

# **Philadelphia's Chinatown:**

## **An Ethnic Enclave Economy in a Changing Landscape**

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## Preface

My interest in Philadelphia's Chinatown stemmed from learning about its history with urban renewal. As a neighborhood that has been pushed at on all sides – from the east, west, and south, its only room for expansion was towards the north. At the same time, the first publicly contested urban renewal project – the Vine Street Expressway – also divided Chinatown so that it was hard to connect the neighborhood north and south of Vine St. At the same time, Philadelphia's Chinatown still remained one that served as first point of entry for many immigrants. It was as much a residential neighborhood as it was becoming a commercial neighborhood. Recently, it is suffering from gentrification as hotels are being converted to condominiums, new condominiums were being built, and Chinatown North was being advertised as the “Loft District.”

I wanted to find out how residents were affected by these new developments. Oral histories, put together by Asian Arts Initiative, spoke about the importance of Chinatown as a community to many of its current residents; from them also emerged a narrative about the need for more affordable housing. I knew that Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation – which emerged from the Vine Street Expressway struggle – had been working on creating affordable housing for residents. Interviewing them, I got a better understanding of their rationale – they believed in the need to preserve Chinatown because immigrants were coming into Chinatown and so many people depended on Chinatown as a community. At the same time, this exact population could not afford the market rates the new condominiums were selling for; they also were experiencing a rise in rents as land was becoming more valuable. The problem is that the need for affordable housing far exceeds the possibility of creating it. An interview with Asian Americans United confirmed the same story of need for affordable housing as well as a

sense of helplessness due to the quick pace of these private developments. There seemed to a dire need for affordable housing so that residents could stay in Chinatown and people could enjoy it as it is.

However, having had the opportunity speak with Peter Kwong – well known for his research on Chinatown – this summer, another narrative countered that of PCDC's and AAU's. He questioned the incentive and rationale behind this push for 'preserving' Chinatown. In some ways, he seemed to be alluding to these preservation efforts as almost walling in Chinatown's residents to a forever segregated status. I began to think about the impact of these recent developments as possibly indicative of the academic debate on the process of change immigrant communities undergo in the U.S.

An interesting focus in the literature on Chinatowns was the emphasis on the role of the ethnic enclave for an immigrant community. In particular, much emphasis was placed on the initial economic gains and consequent social gains of an ethnic enclave. I became curious to see if the recent developments had any impact on the businesses in Chinatown or whether the businesses were insular enough – being part of an enclave economy – to not feel too much impact from the developments.

Some acknowledgements I would like to make: Thank you to Professor Domenic Vitiello for all the time you spent with me trying to piece out my interest, my question, and later the significance of my findings; furthermore, your willingness to share your knowledge and perspectives greatly encouraged me to pursue this project and think critically about its implications. Thank you to Professor Eric Schneider for wonderfully guiding me through this semester, both with critical perspectives to drive my thinking further, with the feedback needed

to better my writing and analysis, and with the support needed to logistically allow me to finish this project on time; you untiringly pushed us in class to go beyond the material we had and the findings we thought we came upon. Thank you to Professor Mark Stern for your patient help with SPSS. With your guidance, I was able to articulate my questions into definable variables and actually present my findings in a concrete manner. Thank you to Peter Kwong, Romana Lee, Isaac Kwon, Ellen Somekawa, and Michelle Wong for sharing your knowledge of Chinatown as a community and offering your advice on what my questions were trying to get at. And finally, thank you to the business owners and their respective staff of Chinatown for your help in filling out my surveys, answering my questions, and sharing your stories.

## Introduction

Today, Philadelphia's Chinatown is recognized as a residential-commercial neighborhood that still serves as the first point of entry for immigrants. However, it has suffered from urban renewal since the 1960s and has recently been facing a slew of condominium developments.

There are two models to examine the trajectory of Philadelphia's Chinatown. The first is the assimilation model: the better off eventually move out of the declining ghetto and integrate. The enclave then disappears. The other model is the enclave-economy model, which emphasizes the crucial role an enclave economy plays in the social mobility of immigrants. Its organization lets immigrants trade primarily within the enclave. Though subject to fluctuations of the general economy, it is somewhat protected because of its ethnic solidarity as well as the opportunities for exploitation that is the supposed pay-off for benefits derived from co-ethnicity. While not suggesting that assimilation is no longer a goal, this model puts the focus on immigrants and their adaptation rather than on the mainstream economy's change on immigrant communities. In an enclave economy, immigrants may prefer pluralism – or even segregation – to integration.

As Philadelphia's Chinatown faces increasingly pressing external pressures, this study attempts to study the resulting impact on the enclave economy. The external pressures are namely the condominium developments that have risen the price of land to a degree unaffordable to most working-class residents. This raise in rent may undoubtedly affect laborers who live in Chinatown. At the same time, it affects many facets of a business in Chinatown. For example, some business may change its suppliers or its location. Some business owners may also look at a new pool of employees depending on his/her needs, which is most likely determined by one's economic situation especially as this pressure is largely one of economic pressures. New

developments could also change the customer base—both by adding a new pool to the current base as well as through changing the current consumption patterns of old customers. These changes ultimately affect a business's success. All these facets make up whether a business still qualifies as an enclave economy business.

Philadelphia's Chinatown currently shows remnants of the enclave economy as co-ethnicity is still a prevalent characteristic of the facets of its business. At the same time, the economic pressures cannot be ignored, and most of its businesses are simultaneously diversifying in response to these external pressures. Business owners tend to be optimistic about the changes; and because the developments are so new, there is a lot of room for belief in the developments' positive impact on Chinatown and its business sector.

However, the enclave economy has served as an alternative to the mainstream economy for social mobility as well as a shelter for disadvantaged; therefore, changes within it could imply changes for incoming co-ethnic immigrants as well as for the non-English speaking population that has come to depend on it. These changes could also facilitate the already growing integration into the mainstream economy. The findings could, not only add to the debate of the enclave economy's interaction with the mainstream economy, but also hint at the sustainability of Chinatown as an enclave economy, and maybe even as an ethnic enclave.

## Literature Review:

### Chinatown as an Ethnic Enclave

When the first noted wave of Chinese immigrated to the U.S. – in the 1840s for the gold rush – they had not been perceived as a threat to the communities in which they settled. However, following the gold rush – and with a rising number of contracted cheap Chinese laborers in the U.S. due to the Coolie Trade – “white working-class immigrants to California saw the...Chinese as unwelcome competition and set about finding ways to eliminate it.”<sup>1</sup> The 1850s also marked a time during a “contentious national debate over race, inflamed by the issue of slavery” as well as “a profound conflict over the freedom of labor in America.”<sup>2</sup> These conditions set the grounds for a national movement against the Chinese in the country and against allowing more Chinese to come into the country. A slew of anti-Chinese legislation and sentiments culminated into the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. It suspended the entry of Chinese laborers, both skilled and unskilled, into the U.S. for ten years and did not allow the courts to naturalize Chinese people. The act was extended every following decade until it became indefinite, and then finally repealed in 1943.<sup>3</sup>

Leading up to, and particularly during these sixty years, Chinatowns emerged as a place that could protect the Chinese from the harsh treatment they encountered. Furthermore, “with restrictions upon their activities, Chinatown provided social, economic, and political mechanisms which could enable its residents to maintain a self-sufficiency from the larger society.”<sup>4</sup> This self-sufficiency manifested itself as such: not only did business establishments in Chinatown

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<sup>1</sup> Kwong, Peter and Dusanka Misevic Chinese America: The Untold Story of America's Oldest New Community New York: New Press, 2005: 45.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 203.

<sup>4</sup> Bock, Deborah Lyn "The Historical Function of Chinatown and its Application to Philadelphia" Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1976: 42.



provide needed goods and services, but they were also places of employment for Chinese laborers. Merchants became the ruling elite of Chinatown: they made trade relations with American public officials and arranged jobs between employers and newly arrived immigrants (as the Chinese, predominantly males, found ways to maneuver around the law).<sup>5</sup>

The establishment of Chinatown revolved around the merchant class. Many Chinatowns developed accordingly: a merchandise store is set up for the supply of some Chinese goods. It would become the meeting place for the community, where the Chinese population turned for its social functions. Then, to meet other needs, service oriented businesses – such as restaurants and housing facilities – would emerge. These areas were then institutionalized when “hostilities increased [so that] the nature of the area would change from that of a social center to that of a residential sector.”<sup>6</sup> Organizations, known as associations, would then form to represent such businesses, as well as the Chinese residents, to local government officials. After all, “the Chinatown underground economy is this country’s free-enterprise zone, except that it’s not legal. It is maintained by the informal political structure in Chinatown, with the tacit agreement of outside government officials.”<sup>7</sup> Chinatown emerged as an enclave due to discriminatory pressure; but there were also various economic and political interests invested in maintaining it.

### Chinatown as an Ethnic Enclave Economy

Due to external pressures, Chinatowns developed as practically self-sufficient neighborhoods with ethnic enclave economies. The hostile context of reception “erected structural barriers to prevent immigrants from competing with the native born on an equal basis in the mainstream economy. As a result, immigrants either took “jobs that natives d[id] not

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 48.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 50.

<sup>7</sup> Kwong, Peter The New Chinatown New York: Hill and Wang, 1987: 80.

desire or carve[d] out market niches for themselves, meeting the potential demands for specific goods and services unmet by the mainstream economy.”<sup>8</sup> There are five basic features that characterize an ethnic enclave economy.

The two most basic characteristics are proprietorship and co-ethnic employment. Proprietorship refers to “the extent to which members of an ethnic group are self-employed. In general, immigrants are more entrepreneurial, often out of necessity.”<sup>9</sup> And as ethnic entrepreneurs “depend on a motivated, reliable, and exploitable labor force to survive in the highly competitive business environment...they create job opportunities serving the short-term goals of [co-]ethnic members who must choose between low wages and joblessness.”<sup>10</sup> These jobs – though low wage – may be easier to obtain for co-ethnics, than in the mainstream economy, because of fewer credentialing demands.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, advantages for the business owner include “bounded solidarity” and “enforceable trust.”<sup>12</sup> The former refers to “mutual obligations among co-ethnic owners, workers, and customers” due to their shared foreign status and treatment as “culturally distinct”; the latter refers to “the key enforcement mechanism against malfeasance among prospective ethnic entrepreneurs and any violators of commonly accepted norms [due to] the sanctioning power of the community...to confer status on individuals or exclude them.”<sup>13</sup> This shared ethnicity – *co-ethnicity* – represents a crucial facet of the ethnic enclave economy: it allows for ethnic ties to serve as the basis for employment – uncharacteristic of the mainstream economy – but it also allows for extensive exploitation.

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<sup>8</sup> Zhou, M. “Revisiting ethnic entrepreneurship: Convergences, Controversies, and Conceptual Advancements” *International Migration Review* 38.3 (2004): 1047.

<sup>9</sup> Kaplan, David H. and Wei Li, eds. *Landscapes of the Ethnic Economy* New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006: 3.

<sup>10</sup> Zhou, Min *Chinatown: the socioeconomic potential of an urban enclave* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992: 222.

<sup>11</sup> Kaplan, 7.

<sup>12</sup> Zhou (2004), 1049.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

As much as enclave economy businesses rely on co-ethnicity, it also relies heavily on cheap labor. Low wages and long hours characterize these jobs: “Those who work for Chinese bosses soon learn that all standard American labor practices are ignored.”<sup>14</sup> Employers deem such conditions as necessary because they often “see themselves as victims of competition from American businesses as well as from fellow Chinese. From their point of view, they are fighting for survival; therefore, they have to cut costs to the minimum.”<sup>15</sup> Some argue that this exploitation is worthwhile because the ethnic economy provides opportunities that an immigrant worker cannot find in the general economy:

“In Chinatown, low wages are compensated for by the savings of time and effort involved in finding a ‘good job’ in the larger market, the possibility of working longer hours to help contribute more to family savings, a familiar work environment, and for some, the possibility of eventual transition to self-employment...Moreover, enclave workers can avoid many hassles and costs associated with employment in the secondary labor market, the most obvious one being labor-market discrimination on the basis of race and national origin. Thus, enclave workers often willingly accept exploitation.”<sup>16</sup>

Exploitation is the better option.

On the other hand, this alliance between Chinese owners and workers can also be seen as a myth. A reality for a majority of new immigrants is their confrontation with a “double trap: the racially segmented American labor market and the harsh labor conditions of the Chinatown economy.”<sup>17</sup> They do not really have a choice. In the highly competitive mainstream labor market, they would be “competing with other racial minorities for low-paying jobs with frequent layoffs and unemployment.”<sup>18</sup> At the same time, when they start working in their enclave, “their opportunities to learn English and find work are effectively blocked, which is why employers can lay them off as soon as the economy sours without fear of losing them forever. The workers

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<sup>14</sup> Kwong (1987), 63.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 64.

<sup>16</sup> Zhou (1992), 115.

<sup>17</sup> Kwong (1987), 63.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 65.

have no place else to go.”<sup>19</sup> The result is that immigrants may actually embark on a path of downward mobility, without any hope of escaping such exploitative conditions. Furthermore, their reliance on ethnic services holds them to the ethnic enclave. Co-ethnicity is integral to the enclave economy, but with it comes exploitation.

A third feature of an ethnic enclave economy refers to interaction with an ethnic market, meaning how well businesses appeal to co-ethnic customers. In fact, “the more the needs of ethnics can be met by co-ethnic businesses, the larger and more comprehensive the ethnic economy.”<sup>20</sup> Moreover, a study has shown that the consumption / store-choice patterns among Chinese immigrants are more dependent on the sociocultural factor – ethnic identity – rather than on economic variables – such as accessibility and store attributes.<sup>21</sup> As “ethnic identity plays a critical role in the choice between ethnic and mainstream businesses,” a hypothesis was drawn that “patronizing ethnic stores is a way of maintaining a sense of belonging to the ethnic community.”<sup>22</sup> This connection between customers and storeowners indicates a relationship between ethnic businesses and ethnic residences.

In fact, spatial concentration is the fourth characteristic of an enclave ethnic economy. This geographic aspect is crucial because it highlights the parallel between an enclave ethnic economy and the mainstream economy. The proximity is needed in early stages of the enclave economy to maintain access to co-ethnic clientele, ethnic resources, credit and information, and ethnic labor supplies.<sup>23</sup> The presence of “ethnically owned and operated businesses provide[s] for neighborhood definition in a direct way through signage, language, and specialty goods”—

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<sup>19</sup> Kwong (2005), 322.

<sup>20</sup> Kaplan, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Wang, Lu and Lucia Lo “Immigrant grocery-shopping behavior: ethnic identity versus accessibility” Environment and Planning A 39 (2007): 695.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 696, 695.

<sup>23</sup> Zhou (2004), 1044.

conducive to assisting other businesses become established.<sup>24</sup> As a result, the reproductive clustering allows diversification, “including not just niches shunned by natives but also a wide variety of economic activities common in the general economy, such as professional services and production.”<sup>25</sup> Diversification reinforces the establishment of the enclave economy.

Related to diversified enterprises is the fifth attribute of an ethnic enclave economy, which is the organizational pathways linking ethnic firms. Initially, ethnic groups tended to specialize in a few economic sectors, due to “the opportunities available in a particular context, the legacy of longstanding activity in a sector, and the structural barriers set by hosting societies that prevent ethnic minorities from penetrating certain economic sectors.”<sup>26</sup> However, the clustering of firms allows businesses to spring up that can supply each other, so that there were businesses who manufactured, who distributed, and who engaged in retail to the customer. This coordination effectively allows vertical and horizontal integration.<sup>27</sup> The enclave economy then parallels crucial features of the mainstream economy.

While enclave economies are formed in part due to discrimination from the larger labor market and to disadvantages associated with immigrant status, the enclave economy has provided benefits for its participants. The most important benefit is social mobility through economic opportunities. For example, spatial concentration helps create protected markets because customers patronize ethnically owned stores that serve their ethnic-specific needs. This relationship allows some protection from structural changes in the larger economy because it is “secured by its own exclusive capital market, labor market, and consumer market.”<sup>28</sup> The

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<sup>24</sup> Kaplan, 10.

<sup>25</sup> Zhou (2004), 1044.

<sup>26</sup> Kaplan, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Werbner, P. “Metaphors of spatiality and networks in the plural city: A critique of the ethnic economy debate” *The Journal of the British Sociological Association* 35.3 (2001): 676.

<sup>28</sup> Zhou (1992), 111.

enclave then becomes more than “just a shelter for the disadvantaged who are forced to take on either self-employment or marginal wage work in small business. Rather, the ethnic enclave possesses the potential to develop a distinct structure of economic opportunities as an effective alternative path to social mobility.”<sup>29</sup> In addition, the enclave serves as an export sector. This sector generates income to be circulated back into ethnic markets and reinvested into both sectors, which helps expand job opportunities and also allows for human capital investment in the second generation.<sup>30</sup> These functions increase economic capital within the enclave.

The enclave economy also allows the expansion of social capital. For example, with people using the space for more than just shopping, but also for social functions, middle-class co-ethnics may visit the enclave economy. They are then not only investing in the economy but also “broadening basis for social interactions...creat[ing] channels for information exchange and thus eas[ing] the negative consequences of social isolation associated with inner-city living.”<sup>31</sup> The enclave economy also creates an entrepreneurial culture that “keeps alive a sense of identity, pride, self-esteem, and group solidarity, which feeds back to the building of social capital and further consolidates the structure of the enclave.”<sup>32</sup> Self-employment, expanded networks, and an entrepreneurial culture benefit immigrants with varied socioeconomic backgrounds – including entrepreneurs and workers.

### External Forces on the Enclave Economy

At the same time, the global economy has effects on the enclave economy. Though it has qualities of a protected sector, the enclave economy “lacks a monopoly position in the larger

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<sup>29</sup> Zhou (2004), 1045.

<sup>30</sup> Zhou (1992), 226.

<sup>31</sup> Zhou (2004), 1064.

<sup>32</sup> Zhou (1992), 226.

economy.”<sup>33</sup> In fact, immigration expands the enclave economy.<sup>34</sup> It has supplied the enclave with a “large pool of surplus immigrant labor [that] makes it possible for the enclave to develop an export sector that can successfully compete with the larger economy and generate income to reinvest in the enclave.”<sup>35</sup> In addition, the “demand for ethnic consumer products stimulated both by growing ethnic populations and the changing tastes of nonethnics for things exotic...allow certain group members to carve niches for self-employment.”<sup>36</sup> The enclave economy becomes part of the global economy because of its incorporation of immigrants.

