

**FINAL REPORT FOR THE STEEL INDUSTRY HERITAGE TASK FORCE
ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY 1992
ASIAN COMMUNITIES IN PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY**

submitted by

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Introduction

Previous Research

Very little has been written or investigated about the myriad Asian immigrant groups of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Most writings about them have appeared as short articles in newspapers and magazines at the level of the individual rather than the group.

Of the Asians in Pittsburgh the Chinese and a small group of Syrians have had the longest historical ties to the area from the turn of the twentieth century and slightly earlier. Almost all others of any substantial number arrived in the last few decades, and other than the Vietnamese and Hmong groups, mostly for professional purposes.

It is still surprising that the Asians by and large remain unstudied entities within the area, particularly as they provide such a rich source of research material for students in the institutions of higher learning. The most extensive research on an Asian community was carried out among the Chinese of Pittsburgh by Chien-shiung Wu as a dissertation study for the Department of History at the University of Pittsburgh in 1983 (see bibliography).

General works on Asian immigrants in the United States, on the other hand, are fairly abundant, particularly dealing with Chinese and Indian, and Japanese immigrants. Most of these sources deal with the experience of communities in

California in the case of the Chinese and Japanese, and with larger cities such as the New York area for the Indians. The Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA), with its base in Washington D.C. and chapters all over the country (including Pittsburgh) has published its own history of immigration to the U.S., offering interesting background to the causes of emigration from China.

The Project

The cover term "Asian communities" is an oversimplification and in some senses a misnomer because popular perceptions of what (or who) constitutes Asia are variable. Being an Asian myself, I see the term as reflecting the vast diversity of the continent of Asia, and its peoples.

This being so, it becomes an enormous task to "penetrate" all cultural and ethnic enclaves from the continent. One then has to separate the larger and more easily visible communities from smaller ones. The various universities in Pittsburgh - University of Pittsburgh, Carnegie Mellon University, and Duquesne University - have students from most countries in Asia. Because students cannot be called immigrants in a true sense, many of the Asian nations represented by them have been largely unaddressed in this initial survey. It must be recognized, however, that higher education in the United States today is one channel through which many Asians will

eventually become naturalized residents of this country. Indeed, the immigration history from some countries has been precisely this.

Of the Asian groups in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, I identified the Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Korean, Arab (Syrian/Lebanese), and Vietnamese as the more visible and prominent ones. Of these, I was not able to contact the Vietnamese in any formal sense. Other than the Chinese and Arabs, the target groups have had little or no direct contact with Pittsburgh's steel history, and are largely recent immigrants.

Contacting these groups was not an easy task. Certain communities tend to be more "closed" than others - especially those who have not yet established themselves within the larger community and where language barriers are more of a problem. There is also the issue of legality of status which makes some more wary of a formal interview context replete with official-looking forms and language. In two cases, a Vietnamese (see section on Vietnamese) and an Indian, I was not allowed to record the brief interviews I had with them.

Most of the informants were puzzled that this ethnographic survey was being conducted under the auspices of steel heritage; in initial phone calls before any personal contact, the typical reaction was that "We did not have any relationship with steel," or, "I probably will not be able to

help you." Another frequent response was that there was no suitable time for an interview. The successful interviews were ones in which I was able to meet with the informant first, or if they were highly visible, professional members of the community.

In traditional anthropological fieldwork, one learns that it takes a long period of time to establish trust and rapport with informants. This methodological truth seems to be heightened for immigrants who have not yet assimilated comfortably into mainstream America. The reason that this tends to be more so with Asian immigrants is because the entire spectrum of their cultures are so strikingly different from European immigrants - language, religion, foods, clothing, and of course, physical traits.

I quickly abandoned identifying my work under the SIHC auspices until they at least agreed to an interview. They seemed to be more accepting of my status as a graduate student just conducting fieldwork in Pittsburgh. The information I have gleaned from the interviews is interesting in that it sometimes reveals rather deep internal problems within the various groups; otherwise, they are general rather than detailed in nature. Each immigrant group is a full study in its own right, and sometimes there are numerous sub-groups which operate as separate entities.

I now proceed with a general demography of Asians in

Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, followed by brief descriptions and cases of the individual Asian countries identified above from the interviews.

Asian Demographics in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County

The following table (Table 1) shows the concentrations of selected Asian groups in Allegheny county and the city of Pittsburgh.

<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Japanese</u>	<u>Korean</u>	<u>Vietnamese</u>	<u>Filipino</u>
Bethel Pk.	Bethel Pk.	Bethel Pk.	Bethel Pk.	Bethel Pk.	Bethel Pk.
Bethel Pk.					
51	110	0	43	0	0
Dormont	Dormont	Dormont	Dormont	Dormont	Dormont
0	0	0	0	52	0
Fox Chapel	Fox Chapel	Fox Chapel	Fox Chapel	Fox Chapel	Fox
0	86	13	65	0	0
Franklin Pk	Franklin Pk	Franklin Pk	Franklin Pk	Franklin Pk	
FranklinPk					
52	103	24	0	0	0
Greentree	Greentree	Greentree	Greentree	Greentree	
Greentree					
45	0	0	0	0	0
Hampton	Hampton	Hampton	Hampton	Hampton	Hampton
45	50	0	0	0	0
Homestead/	Homestead/	Homestead/	Homestead/	Homestead/	
Homestead/					
Munhall	Munhall	Munhall	Munhall	Munhall	
Munhall					
0	0	0	0	49	0
McCandless	McCandless	McCandless	McCandless	McCandless	
McCandless					
119	195	28	60	0	54
Monroeville	Monroeville	Monroeville	Monroeville	Monroeville	
Monroeville					
223	417	33	88	0	47
Moon	Moon	Moon	Moon	Moon	Moon
0	64	0	41	0	44
Mt Lebanon	Mt Lebanon	Mt Lebanon	Mt Lebanon	Mt Lebanon	Mt
Lebanon					
184	153	48	51	72	33
O'Hara	O'Hara	O'Hara	O'Hara	O'Hara	O'Hara
79	83	0	0	0	0
Penn Hills	Penn Hills	Penn Hills	Penn Hills	Penn Hills	Penn
Hills					
0	63	0	0	0	0
Pittsburgh	Pittsburgh	Pittsburgh	Pittsburgh	Pittsburgh	
Pittsburgh					
1,834	1,365	604	822	318	251
Plum	Plum	Plum	Plum	Plum	Plum
0	88	0	33	0	0
Robinson	Robinson	Robinson	Robinson	Robinson	Robinson
0	50	0	0	0	0

Ross	Ross	Ross	Ross	Ross	Ross
109	97	0	0	0	41
Scott	Scott	Scott	Scott	Scott	Scott
44	119	27	0	0	0
Shaler	Shaler	Shaler	Shaler	Shaler	Shaler
0	93	0	0	0	0
S Fayette	S Fayette	S Fayette	S Fayette	S Fayette	S
Fayette					
0	69	0	0	0	0
Up St Clair	Up St Clair	Up St Clair	Up St Clair	Up St Clair	Up St
Clair					
193	230	51	91	21	49

This data is from the 1990 census. Asians are scattered all over Allegheny County; I have indicated only those areas that seem to have the heavier concentrations of these various groups. The general rule was to include those places that had over 40 individuals of each community. In the cases of the Japanese, Vietnamese, and Filipino, I have in some cases included places with a lesser number, in light of their smaller representation generally. The 0s mean that there are no significant numbers of these communities in the particular area; it is not an absolute zero.

The two largest communities by far are the Chinese and Indians. They are also the ones that have heavier concentrations spread over a much wider area. Of note is the fact also that in many of the places all the Asians tend to be well represented, such as Monroeville, McCandless, Upper St. Clair, etc. With the exception of the Vietnamese (who have immigrated to the United States for unique reasons), it can be said that the settlement configuration of Asians indicates in general their middle to higher economic status. In some

cases, such as the Monroeville-Penn Hills areas, they live in the richer suburbs closer to their workplace (Westinghouse, etc.).

Only two communities with whose members I spoke indicated that there was a specific area in Pittsburgh with which their communities were associated in the past. These are the Chinese and the Lebanese, whose respective neighborhoods fell prey to Pittsburgh's urban development. In the former case, there was an area around the 500 block of Second Avenue designated as Pittsburgh's "Chinatown"; in the latter, the area where the Civic Arena now stands used to house many of the Lebanese/Syrians, although it was not an exclusive Arab quarter by any means. As mentioned earlier, these communities are currently scattered over a large area.

The Indians, Koreans, and Japanese belong largely to a highly professional class, and are primarily attached to the universities, hospitals, and skilled industries in the area.

