

CUNY School of Professional Studies

Perspectives on Gentrification

Identifying the Connection between Age and Perspectives on
Gentrification among Chinese Americans

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Abstract

Research on intergenerational conflicts and differences among Asian Americans has focused primarily on mental health. This study attempts to transpose this concept and apply it to a case that impacts the larger Asian American community. Chinatowns, like many urban neighborhoods, are under the threat of gentrification and urban development efforts. In the case of an ethnic enclave like Chinatown, where there is a large and connected ethnic community, how does gentrification take place in Chinatown and what do members of this community think about the changes there? This study uses age as a proxy for intergeneration differences because it believes that intergenerational differences are as much about the old versus the new, as it is anything else. Through online survey responses and individual interviews conducted in Chinatown, this study gathered data from over 70 participants and found unique and diverging perspectives on one aspect of Chinatown's gentrification.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

The term Asian Americans encompasses a large and diverse number of ethnic groups. Despite the heterogeneous nature of Asian Americans as a group, they share many commonalities and have similar family experiences. One such commonality involves intergenerational conflicts between parents and children, in which the views of older immigrant parents clash with their younger acculturated children, often attributing to psychological distress over family relations (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Akiyama, 2008; Weaver & Kim, 2008; Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Chung, 2001). Although it can easily be said that all parents and children have their differences or disputes, for Asian Americans those differences are unique to their circumstances because it involves the processes of immigration.

First-generation Asian American are immigrants who come from Asian cultures that vastly differ from American culture in many regards. One of the more prominent differences that exists is that of collectivism versus individualism (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Akiyama, 2008; Chung, 2001; Kim & Wolpin, 2008; Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Many Asian cultures adhere to beliefs that centralize around the group and its collective wellbeing, while Western cultures often emphasize the individual and the individual's freedoms (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Akiyama, 2008; Chung, 2001, Kim & Wolpin, 2008; Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Most, if not all, immigrant parents migrated to the U.S. in search of better opportunities for their children and families (Zhou & Lee, 2007, p. 15). To the children of these immigrants, their first-generation immigrant parents can appear to be little more than "old-school" singularly focused hard workers in their dogged pursuit for greater socioeconomic mobility and status, with little regard for anything

other than money (p. 15). However, it is important to note that even first-generation Asian Americans acculturate to a certain degree after enough time spent in the U.S (Chung, 2001) and many anticipate a “loss of culture” in their American raised children (Tuan, 1998). These immigrant parents recognize that their children are living in the U.S. and will likely never live in their countries of origin. So, it is not as if these immigrant parents never anticipated there to be problems or difficulties between themselves and their children.

By the turn of the century, based on U.S. Census data, many second-generation Asian Americans were under 17 in 2000 (Zhou & Lee, 2004, p. 39), meaning a significant portion of second generation have only just reached or passed their 30s, currently. Second-generation Asian Americans are not immigrants and are raised in America, whose frame of reference is American, and view things differently from their parents. From their point of view, their parents can be too rigid, old-fashioned, unacculturated, and often authoritarian (Tuan, 1998, p. 16). Their parents seemingly do not understand the concept of leisure or fun, and certainly do not respect their individuality (Tuan, 1998, p. 16). The new second generation (children of post-1965 immigrants) differ greatly from their first-generation parents “with respect to their socialization process in the family, the school, the society at large, and their orientation toward their parents’ homeland” (Zhou & Lee, 2004, p. 39). This is not to say that second-generation Asian Americans do not recognize their parents’ sacrifices and efforts in securing a better future for their children and family. It is just to point out that there are differences that exist between the generations and that they have different perspectives on their shared experiences. It is in those differences that perhaps, they also see things differently in regards to their shared environment and larger community, such as in Chinatown.

Background of Changes in Chinatown

Across the country, the old ethnic enclaves of Chinatown are changing and many would argue that they are gentrifying. In 2013, the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) released a report on gentrification of three Chinatowns in the United States. Their report utilized land use data from the three cities and Census data for each city since 1990 for its analysis. AALDEF found that in recent decades there have been significant declines in Asian residents within the Chinatowns of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, which have coincided with a growing White population in these locations. For example, in 1990, Asians made up more than half of the population in all three Chinatowns (Li, Leong, Vitiello, & Acoca, 2013, p. 2). However, by 2010, although Asians remained the majority group, they made up less than half of all the residents (p. 2). The White population in Boston and Philadelphia's Chinatown doubled between 2000 and 2010, even though the White population in those cities decreased overall (p. 2). In New York's Chinatown, of all racial groups, only the White population has grown in the last decade (p. 2).

Along with the demographics change, high-end businesses and luxury condominiums are have already established their presence in the three Chinatowns. Significant portions of Philadelphia's Chinatown have already been converted previously heavily industrial areas, into lofts and luxury condominiums, with nearly all the development being for the "creative class." (p. 4). Luxury condominiums in New York are primarily located in certain areas near Soho, so they are not as obvious as in the other two Chinatowns. However, housing values and rents have risen significantly, with the average apartment in New York's Chinatown being even more expensive than in the city overall (p. 31). The median house value of property in New York's

Chinatown in 2006-2010 was at \$684,388, compared to \$504,500 in New York City overall (p. 30). Former industrial spaces in New York that once housed garment factories, have now been converted into condos selling for millions of dollars (p. 4). In addition, although New York's Chinatown was predominantly served by small businesses that focused on residents' needs, at least 20 hotels have been recorded in Chinatown, none of which serves the needs of the community. One of the more prominent construction projects that has taken place in Chinatown recently that drew raised eyebrows, would be the Hotel 50 Bowery, a "22-story hotel... 255-room, glass wrapped 'boutique' inn" (Cuozzo, 2017). The tower literally "towers" over the local low-rise Chinatown skyline, but does little for Chinese residents that live nearby.

Statement of the Problem

Although it has been established that intergenerational differences – essentially age differences – exist among Asian Americans, studies have failed to transpose this knowledge to topics outside of the realm of mental health. Chinese Americans are the largest Asian American group residing in the U.S. and accounts for 23% of the Asian American Population (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). There is a significant Chinese American population in New York City and it stands to reason that they have their own perspectives on the changes occurring in Chinatown. However, little to no research has been conducted on how generational differences, which will primarily be accounted for by age in this study, might affect opinions regarding changes occurring in old ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown. Age will be the primary tool in measuring possible intergenerational differences because it is a logical tool in identifying older generations of Chinese Americans and their younger cohorts.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine the relationship between age and perspectives on gentrification in Chinatown.

Research Question

Among Chinese Americans, what is the relationship between age and perspectives of gentrification in Chinatown?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review contains five sections. The first section focuses on intergenerational conflicts among Asian Americans. The primary source of their conflicts resides among the differences between the older first-generation and the younger second-generation. Traditional values and expectations are challenged and relations become strained. These differences lead to divergent perspectives on matters related to the household and family dynamics. Parents see things one way, while their children see them differently.

The second section delves into gentrification research on New York City. Various forms of gentrification are identified and explained, including how both the public and the private sector promote gentrification in urban areas. The third section provides some population data on Chinese Americans in New York City, as well as in Chinatown itself. The fourth section explains the significance of ethnic enclaves, such as Chinatown, in the immigration experience and why Chinatown still matters. This section also explores how global forces have affected various Chinatowns across North America. The fifth section examines resistance efforts in various Chinatowns in response to gentrification in their locations.

Intergenerational Conflicts and Differences

Many Asian American families face challenges in the process of migration and adaptation. Differences in cultural values between immigrant parents and their more assimilated children often lead to conflicts. For example, contrasting values between Western societies' emphasis on individualism and Asian societies' emphasis on collectivism, result in clashes between parents and their children over levels of autonomy in decision making (Tsai-Chae & Nagata, 2008; Chung, 2001; Kim & Wolpin, 2008; Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Many traditional

Asian families “expect absolute obedience of the children to their parents along with excellence in academic work and the pursuit of professional careers” (Akiyama, 2008, p 255.); along with maintaining other aspects of filial piety (Hung, 2015). However, the second-generation children in these families are likely to be influenced by the host culture, such as in the U.S., where there is greater emphasis on independence and individual freedoms (Akiyama, 2008; Chung, 2001; Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). Second-generation Chinese Americans coming from households that follow the Confucian tradition of prioritizing the family over personal desires, regularly find themselves at odds with their first-generation immigrant parents (Akiyama, 2008).

In addition, as the children of immigrant parents gain greater English proficiency, traditional parent-child power dynamics are challenged. These children are often relied upon to be translators and guides, even serving as family representatives to the outside world (Chung, 2001, p. 377). When this occurs, parents may feel a decline in their traditional authority roles and self-confidence. The children on the other hand, may feel empowered by such situations and be more willing to challenge their parents’ authority (Lay & Nguyen, 1998), or treat these responsibilities as undue burdens (Chung, 2001). Coupled with the demanding attitudes of their parents that could be described as authoritarian and their parents’ tendencies to exclude the children in the decision-making process, many second-generation children “report feelings of confusion, frustration, and anger during counseling that they attribute to difficult relationships with their parents” (Akiyama, 2008, p 255).

In a study examining intergenerational conflicts among Asian American college students according to gender, ethnicity, and acculturation level, it was found that there existed patterned variations in intergenerational differences based on a complex interplay of unique and common factors associated with the three traits mentioned (Chung, 2001, p. 381-382). In regards to

gender, women often reported greater conflicts over issues of dating and marriage than men (382). In addition, traditional gender roles and power dynamics are undermined as women, regardless of generation, enter the workforce and become more self-sufficient (Pho & Mulvey, 2007). In effect, the traditional responsibilities of women as “caretakers of the home” are challenged, resulting in conflicts at home.

Chung (2001) aptly summarizes the situation for many Asian Americans in that “generational differences in values and rate of acculturation often lead to a gradual divergence of perspective, with subsequent impact on intergenerational conflict” (p. 377). This divergence of perspective is a key component in understanding how Asian American youth differ from their older immigrant parents. Although much of the studies on intergenerational conflict and differences have concentrated on the emotional and psychological impact on Asian American youth (Weaver & Kim, 2008; Akiyama, 2008; Chung, 2001; Lay & Nguyen, 1998); it also stands to reason that this divergence might also carry over to issues or concerns outside of the family dynamic.

Gentrification in New York

Gentrification is not a new phenomenon. It has been occurring in various cities all over the world at least since the 1970s (Zukin, Trujillo, Frase, Jackson, Recuber, & Walker, 2009). There are various definitions of gentrification, but they invariably involve an urban space that is transformed for more affluent users or residents (Hackworth, 2002). Gentrification also generally involves some level displacement of poorer residents (Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Newman & Wyly, 2005) and significant upscaling of the neighborhood in regards to businesses, such as new boutiques, more corporate retail chains, and decline in old, local retail stores (Zukin et al., 2009).

In New York, the process of gentrification has changed over the decades. In its early form prior to 1990, gentrification was primarily a process initiated by individual investors seeking to rehabilitate individual homes for personal consumption (Hackworth, 2002). With enough interest and investment, the process would eventually bring in more “corporate” elements, where development firms would enter the picture and sell condominiums, brownstones, and other available luxury properties (Hackworth, 2002). Post 1990s, however, gentrification has become more “corporatized,” in that large property companies and developers are the ones initiating the process in search of profits (Hackworth, 2002; Lees, 2003). Additionally, in many cases, the public sector also contributes to gentrification.

Ex-public officials often leave public service and enter the private sector as consultants or advocates, in lobbying efforts for various development teams (Hackworth, 2002). Federal, state, and local governments all have some role in housing policy and neighborhood zoning. In the case of Harlem, several state agencies – including the Harlem Community Development Corporation (a subsidiary of New York State’s Empire State Development Corporation) and Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone (UMEZ) established by the U.S. Congress in 1994– have participated in coordinating policies and interrelated organizations, to support commercial investment into the area (Zukin et al., 2009, p. 50).

The city government has also stated its support for redevelopment efforts in Harlem and provided assistance in efforts to develop Harlem. The city rezoned locations in Harlem, which permitted the construction of high-rise apartment houses with retail stores on the ground floor. It also encouraged new residential construction with “inclusionary” zoning, which permitted higher and denser buildings provided these developers include some “affordable” apartments in these

market-rate residential projects. The city has committed similar support to other locations in New York such as in Long Island City and DUMBO (Hackworth, 2002).

Interestingly, in one study on New York's gentrification, despite differences between state- and market-led gentrification (the former led by state intervention and initiative, the latter led by private enterprises in the absence of state intervention), it was found that the process of commercial gentrification occurred similarly in both scenarios (Zukin et al., 2009. p. 62). Commercial gentrification refers to the disappearance of traditional, local stores, and their replacement by chain stores and boutiques, an upscaling of commercial businesses (p. 49). Considering these insights on New York's gentrification, a question arises for New York's Chinatown, how has it fared against the forces of gentrification?