This effect can be examined through the 1965 Immigration Act. It created two divergent flows of migration: one based on professional preference and the other on family unity, which bifurcated the Chinese American community:

“Family-based migration...[brought] in relatives of earlier working-class immigrants...whose skills and English proficiency [were] limited. The professional preference [brought] in the highly educated upper middle class. These bipolar admission criteria ha[s] created two Chinese American subgroups with dramatically different experiences in every aspect of their existence in America, the most visible of which [were] their different patterns of settlement. The working class [was] still steered to urban ghettos, while the professionals [were] bale to jump straight into suburbs.”<sup>37</sup>

These two groups were the ‘Uptown Chinese’ and the ‘Downtown Chinese.’<sup>38</sup> The Uptown Chinese had assets and human capital that facilitated their entrepreneurship and access to white-collar professions – particularly in the ethnic economy. Meanwhile, the Downtown Chinese became their laborers.

This demographic shift displayed itself in changes to the major economic activities of Chinatown. The restaurant business was one of the strongholds of the economy. The earlier

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>34</sup> Light, Ivan “Immigration and Ethnic Economies in Giant Cities” *International Social Science Journal* 56.181 (2004): 389.

<sup>35</sup> Zhou (1992), 221.

<sup>36</sup> Zhou (2004), 1047.

<sup>37</sup> Kwong (2005), 317.

<sup>38</sup> Kwong (1987), 58.

restaurants mainly served to provide daily meals for sojourners, laundrymen, and, over time, working immigrants (as their long hours created a need for take-out meals). As “Chinese food has been accepted as one of the best ethnic foods in America...the clientele grew [to include] the general population, which has taken Chinese cuisine seriously.”<sup>39</sup> These restaurants – characterized by extravagance, stylishness, and elegance – catered to families who moved away from Chinatown but frequented on weekends for family get-togethers (the Uptown Chinese) as well as to tourists. The restaurant business relied on co-ethnicity for employment and customers; and it also heavily depended on an exploitative labor force (the Downtown Chinese) to maintain cheaper prices. The retail business was similar to the restaurant business for its tourist-orientation. While it supplied the ethnic community with ethnic-specific goods unavailable or inaccessible for Chinatown residents, it also made money from tourists and drew outside funds into the community.<sup>40</sup>

The emergence of an Uptown Chinese class also led to the emergence of some of Chinatown’s other major economic activities. For example, the real estate industry boomed in the 1970s and 1980s as developers – many Chinese investors from abroad – found that they could make a handsome profit on building conversions.<sup>41</sup> The tourism and entertainment industry emerged as these new immigrants – who had left family behind and were wealthier – began to travel more to fulfill family commitments as well as for leisure.<sup>42</sup> Finally, professional firms formed because these Uptown Chinese could mobilize the necessary financial resources.<sup>43</sup> And while the Uptown Chinese tended to live outside of Chinatown, they worked in Chinatown, where they could exercise their ethnic capital in professional firms that serviced the needs of a

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<sup>39</sup> Zhou (1992), 97.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 104.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 105.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 107.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 108.



growing immigrant population.<sup>44</sup> These industries developed – adding to the longstanding restaurant and retail industries – when immigration laws diversified the immigrant population to include a greater class spectrum.

Chinatown's economic organization – a protected and export economy that has thrived upon population growth, shared ethnicity, and exploitation – has allowed it to survive. The protected sector has its capital, labor, and consumer market, and therefore is “less vulnerable to structural changes in the larger economy for ethnic members.”<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, the export sector is very sensitive to fluctuations of the larger economic system. Some businesses in Chinatown cater more to the larger consumer market, but “ethnicity often works to offset some of the exploitative aspects of the export industries located in the enclave.”<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the interaction of these two sectors allows Chinatown's economy to expand. The export sector generates income to be circulated back into the ethnic markets while the protected sector allows capital to stay within the ethnic market.

However, new theories have also suggested that enclave economies are in fact not as protected from the larger economy. Counter to previous theories, “ethnic enclave economies both enhance opportunities but also make ethnic groups highly vulnerable to macro-economic and demographic changes.”<sup>47</sup> When economic conditions become unfavorable, “ethnic solidarity...crumbles in the face of labor shortages and competition.”<sup>48</sup> For example, Korean-owned businesses shifted to Mexican and Ecuadorian employment in the face of retention problems and increased labor costs of Korean employees.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, another ethnographic

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<sup>44</sup> Kwong (1987), 60.

<sup>45</sup> Zhou (1992), 111.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>47</sup> Werbner, 689.

<sup>48</sup> Kim, Dae Young “Beyond co-ethnic solidarity: Mexican and Ecuadorean employment in Korean-owned businesses in New York City” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22.3 (1999): 599.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

study of Vietnamese ethnic businesses in Little Saigon found Chinese and Sino-Vietnamese owners turning increasingly toward Mexican and Central Americans “as their preferred source of labor”; though it is noted “jobs of trust and supervisory responsibilities are still in the hands of co-ethnics.”<sup>50</sup> Co-ethnicity does not seem to be as strong in ensuring employment opportunities when business-owners are faced to make economical decisions. Therefore, the immigrants must further depreciate their human-capital value if they wanted to stay in the ethnic economy. If they stay, the ethnic capital they are able to contribute to the enclave economy decreases; and if other ethnic groups penetrate the enclave economy, they are taking some of the capital out.

Furthermore, the enclave economy’s exploitation of its laborers hinders many of its immigrants from social mobility. Studies have shown that “working in the ethnic economy hampers participation in the social activities of the wider society.”<sup>51</sup> Moreover, participation can mean that immigrants “are less able to fully experience the assimilation process.”<sup>52</sup> While it can be questioned whether or not assimilation should be the end goal, it is clear that the ethnic enclave economy limits expansion of an ethnic community’s collective human capital. These are all the result of ethnic businesses, too, feeling the pressures of general changes in the economy.

Nevertheless, an interesting phenomenon has been observed with increased globalization: transnationalism. With bicultural skills and pre-existing bicultural ethnic networks, “potential immigrant entrepreneurs, low-skilled and highly-skilled alike, do not merely react to structural disadvantages they face in their host countries but actively look for opportunities and market niches beyond the national boundaries of the receiving countries.”<sup>53</sup> This speculation effectively

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<sup>50</sup> Zhou (2004), 1050

<sup>51</sup> Fong, E and E Ooka “The Social Consequences of participating in the ethnic economy” International Migration Review 36.1 (2002): 142.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 143.

<sup>53</sup> Zhou (2004), 1059.

opens up international capital, labor, and consumer markets—serving to diversify industries and provide greater material support for existing social structures within the enclave economy.

### Philadelphia's Chinatown as an Ethnic Enclave Economy

The first seeds for Philadelphia's Chinatown were laid down when the need for laborers in a Belleville, New Jersey laundry sparked the eastward migration of Chinese from San Francisco. After arriving, the laborers "observed the abundant opportunities available for others on the East Coast," and using their ethnic social ties, contacted friends and relatives on the West Coast and in China to join them.<sup>54</sup> Needless to say, people came. In 1870, Chinatown looked like a combination grocery store and haberdashery on 9<sup>th</sup> and Race St. In 1880, a restaurant, located above a laundry, was added to the neighborhood. From the 1880s to 1890s, the population experienced a thousand-fold increase in population.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, the national Sino-phobic sentiment led to the racial antagonism that pressured the Chinese to segregate themselves in Chinatown.

With the 1943 repeal of the Exclusion Act (that barred Chinese immigration into the U.S. since 1882) Chinatown began to become more family-oriented. For example, "to accommodate the growing population, religious institutions provided activities for Chinatown residents."<sup>56</sup> The Holy Redeemer Church, followed by the Chinese Christian Church and Center, was established along Vine St. Philadelphia's Chinatown was also becoming increasingly connected to New York's Chinatown, a place where residents could go to for more sophisticated goods and services. It was also becoming more accessible to the general population as merchants pushed to clean up Chinatown in order to increase tourism. Capitalizing on cultural occurrences, such as

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<sup>54</sup> Bock, 21.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 65.

street festivals, and maximizing Chinatown's scenic attraction, with pagoda-styled décor, Chinatown was "built to suit the taste and imagination of...the American public."<sup>57</sup> Chinatown extended its boundaries and "increased the number of stores and restaurants which served the community and its tourist trade."<sup>58</sup> Philadelphia's Chinatown had become the third largest Chinese settlement on the East Coast and the sixth largest in the country. Through recruiting family and friends, the employee and entrepreneurial base was co-ethnic. And as an ethnically defined settlement, there existed both an ethnic market and a geographically bound community.

After the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act that allowed both family members and professionals to immigrate, Chinatown's population diversified. With immigrants of varied socioeconomic backgrounds, the types of services performed in Chinatown diversified. In fact, the community was identified as "acculturated" as it had "adopt[ed] cultural patterns of the dominant society."<sup>59</sup> At the same time, there were still "traces of prejudice [that] prevented full acceptance of this group in all activities"—as shown by many either staying within Chinatown or, if moved out, having "tended to settle in areas around which were other Chinese families."<sup>60</sup> Though some Chinese Americans dispersed to the suburbs because of economic ability, there were still ties to Chinatown.

Today Philadelphia's Chinatown still remains an ethnically concentrated neighborhood. Though analysis of the 2000 Census shows some disagreement over the percentage of Asians living in Chinatown, the numbers are significantly higher than the percentage of Asians living in the U.S.—indicating residential concentration. Some sources estimate Philadelphia's Chinatown

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<sup>57</sup> Light, Ivan "From Vice District to Tourist Attraction: The Moral Career of American Chinatowns, 1880-1940" *The Pacific Historical Review* 43.3 (1974): 391.

<sup>58</sup> Bock, 66.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 127.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

to be about 50% Asian (though it acknowledged possible levels of underreporting).<sup>61</sup>

Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation (PCDC) – the perceived advocate of Chinatown – estimated that Asians make up almost 80% of Chinatown’s population.<sup>62</sup>

Regardless, these statistics show a predominantly Asian neighborhood – in light of Asians making up about 4% of the U.S. population and 4.4% of Philadelphia’s population.

A description of current day Chinatown confirms the residential-commercial features of this community. Not only does the architecture and signage reflect symbols of Chinese culture, a weekday shows “elderly Chinese...on the streets nodding to each other or chatting on the way to get their daily fresh food.”<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, Philadelphia’s Chinatown remains a first-entry point for immigrants, as “one can function quite well even without English as a communication tool” since there is a multitude of bilingual services.<sup>64</sup> The major sources of employment are still in the service industry and manufacturing. And services in Chinatown can be categorized as 1) professional businesses to help residents interact with the mainstream economy, such as law firms 2) businesses that provide services and goods for Chinatown residents, such as banks and bookstores 3) businesses that reflect Chinese traditions, such as herbal stores, or 4) restaurants, bakeries, retail, beauty, and special import stores.<sup>65</sup> This diversity and geographic and ethnic concentration indicates that Chinatown has retained its enclave economy characteristics.

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<sup>61</sup> Erdentug, Aygen and Freek Colombijn, eds. Urban Ethnic Encounters: The Spatial Consequences New York: Routledge, 2002: 129.

<sup>62</sup> Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation “Demographic Profile (based on 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing)” 27 October 2007 <[http://www.chinatown-pcdc.org/community\\_demographics.htm](http://www.chinatown-pcdc.org/community_demographics.htm)>

<sup>63</sup> Erdentug, 130.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 131.

### External Pressures on Philadelphia's Chinatown

As a neighborhood located near Center City, Philadelphia's Chinatown has been affected by external developments. Originally, the expansion of industry and commerce into the city center meant that it became less appealing to high-income residents. Therefore, this area emerged as the cheapest housing for workers, a convenient location to live, and a protected place during the Sinophobic years.<sup>66</sup> However, being "in their central city location...[the] land held value for expansion" of the city."<sup>67</sup> Thus, began urban renewal in the 1960s.

Despite a growing population that suggested a need to expand Chinatown's boundaries, urban renewal actually diminished them. First came Market Street East, which was "envisioned as a means of attracting suburbanites back into the city with its shopping center."<sup>68</sup> Though it met some resistance and was modified, it opened the door to more urban renewal projects. The next big project – that received much more unified opposition and led to the formation of PCDC – was the Vine Street Expressway. This project had been modified to save the Holy Redeemer Church – which served as an educational, religious, and social gathering ground for Chinatown residents.<sup>69</sup> However, it split Chinatown down the middle.

The 1980s saw the Gallery I and Gallery II.<sup>70</sup> Additional projects such as the "Independence Mall Renewal Area Parking Garage in the east of 9<sup>th</sup> street, a commuter rail tunnel...the Philadelphia Police Headquarters, Temple University's Institute of Feet and Ankles, Bell Atlantic Electronic Company, and the Tourist Center have replaced former Chinese residential neighborhoods."<sup>71</sup> A significant project that destroyed blocks of housing and

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<sup>66</sup> Bock, 68.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 103.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 104.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 106.

<sup>70</sup> Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission. Chinatown Neighborhood Plan: including Callowhill neighborhood Philadelphia, PA, 2004: 2.1.

<sup>71</sup> Erdentug, 132.

displaced businesses include the Convention Center, a project that is still being expanded. Upon its inception, the city government had proposed it as a benefit to tourism and Chinatown's economy, but that result has still yet to be assessed. A recent development that *was* effectively blocked was a proposed baseball stadium in Chinatown North/Callowhill.<sup>72</sup> Chinatown is now prevented from expanding east, west, or south. It can only expand north, though controversy over the Reading Railroad Viaduct and the high price of land has prevented any expansion – except for some exceptional, though limited in number, affordable housing units – that benefits Chinatown's residents.

Most recently, the developments have not been government sponsored but are rather private—which potentially presents as a harder challenge for community residents to resist. These are the new condominiums that have been built, some due to conversions of former urban renewal structures.<sup>73</sup> A Center City map of recent residential developments highlights eight condominiums between the area of 8<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> Street and Filbert to Spring Garden St.<sup>74</sup> These condominiums are easily going for more than \$150,000.<sup>75</sup> These prices are out of the range of Chinatown residents, whose 2000 median family income was estimated to be \$16,806.<sup>76</sup> These new developments are very much so out of many residents' price range and may be effectively pushing them out.

The impact on Chinatown as a residential neighborhood seems clear, but there has not been much research on the impact for Chinatown's businesses. In theory, these condominium developments and the Convention Center's expansion should be good for the businesses. It

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<sup>72</sup> Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission, 2.1.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 2.3

<sup>74</sup> Center City Philadelphia "Development Maps Residential" 27 October 2007.  
<[http://www.centercityphila.org/docs/Developments\\_Map\\_Residential.pdf](http://www.centercityphila.org/docs/Developments_Map_Residential.pdf)>

<sup>75</sup> Center City Philadelphia "Residential Development: 2006-2008" 27 October 2007.  
<<http://www.centercityphila.org/docs/residentialreport2006.pdf>>

<sup>76</sup> Social Explorer "2000 Income Demography Report: Census Tract 126 in Philadelphia County, PA" 17 December 2007. <<http://www.socialexplorer.com>>

implies more customers for these businesses. In addition, since the demographics of these condominium residents and of Convention Center's attendees may be different from those living in Chinatown, the businesses may have the opportunity to diversify their services to meet this new customer base. This increased capital could also mean a reinvestment in human capital for the business owners' families, as purported by the export sector feature of the enclave economy.

At the same time, there stands to be possible negative effects of these recent developments. Rent may go up and reduce profits of restaurants and other businesses, which can then worsen working conditions:

“Higher rents have cut deeply into workers' already low wages. Businesses have cut staff and increased the workload of the remaining work force. Workers are faced with frequent layoffs; they are overworked, underpaid, or underemployed...Restaurants, groceries, and other businesses dependent on factory workers will also close. The economy of the community will collapse. Real-estate speculators and banks will have killed the goose that laid the golden egg.”<sup>77</sup>

This sequence of events may lead to a disappearance of Chinatown as it exists today. Some believe that “the future of Chinatown hinges on one large requisite: the provision of more housing – decent housing.”<sup>78</sup> Otherwise, not only will low-income residents be displaced from the places where they live and work, but businesses that depend on their cheap labor may also close. A new customer base, from the developments, may arise but some co-ethnic customers may be lost depending on how the developments impact their residential patterns.

At the same time, low-income residents displaced out of Chinatown may move elsewhere and form new communities. In the search for cheaper housing, new Chinese immigrants may create “a series of mini-Chinese communities, scattered among non-Chinese neighborhoods but still connected to the original Chinatowns.”<sup>79</sup> This relocation to another common area – a likely

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<sup>77</sup> Kwong (1987), 53.

<sup>78</sup> Bock, 128.

<sup>79</sup> Kwong (2005), 334.



reality based on discriminatory sentiments – could mean “a possible rebirth of Chinatown.”<sup>80</sup> At the same time, there is reason to doubt whether or not this rebirth will be a sincere replication of Chinatown: “With each extension, however, the integrity and intensity of the Chinese community has been diluted, so that some of the outlying satellite Chinatowns...can be identified only by a small cluster of new Chinese groceries and restaurants.”<sup>81</sup> This phenomenon can be seen in creation of ‘ethnoburbs’—“a suburban area in which one ethnic group, although not its absolute majority, is present in a concentrated enough fashion to appear as a recognizable ethnic residential and business cluster and maintains a high degree of economic activity and social interaction among its members.”<sup>82</sup> These neighborhoods may employ the same laborers that Chinatown did; or ethnic solidarity may not hold in face of economical decisions. Despite this possible reemergence, ‘Chinatown’ – as an ethnic enclave – has been diluted and may not be supporting the same range of socioeconomic diversity. Therefore, with developments changing the face of Chinatown, it impacts the populations and structures Chinatown traditionally support.

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<sup>80</sup> Bock, 128.

<sup>81</sup> Kwong (2005), 335.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 359.

## Methodology

I defined Chinatown as the area between 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> St. and Filbert to Spring Garden St—the same geographical boundaries as Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation's service area. The significance of this replication was because the city primarily recognizes PCDC as the main voice for the Chinatown community. I also received a list of businesses that PCDC compiled in 2003 (Appendix C) to look at the breakdown of businesses.

I tried to be somewhat representative during my surveying in Chinatown. To allow geographic variety amongst the businesses surveyed, I would try to stay within a certain area every time I headed down to Chinatown and move to a different area on each different trip. One impediment in regards to geographical diversity was the lack of businesses I found north of Vine St. Many buildings appeared vacant; and of the few businesses that were open, many did not have the business owner present. To allow for a fairly representative sample by business-type, I focused on restaurants as my first priority, as they outnumbered the other types of businesses in Chinatown. The directory also included a good proportion of retail businesses, which I broke down into grocery, retail, and wholesale. Similarly, the directory's last category was service, which I broke down into professional, real estate, social services, salon, travel, and entertainment. After every trip, I took note of the number of businesses per industry in my sample so that I had a good idea of what my sample looked like. However, as about 50% of the time, businesses turned me down – for various reasons, usually in regards to disinterest or fear of hassle (usually the case with retail businesses) – my sample was largely determined by which businesses agreed to take the survey. Notwithstanding, my sample did have a good proportion of restaurants.

