Politics on Parade: Immigration, Ethnicity and National Identity in Chicago, IL

by

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ABSTRACT

Parades are many things. They are treasured annual traditions, community gatherings, expressions of identity and pride. Parades interrupt the daily flow of city life, rerouting traffic, crowding sidewalks and public transportation, and interrupting business activities. Parades are revealing. They are a stage for the performance of identities and interests that are otherwise invisible to the average city resident. Parades are deceptive. They present an image of unity and order that belies the messy and contested nature of collective identity formation. They appear to be emergent cultural practices, but they are more likely aggregate culture than to produce it. They embody stable relationships as much as they inspire spontaneous participation. Parades are public expressions of communities' identities, interests, and values. As such they are like distorted mirrors reflecting the hopes and fears of not just one community but many communities and ultimately of the larger society.

This dissertation examines one type of parade – the American ethnic parade – to understand the shifting meaning of ethnicity and nationalism in Chicago, Illinois, from its origins in the nineteenth century to its present twenty-first century context. The question driving this research is how national identities can accommodate change and incorporate new members (such as immigrants and minorities). More specifically, it examines what ethnic parades in one American city can tell us about this process. An in-depth historical analysis uses the history of ethnic parades in Chicago to explore the shifting politics of immigrant incorporation from 1860 until 1990. Drawing on thirty-seven interviews conducted with parade organizers, local scholars, and city officials as well as observation of parades, parade planning meetings and other community events, analysis of Chicago’s contemporary ethnic parades illuminates the myriad functions of ethnic during Chicago’s transition to a global city. Specifically, it explores how expressions of hybridized nationalism in ethnic parades disguise a complex interplay among local political integration, economic advancement, and transnational political activism that is shaping Chicago’s local ethnic communities.

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Annis Whitlow Sengupta, raised in Haddonfield, NJ, attended Haddonfield Memorial High School before matriculating to Yale University in 1997. While at Yale, she pursued a Bachelor of Arts degree in Architecture with a concentration in Urban Studies. For her undergraduate thesis she explored the political and cultural history of the Admiral Wilson Boulevard, a roadway in Camden, New Jersey. After graduating in 2001, Annis returned to her roots in southern New Jersey where she volunteered her services to the Chief of Planning in Camden. In 2002, she began a Master of City Planning degree at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where she acquired practical urban planning skills and began to explore her interests in the relationship between space, place, and the formation of collective identity in the United States. While a student, Annis worked with the Center for Reflective Community Practice helping a non-profit health organization in a Hispanic community in Springfield, Massachusetts, to complete a strategic planning process that incorporated both the needs of the organization and the needs of the community. In her final semester, Annis also helped teach a design workshop set in the same neighborhood. After finishing her degree in 2004, Annis began working in the field of arts and cultural planning with the firm Community Partners Consultants, Inc. As a member of the Community Partners team, she contributed to a variety of planning projects including a cultural plan for the Boston waterfront, a plan for the Charlestown Naval Shipyard, and a variety of smaller studies for individual organizations. By 2006, however, she was ready to return for her doctorate. Building off of her thesis research on the racial politics of parades in Philadelphia, elements of which were published in an article in *Critical Planning* in 2007, Annis developed a research program that explored the relationship between ethnic parades, immigrant political incorporation, and the development of American national identity. This research program has culminated in her dissertation, which she will focus on publishing after her graduation in February 2012, at which point she will also devote time to her family and her job search.
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Completion of this dissertation would have been impossible without the advice, help and support of countless others. I have found abundant support and stimulation from the intellectual community of MIT’s Department of Urban Studies and Planning. My fellow doctoral students have been a source of endless inspiration, willing listeners and helpful problem solvers. I am grateful in particular for the guidance and commiseration of Francisca Rojas, Leigh Graham and Mia White, who have helped me brainstorm, generously shared their experiences and resources, and helped me balance family and academic demands. I am also grateful to faculty in the Department who mentored me through my teaching assignments. Terry Szold, in particular, has helped me develop confidence in my teaching even through the distractions of dissertation writing, for which I am eternally grateful. I also could not have completed this dissertation without the financial assistance provided by these teaching assignments, and I thank Eran Ben-Joseph and Amy Glasmeier for helping me secure those opportunities. I am grateful to the Silberberg Memorial Fund for funding a portion of my research expenses and the Social Science Research Council for giving me the opportunity to develop my research proposal through the Dissertation Research Development Fellowship.

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cumbling infrastructure, and failing institutions. My committee’s support and willingness to join me in using parades to understand identity, politics, and conflict in cities was crucial to my success. JoAnn Carmin coached me through a critical period of doubt and frustration that almost derailed my progress. I am grateful for her advice and support, which launched me into the research captured in this dissertation. I am also grateful to have worked with Diane Davis, whose flexible mind and depth of knowledge have profoundly influenced my thinking about cities, identity, and politics. I owe a huge debt of gratitude to my committee chair, Larry Vale. The core ideas underlying my dissertation first took shape in his course on urban design politics, which I took as a master’s student. Since that time he has witnessed and shaped my development of those ideas through various research projects and a few detours along the way. Without his encouragement and his excitement about my ideas, I could not have succeeded.

In addition to the supportive environment of MIT, this project depended on the generosity and assistance of many people in Chicago. The current and former staff of the Mayor’s Office of Special Events and the Department of Cultural Affairs provided critical background on the inner workings of parades in the city. I am also indebted to Dominic Pacyga, Janet Smith, Michael Bennett, and Rita Arias Jirasek for sharing their knowledge of Chicago’s immigrant and ethnic neighborhoods and local politics. As a newcomer to the city, their assistance and that of the Mayor’s Office of Special Events was essential to make connections with neighborhood contacts and make sense of what I was learning. To that end, I am also grateful to Larry Bennett for taking the time to meet with me during my research and help me analyze and digest my interviews throughout my fieldwork. His generosity with his time and knowledge helped me tremendously. I would also like to take a moment to thank all of the parade organizers and neighborhood leaders who took the time to share their experiences. I was welcomed into Chicago’s immigrant and ethnic organizations with openness and enthusiasm, and I appreciate everyone’s help.

I would like to include a special thank you to my colleagues at Community Partners Consultants. Adele Fleet Bacow and Susan Silberberg have been colleagues, mentors, and friends over the last six years and I have appreciated the opportunity to work with them on a variety of arts and cultural planning projects that have kept me grounded in practice throughout my doctoral research.

Finally, I am grateful for the support of friends and family. More than anything they have made these years of doctoral work fun. My friends made sure that my world was larger than the MIT campus and they helped me keep my work in perspective. I am particularly grateful to Dan Magaziner and Anatoly Pinsky, two historians and friends whom I could count on to listen to and challenge me. My family’s support in the face of their bewilderment with my research has meant a lot. As family, they reminded me that it’s important to not take yourself too seriously when you research parades. I want to thank my twin sister, Kirsten Villers, and her family for opening their home to me so I could both study parades and see my nephews during my frequent trips to Chicago. She and her family made my research
both unforgettable and wonderful. I am also grateful for their donations of clothing and housing in support of my degree. Last, but not least, I would like to thank my husband, Shomit. We met when I was still a master’s student and spent our first date talking about my thesis research on parades. His continuing fascination with my research, his willing ear and sharp mind, and his love and humor have contributed more to this dissertation than can be captured in an acknowledgement. I truly could not have done this without him.

Annis W. Sengupta
INTRODUCTION
Chapter 1

Parades, Immigrants, and American Identity in Chicago, IL
Parades are many things. They are treasured annual traditions, community gatherings, expressions of identity and pride. Parades interrupt the daily flow of city life, rerouting traffic, crowding sidewalks and public transportation, and interrupting business activities. Parades are revealing. They are a stage for the performance of identities and interests that are otherwise invisible to the average city resident. Parades are deceptive. They present an image of unity and order that belies the messy and contested nature of collective identity formation. They appear to be emergent cultural practices when they are more likely to be aggregators of culture than producers of it; when they embody stable relationships as much as they inspire spontaneous participation. Parades are public expressions of communities' identities, interests, and values. As such they are like distorted mirrors reflecting the hopes and fears of not just one community but many communities and ultimately of the larger society that makes up a community's context. This dissertation examines one type of parade – the American ethnic parade – in order to understand the shifting meaning of ethnicity and nationalism in Chicago, IL from its origins in the nineteenth century to its present twenty-first century context. The question driving this research is how national identities can accommodate change and incorporate new members (such as immigrants and minorities). More specifically, I look at what ethnic parades in one American city can tell us about this process.

If American national identity was born in the cities of the Eastern seaboard out of a shared commitment to overthrowing England's colonial power, its modern, multi-ethnic incarnation emerged out of cities like Chicago, Illinois. Chicago skipped
America's colonial history, rising out of the swamps on the western bank of Lake Michigan in the 1830s to become a full-fledged city by the start of the Civil War. Chicago attracted immigrants from the beginning of its history; by 1843, its Irish residents were already holding a St. Patrick's Day parade. Even its Yankee establishment consisted of migrants from the east coast and the south. Of the city's first twenty-two mayors before 1871, twenty were born on the east coast and two in south. Chicago doesn't have a mayor born in Illinois until 1891 nor a Chicago-born mayor until 1897, by which point the city had already elected its first Irish Catholic mayor. In Chicago, native-born migrants and foreign-born immigrants worked together to build the city, and though their mingling wasn't altogether free from conflict, it was not accompanied by the kind of violence seen in cities like New York and Philadelphia with the arrival of the Irish.

In Chicago immigrants have used many types of gatherings to build their community identity, express their national aspirations, and promote their interests. Banquets, dances, picnics, rallies, lectures, fundraisers, and fairs all contributed to the civic life of immigrant Chicago. However, none of these gatherings are as evocative, nor as informative about immigrants' national aspirations and their integration into American nationalism as the parade. Immigrant parades have been a part of Chicago's civic life and public culture since 1843 brought the first St. Patrick's Day parade. They have grown and declined and evolved throughout the city's history into a formal expressions governed by myriad rules and regulations imposed by the city but with direct and indirect access to channels of political
power. They are an integral part of Chicago’s urban life, and they provide a window into the transformation of nationalism among America’s immigrant populations from the middle of the nineteenth century through the present.

Figure 1.1 illustrates the growth of the city’s immigrant population throughout Chicago’s history, which is divided into three eras based on the eras identified by Larry Bennett in his book, The Third City. Although Bennett distinguishes his eras by their political characteristics, they roughly correspond to periods of demographic change shaped by immigration policies. The first era begins in 1860, continues through a period of immigration and population growth, begins to transition around 1930 after immigration restrictions have been enacted, and finally ends in 1949 as Chicago’s population peaks. The second era traces a period of population decline from 1950 through 1969, enters a period of transition with immigration and population growth after the enactment of immigration reform in the 1960s, and finally ends in 1989. The third era begins in 1990 and continues through the present.

The graph illustrates how extensively immigration has shaped Chicago throughout the city’s history. Table 1.1 shows the parades organized chronologically. As early as 1850, immigrants comprised more than half of the city’s population. Although immigrants’ share of the city population declined through the first and half of the second eras, initially this was due in part to their children’s

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Figure 1.1. Changes in Chicago's Foreign Born Population Set the Tone of Bennett’s Three Eras in Chicago’s History.

This chart is generated from data provided by Gibson and Jung’s (2006) Historical Census Statistics on the foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850-2000 and the 2010 American Community Survey, and demonstrates the importance of immigration to 19th century Chicago, when immigrants made up forty to fifty percent of the population. In addition, the chart shows that the first era up to 1930 was marked by rapid growth of Chicago’s foreign born population, followed by a decline in the transition period after federal immigration restrictions were enacted in the 1920s. This period of declining immigration set the character of the second era, in which immigrants established identities as ethnic Americans. Another shift is seen during the transition from 1980 to 1990 when the lifting of immigration restrictions in the 1960s began to be felt in the city’s demographics. Immigrants’ contributions to Chicago’s population growth in the third era recalls their demographic importance during the first era.
Table 1.1. Summary of Interview and Observation Activities

Table 1.1a Summary of Interviews

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<td>Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs</td>
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Table 1.1b Summary of Observation Activities

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contributions to the native-born population. By 1890 immigrants and their native-born children accounted for seventy nine percent of Chicago’s population. The decline in Chicago’s immigrant population after 1930 foreshadowed the city’s population decline, which would begin twenty years later. The passing of the Immigration Act of 1924, which set quotas to curtail immigration from southern and eastern Europe and eliminate it from Asian countries triggered a decline in the foreign born population after 1930.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, as the United States grappled with the repercussions of the Civil War on American nationalism, Chicago’s streets and public spaces showcased the additional challenges to American identity posed by the country’s massive influx of immigrants. Parades and rallies celebrated nations that existed only in the aspirations of their self-identifying communities. Norwegians and Poles celebrated the independence of their countries, which remained in the control of other nations. The Irish celebrated their national holiday of St. Patrick’s Day despite their country’s lack of national sovereignty. Although we tend to think of nationalism as defined by a set of internal (if imagined) characteristics and in opposition to external otherness, the history of parades in Chicago suggests that nationalism can be flexible and responsive to encounters with alternate nationalisms when they are not in direct conflict.

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By the second era of Chicago's history, the descendents of Chicago's European immigrants had united under the umbrella of white American national identity, but they had also changed its meaning. Over the course of the first era, mostly during the transition period, the native born descendents of Chicago's first wave of immigrants had transformed themselves from foreign nationals into American ethnics. In the process they had changed a white American nationalism comprising the descendents of Anglo-Saxons into a multi-ethnic whiteness that could accommodate even the olive complexion of southern Europeans\(^3\). Their success, and the rise of the multi-ethnic white Democratic machine in Chicago's second era resulted in new tensions over American identity as black and Hispanic populations found their own American national aspirations excluded from the new American identity.

Immigration would again reshape the city and change these dynamics during the transition from the second to third eras in Chicago's history. With the relaxation of immigration laws in 1965, Chicago's immigrant population began to increase again. The fact that immigrants' share of the city's population also increased during this time demonstrates how critical immigration was for driving demographic change. Between 1990 and 2000, about twenty-five years after immigration reform, Chicago experienced its first decade of population growth since the first era. The

\(^3\) In *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929), Harvey Warren Zorbaugh illustrates the tension and conflict among different European ethnic groups, and Dominic Pacyga describes how the Democratic machine incorporated southern European ethnic communities in the middle of the twentieth century in *Chicago: A Biography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
influx of immigrants from Asian, Central and South American, and African countries increased pressure on the exclusionary white-ethnic American nationalism of Chicago’s Democratic leadership. Harold Washington’s success at building a multi-racial coalition that united black, white, Asian, and Hispanic populations made him Chicago’s first black mayor in 1983 and helped redefine the parameters of ethnicity in an increasingly international city. By the beginning of the third era in 1990, Chicago was set to emerge as a global city, and during this era its reputation shifted from that of a parochial city stymied by racial tensions and dominated by ethnic politics to a cosmopolitan center with international reach.

Methods

This dissertation draws on data collected between December 2009 and September 2010 and includes a combination of media analysis – combing through newspaper accounts and documentation of parade events, interviews with parade organizers, city officials, and Chicago academics, observation of parade events and other cultural events, and participation in one parade planning process. I draw on previous research in the fields of sociology and anthropology as well as research within the field of planning. In this study, I am collecting and compiling information on parades that is otherwise invisible to researchers – identifying and bringing together data on parade histories, parade routes, rules governing parades, the organizations that run parades, the cost of and funding of parades, and the motivations of the organizers in a systematic way. For this reason, I rely heavily on
semi-structured interviews to collect both factual information about the parades as well as organizers’ qualitative interpretation of the parades’ meanings and value. I supplemented these interviews with a diverse and diffuse array of parade documentation that includes news coverage, photography, video, and secondary sources such as books on neighborhood and ethnic histories in Chicago. Finally, I attended a sample of parade events and other community events such as festivals, processions, and commemorations, capturing images and sounds from each event.

This study relies on three sources of data: interviews, parade documentation in the form of news coverage and commentary in books and websites, and direct observation. Table 1.1 below summarizes my interview and observation work. I conducted a total of 37 interviews and observed 8 parades, 7 parade planning meetings, and eleven community events during three week-long trips to Chicago in February, March, and April 2010 and a two and a half month stay from July through mid-September 2010. During this extended stay, I attended five planning meetings leading up to the India Independence Day Parade on August 16th and witnessed two additional parade-planning meetings where I conducted interviews with organizers of the Germans’ Von Steuben Day Parade and the South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade, respectively. Of the community events I attended, I attended one each of a memorial, a religious procession, a festival, and a religious celebration, and seven events associated with parades including two flag raising ceremonies, two mayor’s receptions, two banquets, one post-parade festival, and one reception hosted by the Cook County Treasurer’s Office. In total, I conducted
thirty-seven interviews that were about 90 minutes long on average and engaged in about 69 hours of direct observation.

Interviews comprise the main data source for this research. I identified interview subjects in three categories: current and former city staff primarily in the Mayor’s Office of Special Events and the Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs, academics and researchers knowledgeable about Chicago’s ethnic communities and neighborhoods, and parade organizers and leaders of ethnic communities. I conducted interviews with six current and former city employees. Interviews with city officials were semi-structured and tailored to the subject’s area of expertise. For example, staff at the Mayor’s Office of Special Events were asked about the parade permitting process, tensions surrounding any parades, reasons behind route changes, and observations of changes in the city’s parade landscape. The Director of Cultural Affairs on the other hand, was asked about the relationship between culture and tourism and parades in the city and how the Department of Cultural Affairs relates to and works with the Mayor’s Office of Special Events.

In addition, I spoke with seven background informants including Chicago historians Dominic Pacyga, a professor at Columbia College who authored the book *Chicago: A Biography*, and Larry Bennett, whose recent book *Third Chicago* is referenced above. These informants provided me with invaluable background information on the various neighborhoods and ethnic communities in the city. Interviews consisted mainly of open-ended questions about my informants’
perspective on the city’s ethnic and immigrant communities and ethnic politics, neighborhood dynamics, the role of parades in ethnic communities and city politics, and discussion of potential contacts and data sources.

Finally, I interviewed a selection of twenty-four parade organizers and community leaders. I identified the parade organizers and their contact information during my interview with the City’s parade coordinator, Steve Wagner at the Mayor’s Office of Special Events and identified other community leaders through conversations with my background informants. I interviewed representatives from sixteen of the twenty-three parades that took place in 2010. However, the sample of parades that I reached is relatively representative of the total population of parades in relation to world-region of origin classifications as shown in Table 1.2. Of the interviews I conducted, the LGBT parade and African American parade are underrepresented relative to their proportion of the total population of ethnic parades in Chicago while Asian parades are overrepresented.

To supplement this interview and observational data, I also collected parade documents from organizers detailing rules for participation, documents from the city detailing rules for permitting, news coverage spanning the history of each parade, and video and photographic documentation of parades available on the Internet from news sites, blogs, image storage sites such as Flickr.com, and ethnic news outlets.
Figure 1.2. The Geographic Distribution of Chicago's Parades Varies by the Era in Which They Were Started.

Immigrant and Ethnic Parades in Chicago, IL, 2010
Mapped by 2010 location and designated by era in which they started

Based on data collected from the Chicago Mayor's Office of Special Events, this map generated by the author shows the 2010 location of Chicago's 2010 ethnic parades, coded by the era in which they started. It demonstrates changing patterns in parade geography across Chicago's three eras. While Chicago's oldest minority communities maintained their neighborhood parades from the First City era onward, the city's European populations reinvented themselves and their parade cultures post-World War II, followed closely by the new immigrants of the 1970s and 1980s, which expanded into the city's western and northern neighborhoods.
Using historic *Chicago Tribune* archives and recent *Chicago Sun-Times*, and *Chicago Daily Herald* archives, I identified articles relevant to my research. For the *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *Chicago Daily Herald*, I searched by ethnic group and the search term “parade” for the years 1992-2009. In addition, I collected a selection of recent articles from a sample of local ethnic newspapers including *The Chicago Defender*, *La Raza*, *Extra!, La Voz del Paseo Boricua*, *Hoy*, the Spanish-language edition of *The Chicago Tribune*, *hi India*, *DesiTalk*, *Five Star Tribune*, *India Bulletin*, *India Post*, *Polish News* and *Eintracht*. From this selection, I identified those articles relevant to the study, most of which were simple announcements or captions. A much smaller selection provided substantive information about the parades with details from interviews and observation. Where possible, I have used these newspaper accounts to extend and triangulate the parade stories I have heard in my interviews with the organizers themselves. Finally, I use video broadcasts that are available for a subset of parades to glean information about the parades' content and sponsors. In addition, I examine interpretations of the parade's meaning that are supplied by the commentators in the televised broadcasts of the parades. An overview of the 2010 Chicago parades and data available for each parade is supplied in Appendix 1 along with a more detailed discussion of my methods choices and challenges.

*Chicago's 2010 Parade Geography: Glimpses of Immigration History*

Chicago’s parade landscape in 2010 represents a snapshot of the three eras of the city’s history. Figure 1.2 shows the complete landscape of ethnic parades as
Table 1.2. Distribution of Interview Sample in terms of World-Region of Origin Compared with Distribution of Population for 2010 Ethnic and Immigrant Parades in Chicago

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number in Population</th>
<th>Pct of Total</th>
<th>Interview Sample</th>
<th>Pct of Total</th>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100%</td>
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they exist in 2010. Parades are coded by the era in which they started. The darkest parades - in maroon - are the five parades remaining from the first era (1860-1949). The medium pink color designates the fifteen parades remaining from the second era (1950-1989), and the lightest violet color, outlined in black, represents parades that started in the third era from 1990 to 2010. Parades are shown in their 2010 locations, but a few important route shifts have occurred across the eras that will be illustrated through maps in later chapters that depict the parade activities era by era.

The story that these parades tell is one of contestation and exclusion, geographic expansion and the claiming and reclaiming of urban spaces. Parades of the first era, in particular, capture the struggle for belonging in the United States characteristic of immigrants, the experience of straddling two worlds and of finding security and identity within neighborhood boundaries. All five of these parades originated in Chicago's neighborhoods, and the Polish Constitution Day Parade, the only parade to move downtown, did not move until the late 1970s. The fact that the only parade from this era to move to a downtown route is also the only European parade that traces its roots to this era also illustrates the practices of racial exclusion that emerged during this era and became codified in both immigration law, in real estate practice, and eventually in official urban policies. The remaining parades, which are connected to Chinese, African-American, and Mexican

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4 Start dates are largely self-reported by parades or traced through newspaper analysis.
communities, reflect the fact that these groups did not enjoy the same freedom of movement and access to public space that European groups did and that neighborhoods represented spaces of relative freedom and autonomy.

The second era marks an important shift in parade activities in Chicago. Although European ethnic parades preceded the start of this era, all except for the Polish parade and the South Chicago Columbus Day Parade organized by the Spanish Knights of Columbus organization ended before the beginning of the second era. European ethnic parades were re-established, usually by new organizations and along new routes, during the second era. The downtown Columbus Day Parade of the first era, for example, disappeared after 1935, but was re-established in 1950 in a northwest neighborhood. In 1952, the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans introduced a new downtown parade, and the neighborhood Knights of Columbus parade merged with it. Similarly, the city's Irish community hosted two St. Patrick's Day parades on the West and South Sides before Mayor Richard J. Daley consolidated them into a single downtown parade in 1956 in the case of the West Side parade and in 1961 with the South Side parade.

In this era parades took on a different spatial paradigm and a different political meaning. No longer were European parades an activity of the city's "foreign populations" but instead became expressions of shared ethnic heritages. As such, they did not challenge the city's power structure nor express a desire for acceptance, but instead reinforced the city's powerful ethnic democratic machine
and asserted the distinctiveness of each ethnic group. In this era, ethnicity became a way for white Americans to distinguish themselves from the homogeneity of white racial identity while maintaining white racial privilege. The Chicago St. Patrick’s Day parade illustrates this shift. Downtown St. Patrick’s Day parades first emerged before the beginning of the first era, when Chicago was little more than its downtown. Shown as the first black line in Figure 1.3, this parade is the earliest example of an ethnic parade in Chicago. Figure 1.3 shows a complete inventory of Chicago’s ethnic parades, organized by the holiday celebrated and parade start date, and coded by whether they were located downtown on in the city’s expanding neighborhoods. The figure shows that as the city expanded outward after 1900, new ethnic parades were located in neighborhoods rather than downtown. While some of these neighborhood parades persisted into the second era and beyond, downtown ethnic parades had disappeared by the beginning of the second era. In the mid 1950s, however, newly elected Mayor Richard J. Daley decided that the city ought to recover its lost tradition of downtown St. Patrick’s Day parades (perhaps responding to the revival of a downtown Columbus Day parade among Chicago’s Italian community).

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5 Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Roots Too: White Ethnic Revival in Post Civil-Rights America*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2008. In his introduction (pp. 11 – 71), Jacobson lays out his central argument about the revival of ethnic affiliations among white Americans. Although Jacobson identifies the civil rights movement as the primary driver of this white ethnic revival, this study indicates that its origins were largely independent of the civil rights movement though its trajectory was undoubtedly influenced by the politics and ideas espoused by that movement.
Figure 1.3. Timeline of Chicago’s Immigrant and Ethnic Parades 1843-2011 showing three eras of Chicago history and whether routes were located downtown or in neighborhoods.

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick’s Day (Irish)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1943-1960)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway’s Independence Day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1922-1954)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Day (Italian/Spanish)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1955-1969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Constitution Day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1960-1979)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greek Independence Day</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1980-1999)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lie’ Erickson Day (Scandinavian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1990-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bud Billiken Day (African American)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1929-1936)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chinese New Year</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1937-1949)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mexican Independence Day</td>
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<td>Downtown Route (1950-1956)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Founding of the Republic of China (Taiwan)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1979-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>General von Steuben Day (German)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1980-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican Day</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1981-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Pride</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1982-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Fourth of July (Pan-Ethnic)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1983-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korean Independence Day</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1984-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philippine Independence Day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1985-present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinco de Mayo (Mexican)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1986-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>India Independence Day</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1987-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan Independence Day</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1988-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central American Day</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1989-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assyrian New Year</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1990-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ofunne Day (Pan-African)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1991-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bangladesh Independence Day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Downtown Route (1992-present)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethnic Heritage Day (Pan-Ethnic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1993-present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador Independence Day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1994-present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dia de los Ninos (Mexican)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1995-present)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founding of the People’s Republic of China</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Downtown Route (1996-present)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table shows the timeline of Chicago’s Immigrant and Ethnic Parades from 1843 to 2011, categorizing parades by their ethnic and cultural significance. The table includes columns for different eras of Chicago history, indicating whether routes were located downtown or in neighborhoods, and lists specific parades and their corresponding years.
At this moment in history, Chicago's population was expanding beyond the city boundaries into the suburbs beyond, and parading downtown carried new connotations of power and privilege. By formally shifting the Irish parades' staging from the neighborhoods to the downtown, Daley effectively reorganized the second era's parade landscape and opened the door to a profusion of downtown ethnic parades started between 1950 and 1990. Table 1.3 below, which organizes the 2010 ethnic parades shown in Figure 1.2 according to their starting year and divided by these three eras, shows that two-thirds of the parades active in 2010 started during the second era. In contrast to the European ethnic parades of the first era, (shown in Figure 1.3), which largely disappeared, most of the European parades that started during the second era endured through 2010, and many new non-European ethnic groups have also adopted the second era parade culture as their own. Table 1.3 shows that all of the parades started during the transition period at the end of the second era, between 1975 and 1990, represent non-European identities.6

Moving the St. Patrick's Day parade downtown opened the door for other groups to do the same. Ethnic groups whose neighborhoods had lost population and could not support neighborhood parades could represent themselves downtown; neighborhoods lacking proper staging grounds could use a downtown route. In addition, with the dawn of the civil rights movement, a renewed commitment to

6 The Gay Pride Parade is included in this period, and while its participants are predominantly white, the identity that it promotes is an alternative to a conservative white or ethnic European heterosexual identity.
Table 1.3. Distribution of Chicago’s 2010 Ethnic Parades by Era in Which Parades Started.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parade</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First City and Transition Period: 1860 – 1949</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Constitution Day Parade</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bud Billiken Parade</td>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transition Period: 1930-1949</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese New Year Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1939</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Double Ten Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second City: 1950 – 1989</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Day Parade</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick’s Day Parade</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican Parade</td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Von Steuben Parade</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transition Period: 1970-1989</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay Pride Parade</td>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argyle Street Chinese New Year Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican People’s Parade</td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26th Street Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinco de Mayo Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilsen Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central American Parade</td>
<td>Central American</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third City: 1990 – present</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador Parade</td>
<td>Ecuadorean</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dia de los Ninos Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese National Day Parade (every 5 years)</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest Side Irish Parade</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is generated from data collected from parade organizers, promotional materials, and newspaper accounts of parade activities. What is remarkable is the fact that most European parades trace their origins no later than the 1950s or 1960s and the number and diversity of parades started in the twenty five years following the beginning of the last European parade started in 1965. The table also raises the question of why the proliferation was not as robust during the Third City era.
ethnic and racial justice made restricting access to the downtown route due to race or ethnic background illegal. Therefore it is not surprising that downtown Mexican and Puerto Rican parades eventually followed the downtown St. Patrick’s Day Parade.

Parades during the third era reversed the trend of downtown parades. Not only did new ethnic parades begin on neighborhood routes during this era (shown in light purple outlines in black), but many parades started during the second era moved to neighborhood routes as well. This was spurred in part by the growth of immigrant populations in Chicago’s neighborhoods and an interest in using place making and the spatial expression of national identity to support neighborhood businesses and economic development. For many groups, attracting their constituency downtown became more difficult as immigrants continued to expand into the suburbs.

The third era also brought new restrictions and fees levied on parade organizations as Chicago grappled with the repeated bursting of economic bubbles in the 1990s and 2000s. Amenities to support parade activities like street cleaning and reviewing stands that had been paid for by the city became fee-based services in the third era. Faced with higher costs and hit by the recession, smaller immigrant groups have struggled to maintain their parade activities.
This dissertation explores each of these eras in greater depth, examining the interplay between immigration and both foreign and American nationalism. Immigrant parade activities are analyzed in the context of key domestic and international events, but the parades themselves remain the focal point. Four data chapters are divided into two parts. Part One focuses on a historical perspective and considers the changes in immigrant-ethnic parade culture as Chicago moved from the first era to the second era of its history. Chapter Two explores the origins of Chicago's ethnic parades. It employs concepts of nationalism developed by Lawrence J. Vale. In his contribution to *Cities and Sovereignty*, Vale writes of two kinds of nationalism, the nationalism of aspiration and the nationalism of consolidation: 7

Nationalism... is a two-stage proposition: the first stage—the nationalism of aspiration—supports the drive for independence in the name of freedom and self-determination, and the second stage—the nationalism of consolidation—is what is needed to define the self that has been freed. 8

Chicago's ethnic parades exhibit an interplay of these two types of nationalism, combining both foreign national aspirations and aspirations for participation in the American nationalism of consolidation. Through this lens, the chapter considers the relationship between immigrant parade activities and the conflicts and

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8 Ibid, p. 198.
contestations over nationalism and territory in Europe. However, the chapter also considers the backlash of American nationalism against expressions of foreign national aspirations and loyalties, especially in the early twentieth century as the United States was drawn into Europe’s conflicts. Finally, the chapter considers the emergence of parades among Chicago’s non-European communities toward the end of the first era and the implications of these parades for Chicago’s second era.

Chapter Three examines Chicago’s second era, particularly the impact of World War Two and immigration restrictions on the emergence of a white ethnic American identity. It also examines the ways that this new identity changed the meaning and power of parades, expressed spatially in their movement to downtown parade routes. Although Chicago’s immigrant communities had largely been integrated into a multi-ethnic white political identity, parades as expressions of foreign national aspirations persisted throughout this era, and the chapter considers why that should be. In addition, the chapter examines the rise of the civil rights movement in the second era and the challenges it levied to the new white ethnic American nationalism. Unlike the immigrant nationalisms of Chicago’s first era, the civil rights movement in Chicago largely expressed claims on American nationalism from within. Black, Puerto Rican, and LGBT communities all officially had membership in American nationalism through the rights of citizenship. However, the nationalism of consolidation, the “self that has been freed” did not reflect those communities.
Part Two brings the dissertation into the present and considers the role of immigrant and ethnic parades in building Chicago's identity as a global city and reshaping the meaning of American nationalism. Chapter Four provides an introduction to Chicago's third era and a theoretical overview of contemporary issues of nationalism, ethnicity, and globalization, and Chapter Five examines the function of parades among Chicago's immigrant communities in Chicago's third era. In particular, it examines the role of parades in establishing relationships among civic leaders, politicians, and business leaders in ways that benefit immigrant communities more generally. In addition, it considers the importance of nationalism as a strategy for developing imagined communities out of diverse, dispersed immigrant populations. Finally, the chapter considers the importance of spatial dynamics and place making for supporting immigrant neighborhoods and communities in Chicago's third era. The dissertation concludes with a chapter of discussion, in which the overarching conclusions of Part One and Part Two are summarized, and directions for future research are explored.
PART 1

From peripheral events to centralized political infrastructure: the twentieth century roots of Chicago’s ethnic parades
Chapter 2

Patriotism, Territoriality, and Nationalism: the Emergence of Immigrant Parades in Chicago’s First Era
Chicago’s early immigrant and ethnic parades shed light on the contested and conflicted process of nation-building reshaping the United States between the Civil War and the Great Depression. Faced with a deepening divide between the economic interests of northern industrial states with large immigrant populations and southern agrarian, slave owning states, and faced with the aftermath of its rapid expansion in the early nineteenth century, the country underwent a profound political reorganization and an extended period of nation building. Just as political parades illuminate the emergence of American political culture following the American Revolution⁴, parades in Chicago, IL during and after the Civil War illuminate the transition to a new national consciousness and new political culture that would shape America through the twentieth century. Chicago, IL, a northern industrial city located in the middle of the country whose trajectory from obscurity to national prominence coincides with the post Civil War era, provides salient lessons in the challenges to building a unified America. From the middle to the end of the nineteenth century, Chicago’s efforts at city building were linked to ideas of nation building. Chicago was never a colonial city. Rather, it grew as an American city and attempted to distinguish itself in relation to other great American cities, namely, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. As Chicago developed its physical and civic infrastructure, its aspirations were to national prominence. In this sense, the dynamics and struggles depicted in immigrant parade activities during

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this era capture not only local political dynamics but national political dynamics as well.

Although the larger project of reuniting North and South dominated the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction, Chicago's experience suggests that another equally pressing challenge faced the nation – that of immigrant incorporation. The process of incorporating European immigrants as full citizens was at once contested and conflicted. Immigrants' parade activities in Chicago's first era illustrate how immigrants incorporated as their nationalisms of aspiration encountered and responded to nationalisms of consolidation\(^2\) and produced hybrid national identities and ethnic patriotism. Although these concepts of nationalism emerge from a context of capital cities, they can be adapted to understand the politics of early Chicago where the nationalism of consolidation was promoted both by federal actors – particularly through the military – and by those local actors who viewed themselves as the stewards and protectors of American nationalism against the threat posed by foreign nationals. The nationalism of aspiration in late nineteenth century Chicago also manifested in two distinct forms: immigrant and ethnic Chicagoans aspired to both an American nationalism that reflected their values and interests (what Vale would refer to as “a subnational portion of a

pluralist nation-state" as well as often to foreign nationalisms that aspired to sovereign nation-statehood for their homelands.

The prevalence of ethnic militias during the Civil War provided an avenue for one form of consolidated nationalism as these companies were provided with standard rules and procedures for military formation and parades. In fact, during peace time, Chicago’s most distinguished companies would tour other American cities to showcase their skills in competition with other militias. In this way, military participation, though still relatively decentralized, played a role in consolidating loyalty and expressions of American nationalism across ethnic and regional divisions. By the early twentieth century, a more grassroots approach to the nationalism of consolidation had emerged in the form of Americanization efforts, particularly those that focused on July Fourth celebrations. The Fourth of July became an opportunity to engage Chicago’s various immigrant communities in planned and sanctioned patriotic exercises, including parades, though these were the exception rather than the rule. The limited use of parades may be partly explained by the fact that parades offered immigrant-groups platforms for expressing national aspirations that did not wholly conform to the normative nationalism espoused by Americanization proponents. Rather this nationalism included dual loyalty to America and other foreign nations, and the promotion of political causes like women’s suffrage that had achieved greater success outside the United States. By trading parades for patriotic exercises located in immigrant

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3 Ibid, p. 197.
neighborhoods, Chicago’s proponents of Americanization could at least ensure that messages of nationalist aspirations would reach a narrow audience of immigrants and ethnics rather than mainstream Chicago society.

Immigrant parades in Chicago’s first era are interesting because in bringing together both types of nationalism, they were both contested and conflicted. Growing out of military parade culture, immigrant parades showcased and were often led by the city’s ethnic militias, but they also communicated the aspirations of immigrant nationalisms as well as aspirations for emigrant nationalisms. That is, immigrant nationalisms communicated immigrants’ aspirations for an American nationalism that validated and reflected their cultures and contributions and emigrant nationalisms communicated immigrants’ national aspirations for their countries of origin. These foreign national aspirations were emigrant nationalisms in that they were often framed in relation to the ideals and symbols of American democracy. The proposals that these parades implicitly made – that American nationalism must reflect the experiences and contributions of immigrants and that it ought to be a model for the achievement of immigrant’s national aspirations for their home countries – were increasingly contested by a populace seeking to promote a consolidated nationalism after the Civil War and remove itself from the growing unrest around the world. Even within the parades themselves, the nationalism expressed was necessarily a conflicted, shifting target, tethered to American ideals and values yet tied to larger, international dialogues about foreign nationalisms and rooted in dual national loyalties.
Given the conflicted, contested nature of immigrant parades, it should not be surprising that these were not the only parade activities through which immigrant and ethnic Chicagoans expressed their American nationalist aspirations. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, immigrants increasingly turned to political parties and political parades to express their aspirations for American political incorporation on their own terms. The growth of immigrant participation in Republican parades and labor parades during this period and the conflicts that accompanied them further highlights the contested nature of immigrants' nationalist aspirations. The 1880s and 1890s in Chicago brought with them growing support for the Republican Party among the city's ethnic communities as evidenced by their participation in Republican parades and reports of yearly shifts of Irish, Germans, Swedes, Bohemians, and Poles to support the Republican ticket. The emergence of the Socialist Labor Party of America in 1876 also attracted many of Chicago's working class immigrant and ethnic populations. Both kinds of parades were also sites of more pronounced violence than generally reported among ethnic parades. Republican parades regularly sparked violent outbursts from spectators.

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4 After the Republican Party emerged in 1854 to challenge the Democratic Party, and during the early years of the first city era would steadily reorganize Chicago's political landscape with many immigrant communities joining the Republican cause.

5 From 1879 to 1899, articles in the Chicago Daily Tribune reported the growing support for Republicans among Chicago's Irish, German, Swedish, Bohemian, and Polish populations.

6 Originally named the Workingmen's Party until changing the name in 1877.

7 For example, in 1900, Republican marchers were injured by bricks and stones thrown by "toughs in the neighborhood who had congregated to witness the demonstration," according to the Chicago Daily Tribune. "Stones Thrown at Marchers." October 9, 1900, p. 3.
and gatherings of unemployed in the 1890s sparked occasional violence and frequent criticism.\textsuperscript{8}

\textit{The Nationalism of Consolidation: The Military Roots of Chicago's Ethnic Parades, 1840-1900}

Charles Tilly argues that the emergence and success of modern nation states hinges in part on their ability to control or monopolize violence primarily through the consolidation and professionalization of armed forces under a single national governing entity.\textsuperscript{9} By the middle of the nineteenth century, Europe's militaries conformed closely to this model as professional forces directly accountable to central governments. In the United States, however, the federal government's monopoly on violence remained contested and in flux. The military comprised not only a professional force of regulars and officers but also drew on a network of volunteer companies that were still largely controlled by state governments.\textsuperscript{10} For

\textsuperscript{8} An 1893 parade of unemployed nearly attacked a passing teamster but for the protection accorded him by the police ("Parade Accompanied by Police." \textit{Chicago Daily Tribune}, August 26, 1893, p. 3), and an column in the \textit{Chicago Daily News} in the same day reprinted an editorial from \textit{The Evening Journal} urging "mayor Harrison to seriously consider the question of putting a peremptory end to the daily assemblage and parade of Lake-Front loafers," referring to the gatherings of unemployed by the lakefront. ("Stop the Lake Front Parades." \textit{The Chicago Daily Tribune}. August 26, 1893, p. 3.)


\textsuperscript{10} For a full detailed history of the development of the American military system, see \textit{American Military History Volume 1: The United States Army and the Forging of a Nation 1775-1917}. Edited by Richard W. Steward. Washington, DC: Center of
immigrants arriving from Europe, the opportunity to organize and serve in volunteer militia units would have highlighted the difference between their adopted democratic Republic and Europe’s nations and empires. While the volunteer units of the nineteenth century may have provided debatable value on the battlefield, these militias were an important way for the residents of growing (and former) frontier cities to develop an American nationalism amidst rapid immigration and in the aftermath of the nation’s rapid westward expansion.

Participation in ethnic militias around the time of the Civil War taught Chicago’s immigrant communities the structure and rules of parading and ensured that immigrant parade culture during Chicago’s first era would be tied to efforts at consolidating American nationalism. Between 1860 and 1930, the basic components of the ethnic parade took shape in Chicago, influenced by traditions of police, fire, and militia parades and incorporating the energy of the city’s diverse ethnic civic organizations. During this era, the Civil War from 1861 to 1865 profoundly shaped Chicago’s immigrant communities and their familiarity with parades. Unlike in cities in the northeast, where parading began in the colonial and revolutionary periods, Chicago’s parade history begins in the middle of the nineteenth century. Besides the St. Patrick’s Day Parade, parades of firemen, police and militia organizations dominated 1840s and 1850s parade culture. Unlike Philadelphians (and residents of other colonial cities), whose vernacular parade traditions grew out of the royal processions and ceremonies and guild rituals they had witnessed from the

Military History, United States Army, 2005. A discussion of the limits of the volunteer army is found on page 159-160.
seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chicagoans had no access to such ritual inspiration from their city's early history. Instead Chicago's population drew on a combination of parade traditions in other cities imported to Chicago and the local conduct of militia, fire, and police parades, all based on the military parade format.

These civic and military parades were important training ground for civic leaders in Chicago's immigrant communities and a key component of Chicago's growth as an American city. Between 1850 and 1870, Chicago's immigrants made up around fifty percent of its total population, and by 1890, immigrants and first and second generation Americans constituted about three quarters of the city's population of just over a million. Immigrant communities in turn organized militia companies according to (foreign) national affiliations, a practice that continued into the Civil War. Table 2.1 shows a sample of ethnic militias from Chicago that was incorporated into Civil War regiments and their ethnic affiliations.

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11 In Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986), Susan Davis documents the political implications of parade activities in Philadelphia. Though militia parades were prominent in Philadelphia in the nineteenth century as well, she finds that they were countered by a variety of informal parades of non-militia laymen.

12 "By 1890 approximately three-quarters of Chicago's 1,099,000 residents were either foreign born or had at least one foreign-born parent" (from Chicago Divided: the Making of a Black Mayor, referenced in Bennett 2010). Bennett, Larry. The Third City: Chicago and American Urbanism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010, p. 185.
Table 2.1. Examples of Chicago Ethnic Military Companies During the Civil War.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military Division</th>
<th>Militia Company</th>
<th>Year Organized</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60th Regiment</td>
<td>Emmet Guards</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Independent Regiment</td>
<td>Washington Light Cavalry</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Independent Regiment</td>
<td>Washington Rifles</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Independent Regiment</td>
<td>Washington Grenadiers</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Independent Regiment</td>
<td>Black Jager Rifles</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd Infantry</td>
<td>Irish Brigade</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24th Regiment of Illinois Infantry</td>
<td>Lincoln Riflemen of Sclavonic (Slavic) Origin</td>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Slavic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table was generated from data compiled from a variety of sources including entries from Thomas Adam's Germany and the Americas and from Taylor's Battery, Inc. (http://www.taylorsbattery.org/Pre%20war%20militia%20history%20and%20the%20formation.htm). This sample of ethnic militias that made up Civil War Regiments demonstrates that many of Chicago's early immigrant groups had access to military training, which would have included extensive parade drills. This not only developed their parade skills, but also allowed them to showcase their patriotism as both Americans and ethnics.
Many of the ethnic militias that joined the war effort were integrated as companies into larger regiments, though often these were made up of groups with similar origins. For example, the mostly German 82\textsuperscript{nd} Illinois Infantry Regiment included Scandinavian and Jewish companies within its ranks.\textsuperscript{13} The military was a training ground for American ethnic parade culture, but it was also an arena in which European immigrant groups mingled and in which the relative fluidity of some identities becomes apparent.

To understand the divisions within and among immigrant groups in Chicago it is important to remember that throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century national boundaries and national identifications were in flux in Europe, and this fluidity was also reflected in the self-organization of immigrant communities in Chicago. As the boundaries within and borders around Germany shifted in the late nineteenth century, similar shifts occurred within Chicago's ethnic neighborhoods, illustrating the ways that immigrants' homelands in Chicago could be "rather a broad cultural concept than a national state with clearly defined borders."\textsuperscript{14} So while groups came to be identified as German, Bohemian, Polish, Scandinavian, and

\textsuperscript{13} Adam, Thomas. Germany and the Americas: culture, politics, and history: a multidisciplinary encyclopedia. 0-Z, Vol. 3. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005. p. 231. Adam's text identifies the German unit as the "82\textsuperscript{nd} Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment," which demonstrates not only the primacy of the states in organizing the volunteer companies but also the importance of the volunteer regiments for organizing and training immigrant and ethnic Chicagoans in the United States military.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
Jewish, membership and participation in any of those groups was relatively fluid and shifting rather than fixed and immutable. Given this flexibility, which often left immigrants vulnerable to external categorization rather than self-identification, the expansion of immigrant parade activities beyond volunteer militias is not surprising. By the 1880s and 1890s, immigrant groups were engaging in a combination of ethnic parades, political parades, and labor parades that gave voice to their American and foreign nationalisms of aspiration.

*The Nationalism of Aspiration: The Emergence of Chicago’s European Ethnic Parades, 1843-1900*

The nationalist aspirations represented by nineteenth century European parades were two-fold. On the one hand, they were outward directed and framed in relation to immigrants’ national aspirations for their homelands. These aspirations were dominant in the eyes of the native-born audience witnessing the parades. On the other hand, however, the parades did not only showcase a foreign-national

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15 Coverage of these parades in *the Chicago Daily Tribune* invariably characterizes the events as outpourings of national pride in which foreign-born residents of Chicago celebrate their home countries’ nationalism. These and other articles about the city’s foreign-born population reveal a concern about immigrants’ intentions to naturalize and participate in city life as citizens or to earn money and return to their homeland. In general, the latter was cause for concern and blamed for dirt and crime in immigrant neighborhoods. Started by Republican Joseph Medill, *The Chicago Tribune* reflected the dual identities of the Republican party of nineteenth century Chicago, on the one hand promoting such anti-vice reforms as stringent liquor laws as well as the growth in immigrants’ loyalty to the party through patronage politics. Green Paul, and Mark R. Wilson. "Republican Party," and Wilson, Mark R. "Chicago Tribune." *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago.* Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005.
pride, but also presented immigrant communities as active participants in Chicago's civic life and as loyal, patriotic Americans. The participation of ethnic militias at the head of ethnic parades highlighted this dual purpose as did the blending of American and foreign patriotic signs and symbols including flags, songs, and national colors. These displays of American patriotism in European ethnic parades were also expressions of a nationalism of aspiration in that they envisioned an American nationalism that incorporated the cultural and political values, symbols, and traditions of sub-national European ethnic groups.