Chinese Americans in New York and Chinatown

As shown in Table 2.1, as of 2013, there are approximately a little over 500,000 Chinese Americans in New York City. Chinese were the largest Asian ethnic group in New York City, comprising 45.2 percent of the Asian population in the city, and the city itself is home to 83 percent of the state's Chinese residents (Asian American Federation, 2013). Chinese in New York City were more likely to be working age adults, between the ages of 18-64 (69.5%), are predominantly foreign-born (71%), and more than half are naturalized citizens (54%).

Table 2.1 (Source: Asian American Federation, 2013)

Population	
Alone or in-Combination Population in 2009-2011	506,768
Population in Queens as a Percentage of NYC Pop.	40%
Population in Brooklyn	37%
Population in Manhattan	19%
Population in Staten Island	2%
Population in the Bronx	2%
Alone or in-Combination Population in 2006-2008	458,586
Percent Change from 2008	10.5%
Immigration and Citizenship	
Foreign-Born Percentage of Total Population	71%
Citizenship Percentage of Foreign-Born	54%

Information from AALDEF puts the population of Chinatown at around 116,722 in 2010, with Asian or Pacific Islanders composing 45% of population (Li et al., 2013). The Asian population in Chinatown has declined, along with overall population. However, the White population in Chinatown was the only one to have grown in the last decade as shown in table 2.2.

Table 2.2 (Source: Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2013)

	Manhattan Chinatown - Racial Composition and Change							
	1990		2000		2010		1990-2000	2000-2010
	Number	Share	Number	Share	Number	Share	Change	Change
Total Population	125,574	100%	124,165	100%	116,722	100%	-1%	-6%
Non Hispanic White	22,229	18%	19,529	16%	23,314	20%	-12%	19%
Non Hispanic Black	9,867	8%	8,588	7%	8,457	7%	-13%	-2%
Hispanic or Latino	41,609	33%	34,050	27%	30,227	26%	-18%	-11%
Asian or Pacific Islander	51,439	41%	59,320	48%	52,613	45%	15%	-11%
Other race	430	0 %	2,678	2%	2,111	2%	523%	-21%

New York City's Chinese adult population had lower educational attainment compared with the rest of the city. Within the Chinese adult population, 38 percent did not have a high school diploma, compared the citywide rate of 21 percent, and only 30% percent had a bachelor's degree, compared to the city's 34 percent overall (Asian American Federation, 2013).

A significant portion of the city's Chinese population also had limited English proficiency, at 61 percent.

The Asian American Federation (2013) found that the poverty rate for Chinese in the city was around 20.7 percent, which was close to the citywide rate of 20.1 percent. However, in the case of Chinese seniors, 30.5 percent were living in poverty, which was significantly higher than 18.2 percent for all elderly New Yorkers. The city's Chinese median household income was \$47,131, compared to the citywide figure of \$50,331. Median family income for Chinese of \$47,404 was below the \$55,434 median income for families in general. The Chinese per capita income of \$23,315 was lower than the citywide per capita income of \$30,717.

Table 2.3 (Source: Asian American Federation, 2013)

Educational Attainment (Adults 25 and Older)	
Percentage of Adults Without a High School Diploma	38%
Percentage of Adults With a Bachelor's Degree or Higher	30%
Limited English Proficiency (Speaks English "Well," "Not Well" or "Not at All")	
Percentage of Total Population	61%
Income	
Median Household Income	\$47,131
Median Family Income	\$47,404
Per Capita Income	\$23,315
Poverty	
Percentage of Total Population Living in Poverty	20.7%
Percentage of Children Living in Poverty	22.5%
Percentage of Elderly Living in Poverty	30.5%

Poverty rates in Chinatown are higher than the rest of the city. From the city's 2015 Community Health Profile, which includes Chinatown, East Village, and Lower East Side, 28 percent of residents of the Lower East Side and Chinatown live below the federal poverty line (NYC Health, 2015). Citywide the poverty rate was at 21 percent, while in Manhattan the rate was at 18 percent (see figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 (Source: NYC Health)

Economic stress				
	Lower East Side and Chinatown	Best-performing community district	Manhattan	NYC
Poverty	28% (RANKS 18 th)	6% Tottenville and Great Kills (RANKS 59 th)	18%	21%
Unemployment	9% (RANKS 39 th)	5% Greenwich Village and Soho & Financial District (RANKS 58 th)	8%	11%
Rent burden	49% (RANKS 46 th)	37% Greenwich Village and Soho & Financial District (RANKS 58 th)	45%	51%

Poverty, unemployment and rent burden: U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2011-2013; Avertable deaths: NYC DOHMH, Bureau of Vital Statistics 2008-2012

Broken down by race, the AALDEF found that Asian Pacific Islanders living in Chinatown had significantly higher poverty rates compared to Whites in Chinatown, as well as to other Asians outside of Chinatown. Thirty three percent of Asians in Chinatown were living below the poverty line, compared to non-Hispanic Whites at sixteen percent (see table 2.4). Median household income in Chinatown for Asians were also significantly lower compared to Whites and citywide (see table 2.5).

Table 2.4 (Source: Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2013)

	Manhattan - Poverty Rate			
	2000		2006-2010*	
	Chinatown ^o	New York	Chinatown ^o	New York
Non Hispanic White	15%	12%	16%	13%
Non Hispanic Black	39%	26%	32%	21%
Latino	35%	31%	32%	27%
Asian Pacific Islander	32%	20%	33%	18%

^o Value Missing for some of the Census Tracts

* These figures are from the American Community Survey.

Table 2.5 (Source: Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 2013)

	Manhattan - Median Household Income			
	2000		2006-2010*	
	Chinatown ^o	New York	Chinatown ^o	New York
Non Hispanic White	\$35,904	\$46,534	\$58,265	\$62,517
Non Hispanic Black	\$26,653	\$31,058	\$44,410	\$39,927
Latino	\$29,627	\$27,757	\$31,814	\$34,467
Asian Pacific Islander	\$31,368	\$41,119	\$29,524	\$53,173

^o Value Missing for some of the Census Tracts

* These figures are from the American Community Survey.

Source: US Census Bureau

The Role of Chinatown

Liu and Geron (2008) define ethnic enclaves as “specific localities where ethnic minorities congregate, and possess three common features: co-ethnic owners and employees, spatial concentration, and sectoral specialization” (p. 18). They can be identified by their physical characteristics (normally their less than desirable locations) and by the characteristics of the people who reside there (Logan & Alba, 2002, p. 300). New York’s Chinatown fits into those standards easily considering the inner-city location that it occupies and the many Chinese ethnics who reside there. Chinatown is considered a traditional or “old” ethnic enclave in that has served as the center or gateway for new Chinese immigrants, providing them residence and access to goods and services.

Ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown contained ethnic enclave economies that provided labor and employment opportunities for the immigrants in these enclaves, best described as an internal labor market (Liu & Geron, 2008). They also provided “ethnic capital” to its community member. Ethnic capital can be broadly identified as the interplay of financial, human, and social capital (Zhou & Lin, 2005). Ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown provided economic opportunities, for the disadvantaged immigrants who had little English proficiency and few connections outside the ones developed within the ethnic community. Ethnic businesses can support and supply one another within the enclave. Strong ethnic systems of supplementary

education supported by robust co-ethnic entrepreneurship are also present, which allow for not only strong academic achievement, but also reaffirm ethnic identity for its participants and serve as intermediary ground between the immigrant home and larger American society (Zhou & Kim, 2006, p. 21). Simply put, traditional immigrant enclaves were more than shelters that provided protection for its immigrant residents. They possessed tremendous potential to develop and provide a variety of resources that new immigrants could utilize to achieve greater socioeconomic mobility (Zhou & Lin, 2005).

In recent decades, the rise of ethnoburbs (suburban Chinatowns) and satellite Chinatowns (such as Flushing, Queens) have diminished the importance of Chinatown as the primary ethnic enclave destination (Li, 2005; Zhou & Lin, 2005; Liu & Geron, 2008). Because of increasing globalization and the rise of China itself as an economic power, newer Chinese immigrants arrive with abundant capital and knowledge (Luk, 2005). Contemporary Chinese immigrants have been disproportionately drawn from urban, highly educated, and highly professional sectors of the population (Zhou & Lin, 2005, p. 271). For example, 65% of foreign-born Chinese between 25 and 34 have attained 4 or more years of college education (p. 271). Many of these new immigrants forego the transition period in Chinatown as old immigrants did, and head straight to areas that they can afford.

Vancouver's Chinatown

In Vancouver's Chinatown, contemporary waves of wealthier Hong Kong immigrants have brought in development efforts that arguably come from within the Chinese community (Mitchell, 2000). Cultural dynamics between local and global actors play a major role in implementing change within this particular Chinatown. Development efforts in Vancouver's

Chinatown and its surrounding ethno-burbs, involve transnational forces (overseas Chinese) as well as local Chinese community members who view the changes as uniquely Chinese (p. 15).

In the 1960s, the first wave of highly educated Chinese immigrants, predominantly from Hong Kong, arrived in Vancouver and allied with local forces to block state-led urban redevelopment efforts (p. 11-12). This resulted in development restrictions and the adoption of “heritage” zoning that preserved historical and cultural sites in Vancouver’s Chinatown.

However, the later waves of highly educated Chinese immigrants, also predominantly from Hong Kong, have worked to reduce and lift those very same development restrictions of earlier Chinese immigrant efforts. A major reason for this shift in desire for preservation is due to the higher socioeconomic status that new the immigrants possess.

Canada’s immigration policy is geared towards encouraging the immigration of people with either business experience or capital to invest (p. 13). As a result, newer Chinese immigrants flocked to suburban areas, establishing ethnoburbs, which brought in developers seeking to construct “Asian” malls in these areas catering to the new Asian population. Most of these developers were Chinese immigrants themselves who were aligned with overseas investors and developers or possessed such connections (p. 13). While these ethnoburbs received tremendous investment and attention from overseas capital, Vancouver’s Chinatown managed to attract little of this offshore investment. Eventually, local businesses represented by the Chinese Merchants Association worked to reverse many of the historical designations that “hindered” Chinatown’s development efforts in their eyes, some even claimed such designations as a form of reverse racism that was specifically designed to discriminate and limit Chinatown’s success (p. 14).

Vancouver's Chinatown is an interesting case-study of Chinese involvement in development efforts of traditional Chinatowns. China's modernization and economic development have changed the socioeconomic composition of many contemporary Chinese immigrants overseas. In Vancouver's example, two different intervals of Chinese immigration have brought about distinct results in Chinatown's preservation and development (p. 15). Which brings to question as to which actors are primarily at play in regards to changes occurring in Chinatowns across the Western hemisphere?

Gentrification and Resistance in Chinatown

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, the AALDEF has documented the various indicators of gentrification in the three Chinatowns of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. By several measures, Chinatown is gentrifying. Property values in New York's Chinatown have risen significantly over the years, with median house values in Chinatown exceeding that of the city.

	Manhattan Chinatown - House Value and Rent					
	1990	2000		2006-2010*		
	Chinatown	New York	Chinatown	New York	Chinatown	New York
Median Value	\$145,000 ^o	\$189,600	\$167,917 ^o	\$211,900	\$684,388 ^o	\$504,500
Median Contract Rent	\$351	\$448	\$534	\$646	\$851	\$1,022

^o Value Missing for some of the Census Tracts

* These figures are from the American Community Survey.

Source: US Census Bureau

Within these three Chinatowns of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia community groups have arisen to challenge the forces of gentrification. In Boston, a recently developed "Chinatown Land Trust" is attempting to purchase properties to set them aside for working families, while other organizations have been attempting designate buildings as historical sites (Sacchetti, 2015). Boston's Chinatown residents have also protested three proposed hotel developments in efforts to demand for affordable housing (Conti, 2017). Philadelphia's Chinatown residents have also resisted outside development efforts, such as in the case fending

off a proposed \$600 million baseball stadium (Guan & Knottnerus, 2006), as well as pushing back on a proposed casino in the heart of its Chinatown (Lovinglio, 2008). In New York, there are hosts of family and community associations that continue to hold major sway into decision making within the old Chinatown (Tabor, 2015).

As indicated above, Chinatown residents are not passive actors in the entire process. Community groups existing within these Chinatowns and those abroad (not connected residentially), still provide tremendous support in maintaining Chinatown's importance in the cultural landscape. These ethnic enclaves foster continuous development for Asian American activists' groups and serve as sites of renewal for activism (Liu & Geron, 2008).

