Chinatown Anti-Displacement Community Research Project Report



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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	р. 3-4
METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION	р. 5-6
FINDINGS	p. 7-13
DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS	p. 14
REFERENCES	p. 15
APPENDIX	p. 16-21

All photos in this report taken by authors.

Acronyms		
Asian Americans Advancing Justice Chicago		
Chinese American Service League		
Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community		
Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of Chicago		
Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning		
Chicago Public Schools		
Chicago Transit Authority		
School of Communication, Loyola University Chicago		

Introduction

The Greater Chinatown area in Chicago (see Figure 1 for map) is rapidly changing because of recent public and private investments. The area continues to attract great interest by developers because of its proximity to downtown, public transportation rail infrastructure, bicycle shares, and its vibrant ethnic culture. Consequentially, Greater Chinatown's popular real estate market creates concerns about the implications of gentrification (economic and cultural) and potential displacement of existing communities. Community advocates, policymakers, and scholars nationwide point to the displacement in lower-income and ethnic communities resulting from urban revitalization. In particular, Chinatowns across the nation have become part of the public discourse when discussing gentrification and fights against displacement. This is evidenced in the last few years by media outlets, such as the *Chicago Tribune, L.A. Times, New York Times, City Labs, Next City, New York Magazine, BuzzFeed, Hyperallegic*, amongst others, all reporting concerns about gentrification in Chinatowns.

This report focuses on Chicago's Chinatown and builds upon recent policy reports aimed at creating healthy and sustainable Chinatowns.¹We acknowledge that gentrification is a real concern in the Greater Chinatown area, but also recognize that there are neighborhood stakeholders with community values who can be brought into a shared vision for the future communication, planning, and development of the area. Through five community focus groups with Chinatown stakeholders (adult residents, seniors, youth, community organizations, and local ethnic media), we explore the community values, assets, hopes, and concerns within the current context of neighborhood changes in Greater Chinatown.

We embarked on this project with two goals in mind:

- **I)** Take a proactive and community research-driven approach to potential implications of gentrification and displacement.
- 2) From an assets-based framework, catalyze broader community capacity within Greater Chinatown collective efforts to create livable and healthy communities rooted in the existing community values of Chinatown's various stakeholders.

Based on findings from the community-based focus groups we conducted, the three main areas of inquiry we explore in this report are:

• What are the central communication assets (community organization, business, and cultural) that communicate the existing community values of Chinatown stakeholders?

¹ This work builds on various recent efforts to create a more sustainable Chinatown in Chicago and collective movements to resist the gentrification of Asian American neighborhoods in the United States. We particularly encourage readers to read the Chinatown Vision Plan (CMAP), Asian American & Pacific Islander Anti-Displacement Strategies (NCAPACD & CNHA), and Healthy Chicago 2.0 (Chicago Dept. of Health). Links are provided in the references section of this report.

• What are the perceptions (positive and negative) of the current neighborhood changes taking place in Chinatown? What can be the priorities for future neighborhood improvement?

• Are there stories that are told about Chinatown? What types of stories does the community perceive are told about Chinatown in the media? What stories about Chinatown are lacking in the media?

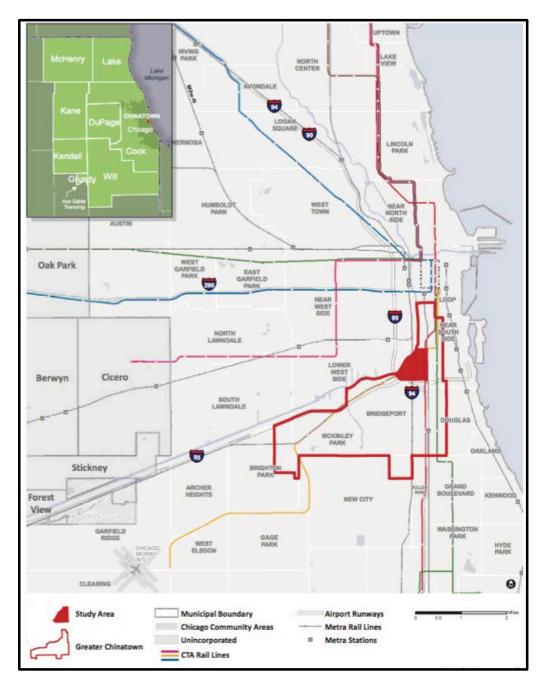


Figure I. Regional context of study area, Chinatown Community Vision Plan and Greater Chinatown Area (source: 2015 CMAP Chinatown Community Vision Plan).