Patterns of parading among Chicago's European ethnic groups reveal that recurrent parades reflected both a nationalist aspiration as well as a self-defined internal group coherence. Table 2.2, which lists the parades by their start dates, shows two periods of parade growth: 1880 to 1900 and 1920 to 1940. While the period of ethnic parade growth in Chicago (roughly 1880-1900) coincides with nationalist endeavors in Europe, some of the city's largest European immigrant communities did not launch recurring parades. Figure 2.1 shows the geographic distribution and chronology of parades during this era. Immigrant parade routes overlapped and shifted constantly as the city rapidly expanded and neighborhood demographics changed. Of the five European groups that held recurring parades between 1843 and 1900, three were actively advocating for independent nationhood (Irish, Norwegian, and Polish), and two represented recently formed nations undergoing national consolidations (Italian and Greek). Conspicuously absent among Chicago's ethnic parades were the Germans, Bohemians, and Swedes. Of
these, Sweden had been engaged in a continuous process of nation building since at least the seventeenth century and its absence in Chicago parade culture before 1900 reflects this. The same cannot be said for the German and Bohemians of Chicago - Germany was engaged in nation building endeavors under different empires throughout the nineteenth century, and Bohemia likewise voiced national aspirations under Austrian rule. A more likely explanation for their lack of parades in Chicago is the fragmentation of the communities. Bohemia encompassed a variety of ethnic subgroups including German, Slavic, and Austria, which likely hampered their ability to organize a unified parade. Similarly, while Germans accounted for the largest population of Chicago's foreign born in the nineteenth century, only about a third of Germans in Chicago self-identified as German rather than as part of a smaller kingdom within Germany. Among the remaining groups however, recurring parades did emerge to reflect nationalist aspirations.

16 An article documenting the foreign born of Cook County in 1882 is particularly revealing. Altogether, foreign born from various regions of Germany accounted for over 100,000 Cook County foreign born. However, only about a third self-identified as German, while about forty percent identified as Prussian, and twenty-seven percent identified their country of origin as a specific region of Germany such as Hamburg or Hessen. “Cook County: Interesting Figures as to the Nativity of its Population.” Chicago Daily Tribune, July 13, 1882, p. 8.
Based on data collected from Chicago Tribune archives, this map generated by the author shows the approximate location of the main recurring ethnic parades during Chicago’s first era. The geographic distribution suggests that parades mostly originated in the city’s immigrant neighborhoods. Even the three downtown parades – Irish, Greek, and Italian, link the downtown to neighboring residential areas. In addition, the map shows the origins of a persistent geography of racial exclusion as non-white groups occupied territory further from the city center and in the southeast corner of the city while the European immigrants established parades in the northwest.
Table 2.2. Recurrent Ethnic Parades during the First Era, 1860-1949, ordered by year started.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Era and Transition Period: 1860 – 1949</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
<th>End Year</th>
<th>Map Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick’s Day Parade</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights of Columbus Columbus Day Parade</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Polish Constitution Day Parade</strong></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1977*</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1960*</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Chicago Knights of Columbus Day Parade</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>ca. 1908</td>
<td>ca. 1949</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lief Erickson Boat and Street Parade</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bud Billiken Parade</strong></td>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese New Year Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Double Ten Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is generated from data collected from accounts of parade activities between 1860 and 1949 identified in the Chicago Tribune archives as well as by parade organizers for parades still active in 2010. Only one European parade still active in 2010 traces its origins to this period. Key moments of change occurred around the turn of the twentieth century, as a number of parades disappeared, and during World War II, when the number of non-European, non-white parades increased. The emergence of and resilience of these parades suggest that they foreshadowed the sweeping changes to Civil Rights and immigration policy that the Second City era would bring.

*Starred dates indicate that the parade continued to be run after the date but changed to a new route. In the case of the Polish Constitution Day parade, the route moved downtown. The Norwegian Independence Day parade moved to a new neighborhood route before moving downtown.
The Irish

The Irish introduced ethnic parade culture to Chicago in 1843 when they began Chicago's first St. Patrick's Day parade. This parade, which had its precedent in similar parades in New York City and Philadelphia, established the form of ethnic parades as linking military parades with the signs and symbols of both American and Irish national identity. Figure 2.2 shows a nineteenth century parade in New York City that includes soldiers in ancient Irish costume pulling a float featuring a bust of Daniel O'Connell, a nineteenth century Irish politician who advocated the repeal of the 1801 Act of Union that stripped Irish of its political independence and merged it with Britain. This blending of symbols suggests that the Irish of New York were engaging in a process of inventing traditions to support the national aspirations they harbored for their home country. Hobsbawm and Ranger (The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) explain an invented tradition as

A set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.17

The display of flags, national costumes, Irish music, and leaders of Irish nationalist movements would fall within the category of invented traditions described by Hobsbawm and Ranger, and the St. Patrick's Day parades of the United States would

Figure 2.2. St. Patrick's Day in America lithograph designed by Hogan and drawn by Lucius Gray. Published in 1874 by Thomas Kelly.

This lithograph shows a portion of a parade with a float in the center bearing a bust of Daniel O'Connell, Saint Patrick's day in New York City, at Union Square. The depiction of ancient Irish soldiers highlights efforts to promote the idea of an ancient nation, and the bust of Daniel O'Connell, a nineteenth century Irish politician who pushed for the repeal of the 1801 Act of Union that had united Ireland with Great Britain illustrates the national aspirations of New York's nineteenth century Irish. Image courtesy of the U.S. Library of Congress.
have provided the stage for the repetitive, ritual display of these traditions to Irish immigrant communities, which might understand their political implications, and to the American urban public, which more than likely would accept the display as a depiction of culture rather than politics.

The story of St. Patrick’s Day parades in Chicago illustrates the tensions between foreign and American nationalism as well. The parades blended symbols of Irish national identity with those of American nationalism and showcased the various Irish militias throughout the nineteenth century. By including representatives from the military, the fire department, police, and various civic organizations, St. Patrick’s Day parades communicated the story of how well Chicago’s Irish were integrated into its civic life and how integral they were to the functioning of the city. Despite their participation in local politics and civic life, however, Chicago’s Irish continued to be viewed as foreigners:

As the grand procession, numbering many thousand, and which was fifteen minutes in passing a given point, marched through the most frequented thoroughfares, it was greeted with rounds of hearty applause by the immense gathering of our foreign population, which seemed to have turned out – men, women and children – in all its strength for the purpose.\(^\text{18}\)

Notable from this newspaper depiction is the description of the spectators as a “gathering of our foreign population,” which suggests that the Irish continued to grapple with attaining an identity and a position within American nationalism. St. Patrick’s Day parades proposed a blended identity, a hyphenated identity that was at once Irish and American. A description of the parade in 1862 notes that “the

\(^{18}\) St. Patrick’s Day.” *The Chicago Tribune*, March 18, 1862, p. 0.4.
strains of 'St. Patrick’s Day in the Morning' blended lovingly with those of the 'Red, White and Blue,' as did the colors of the 'Shamrock so Green' with those of the 'Star Spangled Banner.'"19 However, the blending of American and Irish national aspirations was not always free from conflict, as is illustrated by the story of the Clan-na-Gael, whose implication in a terrorist plot in England and a subsequent murder trial in Chicago led to dissention among Chicago’s Irish community and the cancellation of the St. Patrick’s Day parades of 1889 and 1890. The Clan-na-Gael was a national Irish civic organization formed in 1869 for the purpose of supporting Irish independence. Run as a secret society, it was controlled by a cadre of three leaders, called the Triangle, one of whom was prominent Irish Chicagoan Alexander Sullivan. By 1874, the group had formed a new militia in Chicago that had armed itself with the latest weaponry20 and quickly became a colorful and regular addition to the city’s St. Patrick’s Day parades. Its uniforms included the Irish nationalist colors of orange, green, and white in the caps’ plumage and the tunics’ buttons,21 giving the Irish nationalist loyalties of the company visual expression. However, within a few years time, the organization’s support for a free Ireland would bring the tension between American and foreign national loyalties into sharp relief. In the early 1880s it became apparent (through British spies’ infiltration into the organization) that the Clan na Gael was secretly financing and arranging for members to dynamite English government buildings.22 Though British authorities

19 Ibid.
20 “In the Present.” Chicago Daily Tribune, January 3, 1875, p. 9.
21 Ibid.
22 In 1883, various coverage appeared in the Chicago Tribune about this controversy, although much of it was reprinted from newspapers based on the East
successfully thwarted these bombing attempts, the fact that an ethnic fraternal organization was funneling the money of American citizens to support violence against a sovereign nation in the interests not of the United States but of a foreign country was shocking.

In Chicago, however, these revelations did not diminish the presence of the Clan na Gael Guards in St. Patrick’s Day parades. Public concern over the organization’s patriotic loyalties and character were not sufficient to dampen expressions of Irish national pride. Instead, revelations in 1889 about the Clan na Gael’s involvement in a gruesome murder of one of its members was the spark to ignite public outrage and scorch expressions of Irish nationalist sentiment. When prominent Irish physician Patrick Cronin was bludgeoned to death in 1889 and it was discovered that he had been antagonizing the Clan na Gael leadership over suspected embezzlement of funds, the subsequent investigation uncovered an extensive conspiracy among at least five Clan na Gael members including a detective on the Chicago police force.23 The trial and scandal led to the cancellation of the 1890 St. Patrick’s Day parade when the Ancient Order of Hibernians effectively Coast. One example of such coverage is the following: “Clan-Na-Gael.” Chicago Daily Tribune, May 9, 1883, p. 10, reprinted from the Brooklyn Eagle. 23 Many Tribune articles during the trial provide elements of the story, but a colorful summary of the events and their context is also provided in a 1952 Tribune account by Charles Collins, “The Slaying of Dr. Cronin,” part of a series on famous Chicago crimes published in the Chicago Tribune March 2, 1952, p. C5.
determined that a parade would not be held.24 One delegate to the meeting summarized the opposition to the parade in terms of the conflict over nationalism:

   This action means that professional leaders and agitators in this town will have to take a back seat. The honest Irish have sense enough to know and say that this is no time to make a display of our nationality.25

In situations when the expression of aspirations of foreign nationalisms created direct conflict with aspirations of American nationalism, the latter took precedence, at least in Chicago. Although the parades return in 1891, the Clan na Gael Guards, which had previously led the parades, marched in the back of the parade with the fifth division, where they would stay for the remainder of the parade's existence through 1901. This move suggests that the parades underwent a shift after the Cronin murder from an emphasis on aspirations for an Irish nation toward aspirations for an American nationalism that would reflect and serve the interests of America's Irish citizens.

The Polish

The emergence of a recurring Polish parade in Chicago in 1891 also highlights the tensions between American and foreign nationalism in Chicago's ethnic parades before 1900. In the period between 1860 and 1900, Poles in Chicago held parades to celebrate the anniversaries of events upon which their aspirations

24 Thirteen divisions of the Ancient Order of Hibernian cast thirty two votes against holding the parade and only two votes in favor of the parade. The other six organizations in attendance were more evenly split, casting sixteen votes in favor and sixteen votes against the parade. "No Parade March 17," Chicago Daily Tribune, February 17, 1890, p. 1.
25 Ibid.
for an independent Poland were based. In 1880, Poles in Chicago organized a parade to commemorate the 1830 revolution against Russia that sparked a yearlong uprising against Imperial Russia.\textsuperscript{26} In 1891, Poles in Chicago organized a parade to commemorate the centennial anniversary of Poland's first constitution, and in 1894, their parade celebrated the centennial anniversary of Thaddeus Kosciuszko's uprising against the Kingdom of Prussia (also ultimately unsuccessful). Like the St, Patrick's Day parades, these parades featured Polish militia units as well as civic organizations and symbols of Polish nationalism.\textsuperscript{27} Of these three anniversary parades, the Polish Constitution Day parade of 1891 is the only parade that continued on an annual basis, although it absorbed commemorations of Thaddeus Kosciuszko as well.

These Polish parades had strong overtones of Polish nationalism in that they commemorated the events and heroes that were the historic references for an emerging Polish nationalism. They linked nineteenth century national aspirations to eighteenth century political victories. The purpose of the 1894 celebration, as described in the \textit{Tribune}, was

\begin{quote}
Not for the sole purpose of aggrandizing the events of years gone by, nor for the sole purpose of doing tribute to heroes who fought and died for a noble cause, that the Poles arrange these celebrations, but it is more for the purpose of reminding people that a nation like the Polish exists – that it thrives, is strong, and daily gains
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{26} "Fifty Years Ago Anniversary of the Polish Revolution Against Russian Tyranny." \textit{Chicago Daily Tribune}. November 30, 1880, p. 8

\textsuperscript{27} The first Polish Constitution Day Parade featured uniformed Polish police officers, as well as "Prof. Frerk's cornet band and the Second Regiment of Polish Independents [an ethnic military unit]" in addition to over 30 civic organizations. "Big Polish Celebration." \textit{The Chicago Tribune} May 3, 1891, p. 3.
strength, and the millions of Poles who live, either at home in moral slavery or at liberty in exile, have not lost and will not lose their nationality – that they live conscious of the injury they daily receive at the hands of the tripio alliance of Europe.28

This description suggests that Chicago’s Polish residents were actively and intentionally engaged in the process of building national pride and national identity not only among Poles in Poland but among those “in exile.” Although no images of this parade are available, and description is scant, the 1891 parade featured “twenty five boys carrying sickle-shaped swords representing the instruments of warfare formerly used by the Poles against Prussia and Austria,”29 which suggests a similar iconography of that used in the New York St. Patrick’s Day parade: evoking the former warriors as symbols of a future independent nation.

These parades also exhibited aspirations to a Polish-centric American nationalism. The fact that the commemoration of the 1791 Polish constitution became the basis of a recurring parade rather than the uprising of 1830 highlights the links between Polish nationalism and America’s own history of nation building. Not only was 1791 Polish Constitution written a mere four years after the U.S. Constitution was ratified, but the hero of 1794, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, fought in the Revolutionary War under General George Washington.30 In fact, a secondary purpose of the parade, articulated in the same article was to remind the Polish residents of America to appreciate the freedoms granted by their adopted country:

29 "Big Polish Celebration." Chicago Daily Tribune. May 3, 1891, p. 3.
The memory of those battles fought by Kosciuszko and his gallant band won against superior odds inspires their descendents with patriotism and teaches them to love their freedom and love the land and the institutions of the country which they adopted as their own; it reminds the powers of Europe that a people who have sacrificed so much for liberty's sake deserve to be free.31

In addition, the article suggests that the parade has a wider audience than the Polish or American communities and represents a message to Europe and the European powers that were thwarting Poland's national ambitions. For both Polish and Irish immigrants, political incorporation and influence over American nationalism meant not only opportunities to shape local and state laws to be more favorable to Irish and Polish interests, but also opportunities to shape American attitudes and policies to support their foreign national aspirations.

The Nationalism of Aspiration: European Ethnic Participation in Political and Labor Parades, 1850-1900

As the American political party system shifted such that the Whig party disappeared and the Republican party emerged as the main opponent to the Democratic party in the 1850s leading up to the Civil War, immigrant and ethnic Chicagoans joined these parties at a local level and assembled ethnic Democratic and Republican organizations to advance their aspirations for an American nationalism that reflected their values and identities. Although the Democratic Party enjoyed strong support among Germans and Irish leading up to and during the Civil War, the later decades of the twentieth century witnessed a steady shift among

31 Ibid.
Chicago’s ethnic communities into the Republican Party. Chicago’s immigrant and ethnic communities saw in the Republican Party’s support for the rights of the foreign born and protections of industrial workers opportunities to advance their interests within the American democratic system. Republican parades of the 1880s and 1890s showcased the breadth of support for the Party across ethnic lines, but also highlighted that Party organizations remained divided by ethnic loyalties. Though the political scene was dominated by Irish and Germans, who made up the largest percentage of Chicago’s foreign born, other groups began to gain prominence in the Republican Party toward the end of the nineteenth century. By 1894, Swedes were rising in importance for the Republican Party, contributing twenty two thousand voters to Cook County elections. Ten thousand of those voters were foreign born Swedes. That year Swedes would run four candidates for Cook County Commissioner or State Senate. Prior to that year, only one Swedish politician held a seat.

The growth of the labor movement, and its connection to socialist, communist, and anarchist movements also provided Chicago’s immigrants and ethnic communities with opportunities to advocate for an American nationalism that reflected their identities and interests. Although no evidence indicates that Chicago’s German community was united around the labor movement, articles from

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32 An 1884 article in the Tribune, which articulated a clear preference for the Republican Party, about the Republican clubs noted that a newly formed club was almost entirely composed of Irish and German former Democrats. “The Clubs.” The Chicago Tribune. October 14, 1884, p. 6.

33 “All Vote the Ticket.” Chicago Daily Tribune October 11, 1894.

34 Ibid.
the era between 1860 and 1900 indicate that Germans were important intellectual and political leaders of the movement. The ideas of Marx and other socialist thinkers were imported through German civic associations, and as early as the 1860s, a subset of Chicago’s German community was becoming outspoken advocates for workers’ rights. By the 1880s, labor demonstrations and parades had become an important and prominent element of Chicago’s civic life. Speeches given to Chicago’s anarchists and leaflets distributed at labor parades by the anarchists were given in both English and German. However, the labor movement was not only a German affair. Instead it brought together various ethnicities under a single political banner. A meeting of the “Socialistic Labor party” in 1879 indicates that this process of uniting was relatively contested:

_Everybody spoke loud and long, and the most that could be gleaned from the mixture of tongues was that there was a lack of confidence in one another bordering on dissolution. The Germans attacked the Scandinavians, the French the English-speaking, and on the whole, it was a sort of Babel, in the sense that they could understand what each other said, but not what it meant._

Although the process of coming together allowed Chicago's immigrant communities to advocate for an American nationalism that responded to and reflected an immigrant experience, divisions and differences between different immigrant groups about what that might mean persisted.

_Labor Day parades allowed for a greater appearance of unity than the 1879 Socialistic Labor Party meeting, but they also allowed each ethnic group to_
represent its own message and meaning. Parade participants were not only divided by trade affiliation, but also by ethnicity, so the 1891 May 1st labor parade featured not only the National Association of Machinists, but also the “Scandinavian and English-Speaking Branches” of the Machinists’ and Blacksmiths’ Union as well as six different bakers unions, divided along ethnic lines.37 These parades varied, however, in their attitudes toward American nationalism. While the 1890 parade showcased American patriotism through patriotic anthems like the “Star Spangled Banner,” and abundant displays of the American flag, the 1891 parade was a decidedly less patriotic affair.38

Unlike the ethnic parades of this era, which drew relatively little violence or controversy over their content, tensions surrounding political and labor parades suggest that immigrants’ aspirations and efforts to influence the meaning of American nationalism were highly contested. Efforts in the 1870s to ensure foreign born representation on the Common Council in 1871 and to advance a foreign born ticket in 1875 were condemned by the Chicago Tribune as foreign born Know-Nothingism, referring to the movement to restrict anyone of foreign birth from

37 “Favor La Marseillaise.” Chicago Daily Tribune, May 2, 1891, p. 2. The parade featured four explicitly German unions, two explicitly Scandinavian unions, two Bohemian unions, two English-speaking, and one Jewish union.
38 “Labor-Day Parade.” Chicago Daily Tribune, May 2, 1890, p. 1, and “Favor La Marseillaise.” Chicago Daily Tribune, May 2, 1891, p. 2. In 1891, the parade was organized by the Central Labor Union “whose tendency is socialistic.” It favored the French national anthem over American marching songs and displayed “crimson banners” among the American flags.
holding public office. By 1900, political parades were accompanied by taunting and jeers and occasionally violence from spectators of the opposite party. Spectators throwing stones and bricks injured participants in a Republican parade in 1900, for example.

The rise of socialism and labor parades was accompanied by the growth of communism, anarchism, and parades of the unemployed. The resulting tensions, particularly over the activities of communists and anarchists reveals both the contested nature of immigrants' attempts to influence the meaning of American nationalism and the importance of both American and foreign nationalism to immigrant communities. As essentially anti-nationalist philosophies, communism and anarchist posed a threat to immigrants' nationalistic aspirations. They also threatened native-born Americans' national identity. Newspaper commentary about the rise of communism and anarchism demonstrates that both native- and foreign-born Chicagoans sought to limit the influence of immigrants perceived to be

40 “Stones Thrown at Marchers.” Chicago Daily Tribune, October 9, 1900, p. 3.
41 During the nineteenth century, newspapers were strongly aligned with specific political parties and thus are not unbiased arbiters of public opinion about opposing parties. However, the Chicago Daily Tribune provides an interesting perspective on these issues because of its generally positive attitude towards immigrants contrasted with the close association between immigrants and socialism. The labor movement in Chicago was dominated by immigrant communities (particularly the Germans) as demonstrated by the prevalence of foreign-language socialist newspapers and the instability of English-language socialist newspapers. Nelson, Bruce C. "Arbeiterpresse und Arbeiterbewegung: Chicago's Socialist and Anarchist Press, 1870-190." The German-American radical press: the shaping of a left political culture, 1850-1940. Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James Philip Danky, eds. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992, pp. 83-89.
un-American. In an editorial about a communist parade in 1878, the Chicago Daily Tribune argued that

_It must be remembered that the fellows who will to-day carry the 'red flag' and who will orate fearfully upon the wrongs of society, are not Americans in any sense. The great mass of them can neither speak nor read the English language. They are aliens in feeling and in language, and really are grossly ignorant of the theory and principles of American liberty, law, and government._42

The attempts by immigrants to import the ideas of communism and socialism developing in Europe and to incorporate them into American nationalism were met with strong resistance and suspicion. A response to the 1886 Labor Day parade in the same newspaper began to distinguish among different groups of immigrants, arguing that the parade represented a “very small element of the real labor of Chicago”:

_Apparently there were no American workingmen visible in the procession, and very few, if any, Irish, Scotch, English, or Canadians. If there were Scandinavians, they could not be identified by flags or banners. The large majority were composed of Communistic Germans, Bohemians, and Poles... The Nihilistic character of the procession was shown by the red badges and red flags which were thickly displayed through it._43

This growing tension did not only appear in newspaper editorials, however. In 1890, a group of foreign born Chicagoans, led by the editor of German newspaper the Staats-Zeitung, appeared before the Congressional Committee on Immigration to advocate greater immigration restrictions. Raster testified that although he believed that Chicago’s immigrants were on the whole a worthy group, and

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that nine-tenths of the immigrants were people who worked for a living and did not speculate... that within the last five years he thought he had detected a deterioration in the class of immigrants. There were too many Polish, Russian, and Roumanian Jews, and too many of the Southern Italians.44

Raster further argued that "the country ought to be able to put out an alien who advocates anarchistic or socialistic doctrines."45 This antagonism toward certain immigrants, and particularly those advocating for communism and anarchism only increased in Chicago after this hearing, which did not produce the desired legislation. An editorial in The Chicago Daily Tribune in 1893 decried the unemployed parades and meetings occupying the lakefront as fed by "the counsels of black flag and red flag alien agitators and professional riot inciters."46 The editorial even identified which aliens were the problem:

Several hundred lawless Italians made a parade on Michigan avenue and State street, blocking both thoroughfares, and upon being dispersed by the police came back to the park armed with clubs, picks, and shovels, and were joined by the crowd around the statue.47

These excerpts reveal a growing divide separating northern European immigrants and southern and eastern European immigrants – a divide that would eventually be codified at a federal level through immigration restrictions in 1924. It also reveals the growing sense that some European ideas - communism and anarchism - were wholly antithetical to American nationalism. Despite the anti-nationalist bent of these philosophies, they were associated with and ascribed to particular nationalities, where they were in fact part of nation building efforts. These

45 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
increasing tensions would eventually prompt a backlash of Americanization efforts promoting a nationalism of consolidation to counter immigrants’ nationalist aspirations.

*Nationalism of Consolidation: Americanization Efforts and Chicago’s Patriotic Parades, 1850-1930*

During the first era of Chicago’s history, the city’s immigrants and ethnic communities did not only take part in their own parades, they also displayed their aspirations for participation in American nationalism by participating in citywide patriotic parades. The history of Fourth of July parades and celebrations illustrates this tendency, but also demonstrates attempts within Chicago to advance a consolidated American nationalism. While immigrant groups participated freely in July Fourth parades, and occasionally organized their own parades to celebrate the holiday, the July Fourth parades and celebrations highlighted efforts within the city to present an American nationalism defined by military strength, historic iconography, flag waving, and symbols of American nationalism. The parades evolved from military affairs during the 1850s and 1860s into explicit Americanization efforts in the 1910s and 1920s. The latter development reflects the increase in violence in the city over the July Fourth holiday and the growing backlash against immigrants’ expressions of nationalism that were perceived to be in conflict with American ideals.
As immigrant communities imported emerging ideas about workers' rights and the limits of capitalism from their European homelands and immigrant neighborhoods formed ethnic ward-based political structures, they faced increasing resistance to an immigrant-oriented American nationalism. From the 1880s through the 1920s, American nationalism came to be defined by a white racial identity that diminished the importance and the distinction of the immigrant experience and foreign national identity. By advocating a white racial American identity, Americanization proponents addressed two concerns of the early twentieth century: how to reduce attempts by foreign nationals to influence American policies toward their home countries (by reducing their loyalty to those homelands), and how to politically reconcile northern immigrant strongholds with the white Southern establishment. The racialization of American nationalism in Chicago, coupled with a period of black migration from the South resulted in an extended period of inter-group competition and violence, particularly violence against blacks, and anti-immigrant sentiment that produced the country's most restrictive immigration laws in the 1920s. As described by Larry Bennett in *Third City*:

*In this era the First City's mosaic of ethnic neighborhoods took shape, as did its longstanding politics of ward-level mobilization, ethnic identification, and patronage. Interethnic conflict was commonplace, and in addition to 'horizontal' sources of social strife, Chicago's huge working population frequently clashed with the city's big employers. Within a decade of the Haymarket Incident of 1886, the bitter Pullman strike of 1894 generated labor/owner conflict across the United States. At the Union Stock Yard, large-scale labor walk-outs occurred in 1904 and 1921. But surely the greatest instance of social disruption experienced by the First City was the nearly*
weeklong race riot of July 1919, a rolling series of pitched battles whose death
toll reached nearly thirty-eight.  

It was also a period in which the right of citizenship, which had been extended to
black men after the Civil War, was circumscribed in practice through segregation
informal restrictions on access to government and economic opportunities. In 1882,
the first Chinese Exclusion Act placed restrictions on Chinese immigration and
excluded them from becoming naturalized citizens. Thus, Chinese immigrants were
barred from naturalized citizenship and post-Reconstruction blacks, while
nominally bestowed the rights of citizenship, found themselves constrained when
they attempted to put those rights into practice. In race riot described above
resulted from the culmination of tensions that had been growing as the Great
Migration increased competition between blacks and Irish for jobs and housing.
Although this riot was targeted at the African-American population, which had been
growing rapidly from 1916 to 1919, establishing safe neighborhood territories was
a universal problem for the city's immigrant and ethnic populations struggling for a
place in the burgeoning metropolis through competition, cooperation, and
contestation. By the 1920s, the consolidation of American nationalism under a white
racial identity was further supported by the Immigration Act of 1924. This act
extended restrictions against Chinese immigration and naturalization to other Asian
countries and greatly constrained immigration from Southern European countries
by enacting immigration quotas based on the number of foreign-born residents
from each country of origin in 1890. This system greatly privileged immigration

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48 Bennett, Larry. The Third City: Chicago and American Urbanism. Chicago:
from northern European countries while restricting immigration from the less desirable (and more questionably white) southern and eastern European countries like Greece and Italy and Poland.

Fourth of July Parades

Immigrants' representation in July Fourth parades began early in the first era of Chicago's history although these parades were relatively infrequent events. Before 1862, July Fourth parades were primarily military events in which immigrants participated as members of ethnic militias. In this sense, they were explicit efforts at American nation building through the display of a unified military. Ethnic militia participation served to reinforce the nationalism of consolidation expressed by the parade while also implicitly forwarding ethnic aspirations for visibility within an American nationalism. The 1857 July Fourth parade, for example, included the 60th regiment with its Irish Emmet Guards and the Washington Independent Regiment with its various German companies in a large Michigan Avenue parade.49 The next citywide parade held in 1859 was exclusively a military event showcasing Chicago's cadets, but by 1862, the Fourth of July parade began to highlight the city's immigrant civic societies as well. In that parade,

*the first division was composed of the military and fire department; the military comprising batteries of U.S. artillery, with neatly polished and peaceful looking howitzers [heavy artillery mounted on wheeled frames] ... and the third and fourth division were made up of "Hibernian" (i.e. Irish) and German societies.50*

Compared with 1857 when one division comprised all participating civic societies, by 1862, the Irish and German societies had each acquired their own divisions in which to represent their communities' civic activities in addition to their representation in the military portion of the parade.

This melding of immigrants and patriotism reached a new height in 1876, when Chicago's Irish societies organized the city's Fourth of July Parade. Notable in this event is the appearance of Chicago's Polish communities in the parade as well:

*The feature of the celebration of the Fourth in this city promises to be the parade of the Irish Societies and such bodies as have accepted their invitation to join them, preparation for which has been going on for several weeks... The second Division of the line will be formed by the various Polish societies escorted by the Polish Guards under command of Maj. A.B. Zaremba assisted by Sarg-Maj. B. Briard and Ignatius Windzenski and Capt. Niemczewski.*

Again, the prominence of Polish military organizations alongside Polish civic societies emphasizes the symbolic importance of military participation among immigrant groups to signify their patriotism and loyalty to the United States.

As immigrants in struggled to promote the causes of their homeland while making new lives for themselves in their adopted country during the nineteenth century, participating in patriotic parades allowed them to merge these two impulses. Because of their connection to the military and the patriotism of the Civil War, parades allowed immigrants to promote the cultural identity and political

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aspirations, of their former homelands while demonstrating their support for and participation in American nationalism.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, as the patriotic fervor of the Civil War abated, however, July Fourth parades became less common and celebrations came to be associated with drinking and setting off firecrackers rather than with organized displays of American nationalism. In the 1880s and 1890s, Fourth of July celebrations emphasized the increasing divisions among ethnic neighborhoods, and Chicago Daily Tribune editorials would decry the risks of violence and injury as well as the lack of patriotism associated with the national holiday. The Tribune became an outspoken advocate for ushering in a new approach to the City’s Fourth celebrations in the 1880s, propelling the development of a “Sane Fourth” committee that would shape the City’s Independence Day celebrations early in the twentieth century. One editorial in 1882, which starts by asking, “Are we outgrowing our National holidays?” highlights the potential dangers of late nineteenth century celebrations:

*the Fourth of July has come to be the sorriest, noisiest, and most disagreeable day of the whole 365. If display means patriotism, then the whiskey-sellers are the only patriots... and the result of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in these beflagged rumholes is drunkenness, rowdyism, howling, yelling, cursing, shooting, and stabbing. The gamins of the streets have full license to use crackers, torpedoes, and pistols in the most crowded thoroughfares, and the result is fingers blown off, eyes put out, legs broken, pedestrians shot, runaway horses, people maimed in a variety of ways, and property burned to satisfy the recklessness of small boys and grown-up loafers. And this is the substance of Fourth of July.*

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52 “The Day After the Fourth.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 6, 1882, p. 4.
This concern over the lack of national pride and displays of American nationalism on July Fourth echoes concerns about the city's immigrant population. The reference to drunkenness recalls political battles waged by the Germans against liquor restrictions in the early 1870s, and the reference to loafers presages the criticism that would be levied at the parades of the unemployed in the early 1890s.53

By 1910, the Tribune's efforts to reinvigorate the Fourth of July with a patriotic spirit of American nationalism had succeeded, and the dangers of the Fourth of July had not abated. Even the name of the parade committee organizing the parade – the Sane Fourth Committee – speaks to the continuation of violence and danger associated with the American holiday from the 1880s through 1910.54

This success would begin a period of civic efforts at using the Fourth of July as an opportunity to promote the Americanization of Chicago's immigrant groups. As preparations for the "Sane Fourth" celebration developed in February of 1910, an editorial appeared in the Tribune exhorting the organizers to recruit the city's

53 The battle over liquor laws in Chicago is captured in a series of Tribune editorials from the 1870s in which Chicago's Germans are compared with communists because of their tactics in opposing the laws and in which Germans are accused of parading their militias to demonstrate their power and pressure the government to support the interests of their saloon keepers. "The Chicago Commune." Chicago Daily Tribune letter to the editor, June 10, 1871, p. 0_4, and "The Sunday Difficulty." Chicago Daily Tribune. Editorial. June 11, 1871, p. 0_2.

immigrants and their descendents to contribute to the parade to make it a more patriotic display:

_The ear has been filled with platitudes regarding the composition of the American nation. It is proposed now to fill the eye with the spectacle of it. To do so the celebration must have the support of the nationalities which in and since the cradle days of this country have contributed to its strength. With the help of the citizens whose loyalty now is to the United States, but whose affections embrace Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Italy, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Austria, France, Bohemia, Hungary, the Slavonic countries, etc., Chicago will present a pageant July 4 which will be as symbolic in a truly patriotic sense as was the triumph of a Roman conqueror in merely a personal one._

The elements of the parade managed by the parade organizers, the Sane Fourth society, demonstrated a commitment to American nationalism where it could be achieved. The parade began with the military division, led by militias with federally managed regulars (full time soldiers) behind and the Governor of Illinois and Mayor of Chicago bringing up the rear. Following the military came the “Pageant of History” with such noted personages (depicted through costume and makeup) as George Washington and Betsy Ross as well as patriotic symbols like the Spirit of 1776, the Declaration of Independence and the Independence hall bell. This pageant of history was in essence a performance of American nationalism and patriotism one hundred and thirty five years after the Revolutionary War and nearly half a century after the Civil War.

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56 This ordering of the troops advanced a kind of localized nationalism that flanked the professional, federal soldiers with Illinois and Chicago based volunteer soldiers in front and the State and City executives behind.

Following the historical pageant came “heralds with banner of the city of Chicago” along with the fire department and ethnic societies including not only German, Irish, and Polish groups, which had a history of organizing their own parades, but also Lithuanians, Bohemians, Swedes and Greeks. The displays of these societies were varied with the Germans depicting the role of their forefathers in American history, the Irish and Lithuanians depicting historical roots of their cultures (thus demonstrating the legitimacy of their nationalist aspirations), while the Bohemians presented both their American contributions and their national heritage. From 1910 to 1911, immigrant participation in this patriotic display swelled, and newspaper coverage highlighted the most exciting, exotic, and impressive displays of (foreign) national pride.

The celebration of nationalism in Chicago during the early twentieth century largely focused on European nations. Even a float advocating women’s suffrage that fought its way into the 1910 July Fourth parade used the symbol of European nationalism to highlight its cause:

Another distinctive float, not falling in any of the prearranged classifications, was that labeled 'Women's Cause.' On an attractive float covered with suffragist mottoes were a score of unusually pretty young women, four of whom were engaged in dividing, managing, monopolizing, or otherwise disposing of a great globe representing the world while the rest represented in an exceedingly flattering way the various states and nations that have recognized woman’s right to vote.

58 Ibid.
By depicting the European nations that had extended voting rights to women, the suffragists exploited American pride and the fact that American national identity was built in dialogue with the intellectual movement that gave rise to Europe’s nations as well. By aligning themselves with European nations that had achieved their goals, they aligned themselves with the European women who had been granted citizenship privileges. In this way, they followed a pattern employed by many of Chicago’s European immigrant populations, which routinely used expressions of foreign national identity (and by extension of citizenship rights protected by a sovereign nation) to advocate for political inclusion in Chicago. Unfortunately, this path to political inclusion was closed to at least a subset of Chicago’s non-white populations.

The parades of 1910 and 1911 also reinforced the whiteness of American nationalism that had emerged in Chicago. In 1911, headlines in the Tribune read “Twelve Races Represented at Meeting of Parade Committee of Sane Fourth Association,”61 and “Five Thousand Marchers Are Ready for Morning Pageant of Seventeen Nations.”62 What is interesting about these headlines is their use of the terms “race” and “nation.” Whereas a report on the 1911 Sane Fourth of July parade preparations in the Chicago Daily Tribune indicates that black Chicagoans expressed interest in contributing a float to the parade, by the time the parade had become a “Pageant of Seventeen Nations,” they are nowhere to be seen. The absence of black and Chinese units suggests that these groups encountered barriers to participating.

in the city's formal expression of American nationalism and reflects a growing conflation of American nationalism and white racial identity.  

These centralized parades of patriotism, these joint expressions of American nationalisms of consolidation and aspiration disappeared after 1912 for about five years before they were reinvented as part of an explicit program of Americanization. The social and spatial segregation that organized Chicago's ethnic neighborhoods at this time also organized efforts to promote American nationalism. From 1912 to 1916, Sane Fourth celebrations continued, but were segregated by neighborhood and organized around formal addresses and patriotic slide shows in neighborhood parks. The outbreak of World War I inspired renewed expressions of foreign nationalism among Chicago's immigrant communities, many of which found themselves in conflict with one another. As Germans, German Jews, and Scandinavians organized in support of German nationalism, Chicago's Slavic communities promoted aspirations for Slavic states' national independence. Czech, Polish, and Serbian immigrants held rallies and gave speeches in parks and halls to

65 "No Explosives for July Fourth." Chicago Daily Tribune, July 3, 1912, p. 7. It appears that the patriotic fervor of 1910 and 1911 did not last into for the city's immigrant and ethnic groups. These groups issued a statement to the program organizers that "owing to political conventions and other happenings, it was impossible to organize committees to carry out any one feature successfully."
promote their foreign loyalties. Further, actions of German leaders and politicians against America's entry into the war on the side of the Allies raised the specter of foreign-born citizens acting in politics in the interests of foreign powers, and a backlash against immigration grew. By 1917, the Sane Fourth had been reinvented as an Americanization exercise explicitly oriented toward educating the populace in an American nationalism of consolidation. Despite the fact that newspaper articles document a decline in the death and injuries associated with the Fourth of July, its dangers re-emerged in 1917 to celebrate the success of the Americanization program. "Times have changed!" the article declares:

Four years ago the Fourth of July was a nightmare to mothers. It was explosive, noisy, and nerve racking. Yesterday was a holiday for all, mothers as well as children. There was none of the explosiveness or the noise. Parades, tableaux, military maneuvers, folk dances, flag raisings and picnics took the place of firecrackers, nigger chasers, pinwheels, revolvers, caps, and skyrockets... Unlike the 1910 and 1911 parades in which immigrants showcased their foreign national identities, in the 1917 celebrations, parades held in Chicago's neighborhoods featured the city's ethnic and immigrant residents displaying symbols and historic tableaus of American nationalism. For example, a parade of

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66 A detailed description of these dynamics is captured in Pacyga, Dominic A. Chicago: A Biography. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009, pp. 189-194. 67 Ibid, p. 194. Also: "Wilson Forces 'Hyphen' Plank." Chicago Daily Tribune. June 16, 1916, p. 2. This Tribune article from 1916 delineates President Wilson's concern over the political influence of the foreign born: "The plank would charge a conspiracy on the part of some foreign born citizens to participate in politics and influence foreign and internal affairs in the interest of foreign governments and would condemn any organization countenancing such a movement and any political party receiving benefit from it and failing to repudiate it." 68 "City Observes Fourth, Sane But Patriotic; Elaborate Parades and Programs Held in Every Park and Square." Chicago Daily Tribune, July 5, 1917, p. 5. In this account, the new inclusion of "nigger chasers" suggests the new and increasing violence in the city directed toward Chicago's expanding black population.
Italians “was filled with patriotic floats of every description. Columbia, Betsy Ross, and Liberty were portrayed.”69 In addition, at the park where the Italians’ parade finished, a “throng of foreign born patriots was stirring... They were bent on placing Old Glory above any other flag on the earth.”70 In 1918, the July Fourth celebration for immigrants in Chicago was organized by the foreign language committee of the Liberty loan, an organization “instrumental in supplying propaganda to be used abroad in furtherance of American aims in the war, and to spread knowledge of the fact of American unity of effort and thought.”71

With the ending of the war in 1919, Chicago’s population underwent a shift that further supported the goals of Americanization. While some immigrants returned to their homelands in celebration of their realized aspirations for nationhood, many became more committed to remaining in the United States. In some cases, immigrants found that their homelands were less accepting of their return than they had anticipated and returned with a renewed commitment to their adopted homelands. In addition, the renewed push for immigration restrictions, including a literacy requirement passed in 1917, a quota system passed in 1921, and the National Origins Act of 1924, isolated Chicago’s immigrant communities from their families and homelands, limiting their connections and mobility.72 This shift can be seen in the pattern of European parades after 1900. By 1902, Irish and Greek

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69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
parades have disappeared, the Columbus Day parade virtually disappeared between
1914 and 1950, and the Norwegian Independence Day parade was cancelled in
favor of picnics from 1918 to 1928 (except for one parade held in 1923).73

These immigration dynamics combined with the economic and political
stresses brought on by the end of wartime demand and an increasing labor supply
encouraged efforts to consolidate ethnic Europeans under the banner of a white
American political identity. During this time, European immigrants’ foreign
nationalist aspirations began to threaten American nationalist interests and their
political power as immigrants decreased with immigration restrictions of the 1920s.
Combined with immigrants’ animosity toward the city’s expanding black population,
which meant new economic competition, these developments accelerated the
transition to an allegiance to white American nationalism among European
immigrants. This explicitly racial nationalism was particularly a strategy of the
Democratic Party, which used a platform of whiteness to regain political power after
its losses to the Republicans following the Civil War.74 The end of World War I

73 The disappearance of parades was confirmed by newspaper articles covering
alternate celebrations of the holidays in the case of the Norwegian and Italian
parades and by a combination of newspaper and other historical sources for the
Irish and Greek parades. Whether the Spanish Columbus Day parade and Polish
Constitution Day parade continued without interruption during this period is less
clear. The Polish parade receives only intermittent coverage between 1900 and
1931, at which point it is given annual coverage. The Spanish parade likewise
receives intermittent coverage between 1900 and 1949. However, because these
parades are located in neighborhoods rather than downtown it is not certain that a
lack of coverage indicates a lack of existence.

74 The meaning of this whiteness shifted over the first decades of the twentieth
century, excluding Italians from their white primaries in 1903 but courting them in
brought an ethnic workforce that had been fighting abroad to a Chicago that had been reshaped by the Great Migration. Unemployment and racial tensions resulted in an increase in violence in Chicago with street gangs patrolling territorial boundaries, labor strikes devolving into riots, and a prolonged race riot in 1919.75

*The Rise of White Ethnic Political Power and the Merging of Local and National Politics, 1930-1950*

The onset of the Great Depression dramatically shifted the meaning and practice of American nationalism in Chicago among Chicago's European ethnics. Dissatisfaction with the rampant corruption associated with Republican control of city hall – particularly under mayor William "Big Bill" Thompson – and Anton Cermak's ability consolidate Chicago's European ethnics under the banner of a white Democratic party gave the Democrats a decisive victory in 1931.76 This victory would prove the beginning of over seventy years of Democratic mayors and the beginning of strong multi-ethnic political coalitions influencing Chicago politics. Figure 2.3 shows a diagram of the rise of ethnic mayors in Chicago against patterns of immigration. After Cermak's victory in 1931, Irish-American mayors born in Cermak's Bridgeport neighborhood controlled Chicago for over forty years followed by a succession of mayors of Irish and other ethnicities.

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76 Ibid, pp. 256-259.
Figure 2.3. The Rise of Chicago’s Ethnic Mayors, 1860-2011.

This chart is generated from data provided by Gibson and Jung’s (2006) Historical Census Statistics on the foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850-2000 and the 2010 American Community Survey and it illustrates that Anton Cermak’s 1931 mayoral victory marked the beginning of the rise of Chicago’s ethnic mayors.
As Chicago transitioned to its second era, it would appear that Americanization efforts and immigration restrictions were largely successful at promoting a white American nationalism. Yet, Chicago's ethnic groups maintained their foreign national aspirations and loyalties, demonstrated in their activism in response to growing tensions in Europe in the 1930s. While in this period, only a small contingent of Chicago's German population came out in support of the Nazi government, that group attracted protests and violence from the other European groups in the city that felt their nations were threatened by Nazi ambitions. With the outbreak of World War II, Chicago's Czech and Polish communities advocated for American intervention and engaged in public displays of their national aspirations. While the Polish Constitution Day parade had diminished in public visibility during the first decades of the twentieth century, by 1931 the rallies that accompanied the parade attracted extensive newspaper coverage throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

The 1930s brought another important change in immigrants' relationship to American nationalism. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Chicago maintained some degree of autonomy from the federal and state governments, and sought to limit federal and state intervention in the city's affairs. This meant that for most of Chicago's immigrants, American nationalism had meaning primarily at the level of the city or perhaps the state. The Great Depression, however, fundamentally

changed Chicago's relationship to the federal government. The city's inability to provide for its citizens on its own or through state-dispersals of resources meant that relationships between Chicago's political leadership and national leaders became critical for the city's economic recovery. Anton Cermak's success in campaigning for Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1932 presidential election gave Cermak the political clout to petition directly for federal relief without going through the Illinois state government. This trend would be continued by Cermak's successors in the Chicago Democratic machine and would also be adopted by Chicago's ethnic communities. These groups would increasingly establish ties at all levels of government to advocate their American and foreign national aspirations. Finally, the Great Depression also witnessed the rise of labor unions as economic desperation increased their membership and political clout. In Chicago, animosity toward the unions shifted to appeasement after a labor demonstration was violently suppressed by the Chicago police in 1937. This anti-union violence was in direct contrast to the Roosevelt administration's position, and resulted in Chicago's Democratic machine adopting a conciliatory attitude toward the unions. This meant that the city's immigrants had achieved access to the political system through both the multi-ethnic Democratic machine and through multi-ethnic labor organizations. As they became part of a nationalism of consolidation that largely promoted a white American nationalism, they achieved many of their American national aspirations.

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Bumping up against the white American nationalism of consolidation of the early twentieth century were the nationalist aspirations of black and Chinese Chicagoans, who faced increasing exclusion from the end of the nineteenth century through the end of the first era of Chicago's history. As European parades disappeared or suffered through long disruptions, non-European parade cultures began to emerge. Based on information from the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Table 2.3 shows the relative decline of European parades from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries and the rise of non-European parades, including parades in Chicago's black, Chinese and Mexican communities.
### Table 2.3. Approximate Shift in Parade Culture in Chicago During First City Era 1860-1950

<table>
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<th>Ethnic/Racial Group</th>
<th># Recurring Parades 1860-1900</th>
<th># Recurring Parades 1901-1950</th>
<th>Change 19th to 20th century</th>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This table was generated from data compiled from Chicago Tribune archives as well as from parade organizers for parades still active in 2010. It highlights the relative decline in European parade activities after the turn of the twentieth century and the relative rise in non-European parades. Starting with the African American Bud Billiken Parade in 1929, non-European groups developed their use of parade activities to assert their right to the privileges of citizenship. The turmoil in Europe, the increased military service of non-Europeans, and the re-alignment of global alliances during this period also supported the rise of non-European parade activities.*
As European immigrants began to politically incorporate into a white American nationalism (through great conflict and contestation), formal and informal policies continued to limit black and Chinese residents' participation in that nationalism. Housing policies that ensured racial segregation established and maintained relatively homogenous residential areas for black and Chinese Chicagoans. Although blacks had been dispersed throughout Chicago's white and immigrant neighborhoods prior to 1910, after the Great Migration, informal policies adopted by the city's real estate industry concentrated their settlement in what would become the Bronzeville of the Black Belt while Chinese continued to reside in Chinatown. Meanwhile, migrants coming up the rail lines from Mexico were also forming settlements in Chicago's west and south sides and facing discrimination as they competed with their European ethnic neighbors for work.