With the changes that are occurring in Chinatowns from the various external forces that are exerting pressures on them, comes the question of how Chinese Americans perceive these changes. It has already been established that there are intergenerational differences among the Asian American population, between the old and the young. Do those differences in perspectives and attitudes carry over in cases of gentrification?

Chapter 3: Research Design

Introduction - Methods

This research utilizes a mixed methods approach in gathering both quantitative and qualitative data. This study gathered information through surveys and interviews to gain an understanding of how Chinese Americans in New York City view the changes occurring in Chinatown. To ascertain, among Chinese Americans, how age might affect one's perspective on gentrification in the case of in Chinatown, this study primarily relied upon a survey to gauge respondents' attitudes on gentrification in Chinatown. The study was primarily distributed and completed online, but allowed for commentary on two questions, which will be elaborated upon in the following survey development section.

This study did not have previous research methodology to measure individuals' perceptions of gentrification. However, over the course of the literature review, common and observable indicators of gentrification were included in one of the survey questions, elaborated in the survey development section.

Previous research studies on Asian American communities reliant upon questionnaires or interviews have varied in their number of total participants, with the lower end of the spectrum at around 70 participants (Abougendia & Noels, 2001), and higher ones' numbering over 200 participants (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000; Chao, 2001). This study aimed to survey over 50 participants, with the hope of reaching up to 100 respondents.

Population Sample

The study's population sample comprised of Chinese Americans above the age of 18, who live in the Tristate area and have access to transportation to New York City. Parental consent was not needed per the standards in the United States. Two versions of the survey were

created, one written in English, the other in Chinese. The two versions were distributed separately through different methods, which will be explained in the distribution section.

As the English survey method was conducted online, participants were required to have online access to complete the survey and participants must be literate to complete the English survey. The Chinese survey was done in person and did not require literacy, since the researcher could orally translate the survey to them.

There were 78 respondents to the survey. 4 were disqualified from analysis, because the respondents failed to complete the final part of the survey, which contained questions about changes in Chinatown. One additional respondent, also failed to complete the last portion of the survey, however provided useful commentary regarding gentrification on not just New York's Chinatown, but also Boston's Chinatown, where she originated from. Her survey response, though incomplete will still be utilized for the purposes of this study. The total number of usable surveys was 74. 20 of the surveys were gathered in person through in-person administration of the survey with Chinese American individuals. There is further elaboration in the survey distribution section.

Survey Development

The survey contained 18 questions total, though the online version was condensed to 10 questions due to formatting, with question #10 containing 9 statements that employed a likert scale response system. These statements asked participants to indicate their levels of agreement or disagreement with each corresponding statement. These statements were associated with various indicators and concerns related to the changes in Chinatown. The first of which, asks about participants' views in the affordability of living in Chinatown. Statements regarding safety, comfortability or desirability, improvement are also present. The statement of whether the

Chinese are most responsible for the changes in Chinatown was included, to identify how participants might have interpreted the changes occurring in Chinatown, (whether it was Chinese led or a result of outside influences). Whether changes were needed in Chinatown and whether they were good for the community were also asked to gauge participants' reactions. The statement on whether Chinatown was still for the Chinese, would measure how participants still viewed Chinatown (as an ethnic enclave or as a tourist trap, for outsiders primarily). The last statement asks respondents to identify whether Chinatown was gentrifying or not.

Although the survey was anonymous, participants were initially asked general demographics information to gain a better grasp of their backgrounds and any possible factors that might influence their views on the changes in Chinatown. Standard demographics information such as gender, employment status, and annual household income were collected, but were not required for completion of the survey. Age being the primary independent variable in this study, the age range of respondents was mandatory for the survey. Questions about where participants lived in relationship to the three primary Chinatowns of New York, as well as how often they visited Manhattan's Chinatown, were to identify participants' proximity to the ethnic enclaves in New York and whether they still utilized services in Chinatown.

Of the two questions mentioned previously that allowed for comments in the Methods-introduction section, the first asked about their reasons for traveling to Chinatown, to find out whether Chinatown still served any functions related to its original role as an ethnic enclave. This question allowed an "other" option with commentary to allow participants to expand on answers that the study might have missed.

The second, asked participants to identify specific changes that are associated with gentrification. Answers included, but were not limited to: more coffee shops, more art galleries,

more non-Chinese residents, significant increases in rent, closing of old restaurants and establishments, food being more expensive, more high rise buildings and hotels, increased police presence, increase of access to transportation, and improvement in cleanliness. This question also had an “other” option to allow participants to note down any additional indicators of changes that the survey might not have covered.

In the development of the Chinese survey, the researcher encountered an unexpected problem. Finding an accurate and useful Chinese translation for the word gentrification was surprisingly difficult. There were various translations of the word that hinted at aspects of gentrification but failed to capture the entirety of the process or were ambiguous in meaning. For example, one of the words that this study utilized in the Chinese survey was *gāodàng huà* (高档化), which literally translated to superior quality or high grade change. In other words, it could be translated or interpreted as upscaling, however some might mistake that as upgrading. The second word that was included in the survey (alongside *gāodàng huà*) was *guìzú huà* (贵族化). *Guìzú huà* is literally translated as aristocratic, meaning that it could be interpreted as a class change towards aristocracy. The researcher consulted with Chinese language teachers who determined that these two definitions were the most common and useful translations that would fit the survey. Other translations included words that literally used the word gentry, so it would have meant change of or towards gentry, as well as words that translated to district or regional optimization. It was determined that none of these words were appropriate for the purposes of this study.

Survey Distribution

The English-only surveys was crafted through the website Survey Monkey. The link to the survey was distributed online, via email and social media contacts. Initial distribution

involved contacting Chinese Americans associates that the researcher already knew. These contacts helped spread awareness of the survey to others primarily via Facebook and other forms of communication. In addition, the survey was also distributed through a partnership with the Asian Language Exchange Social Network (ALESN).

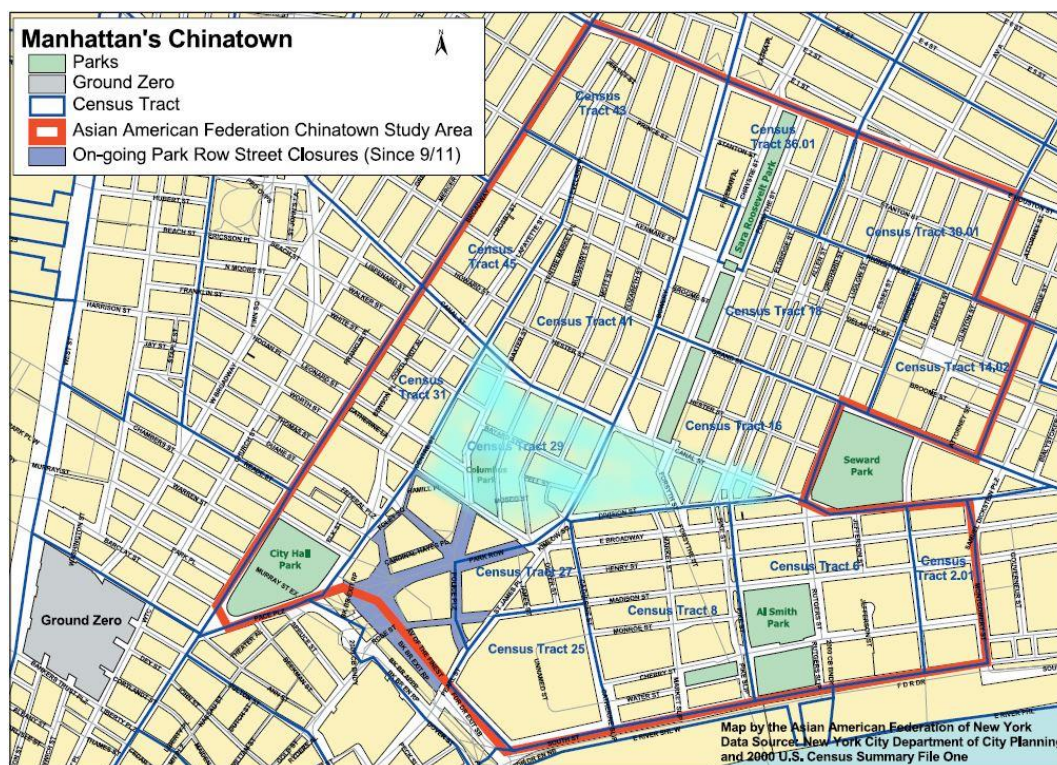
ALESN is a free Asian language learning program that relies primarily on volunteers who want to teach various Asian languages, as well as martial arts. Currently, ALESN is only able to provide Chinese language (Cantonese and Mandarin) programs for interested students to learn. Students include Chinese Americans who have various language proficiencies (from none to some), as well as none Chinese students interested in the Chinese language. The learning programs take place in a local middle school near the B and D Trains' Grand Street station, located at Hester Street in Chinatown. Chinese Americans frequently go to the programs and there many Chinese Americans teaching at the programs. ALESN distributed the survey link via newsletter to people connected with the organization.

The Chinese version of the survey was distributed and conducted primarily in-person. Many older Chinese Americans are monolingual Chinese; in that they only speak Chinese. The study was unable to procure an efficient method of distributing the Chinese survey to this population, using online methods. The researcher was also unsure of older Chinese Americans' proficiency or access to the internet in Chinatown. The survey was instead administered in-person with the researcher present in 20 different instances in the format of an informal interview.

The researcher showed participants' the survey in Chinese and as they answered the surveys, in almost every instance, upon reaching question #8 participants would have some commentary about Chinatown. It is likely because question #8 asks participants to think about

what they do in Chinatown, prompting them to speak not just about their activities there, but also anything related to the environment these activities were taking place. Question #9 similarly prompted a lot of responses, because the question directly asks about any noticeable changes in Chinatown, which will further be elaborated on in later sections.

Figure 3.1



10 of the 20 responses were randomly gathered in Chinatown. It is important to note however, two respondents were American Born Chinese, but could communicate in Chinese, as well as in English. These 10 interviews were conducted in Columbus Park and in two local businesses located in Census Tract 29, as well as in a bubble tea place in Census Tract 16 (see figure 3.1). Of the remaining 10 different interviews, 6 of them were family members of the researcher, who either go to or work in Chinatown. The remaining four respondents were referrals from family members (family friends). In three instances, the respondents had difficulty

reading the font and the survey itself, so the researcher read the survey to them and recorded their verbal answers.

Strengths

By employing a survey, this study was able to gather and record information from a sample base that was not restricted by the distance the researcher was able to travel. The survey also allowed for easier distribution to the population, especially via online. The surveys that were conducted in person, with the researcher present, allowed for more qualitative data gathering due to the interaction and conversations that would occur. This qualitative data would be vital in supplementing any information that the survey might have failed to capture or account for.

The researcher himself is a second-generation Chinese American who resides in New York City and is familiar with Manhattan's Chinatown, having lived there as a child and travels there periodically. The researcher also knows how to speak Cantonese and Mandarin, allowing him to communicate with Chinese immigrants with low English proficiency. In addition, the researcher already had a network with other Chinese Americans that he could utilize in distributing the survey via online methods (email and social media).

Limitations

Although the researcher is familiar with the Chinese language and culture, there are still limitations with this familiarity. While the written Chinese language is commonly recognized and uniform among the Chinese population, there exists a host of different Chinese dialects and ethnicities that make it difficult to communicate across separate groups. Although the researcher is familiar with Mandarin and Cantonese, his knowledge of other Chinese dialects is quite limited. In addition, Chinese is not the researcher's first language therefore communication issues, whether in the survey's translation or during interviews, will likely arise. Also, despite the

researcher's familiarity with Chinese culture, the researcher is unfamiliar with protocols around surveying or gathering public opinions. Participation and gathering of a true sample size might also be difficult in this study, depending on online response rates and the willingness of non-English speaking subjects in participating.

Regarding the online distribution method, the population and age sample will likely be skewed towards second generation Chinese Americans, who are between the age ranges of 20-40 years old. Because the survey is written in English and distributed online via American social media connections, it will invariably have more English speaking Chinese American respondents. Additionally, many of the contacts that the researcher had were also second-generation Chinese Americans, many of whom are college educated. This likely means that many of their associates who qualify for this survey, are also college educated second-generation Chinese Americans.

As noted in previous sections, a significant portion of Chinese immigrants in New York had limited English proficiency, which significantly hampered the distribution of the English-only survey to that part of the population. An online Chinese survey was considered for the study, however the researcher was unaware of an effective distribution method, as he was not part of any Chinese only social media platforms. The researcher was also skeptical of the elderly Chinese population's tech savviness and highly doubted that even with an online Chinese survey, this portion of the Chinese population would respond.