The Chinese in Pittsburgh

The first Chinese were introduced into the area in 1872 as strikebreakers to work at the cutlery manufacturing company in Beaver Falls. The early laborers brought here came from other parts of the country where they were mainly involved in the construction of railroads in California and New Orleans. They were brought to Beaver Falls largely due to the

recommendation of a China-returned missionary, a Rev. J.F. Dyer of the Methodist church (Wu, 1983).

The reaction of striking workers was strong antagonism, until an agreement was reached that they were there only for the duration of their contract. This mediation between the citizens of Beaver Falls and the factory management was done largely through the Harmony Society. In return for the tolerance of the citizens towards the Chinese on a temporary basis, the company would donate a share of its profits for community welfare projects. After the fulfillment of the contract in 1877, all Chinese left Beaver county (Wu, 1983).

The first Chinese in Pittsburgh were recorded in 1874, when two laundries were opened in the old "Chinatown" on Second Avenue. It is thought that the initial Chinese settlers were seeking other places to live and work. They drifted eastward from the Pacific Coast states where they were undergoing severe discrimination and persecution as they attempted to build lives upon occupations that often directly competed with the white majorities. By this time, the railways and other development works in the west had been completed, and Chinese laborers were frequently being used as strikebreakers in the industrial northeast (including Beaver Falls, PA). The earlier situation of labor shortage had been transformed into one of labor surplus. The consequence of this competition was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which

barred Chinese immigration and naturalization (Mark & Chih, 1982), and which was eased only in the post-World War II years.

The typical occupational niches to which the shunned Chinese turned were all non-competitive with the whites: laundries, shops(catering initially to the Chinese), and restaurants. Such businesses also had the advantage of self-employment or employment under another Chinese. Because these occupations were non-interactive with white Americans, fluency of English was not required for the business to operate properly. The early Chinese in Pittsburgh exemplified this pattern. Wu observes that these Chinese-run occupations were seen by the Chinese as a stopgap for the eventual improvement in the standard of living and education of family members in the next generations. And in fact, the Pittsburgh "Chinatown" as a nexus of Chinese culture and activity began to decline after the original generation of immigrants (Wu, 1983).

At the early juncture, there were few if any Chinese women accompanying the workers; rather, the late 19th century saw a rise in the importation of "slave girls" and prostitutes from China to cater to the laborers and miners in the West. Some of these women/girls were subsequently rescued by missions and had the option to return to China or to remain here (Mark & Chih, 1982). Most of the married men had left their wives and families in China, and would take back savings

to their home villages. It was not until the 1920s that some Chinese wives were allowed into the country, and it was only after World War II and the Communist takeover in China, that the Exclusion Act was relaxed for this community (Mark & Chih, 1982; Wu, 1983).

Wu notes that between 1903 (only 3 women in the census), and 1950, the ratio of male to female Chinese was extremely unbalanced, so that according to the 1930 census, the ratio was 100:15.2. Other factors which contributed to the decline of the Chinatown (see ES92-LM2-S #20-25 on remnants of Chinatown) were the construction of the Boulevard of the Allies (which cross-cut a significant section), the demise of old men without heirs, the Depression, and Chinese migration out of Pittsburgh to the major eastern seaboard cities. Chinese migration from Pittsburgh was in part due to internal factionalism between the On Leong and Hip Sung organizations. These "organizations" were lineage-based, and were transplanted from old lineage rivalries in China itself. Immigrants to the United States aligned themselves with one or other lineage, so that the "organizations" and their rivalries were spread throughout the U.S. (Wu, 1983).

Much of the story of the early Chinese (1921-1978) is recorded on the gravestones in Homewood Cemetery (see ES92-LM1-S # 8-10, 13). They reveal that the early Chinese hailed from the Toisan and Hoiping districts in China and were

predominantly of the Yee lineage (63.8%); lesser lineages were the Lees (11.6%) and the Ungs (5.46%) (Wu, 1983).

A new wave of Chinese immigrants began to arrive in the 1960s. These immigrants were vastly different from their predecessors. They were far more educated and of a professional class. In Pittsburgh today they form the larger section of the community by far, and are active in politics at the local and national levels of the Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA). The OCA actively administers and sponsors a number of cultural and political activities ranging from Chinese participation in the Pittsburgh Folk Festival, to aiding Vietnamese refugees. Other important Chinese organizations are the National Association of Chinese Americans (Pittsburgh Chapter), the Formosan Club of America (Pittsburgh Chapter), and the Chinese American Republican Club of Greater Pittsburgh.¹ Another cemetery has been opened in Monroeville.

The professional/educational level of the Chinese has led them to spread out into the various middle-class and upper-class suburbs of the area. No longer is the community dominated by a few lineages from a particular area of China. Instead, there are a number of different places of origin (including Taiwan and even Hong Kong), and a more diverse

¹These may be what I later call "floating associations," or now defunct; I was not able to identify them through informants or the telephone directory.

internal socioeconomic scale. There is also a large proportion of non-Christian Chinese: Buddhist, animist/ancestor worship, etc.. Descendants of earlier immigrant families tend to be restaurateurs and proprietors of small businesses. Members of the new generation of Chinese immigrants hold highly professional occupations at the universities, in technical firms, and to a lesser degree, in the medical field (Wu, 1893).

Case #1 [ES92-LM2-C]

Karen is a second generation Chinese of mixed parentage (her mother is Caucasian). Her father came to Pittsburgh to join his cousin between the World Wars (around 1926) from Canton. Here he and his cousin opened a restaurant in Bellevue called the Bellevue Tea Garden, today one of the oldest Chinese restaurants in the Greater Pittsburgh area. Her father still operates it.

Growing up, Karen remembers that there was a Chinese School (now run by the OCA), which she was unable to attend because of the traveling distance. There was also the Pittsburgh Chinese Church in the downtown area, which later moved to the Northside. Women traditionally did not seek outside employment, but would help with the small family businesses. Since her childhood was split between cultures due to a mixed parentage, she feels that she was only partly

involved in Chinese culture and traditions. When asked about the language, she says that she understands Cantonese and used to speak it more fluently as a child.

Speaking about physical symbols of their heritage, Karen points to the Chinese Nationality Room at the University of Pittsburgh as having special meaning to her, particularly as her father and uncle participated in its construction; her uncle, in fact did some of the calligraphy in it. Other sites of meaning to Karen are the two cemeteries at Homewood and Monroeville. Before the Communist takeover in China in the early 1950s, bodies were sent home for burial; but that stopped after the Communists came to power there. In downtown Pittsburgh there is a temple and reading room in the old Chinatown area. Although there are no ancestral halls in Pittsburgh, families pay homage to their ancestors in their homes. There is an ancestral hall in San Francisco where her father goes to perform rituals for his parents.

The Chinese School provides instruction in a number of traditional activities such as calligraphy, dancing, Kung-fu, although Karen feels that children today don't have the time to seriously pursue the study of language, because they don't have much time left over from their regular school activities.

Karen says that the Chinese community is changing and "evolving" as traditional lifestyles and family structures are being replaced by the realities of modern life. Most Chinese

women now strive for college degrees and are joining the mainstream job-force. These have affected daily activities like traditional cooking, now more and more replaced with fast foods. Another growing concern is the gradual disappearance of the multi-generational family; and with this situation, care for the elderly becomes an important dilemma. In California "homes" have been established by Chinese for the care of their aged. Although there are no Chinese homes for the elderly in Pittsburgh as yet, the Chinese community sponsors certain activities exclusively for seniors such as luncheons about twice a year so that the elderly have the opportunity to "socialize" with each other.

Attitudes towards the Chinese have changed since Karen's childhood in Pittsburgh. She feels that the non-Chinese community is more open to Chinese children than before, particularly in extracurricular activities. She attributes this largely to two factors: 1) Pittsburgh is a small enough place so that feelings of communality are still fairly strong between most residents regardless of ethnic background, and 2) the conscious effort on the part of the Chinese to share their heritage with others through the medium of food and cultural activities such as the Pittsburgh Folk Festival and other community organizations. In other words, there's a much greater corridor of opportunity afforded to the young. And this is of course enhanced by the emphasis on education.

Of her own children, Karen says that they speak only a few words of Cantonese. The reason is that the dialects spoken by her husband's family and her own are not very mutually comprehensible, so that in-home communication has always been in English. She does keep her Chinese roots, however, in family visits to China, and her children have thus been exposed to their heritage that way. Being initially trained as a sociologist, she wishes to at some point go back for a lengthier stay.