Methods and Data Collection

Because the research conducted for this report aimed at contributing to a community-informed planning of Chinatown, the work was guided by "asset based community development" (McKnight & Kretzmann 1993) strategies that recognize the existing strengths of the communities of concern. The work recognizes that assets in neighborhoods can encourage community advocacy, so focus group participants discussed the value of "communication assets"—communicative spaces that help maintain and create positive social change in the area (Villanueva, Broad, Gonzalez, Ball-Rokeach, & Murphy 2016). The mapping of communication assets later led to a Chinatown Anti-Displacement Map that will be launched as part of the community advocacy goals of the project (see Appendix for the bilingual maps and event fliers).

Recruitment of the focus group participants was based on "communication infrastructure theory" which posits that community is constituted through stories at the neighborhood level (Ball Rokeach, Kim, & Matei 2001). Through "storytelling networks" that consists of three stakeholders: residents, community organizations, and geo-ethnic media (local media aimed at a particular geography or ethnicity), community is discursively constructed. Guided by these three nodes, the recruitment of the five focus groups were based on the following community segments in the Greater Chinatown area: I Youth Residents, I Senior Residents, I Adult Residents, I Community Organizations, I Local Media (see Table I). Multi-stakeholder focus groups allow for various perspectives on how community is created by diverse viewpoints. The focus groups heavily sampled the Chinese-American community because of the neighborhood character of the area's culture, business, social services, and everyday life. The focus groups were conducted during the summer of 2016 at community locations in the Chinatown neighborhood.



Participant Group	Sample Characteristics		
Adult Residents	Participants (N=7)		
	• 4 male, 3 female—72% U.S. Born		
	• 42 years old (median)		
	• 36 years in Chicago (median)		
	• 20 years in Chinatown (median)		
Youth	Participants (N=8)		
	• 4 male, 4 female—25% U.S. Born		
	I 8 years old (median)		
	• 8 years in Chicago (median)		
	• 7 years in Chinatown (median)		
Seniors	Participants (N=10)		
	• 5 male, 5 female—0% U.S. Born		
	• 70 years old (median)		
	17 years in Chicago (median)		
	I7 years in Chinatown		
Community	Participants (N=5)		
Organizations	• 3 male, 2 female—40% U.S. Born		
	• 63 years old (median)		
	I7 years working in Chinatown community (median)		
	Participants were all director-level.		
Local/ Ethnic Media	Participants (N=4)		
	• I male, 3 female—50% U.S. Born		
	• 49 years old (median)		
	I3 years with media outlet (median)		
	 Participants were all at editor/ producer, or reporter level. 		





Findings

Communication Assets

To explore communication assets that help maintain and create positive social change in the Greater Chinatown area, we asked the focus group participants to identify the Top 3 communication assets that came to their mind along three categories: cultural, community organization, and business. "Cultural" communication assets were spaces that the participants felt are important to the Chinese American community's ethnic and cultural identity. "Community Organization" communication assets were places that respondents felt were important for building community and learning about community issues in Chinatown. "Business" communication assets were places in Chinatown that the participants felt supported the economic business climate in the area. Tables 2-4 reports on these Top 3 communication assets mentioned by participants. Participants were reminded that the categories were not mutually exclusive and could identify communication assets that they felt fell within multiple categories. Answers were open-ended.