In addition, although the researcher will be conducting random interviews in Chinatown, the area that he can cover is likely insufficient to capture the diversity that exists in Chinatown. Chinatown is a large area that hosts a diverse Chinese population. Although it might be simple to think of the Chinese as a homogenous group, that assumption is simply false. Since the 1970s,

Chinese immigrants have come from various provinces in China, many of which speak different dialects, as well as from the wider Chinese diaspora – Hong Kong, Taiwan, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, and the Americas (Zhou & Lin, 2005). For over past two decades, many Chinese immigrants have come from Fuzhou, in Southeast China, who have helped to transform and expand Chinatown beyond its physical borders (Guest, 2009; Chen, 2013; Sachs, 2001). Each of these groups may have different views of the changes in Chinatown, which this study will unlikely be able to capture.

Chapter 4: Results

Quantitative Data

According to the data collected, there does not appear to be a clear relationship between age and perspectives on gentrification in Chinatown among Chinese Americans. As can be seen in the Table 4.1, without accounting for age, among the 73 respondents that completed the entire survey: 63 respondents that they believed Chinatown was gentrifying (around 86%), 8 respondents were unsure of whether gentrification was occurring, while only 2 respondents disagreed.

Table 4.1

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree/ Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total Respondents
I believe that Chinatown is gentrifying	27 (36.99%)	36 (49.32%)	8 (10.96%)	2 (2.74%)	0 (0.00%)	73

When age ranges are inserted for analysis, regardless of age, most respondents believed that Chinatown is gentrifying, with only 2 respondents from the 21-29 age group disagreeing with the statement, as shown in table 4.2. There were respondents from different age groups that were unsure or did not have a strong opinion on gentrification in Chinatown, but overall a significant majority of respondents believed that Chinatown was gentrifying.

Table 4.2

I believe that Chinatown is gentrifying							
	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither Agree or Disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)	Total	Weighted Average
Q2: 18-20	100.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4.11% 3	5.00
Q2: 21-29	34.38% 11	43.75% 14	15.63% 5	6.25% 2	0.00% 0	43.84% 32	4.06
Q2: 30-39	33.33% 7	61.90% 13	4.76% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	28.77% 21	4.29
Q2: 40-49	33.33% 1	66.67% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4.11% 3	4.33
Q2: 50-59	33.33% 3	44.44% 4	22.22% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12.33% 9	4.11
Q2: 60 or older	40.00% 2	60.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6.85% 5	4.40

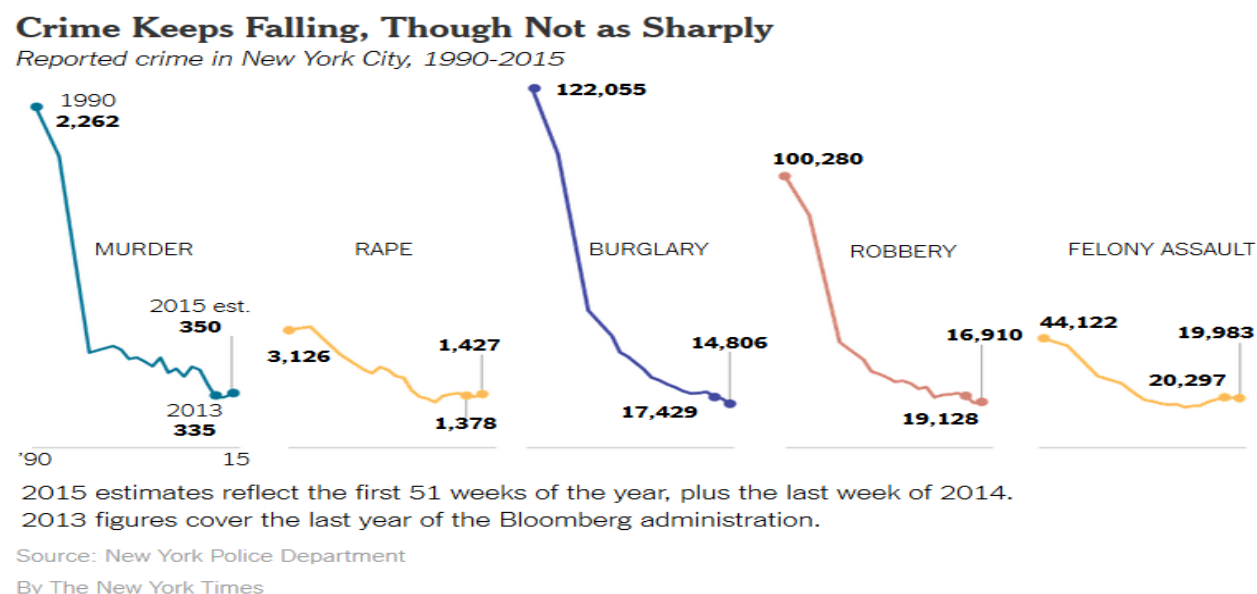
This overwhelming consensus can be explained by the various indicators of gentrification that respondents have seen in Chinatown, as figure 4.1 illustrates. Nearly 80% of respondents witnessed more coffee shops or cafes in Chinatown. Over 80% identified that many old restaurants and establishments were closing. Almost 75% spotted more high rise buildings and hotels that have been developed in Chinatown. In addition, more than half the respondents identified significant increases in rent, more non-Chinese residents and that the price of food has increased. Measures of improvements such as increased police presence, increased access to transportation, and improvements in cleanliness were less noticeable, but were present in some responses. Some respondents also provided additional commentary on other changes that they have noticed in Chinatown. Many of these comments mentioned of an increased presence of foreigners and tourists, and that many businesses (or “shops”) were catered for these outsiders (see Figure 4.3 in Qualitative Results section).

Figure 4.1

Answer Choices	Responses	
more coffee shops or cafés	78.38%	58
more art galleries	43.24%	32
more non-Chinese residents	66.22%	49
significant increases in rent	55.41%	41
closing of old restaurants and establishments	81.08%	60
food is more expensive	62.16%	46
more high rise buildings and hotels	74.32%	55
increased police presence	12.16%	9
increases of access to transportation	13.51%	10
improvement in cleanliness	14.86%	11
Other (please specify)	Responses	32.43% 24
Total Respondents: 74		

As noted from the information gathered (see Figure 4.4), among the total respondents, about 63% did agree that Chinatown was safer than it used to be and over 45% agreed that Chinatown was a comfortable place to live in. The opinions on safety are likely related to the overall decline in crime rates in the city over recent decades (Goodman & Baker, 2015) (See figure 4.2). As for the comfortability of living in Chinatown, responses from interviews shed some light into this relative consensus. Several participants stated that Chinatown contained a lot of amenities, which made gave them the perception that living there would be convenient and desirable. There were also participants who felt that Chinatown's desirability coincided with the rising housing values, which made it a prime target for developers and more affluent individuals to move in.

Figure 4.2 (Source: New York Times)

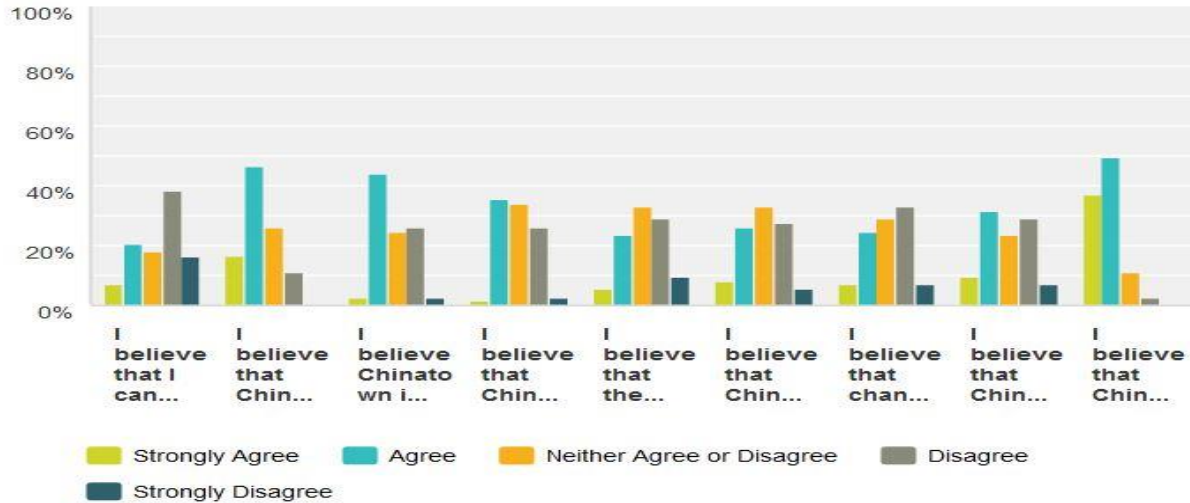


Over 54 percent of participants disagreed on Chinatown's affordability, meaning that they thought living in Chinatown was not affordable. Indicating that many knew of the rising costs associated with gentrification in Chinatown. However, opinions were split relatively evenly down the middle in almost all other instances, as illustrated in figure 4.3 (please refer to Figure 4.4 to better identify the corresponding statements in figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Answered: 73 Skipped: 1

**Table 4.3**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
I believe that I can afford to live in Chinatown	6.85% 5	20.55% 15	17.81% 13	38.36% 28	16.44% 12	73
I believe that Chinatown is safer than it used to be	16.44% 12	46.58% 34	26.03% 19	10.96% 8	0.00% 0	73
I believe Chinatown is a comfortable or desirable place to live	2.74% 2	43.84% 32	24.66% 18	26.03% 19	2.74% 2	73
I believe that Chinatown is improving	1.37% 1	35.62% 26	34.25% 25	26.03% 19	2.74% 2	73
I believe that the Chinese are the ones most responsible for the changes in Chinatown	5.48% 4	23.29% 17	32.88% 24	28.77% 21	9.59% 7	73
I believe that Chinatown should or needs to change	8.22% 6	26.03% 19	32.88% 24	27.40% 20	5.48% 4	73
I believe that changes to Chinatown are good for the Chinese community	6.85% 5	24.66% 18	28.77% 21	32.88% 24	6.85% 5	73
I believe that Chinatown is still for the Chinese	9.59% 7	31.51% 23	23.29% 17	28.77% 21	6.85% 5	73
I believe that Chinatown is gentrifying	36.99% 27	49.32% 36	10.96% 8	2.74% 2	0.00% 0	73

Results by Age

When age is considered for each statement, it is evident that most respondents are from the 20-29 age range (32), with the 30-39 age range having the second most responses (21). Among all the age ranges, there was a large consensus on the three statements regarding the safety of Chinatown, Chinatown's comfortability, and that Chinatown is gentrifying (see figures 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6). This coincides with the overall totals for those three statements, as mentioned previously.