When questioned about the worst scenario she could foresee for the Chinese community, Karen feared a resurgence of discrimination towards the Chinese due to the general economic slump in the country. She fears that the younger generations, because of their higher educational standards (stressed at home in childhood) are now in very close competition with the majority community for a shrinking job market, and in many cases are better qualified for the jobs. This situation may encourage resentment towards the Chinese. Other Asians, she feels, are aware of this predicament, and it is an issue that has brought the Asian communities together. This problem has to be addressed and dealt with. Another point she made was that efforts to mix with other people will play an important part in easing such tensions; minority communities can no longer afford to be complacent "enclaves."

Both the OCA and the Asian Women's Association are running

programs such as dinners for the homeless to evoke positive communal feelings.

As for the best kind of future, she feels that the uniqueness of America lies in its opportunities to share between communities, and to appreciate and respect each other.

Again, in Pittsburgh, groups do tend to attend cross-cultural functions and programs more than in other parts of the country.

Karen is an active participant and leader in community affairs. Currently, she is the president of the Asian Women's Association; professionally, she works for the Pennsylvania Welfare Office, besides being a mother and wife.

Case #2 [ES92-LM5-C]

Dr. Frank Liu is a very prominent member of the Chinese and Asian community. He currently holds or has held a number of high and influential positions in local, state and national organizations. He hails from Guangxi province in southern China. Dr. Liu came to the United States as a law student, and after Yale and the University of Texas, was appointed as the Director of the Law Library at Duquesne University in 1980.

Since coming to Pittsburgh, Dr. Liu has held several positions of importance in the OCA (he was both national and Pittsburgh president), and is presently on the Board for the

Folk Festival corporation, and is Chair of the Asian Coalition. He speaks of his concerns for not only the Chinese, but for other Asians in Pittsburgh and the United States. As far as Chinese activities, he points to the Chinese Church, the Chinese School (which tutors children under 12 in language, calligraphy, and dance), the OCA (which celebrates Chinese New Year in February and holds a banquet for city and county dignitaries), and the Folk Festival as being "community focal points." He feels that the Folk Festival has done the most in integrating and awakening awareness about Asians in Pittsburgh. The traditional dancing displayed during the festival is performed by local Chinese (see Appendix II). So far as the objectives of the Asian Coalition, it was formed to deal with political, legal, and social issues facing the Asians generally. He was particularly concerned about discrimination against the Asian minority, and would like to see Asians appointed at levels of city and county administration, even though (and precisely because) Asians represent well established professions.

When asked about how many cultural traditions his teenage son has retained, Dr. Liu pragmatically observes that it is not possible to pass the entirety of Chinese heritage to his son. It is only possible to instill values, not language, etc., because the world the young people live in is different.

Of course, he says, "Food will always be Chinese!"

Chinese like to gather in private homes to share food. The new craze at these social events is "karoaki," or singing into a microphone and having it connect into the television set. Larger activities are held at hotels or the church - wherever space can be rented. Dr. Liu would like to see the Chinese community own a building where they could carry out activities: "We'd love to have a place, though."

Although there is some intermarriage now with Caucasians, he feels that it is easier for a Chinese woman to marry a Caucasian man than the reverse. But the "norm" remains marriage within the Chinese community.

The Chinese community in Pittsburgh has been healthy since he's been here; in fact, it has even grown. Dr. Liu says that nowadays at events sponsored by the church or the OCA, he does not recognize a lot of the faces.

Dr. Liu would like to see the Pittsburgh economy improve, although he does not see any "emerging new industries" here. "I would like to see Pittsburgh grow more," he says. In his view, the Chinese and other Asians need to find a voice in the larger community by occupying "positions of authority" -- that is the only way that they can become more integrated into the mainstream. This is the reason that he enjoys his work with the Folk Festival so much; because in it, everyone's voice counts.

Case #3[ES92-LM6-C]

Mr. Xu is a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh, and has been here for seven years. The Chinese students, roughly around 350 at this university, are a little removed from the immigrant community. This is because they still have much stronger ties with their countries of origin (Taiwan, Hong Kong, China, etc.): their families are there. Even so, many of them will eventually find jobs and settle in this country. Others will return home, and still others like Mr. Xu, are undecided and a little apprehensive about the situation in China. Although he has not been back in five years, he already feels that he is quickly losing touch with events there.

The Tiananmen Square Incident of 1989 plays on his mind. And certainly it has affected the life of Chinese foreign students. Their student association was previously sponsored by the Chinese government. After the massacre, government support was retracted, and the University of Pittsburgh no longer has a Chinese student association (although Carnegie Mellon still does have one).

Mr. Xu says that the longer he stays here the less he is involved with the other Chinese students. This is because he now has an established circle of friends, as opposed to when he was a newly arrived student and tended to band together with other new arrivals from his country. There used to be a

Chinese Students House in Oakland as part of their organization. That, too, lost its funding after Tiananmen. Mr. Xu at one point was the volunteer manager of it. It was a place students could go to meet and socialize, play Chinese checkers and exchange information. Some students still go there, but it has stopped being a hub of activities. Instead, people meet in their homes.

Many of the students play traditional musical instruments and are good calligraphers, usually for the benefit of each other, although there are a few who play professionally.

Mr. Xu is hopeful for China's future. He thinks that China has to change to keep pace with the changes around the world, because it cannot afford to isolate itself. People who have settled in the U.S., in his view, are out of touch with the trends and realities in China; they tend to have stereotyped ideas about China. In our conversation, it was apparent that Dr. Xu was concerned that one day he too may become like that.

The Pittsburgh Indians

As the census data shows, Indians comprise the second-largest Asian group in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County. Perhaps more than the Chinese, they occupy professional positions in medicine and engineering, and are a fair portion of the science faculties at the universities. Their history

here, however, only began in the late 1960s, when U.S. immigration laws were relaxed for that part of the world. Most Indians who came here initially, came for professional reasons: because of the lack of opportunities and facilities in India in their specialized fields, particularly in medical and scientific research. Pittsburgh turned out to be an ideal place to pursue their professions, because of its numerous research-oriented hospitals and its industrial companies like Westinghouse, Alcoa, etc. Up until the late 1980s, Pittsburgh only had one or two restaurants and two Indian grocery stores.

The current immigrants are no longer only professionals - they are also businessmen. This is a trend occurring all over the United States, and has been caused by two things: first, in the early 1980s, Great Britain imposed strict immigration regulations on non-white British Commonwealth members; second, almost simultaneously the United States relaxed its restrictions on South Asian immigrants. Before, prospective immigrants were tightly screened for their educational and professional aptitudes; this screening has now been relaxed. In Pittsburgh, new restaurants (there are now at least five) and shops (no longer catering exclusively to Indians) are emerging.

Indians generally tend to be extraordinarily traditional in customs and attitude. They are also very religious. The Hindu Jain Temple and the Sri Venkateshwara Temple (located in

Monroeville-Penn Hills) are monuments to Indians' sense of cultural identities (for there are many kinds of Indians) as well as to their economic strength (see ES92-LM1-S # 1-7). These are also testaments to India's multiple cultures and regions. Some people think that the best "gift" the British gave to India was the English language, and most Indians, unless they hail from the same linguistic-regional-cultural area, use the foreign tongue for communication. Originally, only one temple had been envisioned for all Indians (I hesitate to use the word "community"). Very quickly, due to internal cultural divisions, the South Indians split off and invested in their own temple, with some financial help of a major temple (Tirupathi) in India, constructed the Sri Venkateshwara (SV) Temple which is visible from the parkway. This left the North Indians to fend for themselves, and a few years later, in 1986, they were able to buy land and consecrate the Hindu Jain Temple. This temple, unlike the SV temple, was supposed to cater to not one specific deity, but to the major deities of the North, so that in theory all North Indians would have access to their own gods. Currently there is a lot of dissatisfaction within the temples, brought about by regional differences. "Unity is diversity" is a truism for India and the Indian psyche, and Pittsburgh Indians certainly reflect this axiom. In other words, Pittsburgh Indians are a microcosm of their native country.

Temples have historically always been the loci of cultural activity. In the Indian tradition, one cannot divorce the religious from the mundane. The SV temple, in particular, is a center of cultural activity for South Indians in the region. Families will go on outings to the temple, not only for worship, but to eat, socialize, politick, have their children attend classes in the major South Indian languages, tutor themselves in the performing arts, and to attend special functions and recitals. On any weekend, the SV temple is abuzz. The Hindu Jain Temple is not as active, but provides space for regional functions. For example, the Bengali community (people who belong to West Bengal State, speak the Bengali language, and have their own unique deities and festivals) rents a part of the premises for their Durga Puja Festival held in September-October.