Category	Communication Assets		
Cultural I	 Chinatown Zodiac Square 21% Nine Dragon Wall 18% Pui Tak Center 18% Chinatown Gateway/ Arch 15% Ping Tom Park 9% Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association 3% Chinese American Service League 3% Chicago Public Library-Chinatown Branch 3% St. Therese Church and School 3% Chinese American Museum of Chicago 3% Sun Yat Park 3% 		
Cultural 2	 Chinatown Zodiac Square 30% Ping Tom Park 18% Chinese American Service League 15% Chicago Public Library-Chinatown Branch 12% Pui Tak Center 9% Nine Dragon Wall 3% Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association 3% PINE Tree Senior Club 3% Moy Family Associates 3% 		
Cultural 3	 Moy ramity Associates 3% Nine Dragon Wall 22% Chinatown Zodiac Square 19% Chinese American Museum 16% Pui Tak Center 12% Chinese American Service League 9% Chicago Public Library-Chinatown Branch 6% Chinatown Gateway/Arch 6% St. Therese School and Church 3% Ping Tom Park 3% 		

Table 2. Top 3 'Cultural' communication assets listed (all focus group participants).

Table 3. Top 3 'Community Organization' communication assets listed (all focus group participants).

Category	Communication Assets		
Community Organization I	 Chinese American Service League 73% Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community 9% Chicago Public Library-Chinatown Branch 9% Pui Tak Center 3% Chinatown Chamber of Commerce 3% Chinese Local Media (Newspapers) 3% 		
Community Organization 2	 Chinese American Service League 19% Chicago Public Library-Chinatown Branch 19% Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association 19% Pui Tak Center 16% Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community 9% Chinese Local Media (Newspapers) 9% St. Therese Church/ Haines School 3% Chinatown Chamber of Commerce 3% Chinese Christian Union Church 3% 		
Community Organization 3	 Chinese Local Media (Newspapers and WeChat) 20% Chicago Public Library-Chinatown Branch 13% Pui Tak Center 13% Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association 13% St. Therese Church/ Haines School 10% Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community 10% Chinatown Chamber of Commerce 3% Chinese American Museum of Chicago 3% Southeast Asia Center 3% Chinese Coffee Shops & Bakeries 3% 		



Category	Category Communication Assets		
<u> </u>	Park To Shop (Hong Kong Market) 18%		
	Ming Hin Restaurant 12%		
	Chinatown Market 9%		
	Triple Crown Restaurant 6%		
	Pacific Global Bank 6%		
	• Joy Yee Restaurant 6%		
	Chinatown Chamber of Commerce 6%		
	Chinatown Parking Lot Corporation 6%		
Business I	Phoenix Restaurant 6%		
Dusiness	 Lao Sze Chuan Restaurant 3% 		
	 Richland Center Food Court 3% 		
	 Kung Fu Tea 3% 		
	 Starlight Market 3% 		
	 Whole Foods 3% 		
	 Furama Family Restaurant 3% 		
	 Homestyle Taste Restaurant 3% 		
	 Mayflower Restaurant 3% 		
	Chinatown Market 18%		
	Park To Shop (Hong Kong Market) 11%		
	Chiu Quon Bakery 11% Ming Llip Bostovrent 7%		
	Ming Hin Restaurant 7% Kung Fu Tag 7%		
	• Kung Fu Tea 7%		
	Starlight Market 7% Tricle Course Destaurant 2%		
	Triple Crown Restaurant 3%		
Business 2	Lao Sze Chuan Restaurant 3%		
	Furama Family Restaurant 3%		
	Chinatown Parking Lot Corporation 3%		
	Phoenix Restaurant 3%		
	Cai Restaurant 3%		
	• Evergreen Restaurant 3%		
	Chi Café 3%		
	Mariano's 3%		
	Chinatown Zodiac Square 3%		
	Walgreens 22%		
	• Kung Fu Tea 11%		
	 Joy Yee Restaurant 11% 		
	Ming Hin Restaurant 7%		
	Lao Sze Chuan Restaurant 7%		
	Starlight Market 7%		
Business 3	Chinatown Market 7%		
	Chinatown Parking Lot Corporation 3%		
	Chinatown Zodiac Square 3%		
	My Place Restaurant 3%		
	Little Three Happiness Restaurant 3%		
	Wentworth Dental Clinic 3%		
	• Citibank 3%		
	• St. Anna's Bakery & Café 3%		
	Grand Palace Restaurant 3%		

Table 4. Top 3 'Business' communication assets listed (all focus group participants).

Neighborhood Change

Continuity and change is inherent in all neighborhoods. Greater Chinatown is particularly going through various changes because of shifts in demographics, change in ethnic migration patterns, increased development, cultural tourism, and civic engagement. Table 5 shows the positive and negative impact of neighborhood change, as it was perceived by different focus group participants. Table 6 demonstrates priorities for neighborhood improvement from the participant group.



