migrants arrive with a collection of know-how, social and cultural understandings, and epistemological approaches. What is often neglected in much of the discussion is that these attributes are often internalized in individuals as a set of inexplicit dispositions that incline them to act and perceive in certain ways. It is here that Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* can help us. For Bourdieu, one does not choose to be what one is freely, but receives through numerous mundane processes of socialization a habitus—a set of internalized dispositions that unavoidably reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired (Bourdieu, 1977). These dispositions are ingrained in such a way that they are not readily amenable to conscious reflection and modification (Thompson, 1991, pp. 12–13). *Habitus* is thus a structured structure: an embodiment of the social system in which one is inculcated from birth through the family, the educational system and other individuals encountered in one's life (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170). As Bourdieu puts it,

> The *habitus*, a product of history, produces individual and collective practices—more history—in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought, and action, tend to guarantee the "correctness" of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54).

With the *habitus* continuously structuring new experiences in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences at every moment, there is an "ontological complicity between the *habitus* and the social field" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 194), which brings about an integration of the experiences common to members of the same class.

Bourdieu's conceptualization is useful in that it illustrates a cultural field in which actors improvise their actions with the feel of the game provided by their *habiti*. Yet his model privileges highly localized cultural inscription and thus creates some uncertainties when being applied to the situations of cross-cultural interactions. How can fluid dialogue take place across the multiple fields without being trapped in the cracks between them? How can a new order be established amid differences, which will allow meanings and actions to become mutually constitutive? And how does the *habitus* continuously maintain its coherence while operating in a highly disjunctive world?

This paper will address these questions by examining the production of migrant spaces in Ashfield in the following sections.

The Transformation of Ashfield

Located nine kilometres south-west of the Sydney central business district, Ashfield is an old federation suburb with a population of around 21,000. It was home to the Wangal people prior to the arrival of Europeans. Early British settlement started in the late 18th century. Ashfield gradually developed into a highly desirable residential location; many grand Victorian houses were built during the late 19th century (Coupe and Coupe, 1988). For example, Mei Quong Tart (1850-1903), a prominent businessman and community leader who migrated from China in 1859 and owned a network of tearooms in Sydney, lived with his family in the mansion, known as "Gallop House", in Ashfield (Travers, 1981).

With most rich families moving to the North Shore in the 1910s, many grand homes in Ashfield were demolished and replaced with smaller houses or blocks of flats for working class families in the 1920s and 30s. While early residents were predominantly Anglo-Celtic, a sizable Italian, Greek and Polish population settled in Ashfield during the post World War II migration boom, followed by migrants from the Philippines, Turkey and Lebanon in the 1970s and 1980s. The 1990s saw a large influx of migrants from China and India. According to the 2006 Australian Bureau of Statistics Census, 60% of Ashfield residents were born outside Australia, with 14.5% born in China and 5.2% born in India (Table 1). Currently, a fifth of the population spoke a Chinese language at home, with 13.7% speaking Mandarin and 6.0% speaking Cantonese.

Table 1. Population in Ashfield and Sydney

	Ashfield	Sydney
Population	21,260	4,119,190
Median weekly income	$478	$518
Born in Australia	40%	60%
Born in China	14.5%	3.5%
Born in India	5.2%	1.3%
Living in houses	28%	62%
Living in apartments	59%	26%

Source: The 2006 Australian Bureau of Statistics Census

The prevalence of Chinese migration to Ashfield is related to a number of factors. Australia opened its education market to China in the late 1980s. As a result, a large number of Chinese from Shanghai, Fujian and Guangdong arrived in Australia on student visas. Many of them discovered that Ashfield was a connection node to both the city and the western Sydney industry employment opportunities. It has a convenient train station; with an affordable "red weekly train ticket", passengers could reach as far as Ashfield from the city. The fare to go to the next train station Croydon is higher and thus more costly. Ashfield is easily attached to Rockdale and Hurstville in its south, Chatswood and North Sydney in its north, and Parramatta in its west. With these well-known developed suburbs, Ashfield joins them to form a circle, with Sydney downtown at the centre. Right after the 1989 Tiananmen Square political rupture, the Australian government granted permanent residency to some 42,000 Chinese students who were studying in the country. These visa holders were then able to bring out family from China under Australia's then family reunion migration scheme. Some bought businesses and made Ashfield their home. The availability of Chinese shopping and cheap flats continue to attract students and migrants from China to live in the area.

The Chinese presence has radically transformed the streetscape of Ashfield. Up until the mid-1990s, the area had a mix of shops: "Italian delicatessens, Greek fish ships, small fruit

shops run by Lebanese and Greeks, real estate agents that were maybe Anglo-Saxon or of European origin" (Dasey, 2003). Since 1990 more and more Chinese migrants have taken over the street-front, small-scale retail spaces by offering higher rents to their owners. With the preponderance of restaurants and shops run by Shanghainese, "Little Shanghai" has won its fame. The new Chinese business establishments have helped to revive the once obsolescent shopping strip on Liverpool Road. Shoppers and visitors of diverse cultural backgrounds come to Ashfield from all of Sydney. For many, Ashfield is known as a highly functional place for grocery shopping. It only takes 20 minutes' express or local trains to travel from Sydney's CBD to Ashfield. Unlike the downtown Chinatown, where parking space is expensive and difficult to find, free parking is available at the Ashfield Shopping Centre. Vegetables and fruits are sold at much cheaper prices than chain supermarkets such as Coles and Woolworths. Some cosmopolitan gourmets name Ashfield the best place to taste authentic Shanghai cuisine and dumplings (Figure 1). Its restaurants not only offer meals with flavors different from the Cantonese Yum Cha variety in the old Chinatown, but also boast much lower prices for similar quality food. Visitors are also attracted to Chinese-related activities during the festivals, such as lion-dancing in the Spring Festival. Recent Chinese migrants who are still struggling with culture and language find it convenient to shop in Ashfield, as most shopkeepers can communicate with them in Chinese. Apart from familiar food, books, magazines and DVDs from China available at bookstores and super-markets make them feel very much at home (Figure 2).

The current shape of "Little Shanghai" is not only the result of individual business decisions, but also the product of collective spatial struggles at some critical moments during its formation. The parking protest in 2003 illustrates one of such moments. Entering into the corner of Brown Street and Bland Street in Ashfield, there was a free open parking area which could accommodate 101 cars. It was also a convenient loading zone for local shops. In 2003, Ashfield Council under the pressure of yearly budget auctioned this area to a developer at the price of AU$2.6 million. The decision encountered an unyielding resistance from the Chinese community, as local business would be heavily disturbed by the loss of free parking space. The resistance, however, was initially ineffective due to lack of organization. According to one of our interviewees,

At the beginning, we were completely ignored. Mayor and other Council members simply disregarded us. In retrospect, I think this was largely because we were disorganised, spontaneous and leaderless.

The situation was changed after JM, a Chinese businessman who had worked in Ashfield since 1990, established the Sydney Inner West Chinese Merchants Association (SIWCMA) among Chinese shopkeepers in Ashfield and led the negotiation.[2] The compromise was eventually reached; the developer agreed to reserve a three-hour free parking area for 99 cars. This victory was decisive for the subsequent healthy development of Ashfield's shopping strip on Liverpool Road. The SIWCMA has since then played an important role in bringing Chinese shopkeepers together and organizing a number of significant initiatives and negotiations. For example, it managed to protect shopkeepers from the interference of local racketeers, which was a common problem in the early 2000s.

Our interviews with JM reveal how his *habitus* has influenced his life trajectory and continuously evolved through a series of cross-cultural practices. A graduate of the Huadong Science and Technology University, JM was a project manager for the redevelopment of a chemical plant in Shanghai before migrating to Australia in 1990. He worked as a storage keeper for an electronics wholesaler during his first five years in Sydney. As a well-trained chemical engineer, he displayed superior memory and efficiency in keeping things in order. This won him trust and respect from the manager, which allowed him to introduce other Chinese migrants to work for the company. By the mid-1990s, JM was ready to start his own business. The leadership skills he developed while working in Shanghai and the networking he established after moving to Ashfield not only helped him develop and continuously expand the business, but also drove him to become a community leader from the early 2000s on.

Our conversations show that his perceptions of the local political landscape were shaped by both the knowledge that he acquired as a project manager in Shanghai and the knowledge he acquired by participating in local politics. While describing his experience of negotiating with Ashfield Council, for instance, JM drew some parallels between the Council and the Street Office (*jiedao banshichu*), the sub-district urban government in China. His understanding of the latter necessarily led to some unique views about the former. In comparison to the Street Office in Shanghai, for example, JM

found Ashfield Council rather conservative in terms of policy making and developmental planning, as it had to seek balance among different interest groups. He learned to cope with a very different working pace and obtained a feel of the local political game over time, which in turn helped him play an active role in various transnational networks such as the Australia-China Economic Development Foundation and the Australian Shanghai Townsmen Association. His past experiences in Shanghai and new opportunities created by migrant networks together shaped the direction of his career and social ambitions. He managed to draw official connections in Ashfield and Shanghai to develop new international trading and exchange activities between Australia and China. He also played a leadership role in a variety of philanthropic activities in recent years. It was through the efforts of fluid subjects like JM that passages between distinct compartments multiplied, and the cultural and physical landscape of Ashfield gradually evolved.

The Reverse Time Lag

Much discussion on Ashfield has focused on its cultural diversity, while the class dimension is largely ignored. Amanda Wise's study of elderly Anglo-Celtic long-term residents' reactions to the rapid changes brought by Chinese migrants in Ashfield provides one of such examples (Wise, 2004). Her research finds the "direct correlation between age, declining physical mobility and feelings of alienation from the 'new' Ashfield". In particular, older residents' resentment was directed towards the lack of street signs in English, lack of design quality, and the predominance of Chinese language menus displayed in the windows of restaurants along the Ashfield main street. Her findings became the basis for the "Building Neighbourhood Community Harmony" program in 2006, which aimed to achieve the objectives of helping Chinese shopkeepers to make their premises more amenable to non-Chinese shoppers, increasing the presence of English signages, and promoting intercultural interactions. It is reported that the program has cleared some misunderstandings and helped build greater cross-cultural trust (Singerman, 2006).

Wise's study highlights cultural differences as the cause of contestation in regard to Ashfield's environmental quality. Yet her inattention to the class status of Chinese migrants in Ashfield has missed some important aspects of the picture. Our research instead finds that the unfashionable character of shopfronts in Ashfield has more to do with the fact that most shopkeepers possess little capital when they started their business

than with their ethnic background. Bourdieu (1986; quoted in Lu, 2006, p. 159) categorizes the main components of social resources which define power and the capacities of the actors in the field into economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital not only consists of capital in the Marxian sense, but also of other economic possessions. Cultural capital has three forms of existence, it exists: first, as incorporated in the *habitus*; second, it is manifested in cultural articles such as dress and bodily decoration; third, it is institutionalized via educational institutions. Social capital is a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks and based on mutual recognition. Although many shopkeepers were well-educated professionals who possessed reasonable amount of economic, cultural and social capital before they came to Australia, migration radically changed their class status. With poor language skills, it was difficult for them to find a white-collar job that matched their original expertise. Many of them became blue-collar workers with low salary. Some managed to establish small business with limited capital. In either case, the various types of capital they accumulated before migration did not help them to secure their previous class status. There was an acute sense of socially marginal status among Chinese migrants.

Ashfield has been a working-class suburb since the 1930s. It has lower median household income in Sydney at AU$478 per week. Of the 8,664 occupied private dwellings counted in 2006, 59% were flats, much higher than the Sydney figure of 26% and the national figure of just 14%. The high number of flats contributed to a higher than average number of people renting (45%); many tenants were international students and recent migrants with relatively low income and high mobility. Like locals, Chinese migrants were unsatisfied with the environmental quality of Ashfield and disappointed for being trapped in a lower-class suburb. As one shopkeeper commented, in comparison to the city of Shanghai, "Ashfield is the countryside" . In the past, there was a time lag between the sending society and the host society; people working abroad possessed higher level of economic and cultural capital. A return trip to home, as Paul Siu (1952, p. 39) describes, would show that [s/he] was "a person to be admired, to be appreciated, to be proud of, and to be envied". With rapid economic development in China in recent years, many Chinese migrants in Ashfield experienced the reverse time lag. Some of their friends and relatives at home were now much better off in terms of income level and living standards. The sending society appeared more developed and fashionable than that of the

host society in terms of environmental quality. A number of interviewees stated that Ashfield was like Shanghai ten or twenty years ago. They considered the former traditional, while the latter modern. Some noticed that Ashfield failed to keep up with other suburbs. As one of our informants pointed out,

> I have lived in Ashfield for ten years since I arrived in Australia. There have been few changes in Ashfield. I don't feel that I am attached to this place. Even some marginal suburbs such as Blacktown now have a Westfield [shopping mall], but nothing good has happened to Ashfield.

People coped with the time lag differently. Some accepted the fact that Ashfield was a functional place for low price shopping and dining rather than anything else. The pocket-friendly environment of Ashfield is acknowledged by both local residents and visitors. A cosmopolitan gourmet writes in his online column (Howard, 2008):

> Seriously, I refuse to pay a premium price for my beloved dumplings. While Din Tai Fung has grace, class and attentive customer service, Ashfield's small and dodgy looking establishments make it close enough to being the dumpling capital of Sydney, if not Australia. Keep in mind, it's the great tasting dumplings at a fraction of the price of Din Tai Fung which makes me coming back for more at either Shanghai Night, or New Shanghai.

Quite a few Chinese shopkeepers told us that their modest-looking shopfront was a strategic choice as they did not wish to push away shoppers who believed that an expensive-looking shop tended to be expensive. Others sought to improve the environmental quality of their shops when money allowed. TN was one of them. A long-term resident of Ashfield, TN established a dumpling restaurant in 2005. While it was small, the restaurant was clean and elegant, which attracted both Chinese and non-Chinese diners. Unlike some other Chinese shopkeepers who tended to deal with customers briskly, TN loved to engage in conversation with clients and made a lot of local friends. The small restaurant came to be a nodal point of the inter-ethnic information network over time. As TN was interested in interior design, she sought advice from customers regularly apart from exposing herself to related books and magazines. With the good rapport that has been established between TN and her clients, the latter offered many ideas and suggestions, from whom TN learned a lot. A German Australian, for example, noticed that the restaurant was featured a unique-looking lamp, but it was too close to the ceiling. He suggested lowering it a bit to reveal its full beauty and to add another layer of depth. TN adopted his advice in the redevelopment of the restaurant, which worked well. Little by little, improvements were made through such inter-ethnic knowledge exchanges. TN's active engagement in transcultural learning on daily basis was rewarding. Her restaurant has won the "Best Shopfront Prize" a few times since Ashfield Council established the prize in 2007.

Instead of accepting the reverse time lag as the status quo, some struggled to use knowledge and skills from home to fill in the disjunction. More often than not, such efforts generated positive results and helped create new transcultural spaces. MI, a hairdresser who recently migrated from Shanghai, found that clients in Ashfield were not as picky as those in Shanghai, and did not usually ask for most fashionable hair styles. She used to have a lot of chances to observe newest hair styles and exchange ideas with other hairdressers while practicing in Shanghai. There were fewer opportunities for her to do the same since settling in Ashfield. She worried that her hair-dressing expertise would slip back if she was unable to work on new hair styles or update her knowledge regularly. Whenever possible, MI would convince her clients to try new hairdressing ideas, although the designer styles often required more time and attention. A combination of her superior hairdressing expertise, quality service and reasonable price won MI many repeat customers from different ethnic backgrounds. The latter in turn offered helpful feedback for MI to further develop her hairdressing understandings and skills suitable to local contexts. MI is not alone. In fact, apart from restaurants, barber shops have mushroomed in Ashfield in recent years. Their chic shop design and hair-dressing expertise from Shanghai have received popular recognition, attracting both Chinese and non-Chinese clients, local residents and visitors from other suburbs. These barber shops have arisen as a new type of transcultural spaces where inter-ethnic negotiation and mutual-learning take place.

Conclusion

The discourse of ethnic community life in Australia has a tendency to use "culture" as the sole trope through which all aspects of migration are understood (Jayasuriya, 1997, p. 2). The recent transformation of Ashfield provides new insights into how the intersection of cultural differences and economic opportunities has shaped the development of its streetscape. It reveals that the built environment is a dynamic field where

elements such as identity, knowledge and capital are played out through the everyday practices of social actors. It demonstrates that the re-territorialization of migrants not only involves complicated social and political processes, but also entails significant epistemological shifts. The latter cannot be easily categorized as a monodirectional movement towards the dominant knowledge system, as is often imagined in the model of assimilation. Instead, examples from Ashfield show that the knowledge brought by migrants from the sending societies and the knowledge of the host society may be reformulated not as evolutionary series but as coexisting bodies of knowledge. It is through the constant exchange, negotiation and contestation between them that the social and physical environments of a multicultural society are continuously made and remade.

The findings of this research have important implications for rethinking the issues of assimilation and integration that have dominated current studies of migrant spaces. The assimilation model is a powerful one as it matches the social and political expectations of dominant societies and the nation-based perspectives of social sciences (Wood and Landry, 2008). The model is also deeply embedded in the modern assumptions of knowledge. The rise of modern society has been associated with the hierarchization and homogenization of knowledge. During the processes of colonization, in particular, the knowledge of dominant societies was constructed as the only valid knowledge, while the knowledge of other people was dwarfed as irrational narratives that should be exorcised for lack of epistemological validity (Lu, 2010, p. 20; Lu, 2011). The repression of other knowledges has enduring consequences until today. Under the rubric of multiculturalism, the knowledge of the host society is constructed as "modern", "positive" and "liberating", which the knowledge of the sending society is constructed as "traditional", "negative" and "restricting". Based on the refusal of the knowledge brought by migrants from the sending society, the assimilation model tends to portray migrants as people restricted by the bonds of their culture, waiting to be set free through the process of integration.

This paper, instead, proposes a knowledge approach to migrant spaces based on the recognition of other cultures at the level of epistemology. On the one hand, its formulation of travelling knowledge attempts to go beyond the holistic understanding of culture as bounded, essentialized and totalizing. By looking into the daily practices of knowledge production, such an approach provides an alternative interpretation of migra-

tion not as a process of assimilation in which a static set of characteristics and values are meant to be replaced by those of the host society, but as an ongoing process of generating new knowledge and meanings through inter-ethnic communication and learning. On the other hand, the knowledge approach highlights how different knowing subjects and their embodied knowledges are played out in tangible economic, political and social contexts. Going beyond the "deficit model" of immigrants, this paper considers the knowledge brought by migrants from the sending society contemporary to knowledge offered by the host society. It is our hope that a more open and sensitive model based on the plurality of knowledge will help to build a dynamic local community that encourages reciprocity amongst different cultural understandings.

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Endnotes

[1] This paper is based on field research conducted in Ashfield in 2010-2011, which involved semi-structured interviews, participant observation, historical research and visual analysis. We would like to thank all the participants of this research for sharing their experiences with us.

[2] For reasons of anonymity, the names of the interviewees have been changed by using a coding system in this paper.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Reception of Public Space in a Transcultural City: Creative Act and Art by Newly Arrived Persons from the Chinese Mainland and Local Residents of Hong Kong

Kin Wai Michael Siu

ABSTRACT: Governments generally claim to provide people with habitable city space. However, as we review city projects currently in progress, it is readily apparent that many governments have continuously adopted strategies and sought legislative authority to control city space. When undertaking urban development projects, governments consistently follow the planning principles of administrators who abide by deliberate forms of operational rationalism and tend to neglect human factors. They see rational design as an active force and the proper means for directing a community towards the ideal of social harmony. Governments also inevitably follow the design principles of developers who seek to maximise profit. On the other hand, some sociologists such as de Certeau, Lefebvre, and Maffesoli point out that everyday life in modern society is organised according to a concerted programme. Their studies on everyday life offer designers a new perspective from which to see everyday life and people's response to their programmed living environment. To explore this alternative perspective, this paper first describes a series of in-depth qualitative case studies on how city users with different cultural backgrounds practice their everyday life in public spaces before discussing public design issues and quality of life. The targeted persons involved in the case studies were newly arrived persons (NAPs) from the Chinese mainland and local residents of Hong Kong. The goals of these case studies are to generate insights for policymaking, design, and social development, and to prompt insights and new questions for further investigation and discussion.

Introduction

Governments generally claim and promise to provide people with inhabitable city space. However, as we review city projects currently in progress, it is readily apparent that many governments have continuously adopted strategies and plans and sought legislative authority to manage – to control – city space. When undertaking urban development projects, governments consistently follow the planning principles of administrators who abide by deliberate forms of operational rationalism and tend to neglect cultural and human factors, including the continuous changing and transformation of cultures and human needs. Governments see rational design as an active force and the only and proper means of directing the community towards the ideal of social harmony. They also inevitably follow the design principles of developers who openly seek to maximise profit. On the other hand, in studies of the "sociology of everyday life", some sociologists such as Michel de Certeau, Henri Lefebvre and Michel Maffesoli point out that everyday life in modern society is organised according to a concerted programme. A person's everyday life is embodied in the experience of a highly organised – programmed – society. These sociologists have conducted studies on the everyday life of common or ordinary people, and offer professionals, such as planners, architects, landscape architects, designers, a new perspective from which to see everyday life and people's response – reception – to their programmed living environment. These sociologists see reception as a kind of continuous creative act and art, which is dynamically interacting with cultural and social changes.

To explore this alternative perspective proposed by sociologists, a series of in-depth case studies on the reception of public space was conducted in Hong Kong from 2007 to 2010. The targeted persons involved in the case studies were newly arrived persons (NAPs) from the Chinese mainland and local residents of Hong Kong [see Notes 1-2]. For more than thirty years, due to the social and political reasons, a large number of NAPs have entered and lived in Hong Kong. For example, the population of NAPs with less than seven years of residence in Hong Kong in 1996 was around 169,000, a figure that had increased to 217,000 by 2006. While the total population of Hong Kong is only about 7 million, the continuously accumulating population of NAPs has had significant cultural, social, economic and physical impacts on Hong Kong. While the population is mainly made up of people of Chinese origin and the early generation of local residents also originated from the Chinese mainland, NAPs and local residents have cultural backgrounds and life expectations that are similar in some respects, but different in others. Borrowing the findings and experience of the case studies, this article attempts to discuss how city dwellers – users – with different cultural and social backgrounds practice their everyday life in the public space, and have brought cultural changes in terms of spatial practices in Hong Kong. This article also aims to generate experience and insights for policymaking, design, and social development, and to prompt new insights and questions for further investigation and discussion that might lead to an increase in the quality of public living environment.

Reception

In literary theory, reception theory offers a new perspective to readers that can be extended to the users of design. Reception theory was initially a branch of literary studies concerned with the ways in which literary works are received by readers. It is particularly associated with the University of Konstanz and the journal *Poetik and Hermeneutik* (published since 1964). "Receptor" is a term used in critical theory to mean the person (or group of persons) experiencing a work of art (Cuddon, 1998). The term reception has mainly been used to refer to "reader-response criticism in general" (Baldick, 1990). That is, reading is seen as a creative process in which the text offers guidance as to what is to be produced, and thus cannot itself be the product: "Reading is not a direct 'internalisation,' because it is not a one-way process, [but] a dynamic interaction between text and reader" (Iser, 1978, p. 107).

Although reception theory was originally applied to literature, its arguments provide valuable insights for the study of human behaviour in general, including how users interact with designers and designs, which helps to understand how design can better fit users (Siu, 2001). For example, public space involves social and physical interaction. How city users interact with a place such as a market, plaza, park, small lane between two buildings, and particularly their response to the environmental setting and to other users, is crucial to the success of its design. Similar to the idea of the incompleteness of text or other formats of discourse, we can say that the (creative) design of a place is full of gaps or has no real existence. It is incomplete until it is used, and initiates the performance of meaning rather than actually formulating meaning itself. Without the participation of the individual user, there can be no performance. In other words, the user should be seen as the true producer of a (creative) design because he or she (creatively) actualises the design by filling in the gaps or indeterminacies in meaning. This kind of user creation can be called an act of production — an art, or a creative act (de Certeau, 1984; Siu, 2007a). These acts and arts do not stop, but are produced and continuously reproduced at different times and in different environments. This has particular relevance to cities, which are continuously changing in their cultural, social and physical aspects.

Newly Arrived Persons (NAPs)

For Hong Kong, it is difficult to define the meaning of "original residents" because many of the earlier generations of residents were not born in the city but came from other regions of China for different reasons at different periods. In fact, "new arrivals" have kept on appearing in Hong Kong for more than a century, which has a significant impact on a city with less than 1,100 km² in total area, including the continuous land reclamation.

Reviewing the city development of Hong Kong, in *City of Victory* (1994), Ho Ching-hin, the Chief Curator of the Hong Kong Museum of History, points out that the city history of Hong Kong can be traced back to the Song Dynasty (907-1279 AD). In that period, most of the people lived in boats or walled cities (*wai-tsuens*). When the city came under British rule in 1841, it had twenty villages and the population at that time was no more than 5,650.

During the administration of governor Sir Arthur Kennedy (1872-1877), the population reached about 130,000. In the 1900s, the population increased rapidly from about 262,000 to 464,000 (Ho, 1994). From 1911 to 1930, the population increased by an astonishing 84 per cent. The major reason was that the immigrants (at that moment people from Chinese mainland were also called "immigrants" under the governance of the British government) sought refuge in Hong Kong from continued unrest in China caused by the 1911 Revolution and subsequent civil wars among the warlords. During the 1930s, the growth of Hong Kong gathered momentum. Increasing disturbing conditions in China led to increasing immigration, which became a torrent after 1937. The population continued to grow rapidly, reaching the pre-World War II peak of 1,800,000. During the Pacific War and the Japanese occupation, business and industry in Hong Kong were virtually at a standstill. The city experienced acute distress, and the population fell to approximately 650,000. With the end of World War II, people began to flood back into Hong Kong. Thus, crowding reached astronomical levels, and "squatting became a standard feature of the city … [with the] rapid infilling of vacant lots in the street grids" (Lemming, 1997, p. 5).

The foundations of today's city were laid in the 1950s, prior to which Hong Kong was primarily a trading port for South China (Lands and Works Branch, 1988). After World War II and especially after 1949, a major influx of people from the Chinese mainland created both problems as well as opportunities for Hong Kong. The three main problems

were acute overcrowding, creation of large squatter settlements, and immense pressures on community services (Ho, 1994). In the 1950s, industrial development gave rise to a paralleled expansion of urban areas of the city. By the mid 1950s, the territory had a population of 2.5 million. Most of the people lived either in squatter communities or in overcrowded, low-rise tenements. Since then, the population of Hong Kong has continued to increase, mainly due to the internal birth growth, and steadily increasing numbers of immigrants from the Chinese mainland (Siu, 2001).

The Chinese and British governments signed the Sino-British Joint Declaration on December 19, 1984. In accordance with the "One country, two systems" principle agreed between two governments, the Hong Kong Basic Law has been implemented in Hong Kong since July 1, 1997. Among all matters related to political and social aspects, one of the key matters is that the children of Hong Kong residents have the right to enter and live in (including moving in and out of) Hong Kong. This right applies also to those born in mainland China if one of the parents is a Hong Kong resident. Since the mid-1980s, due to changes in the political situation and the tight economic and social relationships between Hong Kong and mainland China, more Hong Kong residents have married and had children on the Mainland. This situation is particularly significant to a large number of older men with low income who are unable to find a wife in Hong Kong who marry mainland Chinese women and apply for their children to enter Hong Kong. Although the wives of these men cannot become residents of Hong Kong automatically, they have higher priority to enter and live in Hong Kong due to the concern about the needs of their children and for family reunion. This has resulted in the terms "newly arrived persons (NAPs)" and "new arrivals". The large number of NAPs, many of them children and spouses of Hong Kong grassroots people, has had a huge impact and become a cause for concern for Hong Kong people. For example, by 1996 the population of NAPs with less than seven years of residence in Hong Kong had reached 169,000. Two years after 1997 due to concerns about social welfare and the economy, the government announced its projection that several millions of NAPs would enter Hong Kong within a very short time, something that Hong Kong's society could not afford. This kind of "still-questionable" projection finally gave support to the Hong Kong government to seek for the Chinese government to interpret the Basic Law on June 26, 1999. Since then, residents in the mainland must apply for the One Way Permit (OWP) to enter Hong Kong in an orderly manner (for the details of the Explanatory Note, see Qiao, 1999). Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that, for the past twenty years or more, the large number of NAPs has had positive and negative economic, social and cultural impacts on Hong Kong. Whether the local residents like it or not, due economic and social considerations, an increasing number of NAPs have entered Hong Kong and have started to have more and tighter everyday interactions with local residents. Above all, the daily practices of NAPs have significantly influenced the public living environment, bringing change and transformation to Hong Kong and vice versa.

Case Studies in Hong Kong

To reveal the cultural and social changes as well as physical changes in living environment relating to NAPs, a series of in-depth case studies was conducted in Hong Kong from 2007 to 2010. The studies aimed to explore the reception of public space by NAPs from the Chinese mainland and local residents. The major reason for adopting a case study approach was that it was considered as an ideal way of understanding and interpreting observations of social phenomena (Andranovich & Riposa, 1993; Merriam, 1988), which can be applied to the investigation of contemporary urban events, especially when the relevant behaviour cannot be manipulated (Siu, 2003a; Yin, 1994). It is also effective in investigating different cases in the ambiguous urban space and also represents a suitable strategy for understanding city users' practices in the public environment (Whyte, 1988).

Sham Shui Po (Kowloon) and Tin Shui Wai (New Territories) districts of Hong Kong were selected as areas for conducting the case studies. Demographic data compiled by the Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department (2011) indicates that the two districts have a relatively high percentage of low-income households, as well as single older persons and single-parent families. Each district also has public places typical of Hong Kong, such as market streets, district and local open spaces, and inactive small open areas outside residential buildings [see Note 3]. On the one hand, the living environment in the two districts significantly reflects the local everyday life of Hong Kong people. They are densely populated, and different kinds of human interactions can be observed. On the other hand, the two districts are residential areas with a relatively larger population of NAPs from the Chinese mainland. As mentioned above, many NAPs are the children and spouses of local residents with low or no income partici-

pating in the government's Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme (Social Welfare Department, 2011).

Compared to other districts in Hong Kong, people can more easily find affordable living places (for example, shared partition rooms, bed-spaces, cage-houses) in Sham Shui Po, an old district in Kowloon of Hong Kong. It consists of many old private buildings and deteriorated public housing buildings. The living environment in the district is notorious for representing the worst quality of life in Hong Kong, such as in-humane cage-houses and packed living partition rooms. Prostitution, crime and public hygiene problems are also serious in the district. Tin Shui Wai is a new town located in the western part of the New Territories relatively further away from the central business area. It consists of different ages of low-rent public housing estates. Living standards are low and it is been widely regarded as a deprived district since the early 1980s (Chow, 1988). In 2009, it became known as the "City of Sadness" as the mass media widely reported the deprived living conditions and social problems of NAPs and older persons. Due to the relatively lower rent for living places in the district, many low-income people have moved to the district as a stepping-stone, before moving to other districts if their economic status becomes better or they are allocated better public housing flats in other districts. This situation has resulted in Tin Shui Wai becoming one of the districts with the largest number of affordable vacant flats for Hong Kong people. In turn, many old public housing estates have become home to deprived and single older persons and NAPs. Many NAPs as well as grassroots local residents have chosen to live in these two districts, including those originally living in the private flats in Sham Shui Po and later being allocated public housing.

The two districts abound with local human activities that provided opportunities for the project team to investigate how different individuals with different interests – NAPs and local residents – act in diverse ways in the public environment. In addition to the interviews conducted with planners, designers, and representatives and officers in related departments and organisations, field research was conducted in selected public space of the districts into the everyday practices of NAPs and local residents. Unobtrusive observations and direct interviews were the main field research methods that allowed the project team to tap attitudes and behaviour and seek descriptive information that would underpin a better understanding of people's behaviour in the public living environment (see Andranovich

& Riposa, 1993; Berger, 1998; Sanoff, 1992; Siu, 2007a). These observations were used to explore how users (called actors by some social researchers) operate in public space. In a manner similar to that mentioned by Whyte (1988) in his book *City: Recovering the Center*, the project team maintained that: "We tried to do it unobtrusively and only rarely did we affect what we were studying. We were strongly motivated not to" (p. 4).

Observations and direct interviews were conducted in a natural and unstructured setting, and samples selected according to the situations and events that occurred during field research. These included: NAPs setting up their own entertainment and performance facilities in parks; local residents playing card games in open areas under their residential buildings; social welfare organisations conducting community activities in plazas; political and religious parties promoting their activities in open spaces; officers in General Affairs Teams (commonly called Hawker Control Teams by Hong Kong people) prosecuting hawkers on the streets. The sample selection process also included consideration of users' demographic factors (for example, age groups and gender) and the reasons they appeared and stayed at the public space, for example, for entertainment, to earn a living or just pass by.

Reception of Public Space
Strategies vs. Tactics

The case study findings in Sham Shui Po and Tin Shui Wai show that on the one hand, the Hong Kong government (including policymakers, planners, designers, executives, and implementers) continuously formulates and adopts strategies, and seeks greater authority to control and organise public space. Their way of thinking is generally similar to modernist ideas in the planning field (for example, "putting in order"). They view policymakers and professionals as experts, or sometimes as the only experts who can and should change misused city elements, including every city space, into efficient facilities, and in turn provide a true order in cities: industrial society, contemporary cities, and the modern age (Fishman, 1982; Harris & Berke, 1997; Harvey, 1989). They also view contemporary plans and designs as the only way to provide a suitable living environment for different city users defined as average people with standard needs, and establish them in conditions of everyday happiness and harmony (Harvey, 1996; Hsia, 1995). This way of thinking rejects the possibility that city users (including NAPs and local residents) are able to manage and find a better way to

live together in the environment, including its public spaces, that suits their everyday lives (Senett, 1970, 1990; Siu, 2001).

On the other hand, the findings illustrate that city users continuously seek opportunities under the strategies promulgated and usage regulations implemented by policymakers and professionals. For example, neither NAPs nor local residents act directly against or challenge these strategies and regulations in public spaces. Rather, in public spaces, they make use of tactics which are a calculus that does not count on a propre — a victory of space over time. As de Certeau (1984) notes:

> the place of a tactic belongs to the other … and tactic insinuates itself into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance. (p. xix)

For example, in Sham Shui Po, quite a large number of unlicensed hawkers (including NAPs and local residents) sold daily necessities to earn a living in public space such as streets, small parks, pedestrian bridges and subways. The large number of unlicensed hawkers in the district may be a result of the many residents (including NAPs) receiving money from the government's Comprehensive Social Security Assistance Scheme, who are not allowed to receive any income from part-time jobs or any means. To make a better living, unlicensed hawking was a choice. According to the observations, these hawkers did not set up their stalls (booths, counters) in a places circumscribed as propre in response to officers of the General Affairs Teams. The hawkers did not apply for special licenses, sell their goods in permitted areas, or fight for unlicensed hawking to be made a legal activity through legislation. The hawkers, as well as other users in other public spaces, did not usually expect to "share authority" or "use a legitimate basis to substitute for the existing legitimate basis" (Habermas, 1973/1995, p. 33). Rather, they insinuated themselves into the areas of control and authority of the General Affairs Teams to safeguard their survival (de Certeau, 1998; Siu, 2003b). They set up small counters that were not eye-catching and did not significantly impede the movement of people. They started doing business before the officers came, and set up surveillance teams to notify everyone should the officers arrive.

In the past, to avoid prosecution, the hawkers ran into private buildings and treated them as a "city of refuge" as the officers were not authorised to go there. To deal with such kind of tactics, the government further set up strategies – for example introducing stronger legislation and working with the property management companies – to allow the officers to catch and prosecute unlicensed hawkers even when they ran into the public areas of private buildings. The new policy caused significant difficulties to the hawkers and was successful mainly due to the support of the property owners since hawkers often caused hygiene and safety problems. The government also gained support from shop-owners (on the ground floor) as unlicensed hawking was a source of competition. To survive, some of the hawkers started to please the shop-owners of the buildings by renting small "public areas" in front of the shops. In fact, these types of public areas were not owned by the shop-owners and could not be rented legally and were rather provided an incentive to the shop-owners not to complain to the officers about illegal hawkers. While such "unofficial" under-the-table business deals were not legally accepted by the government, such tactics did succeed in making it more difficult for officers to prosecute the hawkers without the support (and formal complaint) of the shop-owners.

Similarly, an increasing number of residents (mainly NAPs) gave singing, music and dance performances in district parks in Tin Shui Wai for their own entertainment, or to make small amounts of money. They also omitted to apply for formal permission by booking a place to perform or applying for a license to perform in a public space. Instead, many of them preferred to perform during a "non-busy" period so their performance would not significantly affect other people. Some of them selected the parks that did not attract many people or to which officers seldom came. They did not ask people to give money, since collecting or begging for money in public space remains illegal in Hong Kong. Instead, they claimed that people gave money voluntarily to help them pay for their musical instruments and the electricity they used.

Therefore, as described by de Certeau (1984), these tactical practitioners – hawkers, performers – did not have a place, or their space "[was] the space of the other" (p. 37). Their tactics were totally dependent on time. Hence, the hawkers and performers did not keep whatever they earned. They constantly needed to manipulate events to turn them into opportunities, and continually attended to their own ends. As observed by Lefebvre (1984) and Wander (1984), this kind of tactical acts is "an art of everyday life" and "a radical reorganisation of modern life."

The Third Realm

The findings show that it is not appropriate to presuppose that the government (policymakers, planners, designers, management people) and public-space users (NAPs, local residents, other city users) are in a binary relationship of dichotomous opposition. This presupposition of binary opposition is value-laden and would limit the scope for understanding the relationships among government, users, and other related individuals and parties. Instead, by reference to Huang's (1990) theoretical argument in The Third Realm (see also Habermas' (1973/1995) theoretical argument in Public Sphere), the use-system of public space is better understood as:

- a formal and official urban policy and implementation system with codified laws and ordinances and government departments;
- informal ways of operating, with well-established customary, traditional, conventional, local, and individual practices; and
- an intermediate realm.

In the third realm, the interaction between the government and city users (or between strategies and tactics) does not play out in direct confrontation. Neither does it constitute a brutal wrestling match. This is because if interaction is simply a face-to-face struggle and negotiation is simply an enactment of force, then victory must obviously belong to the party of greater force — the strong. However, the interesting point here is that the strong — those holding power and authority — may not win all the time. On the contrary, the weak always have ways of not losing (de Certeau, 1984). The trick here is that the weak do not aim to engage in direct battle, or positional war. Rather, they aim to wage guerrilla war (Siu, 2007b). For example, instead of receiving complaints from the local residents of buildings close to parks about the high noise levels emanating from them, musical performers (NAPs) finished their night time "concerts" reasonably early to avoid affecting local residents' sleep. They, as relatively newer comers and smaller communities in the districts, also performed in areas of parks where people interested in seeing the performance would not affect other park users — those who had already occupied the places for a long time and taken it for granted they owned the places. In the same way, instead of applying to the strong for permission to sun-dry food and clothes in public space, the weak preferred to do it tactically by drying their things when officers were not on duty or in places where the responsibilities of different government departments were ambiguous. Also, before being formally prosecuted, unlicensed hawkers always did something to avoid direct confrontation with officers and with shop-owners (local residents) who were likely to think their business would be affected by hawkers. Instead, while ensuring that it was still possible to attract customers, hawkers would operate their business in public places that did not challenge the authority of the officers or influence the business of shop-owners. Alternatively, instead of making enemies of the shop-owners, the unlicensed hawkers would find another way to please the shop-owners as well as other residents by including them as "companions" to interact with the officers.

Clearly, because the strong have authority and power, they do not want to see uncertainty and diversity; that is, what they cannot determine and master in a positional war (Siu, 2007b). However, city users — the weak — are not a homogeneous group. For example, even NAPs or local residents drying saltfish in a park, drying clothes along a footpath, group-dancing in a children's playground, or running a small hairdressing business under a footbridge have their own specific traditions, backgrounds, beliefs, needs and preferences, and even dreams. These diverse characteristics mean that users view and practice their everyday lives in city spaces in different ways.

As stated, the strong do not like "uncertainty" generated by the reception of the weak. Thus, in the face of unaccountable and continuously changing city variables, policymakers and professionals prefer to fix them. For example, the government and planners intend "to transform the uncertainties into readable spaces" for a positional war (de Certeau, 1984, p.36; see also de Certeau & Giard, 1998), but not for a guerrilla war, so that the government and planners — the strong — can surely win the battle. For example, once the government departments and the district councils received the local residents' complaints about the noise and crowded problems due the music and dance performances in the district parks in Tin Shui Wai, they were more than happy to take the complaints as an excuse — or rationalized weapon — to take action to clear the "undesirables" in the parks. They also further set up more regulations and warning signs in the parks to further enhance the new controls. This is also the reason it is not easy to find instances of Lynch's (1965/1990) expectation of the openness of space (with a high degree of flexibility and freedom) or full-of-flexibility designs either in Hong Kong or in many other cities today.

In some situations, as in the examples mentioned above, the third realm appears not only between the government (considered as the strong) and the NAPs and local residents (considered as the weak), but also between local residents (the strong) and NAPs (the weak). That is, local residents became the strong (due to their numbers; original well-established/formal practice), while NAPs retained their role of the weak. According to the field observations, local residents in Tin Shui Wai seldom shared the same area in a park with NAPs. While local residents were still in the majority, instead of directly competing for space, many NAPs preferred to search for other space where they could socialise with their own groups. NAPs sometimes brought their own stools and chairs or those collected from the street to parks or other public space to create an area where they could sit and chat with their friends. In other words, the weak do not usually react directly to the force, power, authority, and orders of the strong. The weak understand that if their interaction with the strong is based solely on the calculus of force, they will lose. Thus, like guerrillas, the weak insinuate themselves into the strong's place to seek opportunities. Furthermore, the weak do not have or maintain their own place. This way of operating makes it difficult for the strong to display their force.

Obviously, as indicated above, all these spatial practices of NAPs and local residents are constantly changing and transforming, including the status and roles of NAPs and local residents. For example, after entering Hong Kong longer than seven or more years, NAPs know that they are more likely (and some more willing) to be called local residents by other people. While they still maintain some original cultural preferences, they have also influenced changes in some. Some of them start merging into or integrating with the original communities, and some even prefer to become more detached from their original communities; while some of them keep on their original cultural preferences and lifestyles, and group together to form stronger separate communities.

Moreover, while NAPs become less of an extreme minority in society, such as more of them moving in Tin Shui Wai, some NAPs start taking the roles of the strong (as least not as the weak) that sometimes they do not mind to have mild confrontation and competition with the local residents (the former strong). The change of spatial use in Tin Shui Wai in the past two years is a good example. NAPs have started occupying   sharing — more places in parks with the local residents. Instead of only using the non-popular places, some communities of NAPs move back to some popular places to conduct their preferred activities. Besides, NAPs also become majority groups to gather in front of many schools to rest and chat while waiting for their children. They no longer need to stay at some small street corners as before; instead, they know that they are strong enough to stand closer to the entrance of the schools, just as local residents do. NAPs can also use recreational space under their buildings as co-residents and no longer need as before only to use the space when the local residents do not take it. Of course, direct serious confrontation — the binary relationship of dichotomous opposition — is still rare among different user groups, as old and new NAPs alike, as well as local residents, know that serious confrontation is no good for them. The government officers would easily take the confrontation as an excuse to implement more control. Moreover, NAPs also know that their unfameable title "new arrivals" will gradually be faded out, and their situation is similar to that of the so-called local residents for the past 150 years. Therefore, by responding to the continuous cultural and social changes in the city, NAPs, along with other groups of users, such as local residents, original residents and other ethnic minority groups, continue to interact tactically (in the third realm) and find their space and ways to survive.

Conclusions

The findings of the case studies described here illustrate that both NAPs and local residents, as well as other users, do not follow and rely on a constant style of living and mode of operating in their living space. They have their own ways to survive, regardless of the regulations and controls imposed in public spaces. The findings also show that, due to the continuous changing transformation of cultural, social, economic, political as well as other factors, NAPs and local residents are also required continuously to *re-construct* public space to make it more inhabitable. For example, some of them *re*-define the meaning of park space as their stage for music and dance performance. Some *re*-territorialise the boundaries of different public space for their own social activities. Some *re*-build the physical environment of street space for their small business. Some *re*-establish the public space following rules that avoid confrontation and competition with other users. Some also *re*-order the temporal order of a place to turn it into an early morning market where both NAPs and local residents benefit from lower prices while avoiding officers' prosecution. In fact, all these "*re*"s are creative acts and arts that are

based on long-term interaction among different users such as NAPs and local residents who, through their ongoing daily interaction in the public space, learn how to take greater control of themselves and become more aware of each other. Moreover, all these "*re*"s are constantly changing in response to the cultural, social and physical transformation of the city. In sum, all of these aspects are important issues for today's policymakers, planners and designers, all of whom should be aware of and should understand, respect, and treasure when and if they claim that they have good (and perfect) ways to transform Hong Kong into an inhabitable city for all.