My basic approach was to enter the store, introduce myself as a college student interested in understanding how businesses were faring in Chinatown in light of recent developments, and ask to see if the business owner had a moment to fill out my survey. Sometimes the business owner would not be there, but one of his/her staff would agree to have me leave a copy of the survey to retrieve later that afternoon. For the most part, if the business owner was interested in filling it out, he/she would do so. Otherwise, if the business owner was not interested, he/she would usually stick to that reply regardless of my flexibility at coming back on another date or persistence at asking. After the survey, I intended on giving a post-survey structured interview. When business owners agreed to fill out the survey while I waited, some would then agree to answer the questions; however, most were usually very curt with their replies. When I left a survey behind for business owners, I rarely got a chance to speak with the business owner and therefore did not get his/her interview.

The survey (Appendix A) consisted of five sections:

- About Your Business: enclave economy characteristics
- Recent Changes in Business: changes to the enclave economy characteristics of business
- Recent Changes in Chinatown: awareness of the changes
- Your Business' Responses to Changes in Chinatown: attitudes to changes in Chinatown
- About the Business Owner: demographics of owner

The post-interview survey asked businesses owners their reasons for starting their business in Chinatown, their plans for their children, as well as for a more detailed description of their attitudes towards the developments. In total, I collected 37 surveys and conducted 11 interviews.

I also conducted four informational interviews to gain a more nuanced view of Philadelphia's Chinatown. The first was with Peter Kwong, a professor in the Department of

Urban Affairs and Planning as well as in the Asian American Studies Program at Hunter College, City University of New York. He is the author of two of my bibliography sources and a prominent researcher on Chinatowns, particularly that of New York. I conducted this interview over the summer prior to formalizing my project to learn more about his idea of his understanding of Philadelphia's Chinatown and to hear his opinion on the potential trajectory of Chinatown. Our conversation jarred me because of his critique on community development corporations' attempts at helping communities. This critical awareness largely guided my perspective on Chinatown as both a geographically defined community and as a concept of place.

My second informational interview was with Domenic Vitiello, a professor in City and Regional Planning & Urban Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. We had multiple conversations that helped me better understand the dynamics of Philadelphia's Chinatown—both in theory as well as in specifics, such as in regards to the various organizations that represent Chinatown. He also helped me better understand what PCDC was able to do with zoning and its role in the civic engagement with Philadelphia's Chinatown community.

My third informational interview was with Romana Lee, Director of Development, and Isaac Kwon, Project Manager, at Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation. They reviewed with me PCDC's history and further illuminated their relationship with the Chinatown community. Our conversation helped me understand PCDC's understanding of its mission as well as the mechanisms through which they carry out their vision of Chinatown. They also briefed me on the current policy conversations surrounding affordable housing – such as inclusionary zoning – as well as the state of recent developments in Chinatown.

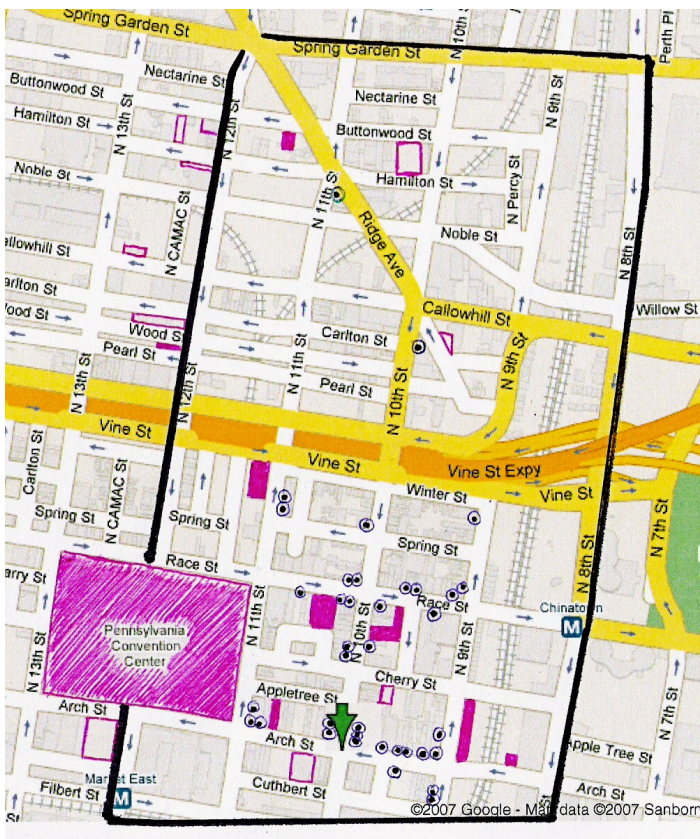
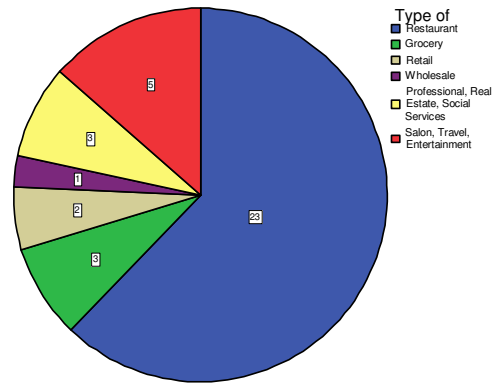
My last informational interview was with Ellen Somekawa, Director of Asian Americans United—another community organization that advocates on behalf of the Chinatown community and organizes projects and programming for the community. Our conversation gave me insight onto the various definitions of civic engagement and community mobilization. She helped me better understand the impact of market-driven development as well as AAU's vision for helping Chinatown's community members.

These informational interviews greatly informed my research when it came to asking about the implications on Chinatown as a community in light of the findings on its status on as an ethnic enclave economy.

## Data Presentation and Analysis

### Profile of Businesses and Business Owners surveyed

Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation compiled a directory of businesses in Chinatown in 2003; fewer than 200 businesses were listed. Thirty-seven businesses were surveyed in this study. The majority of businesses were restaurants. The rest of the sample included proportions of other types of businesses common to Chinatown (in descending order): salon, travel, entertainment; groceries; professional, real estate, social services; retail, and wholesale. The top four reasons business owners believed patrons came were Chinese goods (31.3%), convenient location (20.0%), cheaper prices (20.0%), and familiar language/customs (11.4%). Other reasons for patronage included loyalty to the

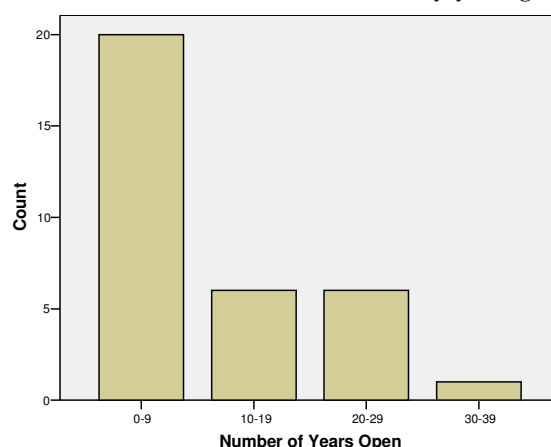


business and a place for social gathering.

The businesses surveyed were located within the parameters of Chinatown, which entails from 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Street and from Filbert St. to Spring Garden St.—boundaries defined by Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation. They were concentrated to the south of Vine St. as there is more visible commercial activity.

The oldest business had opened 34 years ago while the newest had opened earlier this year. Most of the businesses surveyed were relatively young: twenty were less than a decade old, while six were between 10-19 years old, and six were between 20-29 years old.

*Most businesses are relatively young*



The business owners' age reflected the length of time their businesses had been open. Only one business owner was less than 30 years old, and only one was over 60 years old. Otherwise, 13 were from 30-40 years old, 18 were from 40-50 years old, and 4 were from 50-60 years old. Interestingly enough, this breakdown was not reflected in the number of years these business owners had lived in the U.S: though 14 of 37 did not answer the answer, it was a fairly even breakdown between 0-9 years (5 business owners), 10-19 (4), 20-29 (6), 30-39 (5), and 40-49 (3). All of these business owners were of Asian descent—the most popular being Chinese, which accounted for 81.1% of the population. The rest of the business owners were of Southeast Asian descent (Vietnamese, Burmese, Thai, and Cambodian). The majority of business owners were male (66.7%).

### Philadelphia's Chinatown still shows remnants of an ethnic enclave economy

According to the definition of an ethnic enclave economy, businesses in Philadelphia's Chinatown qualify though there are also some signs of its diversification. Due to the nature of the research design, all of the businesses were located in an ethnically concentrated neighborhood – Chinatown – and all of the business owners were self-employed. These characteristics satisfy the first two conditions of an enclave economy.

More specifically, of the eleven post-survey interviews, business owners consistently expressed that there was merit to open their businesses in Chinatown. As Asian immigrants, they tended to be familiar with the area or thought that their goods were fare the best in an ethnically concentrated population. The business owner of a Burmese Restaurant on 9<sup>th</sup> and Race St. described the beginning years of the business: “My mom lived in Chinatown so she was familiar with the area. She knew the suppliers. The majority of our suppliers were Asian. My mom started the business with two of her really close friends.” Another business owner of a travel services/convenience store on 9<sup>th</sup> and Arch St. stated, “We sell Chinese goods, which are unavailable in other places.” Similarly, the business owner of a Singaporean Vegetarian restaurant on 10<sup>th</sup> and Race St. said, “We opened the business to make money...We opened it in Chinatown because Asian businesses do better in Chinatown.” Two other business owners repeated this rationale: “We opened the business to make money. We knew other people in Chinatown so it was easier to do so here” (Mong Kung on 10<sup>th</sup> and Arch St.); “ We opened a restaurant so we could make money. And this type of food has to be in Chinatown” (Ocean City Restaurant on 9<sup>th</sup> and Winter St.). A sixth business owner, of Lakeside Chinese Deli (DimSum) on 9<sup>th</sup> and Winter St., connected her immigration experience to her business decisions: “I opened a restaurant here because we did the restaurant business in Hong Kong so we were familiar with the business. We immigrated to Chinatown, so we did our business in Chinatown.” Many owners spoke in a matter-of-fact voice about the decision to open their business in Chinatown.

Most of the businesses also had suppliers who were located in Chinatown. In regards to the question “Are your suppliers located in Chinatown?”, employers were allowed to check off one of three options: Yes, Some, and No. Fifteen businesses had suppliers solely located in Chinatown. Another fifteen had suppliers located both in Chinatown and outside of Chinatown;



of employers who did specify the other areas, they included other parts of Philadelphia (6), China/Hong Kong (3), and NY/NJ (2). Only seven businesses had suppliers solely located outside of Chinatown, of which one was China and five were NY/NJ. As the majority of businesses – 81.1% – had suppliers located in Chinatown, the third condition of an enclave economy is satisfied.

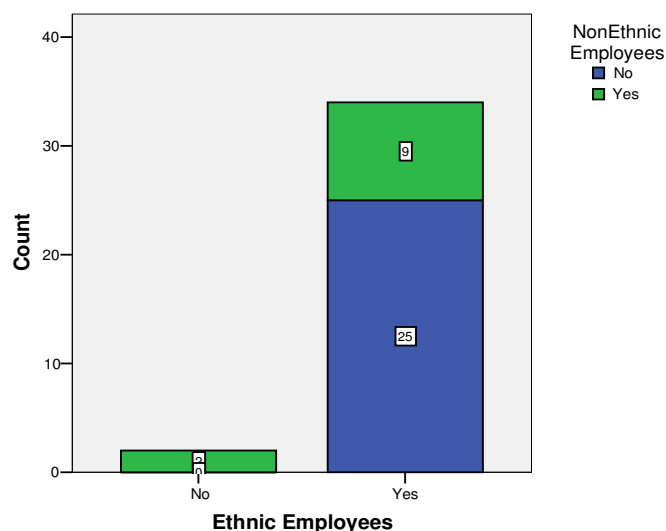
*Q: “Are your suppliers located in Chinatown?”*

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	15	40.5	40.5	40.5
	Some	15	40.5	40.5	<b>81.1</b>
	No	7	18.9	18.9	100.0
	Total	37	100.0	100.0	

*Suppliers are mostly located in Chinatown*

Almost all of the businesses also employed co-ethnics. ‘Co-ethnic’ is defined as employing ‘family members’ and/or ‘employing non-family Chinese’. Non-ethnic employees are defined as employing ‘non-family non-Chinese’ and/or ‘whoever accepts the lowest wages’ and/or ‘other’. Employers were allowed to check all that applied. Results show that 34 of 37 businesses employ co-ethnics while only 2 do not. Of the 34 that employ co-ethnics, 9 also

*Employees are predominantly co-ethnics*



employ non-co-ethnics. Even though these businesses are now employing both co-ethnics and non-co-ethnics, 25 of 34 businesses employ *only* co-ethnics. This proportion indicates that almost three-fourths of businesses have co-ethnic employment—surely satisfying the fourth condition of an enclave economy.

Finally, the customer base of the

businesses surveyed also indicates prevalent co-ethnicity. In regards to the question “Who are your customers?”, employers were allowed to check off all that applied. Results show that about two-thirds of businesses saw ‘Asian people living in Chinatown’ as their customers, and two-thirds also saw ‘Asian people living outside of Chinatown who regularly visit’ as their customers. Interestingly enough, two-thirds also perceived ‘Tourists’ as their part of their customer base. These results indicate that co-ethnicity has a strong relationship to the type of customers these businesses draw in—satisfying the fifth, and last, condition of an enclave economy. At the same time, these businesses are diversifying as they acknowledge that an equally significant part of their customer base is comprised of tourists: they are also catering to a community who may not have strong ties to Chinatown.

*Q: “Who are your customers?”*

	Frequency (Yes)	Percent (Yes)
Asians in Chinatown	24	<b>66.7%</b>
Asians not in Chinatown	25	<b>69.4%</b>
New Condominium Residents	9	25.0%
Tourists	20	<b>66.7%</b>
Others	11	30.6%

*The customer base is diversifying, though there is still a heavy reliance on co-ethnicity.*

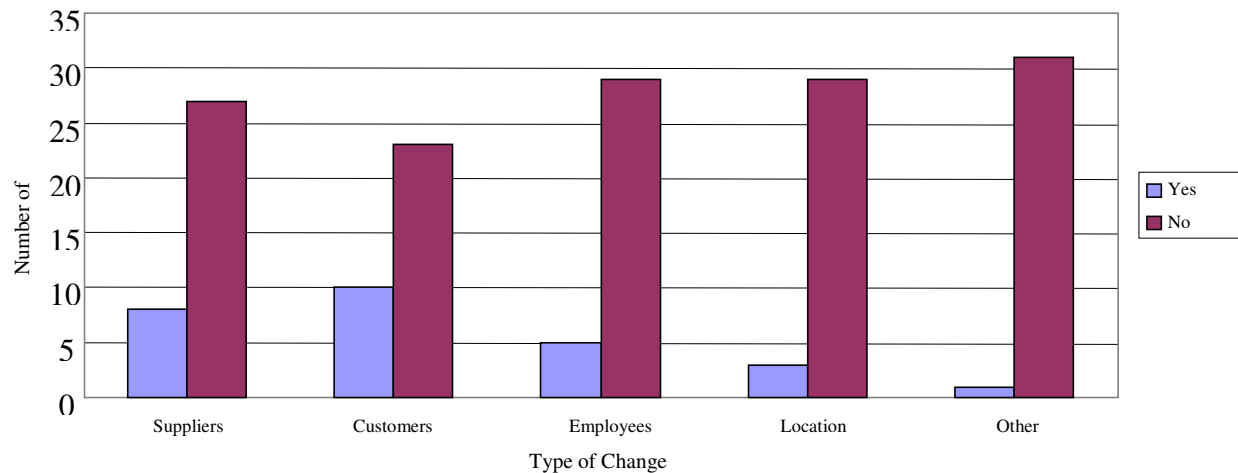
These findings portray Philadelphia’s Chinatown as still having maintained most aspects of an enclave economy. Co-ethnic relations continue to be an important factor in these self-employed businesses. The businesses are reaching to sources outside of Chinatown – such as to suppliers in the tri-state area, to non co-ethnic employees, and to tourists as well as center city office workers – for their sustainability. At the same time, the degree to which their business does depend on working with co-ethnics – as measured by the predominance of Chinatown suppliers, co-ethnic employment, and co-ethnic customers – signifies the importance of a co-ethnic foundation. Hence, the enclave economy does provide benefits that are related to the business owner’s ethnicity.

### Philadelphia's Chinatown is diversifying in response to external pressures

The businesses surveyed were also asked about recent changes in their business, their awareness of recent developments in Chinatown, and their attitudes regarding these developments.

More business owners responded that there were no changes to their business than those that reported any change. Specially, they were asked if there were changes, within the past two years, to five different aspects of their business: suppliers, customers, employees, location, and 'other'. Treating change to any one of aspects as a change to the business, 21 out of 35 businesses replied there were no changes and 14 of 35 businesses reported at least one change; 2 businesses did not answer the question. These responses represent a fairly even split of change: 60% reporting no change and 40% reporting some change. When each category of the type of change was examined, even fewer businesses reported any change.

*Most businesses did not report change*



Interestingly enough, for the businesses that did report change within the various aspects of their business, the main reasons were due to changes in the general economy. For example, the main reason for changes in suppliers were increases in gas prices as well as competitor

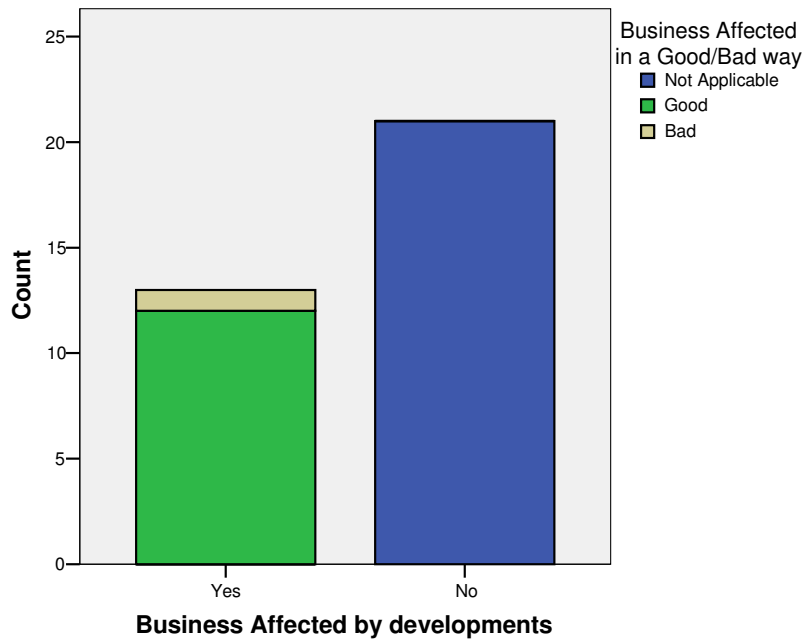
suppliers offering cheaper prices. For customers, most changes were due to people moving. For changes among employees, the main reason was because of high turnover due to immigration. For a change in business location, the main reason was the high costs of being located in or near the Convention Center. Furthermore, when examining the question of changes in revenue, about 30% of the businesses believed their revenues decreased over the past two years. The main reasons they stated were the “weak economy”, increased competition, and rising gas prices. Similarly, the main reasons for any financial difficulties were the rising price of land near the center city as well as the rising costs of food, wages, and utilities. These reasons reflect general business problems that any business could encounter; generally, they are not specific to businesses concentrated in an ethnic enclave. Though Philadelphia’s Chinatown in the present day still represents characteristics of an enclave economy, they are also displaying evidence of pressures from the mainstream economy.