While both black and Chinese Chicagoans had experimented with parades in the late nineteenth century, neither established a recurring parade culture until after World War I. In the black community, parades emerged after the expansion of the Bronzeville neighborhood at a time when the city's black community had established a strong social and civic infrastructure at the end of the 1920s. Like many immigrant parades, the Bud Billiken parades showcased the community's leaders and blacks' contributions to both Chicago and to American culture in general. Early on, special guests included such prominent figures as Joe Louis, the

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80 Ibid, pp. 204-206.
world's heavyweight boxing champion, and Duke Ellington. The parades were oriented toward children, and as such, they focused on education and citizenship, while claiming territory for the black community of Chicago. Chinese parades also adopted elements of European immigrant parades. Through their dramatic inclusion of a lion dance in Chicago's 1899 Parade of Nations, the Chinese gained visibility and positive attention. However, the small size of the community and its internal divisions prevented the establishment of a strong parade culture until the end of the 1930s brought Chinese and American interests in closer alignment. At this point, Chinese New Year parades and commemorations of the founding of the Republic of China provided a public venue for Chicago's Chinese to express foreign nationalist sentiments that linked to the ideals and interests of American nationalism. At this point, the Chinese had long since established a civic infrastructure that functioned in parallel with the Chicago, Illinois, and American political system. Chicago's Mexican community, which did not have a strong sense of national identity before the Depression, found themselves excluded from white American nationalism when economic hardship meant that European ethnics were privileged for jobs and relief benefits. Inspired by the development of Mexican nationalism in Mexico, Mexicans in Chicago followed the footsteps of European

81 In *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, Harvey W. Zorbaugh notes that “the Chinese Tongs, for instance, enforce their own laws and impose their own fines' the American courts and law are only resorted to when help is needed to enforce the Tong law against a rebellious member... The colony is little understood, either by law or by the rest of the city, and comes to constitute a little world by itself.” Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 140-141.

immigrants in building an identity that combined foreign and American national aspirations.83

Black Chicago

For Chicago’s black population, aspiring to full participation and inclusion in American nationalism was a uniquely difficult proposition. Unlike the city’s immigrant populations, blacks had been actively excluded not only from citizenship but from personhood from the nation’s founding through the Civil War. The economic system of slavery, in which Africans sold other Africans, ensured that blacks had no sovereign nation or political territory that could advocate their rights and protections. Their history and identity was the history of the United States. Blacks were inextricably bound to the very myths, symbols and historic events around which American nationalism was built. Yet, they remained largely invisible from those myths and histories and their attempts to gain visibility and rights faced constant resistance. Even after black men achieved official status as citizens after the Civil War, blacks in the United States and Chicago struggled to forge a path to a more fully realized citizenship. In Chicago in the nineteenth century, a more

83 Ibid, pp. 172-173. According to Arrendondo, “The Mexicans who stayed in Chicago... wielded the tools of Mexican nationalism and a nostalgic past as they turned their energies to fighting the barrier of prejudice and continued to work at unifying Mexicans in Chicago. Along the way... their efforts at constructing a collective sense of group identification, Mexicanidad, coalesced with externally defined constraints founded in prejudicial and negative characterizations of ‘Mexican.’
integrationist path prevailed. Black militias paraded in celebration of Civil War victories in the 1860s and 1870s, and black societies, such as black Tanners and Masons, paraded intermittently into the twentieth century. In many ways Chicago black parade culture existed in parallel to native white parade culture. This integrationist approach was further illustrated in the fact that efforts to secure a separate black exhibit at the 1893 Exposition in Chicago were derided as a "capitulation to racism." The integrationist perspective claimed national allegiance to the United States and advocated for that nation to full access to its citizenship rights for black Americans. This position left blacks much more vulnerable than their immigrant peers who could leverage their citizenship rights in their home country to claim new rights in America. This position is reflected in the black community's participation in parades. In the 1903 parade in celebration of Chicago's founding, the only black representation was the Eighth Illinois regiment in the military division. In contrast, Chicago's Swedish residents furnished a float decorated with the gods of Norse mythology as well as "a long line of Swedish societies," and the Swiss also outfitted a float. By emphasizing integration over a distinct political identity through explicit expressions of their nationalist

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84 For an in-depth discussion of the origins of Black Nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Wilson Jeremiah Moses's *The golden age of Black nationalism, 1850-1925*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. In particular, a comparison of the approach to black representation in the Atlanta Exposition of 1895 and the World's Columbian of 1893 in Chicago on pages 118 to 120 reveals the integrationist preferences of Chicago's black leaders during this period.


aspirations, blacks in Chicago during this era could not make use of parades as a means of improving their political position in the city. However, some of their reluctance to establish a recurrent parade culture that emphasized their nationalist claims may be explained by the territorial violence that flared repeatedly among blacks and whites in Chicago’s neighborhoods.87

This violence culminated in a deadly race riot in the summer of 1919 when Chicago’s tensions over the city’s invisible racial boundaries and patterns of police indifference to injustice boiled over into a summer of violence between Chicago’s black and white populations on the South Side. Instigated by white beachgoers hurling stones at a black youth who had crossed an invisible color line in Lake Michigan, violence persisted for days and resulted in thirty eight deaths, five hundred thirty seven injured, and about a thousand residents, mostly black, left homeless by fires set during the rioting. During the first era of Chicago’s history, Chicago’s black population experienced disproportionate violence and exclusion from the full privileges of citizenship. As the city’s European immigrant population was assuming a white American nationalism and establishing itself within the city’s power structure, Chicago’s non-white populations found their positions increasingly circumscribed. In a statement setting forth the causes and consequences of the riot,

87 For example, a parade of “colored Tanners” was accused of assaulting white spectators in 1872; a race riot broke out as blacks and whites patrolled neighborhood territory against intruders in 1905; and a 1908 parade of “colored masons” was accorded police protection in case of incident. “Turbulent Tanners.” Chicago Daily Tribune. November 1, 1872, p. 5; “Two Men Killed in Race Rioting.” Chicago Daily Tribune. May 22, 1905, p. 1; “Colored Masons on March.” Chicago Daily Tribune. August 21, 1908, p. 5.
Chicago's black leaders articulated their right to full privileges of citizenship by drawing on their demonstrated patriotism and loyalty of black soldiers. The statement asserted, among other things,

_That many of the white people do not realize they have in Chicago's colored population a new type to deal with, one that has a distinct race consciousness, that has helped to fight its country's every battle, and that will content itself with nothing less than the full enjoyment of the privileges and rights granted under the law, one that is not seeking social contact with any race or person that bases such contact upon color and not character, past history, and not the present worth of the individual._

This statement highlights the fact that by 1919, Chicago's black community had undergone a shift in its group identity. It was beginning to assert its nationalist aspirations – aspirations to full access to the rights and privileges of American citizenship. The claim, like that of European ethnics' in the nineteenth century, rests in part on a demonstrated history of patriotism and military service and foreshadows the beginning of the black community's robust civic infrastructure, political activism and the Civil Rights movement.

Ten years after the riots, Chicago's black community established its most enduring, recurring parade: the Bud Billiken parade. Started in 1929, this parade extended down South Parkway (later to become Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive), from 32nd Street to 55th Street and Washington Park. This route connected the Douglas community area, which was home to the original Black Belt on State Street between Twelfth and Thirty-Ninth, with the more recently settled Grand Boulevard.

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88 Reprinted in the *Chicago Daily Tribune.* "Negroes Call on Mayor, Lowden, to Stop Riots." July 31, 1919, p. 3.
and Washington Park community areas to the south.89 The parade functioned both to solidify the black community's claim on its territory and to bring together its economically and socially diverse (though racially homogeneous) community.

Coverage of the parade's early years suggests that it did not have a strong orientation towards American identity. The Chicago Defender newspaper, one of black Chicago's most important civic institutions organized the parade. The second parade in 1930 featured South Side Boy Scout troops, the Chicago Defender band, staff and family of The Chicago Defender, and three divisions of “Billikens,” members of the Defender's Bud Billiken Club, for which the parade is named.90 In addition, the parade featured “Princess 'Wee Wee' nationally known actress,”91 establishing a tradition of connecting nationally recognized black celebrities with the parade. One of the major features of the parade was the line of automobiles, trucks and buses carrying many of the children, and decked in American flags—the only expression of nationalism in the parade. Throughout the 1930s, participation in the parade grew, with representatives from the American Legion, the YMCA and other civic organizations from communities in and outside of Chicago joining in and businesses

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89 Both the Grand Boulevard and the Washington Park community areas experienced rapid racial turnover in the decade between 1920 and 1930. Blacks made up 32% of the population of Grand Boulevard in 1920 and 94.6% in 1930. In Washington Park, blacks only comprised 15% of the population in 1920, but 93% in 1930. see Pacyga, Dominic A. Chicago: A Biography. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009, p. 225.
90 “Thousands Cheer Bud’s ‘Gang’ in Parade.” Chicago Defender, August 30, 1930, p. 15.
91 Ibid.
donating trucks and cars to the parade.\footnote{“Expect 10,000 in Bud’s Big Parade,” \textit{Chicago Defender}. August 19, 1933, p. A4.} By 1935, the \textit{Defender} was sponsoring promotions to increase circulation by offering a free trip to Chicago for the parade for the ten readers who get the highest number of new subscribers.\footnote{“Billikens You Can Win Free Trip to Chicago.” \textit{Chicago Defender}. June 29, 1935, p. 15.} By 1936 the parade grew more political though it remained focused on its immediate surroundings rather than on nationalism. That year, the Mayor of Bronzeville campaign, established by James J. Gentry and the \textit{Chicago Defender}\footnote{Dempsey, Travis J. “Bronzeville.” \textit{The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago}. Chicago, IL: Chicago Historical Society, 2005. \url{http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/171.html}.}, was carried out in tandem with the Bud Billiken parade with the candidates promising to make contributions to and appearances in the parade.\footnote{“Candidates Ready for Big Parade.” \textit{Chicago Defender}. July 11, 1936, p. 17.} The parade and mayor’s contest worked together to promote the area’s political autonomy and to reshape the identity of the expanded black quarter from the Black Belt into Bronzeville, evoking the nostalgic picture of a small town in America rather than a segregated district in a sprawling metropolis. This rebranding strategy, like the parade itself, continued to depict black Chicago as having parallel values and civic participation as its native white counterpart rather than to promote an explicitly alternate black American nationalism.

Not until World War II shifted the focus of the Bud Billiken parade to the war did the parade embrace the symbols and iconography of American nationalism. As immigrant parades previously, the Billiken parades of the 1940s showcased black
veterans, black police officers and firemen, militia, and local civic organizations for
customs. After the end of World War II, participation of
children’s organizations and floats sponsored by local businesses again became
more prominent. Newspaper accounts reveal that by the late 1940s the parade had
become a major city event with regular participation from the city mayor and other
important dignitaries, particularly black judges and politicians. The parade became
a way to showcase the contributions made to the city by its black citizens and to
showcase to the black community the potential opportunities of citizenship.
Interestingly, the 1947 parade and picnic also included pageantry in which “children
dressed in the costumes of their native lands – Mexico, China, Poland, Lithuania,
Czechoslovakia, and Africa.” The juxtaposition of Africa among other national
identities perhaps suggests the influence of Black Nationalist movements, which had
been growing in the United States since the 1920s. In addition, it suggests some
recognition among the black community of the value of developing a black identity
tied to Africa in a city where European nationalities had successfully achieved full
access to the privileges of citizenship.

The growth of parades in Chicago's black community coincided with an
innovation in parade sponsorship and participation. For the most part, information
on sponsorship of early parades is not publicized in newspaper accounts, which
tend to be more concerned with documenting the events themselves than the
process of organizing the events. However, a few things are apparent. First, most
early immigrant parades did not include floats sponsored by businesses. Most
immigrant parades included few if any floats, which were primarily associated with large citywide parade activities. Instead, parades featured military groups, sometimes cavalry, and usually marching civic societies. In addition, documentation of a few citywide parades that faced funding difficulties suggests that parades of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries raised money through individual contributions – either from parade participants of from the general public.96 The implied reward for contributions was the publicity provided by the parade demonstrating individuals' generosity and civic-mindedness. The economic hardship of the Great Depression, which stretched neighborhood's philanthropic capacity to its limit, would have made such appeals less compelling. Chicago's black and Mexican parades solved this problem through business sponsorship of floats and vehicles. By 1933, the Bud Billiken parade had already recruited businesses to donate vehicles, a practice that grew throughout the 1930s and 1940s.97 In addition, a 1940 article about a Mexican Independence Day Parade along Halsted, just west of downtown mentions business sponsorship of floats as well.98

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96 When the Fall Festival Committee that organized the 1899 Parade of Nations found itself short on funds, for example, it published regular calls for public contributions: “The celebration will require an outlay of not less than $100,000. About $75,000 of this amount has been subscribed... It is deemed necessary at this time to appeal urgently to every citizen of Chicago who has the welfare and interest of his city at heart to immediately subscribe as liberally as his means will permit that the work of the committee will not be hampered. All the amounts subscribed will be published, and will be expended under the careful supervision of business-men of Chicago in whom the entire city has implicit confidence.” “Ask Citizens for Cash.” Chicago Daily Tribune. September 8, 1899, p. 8.


This innovation in parade sponsorship and participation meant that the Bud Billiken parade could produce the kind of spectacle and pageantry that had been seen primarily in downtown parades. It also showcased the contributions and civic-mindedness not only of individuals but also of local businesses. Ideas about Black Nationalism that had come to Chicago with Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in the early twentieth century emphasized the importance of developing black businesses and black economic self-sufficiency. Although leadership of the Chicago Defender largely eschewed Black Nationalist ideology, they would also have strong incentives to strengthen the local black business community, which would have been an important source of funding. The relationships established among black media, black businesses, and black civic leaders in the first two decades of the Billiken parade laid the foundation for unified political presence as the Civil Rights movement created new language and new opportunities to advocate for an American nationalism that reflected and accepted its black citizens.

99 This emphasis has been widely documented, but as an example, in a 1924 editorial in the Negro World (New York City, November 4), Garvey wrote that “The urge now is for a higher industrial and economic life. Each race group of humanity is now called upon to shoulder its own responsibility.” (Reprinted in Robert A. Hill, ed. The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Vol. VI: September 1924-December 1927. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). Garvey repeatedly blended his call for patriotism and the development of a black national consciousness with the need for economic independence.
Blacks were perhaps most similar to Chinese immigrants, who had been stripped of naturalization privileges by the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. As black Americans fought to enact the citizenship privileges they had won in the Civil War, Chinese immigrants were losing their right to naturalized citizenship. In addition, European immigrants' celebrations of their national identities reminded American officials and politicians of their connections to external sovereign powers and America's most important export destination. In the nineteenth century, although American trade with China was growing China played a relatively minor role as an importer from and exporter to the United States compared with European countries. The Chinese community in Chicago was also at a disadvantage relative to European immigrant groups in that it remained relatively poor and isolated and fragmented in rival factions through much of the first era. In a newspaper interview from 1880, a Chinatown businessman lamented the Chinese community's lack of political power in the city, and the newspaper's transcription of the businessman's accent indicates the cultural distance between the two:

_Not got enough Chinamen in Chicago. If Chinamen file off clackels, 'Melican men say Chinamen flighten holse; must stop. Only two hundled Chinamen in Chicago. When we get two-thlee thousand, like New Yolk, then we go to Mayor, ask him letee us have filewolks and plocession._

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Despite immigration restrictions, Chicago's Chinese population continued to grow within the spatial confines of Chinatown. The organization of Chinatown into two major tongs\textsuperscript{102} whose leaders served as English-speaking liaisons with city officials meant that Chinatown could function as a separate society in which the rules and norms of American nationalism were secondary to the rules and norms of Chinatown. Housing and economic discrimination against Chinese residents outside of Chinatown, and the custom of sending children to China for their education ensured that second and third generation Chinese remained within the borders of Chinatown.\textsuperscript{103}

This isolation of Chicago's Chinese population appeared to lift briefly in 1899 with the Parade of Nations in which the Chinese contingent outshone the other participating nations. This parade was organized as part of a series of events to honor the arrival of President William McKinley. The evening Parade of Nations followed a more ceremonial Chicago Day Parade, which featured "officials of the United States and two neighboring governments, military and naval officers and men, civic bodies and labor organizations, and veterans of two wars" that took place in the afternoon.\textsuperscript{104} Unlike most Chicago parades, whose national representations tended toward the European, this Parade of Nations, which was organized in

\textsuperscript{102} These Chinese organizations began as benevolent associations, but generally became associated with illicit activities as well. In Chicago the leaders of the Hip Sing Tong and the On Leong Tong were in constant competition for political control over Chinatown.


\textsuperscript{104} "Today is Fete's Climax." \textit{Chicago Daily Tribune}. October 9, 1899, p. 2.
consultation with Chicago's consulates, represented South American and Asian nations as well. However, the Chinese display in the parade occupied the majority of the commentary; of seventeen subsections in the Tribune's description of the parade, nine focused on the Chinese contribution.\textsuperscript{105} Although the audience for the parade was entertained and captivated by the display of a three hundred foot dragon, genii, umbrella bearers, light bearers, and Chinese cavalry, the final Chinese group inspired an interesting set of reflections. A description of this last unit suggests that the ideas of Chinese nationalism developed and promoted by Sun Yat-Sen were instrumental in establishing new ideological links between Chicago and its Chinese residents:

:\textit{The last great standard was one of 'New China'... This standard... bore the motto of the party of 'New China'... 'China comes forth anew, with new implements in her hands.' Following this flag were 100 young Chinese wearing American costumes, with their queues cut away. They had gone even further than this in the process of assimilation and were wearing uniform caps of white duck. This portion of the Chinese section was taken as the symbol of it all. China wished to be like other countries... It was suggested that it was the signal that China was beginning to learn... and was ready to enter into the rivalry of nations.}\textsuperscript{106}

Although the appearance of the New China Party in Chicago's parade preceded the fall of Chinese imperial rule by over ten years, this passage highlights the early sympathy among Chicago's Chinese for Sun Yat-Sen's ideas and its resonance with Chicago's non-Chinese population as well. It suggests that the exclusion of Chinese from America's political incorporation of immigrants may have in part reflected a mistrust of China's cultural and political legacy, often depicted as backwards and

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{105} "All Nations in Night Pageant." \textit{Chicago Daily Tribune}. October 10, 1899, p. 1. \\
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
unenlightened in Chicago's press. The emphasis on assimilation and national consciousness as indications of China's interest in being like other countries suggests that this display marks a break from previous interpretations of the Chinese in Chicago and the importance of national identity for achieving political incorporation.

Finally, by the early 1940s, the first accounts of parades in Chicago's Chinatown begin to appear in the Tribune. Establishing the start date of the Chinese New Year and Double Ten parades is complicated by the fact that the parade organizers could not provide start dates, and newspaper coverage tends to be erratic. However, Chinese New Year celebrations in Chicago were covered by the Tribune with some frequency during the First era, and descriptions of the celebrations do not mention the presence of the Chinese dragon or a parade in either text or images until 1937, when a photo shows a young girls with a dragon that was used in the ceremony and in 1940, when the celebrations include a parade of Boy Scouts down Wentworth Street in Chinatown. The first mention of Chicago celebrations of the October 10th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China appears on the 30th anniversary of the holiday, and the cusp of the Second Sino-Japanese War, as part of a benefit drive for United China Relief. This seems to be the turning point for parades in Chicago's Chinese community. In the following years, both holidays are celebrated with parades, and the "Chinese '4th of July,' or
Independence day,\textsuperscript{107} features parades that showcase the integration of Chinese immigrants and their descendants into American society:

\textit{Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and American soldiers of Chinese ancestry marched in a parade that started at noon and wound its way thru the crowded streets of the area. Sidewalks were lined with men, women, and children waving an American flag in one hand and a flag bearing the white star of China in the other.}\textsuperscript{108}

The introduction of the 1941 Double Ten Parade commemorating the anniversary of the rise of the Republic of China further enabled the Chinese community to fully express their nationalism of aspiration for their home country. That these parades emerged at a time when China was united with America against an external enemy – Japan and the other Axis powers – is hardly surprising. The international political landscape of World War II allowed the increasingly American-born Chinese in Chicago (a result of the immigration restrictions of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882) to develop a parade culture similar to that of European immigrants after decades of disenfranchisement during which they were excluded from immigration and naturalization privileges. Through these parades, the Chinese community increased its visibility in Chicago, showcasing its strong civic infrastructure as well as a strong nationalist republican identity that reflected American values and ideals.

At the close of the first era, the Chinese, one of Chicago’s oldest ethnic populations, had finally adopted the European parade tradition and was using it to assert their national aspirations for their homeland, much as Europeans from

\textsuperscript{107} "All Chinatown Celebrates 32d ‘Fourth of July.’" \textit{Chicago Daily Tribune}. October 11, 1943, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid.
Norway, Ireland, and Poland had done, and to demonstrate their contribution and civic commitment to the United States. At the time of these parades’ emergence, the communists and nationalists in China had temporarily halted their internal conflict to focus on repelling an external enemy: Japan. The Chinese of Chicago used this moment to support their homeland in distress while continuing to press for the nationalist agenda. As China and the United States were both members of the Allied Forces against Japan, World War II provided an opportune moment for Chicago’s Chinese to assert their dual American and Chinese identities.

Conflicted Nationalism: the challenge of emerging national aspirations within Chicago’s non-white communities

The rise of ethnic parade culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century coincided with the political incorporation of those European immigrant populations that were organizing the parades. Ethnic parades allowed immigrants to showcase their patriotism and loyalty to the United States while also highlighting their current or former position as foreign nationals, i.e. citizens under the protection of another sovereign power. In a period when the United States was economically dependent on Europe as a trade partner and interested in maintaining friendly, peaceful relations, this would have been a powerful, if subtle, message.

Parades were not uniformly adopted by all of Chicago’s European immigrants. Rather, immigrant groups from countries whose national aspirations
were thwarted or in flux were more likely to establish a robust, recurring parade event. Irish, Norwegian, and Polish immigrants all hoped that their homelands could achieve status as independent nations. The Norwegian and Polish immigrants’ parades celebrated this explicitly by marking the day that their respective countries ratified their first Constitutions. In this way, these groups linked their national democratic aspirations with the democratic ideals of the United States. The Irish also used parades to articulate their national aspirations. Among the Irish, the symbolism of the St. Patrick’s Day story – of an Irish saint driving snakes out of the country – could also be interpreted as an exhortation for the English to cede control of Ireland to its people.\textsuperscript{109} St. Patrick’s Day parades also served as important vehicles for the development and maintenance of cultural references, songs, and symbols – the kind of invented traditions associated with the process of establishing and legitimating national identity.\textsuperscript{110}

Immigrant communities’ adoption and adaption of invented traditions to support their national aspirations deserves further attention. As immigrants increased their political clout within the United States and entered positions in which they could influence American foreign policy and priorities, these traditions could assist the realization of independent nations. Even before they established

\textsuperscript{109} While it is not clear that this sentiment was particularly strong in Chicago, it was more obvious within the Irish communities of Northeastern cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. In Boston, the symbolism of St. Patrick driving out the snakes was also linked to the Evacuation Day success of Bostonians driving the British from the Boston Harbor during the Revolutionary War.

entrenched political power, these communities advocated on behalf of their homelands and participated in international dialogue about the content and meaning of emerging national identities from the nineteenth century through the end of World War II.

As World War I exacerbated a growing backlash against immigration and a distrust of immigrants' foreign loyalties, Chicago experienced increasing efforts at Americanization. In addition, the Democratic Party's promotion of a white American nationalism that was slowly opened to European ethnics in the first decades of the twentieth century accelerated Europeans' incorporation into a white racial American identity. Although the Democrats had trouble overcoming ethnic divisions among its members (and was slow to open its doors to southern Europeans), in 1931, the mayoral victory of Anton Cermak ushered in an extended period of political power for European ethnics organized beneath a banner of white identity. This suggests that in some quarters of the city, the foreign born population played an important role in shaping the political landscape of the city in the early twentieth century.

111 To show the change achieved by the Democratic Party, a 1920 article about the 27th ward's political power shows that while foreign born residents had achieved a degree of political power, they had yet to be organized into a single party allegiance. Boasting a population of 150,244, three quarters of which were born in at least ten different European countries, the ward is described as "a state within a city" whose aldermen were called "king," "governor," or "senator." With its diverse foreign born population, the ward exhibited an unpredictable political will: "It has sent Democrats and Republicans to the city council in about equal numbers and even tried a Socialist for a term or two." "27th, the Giant of Wards, Looks Down on States." Chicago Daily Tribune. June 19, 1920, p. 17.
The growth of the city's black community, spurred in part by the economic opportunities of the two World Wars, initiated a period of parade growth among Chicago's non-European communities. The discrimination and violence circumscribing the opportunities of these groups, particularly blacks, also prompted the use of parades for expressing non-European and non-white American national aspirations. Black Chicagoans in particular faced increasing violence and restrictions on their movement within the city – culminating in the race riots of 1919. Black leaders in Chicago found themselves at a disadvantage relative to European immigrants whose claim to full citizenship rights in their home countries provided some leverage for assuming those rights in the United States. The ideas of Black Nationalism, while in some ways replicating the dual loyalty of European immigrants, was not rooted in an existing sovereign government and faced the task of simultaneously establishing an external nation while calling on that foreign power to support the rights of blacks in the United States.

Mexicans and Chinese faced similar discrimination, but their parades could conform more closely to the model established by Chicago's European immigrants. They blended their American national aspirations with their foreign national aspirations. For all three groups, this process allowed them to transform an externally imposed negative identity of exclusion into a positive identity of aspiration. By turning the Black Belt into Bronzeville, the Bud Billiken parade established a positive political identity for black Chicagoans. The Chinese New Year parade and the Double Ten parade gave Chinatown more visibility and served as a
bridge between its residents and the rest of the city. Among Mexicans, Independence Day parades allowed them to connect psychologically to the political changes occurring in Mexico as well as to embrace a positive identity as Mexicans in Chicago.

By the end of the first era of Chicago's history, the ethnic landscape of the city had begun a transformation that would define the second era. Immigrants from Europe, particularly from northern European countries had established themselves firmly within the political structure of first era Chicago and had embraced a white racial political identity. Meanwhile, non-white populations began to develop their own parade cultures and to develop political identities that could support their aspirations for access to the full privileges of citizenship. World War II, with its concomitant reshaping of global politics and shifting of domestic priorities, created new opportunities for the development of parade cultures among the black and Chinese communities, which linked their parades more or less explicitly to the war effort. These communities then had the visibility to display and institutionalize relationships among various civic organizations, civic leaders, local businesses, and the Chicago political establishment. Parades also served as a platform for the invention of traditions that would support the development of coherent non-white group identities in Chicago. The political incorporation and ascension into power of white European immigrants and the rise of parade practices and claims to citizenship rights among non-white, non-European groups set the stage for the Civil Rights movement and the parade culture that would emerge in the second era.
Chapter 3

From Foreign National to American Ethnic: the Shifting Meaning of Ethnic Parades in Chicago’s Second Era
During the second era of Chicago's history, from 1950 to 1990, new domestic forces shaped Chicago's ethnic landscape and its immigrant and ethnic parades. White flight drew Chicago's European ethnics to new suburban housing that was often better quality and more affordable than housing in the city and at a remove from the expanding minority populations in Chicago's older ethnic neighborhoods.\(^1\) During the 1950s, Chicago's neighborhoods also faced the large-scale changes wrought by Chicago's urban renewal programs of highway and housing construction. The erosion of white ethnic neighborhoods and the dispersion of Chicago's former residents to the suburbs coincided with the movement of parades from neighborhoods to downtown. What had been ethnic phenomena that reinforced the ethnic neighborhood structure of Chicago's first era became citywide events staged for citywide audiences. This shift also reflects the fact that many of these communities had come to see themselves as united within white American identity rather than as separate races and nationalities. While a few European groups – most notably the Germans – faced continuing suspicions resulting from their role in World War II, most groups were secure in the realization of their aspirations for participation in American nationalism\(^2\). In this era, Chicago's

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\(^1\) Even as early as the 1940s, racial violence erupted along the edges of the expanding Black Belt. By the mid-1940s and early 1950s, the violence spread to the city's public housing projects, which were constructed in response to the need to better quality affordable housing for wartime workers and returning veterans. The Airport Homes riots of 1946 and the Trumbull Park Homes riots of 1953 challenged the CHA's attempts at integrated housing. Hirsch, Arnold Richard. *Making the second ghetto: race and housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp. 49-56.

\(^2\) Although I use the term American nationalism, this does not accurately capture the self-perception of white ethnic Americans who tend to identify their loyalties to America as patriotic rather than nationalist. The distinction between the two terms
European ethnic communities used parades to showcase their position as power brokers in the city's political structure and renew their expressions of national aspirations for their homelands.

Meanwhile, the civil rights movement continued to grow, increasing pressure on city, state, and national governments to protect the equal rights of all citizens. The movement eventually achieved judicial and legislative support for its goals with the 1954 Supreme Court victory in Brown vs. Board of Education and the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These victories extended to immigration reform with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which corrected the biases and discriminatory practices built into United States immigration policies. The strengthening of federal legal protections for America's racial minorities supported the political shifts underway in Chicago by the 1960s as blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans increased their visibility and demanded better economic opportunities, housing, and schools. The expansion of immigration from outside of Europe further eroded the legitimacy of a white ethnic power structure. By the end of this era, Chicago was beginning to become a city of immigrants again, and those immigrants were adopting and adapting the parade model of white ethnics to articulate their own national aspirations. As in Chicago's first era, these aspirations represented a duality between American and foreign nationalism. However, while during the first

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remains the subject of vigorous debate, and a full consideration of that debate is beyond the scope of this work. For the purposes of this dissertation, I use the term nationalism to indicate an abstract imagined national community while understanding that individuals' relationship to that community is mostly self-identified as patriotism rather than nationalism.
era, many of the expressions of foreign nationalism expressed a desire for countries to achieve national sovereignty, during the second era, immigrants’ homelands had largely achieved national independence. In this era, the symbols of their homelands’ nationalisms of consolidation became tools for unifying diverse and dispersed immigrant groups and increasing those groups’ local political visibility. In doing so, parades supported and accelerated local political shifts. By 1983, less than twenty years after the passing of immigration reform, Chicago’s white ethnic Democratic machine was successfully challenged by a new multi-ethnic political coalition led by Harold Washington, the city’s first black mayor.

Chicago’s white ethnic communities initiated changes to the political role of ethnic parades in Chicago and the access they could provide to channels of power. The first ethnic group to change its parade model during Chicago’s second era was the Italian community. The Italians moved their Columbus Day parade downtown and transferred leadership from the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic fraternal organization, to the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans (JCCIA), an umbrella organization made up of many Italian cultural and civic organizations in 1952. The JCCIA also organized the parade with the intention of countering the image of Italian Americans in Chicago as dominated by the mafia. These changes can be generalized to distinguish between the parades of Chicago’s second era from its first. Second era parades were more likely to originate on (or move to) a downtown route; more likely to leverage a foreign national identity to support local political goals; and
more likely to be led by an umbrella organization representing a wide range of organizations and interests within the ethnic group.

While the JCCIA established the characteristics that would define second era ethnic parades, Richard J. Daley formalized the link between ethnic parades and channels of political power when he established a downtown St. Patrick's Day Parade in 1956. The power of this linkage is evident from the map in Figure 3.1 below, which shows the expansion of parade activities, particularly downtown parade activities, during the Second era. From 1950 to 1990, Chicago’s parades multiplied from seven to twenty-eight. Table 3.1, which lists the recurrent parades in Chicago’s second era by start date, also shows that after 1952, parades were adopted by diverse immigrant and ethnic groups. The changes to parades in this era resulted in a more robust and resilient parade culture than that established during Chicago’s first era. While only six of the eleven parades (54%) started during the first era continued into the second, eighteen of the twenty-three parades (78%) started during the second era continued into the third. A variety of factors have contributed to the disappearance of parades during the second era. The Norwegian Independence Day Parade, for example, while no longer celebrated in Chicago, has new life in a neighboring Park Ridge. The South Side Irish Parade was canceled in 2009 after tensions in the neighborhood over the effects of public drunkenness on private property escalated and pressured local aldermen and community leaders to rein in the festivities. The Korean and Filipino parades represent a different kind of tension. Leadership of these parades often changed as they recurrent intermittently
Based on data collected from Chicago Tribune archives, this map generated by the author shows the approximate location of the main recurring ethnic parades during Chicago's second era. During this era, parades mostly originated downtown before moving to neighborhood routes. In addition, the map shows the shift in racial territory as the Norwegian and Polish parades moved downtown as Puerto Rican and Mexican parades grew on the West Side. Meanwhile the North Side became home to an eclectic mix of ethnic identities – Swedish, Chinese, and LGBT.
Table 3.1. Recurrent Ethnic Parades during the Second Era, 1950-1989, ordered by year started

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second City: 1950 – 1989</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
<th>End Year</th>
<th>Map Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish Constitution Day Parade</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bud Billiken Parade</td>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese New Year Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Double Ten Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knights of Columbus Columbus Day Parade</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
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<td>JCCIA Columbus Day Parade</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Side St. Patrick's Day Parade</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Irish</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Patrick’s Day Parade</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1968</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lief Erikson Parade</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Von Steuben Parade</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican Parade</td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gay Liberation Day Parade</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay Pride Parade</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argyle Street Lunar New Year Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish Constitution Day Parade</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican People’s Parade</td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Side Irish Parade</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New World Patriotism Parade</td>
<td>Pan-ethnic</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Korean Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Filipino</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1996</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>Cinco de Mayo Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
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<td>Pilsen Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>ongoing</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>1995*</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Pakistani</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>1995*</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central American Parade</td>
<td>Central American</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>2001*</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table was generated from data compiled from Chicago Tribune archives as well as from interviews with parade organizers and parade promotional materials. This is a comprehensive list based on the available data and does not include parades that occurred only once. Multiple listings of parade names indicate parade route changes rather than organizational changes.

* These parades ended their use of a downtown route on the date indicated but continue to exist under the auspices of the same organizations on neighborhood routes.
from around 1980 into the 1990s. Their eventual disappearance has been interpreted as evidence of the communities' fragmentation and lack of unity.

International Restructuring and Chicago’s Ethnic Parades in the Second Era

As the Civil War and World War I impacted the immigrant experience during the first era of Chicago's history, World War II, though it ended before the beginning of the second era, profoundly impacted the character of ethnic and immigrant Chicago in the decades that followed. Unlike the Civil War, which brought together local, often ethnically homogeneous militias to form larger military units, by World War II, the United States military was an experienced, professional organization that had successfully participated on the European stage in World War I. Enlisted soldiers were categorized by race and citizenship\(^3\) as well as nativity\(^4\), but not by ethnic background. Unlike during the Civil War, when soldiers generally self-segregated by ethnic affiliation, during World War II, segregation was enforced along racial lines. European ethnic enlistees would have served beside those of ethnic backgrounds different from their own. In addition, because of the institution of compulsory military service during the war years, World War II started to break

\(^3\) According to data from the National Archives and Records Administration, race would code the following as distinct: American Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Japanese, Negro, Puerto Rican, White, and Others. Citizenship was coded as either “citizen” or “not yet a citizen.” From World War II Army Enlistment Records, created 6/1/2002 - 9/30/2002, documenting the period ca. 1938 - 1946. - Record Group 64.

\(^4\) According to the World War II Army Enlistment Records documenting the period 1938 to 1946, about 4% of enlistees residing in Cook County, Illinois were immigrants, but a brief perusal of last names suggests a wide range of European ethnicities among those enlisted as white citizens.
apart the social organization of close-knit ethnic enclaves that had characterized most of Chicago’s First era.

At the same time, World War II transformed the international political role of the United States. At the end of the war, the United States enjoyed a period of prosperity that contrasted sharply with the period of recovery and rebuilding facing European nations. America’s economic boom that was driven in part by the production demands of the war and to the diminished production capacity of Europe gave the United States an economic edge over the European states. The strength of its military, showcased during the war effort, also gave the United States new leverage in its global political relations. This shift in global power in America’s favor may have contributed to the rise of ethnic parades. In this new world order in which the United States was active in shaping international policy, drawing attention to contributions and value of foreign nationals (and their descendants) to America could have implications for influencing American foreign policy in ways that it might not have during America’s period of isolationism.

Interest among European ethnics in influencing America’s foreign relations would likely have been strongest amongst communities whose affinities for their countries of origin were challenged by the shifting allegiances of World War I and II. Germans in particular faced animosity and mistrust – not helped by the public activities of local clubs sympathizing with the Nazi regime – with the onset of World
War II. Italians also found their rights curtailed for a short period at the beginning of the hostilities. The Italians, however, also faced the increasing power and visibility of Italian-led organized crime in Chicago, which became more visible in the 1950s and 1960s with a series of high-profile federal convictions against Italian members of the Chicago Syndicate. After World War II, the emergence of communist states changed the relationship between Chicago's immigrants and their home countries. Poles watched as their nation's independence, won in the aftermath of World War I, was lost in the formation of the Soviet Union after World War II and the democratic government was exiled to Britain. Poles in Chicago used post-war parades and rallies to oppose communist rule in their homeland and advocate their aspirations for an independent, democratic Polish nation. An influx of highly skilled political émigrés from Poland after World War II joined forces with the descendents of Polish immigrants who arrived in the early twentieth century and helped build

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6 In 1942, the United States classified unnaturalized Italians living in the United States as enemy aliens, though these restrictions were lifted by October of that year. According to a *Tribune* article from October, 1942, of 600,000 Italians investigated, "there has been cause to intern only 228." "U.S. Will Lift War Curbs on Italian Aliens." *Chicago Daily Tribune.* October 13, 1942, p. 2.  
8 In 1947 the Polish National Alliance, which ran the Constitution Day parade declared that "his organizations want nothing to do with Winiewicz [the consul general]. 'So far as we are concerned, he's out,' Rozmarek asserted. 'His government is a communist government. Ninety-nine per cent of the Americans are against his type of government. We do not recognize any representative of the present Polish government and Winiewicz hasn't been invited to our gathering and he's not welcome. We want nothing to do with him or his crowd.'" "Friction Marks Liberty Fetes of Poles Here." *Chicago Daily Tribune.* May 4, 1947, p. 34.
solidarity among Chicago’s various Polish communities in opposition to the
communist regime in Poland.⁹

*Transitioning from First to Second Era Parade Patterns: The Polish Constitution Day Parade*

Chicago’s Polish Constitution Day Parade is one of the few parades whose
history is continuous from the first era through the third era. The changes that it
underwent during the second era illuminate some of the changes impacting
Chicago’s immigrant and ethnic communities more generally after World War II.
The economic and political toll of the Second World War on Europe meant that
European immigrants arriving to the United States in its aftermath were more likely
to be well-educated professionals than those who had arrived in the late nineteenth
and early twentieth centuries. The solidification of the United States as a major
power broker during the political restructuring of Europe after the War meant that
immigrants and ethnics could have a profound impact on their home countries by

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⁹ A 1971 article in *The Chicago Tribune* by Mark Krug, a professor of education and
history at the University of Chicago, discusses the shifts in Chicago’s Polish
community after World War II, documenting the move toward unity, opposition to
communism, and political aspirations in the United States. “Polish-Americans: A
New Awakening.” October 10, 1971. Mary Patrice Erdmans also describes the
conflicted relationship between new émigrés and Chicago’s ethnic Polish
community emphasizing the fact that “activity for Poland was done by Polish
Americans as Americans... in an American political context,” while Polish
immigrants “wanted more resources and energy devoted to Poland’s cause.”
*Opposite Poles: Immigrants and Ethnics in Polish Chicago, 1976-1990.* University
influencing American foreign policy – a trend visible within Chicago’s Polish community.

In the aftermath of World War II, Chicago’s Polonia became a blend of native-born Polish-Americans, naturalized Polish immigrants arriving before, during, and after the war, and temporary workers ambivalent toward naturalization. Among these groups, immigrants’ attention and interests were largely directed toward Poland, but Polish Americans’ attention was divided among Poland’s political situation their own efforts to maintain Polish culture and heritage, and the immediate challenges facing Chicago neighborhoods. Like Chicago’s other white ethnic groups, the Polish ethnic community was experiencing the effects of urban renewal, suburbanization and demographic change as more white ethnics took advantage of cheap mortgages for new suburban housing and sought to escape a city associated with corrupt politicians and an ever expanding black and Hispanic population. When discussing why the Polish Constitution Day Parade moved from its first era neighborhood route along Milwaukee Avenue to the main parade thoroughfare down State Street in 1974, parade organizer Thaddeus (Ted) Czajkowski notes that:

One of the main [reasons for moving] was safety. Changing neighborhood. A lot of different, a lot of differences took place during the parade or right afterwards. A very heavy Hispanic community moved into the area... along the parade route and into Humboldt Park.11

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11 Interview, July 22, 2010.
This memory of demographic change in Chicago as an impetus for moving physical expressions of community identity is reinforced by a 1971 account of how demographic changes were affecting Chicago's Polish neighborhood:

*The heart of the Polish community in Chicago lies in the triangle in which Division Street and Milwaukee and Ashland Avenues meet. This area where the major Polish institutions have been located for many decades is rapidly becoming a black and Puerto Rican section of the city. Polish residents in the surrounding streets are leaving in large numbers and Polish restaurants and taverns are closing. The eventual move of the headquarters of the major Polish organizations from the inner city is probably inevitable.*

As the heart of the Polish community began to disintegrate, it could not support a neighborhood parade whose assertion of Polish identity exacerbated tensions between Polish residents and their newly arrived black and Puerto Rican neighbors.

At the same time, the second era also marked a time of increasing local political activity within the Polish community. Through the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Constitution Day Parade was affiliated with a major Polish fraternal organization as well as to the Polish American Congress, a national umbrella organization that increasingly had become a political voice for Polonia during the second era:

*Politically, Chicago Poles are flexing their muscles and, while progress has been slow and often painful, solid gains have been registered both on the local and national scene... The major responsibility for the handling of domestic and foreign affairs of American Poles is carried on by the Polish American Congress... The influence of Chicago Poles on Chicago politics is also on the upswing. They are an*

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important part of the multi-ethnic political organization so skillfully led by Mayor Daley.\textsuperscript{13}

Although the Polish Constitution Day Parade was one of the last parades to move to the State Street route initiated by Mayor Daley for the St. Patrick’s Day Parade in 1956, its eventual arrival reinforced the Polish community’s position within Mayor Daley’s white ethnic machine.

\textit{The Mayor’s Office of Special Events: Linking Parades to Politics}

One of the key changes in Chicago’s parade culture ushered in with the second era of Chicago’s history is the emergence of the Mayor’s Office of Special Events. Mark Schuster’s work on the relationship between ephemera and city image is helpful for understanding the significance of this new office. Schuster counters arguments by theorists like David Harvey, who postulates that spectacles are a hegemonic tool for placating the masses,\textsuperscript{14} by arguing for the positive impacts of urban ephemera and the importance of resident involvement in defining and shaping temporary events.\textsuperscript{15} The Mayor’s Office of Special Events and Daley’s use of spectacular events can be interpreted through both Harvey’s and Schuster’s perspectives. In his biography of Daley, Mike Royko accuses Daley of using events “to drive [his] scandals off the front page, if not out of the grand jury,” an

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, also p. A7.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid, pp. 387-396. Schuster’s arguments focus on more pragmatic benefits, such as events being the impetus to finish languishing projects, and the more intangible process of building or changing a city’s image.
interpretation in accordance with Harvey’s theories. However, by creating an office dedicated to managing events, defined broadly, Daley also created a two-way channel of communication. Daley could use the office to enact his own spectacles, but the office also provided an outlet through which residents could request (or demand) support for their own events. In this sense, the office not only served a pragmatic function, but also a nuanced political function.

In developing staff positions dedicated to managing the logistics and politics of urban ephemera, Daley demonstrated an understanding of Chicago’s need to transform its image. Perhaps best known for promoting Chicago as a modern city through his infrastructure, housing, and commercial construction projects, Daley also initiated a number of signature ephemera for Chicago, including the St. Patrick’s Day parade and Venetian Night. Newspaper analysis of the Chicago Tribune from 1860 to 1990 reveals that this office was born and institutionalized during the

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17 According to J. Mark Schuster, signature ephemera are “temporary urban phenomena that are indicative of and native to a particular place.” Schuster argues that these ephemera are important for establishing an image of a place. “Ephemera, Temporary Urbanism, and Imaging,” Imaging the City: Continuing Struggles and New Directions. Edited by Lawrence J. Vale and Sam Bass Warner, Jr. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, 2001. That Daley was ahead of his time in these efforts is illustrated by an anecdote about Venetian Night recorded by Mike Royko: “Daley was so anxious for a big crowd that he called in a prominent businessman... and asked him to round up old people in the nursing homes and the city’s public housing for the elderly and bring them down to the lake front.” Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago, New York: Signet, 1971, p. 115.
tenure of Mayor Richard J. Daley (1955-1976). Beginning in 1956, Mayor Daley was incorporating events into his agenda, and with the appointment of Captain Jack Reilly as the coordinator of the St. Patrick’s Day parade, he established the foundation of his events department. By the end of 1958, Daley had officially designated Reilly in the role of the mayor’s director of special events. In this role, Reilly coordinated a wide range of activities, including events for visiting dignitaries, the St. Patrick’s Day Parade, and various citywide events. He also expanded his role into an entire Office of Special Events in City Hall. By consolidating a wide range of responsibilities into a staffed office, Reilly helped expand Chicago’s capacity to support events. Reilly brought decades of experience organizing events in Chicago as a private citizen, including the “Drama of Chicago on Parade” festival of 1934 and the American Legion’s 1936 Fourth of July celebration, to his new position as director of special events.