Acknowledgements

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Endnotes

1 Hong Kong is a Special Administrative Region of China. Thus, the Hong Kong government officially uses the term "newly arrived persons," instead of "immigrants," to describe people who move to Hong Kong as residents.

2 A person continuously living in Hong Kong for more than seven years can apply to become a permanent resident. In this article, local resident means a person who has lived in Hong Kong for a long time, that is, a permanent resident.

3 The *Hong Kong Planning Standards and Guidelines* define "open space" as "outdoor areas providing active and passive recreation space for [a] concentrated population," and "a statutory land-use zone for the provision of open space and recreation facilities" (Planning Department, 1990, Chapter 4). In *A Glossary of Common Planning Terms* commonly referenced by the Planning Department (1996), open space and public open space are translated only as "recreation space" and "public recreation space," respectively, and no particular meaning is attached to the term "public space" (p. 17).

Figure 1. Sham Shui Po and Tin Shui Wai in Hong Kong.

Figure 2

Figure 4

Figures 2-3. NAPs and local residents occupy different areas of a plaza outside a shopping centre in Tin Shui Wai. Different groups of people there have their own unspoken but well-defined territories that they know where to join and stay. In the past, most of the plazas as well as parks were used occupied   by the local residents because the number of NAPs in the district was still small. Since the mid-2000s, the overall population of NAPs has increased rapidly such that the use of public space has changed. Today, it is easy to see NAPs and local residents share many public places in the district though they seldom have communication and contact directly.

Figures 4-5. Housewives (NAPs) chat in a small park and a playground in Tin Shui Wai while waiting for their children to finish school. On the one hand, the newcomers of NAPs seldom talk to the local residents though their children may study in the same schools and their children may play together in the schools. They have their own strong and small communities, and can exchange information on settlement and welfare matters. On the other hand, some NAPs have already become permanent residents of Hong Kong and are familiar with the physical, social and cultural environment, and have started to merge into some local residents' communities and meeting places. One of the major driving forces for this community merging, as well as social inclusion is that many older NAPs do not like people to see them as "outsiders" and "new arrivals", partly due to the negative stigma attached to "new arrivals" in Hong Kong, which is associated with causing extra burden and internal resource competition to the city.

Figure 6. A group of young children enjoy playing in a playground in Tin Shui Wai. Some of their parents are NAPs. Most of the children were born in Hong Kong while a small number of them were born in the Chinese mainland. Compared to their parents, they more likely to stay together since inclusive education has been promoted in Hong Kong for a long time. Cases of discrimination by the local residents (parents and children) more commonly happened before the mid-2000s. There has been some improvement of the situation in recent years. One of the major reasons is that more NAPs are living in the district and they are no longer the extreme minority. Another reason is that the gap between the living standards of the NAPs and local residents has lessened.

Figure 7. A group of NAPs practice music at a small corner of a park in Tin Shui Wai. Besides NAPs, some local residents also stay and watch the performance. These kinds of scenes were seldom observed before the turn of this century. The major reason is the different cultural and social preferences and practices of local residents and NAPs. In general, it is rare to see Hong Kong people (local residents) enjoy performance in a public space. They prefer to rest, play chess, or chat in public spaces. On the contrary, performance in public spaces is much more common on the Mainland. Thus, since the early 2000s when a large number of NAPs entered Hong Kong, performance in public space has become much more common in the open space in Tin Shui Wai and other new towns. Its popularity in the years of 2006 and 2007 was reflected in several informal community carnivals that appeared in the district on many public holidays and weekends. The situation has only changed because of some serious complaints to the government by local residents (even reported by the mass media) about the loud volume of the music and dance performance. By using the complaints as an excuse, the government started to clear some of the performance places in several district parks and set up additional regulations for the parks. Since 2007, instead of fighting for a propre for performance, NAPs have moved their places further away from residential buildings and tuned down the sound volume of their performance. Moreover, more local residents have started to accept and appreciate this kind of performance as long as it is not irritating to the surrounding residential environment. minority. Another reason is that the gap between the living standards of the NAPs and local residents has lessened.

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figures 9-11. A local resident dries fish and meat on the gate outside a Lands Department construction site, and an NAP dries her quilts and blankets along a footpath adjacent to her home in Tin Shui Wai. In fact, this kind of Chinese daily practice was quite common in Hong Kong until the early 1980s. Following the improvement of living standards in recent years, this practice became less popular except by some village residents who kept up the practice. However, since the arrival of more NAPs in the early 1990s, the practice has become more common and has started to become a serious issue. As some NAPs dry their things in public space, a ripple effect occurs that results in the practice becoming more popular with local residents. Since the early 2000s, after receiving complaints from district councils working to promote the district images, the government has introduced more rules and prohibited practices such as sun drying. Instead of arguing for a propre or permitted place, the NAPs and local residents have started to explore new places (for example, places close to some remote construction sits, or places along some waste-water canals nullahs or rivers at the boundaries of the district) that are not commonly accessed by other people and do not attract the attention of government officers.

Figure 12. Unlicensed hawkers sell local Hong Kong snacks at a street junction in Sham Shui Po. Due to the low incomes and daily needs of the community, more unlicensed hawkers have appeared on the streets and other public space in the district in the recent years. In the past, it was rare to see NAPs conducting hawking activities, but today it has become a lot more common. It is not difficult to identify whether the hawkers are local residents or NAPs by looking at the products being sold: local residents can often be found selling local traditional snacks, while NAPs will be seen selling their own traditional snacks and handicrafts.

Figure 13. Some original residents, whose ancestors were farmers and fishermen in Hong Kong many years ago, conduct their mobile hawking business along the Tin Shui Wai Nullah. Many of them sell vegetables planted by themselves. In the past, the government officers seldom prosecuted original residents for their unlicensed hawking, largely because the original residents of the New Territories were a group of people the government did not want to confront, particularly the rural communities who were strong enough to influence the effectiveness of governance. However, social, cultural and political changes in recent years and the increase in the number of unlicensed, including NAPs and other residents, have resulted in the need for change. Today, hawking by original residents is not immune to prosecution. In particular as more NAPs hawkers appear in the district and more complaints of the hygiene problems by the district councils are received, the officers have no choice but to take action against "all" to avoid complaints by original residents and NAPs.

Figure 14. An NAP runs her small hairdressing business under a shelter inside a park at the edge of a public housing estate in Tin Shui Wai. Just as sun-laundry practice, this kind of local street business has seldom been seen in Hong Kong since the late 1970s. Because of low income, more NAPs are running similar business in the district. Unlike music and dance performance, most of the time this kind of business is not welcomed by local residents, due to the hygiene and environmental problems that occur. To prevent direct confrontation with the local residents and other NAPs, for example, the NAP sets up her business at the corner, far away from the popular area. The location is also at the downside position of wind that hair (dirt) would not be blown to other places and create problems for other park users. She also prepares cleaning facilities and makes sure the place is clean after business hours. Although this kind of business is still not welcome by the general public, due to the understanding of the hard living in the district and the mild influence caused, people seldom make serious complaints to the government or related parties.

From Neighborhood to Transnational Suburban Schools

Willow Lung Amam

ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on the role of schools in fostering new geographies and understanding of social and cultural difference in suburbia. In less than 30 years, Mission San Jose High's (MSJ) student body went from predominantly White to an over 80% Asian. In an era in which the majority of new immigrants and nearly half of all ethnic minorities in the U.S. live in suburbs, I argue that it is important to look beyond our urban centers and traditional public spaces to the everyday places in which interethnic interaction is occurring – places like at Mission San Jose High. My case study of MSJ shows how high performing schools and the different values and meanings that groups bring to schools impact neighborhood geographies of race and social relations among students and parents. I show how the school's reputation as a high performing public school drew newly arrived Asian immigrants to the neighborhood and changed the school culture and education priorities, which has led to stimulated both racial and ethnic conflict as well as new cross cultural collaborations. While on the one hand, groups' have battled for control over the educational agenda at MSJ and established new patterns of racial and ethnic segregation; on the other, groups have come together to redefined race relations and make a space for more complex, hybrid, and multiple identities of their students and engender a respect for cultural differences. This dual focus brings to light both challenges and possibilities of transcultural interaction in the suburban public realm.

Nestled in the Fremont, California foothills is Mission San Jose, a neighborhood that up until about thirty years ago was known primarily for its historic landmark and namesake, the 18th century Spanish Mission. More recently, however, Mission San Jose has become internationally recognized for another landmark, Mission San Jose High. Built in 1964, Mission San Jose High (herein Mission High or Mission) began as a modest, middle-class institution for families who had in large part, lived in area for generations. Today, it is a transnational destination for migrants from all over the world. International businessmen, new immigrant executives, and high tech engineers from Taiwan, Hong Kong, India, Vietnam, the Philippines, and many other parts of the world have chosen to settle in Mission San Jose primarily for

its high performing public schools – changing this neighborhood from olive groves and cow pastures into a global village.

While the larger San Francisco Bay Area and certainly the Silicon Valley has seen vast demographic changes over the past half century, Mission San Jose has a higher concentration of wealthy, educated, new immigrant Asian families than elsewhere. This paper explores the connection between the Mission San Jose schools and the migration of diverse new immigrant families into this neighborhood. It asks how high performing schools like Mission High impact the creation of new geographies of race? And how are everyday social relations impacted by demographic changes that center on schools?

This paper highlights both the changing political economy of education and cultural values and norms around education that have given rise to new immigration and ethnic diversity in suburban areas like Mission San Jose. Although the majority of new immigrants and nearly half of all ethnic minorities now live in the suburbs, the small body of scholarship on contemporary suburbanization has provided very little evidence of the choices, values, and priorities that guide their suburban migrations and construction of new suburban landscapes (Li 1998, 2009; Frey, 2003; Singer, 2004; Hanlon et al., 2006).[1] In contrast, this account gives priority the sacrifices and strategic decisions made by new suburbanites to live in particular areas and to mold the landscapes to fit their lifestyles, preferences, and ideals.

This paper also gives a renewed attention to the role of suburban schools in generating and maintaining racial and ethnic segregation. While most contemporary scholars of suburban segregation have focused instead on tools of privatization and securitization that are creating new landscapes of fear and exclusion (Davis, 1990; Crawford, 1992; McKenzie, 1994; Blakely and Snyder, 1997), schools have been largely ignored. Instead, the schools literature remains mired in old black-white paradigms that suggest that segregation is largely promoted by White resistance to integration based upon fears of declining property values, lowered educational standards, and racism. This paper, however, shows that in a more globally competitive educational environment, schools have a particularly important role in resituating new and emergent geographies of race.

Finally, this paper underscores the importance of suburban schools, and other everyday places of substantive intercultural interaction, in forging social relations that cut across racial, ethnic, and cultural differences. While most scholars have tended to concentrate on traditional public meeting places, like parks and plazas, as spaces of intercultural interaction and engagement (Jacobs, 1961; Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995; Risbeth, 2001; Sanderock, 2003; Low et. al, 2005; Amin, 2002), I argue that this narrow focus on traditional urban public spaces is misguided. At a time in which suburban ethnic diversity is on the rise and urban diversity in on the wane (Hanlon et al., 2006), planning and design scholars, and others concerned with fostering transcultural cities need to give greater attention to the real places that people encounter and engage with difference in their everyday lives.[2] Increasingly, these are seemingly mundane places Mission San Jose High that are in fact quite vibrant locales of multicultural life.

Methods

This paper is based on surveys, focus groups, participant observations, interviews, and archival research on the Mission San Jose neighborhood and its schools collected between 2010 and 2011. In the spring of 2010, focus groups with 27 students Mission San Jose High School and 18 student surveys were conducted in coordination with University of California, Berkeley students.[3] Personal interviews were later conducted with 10 Mission students, 13 Mission parents, four teachers, six administrators, and five Mission San Jose neighborhood residents who did not either currently or formerly have children enrolled in school.[4] Initially, these began as unstructured interviews, obtained largely through snowball sampling, but as recurring themes and issues around race and immigration in the schools emerged, the interviews became more structured and more proportive sampling to speak to key informants on certain topics.

To better understand dynamics of Missions San Jose's demographic changes, I analyzed archival data from the U.S. Census, California Department of Education, Fremont Unified School Board, and Mission San Jose High. For insights on the Mission's changing school and academic culture, I consulted the student newspaper, the *Smoke Signal*, archives from 1974 to 2011. I searched local, regional and national newspaper databases for all reports on Mission San Jose and its schools and read steno notes and meeting minute transcripts from all Fremont Unified School District meetings on related to race and redistricting. During the course of the year, I also sat in on several Mission High classes and otherwise informally observed students' activities around campus.

Creating an Enclave of Asian Privilege

Mission San Jose High is one of five public high schools within the Fremont Unified School District (fig. 1). In its early days, it was not considered the top-ranking school even amongst the other local schools (Hull, 1999). Mission's population was largely White and was referred to by some as "Little Scandinavia" for its predominance of blond-haired, blue-eyed students. When the school district first began recording racial and ethnic demographics in 1981, Mission was 84% White.

As Lisa recalls, the 1990s marked the end of the "dominance of the White, blond haired group" at Mission High. In only three short decades, from 1981 to 2009, Mission's White population declined to 14%, while its Asian population jumped from 7% to 83%, of which approximately ¼ are foreign-born. In 2009, Latinos made up less than 2% and African-Americans less than 1% of Mission's 2,150 students (fig. 2). Among Asians, Chinese were by far the largest groups of Mission students (49%), followed by Indians (17%), Vietnamese (3%), and Koreans (3%).[5]

Mission's student population now included both a large foreign-born population as well as a transnational student body. About one-forth of the Asian students enrolled in 2009 were foreign born, and the 69% spoke a language other than English at home. Transnational students include those whose families regularly shuttle back and forth between multiple countries, as well as "parachute kids", immigrant youth left in the United States with relatives, friends or "caretakers" to pursue their education while their parents remain abroad. Though the number are difficult to estimate, Mission's Principal, Sandy Prairie says that it is not uncommon for her to receive phone calls from overseas parents, "sometimes just because their daughter got a 'C' on test."

Mission High students now also come from much more prosperous families than in previous decades. In 2005, the median family income for the neighborhood was $114,595, earning it a rank of 237th on *Forbes* magazine's list of the 500 most affluent communities in the United States.[6] Mission parents commonly hold Master's and Doctorates and

work in high-tech related careers, while students often sport BMWs, otherwise known as "Basic Mission Wheels". In 2009, less than 4% of Mission students qualified for free and reduced lunch, compared to 19% district-wide.

What has distinguished Mission San Jose as such a desirable place to live for many wealthy, well-educated immigrant families, particularly Asians, is its top performing public schools (fig. 3). While in the 1980s, Asian immigrants tended to settle in areas with traditionally better schools, like Cupertino and Sunnyvale, by the 1990s Fremont's schools had become regionally competitive. In 1999, when the state of California first began measuring the academic performance of schools using the Academic Performance Index (API), Mission High was ranked as the number three school in the San Francisco Bay Area. In 2008, 2009, and 2010, it was ranked the number one comprehensive high school in California. In 2009, Mission was declared by *U.S. News and World Report* ranked Mission as the 36th best academic school (among both public and private schools) and 4th best public open enrollment high school in the nation. William Hopkins Junior High, its feeder school, had the highest API score among public junior high schools in California in both 2005 and 2007.

The Value of an American Education

Since the U.S. has opened its borders to greater Pacific Rim investment and immigration in the latter half of the 20th century, once regionalized and nationalized competitions for schools have gone global. Accordingly, families from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and India, where the competition for schools is legend, have taken their plight to obtain a high quality education for their children international. Ads for Mission San Jose homes and schools can be found in Hong Kong, Taiwan and India, as can Mission High's API test scores (fig. 4). In interviews and surveys with many Mission San Jose residents, Indian and Chinese immigrant families consistently said that schools were among their top reasons for locating to the Mission San Jose. "Many young immigrant families cite the stellar public schools as the most important factor in their decision to move to Mission San Jose," said former Mission Principal Stewart Kew (Marech, 2002).

Among many Asian immigrants, education is placed on such a high pedestal that families are willing to sacrifice long distance commutes and even familial separation to have their kids at-

tend the world's best schools. Chang and Lung Amam (2010) found that Taiwanese families in both the Silicon Valley and Taiwan frequently engage in transnational migrations based on their priorities for dual citizenship, bilingual education training, Chinese cultural education, and American university degrees. Every year, Mission admits several international transfer students, whose entry some administrators claim is part of a strategic decision by parents to try to increase their student's chances being admitted to an American college. The vast majority of international student transfers in recent years have come from China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.[7] Paula, a Mission High teacher, says that among these transfer students include several students that may have failed tests to advance in their own countries, and therefore their parents look to Mission as their children's "last ditch effort" to get into college. Aiwah Ong (1999) observed that Hong Kong families often use their children as a kind of "health insurance", by selecting different sites for their education that will help them to get green cards, expand real estate holdings, and increase their family's social capital, particularly with the prestige of an American education. Dang (2000) notes that in many Asian countries one's level of education serves their primary social status indicator.

Certainly families must be willing to pay a premium for access to Mission schools. Mission homes regularly sell for at least $200,000 above that of other Fremont neighborhoods. In October of 2010, Mission San Jose's median home value was around $940,000 compared to Fremont's median of around $663,000.[8] Because of its highly ranked schools, real estate agents often describe Mission San Jose as a "diamond area", a place where prices simply will not drop. As most residents will tell you, people will pay almost anything to get access to Mission schools. Especially among Asian immigrant families, Mission schools are considered such a prized assets, that families that will often rent or buy much smaller homes than they can afford, fake addresses, and shuttle several related family members through a single house in order to stay within the attendance area.

A Changed School Culture

The presence of a large Asian student has shifted Mission High's social and academic culture. While Mission was up until the 1980s largely known as a football school that sent several players on to the NFL, for the past couple of years, it has struggled to field a varsity team.[9] Students now commonly say that the only reason to go to a football game is to get physics extra credit (as the physics teacher also happens to be the football coach). Meanwhile its badminton, chess, and debate teams are regular regional champions and many of its top athletes are also frequent recipients of the Athlete Scholar awards (fig. 6). Its popular students clubs include range from Indian bangra dance and bollywood cinema to Chinese yo-yo, Japanese animae, Asian pop music, and a humanitarian group raising money and awareness for orphans in China.

Driven largely by Asian students' demands for more and harder classes, Mission now offers primarily honors and advanced placement (AP) courses, particularly in the math and sciences.[10] Ohlone Community College is popularly called "Mission on the Hill" because of the large number of Mission students who attend classes there on weekends and over the summer (fig. 5). Ads for S.A.T prep and tutoring clubs appear regularly in the student newspaper throughout the Mission San Jose neighborhood.[11] Students often attend afterschool and weekend Chinese classes, academic summer camps, and are known for studying their textbooks and getting tutored on coursework the summer before classes begin.[12]

Mission has maintained a near 100% graduation rate since 2000 and in 2010 graduated 31 (out of 512 total graduates) valedictorians, all with 4.0 GPAs. Eighty-one percent (81%) of students were on the honor roll and 94% of the 2010 graduating class enrolled in college. Mission's reputation as a rigorous academic school is well known throughout the region and affirmed by the Mission Warriors' cheer: "Cosine, sine – cosine, sine – 3.14159 – 2400s on SATs – and yes, we all take 5 APs."

Dumb White Kids and Asian Nerds

As the competition for educational advantage has extended from the local to the global scale, everyday social relations within schools have been highly impacted by this race to the top. The efforts of new immigrant families to seek the best possible education for their children have introduced divergent educational values and social practices that often flare racial and ethnic tensions and conflict.

While many Mission students and administrators report that ethnic relations are generally amicable, they also acknowledge that racial and ethnic segregation is a part of everyday life at Mission. A 2010 survey found that 72% of students thought that ethnicity played at least a "somewhat important" role in social relations on campus.[13] Social groups tend to segregate themselves primarily along racial and ethnic lines, between Whites, Chinese, and Indians, and sometimes even further between based upon their familial histories in different regions, social castes, and language groups.

Certainly, Mission's social segregation is complicated, involving many different factors. Part of the Mission's unique dynamic, however, is that racial and ethnic divisions are often created and reinforced by stereotypes about student's academic success. At Mission, White students are often labeled the "dumb White kids", while Asians are called "curve busters" and "nerds." These caricatures are generalized from the very real disparities in the academic performance of White and Asian students, but also reflect the real strains that academic pressure places on students' social lives.[14] White students often say they feel offended by Asian students that demean their intelligence, especially that of girls, by referring to them as "blondes" or "the White girl". Many also take offense at the reaction of their Asian peers to their getting good grades or performing well in school. "My best friend and I are blonde, light-eyed and in honors' classes. When we walk into the room, you can tell from the body language they're thinking 'Why are you in this class'?", says Lindsay (Brown, 2001). Some Asian students agree that the labels go too far, such that things like hanging out with friends, playing instruments other than the violin or piano, and getting a B, makes one susceptible to the charge of being "white washed". Several students also complain these stereotypes restricted their social lives, since hanging out with the White kids can easily be interpreted as a sign of a child's academic failure. Whereas, hanging out with the Asian kids, means that you have no social life at all.

The New White Flight

Besides creating social tensions and segregation in the classroom, cultural conflicts around education at Mission also create new patterns of regional and neighborhood segregation. In a clear departure from the tradition pattern of White flight based on fears declining property values and neighborhood quality, in Mission San Jose, a rapid decline in the White population has proceeded amidst rising housing values with more well to do residents.

Certainly, the decline in the White population at Mission has several causes, but most Mission residents seem to agree that race and schools have played a large role in recent years. Some say that amidst such rapid demographic change, many Whites students and parents simply felt "out of place" in an area where they were not longer the majority. Several residents shared stories about friends that left the district because their son or daughter did not get invited to birthday parties or otherwise felt like they did not "fit in" with the dominant Asian culture. Nina describes both her and her mother's discomfort of living through the changes:

> When I was going to school in elementary school, like walking to school, like all the parents and all the kids would be speaking Chinese or another language so like I couldn't even understand them and like and my Mom I know that she would get kind of like kind of upset because she felt kind of like excluded in a way cause like they would be like a few White moms, but that is it. And most of them like Asian talked their language and you don't know what they're saying and stuff like that, so that bothered me too, because people did it in school sometimes.

Claire says that she has often heard other White mothers complain of feeling like the Chinese moms were "talking behind their backs" by speaking their language at school. Many former residents have left for communities that are only within a few miles of Mission San Jose, like Pleasanton, Livermore, and Sunol, where the White populations are far higher and as Leslie described, there is a more of a "feeling for the White community".[15]

Mission San Jose's social culture often intersects with its academic culture, which has been another important driver of neighborhood change. Many Whites who have left Mission San Jose have claimed to do so to provide their kids with a more "well-rounded education". This phenomenon was highlighted a controversial *Wall Street Journal* report on the "new White flight" on the Silicon Valley argued that White families were apt to leave schools they perceived to be too narrowly focused on academics, especially math and science, at the expense of the liberal arts and extracurricular activities, especially sports (Hwang, 2005). Lisa, a long time Mission High teacher, agreed that these conflicting priorities have led many White parents to pull their children out of Mission. "If you have a son that plays football, you just don't want him here at Mission. In Pleasanton, football is a value of that community. College, instruments, and doing well in school is a value of this community," she said.

Others parents have expressed less concern about Mission San Jose's educational culture or its schools values, and more concern that their children are losing their competitive edge. Many White students and parents cite excessive homework and their declining academic performance relative to other students, as reasons why they and other Whites have left Mission San Jose. Susan says that this is precisely why so many White students have transferred from Mission to nearby Irvington High in recent years:

> Many White parents felt that there wasn't any way that their kids could compete [at Mission] so "why bother?" And to get into schools, they wanted to get their kids into the top 15% of the class and they knew they could do it if they went to Irvington. So we began to see a migration out.

Notably Whites are not the only group to have left the Mission area in any significant number. While many Indians continue to settle into the Mission, others have left. Paula, who has taught at Mission for many years, claims to be losing about one Indian student a month to exurban communities like Livermore and Sunol Hills, both because of ethnic tensions with the Chinese and different housing priorities:

> One [Indian] kid who just left this last two weeks, I said, "oh, you're moving over to Livermore"…He says, "my Dad wants to have a golf course, a tennis course, have a country club life" and he says, "and he's "sick and tired of hearing Chinese all the time"… The Indian mentality is that I can get just as good of an education at Foothill High School in Livermore and still have these extra amenities because that's important to me. Whereas the Asian [Chinese] mindset is that we're here for an intense environment just to get our kids educated and we're out of here. They are not going to continue to live here.

Ong (2003) points out these differences between Indian and Chinese stem in part from their patterns of work and immigration in the Silicon Valley, whereby Indians are more likely to be employed long-term in high tech sector jobs whereas Chinese tend to be "global businessmen", who often lead more mobile lives.

Even some American-born Asians see the intense need to succeed as an Asian immigrant value, and one that they do not ascribe to in the same way. In fact, some say they too feel "out of place" in a predominately immigrant community. Lindy commented that as a Chinese person raised in the U.S., she has considered leaving Mission San Jose because she neither speaks Chinese nor feels the need to have her kids be in such a competitive academic environment. Also, she noted that so many of her American-born Chinese and White friends have now moved out to Pleasanton and Livermore and keep encouraging her to do the same.

Race and Redistricting

In 1999, a redistricting plan announced by Fremont Unified School Board catalyzed racial tensions that have engulfed the Mission schools for the past several decades. Like patterns of ethnic flight out of the district, the redistricting controversy that ensued shows how racial and ethnic competition and different cultural values around education restructure local geographies of race, social relations, and the politics of place.

To relieve overcrowding in Mission San Jose schools and achieve greater "program equity" across district, Superintendent Sharon Jones proposed a plan that would incorporate Fred E. Weibel Elementary School into the Irvington High attendance area.[16] At the time, Weibel had the highest percentage of Asian students of an elementary school in the district (75%) and was third highest ranking elementary school in the state. According to the plan, its students would be directed away from Mission High to Irvington High, where APIs were more than 200 points lower and White students constituted the majority.[17]

Within days of the announcement, housing prices dropped in the Weibel attendance area and twenty Asian parents initiated a lawsuit against the Fremont Unified School District (FUSD) and the Superintendent alleging that the district's plan was racially motivated and designed to divert high perform-

ing Asian students to other schools to boost academic scores around the district. In addition, a coalition of Weibel parents filed a petition to separate from the school system and form a new Mission San Jose School District. This was the first time that the state of California had ever seen a petition of this kind sponsored by a majority Asian coalition of parents.[18] Echoing comments made by the FUSD Superintendant, the Alameda County School Board denied the petition stating that proposed Mission San Jose School District would "carve out an enclave of privilege" and "create a significant ethnic imbalance in the schools".[19] A compromise was eventually reached, wherein the Weibel parents agreed to drop all further lawsuits and the District agreed, among other things, to increase the number of honors and advanced placement courses offered at Irvington and to give students the opportunity to take electives at Mission if the class was not available at Irvington.

Throughout the nearly two-years of contentious school board and city council meetings, racial tensions were often flared. Asian parents complained of being the target of attacks by White parents who mimicked and mocked their accents, accused them of abusing their children by "forcing" them to study, and charged them with making Fremont into another Chinatown. Weibel students and parents complained of being referred to as excessively wealthy, elitist immigrants, who were not assimilating into American culture.

According to several neighborhood residents, after redistricting Asian families were more likely than Whites to send their kids to private schools, move into the new Mission attendance area, or out of the district altogether, rather than to enter Irvington High. White students and parents, on the other hand, were more likely to embrace Irvington High as a place that represented their desire for a more "well-rounded" and "diverse" educational environment.

The Difference that Difference Makes

The contentious battles that have been waged over Mission San Jose schools, its values and its identity have been the more prominent impacts of new Asian immigration. Much less apparent has been the ways in which immigration has helped to foster relationships of trust and respect across differences. Particularly striking at Mission is how often the very same students, teachers and administrators who easily acknowledge that race and ethnic differences shape everyday social relations at MSJ, will also say that race does not really

matter. This paradox speaks to the lived experiences Mission students who may hang out in groups formed primarily along racial, ethnic, and cultural lines, but also constantly negotiate, mediate, challenge, and push these borders.

Interethnic dating and friendships are fairly common. In survey, 85% of students said that they had a close friend of a different ethnicity, and 75% said that they have never felt excluded due to their ethnicity (Bernstein et al., 2010). In fact, at lunch it is nearly as easy to find students hanging out in ethnically mixed as homogenous groups. In interviews, students would frequently talk about how they often crossed cultural boundaries in their social lives. For instance, Ellie commented that she primarily hangs out with other Chinese girls, but qualified that this did not mean that she does not know and socialize with both Indian and White students, though admitted she was not as comfortable when doing so. She said this year many of her girlfriends are dating White guys, simply because the "White kids" decided to get more involved in planning homecoming, something that had traditionally been left up to the Asian students. Even Leslie, who complained about feeling socially rejected by Asians as a whole, said that some of her closest friends are Indian and Chinese. Students generally agree that people are fairly nice to each other and that very little outright social exclusion occurs at Mission. Students and administers frequently commented on the lack of traditional "cliques" at MSJ. "You don't have typical troubles between ethnic group like at other schools", former Principal Stuart Kew explained, "so many people are so academically focused, they don't really have time for that." (Marech, 2002)

 Friendships built in Mission schools also tend go beyond the classroom and affect a wider web of social relations. Bobby, Jim, and Raj are three Mission students – one Chinese, one Indian, and one White, all with immigrant parents – who have been best friends since kindergarten. While both Bobby and Raj say that their parents still respect many of their cultural traditions, they note that over the years their friendship has brought the three families together in many ways. Bobby says:

> Of the three of us, my [Chinese] parents are the strictest. And then my Danish friend, his parents are the most relaxed. And [Raj's] parents are the most guiding…So they're like different parenting styles and how we've all grown up and it kind of just meshes. Our parents have kind of changed too because they know each other. Like over the years,

my parents have gotten more relaxed… because of the influence of the other two families. And like [Raj's] parents have gotten slightly stricter…And then [Jim's] are a bit more caring [about what he does].

Many Mission students and parents say that what has allowed them to bridge racial and ethnic divides, is not their silence about difference, but rather their willingness to engage them. If you stand in the Mission hallways long enough, you are liable to overhear several racial slurs being thrown about, while in the classroom you're just as likely hear serious and thoughtful debate over "the glass ceiling", racial profiling, immigration reform, and other everyday challenges of managing the American color line. Many Mission students are more than willing to talk about race and cultural differences and its challenges. The student-run Ethnic and Race Relations Committee has been an active club in recent years working to spread cultural awareness and build racial tolerance across the campus. They decorate the school for cultural holidays and host educational events across campus, including Multicultural Week, which next to homecoming is considered Mission's biggest event of the year.

Students everyday cross cultural encounters and discussions have helped to normalize differences of all kinds. Many Asian students describe Mission High as an environment where getting good grades, speaking other languages, and drinking bubble milk tea are considered normal, not weird or uncool as they would be elsewhere. Even White students have noted that the environment at Mission has fostered a sense of openness to difference that reduces the pressure on them to conform to a particular identity. Brandy explains:

> [At Mission] you can wear a sweatshirt and put your hair in a pony tail and you'll be normal. But when you go out there [to Pleasanton or Livermore] you have to have like designer jeans, you have to have straight hair, blonde hair, lots of make-up on. Here, its not that big of a deal, so here I feel like you're more okay with who you are. Out there its more like I need to be like everyone else so I can fit in. Here, you're who you are and that's okay.

Anil, an American-born Indian student whose parents moved from Mission San Jose to go to Pleasanton for two years, reflected:

> The outside world seemed so different from the Fremont Bubble. We came running right back. Its just one of those things which is difficult to let go of. That people are this accepting…That this is the

norm. Just look around you. You don't see this in every day in every other city across America. You don't. What we have here is truly unique.

Towards Transcultural Cities

This paper has shown how in the face of a globalized competition for education, schools like Mission San Jose have attracted new suburban immigration and ethnic diversity that is vastly changing the metropolitan landscape. New suburban immigrants and ethnic minorities have introduced values, meanings and identities that have changed the school's social and academic culture and stirred racial and ethnic tensions, conflicts, and even new geographies of racial and ethnic segregation. At the same time, however, this paper has argued that the migration of new immigrants and minorities to Mission San Jose underscores the importance of suburban schools as sites importance of intercultural interaction and discourses on difference. If schools and other everyday places of suburban life, are the spaces in which various ethnic groups are increasingly confronting differences, they are important spaces to look for new social and cultural practices, identities, collaborations and the potentials they provide.

What some have described Mission as having an "easy diversity". In my estimation, it has been quite hard won and incomplete. It has been students, parents and administrators willingness to engage with questions about their cultural differences, confront intolerance, and make a space for contestation and debate. As the borders between nations, places, cities and suburbs, become increasingly fluid and unstable – in a time when diversity, complexity, and hybridity define as much who we are as how and where we live, these are the real challenges that we face if we are going to learn to live together. It something that I doubt we can theorize our way out without learning from the people and places, like Mission High, that are making it work one day at a time.

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Endnotes

1   New suburban historians have been much more diligent in this regard. See for instance Harris (1996), Weise (2004), and Nicholaides and Weise (2006). But their accounts hardly address the post-1965 era in which the character of ethnic minority suburbanization migration has vastly transformed.

2   I use the term "transcultural cities" to mean places that foster intercultural interaction and respect across difference.

3   These included three students enrolled in the course "Landscapes as Sacred Place" taught in the Department of Landscape Architecture and Environmental Planning, for which I was a co-instructor. Both the survey and the focus group mainly concentrated on students' sacred places in their local community, but also collected important data about students' demographic data, the changes in their community because of diversity, and how their racial and ethnic identities corresponded with the places they liked and did not like to go.

4   The demographics of the interviewees were as follows. The students interviewed included three White girls, three Chinese (two boys and one girl), two Indian boys, one Japanese girl, and one girl of mixed Caucasian and Afghani ancestry; seven were current and three former students; nine were American-born and three were foreign-born students. The parents interviewed included five Caucasians, six Chinese, two Indians; five were American-born (only the Caucasian parents) and eight were foreign-born parents. Neighborhood residents included three Chinese and two Indian residents, all of who were foreign-born. Four administrators were White, one Chinese, and one Indian, and included the Mission High and Irvington High principals and one Fremont Unified School Board member.

5   Interesting, 25% of Missions' Asian students classify themselves as "Other", which is likely an indication of the proportion of students of mixed ancestry, who at Mission are often referred to as "hybrids" or "Wasians" (for those of Caucasian and Asian ancestry).

6   Based on U.S. Census Bureau statistics for the 94539 zip code.

7   In the 2009-10 school year, Mission admitted 23 international transfers, 7 from Taiwan, 6 from Mainland China, and 3 from Hong Kong. In 2010, it admitted 20 students, 11 from China, 2 from Taiwan, and 1 from Hong Kong.

8   These numbers are according to zillow.com.

9   In 2002 the varsity team was cancelled for lack of interest among its seniors. In explaining why few upper classmen signed up, Coach Kevin Lydon said that trying to muster enthusiasm for football on the Mission campus was "like trying to sell electricity to the Amish" (Somashekhar, 2003).

10   In the 2009-2010 academic year, Mission San Jose High offered 52 sections of AP classes in 18 different subject areas. While only about half of the subject areas were math and science related, 85% of the total sections that students signed up for were in the math and sciences. Seventy-seven percent of juniors and seniors completed AP courses.

11   A November 2008 student survey conducted by the *Smoke Signal* newspaper found that 26.5% of students used the tutoring services offered to students at Mission High.

12   Mission High rents out its space on the weekend to a Chinese school, popularly attended by many Mission students.

13   The survey asked 300 students "Is ethnicity an important social factor at MSJ?". Twelve percent said it was always true, 31% said it was mostly true, 29% said it was somewhat true, 11% said it was not true, and 15% said they were not sure (Bernstein et al, 2010).

14 In 2009, Mission's Asian students had a 966 base API score compared to that of 890 for White students.

15 In 2000, White populations of Pleasanton, Livermore, and Sunol were 76%, 74%, and 86% respectively, compared to Fremont's population of 41%. Since 2000, the White populations (as a percentage of the population) in these areas have begun to decline as more Asians have been moving in, a process that Claire says many of her White friends have described as "the Mission Asian overflow".

16 Mission San Jose High School was built for a capacity of about 1,700 students. At the time of the redistricting announcement, approximately 2,200 kids attended Mission, about the same number that attends today.

17 In the 1999-2000 school year, Mission High had an API score of 910 compared to Irvington High's 692. Irvington's student population was 54% White, 20% Asian, 15% Latino and 4% African American.

18 Despite its common characterization as an "Asian coalition of parents", the group known as the Coalition for Education Reform, included around 150 parents, about one-third of whom where White, and diverse groups of Asian parents from China, Taiwan, India, Malaysia, Japan, and Hawaii that included both recent immigrants and American-born residents (Hull, 2001).

19 On appeal, the California Department of Education stated the proposed district would not promote racial or ethnic segregation, but upheld the denial of the petition.

Fig. 1: Mission San Jose High School in Fremont, California.
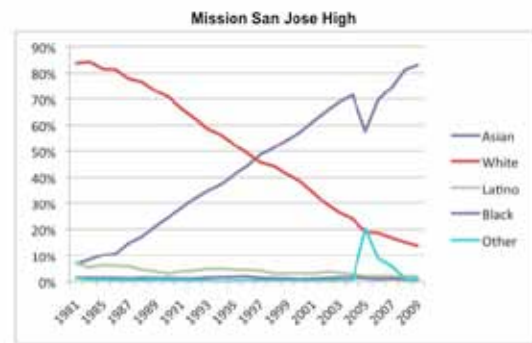
Fig. 2: Mission San Jose Highs' student population went from predominantly White to Asian in only a few decades.
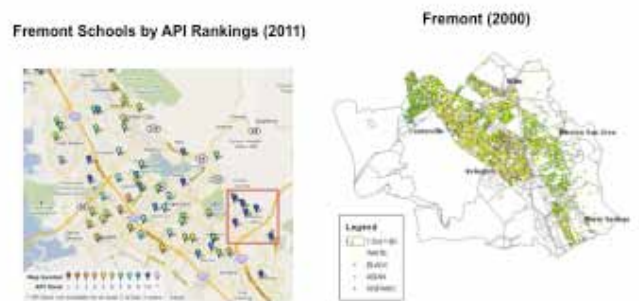
Fig. 3: Fremont schools by API rankings in 2011 (right) with Mission San Jose schools highlighted in red, and Fremont's 2000 racial demographics (left). Note the correspondence between Fremont's high performing schools (in dark blue on the left) and clusters of Asian residents (in green on the right), especially within the Mission San Jose neighborhood. API map courtesy of Google and School Performance Maps.

Fig. 4: This ad for Mission San Jose homes and schools appeared in Taiwan. Courtesy of Shenglin Elijah Chang.
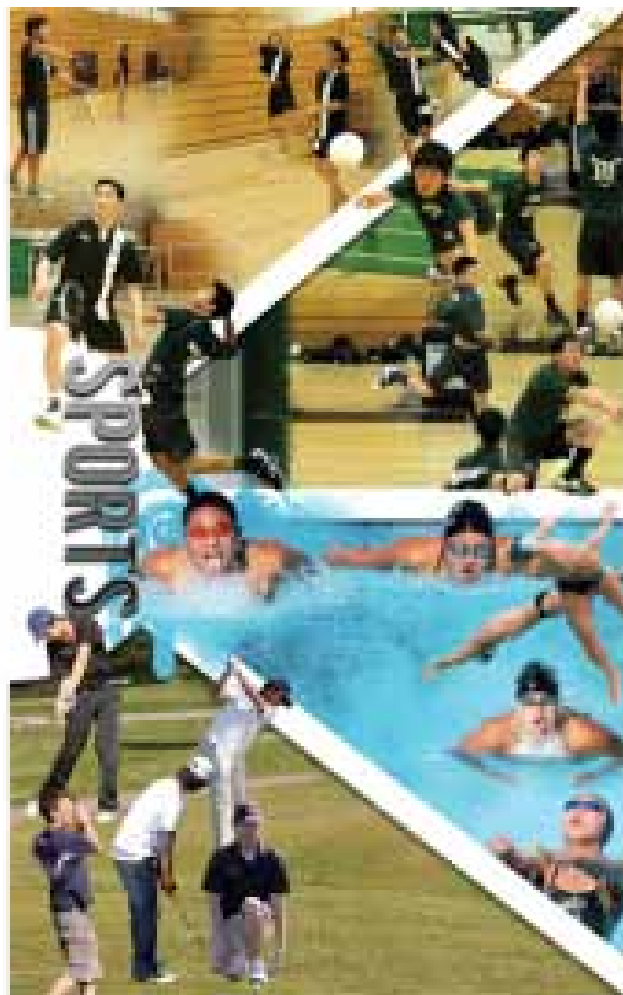
Fig 5: This photo from the Mission Highs' student newspaper features some its more popular sports.

Fig. 6: This ad for Ohlone Community College classes appeared in Mission High's student newspaper. Ohlone is popularly known as "Mission on the Hill" because of the large number of students that take classes there on the weekends and over the summer.

From a Neighborhood of Strangers to a Community of Fate: The Village at Market Creek Plaza

Michael Rios

ABSTRACT: I will analyze how social groups form, negotiate, and mobilize different imaginaries of culture and place to change social, political, and material relations. The case also demonstrates the role of participatory processes in creating public spaces for cross-cultural brokering and capacity building.

This case study focuses on Market Creek Plaza, a 10-acre commercial and cultural center that is the first part of a larger vision to transform 45 acres of a former brownfield site into a multicultural area with additional retail space and 800 new homes referred to as The Village at Market Creek. Located in the Diamond Neighborhood near downtown San Diego, this area is home to an African American and Latino majority intermixed with populations from Laos, Samoa, Philippines, Somali, and other countries. This the area was known as the "Four Corners of Death," home to 42 gangs that threatened the safety of the 88,000 residents on a daily basis.

In 1997, the Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation bought the lot and began a participatory planning process with the local residents that eventually led to the creation of a clear vision for the site: a commercial and multicultural hub in their community, including a multicultural plaza space. The changes in the area since the project began have reduced crime enabling local residents to feel safe in their neighborhood at night and altered their perceptions of their cultural diversity from a source of tension to a source of celebration.

The following essay introduces the concept of cultural citizenship to demonstrate how marginalized groups use place to negotiate different imaginaries of culture and, in the process, create new physical and political spaces. Moreover, I argue that place rights ultimately reflect, and are the outcome of various negotiations—of belonging to a territorial community, in participating in local decisions, and navigating the political landscape at multiple scales. As an illustrative example that draws attention to the linkage between place and cultural forms of citizenship, I describe the Village at Market Creek, a newly imagined community

in San Diego, California. Using the analytical lens of cultural citizenship, I explain how places provide an important location where cross-cultural exchange occurs, and where negotiations of belonging, negotiations of authorship, and, ultimately, negotiations of power can be fully realized.

Place, Culture, and Citizenship

From a scholarly perspective, 'place' does not represent a coherent single idea. The concept has been defined by multiple disciplinary threads ranging from philosophy, geography and architecture, to cultural anthropology and environmental psychology. Broadly defined, place refers to territorialized local communities, collective memories associated with territory, claims of authenticity by local actors, phenomenological associations with locales, and social relationships among people in territorial communities (Casey, 1993; 1997; Relph, 1976; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Tuan, 1977). In other words, place is a simultaneity of setting, identity, ideas, and practice (Agnew, 1987). Related, placemaking can be described as a historically contingent process that holds together the tensions and contradictions inherent in place construction (Pred, 1984). This process involves participation in both "production of meaning and in the means of production of a locale" where the symbolic and spatial is simultaneously expressed, whether being imagined from within a particular territorial community by place dwellers, or being imposed by external forces of the state or market (Lepofsky and Fraser, 2003).

Whereas general processes exist in and through space, places consist of territories that have specific histories, myths and meanings that are situated within power relations (Creswell, 1991; Shields, 1991). This helps explain why placemaking is often used as a defensive reaction to the forces of globalization and a way to avoid political economic concerns through nostalgia, essentialism, and a fetish for historical forms of communal life (Harvey, 1993). While this is an important critique, less attention has been paid to place as the setting to imagine territorialized identities, create narratives of meaning, negotiate between larger processes and the particular, and produce new political projects.