Pittsburgh is also fortunate to have some prominent Indians who actively promote the performing arts (dance and classical music) to the general public. Spic-Macay (Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music and Culture Amongst Youth) is a non-profit organization that invites illustrious artistes to perform for the general public free of charge, and sponsors several performances annually. Other performances by maestros such as Amjad Ali Khan and Zakir Hussain are possible due to the efforts of individuals like Dr. Dixit (see below).

Case #4 [ES92-LM7-C]

Dr. Balwant Dixit arrived in Pittsburgh 31 years ago as a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh. He remembers the days when Indians only numbered a handful compared to today, and says that he has seen the transformations within the group over the years.

When Dr. Dixit came to Pittsburgh in the early 1960s, there were only two or three families here - postdoctoral students and their wives. There were about 150 students living in Oakland at the time. Dr. Dixit describes that period as one in which Indians were a "homesick people" - there was no access to cultural activities, and one could not even eat Indian foods, as there were no grocery stores here.

Today there are, according to him about 3000 Indians in the Greater Pittsburgh area. The changing of the tide came in 1968-69 when new immigration laws were passed so that naturalized Indians were allowed to bring their dependents here. Simultaneously, highly educated and skilled professionals were needed in the U.S., and Indians migrated "in droves." Now, Dr. Dixit says, there is a mix of professionals and non-professionals: the latter tend to be the "dependents" (usually relatives outside the nuclear family) of the original immigrants.

He is an energetic promoter of Indian culture to the

American public, particularly of the performing arts. It is largely to his credit and labor that Pittsburgh gets such a high quality of performers from India.

Dr. Dixit is less concerned about what he calls "physical symbolism" manifested in buildings and structures. He is committed to establishing an awareness and appreciation of Indian culture(s) for both Indians and non-Indians through education. He thinks that because Pittsburgh is endowed with a number of universities, the promotion of Indian culture should occur through these institutions. At present he and a group of others are pursuing funding for an endowment to support a rigorous Indian Studies Program under the Asian Studies Program at the University of Pittsburgh. According to him, the first-generation Indians have preset dispositions and loyalties to their own cultures, their language, their worship, etc. Second-generation Indians, however, are caught between two worlds: that of their parents and that of their peers. Most of them do not even speak their native language, and need to be exposed to their cultures in a manner they can identify with. The younger Indians are becoming more "removed" from the parental generation - and the immigrant parents (very traditional for the most part) are fairly intolerant to the idea of assimilating their children into the mainstream. He cites the example of a friend's daughter - exceptionally educated - who was disowned by her parents

because she wanted to marry a non-Indian. He feels that this type of assimilation is positive and should be expected by the parents who, after all, chose to come here and raise their children in a different country. He recognizes that this kind of approach is not specific to Indians, and gives the example of Catholic parents opposed to marriage of their children with a Protestant. Dr. Dixit says that this is harmful, because the population of Indians is very small (~700,000 in the entire U.S.), and unlike other immigrant groups, they have been here only a short time.

Like other Asians, he is also concerned about the lack of voice in politics, and was a member of the Pittsburgh Ethnic Coalition, which included non-Asian ethnic minorities.

Case #5 [ES92-LM10-C]²

This interview was a combined interview with Mrs. Anuja Rao and her daughter Anila.

In October 1992, Anila performed her **arangetram** at the SV Temple in Penn Hills. The **arangetram** is a dance pupil's first solo performance in public with the blessing of her teacher, or **guru**. It shows the world both the talent of the student and the teacher, and demonstrates the range of the student's

²Please see the accompanying videotape of Anila Rao's dancing (ES92-LM1-V), which has full explanations of each dance. Also, see the attached program for Anila's performance.

expertise. When asked about the selection of the dances and music, Mrs. Rao says that they were selected on two levels: first, those **ragams** (song, tune, beat) which were most diverse and allowed for the spectrum of Anila's footwork and mood/expressiveness were chosen. Also, songs in the two Indian languages that Anila could understand, Telegu and Sanskrit, were picked so that her expressiveness would be highlighted through the songs' meaning to her. Second, those songs and dances relating to the gods that the Rao's themselves worship were selected: to Ganesh, Shiva, Devi, Dasratha, and Krishna.

The first dance to Ganesh, the Remover of All Obstacles, was preceded by the dancer's worship (**puja**) to him. Mrs. Rao mentions that what is not shown in the tape was the symbolic gesture of the teacher tying the bells on Anila's ankles prior to the performance, since it happened backstage.

The first part of the dance recital, says Mrs. Rao focusses on the more mechanical aspects of Bharatnatyam, those demonstrating Anila's footwork and stamina. The latter portion of the program highlights the expressiveness of Bharatnatyam, and in Anila's ability to show expressiveness and different moods such as devotion, love, affection, anger, etc.

Anila says she plans to continue dancing as long as her free time allows, since it involves intensive and regular practice. A tenth-grader now, college is only a couple of

years away and Mrs. Rao is unsure whether she will be able to continue with it. Anila has other interests besides Bharatnatyam: she plays soccer!

I asked them about Anila's **guru**. Mrs. Jaya Mani used to teach Bharatnatyam in India before joining her husband in the U.S. Mrs. Jaya Mani's husband is a faculty member at Slippery Rock University. Since she was quite well-known in India, the SV Temple asked her to teach dance there as a way of imparting Indian culture to the younger generation of Indians in Pittsburgh. She has been teaching for about 15 years now, and Anila is her 41st student to have performed **arangetram**. Mrs. Rao says that she does not give such permission to all her students, only about 4 or 5 a year. Even then it is a great load on the teacher, since it means that she has to choreograph about eight dances per student - around 40 a year.

Mrs. Rao proudly asserts that Anila's dances were the toughest Mrs. Mani has choreographed for any student so far. And if one views the videotape of the performance, Anila richly deserves her mother's pride in her!!

The Korean Community

The history of Korean immigration to Pittsburgh is similar to that of the Indians. They also arrived here initially as students, and later brought relatives and dependents to live with them. There are perhaps 1,000 Koreans

in Greater Pittsburgh (Post Gazette, 20-4-80), most of whom live in Squirrel Hill, Monroeville, Murraysville, and Fox Chapel. Although a number of them run small businesses (see newspaper cuttings), most Koreans are engaged in professional activities - at the hospitals and at Westinghouse Corporation in

The Koreans have attend several churches: one in the North Hills - although at this point it is leased from the Presbyterian Church, in Monroeville, in Downtown (Catholic), on Center Avenue (Methodist). Formerly, Korean services were held at the Sixth Presbyterian Church on Forbes Avenue. There is also a Korean Academy which was opened a couple of years ago to teach and transmit Korean language and culture to children. The school is held at the Bellefield Presbyterian Church in Oakland. Most of the children who attend, interestingly enough, are adopted children of American (Caucasian) parents. One often sees the parents participate in the activities with their little ones, and they too are tutored in the language.

Like other groups, Koreans have a Korean Association which organizes function, such as Korean New Year celebrations in the churches, and acts as an information broker for the community.

Mrs. Lee³ runs the Korean Academy in Oakland. She is a pharmacist by profession, in addition to which she also runs a small business (which she did not name). Mrs. Lee came to Pittsburgh about twenty years ago; her husband is an engineer (she did not say where). She identified two "waves" of immigrants that have come here, and says that the earlier ones were more highly educated than the more recent arrivals. She does not see the Koreans mixing much with non-Koreans, partially because Koreans have a difficult time speaking the English language.

She feels that the Korean War in the early 1950s made people aware of the United States (and of the West generally).

Prior to that, Koreans had been isolated from the world at large. Many South Koreans first left just after the War, because of the Communist threats from North Korea and China.

Most Koreans in the Pittsburgh area do not live in traditional extended families. Even parents and older people now live separately. This is due to the independence provided by U.S. Federal Government's social security system for elders here. In Korea, the old rely on their dependents for support.

Only a very small number of Korean families in Pittsburgh

³Mrs. Lee was very reluctant to do this interview, saying that she was afraid of giving "wrong" information and the possibility of a lawsuit. I was therefore very careful not to ask her specific and personal questions. Please see her release form to get an idea of her fear.

are Buddhist. By and large they are of Protestant Christian faith. Mrs. Lee feels that churches are not enough to unite Koreans as a group. What they really need is a Korean community center to which all Koreans have access. At present, the churches provide some social activities: lunch and tea on Sundays, and New Year's celebrations.