Figure 4.4

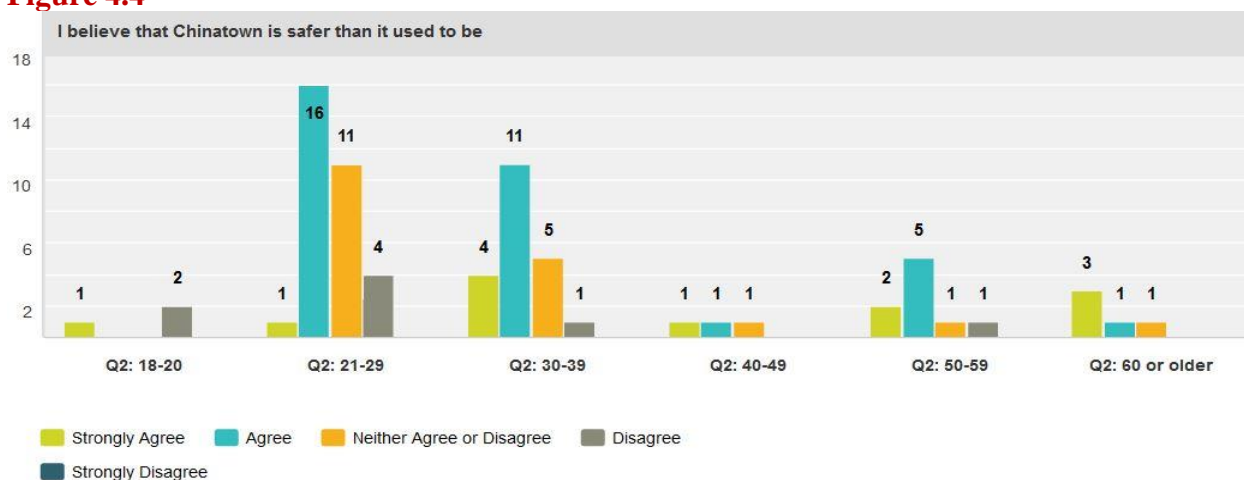


Figure 4.5

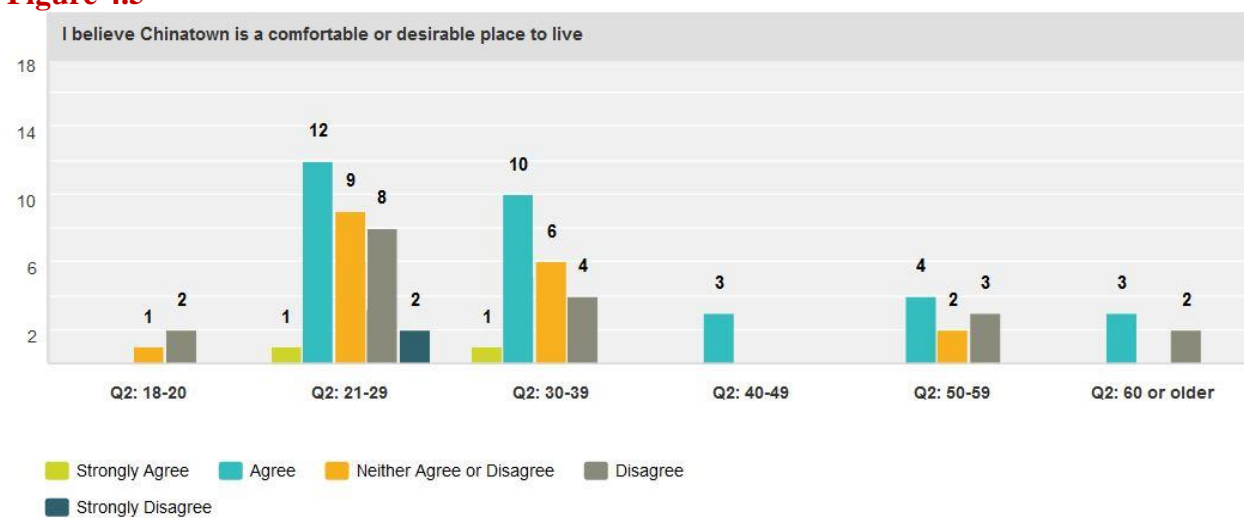
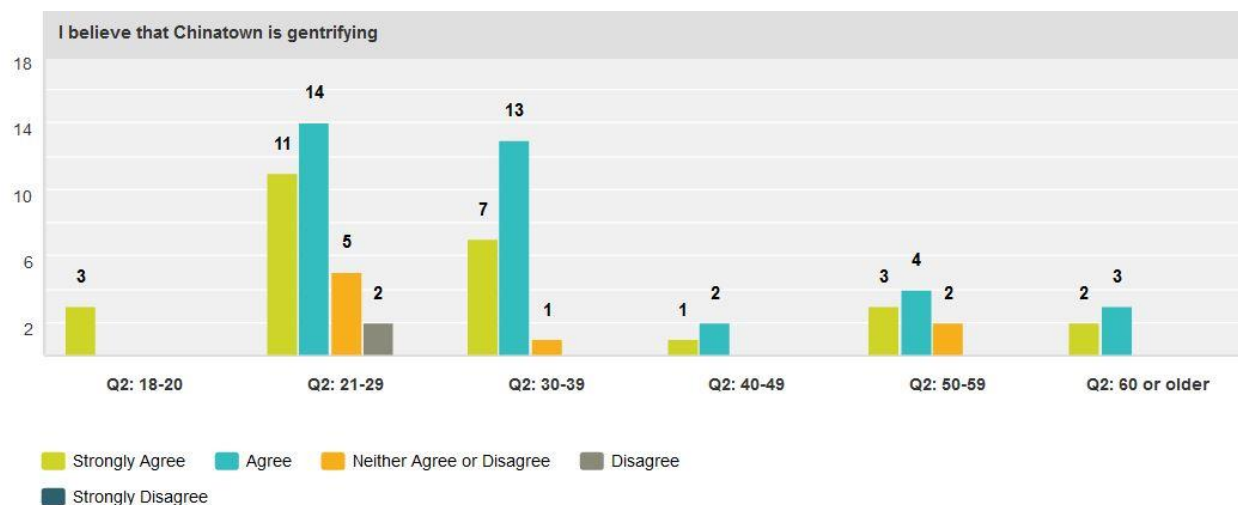


Figure 4.6



In terms of affordability, most respondents across the age groups disagreed that Chinatown was affordable (figure 4.7). Interestingly among the 20-39 age ranges, there were several respondents who felt they could afford to live in Chinatown, this could be explained by the number of participants in those age groups who come from households that make over \$35,000 (see Table 4.4). Additionally, this indicates that the statement failed to adequately capture the perceptions of affordability in Chinatown, because it asked participants to respond to whether they could afford to live in Chinatown, instead of addressing the general affordability of housing in Chinatown.

Figure 4.7

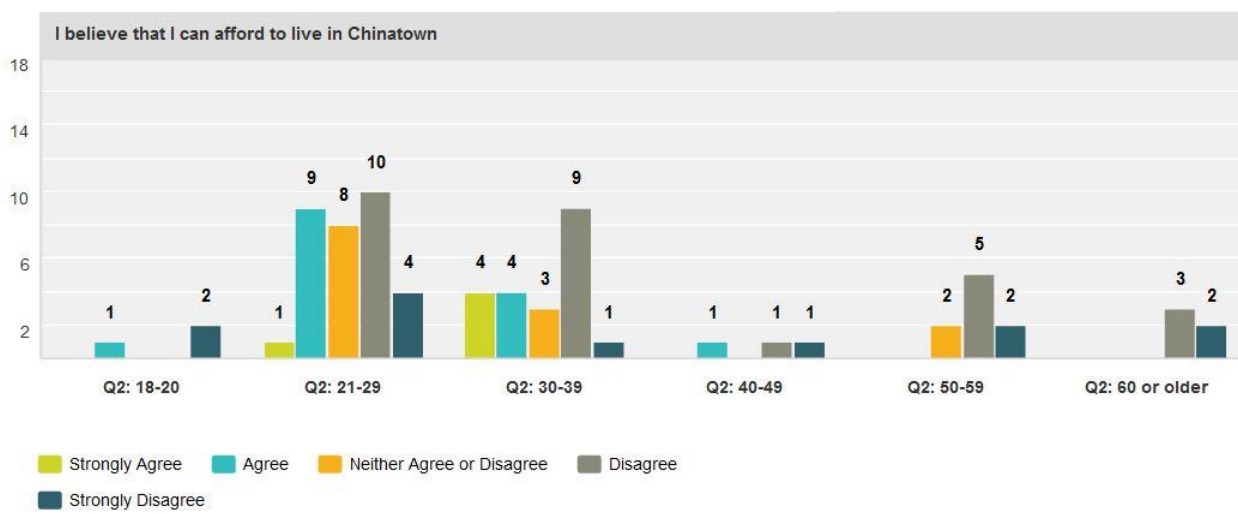
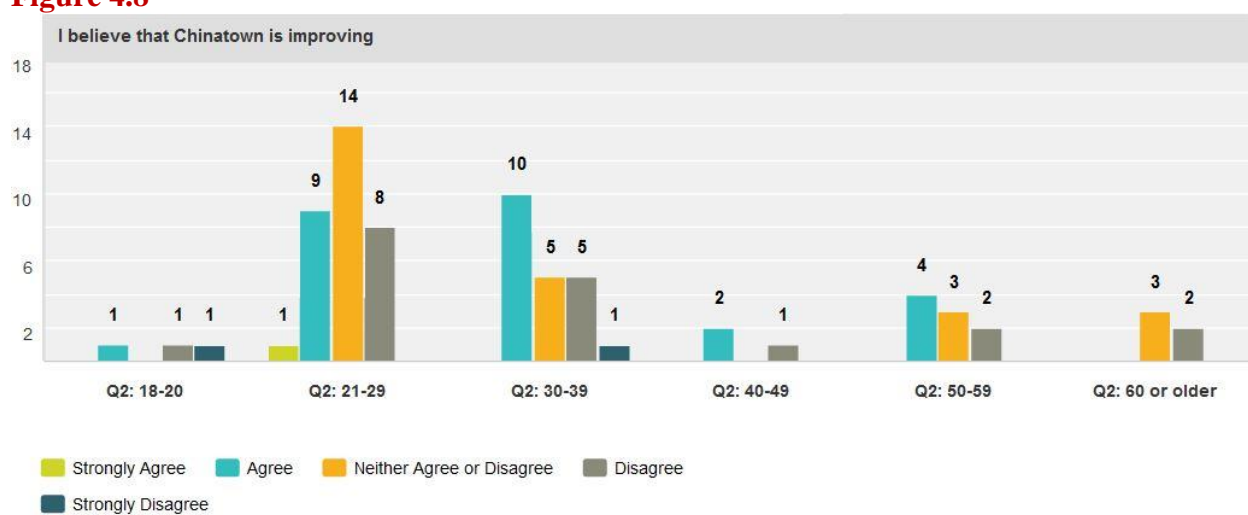


Table 4.4

Age Group	Less than \$20,000	\$20,000-\$34,999	\$35,000-\$49,999	\$50,000-\$74,999	\$75,000-\$99,999	\$100,000-\$149,999	\$150,000 or More	Total
18-20	0.00% 0	66.67% 2	33.33% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4.35% 3
21-29	16.67% 5	20.00% 6	16.67% 5	20.00% 6	16.67% 5	3.33% 1	6.67% 2	43.48% 30
30-39	10.00% 2	0.00% 0	15.00% 3	30.00% 6	25.00% 5	0.00% 0	20.00% 4	28.99% 20
40-49	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	2.90% 2
50-59	11.11% 1	33.33% 3	11.11% 1	0.00% 0	22.22% 2	11.11% 1	11.11% 1	13.04% 9
60 or older	60.00% 3	40.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	7.25% 5
Total Responses	11	14	10	12	13	2	7	69

Among the age groups, in regards to whether Chinatown was improving, several of the 30-39 age range did believe that Chinatown was improving (see figure 4.8). Opinions for the other age groups were relatively split, with many being having no strong opinions (or uncertainty). Only among the 5 respondents of the 60 or older age range, was there no support for the statement that Chinatown was improving.

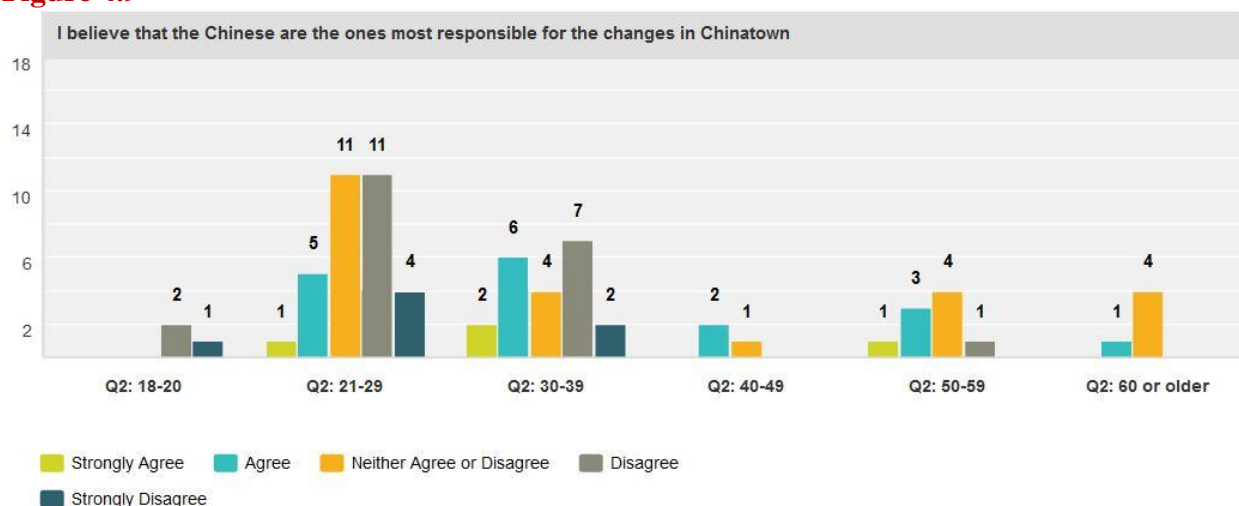
Figure 4.8



As for whether the Chinese were most responsible for the changes in Chinatown, in this case there is some indication that age does impact perspective. For those who were below the age of 30, most disagreed that the Chinese were responsible or were unsure if that is the case.