Businesses tend to favor developments because of the potentially expanded customer base

While businesses seem to have spoken mostly of the negative impact of changes within the mainstream economy, they generally spoke positively of the recent developments occurring in Chinatown—more so in regards to the condominium developments than to the Convention Center’s expansion. When asked about their awareness of various condominiums in Chinatown, all but one business surveyed were aware of at least one of the listed condominiums. In regards to the Convention Center’s expansion (to Broad St.), about 60% were aware while the other 40% was not aware. When asked if one’s business was affected by these recent developments (referring to both the condominiums and the Convention Center), the split was fairly even.

Fourteen of thirty-five businesses (40%) reported that they felt their business was affected while the other twenty-one (60%) reported no effect.

*Businesses generally reported good impact of developments*

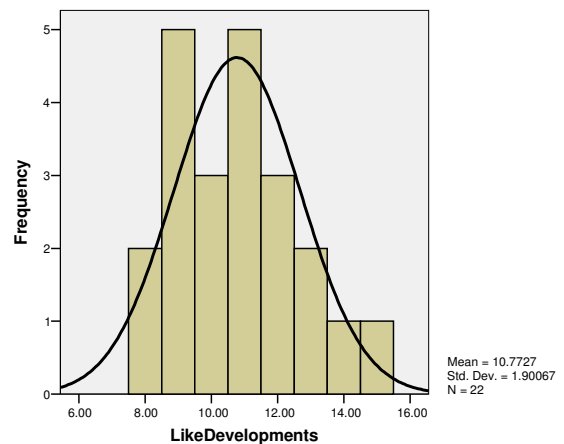


If businesses reported that they were affected by the recent developments, they were asked to indicate whether the impact was good or bad on their suppliers, customers, employees, revenues, and location. (Across the board, businesses either circled all ‘good’ or all ‘bad’ for every aspect; therefore the analysis

can be generalized as to a ‘good’ or ‘bad’ effect on the business.) Of the 14 businesses that reported an impact, one did not indicate whether it was ‘good’ or ‘bad’. One indicated the impact was bad, but the other twelve indicated the impact was good.

This tendency to view the developments as positive is also reflected in the attitudes of business owners – as gauged by a Likert response scale to several statements regarding the developments in Chinatown. For each statement, if the business owner’s response showed a favorable attitude towards the developments, the response was coded as ‘1’; if

*Business owners tend to like developments*



the response was unfavorable, it was coded as ‘2’. Therefore, with eight statements that asked about the developments, the minimum score would be an 8 – indicating a favorable attitude reflected in every response – and the maximum score would be 16 – indicating an unfavorable attitude reflected in every response. Twenty-two business owners replied to all the statements. Inputting the sums of every business owner’s responses into a histogram, the average score is around 10.8, which indicates a generally favorable attitude amongst business owners. This finding is also reflected in the slightly longer right tail of the histogram.

Examining all the statements the business owners had to respond to, most statements did evidence a favorable attitude. With ‘1’ being coded as a favorable attitude towards the developments and ‘2’ as unfavorable, a mean < 1.3 was considered favorable. Under this criterion, the boxed statements show ones that the business owners answered “Strongly Agree/Agree” or “Strongly Disagree/Disagree” such that it conveyed them viewing the developments as positive. The only statement that conveyed business owners’ discontent towards the developments was “Recent developments has raised my rent.” With a mean of 1.72, business

		N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation	
	I can support my costs of living with my business	33	1	2	1.12	.331	
	I believe my business will continue to support my costs of living	31	1	2	1.10	.301	
	It is best for my business to be located in Chinatown	32	1	2	1.13	.336	
	The recent developments has positively affected Chinatown	31	1	2	1.23	.425	
	My business has not benefited from recent developments	33	1	2	1.42	.502	
	Recent developments has raised my rent	32	1	2	1.72	.457	
	Recent developments have given me more customers	31	1	2	1.42	.502	
	My business is attractive to these new customers	29	1	2	1.14	.351	
	I feel helpless in face of recent developments	28	1	2	1.43	.504	
	My competitors are doing badly because of developments	27	1	2	1.44	.506	
	There is another neighborhood I would like to move my business	26	1	2	1.31	.471	

owners responded to the statement such that it reflected a negative attitude towards the developments (in this case, “Strongly Agree/Agree”). Otherwise, business owners tended to agree that they can continue to support their costs of living with their business, that the developments have been good for Chinatown, that their business is attractive to the new customers, and that they would not move their business out of Chinatown. Generally, of business owners who believed the recent developments have affected their businesses, they saw the effects as favorable.

Post-survey interviews conducted with eleven business owners showed that most business owners viewed the developments as favorable because of the potential for more customer traffic. Unfortunately, all eleven of these businesses had checked off that the recent developments had no impact on their business. However, the favorable way they spoke of the developments can shed some insight on why business owners are favoring the developments in Chinatown. Furthermore, in light of previous finding – that most business owners who did perceive an impact from the developments perceived a positive one – positive narratives emerging from interviews with neutrally-affected businesses should be able to reflect attitudes of the positively-affected group.

The main reason interviewed business owners felt that the developments would have a positive impact on their businesses is because, in theory, one’s customer base would increase due to more/new residents in condominiums. In response to the question, “What do you think of the recent developments?”, three business owners directly answered saying that more people in the condominiums means more customers. The owner of a nail salon on 9<sup>th</sup> and Arch St. said, “Most of my customers are people who come shop and/or work here. Ideally, I would like it if people from the condominiums came to my business.” The owner of a Singaporean Vegetarian

restaurant on 10<sup>th</sup> and Race St. proclaimed, “The developments should bring more customers.”

Likewise, the owner of Mong Kung – a café restaurant – on 10<sup>th</sup> and Arch St. said,

“Condominiums should mean more customers.” An interesting trend to note is that the business owners often speak in future tense – such as with the use of ‘should’ – about these customers.

The words of the owner of a Burmese restaurant on 9<sup>th</sup> and Race St. illuminate why these other business owners can only make predictions: “There haven’t been any changes yet; I guess we’ll see because they’re new developments.” The fact that most of the condominiums are built after 2003 and almost half are being built in 2007 (see Appendix B) indicates that it is hard to estimate the impact of the condominium developments. Nevertheless, business owners remain optimistic about the effect of these developments, primarily focusing on the potential increase in customers.

Interestingly enough, business owners recognize the consequent increase in rent from these condominium developments; but they seem to emphasize the continuous flow of customers more than the impact of such a demographic shift. For example, the owner of the Singaporean Vegetarian restaurant on 9<sup>th</sup> and Arch simply noted that “The rent is probably going up.” The owner of Ocean City Restaurant on 9<sup>th</sup> and Winter St. expanded on the thought: “The residents’ living costs are probably higher. But people move in and out depending on the price. Chinatown will always be occupied by people.” He seems confident in Chinatown’s population, number wise, remaining fairly consistent—which matters more than the patronage composition. Another owner of a travel services agency on 9<sup>th</sup> and Arch confirmed this attitude: “With the condominiums, people have left; but also, people are coming in. What’s actually really hurting us is the bus services the Fuzhounese are operating; they’re taking away our customers and taking them to New York where the goods are cheaper.” She noted competition as hurting her rather than these condominiums. The condominiums are almost treated as part of an inevitable



cycle of population movement, where they would simply replace an existing portion of a customer base (that has been pushed out due to the developments) with a set of new customers (who are brought in by the developments).

Two other businesses owners also agreed with this demographic shift (that even though some people might be forced to move out, others are moving in); at the same time, they also added a sullen reality to this phenomenon. A business owner of a grocery on 10<sup>th</sup> and Cherry noted:

“I do live in Chinatown, and the developments are affecting the rent. But people are also moving into Chinatown because of work and picking up the prices... Many people who have enough money will move out of into New Jersey or the Northeast. If you own a few businesses, you are likely to stay in Chinatown. If you own many, you are likely to go to the suburbs... There are many factory workers who live in Chinatown, particularly north of Vine. The rent is up, but they have no choice; they don't know where to go so they stay. Otherwise, Chinatown is now mostly elders and Fuzhounese.”

While business owners might stay or move out – but still nearby – of Chinatown depending on how independent their businesses have become, many Chinatown residents or possible residents are faced with a dilemma: there are jobs in Chinatown that workers want to stay for or want to move in for—despite the rising price of rent. Ellen Somekawa, Director of Asian Americans United in Chinatown, confirmed this reality: “Residents cope with the market by doubling/tripling up in order to stay in Chinatown. Essentially, they're homeless.”

The business owner of Mong Kung – the café restaurant – on 10<sup>th</sup> and Arch St. echoed the same conflict between jobs and rent: “The rent is higher, but people are not moving out because of jobs.” The developments may have an impact on the lives of residents—so that living

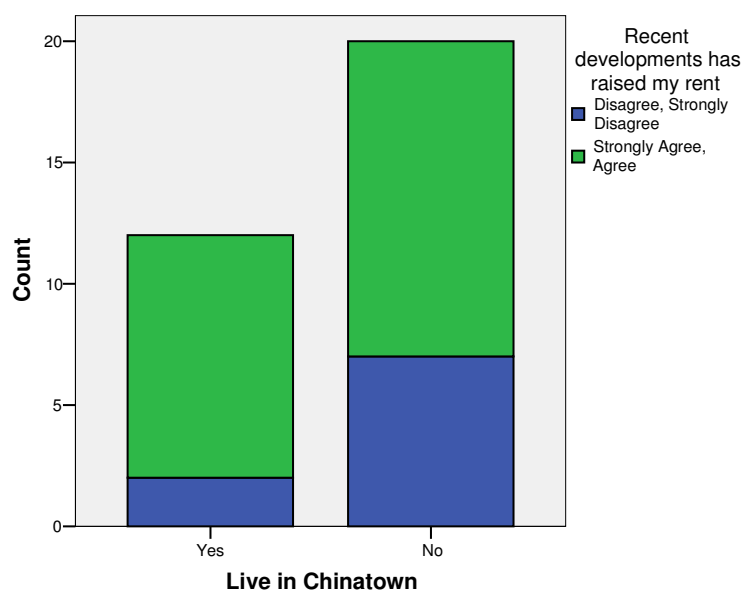
becomes a choice between convenience and cost. At the same time, the developments have not affected rent to the degree that people are letting the latter determine their residence. Aside from convenience, there are probably other factors that entice a resident to stay in (or move into) Chinatown. The previous business owner hinted at the predominance of an ethnic population in Chinatown—implying that there are benefits of co-ethnicity for Chinatown residents.

On the other hand, a few of the business owners are actually benefiting from the rising price of land due to these developments. The business owner from Ocean City Restaurant on 9<sup>th</sup> and Winter St. mentioned that he lived in the Pearl (one of the condominiums asked about in the survey). He stated: “I just moved in; it’s close to work and good if I have a late night... The Pearl? It has mostly Chinatown business owners.” Some business owners are earning enough that these condominiums offer them an option to be close to their business *and* have a luxurious living space. Another business owner of an automotive shop on 10<sup>th</sup> and Carlton speculated: “The developments are good because it’s raising the real estate value so that when I sell this building, I’ll make money.” Four of the eleven business owners surveyed owned the buildings in which their business was operating from. Two are the ones just mentioned; the other two are the grocery owner on 10<sup>th</sup> and Cherry St. and the Burmese restaurant owner. Owning the building, they are not immediately affected by the rising price of land—and may indeed benefit if they were to sell their land/business.

This effect of socioeconomic status is particularly apparent when examining attitudinal differences towards rent based on whether or not the business owner lives in Chinatown. Businesses owners who lived and didn’t live in Chinatown tended to have the similar attitudes towards the developments. Most agreed that they could, and will continue to be able to, support their costs of living with their business. They also agreed that it was best for their business to be

located in Chinatown and that the recent developments positively affected Chinatown. However, more business owners who live in Chinatown agree tend to agree that “Recent developments

*Business owners who live in Chinatown tend to feel the impact of rent raises more*



have raised my rent” than business owners who live outside of Chinatown. This difference may indicate a class difference between those who have moved outside of Chinatown. Since the top reason that a business owner lived outside of Chinatown was because they were able to own a home elsewhere, then it is possible that some own the building their business is located in. Therefore, those owners

may not feel the raise in rent caused by recent developments. These attitudinal differences signify potential class differences among Chinatown business owners.

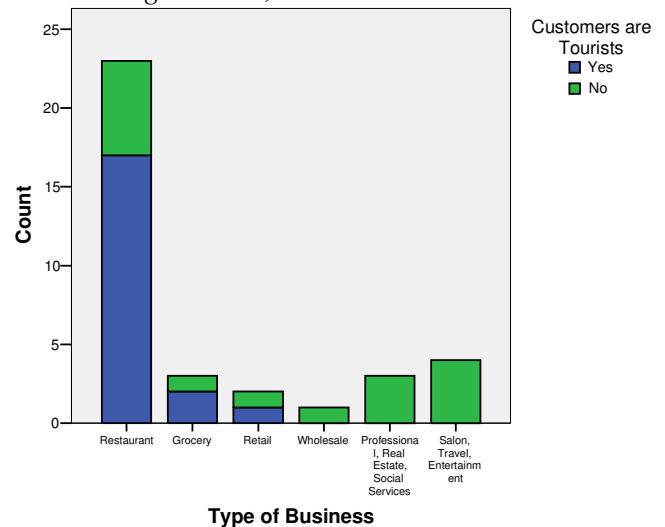
The business owners’ interview responses highlighted a possible difference between the impact of developments on Chinatown residents and that on business owners. As business owners who are interested in customers and changes that allow new customers, they welcome the developments. They seem to figure that even if some of their older potential customers are moving out, that the new/incoming residents could become their new potential customers. They notice the plight of most workers who are may be residents in Chinatown, but they are thinking about these developments from a business perspective—which is how it is impacting their customer base, their main source of profit. Furthermore, as business owners, some have the

resources to own their buildings and to live in the condominiums themselves; therefore the rising price of land actually becomes a source of profit for these business owners. While the business owners are acknowledging the impact of these developments on residents, they are readily embracing these changes because of the good implications for their business.

### Tourist-oriented businesses particularly favor developments: Implications for the labor force

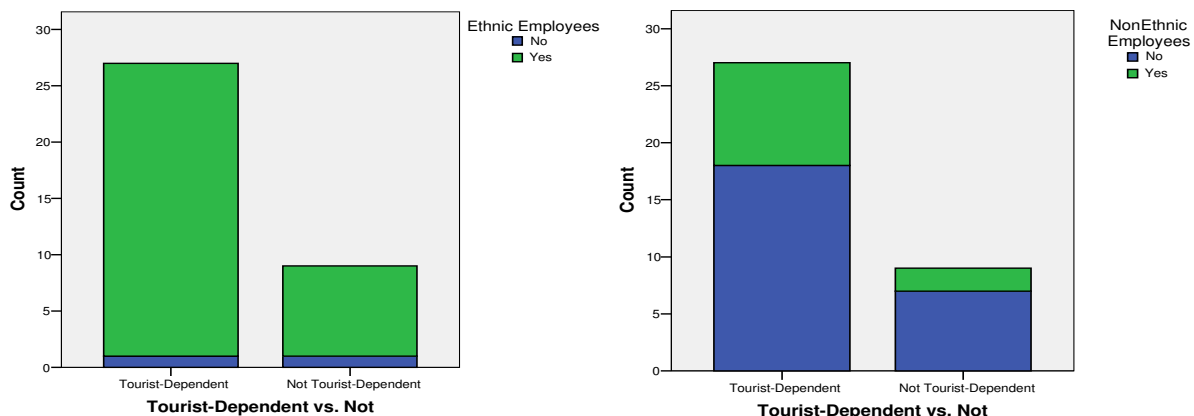
This optimism for new customers is particularly apparent when businesses are broken down by those that are more tourist-oriented and not. Restaurants, groceries, and retail businesses tended to be tourist-oriented as their services can often offer a cultural element that is appealing to tourists. This distinction is not to say that these businesses are solely dependent on businesses but that tourists also significantly contribute to their businesses' success.

*Tourist-oriented businesses are businesses, groceries, and retail industries.*



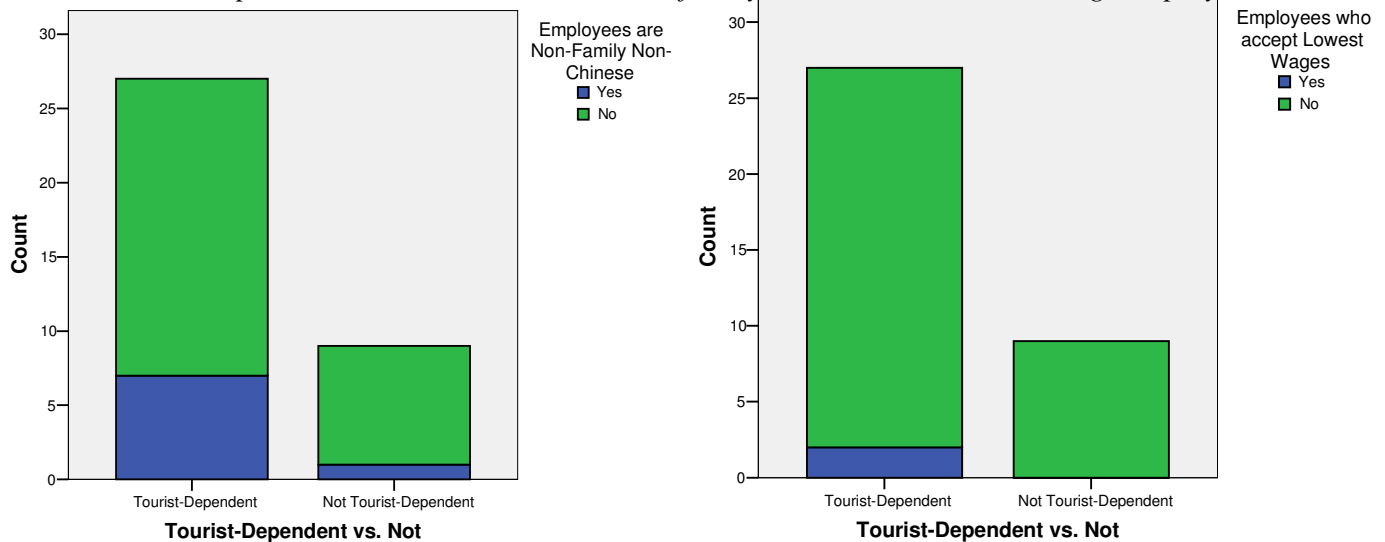
The attitudes of business owners of tourist-dependent businesses are important to examine because tourist-dependent businesses tend to rely less on ethnic ties in their employment practices than non-tourist-dependent businesses.