Under the leadership of Reilly and Mayor Daley the Mayor’s Office of Special Events continued to focus mostly on large city-wide events like Chicago Lakefront

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18 In 1956, Mayor Daley formed an All-Chicago Citizens Committee to sponsor an International Sports and Folk Festival in coordination with the Chicago Park District to raise money for the Special Olympics. By January of 1957, the executive assistant of that committee, Capt. Jack Reilly, is listed as a member of the Mayor’s advisory committee at a meeting on urban renewal (Chicago Daily Tribune Jan. 17, 1957, N1) In March, he is the Mayor’s administrative assistant coordinating the City’s St. Patrick’s Day parade (Chicago Daily Tribune March 11, 1957, 16). Reilly does not receive the official title of special events coordinator until April, 1957, when Daley decided to make a bid for the 1959 Pan-American games (Chicago Daily Tribune April 12, 1957, C5), although he is referred to as “the mayor’s public relations man” in a subsequent article about the mayor’s bid to attract the 1959 World Trade Fair to Chicago (Chicago Daily Tribune April 23, 1957, 8).
20 Chicago Daily Tribune June 14, 1936, p. 21.
Festival, the State Street Santa Claus Parade, the St. Patrick’s Day Parade as well as dinners and receptions for visiting dignitaries rather than neighborhood festivals and activities.\textsuperscript{21} After Mayor Daley’s death, his successors Michael Bilandic and Jane Byrne both continued to use the Mayor’s Office of Special Events to stage major events. The transition period from 1970 to 1990 saw the Office adapted to support the changing image of the city. Mayor Byrne in particular sought to expand Chicago’s festivals and events, and she eventually hired an outside firm, Festivals, Inc. to run many of the largest events to give the city a stronger international reputation. In an interview with the Tribune Byrne’s director of special events, Karen Connor noted that

\begin{quote}
'The focus has changed considerably in the past two years... Under Col. Reilly, the office primarily sponsored parades, dinners, and receptions. Now, we coordinate and sponsor a year-round program of events, with emphasis on activities to establish Chicago as an international city.'\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

Mayor Harold Washington (1983-1987) also introduced major changes to the Office. Not only did he subsume the Office of Special Events under a newly formed Department of Cultural Affairs, but he also shifted the focus of the Mayor’s Office of Special Events to promote more neighborhood based festivals and events rather than city-wide celebrations. In addition, Mayor Washington canceled a number of major city festivals, including Mayor Byrne’s ChicagoFest and took

\begin{footnotes}
\item[21] Newspaper accounts that mention the Mayor’s Office of Special Events include large-scale events and parades as well as events to welcome the Prince of Cambodia in 1958 ("Asian Prince Here Without His No. 2 Wife." \textit{The Chicago Tribune}, October 11, 1958) and the King of Sweden in 1975 (Collin, Dorothy, "People." \textit{The Chicago Tribune}. June 1, 1975, p. 29).
\end{footnotes}
control of other festivals back from Festivals, Inc. Under Mayor Washington, Taste of Chicago became a profitable enterprise for the City, and the Mayor's Office of Special Events introduced a competitive grant program for neighborhood festivals around the city. In 1980, a list of the city's summer festivals included 18 neighborhood festivals and 13 major citywide festivals and events including ChicagoFest, Venetian Night, Taste of Chicago, and the Air and Water Show, among others. No ethnic parades are included among the summer events sponsored by the Mayor's Office of Special Events in 1980. By 1986, the Mayor's Office sponsored over 120 events, only five of which were major city-wide events: the Chicago Blues Fest, Taste of Chicago, the Air and Water Show, Venetian Night, and the Chicago Jazz Festival. By 1986, major summer parade events were also included in the list, such as the Gay and Lesbian Pride Parade and Festival and the Bud Billiken Parade.

Financing for the Mayor's Office of Special Events also introduced a city-controlled mechanism for subsidizing the costs of major events like parades. Tribune articles from the 1960s and 1970s reveal that the approval of a city hotel tax in 1967 provided a subsidy for Mayor Daley's events office. The tax met with resistance from the state government, and the lack of transparency in its allocation drew criticism and accusations of misuse. However, by the 1970s, the revenue had

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24 Governor Ogilvie attempted to veto the tax in 1969 until he was informed that the bill he vetoed would not eliminate the tax because of language used in the original 1967 bill. Kilian, Michael. "Battle Looms Over Disputed 1 Per Cent Chicago Hotel Tax." The Chicago Tribune, July 16, 1969, p. 18.
become an important source of funding for tourism, arts activities, and events. In 1973 the tax was increased from one to three percent, and in 1975, City Councilor Martin J. Oberman estimated that about $900,000 from the tax went to fund "dinners, fireworks, and parades,"\(^\text{26}\) Despite the controversy surrounding it, the revenue generated by the tax continued to grow along with the budget of the Mayor's Office of Special Events. In 1980, for example, the Mayor's Office of Special Events oversaw an operating budget of over two-and-a-half million dollars.\(^\text{27}\) Mayor Washington's 1984 budget figures show the hotel tax generating over ten-and-a-half million dollars in revenue for the city, but his Department of Cultural Affairs, which combined the Mayor's Office of Special Events, the Council on Fine Arts, and the Film Office, was allocated a total of only $688,993, or just over a quarter of the Special Events budget of 1980,\(^\text{28}\) with none of the money allocated to the Mayor's Office of Special Events. Instead Mayor Washington allocated just under two million dollars in funding for the Office from a county hotel-motel tax.\(^\text{29}\) This funding supported both large scale events as well as a variety of neighborhood festivals and events.\(^\text{30}\)


\(^{27}\) Anderson, Jon. "Karen Connor, not-so-unlikely survivor at City Hall, after all." The Chicago Tribune. December 14, 1980, p. 13. Although no historical budget documents for the Mayor's Office of Special Events were made available for this study, newspaper accounts after 1980 provide gross budget figures for the Office as a whole.


\(^{30}\) This short article in the Tribune highlights Mayor Washington's efforts to support neighborhood festivals more extensively than his predecessors: "In past years, the city has sponsored a dozen or so neighborhood festivals. But this year that Mayor's Office of Special Events is taking a different approach. Funds are being granted to
and was eventually supplemented by profits generated from the Taste of Chicago festival.\textsuperscript{31} By making city funding available to smaller neighborhood events, Washington made it possible for smaller ethnic neighborhood to develop their own event infrastructure and eventually their own parades. In this period of transition, the precedent set by Daley with the city sponsorship of the St. Patrick’s Day parade came to benefit the emerging immigrant groups who were making their home in Chicago’s neighborhoods.

\textit{Parades as Expressions of Power and Belonging: The St. Patrick’s Day Parade}

As the Polish Constitution Day parade illuminates the role of demographic changes in shifting parade patterns during Second era Chicago, the story of the St. Patrick’s Day Parade demonstrates the power of politics and politicians to reshape the meaning and manifestation of parades in cities. Between 1955 and 1976, Mayor Richard J. Daley reshaped the ethnic parade landscape in Chicago by elevating the St. Patrick’s Day parade into a city-run event and establishing a central office that managed parades (among other large-scale events) in the form of the Mayor’s Office of Special Events. These two actions gave political weight to ethnic parades that had previously been decentralized and a short bureaucratic path to the mayor’s office for parade organizers.

When Richard J. Daley took office in 1955, ethnic parades accounted for a minority of city parade activities; only about nine of the twenty-four parades covered by the *Chicago Tribune* in 1955 fell into the category of recurring ethnic parades. A list of parades in Table 3.2 shows that many parades at this time were oriented toward large civic events and organizations rather than ethnic identity, and these civic parades were most commonly located along downtown routes. Overall, parades were also evenly divided between neighborhood and downtown routes, but of the ethnic parades of 1955 only the Columbus Day parade was held downtown – on Michigan Avenue. The other eight occupied city neighborhood routes, so when Mayor Daley moved the west side St. Patrick's Day parade from its route near Garfield Park to State Street in 1956, he set a trend that would eventually result in twelve recurring downtown ethnic and immigrant parades by 1990.

The story behind Daley's effort to unite two neighborhood St. Patrick's Day parades into a downtown official city event illustrates why Daley's success ushered in an era of downtown ethnic parades. One reason that the change was so transformative is that the downtown St. Patrick's Day parade organized by Mayor Daley reinvented ethnic parades as expressions of ethnic political power in Chicago. The idea of a joint downtown parade would have displayed his power to unite at

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32 Within this group are parades that had not been held previously but marked an anniversary or annual event that could be translated into a recurring celebration. Parades that had no recurring theme, such as a parade moving Torah's from a synagogue slated for redevelopment into a larger synagogue and community center, were excluded. Interestingly, no Chinese New Year parade is mentioned in the *Tribune* during this time period, but whether this means that no parade was held is less certain.
Table 3.2. 1955 Parades in Chicago by Location and Purpose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Parade</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>March of Dimes Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>Fundraiser for Polio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic/Religious</td>
<td>Police Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>St. Jude League communion mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>Shriners parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>81st Shriners Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>Shriners parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>81st Shriners Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>Antique Auto Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>Mayor Daley's anti-litter campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>Christmas Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>Christmas</td>
</tr>
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<td>Civic</td>
<td>Memorial Day Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>Memorial Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>Elks Thanksgiving Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Negro Elk's Thanksgiving Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>Nurses Day Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Focus attention on need for nurses</td>
</tr>
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<td>Civic/Religious</td>
<td>Peace Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel</td>
</tr>
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<td>Civic</td>
<td>Hyde Park YMCA Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>YMCA 60th anniversary</td>
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<td>Civic</td>
<td>Community Memorial day parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Memorial Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military/Civic</td>
<td>Armed Forces Day Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>Armed Forces Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>Military/Civic</td>
<td>ROTC parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>Showcase ROTC cadets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic/Religious</td>
<td>Torah Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>Procession to move torahs temporarily during Community Center construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Columbus Day Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>Columbus Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>South Side St. Patrick's Day Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>St. Patrick's Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>West Side St. Patrick's Day Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>St. Patrick's Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>St. Joseph's Day Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Italian holiday celebration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Polish Constitution Day Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Anniversary of Poland's first constitution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Bud Billiken Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Sponsored by Chicago Defender for Bud Billiken Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Free Poland Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Protest of communist control of Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>Double Ten Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>Republic of China Independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>International Dairy Show Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
<td>International Dairy Show</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table is compiled from newspaper coverage of parades in Chicago from January through December, 1955. The table shows that in Daley's first year as mayor, civic and military parades were the most common parades in Chicago, accounting for fourteen of the twenty-four parades. The table also demonstrates that while ethnic parades were relatively common at this time, they were primarily located along neighborhood routes, with only two ethnic parades occurring downtown in 1955. In contrast, civic and military parades were much more commonly located on downtown routes. Finally, the table indicates how closely integrated religious and civic activities were in the early years of Chicago's second era with churches organizing parades for civic purposes.
least two distinct Irish communities in Chicago while also showcasing the depth of Irish contributions to Chicago's power structure. Daley's parade would be

*a spectacle that would include marching bands, elaborate floats, skirling bagpipes, and celebrities, heroes, and politicians marching arm-in-arm with well-diggers, plumbers, carpenters, pipefitters, and electricians. And this parade will be held down State Street.*

The inclusion of celebrities, politicians, and laborers in the parade highlights the new parade's role in showcasing a city-scale identity for Chicago's Irish population—one that transcends neighborhood ties and loyalties. At the same time it signals the scale of Irish influence on mainstream culture through culture (via celebrities) and politics (via politicians and laborers). Finally, its location on State Street is significant because it marked a departure from the Michigan Avenue route chosen by the only other downtown ethnic parade of that time, the Columbus Day Parade. In addition, it required the agreement and cooperation of the State Street Council, a powerful business association of what was at the time a shopping street that rivaled Michigan Avenue.

Although State Street was home to about half of Chicago's downtown parades in 1954 before Daley's election, the merchants on the street were opposed to the idea of becoming home to the St. Patrick's Day parade as well. By successfully

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34 In 1951, as Michigan Avenue was still developing its "magnificent mile" from the river to Oak Street, with more than eighty million dollars of new construction underway, State Street was paying over six million dollars to the city in tax revenue and supporting a ninety million dollar payroll, according to the *Chicago Tribune.* "Students Hear How Two Famed Streets Grew." *Chicago Tribune,* January 18, 1951, p. B9.
overcoming the objections voiced by State Street’s powerful businessmen, Daley demonstrated his ability to wield the power of the mayor’s office to promote the cause of ethnic identity in the city.

At first, concerned State Street merchants raised objections, which were mouthed sotto voce behind the closed doors of private meeting rooms. The intrusion, they said, would interrupt the flow of shopper traffic and cut into the day’s receipts. It was even suggested that there was an ancient ordinance that specifically forbade parades on the Great Street. Such opposition, however, was easily overcome by Mayor Daley.35

This account, published in the Chicago Tribune in 1963, positions Daley as powerful figure capable of easily overcoming the objections of one of Chicago’s most important business communities. At the same time, it sets him in contrast to that private business community that voiced their objections “behind the closed doors of private meeting rooms” rather than in a public forum. This contrast casts Daley in the role of public servant (obscuring his own closed-door tactics) and demonstrates how his work on the St. Patrick’s Day parade was important for shaping his own image as a champion of the city’s European ethnic communities.

The fact that Daley was able to build a leadership team for the St. Patrick’s Day parade that included representatives from one neighborhood parade organization, the business community that had initially voiced opposition to the parade, and the labor unions further illustrates the parade as an expression of power. That Daley could bring on-board those who had initially opposed his idea – both Irish community leaders and business leaders – to provide leadership for the

event demonstrated Daley's own power and political finesse. That leadership team represented an alliance of city leaders and ensured that the parade would demonstrate the power of the Chicago Irish while insulating it from "undue political pressure on the event from City Hall." 36

The parade represents the power of Irish Chicago because at its heart, it celebrates Irish identity. It is a remarkable feat of Richard J. Daley's that he could successfully direct government resources and key city leaders to preside over an event that at its heart was a religious celebration and which, under Daley's leadership, deliberately celebrated Irish identity over American identity. According to Jack McGuire, in his 1963 Tribune article about the origins of the parade, "The official line of course, is that the event is designed to promote fellowship among Americans of Irish ancestry as they observe a religious holiday sacred to every Irishman." 37 That the official interpretation of the parade would include reference to its religious significance is telling. Until 1961, the parade ended at Old St. Patrick's Church where a benediction was given. 38 This was not a parade for the citizens of Chicago generally, nor a parade for Irish Protestants. It was a Catholic parade for Irish Americans in Chicago. However, starting in 1962, the parade shifted away from a Catholic identity and became an event larger spectacle. This was the year when

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 See, for example, "Sign of Spring: Green of Erin." Chicago Daily Tribune. March 17, 1960, p. 1. This route also linked Daley's downtown parade with first era St. Patrick's Day parades, which also ended at St. Patrick's Church. The inclusion of a religious component also linked the parade back to Ireland, where the holiday was observed primarily as a religious event.
Mayor Daley turned the Chicago River green. Daley had been covering the yellow lines on State Street with green paint since at least 1959, but dying the river green created a green stripe whose iconic image has become as big a spectacle as the parade itself.\footnote{Hughes, Frank. “50,000 Step Lively as Irish Celebrate St. Patrick’s Day.” \textit{Chicago Daily Tribune}. March 18, 1959, p. 1. Parade coordinator Kevin Sherlock notes that the Chicago Journeyman Plumbers Union Local 130 was responsible for the river dying, which started after Daley observed the plumbers’ use of a green dye to locate leaking pipes. The river dying has attracted lots of attention for the union and the parade, with regular requests for photographs and filming of advertisements using the river as the centerpiece. Interview with Kevin Sherlock, Parade Coordinator, St. Patrick’s Day Parade August 3, 2010.} The parade’s continuing emphasis on Irish identity over American identity is captured in an anecdote also recorded by McGuire:

\begin{quote}
Because the theme of the ’76 parade was ‘The Bicentennial and the Irish,’ a Daley subordinate got so bold as to suggest that the traditional green stripe painted on the State Street parade route should instead by red, white, and blue. The man was quickly banished from City Hall and was never seen there again.\footnote{McGuire, Jack. “The Greening of Chicago.” \textit{Chicago Tribune 1963}. March 16, 1980, p. G30}
\end{quote}

While the veracity of this story cannot be verified and its conclusion is almost certainly exaggerated, its inclusion in the article highlights the importance Daley placed on Irish identity in the St. Patrick’s Day parade.\footnote{This concern is also captured by McGuire in a story about the city’s director of special events, who had invited the Irish Regiment of Canada to participate in the parade before Daley questioned “how... could a troop of British subjects be allowed to march in an Irish parade?” and cancelled the engagement. Ibid.}

This emphasis on Irishness in a city-sponsored parade, however, could have set Daley at odds with the other white (European) ethnic groups that were part of his political machine. At the time that Daley was organizing the St. Patrick’s Day parade in the mid-1950s, the descendents of Chicago’s European immigrants were
undergoing a shift that transformed their ethnicities from sets of cultural practices into politicized collective identities. Rather than design the parade to exclude the ethnic groups asserting themselves in city politics, Daley chose to include them in his Irish parade, in effect recognizing them without diminishing the prominence of the Irish in Chicago. That everybody can be Irish on St. Patrick’s Day is a statement of inclusivity, but in the end, everybody is still Irish, not Italian, Polish, Chinese, or black.

Along with the backing of both business and labor, Daley sought further support for his Loop parade by inviting other nationality groups to join the march.” This new element infused the parade with a rhythm and flow as restless, contradictory, and pervasive as the Irish spirit itself. Thus the parade, while remaining basically an Irish event, became a microcosm of Chicago’s multi-ethnic heritage and one of the city’s most colorful civic events. 42

Daley’s decision to invite other nationalities to participate in his St. Patrick’s Day parade can be interpreted in two ways. On one hand, the move suggests that Daley had acknowledged a shift in the city’s political structure. No longer would it be enough to appease the business leadership and labor. Instead, politicians would need to build constituencies among groups organized by ethnic-national identities. On the other hand, the decision could also be seen as a way for Daley to depict Irish Chicago subsuming other identities and positioning itself as a legitimate representative of all of the city’s ethnic voices.

42 Ibid, p. G15, G26. In McGuire’s article, Arthur L. Dunne, a Circuit Court judge attributes the parade’s inclusiveness to its success and notes that ‘The heightened popularity of the St. Patrick’s Day parade grew out of an increasing awareness and pride of people of all races in their cultural heritages. What happened was good for the Irish, good for those ethnic groups that joined them, good for all of us.’
By the time Richard J. Daley died in office in 1976, all of Chicago’s European ethnic parades were established, and parades of newer immigrant and identity groups had also appeared, beginning with the downtown Mexican Independence Day Parade in 1962. These parades are shown in Table 3.3. By the end of his term, major new neighborhood ethnic and identity-oriented parades were emerging as well with the Gay Pride parade, which has been based in the Lakeview neighborhood since 1971 but began with a march to Daley plaza for dancing and speeches in 1970, and the Chinese New Year parade that started on Argyle Street in the Uptown neighborhood in 1976.

Daley established a new political meaning and connection to the city power structure for ethnic parades in Chicago, and by strengthening the position of the Irish as the voice of ethnic Chicago, Daley also helped ensure the parade’s longevity. Not only did the parade maintain its political clout through thirteen years of mayoral shifts before the twenty-two year term of Richard M. Daley, Richard J. Daley’s son, but it also strengthened relationships among Irish civic leaders, politicians, and bureaucrats. Though it is no longer officially run by the city, the St. Patrick’s Day parade continues to rely on a close connection to the mayor’s office and a tight network of Irish-Americans in prominent government positions.
Table 3.3. Major Ethnic Parades Started During Mayor Richard J. Daley’s Term as Mayor, 1955-1976.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parade Name</th>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Start Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Downtown St. Patrick’s Day Parade</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Loop</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downtown Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>Loop</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>Loop</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican Parade</td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>Loop</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Von Steuben Parade</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Loop</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay Pride Parade</td>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>Lakeview</td>
<td>1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argyle Street Chinese New Year Parade</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Uptown</td>
<td>1976</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the time Richard J. Daley died in office in 1976, all of Chicago’s European ethnic parades were established, and parades of newer immigrant and identity groups had also appeared, beginning with the downtown Mexican Independence Day Parade in 1962. By the end of his term, major new neighborhood ethnic and identity-oriented parades were emerging as well with the Gay Pride parade of 1970 in the Lakeview neighborhood and the Chinese New Year parade started on Argyle Street in the Uptown neighborhood in 1976.
Expressions of power versus expressions of authentic identity: the resurgence of the South Side St. Patrick’s Day Parade

Although Richard J. Daley overcame the resistance of the West Side Irish community against moving their parade downtown by establishing Dan Lydon, the “guiding force of the West Side parade,” as the coordinator of the downtown parade, he could not win the cooperation and participation of the South Side Irish until 1961. Even after the joining of the parades, some South Side Irish remained disgruntled, such as the “South Sider who fired off a letter to The Chicago Tribune in which he blasted the Loop parade as a ‘political and union show’ and vowed to boycott the affair.” For seventeen years the South Side Irish marched peaceably alongside the West Siders, labor unions, and politicians, but after Daley’s passing in 1976, their commitment to the downtown parade did not last. By 1978 a new South Side Irish parade had emerged as a children’s parade around a residential block and by 1985 it had grown into a major city event with “160 marching bands, floats, bagpipers and politicians.” The revived parade distinguished itself from the downtown parade by its emphasis on neighborhood and family. When the parade selected its first Grand Marshal in 1981, it chose three neighborhood children to

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45 Ibid.
signal the centrality of family to its identity.\textsuperscript{47} In subsequent years, the Grand Marshal selected was “often a charitable organization that is dedicated to children.”\textsuperscript{48} In addition, as the parade became an opportunity for South Side residents to host family reunions it further developed an identity as a family and neighborhood event.\textsuperscript{49} Even as the parade finally ended in 2009, the theme of family remained central to the parade committee’s decision to end the event. Neighbors’ complaints of rowdy behavior and drunken misbehavior eventually led the parade committee to cancel the parade in favor of a smaller neighborhood festival and a children’s sidewalk parade.\textsuperscript{50}

The politics of the South Side parade are more complicated in some ways than the politics of the downtown parade with its overt expressions of power. Initially, politicians who wanted to march in both parades, which were held on the same day until 1982, met with opposition from the downtown parade organizers:

\textit{Politicians said they took a political risk in past years if they marched in the larger St. Patrick’s Day parade in the Loop and then scrambled back to the Southwest}

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{49} This tradition of family reunions is discussed on the South Side Irish St. Patrick’s Day parade website (http://www.southsideirishparade.org/index.php?id=15), as well as in the 1993 \textit{Chicago Sun-Times} article, “On St. Pat’s Day, Fond Reflections.” by Steve Neal, March 17, 1993, p. 3: “St. Patrick’s Day means having a great heritage... After the South Side Irish parade we always have a gathering at one of our children’s homes... We were just in Ireland this summer and we met some of our relatives for the first time. Our children gave us that as a present.’ Margaret O’Connor, 65, South Side, retired cashier.”
\textsuperscript{50} Konkol, Mark. “South Side marches on; Tiny parade a throwback to roots but aside from a few ‘mourners,’ big protests turnout is a no-go.” \textit{Chicago Sun-Times}. March 15, 2010, p. 2.
Side to join the neighborhood parade. 'There were threats that if you marched here, you couldn’t march downtown,' one South Side politician said. 'But they couldn’t stop this.'51

By 1985, however, concerns over the political ramifications of joining the South Side parade had seemingly dimmed, and a newspaper account of the parade that year notes that

Few politicians appeared worried about any rivalry between the city’s two major parades. They even seemed happy to be spared the traditional jockeying for position at the front of the larger St. Patrick’s Day parade.52

Yet despite the fact that the South Side parade distinguished itself from the political showiness of the downtown parade by focusing on family, it also reinforced its Beverly neighborhood’s identity as a power center for Irish politics in Chicago. In particular, the parade came to be associated with the political rise of Richard M. Daley:

More than any other political figure, Daley is identified with the South Side parade. Former Mayor Jane Byrne sought to kill the South Side parade because of its close ties to Daley... As Daley prepared to challenge Byrne’s re-election... Byrne denied police protection for the South Side Parade... Daley got a tumultuous reception as he marched down Western Avenue.53

When Daley finally won the Mayor’s office at the end of the second era, he instituted a policy to reserve Sundays for his family and not participate in official events. Since the South Side parade was held on a Sunday, some interpreted this policy as a slight to the South Side and a signal that Richard J. Daley would be an uptown mayor:

52 Ibid.
Since winning the mayor’s office in 1989, Daley has gone uptown for St. Patrick’s Day. He is the honorary chairman of the Loop parade, in which he will be marching next Wednesday.... The uptown mayor can’t be bothered with the South Side parade.54

However the South Side parade did not only represent the power of Richard M. Daley; it represented the nineteenth ward as a strong seat of Irish Democratic power in Cook County.55 The parade also became the site of more complicated identity politics than the downtown parade. As power shifted in City Hall with the election of Harold Washington in 1983, the city’s complex racial politics emerged in the South Side parade. A Chicago Daily Herald reporter has suggested that the growth in the South Side parade’s popularity coincided with the city’s first black mayor leading the downtown St. Patrick’s Day parade.56 The South Side Irish parade would also become a flashpoint for racial politics when a float was proposed to honor police officers disciplined for the mistreatment of blacks.57 The parade organizers’ intervention to prevent the float58 demonstrated how far the city had come from the beginning of the second era, which remade Chicago’s parade landscape with the downtown St. Patrick’s Day Parade. The 1950s and the 1960s marked the emergence of ethnic consciousness as well as the beginning of the Civil

54 Ibid.
Rights movement. As Chicago’s ethnic groups followed in the footsteps of Italians, Irish and Polish communities, organizing downtown parades and articulating their presence within a white American nationalism, Chicago’s black and Hispanic populations organized their own parades and community events and increasingly expressed their aspirations for participation in American nationalism and demanded the full rights and privileges of citizenship.

*The Puerto Rican Parade, the Civil Rights Movement and the Shifting Nature of Violence in the Second Era*

The civil rights movement in Chicago brought to light the essential difference between Chicago’s black population and its ethnic white population, descended from European immigrants. Whereas immigrant groups were able to leverage their national identities to advocate their rights in the United States, blacks could only claim a national identity from America, which had systematically denied them full citizenship rights. The challenge of the civil rights movement was not to replicate the success of immigrants in the United States but to reinterpret the meaning of American identity to open the possibility for equal rights for blacks. This project was largely rooted in the struggle against de jure segregation in the Jim Crow laws of the southern states, but it also attempted to tackle the de facto segregation of the north, particularly in Chicago.59

59 Alan B. Anderson and George W. Pickering make a convincing argument for the importance of ideas about American identity and the moral implications of American democratic ideals in relation to the civil rights movement in Chicago. This theoretical approach is developed particularly in the introduction, pp. 26-43. They
The civil rights movement in Chicago was primarily associated with efforts led by Chicago’s black community to end discriminatory housing practices and the de facto segregation of schools that resulted from housing policies that concentrated blacks into specific neighborhoods and education policies that ensured neighborhood-based school attendance. The movement was in some ways divided between older organizations based in South Side neighborhoods and Dr. King’s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which had embedded itself on the West Side. Chicago’s black activists had lived through the racial violence of the 1940s and 1950s when black families moving into white neighborhoods at the edges of the Black Belt and into integrated housing projects faced violence against their persons and property. By the time the civil rights movement had moved north, Chicago’s leaders were committed to non-violent strategies until after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination in 1968.


61 In Confronting the Color Line, Anderson and Pickering show that the earlier focus on the schools and King’s focus on housing represented to different strategies, and the organizations involved were not completely aligned (Ibid, pp. 172-178).

62 In Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago, and the civil rights movement, James Ralph also highlights the geographic differences that had King’s organization Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) embedded in black neighborhoods on Chicago’s West Side and older Chicago organizations like the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO) and the NAACP located in the older South Side black communities (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 49).
The same did not hold true for the city's Puerto Rican population, however, and a riot broke out following the first Puerto Rican parade held downtown in June 1966. Puerto Ricans occupy a unique position among Chicago's ethnic and immigrant communities. While they have a distinct homeland that is a source of great pride and nationalist aspirations, Puerto Rico is neither a sovereign nation nor an incorporated American state. Because Puerto Rico is an unincorporated territory of the United States, Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens. However, because Puerto Rico is not a state, its residents do not have the right to vote in federal elections. Like blacks in the United States, Puerto Ricans are Americans, but they cannot use the protections of a sovereign, independent homeland to advocate for rights within the United States. Their language is Spanish rather than English, and their identity is not bound to the same traditions as those that bind American identity. Theirs is an in-between status that raises fundamental questions about what it means to be American and how to gain full access to the rights and privileges of American citizenship.

When Puerto Ricans rioted after their first downtown Puerto Rican parade in response to police shooting a Puerto Rican youth, it marked a major shift in the nature of violence in Second era Chicago compared with Chicago's First era. Whereas during the First era, violence appeared to be largely between ethnic groups

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63 The association of the riot with the parade, supposedly the symbol of Puerto Rican's political arrival, suggests that at least in some cases, the use of parades to placate alienated populations is ineffective.
and neighborhoods, during the Second era, violence became a form of political expression and was directed toward the police. After the riots of 1966, Puerto Ricans gained access to Mayor Daley and other city leaders, communicating that police brutality, inadequate housing, and wage inequality were important problems for the community. Violence became a way to communicate with city leaders as Puerto Ricans complained that they had “difficulty getting audiences with city officials.” This is not to say that neighborhood-based inter-group violence did not persist during the Second era. In fact, a week after the first day of rioting nearly brought a repeat of the incidents that sparked Chicago’s race riots of 1919 when two Puerto Rican youths visited a South Chicago lakefront park and were assaulted by hundreds of white youths. Intervention by police officers on behalf of the Puerto Rican youths prevented the tragedy that sparked rioting in 1919, but the incident highlights the persistent undercurrents of violence that restricted access to public spaces for Puerto Rican as well as black residents of Chicago into the second era. As the protectionist sentiment driving that inter-ethnic neighborhood violence became institutionalized by the real estate industry and codified in Chicago’s neighborhood school policy, it severely limited the opportunities available to blacks and Puerto Ricans during the first decades of the second era.

According to Puerto Rican historian Mervin Mendez, Puerto Ricans arriving in Chicago after World War II largely came directly from towns in rural Puerto Rico.

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This meant that they were experiencing not only a change in culture from Puerto Rico to Chicago, Illinois, but also the shift from a rural to an urban environment.\textsuperscript{67}

According to Mendez, among rural Puerto Ricans, hometown loyalty and identity were much stronger than a sense of national identity:

> It's interesting that the whole notion of Puerto Rican consciousness is something that really bubbles up in the period of the 1950's but before that the lack of transportation, the lack of communication that existed from town to town... there was not necessarily an expression of Puerto Rican consciousness... This town consciousness was so strong that it prevailed over a Puerto Rican consciousness... So this whole notion of a town consciousness is very real in Puerto Rico and we brought it with us to Chicago.\textsuperscript{68}

Puerto Rican migrants developed their Puerto Rican consciousness in Chicago. With this consciousness they advocated on behalf of themselves and on behalf of Puerto Rico through protest, violence, and political incorporation. The two Puerto Rican parades that emerged during the second era were important to the development of this consciousness. Not only were post-parade celebrations the site of two major riots (in 1966 and 1977) in Humboldt Park, but the parades themselves served as sites of identity formation, protest, and political expression.

From the beginning, the Puerto Rican parade blended hometown identification with national identity. It served as a flashpoint for political statements about Puerto Rico’s political status and the Chicago Puerto Rican community’s social


\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
issues. Many hometown clubs and associations formed in response to the first parade planning effort in 1965 that produced the 1966 Puerto Rican parade.\textsuperscript{69} In addition, the first parade featured dignitaries that represented both municipalities and the island as a whole: seven mayors of Puerto Rican cities and the speaker of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives.\textsuperscript{70} However, the riot of 1966, sparked by police action during a post-parade celebration in Humboldt Park, drew the City's attention to Puerto Ricans' dissatisfaction with the police, housing, employment, and access to city government. The violence following on the heels of such a celebration highlighted the inadequacy of expressions of collective identity alone for addressing the community's problems.

By the 1970s, the parade had also become a battleground for fights over Puerto Rico's status – with some advocating statehood and others independence. In 1977, a Puerto Rican nationalist group, FALN, detonated a bomb at the County Building in Chicago just moments before the start of the Puerto Rican parade.\textsuperscript{71} While expressions of nationalist agendas were common among ethnic parades, Puerto Ricans in Chicago found themselves uniquely opposed to the American government. Immigrant groups could link their foreign national aspirations to the

\textsuperscript{69} A 1970 \textit{Chicago Tribune} article attributes the expansion of hometown associations to the Puerto Rican parade, saying "Most of the clubs did not begin until 1965, however, when former residents of Puerto Rican towns were asked to unite their town members here to participate in the first Puerto Rican parade in 1966... Each hometown is represented by a float in the parade, a highlight of the year for most of the clubs." Stemper, Patricia. "Puerto Ricans Find Their Homeland – Here in Chicago." \textit{Chicago Tribune}, May 7, 1970, p. W12.

\textsuperscript{70} "Puerto Ricans will Parade in Loop Today." \textit{Chicago Tribune}, June 11, 1966, p. 15.

American struggle for independence without threatening American power. Puerto Ricans’ national aspirations for Puerto Rico, however, faced the American government as a barrier to those aspirations rather than as an inspiration. The same year as the bombing, a second riot broke out in Humboldt Park following the downtown Puerto Rican parade. This time, the Tribune attributed the riot to Puerto Rican gang activity. In response, the community organized a second Puerto Rican parade, the Puerto Rican People’s Parade, located in the Humboldt Park neighborhood more focused on local social issues. Its existence honored those who died in the 1977 riots, but it also embodied a critique of the downtown parade, which was seen as disconnected from the realities of Puerto Ricans’ experiences in Chicago:

Jose Lopez, an organizer of the neighborhood march, dismissed the downtown spectacle as ‘a parade of big business and people who usually have nothing to do with the Puerto Rican community. It doesn’t address itself to the condition of Puerto Ricans here,’ he said. ‘Small businesses and community residents are not participating [in the downtown parade] because it’s a commercial enterprise and a political charade where so-called ‘community leaders’ just march by the city powers-that-be and present themselves.’

In addition, the neighborhood parade adopted a strong pro-independence position in relation to Puerto Rico’s political status. Over time, the organizations behind the Puerto Rican People’s Parade built a stronger political infrastructure within the neighborhood. The parade and its political infrastructure drew greater attention and resources to Puerto Ricans in Chicago while the downtown parade continued to

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provide wider visibility for Puerto Ricans and continued linkages between Chicago and Puerto Rico.\textsuperscript{74}

The violence surrounding the downtown Puerto Rican parade and the advent of the Puerto Rican People’s Parade marked an important shift in the use and meaning of parades during Chicago second era. These parades challenged the idea that the model of the St. Patrick’s Day parade initiated by Mayor Daley provided adequate expressions of political power and identity. Interestingly, the Puerto Rican People’s Parade, which grappled more directly with Puerto Ricans’ lack of access to the full rights and privileges of American citizenship, explicitly promoted national independence for Puerto Rico. In this way, it followed more closely in the mold of the immigrant parades from Chicago’s first era. In highlighting the inequalities faced by Puerto Ricans – all U.S. citizens – the Puerto Rican People’s Parade challenged the boundaries of American identity, which had expanded only to incorporate a more diverse European heritage, but remained white and English speaking.

Around the same time, the growth of Chicago’s Gay and Lesbian Pride Day parade, which had first marched in 1970, further challenged the norms of American nationalism. This parade also challenged the meaning of ethnic identity in Chicago. Like the Puerto Rican People’s Parade, the Pride parade traveled a neighborhood route rather than a downtown parade route. While it did not express aspirations for a foreign nationalism, it expressed new aspirations for American nationalism by

\textsuperscript{74} Based on interviews with 2010 organizers of the Puerto Rican parade and the Puerto Rican People’s Parade.
challenging the boundaries of normative racial and ethnic identities. The Pride parade claimed that race and ethnicity were not the only form of exclusion from American nationalism. Sexual identity, which transcended and crossed categories of race and ethnicity, also represented a category of exclusion from normative American nationalism. That these neighborhood parades presented an alternative parade politics to the downtown parade politics established by Daley further suggests that the parades challenged the idea that integration into the existing political infrastructure would be adequate to address the fundamental inequalities in American society that were at the heart of the civil rights movement.

From Foreign National to American Ethnic

The second era ushered in a transition in which, judging from newspaper language, immigrants and their descendents’ identities shifted from foreign national identities to American ethnic identities. The trend toward an increased emphasis on ethnic identities that occurred during the twentieth century was not confined to Chicago or even to the United States, and has been well documented by historians, dubbed the *ethnic revival*. In the United States it has been associated with efforts in the middle of the twentieth century to maintain the privileges of white identity while also claiming the distinctiveness and disadvantages of non-Anglo status. The shift to ethnic identity in Chicago, as evidenced in changes in the city’s parade culture during the Second era, however, also had unforeseen consequences that

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inadvertently expanded the meaning of American identity, making space for black, LGBT, and non-European identities.

During the first era and the beginning of the second era, immigrants and their descendents were routinely referred to as foreigners or as representatives of foreign national identities. When immigrant communities participated in parade events, “nations” were on display. In 1957, an article about the planning of the St. Patrick’s Day Parade concluded with the paragraph:

Reilly has invited all national groups in the city to join in a special marching contingent of “Friends of the Irish.” He said they should come in their gay national costumes and that it would be all right if they did wear the green. (Chicago Daily Tribune March 11, 1957, 16). (Emphasis added)

This focus on national identity after over thirty years of strict immigration laws had resulted in a foreign born population that made up less than 15% of Chicago’s population (from over 50% a century earlier), suggests that immigrants’ descendants still faced some barriers to full membership in American national identity.

This emphasis on national identity had a secondary effect of further excluding the city’s black population from full membership in its political structure organized primarily around national identities. In 1971, this implication is given voice through criticism of the 1971 parade commemorating the Chicago Fire Centennial. In his column, Vernon Jarrett comments:
The parade order has a special heading titled: ‘Nationalities – The People from All Countries Who Made Chicago Great.’ I read and reread all the countries and peoples listed under that heading, and I couldn’t find anything suggesting Black Americans, Afro-Americans, African Americans, Negro Americans or even ‘colored people.’

In a tongue-in-cheek manner, Jarrett goes on to say in the next section of the column, titled “Evidence of Integration,” that he “did note two or three predominantly black high school bands and a Chicago Defender Float” in another parade division. Despite this show of black participation, he questioned the mayor’s efforts at reaching out to the black community, saying, “an individual in the mayor’s office said he understood that representatives of the black community had been contacted. A check of various black historical societies did not support that statement.”

Jarrett’s commentary indicates that the framework of (foreign) national identity for immigrants and their descendants effectively excluded black Chicagoans from expressing their identity in complementary forms. However, given blacks long history as native-born residents and eventually citizens of the country, equating them with foreign-born would have been equally insulting. Chicago’s black community shared some characteristics of immigrant communities by the 1970s, having grown through waves of migration from the Southern States in the beginning of the twentieth century. However, their relationship to their former home was more akin to that of refugees as they left the oppression of Jim Crow laws, which systematically denied free blacks full rights and political participation after the Civil

War. Not only did Chicago's blacks have no external sovereign nation that guaranteed them full rights and protections from which to forge their community identity, but they did not even have a comparable non-sovereign territory like Taiwan or Puerto Rico.

*Parades and the Emergence of Chicago as an International City*

The last decade of the second era, 1980 to 1989, was a period of transition for Chicago that set the stage for the third era. During this decade, the impact of federal immigration reform became visible as Chicago's new immigrant populations grew and asserted themselves in the cultural, social, and political life of the city. In addition, Jane Byrne and Harold Washington reinterpreted and adapted the policies enacted during Richard J. Daley's term to the changing times during this period. In particular, the Mayor's Office of Special Events changed its role under Mayor Jane Byrne during her tenure from 1979 to 1983 and under Mayor Harold Washington after his election in 1983. The cumulative effect of these changes during this decade was that Chicago built its image as international city – a precursor to the global city designation it would achieve in the third era.

Karen Connor, the director of the Mayor's Office of Special Events under Mayor Byrne, deliberately sought to use that office to promote Chicago's image as an
international city. Connor explained that “we [at the Mayor’s Office of Special
Events] coordinate and sponsor a year-round program of events, with emphasis on
activities to establish Chicago as an international city,” in an article written by Jon
Anderson for the Chicago Tribune. Under Connor, this meant that the city enabled
a plethora of free public entertainments and “$1.5 million in city grants to cultural
organizations.”

The focus of Chicago’s event landscape under Byrne reflected a growing
interest in the importance of supporting arts and culture in cities. In addition, she
began to capitalize on the expansion and diversity of the city’s immigrant
communities, inviting ethnic organizations from thirteen new countries to
participate in the twentieth Chicago International Festival in 1979. However, this
approach continued Daley’s emphasis on consolidated downtown events that
provided some visibility for the new immigrant communities, but little access to the
city’s political infrastructure.

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77 Anderson, Jon. “Karen Connor, not-so-unlikely survivor at City Hall, after all.”
Chicago Tribune, December 14, 1980, p. 11.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 The growth in this interest in Illinois is illustrated to some degree in the debates
over using hotel taxes to subsidize major cultural institutions in Chicago in the late
1960s and early 1970s and in efforts by the state to research and support the arts.
Articles detailing this include the following: Schreiber, Edward. “Daley Backs Help to
Orchestra Tour.” Chicago Tribune, March 12, 1971 p. 3; and Winer, Linda. “Huge
to do.
This changed under Mayor Harold Washington, who not only directed money toward more neighborhood-based festivals, but also engaged in more extensive outreach into ethnic communities and provided those communities with wider opportunities for integration. These policies helped to ensure that Chicago did not only project an international image, but also cultivated relationships with those communities that could foster more direct international relationships. For example, Mayor Washington employed an ethnic media relations specialist during and after his campaign – a first for a Chicago mayor – and opened City Hall to ethnic media outlets.82 This ensured that Chicago’s events and policies would have an international audience as news traveled from Chicago’s immigrant communities to their homelands. In addition, this embrace of the ethnic media ensured that Chicago’s new immigrant communities had a direct line of communication and translation between city government and their own neighborhoods.

These changes under Byrne and Washington collectively built a dual infrastructure for developing Chicago’s identity as an international city. On the one hand, Chicago continued to build its reputation as a city with exciting, large-scale cultural events and institutions, elements that would become important for cities seeking greater international visibility. On the other hand, the city was building pathways for its new immigrant communities to communicate with city government and build relationships between foreign politicians and city officials. Together these

82 Interview with Pat Michalski, former ethnic media relations specialist for Mayor Harold Washington, August 13, 2010.
two trends would provide a foundation from which Chicago’s reputation, as not only an international city but also a global city, would grow during the third era.
PART II:

Ethnic parades and the social and economic roots of citizenship in Chicago’s third era
Chapter 4

Becoming a Twenty-first Century City: Parades, Neighborhood Revival, and Immigrant Incorporation in Chicago’s Third Era, 1990-2010
Although the last decade of the Second era laid the foundations for Chicago’s emergence as a global city, at the time of Harold Washington’s death in office in 1987, Chicago’s success was far from secure. Washington’s tenure established new avenues of political incorporation for recent immigrants but also restricted patronage opportunities. Mayor Washington also sparked fierce opposition from the City Council in what came to be known as the Council Wars and led to a 1984 Wall Street Journal article popularizing “Beirut on the Lake” as the city’s nickname. Yet by the end of the first decade of the third era in Chicago’s history, Chicago’s crisis had turned into a revival. The city had transformed from a city in decline, struggling with the effects of its lost manufacturing base and roiling with racial tension and conflict into a relatively peaceful metropolis that was emerging as an important node in the global city network.

In 1999, Janet Abu-Lughod named Chicago one of America’s three global cities along with New York and Los Angeles, and by 2004, Saskia Sassen concurred that Chicago could “without doubt” be considered a global city. Although this designation suggests primarily that Chicago has integrated into a global economic

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network of urban centers, it also has implications for the culture of the city. As Sassen notes,

[Chicago] has world-class cultural institutions and events. And by virtue of its waves of immigration it has a historically internationalized social environment—a global culture and global worldview that is common to all global cities and gives many advantages in today's world. ⁴

This cultural component of the global city is where parades become important to understanding Chicago's shift in identity from a city trying to build an international reputation to an internationally recognized global city. Although in many ways, the meaning and function of parades remained relatively unchanged from the second to third eras, parades during Chicago's third era highlight some important changes to the path of immigrant incorporation and the relationship between parades and Chicago's city government that help illuminate what it means for Chicago to have an "internationalized social environment," and what it means to be a twenty-first century city.

Cities and Citizenship in the Twenty-first Century City

Two theoretical conversations have argued that the political role of cities has undergone important transformations. The global city literature argues that cities—particularly global cities—function within a supranational urban network that transcends national political boundaries. ⁵ Literature on the effects of

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⁴ Ibid.
⁵ In her chapter of Global Chicago, Sassen argues that "we may be seeing the beginning of new global urban systems, a sort of transnational super-city, locking
transnationalism on cities and citizenship, particularly the work of James Holston and Arjun Appadurai, argues that cities are increasingly sites of two diverging citizenship trends. On the one hand, local practices of exclusion that limit access to public spaces in ways that limit access to the full rights and privileges of citizenship (namely access to equal economic opportunity) are increasingly prevalent in cities of the twenty-first century. On the other hand, transnational citizenship practices, such as transnational social movements, are pushing for a more inclusive notion of global citizenship that undermines the role of sovereign nations in defining, guaranteeing, and defending, the meaning and rights of citizenship. Holston further argues that both efforts are in fact eroding the social compact that underlies national citizenship – one through its practice of violence and the other through passivity. He also argues that cities remain important spaces where the shifting meaning of national citizenship can be contested and reshaped.

Holston frames membership in the nation-state as a problem of citizenship, but theories of nationalism and national identity are processes of collective imagining that transcend citizenship. Benedict Anderson, for example, describes nations as imagined communities developed in part through modern advances such as print capitalism that enabled previously disconnected communities to develop a

8 Ibid, p. 16.
common language and common sense of cultural identity.\textsuperscript{9} From this perspective, the challenge to nation-states does not necessarily come from the conflict between formal and substantive citizenship.\textsuperscript{10} The evolution of ethnic parades in Chicago from the nineteenth through the twentieth century suggests that the interplay between substantive citizenship, or "the array of civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural rights people possess and exercise," and formal citizenship, or "membership in the nation-state" has slowly transformed American nationalism as well as the parameters of both formal and substantive citizenship in the United States. To understand this process, I used Lawrence J. Vale's concepts of nationalism of consolidation and nationalism of aspiration to explore the contestation and conflict apparent in both immigrant-parades and parades expressing an American nationalism of consolidation.\textsuperscript{11} By understanding nationalism not only as a framework for citizenship, but rather as a form of collective identity that is both imposed by a centralized authority (whether government or the dominant social group) and contested by those who feel excluded from the imposed nationalism of consolidation. The public space of cities is an important venue for expressions of contested national aspirations, and the opportunity to express such aspirations is relatively independent from either formal or substantive citizenship. In this way,


immigrants can advocate a nationalism of aspiration for a homeland that provides neither formal nor substantive citizenship benefits, for example.

Both citizenship and nationalism have implications for considering how the role of parades in immigrant incorporation might be shifting in twenty-first century Chicago. In addition, understanding the current meaning and function of parades – as grassroots efforts to develop and express collective identity and citizenship – in a twenty-first century city can shed light on the relationship between cities, nations, and citizenship. This chapter will consider the changing context of parades in third era Chicago as it entered the twenty-first century in light of these arguments about cities’ transcendence of national boundaries. In the next chapter, I will draw on data collected through observation of parades and parade planning in Chicago in 2010 as well as interviews with parade organizers and city officials to argue that the relationship between cities, nations, and inclusive citizenship has not disintegrated. Rather, I will argue that parades demonstrate a citizenship-building process in cities that remains strongly tied to issues of national identity and that is built through community networks of civic boosters, businessmen, and social reformers.

*Parades, Neighborhoods, and Cultural Expansion in Chicago’s Third Era*

If race and ethnicity were sources of tension and conflict during the second era, during Chicago’s third era they had been transformed into a cultural asset that could be leveraged to support the image of Chicago as a global city, but also to
support neighborhood revitalization. After many of Chicago’s European ethnic populations dispersed to the suburbs, new immigrant groups began to fill in the neighborhoods left behind. While this process began in the last decades of Chicago’s second era, in the third era its effects could be seen in the increasing visibility of identifiable immigrant enclaves. Under Richard M. Daley, this process of building neighborhood identity was reinforced through the process of giving sections of streets names that reflected the identity of the surrounding community. For example, the stretch of West Devon Avenue between Western Avenue and California Avenue was given the title of “Gandhi Marg” complete with official signage beside the sign for Devon Avenue through the efforts of Chicago’s Indian community. An example of this signage is shown in Figure 4.1.