Opinions among the 30-39 group were relatively split, while those who were 40 and over were either unsure or leaned towards agreement (see figure 4.9). In the gathering of qualitative data, this research did find that the older Chinese American participants had differing views from their younger counterparts, in regards to who was most responsible for the changes in Chinatown. This will be further elaborated in the qualitative data and discussion sections.

Figure 4.9



Opinions on whether Chinatown needed to change and whether changes to Chinatown were good for the Chinese community were relatively split among the age groups (see figure 4.10 and 4.11). There were slightly more participants in the 20-29 age range who disagreed that Chinatown needed to change, but many participants were also undecided on the matter.

Figure 4.10

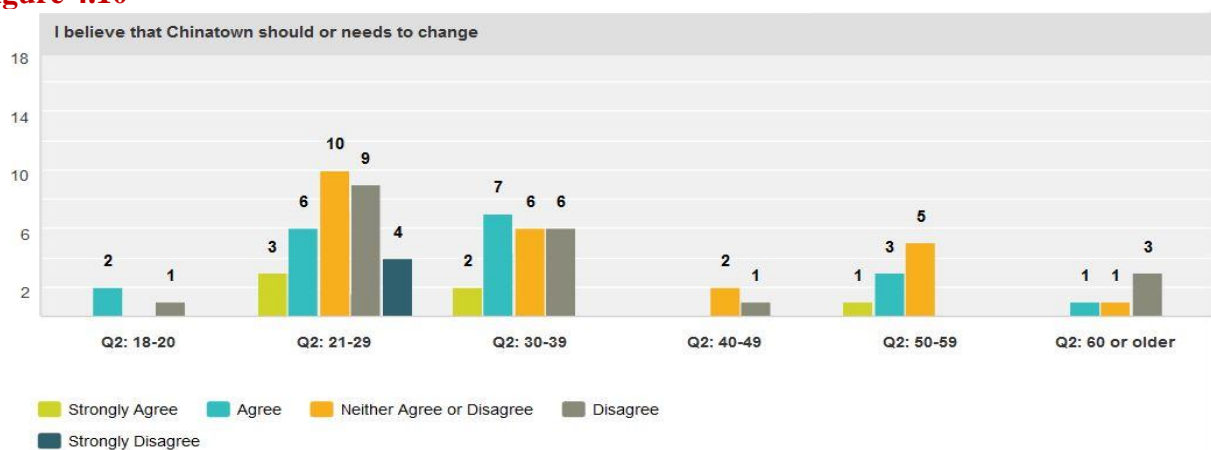
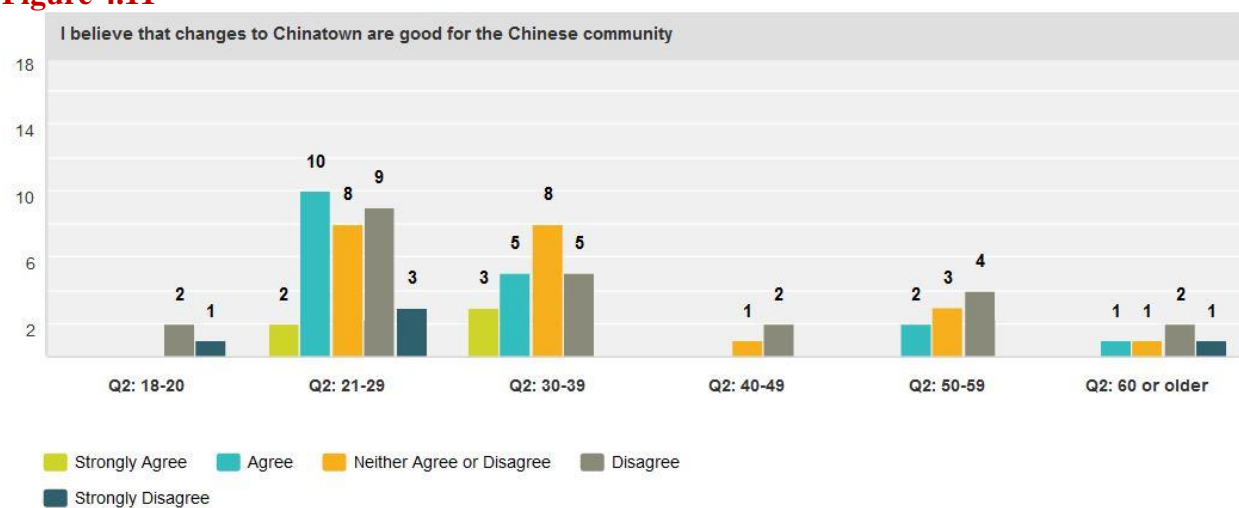
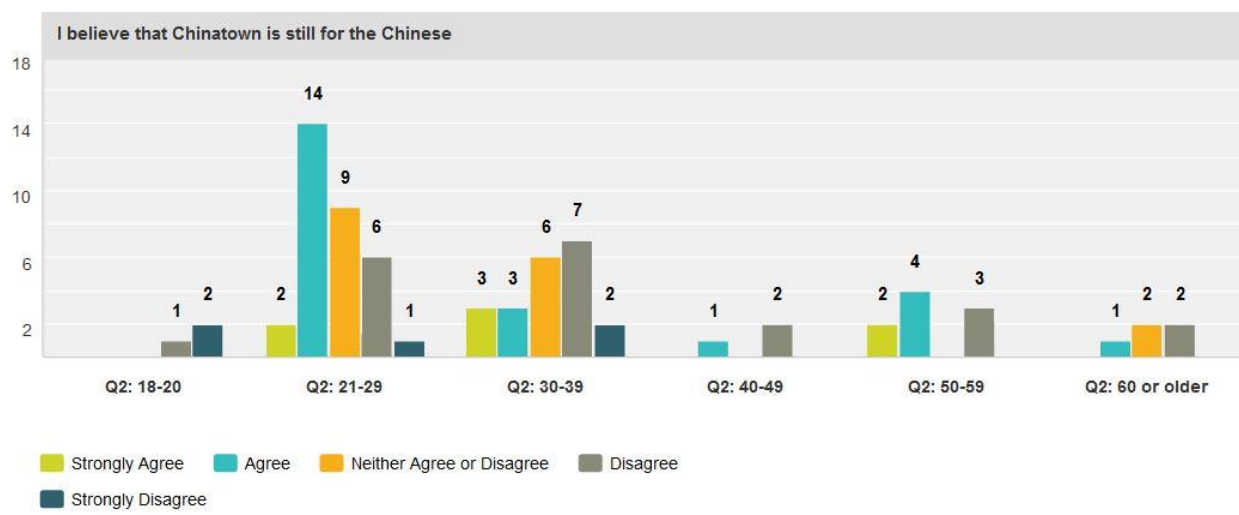


Figure 4.11

Many participants in the 21-29 age group did believe that Chinatown was still for the Chinese. This can likely be explained by some of the information gathered from the qualitative interviews, as well as from the observations that the researcher noticed in Chinatown. From some of the comments gathered, participants mentioned the increased presence of bubble tea places in Chinatown. Some participants also mentioned more ice cream shops in Chinatown. There were also mentions of businesses being more children- or youth- friendly. Although the three participants in the 18-20 group disagreed with the statement, it is likely that many of the participants in the 21-29 group often enjoy the more youth-friendly places, such as bubble tea or ice cream shops. Many of the more youth friendly businesses, especially the bubble tea places, primarily cater to younger Chinese Americans. Additionally, Chinatown continues to maintain a strong presence of educational institutions and tutoring centers for younger Chinese Americans. It is likely for those reasons, why many of the younger Chinese participants agreed that Chinatown is still for the Chinese. Opinions from the other age groups were less clear on the matter. Many of the 30-39 age range disagreed with the statement, but is unclear why at this moment.

Figure 4.12



Qualitative Results

As previously mentioned, information gathered from interviews did provide some insight towards the survey results, as did the commentary that participants provided in some survey responses. Participants' names were not collected from the surveys or interviews. All of the older Chinese interviewees were immigrants who have resided in New York City for at least 10 years, most have been here longer. Table 4.3 contains comments gathered from both:

Table 4.4

Chinatown is more "youth-friendly", a lot of foreigners and tourists
More bubble tea places, new stores are more English friendly
A lot more foreigners and places that cater to them
More people in general, including foreigners
More tourists and stores that cater to foreigners
Prices are increasing in general, more non-Chinese businesses
More children friendly and new stores, especially ice cream stores
More shops and foreigners in general, a lot more bubble tea places
A lot more tourists and foreigners in general
A lot more shops in general, many for tourists
The old tenants are dying off and slowly being replaced
More tourists and street sellers selling fake wares
A lot more tourist oriented
More hipsters around certain places
more bubble tea shops, ice cream shops, and pharmacies
A lot of more tourists, more street sellers

it's being colonized by outsiders
increased number of bars
more non- chinese using the chinatown buses going / coming from cities
Chinese immigrants from different parts of china--where did all my Cantonese peeps go?
Increase of signage for tourist landmarks (ie. "information booth" & posts)
More commercial buildings
Some areas look pre soho, pricey ...not Chinese. I originally came from Boston's Chinatown which was totally destroyed by zoning which allowed a highway to intersect Chinatown. The Chinese people living there were dispersed to surrounding suburbs
gentrification of the neighborhood

Older Chinese Immigrants

In an interview with two elderly men sitting in Columbus Park, near the Manhattan Detention Center, both men conveyed the narrative that some of the changes in Chinatown were a “natural process of things.” Both men were over 70, spoke Cantonese, and have lived in New York for decades. Although one of the men lives in the Bronx, they both stated that they visited Columbus Park daily, otherwise affectionately referred to as “Waiting to Die Park.” Columbus Park is situated in the edge of Chinatown and borders the area with several Manhattan courts. Every day the park hosts up to a hundred or more seniors that come to the park for social gatherings, some of which involves: public music and Chinese opera singing, playing cards, and general conversations.

The two men often complemented each other’s statements in terms of providing additional commentary on what the other said. They both agreed that Chinatown was gentrifying, but they described the process as “natural.” One commented that “when 9/11 happened the factories started disappearing. When they moved, of course somebody will take over that space, why wouldn’t they? It’s New York property!” He recognized that property in Chinatown was

expensive and that property values have gone up, but felt that it was to be expected living in New York.

When asked about the rent increases in Chinatown and how people were dealing with them, both men agreed that rent prices have gone up, but stated that “honestly, a lot of the old people living here, live in rent stabilized apartments. So, it isn’t too bad.” One of the men also added “but you know, when they die, these places will all disappear. Young people don’t live here anymore, they’ve all moved out. When the old people are gone, these places will be reclaimed and sold off to the rich.” When asked about why young people don’t live in Chinatown anymore, the men responded, “young people don’t want to live with their parents anymore, they go off on their own and don’t stay in the city, much less Chinatown.” The men were also asked about what they thought about the changes occurring in Chinatown, in which they responded:

Things change, old people die, young people leave, new people move in. Things are more expensive, of course. If you don’t live in a rent-controlled place, it’s definitely hard to afford. But that’s not surprising, that’s how things are. Just look at China, it’s changed a lot since I came here long ago. Everything is bigger, nicer, and more expensive. The people coming here now have a lot more money too. Chinatown is old, it can’t stay that way forever.

Their commentary was similar to the opinions of several of the older Chinese immigrants that were interviewed. Many pointed to the changes in Chinatown as expected or “natural.” Many of these immigrants pointed to the changes in China and the wealth that was accumulating there. In one interview with a Chinese woman who was in her fifties, who had returned to China several times since immigrating to the U.S., she noted that China has changed significantly over

the years. She mentioned that Chinese people now, often want the “newest and fanciest things,” and that brand names were really “big” over there. In several interviews with adult Chinese immigrants, many interviewees mentioned the “commercialization” that was occurring in China and noted the increased presence of advertisements “everywhere.”

Some interviewees spoke of the new wealthier and more affluent Chinese immigrants as the source of the changes in Chinatown. One female participant stated that “the new immigrants all have so much money, they’re the ones buying out all the places in Flushing and around 8th avenue. They have so much money in China, honestly I should have waited until economic reforms really took place before leaving, I could’ve made some money there too.” This participant’s husband added, “the new Chinese do bring a lot of money over here now, they’re the ones that are opening up a lot of the new stores around in New York. Not to mention the big Chinese companies that are here now. Those guys, they’re the *real* big spenders. Haven’t you seen the news? A lot of big properties in New York are now Chinese owned.” This statement does appear relatively true in that a number of Chinese investors and large Chinese development firms have made significant purchases in New York over the years (Clarke, 2015).