Group	Positive	Negative
Senior	 Large elderly population makes seniors feel less lonely Proximity to social services, public transportation, and Chinese culture Recreation activities (library, Tai Chi, talking) 	 Lack of public bathrooms Smoking, spitting, and lack of public cleanliness/ maintenance on streets Homeless subpar conditions
Youth	 Great way to connect to Chinese culture (people, restaurants, retail, history, services, landmarks) Recreational activities (parks, karaoke, food) New library as a good youth and community gathering space 	 Dirty streets and unmaintained sidewalk/ street infrastructure (potholes, cracked sidewalks, no garbage cans) Not enough parking and unsafe pedestrian crossings Crime (mugging, car break-ins, gangs)
Adult Resident	 Maintains multi-generational Chinese family and cultural presence in Chicago Sense of ethnic pride and both rich/ poor Chinese supporting their ethnic town One-stop shopping and eating of Chinese goods Growth of Chinese American presence beyond Chinatown to adjacent neighborhoods (Bridgeport, McKinley Park, Brighton Park) Representative Theresa Mah elected to IL state legislature Building more a sense of community versus a tourist trap 	 Adjustments/ tensions between older Cantonese speaking immigrants and newer affluent Mandarin speaking immigrants When Chinese American families move to the suburbs and their kids lose the ability to speak Chinese Increased feeling of an unsafe community because of social media and the perception of crime Not enough Chinese Americans are civically engaged in local politics and development Still seen as a tourist trap, especially on weekends Restaurants becoming more corporate versus family- owned
Community Organization	 Maintain cultural and spiritual roots of Chinese Social service and community advocacy hub for Chicagoland Chinese American community Renewed interest by suburban young professional Chinese to come back to Chinatown now that center cities have become popular again Interest city-wide in Chinatown's growth and development as a cultural tourism area 	 Chinatown commerce shuts down earlier than New York's and therefore can be less safe Uptick in crime (robberies, car break-ins) Cleanliness of streets Changing demographics from Cantonese to affluent Mandarin immigrants causing community tensions Competition for social/ political resources can cause collaboration paralysis among community organizations Affordable housing crunch for seniors and low-income
Local/ Ethnic Media	 A growing immigrant community and place where Chinese languages can be spoken Good Chinese food More political empowerment and infrastructure (state elections, local advocacy) 	 Geographically isolated from the rest of downtown Lacks full ethnic and cultural integration to the rest of the city Chinese American population not booming as much as public anecdotes claim

Table 5. Key perceptions of positive/ negative neighborhood change in Chinatown by participant group.

Table 6. Key	priorities for	neighborhood	improvement in	Chinatown by	participant group.

Group	Priorities for Neighborhood Improvement			
Senior	 More public activities for senior community New Chinese immigrants need to find better ways to integrate into American lifestyle, and the multiple languages spoken (Mandarin, Cantonese, and Chaozhou) need to be culturally bridged 			
Youth	 Find a way to balance the community center atmosphere created inside the library with quiet library study etiquette More parking Increase Asian American local police representation to relate better to the youth A high school more proximate to Chinatown Cleaner streets and public garbage cans 			
Adult Resident	 More civic and political engagement amongst residents Better local neighborhood schools (particularly a high school) and less dependency on selective enrollment Community resist the perception that you need to move out to the suburbs for better quality of life and instead advocate to improve neighborhood infrastructure Ensuring that Chinatown remains affordable and not negatively gentrify like neighboring community areas 			
Community Organization	 Community economic development amenities that attract younger generations but maintain Chinse cultural influence Better local high school options for youth that will keep younger Chinese American professionals from moving out More Chinese cultural events to create awareness and history Creating more affordable housing options for the senior community Shape any potential gentrification and future development to curb corporate developer expansion and find ways to preserve Chinese cultural and historic characteristics 			
Local/ Ethnic Media	 More community integration with the rest of the city without losing its cultural and ethnic roots More Chinese American young professional leaders 			



Storytelling Chinatown

Chinatown is not only a city neighborhood but exists in the form of written and verbal stories that circulate the media, thereby instilling our imaginations with symbolic interpretations of the Chinatown community. To explore the storytelling of Chinatown in the media, we asked the different focus group participants what stories do the media tell about Chinatown and what stories about Chinatown they feel need more telling in the media (see Table 7).