Along Devon Avenue, in a neighborhood that has long been an important immigrant gateway for various nationalities, signage reflects the multitude of communities claiming that place. Devon Avenue east of Western Avenue is given the honorary name of Mohammed Ali Jinnah Way, in honor of Pakistan’s founder, and between California and Kedzie it is named Golda Meier Boulevard, in honor of the fourth Prime Minister of Israel. In addition, Western Avenue in the vicinity of Devon Avenue has been named King Sargon Boulevard, in honor of an Assyrian ruler. Among the Pakistani, Indian, and Assyrian communities, these re-named streets also coincide with neighborhood parade routes during the third era. Figure 4.2 shows the parades of the third era, numbered chronologically by start date. The map illustrates the contraction of European neighborhood parades – the Norwegian,
These photographs, taken by the author in 2010, show the popularity of honorary street namings during the Third City era. From top to bottom: Devon Avenue east of Western Avenue named for the founder of Pakistan; Devon Avenue between Western and California named for Indian national hero Mahatma Gandhi; and Western Avenue at Devon Avenue named for an Assyrian King. These streets also correspond to Pakistani, Indian, and Assyrian parade routes in the Third City era.
Swedish, and Polish neighborhood parades of the Second era have disappeared—and the expansion of new immigrant neighborhoods and neighborhood parades, which mostly began on the downtown parade route before moving to the neighborhoods.

The power of this transformation in the meaning of ethnic identity from a source of tension to an asset is evident in the increasing concern over gentrification—specifically the influx of (mostly) native-born white middle-class professionals—into immigrant and ethnic enclaves during Chicago's third era. This trend marks an almost complete reversal from the white flight that had been the most salient demographic trend of the Second era. Elvin Wyly and Daniel Hammel argue that the economic impetus for gentrification during this era was shifts in national housing policy and in real estate finance that reduced the perceived risk of inner-city mortgage investment. Through the passage of the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act and the Community Reinvestment Act, Wyly and Hammel argue, the federal government enabled community action against redlining in inner cities. At the same time, by developing bundled mortgage securities products, banks and financiers could mitigate the perceived risk of inner-city mortgage investments.

12 Mary E. Pattillo also documents the phenomenon and effects of gentrification among middle-class blacks moving into the North Kenwood-Oakland neighborhood of Chicago in her 2007 book Black on the Block: the politics of race and class in the city. University of Chicago Press.
14 Ibid, p. 192.
15 Ibid.
The combination of these policies encouraged inner-city reinvestment on the part of mortgage lenders, and encouraged an influx of population to the urban core.  

Within this new climate of real estate investment, ethnic parades played dual roles. On the one hand, the preponderance of immigrant parades in the third era signaled to young professionals that Chicago was an international, multi-cultural city. As shown in Figure 4.2, the number of recurring ethnic parades during the Third era ballooned to thirty-nine. In this way it supported the image of a global cultural metropolis that would attract the younger middle class. On the other hand, neighborhood parades implicitly or explicitly signaled specific neighborhood identities and could be mobilized as a kind of opposition to the encroachment of newcomers. Among organizers of the Puerto Rican People’s Parade in Humboldt Park, for example, the parade was considered a form of resistance to gentrification.  

The shifting meaning of citizenship in Chicago’s third era: military participation in parades and the rise of the sanctuary city

One important change that began in Second era Chicago, but which is perhaps most pronounced in the Third era is the declining importance of military

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16 Although this system of bundled mortgages collapsed in 2008, the pressures of gentrification spurred by the boom years remained salient to my interview respondents in 2010 despite the fact that the 2010 census would show a population decline since 2000.
17 Interview with Jarvis Escobar, July 20, 2010.
Figure 4.2. Geographic Distribution of Immigrant Parades During the Third Era of Chicago’s History, 1990-Present.

Recurring Immigrant and Ethnic Parades in Chicago, IL, 1990-Present
Mapped by approximate location(s) during third era

1. Bud Billiken Parade (1929-present)
2. Chinese New Year Parade (1937-present)
3. South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade (1939-present)
4. Chinese Double 10 Parade (ca. 1941-present)
5. Columbus Day Parade (1952-present)
6. St. Patrick’s Day Parade (1953-present)
7. Mexican Independence Day Parade (1962-present)
9. Puerto Rican Parade (1965-present)
13. Argyle Street Chinese New Year Parade (1976-present)
15. Puerto Rican People’s Parade (1978-present)
18. 26th Street Mexican Independence Day Parade (1982-present)
27. Assyrian New Year Parade (1994-present)
30. India Independence Day Parade (1996-present)
31. Pakistan Independence Day Parade (1996-present)
32. Greek Independence Day Parade (1998-present)
33. Ecuador Parade (1998-present)
35. Chinese National Day Parade (1999-present) held every 5 years
36. Dia de los Ninos Parade (1999-present)
37. Central American Parade (2002-present)
38. Northwest Side Irish Parade (2004-present)

Legend
- Central Business District
- Chicago Community Areas
- Parade Routes
- Ethnic parades recurring during third era (1990-2010) lighter color used for contrast when routes overlap
- Parade moved to new route
- (Date-Date) Years parades started and ended on each route (est.)

Based on data collected from Chicago Tribune archives, this map generated by the author shows the approximate location of the main recurring ethnic parades during Chicago's third era. The geographic distribution shows that during the third era, many downtown parades moved back into the neighborhoods, a result both of population expansion, efforts to support neighborhood economic development and the city's decision to move the downtown parade route out of the main grid onto Columbus Drive, which runs between Millennium Park and Grant Park by the lake.
demonstrations in ethnic parades. Because many of the city’s newest immigrant
groups arrived after the U.S. government ended its military conscription program in
1973, demonstrations of military participation were not incorporated into their
early ethnic parades. This marks a sharp contrast to parades that emerged after the
Civil War and after both World Wars, in which patriotism and military participation
were linked. Despite the fact that the beginning of the third era in Chicago coincided
with the first Gulf War and the start of the twenty-first century brought the second
Gulf War, military participants and references to the war remain largely absent from
new immigrants’ parades.

As military service as an image of patriotism in the United States has declined
among immigrant parades, other expressions of Americanization have also declined.
Indian, Pakistani, and Central American parades do not showcase their
representation among the city’s police and fire companies. The fact that these
parades lack a display of their groups’ integration into Chicago’s civic structure does
not seem to undermine their legitimacy with the city, however, Instead, their
displays foreign, immigrant culture are a currency in themselves. In Chicago,
parades are judged by their visual interest and their communication of cultural
practices rather than by their display of American identity. Interviews with city staff
on their views about which parades have changed the most prompted responses
suggested that parades improved when they had more cultural imagery, music and
dance and fewer cars with banners, and no one complained about a lack of
patriotism. The only time that patriotism was raised was during a televised
newscast of the 26th Street Mexican Independence Day parade when the announcers addressed whether the prevalence of Mexican flags signaled a lack of American patriotism (their conclusion was that no, it did not). This shift from expressions of civic and military participation to expressions of cultural practice and identity in city parades suggests that cities are becoming sites of citizenship practices that are not tied as closely to national politics. Cities are becoming sites of multi-faceted patriotism – of patriotism that tolerates transnational political loyalties. They are sites where expressions of culture and international identity have more power than overt expressions of strictly American patriotism.

As newspaper coverage of parades has shifted over time to provide summaries of events rather than records of event details, comparison of parade participation over time is nearly impossible. In addition, parade organizations rarely maintain detailed records of participation over time. However, hints of this shift away from military participation are still apparent from both newspaper coverage and parade records. For example, coverage of the 1871 St. Patrick’s Day parade reveals that Irish parades early in the First era were led by Irish police and militia companies. The first unit was a squad of policemen, the fourth unit a Zouave Band followed by the Irish Rifles, and the seventh unit was the Mulligan Zouaves. By 1957, the year of the first downtown St. Patrick’s Day parade in the Second era, the

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parade includes "military and civic marching units," though the groups that are highlighted in the parade coverage were the bureau of sewers, a green-egg-laying hen, and participants putting on Irish and non-Irish cultural displays:

The Scotch and the Irish joined forces on one float as two kilted bagpipers played for Irish dancers... Everybody got into the act. An American Indian in full dress war danced his way through the parade. Lithuanian women dressed in peasant garb carried their national flag.

Even the St. Patrick's Day parade still persisting on Chicago’s south side included a military display, highlighting the complete integration of the Irish into the American military. That parade was led by “a unit of the 5th army headquarters” in 1958.

By the third era, however, another shift is apparent. Participation of military organizations disappears by the 2010 downtown parade, and participation from non-Irish ethnic groups diminishes as many participate in their own parades. In 2010, the only non-Irish ethnic group to participate in the St. Patrick's Day parade downtown was the Assyrian American Civic Club of Chicago. In addition, by the Third era, new categories of parade participants emerge including small businesses, corporations, and cultural organizations like sports teams, restaurants, and radio and television stations. Even the Chicago Convention and Tourism Bureau and Celtic Fest Chicago participated in the parade. Table 4.1 illustrates how participant categories have

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Table 4.1. Comparison of St. Patrick's Day Parade Participation from First City Era (1871 Parade) to Third City Era (2010 Parade).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Category</th>
<th>Proportion of 1871 Parade</th>
<th>Proportion of 2010 Parade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Businesses</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table has been compiled from participant lists generated from the 1871 Chicago Tribune account of the parade and from the 2010 commemorative parade book, which includes advertisements of all participants. Organizations were considered civic if they did not have an explicit ethnic focus. Over time the parade has shifted to emphasize greater participation from businesses and cultural organizations and reduced participation from military units.
shifted dramatically from the 1871 St. Patrick’s Day parade to the 2010 St. Patrick’s Day parade.

The importance of cultural image to Chicago, and of immigrant communities to that image, is reinforced by the tension between the city’s policies on immigration and federal immigration policies embodied in the city’s status as a sanctuary city. In 1985, Mayor Harold Washington issued an executive order whose purpose was

*to encourage equal access by all persons residing in the City of Chicago, regardless of nation of birth or current citizenship, to the full benefits, opportunities and services, including employment and the issuance of licenses, which are provided or administered by the City of Chicago.*

This executive order marked a break in cooperation between municipal agencies and federal immigration authorities. The order followed on the Immigration and Naturalization Service’s initiative to check the city’s taxicab license applications for illegal immigrants, raising charges of racial profiling and harassment. This policy, which placed Chicago among a growing list of sanctuary cities – cities that would not assist in the enforcement of federal immigration policies – dovetailed with Mayor Washington’s approach to multicultural coalition building. The fact that it was reaffirmed by Richard M. Daley in his first year in office in Executive Order 89-6 and again by City Council in 2006, which made the executive order city law in

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response to concerns over the immigration debates in Congress. These actions on
the part of both Mayor Daley and City Council during the Third era to reinforce
Mayor Washington's policies at the end of the Second era suggests that in the third
era, the meaning and relevance of national citizenship in Chicago remained
diminished in importance. More pressing concerns about economic growth,
unemployment, crime, and neighborhood development ensured that cooperation
between city officials and Chicago's new immigrant groups remained a higher
priority than cooperation between city officials and federal agencies.

Ethnic parades and the primacy of local political dynamics

The importance of maintaining strong relationships between immigrant
communities and city officials is reflected in how the City structures its support of
ethnic parades in the Third era. In order to successfully launch a parade, parade
organizers must obtain the support of their local Alderman and their local police
precinct. In the case of smaller processions that do not require street closings for the
entire duration of the event, approval from these local offices is sufficient. However,
for events that require street closures along the entire route for the duration of the
event, permits must be obtained from the city through the Mayor's Office of Special

26 The language was added into Chapter 2-173 Actions Related to Citizenship or
Residency Status on March 29, 2006, p. 74325. Commentary on this action is
provided by Fran Spielman and Maudlyne Ihejirika, "City takes stand against
immigration bill." Chicago Sun Times, March 30, 2006, p. 03.
Events. 27 This layered approach to parade approvals ensures that parade organizers maintain stable, mutually supportive relationships with their local Aldermen and encourages cooperation with neighborhood police precincts. Alderman in particular can play an important role in ensuring the continuity of parades, helping to mediate tensions and conflicts over parade ownership and between parades and the surrounding communities. However, Aldermen can also act as gatekeepers for parades and can recommend against permitting parades run by groups that they believe are ill-equipped to successfully manage the event.

Because of this structured relationship between parade organizers and city officials, ethnic parades reflect the importance of local political dynamics for immigrant and ethnic communities. Despite the importance of maintaining stable relationships with local politicians, parade organizations are almost universally apolitical. Most parade organizations are incorporated as nonprofit organizations with 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status, which prohibits the organizations from participating in political campaigns. How this rule is interpreted by different parade organizations illustrates how important politics are to parades.

All parade organizers interviewed emphasized that their parades are "not political." However how organizers interpreted the meaning of being apolitical became a political expression itself. Many parades allow political campaigning in the parade, but ensure political neutrality by allowing all candidates equal opportunity

27 Information on the parade permitting process was compiled from interviews with staff in the Mayor's Office of Special Events as well as various parade organizers.
to campaign. Because politicians’ participation in the parade often reflects – to some extent – the existence of relationships between the organizers and the politicians, parades will often feature only one candidate for a particular position. In addition, because sitting office holders are always granted preferential treatment and given positions at or near the front of the parade, the parades reinforce their legitimacy over campaigners, which generally occupy positions toward the back.

In parades that receive more coverage and attract a wider array of incumbent and would-be politicians, organizers often employ stricter guidelines. These formal rules illustrate the importance of balancing political interests and relationships within the parades. The St. Patrick’s Day parade, for example, does not allow any campaigning within the parade. However, the parade organizers also feature sitting office holders toward the front of the parade while contenders must march further behind. Because that parade is televised, it creates a layer of visibility that at once raises the stakes of achieving political visibility and provides a way to maintain the political order of the parade. Organizer Kevin Sherlock describes what happened when parade participants attempted to subvert this arrangement when Barack Obama was running for State Senate:

So all the state offices have a unit and they’re walking so people recognize who they are. But if they’re running for a second office, they cannot advertise what the second office, you know when Dan Hynes and Barack Obama were running against each other for State Senate, they were both in the parade. You know, Dan Hynes was there as Comptroller; Dan Hynes had second unit farther down the road as Dan Hynes, and Barack Obama had a sign as Barack Obama... When another State Senator was going to invite Barack Obama up front ahead of where their unit was supposed to be... our marshals had to say... 'you can’t do this, you’re not part of this unit,’ and they were making all kinds of noise. And I... said, you don’t understand.
We have a script that's coming down the street... They're not going to recognize you're in this unit. And when your unit comes down in its normal spot, there will be nobody there... Channel 7 and Channel 9 have what's coming down the parade... by number. With all due respect, your people can't walk with this unit. And [Obama] looked at the guys and says 'guys, all of you, go back down there.' He says, 'He's absolutely right. We're infringing on somebody else's unit.' ... And they're all kind of yelling, and I says, 'Mr. Hynes has his position first because he is still an office-holding person in the State of Illinois and we have to recognize that'... I says 'Mr. Obama, when you become the State Senator, you'll be walking in the second line, right behind the front line because our two state senators walk up there.' 'Okay,' he says, 'I can deal with that.'

A similar position is taken by the much smaller Argyle Street Chinese New Year Parade, which does not allow any campaigning in the parade. Organizer Kelly Cheng explains this policy:

*The second year of running things, we had a political candidate trying to run against the Alderman. People on the floats invited the opponent on to the floats. It was really embarrassing. All of the paperwork [for the parade] is pushed through [the city process] by the Alderman. I wrote letters to the candidate and supporters saying they should know better – that it is not a political event. Just because you don't like the candidate... that was the one and only time something like that happened. The person in office is underwriting the permit. ... this is ingrained in the culture, giving everyone a share of face.*

In this parade, campaigning of any kind is prohibited, and while the St. Patrick's Day parade may have a city-wide audience and support, neighborhood parades are more vulnerable. Neighborhood ethnic parades are more likely to face potential opposition from residents who are not part of the ethnic group represented, and are more dependent on local Aldermen's support for their continued existence. The respect shown to these politicians in parades both reflects the political reality of Chicago, but also highlights the working relationships that exist between the parade organizers and the local Aldermen. These relationships both ensure the politicians'...

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28 Interview with Kevin Sherlock, August 3, 2010.
29 Interview with Kelly Cheng, July 28, 2010.
local visibility in parades and ensure a line of communication to City Council for the communities represented by these ethnic parades. In this sense, parades themselves are structured in ways that elevate the importance of local political relationships over the importance of national political identity.

The rights guaranteed by national citizenship are not wholly absent even from local parade politics. As will be discussed in the next section in more detail, the American legal system and the rights it guarantees has been an important check on the power of local politicians to control parade activities during the Third era. In particular, as Mayor Richard M. Daley has changed Chicago’s parade policies, he has had to contend with the protections granted by the First Amendment and the courts’ protection of civil rights. By 1992, toward the end of Daley’s first term as mayor, newspaper records indicate that Chicago hosted at least seventeen different ethnic parades downtown, and at least seven neighborhood ethnic parades. Ethnic parades shut down city streets at least once a month starting in February and ending in October with five parades scheduled on weekdays. In that year, newspaper articles appeared highlighting the traffic issues that resulted from the many parades and indicating Mayor Daley’s efforts to address the problem by encouraging parades on weekends:

To avoid traffic snarls, Daley’s people are urging organizers to schedule their parades on weekends. The mayor also has ordered the city’s Law Department to research whether a weekends-only ordinance would be legal. 'It may violate the
constitutional right of free assembly,' Levin [spokesman for the Mayor's Office of Special Events] said. The concern expressed over freedom of assembly, legally protected under the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, is an example of how national legal protections guaranteed to United States citizens restricts the power of local officials to unilaterally control parade activities. As if to confirm these restrictions, cases tried by the Supreme Court in the early nineteen nineties upheld that parades are protected forms of assembly and protected forms of speech.

The same year that Daley was exploring options for restricting Chicago parades, a case was decided against a county in Georgia whose local ordinance allowed fees of up to $1,000 because the ordinance lacked "narrowly drawn, reasonable, and definite standards" to guide county administrators' fee setting.

Despite these legal constraints, however, Mayor Daley exercised a surprising amount of control over the city's public events during the third era. Figure 4.3 shows that under Richard M. Daley, recurring ethnic parades downtown decreased from thirteen in 1990 to five in 2010 with neighborhood parades increasing from

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31 See Forsyth County, Georgia v. The Nationalist Movement, 505 U.S. 123 (1992) and Hurley v. Irish American Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Group of Boston, 515 U.S. 557 (1995). In the latter case, the Supreme Court affirmed the right of private groups organizing public events to determine the content of their message through excluding participation of other groups. This ruling limited the power of local governments to intervene in conflicts between groups wishing to participate in parades and those holding the parades.
32 In the case, Forsyth County, Georgia v. The Nationalist Movement, 505 U.S. 123 (1992), the Supreme Court reasserted that permitting of public events must not "delegate overly broad licensing discretion to a government official," nor be "based on the content of the message."
Figure 4.3. Comparison of parade route locations among recurring ethnic parades in Chicago during the third era, 1990 – present.

Changing Location of Recurring Ethnic Parades Routes During Chicago’s Third Era, 1990 - Present

Based on data compiled from newspaper articles, this chart captures the change in route among recurring ethnic parades in Chicago, IL under Richard M. Daley’s mayoral administration (1989-2011). Parades that occurred only once are not included in this data. The chart shows that during this period, downtown parade activities contracted substantially while neighborhood parades grew. In addition, it shows that after an expansion of overall parade activity between 1990 and 2000, the city witnessed a slight contraction between 2000 and 2010.
eleven to eighteen. Although some of this change can be attributed to the preferences of parade organizers, it also resulted in part from changes to parade rules and regulations under Daley. In December 1989, at the cusp of Chicago’s third era, and continuing through the end of 2010, Chicago’s City Council amended the municipal ordinance governing parades, public assemblies or athletic events ten times. In its current, amended, form, this ordinance has the cumulative effect of prioritizing the continuation of existing parade activities while creating potential hurdles for new parade activities. The ordinance includes language that gives preference to parades that have existed for at least five years:

Where a parade has been conducted on or about a certain date, on a substantially similar route, and in connection with a specific holiday or consistent theme, for at least the prior five years, it shall be referred to herein as a traditional parade, and it shall be given a preference to continue on that date and route for the purpose of protecting the expectations and enjoyment of the public.

In the case of multiple organizations making claims to a traditional parade, or applications submitted for parades over the same route and at the same time as a traditional parade, the ordinance in general gives preference to the traditional parade. However, the ordinance also protects the right to parade by requiring the

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33 Municipal Code of Chicago 10-8-330, Prior code § 36-31, 34 Chicago Municipal Code 10-8-330, section (i), paragraph 3. 35 The city’s adoption and definition of the term traditional parade to distinguish which parades are accorded political privileges is worth exploring. Hobsbawm and Ranger define an invented tradition as “a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.” Hobsbawm, Eric J., and Terence O. Ranger. The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 1. In Chicago, it appears that “continuity with the past” is established in a five-year window, but it is important to note the power that the notion of tradition continues to wield in contemporary policy making.
commissioner to suggest alternate dates, times, and/or routes to those whose original permit application is denied such that the parade achieves a comparable level of visibility.\textsuperscript{36} In addition, the ordinance imposes a variety of costs on parade organizers, including a thirty-five dollar application fee and the cost of a $1,000,000 commercial general liability insurance policy, required by the City for permitting larger parades.\textsuperscript{37}

This cost requirement built into the city's municipal code has also been supplemented by new fees imposed on parade organizers for various costs associated with parades. Organizers enumerated expenses that had been covered by the City during the Second era but that were required of parade organizations in Chicago's third era. These expenses included rental of a reviewing stand and sound equipment from the city, rental of barricades, and the cost of post-parade clean up.\textsuperscript{38} Some parades have adjusted to the extra costs by forgoing the city-supplied reviewing stand and using makeshift solutions such as tents and borrowed sound equipment plugged into local businesses.\textsuperscript{39} This means that instead of locating the city's elevated reviewing stand at a strategic staging location, parade organizers must set up make-shift stands at ground level tethered to businesses willing to donate electricity. In general, costs imposed by the city place a larger burden on smaller parades in poorer immigrant and ethnic communities. It is perhaps

\textsuperscript{36} Chicago Municipal Code 10-8-330, sections (i) and (l).
\textsuperscript{37} Chicago Municipal Code 10-8-330, sections (f)(8) and (o).
\textsuperscript{38} Compiled from interviews with parade organizers.
\textsuperscript{39} Interview with Carmela Vargas, organizer of the South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade, August 11, 2010.
unsurprising that some communities have abandoned parade activities in favor of festivals and private banquets during the third era. Bangladeshis, for example, are the smallest immigrant community in Chicago represented by a parade in the third era with a foreign born population in 2000 of only 1,466 people. Despite this, the community hosted a Bangladesh Day parade starting in 1993. Seven years later, however, the community's ability to support the small parade appeared to be waning, and in 2010, the parade was not held at all.

After the steady growth in parade activity during the last decade of the second era and the first decade of the third era, parades in Chicago appear to be relatively stable with the possibility of decline. The cumulative affect of the Daley administration's parade policies appears to have generated a relatively stable landscape of ethnic parades across Chicago's neighborhoods. However, economic pressure on the communities hosting parades combined with rising costs of parades due to fees and a lack of subsidization by the city government may result in a decline in parade activities in the coming years. The city's policies have been upheld in court challenges, and this suggests that the legal protections of the First Amendment

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40 Examples of parades that have been replaced by festivals include the Korea Day parade, replaced by a summer festival in 1994 and the Philippine Independence Day parade, replaced by the Filipino American Festival in 1997.
may not be enough to protect parade activities in Chicago’s smaller ethnic communities.

*The American legal system and immigrant incorporation through Chicago’s ethnic parades*

The role of the American legal system in parade activities is not limited to protecting those activities from unconstitutional government restrictions. It is also implicated in the governance of parade organizations and processes of conflict resolution between competing segments of communities represented by parades. In this sense, the role of the legal system also has implications for the role and meaning of national citizenship among Chicago’s ethnic communities. Although sanctuary city policies in third era Chicago suggest that the importance of national citizenship is in decline, a closer look at the functioning of parade organizations themselves suggest that it remains of key importance for immigrant incorporation even in global cities. In particular, the access to the American legal system that citizenship affords is particularly important for maintaining accountability and modeling citizenship practices among parade organizers and their audiences.

For a subset of parade organizations, the activities associated with organizing parades and cultural activities are a platform for practicing democratic participation in which systems of voting and representation are modeled and
grievances are resolved through mediation or legal processes. In both the practice of governing a parade organization and resolving conflicts, the values and rights associated with a national level of citizenship are of primary importance. Ethnic communities engaged in parade organizations are seeking to practice American democracy, not Chicago democracy, and it is the fact that their community members have access to national citizenship that allows the leadership of parade organizations to effectively engage in local politics.

Of the twenty-five parades that occurred in either 2009 or 2010, I was able to retrieve information about the structure of the organizations for approximately eighteen. Of these, eight organizations (44%) explicitly employed voting practices in their organizational governance. These organizations tend to be umbrella civic and cultural organizations that unite a variety of smaller ethnic social and cultural organizations. Seven of the eight organizations fell within this category. Non-voting organizations tended to be organized as traditional non-profit organizations, parade committees, and chambers of commerce. For the most part, internal tensions and conflicts are resolved without media coverage and minimized in interviews with

42 Although my research did not determine the exact frequency with which conflicts are resolved through the legal system, newspaper coverage of the Mexican Independence Day parade indicates that in 2004, infighting among board members of the Mexican Civic Society of Illinois, which runs the parade, nearly derailed that year's parade. Conversations with members of the Federation of Indian Associations (FIA), which runs the India Independence Day parade indicate that numerous lawsuits have been filed against the organization by various members, and in

43 Data compiled from a combination of interviews, archival analysis, and recent 990 tax forms. Aside from the Puerto Rican Parade Committee, which allows all Puerto Rican residents of Chicago to vote for the committee president, these organization types do not employ voting practices in their organizational governance.
parade organizers. However, among the parades that use voting procedures, conflicts over the management and legitimacy of elections are readily apparent. These conflicts are particularly compelling because they are generally accompanied by language emphasizing the values of democratic participation that are associated with American national identity.

Between 2009 and 2011, three parade organizations have encountered challenges to their voting and governance practices, and a fourth organization has revised its governance structure to incorporate voting. A document that outlines a challenge to the election process for Enosis, an umbrella organization that manages the Greek Independence Day Parade in Chicago, is available on a Greek expatriate e-media site. The document, which accuses the organization’s president of flouting bylaws and mismanaging the election process begins by decrying the effect of elections on democracy and finishes with a reference to Greek history and traditions blended with the organization’s legal requirements (in an implied American context):

"Mr. Georgakopoulos, may we caution and remind you of our cherished Hellenic History and our ancestors’ quest for freedom, over three Millennia. Specifically the Ottoman Occupation where our ancestors were suppressed with no voice for 400 years. A time came to unite and to eliminate the unjust and pave a path for the future. We take strong objection to your comment... translated as ‘fire and ax to the traitors.’ We consider your comment as 1) A cowardly attempt to stifle the"
voice of the Hellenic Community which is a deliberate breach of the democratic process; 2) A slap in the face of our ancestors and to the gift they gave to the World we call Hellenism; and 3) A contradiction to the established By-Laws and specifically a violation of Article 23.1.

This evocative text blends the symbols and traditions of Hellenic nationalism seamlessly with the symbols and traditions of American national identity such that the final stroke – the specific violation of the organization’s laws – is linked explicitly with a violation of the foundational principles of Greek identity and implicitly with the foundational principles of American identity. From this perspective, the salience of American national identity remains important.

This pattern is also apparent among newer immigrant groups. In fact, the most visible of these conflicts has been that associated with the Federation of Indian Associations (FIA) Chicago. In this case, losing candidates for the Federation board sued the chairman of the election committee claiming that the elections were not held according to the organization’s bylaws. As with the Greek association, the leadership of the Federation of Indian Associations invoked the link between India as the world’s largest democracy and America as the world’s greatest democracy and the legal process and board elections as part of democratic practice.45 In this case, because the court system was employed to challenge the legitimacy of the parade’s leadership, they carry an even stronger suggestion of the continuing importance of national citizenship. That members of the Indian community feel comfortable exercising their right to engage the protection of the legal system suggests that they feel secure in their national immigration and citizenship status.

45 Based on observations of meetings that occurred during the controversy.
Rather than deploying community-based mediation tactics or drawing on political connections to resolve conflicts, the Indian community has drawn on the legal system to resolve their disputes. This preference may indicate a sense of belonging and citizenship that goes beyond neighborhood and city boundaries.

*Entrepreneurship, Nationalism, and American Identity in Chicago's Ethnic Parades*

The role of ethnic parades in immigrant incorporation in third era Chicago cannot be fully understood without examining the ways that these parades blend entrepreneurship and business leadership with civic leadership and ethnic nationalism. This blending allows immigrant and ethnic communities to promote their contributions not only to American civic life and society (as was common among first era parades) but also to the local and national economy. This blending is present in all parades (including those organized by umbrella civic organizations), but it is more pronounced in a subset. For example, neighborhood parades that are organized by Chambers of Commerce tend to blend ethnic nationalism with local entrepreneurship in a way that brands a particular neighborhood as an ethnic shopping district. The Little Village 26th Street Chamber of Commerce has been extremely effective in using the Mexican Independence Day Parade to establish the economic identity of 26th Street as a zone of Mexican economic activity.

Another example of this type of blending can be seen in the Argyle Street Chinese New Year Parade, nominally organized by the Asian American Small
Business Association, but actually organized by Kelly Cheng, a local restaurant owner whose father had managed the parade for many years. Cheng’s approach to the parade represents the spirit of entrepreneurial nationalism that Amalia Pallares identified in her study of Chicago’s Ecuador Independence Day parade.\textsuperscript{46} Pallares characterizes entrepreneurial nationalism as “a product of various economic strategies used to survive in the city as well as a reflection of a specific ideology of the Ecuadorian immigration.”\textsuperscript{47} In her analysis, entrepreneurial nationalism is a mode of enacting national pride through a kind of self-determination that overcomes the inequalities reproduced through expressions of national or regional ethnic identities. In the case of the Ecuadorian parade, a relatively recent immigrant with lower status in the social hierarchy of Chicago’s immigrant community successfully organized a parade through an organization controlled primarily by himself and his family rather than through a more established and representative community organization. However, Pallares does not only refer to the self-directed approach used by organizer Eduardo Ramirez. Entrepreneurial nationalism in the context of Chicago’s Ecuadorian community also relies on the idea that success for Ecuadorian immigrants in America is tied not only to civic identity but also to economic advancement through business entrepreneurship.

\textsuperscript{46} Pallares distinguishes entrepreneurial nationalism from civic nationalism and regional nationalism. In her work, civic nationalism encompasses traditional expressions of national identity through invented traditions such as important dates, connections to national politicians and folk heroes, and an emphasis on a composite identity (pp. 355-356). Regional nationalism represents “a shared solidarity of people who are from a similar region as well as a... separation from people of other regions,” (p. 357). See “Ecuadorian Immigrants and Symbolic Nationalism in Chicago,” \textit{Latino Studies} 2005, 3, (347-371), especially pp. 353-361.\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, p. 361.
The importance of images of entrepreneurship and economic advancement to many of Chicago’s parades suggests that such entrepreneurial nationalism did not arise only out of the economic conditions of Ecuadorian immigrants and Ecuadorian ideology. Rather, it would suggest that entrepreneurial nationalism has a broader scope and meaning among Chicago’s ethnic and immigrant communities and broader expression across its parades. A majority of the organizations still hosting recurring parades in 2010 were not organized as umbrella ethnic organizations and did not employ voting practices as a means to manage the organization’s governance. Of the sixteen parades that were not run by ethnic umbrella organizations, three were run by chambers of commerce, and two were run by individuals practicing a kind of entrepreneurial nationalism. In addition, many of the remaining parade organizations explicitly attempt to bring together business and civic communities within a unified expression of ethnic nationalism. In this sense, expressions of national identity in third era Chicago reinforce the international economics of Chicago as a global, twenty-first century city.

*Patriotism and Global Citizenship in the Twenty-first Century City*

As Chicago’s ethnic parades exhibit a blending of civic nationalism, economic empowerment, and assertion of rights to citizenship in the United States in the Third era, new approaches to dual-citizenship rights and practices outside the United States are also finding expression in parades. New avenues are becoming
available for political participation in multiple countries, and participants in these
dual-citizenship practices are gaining representation within Chicago’s parades.
Immigrant communities provide links between politicians in their home countries
and abroad, and many are also active in preserving and improving political relations
between their homeland and adopted country. In some communities, the same
people who are integral to parade activities are also active in politics in their former
country. For example, a trustee of the Federation of Indian Associations who is
actively involved in the parade is also the first Indian-American to be granted
overseas citizenship of India (OCI). Chapters of India’s political parties have formed
in the United States, and the Indian National Overseas Congress has expanded its
participation in the India Independence Day Parade to encompass two separate
floats in 2010. As of March 2011, non-resident Indians were granted the right to
vote in the country’s national elections with the caveat that they must return to
India to cast their ballots.\(^{48}\) This development suggests that ethnic parades may
become sites of greater transnational political activity in the twenty-first century.

Another example of such activity can be seen in Chicago’s Columbus Day parade. In
2006, Italy passed a law allowing Italian citizens living overseas to elect twelve
deputies and six senators. In 2009, one of those senators, Chicago-based Ron
Turano, president of the Turano Baking Company, was featured prominently in the
Columbus Day parade. This shift toward a more fluid national citizenship suggests
that the meaning of patriotism has shifted in the age of global citizenship. As

\(^{48}\) “NRIs want to vote, but through postal ballot.” *The Economic Times*. March 4,
immigrants begin to play the role of ambassadors not only through civic and cultural activities but also through direct political participation in multiple nations, their parades will reflect these changes. In fact, in many communities, tensions have arisen between ethnic community leaders and consul general offices if the consuls do not acknowledge the legitimacy of the ethnic leadership and coordinate with them for community events. The Federation of Indian Associations was openly hostile to Chicago’s consul general whose term ended in 2010; and the Mexican Civic Society threatened to cancel the 2010 downtown Mexican Independence Day parade because the consul general’s office had excluded the organization from a major event. With the rise of the internet providing global exposure for local ethnic media outlets and increasing political participation across national boundaries, tensions between those who occupy official diplomatic positions and leaders of local ethnic communities may grow more heated, and parades may become potent ground for conflicts in twenty-first century Chicago.
Chapter 5

Political Visibility and Economic Empowerment: Examining the Functions of Ethnic Parades in Third Era Chicago, 1990-2010
Ethnic parades reveal the deeply intertwined, symbiotic relationship among government, business, and community,\(^1\) three groups that typically occupy separate spheres in urban studies discourse. Parades, of course, do not only reveal the interaction among these three groups. They also preserve relationships and reproduce the networks that enable the relationships to persist. Parades accomplish this through the actual work of organizing the parade, which brings all three groups together, but they also accomplish the building and preservation of relationships through the networks of events and activities of which they are a part. This includes the fundraising banquets, flag raising ceremonies, festivals, and receptions that are wrapped around the parade event. Parades also organize and mobilize the relationship networks of the individual members of parade organizations. Parades and their related events provide regularly recurring social engagements in which individual relationship networks are reaffirmed, expanded, and strengthened. It is through this process of relationship building and the interactions among communities, government, and businesses that parades becomes sites where American identity and citizenship are performed and remodeled.

In order to understand the role of ethnic parades in the process of Americanization and the internationalization of citizenship, we must examine the functions that they play within the city itself. Ethnic parades in third era Chicago

\(^1\) Here, I am using community to refer to self-organized collectives of individuals who identify with common cultural norms and practices and connect with one another through non-governmental, not for profit organizations as well as their informal, non-elected, (often volunteer) civic leadership.
play many roles. They provide a platform for building and maintaining relationships among ethnic organizations, among ethnic communities and politicians, among foreign politicians, local politicians and ethnic communities, among businesses and customers, among social service providers and ethnic communities, and among ethnic communities and a larger public. Through building and maintaining these relationships, ethnic parades are a venue for intra-cultural and cross-cultural communication and group identity formation. They are also an engine for economic growth, civic leadership development, and political activism and incorporation. Ethnic parades achieve such varied effects in part because of their flexible nature and in part because they exist as part of larger event and organizational systems.

**Audiences structure parade systems**

Although many parades organizers I interviewed indicated that one purpose of their parades is to make connections between their ethnic communities and a mainstream American audience, examination of their outreach efforts suggest that the these parades target three different audiences: their respective ethnic communities, the local government, and their respective international communities. A concentrated focus on these three audiences rather than a wider public is driven both by organizational and community dynamics and by external economic forces.

Ethnic parade organizations are largely accountable to their memberships and boards, which are drawn from their respective ethnic communities. This
accountability structure ensures that members of ethnic communities remain both the primary participants in and the primary audience for ethnic parades. In addition, the mutual benefit provided to politicians and parade organizers through local politicians’ participation in ethnic parades also ensures that they remain an important audience. The presence of local politicians turns parades into a platform from which parade organizers can demonstrate their legitimacy as community leaders and key points of connection. Organizers’ ability to marshal important political figures in the parade also demonstrates to community members that the organizers provide them with direct connections to city and state power brokers. Politicians in return benefit from the opportunity to act out their loyalty and reaffirm the friendship between the city and state and the ethnic community. That these affirmations are usually expressed as friendship between Chicago and the community’s country of origin rather than between Chicago and its own residents suggests that these ethnic communities are seen as portals into foreign nations. The internationality of ethnic parades is also evident in the importance of local consulates and diplomats as an audience for ethnic parades among immigrant communities. A similar dynamic of mutual benefit emerges between consul generals and ethnic parade organizations. Participation in ethnic parades furthers

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2 Although ethnic parades that are not associated with immigrant communities, such as the Bud Billiken Parade in Chicago’s black community and the Gay Pride Parade, do not engage diplomats, they do target a larger national audience beyond the immediate Chicago community through a variety of media outlets. For example, the Chicago Defender, whose non-profit, Chicago Defender Charities, organizes the Bud Billiken Parade, historically had a circulation throughout the American South and was instrumental in fueling migration of southern blacks to Chicago.
consulates' missions to establish "mutually beneficial relations"\(^3\) between their home countries and regions of the United States as well as to provide consular services to immigrants of those U.S. regions. By participating in local ethnic parades, consulates maintain visibility within their immigrant communities and have the opportunity to support trade relationships by working with local ethnic business leaders and politicians. Participation of consulates in ethnic parades also has the effect of further legitimizing parade organizations as portals to the local immigrant and ethnic community.

*News media influences parade audience*

These three primary audiences mutually reinforce each other. The ethnic community is an audience for politicians and consulate officials and gives parade organizers legitimacy. The presence of politicians and consulate officials demonstrates to the ethnic community their own importance and visibility and reinforces the sense of pride that is on display in these parades. The general public, on the other hand, is a relatively diverse and abstract audience whose presence is desired but not actively courted by most parades. This lack of outreach to the general public, however, is not only a product of other audiences pulling parade organizers' attention from it. It is also reinforced by the costs associated with advertising to the general public. Many parades advertise either through word-of-mouth or via local ethnic media outlets, relying on information released by the

\(^3\) Quoted from the mission statement of the Consulate General of the Philippines in Chicago (http://www.chicagopcg.com/about_mission.html).
Mayor's Office of Special Events to reach a wider audience. Few parades buy advertisements with the city's major general newspapers because of the cost. Advertisements in the Chicago Tribune, for example, cost about $755 per column inch (one column wide by one inch long) in 2007. By contrast, a full-page advertisement in a local Indian weekly newspaper, Hi India, cost about $900 in 2009.

The emergence of narrow-casting does not seem to have impacted the availability of full coverage of ethnic parades. Although ethnic television stations recorded most of the parades, they did not stage the kind of multi-camera broadcast with commentators that is provided by network coverage. Since the second era, two networks provide coverage of ethnic parades in Chicago: Channel 7 and Channel 9. Channel 9, WGN, broadcast the first State Street St. Patrick’s Day parade in 1956, with Channel 7, WLS providing coverage in later years. More recently, WGN has reduced its coverage when it joined the national CW network. According to Louis Rago, organizer of the Columbus Day parade,

> For years we were on WGN Channel 9... they became part of the CW network and when the ownership changed they said they wanted $6,000 for the next parade. We said, ‘thanks, but no thanks.’

The change in policy at Channel 9 did not prevent video news coverage of the event, however, because Channel 7, ABC, continued to broadcast the parade:

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4 Chicago Tribune General Advertising Rate Card Effective September 1, 2006.  
6 Lou Rago, organizer of the Columbus Day Parade, Interview, July 22, 2010.
Emily Barr, the president of Channel 7 called and said come over. They always did
the parade but only did an hour. They said [that] whatever we can raise that [would
be] enough. The last seven years, we've had a great relationship.\textsuperscript{7}

While the Columbus Day parade continues to be broadcast on network television,
the challenges to reaching a wider audience through mainstream media coverage is
more pronounced for less-established parades located in neighborhoods that would
not attract as wide a viewership. Channel 7, ABC, broadcast coverage of only seven
ethnic parades in 2010, including four of the city's five downtown parades. Table 5.1
lists these parades. For the most part, the ethnic parades broadcast represent the
largest immigrant and ethnic groups in the city. These communities originated in
Chicago before during the first era for the most part. Even for these parades,
however, changes in the national media system have made video news coverage
more difficult. For example, Louis Rago, the organizers of the Columbus Day parade
recounts the effect of WGN Channel 9 becoming part of the CW network:

This push-pull dynamic in which the cost to access mainstream media is
prohibitive for many groups even as their attention is naturally occupied by their
immediate audience of politicians, businesses, community leaders and consular
officials results in a diminished capacity of ethnic parades to actively bridge
between their ethnic community and a wider American audience. This dynamic is
further exacerbated by the fact that the reach of ethnic media has expanded in the
Internet age. Whereas ethnic media in the first and second eras were limited in their
reach by the costs of print media and circulation, ethnic media outlets have grown

\textsuperscript{7} Ibid.
Table 5.1 Ethnic Parades with Broadcast Coverage on ABC7 in 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parade Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish Constitution Day Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bud Billiken Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus Day Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick's Day Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican Parade</td>
<td>Downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pride Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26th Street Mexican Independence Day Parade</td>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data for the table compiled from ABC7 online video archive available at http://abclocal.go.com/wls/video. Of the five downtown parades held in Chicago in 2010, four received video coverage. Interestingly, the 26th Street Mexican Independence Day Parade was broadcast instead of the downtown Mexican Independence Day Parade.
increasingly digitized and international in the third era. Many ethnic news organizations encompass multiple regions in the United States and are oriented toward an international ex-patriot community, though they continue to have local branches. Many also continue to have local print versions in circulation in Chicago's ethnic neighborhoods. Through coverage on the internet, however, coverage of parades and events in Chicago, New York, and other major cities is accessible to international communities of emigrants as well as to the networks of friends and relatives who remain in the emigrants’ home countries. This means that Chicago’s ethnic parades can reach their (loosely defined) international communities of shared national identification more easily through media outlets than they can reach the local mainstream American community.

Ethnic parades are generally one of multiple events and activities arranged by a parade organization, though they are often the most prominent and most public. In addition, ethnic parades are integrated into a wider landscape of ethnic events hosted by many of the organizations that participate in the parade itself but do not organize it. From the perspective of city and state officials, ethnic parades are linked to an immediate series of corollary events through which the government officials demonstrate their support of the city’s ethnic communities. This generally includes a flag raising ceremony on Daley plaza, a reception hosted by Chicago’s mayor, and the reading of a proclamation declaring that Chicago recognizes a particular ethnic holiday. However, these parades are also part of a wider schedule of events that recognize and celebrate Chicago’s ethnic mosaic and international
culture more broadly from small events like one in which different ethnic groups are invited to decorate small Christmas trees on display at City Hall to larger-scale events that bring international performers to Chicago to perform ethnic musical styles.

*Dynamics of ethnic political engagement in Third Era Chicago: racial solidarity, political appointments and advisory councils*

By the end of the first decade of the third era, the landscape of immigration in Chicago had shifted dramatically.\(^8\) Whereas at the beginning of the second era, immigration was predominantly European, by the year 2000, four of the top ten immigrant sending countries were in Asia, while only five were European. In addition, Mexico accounted for over half of the immigrants sent by all of the top ten sending countries. These data are illustrated in Figure 5.1. However, despite this increase non-European immigration, even by the year 2000, immigrant voting power remained relatively limited compared with the entire population eligible to vote. In the year 2000, for example, while foreign born residents made up about 18% of the total population in greater metropolitan Chicago, naturalized citizens eligible to vote made up only about 8% of the total population eligible to vote.

\(^8\) Data in this section are for the Chicago metropolitan area, which comprises thirteen counties extending into Wisconsin and Indiana. The reason for using the metro area statistics is that they have been organized and synthesized in a way that makes it possible to easily compare groups in The Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook by Rob Paral and Michael Norkewicz, Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003. In addition, this data makes the expansion of immigrant populations into the suburbs visible, an issue that is particularly salient during the third era.
These graphs were generated from data taken from The Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook by Rob Paral and Michael Norkewicz, Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003. These two graphs show that at the end of the first decade of the Second City era, Chicago immigration remained dominated by European sending countries, with 8 of the top ten sending countries from the European region. After the immigration reforms of the 1960s, Chicago’s immigration landscape changed completely. By the end of the first decade of the third era, over half of the immigrants coming from the top ten sending countries were from a single country: Mexico. In addition, European countries only contributed a quarter of the population sent by the top ten countries. The rise of Asian immigration is seen by the fact that Asian countries made up forty percent of the top ten sending countries and about twenty percent of the population sent by those ten countries.
Immigrant communities with longer histories in Chicago, such as the Mexican community, have benefited from joining their strength with that of second and third generation natural-born American citizens. Immigrants from Asian countries, however, whose growth followed on the heels of immigration reform in the 1960s, would have seen the first large cohort of second generation Indian-Americans reach voting age at the beginning of the third era. Without a strong voting base, Asian Americans have struggled to elect representatives from their communities to advocate their interests in city and state government.

Though perhaps most pronounced in the Asian communities, similar issues have plagued other smaller immigrant groups, such as those from Central and South America, Africa, and the Middle East. In the 1970s and 1980s, the emerging gay and lesbian community also faced similar challenges.

Among immigrant groups, what has emerged to address this problem of under-representation is a strategy of racial solidarity in which national ethnic identities are subsumed under larger categories such as Hispanic, Latino, Asian, Arab, and African/African-American. National ethnic identities are then given representation through committee appointments and pan-ethnic/racial advocacy

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9 For example, data from The Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook by Rob Paral and Michael Norkewicz, Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003, shows that by 1980, about 21,451 Indian immigrants had arrived in Chicago, of which 85% were between the ages of 18 and 64 and 45% were female. Using the fertility rate of 2.23 calculated by the Center for Immigration Studies’ analysis of the 2002 American Community Survey suggests that about 18,500 native-born, second generation children might be born to this cohort in time to reach a voting age of 18 years by the year 2000.
organizations. In the final years of the second era, for example, the collection of ethnic advisory committees established by Harold Washington were institutionalized as advisory councils to Chicago’s Committee on Human Relations in 1989. This Committee was established as part of the City’s human rights ordinance, passed by City Council in 1988. In addition to these city based advisory boards, numerous elected officials have established their own advisory boards for Asian and Latino affairs, among others. The result of these developments is a third era Chicago with a dense network of political appointments reserved for leaders of ethnic communities. While not all members of these board are directly involved in ethnic parade activities, many current and former parade organizers have held positions on these boards. For example, Hameedullah Khan, the organizer of the 2010 Pakistan Independence Day Parade and president of the Pakistan Federation of Chicago, currently holds a position on the City’s Advisory Council on Asian Affairs, and Iftekhar Shareef, who is involved with the India Independence Day Parade, is a member of the Asian Advisory Councils of the Cook County Clerk, the Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, and the Illinois Senate President. In addition, individuals involved in ethnic parade activities are often associated with other political activities. Members of the Federation of Indian Associations, which runs the India Independence Day parade, were also instrumental in founding and leading the

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11 According to the City of Chicago website listing current committee membership.
12 According to Shareef’s biography on his website http://iftekhshareef.com/shortboi.html.
Indian-American Democratic Organization, which encourages citizenship and voter registration and advocates on behalf of the Indian community to various elected officials and candidates.