In a notable conversation with a 59-year-old female interviewee, when asked about the changes in Chinatown, she spoke of the various Chinese organizations that own or control properties in Chinatown. She particularly spoke about the number of family associations and the Chinese Business Improvement District (CBID), and their “hands” in the changes there:

Things in Chinatown don’t just happen without their say. They own a lot of the buildings and properties in Chinatown. So, any changes that happen there are because they allow it. You don’t think the business people in Chinatown *want* more money and people for their

businesses? Of course, they do! It's called a Business Improvement District for a reason. Money talks and people can't survive without money in America.

In three other interviews with older Chinese immigrants, there were also mentions of Chinatown's family associations and the CBID. They also felt that Chinese businesses were very influential in Chinatown's changes. Of note, older Chinese respondents did mention the presence of foreigners and the encroachment of Western businesses, but they did not feel that they were the primary or the sole reason for the Chinatown's changes.

Interestingly, there were two female Chinese immigrants who spoke of the need for development in Chinatown. Both women arrived post 2010 and operated small businesses in Chinatown. The first woman came from Shanghai, 5 years ago, and compared businesses here to that of China. She lamented that many of the older businesses in Chinatown appeared rundown or unclean, stating that "they need to be more aware of presentation, especially at the front of their stores. In China, businesses need to have a good presentation, the businesses here don't seem to care about that as much." The second woman operated a small shop inside the Elizabeth Center next to the 5th Police Precinct. She did not believe that Chinatown was gentrifying, as she had little context to Chinatown's changes over the years since she had only arrived recently. She felt that construction (new high-rises and building repairs) occurring in Chinatown took "too long" in comparison to what she witnessed in China.

Younger Chinese Americans

In speaking to younger participants, their responses are more directly related to American concepts of gentrification, which is likely a result of their American education. One young female respondent, who was 19 years old, mentioned how much more hipster friendly Chinatown seemed to be and that Chinatown is meant more for the tourists than for Chinese.

“Haven’t you noticed the huge amounts of tourists’ shops there are now. Not to mention all the people trying to sell them knock-offs.” Another young female respondent, who was also 19 years old, commented that “there’s so much more ice cream shops and bubble tea places, I’m not sure if that’s gentrification or not, but it’s definitely the new norm here.”

One 26-year-old female interviewee described the gentrification in Chinatown in a very Western context, stating that “white people are moving in now and are changing the place. There are lot more non-Chinese stores and places in general.” She spoke of the art galleries that are starting to dot the area east of Delancey Street, as well as the Western bakeries that also starting to appear in Chinatown. Additionally, she mentions the encroaching luxury developments coming from SoHo: “Soho is getting and closer to closer to Chinatown now. It kind of feels like Little Italy is getting bigger again. There’s a lot more white-people everywhere in Chinatown, I’m not sure if they’re just tourists or if they live around there, but they’re hard to miss.”

There was one male American born respondent, who was in his 30s, that wrote of the influx of new “Chinese immigrants from different parts of china” in his online survey response. This hints at his awareness of overseas Chinese immigration patterns and the changes that they bring to Chinatown, but it is uncertain what further input he would’ve provided if he were interviewed.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Age Differences

Although the study failed to demonstrate a discernable link between age and perspectives on gentrification, the information gathered from both the survey data and interviews provide some unique insight towards the changes occurring in Chinatown. The fact that a large majority of respondents believed that Chinatown was indeed gentrifying, testifies to the obvious visible indicators that are spread throughout Chinatown. The massive newly built hotels, the proliferation of coffee shops, the influx of non-Chinese residents and tourists, and the disappearance of long time businesses are very noticeable changes that have occurred in Chinatown.

However, per the qualitative data gathered from respondents, there does appear to be some divergence in views on who is most responsible for the changes in Chinatown. Most of the older Chinese immigrant interviewees spoke of the Chinese influences and involvement in Chinatown's changes. Among the younger American-born respondents, only one person mentioned the influx of newer Chinese immigrants in his comments on the changes he noticed in Chinatown. There were older immigrant Chinese interviewees spoke of the changes in Chinatown as an expected or "natural" process, similar to the logic of "out with the old and in with the new." Some of these older first generation Chinese participants also highlighted the transnational forces at play, including the influx of wealthier Chinese immigrants that are arriving in New York and the large Chinese companies that have established themselves in the United States.

On the other hand, many younger participants highlighted the physical changes that have taken place in Chinatown, but provided less insight into the who are most responsible for the

changes. None of the younger interviewees mentioned the Chinese as being even partly responsible for Chinatown's gentrification. Neither did any of the younger interviewees speak of the larger immigration trends or global reach of Chinese companies. From the survey responses, only one 30-year-old male respondent mentioned the new Chinese immigrants in his comments. Unfortunately, the survey responses were anonymous and no further comments were available. Additionally, there were younger survey respondents that agreed with the statement that the Chinese were responsible for the changes in Chinatown, however no qualitative data was collected from their survey responses.

Chinese Population Shift and Perspectives

In New York City, the Chinese population is no longer centralized in Manhattan, where the original Chinatown is. According to the information provided by the Asian American Federation (2013), which can be seen in Table 2.1 of the literature review, 40% of the Chinese population in the city lives in Queens, while 37% live in Brooklyn. Only 19% of the Chinese population in New York lives in Manhattan. Additionally, the Chinese population in Chinatown continues to decline as noted previously. These factors of the decline in the role of Chinatown as the primary ethnic enclave and the decline in population, coincide with some of the comments by elderly interviewees.

As noted in the results section, some of the elderly respondents spoke of the exodus of Chinese youth residing in Chinatown. The AALDEF (2013) also found this change in age group composition of Chinatown, noting that since 2000 there has been a total 30% decline in the under 25 years old population in Chinatown (see table 5.1).

Table 5.1 (source: AALDEF)

	Manhattan Chinatown - Age Group Composition and Change							
	1990		2000		2010		1990-2000	2000-2010
	Number	Share	Number	Share	Number	Share	Change	Change
Total Population	114,088	100%	115,637	100%	108,921	100%	1%	-6%
Up to 17 years	24,338	21%	21,365	18%	16,440	15%	-12%	-23%
18-24 years	11,648	10%	12,864	11%	11,932	11%	10%	-7%
25-64 years	60,442	53%	62,995	54%	62,141	57%	4%	-1%
65 and over	17,660	15%	18,413	16%	18,408	17%	4%	0%

This decline in the youth population in New York helps to explain why some of the elderly respondents described their situation in the manner which they did. They spoke of the changes as an almost expected or “natural” process, as they likely knew that their children would leave and not return to Chinatown, at least not permanently to reside there. The description of Columbus Park as “waiting to die Park,” highlights this sad reality of their own mortality. Interestingly, in an interview with NPR, second-generation Chinese American writer Bonnie Tsui called this park Chinatown’s “living room,” (NPR staff) indicating that her views might be different from some of the first-generation Chinese immigrants who go to that park.

Of course, none of this is to say that the Chinese seniors in the park are living in despair, far from it, the large daily gathering of seniors there indicate that they are living their lives actively and socially; making Tsui’s description of the park as accurate to a degree. However, that description is only part of the whole picture and not everyone views it like her. For the older Chinese interviewees in this study, their age has provided them some perspective to Chinatown’s changes and their personal experiences provide an alternate take to what is happening to Chinatown. Their children’s exodus, along with the shift in Chinatown’s age composition, can be partly explained by the increasing rent values in Chinatown and the lack of additional affordable housing for newer Chinese immigrants (Li et al., 2013), but cultural differences might also help to explain these circumstances.

Filial Piety

Filial piety has been a major part of Chinese culture, which not only means respecting your parents but also supporting them and obeying them (Teon, 2016). In 2013, the Chinese government enacted a law requiring children to “frequently” visit their parents older than 60 and “that children should pay a monthly allowance to their parents if they refuse to take care of them” (Meng & Hunt, 2013). Although penalties were not specifically defined, it does highlight one of the major cultural values that China wishes to uphold. However, in the U.S. such expectations of filial piety are not demanded of children, especially when a person becomes a working adult. Of course, China’s modernization over the recent decades has also contributed to a decline in traditional values, which was what led to this law in the first place (Meng & Hunt, 2013; Wong, 2013). According to the Chinese state news agency, Xinhua, nearly half of the 185 million elderly population (60 or over) live apart from their children (Wong, 2013). So even in China, children have been leaving their parents in large numbers and no longer reside with them like in the past. In the case of Chinatown’s elderly population, the comments made by older Chinese immigrants of their children’s exodus, as “natural” or expected, indicates their awareness of the larger trend of modernization and its eroding effects on traditional cultural values.

Globalization and Chinese Led Development

China’s modernization and its rapid economic expansion has also led to a demographics change to the Chinese immigrants that have arrived in the U.S. in the last few decades. As mentioned previously in the literature review, newer Chinese immigrants arrive with abundant capital and knowledge in comparison to previous generations of immigrants (Luk, 2005, Zhou & Lin, 2005). Newer immigrants do not need to settle in Chinatown and may bypass Chinatown for

their first settlement (Zhou & Logan, 1991). Chinese immigrants have established their presence in these various locations outside of Manhattan's Chinatown and have developed new ethnic enclaves (Robbins, 2015; Wang & Lo, 2007; Zhou & Logan, 1991). Satellite Chinatowns such as Flushing, Queens, Sunset Park, Brooklyn, and the hosts of other miniature Chinatowns, have grown rapidly throughout New York City in recent years (Robbins, 2015), which indicate the kind of transformation that Chinese immigrants themselves, can bring to a neighborhood. Chinese immigrants that help to establish these new Chinatowns, bring about development and investment that in some ways mirror the development efforts of gentrification, with the key differences being that they are first, ethnic minorities, and secondly they are ultimately contributing to the larger ethnic community and the ethnic economy in establishing these new enclaves (Huang, 2010; Zhou & Logan, 1991). A case-example of this immigrant-led development would be of Flushing, Queens.

The development of Queen's Chinatown in Flushing, was initiated by a young Taiwanese immigrant Tommy Huang, who used his private capital savings from overseas to purchase various properties in the 1980s (Huang, 2010). Huang purposefully designed three-story buildings that mixed in commercial-and-residential combination buildings to attract Taiwanese immigrants, who favored such combination housing as they did in Taiwan (Huang, 2010). His calculations of cultural and social capital for the Taiwanese, led to a large Taiwanese influx to this location, which was eventually followed by a large Chinese migration to this area (Huang, 2010). These factors contributed to his success as a developer, with over half commercial building built in Flushing in the 80s being built by him (Huang, 2010). Flushing's development highlights the very real influence and power that Chinese immigrants can possess.

Additionally, as mentioned in the literature review, Vancouver's Chinatown, has also undergone changes due to contemporary waves of wealthier Hong Kong immigrants, who have brought in development efforts that arguably come from within the Chinese community (Mitchell, 2000). This along with the Chinese led development efforts in Flushing, indicate a level of Chinese involvement that many of the older Chinese immigrant interviewees were aware of. Older first-generation Chinese immigrants appear to be generally aware of the various inner workings of Chinatown. Whereas the younger Chinese respondents of this study provided less insight towards Chinese involvement on development efforts.

Much of this discrepancy could be due to their lack of exposure to Chinatown's inner power dynamics that older Chinese immigrants have intimate knowledge of. Many of the older Chinese interviewees mentioned the exodus of younger Chinese Americans in Chinatown, so it is logical that the younger participants would not have the same insights as their elder counterparts. The older Chinese Americans also read and pay attention to Chinese language based newspapers and media outlets, which focuses on local and global issues concerning China and the Chinese diaspora (Berger, 2003). The Chinese Press has also been extending its media reach to the overseas Chinese population to elevate its "soft power" (Tatlow, 2016; Sheehan, 2014). In other words, the Chinese immigrant population has a variety of Chinese-language based sources that provide information about events overseas and locally. Younger Chinese Americans likely lack exposure to this kind of knowledge unless it is specifically in an American context.

The Types of Gentrification in Chinatown and Chinese involvement

Many of the participants' survey responses and the interviews indicated a high level of commercial gentrification occurring in Chinatown. The uptick in the number of bubble-tea and ice cream shops might be innocuous, but they are part of the overall trend in the proliferation of

chain stores entering gentrifying neighborhoods. These bubble-tea and ice cream shops are owned and operated by Chinese people, so they might not necessarily represent gentrification to Chinese locals but their presence does indicate change and older local businesses are still closing. In addition, many participants mentioned that stores were catering to tourists or foreigners, which was another indicator of the commercialization of Chinatown.