Place as a setting for rights claims draws attention to the types of political communities available for practice. However, practice, in this case, does not concern general statements of

social or spatial behavior (Liggett and Perry, 1995), but rather particular visions, enactments, and intersections of culture, power, and place (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). This type of "emplaced" practice makes explicit the connection between material and political relations, and, in particular, the relationship between political efficacy and practices on the ground. Some have argued that the "power to act" resides locally, but that this power also incorporates extra-local forces aimed at producing a progressive or extroverted sense of place between global, local, and trans-local processes (Agnew, 1987; Amin, 2004; Massey, 1991). As Doreen Massey (2005) has pointed out, places necessitate invention and negotiation to make sense out of the complex power-geometry of space and time. This "practicing of place" is inherently political and requires action between people—re-acting and pro-acting, drawing together local circumstance with external forces at play. A challenging but important role for practice is to reveal knowledge and link, bridge, and mobilize multiple imaginations and narratives to create a place for transformative politics.

Despite a focus on politics, space, 'the right to the city', and 'insurgent citizenship', planning and geography scholars have paid little attention to the relationship between culture, citizenship, and space (Brenner, 2000; Douglass and Friedmann, 1998; Friedmann, 2002; Holston and Appadurai, 1999; Mitchell, 2003; McCann, 2002; Purcell, 2003; 2008). The use of cultural resources by marginalized groups to claim rights and create new physical and political spaces has often been described as cultural citizenship. Cultural forms of citizenship represent "the ways people organize their values, their beliefs about their rights, and their practices based on their sense of cultural belonging rather than on their formal status as citizens" (Silvestrini, 1998, p. 44). Additionally, cultural citizenship takes place in "zones of difference within and between cultures" (Rosaldo, p. 1989, 28) and involves negotiations of belonging, negotiations of authorship, and, ultimately, negotiations of power if membership in a political community is to be fully realized. Negotiations of belonging center on the exertion of citizens' rights to both be different and command a sense of belonging in the nation state, while also having the ability to participate in the democratic process (Benmayor et al., 1997; Rosaldo and Flores, 1997). Negotiations of authorship concerns how individuals and groups claim ownership of the specific cultural context in which they inhabit and participate, and is inclusive of the right to challenge cultural consensus and hegemony (Boele van Hensbroek, 2010). Cultural practices and politi-

cal rights are not mutually exclusive but intersect in ways that constitute one another. Negotiations of power draw from the right to be visible, to be recognized, and to advance a group's cultural understanding. It is with this insight—that rights are gained through various and overlapping forms of negotiation—I now turn to the case of the Village at Market Creek.

The Village at Market Creek

The Village of Market Creek is a newly envisioned place in Southeast San Diego on a 45-acre site situated at the border of four different neighborhoods at the intersection of Market Street and Euclid Avenue. When fully built out, the Village will include a mix of commercial, residential, and community-serving uses such as cultural facilities, parks, and the expansion of public open space around Chollas Creek, an arroyo that meanders through the entire Market Creek site. The four neighborhoods that converge around the Village are part of the larger Diamond District that includes close to 90,000 residents with a Latino and African American majority. However, this multi-ethnic district is rather diverse and also includes populations from the Philippines, Laos, Somalia, Somoa, and Sudan, among other sending regions.

A village takes shape

The story of the Village at Market Creek begins in the mid 1990s when residents and a handful of organizations participated in a community visioning exercise sponsored by the CA Energy Commission, an unlikely convener due to its mandated focus on statewide energy policy. The Commission was interested in ways local communities could physically develop to reduce energy consumption. For the Commission and its consultants this included transit-oriented development strategies that would increase housing densities around a trolley station that was built in 1986 near the corner of Market Street and Euclid Avenue.

Building on this early effort, the Jacobs Family Foundation (JFF) made an initial commitment to focus their mission on neighborhood revitalization in the Diamond District after funding several projects in the area. At the time, the area was known as the "Four Corners of Death," as it was home to 42 gangs (Wittenberg, 2009). A "convergence moment" as recounted by JFF President and CEO Jennifer Vanica was during a community meeting when residents were complaining about a twenty-acre lot with an abandoned aerospace factory

(known as the Langley site) where much crime and gang violence took place (Korten and Klein, 2009). Moreover, parents and grandparents were upset about the 300 kids who walked beside the lot each day to and from school (p. 70). Joseph Jacobs (the founder of the foundation) responded by buying the property and committing to work with residents to plan for its redevelopment. In 1997, the Jacobs Center for Neighborhood Innovation (JCNI), the newly formed non-profit community development arm of the JFF, bought the twenty-acre lot for $3.1 million and hired Roque Barros, a seasoned community organizer, to engage local residents in a participatory planning process. To begin, Roque organized a Halloween carnival at the old factory and thousands of people came and shared stories about the site and their feelings about it.

In order to survey community residents about their needs and desires for the site, Roque helped form outreach teams made up of residents. In order to address racial tensions that became apparent during the surveying, he recruited and paid stipends to individuals from different groups living in the community that would later serve as "cultural group coordinators". For example, there were historical tensions between a group of Latinos and Samoans living on the same street. Many did not know why there was conflict, but acknowledged its existence for some time. Working with Roque, coordinators representing the two groups organized a block party to identify issues that the Latinos and Samoans had in common. One issue was the lack of lighting on the cul-de-sac. A media event was orchestrated to draw attention to the issue and to demonstrate that they could work together. One outcome was the initiation of cross-cultural exchanges. For example, many Latino families were interested, and participated, in Samoan dance classes taught by their neighbors.

Coordinators were also recruited from seven other cultural groups including African Americans, Chamorros (from Guam), Kumiai Indians (San Diego's original inhabitants), Filipinos, Latinos, Laotians, Samoans, Somalis, and Sudanese. Further cross-cultural exchanges ensued leading to a series of "ethnic nights" that highlighted the cultural heritage of each group. These events culminated in a "Unity Day" featuring different food, clothing, and dance traditions. The Langley site was transformed into a series of cultural villages with individual cultural houses for each group. Several thousand people turned up for the event. The Unity Days is still celebrated each year.

Representatives from different cultural groups were also involved in decisions concerning development of the Langley site. This included developing proposals for a new grocery store given that there were no grocery stores in the immediate area. In January 2001, Market Creek Plaza opened with Food-4-Less as the anchor grocery store tenant as well as other commercial tenants included locally-serving restaurants, a Wells Fargo Bank, and a Starbucks café.

In the same year, the community also formed the Euclid Market Action Team (EMAT) in response to the city's decision to relocate produce distribution warehouses to the Market Creek area due to the displacement of warehouses caused by the development of the $450 million PETCO Park baseball stadium. The relocation of the warehouses and the expected truck traffic was a particular threat to existing community institutions such as the Tubman-Chavis Culural Center, the Elementary Institute of Science, and Malcolm X Library.

A vision for a cultural village

Organized by JCNI and the Coalition of Neighborhood Councils, several hundred angry residents went down to city hall to protest the proposed relocation and were upset with the local councilman and the Southeastern Economic Development Corporation, the non-profit redevelopment organization in the area, for approving the relocation. At a tense meeting, the councilman challenged the community to come up with an alternative plan. Shortly thereafter, JCNU hired Niko Calavita, an urban designer and then professor of planning at San Diego State, to develop the EMAT plan that provided a framework for "equitable development".

The kick-off of EMAT planning process finally began in August of 2001, where nearly 200 participants showed up to develop the plan. Maps of the four neighborhoods surrounding the Euclid and Market Street intersection were used to problematize boundary conditions and analyze possible linkages between the neighborhoods. The initial workshop was followed by a series of "planning circles" in peoples' homes to solicit ideas about their vision for the community. Results of planning circles were used to develop a framework for the rest of the planning process and subsequent design workshops were then used to prepare a plan. A total of five workshops took place over a two-month time period. As part of the EMAT planning process, cultural coordinators also conducted 800 neighborhood

surveys in multiple languages within a one-mile radius of the corner of Euclid Avenue and Market Street (Robinson, 2005).

Once the results from the surveys were gathered, a clear vision emerged. This was the first time that the concept for a "Cultural Village" was identified; envisioned as a multicultural and commercial hub connecting the four adjacent neighborhoods and joined by a proposed pathway and improvements along Chollos Creek. Once a plan was created on how to proceed, in 2002, JCNI staff (now including the cultural coordinators as paid staff) helped organize over 2,000 adults and 1,000 youth as part of three primary working teams focused on Art & Design, Business & Leasing, Construction & Ownership Design. One of the outcomes of the working teams was the idea for an initial public offering (IPO) where residents could invest and own shares in the Market at Village Creek, the commercial portion of the Village. In 2006, 416 residents purchased ownership units in a Community Development IPO, the first one of its kind in the United States. At that time, 20% of the project was owned by residents, 20% by a community foundation fostered by JCNI, and JCNI held the assets of the remaining 60%. Two years later the plaza was owned by 40% of residents (Korten, 2009). According to JCNI staff, the goal is to eventually transfer complete ownership and control of Market Creek Plaza to a 501(c)(3) managed by residents.

Six years after the vision for the Cultural Village was created, a new and active multi-ethnic community has taken shape. As a result of their accomplishments, the City of San Diego finally changed the zoning designation for the Village of Market Creek in 2008, which provided the legal basis to fully implement the plan for the Cultural Village. Prior to the update, Southeast San Diego was also the only major area of the city without mixed-use zoning.

Securing rights through community control

Beginning in 2010, JCNI staff invited approximately 40 residents of the community to form the VOCAL network which stands for "*V*oices *O*f the *C*ommunity at *A*ll *L*evels". For six months, weekly evening workshops were held to develop the collective capacity of the group. A core focus of the weekly gatherings were a series of "cultural workshops" where VOCAL members, led by design consultant Bennett Peji, brought in cultural artifacts, described these items, shared their cultural histories, and entered into a deeper cross-cultural dialogue. One commonality that emerged from these learning ses-

sions was the recognition that the different cultural groups experienced oppression in one form or another as a result of Colonialism and Empire, and the importance of not losing sight of this common experience. During the first workshop, an older African American male commented about the blues and the persistence of culture through music despite tragedy. He spoke about the persistence of pan-African culture even though more than 2 million Africans perished in the Atlantic Ocean (also known as the Middle Passage) during the slave trade and the separation of hundreds of thousands families. Similarly, other participants made reference to the violent histories of Colonialism whether it was French occupation in Laos or British rule in Sudan. A Kumiai Indian artist shared a photograph art-piece depicting the mission wall where indigenous babies were buried, commenting, "we were also slaves," making reference to genocide inflicted by Franciscan missionaries at San Diego de Alcala.

The deeply personal and meaningful workshops were then followed by a series of VOCAL retreats where specific aspects of the Village were discussed with the larger community. The first of four retreats took place in November of 2010. Over 100 people participated in the discussion that focused on urban design and land use elements of the Village plan. Subsequent VOCAL retreats drew attention to proposals for specific development sites, strategies to increase physical accessibility and connectivity, programming for new and existing parks and open space, and possibilities for address environmental sustainability through LEED Neighborhood standards. In each of the VOCAL retreats, a team of planning and design consultants used methods and techniques to increase participation and solicit feedback.

With general agreements reached about the size, scope, and character of the Village, residents and JCNI staff have begun to focus on the difficult tasks that lie ahead—to complete the build out of the Village, transfer ownership of the foundation's assets and holdings to residents, and, perhaps most challenging, develop a collaborative leadership structure so that all decision-making will be in the hands of resident leaders by 2020. The story of the Village of Market Creek continues…

Discussion: Negotiations of Belonging, Authorship, and Power

As the case of the Village of Market Creek illustrates, place is *where* cross-cultural exchange occurs and it is the acquisition of rights through the claiming of space that cultural awareness and understandings, new identities and meanings begin to take shape. The point here is that rights, although not the only source of identity formation, are an important means through which marginalized groups negotiate different imaginaries of culture. Moreover, place ultimately reflects, and is the outcome of these various negotiations—of belonging to a community, in participating in local decisions, and struggling to gain power. The multi-ethnic community that coalesced around the Village at Market Creek embodies many of the negotiations discussed. It began with creating a vision for a cosmopolitan village that impelled local citizens to engage in deep dialogue about past and present conditions in order to secure the right to envision a place that everyone could belong. The case demonstrates the importance of cultural citizenship in the formation of place rights inasmuch as it involves the negotiations between history, the present condition, and future imaginaries of place.

As described in this essay, negotiations of belonging center on citizens' rights and the ability to different but equivalent in terms of belonging to a larger political community in terms of participation in the polity. At the Village of Market Creek these negotiations took several forms including cross-cultural learning and exchange, and visioning, eventually expressed in the built environment. A critical aspect of this was the brokering between and among the different cultural groups as well as with JCNI staff, private developers, and elected officials. While not every self-identified group in the community had an advocate to put forth culturally specific claims, an explicit strategy was to identify as many of these groups as possible and then create a safe and respectful space in which different worldviews could be expressed, shared, and contrasted among the different groups. The result of the various cultural exchanges (such as festivals, workshops, visioning forums, etc.) was a deep respect for cultural difference and heritage, but that also enabled participating groups to identify common struggles of oppression.

This shared experience became a foundation from which to build solidarity and a dynamic multi-ethnic polity that is still evolving today. From this newly formed political space, different cultural groups made claims about their right to live in co-existence with other cultures and flourish together in a place

that had been once identified as "the four corners of death". Members of the community practiced their cultural citizenship through negotiations of authorship concerning whose vision would be implemented, what constituted participation, and which decisions were in the community's best interests. Some examples included working as equal partners with JCNI staff on Village projects, approving or rejecting proposals from private developers and businesses, and selecting consultants for the planning, design, and implementation of the Village plan. In some instances this included firing project consultants that did not carry out agreed-upon goals, objectives, and requirements. Collectively, these activities do not represent one-time decisions or a limited sense of authority, but has expanded in scope through on-going resident education and training, place-to-place peer exchanges, and the goal to build collaborative leadership through the efforts of VOCAL.

The desire to create collaborative leadership capacity is perhaps one of the greatest challenges for the Village as it ultimately raises the issue of power—among the different cultural groups, between these groups and JCNI staff, and between different scales of decision-making ranging from the local to the region. While participation in institutional decision-making discussed above is evidence that residents are taking ownership over their community's fate, there is no guarantee that the delicate balance of power will continue as the Jacob's Foundation turn all of their assets over to community control by 2020. However, if the community development IPO pioneered by residents and JCNI staff that required changing state law is any indication, it would appear that the Village at Market Creek has the capacity to engage in future negotiations of power and is resilient enough to anticipate unforeseen political challenges.

Negotiations of belonging, authorship, and power draw from the right to associate, to be visible, to be recognized, and to advance a group's cultural understanding in material terms. However, as negotiated claims, cultural forms of citizenship do not necessarily guarantee other entitlements. The prospects for securing place rights lay in the ability of cross-cultural coalitions such as the Village of Market Creek to re-imagine the production of space toward political ends that has economic and legal benefits. As places are always in the process of becoming, the question remains, whose space is being claimed and in what ways are these claims identified and legitimized, enacted and realized in material terms?

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Creating Political and Social Spaces for Transcultural Community Integration

Trinh Mai & Kimberly Schmit

ABSTRACT: This case study will examine one campus-community partnership's efforts to facilitate a community working towards transcultural integration. Analysis shows that shifting dominant power structures and creating and supporting immigrants to occupy institutional spaces promote intercultural learning and addresses inequities. Another effective strategy is creating social spaces that promote dialogue, recreation and relationship building among individuals. Limitations of the study and implications for future work will be discussed.

Introduction

Following a global trend, the United States has experienced a significant increase in immigration in the last four decades. Historically a White state, Utah has emerged as one of the new American immigrant gateways; in the past two decades, it has experienced a dramatic demographic shift. From 1990 to 2008, the number of foreign born in the state nearly quadrupled from 58,600 to 226,440 (Migration Policy Institute, 2010). Latinos lead this growth, increasing by 78% from 2000 to 2010 according to the 2010 census (Davidson, 2011). In Utah's state capital, Salt Lake City, west side neighborhoods (two zip code areas and 16 Census tracks) consisting of 60,000 of the city's 180,000 residents, have become home to many of these newcomers. The Latina/o population in west side neighborhoods more than doubled in 10 years from 16% in 1990 to 40% of the area population in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). More than 60% of west side residents are minoritized populations, compared to only 16% of the overall Salt Lake City population. As a preferred site for refugee resettlement, from 1983 and 2005, more than 15,000 refugees arrived in Utah. Eighty percent of Salt Lake City's refugee-background population resides on Salt Lake City's west side (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

This paper will look at how Utah's flagship university, the University of Utah, has attempted to change its pattern of engagement with new immigrant communities. First, a description of west side neighborhoods and the University's response will set the stage, followed by a literature review on immigrant integration, multiculturalism and social capital. With this backdrop, we will then examine one specific university program to understand its efforts to integrate immigrants, specifically strategies that promote intercultural learning and address power inequity among newcomers and receiving communities. The conclusion will wrap up with a summary of strategies discussed, limitations of the study and the work, and implications for future work.

West Salt Lake City

Settling in west side Salt Lake City, newcomers are finding themselves living within a highly contested space. A long-standing residential area boarded by heavy industrial zones and the Salt Lake City International Airport, many residents refer to a glass wall that separates the west side from the east side of the city, due to historical divisions created by the transcontinental railroad tracks in the mid-1800s, and in the 1990s, by the I-15 freeway *that* parallels the railroad tracks (United Way, 2001). While the neighborhoods enjoy many assets, including a variety of parks, local libraries, increasingly vibrant community centers, a diverse population with a dedication to education and economic upward mobility, historical housing and active residents and community organizations, the press has historically overlooked this and exasperates a feeling of isolation with frequent reports of the west side as a "ghetto" with high gang activity and crime (Hunter, Munro, Dunn, & Olson, p. 295).

The described rapid demographic shifts and historical physical and political oppressors are leaving west side Salt Lake City systems and individuals seriously challenged to experience their neighborhoods and lives in new ways. While many residents do view the area's cultural diversity as an asset, this has historically not been tapped into positively and has been instead allowed to create divisiveness. A high amount of mistrust between immigrant and long-term Anglo residents, as well as different immigrant groups continues to exist.

The University of Utah's Response: a Strategic Initiative

In 2001, the University of Utah (U of U), the flagship state university located in the east side of Salt Lake City, responded to this disparity with a strategic initiative. Specifically, administration was shocked by inequitable graduation and enrollment rates (in 2001 only 25 students from these neighborhoods graduated from the U of U) and was keenly aware that the institution was not adequately fulfilling its responsibilities toward the surrounding community.

Aware of the potential of campus-community partnerships to positively "…lead to the mutual restructuring of universities and communities" (Silka, 1999, p. 336), the President of the University appointed a Special Assistant to the President for Campus-Community Partnerships. Her first charge was to conduct nine months of interviews with over 250 west side community residents, leaders, organizations, city officials, and university faculty and administrators. The asset-based community development approach focused on identifying the strengths of the community while placing the highest priority on a needs-assessment done by the community itself, not from above.

This research yielded the following priority areas: 1) Capacity Building – building the capacity of west side residents to access and negotiate U.S. systems and to gain successful community integration; while building the capacity of governmental and neighborhood organizations to address issues of health, housing, employment, safety and environment with new arriving populations. 2) Resident Leadership and Empowerment – promoting the development of resident leadership and increasing the participation of diverse resident leaders in community decision-making; 3) Youth, Education and Success – increasing access to educational opportunity while building the capacity of educational systems to meet the needs of new arriving and native-born populations. 4) Community Building – building community to address common goals, while addressing issues of mistrust and conflict stemming from differences of income, ethnic groups, religions, race and political affiliation.

The President and Special Assistant were aware that an institutionalized approach to working in these priority areas was critical to community success. The result was the creation of University Neighborhood Partners (UNP), a university department under the U of U's highest administration-The Office of the President. The Special Assistant and President had also heard directly from residents that in order for UNP's work to be credible and sustainable the University had to come down off its hill in the east side, both figuratively and literally, and must be located in Salt Lake City's west side neighborhoods. In response, UNP leased a residential home, for no cost, from the city. The house, located in a west side neighborhood, opened as an office in April 2003 and serves as a community space and hub for partnership activity occurring throughout seven west side neighborhoods.

Currently in its ninth year, UNP's work continues to focus on building and maintaining long –term collaborations between higher education, west side residents and community organizations in order to address the identified priority areas. The mission of UNP is to "*bring together University and west side resources for reciprocal learning, action, and benefit.*" The campus, community partnership work is guided by a Board of Advisors composed of 10 west side community representatives (non-profits and city programs), 10 University representatives and 10 west side residents.

Literature Review

Contemporary policy discourse of immigrant integration is moving away from unilateral assimilationist roots and growing towards models that reflect the rich, complex realities of acculturation (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, Senécal 1997, Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, Schmidt, 2009, Sandercock, 2003, Yan& Lauer, 2008). Social scientists use the term acculturation to describe the process of cultural transformation and have confirmed that the process occurs in both new immigrant communities and receiving communities after a period of sustained engagement (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi, Schmidt, 2009). Though both groups have power to influence and impact each other, the receiving communities, especially dominant cultural groups within a country, carry significant advantage with their established institutional power (Bourhis, et al, 2009; Penninx, 2003). Integration policies and practices have tried to account for the multidirectional process of acculturation as well as the power disparity. In order to achieve this, the focus must widen beyond the newcomer, beyond capacity building at the individual level; instead the work must also look at the receiving communities and their institutions in order to promote cultural learning on this side and address power inequities (Penninx, 2003; Sandercock, 2003).

Sandercock (2003) explores several visions and provides examples of existing models that work at the individual and institutional level to promote socially just integration of immigrants and celebrate the diverse, cultural mixing that results in <u>Mongrel Cities</u> (the title of her book). For this case study, two visions are especially relevant. First is Ash Amin's concept that integration of immigrants has to take place in the "city's micro-publics of banal multicultures" (as cited in Sandercock, 2003, p. 94). These "micro-publics" are spaces such as workplace, schools, colleges, community centers and neighborhood houses, where people come together and are

forced to engage and interact, to create relationships and interdependence. These daily lived experiences serve to normalize difference and shed light on commonalities and shared humanity. However, these spaces require "… organizational and discursive strategies that are designed to build voice, to foster a sense of common benefit, to develop confidence among disempowered groups, and to arbitrate when disputes arise" (as cited in Sandercock, 2003, p. 94). Sandercock emphasizes Amin's language of integration and multiculturalism: "…a vocabulary of rights of presence, bridging difference, getting along" (as cited in Sandercock, 2003, p. 96).

The second guiding vision is Sandercock's own "multicultural perspective" integrating many of Amin's ideas. At its center are the ideas that multiculturalism is both a political and social practice. Political practice means upholding the right to difference and the right to city. The right to difference can be defined as the right to maintain and express unique cultural identities, and the right to city can be understood as the right to occupy and participate in public spaces as an equal. Thus, a "multicultural political structure" is required at society's base, which entails an active, civically-engaged citizenry, governmental institutions and laws that protect from discrimination and promote inclusion. On the social level, according to Sandercock (2003), multiculturalism requires daily negotiations and cultural evolutions made possible through intercultural interactions at micro-public spaces discussed prior. Furthermore, in addition to addressing the material needs or threats of both receiving and new communities in resettlement, she calls attention to the importance of attending to emotional needs, especially validating and addressing fear and intolerance in both new and receiving communities. To do this, institutional power, economic and political inequalities must undergo evaluation; new narratives and symbols of national and local identity need to be created (Sandercock, 2003).

Neighborhood or community centers are one of these "banal micro-publics" that seek to promote intercultural dialogue and address power inequities. Sandercock (2003) highlighted a neighborhood house as a multicultural model stating that it succeeds in four key areas: differentiated benefits (broad level of benefits for many diverse groups), inclusive participation (personal relationships in all communities to promote participation in all areas including decision making), varied discourse (cultural dialogues and resolution of conflicts due to difference, leadership capacity building) and inclusive definitions

(sense of common identity and belonging). Yan and Lauer (2008) found that the centers may play a key role in building the social capital of ethno-culturally diverse immigrants. In other words, participation in these houses assisted immigrants to build social networks that bridge different cultures and integrate them with receiving communities. Social capital has been defined as "the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (Portes, 1998, p. 6). Lin's (2000) research found that disadvantaged social groups such as women or minoritized populations are also disadvantaged in their social capital, having less access to social networks that could lead to better opportunities in education, employment, etc., implying that these groups must build 'bridging' capital with more advantaged, dominant groups in order to progress. Putnam (2000)'s differentiation of 'bridging' and 'bonding' capital sheds more light on these concepts. 'Bonding' capital describes social networks among homogeneous groups, such as ethnic mutual aid associations, whereas 'bridging' capital refers to networks among diverse groups, crossing boundaries such as race, class, etc. However, most of the social capital literature focuses only on the disadvantaged group, such as immigrants, gaining in these 'bridging' relationships with dominant receiving communities, implying that the benefit is not mutually reciprocal.

In hopes of building on this literature, the following case study will examine one of UNP's programs, the Hartland Partnership Center, a community center bearing much resemblance to the neighborhood houses described above. We would like to narrow the lens and focus on the strategies and practices that foster shifting power structures and dynamics and promote relationship building in the context of immigrant integration. We will use our and our students' personal experiences (secondary data in the form of student evaluations) as participants/actors in these spaces to examine transcultural processes and to argue that these exchanges result in mutual benefit for all stakeholders and communities.

Analysis of this case study is conducted primarily through the lenses of a social work professor, a UNP academic partner, who is a first generation, middle-class Asian American immigrant and a UNP partnership manager who is a fourth generation, middle-class White American. As university employees, we both represent a dominant privileged institution of the receiving community.

Case Study: UNP/Hartland

UNP's, Hartland Partnership Center opened in September 2004, in a three bedroom apartment at the Seasons at Pebble Creek Apartments (formerly known as Hartland Apartments). Due to initial success with engaging the community, youth programming expanded into a much needed second, two-bedroom apartment in 2006 and a Head Start Pre-School was added by a local community organization in February 2007.

The 300 unit complex is an affordable first home for first-generation Latino immigrants, as well as many families who have come to the US with refugee status. At the time of the Center's inception, over seventy percent of the residents were non-native English speakers and ninety percent lived at or below the poverty threshold (Demographic Statistics, 2005). This community continues to represent a denser concentration of immigrants and people living in poverty than in its surrounding west side neighborhoods where 60% of residents are minoritized populations (but not necessarily new immigrants) and approximately 28 to 48.6 % of residents earn $25,000 or less (May, 2011). Early community assessment also revealed widespread fear and mistrust of Hartland residents by neighbors due to lack of communication and cultural understanding between them (Smith, & Munro, 1998). On the other hand, cultural pride and strong social networks supported the newcomer families as they faced the challenges of living in a new community and navigating new systems. Community leaders identified this apartment complex both as a space of opportunity because of its rich diversity but also saw it as a threatening space because of reports of higher incidence of crime and conflict.

Since its inception, the Hartland Center has functioned as a community –capacity building partnership that brings together Hartland residents, University faculty, students and community agencies to co-design and implement programs with the families living at the complex and the surrounding communities. Partners involved work together to build upon one another's strengths in an effort to facilitate programming in the areas of resident leadership, language acquisition, youth programming, information, referral and capacity building, citizenship, health, family financial literacy, early childhood education and life skills. Undergraduate and graduate students, under faculty supervision, work at the Hartland Center for practicum, research experience, service learning credit. Most of the students and faculty as well as community organization representatives are from Salt Lake City's dominant, White, middle class communities.

When the Center opened in 2004, the initial work of myself, as the On-site Coordinator, and another UNP staff member who was a local Somali, male leader was to spend time meeting the residents of the complex. Going door-to-door, we began to build relationships with many local leaders who went on to become our first Resident Committee leaders. While this work resulted in a diverse initial Committee, most of the other programs at the Center were primarily accessed by African-born women and children. In fact, an early conversation revealed that many in the community thought that the Center was only for African women. Further, due to the clip boards that partners carried as we went door-to-door, leaders informed staff that many in their community also thought the Center was operated by the government and might not be safe for everyone. Upon learning this, strategic and variant efforts were put in place to support the Center being a space for more of the residents of the complex. For example, emphasis was further moved from traditional and formal modes of building relationships (i.e. clipboards) to more informal modes (i.e. conversation and relationship building) and under the guidance of resident leaders, programs that were gender and ethnic specific were offered. While this proved successful, resident engagement in the Centers have highly varied over time, depending on ethnicity, gender, age, gender and amount of time living at the complex and/or in the United States. Further, the community is highly mobile and requires an ongoing effort to ensure that the Centers are represented by and working with the multitudes of communities who live in the complex.

In contrast with assimilation integration initiatives, UNP/Hartland's focus continues to be both on the skills and tools of individuals AND on changing the systems and institutions they interact with to accommodate new voices and shared power around the table. As new arriving populations develop the skills and social capital that they need to be successful in a new country, these "New Americans" also share their knowledge and diverse cultural perspectives with schools, social systems and native-born families, enabling dominant systems and communities to grow and change in ways that expand and reflect each new generation of immigrants. In order to promote this mutuality and reciprocity in acculturation, UNP/Hartland grounds all of its work in two areas:

socially, to build relationships and politically, to redistribute power. Most programs may have their primary focus in one area, however they often overlap in both areas of practice.

A Social Practice: Relationship Building

> If I am going to write about a successful story, I want to do it in regard to the ways the Hartland Center is fostering in neighbors a sense of belonging, creating the opportunity to talk to each other, play, and look forward to a brighter future, in which the multicultural, multiracial matters become assets to enrich our lives, and recreate a strong society. (UNP Student Evaluation, 2010)

Upon entering the Hartland Partnership Center, one is immediately immersed into a dynamic multicultural space. The words, "Welcome! Come in. How are you? How is your family?" serve as the initial greeting, in entering the living room. Multiple languages at many levels of fluency fill the air; residents and university students of all ages sit side by side on the couch, discussing a program, a bill, an upcoming wedding. The phone rings, is answered in English by a Spanish speaker and is immediately handed off to a Somali staff member. Resident Committee leaders leave one bedroom, as staff from a local English language school enter another. University faculty and students carry out "student supervision" while eating in the kitchen. The living room walls surround, filled with art from various cultures, a University of Utah flag, community information in many languages, awards received by the Center and photographs celebrating parties, events and relationships. Children run in, home from school, backpack set aside and ready to use the computer.

Socially, the Hartland living room is a "micro-public" (as cited in Sandercock, 2003, p. 94) space where the various stakeholders come together to interact, to create relationships and interdependence. To begin, students and staff, who are traditionally seen as service providers are asked to spend time sitting in the living room as individuals, socializing with residents. Students are instructed to practice their professional roles and be mindful of their professional boundaries. However, they are also encouraged to occupy this space as people and as representatives of their many personal communities. Students come to learn about people's cultures, but they are also asked to share and teach about their own personal beliefs and values. Topics of discussion in the living room range from questions about access to higher education, discussions on marriage, sex, religion and food. As people sit, they share their

experiences and find commonality in their mutual interest in learning about the other. These daily conversations normalize the "other" and share people's daily successes and struggles. Trust is built and issues such as power and privilege can be discussed on a more personal, caring level. A White social work student (2010) said in her final evaluation, "I have a more realistic view of refugees [rather than a romantic one]. They're like me with good and bad days." Such as statement is telling that regular intercultural dialogue is necessary to experience connection and build community among diverse peoples.

Another strategy is creating spaces for people to have fun together. Recreational activities such as game nights, picnics in the park, parties, and field trips are mechanisms for cross-cultural learning. These events reduce people's barriers, defenses and build community through shared laughter and enjoyment, qualities that transcend language and social barriers. These activities have helped students and residents alike to build shared memories, connections, and community. Furthermore, events and field trips situate newcomers in mainstream, public spaces, increasing their visibility and reducing their marginalization. Student evaluations repeatedly highlighted the impact of recreational activities.

> Through the Hartland Center both families learned about the Head Start Center at Hartland and different members of these families came to the game night to chat and play board games with us, intern social work students, and other neighbors. I was happy to walk in the Hartland Center, and see these families in the vans that the program provided to go to PIP [community picnics], sitting next to other families who did not speak Spanish, or have a similar skin color, but smiling because they knew they were neighbors. (UNP Student Evaluation, 2010)

> Finally, the biggest success for me is the relationships that these trips have built. First, the relationships between students and residents have grown because of time spent together, not working on paperwork or solving a problem, but time spent relaxing and laughing and being regular human beings. (Student Evaluation, 2008)

A Political Practice: Redistribution of Power

UNP seeks to support newcomers to occupy more public spaces with equal power, especially institutional spaces such as universities.   One of UNP's goals is to create structures and positions that facilitate and recognize the power of newcomers in these institutional spaces. Central to all aspects of the Hartland Center is the work of the Resident Committee. The Committee is made up of six to eleven residents who represent the ethnic diversity of the Hartland community. Each member is paid for a commitment to a one-year term. The primarily roles of the Committee is as a liaison and advocate for bringing the Center and the community into partnership. Members guide appropriate programming choices for the Center and help build relationships between residents and other Center stakeholders.

In a letter to the Hartland community, the Resident Community defined their goals and methods:

> Our main goal as the Resident Committee is to work with people who live at Hartland to make our community a better place to live….The Resident Committee is made up of six residents who represent you, the residents of Hartland. We work closely with Center staff to address community challenges and successes and encourage residents to get involved with center activities. (personal communication, 2007).

The work of the Committee serves as an example of a strategic structure that situates immigrants in a position of power. Results of this work include: increased resident ownership of the Center, the creation and implementation of culturally appropriate programming that is more effective, and other stakeholders being moved into the role of *learner*.

One faculty in nursing sums it up well when she describes what she learned when she approached the Committee to tell them she wanted to teach a sex education class for the youth at Hartland. "My time in the meetings has taught me to ask the question rather than provide the answer." The result of her idea, a surprise to this faculty, was that the leaders did not want this class taught. They were adamant when they explained to her that this was the role of the parent. However, as the conversation continued the faculty and committee decided to work together. One, the faculty would provide resource to the parents and two, they would work together to co-create and implement healthy relationship classes.

As a UNP partnership manager and first facilitator of the committee, I had the privilege to learn, first hand, the power of the working with the leaders. Initially, I very much depended on the leaders to guide the programming, to connect the center to the community and to teach me the pros and cons of multicultural meetings. However, I did not engage my own opinions and culture into the dialogues. While the leaders shared very personal aspects of their identities with me, mine remained invisible.

However, as time went on and our relationships became more personal, there came a pivotal moment when the leaders asked me to share. During a discussion regarding the role of religion in financial planning, a leader turned to me and asked, "What is your religion?" I remember stopping, losing my breath and then responding to a room full of what I perceived to be devoutly religious people, whom I had grown to respect greatly, that I did not practice religion and that I did not believe in God. The Committee members listened to my hesitant answer and immediately delved into asking many questions that explored my beliefs.

At that moment things shifted tremendously. I realized that in this community building endeavor, it was imperative for me to share my identity, especially if I was going to ask others to share theirs. By choosing to be vulnerable and give up my protected position of power I was entering the dialogue in a new way…an interdependency was being created. An awareness was born in me that in order for all this neighborhood/community building endeavor to be successful, all partners had to be as willing as the resident to participate as individuals, not just system representatives. Through this power-shifting endeavor we would be more apt to form relationships that lead to positive personal and system growth. Ultimately, this event led to on-site policy that supports all partners in learning about how their own personal stories and identities are integral to the creation of more socially just, shared space.

The Resident Committee, serving as an accessible, organized, critical advising body, has also facilitated active community participation in academic research and teaching. In research, Committee members have acted as informal gatekeepers as well as cultural consultants (paid and unpaid) and co-researchers. Their participation has connected research with underrepresented communities.   They have worked with researchers and communities to build trust and heal from past

exploitation. Because of trust and relationships formed over a sustained period of time, honest critiques and feedback from community members emerge: "Why are only refugees studied and not immigrants?" or "I want to study White people and their beliefs and practices" [because they're always studying us] (personal communication, 2009, 2010). Academics can then address these questions and express their own questions and assumptions. Long-term research relationships between community and university partners bring these many truths to the table, making it possible for intercultural exchange as well as opportunities for more voices to bear on the traditionally elitist work of academic research. This model leads to a power shift, resulting in co-ownership of the knowledge creation process, and residents or community organizations also see themselves and are formally recognized as knowledge creators.

As a social work professor, I have had the opportunity to support a fellow social work faculty in building a research partnership with the Hartland Resident Committee and witnessed first hand the intercultural process that has unfolded in the past four years, impacting all partners involved. When my colleague first approached the Resident Committee interested in conducting research with youth of refugee background, particularly focusing on the correlation between attachment or relationships and mental health, the Committee responded with strong opposition, expressing concerns that once again, their community will be stigmatized with mental illness; in addition, they questioned why only the youth were being recruited and not the entire family. Additional conversations, however, led to uncovering some common ground that both the faculty and the Committee were able to build upon. The faculty was open to receiving feedback and relinquishing some of her 'expertise' as researcher. The Committee reviewed and suggested changes on standardized questionnaires, however, did not help to recruit participants for the study. The researcher eventually hired cultural liaisons to join her team, understanding the benefit of this cultural investment. She has returned at different points to share and discuss results of the data with the Committee and other community stakeholders, each time building trust and relationship between her and the Committee, but also between the university and the community in the context of research. Notably, the research results have shown a different, more positive picture of mental health for these communities—that attachment or family relationships of youth of refugee backgrounds are protective factors, positively mediating the traumas related to refugee experiences.

Besides research, UNP also seeks to bring community leaders to university spaces as teachers. Some examples have been positioning Resident Committee members as teacher's assistants in university classes, having Committee members conduct presentations in classrooms and supporting them to write ethnographies to serve as required class readings. In the course "Immigration & Resettlement: Community & Interdisciplinary Perspectives," UNP employs an immigrant community leader as a Teaching Assistant and seeks to center community knowledge in a university classroom. Our teaching assistant acts as the bridge between his communities and the classroom. He humanizes theories and policies about immigration and integration and shares his direct lived experience and expertise. His stories have power to silence a full room and engage students on a deeper level. He bridges "us" and "them", us being the studiers and them being the people studied. He assists us in connecting students with community members and in coordinating community projects.

As a social work professor and co-facilitator of this course, I have learned first hand that time and effort must be invested in working to address real challenges and benefit from difference; business as usual must be disrupted at the academy. For example, our teaching assistant fulfills a different role; he does not complete much of the responsibilities of a typical teaching assistant. His style of facilitation reflects more what I perceive to be traditional, directive styles of teaching, and his presentations and lectures are circular versus linear, which often conflict with my style and academic culture. These differences pose challenges, and in order to fully benefit from these differences, I must be conscientious in not using my authority to make efficient decisions, but to invest the time and effort in having many conversations about how best to channel our differences. In addition, our teaching assistant prefers face to face meetings and the institution and I often use email. Furthermore, he does not have reliable transportation and depends on students and colleagues, including myself for support in this area. Making space for 'presence' and 'difference' (Sandercock, 2003) and prioritizing intercultural education in the classroom require reprioritizing existing values. It has meant for me slowing down and learning new ways of working and living. Sharing power in the classroom with a community leader has led to shifts in cultural values and practices for me and my students.

Another strategy at Hartland that leads to intercultural learning and power redistribution is that decisions are made by conversations with many stakeholders rather than by pre-determined procedures or guidelines set by a small group of authorities. For example, when students came to the Center in short shorts and revealing dresses, my social work faculty's instincts were to respond by implementing a dress code assuming that this dress is unprofessional and would offend immigrants from more traditional cultures. However, conversations with many stakeholders surprised me and contradicted my assumptions; people prioritized inclusion and representation of many cultural practices over standardization and a dress code. A Muslim community representative (2010) stated that students respect her culture and what she wears, and so she respects their cultures and what they wear. The following student quote describes this shared decision making process and her perception of its benefit.

> Sharing a common attitude of respecting and valuing each team member creates an atmosphere where we can learn about each other's strengths, gain new information about how to approach a situation, and often produce better outcomes. (UNP Student, 2008).

Summary, Limitations & Implications for Future Work

In conclusion, redistribution of power and intercultural learning require "political practice" (Sandercock, 2003, p. 96) that entails creating formal positions and structures that facilitate new roles and new spaces for immigrants, roles that recognize and reward them for their knowledge and contributions. Furthermore, the "social practice" (Sandercock, 2003, p. 96) of creating spaces that prioritize and support personal relationship building is just as crucial in achieving the same goals. Often, the two are interrelated. We must also recognize that we have only begun to scratch the surface of this work, and much remains to be done.

A look at limitations of the case study reveals critical potential for future work. To begin, the above study explores the social and political practices from our, the authors, perspectives and experiences. A more strategic research project to explore the effectiveness of these efforts from various stakeholders' lens and voices would help to reveal a more complex picture of if and how integration is or is not occurring. Centering the newcomer in this analysis is imperative.

Further, our findings are a result of analyzing what is happening with residents whom are already occupying the space. Current demographic data that looks at who lives at Hartland in relation to data that shows who is accessing the Center would undoubtedly lead to questions of why the center is a choice for some and not for others. For example, according to a 2008 assessment the majority of the residents at the complex are Latino/a and the majority of the residents who come to the center are from African backgrounds. Is this because three Somali residents staff the Center? Does the Resident Committee membership need to be more proportionate to the demographics of who lives at the complex? Is there a relationship between the university and community organizational partners being majority White and American-born with the programming attracting a disproportionate amount of people with refugee backgrounds versus first-generation, Latino/a immigrants? Does the current political climate affect Latino/as accessing the Center? Is the Center seen as a safe space?

Lastly, a more rigorous look at how power and location intersect could reveal the tension created when the receiving community travels into the geographic community of the newcomer. In fact, whose community is it? Does the newcomer have the same access to travel into the receiving communities neighborhoods? Why or why not?

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Figure 1.

Figure 2.

Urban Agriculture as Agri-Cultural Producer

Adam Prince

ABSTRACT: In Oakland, California, the need for food justice is particularly acute and many residents have few options for healthy, culturally-appropriate, or affordable food. At the same time, there is a tremendous diversity of residents engaged and entangled in an equally large number of urban agricultural projects of varying scopes and scales. Many of these projects are supported by one or several of the myriad of Oakland-based organizations dedicated to food justice, economic justice, sustainable local food systems, and community building and empowerment. However, the day-to-day interactions out of which these empowered communities, properly so-called, actually emerge, remain relatively unexplored in popular conceptions of urban agricultural. The purpose of this case study is to better describe how urban agriculture engenders cross-cultural collaboration and serves as a site for a place-based politics of the everyday. It does so by focusing on Planting Justice, an agricultural organization currently working with the residents of Keller Plaza, a low income public housing complex, to produce an abundant, nutritious, and culturally relevant community garden. Informed by critical ethnographic methodologies, it seeks to lay the foundation for a theoretical framework whereby we might better analyze the production of empowered urban communities through the growing and sharing of food and food-related knowledge.

Introduction and Research Objectives

In a recent report commissioned by the Fair Food Foundation and carried out by Policy Link and Michigan State University, entitled "Healthy Food For All", it was written that "around the country [the United States], there are growing movements underway to transform the present food system into one that promotes healthy people, healthy places, and healthy economies" (2009, p. 14). In Oakland, California, this phenomenon is perhaps most visible within the bourgeoning urban agricultural movement. One need not look hard to discover that nearly each and every one of Oakland's diverse enclaves display some form of community-based agriculture, from modest windowsill herb patches to more ambitious roof-top projects to distributed farming networks that occupy numerous vacant lots across the city. Further, the city plays host to a myriad of affiliate organizations, alliances, and institutions, who provide much needed technical, financial, and moral support for and on behalf of this diverse community of urban food producers and consumers (Hou, 2009, p. 25).

Many of these organizations list, among other things, community building and empowerment among their central objectives and/or accomplishments. And while my ongoing research into Oakland-based urban agriculture suggests that this is indeed at play, the day-to-day interactions and negotiations out of which these so-called empowered communities actually emerge remain relatively unexplored in popular observations on urban agricultural. The majority of available literature has yet to describe the production of empowered communities through a specifically transcultural framework. This could be attributed to the fact that, in addition to its position as an emerging field of inquiry, the very notion of "transculture" seems to defy any sort of stable meaning.[1] Therefore, the objective of this case-study is, in a very broad sense, to enrich and enliven current scholarship on urban agriculture by relating it specifically to transcultural exchange and community building. At the same time, it attempts to make a modest contribution to transcultural studies by working through a definition of the term that might be taken up by a range of disciplines.

I begin by describing the sorts of exchanges taking place in and around a community garden in Oakland, California. Then, based on these observations, I make the claim that, rather than producing empowered communities "in general", community-based urban agriculture is actually producing novel forms which I describe as *agri-cultures*. Finally, I conclude with a more general critique of what I believe to be a popular misconception concerning the potential for urban agriculture and its ability to function as some sort of "solution" to the institutionalized injustices inherent within our urban food system.