*Tourist-dependent businesses hire more non co-ethnic employees*



As Chinatown still shows characteristics of an enclave economy, so many businesses hire co-ethnic employees that there is little difference (in that respect) between tourist-dependent and non-tourist-dependent businesses. On the other hand, tourist-dependent businesses hire more non co-ethnics than other businesses. Further examination of their employee breakdown show that

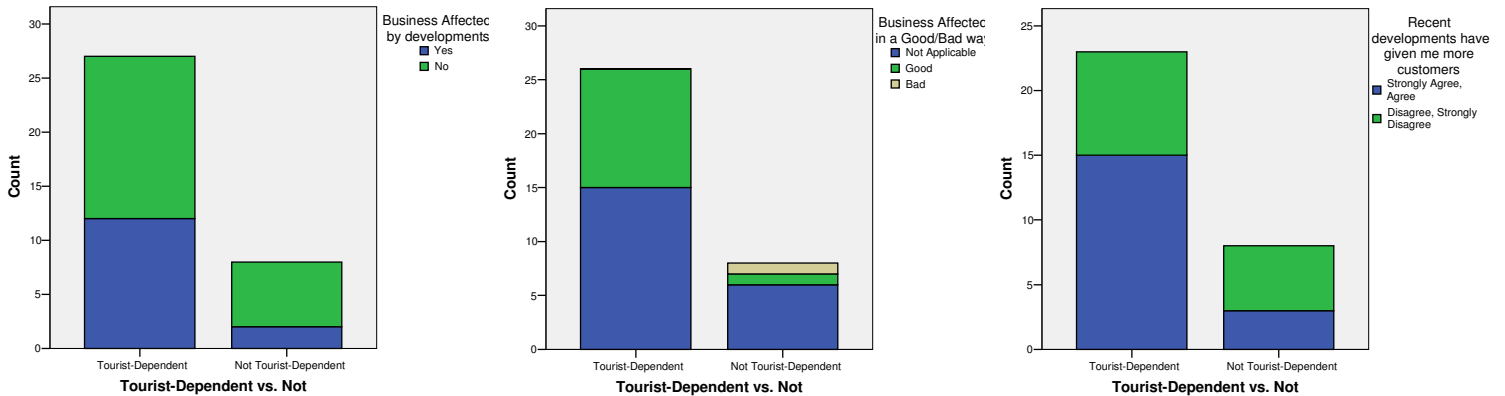
*Tourist-dependent businesses hire more non-family non-Chinese and low-wage employees*



non co-ethnics signify both non-family non-Chinese employees as well as those who are willing to accept the lowest wages. Only two businesses even reported the latter hiring practice; and given the sensitivity surrounding illegal immigration (and its implications for low-wage labor), this low number may be due to underreporting. Furthermore, as studies have shown that ethnic solidarity does not necessarily prevail over economic considerations when hiring employees, there is a strong likelihood that business owners who replied “non-family non-Chinese” is considering wage when hiring. Therefore, the finding that tourist-dependent businesses are more willing to hire non co-ethnics than non-tourist-dependent businesses could signify exploitative practices among these tourist-dependent businesses. These exploitative practices are important to consider when examining the impact developments have on businesses; these businesses may be much more willing to make sacrifices in terms of their employees.

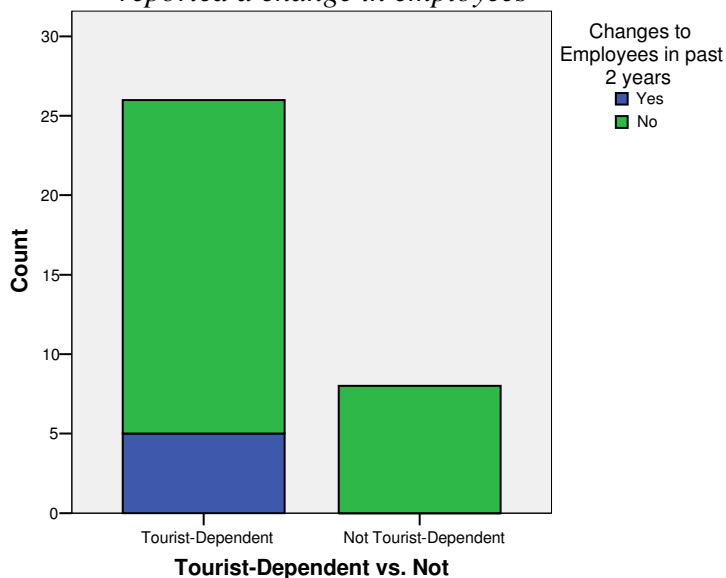
This potential is seen in these businesses' responses to the developments. Tourist-dependent businesses feel more affected by developments than non-tourist-dependent businesses; and of the tourist-dependent businesses that do feel an effect, they all perceive the effect as good. Further examination of their attitudes shows that tourist-dependent businesses tend to attribute the good effect as an increase in customers.

*Tourist-dependent businesses feel positively affected by developments, mostly as a result of new customers*



This optimism for new customers overrides the concern with rising rents, as indicated earlier; therefore, some part of the business must be affected. This 'part' is the employees. When asked to report changes in one's business over the past two years, there were no disparate

*Only tourist-dependent businesses reported a change in employees*



differences between tourist-dependent and non-tourist-dependent businesses—except in regards to employees. Of the businesses that reported a change to their employees in the past two years, they were all tourist-dependent businesses (of which economics play an important consideration in hiring practices). This disparity points to high employee turnover, and possibly sacrifices

made to them, among these type of businesses in light of developments. Therefore, an implication can be made that the recent developments in Chinatown have perpetuated the exploited conditions of this enclave economy's laborers. As research has pointed to the detrimental effect of rising rents (of businesses) on workers' wages, this high rate of change among employees indicates their vulnerability. Particularly when tourist-dependent businesses represent more than three-quarters of this sample, the impact on Chinatown's labor force is tremendous. Furthermore, as tourist-dependent businesses hire based on economical considerations, they serve as a lens to perceive general on-goings in Chinatown's economy; this similar exploitation is likely to be occurring for non-tourist-dependent businesses as well.

#### External pressures are affecting businesses, despite their length of stay in Chinatown

Realizing that businesses are responding to these external pressures, the next question to ask is whether or not there are trends in its diversification based on the length of time the business has been in Chinatown. A trend related to the length of time an immigrant is in the U.S. might have implications for the assimilation vs. enclave economy model. For example, if a business has been operating for a longer period of time, and it shows that it is more likely to be diversified than a business that has just opened, then a claim can be made that the diversification to external pressures is mainly due to a business's assimilation into the mainstream economy. Furthermore, one can hypothesize that it is the newer businesses that are accounting for the appearance of an ethnic enclave economy in today's Chinatown.

However, findings show that there are no statistically significant correlations between the length of time a business has been opened and the enclave economy characteristics of the business. This non-statistical significance may be due to the predominant characteristics of

today's Chinatown as an enclave economy. At the same time, the distribution of businesses displaying similar characteristics or opinions is fairly similar across the age categories. These findings indicate that businesses in Chinatown are changing across the board: they are diversifying together in response to external pressures. The following variables will be analyzed: enclave economy characteristics, reports of change and impact from developments, attitudes towards developments, and location in Chinatown.

Before delving into the analysis, it is important to note that the variable 'number of years a business owner has been in the U.S.' has been substituted with the variable 'number of years a business has been open' during the following analyses. This substitution was conducted because only 23 out of 37 businesses owners answered the survey question asking for the number of years they have been in the U.S.; this proportion means that about 40% of business owners did not indicate their length of stay in the U.S. On the other hand, 33 out of 37 business owners did answer the question asking for the number of years their business has been open. Because there is a statistically significant correlation between the number of years a business has been open and the number of years a business owner has been in the U.S., the latter variable was substituted for the former.

*The number of years a business is open is highly indicative of the number of years a business owner has been in the U.S.*

		Number of Years Open	Number of Years in US
Number of Years Open	Pearson Correlation	1	.528(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.010
	N	33	23
Number of Years in US	Pearson Correlation	.528(**)	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	
	N	23	23

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

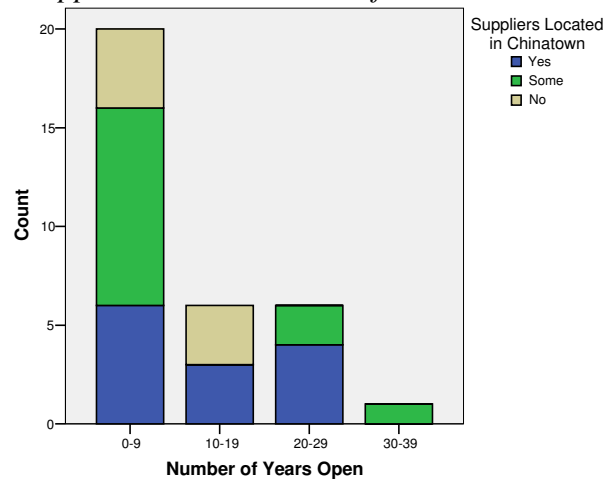
Therefore, while the 'number of years one has been the U.S.' might be a stronger indicator of evidence of assimilation, the 'number of years a business was open' is used for the analysis



because 1) a bigger sample of businesses can be captured in the analysis and 2) there is a statistically significant relationship between the two.

Generally, businesses in Chinatown – regardless of the number of years it has been open – show diversification away from enclave economy characteristics. As discussed earlier, there is

*Businesses – regardless of age – have suppliers located outside of Chinatown*

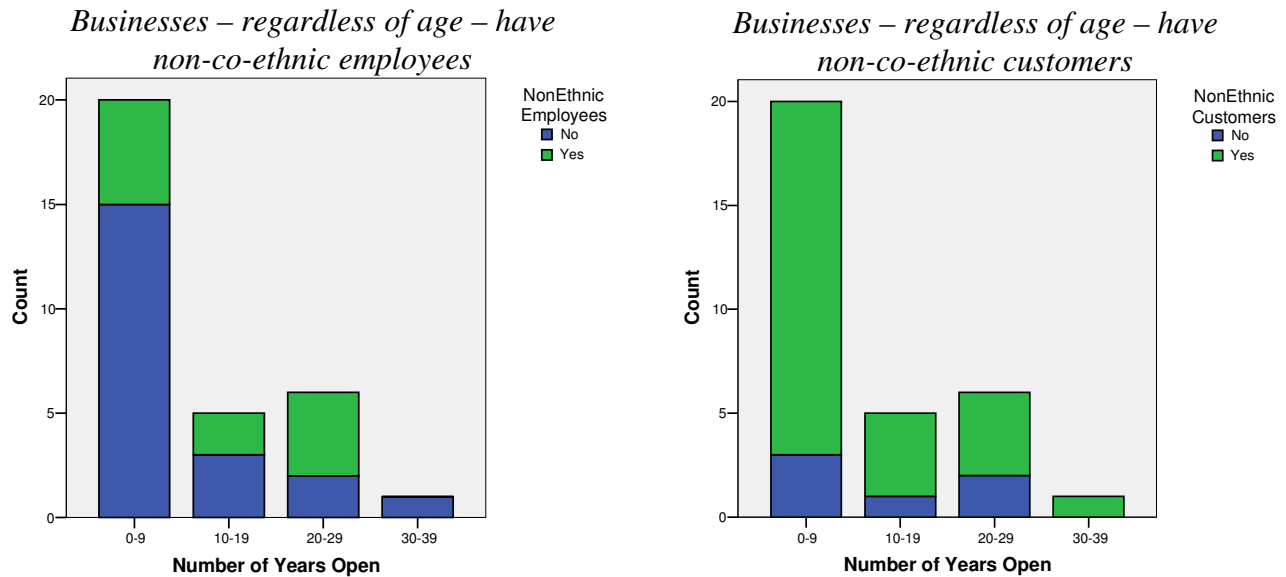


such a predominant prevalence (across the business surveyed) of characteristics of the enclave economy; therefore, it is more important to examine which businesses – as categorized by the number of years it has been open – show non-‘enclave economy’ characteristics. Businesses opened in the last two decades are more likely to have suppliers completely located outside of Chinatown. At

the same time, businesses opened in the last four decades and in the last three decades are just as likely to have some suppliers located outside of Chinatown as businesses opened in the last decade. This prevalence shows that all businesses – regardless of age – are diversifying to acquire non-enclave economy characteristics, in response to external pressures.

Likewise, businesses tend to have non-co-ethnic employment and non-co-ethnic customers regardless of age. Businesses that opened three decades ago and two decades ago are almost just as likely to have non-co-ethnic employment as those opened a decade ago. (It is interesting that the two businesses opened four decades ago have no non-co-ethnic employment; however, it can be contested that this sample of two businesses may not be as representative of

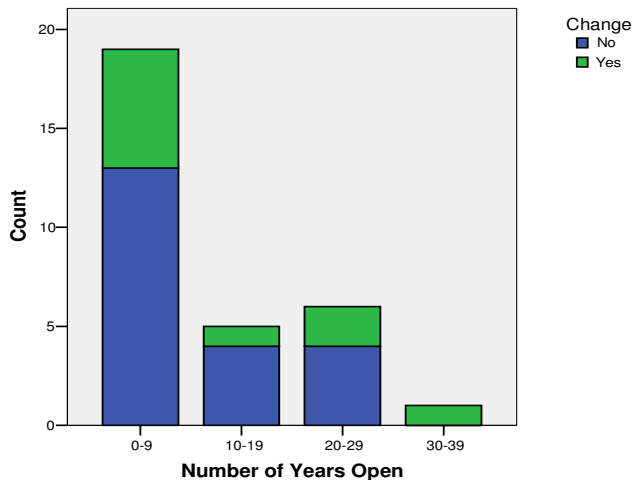
businesses that old in Chinatown.) Likewise, businesses across the board have non-co-ethnic customers—and a significant portion of those do rather than don't.



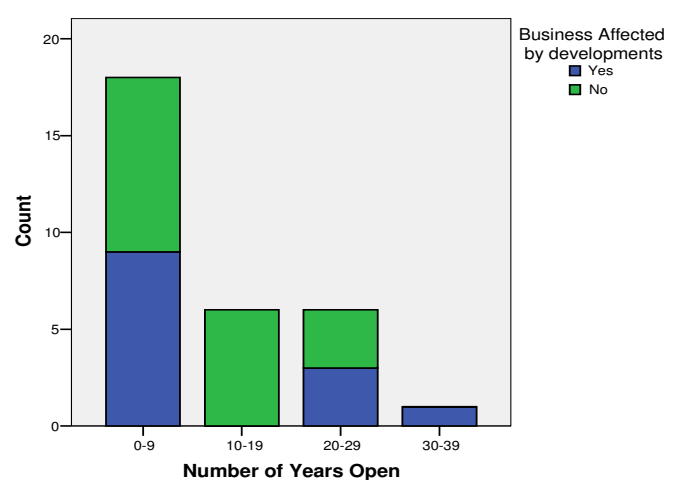
The implication of these findings is that businesses are all diversifying in response to external pressures. It is not as though older businesses are more resistant to changes in the general economy or that the newer businesses are more diversified. Therefore, it is *not* the case that businesses just entering the economy are more diversified, as a result of feeling more pressure from the mainstream economy, while older businesses have remained insular. The effect is not temporal because new businesses are not different from old businesses in their reflection of the current economy. On the flip side, it is also not as though older businesses are more diversified while the newer businesses are more resistant to change. Thereby, it is *not* the case that older businesses are becoming more assimilated while newer businesses are just beginning the process of integration. Again, the effect is not temporal because older businesses are not different from newer businesses in their reflection of the current economy.

Businesses also show a fairly uniform response about the impact of external pressures. Though more businesses reported ‘no change’ than those that did, for the ones that did, they included businesses that were four decades old to businesses that were less than a decade old. In addition, half of the newer businesses (less than a decade old) felt affected by developments; this split is also true for businesses that were about three decades old. This similar distribution, for new and old businesses, indicates that age did not determine whether or not a business had experienced change or felt affected by the developments. Regardless of age, businesses are diversifying in response to external pressures.