With grown children of her own, Mrs. Lee feels that the younger generation is losing much of the Korean traditions. It is why she takes a keen interest in running the Korean Academy, so that in the future, other children will have had the opportunity to know their roots. Unfortunately, the Academy has funding constraints (as well as housing constraints) and is not able to tutor adolescents and teenagers at present. Many young people feel that they don't have an identity, she says. Many of the second generation that she knew as children are no longer in Pittsburgh. They leave because of college and job opportunities elsewhere.

The worst thing that Mrs. Lee sees happening is that the Korean community may disintegrate in the sense of a support base, as peoples' ties with each other diminish over time - another reason for the importance of establishing a center for the Koreans.

The most positive thing to happen would be to solidify and unite the Korean community beyond the level of the churches, which after all, have their own special agendas.

"Because they're Korean, we should be able to talk.... That's what I'd like to see."

The Japanese in Pittsburgh

The majority of Japanese in the Greater Pittsburgh area, and more than 3/4 of those listed in the directory of the Japanese Society (shown to me by Mrs. Shimizu), are temporary visitors working in highly skilled technical and scientific professions, or conducting research on a temporary basis. They are what may be called a community of "visitors." The reasons for this peculiar status is that Japan today does not need to "export" its best people. It is economically stronger than the U.S., and enjoys a high standard of living. Japan is noted for its success in sophisticated technologies.

This was not the case for those caught in the United States during World War II, when all Japanese were looked on with suspicion and transported to and housed in concentration camps. Not many of these "original" Japanese reside in the Pittsburgh area, although there are one or two such people (see Appendix).

After World War II, the healing/recovery period after the nuclear devastation meant that some highly educated scholars and scientists were not able to pursue their skills in Japan for lack of facilities (and probably also due to priorities in the government rebuilding agenda) - in some fields of physics,

for instance. So it was that between 20-30 years ago many Japanese sought academic and scientific solace in the United States. Many initially came as graduate students.

The current prosperity in Japan provides no incentive to remain here and become full-fledged citizens; most Japanese residents here hope to return home after a period of time, when their contracts expire, or when they retire. A lot of Japanese also come in an advisory/supervisory capacity in the technological and scientific fields; their tenure is even shorter, sometimes only a month. The primary role of the Japanese Society is to coordinate the movements of the Japanese in Pittsburgh - to initiate them into life in a different country, and make them feel as much at home as possible. This is of course, the responsibility of those who have been here longer.

Because the longterm plans are to return to Japan in the future, children are often tutored according to the Japanese school curriculum in addition to attending regular American school in Pittsburgh public school system. There is a Japanese School currently run by Mr. Ezawa (Principal) which is in session on Sundays from 12:45 p.m. to 4:45 p.m. at the Rodef Shalom Temple in Oakland.

Case #7 [ES92-LM4-C]

Mrs. Shimizu is the present secretary of the Japanese

Society and lives in Squirrel Hill, Pittsburgh. Her husband is a physicist who came here 13 years ago. Although they got their residency permits three years ago, they are undecided about their future in this country. She says that her two young boys have "two nationalities."

When asked about the proportion of Japanese who have taken American citizenship, Mrs. Shimizu responded that it depended on the circumstance and a person's position. Often, people took American citizenship in order to have access to grant money for their projects (NASA, NSF, etc.).

Mrs. Shimizu pointed out that for women, it was all right to be here with their husbands for their husbands' work; but in the end, if anything were to happen to him, women preferred to be home in Japan where they would have the advantage of being in their own culture and having the support of family and friends.

Her children were born in Pittsburgh, and know Japanese because it is the language spoken in their home. Mrs. Shimizu says that her short-term Japanese neighbors sometimes have difficulty balancing the two "nationalities" of their children; on the one hand their English skills are poor, but on the other, enforcing English in the home will make them forget Japanese, which creates problems when they return to Japan. She feels that the pressure most parents put on their children of a double education is ultimately detrimental to

both kids and parents. Her own boys go to the Japanese School at Rodef Shalom for three hours every Sunday to learn the language and to have lessons in math. She also observes that her eldest son thinks of himself as American, and resents the double work, and so she does not force him any more.

Mrs. Shimizu says that the newer Japanese in the United States are not like those that came previously. The ones that come now are rich and to an extent "spoilt" because they do not have to work as hard now to be able to afford the comforts of life. In many ways they are not as professionally committed or serious. They are almost like "travellers" in the United States, who spend a lot of time sightseeing in the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone Park, etc. When they return to Japan, they get a lot of prestige for their relative fluency in English (even though, Mrs. Shimizu says, they are afraid to speak it here and so make very few American friends!). Mrs. Shimizu feels that there is a great difference between the old and new Japanese in Pittsburgh, and that at times it is even hard for them to carry on a conversation with each other.

Case #8 [ES92-LM12-C]

Prof. Harold Sasahara⁴ teaches the older form of what is popularly known in the United States as Ikebana. The art

⁴Please see the appended biographical note on Prof. Sasahara, which gives more qualifications and details about his work. There is also a note on Ikenobo Ikebana which is attached. I obtained both of these from him.

Prof. Sasahara teaches is correctly called Ikenobo Ikebana. Prof. Sasahara's teaching commitments used to span four states - Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York. Today, at the age of over 90, Prof. Sasahara says that he no longer goes to New York or Michigan, but still travels to three cities in Ohio several times a year to teach his craft. Locally, in Pittsburgh, there are three flower arrangement groups that he meets with. One of them meets monthly at the Pittsburgh Garden Center in Shadyside.

Japanese flower arrangement, says Prof. Sasahara, is based on the three dimensions of heaven, sky, and earth; this is the ethical philosophy that forms the basis of Japanese flower arrangement. Thus all Japanese flower arrangements are principally triple-layered. Prof. Sasahara does not do bonzai, or Japanese horticulture, which is similarly based in this principle. Having been raised in Japan, Dr. Sasahara says that it is the kids who do bonzai in their home gardens by watching and practicing, so that all Japanese have done a certain amount of bonzai work.

Prof. Sasahara came to the U.S. in 1913, and lived in California for about thirty years. When Japan and the U.S. became involved in World War II, Prof. Sasahara's family was forcibly evacuated and put into a concentration camp (one of 11) in Arizona. The policy was at that time was that with government clearance, some Japanese were permitted to relocate

to the Eastern United States. Since Prof. Sasahara's son and daughter were at the age at which they were to enter college, Prof. Sasahara applied for a permit, and relocated to Cleveland, Ohio. Cleveland was where Prof. Sasahara began his teaching career 45 years ago. About 15 years ago, Prof. Sasahara retired, and he and his wife Blanche came to live with their daughter in Pittsburgh. Prof. Sasahara says that his daughter needed someone to "babysit" her children, and that her need was greater than his son's in Boston. Prof. Sasahara's son-in-law, Dr. Avery, is now a semi-retired Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh.

Of the three local groups Prof. Sasahara teaches at the Garden Center in Pittsburgh, each group consists of between 25-30 students who are mostly non-Japanese and older [see ES92-LM2-S # 13-19; ES92-LM3-S # 1-3). Most of Prof. Sasahara's students are women, which he says is the opposite of Japan: in Japan it is the men who are involved in flower arranging, because women are too busy with domestic work. Almost all the great masters of Ikebana , Prof. Sasahara asserts, have been men. Learning Ikebana is different in Japan, says Prof. Sasahara, is different from how it is done here. The training takes many years before one is considered a "master" of Ikebana, and training formally begins at a very young age. There are flower arranging institutes, and almost every offers courses in it; therefore it a part of the

academic curriculum, rather than a hobby. Prof. Sasahara used to teach at the Carnegie Museum and at the University of Pittsburgh, but because of the heavy work load, has had to drop those classes.

Prof. Sasahara went back to Japan for the first time in 1981 after 68 years. He said he did not recognize much: "The only thing that reminded me that I was in Japan was that the people on the street were all Japanese!" In 1983, Prof. went to visit Japan again, this time to receive "The Decoration of the 6th Class of the Sacred Treasure" from the Emperor and the Japanese Government for his role in promoting appreciation for Japanese culture through Ikenobo Ikebana in the United States.

Case #9 [ES92-LM12-C]

Ellen Madono is a doctoral student in the School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh. When she and her family (her two children are 10 and 15 years old now) came to Pittsburgh 10 years ago, they were interested in educating their children in the Japanese language and in the Japanese math curriculum. Mrs. Madono's husband was the Principal and a member of the board of directors of the Japanese School at the time of its inception. When asked about the Rodef Shalom connection, Mrs. Madono said that there was a Japanese violinist with the Pittsburgh Symphony who was married to a member of the Rodef Shalom congregation. It was through him

that the site for the school was negotiated, and Mr. Madono during his term as the Principal of the Japanese School, took great care to nurture the relationship, which remains very "cordial." The teachers in the school are volunteers, usually college students at the University of Pittsburgh. The youngest Japanese children who attend the school are pre-schoolers of about 3 years; the school continues through the high school curriculum. In the beginning the school only had 30 or so students; today there are about 150. Mrs. Madono feels that the Japanese community in Pittsburgh has expanded over the 10 years she has lived here, particularly because of the Sony Corporation (Wexford). Although the core of more permanent or long-term Japanese residents in the area run the school, Ellen feels that the number of more transient Japanese in the business/corporate community has increased dramatically.