Methodology and Theoretical Background

Few would disagree about the importance of situating one's research as well as one's unique perspective, as researcher, when engaging in ethnographic practices. Yet, time and again, the privileged gaze of the outsider, particularly in relation to marginalized communities, has bedeviled place-based methodologies. And while this problematic is not soon to be fairly and squarely wound up, it seems that beginning in the middle of things, with the place itself, in order to see who or what is *already there*, begins to carve a path through this historically tenuous, albeit indispensable, enterprise.

The majority of the research undertaken for this case study took place on-site in Oakland, California from September—December, 2010. I also draw primarily on two sets of literature:

cultural theory and work on new cultural geographies. Over the past twenty years or so, many contributions have helped us better understand and attend to the complex, elusive notions of cultural construction and the politics of culture. In particular, I am thinking of Anna Tsing (2005), James Clifford (1988, 1997), and Mary Louise Pratt (1991, 1992). Further, recent inroads have been made toward an understanding of urban agriculture, as it relates to place and place-making (Hou et al. 2009) The present work is informed and animated by these generous contributions, among countless others.

Cultural exchange is a leading actor in the ongoing drama that produces and maintains urban agriculture, such as it is in history. But in addition to the ways in which urban agriculture is produced and maintained through cultural exchange, it at one and the same time produces entirely new cultural morphologies. This is precisely because culture is continually co-produced and performed moment to moment, peer to peer, by an ineradicable plurality of actors representing a multitude of diverse and often-times conflicting subject-positions. Anthropologist Anna Tsing has elsewhere used the concept of "friction" to describe this phenomenon: the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference (2005, p. 4). Rather than some sort of stable object, culture is an interminable *struggle*, composed of error-prone negotiations that are ongoing, dynamic, and endlessly in-the-making (rather than made).

These fraught demarcations and imbrications of politics and of cultures are shaped and transformed at various scales, from the local to the global. It is precisely against the backdrop of this constant shuttling back and forth between scales macro and scales micro, that there lies the promise of potentially far-reaching influences and effects. For instance, a community garden in Havana, Cuba could provide a useful model for organizing urban residents in, say, Oakland, California (or visa-versa). In this sense, cultural production is not limited to the realm of the interpersonal; neither are its potential ramifications.

Yet many accounts offer little help in understanding how culture and urban agriculture effect one another. This is because, contrary to popular belief, there is no such thing as culture "in general", just as there is no such thing as urban agriculture "in general", and our senses of each are diverse and even contradictory, their force grasped as much in that from which they are distinguished as in what they capture.

For this reason, it is necessary for me to dwell in the particular, the specific, in order to make claims to "the universal." Accordingly, I focus my lens of analysis on one community garden in particular. And although what follows remains fairly coarse, due mostly to spatial constraints, I hope that this case-study can begin to serve as an model by which to comparatively analyze and model other urban agriculture projects and their potential for transcultural production.

History and Context

In Oakland, California, the need for food justice is particularly acute. Many residents of its flatlands neighborhoods, such as the one where Keller Plaza is located, have few options for healthy, culturally-appropriate, or affordable food. This already difficult set of circumstances is further intensified by other factors such as purchasing power and access to transportation (McClintock and Cooper, 2009, p. 1). Nathan McClintock, a geographer at the University of California, Berkeley explains:

> The socioeconomic terrain demarcating poverty and affluence in this Bay Area city of 423,000 (2010 estimate) roughly follows the contours of its physical geography of flatlands and hills. Census data reveal that the vast majority of Oakland's people of color live in the flatlands. Between a quarter and a third of people in the flatlands live below the poverty line; median income is 25 percent lower than the citywide average...It is precisely in these flatlands neighborhoods that the city's food deserts can also be found. And it is here that food justice movements have taken root (McClintock, 2009, p. 136).

While this brief observation might fail to paint a comprehensive picture of the various histories and contexts contributing to Oakland's present food crisis, it does begin to give us a sense of the conditions many of its residents face on a daily basis. Furthermore, it delineates the dire set of circumstances out of which many of Oakland's community-based agriculture projects have emerged.

In many ways, Oakland's urban agriculture movement can serve as a paragon for transcultural processes in action. The city contains a tremendous diversity—ethnic, socioeconomic, age, sexual orientation, and so on—of residents, many of whom are presently engaged and entangled in an equally large number of urban agricultural projects of varying scopes and scales. If one set out to wander its streets, it would soon become clear that nearly every neighborhood has signs of urban

food production. A great many of these projects are receiving support and guidance from one or several of the myriad of organizations dedicated to food justice, economic justice, and sustainable local food systems. Over the last five years, organizations such as People's Grocery, City Slicker Farms, Village Bottom Farms, Phat Beets Produce, and Planting Justice, to which I will return in a moment, have taken over vacant lots and underutilized park land in West and North Oakland to provide flatlands residents with fresh produce either via community supported agriculture (CSAs), sliding-scale farm stands, or farmers markets (McClintock, 2009, p. 166).

Planting Justice & Keller Plaza: Growing Agri-culture Against Adversity

Keller Plaza is a family mixed-income housing apartment subsidized by the federal government's Housing and Urban Development Division. It is situated in the shadow of the twenty-four freeway at the corner of 53rd and Telegraph Avenue in the culturally diverse Temescal District of North Oakland. A particular history of the development of the Temescal District provides meaning in understanding the shifts in people's relationship to the land and their food sources (Zandi, 2010, n. pag.).

Temescal District developed as a transit space between downtown Oakland and University of Berkeley which opened in 1873. As the sale of liquor was prohibited within a one mile radius of the university campus and liquor licenses were heavily regulated in downtown Oakland, Temescal had as many as 15 bars in the 1880's. This evidences the shifts in structural developments of the Temescal District in which liquor became more accessible than affordable nutritious food (Zandi, 2010, n. pag.).

Today, the Temescal District is home to Oakland's highest concentration of Ethiopian and Eretrian residents. It is not uncommon for the area to be colloquially referred to as little Ethiopia, and the unique assemblage of restaurants, retail spaces, cultural centers, and places of worship elude to the community's enduring presence in the area. Many of these residents fled their homeland during the period of the Eritrean War of Independence (1 September 1961 – 24 May 1991), informally known as the 30-year war. Violence associated with the war, exacerbated by significant drought and famine during the 1970s and 1980s, forced a large portion of the countries' populations to seek asylum in the United States, with many refugees settling in Oakland, among other cities. Of the residents presently living at Keller Plaza, approximately 90% are Eritrean and Ethiopian. The remaining Keller Plaza community is comprised largely of African Americans, and people of Latino, and mixed descent.

Planting Justice is an Oakland, California-based non-profit organization dedicated to "empowering disenfranchised urban residents with the skills, resources, and inspiration to maximize food production, economic opportunities, and environmental beauty in their neighborhoods" (http://www.plantingjustice. org). It emerged from the work that Haleh Zandi and Gavin Raders accomplished as co-founders of the Backyard Food Project, a for-profit business they started together in the Summer of 2008. Similar to Planting Justice, Backyard Food Project sought to address a "major disconnect and shortcoming of the "food movement" and edible landscaping in general, which includes only those who can pay a high premium for these services, leaving most low-income and people of color behind" (Zandi, personal communication, November 28, 2010).

According to Planting Justice's website, they are the first organization of their kind to combine ecological training and urban food production with a grassroots door-to-door organizing model. In this way, they are able to vastly increase their educational community outreach, helping to recruit volunteers, decentralize fundraising sources, and provide local jobs training for young community organizers. Planting Justice brings community members together to create replicable, energy- and water-efficient gardens that demonstrate how it is possible to grow a complete nutritional diet—including the production of fruit, vegetables, fish, eggs, nuts, edible mushrooms, goat milk, herbs, jam, honey, and meat—right where 80% of United States residents live: in the city. "Whereas edible landscaping and Permaculture have thus far been available only to those who can pay a premium for it," Zandi states, "our organizational model enables us to empower economically disadvantaged communities to transform empty lots, paved backyards, and grass lawns into productive organic gardens that serve as living classrooms for community members to practice urban Permaculture and bio-intensive gardening techniques" (H. Zandi, personal communication, November 14, 2010).

In early 2010, Christian Church Homes of Northern California, a private non-profit corporation working in affordable housing industry, hired Planting Justice to assist in the production of a community garden at their Keller Plaza property. With the guidance of Zandi and Raders, Keller

Plaza residents collaboratively built a centrally-located community garden that is abundant, nutritious, and culturally relevant to the diverse community members of the apartment complex. The garden currently boasts eleven raised beds for gardeners, several covered picnic tables, a rainwater catchment system, composting, and a wheelchair accessible path system for differently enabled residents.

A brief inventory of the garden's myriad of offerings provides a wonderful parallel for the diversity of individuals actively engaged in its production and maintenance: Kale and collards, inter-planted with onions and garlic, appear alongside tomatoes surrounded by basil. Tena Adam, an exceptional herb brought from Ethiopia commonly mixed with coffee, was planted by the residents in an herb spiral alongside chamomile, sage, and lemon verbena.

In an email interview, Zandi provided me with an account of the day-to-day experiences of several Keller Plaza residents as they relate to the garden:

> Older Ethiopian and Eritrean ladies will walk through the garden paths with their heads and hands to the sky saying what we think to be prayers. A young Latino boy eagerly asks us how long until the jalapeño peppers will be ready to harvest. Another older African-American woman sits and watches while we plant vegetables and herbs, often joining us when her body feels strong enough. The staff always expresses how well the garden looks and how exciting it is for the residents to participate in this sacred practice of growing food for the community. As participants learn about bio-intensive, organic gardening techniques, they are developing a collective responsibility for the health and happiness of their neighbors (H. Zandi, personal communication, November 13, 2010).

Since its inception, the number of residents actively engaged in the garden has grown steadily. According to counts taken by Zandi and Raders, nearly 20 residents, ranging in ages from 8 to over 60, have participated in weekly garden workshops. Additionally, several residents have taken on the responsibility of the care and upkeep of the garden itself, while countless others no doubt benefit, in less tangible ways, from its ongoing presence within the community.

The garden is a nexus for cultural exchange. Meals are regularly shared on the nearby picnic tables and the space in and around the garden is often used by some residents for exercise or socializing. Several weeks before one of my visits to the site, Zandi and Raders, in concert with several adolescent volunteers, conducted a salsa-making class to teach the value of meal sharing and cross-cultural recipe sharing. Conversations are frequent and the occasional disagreement arises over, for example, how to best mitigate the crop damage caused by slugs: on the one hand, certain residents insisted upon the use of inorganic pesticides. The decision was in large part informed by their previous experience with petrochemical intensive farming practices in their native country. On the other hand, Zandi worked with residents to educate them about the benefits of organic alternatives, both to preserve the integrity of the garden as well as to protect the best interests of the residents consuming the crop. Via the process of negotiation of interests—both direct and indirect—an organic option was decided upon.

These sorts of quotidian interactions and negotiations provide personal meaning, which is translated to the interpersonal as relationships are galvanized between residents who might not otherwise be in conversation and collaboration. As communities and citizens collectively work to establish and maintain community gardens, they learn organizing skills and develop social networks which then have the potential to contribute to the production of a wider set of contexts. In this sense, one's locality becomes outward-looking. As the presence of urban agriculture in United States increases, so too does the network of participants. Herein lies the possibility for Keller Plaza residents to transgress the existing material and conceptual, indeed cultural, boundaries circumscribing their immediate community. As a result of their participation in these spatial and relational practices, they are imaginatively linked to a broader network of culturally diverse peers with whom the shared practice of food cultivation is the binding element.

Urban Agriculture as Site of Agri-cultural Production

Based on the aforementioned observations, several conclusions can be made. It can be said that in addition to its role as a site of cultural exchange, Keller Plaza's community garden also contains the potential to engender entirely new transcultures. In contradistinction to acculturation, assimilation, cultural appropriation, and so on, with tendencies toward the smoothing out of the contours of cultural landscapes, these emergent transcultural forms infuse their diverse membership with new systems of values, knowledges, and beliefs. For example, the residents engaged in the Keller Plaza community garden do not shed their unique cultural identities and histories through

their collaboration with one another. Rather, they are differently rendered, empowered (to refer back to my initial line of inquiry into the notion of empowered communities) and, as such, better positioned to intervene into the dominant food system through the production and sharing of knowledges, the establishment of new or alternative social networks, and through a day-to-day politics of shared creative expressivity.

More than just the growing of food, the community garden at Keller Plaza represents a space of engagement out of which emerge novel agri-cultures who might engage in a whole spectrum of politics and cultural practices of self-determinacy intrinsic to the development of a more empowered and politically potent urban food citizenship; in spite of, I might add, the potential challenges presented by so-called cultural "differences."

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the Keller Plaza garden was not explicitly produced as a transcultural site. Of course, the notion of cultural exchange was built, as it were, into the project, by virtue of, among other things, a desire for it to function as a community space, the need to satisfy a diverse constituency, as well as the garden's participatory model. And still, without the introduction of and ongoing interaction between actual participants, the garden—or any built environment, for that matter—would remain inert, an empty stage lacking the friction needed to produce movement, action, effect (Tsing, 2005, p. 5). In other words, transcultural spaces are activated as such only through the coming together of different cultures. They are continually co-produced through the ongoing complex interactions of real subjects in real time and real space rather than the mere result of such interactions. They are a process of production, in the words of Henri Lefebvre, rather than a product. Further, the results of these processes can never be fully predicted in advance. Communities and citizens often modify existing urban patterns in meaningful and interesting ways. In so doing, they render the very notion of planning for or building a transcultural space strangely paradoxical insofar as a space can only become transcultural as a result of the negotiations between and among the various cultures vis-à-vis the built environment.

Reflections and Recommendations

Throughout this writing, I have been trying to make clear that Keller Plaza, and urban agriculture more generally, have the capacity to serve as sites for a place-based politics of the everyday out of which emerge more politically empowered agri-cultures. Additionally, I have attempted to piece together a working definition of transcultural exchange as it relates to contemporary cultural and spatial practices. By way of conclusion, however, I will spare the readership a summarizing statement. Instead, a detour is necessary in order to comment on what I believe to be an uncritical analysis of or popular over-enthusiasm for urban agricultural practices as they currently exist in the United States. The reason for my apparent digression is simple: without a more critical (read: radical) analysis of urban agriculture, I fear that the potential gains offered up by the aforementioned transcultural perspective might be preemptively forfeited.

Despite all of the apparent successes of urban agriculture in the United States, we must exercise caution in uncritically endorsing it as a singular means by which to enliven and empower marginalized communities. Nor should it be treated as a singular "solution" to urban food insecurity more generally. This is because the examples that I have put forth are by and large symptoms of what amounts to a racist, increasingly deficient, petrochemical intensive, corporate-industrial model food system that disproportionately denies certain communities access to fresh, affordable, and healthy food (all the while inflicting catastrophic ecological and environmental impacts). More simply put, what we are dealing with here is a systemic failure. And as such, I want to strongly insist that city agencies, designers, elected officials, planners, and so on, are not exempt from this ongoing narrative and, indeed, have a fundamental obligation to work in concert with communities at the local level in order to collectively ensure that urban agriculture is being facilitated and supported from the top as well as from the grassroots.

I have also tried to make clear that urban agriculture has the capacity to produce solidarity, self-sufficiency, and political potency. This is all well and good, but I worry that the sort of "pull yourselves up by the bootstraps" formulations that many advocates and enthusiasts often uncritically endorse, however initially appealing and sensible as they may seem, put us at risk of indirectly upholding the heretofore systems of institutionalized oppression that produced the very urgent conditions out which a great many urban agricultural move-

ments *necessarily* emerged in the first place. Notice what I am not saying here: I actually do not mean to devalue the indispensable contributions that have been made or the very real outcomes that can be directly attributed to community-based urban agriculture. I am certainly not suggesting that urban residents (marginalized or not) should cease organizing, collaborating, agitating, and advocating—across cultures—for its further growth and development. Of course they should!

Rather, I am making the claim that the production of a more inclusive, equitable, and democratic urban food system must be shared equally at the level of policy, planning, and regulation as well as by local communities. To this end, we would benefit from disposing of—as we would a weed from a garden—the notion of community-based urban agriculture as "solution", and instead advocate for mediation and collaboration between and among all the various stakeholders involved, so that its production, support, and ongoing maintenance might be more equally distributed.

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Endnotes

[1] This was clearly evidenced at the symposium for which this case study was produced. One of the most compelling things about the experience was the fact that many of the participants, myself included, were arriving to the notion of transculture (and all of its various morphologies) for the first time.

Youth As Agents of Change in Transcultural Community Design Processes

Alex Gilliam

ABSTRACT: Pillow fights in Time's Square, bus stop swings, pick-up soccer games in subway stations, tea time in parking spaces, hidden 'swimming holes' in vacant lots, architectural advice lemonade stands, largely 'hidden' special places like the High Line, planning meetings invigorated by building cities out of blocks, urban adventure races… It's rather ironic that many of the most current and engaging tools for reinvigorating civic life and challenging cultural conceptions of public space are very much derivative of the everyday life of a child, and yet we fail to actually engage youth in the making of the places we live. This is particularly tragic because through my work I have routinely found that when given the opportunity to do so, children are some of the greatest agents of stimulating positive change in our increasingly diverse communities. As cultural translators, capacity builders, civic role models and a means for building community trust in the making of our cities, their authentic engagement can transform community design processes. And when the city becomes their classroom and they are given the opportunity to take on these roles, they in turn defy social expectations, excelling beyond everyone's wildest imagination, including their own. This article focuses on projects that I have created in which youth have been essential forces for transforming conversations about 'culturally complicated' public spaces and stimulating positive change. These projects represent a diverse collection of unique tools, processes and programming that help redefine how we consider designing and making better public spaces for everyone.

'It didn't work, nothing worked.'

In 2006, I arrived to work at Hester Street Collaborative on a Monday morning to find my talented teenage interns utterly despondent. The previous day, while I was cavorting at my brother's wedding, my interns were manning a booth for the organization at the local street festival in an effort to start connecting with the incredibly diverse communities in Chinatown, which represent thirteen different languages. Armed with seemingly well designed promotional postcards, pamphlets, a survey, a hand-crafted booth with images of kids doing great things and a passionate belief in the mission of the organization, the interns and Hester Street Collaborative hoped to form some new neighborhood connections, get people excited about their work and gather basic information about the needs of the neighborhood. None of this happened. The interns, a couple of whom were fluent in Mandarin, only managed to get two people to talk to them. Slightly more upsetting, a number of seventy year old Chinese ladies from the neighborhood proved to be rather fond of taking not one postcard or pamphlet, but entire stacks with little interest in actually engaging the interns or learning more about the organization. One can only imagine what happened to these pamphlets.

On the surface, the event was a complete disaster and largely indicative of why traditional public space planning processes fail, and how a designer's lack of authentic local cultural knowledge can prove a huge obstacle for working in culturally complex neighborhoods. Nevertheless, our approach to the event couldn't have been a better mistake as it shocked us into entirely rethinking our tools and methods for engaging our neighbors. Although we immediately began to develop new tools to replace the surveys, pamphlets, etc., ultimately the biggest shift that arose out of our original naive community outreach initiative was to more thoroughly integrate local youth into the everyday workings of the organization. Indeed we increasingly sought out students from the neighborhood to become essential cultural translators and bridges to the neighborhood. These young adults became a part of the Citizen Designer Workshop in three ways: by previous involvement in Hester Street Collaborative programming, through partnerships with organizations such as the local YMCA and via direct recruitment from New York City's magnet schools. The smooth integration of these young adults into the everyday work of the Hester Street Collaborative required that I focus on quality over quantity and hire a small number of the very best students I could find. This is a very important difference between the design of the Citizen Designer Workshop and most other youth programs. Although they did ultimately learn about design, the Workshop was not explicitly an education program; the youth were hired with readily available job-to-work funds to build a broad range of capacities within the organization for which skill and funding were not easily accessible. By lavishing our attention and support on these few super talented young adults, we could then leverage them to reach more youth and community members than we would otherwise be able to do.

Initially, they literally helped the organization connect with the community through their knowledge of second and third languages. This is not without precedent, Participa-

tory Chinatown, a master planning project for Boston's Chinatown deployed youth in a similar fashion, acting as bridges between older Chinese Americans who spoke minimal English and had limited technology skills. The value of this in our own work could not be understated as at that time there were fourteen languages spoken in New York City's Chinatown, presenting a considerable barrier to doing work in the community. Although we could never hope to fully address all of the language challenges we faced, everything helped. Over time, through better partnerships with local community organizations we were able to recruit a more linguistically diverse group of interns.

Secondly and through the Citizen Designer Internship Program that I created, the local youth served as co-developers of hyper-localized community design tools and processes that were designed to better connect with the immediate neighborhood. The Citizen Designer Workshop literally became a workshop for developing the means to better connect with and understand the design needs of the community. Given our initial experience at the street fair, as well as the significant cultural and language barriers we faced, our new tools for interacting with the neighborhood focused on 'making', gaming and non-verbal interaction. Bad Design Darts was a prototype tool that allowed residents to use something akin to a design version of the 'Mr. Yuck!' poison warning stickers to non-verbally identify and build consensus around physical aspects of the neighborhood that they wanted to change. The targets could be such things as a derelict building, a poorly designed bench or infrequently collected garbage, a major problem in Chinatown. In theory, consensus could be built and visibility raised by the number of stickers placed on a building or problem. Another series of tools focused on exploring the idea of whether we could nonverbally communicate the values of the organization while gathering feedback and ideas in/about the neighborhood or on an issue by having people make something. The most successful tool that grew out of this exploration tapped into the one of the most visible expressions of the predominant culture of the neighborhood, Chinese paper lanterns. Our version of these lanterns allowed people to not only make a gorgeous, culturally relevant object but to also provide feedback on the neighborhood through the inclusion of image and writing. The final products, when displayed as a group in a nearby park, could begin to publicly represent the efforts, values and thoughts of the community. This tool is still used today by the Hester Street Collaborative, although

they now primarily build these with youth in the community as part of the annual Chinese New Year Celebrations.

Did these initiatives work?

In regards to the development of hyper-local community tools, the program was not the success I had hoped for. Lets face it, designing such things as user interaction is a hard task even for the very best designers and our youth interns simply couldn't manage it on their own. Their initial ideas and spirit were great but their nascent design skills made it particularly hard for them to fully evolve their ideas. In this way, although they were brought on to add capacity to the organization, in this particular area they needed a degree of support that outweighed their contributions. I worked hard to ameliorate this challenge by developing partnerships with local university design programs, gathering a few young adult interns who could theoretically really help with the development of these tools. Indeed, from the outset, to take advantage of the various unique strengths that each age group offers and the rich learning opportunities that take place when age mixing occurs, I intended the Citizen Designer Workshop to be multigenerational. However, at that time, the university curriculum that allowed us to get regular, free help from industrial and graphic design students also constrained them from really helping us develop existing projects. These externship programs, although hypothetically well intentioned, required their students to find their own 'problems' to fix within a partnering organization rather then allowing the hosting organization to focus a student's efforts on a recognized existing need. To this day, this remains a hurdle in both taking advantage of college students' skills and energies to bolster stressed community organizations, as well as providing meaningful, real world experiences that allows them to grow as designers. With simple changes in university curricula, I believe this aspect of the Workshop could have been more successful.

While this portion of the Citizen Designer Workshop did not live up to its potential, in other areas it flourished and was a great success. By providing our teenage interns with significant expectation, responsibility, leadership opportunity and support we developed a highly talented group of young teenage community leaders within our organization. Taking advantaged of their enhanced leadership skills we leveraged them to allow us to work with more students in local schools, accommodate more volunteers at the local community garden and have richer discussions with larger

groups in our community design charettes than we would have been able to otherwise do without significant leaps in funding. To be clear, they weren't only contributing manpower, they were also inspiring role models, helping generate better participation, learning and ideas from a large, diverse group of people. One example of this occurred during one of our community design charettes in which a third grader, clearly emboldened by her peers and the proceedings stood and said,

> "I want this outdoor classroom to be wonderful not only to inspire my fellow students to do better but also the neighborhood."

Needless to say, throughout the room, peoples' jaws hit the floor and the diverse group of participants quickly redoubled their efforts to create an outstanding design for a new outdoor classroom at a nearby under-served school on the Lower East Side in New York City. Seeding the room with our talented young Interns from the neighborhood helped create the atmosphere where such a profoundly powerful moment could occur. Leadership not only took the form of behavior modeling but also the generation of completely out-of-the box ideas, particularly in regards to branding community initiatives. Indeed, while they clearly struggled with designing complex social interactions, they had a real knack for creating an appropriately compelling branding/marketing campaign to get the neighborhood more involved in the new outdoor classroom and community garden. From the aforementioned charette, a fourth grader generated a catchy idea for a regular community gardening day in the outdoor classroom. A thirteen year old intern further developed the idea into a basic logo system and usable campaign that was then made perfect by one of our most talented sixteen year old interns. The school used the system to brand their efforts in the community and also to fundraise for their outdoor classroom/ community garden.

Rooted in their success as branding specialists is the greatest potential of the Citizen Designer Workshop and using youth to better engage diverse populations in the shaping of the design of their community- youth as cultural translators for their neighborhood. Indeed, they especially excelled at being design researchers; recognizing patterns of use in the neighborhood that professional designers often miss. Quite simply, they knew their neighborhood better than most and when empowered and bolstered with training to do so, they could point out complex design-related social patterns that most overlook.

A perfect example of such research and pattern recognition was recorded by Jenny, one of my sixteen year-old interns. Her observations were conducted in a nearby park as part of a larger park-use study initiated by the Hester Street Collaborative in an effort to convince New York City Department of Parks and Recreation to better address the community's needs when redesigning Sarah Delano Roosevelt Park. Jenny and the other interns' observations were recorded on postcards that were designed to be sent to public officials engaged in the redesign of the Park. During her daily visits to the Park, Jenny observed that every afternoon, a group of fifteen or so Chinese American men gathered around a tree. As they socialized and caught up on the day's events, in a methodically organized fashion they each took turns leaning up and resting against the tree until everyone had a turn. Given enough time, many people can learn to 'see' complex social patterns such as these. However, understanding the larger cultural context remains a challenge, and there is rarely money available for designers or planners to do such time intensive research. In fact, there is scarcely any money to do the type of research such as post-occupancy evaluations or the development of locally appropriate engagement that helps designers and planners create better, more culturally relevant public spaces and housing. This is a particularly acute problem when minorities represent just 5% of the designers who are actually shaping their neighborhoods (Mock 15). When supported by commonly available job-to-work and after school program funding, youth present a unique opportunity to authentically and effectively bridge these gaps, to build capacity where there is none, and play an important part in helping make better neighborhoods. However, to do this successfully requires completely rethinking the roles and tasks we traditionally assign to youth. Another project that I created sought to address these issues and capitalize on the lessons learned from the Citizen Designer Workshop, especially the tremendous opportunity to use youth as powerful cultural translators for their community.

In December 2009 I was hired by an architecture firm in Chicago that is well known for their long-term dedication to making affordable housing for the City's under-served residents. I was brought on board to create a program that allowed the firm and their strong community partner in West Humboldt Park neighborhood, the Latin United Community Housing Association to have a greater impact than they are able to affect through buildings alone. Of particular interest to the firm and their community partners were questions such as:

How efficiently are their buildings functioning and where could improvements be made? How are the clients using them relative to their design? Are the 'green' materials they chose really off-gassing less volatile organic compounds and positively impacting their clients' well-being? Where are the heat islands in the neighborhood? Is code negatively impacting the energy efficiency of their buildings? How can we grow green jobs and skilled leaders in the neighborhood?

In short the project that presented itself involved the gathering of data and stories that documented the 'wellness' of the neighborhood, the efficiency of its buildings, and well-being of the renters. It quickly became clear that the firm and its partners did not have the capacity to gather this data and find these stories, and that it was going to take more than designers to answers these questions. In fact, it quickly became apparent that it would be best if we could find people from the neighborhood to work with the firm, and its partners to help gather answers to the questions.

But what roles should they take and how could they meaningfully contribute?

Based on my past experience at the Hester Street Collaborative working with kids as cultural translators, the ability to locate readily available job-to-work funds, and having previously worked with Brenda--a 19 year old who was raised in West Humboldt Park--at the Chicago Architecture Foundation (CAF), I quickly assembled a team of six young adults age 16 through 26. Unlike the Citizen Design Workshop where each intern was hired based on their general excellence and capacity to grow as young designers, here I recruited to meet specific skill sets to answer the aforementioned questions. These young adults were not brought on to be architects or learn architecture, they were hired to do something the firm could not do. As our resident technology whiz from the School of the Art Institue, Patrick built our Arduino air quality sensors. Nelida, our eighteen-year old environmental feedback and data crunching expert from West Humboldt is now in her first year at Harvard voraciously studying environmental science. Michael and Jeisson, both seventeen years old and remarkably talented on Autocad and Sketch-Up, built the maps and three-dimensional models of the neighborhood. Sage is an outstanding graphic designer with a deep interest in doing community based work, helped brand the entire endeavor. Carla a chatty and talented sixteen year old designer who is fluent in Spanish and has solid skills in math and science helped connect

the skills of all of the team members. And then there's Brenda. Growing up in the West Humboldt Park neighborhood where we were working, she defied the neglect and violence that colored the area, winning more prizes than I have fingers at the Newhouse Architecture Competition, a yearly city-wide contest for teenagers run by the Chicago Architecture Foundation. Despite her budding skills as a designer, it was her deep connection to the community, her exemplary photography skills, her fluency in Spanish and an incredible gift for gab that gave her the unique abilities to lead the development of We Live Here, our neighborhood story gathering process.

On a daily basis this small, highly talented cadre of young adults gathered stories from the residents who lived around and in the firms' buildings, used six foot tall thermometers to identify neighborhood heat islands; mapped and measured the community's trees while calculating the carbon offset afforded by these trees on each block; and tested the community's air quality with an over-sized 'nose'. The importance of making our measurement completely visible with our six foot tall thermometers, our over-sized nose, our colorful neighborhood air quality satellites and the occasional lab coat cannot be overstated. These devices made our work immediately clear to the community, no matter the language barriers that may have existed, building trust, curiosity and dialogue. They also added a degree of levity to our work that made the interns less threatening and much more approachable, eliciting numerous stories that they probably would not have otherwise been able to gather. At the end of each day they meticulously logged the data, calculated the impact of their findings, recorded the stories they had gathered and documented the use patterns they observed. The program is further strengthened and these connections are reinforced by weekly 'Smartlucks'--potluck design charettes--with designers, local experts and community leaders. And because the interns were integrated within the firm and the work grew out of the community's need, their efforts had agency that is often lacking in traditional community mapping projects.

Given the relentless precision required to create useful data sets, I initially had reservations as to whether this work would prove too tedious for the interns. I also questioned whether the charts, spreadsheets, photographs and presentations that represented the bulk of their work that would have any meaning for them, allowing them to feel like they had made an impact. It turns out my hesitations were for naught.

"I didn't think a group of teenagers could make change in a community and I was convinced there wouldn't be change because I did not see change. I was wrong from the beginning because we can make a change and we are." Jeisson, a Shadelab intern.

Everyone was in fact blown away by their work and the incredibly thorough and enthusiastic manner in which they completed it. The architecture firm had no idea that it was possible to get such incredible work out of young adults or that they could be so seamlessly integrated within the organization. While the interns initially struggled to understand the end goal of the project, given a lack of a substantial physical project, the tremendous pride, excitement and sense of import they exhibited when presenting their work clearly indicated that they understood the value of what they were doing.

The interns were so compelling in their presentations that they easily won over the local Alderman, experts and local residents. Therein lies one of the most powerful lessons learned from my work in Chicago is the important role that utilizing young adults from the neighborhood such as Brenda or Nelida can serve in building community trust and ultimately having a greater impact.

Although, in my mind I couldn't have imagined working with anyone other than our six talented interns, it could have been different. The architecture firm has long standing teaching relationships with Chicago's architecture schools and it would have been theoretically possible to use college students to gather the data. Indeed they are an often used as a source of 'free' labor to work on community projects or pro-bono design work across the country. However, when presenting findings such as the elementary school being the hottest place in the neighborhood by over twenty degrees, it is hard to imagine a college student receiving the same degree of interest from the local Alderman or a potential funder as a talented and animated young adult from the neighborhood. Time and time again this summer, I saw the interns wow and charm everyone with their clearly evident hard work, sometimes remarkable findings and incredible enthusiasm. In this way they additionally build capacity in an organization such as the architecture firm by building community trust while serving as an important 'bridge' and cultural translator. It should be noted that there is potential merit to having an outside set of 'eyes' be a part of this process but discretely integrating them within a diverse, multi-skilled

team built comprised primarily of people from the community, as did with Shadelab, allows for the best possible outcomes.

Shadelab is an important evolution of the Citizen Designer Workshop and redefines the boundaries of how we can smartly leverage the tremendous assets of youth to positively impact the design of their culturally diverse neighborhoods while growing a smart cadre of young community design leaders. However, some challenges do still remain. One of the greatest strengths of the Citizen Designer Workshop is that it is located in the neighborhood it serves. For the initial phase of Shadelab, this simply wasn't possible as the architecture firm is located three miles from West Humboldt Park and its community partners did not have the capacity or the tools to accommodate the program on a daily basis. From a team management and community interaction perspective, this did limit the number and types of things we were able to accomplish. Most markedly this inhibited our ability to gather even more stories from local residents who had highly variable schedules and were already difficult to connect with; not being located in the neighborhood day in and day out made this even more challenging. Expanding the scale of or even simply staffing future iterations of Shadelab is challenging, particularly if we are to do so with young adults from these complex, underserved neighborhoods. Talented interns like Brenda and Nelida simply don't grow on trees. To take full advantage of young adults as agents of change and cultural translators for their diverse communities, new programming must be created to develop a cadre of talented interns who are prepared to participate in demanding programs like Shadelab. This should occur at the high school level but as mentioned in regards to the Citizen Designer Workshop, the curricular goals of college programs need to change too. Lastly, no matter how smartly you design a system or a series of tools to allow great things to happen, working in a bottom up fashion with communities to accomplish positive change in their buildings and community spaces still takes time; occasionally a lot of it and this does cost money. For example, organizations like Shadelab's non-profit community development partners do have the ability over time to build some of these costs into the overall cost of their new buildings. Smartly building pre and post user evaluation into project budgets helps considerably alleviate the need to chase grant or foundation money but no matter their great interest in doing so, this still requires significant organizational change on their part, and therefore time to accomplish. Challenges aside, the opportunities presented by smartly leveraging a com-

munity's young adults to better engage their culturally diverse communities in public design processes are considerable.

Pillow fights in Time's Square, bus stop awings, pick-up soccer games in subway stations, tea time in parking spaces, hidden 'swimming holes' in vacant lots, architectural advice lemonade stands, largely 'hidden' special places like the High Line, planning meetings invigorated by building cities out of blocks, urban adventure races…….

It's rather ironic that many of the most current and engaging tools for reinvigorating civic life and challenging cultural conceptions of public space are very much derivative of the everyday life of a child, and yet we fail to actually engage youth in the making of the places we live. This is particularly tragic because as demonstrated by my work creating the Citizen Designer Workshop and Shadelab, children are some of the greatest agents of stimulating positive change in our increasingly diverse communities. As cultural translators, capacity builders, civic role models and a means for building community trust in the making of our cities, their authentic engagement can transform community design processes.

And when the city becomes their classroom and they are given the opportunity to take on these roles, they in turn defy social expectations, excelling beyond everyone's wildest imagination, including their own.

However, to take full advantage of these opportunities requires us to fundamentally rethink how we engage youth, the expectations that we have of them and the goals of a particular project. Implicit in this is the pairing of an honest assessment of a project's needs with a young adult's skills or strengths. This attitude represents a significant shift from the attitude that everyone is or can be a designer. Instead, this approach leverages young people's unique skills for greater positive impact, not pandering to them but actually celebrating the unique role they can play in helping make better public spaces and neighborhoods.

References

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Figure 1. Credit: Alex Gilliam. A nearly-finished display made by students at the Sunshine School showing the work they did to improve their school. The students fabricated the picture frames and the located the display at the entrance to the school to inspire others.

Figure 2. Credit: Alex Gilliam, drawing by Jenny Chen. A postcard diagram by a sixteen-year old Citizen Designer Intern from the Hester Street Collaborative showing the complex social patterns that occur around certain trees in Sarah Delano Roosevelt Park in New York City.

Figure 3. Credit: Alex Gilliam and Brenda Gamboa. Teenage Shadelab Interns using oversized thermometers to look for heat islands in their Humboldt Park neighborhood of Chicago.

Figure 5. Credit: Alex Gilliam. Shadelab Interns prototyped a post-occupancy evaluation process that we created called 'We Live Here', gathering stories from the people who live in and around the buildings created by the architecture firm and its community partners.

Figure 4. Credit: Alex Gilliam. Shadelab Interns gathered massive amounts of environmental data on the West Humboldt Park neighborhood of Chicago and then analyzed it to find trends, and correlations to designed features. One of the more striking findings was that the elementary school is one of the unhealthiest spots in the neighborhood.

Figure 6. Credit: Alex Gilliam. Part of a branding system for the new outdoor classroom and community garden that we created at the PS 134 elementary school in New York City. The branding is unique in that it was originally conceived by a fourth grader from the school, developed by a thirteen year old and completed by one of our sixteen-year old Citizen Designer Interns at the Hester Street Collaborative.

17th and South Jackson Street:
Relocating CASA Latina and Navigating Cultural Crossroads in Seattle

Pam Emerson and Jeffrey Hou

ABSTRACT: CASA-Latina, founded in 1994, is a 501(c)3 non-profit organization whose mission is to "empower Latino immigrants through education and economic opportunities." The organization serves a constituency of approximately 750 individuals per year with day-labor job placement assistance, ESL courses, financial management classes, wage claim legal services and community-building events. In 2007, CASA Latina purchased a $1.2M property and began implementing plans to consolidate its heretofore dispersed operations and programs at this one site. Both the State of Washington and the City of Seattle contributed public funds to facilitate the purchase. The property is located in a multi-ethnic neighborhood that was historically settled by Japanese immigrants, and the planned relocation touched off a sentiment of vocal resistance in the neighborhood, particularly among the Japanese-American community. This case study examines the process by which this socio-spatial conflict was addressed, namely via the intervention of City government and the development of a "Good Neighbor Agreement." The chapter analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of utilizing a GNA process in this context and examines whether/how the process built or facilitated intercultural trust and understanding in the neighborhood. Finally, we assert that conflicts between established and newly arrived immigrant populations represent critical points of inflection for the ever-evolving fabric of transcultural cities and therefore, the methodologies employed to navigate and transform these conflicts warrant additional attention and refinement.

"The human capacity to create mental images of the "totally other" - that which has never been experienced or recorded - is the key dynamic of human history. At every level of awareness, from the individual to the macrosocietal, imagery is continuously generated about the not-yet. Such imagery inspires our intentions, which then move us purposefully forward." -Elise Boulding quoting Frederik Polak

On a Saturday morning in February 2007, residents of Seattle's Chinatown-International District and Central District neighborhoods, staff and board members of CASA Latina, neighborhood business and faith leaders, civic leaders representing neighborhood institutions, a Seattle City Councilmember and members of the media gathered for a community meeting at the local Langston Hughes Performing Arts Center. The purpose of the meeting was to understand CASA Latina's plan to relocate its operations, including its Day Workers Center, to a building on the corner of 17th and S. Jackson St. Public officials were also present to understand mounting community concerns about the move being voiced predominantly by Japanese-American neighborhood residents and community leaders. Though the move itself was not in question, residents and community spokespeople argued passionately both "for" and "against" it. Some raised concerns about crime, vagrancy, child and elder safety and public urination. Others spoke about CASA Latina's right to locate and run its programs from any site that adhered to current zoning designations. Some challenged the legality of CASA Latina's work as well as the legality of using public funds to facilitate their move. Others made claims that resistance to the move was based on ignorance or fear of personal economic implications. There were charges of NIMBYism and of racism. Tempers flared and emotions were high. Several speakers noted that because the neighborhood is not currently a residential hub for new Mexican immigrants, CASA Latina would be out of place, not the right "fit" for the neighborhood. Some residents expressed concerns about maintaining the character of the immediate surrounds and highlighted that the neighborhood is home to several important Japanese-American elder-living facilities.

A soft-spoken Japanese-American elder was the last person in the cue for public comment. He introduced himself not as a resident of the neighborhood but as a community leader, serving on the board of local cultural institutions and housing projects. He spoke about the legitimacy of concerns for

public safety and community character. He recounted the Japanese-American history of discrimination, WWII internment and economic struggle, and also likened it to the struggle of current-era Mexican immigrants. He underscored the importance of dignified work for people of all backgrounds. And he rejected the notion that raising questions about proposed or impending change was "racist." He then reiterated his concern for the safety and comfort of the Japanese-American elders who live in the community. The room was quieted by his remarks. And the meeting was adjourned with a promise for "next steps" to be sent to all participants via email.

The following day, a journalist who had attended the meeting published an opinion piece on the event in one of Seattle's major daily newspapers and referenced community concerns as "racist." Subsequently, a smaller neighborhood paper retorted with a long editorial defending the legitimacy of the opposition. The division in the neighborhood deepened and within a month, the City of Seattle had hired a third-party mediator to facilitate the development of a Good Neighbor Agreement between CASA Latina and the neighborhood surrounding the 17th and S. Jackson St. site.

Spatial Conflicts and Transcultural City-making

Over the past several decades, a variety of proactive community-engaged design and planning processes[1] have been broadly embraced by municipal agencies, schools of planning and design, and private practitioners as indispensable tools for fostering democratic ideals such as social inclusion and equity, engaged stewardship, and citizen empowerment, particularly in urban contexts characterized by racial, ethnic and class diversity (Hester, 1984; Qadeer, 1997; Sanoff, 2000; Reeves, 2005). In some cases, neighborhood planning and organizing processes have facilitated specific inter-cultural collaboration such as the formation of ethnically diverse community development alliances (Santos, 2002; Medoff and Sklar, 1994) as well as increased political power and efficacy in general (Diers, 2005; Chin, 2001; Booher and Innes, 2002). In other cases, carefully designed community visioning processes have been utilized as a platform for transforming entrenched racial, ethnic and class tension associated with evolving neighborhood composition, place attachment and contested public space (Abramson, et al. 2006; Hou and Kinoshita, 2007; Faga, 2006)

Accounts such as these notwithstanding, formalized, bureaucratically driven public engagement processes in particular have also been scrutinized and critiqued for a potential lack of transparency and authenticity at best and for further cementing the very inequities they purport to address, at worst (Tauxe, 1995; Cook and Kothari, 2001, Hou and Kinoshita, 2007). As community involvement processes become routine and institutionalized, they may be undertaken primarily as a task on a list of project requirements and may fail to articulate how the public's engagement can or will influence the project in question. Furthermore, processes intended to prevent or resolve inter-cultural conflict have also been critiqued for a lack of consideration for the role of culturally-dependent conceptions of conflict, individual and collective agency, "community", and government (Avruch, et al., 1991; Avruch 2006; Warfield, 1993; Briggs, 1998; Modan, 2000; Schaller and Modan, 2005).

As urban centers across the U.S. grow increasingly diverse (Sandercock, 1998), local governments, planning and design professionals and community leaders are continuously challenged to reconcile and accommodate the needs and desires of established immigrant groups with those of new immigrants, such as Latino day laborers. The 2006 National Day Labor Study (Valenzuela, et al.) characterized the pervasive presence of newly arrived Latino day labor populations in urban and sub-urban centers across the United States. The study also identified potential sources of inter-cultural conflict including rampant labor abuses and differing conceptions of "appropriate" use of public space. This and other studies (see Fine, 2006; Mehta and Theodore, 2006; Vitiello, 2009) distinguish clearly between informal day labor markets – such as those associated with known but unorganized labor pick-up sites in home improvement center parking lots – and sanctioned, organized worker centers administered by faith organizations, local governments, non-profit organizations, or day laborers themselves. CASA Latina's Day Workers Center falls into this latter category.

Despite functional civic structures for proactive neighborhood visioning and planning, conflicts between rooted neighborhood residents and newly arrived Latino day laborers will likely still arise and be exacerbated by marked differences in socio-economic status, social capital, English proficiency and level of political organization (Hutchinson, 2004). Conflicts may also be fueled by pre-existing ethnic stereotypes or by preconceived notions about low-income people in general

or Latino day-laborers, specifically (Tropeman, 1998; Giogi and Pinkus, 2006). How, then, can we bridge these differences and transform these conflicts? What is our collective vision for the process by which new immigrant populations become part of an already complex urban fabric? And how can the process honor the cultural heritage, contributions and place identities of previously established communities?