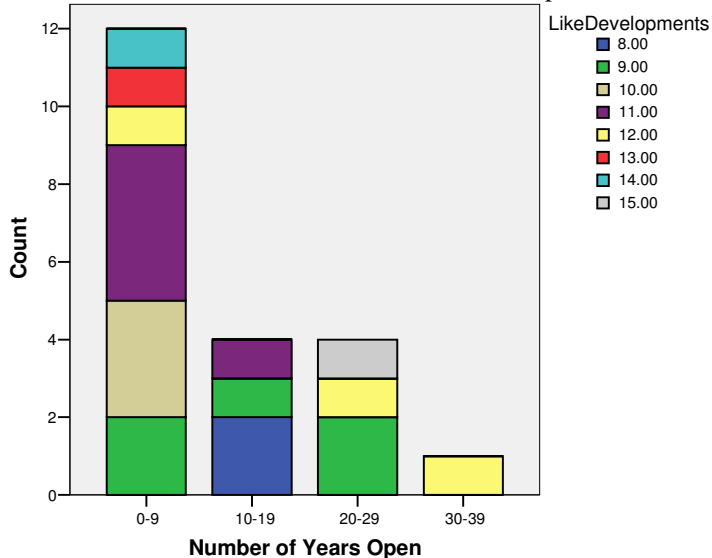
*Businesses – regardless of age – have reported some change*



*Most businesses – regardless of age – feel affected by developments*



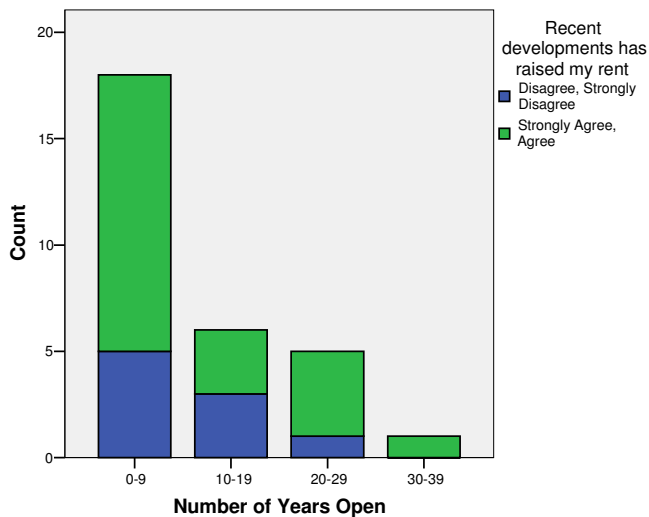
*New businesses liked and disliked developments*



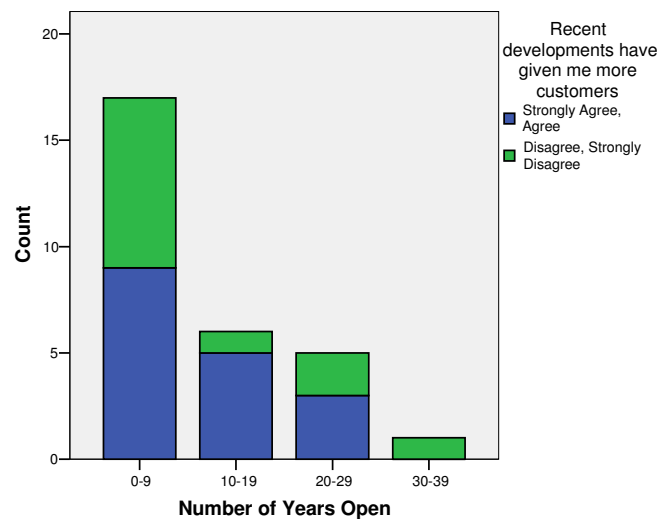
Businesses' attitudes towards developments also show a similar distribution of opinions regardless of age. For example, among new businesses, there is the whole range of attitudes towards the developments (as indicated by scores ranging

from 9-14). Furthermore, highlighting two specific attitudinal questions, businesses owners – regardless of age – tend to express that their rent has risen *but that they also* have more customers because of the developments. The distribution of those who “Strongly Agree/Agree”

*Businesses – regardless of age – feel that rent has risen*

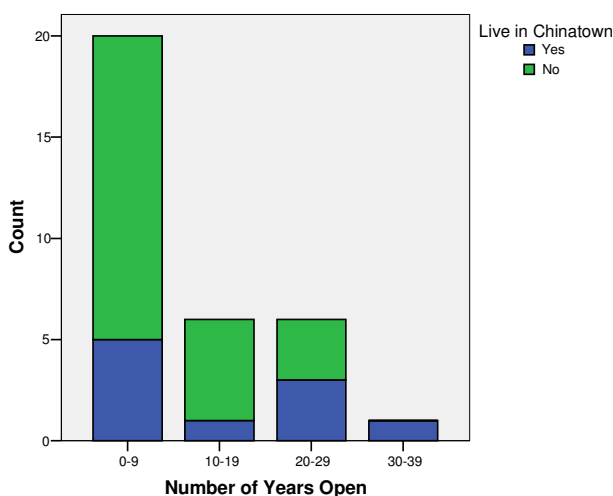


*Businesses – regardless of age – feel that developments have led to more customers*



and who “Strongly Disagree/Disagree”, to both statements, is fairly similar across the age categories. These findings confirm that businesses, regardless of the time they have been in Chinatown, feel affected by the developments and have an opinion of them. Moreover, similar proportions of businesses within each age category expressed similar feelings.

*Business owners – regardless of time in Chinatown – tend to live outside of Chinatown*



Finally, business owners – regardless of the time their business has been open in Chinatown – tend to live outside of Chinatown. About two-thirds of businesses surveyed lived outside of Chinatown. Broken down by age group, about two-thirds of each age range live outside of Chinatown. The top two reasons

business owners lived in Chinatown were 1) to be close to their business, and 2) they were more familiar with the language and customs in Chinatown. The top two reasons business owners did not live in Chinatown were 1) they were able to be a homeowner elsewhere and 2) rent was too high in Chinatown. These findings show that not only is there no significant link between the amount of time one's business has been open in Chinatown and one's residence in Chinatown, but also that external pressures (i.e. affordability) affect these business owners across the board. Overall, businesses are diversifying in response to the general economy.

The consequences of this diversification lie with the labor force. As shown with tourist-dependent businesses, employees are the most likely to be negatively impacted by these developments, largely because of the exploitative nature of the ethnic enclave economy. These employees are impacted because developments are leading to changes in Chinatown's businesses, as business owners' attitudes indicate. And as ethnic ties between employer and employee fall secondary to economic fluctuations, employees are not protected by their co-ethnicity.

### Visions of Chinatown

Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation aims to protect Chinatown in light of these changes. Emerging from a history of advocating for Chinatown during urban renewal, its drive derives from a sense of injustice: "The city owes Chinatown, and it's not doing what Chinatown needs," as Romana Lee, Director of Development of PCDC states. Based on the perspective that "Chinatown is a launching pad for immigrants," its turn into a business community is leaving out the population of "people [who] want their families [in Chinatown,

because] they've been here for generations.” She frequently described PCDC’s role as such: “We serve to protect the integrity [of Chinatown].”

PCDC’s role in Chinatown is to create affordable housing. However because of limited financial capital – especially in comparison to the market-value rate land in Chinatown is going for, their role has recently focused on zoning and streetscaping to preserve Chinatown. They currently maintain control over development through a letter of support that all developers building in PCDC’s service area (8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> St; Filbert to Spring Garden) must obtain. Isaac Kwon, Project Manager at PCDC, describes this letter of support (which is issued to the Zoning Board of Appeals) as a tool that ensures PCDC has approved the development as sensible; it also gives them the opportunity to suggest improvements to the development’s streetscape and, of course, recommend mixed income unit additions. Recognizing that PCDC can’t afford to buy the land, this tool allows them to “campaign to influence developers that there is a vision for the neighborhood.”

Another approach PCDC has taken on to protect Chinatown’s integrity is through the promotion of Chinatown. Isaac described this promotion as improvements made to Chinatown’s look (i.e. through gates and streetscape) as well as efforts at increasing investments in Chinatown (i.e. through Restaurant Week). However, these efforts sound very much like the efforts merchants took in the first half of the 1990s to turn Chinatown from a vice district to a tourist attraction. In an interview with Peter Kwong, he asks a striking question, “What is culture?” As PCDC takes on the promotion of Chinatown, its efforts become geared towards promoting the idea of Chinatown—as a cultural place with gates and pagodas. This idea, though appealing to investors, may not necessarily reflect the ‘integrity’ of Chinatown. The question then turns to who exactly is benefiting from this promoting of Chinatown.

PCDC does recognize its moments of disconnect from the community it is trying to serve. The most glaring moment, as described by Romana Lee, was when, about five years ago, Fuzhounese people in the Chinatown community approached PCDC to become board members. This confrontation is particularly interesting when PCDC's membership is not only not elected from the Chinatown community but also made up of outsiders, as pointed out by Domenic Vitiello. Ms. Lee realizes that PCDC's relationship with Chinatown is changing as its demographics and languages change. Whereas it started out a primarily Cantonese community, immigration has brought in a significant amount of Mandarin-speaking Chinese people and, more recently, the Fuzhounese population. While the Board of Directors comprised mostly of 1.5 generation Cantonese-speaking Chinese Americans, "PCDC [has become] more disconnected [as] newer immigrants had different needs and different backgrounds." Therefore, as PCDC works with the city government to preserve and promote Chinatown, it may be serving the interests of a class different from the immigrants for which PCDC is trying to save Chinatown.

As to who this class is, a closer examination of PCDC's practices hint that it might partially be the landowners and the business owners—the latter of whom have already been shown to exploit the immigrant working class of Chinatown. Peter Kwong criticizes community development corporations (CDC) for "holing in immigrants." This phenomenon mirrors research that describe the human-capital depreciation immigrants undergo when they take on certain jobs in the enclave economy. Therefore, CDC's attempts to preserve Chinatown only sustain the conditions that allow for exploitation.

Furthermore, Professor Kwong criticizes CDCs as being "the back door for developers to rip up Chinatown...for gentrification." Professor Vitiello broke down this process as such: PCDC participated in various fights against developments in Chinatown to defend Chinatown

against undesirable land-uses and rezoned the land for residential purposes. However, without the capital to buy the land, developers can capitalize on the rezoned residential use to build market-value developments. Though an unfortunate “unintended consequence,” the phenomenon is currently occurring, as PCDC’s most tangible tool to control developments has been its letter of support. This criticism is not so much the product of a self-interested organization as much as the result of lack of financial capital to act otherwise. Despite the many affordable units that PCDC has been able to create, the supply cannot meet the demand.

Hence, the promotion of Chinatown mainly serves the tourism aspects of Chinatown. As condominiums develop, Chinatown’s cultural identity gives the neighborhood a certain appeal to non-ethnics (in addition to its proximity to Center City). As business owners increasingly cater to the non-co-ethnic customers, such as tourists, Chinatown becomes a business community. Instead of organizing around the “basic human needs for a healthy community,” which Ms. Somekawa describes as spaces such as schools, PCDC’s efforts inadvertently service the business owners and landowners.

Despite the bleak outlook for Chinatown’s survival as a residential-commercial neighborhood, Professor Kwong’s question “what is culture?” comes back. Is there a need to preserve Chinatown as it originally existed? Chinatown formed as a community in reaction to discriminatory pressures. It was a ‘launching pad’ for immigrants as it served as an alternative to the mainstream labor market. And it undoubtedly still serves as a safe haven for many immigrants as many business owners confirmed in their reasons for opening a business in Chinatown. However, as developments place pressure on Chinatown – through increased rent – and on its labor force – as businesses increasingly feel the impact of the general economy and increasingly cater to the general consumer market – it is possible that people are looking to other



places to live and work. Most business owners surveyed did not live in Chinatown and research suggests that displaced immigrant laborers are moving to work in new ethnic centers; this migration may be encouraged by employers hiring based on economic considerations over co-ethnicity. Chinatown, as defined by its current geographical location, may not be providing all the same benefits as it used to; and new areas may be emerging as ethnic centers.

These new ethnic centers could be the suburbs, as Northeast Philadelphia was repeatedly brought up as a place with an increasing population of Asians (Domenic Vitiello, Ellen Somekawa, Romana Lee). They could also be other areas of the city—such as South Philadelphia, which was not only the top alternative neighborhood for Chinatown’s business owners, but also frequently brought up as a place for Asian congregation (Domenic Vitiello, Ellen Somekawa, Romana Lee). These new places may not be as institutionalized as Chinatown, “mostly businesses, [without] social services, senior citizens...[and] mostly people informally congregating together by language,” as described by Ms. Somekawa. However, the businesses there may be providing employment for immigrant laborers, and these neighborhoods may have more affordable housing.

## Conclusion

Philadelphia's Chinatown still shows remnants of an enclave economy, but most of its businesses are simultaneously diversifying in response to external pressures. As businesses are still self-employed, located in Chinatown, and rely on co-ethnic suppliers, employees, and customers, there still exists much merit to being part of an enclave economy. Regardless of when the business had opened, the business owners found Chinatown to be a reasonable and profitable neighborhood for their business because there was an alignment of ethnic goods, ethnic resources, and ethnic customers. Furthermore, the resilience of characteristics of an enclave economy show that co-ethnicity continues to help businesses in their endeavors, thereby supporting the enclave economy model.

At the same time, the businesses show diversification to increasing external pressures. This response to external pressures is not a new phenomenon, though the implications are hinting at changes for the future of Chinatown. Philadelphia's Chinatown emerged in the late 1870s in response to wave of Sino-phobia and discriminatory attitudes. Businesses formed to service the needs of these residentially segregated Chinese; and community members exercised ethnic networks to bring in more family and friends. With immigration laws severely restricting the community from 1882-1943, Philadelphia's Chinatown cultivated its self-sufficiency. The protected sector of the enclave economy circulated ethnic capital – from laborers to employers to customers and back – within the community. The export sector drew in capital from the mainstream economy as non-ethnics contributed to the economy as consumers, especially as Chinatown transitioned from a vice district to a tourist attraction. The interaction between these two sectors allowed Chinatown's enclave economy to thrive. However, crucial to its survival was the exploitation among co-ethnics.

With the advent of new immigration streams due to the 1965 Immigration Act, Chinatown's economy diversified socio-economically, and a new class of Uptown Chinese, who were also moving outside of Chinatown, emerged. This diversification welcomed the mainstream community as Chinatown's economy attracted non-ethnics, tourism, and investment. Simultaneously, with the area around Philadelphia's Chinatown becoming more valuable, urban renewal sought to rejuvenate Chinatown. Today Chinatown is facing gentrification from condominium conversions and the Convention Center's expansion.

Businesses are diversifying to these pressures as they begin to cater more to the general economy, particularly seen in the significant attention to tourists as part of these ethnic businesses' consumer base. As Chinatown currently represents a first point of entry for immigrants as well as a cultural center for many non co-ethnics, the enclave economy shows signs of servicing both purposes. Already mentioned, co-ethnicity still dominates many aspects of a business. At the same time, business owners are very aware of opportunities outside of ethnic relations. For example, the new developments are treated as a potential source of new customers. Despite recognizing the hike in rent prices associated with condominium developments, business owners tend to be very optimistic about the developments. This attitude is particularly prevalent among tourist-oriented businesses as their businesses are designed to cater to a general population.

Notwithstanding this optimism, there may be underlying repercussions. Some business owners themselves recognize the negative impact of increased rent on workers. They acknowledge that some may, out of necessity, find solutions to stay in Chinatown—solutions that often involve substandard housing and overcrowded quarters. While this may be a short-term solution for some, the literature suggests that immigrant laborers may be in a desperate

situation. Participating in the enclave economy may have given them opportunities that would not be available in the general economy; but those opportunities did not necessarily enhance their human capital or credentials to transition into better jobs in the mainstream economy. Therefore, many workers may be forced to have their human capital devalued. A result is that for those workers who did live in Chinatown, they may be priced out because of decreasing wages and increasing rent. While business owners are able to benefit from the enclave economy because of their ethnic capital as well as their access to the general economy, the labor force that supplies Chinatown continues to be further exploited. And while the literature suggests that restaurants and other businesses may close down when this labor force disappears, it seems less likely as many business owners hire both ethnic and non-ethnic employees—of which the non-ethnic may translate to whoever accepts the lowest wages. As long as there is the availability of co-ethnic labor and/or opportunities for exploitation, the enclave economy seems able to survive. Moreover, business owners favor external developments that could benefit their businesses.

This dual co-ethnic solidarity and exploitation seem to relate to all businesses in Chinatown, regardless of the amount of time they have been open. In addition, the simultaneous diversification among all businesses, regardless of age, in response to external pressures suggests that all businesses are impacted by the general economy; they also all speculate upon opportunities to interact with the general economy—especially for non-co-ethnic customers. It is not as though older businesses – because of having been open longer – are more likely than younger businesses to openly receive outside developments, as might be suggested by an assimilation model. The enclave economy is crucial for the businesses to get started, but business owners generally tend to function like businesses, where they seek changes that could mean good for their business.

This readiness to diversify hint at an uncertain future for Chinatown. It formed as a community to protect members from external discrimination and has served – and most likely continues to serve – as a springboard for many immigrants. Over time, it has come to cater to an increasingly larger constituency—of the Uptown Chinese, other Asian ethnicities, tourists, and overseas investors. This larger constituency splits Chinatown up into factions, for which various organizations have formed to advocate on its behalf. An interesting organization to study this phenomenon is Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation because it touts a mission of preserving the integrity of Chinatown for struggling immigrants; but it is run by a population that does not reflect their service population and engages in activities that – mainly due to reasons of capacity – service a counterpart constituency to the struggling immigrants (business- and land-owners). Seen as the advocate of Chinatown in the eyes of city government, this contradiction may seem to hold bleak outcomes; but the emergence of other informally congregated Asian communities may suggest otherwise. Though not a rebirth of Chinatown, these new communities may be cropping up to service those who are not properly serviced by Chinatown, including those who cannot work or live there any longer. The phenomenon of immigrant communities that places emphasis on ethnic ties may be a much more organic process – and one that arises out of need – than a phenomenon to preserve. The attempt at preservation may only achieve a symbolic sense of place.

Nevertheless, these last set of implications call for another comprehensive study. This study was able to capture a snapshot of Chinatown and its status as an enclave economy. It was also able to gain some insight into the hopes and aspirations of current Chinatown business owners, especially as they face a quickly changing environment. However, missing from the picture are the voices of the laborers who work for the business owners surveyed as well as the

actual residents of Chinatown who sustain its residential-commercial neighborhood status. With these voices – as well as with a more representative sample of Chinatown’s businesses – one can further explore why Chinatown still shows remnants of an ethnic enclave economy as well as how it functions in today’s changing economy. One can also examine the apparent diversification found among this study’s set of businesses and determine whether it is a feature of the businesses at this point in time or whether it is a part of a trajectory for the enclave economy.

Finally – and almost more importantly – a comprehensive analysis of the various voices that make up Chinatown can hint at the future, or possible futures, of this ethnic enclave. In particular, this future should be analyzed in relation to changing immigration patterns as well as a growing transnational community. As this study also hinted at growing Asian communities in other parts of Philadelphia, and as a phenomenon of ethnoburbs and satellite Chinatowns has been observed in the literature, a study of those emergent communities could engage the topic of ‘Chinatown’ as a geographically defined community and as a concept of place. Chinatown arose out of necessity; and while it still serves very tangible needs, the socio-political and economic times have changed. Therefore, its existence as a community – and as a community and a space to different people with different interests – in all likelihood, has changed. This comparative analysis of other ethnically defined areas that seem to mirror ‘Chinatown’ can add to the dialogue of how ethnicity interacts with economics, in communities and amongst individuals.

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## Appendix A: Data Collection Instruments

### Chinatown Businesses Survey: English Version

#### I. About Your Business

1) What type of business do you own?

- |                                       |                                                  |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Restaurant   | <input type="checkbox"/> Social Services         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grocery      | <input type="checkbox"/> Beauty Salon            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Retail       | <input type="checkbox"/> Travel Agency / Tourism |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wholesale    | <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Professional | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Real Estate  |                                                  |

2) What is the **address** and **telephone number** of your business?

3) What **year** did you open your business?

4) Are your **suppliers** located in Chinatown? If not, please specify where (else).

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Some; other suppliers are in \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ No; my suppliers are in \_\_\_\_\_

5) Who are your **employees**?

*Please star (\*) next to the main source. Please double star (\*\*) next to your preferred source.*

- ☐ Family members
- ☐ Non-Family Chinese
- ☐ Non-Family Non-Chinese
- ☐ Whoever accepts the lowest wages (if you can, please identify this group of people)
- ☐ Other (please specify):

6) Who are your **customers**? Check all that apply.