According to Mrs. Madono, the philosophy of how to run the school is undergoing transformation due to the conflicting interests of some parents who wish to continue the school in the traditional "egalitarian" manner found in Japan, and those who wish to make the education more formalized and standardized. The curriculum of Japanese and mathematics taught in the Japanese School follows the standard curriculum taught in schools in Japan, and is accredited by the Japanese Ministry of Education. According to Mrs. Madono, there is a

group of parents who wish to introduce entrance exams to the school, and to separate the children into an "elite" group and a "substandard" group: this is in contrast to the policies of school education in Japan. At the present time, there is no testing or examinations in the school. Part of the problem, says Mrs. Madono is that some Japanese think that the textbooks (which are donated by the Japanese Ministry of Education) should be emphasized, since the teachers are not formally trained.

The Japanese School sponsors some cultural activities for the students and parents. Mrs. Madono says that the two biggest extracurricular activities are the "Athletic Day" held in the Fall, and New Year (standard) celebrations. Athletic Day is held usually in some quiet and out-of-the-way field, and involves students, parents, and teachers. Since the Japanese School is a greater focus of interest and activity for the Japanese than the Japanese Society, according to Mrs. Madono, the Japanese Society is attempting to combine their New Year's celebration with that of the Japanese School's. Aside from these activities, the Japanese children perform annual skits, recitals, and keep "books" in which they write essays. The parents also give a dinner in appreciation of the teachers every year.

Of all the Asian groups considered, the Syrian/Lebanese have had direct experience in the steel mills of this area. There are two reasons why this is so: first, the Syrians who immigrated here - as far back as the early 1900s - were of Christian faith. With the vast number of ethnic denominations formed by the steel labor force, their churches was no different or any stranger than the others being established at the time. Second, because of their light skin and Mediterranean features, they were not easily singled out for discrimination, and could blend in more easily into the workplace. Most were escaping the domination of the Ottomans in their homelands, who were Muslims.

Most Syrian/Lebanese belong to the Maronite Catholic and Syrian Orthodox denominations. The heaviest concentration of Syrian/Lebanese in Allegheny County initially was the Hill District in Pittsburgh, around the area where the Civic Arena now stands. According to Mrs. Khalil, it was not an exclusively Arab neighborhood; there was a healthy combination of a number of groups there.

The Syrian Orthodox Church, originally located on Bedford Avenue in the Hill District, eventually moved to Dawson Street in Oakland, and is now called St. George Orthodox Antiochian Church (see ES92-LM2-S # 1-12; ES92-LM8-C). The Maronite Catholic congregation (St. Anne's on Fullerton St., and mostly Lebanese) relocated to Brookline, and is now called Our Lady

of Victory Church (Clarke, 1983).

Aside from working in the steel mills and factories, the early Christian Arabs found a rich niche as peddlars. They would each have their own circuit around the towns in most of the counties of southwestern Pennsylvania, and would peddle groceries, clothing, housewares, etc., to communities without transport. Often they would take the train and then walk door to door with their merchandise (Clarke, 1983; interview).

Today most of the Arabs in Allegheny County are businessmen, running restaurants and stores. As a group they also own a lot of commercial properties. Education for the descendant generations is emphasized by the parents, and many Arabs hold professional jobs, particularly in medicine. In other words, the early immigrants built the base on which their young could compete through higher education.

It is interesting that the Christian Arabs hail from very specific areas in their homelands, and maintain strong ties with their native villages and with each other in this country. One of the annual highlights is the get-together of people and families linked with their place of origin; they converge in Pittsburgh from all over the country for these occasions. And these links have been maintained over the several generations they have been here.

Aggie Khalil's orphaned mother arrived in Pittsburgh around 1907 as a 2-year old with her uncle's family who were emigrating to the United States from Syria. Her "grandfather" was a sheikh in Syria. It is interesting that once in Rankin, her "grandmother" became a peddler. She would receive her supplies there and sell them in the Rankin-Braddock area. Her grandmother on her father's side was also a peddler, but her circuit was much farther afield; she would go from Kittanning (Armstrong County) to West Virginia. She catered to regular customers en route. Of course such women peddlers did not make these journeys alone, but were accompanied by other peddlers in their community. They used the train and then would walk into rural towns that were not linked by rail, carrying their heavy packs.

Aside from Homestead and Pittsburgh's Hill District, some Christian Arabs lived in the South Hills. When they had to disperse from the Hill, many of them moved into Brookline, primarily for its terrain. Mrs. Khalil says that it reminded them of the mountains in their own country. Early occupations among the Syrians and Lebanese were small businesses: "mom-and-pop" stores, tailors, shoemakers, milk and ice delivery drivers, etc. In other words, they chiefly worked in the support and service industry.

Mrs. Khalil's father and some of his relatives worked briefly in the coalmines of West Virginia. When the War broke

out (World War II?), he worked on Neville Island, and then for Edgar Thompson Steel in Braddock until he retired. Her uncle from Rankin was active in the local Homestead labor union, and was jailed frequently for his participation. One of her cousins (now deceased) became extremely prominent in the steel industry, and attended the inauguration of many mills in Japan and Germany during the reconstruction period after the Second World War. Her cousin, who retired in 1963, was the last member of her close family to have worked in the steel industry, although more distant relations continued to work until the demise of the industry.

Most of the Syrians in Pittsburgh come from the Hosn area in Syria, from a mountainous region. Mrs. Khalil's own side of the family comes from a village in the lower valley, whereas her husband hails from the village of Miklos, higher up the slope, but within walking distance. There continues to be a lot of marriage between Pittsburgh Syrians with those in Syria. Pittsburgh Syrians often visit and invest in their villages of origin in Syria. Of course this maintains strong ties and networks among them. There is an annual gathering of people from Miklos held in Pittsburgh, to which friends and relatives who hail from there come from all parts of the United States. Mrs. Khalil has seen the attendance to this function drop over the last decade - and a lesser proportion of young people attend. Before over a thousand used to come,

and now they only come in the hundreds. She feels that it is mostly due to a more hectic lifestyle, where people cannot take leave from their jobs.

Mrs. Khalil is very proud of her daughters who hold college degrees. Her oldest daughter, Tammy, went back to her home village in Syria to do research on a Fullbright scholarship. She is now married with small children. According to Mrs. Khalil, she is exceptional in that she consciously strives to uphold Syrian traditions and the language. Most of the younger people today are assimilating at a rapid pace at the cost of losing their heritage. Although Mrs. Khalil feels that this is inevitable, and in some senses positive, there is a sense of sadness at what is being lost.

Filipinos in Pittsburgh

One of the more invisible Asian groups in Pittsburgh, the Filipinos began to arrive in the early 1970s. Like the Indians, Koreans, and Japanese, the Filipinos belong to the professional class. According to Dr. Abola, there are about 400-500 families of Filipinos in the Greater Pittsburgh and Butler areas. There are no Filipino "enclaves," however, and Filipinos are spread over many neighborhoods. The census indicates that aside from the city of Pittsburgh itself, significant numbers of Filipinos live in McCandless,

Monroeville, Upper St. Clair, Mt. Lebanon, Moon Township, and Ross Township within Allegheny County. Occupationally, Filipinos are more heavily employed in the medical and engineering fields, Westinghouse (Monroeville) and U.S. Steel providing a bulk of employment for engineers. Most Filipinos came to Pittsburgh as students or trainees.

The Philippines is a diverse country with 11 separate languages and cultures. Again, they are not unlike Indians in this regard. Because of a half century of American influence in the Philippines, all Filipinos speak fluent English as well as their national language, Tagalog. The fact that they are culturally diverse, but yet numerically small in the Allegheny County area is probably the primary reason why Filipinos are so amorphous in terms of their cultural visibility. To socialize, they meet informally in small groups (Dr. Abola mentions a group that meets weekly to go bowling), usually composed of people who come from the same area or culture in the Philippines. There is a Filipino Organization, but its primary function is to organize traditional dancing.