Will our underlying civic goal be inter-cultural tolerance, manifest as a lack of conflict? Or will our vision extend to the values and aspirations of associative democracy, manifest as inter-cultural understanding and appreciation (Sennett, 2004; Hirst and Bader, 2001)?

Though perhaps initially perceived as a destabilizing force to avoid or prevent, socio-spatial conflict between long-established communities and new Latino immigrants may also present important opportunities to build associations across racial, ethnic, and class boundaries and to diffuse the extreme otherization of newcomers that has marked many previous waves of immigration. Rather than eschewing such conflicts as manifestations of NIMBYism or racism, planning and design professionals can recognize them as pivotal moments in the on-going process of imagining and re-imagining what Dutch futurist, Frederik Polak, referred to as "that which has never been experienced or recorded, the 'not yet'" – the evolving urban fabric (1961). And planners and designers can contribute meaningfully to the work of recasting these conflicts as an integral part of transcultural city-making in the 21st century (Devine-Wright, 2009; Umemoto, 2001; Hou and Kinoshita, 2007).

It is not altogether clear, however, what strategy or strategies will prove most successful for navigating such conflicts in a just and effective manner. This case study examines one tool employed in the controversial relocation of CASA Latina in Seattle, WA -- the Good Neighbor Agreement (GNA) process. Good Neighbor Agreement processes have heretofore been most commonly invoked and analyzed as a tool for facilitating the development of a Community Benefits Agreement to prevent or mitigate potential environmental impacts of an industrial operation moving into or adjacent to a residential area (Kenney, et al., 2004). In Seattle, the GNA process has also been used extensively by City officials to negotiate terms of behavior (principally related to noise, trash and public safety) for bars and night clubs operating in or adjacent to residential neighborhoods (Barnett, 2006;

Seely, 2006; Meinert, 2010). This study evaluates the usefulness and effectiveness of the GNA process for creating the conditions necessary for inter-cultural understanding and acceptance in the context of a socio-spatial conflict between a long-established immigrant community and newly arrived Latino day laborers.[2] It further offers recommendations for additional research on the role of the planning and design professions in 21st century transcultural city-making in the U.S.

CASA Latina's Road to Relocation

CASA Latina is a 501(c)3 non-profit organization whose mission is to "empower Latino immigrants through education and economic opportunities." The organization is funded with a mixture of public and private sources, including state funding, city funding, grant funding and funding from private donors. CASA Latina serves a constituency of approximately 750 (predominantly Mexican) immigrants per year with day-labor job placement assistance, English as a Second Language (ESL) courses, financial management classes, wage claim legal services and community-building events. The organization also supports Latina women leadership groups, offers capacity building programs for women household helpers and facilitates English-Spanish language exchanges in the community.

Since its founding in 1994, CASA-Latina offered its programs from several different sites in and around downtown Seattle. In 2000, for example, CASA Latina was operating its Day Workers Center – the most visible and controversial program offered by the organization – out of a temporary unheated trailer on a vacant lot under the Alaskan Way Viaduct near Seattle's downtown waterfront. English as Second Language (ESL) classes were offered in a church basement several miles away, staff and volunteers operated out of a small rented office space at a third downtown location and women's groups met in health care facilities in the Central District and public housing projects in southwest Seattle, closer to the Latino population center in the region. This decentralized reality placed significant limits on the organization's ability to offer stable, integrated programming to its constituents. The location and conditions present at the Day Workers Center, in particular, were both unsafe and lacking dignity for both the workers themselves, as well as for homeowners or contractors who sought labor services there. Given this reality, the organization aggressively pursued an agreement to purchase the land adjacent to the viaduct with the intention of constructing a more permanent center of operations there.

In 2001, however, a report summarizing the infrastructural impacts of the Nisqually Earthquake indicated the viaduct was unsafe and would have to be dismantled. The temporary site of CASA Latina's Day Workers Center would be needed for construction staging during the rebuilding process. The purchase of the land would not be possible, and furthermore, CASA Latina would now be required to vacate the temporary site. The search for a suitable site continued. In 2004, a potential site was identified south of downtown in Seattle's Rainier Valley corridor. Community resistance, particularly from specific factions within the Mount Baker community and the Rainier Valley Chamber of Commerce, proved fierce however; and the public community outreach process was referred to third-party mediation. The result of the six-month mediation process was an agreement to not purchase the particular property in question but to continue looking both within the Rainier Valley and elsewhere. The search continued until 2007 when CASA Latina identified and closed on a $1.2M property at the corner of 17th and South Jackson Street in a transition zone southeast of downtown Seattle, between Seattle's Central District, a historically African-American neighborhood, and its Chinatown-International District, a historically pan-Asian neighborhood. Public funds committed by both the State of Washington and the City of Seattle facilitated the purchase by ensuring the necessary down payment and seeding a subsequent capital campaign. Total project costs, including site design, renovation and construction, are estimated at $4.3M.

The edge zone where these two neighborhoods meet is one of the most culturally diverse areas of the city (see figures 2-5). Significant institutions within a three-block radius include: the Japanese Buddhist Temple, the Japanese Cultural Center and Language School, the Langston Hughes Performing Arts Center, the Central Area Development Association, and Pratt Art Institute. The heart of "Little Saigon" is identified with the intersection of S. Jackson St. and 12th Ave. S. (5 blocks to the east), and one of the main commercial hubs of the historically African American Central District is identified with S. Jackson St. and 23rd Ave. S. (5 blocks to the west). Significant numbers of Japanese-American elders live in the immediate surrounds, as do ethnic Filipinos, Vietnamese, African-Americans and Caucasians.

Japanese Immigration and Settlement in Seattle

Japanese immigration to Seattle and the greater Pacific Northwest began in the 1890's, coinciding with a period of economic hardship in Japan and an explosion of labor-intensive industry in the Pacific Northwest (logging, fish canneries, railroad construction, etc.) Early immigrants were almost exclusively young men seeking to improve their lot and return to Japan (Takami, 1998). These early settlers faced overt racial prejudice in business and in the media and were prohibited, by law, from owning land or becoming naturalized citizens. In many neighborhoods, Japanese immigrants were also prohibited from buying or renting a home (Takami, 1998). Despite these hardships, workers, business people and civic leaders forged a vibrant community core, dubbed Nihonmachi (Japantown), in an area just south of Seattle's downtown. Centered on S. Jackson and S. Main Streets between 5th and 7th Ave, the area housed retail and service businesses necessary for everyday life (barber shops, groceries, tailors, restaurants, etc.) as well as cultural institutions such as language, music and dance schools, and a Japanese-language newspaper (Chin, 2001).

The Japanese population in Seattle grew steadily through the 1920's and 1930's. This period of community development and prosperity ended abruptly, however, with the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the sanctioned evacuation of ethnic Japanese from the west coast of the United States (irrespective of citizenship) on the grounds of national security (Takami, 1998). The approximately 7,000 Japanese-Americans then living in Seattle were forced to hurriedly sell or store their belongings. Evacuees were transported as prisoners and were eventually interned at the "Minidoka Relocation Center," in rural Idaho, for the duration of the war (Takami, 1998; Chin, 2001).

During the internment years, the character of Nihonmachi also changed markedly. Many buildings fell into disrepair and Filipinos and African-American residents began to settle in greater numbers along the Jackson St. corridor. The pre-war vibrancy and social cohesion of Nihonmachi was never recaptured (Chin, 2001). However, new multi-cultural community-building efforts proved quite successful in an area that encompasses historic Chinatown, Nihonmachi, Little Manila, and more recently Little Saigon. The Jackson Street Community Council was formed shortly after the war ended as a multi-racial "self-help group, to improve the declining physical/social conditions and create racial harmony from Fourth Ave. to Twenty-third

Ave. along Jackson St." (Chin, 2001). This organization, comprised of African Americans, Japanese, Filipinos, Chinese and whites worked for decades to improve housing, public health, elder care and public safety along Jackson St., and set a strong precedent for inter-cultural alliances in the neighborhood.[3]

This history of Japanese American settlement in Seattle is a critical component of the social context in which the conflict around CASA Latina's relocation arose. While the 17th and Jackson site is not located in the heart of Seattle's former Nihonmachi district, it does lie on what was the area's eastern edge. Several important Japanese-American community institutions lie within a five-block radius of the CASA Latina site and hundreds of Japanese American Issei (first generation) elders, many of whom endured the internment camps, live within a three-block radius. According to 2000 U.S. census data, the wider neighborhood is also home to significant populations of African-Americans, Vietnamese, Filipinos and Mexican-Americans, though the neighborhood is not widely recognized as a community core for Seattle's Mexican-American population.

Community Outreach and the Good Neighbor Agreement Process

As is required of all community development projects slated to receive public funds in Seattle, CASA Latina implemented an extensive community outreach campaign in the neighborhood around the 17th and South Jackson site to introduce themselves to local residents and businesses in advance of the City Council vote to approve funding in February of 2007. In a series of individual meetings with over 30 neighborhood groups, representing a wide range of community interests, CASA Latina explained their operations and their plans for the move and phased site construction and also opened a dialogue about how best to become a positive, contributing member of the neighborhood. Many of these groups wrote letters to CASA Latina to formalize their support of the move. Others remained neutral. Open informational meetings were held at the five distinct Neighborhood Community Councils that surround the site as well as at the East Precinct Crime Prevention Council. And postcard invitations announcing a series of open house events were sent to all residents and businesses located within 1000 feet of the site.

Despite these efforts, several key Japanese-American institutions in the neighborhood did not feel they were informed in a sufficient or timely manner. The sentiment among leaders of these organizations was that at best, the outreach efforts were not conducted in a thorough manner and that at worst, they were purposefully excluded from the outreach efforts until after the City Council vote to approve the use of public funds. This was seen as an affront against the community perpetrated by City leaders as well as CASA Latina. And this perspective served as the platform for much of the vocal and organized opposition to CASA Latina's move in the early spring of 2007. A second community outreach effort ensued, under the banner of an anonymous community organization called "Save the Central District." This now-defunct organization distributed fliers and convened meetings in the neighborhood. Their stated goal was to block the CASA Latina move, and their primary strategy was encouraging residents to voice their opposition to elected officials and create political pressure to withdraw public funding for the project.

The neighborhood was not united in its opposition, however. CASA Latina had already received 14 letters of support from neighborhood organizations and in early May 2007, a bi-weekly neighborhood newspaper published an "Open Letter to the Community" challenging the opposition's stance and tactics. The letter was signed by over 40 influential neighborhood leaders in the District, the majority being of Japanese descent (see inset).

It was in this context that the City of Seattle hired a third-party mediator to facilitate a Good Neighbor Agreement process between CASA Latina and its new neighborhood. Working with the mediator, CASA Latina recruited fifteen neighborhood representatives to join the "Good Neighbor Agreement Committee." Committee members' perspectives spanned the gamut from strongly supportive of the move to strongly opposed.[4]

Meetings were open to the public (including the media). The first meeting was convened in early June of 2007, and the stated role of the Committee was summarized as follows by the facilitator: "To create a common understanding of the programs and services offered by CASA Latina, to identify issues, concerns and opportunities that should be addressed regarding CASA Latina's move to 17th and Jackson, to identify solutions to those issues, and to create an agreement among the parties." Though the Good

Open Letter to the Community:

We, the following Japanese Americans and our friends, write to express our support for the rights
of our Latino Friends and neighbors to self-determination. This letter is in response to recent
events surrounding CASA Latina's decision to consolidate their offices and programming, including
a day labor center, to the corner of the 17th Avenue South and South Jackson Street.

We believe CASA Latina provides a valuable service to the Latino community and the community at large by providing
leadership training, ESL classes, and job opportunities for men and women who want to work to support their
families. We encourage the community and CASA Latina to come together in a respectful way, despite whatever has
or has not been done in the past few months, to find solutions to the legitimate concerns that have been raised.

We are deeply concerned about the rhetoric used to block CASA Latina's move. We are mindful of
our own painful history and the racial discrimination that Japanese immigrants have faced. Now,
one and two generations later, we must not allow this kind of prejudice to enter our hearts.

Let us work together to find solutions to the concerns that have been raised. Let us embrace the Latino community
as we would have wanted our Issei parents, grandparents and great grandparents to have been welcomed to
their new country. Let us find the common bonds to unite our communities. Let us never forget our own
painful history. Together, we can build a stronger community for all along the Jackson/Yesler corridor.

Sincerely,

Negin Almassi	YK Kuniyuki	Mori Kurose Rothman
Vicki Asakura	Hugo Kurose	Bob Santos
Wilson Chin	Marie Kurose	Joy Shigaki
SuJ'n Chon	Paul Mitsuo Kuros	Bob Shimabukuro
Janice Deguchi	Ruthann Kurose	Al Sugiyama
Theresa Fujiwara	Sharon Maeda	Ellen Suzuki
David Fukuhara	Yoko Maeshiro	Freida Takamura
Kyle Funakoshi h.s.	Don Mar	Sue Taoka
Tom Ikeda	JoAnne Nakamura	Lester Tran
Elaine Ishihara	Sharon Nakamura	Peter Tsai
Alice Ito	Diane Narasaki	Kathleen Vasquez
Soya Jung Harris	Mai Nguyen	Michael Woo
Tanya Kim	Mark Okazaki	Tina Young
Elaine Ko	Ann Kawasaki Romero	

Neighbor Agreement produced by the Committee would not be a legally binding agreement, it was stipulated that the terms of the agreement be integrated into future funding contracts between CASA Latina and the City of Seattle.

The Good Neighbor Agreement Committee met regularly over a period of five months. Significant time was spent refining ground rules and operating procedures for the Committee. Among the most critical of the group's established norms were: a two-thirds majority consensus required for any recommendation, a recognition that Committee members were not officially empowered to make commitments on behalf of their respective organizations, and an overt preference for Committee members to communicate directly with each other about differences in perspective rather than using media outlets to do so.

As an initial step toward crafting solution strategies, the Committee identified a set of key questions regarding CASA Latina's move. The most critical question was:

- How will operations prevent men from congregating on the street or sidewalk for long periods of time waiting for work? How will CASA Latina work to prevent the creation of an outdoor labor market?

- In addition to this core concern, the Committee also wanted the agreement to address:

- How CASA Latina would work with the neighborhood and police department to enhance public safety and address concerns if they arise

- How operations and site design would mitigate potentially negative impacts on parking and traffic in the neighborhood

- How all parties to the agreement would be held accountable for its implementation and how any future issues would be addressed

The final Good Neighbor Agreement document was refined reiteratively over a period of months by the facilitator and Committee members and was presented to the Committee for signature in early November of 2007. The Agreement was crafted to respond to the above questions and included provisions assigned to CASA Latina, various entities within the City of Seattle, and to a Community Advisory Committee that would be created to steward the agreement and would continue to meet regularly with CASA Latina for the 7-year term of the Agreement.

CASA Latina agreed to: recruit two board members representing neighborhood perspectives to its Board of Directors, attend quarterly meetings of neighboring Community Councils and participate in neighborhood beautification and crime prevention activities, review its building plans and construction schedule with the Advisory Committee and local Community Councils, participate in the Seattle Police Department's 'Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design' program to inform on-going site design decisions, not use any temporary structures such as trailers or portable bathrooms on its property, require its workers to wait for job assignments on CASA Latina property (and explicitly not on or near the sidewalk), hire a "Good Neighbor Ambassador" to monitor the adjacent streets and work with police to prevent the creation of an outdoor labor market in the neighborhood and maintain a reserve fund of $50,000 to implement any potential future recommendations regarding CASA Latina operations.

The City of Seattle agreed to: establish a baseline of crime data for the neighborhood, so that changes over time may be assessed (acknowledging that overall crime data depend on many neighborhood variables), provide an annual analysis of crime trends by reviewing service calls and incident reports within the twenty-two block area serviced by the Good Neighbor Ambassador and report back to the Advisory Committee, increase police presence in the neighborhood for at least the first year of CASA Latina's operations on-site, include the terms of the Good Neighbor Agreement in its annual contract with CASA Latina for municipal operational funding support, review CASA Latina's compliance with the agreement at least annually, and convene a special task for to resolve any issues that cannot be resolved by the Advisory Committee, especially the formation of an outdoor labor market or an increase in crime.

And finally, the Advisory Committee agreed to: work with the Seattle Police Department to establish a baseline of crime data for the neighborhood, so that changes over time may be assessed, meet regularly with CASA Latina to identify and resolve any new neighborhood concerns and review CASA Latina's design and construction plans on behalf of the neighborhood.

Ultimately, twelve of the seventeen Committee members signed this final agreement. Though support was not unanimous, the Committee did meet its self-imposed two-thirds majority threshold, so the agreement stood

as ratified by the Committee. The Committee was officially dissolved and a new Advisory Committee, charged with stewarding the Good Neighborhood Agreement, was established via a call for applications administered by the City of Seattle's Department of Neighborhoods.

In April of 2010, this Department published a two-year progress report on the implementation of the CASA Latina Good Neighbor Agreement. The report determined all parties (CASA Latina, City of Seattle and the Advisory Committee) had followed through successfully on commitments made in the Good Neighbor Agreement. The report also summarized neighborhood crime statistics for the three-year period of 2007-2009 and indicated that the area has enjoyed a 10-15% decrease in crime during that span. Several examples of how the Good Neighbor Agreement process has helped foster neighborly behavior are also highlighted in the report. For example, during its first phase of on-site construction, CASA Latina conducted ESL classes in the basement of the Japanese Congregational Church next door and has now forged a longer-term agreement with the Church to use a portion of the Church parking lot during Worker Center operating hours, to avoid over-crowding available on-street parking.

How the GNA Process Influenced the Site Design Process

CASA Latina could not occupy the 17th and Jackson St. site immediately after purchase because significant renovations were required before the building could reasonably accommodate its programming and administrative activities. The scope of the overall design project included a major renovation of the existing building, the addition of two new buildings, additional parking, a small Jackson St. plaza area and an interior hill climb and courtyard area. Operations and staff were scheduled to move after the completion of the main building renovation and construction of the first new building ("Phase I" of the project).

The timeline for Phase I design and construction did not coincide directly with the Good Neighbor Agreement process. Though the architectural firm working on the project did present early plans to the Good Neighbor Agreement Committee, it was predominantly the role of the newly formed Advisory Committee to ensure the design-related aspects of the agreement were ultimately addressed. In this way, the design process was open to community stakeholders even though it

did not include a broader effort to seek input from neighborhood residents not serving on the Advisory Committee.

Several components of the Good Neighbor Agreement influenced the design process directly. The most central concern of the neighborhood – that CASA Latina's presence not result in the creation of an outdoor labor market – drove a number of design decisions. The indoor space designed for the hiring hall was apportioned to accommodate all workers likely to be present during peak seasons. Access to the hiring hall was oriented to an existing alley and additional off-street parking for would-be employers was added adjacent to the hiring hall. The parking area was designed to also serve as an interior courtyard/gathering space for workers or for others participating in CASA Latina programs. The design makes use of grade changes and plantings to screen this area from the sidewalk and street. It is not visible from 17th Ave. or from Jackson St. and thus feels private and protected from the inside and unobtrusive from the outside. The design also underwent Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design review and was adjusted accordingly. Many large (overgrown) plantings were removed and additional lighting was added. Attractive street-side gardens were added on both 17th and Jackson. These enhance the quality of the streetscape and improve the pedestrian experience on both blocks.

What Image of the "Not Yet" Did the Good Neighbor Agreement Process Evoke?

Though the stated goal of the Good Neighbor Agreement process was to introduce CASA Latina to the neighborhood and define strategies to address legitimate community concerns, the process also impelled neighborhood leaders and residents to explicitly articulate an evolving vision of their place – a collective and publicly negotiated vision that acknowledges and includes CASA Latina and its constituents as new members of the community. It is not clear whether this was an unstated but nonetheless intentional goal of the process or purely ancillary. That notwithstanding, it is clear that this process was made possible by the intervention and financial resources of municipal government and that the involvement and oversight of city government formalized the process.

This exercised role of government was interpreted in a number of different ways by stakeholders. Some leaders in the neighborhood have argued it was explicitly not part of their vision to include CASA Latina and its constituents in the future of their

place, but rather that this vision was held externally by public officials and "forced down our throats." The Good Neighbor Agreement process was interpreted as a means to pressure the neighborhood into integrating a decision that had been made without their involvement or consent. "They (the City) put you in a bad position and then say you're responsible for figuring this out. I was very upset with the administration for doing that," remarked one neighborhood leader. For these residents, then, the process was experienced as a negotiation of political power between the neighborhood and municipal government, more so than an opportunity to build trusting relationships with new neighbors. The Agreement itself was valued as a tool for holding municipal government accountable to the neighborhood and as a point of political leverage in future negotiations regarding CASA Latina's receipt of public funding. "I just want a document I can bring to City Council members later to remind them of what went down here," explained the leader.

Others argued the neighborhood around the 17th and Jackson St. site has been evolving for decades into a diverse and vibrant multi-ethnic edge between the Chinatown-International District and the (historically African-American) Central District and viewed the Good Neighbor Agreement process as a timely and appropriate strategy for supporting this ongoing transition. As one local businessperson reflected, "Businesses and other social service agencies catering to all sorts of people come and go in this area. No one has ever asked me what I thought of any of them moving in, so why should we treat Casa Latina differently?" For these residents, the process offered an opportunity to identify and advocate for additional public resources – extra police presence in the neighborhood, for example. The process was also used as a platform for articulating and reinforcing community values such as the expectation that all neighbors work actively to promote public safety and maintain attractive properties.

In addition to underscoring this neighborhood vision for a safe and attractive community, the Good Neighbor Agreement Committee articulated an image of the neighborhood's future that intentionally minimizes the visibility and street presence of CASA Latina's day worker constituents. The provisions of the Agreement proscribe specific measures for ensuring day workers are not seen congregating in or near public space, and these provisions can be interpreted in multiple ways. First, it is critical to make a distinction between "residents" and "community members." The majority of CASA Latina's day worker

constituents and staff do not live in the immediate neighborhood surrounding 17th and Jackson St. but rather commute to the neighborhood daily. In this context, the provisions could be interpreted as a negotiation of social rules between residents of the neighborhood and users of/visitors to the neighborhood.

The provisions may also be interpreted as a lack of social acceptance and as a means of reinforcing outsider status by claiming public space for a defined (appropriate) set of uses only. Alternatively, the provisions can also be interpreted as a means of protecting and dignifying the work performed by CASA Latina's constituents. By requiring that the hiring process proceed in a comfortable, indoor space and in a manner that is unambiguously defined by CASA Latina, the provisions help ensure workers are respected and help prevent exploitation. Furthermore, employees who hire day laborers are acknowledged as participating in a legitimate and socially sanctioned activity. It is interesting to note that such a wide variety of seemingly opposing interests may be met with the same position or agreement. From a city-building perspective, this underscores the distinction between lack of conflict and transcultural learning or acceptance.

And finally, it is probable that gender, race and class dynamics were also influential in the formulation of the provisions minimizing day laborers' street presence. As one neighborhood resident asked rhetorically, "I'm not sure what would have happened if it had been… I don't know… let's just say the 'Russian Women's Center' that wanted to move in there and have a presence in the neighborhood. I don't know anything about Russian immigrants! [laughs] But I doubt there would have been this vocal opposition."

It is important to reiterate that fostering the social acceptance of CASA Latina's constituents was not the stated purpose of the official process. Nor was the process designed or intended to ensure that CASA Latina's constituents understood and respected the culture, experiences and perspectives of established neighborhood residents. Furthermore, very few of CASA Latina's constituents and very few Japanese elders were directly involved in the negotiation of the Agreement. The structure and administrative approach of the GNA process provided little to no opportunity for these groups to interact informally and build a sense of understanding, trust or acceptance directly. At the end of the process, they were still largely unknown to each other.

Despite these limitations, the Good Neighbor Agreement process did provide a forum for neighborhood leaders/spokespeople and residents to learn about the history and operations of CASA Latina and gain a basic understanding of who the organization's leaders and constituents are. "You know, before this process, I didn't know much about Chicanos [sic]… meeting some of them... you just learn about these people… you can't help but respect them… they came from a different country, just like my father did… you don't want to be completely against their desire to make a better life for themselves…" commented one process participant. The reciprocal, however, was not true. The Good Neighborhood Agreement process did not offer CASA Latina staff, board members and constituents explicit opportunities to learn about and understand the history and cultural context of the their new neighborhood. This imbalance could be identified as a weakness of the process. The process did help established residents and CASA Latina define a common set of core values and standards of conduct. Public safety, property upkeep, and appearance and the prevention of an outdoor labor market were articulated as non-negotiable. These agreements provide a sort of cultural common denominator for the neighborhood – a mutually agreed upon bottom line for "how we do things here" – and may represent a critical first step toward acceptance.

Conclusions

Ultimately, then, did the Good Neighbor Agreement process foster intercultural trust and understanding or help create the conditions for such, even as this was not its stated goal? And did the process acknowledge the cultural context and place identity of previously established immigrant communities, in this case, the resident Japanese-American community? Explicit consideration of Japanese-American residents' feelings of place attachment (and associated implications for the socio-spatial conflict in question) was all but absent in the design and implementation of the GNA process. For example, at no juncture in the process were residents invited to purposely share their formative and unique experiences of place or the history of their relationship with the neighborhood. Nor were there opportunities for residents to articulate how these experiences and history inform their current identity and contribute to their everyday quality of life. Furthermore, the structure of the process – consisting almost exclusively of open public meetings led and summarized by a third-party facilitator contracted by the City of Seattle – did not acknowledge or address potentially critical cultural differences between the facilitator, the neighborhood residents and representatives of CASA Latina, with respect to conceptions of conflict, community, agency and government. And finally, some residents are still of the opinion that the City and CASA Latina simply did not open a conversation about the proposed relocation on a timeline that would have allowed for more substantive participation of the neighborhood.

In its failure to attend to these issues in a proactive and intentional manner, the GNA process may represent an unfortunate missed opportunity to further inter-cultural trust and understanding between a well-established immigrant group and a group of more newly arrived immigrants. Furthermore, the lack of attention to residents' unique history and sense of place, and the failure to involve pivotal neighborhood leaders earlier in the process, may also have resulted, however inadvertently, in an erosion of trust between neighborhood residents and their elected local government officials. Indeed, one community leader stated outright, "I can't believe they (City leaders) did this to us, in this way… going behind our backs like this… after all we've been through as a community. It proves they are not to be trusted."

These shortcomings notwithstanding, it is also critical to recognize that before the initiation of the GNA process, the conflict between CASA Latina and the surrounding neighborhood was escalating along a trajectory of "unmanaged conflict" well-described in dispute resolution literature (see Carpenter and Kennedy, 2001). It is, of course, impossible to know what would have transpired had the GNA process not been initiated in this case. Given its trajectory, however, had the conflict continued to escalate, it would have almost certainly resulted in deep, long-lasting divisions within the neighborhood. The use of public funds to facilitate the purchase of the property may have been legally challenged. The relocation process in general may have been jeopardized. Tensions and conflict may have been further polarized along race and class lines.

The intervention of the GNA process arrested the progression of the conflict at a stage where the parties were still able and willing to hear, understand and consider each others' positions and interests and work collectively to address these to each others' mutual satisfaction, albeit not unanimously.[5] This not only helped ensure that the relocation could proceed but also helped lay the groundwork for on-going col-

laboration by helping establish trust in each others' intentions and, over the long term, in each others' integrity.

One critical opportunity for on-going collaboration will be defined by how the CASA Latina site and buildings are used into the future – how formal or informal interaction is (or is not) invited via their physical design and subsequent programming. While site design decisions that were driven directly by the Good Neighborhood Agreement (discussed above) served to address immediate neighborhood concerns and facilitate the relocation, it is, perhaps, another set of design decisions that will ultimately prove to serve at least as important a role in fostering intercultural acceptance and appreciation over time. For example, designers encouraged CASA Latina to include a commercial kitchen in Phase II of the project, as well as another large, flexible event/programming space, a separate space for a small retail operation or restaurant concession and a small outdoor plaza space adjacent to the storefront. These facilities, though intended primarily to provide CASA Latina with expanded programming and revenue potential, will also afford new opportunities for neighborly interactions. The uses made possible by these spaces will present CASA Latina with new opportunities to project/expand its mission to include cultural ambassadorship, whether formally or informally. It is now within the realm of possibility to imagine, for example, regional Mexican cooking or weaving classes being offered in the evening, a Posada celebration open to the neighborhood at Christmas time, a lunchtime tamale stand with outdoor seating being embraced by local office workers, etc. One new program has already emerged: a facilitated Spanish-English language exchange between day workers seeking additional opportunity to practice English and neighborhood residents who want the opportunity to practice Spanish language skills with a native speaker. Residents have also asked CASA Latina if its childcare services, currently offered to constituents (only) during specific programs, may at some point be opened to the broader public. So while the GNA process did not drive these opportunities directly, it did facilitate the relocation in general and thereby helped open these potential futures.

The lessons to be drawn from this case are mixed. As discussed above, the intervention of City government and subsequent development of the GNA provided a constructive forum for airing and addressing community concerns. This, in turn, helped prevent a public escalation of the conflict, facilitated the relocation, and opened other potential futures

for intercultural understanding. By providing a formal outlet for mounting social tension, the GNA process also successfully deflected media attention away from specific grievances and toward the process of formulating a path forward. The interests most directly served by this specific outcome may have been those of the elected officials and bureaucrats who supported the relocation both politically and financially.

CASA Latina benefited from the successful implementation of their relocation plan, however the process was not without cost. The organization invested considerable staff time and resources that would otherwise would have been spent on mission-critical program work. Moreover, the organization committed to the substantial on-going investments required to steward the agreement for seven years. And while the GNA process did provide the organization with an opportunity to begin building relationships with a small number of community members (those serving on the GNA Committee), the five committee members who entered the process opposed to the relocation were not moved by the process and did not sign the agreement. The most powerful outcome for CASA Latina, then, appears to be the relationships they were able to preserve or strengthen with government officials as a function of submitting themselves voluntarily to the GNA process. They may have also gained a degree of legitimacy in the eyes of the broader public by engaging in the process and adhering to the stipulations of the agreement.

Similarly, the neighborhood leaders and residents who participated in the GNA process invested substantial amounts of personal time and energy. And while the most central concerns of the neighborhood were addressed directly in the final agreement, the process did not effectively mediate sentiments of betrayal in the neighborhood related to the extent of outreach conducted prior to the City Council vote to approve public funding. Nor did the process explicitly acknowledge, consider or account for the potential of the project to impact residents' place identities. And finally, as discussed above, the process provided little to no opportunity for neighborhood leaders and residents to interact with CASA Latina constituents and visa versa.

So while the GNA process did accomplish its stated goals, it did not provoke or support a substantial shift in how an evolving, transcultural community might envision the "not yet." While the transition period leading up to CASA Latina's relo-

cation presented a unique opportunity for expanded intercultural understanding and acceptance, the GNA process instead favored a vision of the future characterized by an absence of overt conflict and by a seeming lack of change – evidenced, for example, by the stipulations to minimize CASA Latina's visible street presence, at least for the short run of the agreement's seven-year time horizon. The case leads us to seek further clarity, then, on the appropriate role of local government in fostering intercultural understanding, particularly within a context of conflict. The study also raises questions about the distinction between public process methodologies intended to diffuse conflict and those intended to build intercultural relationships. The GNA process in the relocation of CASA Latina presents an example of a limited institutional framework and calls attention to the need for expanded inquiry into the design and use of public processes in service to intercultural understanding.

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Endnotes

[1] These processes include design charettes, formal public meetings, formal public comment periods, community information meetings, public involvement workshops and on-line comment tools.

[2] Primary data collection for this study included a review of all available public documents (minutes and associated attachments) from GNA Committee meetings as well as confidential interviews with CASA Latina staff and board members, GNA Committee members, neighborhood residents, project architects and City of Seattle staff.

[3] Today, the historic Nihonmachi area is still home to many Japanese restaurants and businesses and still functions as a community core, though the Japanese "community" it now serves is dispersed more broadly over the entire Seattle metropolitan area. See: Abramson, et al., 2006.

[4] The following neighborhood organizations were represented on the Committee: Squire Park Community Council, Jackson Place Community Council, ad hoc 'Immediate Neighbors Group', Central Area Development Association, Japanese Congregational Church, Legacy Partners (real estate developer), Seattle Buddhist Temple, Kawabe Memorial House (elder housing facility), Nikkei Concerns (nursing home), Seattle Police Department, Center for Northwest Seafood (neighborhood business), Seattle Japanese Language School, Japanese Community Service of Seattle and CASA Latina.

[5] Five of the voting committee members did not sign the final agreement nor consent to its contents. These representatives remained opposed to the relocation.
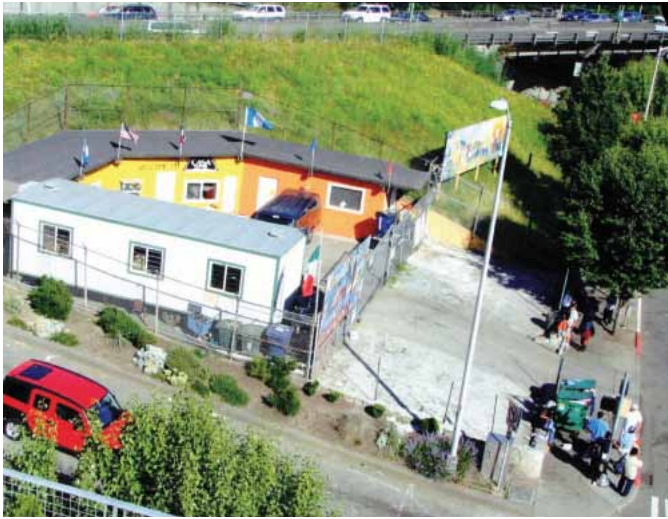
Figure 1. Photo of Day Workers Center site under the Alaskan Way Viaduct on Seattle's Central Waterfront

Figure 3. Location of previous and new Casa Latina sites, relative to downtown Seattle

Figure 2. Census maps

Figure 4. Exterior gardens.

Spaces of Negotiation and Engagement in Multi-Ethnic Ethnoscapes: "Cambodia Town Neighborhood" in Central Long Beach, California

Felicity Hwee-Hwa Chan

ABSTRACT: The City of Long Beach in Greater Los Angeles is the resident city of the largest concentration of Cambodians outside Southeast Asia who arrived as refugees in the 1970s. In 2007 after years of negotiation, a 1-mile long stretch of East Anaheim Street between Atlantic and Junipero Avenue in the multi-ethnic Central Long Beach was approved as Cambodia Town Business Improvement District by the city. The process of change and identity negotiation by the new Cambodian community triggers unease and tension in the multi-ethnic neighborhood made up of Latinos, other Asians and African Americans.

This paper posits this ongoing episode as an instance of the fractal and overlapping characteristics of global cultural flows conceptualized as a phenomenon of ethnoscapes by Appadurai (1990, 1991 and 1996). It aims to articulate the socio-spatial significance and implications of ethnoscapes through the lens of this neighborhood and discuss the effectiveness of "spaces of sociality" created and permitted by the city in this neighborhood (e.g. park, cultural center and library) as intercultural spaces. Drawing from preliminary investigations, the paper hopes to accomplish two related objectives: First, to flesh out the spatial dimension of ethnoscapes, which hitherto has been given little attention in planning theory. Second, to address the potential of urban civic spaces in multi-ethnic neighborhood as everyday transformative sites of intercultural exchange and understanding.

1: INTRODUCTION

Globalization has ushered in a new era to reconsider the claims and concerns of multicultural societies. It has brought new flows of cultures and peoples—more intense, more expansive and of deeper influence to globalizing cities. A useful concept that illustrates this fluid movement of people cultures across borders is the neologism of "ethnoscapes" introduced by Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1990, 1991 and 1996). Quoting Appadurai (1990: 297),

> By *ethnoscape*, I mean the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect

the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree. This is not to say that there are not anywhere relatively stable communities and networks, of kinship, of friendship, of work and of leisure as well as of birth, residence and other filiative forms. But it is to say that the warp of these stabilities is everywhere shot through with the woof of human motion, as more persons and groups deal with the realities of having to move, or the fantasies to move. What is more, both these realities as well as these fantasies now function on larger scales, as men and women from villages in India think not just of moving to Poona or Madras, but of moving to Dubai and Houston, and refugees from Sri Lanka find themselves in South India as well as in Canada, just as the Hmong are driven to London as well as to Philadelphia. As the needs of international capital shift, as production and technology generate different consumer needs, as nation-states change their policies on refugee populations, these moving groups can never afford to let their imaginations rest too long, even if they wished to.

While Appadurai's intention appears to be on communicating the high fluidity and seamlessness of flows and identities across borders, the phenomena of global ethnoscapes described above implies two types of tensions. They are *the tension between communities who are stable and those who are on the move* and *the tension between the material and the imagined*. Central to these tensions is the role geographical space plays in the identity negotiation of immigrants (Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Space is being destabilized by global immigration but its relationship with the formation of cultural identity exerts friction on the movement. This paper is hence a response to discuss the tensions between people and groups experienced in and through the spaces of global ethnoscapes, dimensions that Appadurai does not engage in his broader discussions of global disjuncture and imaginary space or "-scapes" of people, technology, finance, media and ideas[1].

Anecdotal evidence of the growing tension, especially between immigrants and the receiving society in cities is on a rise over the use and sharing of urban space. In Europe and in North America, news about immigration increasingly highlights a partisan discourse that pitches "us" versus "them." In 2009, new construction of minarets was banned in Switzerland, followed by a spate of social disputes on the siting of mosques in New York and California in 2010. The German Chancellor Angela Merkel in 2010 announced that multiculturalism has "utterly failed!" And at the neighborhood level, findings have shown a hostility and anger dis-

played by the receiving societies over the changes in the uses and character of the neighborhood that immigrants invariably bring and represent (Qadeer 1997, Sandercock 2003)

The current state of negative tension between the receiving society and the immigrants in multicultural cities portends to slowly chip away at the opportunities for a public social life in cities, beginning in the relationships between neighbors. In a survey study of forty-one communities in North America conducted in 2000 by sociologist Robert Putnam (2007), Putnam found that social solidarity and trust and community cooperation are reduced in the presence of diversity. His results show that inter-racial and intra-racial trust is the lowest in ethnically diverse cities like San Francisco and Los Angeles. He writes, "Diversity seems to trigger *not* in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation. In colloquial language, people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to 'hunker down'— that is pull in like a turtle" (p.149) (author's emphasis).

Multi-ethnic settings thus appear to produce two effects, which can perceivably be mutually reinforcing forces--first, tensions arising from cultural differences and second, social isolation. These two effects can become mutually reinforcing when we consider the following: Tensions arising from cultural differences when tolerated and not addressed can produce a pulling in effect to avoid face-to-face engagement. This may in turn provide conditions for the entrenching of stereotypes leading to prejudice (Allport 1954) that perpetuate fear and anxiety of the stranger (Kristeva 1991, Sandercock 2003). These circumstances lead to a situation of "parallel lives" (Cantle 2005), not uncommon of urban life in multicultural cities. The 2001 riots in Britain illustrate the consequences of living lives that have little to no engagement with those around, especially with those who are different from us. These circumstances can become insidious conditions for divisions between people to harden in situations where social exclusion along socio-economic lines already exists (Amin 2002).

Discourses of "co-existence," "living with difference," "interculturalism," and "integration" are thus on a rise, expressing a need to reexamine the efficacy of multicultural policies. One of the major criticisms of multicultural policy outlook is that it has inadvertently encouraged and hardened divisions along cultural lines e.g. in the formation of involuntary ethnic enclaves which confines ethnicity to space. Depending on where a national government's outlook on the political

spectrum lies, management of multi-ethnic diversity could range from assimilation to integration (Parekh 2000).

Taking on this debate of negotiating differences from an urban studies scholarship viewpoint, engagement is frequently favored over non-engagement. Beginning from the 1960s and 1970s writings of Jane Jacobs (1960) and Richard Sennett (1970, 1974, 1989 and 1990), the public life of the city rests on a daily negotiation of differences. Diversity was seen as a value of a good city (Lynch 1981, Sandercock 1998, Thrift 2005, Amin 2006, Talen 2008) although some would argue that justice is of greater importance (Fainstein 2010). Social contact, according to Allport (1954: 281), is a process that has shown to be capable of reducing prejudice, especially if contact takes place in conditions of equal status "in pursuit of common goals" for example. Quality and conditions of contact are more important than the frequency of contact as repeated encounters are no guarantee for cultural exchange as they may in fact lead to entrenched prejudices (Amin 2002).

In the last decade, the writings of Sandercock (2000 and 2003) on "cosmopolis" have been influential in beginning a new planning discourse about the impacts and implications of immigration for urban planning in multicultural cities. A review of the literature shows that majority of the planning scholarship on multicultural cities is found in following categories: adapting procedural planning e.g. increasing the sensitivity of planners to cultural difference (Sandercock 2000 and 2003, Umemoto 2001, Pestieau and Wallace 2003), revising regulations and guidelines to diversity (Zelinsky 1990, Qadeer 1997, Burayidi 2000, Thompson 2003, Germain and Gagnon 2003), making the planning process institutionally inclusive (Baum 2000, Thomas 2000, Reeves 2005). Fewer works are found in the category of creating substantive planning and design outcomes e.g. intercultural urban programs and spaces (Amin 2002, Woods and Landry 2008), design diversity (Talen 2008), reconciliatory spaces (Bollens 2006). In Talen and Ellis's (2009: 192) recent discussion of the emerging agenda in planning, they highlighted that cities of the future will need to negotiate the conflicting trends of compactness and diversity. They emphasize the importance of studying existing diverse and dense communities and "the role that civic spaces—the provision of an ample and well-designed 'public realm' can play in supporting diversity," in addition to continuing research into how planning process and policies can support diversity.

This paper thus proceeds to do the following, (a) to explore and discuss the tensions in and through spaces of global ethnoscapes using the case of Cambodia Town, (b) to discuss the opportunities existing civic spaces such as the neighborhood park, community center and library provided by the city offer for intercultural exchange and understanding between different ethnicities in the neighborhood surrounding Cambodia Town. The data for the discussion is drawn from preliminary observations and interviews with respondents who live and/or work in the dense, diverse and low-income neighborhood in Central Long Beach California conducted between July 2010 and January 2011.[2]

2: Socio-Spatial Tension and Negotiation in Global Ethnoscape: "Cambodia Town" Neighborhood

Widely known as the most ethnically diverse district in one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the United States, Central Long Beach is a good laboratory to explore the tensions in global ethnoscapes. "Cambodia Town" neighborhood, the focus of this paper is a section of Central Long Beach where immigrants constitute 50 percent of the total population. In terms of ethnic composition, it is made up of 55 percent Latinos (from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras), 21 percent Asians (from Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, the Philippines, Hmongs and Chinese) and 14 percent African American (U.S. Census 2000).

"Cambodia Town neighborhood" is a concept used in this paper to highlight the tensions in and through spaces of global ethnoscapes (Appadurai 1990, Gupta and Ferguson 1997). A multi-ethnic ethnoscape of immigrant communities, "Cambodia Town neighborhood" is taken geographically in this paper to include the area between Pacific Coastal Highway and East 10th Street in the North-South direction bounded by Martin Luther King Jr Avenue and Junipero Avenue on the East-West direction[3] although "Cambodia Town" forms only a small part of the neighborhood. "Cambodia Town," a one-mile long arterial corridor laced with a mix of Cambodian businesses (supermarkets, mom and pop grocery shops, jewelry retail, restaurants, cafes, video shops), Latino and Thai businesses along East Anaheim Street (between Atlantic Ave and Junipero Ave) overlaps only partially with the wider neighborhood boundaries. The municipal name given for this neighborhood area is "MacArthur Park/Whittier School Neighborhood Improvement Strategy Area," reflecting the former times when the neighborhood was occupied by White Anglos. Please see

Figure 1 for a map showing the boundaries of "Cambodia Town" and "Cambodia Town" Neighborhood. Figure 2 shows images of Cambodia Town along East Anaheim Street.

Tensions through Space

"Cambodia Town" was proposed as a space of identity for Cambodians and as a place branding to market the local businesses by a loose coalition of Cambodian businessmen to the City of Long Beach in 2000 that one respondent referred to as "outsiders" who did not live in the neighborhood. When it was introduced, "Cambodia Town" generated disagreements between Cambodians who live in the neighborhood and the proponents who do not. There were also immediate reactions of unease from African-American and Latino small business owners. Within the local Cambodian community, there were fears and anxiety of reprisal from other ethnic groups. The concept was eventually rejected by the city.