Table 7. Perception of stories told about Chinatown in the media and stories in need of more telling (all participants).

Perception of stories told about Chinatown in media	Types of stories in need of more telling in the media
 Don't really see Chinese American everyday community on local Chicago mainstream media/ news Chinatown makes the news if there is something bad or crime happening in the neighborhood Robberies Capital developments Annual Chinese New Year celebration Chinese restaurants and food Major community events/ tourism like Dragon Boat Races A national media perception that Chicago's Chinatown is bucking trends and growing economically, culturally, and population-wise when compared to other Chinatowns in other cities 	 Stories that highlight how the Chinatown community fights for resources such as the library, etc. More updates on community events, advocacy efforts, and what development changes are taking place, but told in an interesting way that demonstrates how it personally affects an everyday Chinese American citizen in Chinatown Local government accountability stories More nuanced everyday humanistic stories of Chinese American community, migration stories, and immigrant life that go beyond the typical Chinse New Year and Chinese food stories More stories about a welcoming Chinatown and how it can integrate other races/ ethnicities across the city into community life in Chinatown Getting beyond the story that only Chinese live in the Greater Chinatown area and showing the different income realities of the newer generations of Chinse immigrants to Chicago Need of a Chinese American mass media source versus Facebook groups Highlight community leaders and exactly what they do in order to galvanize greater public Stories that drive more commerce and local tourism into Chinatown Intergenerational stories of student achievements and senior living in Chinatown Stories that highlight Chinese and other Asian American struggles in the anti-immigration discourse that is currently populating the national political discourse

Discussion and Implications

We learned from our focus groups that Chicago's Greater Chinatown is a vibrant community of intergenerational everyday life and people. This ran counter to mainstream public perceptions that often see Chinatown primarily as a tourist trap comprised of Chinese restaurants and novelty shops. Indeed, restaurants are a big asset in the area, but the neighborhood is much more. Chinatown's various community organizations, cultural landmarks, history, intergenerational migration, family owned businesses, and broader relationships with adjacent neighborhoods communicate Chinatown's dynamic identity.

Closely related to this dynamic Chinatown identity is its long history of advocacy by Chinese American residents, business owners, and civic leaders for local infrastructure and community empowerment. In the last decade, this coalition has fought for the development of public resources, such as the Chinatown library, field house, boat house, park, and public transportation improvements. This history of advocacy demonstrates that the Chinese American community values civic engagement and willingness in shaping a shared vision for the Greater Chinatown area. Chinatown's existing community and advocacy values are perhaps the greatest communication asset in the area. Local government, private developers, and new residents that have interests in the Greater Chinatown area would be served well to connect with Chinatown's assets when thinking about future development and residential settlement.

According to focus group participants, Chicago's Chinese community (immigrants and American born) is also going through intergenerational and interethnic demographic change. Tensions exist between the traditional Cantonese speaking population that historically make up Chicago's Chinese immigrants and the newer Mandarin speaking population that is migrating with more capital because of China's emergence as a global economic power. Anxieties about class and intercultural perceptions of immigrant life in the United States emerged from the focus group discussions. Apparent though, was a desire among focus group participants to find ways to better integrate the different immigrants and values into the broader culture in the City of Chicago, and vice versa. As these intergenerational and interethnic tensions continue, it would be sensible for the Chinatown community and the City of Chicago to further devote resources to understanding such ethnic relations and developing policies for immigrant integration.

Lastly, like many ethnic communities in Chicago, the Chinese American residents feel they do not see a more nuanced reflection of themselves in mainstream local media. They feel whenever mainstream media tells stories about Chinatown, it often is dedicated to the new Chinese restaurant to check out or for festival events like the Chinese New Year Parade. These stories continue to feed into Chinatown's image as a tourist trap. To reiterate, we learned that Greater Chinatown is a complex and vibrant community of everyday people and life. Mainstream media can do better to report on the various human interest stories and the community's deep investment in local advocacy campaigns. There is local ethnic media reporting on Chinatown, but for the City of Chicago to better represent its true self, its mainstream media need to be more inclusive of stories from its various ethnic communities. At the same time, the Chinatown community itself can also better develop its intergenerational production of media to more broadly tell stories on its own.