Case #11 [ES92-LM9-C]

Dr. Abola, in the Department of Crystallography at the University of Pittsburgh, came to Pittsburgh as a student in 1971, and now heads the Filipino Organization of Pittsburgh. He stresses the diversity of the Filipinos, and states that

one of the factors contributing to the limited activity of the Filipinos as a community here is that they are so dispersed as to where they reside here.

According to Dr. Abola, the Filipinos found it easy to blend into American culture when they first came to the U.S., having experienced much of it (American culture) when they were in the Philippines. From personal experience, Dr. Abola feels that over the years the realization that they "are not the same" as Americans gradually became apparent to him, and he also feels that his case is not different from the experience of other Filipinos in America. The Filipino experience in America, he says, is a mixed one of disappointments and opportunities.

Mr. Abola says that Filipinos keep up very close ties with their native country, and most of them return to the Philippines eventually, usually after having earned a fair amount of income in the U.S.

When asked about what cultural traditions were being taught to the Filipino children born and raised in the U.S., Dr. Abola said that for a time there was an effort to formally teach Tagalog through the Filipino Organization, but it was not very successful, and so was discontinued. The younger generation of Filipinos do not really speak Tagalog; if it is taught at all, it is taught informally in the home. My guess would be that the preference of Filipino parents would be to

teach their particular regional language rather than the national one. Dr. Abola points out that it is difficult to speak the native language with the children because the children are so comfortable with English, as are the parents; so it is simpler just to speak English.

The young people are, however, quite enthusiastic about learning traditional Filipino folk dancing, says Dr. Abola. The Filipinos practice dancing in the community room of the Monroeville Mall. Teaching dancing initially began with Filipino participation in the Pittsburgh Folk Festival, as a means of preparing for the festival. It sparked a lot of interest and enthusiasm in the Filipino children, and has since continued as probably the only activity that the Filipino community participates in. Dr. Abola feels that it is an excellent "vehicle" with which to teach Filipino culture to the kids. There are no formal teachers; sometimes parents will take turns teaching, sometimes the older children (high school age) teach younger ones, and still other times professional dancers may come to Pittsburgh from the Philippines and spend some time teaching here. At the moment the Filipinos are looking for a more permanent place in which to perform this activity, says Dr. Abola. Some Filipino teenagers have become so enthusiastic about dancing that they have joined a professional Hawaiian dancing troupe which performs readily at the Radisson Hotel Dinner Theater in

Monroeville. The leader of the group is Hawaiian, but because of the similarities in Polynesian dancing, many of the Filipino youngsters have taken the opportunity to put their artistic interests to practical use, says Dr. Abola.

The Vietnamese

Among the groups which I elected to investigate, the Vietnamese was the community which I could not access at all; this section is therefore drawn from literature on the Vietnamese, and an account of some of the obstacles I faced in contacting them. I also suggest reasons for the Vietnamese being a particularly "closed" community due to their status as refugees.

Unlike most other Asian communities who came to the United States largely for economic and professional reasons, the Vietnamese are political refugees. This status is always difficult for individuals and groups who are refugees in any part of the world, since their status is synonymous with cultural, economic, and political displacement and loss. They are, in other words, victims of forces beyond their control, and once having fled their country, helpless (in most cases) to directly influence or change the political atmosphere in their home country. In addition, the trauma of personal and cultural losses linger sometimes for several generations. I have had close contact with Tibetan refugees in India; they

are, however, one of the more "fortunate" refugee groups because they have an inbuilt structural identity with the exiled government of the Dalai Lama which oversees and ensures cultural continuity. Most refugee groups, the Vietnamese very much included, do not have this "luxury," and must rebuild their identity in foreign soils where the larger cultures and environments are totally alien. This, of course, takes a long time to achieve. One of the Vietnamese I spoke with informally (an employee at Alpha Books in Homestead) when I was trying to initiate a formal interview - which he declined - said that he had come to Pittsburgh from California to work in the family business, and that he was miserable here because he was unused to the cold climate.

The relationship of the Vietnamese with the United States is, of course, complex and probably ambivalent from the both perspectives. There may be added stress with the idea of having resettled in the country which was so involved in the Vietnam civil war, and in the destruction of the homeland.

The bulk of Vietnamese refugees arrived in the United States, first on the West Coast, in the mid-late 1970s. According to an article in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (March 12, 1979), one refugee resettlement program, the Southeast Asia resettlement Office run by the Pittsburgh Diocese, had resettled 900 individuals, or between 150-200 families in a span of two years. Several newspaper articles (see attached

articles) mention that one of the reasons the Vietnamese found resettlement so difficult was the problem of language. The Connelly Learning Center in the Hill District of Pittsburgh was one of the places the Vietnamese learned English as a part of the resettlement program.

Newspaper articles (Pittsburgh Press, March 13, 1981; Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, April 13, 1981) in early 1981 reveal that there were some administrative problems with the Vietnamese refugees in Pittsburgh, and as a protest to mismanagement, a committee of about 40 Vietnamese formed "The Committee of Frank Chinh's Victims." Frank Chinh was the man in charge of Vietnamese refugees for the Southeast Asia Resettlement Office. According to these same articles, it is clear that the number of Vietnamese in Greater Pittsburgh was not precisely known: the articles mention anywhere between 1,600 and 2,500. The Vietnamese concentration, according to the articles, seems to have been on the North Side.

This discrepancy in numbers may be due to the Vietnamese themselves moving in and out of the city at different times. This was a part of my problem in contacting them. Also unlike other Asian communities in Pittsburgh, the Vietnamese are primarily small businessmen, with several small businesses (see ES92-LM3-S for pictures) not only in Pittsburgh, but networked with their relatives in other parts of the United States, particularly in New York, and perhaps as far west as

California. This situation makes them travel to other cities, and makes it difficult for a fieldworker to contact them. This happened to me with Mr. Dang, the Vice-President of the Vietnamese Association, Mr. Coi Nguyen, the president, and with Lisa Yahan, a graduate student. The two former persons were out of town on business, and Ms. Yahan was on her way to New York. Part of the problem is also that the Vietnamese business community does not have a precise schedule, and therefore often do not know whether they will be available at any time.

According to the 1990 census, and shown in Table 1, the Vietnamese in the Pittsburgh area, besides the North Side, are concentrated in varying degrees in Dormont, Mt. Lebanon, Homestead and Munhall, and Upper St. Clair. This is interesting because it demonstrates the range of economic class within the Vietnamese community. My guess would be that those Vietnamese living in the more expensive areas such as Upper St. Clair would tend to be professional Vietnamese, most likely in the medical field.

It is difficult to speak to the Vietnamese over the telephone for several reasons: first, language is still a problem with the older generation, the original refugees, who run the community. Second, there is a sense of wariness which may be attributed in itself to the community being in the center of media attention when they first arrived in the

United States (and Pittsburgh), to the feeling of ambivalence mentioned earlier, and to the fact that the resettlement trauma in terms of their cultural continuity may be sharper today. As the younger generation becomes more "American" than "Vietnamese," there may be a fear of culture loss, especially with the unlikelihood of ever returning to Vietnam. These latter problems are probably much deeper within the community, as it separates the generations sharply. These are mere speculations on my part, but it seems typical of the refugee situation to want to return to their homeland at some point in the future, since they are not refugees by choice, but by the necessity to survive.

In conclusion, because of their unique predicament, the Vietnamese community in Pittsburgh needs special attention and penetration if one wants to understand their cultural experience.

Conclusions and Recommendations

From the information gathered for this project, several underlying problems facing the Asians (apart from the Christian Arabs) can be identified. First, there seems to be a distinction within each group between older and newer immigrants. While some reasons for this may be historically

specific to the home countries, there is also a commonality they share by virtue of coming from developing countries (the earlier Japanese and Koreans may be thus classified). Second, there is a real consciousness amongst Asians about their lack of voice in the larger community. Third, the major dilemma with a growing second generation is the paradox presented by cultural retention and assimilation.

There is notably one community that this research was not able to penetrate at all: the Vietnamese. Others of mention are Indonesians, Thai, Asian Muslims (Arab, Pakistani, Afghan, etc.), and Cambodian/Hmong. It is not feasible to gain entrance into all these communities singly, given the limits of time.

Another problem has been to integrate steel history with Asian immigrant history. For the most part they are unrelated, and I found myself dropping that line of questioning almost completely.

My major recommendation would be, that if a study of Asians - even at the level of a "survey" - is to be pursued in any depth, a researcher should be assigned to cover each community. Often it takes time to create rapport and contacts, and focus on a single community for each fieldworker would be far more profitable.