That rejection led to a realization that a new plan with the support of the local community was necessary. From 2001 to 2006, Sithea and Richer San who run Cambodia Town, Inc crafted a new plan that sought support from the Latino, African-American and Asian business owners along East Anaheim Street with the help of third party California Conference of Equality and Justice. The concept of "Cambodia Town" was finally approved by the city in 2007 but the official recognition was tied to the formation of a Business Improvement District (BID). Despite the city's support for the concept subject to the buy-in from local businesses, the resistance to the concept is currently felt as only seventy out of the two hundred businesses are in support of the BID. Until Cambodia Town, Inc. gets enough support from local business owners, the official city sign "Cambodia Town" that formalizes the boundaries of the district in material space cannot be granted.

The City's decision to approve the concept but tying the implementation to the condition of commerce and local business buy-in is interesting. Their response reflects a stance of negotiation in a diverse setting with different vested interests. By prioritizing local economic development instead of ethnic identity, the city minimizes the racial overtones of the proposal and tactically leverages the interest of Cambodian businesses for a space of identity to bring about the infrastructure for local economic development.

Tensions in Space

Diverse, low-income and transient, this neighborhood according to residents and community organizers interviewed suffers from a high level of crime and referred to as a "tough neighborhood" and a "war zone."[4] Gang-related shootings between Latino gangs and Asian gangs proliferated in the 1990s as a daily event, attributed to perhaps the sharp increase of the Cambodian community resulting in the socio-economic displacement of the other existing ethnic groups e.g. Latinos and African Americans (Needham and Quintiliani 2007). According to the interview with a resident who has lived in the neighborhood since the 1980s, Cambodians who came as refugees post-1975 experienced a very difficult period of settlement through the 1990s as they were bullied by Latinos and African Americans who regarded Cambodians as "the stranger" and "the newcomer" in the neighborhood. As a means of self-protection, some Cambodian youths banded together to form ethnic-based gangs such as Asian Boyz.

From the perspective of this resident, "Cambodia Town" is an act of drawing boundaries and territories that gangs are known to do. Marking space this way creates divisions between those who live in the neighborhood according to this resident. The community organizers interviewed emphasized that "Cambodia Town" is unlike physically contiguous and clearly delineated ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown. In one interview, the respondent emphatically pointed out that "Cambodia Town" proposed by a group of Cambodians who "don't live here" gives a wrong impression to neighbors that Cambodians who actually live in the neighborhood are trying to "claim the place." This mistaken notion according to the resident has generated angst in the local Cambodian community of possible backlash similar to that experienced in the 1980s and 1990s. As a precaution, Cambodian parents would not allow their children to walk home from school alone even if it is a short distance between home and school.

While ethnic gang shootings have declined over the last decade attributed to a variety of interventions including educating youths about gangs in schools, police enforcement, the moving on of Asian gangs to more lucrative nation-wide interests and city initiatives that emphasize unity in diversity[5], the Cambodian residents I interviewed are cautious to avoid the streets and public spaces after dark. In fact, according to a café owner I talked to, most shops close by seven in the evening. Further, community activities organized by the library and the neighborhood associations do not last

past eight in the evening. Police car patrol is on high alert during weekends against shootings, muggings and petty thefts. As a result of the lack of a sense of safety in the public spaces, social life in the neighborhood is restrictive.

The assertion of a single coherent identity in the spaces of global ethnoscapes made up of multiple identities and belongings creates tension between groups. It is far from the seamless flows that Appadurai (1990, 1991 and 1996) describes. The reliance of the city on arguments for overall economic interests reflects a tactical posture that multicultural cities adopt to negotiate the sensitive issues of race and ethnicity in multi-ethnic living.

3: Urban Interculturalism and Civic Spaces

The salience of socio-spatial tensions between neighbors arising from global immigration as witnessed in "Cambodia Town" neighborhood present a challenge for the rational model of modern planning. Rational planning has relied predominantly on a technical logic of land allocation, efficiency and economic growth and has derived its planning standards from the "universal needs" of homogeneous population. But the composition and dynamics on ground have changed, thereby questioning the validity of the old tools of trade. A humanistic approach towards urban life is increasingly important in a heterogeneous society.

Urban interculturalism (Amin 2002) which advocates proactive intercultural engagement, dialogue and understanding as a means of addressing social tension in ethnically diverse cities is gaining currency in planning practice, especially in Europe (Sandercock 2003, Woods and Landry 2008). According to Amin (2002), urban interculturalism stresses the importance of the prosaic and the everyday "negotiation of difference" in the "local micropublics of everyday interaction" and the "modern zones of encounter" (Woods and Landry 2008). The emphasis here appears to be creating opportunities and spaces within the fabric of the modern city for *regular social interaction* or sociality[6] in the city.

Further, according to Amin (2002: 969-970), "contact is a necessary but not sufficient condition for multicultural understanding" and Amin calls for a set of stricter criteria that defines good intercultural spaces as "spaces of cultural displacement," where individuals are given opportunities to "break

out of fixed relations and fixed notions." For Amin, these breaking out of molds opportunities must be combined with the creation of "joint projects across ethnic divisions" such as in communal gardens, community centers, neighborhood-watch schemes. Central to Amin's discussion is the importance of the value of intentionality in the crafting these spaces.

For Woods and Landry (2008), good intercultural spaces are characterized by regular contact (p.158), safe and neutral (p.188, 191), well-managed and creatively programmed (p.183). The *value of neutrality* of space from any one particular group is also stressed by Bollens (2006) in his synthesis of the role and scope of urban planning as peace-making efforts in previously divided cities in Spain and Bosnia. For Bollens, sensitivity to the tension lines between communities is critical when designing spaces of interaction. These spaces of interaction crafted to facilitate contact and exchange between previously warring groups need to pay special attention to maintaining the neutrality of the location, the symbols and the functions of new intercultural spaces[7]. This insight corroborates the findings from the preliminary interviews conducted in the neighborhood where the neutrality of spaces against ethnic territorialization was highlighted as an important criterion of good public spaces.

I will borrow the twin qualities of *neutrality and intentionality* from these writings to examine if the everyday spaces of engagement in the "Cambodia Town" neighborhood possess these qualities that are conducive for urban interculturalism. The working definition for the *value of neutrality* in this paper refers to the physical and social accessibility of the civic space by all ethnic groups. To assess this, I propose to use **access, location and perception of accessibility** as criteria. The *value of intentionality* refers to the capacity of the space to create opportunities that can displace stereotypes. This capacity is assessed by the **vision** for the civic space and the **programming** of spaces for intercultural engagement. Good spaces of intercultural understanding are hence spaces where stereotypes are questioned and dismantled on safe and neutral grounds, where prejudice is hence intentionally challenged and cultural diversity can be learnt and appreciated.

I have selected three municipal civic spaces—MacArthur Park, Homeland Cultural Center and Mark Twain Library. They are chosen because they are examples of the everyday modern zones of encounter in this neighborhood. Identified as the center of the East Anaheim Street MacArthur Park/Whittier School neighborhood by the city and also by the community organizers interviewed, these spaces offer regular contact opportunities for those who live in the neighborhood. In addition, the park, library and community center are amenities quite typical in the land use master plans by the city. An examination of them, albeit preliminary, may provide insights into how land use planning and allocation may need to adapt in order to encourage intercultural understanding in multi-ethnic neighborhoods that experience social tension between neighbors. My analysis draws on participant observations and preliminary interviews. Please see Figure 1 for the location of civic spaces.

MacArthur Park

As one of the few green spaces in the dense neighborhood, MacArthur Park is a relatively well-used neighborhood facility during the week. Located along East Anaheim Street near other commercial and social amenities and abutting residential areas, it is a visible and accessible open space. MacArthur Park was created in 1942 from an auto court use and in 1943, a branch library and a community recreation building was set up in the park. Over the years, basketball courts, tennis courts, playground, picnic benches and public restroom were added. In 1994, the community recreation building was replaced by the Homeland Cultural Center and the branch library (also known as the Mark Twain Library) was relocated to another site across the street in 2007.

According to a resident, the park is regarded as a "very, very important because this neighborhood is very crowded." Residents who use the park come because it is within walking distance from their homes. However, there are others (such as the Cambodian residents) who would avoid the park because the park is perceived not as a safe area arising from fear of street violence targeted at Cambodians. From the site visits, I observe that the users of the park are made up mostly of Latinos, African-Americans and Asians in descending order.

Preliminary fieldwork indicates that the park appears to have a sustained level of neutrality based on its use by different ethnic groups from the neighborhoods. However, the degree of its

neutrality is differentiated within the park grounds. The children's playground is observed to have most open access to all throughout the day. Children and adults of Latino, Asian and African-American descent use the space. There was however little visible interaction between adults of different ethnicities even though their children might be playing together. The basketball court seems to be regularly occupied by African-American teenagers. An interviewee also told me that Latino boys used to play soccer in the park in the past. Of note here is that while the park is generally open to all groups, activities and interaction is observed to remain within the group.

The park lacks intentionality in creating opportunities for intercultural contact and exchange. It does not have a vision and programming of its spaces to encourage the cultural displacement that Amin (2002) discusses about. However, this lack of intentionality has not prevented the green open space from being read as a common social space of the neighborhood where community events that are open to the neighborhood residents are held. In fact, for the city and some members of the community MacArthur Park is identified as the socio-spatial center for the East Anaheim corridor and an anchor for the neighborhood into the future.

Homeland Cultural Center

While the MacArthur Park lacks vision and programming of its spaces for intercultural connection, the Homeland Cultural Center located at the southern edge of the park was set up with a clear mission for engagement. Its mission is "to provide a safe place for the cultivation, preservation and promotion of art forms, both traditional and contemporary, representing the diverse array of cultures that make up Long Beach today, and in the process to bring these cultures together" (Information Sheet of Homeland Cultural Center). It partners with different grassroots and ethnic organizations and offers many different programs like break-dance, graffiti murals, pop-lockers, writing classes for children and adults, music and dance classes and ethnic arts program such as Khmer Martial Arts, African Dance, Cambodian Music, Micronesian Music & Dance, Hmong Arts.

Intentional in its vision and programming to promote cultural arts, the Homeland Cultural Center attempts to be a spatial bridge for the different cultures in the neighborhood to meet, interact and work on joint common interests and projects together. The different art forms offer the possibility for participants to engage in what Amin (2002) terms as cultural displacement. A new 66-seat theater has been built and will likely be open in early 2011 for open microphone nights and poetry readings, which could enhance the opportunities for mutual learning and exchange in the future. However, from its participation statistics, the activities of the Homeland Cultural Center are attracting only a selected segment of the local community, namely those between 18 to 30 years old of Latino and African-American descent. Very few Cambodians are involved in the programs organized by the center. In fact, a significant number of attendees do not actually live in the neighborhood.

In terms of neutrality, the Homeland Cultural Center like the park is visible and accessible to the public. However, the fact that the cultural center is only popular with participants from certain ethnic groups and not others seem to indicate that there may be barriers to entry. For example, the Hmongs would use the cultural center as their cultural space on Sunday mornings to mid-afternoons while the Cambodian residents I interviewed express that they do not quite relate to the activities in the center and some did not even know what they offer.

Mark Twain Library

Mark Twain Library is located across the street from MacArthur Park in a brand new building that open in 2007. Accessible and well located, the library serves an average of 900 visitors per day, most of who walk to the library. According to the librarians interviewed and participant observations, the visitors to the library are composed of different ethnicities. The accessibility of the library to all ethnic groups is further facilitated and encouraged by the staffing of the homework helpers who speak Khmer, Vietnamese, Tagalog and Spanish. The library is especially popular as an after-school destination for mothers and their children who need a space to get homework help and recreate because most of them live in crowded quarters. In fact, the after-school visitors to Mark Twain library typically stay in the library from 3pm to 7pm until the library closes. The library is very popular with the Cambodian community in contrast to the Homeland Cultural Center. It would be of interest for future research to find out the reasons behind the disparity. According to the librarian,

the library is perceived as a peaceful and safe place for everybody evident by the fact that the library has only been attacked once by graffiti (a tool to mark territories by gangs). In essence quoting the librarian, "It's kind of a neutral territory."

With regards to the value of intentionality for intercultural exchange and understanding, the library reflects the value in two ways. While the library is not set up as a deliberate social place for intercultural learning and understanding, its facilities and program with a clear focus on learning, create conditions that are conducive for the process of intercultural understanding to occur between visitors. In terms of facilities, it has the largest collection of Khmer books in the United States in addition to Vietnamese, Spanish and English books. The library offers trilingual story time with stories in English, Khmer and Spanish during the weekdays, free Khmer language classes as well as a new section of language learning tapes and videos. In addition, the library has a community room that is very well used by events including neighborhood meetings, US Census training session, early childhood development courses and more.

Overall, the library's program creates a supportive environment for urban interculturalism to grow. The library hosts the regular Neighborhoods Services Bureau meetings where the community gathers to discuss the common problems in the neighborhood in Spanish, Khmer and English. In addition to hiring staff workers who speak different languages used in the neighborhood, the library also celebrates all major ethnic holidays. Its limited access card, a policy of the City of Long Beach, allows residents of the neighborhood without official identification to borrow books. Although the library is not set up as a space to promote intercultural understanding of an active sort, the Mark Twain Library is a space that has the key elements to become a good intercultural space because of its mission that is geared towards learning. The perceived comfort and safety with residents and its increasing utility as a space for community meetings makes it a space that brims with potential as a seeding ground to nurture intercultural engagement and understanding in the neighborhood. Please see Figure 3 for a conceptual overview of the three sites and their relationship to the values of neutrality and internationality.

4: Concluding Thoughts and Further Research

The concept of global ethnoscapes by Appadurai to capture the process of people movement across geographical space provides a useful starting point to engage in a discussion about the implications of global immigration on urban space. Using the case of "Cambodia Town" neighborhood, this paper has attempted to flesh out the tension *between communities who are stable and those who are on the move* and the tension *between the material and the imagined* space that are endemic in global ethnoscapes. From preliminary fieldwork on "Cambodia Town," I have shown that the tensions between communities are experienced in and through the spaces of the multi-ethnic neighborhoods. In addition, I have tried to show how "Cambodia Town" exists as a point of tension between an imagined and material space. This tension has in turn generates ripples of tension between communities.

From there, I proceeded to discuss the state and potential of neighborhood civic spaces (park, cultural center and library) as everyday sites of transformative intercultural contact and understanding. Using the twin criteria of neutrality and intentionality derived from key scholars like Amin, Bollens and Wood and Landry in the field of urban interculturalism, I discuss the current state and trend of these spaces as intercultural spaces in the neighborhood. Drawing from preliminary findings, these three neighborhood spaces (park, cultural center and library) of modern land use planning appear to offer opportunities for some form of intercultural engagement. The park appears to be least effective, while the library shows growing potential of becoming an everyday site for transformative intercultural understanding. The mission of the cultural center as a site of cultural engagement for the neighborhood as a whole as set out in its mission statement may need to be re-evaluated in light of its popularity only with a few selected segments of the population. Further primary research needs to be conducted to understand the needs and motivations of the residents more specifically in order to establish the conditions conducive for transformative intercultural contact and interaction.

Behind the motivation of this research project is the goal to begin a process of explaining to urban planning practice the tensions of globalizing urban spaces and why they are pertinent to the goals of neighborhood planning. This paper then explores the opportunities at the level of neighborhood space planning (an arena that urban planning has the responsibility and power to change) for intercultural contact and understanding. Although the efficacy of contemporary public spaces are being questioned as sites of "multicultural engagement" by scholars such as Amin (2002), the scholarship continues to recognize that contact and negotiation of differences need

to take place in everyday zones of encounter. Urban space intervention thus remains a concrete and tangible way forward to shape and influence opportunities for productive contact and interaction. The pertinent question is hence not about whether urban space is necessary but about how can planning and design shape urban spaces with a consciousness and knowledge of the dynamics of social relations in and through space. If planners, landscape architects and urbanists do not respond to this emerging need for a socio-spatial sphere of engagement in our globalizing multi-ethnic cities, who will?

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Endnotes

[1] The other "-scapes" include technoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes in Appadurai's paper *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy* (1990).

[2] The names of the interviewees are kept anonymous. The preliminary interviews are conducted in July 2010, November 2010 and January 2011.

[3] The boundaries were derived from asking respondents who work and live in the area. It is not the official boundary but the boundaries as perceived by its users.

[4] Private communication in November 2010

[5] In addition to these interventions to improve relations between the ethnic groups, the city organizes and community events such as neighborhood cleanups, ethnic festival parades, unity festival, potluck parties and creates outreach programs in schools and in the local library to educate the multi-ethnic population about the services of the city. In 2003, the city commissioned a mural titled "At the Close of Day" by Long Beach resident artist Guillermo Avalos to formally welcome the Cambodians to Long Beach.

[6] Sociality, according to Malpas (1997: 61) is an awareness and "a grasp of one's own perspective on the world as one perspective amidst a multiplicity of other possible perspectives." This grasp of multiplicity of creatures other than oneself necessitates "a grasp of objective space and vice versa" (p.70).

[7] Private Communication with Scott Bollens in September 2009.

Figure 1: Overlapping Boundaries of the "Cambodia Town Neighborhood" and the Location of Civic Spaces in Context (Source: Adapted from Google Map)

Figure 2: Images of East Anaheim Street "Cambodia Town" (Source: Photos taken by Author)

Figure 3: Conceptualizing the state and potential of the civic spaces in relation to the values of neutrality and internationality (Source: Author)

The Death and Life of Jian-Cheng Circle: An Inclusive Local Place Versus Exclusive Global Modernity

Chin-Wei Chang and Chu-Joe Hsia

Abstract: Jian-Cheng Circle was a specific, transplanted spatial form of Japanese colonization located in the neighborhood of Da-Dao-Cheng, Taipei, Taiwan. The processes of congregating, consuming, and exchanging prepared food took place on the open ground from the colonial to the post-colonial period. As an inclusive local place, Jian-Cheng Circle showcased an overarching diversity of urban heritage that presented an unprecedented place-making scene for marketplaces. With spatial production and a grassroots movement driven by the culinary culture of the rural-urban immigrants, Jian-Cheng Circle represented a distinctive urbanity in Taiwan: one of a particular socio-spatial dynamic informed by survival activities throughout Taiwan's dependent development.

However, Jian-Cheng Circle, the earliest and the largest night market in Taiwan, was often portrayed as a 'city tumor' for consisting of informal economies and illegal buildings during the phase of rapid economic development after the 1960's. The local government and the modernist architects who dealt with its reconstruction in the 21st century perpetrated demolition for development without regard for its pre-existing community-based principles. Finally, Jian-Cheng Circle died as a result of this modernist exclusive design project, which failed to recognize the nuances of inclusive multiculturalism inherent in such a night market, it being filled with tremendous historical value and collective memory that embedded the significance of local wisdom from pre- and post-WWII Taipei.

The death of Jian-Cheng Circle reminds us of the need to re-evaluate the exclusiveness of global modernity: that is, it calls stridently for a cross-border understanding of urban nature directed towards the survival of cultural landscapes as well as the qualitative aspects of sustainable design characterized by multi-faceted interactions of different urban layers and scales in trans-cultural cities into the future.

Keywords: Jian-Cheng Circle, urbanity, cultural landscape, sustainable design, trans-cultural cities

Introduction

Main Idea

With three key conceptual, yet applicable, themes examined through the death and life of Jian-Cheng Circle (建成圓環), this paper introduces a critical case study which may contribute to a cross-cultural understanding with implications for empirical research and service-learning practices in trans-cultural cities, with special attention paid to spatial conditions of their possible colonial histories, particularly of those within East Asia, in the crisis age of modernist globalization.

To begin this study, the work was divided into the two primary aspects of *event* and *space*, followed by the integration of these into that of *place* in order to decipher the process of social production of spatial forms (Castells, 1977) in the urban place, Jian-Cheng Circle. Then, the purpose of promoting a sustainable survival of place-making landscapes emerges by way of comparing this inclusive local place with exclusive nature of the concepts of global modernity.

Writing Strategy

In section 2, the explanation of the concept of *event* presents a narrative of what occurred over time which interrelated directly to the death and life of Jian-Cheng Circle. Thus, this section will provide a historical context of Jian-Cheng Circle which involves not only a brief understanding of the socio-political processes of urbanization with its form, structure, and transformation in Taiwan, but also the socio-economic specificities of survival activities throughout Taiwan's dependent development.

In section 3, the explanation of the concept of *space* illustrates the specific milieus involving building typologies and/or spatial patterns which sustained the vitality of Jian-Cheng Circle. Considering not only the interactive relationships among stall men (vendors), but also the friendly amity between them and customers, the political refugees from the Chinese Revolution and the rural-urban immigrants at Jian-Cheng Circle showcased an overarching diversity of urban heritages that resulted from trans-cultural aspects of the place-making processes that presented an unprecedented scene of marketplaces.

Finally, the paper concludes by discussing the collective outcomes and potential Jian-Cheng Circle left posthumously, which can be staged to facilitate cross-cultural understand-

ing through the example of its distinctive social practice of political negotiation and spatial production. Indeed, the lesson to be found in the ultimate failure to perpetuate this *place* speaks to the unsustainable risk of our time in dire need of attention, as well as a viable opportunity for local landscapes to be included in global visions.

Event: Jian-Cheng Circle in History

The Legendary Birth of Jian-Cheng Circle

Da-Dao-Cheng (大稻埕) is one of the earliest-developed villages, similar to Men-Gjia (艋舺) along the Tam-Sui River (淡水河), whose banks were the origin of present-day Taipei, which was initially reclaimed by the Hans during the Ching Dynasty in the middle of nineteenth century (Chen, 1959). Being similar to other original villages in west Taipei, Da-Dao-Cheng, where Jian-Cheng Circle was centrally located, afterward became an area that appealed to many Taiwanese people to lead their lives because of the constructions of vernacular temples and the development of local industries, mainly in the tea business (Li, 2000).

During the Japanese colonial period of Taiwan in the late nineteenth century, Da-Dao-Cheng had turned into the area filled with the most Taiwanese people in Taipei (Wu, 1958). However, the location of present Jian-Cheng Circle was just an empty space then until Japanese colonizers executed their primary "Urban District Reform Plans", which transformed by 1910 all the demolished city walls and original gates into grand boulevards and urban circles (see Figure 1) (Su, 2005; Wang, 1989).

Jian-Cheng Circle[1], also formerly called "Ri-Xin Ting Circle" according to Japanese colonial land administration system, was born in exactly 1908 as part of the physical reconstruction in the colonial capital aimed at erasing the umbilical relationship spatially between China and Taiwan (Li, 2000); it suffered from less traffic pressures than other urban circles converted from original city gates did such that there were some neighboring residents starting to take walks or rest on the community-based open ground (Wang, 1989).

After the implementation of the intensive "Urban District Reform Plans", the Japanese colonial municipality not only established the official administrative institution for Taipei in 1920, equivalent to the Taipei City Government of today, but also carried out another reformative

land administration system in 1922 which renamed the ambit where Ri-Xin Ting Circle was located in Da-Dao-Cheng as "Jian-Cheng Ting". That was how Jian-Cheng Circle derived its present name (Li, 2000; Wang, 1989).

Da-Dao-Cheng had owned its prosperous industries, including its internationally known and exuberant tea business, since even before the reigns of Hans and Japanese. As such, and later further emphasized by many modern development projects, Da-Dao-Cheng had already become one of the principal city gateways, with convenient transportation facilities and various entertainment fields by the time that "Taipei City" was instituted officially in 1920 (Li, 2000).

Approaching a population of two hundred thousand over the next five years, according to the Japanese colonizers' estimation, the colonial municipality of Taipei City was motivated to enact a city planning legal system characterized by a "Park System", which addressed both city expansion and roadway hierarchy. This was a field in spatial governance in which the Japanese were relatively inexperienced domestically (Yeh, 1993).

In 1935, a serious earthquake occurred in Taipei City, and Jian-Cheng Circle served as a shelter in the crisis. Due to its serving as a haven in the tragedy and the fact that two-level housing structures had emerged continually around Jian-Cheng Circle (Guo & Horigome, 1994), the Japanese colonial municipality's city planning committee chose to delimit it as a miniature park, with the first city planning legislation for Taiwan promulgated in 1936 and put into practice next year (Yeh, 1993).

From a Miniature Park to the Unprecedented Marketplace

It is legend that a fruit vendor taking a nap at Jian-Cheng Circle one afternoon was asked to sell his surplus by people strolling there, and the experience caused the vendor to bring more and more goods to sell at the miniature park during following days. This then attracted other kinds of vendors to do their businesses at the same place as well (Wang, 1989). In addition to playing an important role of public open space in Da-Dao-Cheng, Jian-Cheng Circle thus also became a popular local afternoon-market.

Also, in response to the increasing volumes of both railway passengers and freight transportation, the Japanese colonial municipality undertook the construction of the railway connection between Taipei City and Tam-Sui Township and the expansion of the original Taipei main station, originally built under the authority of the first governor (1887-1889) from China in Taiwan, Ming-Chuan Liu. A later expansion, completed in 1939, was called "Latter Station", and was oriented towards Da-Dao-Cheng, in contrast with the former one that mainly served the neighborhood of Japanese colonizers, called Cheng-Nei (城內) (Li, 2000).

As a result, to the vicinity of Latter Station was attracted a good deal of native and foreign investments in many dance halls, dinner pubs and hotels, which served as a primary home base for the many businessmen and tourists who came to Taipei City seeking profit and/or excitement-pursuing affairs (Li, 2000). A lot of stall men who used to congregate at Jian-Cheng Circle to run the afternoon-market prolonged their operating hours in order to meet the considerable needs of those fluid populations. Consequently, this newly exuberant night-time business turned Jian-Cheng Circle into a prosperous night market. This incurred the Japanese colonial municipality's notice, which resulted in constant Japanese police interventions and evasions by market participants. (Guo & Horigome, 1994).

The gradual evolution of vendor stall equipment at Circle Night Market also challenged the Japanese colonial police efforts in that it became mobile by design and therefore could evade permanent destruction. This, combined with the general popularity of the food served, empowered the vendors such that the Japanese colonial authorities accepted the proposal offered by a Mr. Wang on behalf of the stall men to establish so-called "Taipei Circle Night Market Commercial Association" (Guo & Horigome, 1994). That was how Jian-Cheng Circle formally became the first legal night market in Taiwan by the end of the 1930's, even under the coercive Japanese regime (see Figure 2).

Getting Saved at a Critical Moment

"Jian-Cheng Circle", regarded as a byword for the Circle Night Market, in Da-Dao-Cheng kept growing and attracted not only nearby residents and passing travelers, but also Japanese colonizers who were diverted from going to go to Xi-Men Night Market, which was organized by their municipality only. With the advent of WWII in 1941, however, Circle Night Market suffered a significant setback because

of the Japanese colonial municipality's lighting restrictions and curfew policy instituted as a means of tactical defense.

In 1943, with the beginning of United States military air bombardment campaigns, the Japanese colonial municipality also made the strategic decision to dig out Jian-Cheng Circle to be an anti-aircraft reservoir, which chased all of the vendors away, at least temporarily (Guo & Horigome, 1994). To survive the crisis, painstaking stall men changed their business position to the square open space of a neighboring dinner pub to keep earning a living strained seriously by the warfare underway (Wu, 1958).

Following Taiwan's retrocession to China, a calm came after the storm for the people of the city and the Chinese Nationalist Party regained sovereignty over Taiwan in 1945. The Central Government designated Taiwan as a province and made Taipei a provincial municipality. Within the old city boundaries, Taipei was re-divided into 10 new districts, including "Jian-Cheng District", named after the unique wheel-shaped space that struggled through colonial times for survival in Taiwan, namely Circle Night Market, or Jian-Cheng Circle.

In 1949, because of specific political problems, the Central Government relocated to Taiwan and chose Taipei as its provisional capital. It then launched a series of developmental projects, which accelerated the Jian-Cheng District to a progressively higher grade neighborhood. For example, the filling and leveling of the anti-aircraft reservoir at Jian-Cheng Circle led not only to original vendors coming back and devoting themselves to rehabilitating the impaired Circle Night Market, but a large number of newcomers also joined them; many of these were some of the million political refugees from Mainland China that after the civil war through the 1950's.

City Contributor or City Tumor?

Generally speaking, while most Taiwanese cities were mainly military bases of anti-communism in the Cold War during this time (Hsia, 2009), the 1950's was regarded as the golden age of Jian-Cheng Circle, as actual building typologies took shape in the midst of the hundreds of stalls. In 1953, during the period of rapid reproductions of the modes of the "Circle Night Market Experience", which sprawled into even the adjoining Chong-Qing N. Rd. and Ning-Xia Rd., the compound polymerization came to be called "Straight-linked Circle Night Mar-

ket" (Wang, 1989), it becoming the core of the so-called "Circle Shopping District" (see Figure 3), in spite of the reality of the existence of illegally-built stands or booths among those legal.

With rapid economic development in the 1960's, which brought multitudes more rural-urban immigrants, providing the major pressure for urbanization, Taipei City was elevated to the status of a special municipality to be directly administered by the Central Government, on July 1, 1967. Driven by the developmental object of export-led processing industries for the world market, Taiwan, especially in special municipalities like Taipei City as main bases of trading, was moving into the stage of modernist planned urbanization, by way of implementing so-called "National Economic Construction Planning" with United States' aid. This was the physical planning and discourse transplanted from North America by means of United Nations' consultants (Hsia, 2009).

Being contrary to the goals requiring the broadening of main roads and the building of public transportation, in terms of the necessary infrastructure for such a developing country, the revitalization of Jian-Cheng Circle presented an embarrassing situation during the blossoming of the economy in Taiwan in the 1960's. Instead of being demolished without dispute, as were most urban circles left over from Japanese colonial times, the removal of Circle Night Market struck the public opinion as a controversial issue because of its tremendous historical value and collective memory that embedded the significance of local wisdom from pre- and post-WWII Taipei.

Suffering from and enduring the means of suppression (instituted by municipal officials and urban planners of the Taipei City Government, who were strictly technical professionals whose autonomous bias towards urban design was a by-product of mostly engineering education), including traffic control and business hour limits, which had not always been maintained in the bureaucratic cities of state dominance and were now desirous of smothering Circle Night Market mainly because it was portrayed as a 'city tumor', Jian-Cheng Circle still survived many carefully-evaluated reconstruction project proposals. These plans reflected the global modernist perspective and proposed incorporating the Circle Night Market with either an underground bazaar or a high-rise complex before the 1990's.

The extralegal vendors of Circle Night Market, though provoked by endless official scrutiny, sustained their legendary networking operation outside the legal system boundaries for over half a century, until two accidental conflagrations in 1993 and 1999 were used as opportunities by planners to make inroads. Despite the fact that multiple disasters did not defeat the persistent stall men, working hard to earn a basic living in Jian-Cheng Circle over generations, they eventually became the ultimate targets of removal in a political discourse attempting to reframe the market culture in the spirit of a specific capitalistic industrial process. Entering the 21st century, this seemed to be inevitable in the effort to forge a cosmopolitan identity as another imaginary world city—the product of the state institution of modernity.

Where the Creative Destruction Took Place

Though partially surviving great fires twice, Jian-Cheng Circle had turned the corner due to extreme difficulties, including its resultant dilapidated conditions and declining business. Nevertheless, on behalf of Taipei City Government, Mayor Ying-Jeou Ma (who is also the present president of the Republic of China) decided in 1999 to reconstruct a compact modern food court building after demolishing Circle Night Market on the strength of the reductionist discourses on urban landscape and public safety.

As a result of coordinated urban planning and building design management efforts set into motion in the beginning of 21st century, Jian-Cheng Circle was pulled down on March 29, 2001, and reopened to the public with a brand-new architectural design (see Figure 4) by well-known Taiwanese architect Tsu-Yuan Li on October 4, 2003. The ring-like food court building with two stories was clad by a glass curtain wall as its primary feature; in addition, there was only one single perambulatory path installed inside the vendors' fields. Simply put, the new design was totally different from original layout of previous Circle Night Market.

Also, when Jian-Cheng Circle Food Center was reopened, the numbers of arranged stalls were decreased from ninety seven to twenty five and vendors' arguments about the entirely different design regarding its response to the original networking reality were ignored. In the end, there were only six remaining original stall men, one quarter of the original population, who were doing culinary practices of domestic and migrant food at Jian-Cheng Circle and

chose to stay on at the same location. The other old-time vendors either moved elsewhere and started their businesses all over again, or some just retired into obscurity.

The ultimate failure of the new Jian-Cheng Circle Food Center undoubtedly proved the foresight of those vendors who chose to leave and seek survival elsewhere, with the stall men who remained kept only passably affluent in trading condition for about one month while attempting to work together with the newcomers who mostly sold foreign foods. It continued to suffer from a lasting heavy depression and seemed not to be revived at all, and the Taipei City Government finally decided to shut down the formerly legendary food sanctuary on July 2, 2006, it having operated in the new configuration for less than four years.

Towards the end, most of the stall men retired one after another with the only partially satisfied subvention allocated by Taipei City Market Administration Office, and they were also gradually deprived of their rights to handle every part of the logistics in Circle Night Market by the state and local government during the whole tragic process, from the ill-advised formation to the distorted execution of the redevelopment of Jian-Cheng Circle.

Presently, the ownership of Jian-Cheng Circle Food Center has been consigned completely to a private non-dining-specialized entrepreneur on the basis of a nine-year management contract issued by Taipei City Government in 2007. Today, ironically named "Taipei Circle", a totally different dining style from the original accompanied by grotesquely offbeat live shows, clarifies the death of Jian-Cheng Circle which can never be redeemed.

Space: Jian-Cheng Circle in Building
Fluid Occupancy in the Beginning

As mentioned above, Jian-Cheng Circle became a popular community base, which served as a public open space, a sort of playground for the neighboring residents, which the basic space being created during the initial stage of Japanese colonization, as a part of the implementation of a series of "Urban District Reform Plans". According to a few related records (Wang, 1989), after 1936, food vending took place on that spatially-limited land accidently at

first, mainly because of the first city planning legislation for Taiwan carried out by the Japanese colonial municipality.

Although business transactions involving snacks and drinks were legally unauthorized, the rapid development of Da-Dao-Cheng, where Jian-Cheng Circle was centrally located, consisting of a range from transportation facilities to entertainment fields brought increasing numbers of hawkers to the night market. With their way of fluid occupancy, it was as if they were playing hide-and-seek with Japanese police, with the 'game' making the urban place even more interesting as a consumption-based performance.

However, becoming tired of playing their cumbersome role while doing businesses under Japanese colonizers' scrutiny, the stall men were provoked to negotiate actively with the Japanese colonial municipality, fighting for their right to survive, considering also their under-consumption of urban services at Jian-Cheng Circle. As a result, "Taipei Circle Night Market Commercial Association" was established in 1938 with the rules establishing standardized operation and taxation.

For example, the ringing of a bell signaled the open and close of operating hours from 5 p.m. to midnight; nevertheless, most venders still carried on business until 2 or 3 a.m. responding to the demand of uncountable Taiwanese customers, and the few intrigued Japanese intermingled in this colonial atmosphere. Compared with the manufacturing industry in the formal sector, this informal sector of local consumption was the realm of the open-minded natives and had loose boundaries.

Falling into Spatial Patterns

After enduring the difficult situation of WWII, expelled stall men returned to Jian-Cheng Circle after the removal of the war preparedness measures. Also, the vast political immigration from China that occurred from the late 1940's to the beginning of the 1950's added to the market population. Due to the fact that the relocated Central Government failed to supply corresponding urban services, men from the hostilities, women with children, and the elderly who had lost posterity, were transformed into waged working laborers at Jian-Cheng Circle as part of an industrial reserve army in the provisional capital, Taipei City during the Cold War times.

Not surprisingly, those people who settled down at Jian-Cheng Circle ran longer operating hours, often until daybreak. To assure that there would be enough space on the spatially-limited land to do business in the now more competitive marketplace filled with more hawkers, the original vendors, who had either carried a load with a carrying pole or pushed a mobile stall, finally transformed their stalls into solid occupancy instead of transient (see Figure 5). Falling into particular spatial patterns, the socio-spatial dynamics of well-prepared stall men, which could almost be taken as the revitalization of Circle Night Market after WWII, caused the creation of a whole new urban landscape overwhelmingly outside legal boundaries.

In the beginning, high-flown stall men, who came mostly from gangland, used ropes bound around flour bags and tied to banyan trees to fearlessly encircle their area of business, in case there would be not enough space, possibly creating contention with others, to set up their culinary appliances. With the population explosion at Circle Night Market, cutting down all of the trees turned into a matter-of-course way of solving the problem. After this, the fact that every vendor then asserted their ownership of space by locating bamboos and iron pipes made Circle Night Market fall into chaotic patterns, yet still in a somewhat organized circularly-centered way, with its maximum business area (Guo & Horigome, 1994).

Social Practices of Spatial Productions

There now not being imposed inflexible restrictions on operating hours, staying longer and longer at Circle Night Market disinclined most of the stall men from spending time hauling their bulky cooking utensils back and forth every day. Consequently, they decided to make the effort, on the basis of rudimentary construction, to transform Jian-Cheng Circle into a permanent shelter from wind gusts and drenching downpours. Most importantly, some vendors, especially apprentices far away from their hometowns, had made up their minds to dwell in Jian-Cheng Circle.

Putting up main beams made of wood and rooftops consisting of bisected bamboo, stall men worked together to frame their survival mechanism against the state control over urban and industrial society, which was grounded on their everyday culinary practices and operating needs, rather than architectonic disciplines and structural calculations. Furthermore, when wind and rain let them know where the leaks were, they would use various kinds of built-up components,

such as flat pieces of asphalt skin and plastic surf boards (Guo & Horigome, 1994), to support not only their means of survival, but also their own unauthorized inhabitancy.

Building Typologies Took Shape

As a result of the numerable roof layers stacked in the aforementioned method, "Circle Top" for a long time became a popular given name of Jian-Cheng Circle. Initially, the famous round operating area, with a diameter of about one hundred feet, was divided into six sectors by two-meter-wide walkways for customers. Next, in the 1950's, there were probably three concentric extensions of the Circle Night Market which enlarged the extralegal marketplace's diameter by forty feet. This period was considered the golden age of Jian-Cheng Circle, with approximately ninety seven vendors (Guo & Horigome, 1994) (see Figure 6).

Each of the above-mentioned six business sectors included approximately forty stalls which cooperated to satisfy twenty thousand stomachs on average, from 10 in the morning to 3 hours before dawn, every day, while some vendors even ran their businesses twenty four hours. Miraculously, regarding the atrium, having a diameter of about forty two feet and located at the center of Jian-Chang Circle, despite how limited was the quota of vending space, none of the vendors had the audacity to occupy this core.

The central atrium, clear of vendors' occupancy, served as an important place, not only for the surrounding stall men to wash their bowls and dishes after use, but also for the customers, coming in an endless stream, to park their bicycles and/or motorcycles. In addition, public utilities, such as high-voltage towers and street lights, were installed in the central atrium under a common consensus of all the stall men (Guo & Horigome, 1994). As a result, the central atrium was proven to be playing a role of complementary function, was defended by all of the vendors in Circle Night Market.

Cultural Representations of Spatial Practices

The vendors in Circle Night Market sold their snacks and drinks, usually being their recommended specialties of private home-style cuisine cooked on site, in small portions. To avoid concern that food categories would be monotonous or that their empty stomachs would not be filled, custom-

ers, especially those frequent, were always in a mindset of trying as many different kinds of foods as possible.

To accommodate the interactive relationships among stall men, the compact, yet not strictly organized, arrangement of stalls within each sector spread out on the basis of succinct concentric circles was important on the one hand; on the other, this layout enabled customers to satisfy themselves by having many dishes in a very efficient way. For example, customers were able to sit down at one stall to start, and then order plates from nearby stalls also. To accommodate this practice, the vendors settled accounts among themselves by counting plates, which were labeled by stall, at the end of each workday.

Because the allotment for each vendor was a small single stall in the very beginning, it was truly easy to see the stall men working hard among customers in an almost face-to-face, nose-to-nose situation. Gobbling up foods and swigging drinks while chatting about everyday affairs with sweating vendors, busy themselves at cooking and serving, led to a sense of amity for customers—an atmosphere unavailable in regular dining restaurants. Over generations, vendors and customers usually even became close friends. With the stall men and regular customers recognizing each other, as a result of the friendly amity between them, Jian-Cheng Circle became an urban place not only just for eating, but also as a source of identity.

Place: Risks and Opportunities in Trans-cultural Cities
The Synergy that Sustained Vitality of Jian-Cheng Circle

The vendors and regulars in Jian-Cheng Circle, a specific transplanted spatial form of Japanese colonization located in Da-Dao-Cheng, Taipei, Taiwan, developed their own mode of congregating, consuming, and exchanging prepared food from the colonial to the post-colonial period. Due to the insufficient urban services of the capitalist economy, the stall men tolerated downgraded conditions and laboring long hours for survival in the urban informal sector, while still generating these place-making processes, in small- and medium-sized capitals throughout Taiwan during its dependent development.

With spatial production and a grassroots movement driven by the culinary culture of the rural-urban immigrants, Circle Night Market was the survival mechanism for people and showcased an overarching diversity of urban heritage that presented an unprecedented place-making scene for

marketplaces. Accompanying the tenacious and flexible production network of vendors, whose interactions were frequent and mutual confidences strong, the customers were addicted to enjoying their meals and spontaneously hanging out in Jian-Cheng Circle in an easygoing way.

Learning from Jian-Cheng Circle: The Contributions towards Cross-cultural Understanding with Reflections

Being neither of the commercial functions arranged by the state, nor of the trading facilities developed by private sectors, the cross-cultural consumption-based services provided by Jian-Cheng Circle, an urban informal sector rooted in the community-based open ground, became one of the major mechanisms maintaining the competitive edge of the Taiwanese economy for the world market. Unfortunately, Jian-Cheng Circle the earliest and the largest night market in Taiwan was often portrayed as a 'city tumor' for consisting of informal economies and illegal buildings during the phase of rapid economic development after the 1960's.

With the pressures of urban life being rather heavy and the emblematic urban governance being relatively concentrated in Taipei City, Jian-Cheng Circle died as a result of the modernist, exclusive design project, without regard for its flexible production network of the vendors reflected in building typologies and/or spatial patterns driven by the specific place-making process. However, the urban place represented a distinctive urbanity in Taiwan: It was a particular socio-spatial dynamic informed by survival activities, namely the nuances of inclusive multiculturalism inherent in such a night market, which could not be easily erased from the contexts of spatial texts, namely our trans-cultural nature, in great cities.

In the end, the lesson to be found in the ultimate failure to perpetuate this place speaks to the unsustainable risk of our time in dire need of attention, as well as a viable example of how local landscapes can be included in global visions. Indeed, the death and life of Jian-Cheng Circle, an inclusive local place versus an exclusive global modernity, calls stridently not only for a cross-border understanding of urban nature directed towards the survival of cultural landscapes, but also for the qualitative aspects of sustainable design characterized by multi-faceted interactions of different urban layers and scales in trans-cultural cities into the future.