Parades as vehicles for local political incorporation: The India Independence Day Parade

The India Independence Day parade in Chicago best embodies the importance of third era ethnic parades for local political incorporation. Although the parade is avowedly apolitical in nature and though its purpose is also to boost investment in the Indian business community on Devon Avenue, the overarching concern of the organization that runs the parade is political in nature. In working to build a pan-Indian identity through events celebrating national Indian holidays, the Federation of Indian Associations (FIA) promotes the image of a unified community and creates opportunities for relationship building across divisions of language and religion. The political implications of the parade and of FIA’s endeavors to unify a diverse community are heightened by the fact that the Indian immigrant community remains numerically small relative to Chicago’s other immigrant communities and to the city as a whole. By organizing the parade and other events to celebrate Indian national identity, FIA provides links between the Indian immigrant community and a small network of politically connected individuals within that community. In addition, the parade and events serve as a platform for building civic engagement and support for emerging Indian political candidates as well as solidarity with other
Asian groups to support new pan-Asian political candidates. However, as these election campaigns continue to falter, the relationship networks that are supported by the India Independence Day parade remain a critical avenue for political incorporation and for advancing Indian voices in local and national government.

By the year 2000, a decade into the third era, Indians made up the third largest foreign-born population in metro-area Chicago, behind Mexicans and Poles.\(^{13}\) In addition, in 2000, a larger proportion of Indians had become naturalized citizens (43.6%) than Mexicans (24.5%) or Poles (40%). Despite this strong showing, however, Indians’ voting power remained constrained by small numbers and dispersed settlement patterns. In the year 2000, only one of Chicago’s community areas (West Ridge) had a larger Indian population than any of the top nine suburban municipalities settled by foreign-born Indians.\(^{14}\) Figure 5.2 illustrates the dispersal of Indian immigrants across the metropolitan area. By contrast, only four of the top nine suburban municipalities settled by Mexicans had a larger foreign-born Mexican population than any of the top ten community areas in Chicago settled by Mexicans.\(^{15}\) Figure 5.3 shows the geographic distribution of Mexican immigrants in the metropolitan area in 2000, and it is clear that larger concentrations of Mexicans remained in Chicago proper. Similarly, among Poles, the top six community areas with foreign born Polish populations each had more Polish residents than any of the top nine suburban municipalities settled by Polish

\(^{13}\) Paral Rob, and Michael Norkewicz. The Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook. Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003.
\(^{14}\) Ibid. p. 29.
\(^{15}\) Ibid. p. 63.
immigrants.\textsuperscript{16} Figure 5.4 shows this distribution of Polish immigrants in the metro-area in 2000.

The Indian immigrant population is more suburban than either of the other two largest immigrant groups in the metro-Chicago area, which scatters their voting power. In 2000, foreign-born Indians only made up one percent of the total population in the metro Chicago area, which indicates that they have little voting power to influence city or county-wide elections. However, even their ability to influence local, ward elections is limited by their dispersed settlement. Indians made up over ten percent of the population in only nine census tracts (compared with seventy-seven for Polish immigrants and four hundred for Mexican immigrants).

Although Indian immigrants' direct voting power is limited, they have built political influence in the Chicago area through non-elected positions and relationship networks that link politically connected individuals to the larger community. The Federation of Indian Associations, Chicago (FIA-Chicago) and its India Independence Day Parade are instrumental in this relationship-building process. Founded in 1980, FIA-Chicago is a local affiliate of the National Federation of Indian Associations and serves as one of several umbrella organizations for language-based, religious, political, and business organizations in the Chicago Indian

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid. p. 49.
Figure 5.2. Geographic Distribution of Immigrants of Indian Origin in 2000 Showing Top Ten Municipalities and Community Areas

Country of Origin: India

Map courtesy of Rob Paral and Michael Norkewicz. The Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook. Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003. These data show that Indian immigrants are more dispersed in the western and northwestern suburbs than in Chicago community areas. This weakens their voting power and makes forming a cohesive community difficult.
Figure 5.3. Geographic Distribution of Immigrants of Mexican Origin in 2000 Showing Top Ten Municipalities and Community Areas

Country of Origin: Mexico

Map courtesy of Rob Paral and Michael Norkewicz. The Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook. Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003. These data show that Mexican immigrants have high concentrations in western and northwestern community areas in Chicago. Their concentrations within Chicago and their large population gives them stronger voting power.
Figure 5.4. Geographic Distribution of Immigrants of Polish Origin in 2000 Showing Top Ten Municipalities and Community Areas

Country of Origin: Poland

Map courtesy of Rob Paral and Michael Norkewicz. The Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook. Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003. These data show that Polish immigrants are concentrated in northwest community areas within Chicago as well as the northwest suburbs.
community. Among its former presidents and active board members are individuals who have established networks at local, state, and national levels of government, and who have been instrumental in establishing important organizations that serve Chicago’s Indian community.

FIA has had twenty-nine individuals hold the office of president over its twenty-one years of existence; many of them are actively involved in Indian professional and language-based organizations as well as in local and transnational political organizations. By examining the activities of five individuals, including two past presidents and three active members, this section illustrates the potential of the FIA to organize an Indian political network and maintain a visible political identity for Indians in Chicago. Table 5.2 shows that past presidents of the FIA have mostly represented language-based organizations and professional organizations, and Table 5.3 shows the distribution of presidents by organization. Eight different language groups and regional associations have been represented in the presidency; however, seven separate presidents have represented the Gujarat Cultural Association, more than triple any other organization. Although informants in FIA denied that conflicts over the organization’s leadership derived from language-group divisions, the dominance of one group in the presidency is problematic because that office-holder becomes a liaison between the organization and government officials. If one group dominates this position, it suggests that they enjoy wider access to government power channels than the other associations.

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Table 5.2 Distribution of FIA Presidents by type of organization they represent, 1980-2010

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Organization Type</th>
<th>Number of Organizations Represented by FIA President</th>
<th>Number of Presidents</th>
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<tr>
<td>Language Based Association</td>
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<td>Professional Association</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
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Data for this table provided by the list of FIA, Chicago presidents in the 2010 India Independence Day Parade souvenir book. Although many presidents are members of multiple organizations outside of FIA, most act as representatives of language-based or professional FIA member associations when holding the FIA presidency. Exceptions include the first president, who represented the umbrella organization India League of America, two presidents from 2000-2002 who represented the Chicago chapter of India’s BJP political party, and one president associated with an Indian foundation in 2006.
Table 5.3 Distribution of FIA Presidents by organization they represent, 1980-2010

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<tr>
<th>Number of Presidents</th>
<th>Organization</th>
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<td>BJP</td>
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<td>Sardar Patel Foundation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>India League of America</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Association of Asian American</td>
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<td>Hotel Owners</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Association of Indian Pharmacists</td>
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<td></td>
<td>N-W Indiana Medical Association</td>
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<td></td>
<td>India Medical Association</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Deccan Social Club</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Punjabi Cultural Association</td>
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<td>Jodhpur Association</td>
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<td>Illinois Malayalee Association</td>
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<td>Maharashtra Mandal</td>
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<td>Gujarat Cultural Association</td>
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<td>Bengalee Association</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Telugu Association</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
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Data for this table are provided by the list of FIA, Chicago presidents in the 2010 India Independence Day souvenir book. While most organizations have been represented by only one or two presidents, the Gujarat Cultural Association has been represented by nine presidents. Although informants insisted that conflicts over FIA’s leadership are not prompted by language-group divisions, this dominance of one language-based organization in the top leadership position in the FIA suggests that different groups do not have equal access to the position that provides the most direct link to governmental power channels.
This imbalance is somewhat mitigated by the fact that individuals can preserve their access to those power channels beyond their term in FIA leadership by demonstrating their ability to provide consistent access to the Indian community. These individuals are actively involved in both FIA, although they might not have served as presidents, as well as other Indian associations and political activities, and play important roles as advocates for the Chicago Indian community. Although I encountered many individuals who fit this profile through my participation in the planning and execution of the India Independence Day parade in 2010, five emerge as particularly important for illustrating the role of parades in organizing and maintaining relationship networks that enable ethnic communities to build political power and improve their economic position. Of these five individuals, two are city employees who have helped connect the Indian community to the city government for two decades and three are entrepreneurs who have also been active in politics at the city, state, national, and transnational levels. All five individuals represent a network that bridges city government, civic organizations, ethnic and citywide business communities, and a variety of elected officials. In addition, they have engaged in a series of initiatives over the years that both complements and is facilitated by the India Independence Day parade.

Profile 1: Ranjit Ganguly

17 In an interview with Pat Michalski, who has been a liaison between numerous government officials and ethnic communities, she explained that individuals become liaisons not only through attaining legitimacy through organizational leadership, but also by consistently responding to officials’ requests to access the community and making productive connections to community members. Through this vetting process, individuals who assert themselves as leaders but cannot connect officials to community members lose legitimacy quickly. Interview, August 13, 2010.
Ranjit Ganguly has been credited with connecting the Chicago Indian community with Chicago city government as it grew in the 1970s and 1980s at least in part through his position as a city employee. As one of the founding members of the Federation of Indian Associations in Chicago, Mr. Ganguly officially represents the Bengali community as a member of the Bengali Association of Greater Chicago. However, Mr. Ganguly also informally links FIA to his other civic endeavors including the Indo-American Democratic Organization, of which he was a founding member in 1980 and the Indo-American Center, a social service provider for the Indian community around West Devon Avenue founded in 1990. Through these organizations, Mr. Ganguly helps link the FIA to political activities that FIA cannot engage in directly, to important civic leaders who are not involved in FIA, and to activities and services that meet the needs of the local Indian community. As a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1984 and an appointee to the State's Attorney's Asian Advisory Council in 1997, Mr. Ganguly provides a direct link to important state and national political activities and leaders.

Profile 2: Keerthi Kumar Ravoori
Like Mr. Ganguly, Keerthi Kumar Ravoori connects the Indian community in Chicago to city government through his position as a city employee. He has worked in Chicago city government since the early 1980s in the Department of Zoning. Together these two men can provide the Indian community with knowledge about and access to a complex bureaucratic system. In addition, Mr. Ravoori has played an active role in the Federation of Indian Associations, serving as a coordinator of special events including the parade since the early 2000s. Within FIA, Mr. Ravoori represents the Telugu community as a member of the Telugu Association of Greater Chicago. In addition, Mr. Ravoori is an active member of the Indo-American Democratic Organization, and has served on the board of that organization as a director. He has worked on campaigns to improve the neighborhood around West Devon Avenue, helping to initiate two honorary street designations for Devon Avenue, and developing partnerships with the police to reduce crime in the area. In addition, Mr. Ravoori hosts voter registration drives in the community and actively promotes civic responsibility and engagement. As an appointee to the Asian American Advisory Council of Pat Quinn during his terms as State Treasurer and Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Ravoori has acted as a liaison between Chicago's Indian community and the governor's office.

Mr. Ganguly traces the origins of FIA to 1979 when the Bengali and Telugu associations came together informally as a coordinating committee of Indian Associations. They were invited by the mayor to participate in a city event, and they decided to host an event downtown that would exhibit India culture "to have saris and everything everywhere," so the mainstream can see. In 1980 the committee was formalized as the Federation of Indian Associations. New York formed a national
federation, and Chicago joined with them, hosting the second national conference of the National Federation of Indian Associations in 1982. At the same time that Ganguly was forming the FIA, he was also involved in founding the Indo-American Democratic Organization (IADO) with Titupataiah Tella, Philip Kalayil and Babubhai Contractor\(^\text{18}\). In *Namaste America*, Ganguly is quoted complaining that “Indians are only keen on cultural extravaganzas, they are not interested in issue-oriented politics... In fact, to most Indians here, politics is a dirty word. They don't realize that if you don't organize politically, you don't exist, at least in the eyes of the government.”\(^\text{19}\) Prior to the advent of the India Independence Day Parade in 1985, FIA served to convene pan-Indian cultural extravaganzas while the IADO built a political network. Although the FIA remains as strictly non-political and a federation of Indian civic and cultural organizations while the IADO is explicitly political, the advent of the parade enabled the cultural activity of the FIA to directly support the political goals and aspirations of the IADO. The importance of the parade as a political achievement is highlighted in the fact that it is listed in the history of IADO on the organization's website. Prior to the formation of the IADO and FIA, Chicago mayors had sent clerks as representatives to Indian events. The participation of Harold Washington as the grand marshal of the first India Independence Day Parade


was a key political achievement for the Indian community. In our conversation, Mr. Ganguly explained the origins of the parade by saying that they had been going to everyone else’s parades and decided they should have their own. This statement suggests that leaders in the Indian community recognized that ethnic parades were an important activity by their prevalence among other groups and wanted to have a similar presence in downtown Chicago. A fortunate consequence of the parade was its ability to mobilize the Indian community around a major cultural event that had the benefit of also raising the political visibility of the community.

However, the parade also benefitted and has been shaped by the parallel political activities of Mr. Ganguly and the IADO. By the time FIA hosted its first parade in 1985, Ganguly and the IADO had begun to establish relationships with city and state political figures through participating in election campaigns, supporting successful 1983 bids by Harold Washington for the mayoralty and Alderman Bernard Stone for the 50th ward seat, where the Devon Avenue parade route would be located in 1995. These relationships likely facilitated the parade, but they also continued to grow and evolve through the parade’s history. They became particularly salient to the parade in the beginning of the third era when Ganguly and another city employee, Keerthi Kumar Ravoori, who is also profiled below, saw

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20 Mr. Ravoori includes his role in this process in his LinkedIn.com profile page (http://www.linkedin.com/in/keerthi7).
their request to designate the portion of Devon Avenue in the heart of the Indian community as “Gandhi Marg,” approved by the Chicago City Council in 1991.21

Parades and street naming became important devices for claiming and dividing the territory of the 50th ward along Devon Avenue in the 1990s. Figure 5.5 shows the routes of the Bangladesh Day Parade, which started on Devon Avenue in 1993; the Assyrian New Year Parade, which moved to Western Avenue near Devon in 1994; the India and Pakistan Independence Day Parades, which moved to Devon Avenue in 1995. Figure 5.6 shows a close-up of Devon Avenue illustrating the honorary designations, their meaning, and when they were approved. The designations fill the entire stretch of Devon Avenue that falls within the 50th ward, from Ravenswood Avenue to Kedzie Avenue, with two designations extending south from Devon Avenue as well.

In effect these designations have divided the area around Devon among five communities: Jewish, Indian, Pakistani, Assyrian, and Bangladeshi. Interestingly, the first designation to be approved, the Indian community’s Gandhi Marg, was shortened from its proposed length. The proposed ordinance submitted by Alderman Stone in January requested that West Devon Avenue between North Leavitt Street (about halfway between Western Avenue and Damen Avenue) and California Avenue be given the honorary designation. However, the designation was

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Based on data collected from Chicago Tribune archives, this map generated by the author shows the approximate location of parades located on or around West Devon Avenue during Chicago’s third era. While all four parades compete for visibility in the neighborhood, only the India Independence Day parade and the Pakistan Independence Day parade have been held continuously throughout the third era despite being the last to arrive in the neighborhood. The Bangladesh Day parade has expanded and contracted, disappearing for years at a time, and the Assyrian New Year parade has also been intermittent since 2006.
Figure 5.6. West Devon Avenue and Surrounds Showing Honorary Street Designations, Meanings, and National Affiliations

This map, compiled from data collected from Journals of the City Council of Chicago shows the location of honorary street designations on or near West Devon Avenue in Chicago’s 50th ward. All designations were sponsored by Bernard Stone, the 50th ward Alderman from 1973 to 2010. This map shows how much immigrant communities in the 50th ward used street designations to embed their national identities into their communities. This place-making of nationalism was further supported by immigrants’ parade activities.
approved for a stretch of West Devon about five blocks shorter, starting at Western Avenue instead of Leavitt. A month after the Gandhi Marg designation was approved (March 15, 1991), Alderman Stone sponsored another ordinance proposal on behalf of the Pakistani community. This proposal requested an honorary designation for the stretch of West Devon Avenue between North Damen Avenue to the east and Western Avenue to the west. This designation would honor Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan. This stretch of Devon would eventually become the route of the Pakistan Independence Day Parade while the stretch designated Gandhi Marg would become the route of the India Independence Day Parade. Interestingly, the first communities to move their parades to Devon Avenue, the Bangladeshis and the Assyrians²², would be the last to attain honorary designations, with the Bangladeshis waiting until 1997 to claim the last stretch of Devon in the 50th ward between North Damen Avenue and Ravenswood to honor the founder of their country, Sheik Mujibur Rahman. With the exception of Mother

²² The Assyrian population of Chicago is an interesting case that I was not able to study in greater depth because the fact that they had not held a parade since 2006 meant that I could not obtain reliable contact information for them. According to the website of the Assyrian American Civic Club of Chicago, “The Assyrians of today are descendants of the ancient Assyrian people who built the mighty empires of Assyrian and Babylonia. They rose to power and prosperity in Mesopotamia whose mainland consists of modern-day Iraq... Assyrian are Christians and their church dates back to the time of Christ. In the first century they were among the first people to embrace Christianity. Living apart from the Christian World, the Assyrians came almost to losing their identity as a nation... In 1918, Assyrians left alone without any support, they had no choice but to retreat from Iran... in compensation for stupendous losses inflicted on them during the Great War” Britain, France, and Russia, “promised Assyrians” “a safe and independent homeland... This promise was not fulfilled... From this time on... they began to flee in all directions as stateless refugees to find a safe haven and protect themselves from total elimination until such a day when their voice would be heard through an international forum.” See http://www.assyrian civicclub.com/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=10
Teresa, the fact that all of the street designations honor important foreign national leaders, and often the founders of nations, demonstrates the ways that immigrants embed and build their foreign national identities into the American urban landscape.

As Mr. Ganguly, Mr. Ravoori, and others were lobbying for the honorary designation of Gandhi Marg for West Devon Avenue, the attention of leaders of the Indian community were turning toward the West Devon Avenue area. In 1989 a former president of the Federation of Indian Associations, MGK Pillai, founded the Indo-American Center, a service organization intended “to serve the newer waves of immigrants from Pakistan and other parts of South Asia, including India,” which would be housed in multiple buildings on or near the Gandhi Marg corridor. In addition to Mr. Ganguly and Mr. Pillai, other members of FIA are active in the Indo-American Center, and its event spaces are sometimes used by FIA to house elections and other events. Like the Indian Independence Day Parade, the Indo-American Center uses its non-political mission to support the political advancement of the Indian community. Three of its programs and services directly support the integration of Indian immigrants into the American political system: the adult

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literacy program, which teaches English reading, writing, and conversation; the civics education program, which offers classes to prepare immigrants to become U.S. citizens, and its citizenship and immigration service, that provides access to an immigration attorney and assistance with citizenship forms.

In addition to connecting FIA to these important community organizations, Mr. Ganguly and Mr. Ravoori also provide connections between FIA and important leaders in the Indian community who do not participate in FIA. In particular, through the IADO, both have worked with Dr. Ann Lata Kalayil, daughter of IADO founder Philip Kalayil and an important leader of the South Asian community in Chicago. Dr. Kalayil has not only served as an active member and director of the IADO, but also serves on the board of directors of the Indo-American Center and the Illinois Women's Institute for Leadership. In addition, Dr. Kalayil founded the South Asian American Policy and Research Institute in 2001 to "facilitate, through the use of research, the formulation of equitable and socially responsible policy affecting South Asian Americans."24 Dr. Kalayil has been active in organizations that serve the broader Asian American and South Asian American communities in Chicago. Through her work as an activist and advocate for the South Asian community in Chicago, Dr. Kalayil developed a relationship with then State Senator Barack Obama and she co-chaired his Asian American and Pacific Islander Leadership Council.

24 From SAAPRI website: http://saapri.org/
during his campaign. In 2011, she was appointed to be the Great Lakes Region administrator for the General Services Administration. Dr. Kalayil, a second-generation American, however, is not active in the FIA, and has an extensive political network that extends beyond that of the FIA network. Through their joint work with the IADO and the Indo-American Center, Mr. Ganguly and Mr. Ravoori provide a link to this network from the FIA.

Profile 3: Niranjan Shah

Niranjan Shah is an independent business-owner and entrepreneur who has been active in connecting Chicago's Indian community to state and national politics. Mr. Shah started his architecture and engineering services company, Globetrotters Engineering Corporation in 1974, and has become an important civic leader and political fundraiser in the Indian community both in Chicago and nationally. His company has been involved in major Chicago-based projects including projects for the Chicago Housing Authority and work on O'Hare airport. Mr. Shah held the position of FIA president in 1990, and in the 1990s also served to connect the Indian community to both local and national politics. Mr. Shah provided links to the metropolitan business community through his appointment to the Economic Development Commission by Mayor Richard M. Daley from 1992-1997. In addition, he provided an important link to national politics through his involvement in the Democratic Party and his position as a supporter of President Clinton. Mr. Shah was invited to Clinton's inauguration festivities in 1993 and later to attend President Clinton's 1997 visit to India as the only Indian-American representative from Chicago. In addition, Mr. Shah was also part of the US-India Friendship Council that successfully lobbied for the US-India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Non-proliferation Enhancement Act, signed into law in 2008. Mr. Shah's daughter, Smita, has also been actively involved in local and national democratic politics.

25 For more information on Kalayil's relationship with President Obama, see Haniffa, Aziz, "Obama's friend Lata appointed to top federal job." India Abroad, February 4, 2011.


Profile 4: Iftekhar Shareef

Iftekhar Shareef is another independent business owner and entrepreneur in Chicago, having founded the National Bankcard Corporation in Chicago and Secure Check, USA, in addition to a variety of other business ventures in both the United States and India. Mr. Shareef is a transnational political actor, building relationships with Indian political figures as well as local and national elected officials in the United States. He joined the Federation of Indian Associations, Chicago, in 1997 for the fiftieth anniversary of India’s Independence, and became president of the organization in 2007. He has been active on the board of the Indo-American Democratic Organization and has been an important fundraiser for local and state elected officials in Chicago. However, he is also a founding member and executive vice president of the Illinois Chapter of the Indian National Overseas Congress, which is linked to the India’s Congress Party and launched in 2010. Mr. Shareef is also one of the first recipients of the Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) card, and remains active in business and politics in his home city of Hyderabad, India. Within FIA, Mr. Shareef provides a link both to United States political actors and to important political figures in India.

As the political power of the Indian community grew to include fundraising prowess in addition to campaign energy, leadership of the Federation of Indian Associations and the India Independence Day parade reflected this shift. That Mr. Shah, who was emerging as an important political fundraiser, held the presidency of FIA in 1990 and has remained actively involved in the parade and other FIA activities in the intervening decades demonstrates how the parade itself continued to organize Indian-American leadership in Chicago and make those leaders visible to the Indian-American community. The importance of this community visibility is reflected in the decision to move the parade from downtown to Devon Avenue.

Ranjit Ganguly describes the decision in these terms:

The parade was moved from downtown to Devon Avenue in 1995. At that time there were more people marching in the street than watching on the sidewalks. We decided to bring the parade back to the community. [The result was much larger crowds] Politicians were all trying to come because the votes are here. Downtown our voters are not there. Even though we are not a political organization, it was politically successful.29

29 Ranjit Ganguly. Notes from conversation during FIA Meeting held July 18, 2010.
The increased focus on Devon Avenue as a site of both cultural activity and political mobilization served both the community and the elected officials. The community could use the social and physical conditions around Devon Avenue as a measuring stick to gauge elected officials’ effectiveness in serving the community, and elected officials gained a platform from which to demonstrate their commitment both verbally through speeches at the annual parade and other events and through direct action in response to community needs. However, this emerging focus on Devon Avenue as the symbolic heart of the Indian community did not solve the problem of the community’s dispersion across Chicago and its suburbs. With the parade and community institutions like the Indo-American Center firmly rooted in the West Devon Avenue neighborhood, the FIA and its individual members could host banquets and fundraisers in a variety of suburban locations, thus helping to link the dispersed community back to Chicago and the West Devon area.

The involvement of individuals like Niranjan Shah and Iftekhar Shareef in FIA also demonstrates the power of the parade and its organizers to link local community activism to national and international politics as well as to larger-scale economic opportunities. Niranjan Shah’s leadership in the Democratic Party at a national level as well as his extensive fundraising for local elected officials provides Chicago’s Indian community with an important channel to impact national politics despite representing a small proportion of the general population. Mr. Shah’s appointment to Chicago’s Economic Development Commission also indicates that his network extends beyond the Indian and Asian American communities into the
larger business community in Chicago. The importance of his business connections to Chicago's Indian community is unclear, but his knowledge of the City's economic policies and priorities would be an important resource for the growing community. Iftekhar Shareef has played a similar role in terms of fundraising, but his continued engagement with Indian politics means that he is also provides a link to Indian elected officials and political activities. Although his status as an overseas citizen of India is not accompanied with voting rights, Mr. Shareef continues to engage in business and political activities in India, hosting events for members of parliament in the Congress party and interacting directly with Sonia Gandhi, president of the Indian National Congress party. Through their individual political activities, Mr. Shah and Mr. Shareef provide links between Indian American residents of Chicago, United States elected officials, and Indian elected officials. They provide an avenue for advocating for the Chicago Indian-American community and the larger interests of non-resident Indians in the United States.

The increased fundraising activities in the Indian community have not been wholly unproblematic, however. Mr. Shah and his company have been accused of questionable practices involving political contributions intermittently over the years.30 In 2009, Mr. Shah resigned his position as a trustee of the University of Illinois to which Governor Rod Blagojevich had appointed him because of

30 Shah's firm Globetrotters Engineering Corporation was highlighted in a 1986 Chicago Tribune article as a business that was circumventing Harold Washington's limit of $1500 contributions to his campaign fund and in 1996, Shah was part of Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary's trade mission to India, which was investigated by Congress for being a reward to major political contributors.
accusations that he had used his position to improperly influence admissions and hiring decisions.\textsuperscript{31} These accusations followed on the heels of the 2008 Rod Blagojevich corruption scandal in which another prominent member of Chicago's Indian community and former FIA president, Raghuveer Nayak, was directly implicated in attempting to raise over a million dollars for the Blagojevich campaign in exchange for the appointment of Jesse Jackson, Jr. to Barack Obama's vacated Senate seat.\textsuperscript{32} The impact of this scandal and intimate involvement of leaders in Chicago's Indian American community was reflected in the 2010 India Independence Day Parade. As further details of the scandal were emerging at trial, the parade planners wondered whether it would make elected officials reluctant to highlight their close ties to the Indian community. In addition, a last minute notification from Governor Pat Quinn that he could not lead the parade as the grand marshal left the organization scrambling to find a replacement. This marked the first year that FIA had attempted to run the parade without a Bollywood star as grand marshal in order to redirect money to scholarships for college students, so Governor Quinn's refusal was especially challenging. Activating the FIA political network secured Alexi Giannoulias, Illinois State Treasurer and US Senate nominee at the last minute.\textsuperscript{33} The episode highlighted both the political reach of the Indian community

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{31} Pais, Arthur J. "Niranjan Shah resigns from University of Illinois." \textit{India Abroad}, New York, August 14, 2009, Vol. 39, Issue 46, p. A 37. In the article, Shah denies any improper conduct, but claims that at 75 he felt too old to deal with such political controversy.


\textsuperscript{33} "Starless Parade Fails to Attract Crowd." \textit{India Tribune}, August 25, 2010.
\end{footnotes}
and the liabilities it faces in relying on fundraising over voting strength to influence local, state, and national politics.

Without the parade, these individuals' political activities would remain fragmented and relatively invisible to the general population of Indian-Americans living in and around Chicago, IL. The parade provides a platform for showcasing their contributions to the community and to demonstrate the political advancement of the community through the direct participation of elected officials. Although the ritual of the parade can feel formulaic, and the speeches may come off as self-congratulatory to some in the community, they provide a rare opportunity for civic leaders in the Indian community to be recognized publicly for their work and contributions, and for elected officials to affirm their commitment to serving Indian-Americans and to see the community as a united entity.

The importance of presenting an appearance of unity should not be underestimated. Although all of Chicago's immigrant and ethnic communities are diverse and fragmented by organizational affiliation, regional loyalty, religion, local neighborhood, class, and generation, presenting a public, unified front increases political visibility and facilitates political access. Maintaining a parade that brings together individuals from various parts of the community demonstrates an ability to bring groups together and overcome some of the divisions in the community.
The India Independence Day parade and the FIA have survived despite regular infighting and challenges, and the fact of the parade's survival has ensured the community's continued political visibility. The most significant threat to the parade's survival came at the beginning of the parade's history when the Alliance of Midwest Indian Associations fought to control the parade and regularly hosted a competing parade event. That conflict was resolved in 1993 when Chicago's City Council adopted a measure that limited the permit for a given parade to one per ethnic group, giving preference to that group that had managed the parade for at least five years. 

Parades as vehicles for economic advancement: The Little Village Mexican Independence Day Parade

As the India Independence Day parade provides a compelling case study to demonstrate how ethnic parades organize political relationships and serve as a political platform for ethnic communities, the 26th Street Little Village Mexican Independence Day parade showcases the role of parades in supporting communities' economic advancement. It should be noted that politics and economics are important in all parades. In fact, part of the motivation for moving the India Independence Day parade to West Devon Avenue in 1995 was to support the Devon Avenue business community and

to showcase that that street should be... like [a] Little Mexican Village, Little China Village, we want to emphasize it as a Little Indian Village.\textsuperscript{35}

This interest in marking and promoting the neighborhood as an Indian enclave is echoed by other community leaders as well. For example Ann Lata Kalayil argues

\textit{If you look at Chinatown or Argyle Street [a Chinese enclave on Chicago’s north side], the City has made it very attractive for tourism. We need the same thing – a gateway or an arch by Western and Devon.}\textsuperscript{36}

Not only is the Indian community interested in developing West Devon Avenue as an economic center in Chicago, but civic leaders are also looking to other neighborhoods for examples of what an ethnic neighborhood as a business and tourism destination looks like. One of these neighborhoods is the Mexican neighborhood of Little Village, which has developed into a major commercial corridor in Chicago,\textsuperscript{37} marked at one edge with a ceremonial gateway erected in 1991 (shown in Figure 5.7), and given the honorary designation of Avenida de la Villita in 1985.\textsuperscript{38} This neighborhood, and its parade, which is organized by the Little Village Chamber of Commerce – an organization of businesses rather than cultural

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{35} Interview with Iftekhar Shareef, March 28, 2010.
\textsuperscript{37} An oft repeated statistic is that 26th Street is second only to Michigan Avenue in generating sales tax revenue for the City, but I could not locate data to either support or refute this claim.
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Journal of the Proceedings of the Chicago City Council}, Wednesday March 20, 1985, p. 14619. This appears to be one of the earliest example of an neighborhood using honorary street designations along a parade route to promote an ethnic identity. A potential earlier name shift occurred when the Bud Billiken parade route of South Parkway Boulevard was renamed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive after the civil rights leader’s assassination in 1968.
Figure 5.7 Ceremonial gateway at entrance to Avenida de la Villita

Image courtesy of author. This ceremonial archway was erected in 1991 between South Albany Street and South Troy Street on West 26th Street and marks the starting point of the 26th Street Little Village Mexican Independence Day parade. The original permitting process was started in 1984 by the 26th Street Businessmen's Association, but was taken over by the Little Village Chamber of Commerce and the City of Chicago in 1988. The arch is described as a gift from the country of Mexico by Frank S. Magellon in his book Chicago's Little Village: Lawndale-Crawford (2010). However, city council records indicate that the City of Chicago committed to providing 75% of project cost up to $50,000 through its Sidewalk Amenities Program, funded with federal Community Development Block Grants.
and civic organizations – is an extreme example of the role of parades in supporting economic advancement.

Unlike the India Independence Day parade, which is the only Indian-American parade in Chicago and for this reason represents (or attempts to represent) the Chicago Indian community as a unified whole, the Little Village Mexican Independence Day parade is but one of four Mexican Independence Day parades in Chicago, and one of about six parades organized by the Mexican community throughout the year. The scope of Mexican immigration in Chicago means that its community and political dynamics differ markedly from those of other immigrant groups in ways that are likely to impact its parade culture.

Mexicans in Chicago are so populous and have such a long immigration history in the city that they cannot be considered as a single community. Rather they are a collection of multiple communities distinguish largely by the era of their arrival and their neighborhood affiliation as well as by other factors like socio-economic status and immigration status. While regional and hometown loyalties are important for organizing Mexican civic organizations (and according to a 2005 report are growing in importance39), regional distinctions do not seem to be creating strong political

39 The report “Mexican Migrant Civic and Political Participation in the U.S.: The Case of Hometown Associations in Los Angeles and Chicago,” shows that the number and diversity of hometown associations has grown in Chicago from 140 organizations representing twelve Mexican states in 1998 to 251 organizations representing 16 states in 2005. For more information see Rivera-Salgado, Gaspar, Xochitl Bada, and Luis Escala-Rabadan. “Mexican Migrant Civic and Political Participation in the U.S.: The Case of Hometown Associations in Los Angeles and Chicago,” Background paper
divisions among Mexicans in Chicago. These divisions seem to be driven more by local political dynamics whereby the long-standing political relationships established by earlier generations of immigrants are challenged by the electoral power of expanding Mexican immigrant neighborhoods.

The current landscape of Mexican parades captures many of these divisions. While South Chicago is one of the oldest Mexican enclaves and the site of the oldest Mexican Independence Day parade (started in 1939), it is no longer even among the top ten community areas in Chicago with the largest Mexican populations. As of the 2000 census, the South Chicago community area was only 27% Hispanic. The South Chicago Mexican Independence Day parade is run by the Mexican Patriotic Club, which was originally an organization dedicated to the celebration and preservation of a strong Mexican national identity and actively politicized as a 501c(4) organization. Figure 5.8 shows an image of the South Chicago parade from the 1950s when it was still the only Mexican parade in the city. Since the 1990 and the beginning of the third era, however, the organization has shifted leadership and emphasis. Now run by a committee of second- and third- and fourth-generation Mexican Americans, the emphasis on the parade is less on maintaining Mexican-American identity and more on preserving a South Chicago community parade:

_The parade is called the Mexican Independence Day Parade, but we wanted to make it for the whole community. It is the last parade here [in the neighborhood]. We used to have a Christmas parade, other parades. It brings the community together – they come from everywhere. If they moved out, they come back. If we_
said it was an Irish parade, [they would still come]. They love the mariachis, the bands, the horses – kids love the horses... Everybody loves a parade.40

Once a major force in Chicago politics, South Chicago’s influence has declined with the decline of the steel industry, and is no longer a major port of entry for Mexican immigrants. The parade’s shift in focus toward the neighborhood and away from the politics of Mexican nationalism reflects this shift. Figure 5.9 shows an example of a decorated vehicle in the 2010 South Chicago parade.

The downtown Mexican Independence Day parade demarcates another Mexican community in Chicago. Started in 1962 by the Mexican Consul General and run by the Mexican Civic Society, this parade generally represents the emergence of Mexican-American political power. Like FIA and the Indians, the Mexican Civic Society has suffered from numerous legal challenges to its leadership structure. As the representative of the first and only downtown Mexican parade, this organization is associated with access to the Chicago and Illinois political establishment. Founded in 1969, the organization was a considered an important political endorsement in Paul Simon’s 1983 run for a United States senate seat41 and by 1986, a member of the Mexican Civic Society board of directors was appointed to fill a seat in the Illinois House of Representatives vacated by newly-elected Alderman Juan Soliz.42

The political power of the organization and the importance of the parade

40 Notes from conversation with Carmela Vargas at parade planning meeting, August 11, 2010.
Figure 5.8 Image of South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade from 1957

Image courtesy of James Gomez on Flickr.com. Participants in the parade depicting figures in Mexican history demonstrate the importance of Mexican national identity in early South Chicago Mexican Independence Day parades. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church is visible in the background. This church was an important neighborhood institution for Mexicans in South Chicago and served as the focal point for the parade for many years.
In 2010, though participants continue to ride in decorated cars, depictions of historical figures are no longer part of the celebration. Rather, more abstract cultural symbols such as traditional cloth and garlands along with Mexican flags predominate. Many spectators participated in gatherings and house parties along the route, giving the event the feel of a neighborhood celebration.
diminished considerably during the third era, spurred by infighting and lawsuits among the organization’s leadership starting in 2001. Around this time, the Little Village parade began to replace the downtown parade as the main Mexican Independence event. While WLS Channel 7 covered the downtown parade in 1998, by 2002, coverage had transitioned to the Little Village parade. In addition, whereas the Mexican Civic Society and the downtown Mexican Independence Day Parade had once been closely tied to the Mexican Consul General, by 2010, the organization had been completely excluded from the Consulate’s Fiestas Patrias (Independence Day) events, replaced by the Little Village Chamber of Commerce.43

The increasing prominence of the 26th Street Little Village Mexican Independence Day parade relative to the downtown parade appears to be closely linked to the decline of the Mexican Civic Society due to its internal power struggles. However, the growth of neighborhood parades in the third era suggests that other dynamics are also at work. The Little Village parade is also the most prominent Mexican neighborhood parade compared with the Pilsen Mexican Independence Day parade, located an older Mexican settlement adjacent to Little Village. Although a chamber of commerce also runs the Pilsen parade, that parade has not achieved the scale and visibility of the Little Village parade, which is now the only Mexican Independence Day parade aired on television. The Little Village parade simultaneously represents a community of Mexican-American business leaders and

43 The Mexican Civic Society threatened to cancel the downtown parade in 2010 because of its exclusion from the traditional El Grito event that year. 2010 was a particularly important year because it marked Mexico’s bicentennial.
the more recent waves of immigrants who have chosen to settle in the Little Village neighborhood. The neighborhood’s location at the western edge of the city has meant that it could capture the Mexican population as it expanded westward between 1990 and 2000. The neighborhood’s population grew by 12.2% during that era while Pilsen lost 3.6% during the same period. Whether the Little Village neighborhood’s loss of population between 2000 and 2010 will augur a decline in the parade or a shift toward parades in new neighborhoods remains to be seen. Already the Mexican Independence Day parade in Cicero is large enough that Luis Alva, the executive director of the Little Village Chamber of Commerce, thought of it as Chicago’s fourth Mexican Independence Day parade (over the South Chicago parade).

Aside from demographic shifts and political divisions in the Mexican Civic Society, the Little Village parade has also benefitted from the Little Village Chamber of Commerce’s twenty-five year economic development strategy that has supplemented the Mexican Independence Day parade with a variety of other events, improvements, and outreach strategies that have branded Little Village as an ethnic tourism destination. While Little Village has achieved remarkable success, the drive to promote community-oriented economic advancement is prominent among all parades with neighborhood parade organizations particularly interested in neighborhood economic development and promoting ethnic tourism. The Little

45 Interview with Luis Alva, April 29, 2010.
Village parade provides an example for how the economic elements of parades can be linked to other economic initiatives to comprise a larger strategy of economic development through place making.

As with the political activities of the Indian community, parades not only serve to link a variety of economic actors to civic and political leaders, but they are also a unique opportunity to showcase community economic power to the community itself and to the wider public. In turn, by drawing crowds together in to celebrate cultural and civic pride, ethnic parades also showcase the size of the ethnic community as a market of potential consumers. The Little Village Chamber of Commerce, as a business organization, has developed a year-round calendar of events that highlight local businesses in addition to the September parade. Unlike the Federation of Indian Associations, which primarily hosted civic events to celebrate national Indian holidays, the Little Village Chamber of Commerce events have a local neighborhood orientation. According to the Little Village Chamber of Commerce website, the Chamber has about 100 members. Figure 5.10 illustrates the distribution of these organizations within Illinois, and Figure 5.11 shows the distribution of Chamber of Commerce members within Chicago only. Little Village Chamber of Commerce businesses and organizations represent a network that is predominantly based in Little Village, but expands out even beyond the state boundaries of Illinois. Eighty percent of Chamber members are located in Chicago, and of these, about fifty-one percent are located in Little Village and seventy-nine percent are located in West Side or Southwest Side community areas. In addition,
Figure 5.10. Pie Charts Showing Distribution of All Little Village Chamber of Commerce Member Organizations, 2011

Geographic Distribution of Little Village Chamber of Commerce Member Organizations, 2011

Illinois-based member organizations outside Chicago (16)

Berwyn (4)
Naperville (2)
Other municipalities with 1 member organization each (10)

Chicago-based member organizations (80)
Illinois-based member organizations outside Chicago (16)
Member organizations based outside of Illinois (4)

Data for these graphs was taken from Little Village Chamber of Commerce website membership listing. Although most chamber organizations are based in Chicago, a number are located outside Chicago or outside Illinois. Although Cicero has a much larger population of Mexican immigrants than Berwyn, it does not have any members of the Little Village Chamber of Commerce. This may be due to the fact that Cicero sponsors its own parade, which gives its businesses and organizations visibility.
Data for these graphs was taken from Little Village Chamber of Commerce website membership listing. The map shows that most of the members are concentrated in the Little Village neighborhood and Chicago’s West Side. However, it is interesting to note that members extend along southwest and northwest axes with a concentration in Chicago’s Loop. This suggests that the parade is linking the Little Village business community to a larger Chicago-area business community in ways that support expressions of placemaking and neighborhood economic development.
fourteen percent of Chicago-based Chamber member organizations are located in the downtown Loop or the surrounding central community areas – the second highest concentration outside of the West Side area. In this way, the Chamber is maintaining a network of organizations that links Little Village businesses to larger downtown corporations. These organizations are particularly important in terms of funding the parade. Of the organizations occupying the first ten parade positions, which are auctioned off to the highest bidders, only one is located in Little Village, while three are located downtown or outside of Chicago. In this way, the parade becomes a mechanism for funneling resources from downtown corporations into programs and services that support the overall image and economic development of the Little Village community area, and the 26th Street commercial corridor.

Although this snapshot is from the Little Village Chamber of Commerce in 2011, it is indicative of the kind of place-making strategy of which the parade has been a part since the end of the final decade of the second era. The Little Village 26th Street Mexican Independence Day Parade started in 1982 by the Little Village Chamber of Commerce. By 1985, civic leaders from the neighborhood had succeeded in getting an honorary street name for 26th Street along the route of the parade to the city limits of Avenida de la Villita,46 and the 26th Street Businessmen’s Association had initiated a permitting process for erecting a Spanish-tiled arch across 26th Street at the beginning of the parade route, a project that would be completed in 1991, at the dawn of the third era.

When Channel 7, ABC, started airing coverage of the parade in 2003, it not only made the parade visible to a wider audience across the Chicagoland area, but it also made legible the economic narrative of the parade. Coverage of the 2010 parade celebrating Mexico’s bicentennial, for example, focused primarily on highlighting the various civic and business leaders involved in the parade and the civic contributions of businesses in the parade. This emphasis is particularly interesting given parade requirements that the first ten floats each depict a different Mexican state, and the general lack of legibility of the parade’s culturally symbolic elements (such as dress, costume, as well as dance and music styles). The fact that the positions that bring in the most funding are those required to depict Mexican national culture has multiple implications. One the one hand, it suggests that the value of visibility that comes from occupying a position at the front of the parade is high enough that the additional requirement for depicting a Mexican state is not a deterrent. On the other hand, it suggests that there is a tension between using those positions to generate revenue and using them to showcase national identity. For the organizations that bid for these positions, gaining visibility for their brands is the highest priority. For the parade organization, however, setting the tone of the parade with cultural content oriented toward their Mexican audience is critical. Balancing these two competing sets of interests is a key component of managing ethnic parades.
For parade commentators, this balance must also be struck; however, float descriptions tend to emphasize businesses' community contributions rather than the cultural content of their floats. This emphasis can be attributed to the fact that participating organizations are required to provide a short description for the television announcers and benefit more from highlighting their community contributions than the details of their floats. For example, a comparison between the level of specificity in the parade announcers' description of two floats to their discussion of the cultural elements accompanying the float suggests that the announcers are more informed about the civic contributions of businesses than the cultural significance of the parade's symbolic elements:

**Float Commentary**  
*State Farm Insurance*

Theresa Gutierrez (ABC7): *Let's talk about State Farm Insurance who has been a staple in this parade.*

John R. Rosales (LVCC Secretary): *Oh they've been a sponsor for a number of years. They're one of our top sponsors and they've always been part of the community. Max Diaz is right across the street at State Farm insurance. He's from*

**Cultural Element Commentary**  
*State Farm Insurance*

Theresa Gutierrez: *And look at how beautifully they're dressed. I mean you look at them and you see their charro [Mexican cowboy] outfits, I mean this is really a beautiful parade and a beautiful float.*

John R. Rosales: *We appreciate them being here.*

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the community and he's done a number of national ads for State Farm Insurance, so I'm proud of him and I'm proud of the work that State Farm does in the community. They're good people, they're good neighbors.47

Coca-Cola Company

Theresa Gutierrez: And of course we talk again about corporate America and Coca-Cola and you are part of corporate America and you know that this parade is an important parade.

John R. Rosales: Oh we've been here every year but regardless it's something that Coca-Cola wants to be involved with. Part of our responsibility is our corporate responsibility to the community to be involved in events such as this and to volunteer our time and our efforts whether it's the Boys Clubs of America or beach sweeps throughout the year. It's part of our charter; it's something that we have to do. We have to make ourselves different from other corporations because that's our responsibility. We have a responsibility to our community. That's why we're here today.49

Coca-Cola Company

Theresa Gutierrez: Look at these dancers. Aren't they magnificent? And of course they're doing their, you know. I can't do that dance, can you? Well look at how beautiful these women are.

John R. Rosales: Well that's why I hired them.

Theresa Gutierrez: And of course let's talk about Coca-Cola because John Rosales you are Mr. Coca-Cola.

John R. Rosales: Well that's our Coca-Cola float. We hired... Craig Chico's Back of Yards' folkloric dance group to be part of the float. I saw them perform at... Back of the Yards and I thought "Oh I've got to have those," so that's why they're dancing right in front of our float because they're just beautiful.50

In the State Farm Insurance example, the business description reveals that the float not only represents the corporation but also the individual community member, Max Diaz, while also highlighting the support provided by State Farm to the community and specifically to the parade as a "top sponsor." The description of

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48 Ibid

49 Ibid. This exchange occurs just after the 19:30 mark.

50 Ibid.
the cultural element, however, is relatively vague mentioning that they are “beautifully dressed” and wearing “charro outfits” without explaining what a charro is or from what region of Mexico the clothing comes. While charros – Mexican cowboys – are discussed in more detail later in the broadcast, this example demonstrates that the commentary on floats with corporate sponsorship emphasizes the relationship between the community and the business, often revealing otherwise invisible connections between businesses and community members and civic leaders. This latter point is reinforced by the description of the Coca-Cola float, in which it is revealed that Mr. Rosales is a representative of the company at the parade, “Mr. Coca-Cola,” and organized the float. Although the description of the folkloric dancers gives some background on them, this mostly serves to connect the float to a civic leader in the Back of Yards Mexican community (located in the New City community area) rather than to give additional information on the cultural significance of the dance, dress, or music.