There are some suggestions also as far as the role of the SIHC and Cultural Conservation is concerned. Since most of

the organizations are not necessarily stable in the sense of having an office, permanent paid positions, formal agenda, etc., but may be more aptly described as "floating associations," it is more difficult to gain entry into the "community": one only gains entry into a part of the total community. I believe that this research has identified several avenues through which the SIHC can pursue a close association with some Asian groups so long as SIHC recognizes that none of these communities are homogeneous. Some suggestions are embedded in within the sections describing the communities. So for instance, the Koreans and the Filipinos said repeatedly that they would like to have a more permanent site (building) in which to conduct their cultural activities.

Even if the Koreans have churches available for doing some of these activities, often the activities may be inappropriate to a religious setting. More importantly, it discriminates against non-religious persons or those who do not belong to the Christian faith. One role the SIHC may adopt as an initial entry would be to help locate sites for cultural activities. SIHC may also promote individual "tradition-bearers" within the communities through either sponsorship or by creating a resource network between individuals where their traditions may best be "displayed," such as museums, theaters, universities, demonstrations and lectures, etc. on a continuing all-year basis rather than the annual Folk

Festival.

Of course, much more intense work has to be conducted within each community in order to arrive at a full list of "tradition-bearers" and opinions of the cross-section of members in each community, before SIHC can properly assess how it might interact with the Asian communities to their mutual benefit.

Annotated Bibliography

Archives at the University of Pittsburgh

Ethnic Groups of Western Pennsylvania collection has several boxes on the Chinese. They include minutes files and committee reports for the OCA. Also directories and membership cards.

Gigler, Rich*

Symbolic Sewing. The Pittsburgh Press Roto, June 14, 1981.

Article about the Hmong needlework exhibit at the Pittsburgh Center for the Arts. Background of the patterns and their religious significance along with a brief "history" of the people.

Growald, R.H.

Vietnam to City: Saga of 2 Boat People. The Pittsburgh Press, July 29, 1979.

Account of a couple en route to Pittsburgh, to highlight the significance of finding a home here. Experiences at refugee camps, the Malay police, etc.

Kiely, Kathy

Call Us Lucky, Viet Boat People Say Here. Post-Gazette, July 30, 1979.

Account of the escape of a couple.

Mark, Diane Mei Lin and Ginger Chih

1982 A Place Called Chinese America. Washington, DC: Organization of Chinese Americans.

A good general source on the immigration history of the Chinese in the U.S..

Pitler, Alexander Zerfel

1930 The Hill District in Pittsburgh: A study in succession. Dissertation, the University of Pittsburgh.

A detailed study of the different phases of development.

It is interesting in its relevance to the Christian Arabs.

Thomas, Clarke

1983 They Came to ... Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh: Post-Gazette.

Newspaper clippings of this journalist's coverage of ethnic communities over the years. Some information, mostly vignettes.

Vondas, Jerry

Arranged Marriages: Many Hindus here cling to the old tradition. The Pittsburgh Press, August 1,

1984.

About Indian traditional and non-traditional marriages,
with particular references to opinions within the group.
The dilemma of intermarriage. Some data questionable.

Wisser, W.

Area Hindus Build Temple, Pride. The Pittsburgh Press, June 3, 1979.

Opinions and elation of Indians. Something was "missing" from their lives. Description of structure and deities.

Worldview Productions

1979 "Consecration of a Temple" (film). Madison.

The history and consecration of the Sri Venkateshwara Temple in 1979 is recorded on film. It gives a brief account of the development of the idea, the objectives, and the building process itself.

Wu, Chien-shiung

1983 The Chinese in Pittsburgh: A changing minority community. Dissertation, the University of Pittsburgh.

A detailed and thoroughly researched - archival and contemporary - study of the past and present of the Chinese. It recounts their story from all possible angles, and provides the single comprehensive source of information on the topic.

*Other newspaper and magazine clippings are appended.

APPENDIX 1

Interview Question Guideline

HISTORY

When did the family come? From where? Specifics. Were there already members of the community/family here?

Was the family extended or nuclear?

Where (in the area) was the community concentrated? Are they still there? Where have they dispersed?

What occupations did people of the community/group/family have when they first came?

Did anyone in the family work in the steel industry? Where? In coalmines? Glass? Coke plants?

What were their experiences with the union? Was there any sense of discrimination?

Who was the last member of the family to work in steel-related industry? Are they still living? Name?

Were women involved in earning money in the early days? What types of work did they undertake to help support the family?

What were the organizations they first formed here (churches, clubs, etc.). Were these open to men and women, or did each have their own?

What sorts of activities took place within these organizations? Where were they located? Are any of them still active? Which? Where are they located now?

What types of relationships existed between your ethnic group and others?

Are there any locations (buildings, sites) in the area that have special meaning to the family? To the community?

What specific traditional cultural skills were brought to the area? (Needlework, crafts, cooking, woodwork, music, dance, etc.).

How and to what extent were these skills transmitted? Who were the bearers of these traditions? How were they taught - formally, informally?

What was the language spoken within the 1) family and 2)community in the past? How was it taught?

Was marriage usually within the community - in Pittsburgh, or outside? How did people meet?

How large was the membership of your congregation? What is it now?

CONTEMPORARY CONCERNS

Do you feel, generally, that your cultural identity is being maintained, or lost? What are the signs?

In what occupations are members of your community now? What occupation are you/your family in? (Professional - what, business - what).

What is the highest level of education in the family?

Which economic class would you consider you belonged to?

Has your church or other community organizations relocated? Where? Why?

How has the social life of your community changed through the years? On what occasions would you meet before? Which ones do people attend now?

Is your language spoken in the home, in church or other social/religious occasions?

How are traditions taught to children now? Who are the bearers of tradition now?

What types of traditions, ritual, and skills are being maintained?

Is religion (church services) performed in the traditional way? What is the language of the service? Have any of the formal rituals and ceremonies been modified/changed?

How have the roles of men and women changed?

How are marriage practices different from earlier? Is there significant intermarriage now?

Do you feel that too many young people are leaving the area? What is the primary reason?

When they leave, do they usually go to places where there are existing family or communal ties?

How has the structure of the family changed?

What is the worst thing you can see happening in the future as far as your community - and family - are concerned? The city of Pittsburgh?

What is the best scenario you envision for the future? What types of things can be done to bring it about?

APPENDIX II

List of Follow-Up Contacts

Chinese:

Albert Wang (OCA president)
Good source for pinpointing "culture-bearers" in the community, and information on current OCA activities.

Dr. Tom and Lily Chen
Teach traditional dance, and can be a good resource for cultural activities.

Indian:

Sanjay Bhattacharjee
Excellent sarod player.

Anuja and Dittakavi Rao
Parents of Anila Rao who is a Bharatnatyam dance student. The family is very involved in the cultural activities at the SV Temple.

Mrs. Jaya Mani
Teaches Bharatnatyam (one form of classical Indian dance) at the SV Temple. Contact at the SV Temple number.

Japanese:

Harold Sasahara
Survivor of concentration camp in the U.S. Very involved in flower arrangement.

George Kitazawa
His mother is over a hundred, and would be a good source for Japanese history in Pittsburgh.

Mr. Ezawa
Principal, Japanese School at Rodef Shalom

Lebanese/Syrian:

Zelfa Khalil

Nationally recognized player of traditional drums.

Filipino:

Nelly Hooley

Teaches Filipino dancing

Vietnamese:

Mr. Nhuan Dang

Vice-President, Vietnamese Association

Lisa Yahan

Knowledgeable about the Vietnamese, and a good source for
other contacts in the community.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS

Chinese

Organization of Chinese Americans (Pittsburgh Chapter)

Albert Wang (President): 337-2362

Pittsburgh Chinese Church

931-4098

Indian

Hindu Jain Temple

325-2073

Shirdi Sai Baba Temple

823-1296/374-9244

Sri Venkateshwara Temple

373-3380

Spic-Macay

Contact Carnegie Mellon Graduate Students Organization

Bengali Association

Korean Academy

Indian Students Association

Korean

Korean Association

Korean Central Church of Pittsburgh
Rev. Chung: 687-7775

Korean United Presbyterian Church
369-9470

First United Methodist Church (Korean)
681-4222
Rev. Jinwook Jeong: 683-9791 (Off.)

Japanese

Japanese School
Mr. Ezawa (Principal): 422-4428

Japanese Society
Mrs. Shimizu (Secretary): 421-5159

Vietnamese

Vietnamese Association
Mr. Coi Nguyen (President): 621-2271/682-7853

Syrian/Lebanese

St. George Antiochian Orthodox Church
681-2988

Our Lady of Victory Maronite Catholic Church
531-4234

Filipino

Filipino Organization of Pittsburgh

Miscellaneous

Asian Women's Association