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Endnotes

1   Japanese colonizers' primary "Urban District Reform Plans" were driven by Western Europe- or North America-centered Planning knowledge in Taipei City in the early 1900's and included demolishing all of the city walls and creating nine urban circles in total as the city paths and nodes. Being different from the seven of them located at original city gates which sprinkled over demolished city walls, Jian-Cheng Circle and West-Gate Circle were relatively independent ones responsible for connecting with Da-Dao-Cheng and Men-Gjia, two mainly Taiwanese-resided areas in Taipei City during Japanese colonial period, respectively.
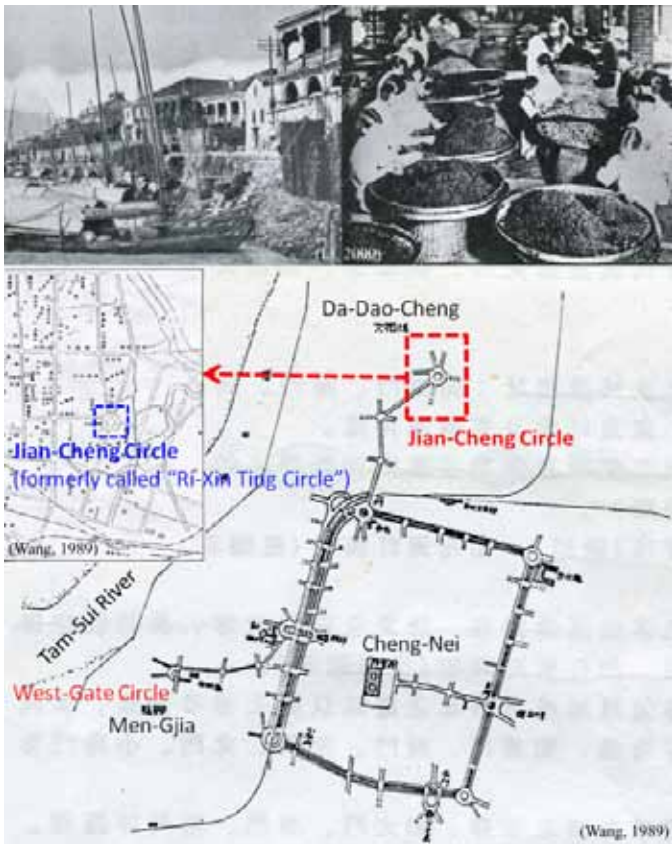
Figure 1: The internationally known tea business in Da-Dao-Cheng and "Urban District Reform Plans" made by the Japanese colonial municipality in the 1910's. Image remade by the author.
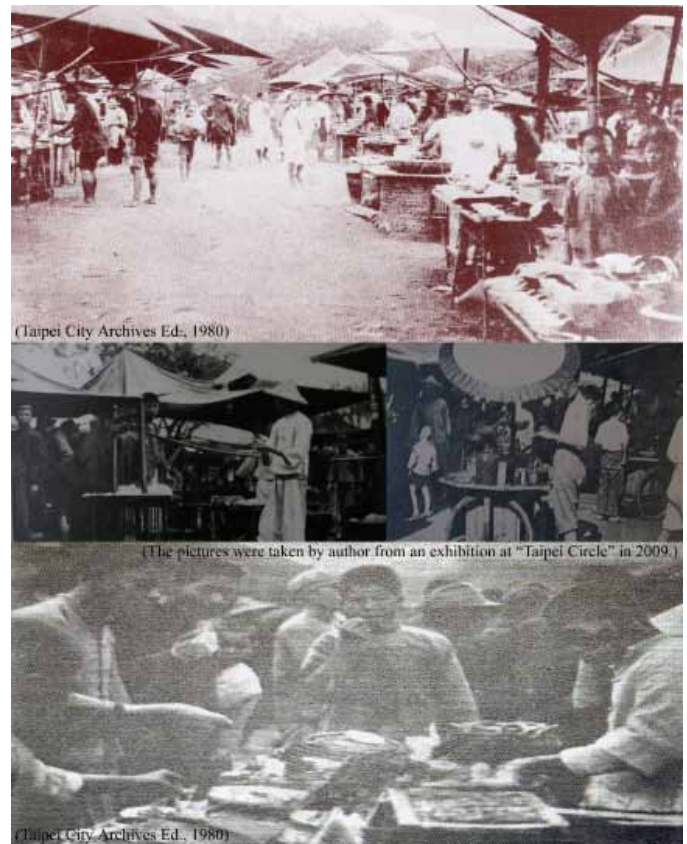
Figure 2: Scenes from Jian-Cheng Circle from during the Japanese colonial period. Image remade by the author.

Figure 3: The unprecedented landscape created by Jian-Cheng Circle in the 1950's, its golden age, and the various specialties served by the stall men. Image remade by the author.

Figure 4: The whole new architectural design of the reconstruction of Jian-Cheng Circle in the 21st century, with a totally different vending layout, in the ring-like food court glass clad building. Image remade by the author.
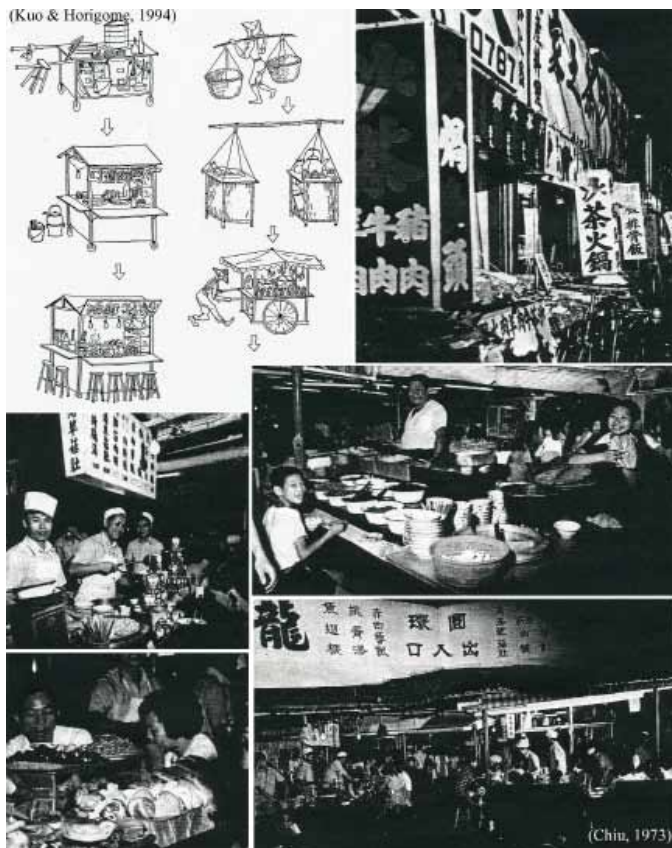
Figure 5: The gradual evolution of vendor stall equipment at Jian-Cheng Circle and the distinctive spatial patterns which contributed to the flexible consumption-based network between customers and vendors. Image remade by the author.
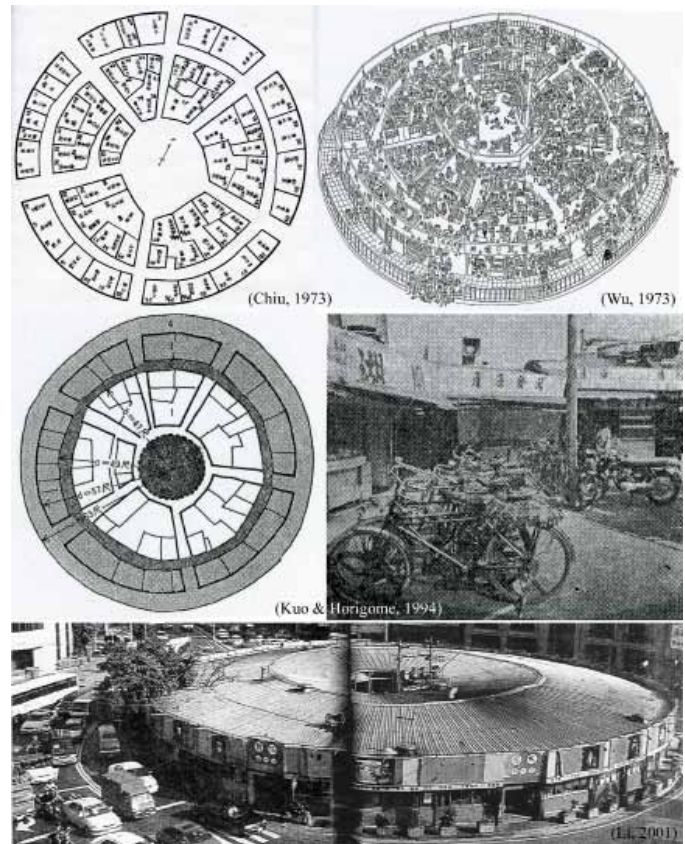
Figure 6: The perspective and plan of Jian-Cheng Circle as a result of its spontaneous expanding process, with a central atrium playing a role of complementary function. Image remade by the author.

Everyday Places that Connect Disparate Homelands: a Methodology of Remembering Through the City

Clare Rishbeth

ABSTRACT: This research focuses on perceptions of transcultural urban neighbourhoods by first generation migrants. It examines positive and negative dimensions of place attachment, values and affordances of local public space, and questions how memories of past landscapes inform new understandings.

The case study was located in an ethnically diverse residential area in Sheffield, England. A methodology of onsite audio recording was developed to help express experiential qualities of place. Eleven participants from five countries of origin regularly recorded independent audio commentaries while walking through their neighbourhood over a three month period. Over fifty recordings were made and analysed along with researcher observations, a network of informal contacts, and interviews with local community and environmental organisations. The participants were supported by expertise from BBC Radio Sheffield who broadcasted selected extracts.

The findings show that, though many new migrants are initially disorientated, spending time outdoors can help establish knowledge and a sense of local belonging. A mix of the novel and familiar is found both in the visual qualities and uses of outdoor space. This can help migrants recognise connections between different periods of their lives, and often reflects dimensions of transnational identities. The transcultural quality of the neighbourhood was valued, but problematised by dimensions of poverty.

Guidelines are suggested which highlight the need for urban practitioners to be aware of cultural values and preferences, and to maximise the potential of outdoor places for meeting by people of shared and diverse backgrounds. The methodology developed has scope to be adapted for future practice.

Introduction

"In summertime when I am… you know…cos I like to walk through here… cos I live down here... So you can imagine, two, three o clock in the morning, I walk through here on me own! I'm not bothered! My friends are like are you crazy? What's wrong? Cos they're scared! Scared! Cos this is a cemetery, like, and these dead people are going to rise up above the ground and attack you? I said don't be daft!" - John, from Jamaica.

In focusing on the mundane practices of urban living, this research relates to the emergent body of research that employs innovative methodologies to address temporal, multi-sensory and embodied qualities of landscape (Bulter, 2005; Ingold and Vergunst, 2008). Sandercock's discussion of the 'multiplicity of stories' recognises the importance of connecting immediate experiences with personal meaningful resonances, and developing these as a means of sharpening theory and informing policy (Sandercock, 2003b, Sarissikon, 2005; Armstrong, 2004; Low et al, 2002). This research investigates how migrant communities interact with their places of living through a deeper understanding of the detail of "social exchanges, memories, images and daily use of the material setting" (Low, 2000, p.128), with the intention of informing both academic theory and professional practice.

> *"Oh this reminds me I must buy some dates. Everything you want you can find here. Do you have some money here? Oh no (laughs) I am always on credit here. They want to find some… big ones, they are good but the problem is the good ones. The big ones somewhere as well. I'll go for these ones it's £6.90. Like this you can pick this up in Arabia for £1."* Mahmud from The Yemen

First generation migrants hold a unique, and individually varied, position within these contexts through their personal histories of displacement, arrival and acculturalisation (Toila-Kelly, 2004). Their experience of place reflects their transnational links, contrasting and changing cultural identities, affiliations with their own ethnic communities and overlapping interactions with other social spheres (Bender, 2001; Alexander at al., 2007, Low and Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003; Massey, 2005). What role does landscape memory play in shaping affiliations and highlighting difference? That migrants shape their private homes to reflect their cultural identities has been well documented, (Boym, 2001), but less well understood is the shared negotiation of practice and preference in public space. By being outside, issues of visibility and performance take on primary importance, and can reflect gender, social status, religious and ethnic identities.

The idea of a 'sense of place' being marked and defined by insider knowledge is a pervasive one, and raises the question of how do new arrivals find their own way of belonging, or 'know their place' (Altman and Low, 1992, Armstrong, 2004).

Equally, a political debate around citizenship and national affiliations needs to be informed by a deeper sociological understanding of how places that are initially unfamiliar can become identified as home and how outsiders become insiders (Hudson et al., 2007). How does engaging in the public landscape increase personal and community confidence, and the development of customary knowledge?

The potential for flash points of disaffection (for example in the UK the disturbances in northern cities, 2001/2), and an increasing fear of home based terrorism has intensified the policy debate about the challenges of multi-ethnic communities (Amin, 2002, Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007) and underlined the need for social science inquiry to inform practice. Sandercock's work poses the question of how genuine integration and engagement can be recognised in urban neighbourhoods (Sandercock, 2003a, also Binnie et.al, 2006). Amin (2002) argues that the outdoor public realm is limited in its potential for meaningful sustained interaction, though Dines et al (2006), in their report on public space use in East London, found evidence of value given to serendipitous cross-cultural encounters, and points for lingering. Within professional fields of planning and design, there is need for a greater critical understanding of the diversity of ways in which residents from different cultural backgrounds actually use, conceptualise and value their locality. Landscape Architecture, both as an academic discipline and as profession, has much to add to these debates; in particular contributing an understanding of the interactions between the materiality of place and social practices.

Focus and context of research

The main aim of the project was to investigate perceptions and values of local neighbourhoods by first generation migrants. We developed a research method which would allow us to more deeply understand relationships between memories of participants' homelands and development or absence of place attachment to the adopted city. Through working with key participants, from different cultural backgrounds but all living in the same neighbourhood, we investigated diversity in patterns of use and affordances of the public realm, ultimately hoping to inform design and planning practice in urban transcultural locations.

The project was located in Burngreave in Sheffield, a large city (pop. 500,000) in the north of England. This neighbourhood is characteristic of many British inner city urban areas in reflecting patterns of British migration over the last sixty years. In the years after the second world war, Britain needed overseas workers to work in industry and in the health sector, these were actively recruited from countries within the former British Empire, especially Africa, the Caribbean and the Indian Subcontinent (Mason, 2000). In Burngreave a Yemini community of steel workers was established in the 1950s, and it also became a key housing area for Pakistanis and Indians from the 1970s onward. More recently, the UKs immigration pattern has changed, reflecting the expansion of the European Community, and the human impact of wars in the Middle East and Afghanistan. Many Eastern Europeans, most notably Polish, have taken advantage of reciprocal rights of work to move to the UK. Burngreave is also one of the main areas in Sheffield where asylum seekers are housed. Though the official record of ethnicities other than 'White British' in the UK is 9% of the population (Office of National Statistics, 2001); in urban areas, especially those with low grade housing, there is a significantly more diverse ethnic profile. The 2001 UK census categorises the predominant population groups in the Burngreave ward as White (56%), Pakistani (19%), Caribbean (6%) and African (5%) Almost one quarter of Burngreave residents registered in the census were born overseas.

The housing is a mix of late nineteenth century terraces and housing estates built over the last four decades, with 48% of homes defined by two or more aspects of disadvantage (education, health, employment and housing quality (O.N.S., ibid). There are a few designated parks, but most of the greenspace is municipal mown grass around the housing blocks in the newer estates, and areas of shrub woodland that accommodate steeper slopes. At the time of the fieldwork a ten year national funding initiative was running to improve social, economic and environmental aspects of the neighbourhood.

Methodology

The research actions developed over the course of the project, but can be categorised under three main stages:

1. *Scoping and recruiting.* During the first few months of the project we immersed ourselves in the neighbourhood, making diverse contacts and discussing the project with potential participants. We liaised with BBC Radio Sheffield to design appropriate induction and training events. This initial fieldwork also helped us make links with a wide variety of organisations in the neighbourhood.

2. *Key participant fieldwork.* The focus of the research was working with eleven participants who lived in the same neighbourhood in Sheffield. The five women and six men represented five different countries of birth: The Yemen, Jamaica, Pakistan, Iraq and Somalia. The participants were loaned mini-disk recorders for up to three months spanning late summer to early winter. Their brief was to regularly record live commentaries during their everyday walks or journeys, talking about observations, thoughts and choices prompted by the changing scene. The process of making the recordings varied greatly between participants, some were largely independent and sent in recordings regularly. A few required more support; we found that a researcher walking alongside them ('active listening' rather than interviewing) gave them more confidence. Most participants made recordings infrequently, but longer commentaries than expected, and in total we achieved an extended body of qualitative data (58 recordings, average length 30 minutes).

The recordings proved to be a nuanced, thoughtful and surprising record of individual reflections on their location. Many recordings took the form of extended monologues, often drifting from a reaction to the immediate situation (feeling cold, not very safe) to thoughts on their own migrant identity, childhood experiences and stories of their arrival in Britain. The descriptive and reflective qualities of the transcripts exceeded expectations, and provided an 'insider ear' to the emotional dimensions of migration and place.

3. *Reflective shared analysis.* We scheduled interviews with a selection of participants to discuss an overview of their use of public spaces and travelling, and to probe deeper into some of the issues arising from their recordings. We circulated 'draft implications' to a range of local and national environmental and community organisations (many of which we have contacted in our initial networking) and undertook interviews to incorporate their perspectives on the issues raised. Through transcription, coding and ongoing discussion within the research team it was possible build up profiles of preference, concerns and motivating factors for each participant.

The fieldwork was undertaken by the author and a Research Fellow, Dr Mark Powell, during the period 2006-2007[1].

The Walking Voices method: from theory to practice

The research aimed to address some of the limitations in traditional qualitative research techniques, specifically when working with people from diverse cultural backgrounds. With the Walking Voices method, we chose to work with a few people over an extended period of time, so it was particularly important that the selection process of our key participants was rigorous, and that we were mindful of the demands and power relationship of the research process.

We recognised that people living in areas of multiple deprivation are often 'over-researched' through a combination of academic and community planning initiatives. This can particularly affect people from ethnic community backgrounds who are regular users of cultural community centres, potentially favouring recruitment of people not in work and with strong links to their cultural heritage. We used a dispersed approach which was based on intensive exploration of the neighbourhood, and achieved more than sixty contacts in a wide range of locations: healthy walks, library users, allotments, places of worship, park users, shops, community centres and adult education. This was reflected in the diversity of backgrounds of our eleven key participants: employed / not in work, large family / single person, strong community networks / relatively isolated, intention of returning to home country / long term settled in UK[2].

The ethnographic approach, where we were in contact with participants on a weekly or fortnightly basis over a period of months, allowed for trust to build between participants and researchers. Research topics could be gradually introduced, discussed and understood within the wider context of the participants' lives. The majority of the recordings were produced while the researcher was absent, thereby giving the responsibility of the direction and priority of content to the participant. As such, we ceded some of the social scientists traditional 'powers': the right to ask questions and to impose consistency of method.

The self-recorded commentaries of place provided an account of place that often reflected sensory and experiential details, and which participants felt able to adapt to their own interests and daily practices. Aspects of cultural identity were mentioned, sometimes obliquely, sometimes when related to the broader range of recordings. The life history interview

was not part of the project, so our understanding of participants' backgrounds was dependant on whether participants volunteered this information. Walking practices varied, in particular some of the male participants preferred to make recordings while in their cars as they did not often walk places. However, regular contact ensured a reflective loop for researchers to discuss emerging findings with participants.

By using on-site moving recordings we supported multisensory descriptions that responded instinctively to the unpredicatable changing characteristics of specific places (visual, social, weather-related, physicality of walking).

> "There use to be a river flowing out, but when I came you could hear the water. The river behind all these bushes and it sounded so lovely. I'm assuming it would be cold as well...I thought I heard a trickle of water. It's doesn't look as lush. I mean there's a lot of bush and green and everything but it's not as lush. It's dried and portions of it are dried…. ahhh there's some people coming in front of us and it's very narrow….we'll make it somehow".
> - Thelma from Jamaica, walking in
> the countryside near Sheffield

The task of 'talking to yourself' maintained an internal dialogue of perceptions, value judgements and triggered memories and ideas, and seemed to be significantly different in character to descriptions of landscape in indoor interview settings (Scott et al. 2009, Finney and Rishbeth, 2006). "Walking... inevitably leads to other subjects" suggests Solnit (2002, p.8). We indeed found that this alternative to one-off interview formats supported gradual revelations which enabled participants to express ambiguities and contradictions; both common discrepancies between intentions and actions, and those specifically reflecting the complexity of cultural hybridity for first generation migrants. Listening to the actual recordings (as opposed to reading the transcripts), the quality of evoking a sense of place is striking, and prompted a focus on audio content within the dissemination strategy which was largely achieved by means of the website (www.walkingvoices.group.shef.ac.uk).

Collaboration with BBC Radio Sheffield was integral to participant recruitment and community dissemination, with the ultimate intention of creating a radio programme. Participants were attracted to receiving training and insider insight into a high profile partner, and took pride in learning new skills with professional quality equipment. The record-

ings provided a media-friendly focus for disseminating the research within a local context. Though ultimately a stand-alone programme was not achieved, a few participants were interviewed on existing mainstream programmes, and most had their clips broadcast on air. Participants were consulted both prior to and after the fieldwork with regard to consent to use their recordings, with care taken to discuss the implications for differing media: a one-off radio broadcast, a publically accessible website with images and academically focused papers. Some chose to remain anonymous, others wanted to be credited for their creative output[3].

Findings: experiencing transcultural places.

The Walking Voices project generated findings which contribute new understandings of landscape and migration in two important respects. In focusing on the urban landscape experience of first generation migrants it presents an experiential focus on the role, qualities and opportunities of public space. Secondly, the use of immersive participant-led recordings allows a vital insight into person - place interactions, providing a 'landscape specific' framework for analysis. The findings highlight the potential and problems of ethnically diverse neighbourhoods as places where migrants can establish a sense of belonging (Binnie et al, 2006; Amin, 2002; Alexander et al., 2007).

> "This morning was quite shiny, hot, sunny, and some people came out without jacket – the thing is now it's raining. When it gets to about 12 something the rain starts, and that's why I said earlier on you don't trust the weather. Great Britain can be anything, sometimes it can be hot, sometimes it can be ok, one time it can be winter. Unreliable, the weather in Great Britain is unreliable. And that's why you have to put your jacket on, that's what I do always." - Osman from Somalia

Changing country of residence can lead to feelings of culture shock and reduce a person's ability to undertake everyday tasks, and this study found the context of the local environment is a strong contributing factor. Disorientation, difficulty in understanding social situations and lack of familiar leisure activities can be exacerbated in the public realm and contribute to initial negative feelings about residence. However, going outside to undertake daily tasks can support practical re-skilling of new migrants. By observing others, reading information, visiting different shops and noting landmarks, newcomers engage in experiential learning, and pick up customs and competencies related to their local neighbour-

hood and beyond. Amassing insider knowledge supports a sense of belonging and re-kindles an ability to feel relaxed and 'at home', one of the dimensions of place attachment.

Memories of migrants' home countries are sometimes prompted by outdoor places in the city. New landscapes and experiences are compared both positively and negatively to those in the home country. Views, social practices and activities can all signify a break with the past ("This is very different from…") or a means of continuing an identity ("This reminds me so much of…").

Finding aspects of commonality with previous places of residence is generally a restorative experience, mostly prompting feelings of pleasure, sometimes with aspects of loss. Activities within public space are important. Continuing habits of socialising - men sitting outdoors having a chat, or greeting people in the street - appeared to be particularly important as they reflect deeper personal values of the importance of community. *"Socialise is like you socialise back home. Place where everyone meet and everybody sits down, have a talk"* (Abdullah, from The Yemen, talking about the small green in the centre of Burngreave). This connection of memory is an important contribution to theoretical enquiries into the nature of place attachment, and broadens the understanding of familiarity with regard to landscape.

The research found that migrants were creative in the means in which they re-interpreted activities that they enjoyed in the past, adapting locations of walking, driving or socialising to a new context. This implies that the participants were engaging at times in 'reflective nostalgia' (Boym, 2001), a fluid interpretation of past and present experiences in a way that provides new insights into the nature of their located identity.

For first generation migrants living in a neighbourhood in proximity to others of their own ethnic community, there is high awareness that by being outdoors they are responding to the public gaze of that community. The research underlined the importance of performing social roles in response to the expectation of one's own community, often framed as a need to reflect well on your family, and this dimension of performance can directly impact on personal experiences of public space.

"I hated that road… I am very wary of going there because there are a lot of Arab men and women

always looking at you and judging you, seeing what you got on, seeing how you look, seeing if your scarf is on properly" - Shireen from The Yemen.

Cultural codes of how you are seen, and who you are seen to be, are complex, and relate to one's own perception of visibility in a public setting. While being outside in their local neighbourhood provides a social context for migrants, this can become burdensome at times, either by restricting opportunities or by having too many obligations. Making occasional or regular trips out of the neighbourhood was a strategy used by participants in our research for escaping a known public gaze on a temporary basis and finding some personal privacy while outdoors.

For most first generation migrants, the visibility of being different from the white British population increases when in less ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, such as rural localities or more affluent parts of the city. Visiting these areas can trigger feelings of vulnerability to racism, especially if this has been previously experienced. Most of the participants considered themselves more socially comfortable living in areas of ethnic diversity, and identified positively with this aspect of their home neighbourhood.

Living in a city offers migrants a diverse range of experiences beyond that found in their immediate neighbourhood or own ethnic community. Exploration of different places and activities can inform aspirations for the future, sometimes coupled to their motivation for initially moving to the UK. Their life choices are often shaped by a tension between keeping contact with their own ethnic group, respecting and enjoying its cultural traditions, and a desire to embrace new opportunities. Negotiating aspects of individual and community identities can take a spatial form, concerning both daily movements and long term residence. Movement and exploration can represent a confident development of hybrid identities, mixing elements of affiliation and association that both reflect and inform a complex sense of self.

The recordings clearly represent the complexity and ambiguity with which migrants engage with place. The participants identified a range of positive and negative feelings about their locality, some of which were informed by their experience of difference, and comparisons with their previous home. Through becoming familiar with a place, and finding means of

connection with their personal values, they develop a sense of themselves as locals. The characteristics of super-diversity of the neighbourhood give emphasis to a shared sense of belonging that is less dependent on country of birth. Attachments to their current home exist alongside transnational links and options of future moves (within the UK or internationally).

> *"I know this is an area predominantly that is talked about being full of crime and violence... I lived here for a year, and I never really witnessed any incidents really and I know there are things that happen but I never seen anything. And today is another Sunday evening like everywhere else really. I can see the sunset across the horizon and it's quite beautiful, bits of gold glowing, soft background of purple clouds…"* - Lola from Jamaica

In understanding issues of integration and belonging in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods there is a need to recognise the importance of non-verbal interactions. Movement through and spending time outdoors were connected with emotional understandings, social interpretation and the physicality of the bodily experience (Ingold, 2000, Massey, 2005). We suggest that political discourses that highlight separatism at the local scale often fail to recognise the nuances of social networks, place attachment, and engagement in the public realm experienced by migrants of different ethnic backgrounds and life situations.

Guidance for practitioners

The implications arising from this research were formulated by careful discussion of the fieldwork, in particular contextualising the recordings of the key participants with information provided by local and national community organisations, and our own understandings of use of the open spaces in Burngreave from our site visits. I also drew on my own professional background in landscape architecture, responses to presenting the findings in professional contexts, and awareness of current practice in these areas. As such, the guidelines are less a direct outcome of the recordings, and more a dialogue stemming from them, a critical engagement that seeks to give practitioners the opportunities to deepen their understanding of migrant experiences. The implications for practitioners are also summarised in a leaflet, distributed in hard copy and available in digital form from the Walking Voices website.

The key points are outlined below. There is no apology that many of these points are also relevant to improving the experience of public open space for all users, that which

is common between people being as important to that which differs. But I suggest that because of the particular life experience of migration as cited before – disorientation, unfamiliarity, feeling unskilled or isolated, experience of racism – attention to these issues might be more important for this user group than the general population.

Facilitate overlapping and flexible use of space. Frequent use of parks, streets, public transport and urban centres can support individual relationships and provides opportunities over time for acquaintances to strengthen to friendships. For this to happen, public spaces need to be safe and attractive to use. Visual permeability – multiple ways of viewing in and out of a place – can be particularly important, both in terms of a personal sense of safety, and of increasing the visible presence of different ethnic communities. Priorities for improvement should be given to locations where people gather due to common interests that cross over ethnic groups: playgrounds, bus stops, sports facilities and entrances to schools and libraries, waterfronts and large parks. Design and plan for spaces to be flexibly used by different user groups, with the possibility of informal appropriation regarding seating, types of activities and seasonal uses as well as formal temporary activities such as markets and festivals.

Be aware of culturally defined behaviour and legitimise where possible. Acceptable behaviour within the public realm is culturally defined, and as such can present misunderstandings, and occasionally conflict, between different ethnic communities. For example, men from some cultural backgrounds are used to meeting in groups outside of the home, and often appropriate street spaces for socialising. This can sometimes been perceived as threatening by others, especially if the places used to meet are degraded or associated with crime (for example derelict plots). Increasing potential locations for social gatherings which are explicitly designed and well maintained, and providing comfortable seating which accommodates groups rather than couples, can help reconfigure these associations and tacitly legitimise such gatherings. Cultural values can vary with regard to litter, noise and acceptable use of street space, potentially leading to petty irritations which exacerbate or reinforce ethnic stereotypes. It may not be possible to 'design out' these differences, but supporting community political and social structures that enhance communication could ease the sometimes awkward quality of urban life, that of 'living among strangers' (Sandercock, 2003a).

Support diversity without resorting to ethnic stereotypes. The 'critical mass' of one's own ethnic community was seen as crucial in providing support, resources and social contact. But the mix of nationalities was also often cited as a positive characteristic, and the diversity of residents was something that, at best, provided a rich social and entrepreneurial resource for the area. A quality of superdiverse neighbourhoods is a high level of transitory residents, with a inflow of newcomers hoping to make a new life. Planning policies that can support informality of land uses, short term enterprises and micro-businesses may be appropriate to ensuring the vitality and strengths of this residential mix. Promoting an area as a 'cultural' or multicultural destination can give a neighbourhood particular protection and increase financial resources. However, caution needs to be exercised. Inter-community relations can be damaged if it is perceived that one ethnic group is being given preferential treatment. More subtly but intrinsically problematic is the process of urban designers or planners naively confirming stereotypes of bounded ethnic identities, sometimes by use of particular icons from the country of origin, which fails to recognise the flux of transnational links that characterise individuals and communities.

Tackle inequality. Though living in an ethnically diverse community was highly valued, the low socio-economic status of the area meant that residents were, often reluctantly, planning to move to another neighbourhood at some future date. As well as flashpoint issues of crime, education and housing, there were also frustrations at a smaller scale: lack of provision of cashpoints, supermarkets and poor maintenance of the streetscape; and residents were aware that in other parts of the city there was a much better quality of urban environment. A permanent move to another part of the city, often motivated by a desire for better schooling and a safer environment, was characterised by participants as a significant loss of contact with their religious and ethnic communities.

> *"Everything in this area is…. low level… so why would I be living in an area with low level? Sometimes… because my community live here, my people, you cannot associate with other people, and if you want to go to [place name] a predominantly white community, you get yourself isolated and lonely… lot of people, don't think of this area as bad…. They enjoy the area, they want to be here."* - Osman from Somalia.

For first generation migrants the conflict of push and pull factors can be particularly sharp: sometimes a sense of shame that they have not accomplished a better standard of living, against the relief of growing familiarity and attachment to this new location that they now call home. Environmental inequality is well documented in academic and policy arenas, but is still an issue that is far from resolved. Decoupling the links between areas of multiple disadvantage and communities of high ethnic diversity is an urgent challenge for urban professionals across design, planning and politics.

Critique of methodological approach

The Walking Voices method was developed to attempt to replicate as near as possible the everyday experience of being outdoors, trying to reach beyond the distancing of an indoor interview, or the staged nature of researcher led trips to specific leisure destinations. It aimed to give space for participants to develop their own ideas and issues to communicate, with an absolute minimum of direction from researchers. The repeated nature of recordings was important dimension of this. The length of the project allowed participants to become comfortable and confident in using the equipment and adlibbing commentaries, it gave space for the recordings to go 'beyond the obvious' and to develop an overview of differences in people's activities and emotions over time, and it allowed researchers to have incremental contact with participants over the course of the fieldwork. This gradual gaining of an overview of the participants' lifeworlds was vital for the careful analysis of emerging themes of the recorded material, and to demonstrate a genuine interest and respect for the people and communities involved. However, the intensity and demands on both researchers and participants restricted the practical scope of numbers involved.

This 'slow' research is both a strength and a weakness. Within the context of social science research the method offers a precise detail and tactile quality to previous work on place attachment. The unusual and engaging research activity attracted a varied group of participants, certainly a different sample than might have been recruited to take part in interviews or questionnaires. The ethnic range is unusual in academic studies, which have a tendency to focus on specific ethnic groups rather than interrogating diverse views of a common place (Schiller and Çağlar, 2009). An approach which mostly absented the researcher from the production of the primary data allowed participants freedom to express values and interests,

and was key to our ideas about ethical relationships in combining creative processes and research, but did limit some of the means in which the data could be evaluated. As a stand-alone research project, it can be criticised for the small number of participants, and the difficulty of interpreting raw data without a more thorough, directed understanding of participants' backgrounds and life stories. The varying practical arrangements that were made to accommodate different participants led to inconsistencies in method, more akin to anthropological fieldwork than traditional social science research.

It is difficult to combine highly qualitative small-scale research with clear guidelines for policy and practice; though all methods have their limitations, and more quantitative or expansive methods may imply a false certainty or overlook nuances of experience. As described previously, the implications for practitioners and policy-makers can be seen as an extended part of the discussion of the fieldwork, rather than formulated directly from the recordings. The wide range of contacts made in the study area, and the interviews conducted with key organisations were vital in formulating these, and they are offered with the intention of stimulating further debate.

Can the Walking Voices method be applied as part of a planning or design process in a transcultural area? Though the resources of the method as stated are unlikely to be available, some principles could be adapted to complement a broad community consultation.

1. Devise an activity which is intrinsically interesting to people who may not be attracted to community meetings, questionnaires or interviews. Partnering with an organisation with credibility and status could be one way of aiding this, both to attract participants and to give the creative process due support and respect. Consider how the products of the activity could be publically shared and discussed, and be thoughtful about the sometimes conflicting issues of creative ownership and confidentiality.

2. Think about how your consultation processes may take place in the more serendipitous outdoor environment. If relevant, let residents decide on key locations and details of place. Walking methods could be independent recording (as mainly used in this research) or tours given by participants. If time al-

lows, extending walking/outdoor activities over different times of day, week and season, will yield a more thorough understanding of experiences of place.

3. Choose methods that allow unexpected outcomes. The answer to "How do you feel about this place?" is seldom simple. Enable community members tell stories which are not the answer to direct questions. Repeated contact with people can build trust and can lead to sharing a more realistic complexity about how people feel about places and communities. For both researchers and practitioners, the challenge may be in finding ways to loosen control and keep quiet.

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Endnotes

1 The research was funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council.

2 We were not able to involve first generation migrants who did not speak reasonable English, or those who were not confident in learning simple new technologies. Within the scope of the project we addressed this by conducting two group and one individual interview with older members of the Pakistani community.

3 All participants' names are anonymised within this paper.

Figure 1. Shami and her daughter. Credit: Clare Rishbeth

Figure 2. Evening view over Burngreave. Credit: Clare Rishbeth

Figure 3. Ellesmere Green, a small central greenspace near the mosque, library, post-office and bus-stops. Credit: Mark Powell

Figure 4: Mahmud showing us his street. Credit: Clare Rishbeth

Figure 5: Qualities of walking with a pushchair. Credit: Clare Rishbeth

What's Parks Got To Do With It?
Latina/o Children, Physical Activity and
the Parks System in Lancaster, PA.

Mallika Bose & Kirk Dimond

ABSTRACT: The rising incidence of obesity in children has been recognized and spurred a body of research on different dimensions of active living. Minority groups report higher incidence of obesity and obesity related diseases. At the same time minority groups report lower levels of recreational physical activity. This trend is even more pronounced in the case of minority children. In this study we examine the spatial context of physical activity and recreation of Latino children in Lancaster Pennsylvania. Latinos comprise about 40% of the city of Lancaster's population, the majority of whom are of Puerto Rican descent. The earlier Latinos were mainly concentrated in farm work, poultry processing and in foundry work. Currently, the Latino population is more diversified in terms of origin (Cubans, Ecuadorians, Mexicans, Dominicans) and employment (small business, law enforcement, education). We use the method of photo-voice to identify and examine places of recreation as experienced by 6-10 year old Latino children living in the city of Lancaster. Our hope is to understand the place and role of recreational activity in the lives of Latino families and especially children. We will overlay these places of recreation/physical activity over the formal recreational system of the city of Lancaster to unearth the relationship between the city's recreational system and that of a particular group (Latino children). We hope to find points of convergence/divergence between the recreational system of the city and that of Latino immigrant children. This will be the starting point to understand the use of the city's recreational resources by Latino children. Informed by this understanding we will make recommendations for the continued development of the recreational system to promote its use by Latino residents, especially children.

Public parks and open spaces are an integral part of modern urban life, and support both recreational and psychological needs of urban residents. Recent research reveals that parks have a much broader impact on urban life; they play a role in youth development, workforce development, community capacity building and public health (Walker, 2004). The role of urban parks in modern day society is even more significant in light of the increasing incidence of adult and childhood obesity in the United States[1]. According to the Center for Disease Control (CDC)[2], obesity rates in children 6-11 year old increased from 6.5% to 19.6% between 1976-1980 and 2007-2008. Obese children suffer from a host of health problems including high blood pressure, high cholesterol, and Type 2 diabetes (Freedman, Mei, Srinivasan, Berenson, and Dietz, 2007) and obesity in children is a predictor of adult obesity (Serdula et al, 1993). Furthermore, minority communities face higher risk of overweight/obesity and obesity related health problems (Kumanyika and Grier, 2006). Obesity rates are associated with lowest income and education levels (Schoenborn, Adams, and Barnes, 2002), and are concentrated in African-American and Latino/a communities (Day, 2006). Research also indicates that different (racial/ethnic) groups exhibit different motivations and preference for leisure and recreational activities (Floyd, 2001; Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, and Noe, 1994).

Commenting on the initial focus of the active living movement on middle-income suburban communities Day (2006) directs our attention to the needs of low-income communities of color where health problems are concentrated and resources are limited. Furthermore Day points out that many low-income communities live in inner city neighborhoods with a well-connected network of streets with sidewalks, higher densities and access to public transportation – all elements that are supposed to promote active living; yet, these communities suffer from high rates of obesity and obesity related health problems. This points to the need to better understand how the built environment is linked to active living of minority groups in urban environments.

The relatively few studies that have looked into the impact of parks on urban minority communities have focused on large cities like Chicago (Gobster, 2002) or Los Angeles (Loukaitou-Sideris and Stieglitz, 2002; Wolch, Wilson and Fehrenbach, 2005). However there are minority populations in many smaller cities located across the United States – and this trend is likely to continue, if not grow. Furthermore, many of these smaller towns have fewer resources and capacity to deal with the needs of their immigrant and minority communities relative to larger urban centers. How are parks distributed in such places, what is the role of parks in responding to the physical activity needs of minority children in small towns and communities? We examine these questions with reference to Lancaster, PA.

Lancaster, a city of approximately 59,000 residents is located between Harrisburg and Philadelphia. About 40% of its residents are Latino/a, with the majority of them being of Puerto Rican origin (72%). The earlier Latino/as in Lancaster were mostly Puerto Ricans taking advantage of the Jones Act of 1917. However in the past 15 years, the Latino/a community in Lancaster has diversified considerably to include Dominicans, Peruvians, Mexicans, Salvadoreans and others. The early Puerto Ricans living in the city were mainly employed in poultry processing plants, tobacco warehouses or foundry work. Few Latino/as were involved in white-collar jobs (Escobar-Haskins and Haskins, 2007). Even in the 1980s when the Latino/a population constituted a significant proportion of the residents of Lancaster, they were not adequately represented in the fire department, police department or the school district. Neither did the Latino/a community enjoy political clout. Since the 1990s the Latino/a population, especially Puerto Ricans have begun serving on governing bodies like the city council and the school district. Even though the Latino/a community has made strides in gaining visibility, they still face challenges related to education, housing, and under-employment. Like many other cities, Lancaster has suffered from the problem of "White flight" from the city to the surrounding suburban areas. Since 1980 there has been more than a two-fold increase in the percentage of Latino/as in the city. Latino/as of Puerto Rican and Dominican origin tend to settle in the city while Mexicans and Columbians prefer the surrounding Lancaster county (Escobar-Haskins and Haskins, 2007).

In this exploratory study we examine the role of parks in meeting the physical activity needs of Latino/a children. We first review the literature on parks and discuss the relationship between parks and physical activity. Next we examine access to parks by Latino/a population in Lancaster. This is followed by an exploration of the role of parks in meeting the physical activity needs of Latino/a children in Lancaster. The study concludes by examining the parks planning process. The examination of the location of/access to parks and the park planning process allows us to imbed our understanding of the role of parks in meeting the needs of Latino/a children in the larger context of equity, environmental justice and parks planning in Lancaster.

The Role of Parks in Society

Parks, in their many forms, serve a multitude of purposes in American culture. In the United States, parks became an integral part of society starting in the mid-nineteenth century. New York's Central Park was the first major project to be successfully completed that addressed many of the social issues of that time. Essential to the wide interest in and feasibility of building of the park, was the variety of motivations among different parties, "… to make money, to display the city's cultivation, to lift up the poor, to refine the rich, to advance commercial interests, to retard commercial development, to improve public health, to curry political favor, to provide jobs" (Rosenzweig and Blackmar, 1992, p. 18). Parks continued to be desirable for purposes of fulfilling a variety of roles in society. Different periods of time brought new goals and styles to the parks, reflecting social power, views, and economics of each era: pleasure grounds (1850-1900), reform park (1900–1930), recreational facility (1930–1965), open space system (1965-1982) and the present day sustainable park (Cranz, 1982; Cranz and Bolen, 2004).

The *pleasure* parks (or grounds) promoted by health reformers, transcendentalists and real estate interests were built to accommodate strolling, carriage racing, bike riding, picnics, rowing, classical music, and non-didactic education. Even though they were intended for use by all city residents; because of their location at city edges, they served primarily the upper middle class. The *reform* park emerged as a response to the inequality of access to the pleasure ground park type. From around the turn of the century through about 1930, these small, rectilinear parks emerged on city blocks, serving children, immigrants and the working class. They included sandlots, playgrounds, rectilinear paths, swimming pools and field houses and were used for activities such as supervised play, gymnastics, crafts, Americanization classes, dancing, plays and pageants. The *recreational facility* represented the next park type that was built in both urban and suburban locations. These spaces allowed for more active recreation including basketball, tennis, team sports, spectator sports and swimming. Politicians, bureaucrats and planner were the primary promoters with the suburban family being the main beneficiary of the recreational facility park type. The *open space system* park type dismantled the idea of standardized and controlled, isolated locations for park activities. It proposed that recreation could take place anywhere. Park design began to respond to a specific site and became connected to other

parks and open spaces in a network. Physically these parks could be either rectilinear or curvilinear. They included trees, grass, shrubs, paths, water features and free-form play equipment. They reached residents, workers, poor urban youth, and middle class, providing psychic relief, freeform play, pop music and participatory arts. Cranz and Boland (2003, 2004) proposed a new park type, the sustainable or ecological park as the archetype of present day parks. Environmentalists, local communities, volunteer groups and landscape architects are promoters of the sustainable park, designed to benefit residents, wildlife, cities and the planet. Motivated by the goal of providing for both human and ecological health, sustainable parks include a variety of spaces, ranging in size and order, consisting of native plants, permeable surfaces, ecological restoration, green infrastructure, and exhibiting resource self-sufficiency. These parks provide for strolling, hiking, biking, passive and active recreation, bird watching, education and stewardship and become a part of the larger urban system.

Throughout their existence, parks, in their role as commons, have been designed to meet the needs of a number of groups of people in different situations and time periods. Park design had seemingly always been based on human ideals. Parks have fulfilled roles as democratic and social spaces where citizens could participate in a variety of recreational activities. These positive uses have contributed to creating strong social fabric and positive community building and health. Contrasting to this, as a key element in society, the manipulation and neglect of the park system has led to negative outcomes resulting in crime, fear, and broken communities (Brownlow 2006). With the emergence of the ecological and sustainable park type, Cranz and Boland observed a change in design motives suggesting an "overt concern for ecological fitness" as a new phenomenon in park purpose (Cranz and Boland, 2003, p. 45). While they describe the potential for the new park type to develop into a more socially fit park than past types, they do not explicitly incorporate how such parks may respond to the health needs (including physical activity) of urban residents and more specifically minority groups that are at increased risk of obesity and obesity related diseases.

Parks and Physical activity

Physical activity plays a role in each of the five park types, including a major role in the Recreational Facility park type. From informal play, walking, running, or biking to organized sports, swimming and dancing, physical activities are an integral part of park design. Research also indicates that the manner of use of park facilities differ across race and ethnicity (Floyd, 2001, Wolch et al., 2005). Picnicking and group activity are prevalent in the Latino/a community (Baas et al 1993)[3]. A study by Sasidharan, Willits, and Godbey (2005) found that behind socializing, physical exercise was the second most likely reason for visiting parks among four of six major ethnic groups surveyed, and a close third for the other two groups, just behind food related activities. Thus parks represent an important component of the built environment related to meeting the physical activity requirements of residents. Since Latino/a youth and adults report lower levels of leisure time physical activity (Day, 2006) than their White counterparts, and park visitation is linked to higher rates of physical activity, it is important to examine the role of parks in meeting the physical activity needs of Latino/a youth.

A recent review of qualitative studies (McCormack, Rock, Toohey, and Hignell, 2010) examining urban parks and physical activity indicates that a variety of recreational opportunities (passive and active), age appropriate play equipment, ball fields, facilities for picnicking, natural areas and amenities like water fountains and clean restrooms are factors that promote park use. Minorities are more likely to use urban community parks relative to regional parks that are usually located in the outskirts of cities and metropolitan areas (Loukaitou-Sideris and Stieglitz 2002). Urban parks are usually used more intensively while suburban parks are used more on the weekend and for organized sports activities (Loukaitou-Sideris and Stieglitz 2002). At the same time easy access to parks as well as fees for services pose barriers to park use by African-Americans and Lationo/s (Byrne and Wolch, 2009).