*Interweaving narratives: community, business, and nationalism*

The themes of community, business, politics, progress, and international connections are woven throughout the broadcast, suggesting the importance of parades for revealing their interlocking relationships. In addition to specific commentary on businesses sponsoring floats, the commentators also repeatedly referenced the economic power of the community in terms of the interrelationship between the businesses and the community.
In the Little Village broadcast, the commentators build a narrative about the relationship between corporate responsibility, community, and community purchasing power. In their interpretation of the parade, businesses participate in the parade not only because owners and managers are community members and have loyalty to Mexicans in Little Village, but also because the Little Village parade provides access to a wider Mexican audience. This audience, whether defined regionally or nationally potentially represents extensive purchasing power. By demonstrating loyalty to the Mexican community through the parade, corporations can visually link themselves with Mexican identity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theresa Gutierrez:</th>
<th>And you know we talk about corporate America and corporate America is very involved in this parade as they are in all the parades because they know how important it is to have a presence in the community. It means a lot to the people doesn’t it.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John R. Rosales:</td>
<td>Absolutely. Anybody can sell products but the fact of it is from our community we should be looking at those companies and corporations that serve our community and do more than just sell their products because we can buy any products regardless. You know what our purchasing power is – it’s 1 trillion dollars!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

John Rosales’s fluid transition from the Little Village Mexican community to the Hispanic population of the entire United States. Though it is certain that many Hispanics within and outside of Chicago will not interpret Coca Cola’s participation in the Chicago’s Little Village parade as a universal commitment to Hispanics

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51 Ibid. Exchange occurs around time point 12:04.
nationwide, it is telling that participation in televised parades celebrating Mexican nationalism are viewed as one outlet for reaching a wider Hispanic community.

Narratives also emerged from the commentary about the relationship between nationalism and economic activity in relation to American identity and entrepreneurship. The parade and parade commentary makes visible the entrepreneurial activities of Mexicans in Little Village. This in turn establishes a claim for participation in American nationalism and the appropriateness of Mexican inclusion in American national identity.

Theresa Gutierrez: I brought my cousin... to see the parade and she was impressed with all the entrepreneurs out there.

John R. Rosales: Twelve hundred of them, just in the businesses alone. But you talk about the vendors up and down the street. That's what makes our neighborhood so unique.

Theresa Gutierrez: The entrepreneurial spirit is alive and well and of course that is what made this country and its important.52

John R. Rosales: We always have the same work mentality. We have to do what we have to do to survive and do well. And we always want to do well for our kids. Just like any other immigrant group, this is something that is instilled in us that we have to continue.53

John R. Rosales: Well, we're in the same difficult period with the recession in the United States, but we'll survive... because that's how we're ingrained. We pick ourselves up from our bootstraps and continue to do the work that we have to do to make sure that our kids get the education and the quality of everything that we can bring... to our families.54

52 Ibid. Exchange occurs after 14:52.
53 Ibid. Occurs after 27:45.
54 Ibid. Occurs between 41:40 and 44:07.
The narrative developed by the parade commentators uses three ideas to link the Little Village Mexican community to American national identity: entrepreneurship, a commitment to family, and the importance of hard work. All of these references in combination emphasize that Mexicans are making economic contributions to America in endeavors and roles that are central to the values of American nationalism, particularly the value of using hard work to escape poverty and provide economic opportunities for your family. In this sense the parade commentary is communicating Mexican aspirations for participation in American nationalism without directly challenging the values embedded in that nationalism.

At the same time that they are using the activities of Little Village businesses to strengthen Mexican’s claims to American identity, they also emphasize the close relationship between the local residential community and the business community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theresa Gutierrez:</th>
<th>One thing that is important about this community and the business community is that they really support their very own and that’s why they really thrive.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John R. Rosales:</td>
<td>In Little Village absolutely. I think one of the things that sets it apart from other communities is that everything is here. Whether you want to get eyeglasses from Tropical Optical or tamales from La Guadelupana, I mean everything is here so you really don’t have to leave the neighborhood to get anything that you want to buy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reference to bootstraps, which links back to the idea popularized by Horatio Alger that hard work and self reliance would lead to achieving the American dream of rising out of poverty.

Ibid. Exchange occurs after 36:56.
Their exchange describes a mutually beneficial system whereby resident loyalty to the businesses ensures businesses’ survival and the concentration and diversity of businesses supports resident loyalty. Although not explicitly articulated, the dynamic described suggests that Little Village functions as a kind of in-between economic zone that is neither wholly Mexican nor mainstream American. It is a place where residents are able to get professional services such as eye care from Mexican Americans as well as more Mexican-specific items such as tamales. The diversity and density of Little Village businesses creates a zone of transitional nationalism within Chicago.⁵⁷

Mixed in with these narrative threads weaving together local dynamics, economics, and nationalism is an additional thread that explicitly addresses political power. Starting with a discussion of voting power, in some ways akin to the discussion of community economic power, the narrative evolves into a discussion about immigration policy. Taken as a whole, this narrative thread supports the notion that participation in American nationalism through citizenship and voting is important for shaping American immigration policies and for shaping the relationship between the United States and Mexico in ways that support the needs of Mexican Americans.

⁵⁷ This zone of transitional nationalism is also present along West Devon Avenue. However, unlike along Devon, the Little Village Chamber of Commerce did not brand their parade route with references to Mexican nationalism. Rather their parade route has the honorary designation of Avenida de la Villita – Little Village Avenue. By designating the street as the main street of Little Village and branding it with the use of Spanish, the Chamber of Commerce emphasized the local while linking to a larger, international community.
Initially, the narrative begins as a response to the noticeable presence of politicians at the parade. The Little Village Mexican Independence Day parade became an important political opportunity in 2010 because it was the first fully televised parade broadcast after Richard M. Daley's announcement that he would not seek re-election. It marked a key opportunity for mayoral hopefuls to reach out to one of Chicago's most important Hispanic neighborhoods as well as to a larger television audience of Mexican Americans in Chicago.

John R. Rosales: You know the census is coming out next year, but we know that we have 1.9 million people in Illinois mostly 90% here in the Chicagoland area. So we're a pretty nice parade to be at.

Theresa Gutierrez: And voting power's important, our voting capability is important

John R. Rosales: At 1.9 million, we have no place to go but up. A number of people have worked on voter registration... it is important for us to vote and its important for us in our community to see who's running, and they're all here.58

From the commentators' exchange, it is clear that their message is directed as much toward their Mexican audience as toward any politicians. They are reminding Chicago's Mexican Americans about the value of citizenship and voting rights by highlighting the attention paid to the community by politicians.

The commentators are also pointing out that the parade represents an opportunity to see the candidates and learn which candidates have demonstrated their commitment to Chicago's Mexican community.

Theresa Gutierrez:

All the politicians are out because they know about the voting power and how important that is. And let's face it the elections are just around the corner.

John R. Rosales:

There are two elections coming up, one is in November and one is in February. So between the two, we have a number of elected officials that were here today. Some were even talking about announcing candidacies. We have a number of elected officials that are thinking about changing positions. And you'll hear about that in the coming weeks or so. There was a lot of buzz today from a number of elected officials. Miguel del Valle was at our breakfast, Tom Dart was there, Suzie Mendoza Representative Suzie Mendoza who lives down the street she was there, a number are maybe thinking about going into higher office.59

Here the parade commentary is an important complement to the parade because it makes visible the relationship between different politicians and the community. Whose name gets mentioned and in what context during the televised coverage has an impact on how much visibility the parade affords. For example, earlier in the broadcast, Theresa Gutierrez mentioned that Mark Kirk, who took over the United States Senate seat vacated by Barack Obama, “is fluent in Spanish and who is really very close to the Latino community.”60 Later, as Susana Mendoza, who was elected the City Clerk of Chicago in 2010, appeared, John Rosales expanded on...
his comments above to add praise for her accomplishments in the Illinois House of Representatives.\textsuperscript{61}

As the commentators’ exchange continues, however, it rapidly moves into the realm of immigration policy. By raising this issue, the commentators are able to connect Mexican voting power with the value to Mexicans of voting (and thus the value of both naturalized citizenship and voter registration).

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Theresa Gutierrez: & Well you know immigration reform is such an important issue for this community right now.  \\
John R. Rosales: & And you know what? That is why I was so proud to have Jose Hernandez here today because he is such a proponent of immigration reform. One of the things he said that I always remember as an astronaut is that when he looked at the Earth from space he didn’t see any barriers or borders whatsoever. You can’t see that, when you look at the globe when you’re a kid and you see the different countries and how they’re all structured, when you’re looking at it from outer space there are no borders.  \\
Theresa Gutierrez: & Sin fronteras. And what would it be like to live in a country, in a world like that?  \\
John R. Rosales: & He said you couldn’t see, you couldn’t see any border between the United States and Canada, you couldn’t see any borders throughout Europe, it was so beautiful and if people could look at it that way, we would have a better world.\textsuperscript{62} \\
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Interestingly, by the end of the exchange, both commentators have moved from discussing local politics and issues to imagining a transnational world – a world without borders, demonstrating at once the continuing importance of nations and

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid, just before 41:41.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.
borders for organizing immigrant experiences and the challenge that structure poses to the immigrant experience – particularly within the Mexican community. Another interesting moment in the broadcast occurred early in the coverage when the parade began with charros carrying American and Mexican flags. Ms. Gutierrez noted that she was often questioned about whether displaying the Mexican flag signals a lack of patriotism, and commented that “Of course you can be patriotic to two countries.”\(^{63}\) The interweaving of Mexican pride, American identity, and community economic and political power suggests that the parades reveal the ways in which government, local politics, culture, and transnationlism are integrated and under constant negotiation within urban immigrant communities.

Transnational political negotiations in Chicago Neighborhoods: The Chinese New Years Parades

Just as the Little Village Mexican Independence Day parade illuminated the power of parades to preserve, grow, and make visible networks of businesses, politicians, and civic leaders with an emphasis on community economic advancement, Chicago’s Chinese New Years parades illuminate the role of parades in local negotiations of transnational politics. Within Chicago’s Chinese community, parades are intimately linked to place making, as in the Indian and Mexican communities. However, the political history of China and the history of Chinese and East Asian immigration have created transnational community tensions that are

\(^{63}\) Ibid. Just before 7:07.
particular to the Chinese community. Because Chinese immigration to the United States has been heavily restricted since the early twentieth century, and because the nationalist principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen were highly compatible with an American political ethos, Chicago's Chinatown effectively preserved a Chinese culture and politics loyal to the Dr. Sen's Republic of China (now seated in the disputed territory of Taiwan), rather than the People's Republic of China that came to power after the Chinese Exclusion Act. The period of immigration reform in the 1960s, however, sparked new waves of immigration from mainland China, and these immigrants have had stronger loyalties to the People's Republic of China.

After World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars, refugees and immigrants from East Asian countries arrived in the United States with strong anti-communist feelings. The Vietnamese refugees, which included ethnic Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese from Vietnam, settled in an area around Argyle Street that was being redeveloped by the Hip-Sing Association, a family-group organization displaced from Chinatown by urban renewal. Figure 5.12 illustrates the different ethnicities of business owners versus property owners on Argyle Street and demonstrates that the business ownership indicates a greater level of diversity and integration of various Asian ethnicities on the street than would be apparent from the property ownership. However, because one of the major property owners continues to be the Hip Sing Association, which has established political connections from its origins in Chinatown, tensions around place making and district
Figure 5.12 Comparison of Chinese and Vietnamese property ownership and business ownership on Argyle Street in 2010

A. Property Ownership

B. Business Ownership

Maps developed by author. Data on property ownership compiled from Chicago tax information available through the assessor's office. Data on property ownership identified Internet research and verified through direct observation. While properties on Argyle Street are predominantly Chinese owned on the eastern end of the street, and more Vietnamese owned toward the western end of the street, business ownership is more varied along the blocks, and many buildings contain businesses catering to a variety of Asian ethnicities. This suggests that while Chinese property owners may have dominated place making efforts in the past, the street has maintained a more fluid identity.
development efforts continue to reflect transnational political tensions between China and Vietnam.

An annual Chinese New Year parade has been organized on Argyle Street since 1976 without participation from the Vietnamese. Some members of the Vietnamese community attribute their lack of participation on the fact that they were never invited to participate, while others cite the political tension between two recently deceased leaders of the Chinese community, who were more interested in branding the street as North Chinatown than on developing an identity for the area that integrated the different populations.64 Aside from the parade itself, efforts at place making have largely stalled because of tensions in the two communities. For example, the Chinese community wanted to sponsor a Chinese gate to mark the entrance of the street, but Vietnamese residents and community leaders successfully protested to stop the project.65 Because two groups have not been able to collaborate successfully, but rather reproduce transnational political tensions within a Chicago neighborhood, the district's identity remains in flux.

Meanwhile, the liberalization of China's economy in the 1990s meant that China began rebuilding its economic relationships with the rest of the world, including the United States. By generating more economic opportunities for its citizens, China promoted greater national loyalty among its emigrants, including

64 Based on interviews with various civic leaders in the Vietnamese community on Argyle Street.
65 Interview with community activist and civic leader Tam Nguyen, May 4, 2010.
those to the United States. Although United States immigration laws relaxed toward Chinese immigrants in the 1960s, and Chinese policies enabled greater emigration in the 1980s, the fact that a Chinese nationalist parade did not emerge in Chicago until 1999 suggests that China's economic policy shift in the 1990s secured a stronger sense of loyalty and nationalism among its emigrants to Chicago.

The emergence of strong loyalties to the People's Republic of China among Chicago's Chinese immigrants resulted in social and spatial tensions in Chicago's third era. In the year 2000, foreign-born residents of Chicago who were born in China were second only to those arriving from India among Asian sending countries. Chinese immigrants ranked sixth in population size among all sending countries with a foreign born population in metropolitan Chicago of 44,736. This increase in population has caused tensions to emerge within Chinatown over the transnational politics of the New Years parade and renewed efforts at place making. When immigrants from the People's Republic of China organized their first Chinese National Day parade in Chinatown in 1999, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, which had run the Chinese New Year parade and a parade to commemorate the founding of the Republic of China (Taiwan) for over fifty years, lobbied to get their parade permit denied.66 A representative from the organization claimed the parade would spark counter demonstrations and possible violence and urged the city to move the parade to a downtown route.67 The city instead approved the parade permit, and since that time the Chinese American Association of Greater

67 Ibid.
Chicago has held a parade to commemorate the founding of the People’s Republic of China every five years.

Shortly after this parade permitting, and despite having shown no earlier interest in using the City’s honorary street naming program in their place making strategies, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association initiated a street naming process in 2002. In November of that year, Chicago City Council approved a proposal to give Wentworth Avenue from West Cermak Road and the Chinese gate to West 24th Place (Chinatown’s main parade route) the honorary designation of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Way.\(^{68}\) While many honorary street designations were passed by Chicago’s City Council without additional comment, this designation is followed by a full proclamation:

\[\text{WHEREAS, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen (1866-1925) a remarkable patriot, was born in Hsiang County in southern China, near the City of Canton; and}\]

\[\text{WHEREAS, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen was a national hero of international proportion. He was also the great forerunner of the democratic revolution, leading the 1911 Revolution which overthrew the Qing Dynasty and ended the feudal and monarchical system which had lasted for over two thousand years in China; and}\]

\[\text{WHEREAS, Hailed by many as “The Father of the Republic of China,” Dr. Sun Yat-Sen fought all his life in the cause of Chinese national independence. He brought to his grateful nation happiness, prosperity and power, and the legacy of his fervour and dedication is carried forward by Chinese people, in their quest for freedom and independence; and}\]

\[\text{WHEREAS, It is fitting and proper that the leaders of this city designate a street segment in our great Chinese/American neighborhood to carry the honorary designation of “Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Way”; now, therefore}\]

\(^{68}\) Journal of the City Council of Chicago, Committee on Transportation and Public Way, November 6, 2002, pp. 96324-96325.
Be It Hereby Resolved, That the Commissioner of Transportation is requested to standardize South Wentworth Avenue between West Cermak Road and West 24th Place as “Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Way”; and

Be It Further Resolved, That a suitable copy of this resolution be prepared and presented to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association.69

This proclamation ensures that a record exists to capture the meaning and importance of the honorary street naming. It also highlights the connections between Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as a hero of the Republic of China for ushering in China’s first attempt at nationalism. Finally, the proclamation illustrates the evolution of Chinatown from Chicago’s first to third era. Whereas during the first era, Chinatown functioned almost as a separate country within the city of Chicago, in the third era, its leaders are embracing City mechanisms of governance and conflict resolution. Although the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association could not prevent a Chinatown parade in support of the People’s Republic of China, they could ensure that the parade route would be marked as Republic of China territory. The parade celebrating the People’s Republic of China’s nationalism would traverse a street that celebrates the national hero and national aspirations of Taiwan – a territory claimed by the People’s Republic of China. The effort exerted by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association to undermine the new immigrants’ expressions of nationalism suggests that Taiwan’s challenge to China’s nationalism of consolidation is nurtured by the national loyalties embedded in its emigrant communities.

The CCBA’s success at claiming the parade route for the Republic of China did not end the conflict between the two Chinese nationalisms of Chicago’s Chinatown.

69 Ibid, p. 96325.
Because the Chinese New Year parade is among the oldest ethnic parades in Chicago, it has traditionally been an event that celebrates not only the Lunar New Year, but also pride in a Chinese identity rooted in the Republic of China (Taiwan). However, with the rise of immigrants from the People’s Republic of China, residents began to lodge complaints about the flags in the parade and the politicization of a cultural holiday with their Alderman. They raised concerns that the city should support the parade organization, which is loyal to a government not recognized by the United Nations. So despite the fact that the organization had held the parade permit since 1937, the Alderman mediated the tension and ensured that a neutral organization would sponsor the parade and bring together those loyal to the People’s Republic of China and those loyal to Taiwan. In addition, the organization agreed to eliminate all flags from the parade to minimize these transnational political tensions.70

The multiple functions of ethnic parades in third era Chicago

Ethnic parades in third era Chicago represent complex networks and functions within an increasingly diverse, global city. From the perspective of the city’s ethnic communities, they represent a public display of culture and national pride. Among newer immigrant groups, these parades often mark national events and holidays from immigrants’ home countries and represent a way to stay connected to those countries. They are also referred to as opportunities to teach

70 Interview with Gene Lee, Deputy Special Assistant to the Mayor and Chinatown civic leader, February 24, 2010.
second and third generation children about their culture and heritage and a mechanism for preserving various cultural activities and forms. However, while this role is critical because without audiences, these ethnic parades could not survive or perform their other functions, this is not their only or even their most dominant function. Rather parades are able to leverage the energy of national pride to support the development of political networks, to promote community economic advancement, and to negotiate transnational political opportunities and tensions.

Parade organizations preserve and grow relationship networks among businesses, politicians, and community leaders that allow cooperative efforts to improve the physical, social, and economic conditions of neighborhoods and populations. In particular these networks reward behavior that generates jobs and opportunities directed at ethnic community members, investment in physical improvements to neighborhood places, and investments in education and non-profit services targeted to ethnic populations. Parade reward these behaviors by making otherwise invisible relationships among different actors and community-oriented activities visible through commentary, speeches, and float sponsors, and parade participation. Because these tend to be highly stylized and formal and because they do not only speak to cultural and national pride of the spectators, they can come across as somewhat disingenuous. In addition, because parade organizations have disproportionate access to power brokers in government and the business community although the community has limited means to hold them accountable,
Parades can (and often do) become targets of community frustration and attempts to usurp control.

Parades also serve as a site where transnational political aspirations and tensions are expressed and negotiated in ethnic communities. This takes many forms, from efforts on the part of parade organizers to coordinate with consular activities to floats showcasing transnational political actors, as in the Columbus Day parade that featured local business-owner and Italian senate member Renato Turano. Parade organizations, with their ability to attract politicians and international celebrities to their parades, also embody the transnational aspirations of local ethnic communities. Whereas in the first and second eras, foreign national identity could be leveraged to ensure citizenship rights, in the third era, parades showcase the desire of ethnic communities to maintain dual national loyalties and retain transnational citizenship rights. Some parade organizations help facilitate efforts to achieve more transnational citizenship practices, as in the case of Indian parade leaders leading overseas chapters of Indian political parties.

Finally, parades are sites where transnational political tensions expressed locally can be negotiated. The case of the Chinese New Year parades suggests that these tensions can emerge in a variety of contexts, but generally embody power struggles not only between old and new immigrant populations but also between competing political identities and ideologies. While these could erupt into outright conflicts in dense ethnic neighborhoods – as was threatened by the Chinese
Consolidated Benevolent Association – the parades and the City’s parade policies provide a forum for identifying and resolving tensions in a non-violent manner.
CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION
Chapter 6:

Parades and the Spatial Politics of Nationalism and Transnationalism
This study has explored the dynamics of immigrant incorporation in the United States through the lens of ethnic parades in Chicago, IL. It addresses the overarching question of how national identities can accommodate change and incorporate new members (such as immigrants and minorities). More specifically, it examines what ethnic parades in American can tell us about this process. Focusing on ethnic parades in Chicago, IL, this dissertation is organized into two parts, which each answer the following questions:

1. What does the history of ethnic parades in Chicago reveal about the process of American identity formation? And

2. How do ethnic parades contribute to immigrant political incorporation and the development of ethnic neighborhoods and communities?

These questions structure the research presented in Part One and Part Two of this dissertation. The following chapter summarizes the findings of this dissertation and then considers a subset of questions that have emerged from the research. In considering these questions, this chapter concludes with the implications of this research for the field of planning and with potential directions for future research.

*Nationalism, Citizenship, and American Identity in Chicago's Ethnic Parades*

Part One examines not only the historical context particular to Chicago from which the current dynamics of ethnic parading have emerged, but also considers
what the history of immigrant parades in Chicago indicates about the history of immigration, race, and ethnicity in the United States as a whole and what impact that history has had on the meaning of American identity. This study divides Chicago's history into three eras, derived from Larry Bennett's (2010) analysis of the city's history. In Bennett's first era (defined as the period roughly between 1860 and 1930, with a transition era between 1930 and 1950), the basic form, structure, and meaning of ethnic parades in Chicago took shape. These early parades were influenced both by Chicago's specific history and by the larger context of national immigration policies. Unlike cities on the east and west coasts, which were largely established by colonial powers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chicago emerged as a nineteenth century American city, founded seventeen years after independence had been won. In addition, Chicago has always been a city of immigrants, with immigrants comprising over half of the city's population in 1850.1 Because of this history, the meaning of immigration and the immigrant experience has been negotiated primarily among different groups of immigrants (from different points of origin and different generations) rather than between immigrant groups and an urban society established under colonialism and reshaped under revolution. In this sense, Chicago differs from colonial cities like Boston, New York, and Los Angeles, yet it and its parade culture have been strongly influenced by national immigration politics as well. The Chinese Exclusion Act and early twentieth century restrictions on immigration and emphasis on Americanization appears to have

1 Although this is almost fifty years after Chicago was first settled as Fort Dearborn, it is only about twenty years after the city was first platted by the State of Illinois and subsequently built and settled as a city. In this sense, the 1850 population is an adequate approximation of the city's earliest urban population.
shaped ethnic parades in the first era, which often highlighted immigrant participation in military and civic organizations and associations in addition to promoting national aspirations for their homelands modeled in part on the American revolutionary experience. While ethnic parades provided an opportunity for immigrants to engage in processes of building national identity, often in support of unrealized national democratic aspirations, they also marked an important opportunity to demonstrate immigrants’ commitment and contributions to American society.

Figure 6.1 shows how changes in Chicago’s immigrant parades have shifted during each of Chicago’s three eras, and how these changes have roughly traced shifts in Chicago’s immigrant population as measured by the change in Chicago’s foreign born as a percent of the total population. The black line shows that starting in 1860, about half of the city’s population was foreign born. Though the proportion of immigrants declined from this point forward, this was initially in part because their children were considered native-born Americans, so by the end of the nineteenth century, immigrants and their children accounted for about 80% of the city’s population. The year 1900 also marks the first peak in ethnic parade activity in Chicago, with a total of five recurring parades held in the city, three of which occupied routes traversing downtown streets. Increasing tensions in Europe going into the second decade of the twentieth century, the onset of World War I, and the restrictions on immigration imposed during the 1920s contributed to a decline in ethnic parade activities and a shift towards neighborhood routes. This trend reverses during the second era under the influence of Mayor Richard J. Daley, whose
Figure 6.1. Changes in Chicago's recurring ethnic parades compared with changes in Chicago's foreign-born population, 1850-2010

This graphic, which is compiled from data provided by Gibson and Jung's (2006) Historical Census Statistics on the foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850-2000 and the 2010 American Community Survey juxtaposes the changes in Chicago's foreign-born population as a percent of its total population with changes in recurring ethnic parade activities. Three distinct parade patterns emerge from this graphic, roughly corresponding to three historic eras. The first era encompasses the growth and decline of European parades in Chicago before 1930 with the transition period between 1930 and 1949 bringing growth in neighborhood parade activity. The second era encompasses the rebirth and growth of downtown parades through 1989; and the third era is marked by a decline in downtown parades and a rise in neighborhood parades. These shifts reflect the major changes in Chicago's foreign-born population. As that population grew (though their share of the total population declined as their children were native-born citizens), the first ethnic parades emerged, first downtown and then in the neighborhoods. With World War I and immigration restrictions, neighborhood parades replaced downtown parades. With the incorporation of European immigrants by the 1950s (and the influence of Mayor Richard J. Daley), downtown parades returned. Finally, under Richard M. Daley, and with the growth of immigration, neighborhood parades again took precedence.
policies encouraging downtown parades among Chicago's white ethnic communities also spurred non-white ethnic communities to initiate their own downtown parades. The 1965 immigration reform helped fuel the expansion of Chicago's downtown ethnic parades through the 1970s and 1980s. However, after the 1990s, this trend reversed again as Richard M. Daley, the son of the first Mayor Daley, implemented new policies that encouraged the growth of neighborhood parades and the contraction of downtown parade activities.

Figure 6.2 revisits the history of ethnic parades in Chicago showing the growth and change in parades over time. Dotted lines indicate that parades are in neighborhoods and solid lines indicate that they are downtown. Separate lines indicate separate, independent parade activities. This figure highlights the disruption of parade activity and the shift to neighborhood routes around World War I and the 1924 immigration restrictions. It also illustrates the growth in parade activity following World War II and immigration reform of 1965.

In Chicago's first era the basic form, structure, and meaning of ethnic parades in Chicago took shape. In a city characterized by explosive growth, violence, and territoriality, immigrant parades demarcated neighborhood identities. Though the routes changed almost yearly, parades remained anchored in immigrant neighborhoods. In this way, parades were a way to claim territory in a contested city. Figure 6.3 maps the routes of parades started before World War I, all of which represented European immigrant communities. Parades at this time articulated national aspirations for immigrants' homelands during a time when these were in flux. For example, Ireland, Norway, and Poland were all seeking sovereignty from
Figure 6.2. Timeline of Chicago’s Immigrant and Ethnic Parades 1843-2011 showing three eras of Chicago history and whether routes were located downtown or in neighborhoods, overlaid with major historical events.

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<th>Parade</th>
<th>Downtown Route</th>
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<td>Pakistan Independence Day Parade (1989-ongoing)</td>
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<td>Central American Day Parade (1999-ongoing)</td>
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<td>Assyrian New Year Parade (1990-2006, 2011)</td>
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<td>Bangladesh Independence Day Parade (1993-2009)</td>
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<td>Ecuador Independence Day Parade (1998-ongoing)</td>
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<td>Dia de los Ninos Parade (1999-ongoing)</td>
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<td>Chinese National Day Parade (1999-ongoing)</td>
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In 1843, the first parade included the Force Day Parade, the National Day Parade, and the German Day Parade. The parade routes were located downtown. In 1844, the parade included the St. Patrick’s Day Parade, the Norwegian Independence Day Parade, and the Danish Independence Day Parade. The parade routes were located downtown. In 1845, the parade included the Polish Constitution Day Parade, the Greek Independence Day Parade, and the Hungarian Independence Day Parade. The parade routes were located downtown.
This graphic shows the subset of recurring ethnic first era parades that started before World War I. Not only were these parades representative of exclusively European populations, but they also mostly concentrated in a corridor extending to the northwest of the downtown Loop, with three of the parades traversing streets within the Loop itself.
foreign rule, and parades among these immigrant communities all publicly advocated for national independence. The Polish and Norwegian parades both commemorated the signing of their respective countries’ first constitutions establishing them as independent, sovereign states. Similarly, the Greek parade celebrated Revolution Day to commemorate Greece’s war of independence against the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s and 30s. These celebrations simultaneously supported the national identity and aspirations of immigrants’ homelands while celebrating the democratic ideals of their adopted country. The Irish St. Patrick’s Day parade and the Italian Columbus Day parade also celebrated national pride and linked foreign national identities to an established American identity. St. Patrick’s Day’s celebration of St. Patrick’s expulsion of snakes from Ireland provided a platform for Irish nationalists to call for the removal of English rule from their homeland while connecting to the similar anti-colonial, revolutionary history of the United States. The Columbus Day parade commemorated the deep roots of Italians’ influence in America by celebrating the Italian who opened the New World to European settlement and laid the foundation for the emergence of the United States. In addition to celebrating foreign national identities, these parades also highlighted each community’s contributions to American society, usually showcasing their ethnic militias, from which many likely learned to parade. In addition, these communities highlighted their participation in key civic institutions such as police and fire squads and their myriad cultural associations. By joining the symbolism of nationalism from their home country with exhibitions of civic participation in
Chicago, these groups were able to leverage their foreign citizenship to advocate for access to the rights and privileges of American citizenship in Chicago.

Ethnic militias featured prominently in Chicago's immigrant parades and served as a reminder of the military power wielded by immigrant communities at the same time that they showcased immigrants' support for and participation in America's military system. For example, Figure 6.4 shows a member of a Polish military organization like the Polish National Alliance, which organized the Polish Constitution Day Parade. Chicago's ambivalence toward its ethnic militias can be seen in the reaction of the Chicago Tribune editorial staff to an impromptu militia muster held by Chicago's German in response to the city's attempt to ban sales of alcohol on Sundays:

*We observe in the German papers, also, notices of the parade of the 'First Regiment of Illinois Militia'... Whether the regiment has been called out with reference to this crisis or not, it would certainly seem as if its display on the streets, in connection with the other demonstrations, were designed as a hint to the Common Council that it cannot enforce a Sunday ordinance, even if it shall have the hardihood... to reaffirm its authority to control the traffic in spirits.*

The prominence of ethnic militia organizations in ethnic parades served as a reminder not only of immigrants' American loyalty and patriotism but also of their access to means of organized violence and power.

In the period following World War I, the decline in European parade activity was supplanted by a rise of non-European parades. Figure 6.5 maps the parades started after World War I and during the transition period from 1930 to 1949. Unlike previous immigrant parades, these parades emerged out of communities

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2 "The Sunday Difficulty." *Chicago Tribune*. June 11, 1871, p. 0_2. This editorial also shows the tension at the *Chicago Tribune*, a Republican news publication, between its anti-vice position and its efforts to attract immigrant groups to the party.
Figure 6.4. Illustration of a member of a Polish military organization in Chicago, from The Chicago Tribune, 1895.

This illustration was included in a profile of Chicago's Polish population in 1895 ("The Polish Settlements in Chicago." The Chicago Daily Tribune, March 24, 1895, p. 33.) as an example of the uniforms worn by members of Polish military organizations in Chicago. One example of such an organization was the Polish National Alliance, the Polish nationalist organization that sponsored the annual Polish Constitution Day Parade starting in 1891.
Figure 6.5. Recurring ethnic parades started after World War I represented non-European communities

Recurring Immigrant and Ethnic Parades in Chicago, IL, 1860-1949
Mapped by approximate location during first era

This graphic shows the subset of recurring ethnic first era parades that started after World War I. These parades mostly represented non-European populations and mostly located in neighborhoods south and east of downtown, with the notably exception of the Scandinavian Lief Erikson parade in the north.
that, in the case of the Chinese, could not achieve naturalized citizenship status and were thus excluded from American identity, and, in the case of the black community, had achieved citizenship but could not gain full access to its concomitant rights and privileges. These parades supported efforts to establish stable territories within a city increasingly dominated by a white American political identity that had integrated European immigrants and their descendents but excluded all non-Europeans. In the neighborhoods of Chinatown and Bronzeville local civic institutions organized the parades and used the parades to reinforce a sense of place and belonging in a segregated and hostile environment.

Place Making and Political Incorporation Among Chicago’s Black and Chinese Communities

The emergence and growth of parades among Chicago’s black and Chinese communities in the transition period between the first and second eras (1930-1949) foreshadowed changes in Chicago’s parades that would emerge more strongly during the second and third eras. While these parades emphasized the communities’ civic activities and contributions to American society, they also introduced innovations in parade organizing and political incorporation that would eventually be adopted by groups initiating parades during second and third eras. Parades coincided with place-making activities as the black and Chinese communities of Chicago claimed territory for themselves within the city. The Bud Billiken parade, started in 1929, coincided with a period of rapid growth during the First Great
Migration between 1910 and 1930 and its expansion into a neighborhood that became known as the “Black Belt.” A 1926 map of Chicago’s ethnic neighborhoods shows that along the Bud Billiken parade route, the so-called “Black Belt” abutted a Jewish enclave south of 47th Street, the major black commercial area. The establishment of the parade along Grand Boulevard from 32nd Street to 55th Street preceded efforts to rebrand the area “Bronzeville” with a “Mayor of Bronzeville” competition sponsored by the Chicago Defender. In addition to bringing together the politics of parading with place making activities, Chicago’s black community also introduced business-sponsorship as a means of funding ethnic parades, a practice that would be widely adopted during the second era.

The Chinese community also linked place making with parading, and the structure of Chinese community leadership also foreshadowed the politics of third era immigrant parades. By the time one faction of the city’s Chinese community established the current location of Chinatown at Cermak and Wentworth Streets in the early 1920s, Chicago’s tiny Chinese community had overcome some of the limitations of a small, disenfranchised population by establishing relationships

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4 For much of Chinatown’s history, two organizations competed for political control: the On Leong Tong (now the On Leong Merchants Association) and the Hip Sing Tong. Both originally located on Clark Street between Van Buren and Harrison Streets, until the On Leong Tong began developing a new Chinatown at Cermak and Wentworth. In the 1970s, the Hip Sing Tong moved to Argyle Street when it was driven out of Chinatown by highway construction.
between community leaders and politicians in city government. Although these relationships threatened to keep the community divided, they also provided access to city services and resources.\(^5\) By the early to mid-1930s, Gerald Moye, leader of the On Leong Tong and the unofficial Mayor of Chinatown, had begun efforts at place making beyond adding architectural details to buildings. Moye established Chinatown's first major cultural institution, the Ling-Long Museum, and published a neighborhood history emphasizing both the legacy of the Republic of China and the neighborhood's American roots and relationship to the rest of the city.\(^6\) Under his leadership, Chinatown's first parades appeared in 1937 and 1941, to make Chinese national culture and identity visible to a Chinese-American and an American public. Moye's attitude toward the identity of Chinatown with its integration of foreign nationalism and local political awareness mirrors the importance of ethnic parades in Chicago at that time. The parades' timing with the initiation of the Second Sino-Japanese War, which eventually led to an alliance between the Republic of China and the United States against Japan, gave public expression to the closer linkage of the two national identities (American and Chinese). By also connecting the parade to neighborhood place making and politics, the Chinese parades provided a model for the integration of parades and neighborhood place making in third era Chicago.

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\(^6\) Ibid, page 220.
Second Era: Parades and Power in Downtown Chicago

Chicago’s ethnic parades during the second era reflected the political incorporation of white ethnic Chicagoans that had taken place at the end of the first era. In 1931, Anton Cermak, an immigrant from Bohemia, won the mayor’s seat by successfully building a coalition of Chicago’s ethnic Europeans. Before that time, the graph shows that Chicago had only seen two Irish mayors and one foreign-born (Canadian) mayor. Cermak’s victory for the Democratic Party marked an important transition for Chicago from a city of many races and nationalities to a city controlled by a white ethnic majority. After Cermak’s victory in 1931, Irish-American mayors born in Cermak’s Bridgeport neighborhood controlled Chicago for over forty years followed by a succession of mayors of Irish and other ethnicities. By 1955, the work of European ethnic unification started by Cermak found its fullest, most enduring expression in the twenty-one year mayoralty of Richard J. Daley. Daley not only united Chicago’s white ethnics within the Democratic Party, but also transformed ethnic parades in Chicago.

Before Daley was elected in 1955, only one parade in this era was located downtown. Figure 6.6 shows that prior to Daley’s election, only one parade was held downtown. After his election, however, Chicago experienced a huge growth in downtown ethnic parades. By organizing a downtown St. Patrick’s Day parade to replace the city’s neighborhood St. Patrick’s Day parades, Richard J. Daley transformed ethnic parades into city events. Though the Italians had brought their parade downtown three years earlier, Daley’s intimate involvement with the St.
Figure 6.6. Second era ethnic parades: recurring ethnic parades started before Richard J. Daley's mayoral term occupied neighborhood routes

Recurring Immigrant and Ethnic Parades in Chicago, IL, 1950-1989
Mapped by approximate location(s) during second era

FIRST ERA
1. Polish Constitution Day Parade (1891-1977)
2. Norwegian Independence Day Parade (1900-ca.1960)
3. Bud Billiken Parade (1929-present)
4. Chinese New Year Parade (1937-present)
5. South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade (1939-present)
6. Chinese Double 10 Parade (ca. 1941-present)
7. Knights of Columbus Day Parade (1950-1951)
8. Columbus Day Parade (1952-present)
11. Downtown St. Patrick's Day Parade (1956-present)

PRE-DALEY I (1955)
7. Knights of Columbus Columbus Day Parade (1950-1951)
8. Columbus Day Parade (1952-present)
11. Downtown St. Patrick's Day Parade (1956-present)

Legend
Central Business District
Chicago Community Areas
Parade Routes
Ethnic parades recurring during second era (1955-1989)
Lighter color used for contrast when parades overlap
Parade moved to new route
(Date-Date) Years parades started and ended on each route (est.)

2.5 1.25 0 2.5 Miles

* Parades occurring only once not included, some parades may be missing.
⚠ Downtown parade routes varied throughout era starting mostly on State Street and moving to Dearborn Street in the 1980s with some parades on Michigan Avenue. For visual clarity, only the State Street route is shown.

This graphic highlights the subset of recurring ethnic second era parades that started before Richard J. Daley's mayoral term began in 1955. Parades remaining from the first era demonstrate the spatial segregation of the city, with non-European parades in the south east and European parades to the northwest. Parades started during the second era represent the re-emergence of ethnic European parades in Chicago's neighborhoods. The expansion of downtown ethnic parades after Daley's election is also apparent.
Patrick's Day parade changed the meaning of ethnic parades – turning them into expressions of political power. After the St. Patrick's Day parade came to symbolize the ascension of Irish-American politics in Chicago, the downtown ethnic parade came to signify the political arrival and importance of Chicago's ethnic groups (and eventually new immigrants as well). In addition, the emergence of the Mayor's Office of Special Events under Richard J. Daley changed the entire landscape of ethnic parades in the city. Whereas parades had previously been arranged through neighborhood institutions – police precincts and ward Aldermen, the establishment of the Mayor's Office of Special Events provided a direct connection to the Mayor's office for coordination with various city agencies and access to resources.

Ethnic parades in Chicago's second era were increasingly located downtown and staged for geographically dispersed audiences. In addition, these parades had become signals of ethnic groups' political arrival and access to the mayor. While these changes meant that a parade organization could hold a powerful position by acting as the central voice for a diverse, dispersed ethnic community, it also meant that the ethnic identity expressed in the parade was largely divorced from the community boundaries within with ethnic cultural identity was being preserved such as neighborhoods, religious organizations, families, and cultural associations. It should come as no surprise then that during the second era large ethnic groups established neighborhood parades to assert a more authentic ethnic identity tied

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7 As the boss of the Democratic political machine, Daley ensured not only that he personally would have influence over the parade activities of the city's various ethnic communities, but also that those groups would need to work through the Democratic machine regardless of the political affiliations of their elected ward Aldermen.
less to Chicago’s political power structure and more to neighborhood boundaries, family networks, and civic organizations. One example of this concern for authenticity is the South Side St. Patrick’s Day parade, a parade that had remained a holdout against Mayor Daley’s unified downtown St. Patrick’s Day parade until 1961 and which re-formed under new leadership in 1979 after Daley’s death. Early criticism of the downtown St. Patrick’s Day parade’s authenticity came from participants of the South Side parade before its integration into the downtown parade, and before its permanent cancellation in 2010, the parade had become known as the “real” St. Patrick’s Day parade, attracting hundreds of thousands of spectators to the Beverly neighborhood on Chicago’s far southwest side.

Daley’s influence was not the only force changing the landscape of Chicago’s parades. The white exodus to the suburbs during this period accelerated the expansion of Chicago’s non-white populations, particularly its growing Puerto Rican and Mexican, and African American communities, into neighborhoods that had previously been home to white ethnic Chicagoans. This resulted in growing tensions between the remaining whites and the non-European population. Figure 6.7 shows a close up map of the parades on Chicago’s West Side and illustrates this change. Statues erected by the Norwegian and Polish communities in Humboldt Park in the early 1900s anchored both communities’ parades prior to the second era. After 1950, however, the Norwegian parade shifted northwest, eventually abandoning the park and statue altogether before moving downtown in 1978. The Polish parade continued its first era Division Street route leading to the Polish hero Kosciusko until 1977, after which the parade also moved downtown. The year 1977 marked
Figure 6.7. Close-up view of neighborhood transitions west of downtown during the second era.

Parade Route Transitions in Second Era Chicago, IL, 1950-1989

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Neighborhood to Downtown</th>
<th>Downtown to Neighborhood</th>
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<tr>
<td>ITALIAN</td>
<td>LGBT</td>
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<td>Columbus Day Parade 7→8 (1952)</td>
<td>Gay Pride Parade 19→20 (1971)</td>
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<td>IRISH</td>
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<td>POLISH</td>
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<td>Polish Constitution Day Parade 1→23 (1977)</td>
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Puerto Rican People’s Parade (1978)

Mexican Parade (1982-1983)

Legends
- Central Business District
- Chicago Community Areas
- Parades occurring only once not included, some parades may be missing.
- Downtown parade routes varied throughout era starting mostly on State Street and moving to Dearborn Street in the 1980s with some parades on Michigan Avenue. For visual clarity, only the State Street route is shown.

This graphic shows the transition of neighborhoods west of downtown. As Puerto Rican, black, and Mexican populations moved into these neighborhoods and started new neighborhood parades, European ethnics were moving to the suburbs and moving their parades downtown.
the second major Puerto Rican riot on Division Street following the Puerto Rican Day parade, which took place downtown (the first riot happened in 1966, during the first Puerto Rican parade). In 1978, the year that both the Norwegian and Polish parades left the neighborhood for downtown, the Puerto Rican community organized their first neighborhood parade along part of the route that had just one year earlier belonged to the Polish parade. This shift illustrates the way that demographic change, violence, and territoriality continued to influence ethnic parades in the middle of the twentieth century.

Prior to the signing of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act and the culmination of civil rights movement, Daley's downtown parade model prevailed. After 1965, a second pattern emerged among ethnic parades, whereby large ethnic groups began new neighborhood parades that did not replace the downtown parades. This trend represented a backlash against Daley's downtown parade model. In 1978, the Humboldt Park Puerto Rican community recognized that the display of power is not the same as the exercise of power when they initiated their new neighborhood parade. In doing so, they joined Chicago's black and Chinese communities, which had never moved their parades downtown but had instead focused on investing in their neighborhoods. These communities had been excluded from the benefits of new suburban housing because of federal policies and had seen their concerns ignored or minimized by the city's institutions and agencies. In the face of economic and political exclusion, the appearance of power associated with downtown parades was not enough. By 1978, the Puerto Rican community realized that visibility downtown would not direct city resources to its neighborhood nor
make Puerto Ricans' neighborhood challenges more visible. By the early 1980s, new neighborhood parades had emerged from the city's Irish and Mexican communities as well.

*Transition to the Third Era: Chicago as a Sanctuary City*

In the transition period between the second and third eras (1980-1990), ethnic parades expanded to include a diverse array of new immigrant groups and become a vehicle for immigrant incorporation under Mayor Harold Washington (1983-1987), the city's first African American mayor. By around 1980, the full impact of 1960s immigration reform could be felt in Chicago. The black-white power dynamics were disrupted first by the steady growth of Puerto Rican migrants and Mexican immigrants and then from a diverse immigrant population from Central and South American countries as well as many Asian countries. Vietnam, the Philippines, Korea, China, India, and Pakistan, Arab regions, Central America, Ecuador and African countries all participated in this new wave of immigration. Washington’s efforts to build a multi-racial coalition and to integrate Chicago’s non-white ethnic groups into its political system meant that Chicago’s diverse ethnic parades showcased the city’s transformation from a corrupt city of white ethnic enclaves into an inclusive, international, sanctuary city.

These changes became visible under Jane Byrne’s mayoralty as she sought to leverage Chicago’s immigrant diversity to promote Chicago’s image as an international city. For example, Mayor Byrne invited representatives from the city’s
old and new ethnic communities to participate in international festivals that
highlighted Chicago’s connections to the rest of the world. However, under Mayor
Harold Washington, who assembled a multi-ethnic and interracial coalition of
reform-minded city residents to support his campaign, the city’s new ethnic groups
were afforded new access to City Hall than had previously been available. For
example, Mayor Washington invited ethnic media outlets into City Hall to provide
their own coverage of official events and established advisory committees to help
the City support African, Latino, Asian, and LGBT communities. The work of these
committees set the stage for the passing of a Human Rights ordinance in 1988 (after
Mayor Washington’s death in 1987). This ordinance guarantees equal access to
services and equal protection of rights for all Chicago residents:

> It is the policy of the city of Chicago to assure that all persons within its jurisdiction
shall have equal access to public services and shall be protected in the enjoyment of
civil rights, and to promote mutual understanding and respect among all who live
and work within this city.

The success of this effort, which promised equal access to city resources and
services while providing basic protections to all residents also coincided with an
expansion of ethnic parades that gave new immigrant groups greater visibility and
political presence within the city. Between the time when Daley started the
downtown St. Patrick’s Day parade and the end of Harold Washington’s mayoralty,
Chicago more than doubled its ethnic parades, which increased from nine parades in
1956 to twenty two parades in 1986. During this period, patterns of third era
parade politics began to emerge. The link between parades and neighborhood place-

(1988).
making that started in the first era transition period with the Bud Billiken and Chinatown parades resumed with the Little Village Mexican Independence Day parade. The parade’s sponsor organization managed the erection of a ceremonial gateway at the beginning of the parade route that was completed in the beginning of the third era. The organization also successfully petitioned the city to give the parade route, officially 26th Street, the honorary designation of “Avenida de la Villita,” or Little Village Avenue. Similar efforts would be seen among other new immigrant communities in the third era. In addition, the roots of third era parade management among smaller and more recently arrived immigrants began to form during this transition period. Political and civic organizations emerged, whose leaders would become parade organizers for their communities, and parades gave visibility to the new immigrants whose settlement had largely mirrored the dispersed pattern of European settlement after World War II.