Per the interviews from older participants, the involvement by local family associations and the CBID do illustrate the public-private influences on Chinatown's gentrification. A 2015 New York Magazine article by Nick Tabor, mentioned some of the very same influences and trends that the interviewees spoke of. Tabor (2015) wrote of the trend, where many of the immigrants' children have left and that "most of the people left in Chinatown's historic core are the elderly dwellers of rent-regulated apartments." He also wrote of Chinatown's internal economy and its ability to remain "self-sustaining city unto itself." Most importantly is Tabor's confirmation that Chinatown is still primarily owned by powerful family associations, such as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, and the various community figures that have major influence on the ins and outs of Chinatown. Chinatown is facing the same forces of gentrification that are affecting other neighborhoods throughout the city, but the Chinese do play a role in determining what will happen to their old ethnic enclave.

This realization is most pertinently described in the interview with the Chinese woman who spoke of the CBID. Her statement that "it's called a Business Improvement District for a reason," alludes to the obvious involvement of the Chinese business community in determining the course of Chinatown's development. For example, the Hotel 50 Bowery mentioned at the beginning of this study, "was developed by Chu Enterprises and is owned by two families with deep roots in the Asian community," although it is more widely known as the first New York

opening of Joie de Vivre, a hotel powerhouse (PR Newswire, 2017). Alexander Chu is the chairman of Eastbank and is the primary developer responsible for the construction (Taboor, 2015). The Museum of Chinese in America curates a permanent exhibit that occupies the gallery space in the hotel's second floor, revealing another level of Chinese involvement in the development process (Dadras, 2017).

However, these facts seem to be lost upon some such as in an op-ed piece by a staff member of Bowery Boogie (2017), who was outraged at a proposed "Opium Den" themed club in the hotel. The outrage is obviously understandable, but the author does not appear to hold any of the original developers responsible for the building that may "further fuel gentrification and displacement" (Bowery Boogie, 2017). Similarly, in an interview with Chinatown Art Brigade, Bowery Boogie spoke of the brigade's efforts to combat the gentrification efforts in Chinatown, through projections displaying various messages against gentrification and "colonization" (Bowery Boogie, 2016). However, Chinese development efforts or involvement in the process are starkly missing in their narrative. This study will not speculate as to why Chinese involvement has not been included, or why the influential family and business associations in Chinatown are not brought up in the conversation, but it does feel that this further highlights some of the differences in perspective between the older Chinese immigrant population and the younger American born population.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Although most of the respondents did agree that Chinatown was gentrifying, the survey and interviews revealed that there were divergent perspectives on who was most responsible for the process. Older participants held more nuanced opinions on who were responsible (those who felt it was “natural”) and many felt that the Chinese community had significant sway on the developing changes in Chinatown. Younger participants primarily focused on outside involvement or neglected to mention the internal forces within the Chinese community that held influence in decision making in Chinatown. Of course, there are certainly younger participants who might hold such views on Chinese involvement, but this survey was unable to capture those opinions based on its limitations.

There is no doubt that Chinatown is gentrifying, but who has the most say and control over the situation is not easily determined based on the different views. It is sometimes too easy to just focus on one aspect of gentrification, without acknowledging the internal dynamics of the community that also play huge roles in directing the development efforts. The Chinese population in Chinatown and the larger population in the city itself, are not passive actors who have simply allowed gentrification to occur in their enclaves. Chinese immigrants themselves are very capable of leading development efforts in their cities as previously discussed.

This study does show that age is connected to the divergent perspectives on gentrification, in terms of Chinese involvement, but it is limited by the number of respondents and the number of interviews that were conducted across all the age groups. Indeed, among the 30-39 age group there were split opinions on who was responsible for Chinatown’s changes, but there were only two participants interviewed from that age group and both were recent immigrants who made comparisons of Chinatown to China’s own development. These women

were both small business owners in Chinatown, so it also makes sense that they were concerned with economic development in Chinatown. Of course, based on that logic it could be argued that perhaps age is not the right measurement for intergeneration differences after all. In this case it could be measured by levels of involvement with the community, local connections, or maybe even how acculturated a person is.

However, this study utilized age as one of its variables and the results do indicate that with age comes with unique perspectives that younger individuals might fail to see. This study hopes that future research will be able to further tease out the details and apply the concept of intergenerational differences, to other topics outside the realm of mental health. Additionally, this study hopes to have provided further insight towards the discussion of gentrification and development efforts in ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown. Gentrification in Chinatowns across the U.S. and community resistance efforts have far too often placed its focus on “outsiders,” referring to non-Chinese influences. However, as indicated by the Chinese interviewees in this study, Chinese community members and Chinese developers are also partly responsible for Chinatown’s changes. Perhaps future research can illuminate how resistance efforts in ethnic communities account for this reality and how it impacts their movements.

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Appendix A

English Survey: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/BL8ZTJS>

Survey on the Changes in Chinatown

1. Gender: (please check appropriate box) ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Age range: ☐ 18-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 60+
3. If you are an immigrant, when did you arrive here?
☐ before 1965 ☐ 1965-1980 ☐ 1981-1990 ☐ 1990-2000
☐ 2000-2010 ☐ after 2010 ☐ N/A
4. Employment Status: Are you currently...?
☐ employed, working full-time ☐ employed, working part-time
☐ not employed, looking for work ☐ not employed, not looking for work
☐ retired ☐ disabled, unable to work
☐ other: _____
5. Please report an estimate of your annual household income:
☐ less than \$20,000 ☐ \$20,000 and \$34,999
☐ \$35,000 and \$49,999 ☐ \$50,000 and \$74,999
☐ \$75,000 and \$99,999 ☐ \$100,000 and \$149,999
☐ \$150,000 or more
6. Do you live in one the three major Chinatowns in New York City?
☐ Manhattan's Chinatown
☐ Brooklyn Chinatown (Sunset Park/8th Avenue)
☐ Queen's Chinatown (Flushing)
☐ None of the above, but I am within an hour's travel time to any of the three
☐ I don't live in New York City or anywhere close to either of the three

If you live in Manhattan's Chinatown, you may skip this question

7. How often do you travel or visit Manhattan's Chinatown?
☐ daily ☐ once a week
☐ almost daily (4-5 times a week) ☐ once or twice a month
☐ 2-3 times a week ☐ I don't or seldom go to Chinatown
8. Why do you visit Chinatown or what services do you use there? Check all that apply:
☐ grocery shopping ☐ general shopping
☐ dim sum/restaurant and dining ☐ socializing with friends or family
☐ medical visits (doctors, dentists, etc.) ☐ pharmaceutical needs
☐ youth educational purposes (tutoring, after-school care or weekend school for children, etc.)
☐ I work there
☐ other: _____

9. Have you noticed any of the following changes?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> more coffee shops or cafés | <input type="checkbox"/> more art galleries |
| <input type="checkbox"/> more non-Chinese residents | <input type="checkbox"/> significant increases in rent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> closing of old restaurants and establishments | <input type="checkbox"/> food is more expensive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> more high rise buildings and hotels | <input type="checkbox"/> increased police presence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> increases of access to transportation | <input type="checkbox"/> improvement in cleanliness |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other: _____ | |

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

10. I believe that I can afford to live in Chinatown.

- ☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neither agree/disagree ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

11. I believe that Chinatown is safer than it used to be.

- ☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neither agree/disagree ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

12. I believe Chinatown is a comfortable or desirable place to live.

- ☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neither agree/disagree ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

13. I believe that Chinatown is improving.

- ☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neither agree/disagree ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

14. I believe that the Chinese are the ones most responsible for the changes in Chinatown.

- ☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neither agree/disagree ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

15. I believe that Chinatown should or needs to change.

- ☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neither agree/disagree ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

16. I believe that changes to Chinatown are good for the Chinese community.

- ☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neither agree/disagree ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

17. I believe that Chinatown is still for the Chinese.

- ☐ strongly agree ☐ agree ☐ neither agree/disagree ☐ disagree ☐ strongly disagree

18. Do you believe that Chinatown is gentrifying?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know or am unsure

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION. YOUR TIME AND PARTICIPATION IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

Appendix B

Chinese Version of Survey

1. 性别: ☐ 男 ☐ 女

2. 年龄: ☐ 18-20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-49 ☐ 50-59 ☐ 60+

3. 如果你是移民的, 你什么时候来的?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1965前	<input type="checkbox"/> 1965-1980	<input type="checkbox"/> 1981-1990
<input type="checkbox"/> 1990-2000	<input type="checkbox"/> 2000-2010	<input type="checkbox"/> 2010后

4. 你的就业状况:

<input type="checkbox"/> 全职工作	<input type="checkbox"/> 兼职
<input type="checkbox"/> 失业的, 找工作	<input type="checkbox"/> 失业的, 不找工作
<input type="checkbox"/> 退休	<input type="checkbox"/> 残疾人, 没能工作
<input type="checkbox"/> 别的_____	

5. 你家的年收入是多少?

<input type="checkbox"/> 低于\$20,000	<input type="checkbox"/> \$75,000 – \$99,999
<input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000 – \$34,999	<input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 – \$149,999
<input type="checkbox"/> \$35,000 – \$49,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 大于\$150,000
<input type="checkbox"/> \$50,000 – \$74,999	

6. 你住在纽约的三大唐人街吗?
 - ☐ 曼哈顿的唐人街
 - ☐ 布鲁克林的唐人街 (八大道)
 - ☐ 皇后区的唐人街 (法拉盛)
 - ☐ 以上都不是, 可是我能在一个小时内去到唐人街
 - ☐ 我不住在纽约 / 我不住在唐人街附近

- 如果你住在曼哈顿的唐人街, 你不需要回答问题七。
7. 你平常什么时候去唐人街?

<input type="checkbox"/> 每天	<input type="checkbox"/> 一个星期内去一次
<input type="checkbox"/> 差不多每天(一个星内期去 4-5 次)	<input type="checkbox"/> 一个月内去一或者两次

☐ 一个星期内去两三次

☐ 我不去/我很小去唐人街

以下每个问题都是关于曼哈顿的唐人街

8. 你为什么去唐人街? 请选择所有和你有关的答案:

☐ 买菜/杂货/食物

☐ 买东西/购物

☐ 吃点心/吃饭/吃东西

☐ 和朋友见面/相聚, 与朋友交往

☐ 医疗的原因 (看医生/牙医/物理治疗, 等等)

☐ 去药房拿药

☐ 小孩教育的原因 (补习学校/中文学校, 等等)

☐ 去上班

☐ 别的原因: _____

9. 在唐人街你有没有留意到以下的变化?

☐ 更多新的咖啡馆

☐ 美术馆/艺术画廊

☐ 更多不是华人的居民 (例如白人)

☐ 租金上涨 (房租贵了很多)

☐ 旧餐管和商店消失 (关门了)

☐ 货物的价钱上涨 (东西贵了)

☐ 跟多高层建筑和酒店

☐ 警察增加了

☐ 改善了交通工具

☐ 环卫进步了

☐ 别的变化: _____

以下部分旨在收集你的个人意见。请仔细留心句子的细节, 并挑选你的答案。

10. 我觉得我能住在唐人街 (比如租金不太贵/住得起)。

☐ 非常同意 ☐ 同意 ☐ 既不同意也不反对 ☐ 不同意 ☐ 非常不同意

11. 我觉得唐人街比以前安全了多。

☐ 非常同意 ☐ 同意 ☐ 既不同意也不反对 ☐ 不同意 ☐ 非常不同意

12. 我觉得唐人街是一个宜人和好住的地方。

☐ 非常同意 ☐ 同意 ☐ 既不同意也不反对 ☐ 不同意 ☐ 非常不同意

13. 我觉得唐人街正在改善/进步。

☐ 非常同意 ☐ 同意 ☐ 既不同意也不反对 ☐ 不同意 ☐ 非常不同意

14.我觉得唐人街的变化是因为华人活动。

☐非常同意 ☐同意 ☐既不同意也不反对 ☐不同意 ☐非常不同意

15.我觉得唐人街应该或者需要改变。

☐非常同意 ☐同意 ☐既不同意也不反对 ☐不同意 ☐非常不同意

16.我觉得唐人街的变化对纽约的华人有好处。

☐非常同意 ☐同意 ☐既不同意也不反对 ☐不同意 ☐非常不同意

17.我觉得唐人街依然是为华人的。(依然属于华人的)

☐非常同意 ☐同意 ☐既不同意也不反对 ☐不同意 ☐非常不同意

18.你觉得唐人街正在经历贵族化吗？（地区高档化）

☐我觉得是 ☐我觉得不是 ☐我不知道/我没有意见