- ☐ Asian people living in Chinatown
- ☐ Asian people living outside of Chinatown who regularly visit
- ☐ New people who have moved into condominiums
- ☐ Tourists
- ☐ Other (please specify):

7) Please circle **the main reason** you think each customer is attracted to your business.

(1 = Chinese goods, 2 = Familiar language and customs, 3 = cheaper prices, 4 = convenient location, 5 = social gathering, 6 = loyalty, 7 = other: please specify).

<input type="checkbox"/> Asian people living in Chinatown	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<input type="checkbox"/> Asian people living outside of Chinatown who regularly visit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<input type="checkbox"/> New people who have moved into condos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<input type="checkbox"/> Tourists	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify):	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## II. Recent changes in your business

1) Within the past two years, have there been any changes to your:

a. **Suppliers**    ☐ Yes    ☐ No  
i.    The changes were mainly because:

b. **Customers**    ☐ Yes    ☐ No  
i.    The changes were mainly because:

c. **Employees**    ☐ Yes    ☐ No  
i.    The changes were mainly because:

d. **Location**    ☐ Yes    ☐ No  
i.    These changes were mainly because:

e. **Other:**  
i.    The changes were mainly because:

2) In the past two years, my **annual revenue** has generally:

☐ Increased    ☐ Decreased    ☐ Remained the same

i.    The changes were mainly because:

3) Within the past two years, have there been any **major financial difficulties** that have occurred in your business? If so, what are they?

### III. Recent changes in Chinatown

1) Check all **condominiums** below that you have heard of:

- |                                                            |                                                                               |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 201 N. 8 <sup>th</sup> St.        | <input type="checkbox"/> 1027 Arch St. Lofts                                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pearl Condominiums (815 Arch St.) | <input type="checkbox"/> Grandview Condominiums (1100 Vine St.)               |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 926 Race St.                      | <input type="checkbox"/> Lucky Garden (1104 Buttonwood)                       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> TenTen (1010 Race St.)            | <input type="checkbox"/> Old Shoe Factory Lofts (314 N. 12 <sup>th</sup> St.) |

2) Are you aware of the **Convention Center's expansion**?

- ☐ Yes                      ☐ No

3) Has **your business been affected** by the condominium and/or Convention Center developments?                      ☐ Yes                      ☐ No

- |                                    |      |     |
|------------------------------------|------|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Suppliers | Good | Bad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Customers | Good | Bad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employees | Good | Bad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Revenues  | Good | Bad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Location  | Good | Bad |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other:    |      |     |

### IV. Your Business' Responses to Changes in Chinatown

*Please read each statement and pick the best choice.*

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I can support my costs of living with my business	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I believe my business will continue to support my cost of living	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is the best for my business to be located in Chinatown	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The recent developments has positively affected Chinatown	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My business has not benefited from the recent developments	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Recent developments has raised my rent	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Recent developments have given me more customers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My business is attractive to these new customers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel helpless in face of recent developments	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My competitors are doing badly because of the developments	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is another neighborhood I would like to move my business	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**V. About the Business Owner****a. Ethnicity**

- ☐ Chinese  
☐ Fujianese                      ☐ Cantonese                      ☐ Mandarin  
☐ Vietnamese  
☐ Cambodian  
☐ Korean  
☐ Japanese  
☐ South Asian  
☐ Other (please specify)

**b. Age:**                      ☐ 0-30                      ☐ 30-40                      ☐ 40-50                      ☐ 50-60                      ☐ 60+

**c. Gender:**                      ☐ Male                      ☐ Female

**d. Year of Immigration to U.S., if applicable**

**e. Do you live in Chinatown?**

- ☐ Yes, because:  
☐ I want to be close to my business  
☐ I want to be close to my family and friends  
☐ I want my family to be in Chinatown  
☐ I am more familiar with the language and customs in Chinatown  
☐ I have no other choices  
☐ Other:
- ☐ No, I live in \_\_\_\_\_ because:  
☐ My extended family/friends live in my neighborhood  
☐ I am more familiar with the languages/customs in my neighborhood  
☐ I can own a house in my neighborhood  
☐ The rent in Chinatown is too high  
☐ Chinatown is overcrowded and dirty  
☐ I want to live in Chinatown, but I can't  
☐ Other:

**f. Do you belong to an association in Chinatown? If so, which one?**

- ☐ Yes: \_\_\_\_\_                      ☐ No

## Chinatown Businesses Survey: Chinese Version

### I. 职业

#### 1) 你做什么工作?

- |                              |                                      |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 餐饮业 | <input type="checkbox"/> 社会服务        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 杂货  | <input type="checkbox"/> 没法沙龙        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 零售  | <input type="checkbox"/> 旅游业         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 批发  | <input type="checkbox"/> 娱乐业         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 专业  | <input type="checkbox"/> 其它职业: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 房地产 |                                      |

#### 2) 你的地址和电话号码?

#### 3) 你那年开业的?

#### 4) 你的供应商在中国城吗? 否则, 哪里请指定。

- ☐ 是
- ☐ 一部分; 别的在 \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ 没有; 它们在 \_\_\_\_\_

#### 5) 谁是你的雇员?

请在主要来源旁边画一个星星 (\*). 请在你最喜欢的来源 旁边画两个星星 (\*\*).

- ☐ 家庭成员
- ☐ 非家庭成员
- ☐ 非家庭成员, 不是中国人
- ☐ 接收低薪的人 (请之处这类人)
- ☐ 其它 (请之处):

#### 6) 你的顾客是谁? 画所有对答案

- ☐ 住在中国城的亚洲人
- ☐ 不住在中国城, 但长来往中国城, 的亚洲人
- ☐ 在大楼里的居住
- ☐ 观光客
- ☐ 其它 (请之处):

## 7) 请列出顾客来往主要原因

(1 = 中国产品, 2 = 语言习惯相同, 3 = 价钱便宜, 4 = 地点方便, 5 = 人集中地方, 6 = 信誉, 7 = 其它: 请之处)

0 住在中国城的亚洲人	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0 不住在中国城, 但长来往中国城, 的亚洲人	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0 在大楼里的居住	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0 观光客	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0 其它 (请之处):	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## II. 你商议最近的变化

## 1) 在这两年之内, 你商业有没变卦:

a. 产品来源方面: 0 有 0 没有

i. 主要原因:

b. 顾客方面: 0 有 0 没有

i. 主要原因:

c. 雇员方面: 0 有 0 没有

i. 主要原因:

d. 地方: 0 有 0 没有

i. 主要原因:

e. 其它方面 (请之处): 0 有 0 没有

i. 主要原因:

## 2) 在这两年之内, 我每年的收入情况:

0 增长 0 下长 0 保持没变

i. 主要原因

## 3) 在这两年之内, 你商业中有没有经济的困难? 要是, 请之处。

## III。中国城最近的变化

1) 以下那些大楼你听说过?

0 201 N. 8th 街

0 1027 Arch St. 楼厢

0 Pearl (815 Arch St.)

0 Grandview (1100 Vine St.)

0 926 Race St.

0 Lucky Garden (1104 Buttonwood)

0 1010 Race St.

0 Old Shoe Factory (314 N. 12th 街)

2) 你知道会议中心的扩展?

0 知道

0 不知道

3) 大楼和会议中心影响你的商业了吗?

0 有

0 没有

0 产品来源方面

好

坏

0 顾客方面

好

坏

0 雇员方面

好

坏

0 岁入方面

好

坏

0 地方

好

坏

0 其他 (请之处):

好

坏

## IV。你商业对中国城最近的变化反应

请读下列条款, 选出最佳的选择

	非常同意	同意	不同意	非常不同意
我的商业能支付我生活上花费。。。。。。。	0	0	0	0
我觉得我的商业能支付我生活上花费。。。。。	0	0	0	0
我的地点在中国城很理想。。。。。。。。。	0	0	0	0
中国城最近的发展正面的影响了它。。。。。	0	0	0	0
我的商业从近来的发展受益了。。。。。。。	0	0	0	0
今期变化提高了我的租金。。。。。。。。。	0	0	0	0
今期变化, 我的顾客增加了。。。。。。。。。	0	0	0	0
我的产品适合招待新顾客。。。。。。。。。	0	0	0	0
我对今期的变化感到无助。。。。。。。。。	0	0	0	0
因为今期的变化, 我的对手商业很差。。。。。	0	0	0	0
有另外的邻里区我想搬到。。。。。。。。。	0	0	0	0



## V. 关于商业老板

## a. 宗族

☐ 中国人☐ 福建☐ 香港☐ 大陆☐ 越南人☐ 柬埔寨人☐ 韩国人☐ 日本人☐ 南亚人☐ 其他人 (请之处):b. 年龄: ☐ 0-30 ☐ 30-40 ☐ 40-50 ☐ 50-60 ☐ 60+c. 性别: ☐ 男 ☐ 女

d. 移民年数:

e. 你住在中国城吗?

☐ 是, 原因如下:☐ 我希望离我的商点近些☐ 我希望离家和朋友近些☐ 我希望家在中国城☐ 我更熟悉中国城的语言和习惯☐ 我没有其它选择☐ 另外 (请之处):☐ 不是, 我住在\_\_\_\_\_因为:☐ 我的家和朋友住在附近☐ 我更熟悉我周围邻里☐ 我在附近有房子☐ 中国城的租金太贵☐ 中国城有脏有挤☐ 我想住在中国城, 但我不能☐ 另外 (请之处):

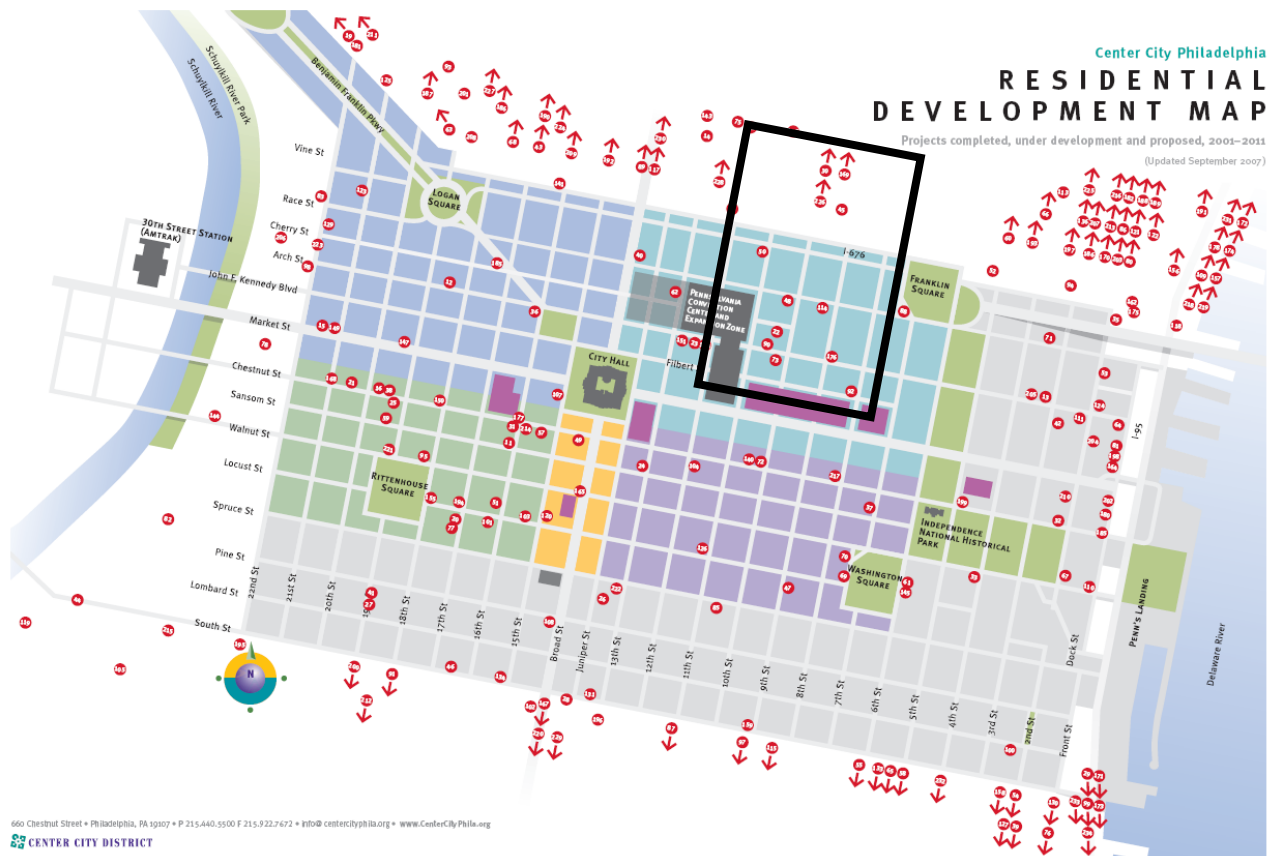
f. 你属于任何组织后者协会吗? 如是, 哪一个?

☐ 是, \_\_\_\_\_ ☐ 不是

## Post-Survey Interview Guide

- 1) Why did you decide to become a business owner? Why in Chinatown?
- 2) Do you want your children to keep the business open after you? Why or Why not?
- 3) What do you think about the recent developments?
- 4) Do you feel as though are you affected by these developments? If so, how? Do you feel you need to, and are able to, respond to these developments?
- 5) If you are a resident, what is the impact of these developments for you? If you are not, how do you think residents are being impact by these developments? Is that having an impact on your business?

## Appendix B: Center City Condominiums



*\*The boxed area represents Chinatown.*

\*The boxed selections are condominiums located in Chinatown's geographic boundaries.

Center City Philadelphia

## RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT MAP

Projects completed, under development and proposed, 2001-2011  
(Updated September 2007)

Name	Address	Date	Name	Address	Date
11 1601 Sansom	1601 Sansom St	2001	59 Kate's Place	1029 Sansom St	2004
12 1835 Arch St	1835 Arch St	2001	60 Liberties Lofts	710 N 5th St	2004
13 315 Arch St	315 Arch St	2001	61 Lippincott Building	227 S 6th St	2005
14 428 N 13th St	428 N 13th St	2001	62 Lithograph Lofts	144 N 13th St	2004
15 After Sk. Conversion	2121 Market St	2001	63 Museum Commons	N 24th St & Fairmount Ave	2004
16 Chestnut View Apartments	1939 Chestnut St	2001	64 Old City 108	108 Arch St	2005
18 Hutchinson Row	913 Lombard St	2001	65 Sunshine Court	524 Christian St	2005
19 Brewerytown Square	N 31st & Thompson St	2007	66 The Cigar Factory	1147 N 4th St	2004
20 Two Fifty South 17th St	250 S 17th St	2001	67 The Moravian	143 S 2nd St	2004
21 WCA	2025 Chestnut St	2001	68 The Olive & The Barcelona	1723 Fairmount Ave	2004
22 1016 Cherry St	1016 Cherry St	2002	69 The Ayer	204 W Washington Sq	2007
23 1222 Arch St	1222 Arch St	2002	70 The St. James	200 W Washington Sq	2004
24 13th St Lofts	112 S 13th St	2002	71 The Stationhouse	313 Race St	2004
25 1920 Chestnut St	1920 Chestnut St	2002	72 Victory Building	1001 Chestnut St	2004
26 311 S Juniper St	311 S Juniper St	2002	73 Lofts at the Winston	1006 Arch St	2005
27 419 S 19th St	419 S 19th St	2002	75 1220 Buttonwood St	1210 Buttonwood St	2005
28 1352 Lofts	1352 South St	2007	76 1500 S Front St	1500 S Front St	2006
29 Dockside	711 S Columbus Blvd	2002	77 1706 Rittenhouse Sq	1706 Rittenhouse Sq	2009
30 Kardon Building	1825 N 10th St	2002	78 23-A Condominium	23 S 23rd St	2006
31 Lofts at Liberty	1600 Chestnut St	2002	80 837-43 N 2nd St	837 N 2nd St	2006
32 Textile Flats	217 Chestnut St	2002	81 Churchview Commons	102 Church St	2005
33 The Green Tree	400 Walnut St	2002	82 Delancey Parkview	326 S 25th St	2006
34 The Old Shoe Factory	314 N 12th St	2002	83 Edgewater	200 N 23rd St	2006
35 The Papermill	237 N 2nd St	2002	85 Le Granier Condominiums	1034 Spruce St	2005
36 The Phoenix	1600 Arch St	2006	86 Liberties Walk	1022 N 2nd St	2005
37 The Society Hill Building	116 S 7th St	2002	87 Lofts at Bella Vista	1101 Washington Ave	2006
38 1930 Chestnut St	1930 Chestnut St	2003	88 MetroClub Condominiums	701 Race St	2006
39 200 Christian St Condominiums	914 S 2nd St	2003	89 Lofts 640	630 N Broad St	2006
40 207 N Broad St	207 N Broad St	2003	90 1027 Arch Street Lofts	1027 Arch St	2005
41 415 S 19th St	415 S 19th St	2003	91 Quincy Court	900 S 18th St	2005
42 Merchants Row	57 N 3rd St	2003	92 Strawbridge & Clothier Service Center	811 Filbert St	2005
43 North Street Townhomes	639 N 17th St	2003	93 Tivoli Condominiums	1044 Hamilton St	2006
44 Schuylkill Avenue Homes, Phase II	615 Schuylkill Ave	2003	94 York Square	317 Vine St	2006
45 Sing Wah Yuen Phase II	931 Ridge Ave	2003	95 10 Rittenhouse Square	1811 Walnut St	2009
46 Southside	1642 South St	2003	97 915-23 Carpenter St	915 Carpenter St	2006
47 St. George Cathedral Manor	251 S 9th St	2003	98 2200 Arch Street	2200 Arch St	2007
48 Ten Ten Race	1010 Race St	2003	99 Independence Court	3 Christian St	2006
49 The Packard Grande	1428 Chestnut St	2007	100 Liberty Court At Society Hill	234 Lombard St	2006
50 The Grandview	1100 Vine St	2003	101 Locust Club Condominiums	1612 Locust St	2008
51 The Lanesborough	226 S 16th St	2003	102 The Artisan	1412 Bainbridge St	2007
52 The Lofts at 509 Vine	509 Vine St	2003	103 The Chelsea	1513 Locust St	2006
53 2nd & Quarry	145 N 2nd St	2004	104 The White Building	1130 Chestnut St	2007
54 Acme Piano Co. Building	201 Queen St	2004	105 Naval Square Phase 1	2420 Grays Ferry Ave	2007
55 Bella Vista Court	611 Catharine St	2005	107 The Residences at the Ritz	1414 S Penn Sq	2008
57 Corn Exchange Building	1510 Chestnut St	2004	108 Symphony House	400 S Broad St	2007
58 Jefferson Square, Phase I	S 5th St & Federal St	2004			