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Appendix



Appendix I. Front side of English translation of map (Graphic Design by Hanlin Guo).





How this map was made?

Through a community-university partnership that expands on the previous Chinatown Vision Plan, this map was sourced from focus group discussions with Chinatown community adults, youth, seniors, community organizations, and local media.

Participants were asked about what they value in Chinatown, what challenges were arising from recent neighborhood changes, and what actions could take place to create a sustainable community. Based on these discussions, a community research report was created that you can access at www.cbcacchicago.org.

To complement the report, this print map was created in order to highlight communication assets and advocacy campaigns. We hope to encourage all stakeholders in Greater Chinatown, the City of Chicago, and the State of Illinois to

shape a future Chinatown that is receptive to the existing values, needs, and visions of the community



Do you want to help advocate for a better Chinatown?

Get involved in these current advocacy campaigns!

- Greater Chinatown High School--Work toward getting Chinatown its first High School!
- Transportation Committee--Ensure safe streets and passages for all modes of transportation!
- Parks Committee--Ensure safe and healthy parks and open spaces for the neighborhood!
- Grassroots Advocacy--Empower residents through political education and mobilization!
 - Participate in Greater Chinatown citizen groups!
- ORIGIN youth leadership council and advisor program



More information on these advances

CBCAC Board and Associate Board

More information on these advocacy campaigns and participation opportunities can be accessed at: www.cbcacchicago.org.

Want to stay on top of community news and get your message out to the Greater Chinatown community?

Don't just stop at the mainstream media--try out ethnic and local media sources like **Singtao Daily**, **Epoch Times**, **The China Press**, **World Journal**, **DNAinfo**, and **Southside Weekly**!

Housing Resources

- Chinatown Elderly Apartments and CASL Senior Housing are some examples of affordable senior housing available through the Chicago Housing Authority. As the neighborhood grows, we support a diverse mixed-income community.
- Participate with Chicago Housing Initiative campaigns and organizations fighting to create housing that is economically, racially, and socially equitable: http://www.chicagohousinginitiative.org/
- Learn about gentrification in Chicago with UIC Voorhees Center. Gentrification Index (UIC Voorhees Center): https://www.voorheescenter.com/gentrification-index

This project was a collaboration between the Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community and the School of Communication at Loyola University Chicago, with generous support from Asian Americans Advancing Justice | Chicago and the Kellogg Foundation.

Appendix 2. Back side of English translation of map (Graphic Design by Hanlin Guo).



Appendix 3. Front side of Chinese translation of map (Graphic Design by Hanlin Guo).



Appendix 4. Back side of Chinese translation of map (Graphic Design by Hanlin Guo).

Chinatown Anti-Displacement Map Launch and Walking Tour



thuong.phan.cbcac@caslservice.org

Saturday April 29th 11am-12:30pm

Chinatown Library 2100 S. Wentworth Chicago, IL 60616

Come out and be a part of the first of its kind Chicago Chinatown map launch and walking tour that celebrates assets in the neighborhood! The map and event will highlight various social change campaigns led by community organizations in the area. Learn how you can get involved!

This project is a collaboration between the Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community and the School of Communication at Loyola University Chicago, with generous support from Asian Americans Advancing Justice | Chicago and the Kellogg Foundation.

Appendix 5. English translation of map launch and walking tour flier.



週六四月29 11am-12:30pm

中國城圖書館 2100 S. Wentworth Chicago, IL 60616

歡迎前來參加中國城的首次地 圖發佈會。這個發佈會將在慶 祝芝加哥中國城百年來積累的 文化遺產的同時,介紹近年來 由社區組織領導社區發展議 程。你將了解到如何參與到這 些議程中,發出你自己的聲

歡迎踴躍參與!

這個項目由華埠更好團結聯盟以及芝加哥洛約拉大學傳播學院聯合舉辦,并享受到了芝加哥亞裔 美國人司法公正促進會和 Kellogg 資金會的慷慨贊助。

Appendix 6. Chinese translation of map launch and walking tour flier.