In a time when increasing rates of obesity in adults and children is a major public health concern (having significant cost implications), the use of the park system for physical activity becomes an important social and economic concern. It becomes important to examine how parks can respond to the health and physical activity needs of communities, especially those at higher risk of obesity (minority and low socio-

economic groups). Historically there have been two separate streams of research - public health research including health disparities research under the leadership of health professionals (including public health, health sciences and medicine); and research on built environment at the scale of individual buildings, neighborhoods, cities and regions under the leadership of spatially oriented fields (like architecture, landscape architecture, planning, and geography) – that are relevant to understanding how parks and recreation systems can respond to the health needs of diverse communities. The last two decades has seen a gradual coming together of these two strands of research to inform one another. This project is conceived at the intersection of these research areas and seeks to understand the spatial context of physical activity of Latina children embedded in an understanding of parks systems planning in the city.

Examining Access to Parks in Lancaster

The city of Lancaster has many parks and open spaces serving an estimated population of approximately 54,779 ("State & County QuickFacts," 2006). The park system in the city is comprised of a regional park, two community parks, 11 neighborhood parks, 10 mini parks and 6 other public open spaces. Twenty school sites also play some role in providing important open spaces serving the neighborhoods (Thomas Comitta Associates and Arro Consulting, 2009).

Is there any difference in access to parks in the city (with a high proportion of Latino/as) relative to the suburban areas (with a much lower Latino/a population) surrounding the City of Lancaster? What is the relationship between access to parks and minority status of residents? To answer these questions we compare the parks area per capita of the city relative to the surrounding area of Lancaster MSA (which also is Lancaster County)[4]. In computing these figures we include park areas that are located within the city boundaries, so for example only those parts of Lancaster Central Park (a regional park) within the City boundary is included and not the entire 544 acres. Table 1 reveals that indeed there is discrepancy between parks acreage available to the residents of the city versus the outlying area of Lancaster MSA. The parks area available to the residents of the city of Lancaster (3.33 acres/1000 people) is much lower than the National Recreation and Park Association (NRPA) standards, while that of the surrounding Lancaster MSA is much higher[5] (15.86 acres/person).

At the next level of analysis we examine the distribution of parks within the City of Lancaster. We look at this through the lens of the Latino/a population. We divide the central city into census tracts and then based on the percentage of minority population we examine parks acreage and number of park facilities available within these census tracts (Fig 2 and Table 2). Using normal breaks in the census data, census tracts 14, 15, 16, 8 and 9 (Group I) located at the south-east end of the city are grouped together and has the highest concentration of Latino/a population (average 54.39%), followed by census tracts 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 10 (Group II) clustered around the north-east section of the city (average Latino/a population of 27.14%), followed by census tracts 6, 11, and 12 (Group III) with an average Latino/a population of 15.18%, and census tract 5 (Group IV) with a Latino/a population of about 6%[6]. Table 2 indicates that in terms of mini and neighborhood parks, the parks acreage in Groups I (1.46 acres/1000person) and II (1.11 acres/1000 person) census tracts is at the lower end of the parks standard of (1.25-2.50) acres per 1000 persons. When we look at the number of facilities, here too we see that the population per facility is high in both Group I and II census tracts at 518 and 477 persons/facility respectively. In the Group III census tracts there are no parks and hence we cannot compute the per capita parks acreage and facilities. Group IV consisting of census tract 5 has the largest per capital parks acreage (4.48 acres/1000 persons), well above the NRPA park standards and the lowest proportion of Latino/a population.

This analysis of parks accessibility by area and facilities indicate that within the city, census tracts with higher Latino/a population do seem to have lower than desirable parks area and facilities. At the same time some census tracts (those constituting Group III) do not have any parks within their boundaries, which poses a greater problem than inadequate number of parks and facilities[7]. It is also interesting to note that both community parks (Long Park and Conestoga Pines Park) are located on the outskirts of the city – problematizing access to minority communities who are more likely to be dependant on public transportation, or walking/biking. When we move our focus from parks area to the facilities in the parks we find that census tracts with higher Hispanic population also have fewer facilities per capita (with the exception of Group III census tracts that do not have any facilities since there are no parks in those census tracts).

Exploring the context of physical activity of Latino children

The method of photo-voice (Strack, Magill and McDonagh, 2004; Wang and Burris, 1997) was used to collect information regarding the spatial context of physical activity from the perspective of Latino/a children. Fourteen Latino/a children (ages 6 - 10) were recruited from two Boys and Girls Clubs in the City of Lancaster. Each child was given a disposable camera and asked to take photographs of places that they associated with their physical activity. No attempt was made to define physical activity. The photographs were then developed/printed and used for a de-briefing interview session with the participating children to understand how physical activity was conceptualized by the participants, where such activities occurred and with whom. The focus of the interviews was on understanding the context of physical activity from the participating children's point of view.

The photo-voice method resulted in 184 photographs; 144 of which represented outside environments (78.26%) and the remaining – indoor environments (40 or 21.74%). Within the outdoor places, infrastructure elements like streets, alleys and parking lots accounted for about a quarter of the photographs (refer to Figure 3), while amenities at or near home (backyard, front yard, patio, and neighbor's/friend's yard) accounted for an additional quarter of the photographs (refer to Figure 4). Parks represented the lion's share of the outdoor photographs at 45.14% (Figure 5). The Boys and Girls Club featured prominently in the indoor photographs (57.5%); followed by Church (17.5%) and referents (12.5%) like bikes, skateboards and scooters located indoors but referring to outdoor activities. Thus physical activity in the lives of Latino/a children of this study overwhelmingly occurs in outdoor places, with parks playing a prominent role (refer to Table 3 for details). However in addition to parks, many other everyday environments like parking lots, alleys and streets/ sidewalks also support physical activity of Latino/a children. I call these places – interstitial places; or hybrid places in the sense that they are developed to accommodate the transportation infrastructure – but adapted to fulfill the physical activity needs of the Latino/a children of the city of Lancaster.

All except one of the parks represented in the photographs were neighborhood parks. In the case of the one child who frequented the Regional Park (Central Lancaster Park) – it still was the closest park, and was connected to his home by a trail. About 80% of the participating children frequented parks that were closest to their homes; and the remaining 20% frequented parks that were near the Boys and Girls Club that they visited for after school activities. Ten of the fourteen children (or 71%) that participated in this study frequented parks within a half-mile network distance from their homes. The remaining four children frequented parks that were located just outside the half-mile network distance from their homes. In all instances, the children walked to parks – by themselves, or accompanied by siblings, relatives, parents or friends. The preponderance of neighborhood parks photographs can be construed to indicate that neighborhood parks are an important setting for physical activity for Latino children. The fact that almost all the children used the closest park and walking was the mode of transportation points to the importance of parks within easy walking distance.

Analysis of the photographs and interviews reveal that physical activity is construed as a wide variety of sports related and other activities, the majority of which are located outdoors. Basketball, baseball, football, and soccer were popular sports activities that were recognized as physical activity. However not one participant engaged in playing any of these games through an organized league, rather they played informally with friends and family at the park, in the streets and their front yards/ backyards. Running around in the backyard, playing catch and tag in the backyard and streets, riding a bike or scooter on a hilly bank or parking area were also popular activities. Only one participant frequented a skate park, even though it was outside the half-mile walking zone around his home. However, a trail connected the skate park to his home (see Figure 6). Climbing trees, digging holes, running in fields, and using play equipment at play areas (slides, sea-saws, swings, monkey bars) featured prominently in the photographs. In describing these activities a common refrain was that it was fun and exciting.

Indoor physical activities centered around the Boys and Girls Club – basketball in the indoor gym, foosball, pool and board games. A few kids took photographs of sedentary activities like watching TV and playing video games, even though the directions asked for photographs related to physical activity. Some children played in the recreation area in their church before and after service. Interestingly, trees and the blue sky were also represented in the photographs. When queried about it, the participants responded that they liked to look at trees and the sky, - they enjoyed the wide expanse of grassy

fields and looking for clouds of different shapes in the sky. In most cases the participants engaged in physical activity with others: friends, siblings or even other kids that they met at the park. Over and over again the participants characterized their physical activity as fun. Thus the notion of physical activity was associated with nature, play, excitement and socialization.

Park Planning in the City of Lancaster

Parks and recreation planning is an ongoing process in Lancaster with the involvement of several agencies. Most notably, the City's Department of Public Works is involved in developing and maintaining the physical structure of the park system. The Lancaster Recreation Commission fulfills the role of providing public recreation programs for the city, township, and school district. The Lancaster County Department of Parks and Recreation coordinates park and recreation facilities on the county level, and includes Lancaster Central Park – part of which is within the boundaries of the City of Lancaster (Thomas Comitta Associates and Arro Consultin, 2009). The Lancaster School District serves local students, and "are encouraged to make facilities available to the general public when such recreational amenities are not scheduled for school-related activities" (Thomas Comitta Associates and Arro Consulting, 2009, p. 10). Other related agencies from the City include Administrative Services, Public Safety, Mayor's Office of Special Events (MOOSE), and Economic Development and Neighborhood Revitalization. The Spanish American Civic Association is also a notable agency representing the Latino community in various ways including park and recreation needs. The city also supports two Boys and Girls Clubhouses that serve indoor recreation needs of youth in the community.

Notable amongst the parks and recreation related planning reports are the city's 1998 Parks and Recreation Plan, the 2004 Streetscape Design Guidelines, and the 2009 Urban Parks, Recreation and Open Space Plan. Larger scale planning efforts that have a bearing on parks in the city are the 2006 Growing Together (Comprehensive Plan for Central Lancaster County), and the 2009 Greenscapes: the Green Infrastructure Element Report. According to the Growing Together Report (2006, page 10.4) the City of Lancaster has adequate community park area (30.0 acres), a surplus (88.9 acres) of neighborhood parks and a deficit (4.5 acres) of mini-parks using population estimates for 2030. On the other hand, the more recent Urban Parks, Recreation Open Space Plan (2009) document which focuses solely on the city of Lancaster states that the city lacks

adequate community parks acreage but has sufficient mini and neighborhood parks area. Thus there is discrepancy in park needs assessment by different groups/reports. The 2006 report does not clearly indicate the method of computation of parks area, and since we did not talk to the authors of the report, we can only speculate about the factors contributing to this discrepancy. It is important to note that the 2009 report does point out the existence of some under-served areas within the city. Review of the planning documents indicate a general consensus that the focus should be not on building new parks in the center of the County (i.e. in the city) but to create linkages between parks, explore possibilities for the creation of mini-parks within the city, and maintain and improve existing parks (ACP-Visioning & Planning, 2006;).

In the more recent (park) planning documents, there is documentation of efforts to reach out to the community for input to create a vision for the parks and recreation system in the community. The general vision developed from the community outreach in each of the documents can be classified under the open space system park type (Cranz, 1982), and entails improving existing parks and creating a network to facilitate accessibility and use. The method employed for public participation differed from project to project. Within the City of Lancaster, the *Northeast Revitalization Initiative* (2007a) and the *Southwest Revitalization Initiative* (2007b) employed a local advisory committee and neighborhood planner, and held multiple public workshops. However, no indication of outreach to minority groups is indicated in the documents. The City of Lancaster's *Urban Park, Recreation and Open Space Plan* (2009) documents efforts made to reach out to the community. Their overall purpose was to engage the community in outdoor recreation for an increase in physical, spiritual, cultural, and intellectual wellbeing. Participation opportunities included a kick-off meeting for visioning, "numerous meetings and surveys" (p. 92) and sketch presentations, which were piggybacked with the Mayor's annual neighborhood meetings. The survey was provided in both English and Spanish; however, few Spanish surveys were completed and returned, and no reasons offered for the poor participation by the Latino/a community.

The comprehensive plan for the center of the county (or Lancaster Inter Municipal Committee or LIMC), *Growing Together* (2006), had two phases to their community participation process, an 'idea generation phase' and a 'comment phase'. The idea generation phase had four types of meetings:

kickoff, stakeholder workshop, public meeting, and community visioning summit. The comment phase consisted of three public forums. Acknowledging the rapid growth of the Hispanic/Latino population, focus groups sessions were conducted with Latino/a and other minority groups. The report does not discuss the extent of participation by the Latino/a community and how the ideas from such focus groups were incorporated into the parks and recreation planning process.

Finally, *Greenscapes* (2009), part of the comprehensive plan for Lancaster County, reports on some public participation, but focuses much more on natural resources, advocating for the sustainable or ecological park type. During this project, they had one public meeting to educate the public about green infrastructure and generate ideas, but limited further participation to a few special interest focus groups. Their efforts led to establishment of four goals, three mostly dealing with natural systems and landscapes, but the fourth, broadly consistent with the other documents, being to improve quality of life by providing easier access to outdoor recreation opportunities.

Conclusion

Analysis of the location and distribution of parks in Lancaster city and surrounding MSA indicates that parks area per capita is much lower in the city relative to the surrounding MSA. Since the majority of the Latino/a population is concentrated in the city (Latino/a population in the city is 33.3% versus 7.2% in the MSA), and the city supports a larger proportion of low income families (21.7% of families below the poverty level in Lancaster City versus 5.9% in Lancaster County) – this represents an environmental justice issue that needs further examination. From an equity standpoint the per capita parks area within the city should be higher than that in the surrounding suburban areas since low-income families are likely to experience restricted mobility, suffer higher risk of obesity related diseases and live in denser urban areas without large front yards/back yards that provide adequate play spaces.

Investigation of the photo-voice data reveals that outdoor environments, including neighborhood parks, play an important role in meeting the physical activity needs of Latino/a children of this study. Furthermore, the children utilize a variety of ordinary places/landscapes (Jackson, 1994) to engage in play and physical activity. Streets, parking lots and alleys, all part of the transportation infrastructure of the city are adapted for use as play areas and sites for physical activ-

ity. This can be characterized as an example of hybrid place making (Alsayyad, 2001), the appropriation and adaptation of ordinary landscapes/places for supporting play and physical activity of Latino/a kids in the city (Rios, 2009).

Review of parks and recreation planning documents indicate that parks planning in Lancaster is conceived of as a modernist utopian enterprise (Holston, 1999) with the intent of maximizing the benefits of the park system to the residents of Lancaster. In this endeavor, there is relatively little acknowledgement of different groups in Lancaster city, especially its sizable Latino/a community. Earlier reports and documents do not mention the Latino/a community. The more recent initiatives (like Growing Together - 2006; Northeast Revitalization Initiative - 2007, the Southwest Revitalization Initiative - 2007; Urban Park, Recreation and Open Space Plan - 2009) acknowledge the Latino/a community, but do not discuss specifics regarding efforts made to reach out to the Latino/a community in the city. The fact that few Spanish language *Resident Survey for Lancaster City Parks and Open Space Master Plan* (part of the Urban Park, Recreation and Open Space Project) were returned[8], and that none of the children of this study participate in any kind of organized sports activities suggests that the Latino/a community is not fully integrated into the parks/recreation planning and management process of the city. This echoes the sentiment of the report - *Latinos in Lancaster County* (2007) – that the Latino/a community in Lancaster County, in spite of its numbers lacks visibility. To respond to this current situation what is needed is a *politics of difference* (Sandercock, 2003) that does not seek to create a shared sense of place between the Latino/a and Anglo community, but recognizes and respects the rights of diverse groups to transcultural cities.

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Endnotes

[1] CDC website: http://www.cdc.gov/obesity/childhood/ accessed on Feb 20, 2011

[2] ibid

[3] At the same time there are differences in sub-groups within Hispanic communities. For example a study (Gobster and Delgado 1993) found that Puerto Ricans didn't play soccer and picnicked less, while engaging in basketball and swimming more often than other Hispanics.

[4] We used GIS maps obtained from Lancaster County to compute the area of parks within selected census tracts in the city and the surrounding area of Lancaster MSA, and then used Census 2000 data to compute parks area per 1000 population.

[5] The commonly used parks standards are derived from the NRPA Guidelines authored by Fogg (1981, 1990), though there has been a major rethinking of the philosophy of parks guidelines (Mertes & Hall, 1995) since then

[6] A small section of the city at the northwest corner is excluded from this analysis since it forms a small portion of census tract 11805, and it has a density and settlement pattern that is more akin to the suburban areas surrounding the city of Lancaster.

[7] The issue of access is mediated by factors like available transportation choices, and ability to use for fee recreational facilities. A more nuanced analysis of access to parks should take into account such factors.

[8] Since this survey did not collect demographic information, we have no reliable estimate of the number of Latino/as that participated in the survey. It is possible that many Latino/a residents might have returned English survey forms.

Figure 1: Parks in City of Lancaster

Figure 2: Latino Population in City of Lancaster.

Figure 3: Parking lot and grassy slope used for biking

Figure 4: Alley used for biking

Figure 5: Play area in Musser Park

Figure 6: Skate park at Lancaster Central Park

Table 1: Comparison of Parks acreage in Lancaster City and Lancaster MSA

	Population	Park Area	Population/park area (acres)	Acres/1000 pop	NRPA Standard
MSA tracts minus Lancaster City	414755.00	6579.85	63.03	15.86	
City of Lancaster Tracts[1]	55903.00	214.18	261.01	3.83	6.25 - 10.5 acres per 1000
MSA Total	470658.00	6794.02	69.28	14.44	persons

Notes:
[1] In computing the parks area for the City of Lancaster we use the census tracts (1-12, 14-16) that are part of the original City of Lancaster and do not include the outlying annexed areas which are more representative of the surrounding suburban areas in terms of settlement patterns and density.

Table 2: Comparison of Parks Area and Facilities by selected census tracts

Census tract groups	Mini Parks (#/area in acres)	Neighborhood Parks (#/area in acres)	Community Parks (#/area in acres)	Other Open Spaces (#/area in acres)	Regional Parks (#/area in acres)	Total Parks (#/area in acres)	Number of Facilities	Total Population	Proportion of Latino/a Population	Community Parks (acres)/1000 population	Mini + Neighborhood Parks area (acres)/1000 population	Pop/Facility
I: 14, 15, 16, 8, 9	5 (2.32)	2 (22.7)[1]	0	2 (3.45)	1 (48.76)	10 (77.23)	33	17102	54.39%	0	1.46	518.24
II: 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 10	5 (1.95)	6 (21.6)	0	0	0	11 (23.55)	44.5	21134	27.14%	0	1.11	474.92
III: 6, 11, 12	0	0	0	2 (0.09)	0	2 (0.09)	0	10575	15.18%	0	0	0
IV: 5	0	1 (21.2)	0	0	0	1(21.2)	16	4731	5.94%	0	4.48	295.69

Notes:

1 - Since Conestoga Creek Park located within the Group I census tracts is an undeveloped wooded site it has not been included in the computation of parks area.

NRPA Park standards: Mini + Neighborhood Parks = (1.25 – 2.50) acres/1000 persons

Table 3: Details of photographs associated with physical activity

	Average (%)	Min (%)	Max (%)	Comments
Outside	78.26%	21.43	100	
• Infrastructure	24.31%	0%	50%	Parking lots (near home, church and parks visited), streets, alleys,
• In and around home	25%	0%	71%	Stoop, backyard, patio, front yard, neighbor's yard, friend's yard, ice-cream shop
• Parks	45.14%	0%	90.91%	Central Lancaster Park, Conlin Field/Farnum Park, Musser Park, Brandon Park, NW Corridor Linear Park, Crystal Park
• Other	5.55%	0%	15.00%	Blue sky, trees, referents like skateboard, bike, and basketball
Inside	21.74	0%	78.57	
• Boys & Girls Club	57.5%	0%	100%	Basketball, foosball, pool, air hockey, board games, reading books, running around, kickball, freeze tag, art projects, computer games
• Church	7.5%	0%	100%	Playing in recreation area of church
• Referent	12.5%	0%	50%	Bike, skateboard, scooter
• Playing with toys	7.5%	0%	42.86%	At home
• TV/Video games	12.5%	0%	50%	At home
• Weights	2.5%	0%	50%	At home

[1] the two participants that did not have photographs of parks mentioned that they visited parks, but could not take photographs because the days were getting shorter and they could not get around to the park during daylight hours.

Our Sawah: Developing Cross-Cultural Competencies Through Participatory Filmmaking

Kevin Thompson

ABSTRACT: Hidden in a public's memory rests an often quiet knowledge of the history and significance of place and the meaning of landscape. As the modern practitioner gains easier access to an ever increasingly voluminous trove of information revealing the biological, geophysical, socio-political characteristics of landscapes around the world, what technologies, skills and approaches equip them for working outside of familiar cultural contexts and between powerful systems of meaning? Furthermore, as international globalization and urbanization trends continue to demand an internationally-mobile place-making workforce with inter-cultural adeptness, the question remains: how are these rising professionals being trained to meet these demands and what are educators doing to help nurture essential cross-cultural competencies?

In 2009, the Bali Field School invited two groups of students, one from Bali, the other from the United States, to contribute to the production of *community landscape documentaries*: short films that reveal the connections that exist between communities and the landscapes they occupy. This paper shares insights into the process by asking "to what extent does the nature of a collaborative project help instigate a dialogue between two groups and to what extent does that dialogue support the sharing of landscape meaning across differing worldviews?

Introduction

In an era of globalization, the demand for cross-cultural competencies in an increasingly mobile global workforce continues to rise *(Thrilling & Fadel, 2009)*. The internet, open-source mapping and high-speed information and communication infrastructure networks make immense volumes of bio-geographical and socio-political data readily available. But understanding what a place means to the people who live there requires unique skills and sensibilities that enable designers and planners to instigate meaningful dialogues through which cross cultural understanding can occur.

For anyone whose work risks threatening the integrity of local identity and community heritage, cross cultural competencies is an essential skill set. Yet, despite rising calls for professional designers and planners to work overseas and in contexts outside familiar realms, how are educators helping equip tomorrow's workforces with these necessary competencies?

Traditional study-abroad models have evolved to provide training in international and cross-cultural collaborations that also provide community service through action-based learning. While some service-learning projects leave behind tangible benefits *(a new school house or community garden for instance)* others programs focus on local capacity-building and community development through collaborative and participatory design and planning initiatives.

This paper reflects on an immersive, service-learning, study-abroad collaboration between US and Indonesian students exploring ideas towards a shared understanding of landscape.

Landscape Field Schools: Bali Field School 2009

Landscape Field Schools offers community-based, landscape-focused, international service-learning exchange programs through the College of Design, Construction and Planning at the University of Florida. For the past four years, the programs have been located in Indonesia, with field schools operating on the islands of Java and Bali.

In the summer of 2009, design and planning students from schools in the US spent a month in Bali working with local community groups investigating impacts of development pressures and resultant change to Bali's community heritage landscapes and contributing to a study that investigates the potential for participatory video to serve as a method of mapping heritage landscape significance and as a medium for nurturing cross-cultural learning exchanges.

Program participants were introduced to concepts of community engagement, heritage management and cultural landscapes while investigating the potential for participatory filmmaking to:

- serve as a mechanism through which a community's perception of changing land-uses and their impact on the integrity of local community's heritage landscapes could be gauged

- motivate and sustain a community group's voluntary participation and engagement in activities oriented towards capacity building and sustainable community development

- produce a new cultural document that interprets tradition at risk

- serve as a collaborative learning project that enables cross-cultural exchange of ideas specific to landscape

A further goal of the Bali Field School program was to determine whether or not community members of a rapidly-urbanizing region recognized the cultural implications of land use change in their village and whether or not they had any real sense of the scale of change that was occurring. While it was never the intention of the program to comprehensively answer these questions, the opportunity existed to assess the potential for alternative media *(particularly digital video)* and its methods *(particularly participatory filmmaking)* to compel and sustain a dialogue relating to these broader questions between groups with differing worldviews.

Group Participants

The Bali Field School program was marketed to students enrolled in universities throughout the United States with an interest in community development, heritage management, tourism planning, and cultural landscapes. Eight students from the University of Florida participated in the program: three doctoral students *(one with an emphasis in landscape architecture, the other two with concentrations in urban and regional planning)*; one master's student *(in urban and regional planning)* and five undergraduate landscape architecture students *(with an additional student from another University in Florida)* joined the program. This group comprised the core of the Bali Field School program.

In Bali, a complementary group of students from the University of Udayana's Architecture program were invited to participate in the program. Eleven students who were also members of their school's photography club volunteered to participate and were joined by three faculty members from the department of architecture. In Ubud, these two groups were joined by twenty adolescent teenagers: students from a local junior high school offering specialized training in cultural arts studies. Their involvement was facilitated by a faculty member and the headmaster from that school who also provided the meeting and workshop areas for the program activities.

Study Context

The field school program was situated in the foothill city of Ubud, a *"village"* of 30,000 residents that has been long-recognized as the cultural center of Bali. The island's culture has been the subject of study for a widely-recognized group of anthropologists, including Jane Belo, Margaret Meade, Gregory Bateson, Clifford Geertz and Stephen Lansing and notably-influenced by the ex-patriot artists Walter Spies, Antonio Blanco and Rudolf Bonnet all of whom settled in Ubud *(Covarrubias, 1937; Bateson & Mead, 1953; Geertz, 1968, 1973, 1981; Belo, 1970; Boon, 1990; Clifford, 1988; Hobart, Ramsayer & Thayer 2001; Lansing, 1974, 1983, 1991, 1994, 2006, 2007)*

Today, Ubud continues to flourish as a highly sought-after cultural tourism destination. Tourism visits to Bali have risen dramatically, a rise tempered only occasionally by regional economic downturns, global financial collapse, tsunamis, earthquakes, and terrorist bombings *(Jakarta Post, 2010)*. While the southern beach resort areas have absorbed a large percentage of this influx, tourists committed to experiencing Bali's unique cultural arts and performances travel inland to the city of Ubud. During the day, Ubud's streets bustle with tourists patronizing art galleries and handicraft shops. In the evening, the city's temples, pavilions and squares come alive with foreigners flocking to see the enchanted spectacles of dance performances, shadow puppet theaters and gamelan orchestra performances.

Over the past decade and a half, as development has stitched-together the urban edge lining both sides of Monkey Forest Road, the cultural landscapes of Ubud have changed. Tiny water temples that once marked the edge of padi fields along the village's main street have been relocated to new boundaries defined by the ever evolving patterns of village growth. Where farmlands have been wholly consumed by urban development, they have been removed all together. No longer a part of the everyday scene of village life, the frequency of the rituals performed at these temples appears to be diminishing. Seen less frequently, the understanding of these rituals erodes, appreciation of their significance is severed and soon, another chapter in our understanding of the relationships between human occupation and landscape will be lost.

Cross Cultural Landscape Understanding

Early group discussions revealed stark differences in the entering perspectives of program participants. The US university students had no real understanding of what a sacred landscape is, how it was used, or how it had come to be regarded as sacred in the first place. The Balinese university students had a narrowly-defined notion of what the broader, western concept of landscape really was, believing it had to do with the landscaping of resort grounds or the rare public gardens found in Bali. The Balinese junior high school students had no conception of landscape whatsoever. While these differences were significant, the participant responses were not surprising to a program director with considerable experience in Bali.

The recruitment for program participation was directed differently for each target group. The US students were invited to join a study-abroad program that focused on sustainable community heritage, sacred landscapes and civic engagement and participatory planning.

The Balinese university students were invited to join a field school program focusing on urban and regional landscape issues and community participation while the Ubud junior high school students were invited to join a program in which they could contribute to making films documenting life in their village.

Identified Learning Outcomes

Being selective about anticipated learning objectives is essential to ensuring learning satisfaction. Participants *(both visitor and host)* came into the experience with naturally-high levels of expectations having made considerable investments of time, energy and money *(for the US students at least, having joined the effort at considerable personal expense).* Consequently, each group in the collaborative process has specific expectations and needs requiring special consideration and accommodation.

As each group's learning objectives differ, multiple methods were used to support these varied objectives. Three distinct learning environments and methods of delivery were used: in-context classroom environments, in-field excursions, and collaborative workshops. All groups had exposure to each type of learning environment depending on the activities engaged to satisfy each learning objective. Similarly, the methods of delivery were varied, ranging from read-

ings, lectures and discussion groups to in-class activities and field trip excursions and collaborative group projects.

In addition to the individual learning outcome objectives for each group the field school program activities were also structured to gauge the potential for participatory filmmaking to serve as a mechanism for fostering a cross-cultural exchange leading to a shared understanding of the concept of landscape, the threats to landscape meaning and the potential cultural impacts of landscape change. While the program participants were aware of the individual group learning outcome objectives, it was also important that they understood that the project entailed a broader-objective and that their contributions to a shared collaborative project would be substantive in that regard. Although we never claimed we were going to accomplish anything beyond making a film about urbanization and change in the village of Ubud, we did emphasize that those contributing to the process would be given a voice, and that their perspectives would be shared with a larger audience (that attending the public screening of the film). This work is, in effect, a new cultural document: a film that could be subsequently re-shown, uploaded or otherwise shared with people not directly involved in the process should those responsible for its production choose to do so.

The Participatory Filmmaking Project

Participatory video has been shown to be an effective method of empowerment and social change in its capacity to instigate action, compel engagement and socialize local issues and concerns. This study used participatory video to nurture cross-cultural dialogue between our visiting group of landscape architecture students and their hosting group of young community members in Ubud.

The project ran for three weeks. The US participants attended morning facilitation workshops, debriefing from the previous day's activities and trailing facilitation of activities planned for the afternoons. Afternoon workshops were conducted at the local junior high school where participants were introduced to the western concept of landscape through a discussion that related landscape to scaled frames of reference: near middle and far views. A number of mapping activities followed, beginning with a conventional community mapping exercise in which the local students identified their homes in the village on a commercially-produced map to help them establish a basis for context and village scale. This was followed by a cognitive

mapping exercise in which they were asked to draw their own map of their village, illustrating and describing the "places they like" and "the places they don't like" and expanding on these through writing that would form the foundation for the video narratives. Mapping and discussing specific places throughout their village revealed landscape themes which covered a range of community places *(public market, football field, monkey forest, cemetery)* and from which a focused theme selection was made *(sawah, or rice field)*. This theme was reduced to ten sub themes *(planting, harvesting, people working, flying kite, scarecrow, offering, temples, cycles, duckman and nasi goreng)*. These sub themes are categorized by use and function in Table 1.0.

Once themes and sub-themes had been identified, narratives were developed through an activity called *"story mapping"* in which the local contributors were asked to write short stories relating to the identified sub themes while locating specific places within the village where these stories were either situated or could best be represented. The story map narratives evolved into story-boards using templates that limited the number of frames *(scenes)* and offered a framework for leading into the narrative *(situating the story within the personal realm of each filmmaker's home)* and conclusion *(asking the filmmakers to end their narrative with an "optimistic departure")*.

Filmmaking was scheduled for a single day with ten individual teams filming at approximately forty individual sites. The junior high school students chose the role of protagonist. The Balinese university students were charged with capturing the video and the US participants were cast in supporting roles, ranging from duck man and kecak dance performer to rich western tourists sizing-up and purchasing local padi fields.

Shooting was rehearsed to minimize multiple takes as junior high students were not trained in editing processes. Using the carefully-conceived and highly-detailed story boards, the Balinese university students cut the video together and transcribed and translated the scripts and spoken dialogues to produce the English language subtitles included in the final films. The films were presented individually to the junior high school filmmakers who offered response, input and suggestions for editing prior to final production. Just four days following the on-location filming, the videos were screened at a community film festival organized to mark the completion of the program.

Reflections on the Process

Findings of this study are based on observations made at multiple points during the project sequence including pre-workshop meetings, workshop sessions, follow-up group discussions and a review of the journals and sketchbooks created by the US participants as well as the maps, story boards and final cultural landscape documentary films produced the program. These data help paint a picture of the extent to which each group gained insights and learned aspects of the other group's interpretation of the landscape concept.

Adjusting Preconceptions and Enriching Understanding

Prior to their arrival in Bali, the US students had been introduced to several concepts including the Balinese systems of orientation, proportioning, and spatial and ordering. They had also read about Bali's unique cooperative agricultural societies including the subak irrigation councils and water temple systems. Although they had a sense of these concepts and notions of how they manifest on the ground, it was through the process of working with the local program participants that they developed a clear sense of the scale and local values relating to these beliefs:

> *I'd read about the water temples and had imagined these ornately-detailed and decorated structures like we see in the travel guides. But when <<the junior high school students>> started drawing water temples in their story boards today, I realized that the pillars that I had walked past a million times every day since arriving in Bali were also water temples. When I asked them what happens at these temples, they said this is where they "must give prayer and make offering everyday to show respect to the Gods." I asked them if they did this but they said no, it was "a job for the rice farmer's wife."*

Travel guides are great resources helping to set the scene and interpret many aspects of places unfamiliar, but they cannot always be assumed to offer necessarily full nor accurate representations of life in foreign places. Being students of landscape architecture, the US participants were drawn to every mapping resource available to them, from travel guides to GoggleEarth images, they wanted to get a sense of the places they would visit before they arrived. Although they had read about the spatial organizing principles that dictated the layout of traditional Balinese villages, the travel guides presented idealized illustrations to communicate these concepts and despite that the original planning and orientation of the village of Ubud is still rec-

ognizable, it's scale, urbanized form and modern-day character presents challenges to the interpretation of these concepts.

> We had learned about the principles of tri loka and kaja-kelod and while it made sense when we read about it, I figured these were principles that applied to historic villages. I wasn't thinking of Ubud as a village, let alone one that followed the principles of tri loca and kaja kelod but when the <<junior high school students>> I was working with mapped Ubud, they drew their favorite place, the football field (of course), and said "the body, you know? The body!" I realized they were talking about the spatial ordering system utama-madya-nista <head-body-foot> and at that moment, I could clearly see in the map they had drawn the same village organization of birth temple, palace, public market; school, football field, padi; and temple of the dead and cemetery. Of course it's there. I just wasn't thinking of Ubud as anything other than the busy little city it appears to be.

As facilitators of a filmmaking process, the US students were privileged to have been invited into the private community spaces and family homes of their local partners. There, they witnessed the common place and day-to-day activities of Balinese society and through this "inside perspective" gained a better understanding of the actions and customary practices they had observed in the public sphere. Witnessing these events within these contexts somehow validated these actions and made the activities they witnessed on a daily basis throughout the village somehow more authentic.

> *I had seen this little ritual performed everyday outside the hotel. A village woman carrying a rattan tray of smoking incense, frangipani and hibiscus flowers would stop at the entrance to the courtyard, kneel, place an offering on the ground and sprinkle it with holy water. Having heard so much about the commoditization of culture in tourist destinations like Bali, I had assumed that this was part of the spectacle performed for the benefit of the tourists. When <<the junior high school students>> took us to their home today, Adi's mother had just completed her rounds of prayers and offerings for the family compound. I realized these are not the acts of spectacle performed for the benefit of tourists but rather, these are daily rituals that the tourists are privileged to witness.*

As rich as the immersion experience may be, there are still clearly, depths of detail encoded in the observed scene whose meaning may never be realized without creatively engaging with the local population. Like many other cultures, Bali

maintains an ancient oral tradition, inheriting local knowledge from one generation to the next. Despite the volume of interpretive material on Bali held in Dutch colonial archives, American ethnographies and travel guides from countries all around the world, whole histories and associated meanings remain embedded in place, all but invisible to the casual observer and the dedicated visitor. Recognizing the recurrent subtle patterns in the daily activities that surround us is half the battle: possessing the tools to body-forth an understanding of their significance is another. Based in narrative and focused on landscape, cultural landscape documentaries and participatory video methods prize-open a privileged position to explore, unearthing detail otherwise hidden in obscurity.

Reframing Concepts

Reviewing the films produced by the local junior high school students clearly shows these youth not only grasped an alternative concept of landscape but were also able, using the narrative structure of film, to reframe traditional knowledge, reinterpret community histories, unveil embedded meaning and creatively map local landscape values.

The sub themes developed by the junior high school students can be categorized by their focus on issues of environmental concern (environmental quality (air quality, wildlife habitat) and scenic quality (cool breeze, nice view)); traditional livelihoods (farmers losing their jobs); traditional beliefs (scarecrow and the legend of Dewi Sri); traditional customary practices (offerings and temples); familial legacy and community heritage (identity as a rice farming community, knowledge inheritance from grandparents) and community landscape resource (recreation: flying kites, mudball fights, other play activities).

Several of the films drew connections between the loss of sawah and environmental degradation. In the film *Cycles,* Agus and Ayu walk us through the sawah of their village Penistanan as they explain the many activities they enjoy during the various harvest cycles of the year: hunting eels, flying kites, and catching dragonflies to eat. Then they take pause. Agus says *"Yes, this is all were fun, but I feel sad. Because the increase in building development, that makes land and playground decreased."* Ayu responds, *"Yes, I agree. The decrease of the land, makes global wamring increasing, so I don't like to go out. As time goes by, building development has the important meaning for some people. So we hope that the government and society to control the building development*

so we can keep the naturally of our villages." Agus concludes: *"Yes, I agree. Anyway, its not for anyone else, but for us."*

In another film, *The Duckman*, Ananti and Swandika explore the role of the duckman in managing agricultural pests and helping to maintain ecological balance in the rice fields of their village. Swandika is unfamiliar with the duckman and after Ananti explains his work, Swandika suggests *"That sounds like fun. Maybe I'll try it some time."* Registering amazement, Ananti proclaims, *"Whoa, few people want to become a duckman!"*

"Why?" asks Swandika.

"Because it's tiring and a duckman must wake up early in the morning to take them to a good spot for feeding and he must have good memories <to remember where he left them>."

As they explore further, Ananti shares the observation *"Nowadays there are only few padi left. A lot of them are used for building development. So where are we going to get our rice? Besides that, padi field are useful for oxygen production to keep the air fresh."*

Swandika adds, *"Now the padi fields have turned into buildings, despite the fact that many people need it. It is also a habitat for many creatures."* After discussing ways to renew local enthusiasm for the padis *(like holding a competition for the most beautiful padi, organizing a community planting event or staging a competition for the most cleverly disguised scarecrow),*

Swandika concludes *"I hope our concerns will be heard."* Ananti responds, *"I hope so too."*

Other films use the sawah as stage and setting to communicate ancient narratives. In *Scarecrow,* the junior high school students retell the epic of Dewi Sri and the origin of the *orang berpakaian buruk sekali (or, scarecrow).* Having learned the story from her grandfather, Nugraheni enlightens her friend Wirat:

> *There once was a grandmother and grandfather … this has something to do with Dewi Sri <the Goddess of Rice>> … first Dewi Sri and Dewa Sedana were siblings … and they like each other, and then Dewa Siwa who was their foster father knew about it … Dewa Siwa got mad and kill Dewa Sedana … then*

> *Dewa Sedana's corpse was put into a coffin and was taken to earth … after they got to earth, they open the coffin, and many creatures like snails, eels and frog came out of the coffin. …the Dewa Sri woke up and she couldn't find her brother (Dewa Sedana) … then Dewi Sri went looking for Dewa Siwa, and Deaw Siwa told everything …Dewa Siwa said he killed Dewa Sedana, and Dewi Sri also wanted to die … Dewi Sri got her wish, Dewa Sira killed her … the corpse was thrown to earth, and was pick up by an old couple … and the corpse was buried like any other corpse …the <earth> around the cemetery grew padi, and Dewa Siwa gave Dewi Sri the title of Goddess of Padi, which until now is still being worshipped … Scarecrow is the symbol of the old couple who takes care of the padi field*

Recognizing that such legends are directly related to landscape (in this case, the rice padi), the two girls posit:

> *…there's not much padi fields here? -there used to be lots of them, but now, they are used for building development. Tourist came here to look for the padi field, not the hotels. There are lots of empty hotel in Bali, why do they need to make more… Oh dear padi field – my padi field didn't have any fault*

In the film People Working, Desi identifies the scenic quality of the sawah,

> *Padi fields are a great place. We like to come here because of the view and breeze. My house is surrounded by padi fields and that's why my friends like to come here. With the cool breeze they can study well.*

…and connects their loss to local economic impacts:

> *A few years ago there were many padi fields in Padang Tegal but now buildings start to cover them. Maybe this is because of the economy crisis. Many padi fields are being sold and turned into buildings, such as artshop, restaurants, hotels and many more. …*

> *Most of the tourists that come to Bali want to see the view of the padi field. But people start to buy the farmers padi fields and start building on top of them.*

This point is driven home with a simple head shot and direct commentary:

Rice farmer: *"I lost my job because the padi fields have been demolished"*

Cutting to a construction site with the camera trained on a massive excavation pit, Desi makes her point clear: *"This was once filled with padi fields, but as we can see, the padi fields that were green and breezy are now turned into buildings and damaged the land as you can see right now."* Cutting to a scene of the same farmer sitting in on a wall in the middle of the field, passing idle time, Design comments: *"The farmer is one of the victims, he lost his job and now has nothing to do"* then panning across to an image of a farmer bent over cleaning a street gutter, *" This is one of the farmer that lost his job and now has to clean sewage for a living."*

In the final scene, Desi trains the camera back on the original farmer, slashing away at terrace grasses with his sickle, *"The farmer wishes that excessive building development will stop."*

Clearly, the Balinese junior high school students came to understand the western concept of landscape and successfully reframed local experience, perspectives and attitudes within its domain.

Impacts of Process

It is difficult to say with confidence how much of the newly-acquired understanding of the differing landscape concepts was informed by the participatory video project. For the US students, the field school activities in the first week of the program involved long hours in traditional classroom settings and physically-grueling in-field excursions. Although daily sketchbook/journal entries were encouraged from the start of the program, the earliest entries were mostly recounts of the day's activities, probably recorded in the evenings when students were passing the idle evening hours back in the recuperative comforts of their rooms. Sketchbook entries in the latter part of the program *(when the students had more free days on their own to explore)* are much more graphically-oriented and much more focused on the observed physical realities of life in a Balinese village.

These same students did however identify two distinct moments in which they felt that impression and reality coalesced. The first of these was on the day of in-field filming when they were taken to the spaces their Balinese counterparts had selected as filming locations. After three weeks of talking about these places and after having spent considerable time helping to build both written and graphic narra-

tives about these landscapes, being in these spaces represented a profound moment in their experience on Bali.

The second moment identified as being particularly moving was at the public screening of the participatory films. This was the first time they had seen the films in their entirety and inclusive of subtitling. Students recalled being moved *"nearly to tears"* finally seeing these landscapes through the eyes of their local collaborators. They were also impressed by the depth of understanding and sensitivity to land use change that was now made plainly obvious in the reasonably-accurate translation of the spoken transcripts.

Conclusion

As tomorrow's planning and design professionals are being increasingly asked to work in environments that are outside their own familiar contexts, how do we, as educators, rise to the challenge of equipping them with cross cultural competencies? Traditional study-abroad models have evolved to include service-learning and action-based research that extends beyond simple immersive experiences for students. Cross cultural collaboration enriches exchange opportunities through shared activities, but not all collaboration requires identical learning outcomes.

The Bali Field School participatory video workshop experience identified differing learning outcome objectives for each of the groups involved in the collaboration. The US participants learned about the Balinese concept of landscape as expressed through spatial ordering principles and local systems of belief while also being introduced to the practice and methods of civic engagement and community participation. Working on the same collaborative exercise, the Balinese participants were introduced to the western concept of landscape and challenged to share stories about local landscapes and to reflect on the impacts and consequences of development pressures and land use change across varying scales of concern.

A review of the materials produced in this process indicates there was an exchange of cross cultural understanding. US participants clearly reflected upon their understanding of local landscape significance and the intangible associations and attachment that exists between a community and the landscapes they occupy. Similarly, the Balinese students were successful in producing ten distinct films relating environmen-

tal, economic and social concerns to global pressures through their newly learned concept of landscape. What remains less clearly understood however, is the extent to which the activity of facilitating participatory videomaking is directly responsible for this cross cultural exchange. It seems fair to suggest that any collaborative process that centers on meaningful dialogue could achieve similar successes so long as it encourages the creative exploration of ideas such as filmmaking does.

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Figure 1. Bali Field School participants. Author. 2009

Figure 2. Stitching of the Ubud's urban edge. Author, 2010

Figure 3. Participatory video workshop: shared learning. Author, 2009

Figure 4. Participatory video working session. Author, 2009

Play	Working	Production/Yield	Setting
Flying Kites Hunting Eels Mudball Fights	Planting* Harvesting* Burning The Duckman Irrigation*	Nasi Goreng Padi	Views Setting Quiet Place
Identified as activities with ritual observance associated with traditional customary practice			

Table 1. Functions and Activities of Landscape Themes Identified

Figure 5. Excerpts from US participant sketchbook. Matt Meyer, 2009

Figure 6. Working storyboard for film Water Temple. Hendra and Eby, 2009

Figure 7. Screen capture from the film: The Duckman. Ananti and Swandika, 2009

Figure 8. Screen capture from the film: People Working. Our Sawah, 2009

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