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 CENTER CITY DISTRICT

Name	Address	Date	Name	Address	Date
109 Waterfront Square Phase 1	921 N Delaware Ave	2006	184 W Hotel and Residences	1200 Arch St	2009
110 101 Walnut	101 Walnut St	2007	185 Hotel Windsor	1700 Benj Franklin Pky	2002
111 Americana	218 Arch St	2007	186 313-15 N 3rd St	313 N 3rd St	2003
113 444 N 4th St	444 N 4th St	2007	187 Cityview Condominiums	2001 Hamilton St	2003
114 928 Race St	926 Race St	2007	188 1010 Hancock Street	1010 N Hancock St	2005
115 Bella Vista Rowhomes	825 Catharine St	2007	189 1021 N Hancock Street	1021 N Hancock St	2005
116 Lucky Garden	1104 Buttonwood St	2007	190 1700 block of Wallace St	17th St & Wallace St	2005
117 Residences at the Lorraine	699 N Broad St	2008	191 Boone School Lofts	109 W Wildey St	2005
118 Greater Philadelphia World Trade Center	232 N Columbus Blvd	N/A	192 The Brandywine Loft	1508 Brandywine St	2006
119 South Bridge	700 Schuylkill Ave	N/A	193 Fairmount Quarters	431 Fairmount Ave	2006
120 Aria	1419 Locust St	2007	194 The Warwick Condominium	1701 Locust St	2006
121 Hancock Square Phase 1	1001 N 2nd St	2006	195 Osun Village	2308 Grays Ferry Ave	2006
122 Hancock Square Phase 2	160 W Girard Ave	2008	196 Martin Luther King Plaza	5 13th St & Fitzwater St	2006
123 School District Administration Building	230 N 21st St	N/A	197 Metro Lofts	314 Brown St	2007
124 The National at Old City	109 N 2nd St	2007	198 The Winne Building	32 N Front St	2007
125 The Residences at Rodin	434 N 21st St	2008	199 Bank Building	421 Chestnut St	N/A
126 Western Union Building	1101 Locust St	2007	200 The Towns at Kimball	1902 Kimball St	2007
127 Shot Tower Townhomes	925 S 2nd St	2004	201 The Sedgely at Spring Garden	1904 Spring Garden St	2007
129 Kings Court	147 N 22nd St	2005	202 Letitia Lofts	10 Letitia St	2007
130 Front & Washington	S Front St & Washington Ave	2005	203 Le 22	211 Brown St	2007
131 1301-07 South St	1301 South St	2005	204 Lofts @ 209	209 Cuthbert St	2007
133 Passyunk & Christian	816 E Passyunk Ave	2005	205 Hoopskirt Lofts	313 Arch St	2007
134 1521 South Street	1521 South Street	N/A	206 Cherry Street West	139 N 23rd St	2008
136 The Becker Building	1151 N 3rd St	2005	207 1112-18 N 3rd Street	1112 N 3rd St	N/A
140 Merchantile Library	1021 Chestnut St	N/A	208 1824-30 Callowhill Street	1824 Callowhill St	N/A
141 1601 Vine St	1601 Vine St	2009	209 Carriages on Green	1600 Green St	N/A
143 The Towers on 13th St	1300 Buttonwood Street	N/A	210 Customs House Condominiums	6 Strawberry St	N/A
144 Mandeville Place	2401 Walnut Street	2008	211 802 N 24th St	802 N 24th St	N/A
145 Dilworth House Condominiums	231 S 6th Street	N/A	212 Dorrance Court	1000 S Dorrance St	N/A
147 Residences at 1919	1919 Market	2009	213 603 N American St	603 N American St	N/A
149 The Murano	2101 Market St	2008	214 1530 Chestnut	1530 Chestnut St	N/A
150 The Belgavia	1811 Chestnut St	2006	215 2400 South St	2400 South St	N/A
151 Arch Street Exchange	1228 Arch St	2007	216 950 Mode	950 N 3rd St	2008
155 Parc Rittenhouse	225 S 18th St	2008	217 801 Chestnut Street	801 Chestnut St	2009
156 101 Sky	101 Spring Garden Street	2008	218 Waterfront Square Phase 2	921 N Delaware Ave	2009
157 River's Edge	967 N Columbus Blvd	N/A	219 Waterfront Square Phase 3	921 N Delaware Ave	2010
158 238 Christian St	238 Christian St	2006	220 Broad & Washington NW	1020 S Broad St & Washington Ave	2011
159 900 South Street	900 South Street	2006	221 1907 Rittenhouse	1907 Walnut St	N/A
163 CU257	257 N 2nd St	2008	222 1300-02 Spruce St	1300 Spruce St	N/A
163 Lofts@1234	1234 Hamilton St	2007	223 Mode 7	134 N 22nd St	N/A
164 Old City Mercantile	20 N Front St	2007	224 1633 Ridge Ave	1633 Ridge Ave	N/A
165 Residences at 1401 Walnut	1401 Walnut St	2007	225 300-14 N 3rd Street	300 N 3rd St	N/A
167 Marine Club	1100 S Broad St	2009	226 601 North 10th Street	601 N 10th St	N/A
168 Riverwest Condominiums	2101 Chestnut St	2007	227 Spring Arts Point Phase 2	1002 Mount Vernon St	N/A
169 Spring Arts Point Phase 1	621 N 10th St	2007	228 323 North 13th Street	323 N 13th St	N/A
170 American Loft	717 N American St	2007	229 739-51 S Broad	739 S Broad St	N/A
171 Dockside II	709 S Columbus Blvd	N/A	230 Former Wilkie Chevrolet	600 N Broad St	N/A
172 Trump Tower	707 Penn St	2008	231 Ajax Metal / Jatco Site	N Delaware Ave & Laurel St	N/A
173 Pier 34	727 S Columbus Blvd	2009	232 The Sophia	400 Reed St	N/A
174 700 North Delaware	700 N Delaware Ave	2009	233 756-774 S Swanson St	756 S Swanson St	N/A
175 Nouveau	122 New St	2008	234 Pier 49 & 50	1101 N Delaware Ave	N/A
176 The Pearl	815 Arch St	2007			
177 Residences at Two Liberty	1650 Chestnut St	2007			
178 Bridgeman's View Tower	900 N Delaware Ave	2010			
180 22 Front	22 S Front St	2007			
181 Parkway22	501 N 22nd St	N/A			
182 Q Condominiums	2nd St Above Fairmount	N/A			

### Appendix C: Chinatown Business Directory (PCDC, 2003)

Company	Address	Category	Type
Gee How Oak Tin	202 North 10th Street		
Hua Guang Art and Cultural Center	1027 Arch Street		
John & J international inc.	206 North 9th Street		
Asian Americans United Inc.	913 Arch Street	Association	
Chinese Benevolent Association	930 Race Street	Association	
Hip Sing Association	238 Race Street 2nd Fl.	Association	
Hok Shan Lun Hong Association	208 North 9th Street 2/F	Association	
Hoy Sun Ning Yeung Association	210 North 9th Street 2/F	Association	
On Leong Association	911 Race Street 2 Fl.	Association	
Philadelphia Overseas Chinese Women's Association	931 Arch Street	Association	
Tsung Tsing Association	926 Winter Street	Association	
Tung On Association	131 North 10th Street 2/F	Association	
ABC cafe	939 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Asia Bakery Inc.	127 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Bakery
Bao Bao Hao	1004 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Best Cuisine Chinese Restaurant	917 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Charles Plaza	234 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Cherry Street Vegetarian	1010 Cherry Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Chinese Restaurant	104 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
David's Mai Lai Wah	204 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Ding Ho Noodle Co.	930 Arch Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Dragon Pizza	157 North 9th Street	Restaurant	Pizza
Empress Garden	106-108 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Four Rivers	936 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Fuchow Restaurant	922 Arch Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Harmony Vegetarian	133-135 North 9th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Heung Fa Chun Sweet House	112-114 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Ho Sai Gai	131 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Hoa Viet Vietnamese Grilled Noodle House	1022 Race Street	Restaurant	Vietnamese
Hong Kong Bakery Shop	917 Race Street	Restaurant	Bakery
Hong Kong Golden Phoenix	911 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
House of Chen	932 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Imperial Inn	146 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Indonesia Restaurant	1029 Race Street	Restaurant	Indonesian
International Bakery Inc.	232 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Bakery
Jade Harbor	942 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Joe's Peking Duck House	925 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Joseph Poon Restaurant	1002 Arch Street	Restaurant	Chinese

Company	Address	Category	Type
Joy Tsin Lau	1026 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
K.C.'s Pastries	109 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Bakery
K.C.'s Pastries	145 North 11th Street	Restaurant	Bakery
Kingdom of Vegetarians Restaurant	129 North 11th Street	Restaurant	Vegetarian
Lakeside Chinese Deli	207 North 9th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Lee How Fook Tea House	219 North 11th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Little Saigon	922 Arch Street	Restaurant	Vietnamese
Mai Lai Wah	1001 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Mayflower Bakery & Cafe	1008 Race Street	Restaurant	Bakery
Ming River	107 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Nan Zhou Noodle House	927 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Nice Chinese Noodle House	1038 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
North Sea Seafood Restaurant	153-155 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Northeast Restaurant	220 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Ocean City Restaurant	236-234 North 9th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Ocean Harbor	1023 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Penang Malaysian Cuisine	117 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Malaysian
Pho Xe Lua Viet Thai Restaurant	907 Race Street	Restaurant	Vietnamese
Pond Chinese Restaurant	1006 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Rangoon Burmese Restaurant	114 North 9th Street	Restaurant	Burmese
Ray's Cafe & Tea House	141 North 9th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Sang Kee Peking Duck House	238 North 9th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Serendipity Cafe	1009 Arch Street	Restaurant	Japanese
Shiao Lan Kung Restaurant	930 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Siam Cuisine Thai Restaurant	925 Arch Street	Restaurant	Thai
Sidewalk Sweet House	148 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Singapore Chinese Vegetarian Restaurant	1006 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
South East Restaurant	1000 Arch Street	Restaurant	Chinese
St. Honore Pastries	935 Race Street	Restaurant	Bakery
Tai Lake Restaurant	134 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Taste of Thai	101 North 11th Street	Restaurant	Thai
Ting Wong Restaurant	138 North 10th Street	Restaurant	Chinese
Vietnam Palace	222 North 11th Street	Restaurant	Vietnamese
Vietnam Restaurant	221 North 11th Street	Restaurant	Vietnamese
Wong Wong Restaurant	941 Race Street	Restaurant	Chinese
4 Seasons Seafood Food and Vegetable Inc.	214 North 10th Street	Retail	Food
Amazing Jewelry	203A North 9 <sup>th</sup> Street	Retail	Jewelry
Arch Pharmacy	933 Arch Street	Retail	Medical
Asia Crafts Inc.	123 North 10th Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
Asia Supermarket	143 North 11th Street	Retail	Food

<b>Company</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Type</b>
Bennie Poultry Inc.	208 North 9th Street	Retail	Food
Blue Moon Clothing	113 North 10th Street	Retail	Clothing
Camera Care	906 Arch Street	Retail	Photo
Captain Thomas Co., Inc.	933 Race Street	Retail	Seafood
Century Communications	120 North 9th Street	Retail	Communications
Chen's Fashions	1029 Race Street	Retail	Clothing
Cheong Fai Trading	923 Race Street	Retail	
China Art Co.	128 North 10th Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
China VietNews	938 Arch Street	Retail	News
Chinese Arts & Crafts Inc.	126 North 10th Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
Chinese Culture & Arts	126 North 10th Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
Crystal Villa	921 Race Street	Retail	Gifts
Dia fashion & cosmetics	931 Race Street	Retail	Clothing
East Asia Noodle Company	212 North 11th Street	Retail	Food
Elegant Chinese Art & Craft	910 Arch Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
Fortune Gift Shop	107 North 10th Street	Retail	Gifts
Graceful Choice Gifts	936 Arch Street	Retail	Gifts
Great Wall	1009 Race Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
Great Wall Seafood Market	100-102 North 10th Street	Retail	Food
Hong Fook Co.	230 North 10th Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
Jung Produce & Grocery	1002 Race Street	Retail	Produce
Kim Long Fine Jeweler Inc.	938 Arch Street	Retail	Jewelry
L & W Carpets Inc.	204 North 9th Street	Retail	Construction
Long Life Natural Chinese Herbs	1011 Arch Street	Retail	Medicine
LunChong Grocery Inc.	934 Race Street	Retail	Grocery
Mitchell's Lock & Safe Inc.	201B North 9 <sup>th</sup> Street	Retail	Locks
N & S Seafood Market	330 North 9th Street	Retail	Food
Nancy's Bridal & Formal	117 North 10th Street 2/F	Retail	Clothing
Neff Surgical Pharmacy	222 North 9th Street	Retail	Medicine
New Tung Hop Noodle Co.	133 North 11th Street	Retail	Food
New World Laundromat & Food Market	136 North 10th Street	Retail	Food
Oriental Furniture & Art	1004 Arch Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
Oriental Silk Corp	1026 Arch Street	Retail	Arts and Crafts
Pretty Photo	934 Arch Street	Retail	Photo
Quality Seafood & Grocery	140 North 10th Street	Retail	Food
Shan An Tang Chinese Medicine	228 North 9th Street	Retail	Medicine
Silver Star Paging Inc.	129 North 10th Street	Retail	Communications
Sing Lin Chinese Herb Inc.	124 North 9th Street	Retail	Medicine
Sunrise Communications Inc.	224 North 9th Street	Retail	Communications
The Chinese Cookie Factory	155 North 9th Street	Retail	Food
Trendy World	901 Race Street	Retail	Gifts
Trendy World	200 North 9th Street	Retail	Gifts

Company	Address	Category	Type
Tuck Hing Co/ Grocery	218 North 10th Street	Retail	Food
V-tech Computer and Wireless	145 North 9th Street	Retail	Communications
Wah May	940 Race Street	Retail	Medicine
Win Lee Clothing	1017 Arch Street	Retail	Clothing
Wing Lee Grocery Ltd.	218 North 9th Street	Retail	Food
World Journal Book Store	1017 Arch Street	Retail	Books
Yang Tze Trading Inc.	933 Arch Street	Retail	
Yen's Gift Shop	150 North 10th Street	Retail	Gifts
Yiu Lung Aquarium	122 North 10th Street	Retail	Pet fish
931 Skin Care	1007 Race Street	Service	Personal
Abacus Federal Savings Bank	147-153 North 10th Street	Service	Financial
Alpha One Llc	1030 Arch Street	Service	Computer
Americhoice	1033 Race Street	Service	Financial
Apollo Glass Windows & Signs	214 North 9th Street	Service	Construction
Arch Acupuncture Health Center	931 Arch Street	Service	Medical
Arch Beauty Collection	934 Arch Street	Service	Personal
Arch Law Group, Inc.	913 Arch Street	Service	Legal
Arch Nail	938 Arch Street	Service	Personal
ARC's Design & Printing Co.	211 North 9th Street	Service	Printing
Asia Financial Associates	210 North 9th Street	Service	Financial
Asia-America Law Group	923 Arch Street	Service	Legal
Asian Bank	1008-1010 Arch Street	Service	Financial
Au, Augustine PC DDS	121 North 10th Street	Service	Medical
Au, Clement MD	121 North 10 <sup>th</sup> Street	Service	Medical
Au, Raymond DDS	121 North 10 <sup>th</sup> Street	Service	Medical
Bao-Kuem, Tuan MD	931 Arch Street	Service	Medical
Carative Styling	230 North 9th Street	Service	Automotive
Cheung's Hung Gar Kung Fu Academy	1012 Cherry St	Service	Kung Fu
Chinatown Learning Center	1034 Spring Street	Service	Education
Chinatown Pediatric Services	216 North 9th Street	Service	Medical
Cig-Asia Ltd Inc	137-139 North 11th Street	Service	Financial
Dragon Coach Philadelphia	1041 Race Street	Service	Transportation
East Culture Salon	132 North 10th Street	Service	Personal
Eastern Printing Co.	118 North 9th Street	Service	Printing
Elegance Hair Design	938 Race Street	Service	Personal
Eng, Stephen PC	210 North 9th Street 2/F	Service	
Gong, Dr. Aileen	213 North 9th Street	Service	Medical
H.D. Beauty Salon	153 North 9th Street	Service	Personal
Hong Kong Barber Shop	118 North 10th Street	Service	Personal
HSBC Bank	1027 Arch Street	Service	Financial
J & L Travel and Service Center, Inc.	147 North 9th Street	Service	Travel
Jiang Hair Salon	237 North 10th Street	Service	Personal



<b>Company</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Type</b>
Jones, Margot S.	143 North 9th Street	Service	Legal
Kai's Beauty	116 North 10th Street	Service	Personal
Karpo, PC	137 North 9th Street	Service	
Lai's Hair Beauty Salon	139 North 9th Street	Service	Personal
Li, Sigang	938 Arch Street	Service	Legal
Lin Ki Yeung Accountant	236 Arch Street	Service	Financial
Loyalty Insurance	201A North 9 <sup>th</sup> Street	Service	Insurance
LTP Insurance Agency	919 Race Street	Service	Financial
Mella, Tahir	143 North 9 <sup>th</sup> Street	Service	Legal
Number One Printing & Graphics	222 North 10th Street	Service	Printing
P&G Travel Service	150 North 10th Street	Service	Travel
Pacific Insurance Inc.	931 Arch Street	Service	Financial
Pan Am Realty Co Inc	1004 Arch Street	Service	Real Estate
Paramount Mortgage Resources Inc.	147 North 10th Street 2/F	Service	Financial
PC First Realty	919 Race Street	Service	Financial
Perfect Cut Hair Salon	909 Race Street	Service	Personal
Rainbow Hair Styling Salon Inc.	215 North 10th Street	Service	Personal
SAF Travel World	205 North 9th Street	Service	Travel
San Diego Beauty Salon	917-915 Race Street 2 Fl.	Service	Personal
Shen Nong Acupuncture & Oriental Medicine	929 Arch Street	Service	Medical
Soong & Associates	914 Winter Street	Service	Architects
Su, Simon Y. MD	213 North 9th Street	Service	Medical
Success Driver Training School	151 North 9th Street	Service	Automotive
Thomas Wong CPA	147-151. North 10th Street 2/F	Service	Financial
Timothy Lee PC	113 North 10th Street 2/F	Service	Legal
Tom Gannon Insurance	147-151 North 10th Street 2/F	Service	Financial
Tom Wong Photography	224 North 10th Street	Service	Photography
Wah-Da Construction	929 Arch Street	Service	Construction
William Wong & Associates	226 North 9th Street	Service	Personal
Wilson Parking Inc.	929 Race Street	Service	Parking
Wong, Kar-Lai	213 North 9th Street	Service	Medical
Wu, William W. (DDS)	131 North 9th Street	Service	Medical
Yeh Alex K MD	933 Arch Street	Service	Medical
Yiu-Man, Ko DMD	933 Arch Street	Service	Medical
Young, Eugene DMD	924 Arch Street	Service	Medical
Zheng, Lu	215 North 9th Street	Service	Medical