_Third Era: Immigrant Parades and Neighborhood Transnationalism in a Global City_

Chicago during this period exceeded Mayor Jane Byrne’s goal from the early 1980s of becoming an international city to achieve global city status. It has carved a position for itself among the network of global financial and economic centers that make up the global urban landscape. This new urban landscape, shaped by higher speeds of travel and information exchange, appears to be exerting pressure against the model of national governments and national citizenship as the locus of power and rights. The parade patterns of the second era carried into the third era, marked
by the rise of Richard J. Daley's son Richard M. Daley to the mayor's seat. The
dynamics of parades in Chicago during the third era, however, suggest that while
pressures for transnational citizenship are growing, nations and national identity
continue to organize negotiations around access to the rights and privileges of
citizenship at local, national, and international scales. Chicago, like other global
cities, has attempted to circumvent federal immigration policies that threaten the
livelihood and security of its residents and neighborhoods. In the last year, the
disconnect between the immigration policies that respond to the needs of American
cities and those that respond to national concerns about immigration has come to
the forefront of policy discussions. The establishment of the Secure Communities
program coordinated data sharing among local, state and federal authorities with
the stated intention of prioritizing "enforcement actions to ensure apprehension
and removal of dangerous criminal aliens." However, the implementation of the
program has resulted in deportations for minor infractions, including routine traffic
stops, which in turn has eroded community policing and generated greater fear of
local government institutions within immigrant communities. As a result, the

9 Chicago has maintained and codified its commitment to remaining a sanctuary city
that provides equal access to city services for all of its residents regardless of their
citizenship or immigration status. What began as an executive order under Harold
Washington and Richard J. Daley, was incorporated into the Municipal Code of
Chicago in the March 29, 2006 session: Actions Related to Citizenship or Residency
Status. Municipal Code of Chicago, sec. 2-173 (March 29, 2006). See also
Amendment of Title 2 of Municipal Code of Chicago by Creation of New Chapter 173
to Disallow Disclosure of and Conditioning of Benefits and Services on Individual's
Citizenship and Residency Status. Journal of the Proceedings of the City Council of the
City of Chicago, p. 74325 (March 29, 2006).
10 U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Secure Communities: A
Comprehensive Plan to Identify and Remove Criminal Aliens (Strategic Plan). July
21, 2009.
leadership of major American cities and the leadership of the states where they are located have joined together to oppose the program. Illinois’s governor, Pat Quinn, was the first to terminate the state’s Secure Communities agreements to dismantle the program.¹¹

Despite this current disconnect and tension, civic leaders in immigrant communities have largely embraced the state and federal democratic processes and regulatory structures in which their city is embedded. The legal system in particular, has provided a means of addressing and resolving conflicts over the leadership of parade organizations among Chicago’s immigrant communities.¹² Citizenship, traditionally defined, continues to hold meaning in Chicago’s third era immigrant communities. For civic leaders, it is a pathway to voting power and increased political power to elect representatives from their ethnic communities to advocate for the community’s needs. For business leaders and entrepreneurs, citizenship and legal immigration status for owners and employees removes legal restrictions and the costs associated with managing the legal complexities of hiring illegal immigrants and non-citizens.

¹² This is true in the case of the Secure Communities conflict as well. In August 2011, the National Immigrant Justice Center (NIJC) filed a lawsuit against the Department of Homeland Security over the implementation of the Secure Communities Program. Heartland Alliance National Immigrant Justice Center Press Release, August 12, 2011.
Parade patterns of the third era were also influenced by the events of September 11, 2001. Figure 6.8 shows that while ethnic parades continued to grow during the 1990s, after 2001 only one new parade started. In addition, of the nine parades that started during this era only two occurred annually throughout the era. This diminution in parade robustness during this era can be traced to two major factors. First, the second Daley instituted new policies and passed new ordinances that rationalized parade activities and reduced conflicts, but also reduced their political potency and responsiveness to changing community needs and preferences. Daley's refusal to attend parades on Sunday meant that ethnic parades could no longer count on the mayor's presence. Restrictions limiting the number of new parades per holiday to one curtailed that competition within a community for the right to organize a parade, and efforts by the city to extract fees from ethnic parades has made fundraising for parade activities more challenging. Second, the backlash against immigration since 2001 has coincided with a pronounced decrease in parade activities.

The main spatial trend in the third era is a sharp decline in the number of downtown parades (only five parades remained downtown in 2010), and an increase in neighborhood parade activity. Most of the neighborhood parade activity in this era is concentrated in the far north, the focus area of Figure 6.9. This shift coincides with the growth of ethnic neighborhoods that serve as immigrant gateways. These gateways often serve multiple groups, so parades once again became a way to establish claims to contested urban territory. For example, Figure 6.9 shows the overlapping routes of the Ecuador and Central American parades as
Figure 6.8. Third era ethnic parades: a decline in activity following September 11, 2001

Recurring Immigrant and Ethnic Parades in Chicago, IL, 1990-Present
Mapped by approximate location(s) during third era

This graphic shows two patterns among recurring ethnic parades in third era Chicago. The first is the expansion of neighborhood parade activities and the decline of downtown ethnic parades. The second is the overall decline in new ethnic parade activities following September 11, 2001.
This graphic shows the movement of downtown parades into northern neighborhoods during Chicago's third era. In two locations, multiple parades came to occupy the same or similar routes. The box to the right shows a close up of the four parades located on or near West Devon Avenue during the third era.
well as the confluence of four different parades on or near the West Devon Avenue corridor. This corridor is shown in detail in the close-up box of Figure 6.9. With ethnic parades’ transition back to Chicago’s neighborhoods, those neighborhoods became spaces of hybrid nationalism that could support a variety of transnational social, economic, and political activities.

In Chicago, many of those who have been active in promoting dual citizenship arrangements with their home countries have been engaged in transnational business practices that are made more expensive by the restrictions imposed by single-country citizenship policies. Within the Mexican community, the individual most active in promoting dual citizenship with Mexico, and one of the first recipients of dual citizenship, organized the downtown Mexican Independence Day parade as president of the Mexican Civic Society. Jose E. Chapa also started his own radio show in 1957 importing newspapers from Mexico to bring Mexican news to Chicago’s Mexican community.13 Similarly, within the Indian community, a leader of the India Independence Day Parade and the owner of a credit processing business, as well as numerous other businesses in Chicago and India, have been active in lobbying for dual-citizenship rights from India. Iftekhar Shareef was one of the first to receive his OCI (Overseas Citizen of India) card, which grants him free movement between the United States and India, although it does not come with voting rights or the right to run for elected positions in India. Despite this, Mr. Shareef has helped to found a Chicago branch of the Indian National Overseas

13 A short biography presented by the Honorable Richard M. Daley, Mayor, of Jose E. Chapa is included in “A Tribute to Late Mr. Jose E. Chapa,” in the Agreed Calendar section of the Journal of the Proceedings of the City Council of the City of Chicago, p. 77903 (May 24, 2006).
Congress (INOC), the expatriate arm of India's Congress party, and continues to advise politicians in both the United States and India. For these civic leaders, citizenship rights have consequences for their business activities and their position as civic leaders building bridges among Chicago's immigrant communities, their homelands, and local and national political actors.

*The Political and Economic Roles of Ethnic Parades in Third Era Chicago*

Although parades are generally viewed as expressions of cultural identity, this research highlights the ways in which parade organizers leverage cultural identity through parades to promote their communities' political and economic advancement. Ever since the introduction of business sponsorship of floats in the Bud Billiken parade, Chicago's ethnic parades have brought together communities' business leadership, civic leadership, and politicians while providing a platform for the individuals and organizations within a community to showcase their cultural heritage and display their national pride. By using ethnic pride to draw an audience rather than explicitly express political sentiment, ethnic parades are a platform from which politicians can make visible their commitment to serving particular ethnic groups and civic leaders can make visible their relationships with local and national elected officials. This is particularly important among newer immigrant communities that comprise a smaller share of the electorate and rely on relationships to influence policy outcomes. The India Independence Day parade provides an example of how a group of individuals established political and cultural
organizations in parallel, and used the parade to support both kinds of activities. Within such communities, however, economic power is also important, as fundraising capacity becomes an alternate source of influence where voting power is limited. The India Independence Day Parade highlights the civic contributions of the community’s business leaders in addition to showcasing the civic commitment of community businesses through their sponsorship of floats.

In this way, ethnic parades are also instrumental in supporting community economic advancement. By bringing together community business leaders with elected officials and civic leaders, parades foster the relationships needed to advocate for improvements that benefit ethnic business communities, and ethnic commercial districts in particular. The rise of neighborhood parades in the third era has coincided with efforts to brand neighborhood parade routes as ethnic commercial districts with honorary street names and city investments that improve the districts’ visibility and accessibility. This can be seen along the India Independence Day parade route, which received the honorary designation of Gandhi Marg in 1991, but it is most clearly demonstrated in the Little Village 26th Street Mexican Independence Day parade in Little Village. This parade travels along 26th Street where it has been given the honorary designation of “Avenida de la Villita,” starting at a massive Spanish-style gateway erected in 1991 through a joint effort between the city and the parade organization, the Little Village Chamber of Commerce. Unlike the umbrella cultural organization that runs the India Independence Day parade (the Federation of Indian Associations), the Little Village
Chamber of Commerce explicitly brings together neighborhood businesses to promote Little Village as the hub of Mexican commercial activity in Chicago. The parade and its news coverage highlights the civic leadership provided by the neighborhood’s entrepreneurs and showcases the extent to which Mexicans in Chicago have succeeded in gaining corporate leadership positions as well. Through the parade itself and its auxiliary events, such as the queen competition and the VIP breakfast held before the parade, Chicago’s Mexican business leaders build relationships with political leadership committed to serving the Mexican community, including numerous Hispanic elected officials. This relationship building in turn supports the organization’s efforts to direct government resources and investment back into the Little Village neighborhood and the Mexican business community.

Transnational Politics on Parade in Third Era Chicago

While parades have a direct role to play in building local relationships among political, business, and civic leaders in ethnic communities, they are also a forum for showcasing and promoting transnational political activism. Parades provide opportunities to build relationships between elected officials from the United States and from immigrants’ home countries. These interactions are facilitated by the parade events because they provide a context that bridges between American culture and the cultural traditions of immigrants’ home countries. These relationships can be leveraged by ethnic community leaders to advocate for policies
that will benefit both countries, such as the US-India Nuclear Cooperation Approval and Non-proliferation Enhancement Act, which Niranjan Shah, a leader in the Indian business community helped bring to fruition. These relationships also facilitate elected officials learning more about international political concerns. Within the Indian community, civic leaders involved in the India Independence Day parade, for example, helped coordinate and participated in Chicago elected officials' visits to India.

Parades can also facilitate the maintenance of connections between home country politicians and their citizens living in the United States. Mexican presidential candidates regularly campaign in the Mexican Independence Day parades in Chicago, for example. These connections can also provide additional resources for Chicago's ethnic communities. The Republic of China government in Taiwan, for example, has contributed funding and materials to promote Chinese culture in Chinatown, including lion statues outside the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, which runs the Double Ten parade (a parade that celebrates the founding of the Republic of China), and the dragon that is the main feature of the Chinese New Year parade in Chinatown.14

The relationship between home country and parade organizations has also contributed to the emergence of transnational political tensions. These take two forms. The most common is the emergence of tensions between parade

organizations, which perform unofficial roles of bridging two nations and two cultures, and local consulates, which are officially tasked with diplomatic duties in the United States. Often these tensions are precipitated by a perceived lack of due respect paid by the Consul General toward ethnic parade leadership. This lack of respect sparked tension between the leaders of the Federation of Indian Associations, which organizes the India Independence Day parade, and the Indian Consul General in Chicago and between the Mexican Civic Society, which organizes the downtown Mexican Independence Day parade, and the Consul General of Mexico.

These tensions can also reflect political dynamics between different immigrant groups’ countries or regions of origin. Although in many cases, those tensions have not found expression in Chicago – a notable example is the peaceful coexistence of Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis along Devon Avenue – in some cases international political tensions are imported to Chicago’s ethnic neighborhoods. West Devon Avenue showcases the complicated relationship between place, nationalism, and neighborhood development. From 1993 to 1996, four different ethnic communities started holding parades on or near Devon. The Indian and Pakistani communities both attribute the move to a desire to support and grow their ethnic neighborhood and promote the ethnic business communities. These efforts were bolstered by efforts to brand West Devon through street naming. Between 1991 and 1997 Chicago City Council approved six honorary street designations recognizing five different nations along West Devon Avenue in the fiftieth ward. These designations are depicted in maps and images in Figure 6.10.
Figure 6.10. Parade routes anchor place making activities that create spaces of hybrid nationality in third era Chicago.

This graphic shows the various ways that national identity is embedded in space on or near West Devon Avenue. The map shows the division of Devon Avenue and intersecting streets along national lines using honorary street designations, which are affixed below the primary street signs on a brown background, as shown in the photos. The photos also show the use of flags, music, and national colors to further reinforce the different streets as spaces of hybrid nationalisms.
These designations honored national heroes – often the founders of the different nations – suggests that promoting local economic development and establishing national claims to urban territory were interrelated goals. By dividing the territory among different nationalities, the City has helped to maintain the peaceful coexistence of potentially volatile rival nationalities.

Another example of the contested nature of parades, nationalism, and economic development is found in Chinatown. Chinatown has used parades and placemaking activities to support its business community since the 1950s. Since the 1940s, it has promoted the national aspirations of the Republic of China, based in Taiwan. Through Chicago's second era and into the third, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) ran both the Chinese New Year parade and the Double Ten parade honoring the founding of the ROC. Both parades blended nationalist symbols with cultural elements to promote a cohesive Chinatown identity with loyalties to the Republic of China (Taiwan). Not until immigration reform and economic liberalization in China was this intersection between parade, nationalism, and place disrupted. In 1999, immigrants from the People's Republic of China started a parade honoring the founding of their nation, acquiring a permit over the protest of the CCBA. That organization responded by acquiring an honorary street designation for the Chinatown parade route honoring the Taiwanese national hero, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in 2002, and in 2008, immigrants from the People's Republic of China successfully lobbied the city to remove the flags of Taiwan from the Chinese New Year parade. Mediation resulted in changing not only the flag policy but also
organizational control of the Chinese New Year parade. Figure 6.11 shows the location of the Chinatown parade routes relative to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association offices, the Chinatown gate, and the honorary street designations. It also shows photos illustrating the use of flags to reinforce or challenge the hybrid nationalism embedded in the spaces of Chinatown.

Another example of contested nationalism in Chicago’s ethnic parades is found along Argyle Street. Property on this street was originally purchased by a Chinese organization displaced by urban renewal in the 1970s, and the organization started a Chinese New Year parade to establish the identity of its new territory. However, an influx of refugees from Vietnam and other Asian countries meant that Chinese nationalism would not predominate. Figure 6.12 shows the variation in business ownership along the street juxtaposed with the 2010 route of the Chinese New Year parade. The parade did not attract participation from the area Vietnamese despite the fact that both communities celebrated the Lunar New Year holiday. Instead, the Chinese property owners have made repeated attempts to brand the street as Chinese. They succeeded in getting a Chinese-pagoda inspired design for the street’s “L” stop, but were thwarted by the Vietnamese in an attempt to erect a second Chinatown gate at the entrance to the street. These tensions have hampered place-making efforts and prevented the commercial district from establishing a cohesive identity.\footnote{Competing groups have attempted at times to brand the district as Chinatown North or Little Saigon, and signage that branded the street as an international Asian market were promptly defaced according to an interview with community leader Tam Nguyen (May 4, 2010).} These examples highlight the myriad ways that parades provide
Figure 6.11. Contestation over the national identity of Chinatown in third era Chicago

Parade route for Chinatown Parades:
Chinese New Year Parade
Double Ten Parade (celebrates founding of the Republic of China - Taiwan)
Chinese National Day Parade (celebrates founding of the People’s Republic of China)

TIMELINE
1999 First Chinese National Day Parade to celebrate founding of the People's Republic of China
2002 Honorary Street Designation Approved: Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Way (founder of the Republic of China)
2002 Honorary Street Designation Approved: Confucius Place
2008 Protest against use of Republic of China flags in Chinese New Year Parade
2009 Chinese New Year Parade is run by Chinatown Chamber of Commerce instead of Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association

This graphic shows the ways that the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association has used street designations and flags to reinforce Chinatown as a space of American-Taiwanese hybrid nationalism. The bottom photo shows the Chinese National Day Parade challenging this identity.
This graphic shows how tensions among Chinese and Vietnamese over the national identity of Argyle Street has resulted in less successful efforts at place-making and streetscape improvements. The bottom photo shows the Chinese Lunar New Year parade on Argyle Street.
portals into transnational political dynamics while remaining rooted in local contexts.

Taken together, this body of research suggests that ethnic parades are instrumental in processes of immigrant political incorporation and the shaping of American national identity. It also suggests that they contribute to these processes by tapping into the cultural and national pride of ethnic communities in a way that allows the parades both to communicate cultural content, exhibit political strength, and showcase the contributions of civic and business leaders to the community while highlighting the civic, cultural, and economic contributions of the community to the city and nation. Parades help to stabilize political and economic relationships within ethnic communities and between ethnic communities and elected officials within the United States as well as from outside of the country. They are a platform for building networks among power holders that can be leveraged for the benefit of both individuals and the community as a whole.

Space, Power and Identity in Chicago’s Immigrant Parades

Ethnic parades have a variety of spatial implications for cities. Perhaps most importantly, they are linked with and support processes that transform local places into spaces of national hybridization. However, parades also inscribe power relations and embed power struggles into the urban streetscape. They are particularly powerful because they serve to convey optimism and the celebration of
achievement. In this way, ethnic parades in the city can communicate variations in power among groups while each individual parade asserts the pride and power of its community in a positive, celebratory manner. Parades mark territories as spaces of opportunity as well as spaces of power. They help transform the meaning and perception of city places in the minds of city residents.

One consistent theme in Chicago’s ethnic parades is the importance of spatial contestation and visual culture to processes of building imagined communities that provide greater access to power. In his study of capital cities, Lawrence Vale argues that the urban design of ceremonial streets in these cities layers additional spatial meanings over processions (including parades). Vale argues that

*All forms of procession—military review, presidential motorcade, celebratory parade, civilian protest—consist of power moving through space. All the parts of the setting—the point of origin, the route, and the destination—may be symbol laden and become part of the meaning of the event.*

Taken out of the context of capital cities, this assessment still resonates. Among Chicago’s immigrant and ethnic communities, the sources of power have changed and evolved over time.

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16 When signs of mourning do appear in parades, it often signifies an unexpected tragedy affecting the country or community. For example, in 2010, the crash of a plane carrying Poland’s president and other Polish politicians in Russia prompted the Alliance of Polish clubs to start their Constitution Day parade with a tribute to those who had died and include mourning ribbons on the Polish flags displayed in the parade. It was particularly jarring to the Chicago community because the President of Poland had been planning to attend that year’s parade.

The spatial patterns of parades reflect changing sources of power and belonging among immigrant and ethnic communities in Chicago, IL. Parades in the first era reflected the nationalist aspirations of Chicago's immigrant communities, and they used military and national symbolism to further that cause. Immigrant parades tended to express power, American patriotism, and aspirational foreign nationalism through the participation of militias and the use of military review formats. Ethnic militias' participation in these early parades communicated power backed by the threat of violence, and early parade routes occasionally concluded at militia buildings. For example, the 1894 Polish Constitution Day parade ended at Battery D, and the 1910 Columbus Day parade ended at the First regiment armory. Parades also featured the songs and flags of their national aspirations, and this symbolic content supplanted the potential symbolism of parade routes.

During Chicago's second era, the spatial politics of parades underwent a dramatic shift. Once Richard J. Daley established control over the St. Patrick's Day parade and moved it downtown, downtown ethnic parades came to symbolize

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18 Among participants in the Irish and Polish parades in particular, nationalist groups either sponsored their own militias (as in the case of the Clan Na Gael Guards) or adopted military uniforms and training for their members (as in the case of the Polish National Alliance). Described in “The Polish Settlements in Chicago.” *Chicago Daily Tribune.* March 24, 1895, p. 33: “The patriotic element among the Chicago Poles is incorporated into...the Polish National Alliance...The purpose of this organization is to ultimately re-establish the independence of Poland...The orders and degrees are military and...the members bear arms and meet regularly for drill.”


20 Although routes changed, sometimes annually, occasionally parades would be anchored by military sites. For example, the 1894 Polish Constitution Day parade ended at Battery D, and the 1910 Columbus Day parade ended at the First regiment armory. “Praise for a Patriot.” *Chicago Daily Tribune.* May 4, 1894, p. 12; and “Ask All to Honor Columbus's Deeds.” *Chicago Daily Tribune.* October 9, 1910, p. 6.
ethnic groups’ political power relative to other groups in the city. Meanwhile neighborhood parades tended to signify control over the city's residential territories and commercial corridors. The movement of European ethnic parades out of the neighborhoods and the emergence of new neighborhood parades among Puerto Rican and Mexican populations during this era illustrates the shift in ethnic control over Chicago's neighborhood territories.

In the third era, new dynamics emerged. New immigrant groups that had initiated downtown parades during the second era to gain political visibility grappled with the challenge of attracting audiences to their parades. In addition, they began to see the parades as tools for revitalizing their neighborhoods and ethnic commercial districts as their growing population strengthened their claims over neighborhood commercial streets. New policies initiated by Mayor Richard M. Daley during the third era also subtly shifted the political meaning of parades. Whereas mayoral participation in downtown parades had been certain during the second era, Daley's refusal to participate in events held on Sunday meant that depending on scheduling, some parades would not expect to see the mayor regardless of whether they were held downtown. The ubiquity of the Democratic party in Chicago during the third era, the second Daley's influence over City Council, and the maturation of the Mayor's Office of Special Events meant that ethnic parades continued to demonstrate political connections and influence even after their removal from downtown. 21 The Little Village Mexican Independence Day parade,

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21 The nature and visibility of this influence is highly variable. Some parades, like the Central American parade, attract few politicians while other showcase relationships
for example, attracts a wide range of public figures including many Hispanic elected officials in addition to elected officials of other ethnicities. Because it is held on Sunday, however, the parade does not feature the mayor. For this reason, in 2010, this parade offered an opportunity for mayoral hopefuls to test their candidacy among one of the city's most important constituencies. It was the first parade held after Mayor Daley's announcement that he would not pursue another term that did not feature Daley as a participant.

The removal of ethnic parades to neighborhood routes during the third era has also illuminated tensions between groups competing for control over the same urban territories. The close proximity of the Bangladeshi, Assyrian, Indian, and Pakistani parades on or near West Devon Avenue highlights the contested nature of ethnic identity on the street and in its surrounding residential neighborhood. Tensions between Chinatown residents with loyalties to Taiwan and those with loyalties to the People's Republic of China have also found expression in fights over who can hold parades, whether national identities should be represented in parades, and in efforts to embed national identities in the space of parade routes. While parades in some neighborhoods remain uncontested and communicate clear hybrid nationalisms by overlaying American urban forms with foreign national

with various Aldermen and state officials, and still others can boast of the mayor’s attendance.

22 Although West Devon Avenue has a strong South Asian identity, this includes Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi national identities. In addition the surrounding neighborhood continues to function as an immigrant gateway for a variety of groups in addition to South Asians. Paral and Norkewicz identified the two census tracts south of Devon Avenue between Western and California Avenues and north of Lawrence Avenue as an important immigrant port of entry. Paral, Rob, and Michael Norkewicz. "The Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook." Chicago: Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003, p. 14.
symbols, other parades illustrate the tension between a multicultural idealism and
the reality of strong loyalties to ethnic and foreign national identities.

**Implications for the Field of Planning**

This research can inform the field of planning in at least three different areas. First, the research illuminates new dynamics that can inform theories and practice of international development. In this area, the research demonstrates two important ideas: the important role that cities play in politically mobilizing immigrant communities to influence their home and adopted countries and the interconnection between local place making and transnational network building. While ethnic parades are not the only mechanism within cities to build immigrant political power, their public visibility and their explicit effort to bridge the cultural divide between their home and adopted countries gives them a unique position for illuminating these dynamics. Ethnic parades in Chicago reveal that the process of immigrants establishing imagined communities within cities facilitates their local political incorporation in ways that create opportunities for influencing the politics of their homelands and the political stance of their adopted country toward their homelands. In addition, the use of local place-making practices, including streetscaping, street naming, and the installation of monuments, supports efforts to build transnational connections by creating spaces of hybrid nationalism within American cities.
Second, this research demonstrates that parades engender and support imagined communities to do work that falls within the purview of planning. They animate a pride and energy that transcends intra-community divisions and animates support for physical improvements and community development efforts. From generating support for local businesses through parades sponsored by Chambers of Commerce to directing Community Development Block Grant money for infrastructure improvements that reflect hybrid nationalisms, parades exert an important if invisible influence over planning activities in immigrant communities. Because they bring together civic leaders, elected officials, and ethnic business communities, and because they are oriented toward a broad, imagined community, they can be important mechanisms for change in urban neighborhoods. In this way, parades serve as an important gateway into ethnic communities, bringing together civic and business leaders as well as community members across organizational and religious and divisions based on socio economic status.

Third, this research implies that city governments can play an important role in shaping immigrant communities’ access to parades and in shaping parades’ access to political power structures. By directing city resources to support parade activities (through the Mayor’s Office of Special Events and subsidies for parade costs), Chicago allowed parades to ease immigrants’ political integration during the second and third eras. The Mayor’s Office of Special Events established direct access to avenues of power for all parades, regardless of an ethnic group’s political position in the city. In addition, the standardization and centralization of parade permitting and regulations reduced barriers to participation in the city’s parade culture. The
importance of subsidies for maintaining a diverse and vibrant parade landscape is demonstrated in part by the decline of parades following the year 2000, when the Mayor's Office of Special Events began imposing a variety of fees on parade organizers to cover the costs incurred by the city in support of parade events.

New Questions Raised and Directions for Future Research

During the course of this study, interesting questions emerged that suggest potential future directions for research. Aspects of these questions are touched on briefly in this dissertation, but each deserves more thorough examination and study. Three questions in particular emerged:

1. How did the Civil Rights and LGBT movements impact the role of ethnic parades in processes of American identity formation?
2. What do ethnic parades tell us about the transnational nature of nation building?
3. Will ethnic parades continue to be an important element of Chicago civic life in the third era and beyond?
4. What is the role of spatial contestation and conflict for national identity formation in American cities?

The following sections will consider each of these questions and propose possible research approaches by which to examine them further. These questions roughly move from the historical research to consideration of the current context of
globalization and citizenship and end with thoughts on the future of parades in Chicago.

*How did the civil rights and LGBT movements impact the role of ethnic parades in processes of American identity formation?*

In examining ethnic parades in Chicago, this study emphasizes processes of immigrant political incorporation over processes of racial identity formation. This emphasis was not predetermined but rather emerged from that data, which overwhelmingly came from parades connected to immigrant ethnic communities. Through the Puerto Rican parades, the Gay Pride parade, and the Bud Billiken parade, I was able to consider some of the dynamics of racial and sexual identity formation at work in Chicago, particularly during the second era, but this area is deserving of its own research project. This research identifies a period of change for ethnic parade activities in Chicago in the transition period between 1980 and 1990, and it is certainly connected to the relaxation of immigration restrictions that occurred during the 1960s. However, that development in itself cannot be understood without considering the work of the civil rights movement, which challenged the long-standing racial hierarchy that valued individuals with ancestries originating outside of Europe (and even outside of northern Europe) as lesser quality and thus less deserving of equal rights and protections. The relationship between the civil rights movement and the immigration reforms achieved in the
1960s has been well documented by historians of the topic. However, this research suggests that the civil rights movement and the somewhat later gay rights movement had an even more profound effect on idea of American identity and the opportunities available for immigrant political incorporation. In this dissertation, I make the argument that during the second era, immigrants were able to leave behind their identity as foreign nationals to acquire an identity as American ethnics. While the process of building European ethnic identity has roots in assimilationist policies that accepted European immigrants into a white American political identity and has been interpreted as a backlash against civil rights reforms, my research suggests that – at least in Chicago – the process may have been facilitated by the civil rights movement's premise that the rights and privileges of American citizenship and American identity should not be restricted by "race, color, religion, or national origin." That such an idea should be codified in the laws of the United States opened the possibility for a multicultural America in which naturalized immigrants and their descendents who chose to preserve their national pride and the culture of their homeland could have an identity as ethnic Americans. What the civil rights

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24 This argument has been made both in *How the Irish Became White* by Noel Ignatiev (Routledge, 1996) and *Roots, Too* by Matthew Frye Jacobsen (Harvard University Press, 2008), which examine the origins and transformations of white ethnic identity.

25 This is the language used in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Public Law 88-352.
movement, and eventually the gay rights movement, accomplished was to challenge the notion of American identity internally. American blacks and the American gay community could not draw on the rights guaranteed to them by a foreign power to improve their position in the United States. Rather they required that the United States, their home country, provide them with those rights and protections.

Evidence from my research suggests that this effort directly benefited the new waves of immigrants in Chicago in ways that are reflected in their parade activities. The multi-ethnic coalition led by Harold Washington emerged from Chicago's black community, and Chicago's gay civic leadership provided the main push for Chicago's Human Rights ordinance, which ensured protections for the gay community as well as for immigrants and black Chicagoans. Multiple interview respondents emphasized that Chicago is a mosaic rather than a melting pot and indicated that they were less interested in displaying superiority than in maintaining parity. The influence of these movements on Chicago's European ethnic community is also indicated in the fact that the coordinator of the Columbus Day Parade also founded the Italian American Human Relations Foundation of Chicago for the “purpose of improving the civic, social and educational welfare of Italian-Americans as well as members of all ethnic groups.”

The principles of human rights and equal protections seem to have permeated Chicago's ethnic parade culture in both old and new immigrant communities.

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Further research into the history of these developments is warranted to determine the extent to which these movements have intersected and influenced Chicago's ethnic leadership and its official policies. My research experience suggests that much of this history remains within the individuals and leaders who participated in it. While some data may be available from Mayor Harold Washington's archives, much would need to be elicited through interviews and the collection of personal and organizational archives where possible. Organizers of the Bud Billiken and Gay Pride parades would be a good starting point as they are networked in their respective communities and can help make connections with the appropriate individuals and institutions. Ethnic newspapers such as the *Chicago Defender* are also likely to provide relevant information and indicate additional interviewees. To understand how the efforts of the black and gay communities have influenced European ethnic groups in Chicago, additional research is needed to establish the historical connections between and among these groups through interviews with civic leaders in these communities. The Italian community, which has demonstrated its commitment to human rights, would be an appropriate starting point.

*What do Chicago’s ethnic parades tell us about the transnational nature of nation building?*

This dissertation argues that ethnic parades facilitate the building of transnational political networks in ways that promote the development of
transnational citizenship rights and can result in the local expression of transnational political tensions. This process is supported by a combination of place making practices that support ethnic parades, political activities showcased in parades, the international political networks of parade organizers, and increasingly transnational ethnic media outlets. However, data from Chicago’s ethnic parades also suggests that these transnational networks are not only implicated in the transformation of citizenship but in the process of nation building within immigrants’ home countries. The Polish Constitution Day parade, for example, provides a window into a Polish expatriate community that actively preserved a Polish national identity that explicitly rejected the country’s communist identity after World War II. Polish language and culture schools drew on materials provided by an exile government in Britain for their lessons, and the community actively sought to promote Poland’s right to become a democratic, sovereign nation. A similar dynamic is apparent within the Chinese community that remains loyal to and preserves the customs and national identity of the Republic of China despite the fact that it is not recognized as a sovereign nation by the United Nations. Examples like these made themselves apparent within many of the ethnic groups I spoke with, and deserve independent exploration beyond the scope of this project.

Traditional theories of nations and nationalism tend to focus on activities located within the regions that become nations or between those regions and their neighbors (especially where territory may be disputed). Benedict Anderson, in his work *Imagined Communities* understands nations as limited, sovereign,
communities and suggests that capitalism and the emergence of print language enabled nations to imagine themselves into existence.\textsuperscript{27} The fact that nations are not only made up of people but also of land – of territory demarcated by politically negotiated boundaries – has led to a tendency amongst theorists of nations and nationalism to focus primarily on the nation-building activities that are located within those political boundaries. This research, however, suggests that those internal efforts may be strongly influenced by the ideas and activities of communities of émigrés settled in nations outside the boundaries of their homeland. This dynamic is important to understand because, as this research shows, immigrant communities tend to adopt an integrative approach to national identity – combining the ideals and symbols from their home nation with those of their adopted country. In so doing, immigrant communities in Chicago tend to focus on the substance of their national identity that is most compatible with the national identity they encounter in the United States.

Chicago’s Polish and Chinese communities would be good starting points for studying this phenomenon. A combination of interviews, news articles, and other archival materials could shed light on the relationships between and among actors in Chicago, within Poland’s exile government in Britain, and in Poland itself. One particularly interesting question to examine is how ideas about democracy and Polish identity developed in the Chicago context, and whether those ideas were

transmitted to Britain and Poland. Another aspect of the question would be to see how actively the exile government was involved in shaping the Polishness of Chicago’s Polonia. A similar study could be used to examine the relationship between Chicago’s Chinatown and the Republic of China government in Taiwan, although in this case, because mainland China remains under communist rule, the study may look at whether Chinese immigrant communities whose Chinese national identity has been influenced by the Republic of China have in turn influenced Chinese identity and government policy in mainland China. For example, have prominent members of American Chinese communities (influenced by the Republic of China) helped to shape U.S. – Chinese relations in ways that have pressured the People’s Republic of China to adopt more open government policies? Another example might be the importation of Chinese architectural styles and forms developed abroad in Chinatowns back to Mainland China. These two research projects would begin to reveal the ways that immigrant communities help to shape national identity formation in their home countries.

*Will ethnic parades continue to be an important element of Chicago civic life in the third era, and beyond?*

Given the important role that ethnic parades play in bringing together civic leaders, business leaders, and politicians on behalf of ethnic communities, these parades are likely to continue to play an important role in Chicago for the foreseeable future. However, whether they will continue to grow and expand into
new ethnic communities, or whether they will only be within reach of the largest, most established immigrant groups is worth exploring. The current political and economic climate and some regulatory changes put into place during the third era are likely to exert pressure for parade activities in Chicago to contract in the coming decades. Prolonged and recurring economic recessions during the third era have generated pressure on the city's resources and have led to reductions in parade subsidies, increases in parade fees and an increased financial burden on parade organizations to fund their events. Of the nine parades started since 1990, four have been discontinued and two are held only intermittently. Parade permitting regulations put in place to reduce conflict among competing parade organizations mean that parades are in some ways less responsive to the shifting needs and priorities of ethnic communities. It may also have the effect of expediting parades' moving to suburban locations where city permitting rules do not apply. This outcome is suggested by the recent conflict over leadership of the Federation of Indian Associations, in which individuals claimed they had been excluded from leadership positions because of unfair election practices. After failing to resolve their complaint to their satisfaction through the courts, the individuals started a competing Federation of Indian Associations and organized a parade in Schaumberg, IL, a suburb of Chicago in 2011. An increase in suburban parade activities is also likely because of the continuing population decline in the city revealed in the 2010 census and the increasing suburban settlement of immigrants.
Whether ethnic parade activities receive the support needed from the city will depend on the extent to which the mayoral administration under Rahm Emanuel values their contributions to Chicago and their ability to provide connections between the administration and community members. Soon after taking office, Emanuel adopted the same approach to the Mayor's Office of Special Events taken by Mayor Harold Washington, folding it into the city's Department of Cultural Affairs, but whether this will be accompanied by an emphasis on community-controlled cultural production or an emphasis on more professional forms of cultural production remains to be seen. Given the current budget problems and economic challenges facing the city, decisions to increase fees and reduce city support for neighborhood parades would be unsurprising. However, those decisions could undermine not only the civic structures that help give small immigrant populations a voice in city affairs but also the power balance among establish European ethnic groups and the city's newer immigrants that is in part preserved by parade organizations, events, and networks. Already an important liaison between Chicago's ethnic communities and its elected officials has come under fire and lost her position after being characterized as a "party planner" in the press. Pat Michalski had acted as a liaison for numerous Chicago elected officials starting with Harold Washington in 1983, organizing and hosting events that brought community members and leaders into Chicago City Hall to interact and build relationships. However, these events came under attack as an "improper use of tax dollars," and sparked an investigation by the Better Government Association.28 Growing

resistance to government spending will likely continue to exert pressure on elected officials in Chicago and Illinois to reduce the funding and staff dedicated to immigrant outreach activities, including events associated with parade, that provide immigrants with important avenues to connect with city government. In addition, the growth in anti-immigration sentiment would exacerbate these pressures.

Finally, the tensions over parade leadership within ethnic communities, and the general perception that parades are not an important part of political, economic, or community development increases their vulnerability in uncertain economic times. Mistrust and acrimony among community organizations and the lack of accountability of parade organizations can lead to the dissolution of parade activities, which are relatively time intensive and expensive affairs. Parades may be replaced by private events run by separate organizations for specific community constituencies. This is the model used by the Vietnamese community to celebrate the Lunar New Year, for example. However this model diminishes the public visibility of the immigrant community and presents the community as relatively divided.

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What is the role of spatial contestation and conflict for national identity formation in American cities?

The research presented in this dissertation suggests that space matters to processes of national identity formation among immigrant groups in American cities. Although the subject of the research – the ethnic parade – is inherently spatial, the findings extend beyond the spatiality of parades themselves to reveal some of the ways that the spaces of American cities act as scaffolding for establishing and defining imagined national and sub-national communities.

From this research, national identity among immigrants can be understood as a hybridized identity that is both American and foreign in nature and can be leveraged to influence both American and foreign audiences. The research also indicates that immigrants build these hybrid identities both socially through their networks of businesses and religious, cultural, social, and service organizations and spatially through efforts to claim city spaces using foreign national symbolism including statues, monuments, street names, façade design, and events, including parades.

In addition, the research demonstrates that different immigrant groups encounter different challenges to their spatial claims depending on which spaces they occupy and what groups may be competing for the same or nearby spaces. So newer Chinese immigrants in Chinatown coming from the People’s Republic of China must establish an identity distinct from that of the dominant Taiwanese nationalism within territory that has been developed to reflect a hybrid Taiwanese-
American national identity. Alternately, the same hybrid identity could not find a full spatial expression along Argyle Street, which quickly became a port of arrival for Vietnamese refugees and immigrants after the Vietnam War.29

The general disparity among how hybrid national identities are spatially articulated among different immigrant groups suggests that it the influence is bi-directional. It is influenced both by the context of immigration and the political and social characteristics of the incoming population and it is influenced by the local context of the urban space – which other groups are arriving at the same time, whether other populations in that space are growing or declining, the relative size of different groups, and how integrated into the local political system those groups may be. In addition, the process seems to be influenced to some degree by larger geo-political contexts. For example, the role of China in the Vietnam War left Vietnamese refugees on Argyle Street less interested in forging relationships with the Chinese-American civic leaders developing the street.

The intricacies of these dynamics deserve further study. This research suggests that ethnic parades can open new directions for research on transnationalism, which has already established compelling methods and research that embraces both sides of immigration dynamics. Ethnic parades exist as sites of transnationalism, and serve to organize a variety of transnational activities in ways that allows them to contribute to the formation of hybrid national identities. Business activities that

29 The inability of the Vietnamese to establish their own strong hybrid national identity in the space of Argyle Street is worth further investigation. Possible reasons include the local political connections of the Chinese (Taiwanese) Hip Sing organization that first developed the street as a Chinatown North and the prevailing sense of loss among arriving Vietnamese refugees who did not identify with the Vietnamese nationalism that emerged from their defeat in the war.
draw on transnational economic networks feature prominently in parades; civic organizations that maintain social, familial, and cultural relationships across national boundaries often participate in parades; and parades turn local urban spaces into sites where local and foreign politicians meet and jointly build connections with immigrant populations. The scope of this research did not allow for a comprehensive exploration of these dynamics, but its findings suggest rich ground for further research that can help to provide a spatial context for understanding transnational dynamics and that can showcase how spaces of hybrid nationalism in American cities support processes of political integration and political advocacy that transcends national boundaries.
Methods and Discussion
Overview of Data Sources Used By Parade

Only two parades were completely undocumented – the Ecuador Parade and the Pilsen Mexican Independence Day Parade – and three parades had limited documentation through print coverage – the Northwest Side Irish Parade, the Greek Independence Day Parade, and the Cinco de Mayo Parade. Thus, these parades made a limited contribution to my overall analysis, which focused on the other eighteen parades.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>2010 Immigrant and Ethnic Parades in Chicago, IL</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
<th>Obs.</th>
<th>Video</th>
<th>Print Coverage</th>
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Pilsen Mexican Independence Day Parade

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**Interviews**

*Current and Former City Employees*

I interviewed David Kennedy, the First Deputy Director, and Steve Wagner, the current Parade Coordinator in the Mayor's Office of Special Events as well as Cheryl Hughes, a former Parade Director in that office. I also had an informal background conversation with a former Director of the Mayor's Office of Special Events. In addition, I interviewed the Director of Cultural Planning in the Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs to learn about the relationship between Chicago's parade activities and the city's efforts to promote culture and tourism. Finally, I spoke at length with Pat Michalski while she was the Assistant Treasurer for Ethnic Affairs and Ethnic Media under Maria Pappas about her experience connecting Chicago's ethnic groups to government officials from the 1980s through 2010.

**Background Informants**

In addition to Dominic Pacyga and Larry Bennett, I interviewed Rita Arias-Jirasek, who authored *Mexican Chicago* after collecting artifacts and stories from numerous Chicago residents of Mexican descent. In addition, Janet Smith, co-director of the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement at the University of Illinois, Chicago; John Zeigler and Ceasar McDowell of the Egan Urban Center at Depaul University; and Maureen Zellwig, the senior director of programs at the Erie Settlement House.

**Parade Organizers**

I identified parade organizers through the Mayor's Office of Special Events. Steve Wagner provided a list of the parades scheduled for 2010 with contact information for the organizers. I include the Gay and Lesbian Pride Parade in this tally because my interview subjects repeatedly mentioned it as akin to Chicago's ethnic parades. I elaborate this decision in the discussion below. Seven parade organizers could not be reached or were not available for an interview.

Semi-structured interviews were consistent across my respondents and combined factual questions with open-ended inquiries about the organizers' interpretations of the parades. Sample questions include:
1. How did the parade begin?
2. Who participates in the parade?
3. How do participants join the parade?
4. What are the rules for participation?
5. How is the parade funded?
6. What other events are organized as part of the parade celebration?
7. What does the parade mean to the community?
8. How has the parade impacted the community?
9. Why is the parade important to the city of Chicago?

The wording of questions seven and eight were tailored to specific interview subjects and their target audience. This meant that for some interviewees, "community" referred to the entire ethnic or immigrant community of the city – the Federation of Indian Associations in Chicago does not see itself as serving a particular subset of Indian-Americans, and the same was true of the Pakistani, Italian, German, Polish, and Central American parade organizers. However, for other parades, particular parades in ethnic communities that sponsor multiple parades, "the community" might be more geographically specific. So for the South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade, the community is more strongly defined by the population of South Chicago and its surrounding neighborhoods than by ethnic identification. Similarly, the Puerto Rican People's Parade serves the Humboldt Park Puerto Rican community and is as concerned with local neighborhood issues as it is with promoting a general Puerto Rican identity. Other parades fell somewhere in the middle. Organizers of the St. Patrick's Day Parade downtown, which is run by the Chicago Journeymen Plumbers' Local Union 130, U.A., see the parade as for the larger Chicago Irish community but also as a showcase for the city's unions. Using cues from my interviewees responses, I was particularly attentive to how they defined the community their parades served.

In addition, organizers were asked to give background on the work that their organizations do outside of the parade and to explain personally why they are involved in the organization and the parade event. These interviews revealed rich stories about the vibrancy of ethnic identity in Chicago today and the expansive reach of ethnic volunteer organizations in promoting the social, economic, and political interests of their communities. These interviews were all conducted in English, which only posed a problem for one interview in which my respondent had trouble expressing his thoughts as he wished. The interviews lasted approximately ninety minutes although some lasted less than an hour and one lasted for about three hours.
Newspaper Articles

I searched the *Chicago Tribune* historic archive (1849-1986) for specific parades whose start dates preceded 1992. In addition, using the search term “parade,” I documented the shift in parade landscape at key moments in the city’s recent history – the period from 1977 to 1983 that preceded the election of the city’s first black mayor, Harold Washington, and 1992, the year that the Mayor Richard M. Daley began exploring options for curtailing parade activities downtown. I also used the historic archives to trace some of the earliest newspaper references to parades in Chicago. This exercise indicated that Chicago’s nineteenth century parade history is distinctly different from better-documented parade histories of cities on the eastern seaboard. After compiling an extensive archive of historic news articles, I used themes and questions raised by my interviews and observation to form queries. For example, when my contacts in the Indian community mentioned that Mayor Washington’s office had contacted them to ask them to participate in cultural events downtown, I examined whether major shifts in the city’s parade culture were evident around the time of Mayor Washington’s election. I also searched my newspaper archives for commentary related to moments of tension or change in the communities. The cache of articles I acquired from these searches were useful in providing factual information, for example, allowing me to trace the origins of the parades, parade route changes, and points of conflict or tension over time for many of the parades. They also pointed to the variability in parade visibility in the city. Some parades are virtually invisible online and in general news coverage. For example, the South Chicago Mexican Independence Day Parade has not been mentioned in news coverage of the city’s Mexican Independence Day celebrations for the last twenty years, and the Ecuador Parade, which started in 1998, has not received mainstream news coverage either. News coverage also illuminates major tensions within communities over parade activities. For example, the newspapers covered arguments among *Tribune* readers in 1980 over whether Mayor Jane Byrne, whose politics developed during the era of Richard J. Daley, was right to emphasize the Irish exclusivity of the St. Patrick’s Day Parade by inviting Edward M. Kennedy to lead the parade rather than President Carter, saying “I think the Irish would like to have an Irishman lead [the parade]. It would be foolish to have an Englishman lead it, and Carter is an Englishman.”¹ These stories have been immensely helpful in developing a contextual understanding of parades in Chicago and their connection to community identities, identity politics, and municipal administration in Chicago.

Methods Discussion

Because of the novelty of this research project, I encountered a number of issues during the course of my research that I needed to resolve. I struggled initially with how to set the parameters of the study – what parades would count as ethnic or immigrant parades? Would I need to make a clear distinction between the two terms? Most of the identities that are popularly considered ethnicities in the US

context correspond to the ancestries counted in the US census. Ethnic identity in the US indicates a persistent identification with ancestry categories usually beyond one generation of naturalization because a first-generation American would still be considered an immigrant. However, ethnicity on the US census can also refer to Hispanic or Latino identification, which includes a wide range of ancestries as well. In addition ancestry categories in the US, which are generally organized around nationalities, encompass a wide range of sub-groups that would be considered distinct ethnicities in those nations. To address this difficulty, I understand ethnicity as an identification that is related to American racial categories, foreign nationalities and American identity. My research supports the idea that processes and expressions of ethnic identification wrestle with the problem of how to relate to a “mainstream” American identity – an identity in which race has long been used to determine the extent to which individuals can access the privileges of being American – while also maintaining cultural, linguistic, and political ties to foreign nations or different regions. Ethnic identities tend to indicate a kind of straddling of places as well as a blending of loyalties.

For this reason, I included in my research all parades that expressed a clear racial, ethnic or immigrant identity, and I did not treat these categories as functionally or thematically different. Some parades that would be considered “ethnic” based on immigration patterns were still run by first-generation immigrants, as in the case of the Germans' Von Steuben Parade because Chicago is one of the few cities in the country that has remained a hub for European immigration. In addition, some groups with large, diverse and geographically dispersed communities, for example Mexican-Americans, stage multiple parades. In this case, some parades are clearly associated with recent immigrant communities while others are run exclusively by the second-generation. Chicago’s Puerto Rican and African-American communities fall into a different category. Neither is an immigrant community. Puerto Rico is an unincorporated territory of the United States, and most African-Americans arrived in the United States not as immigrants but as slaves stripped of their citizenship rights and cultural identities. In Chicago, however, when African-Americans migrated from the South and Puerto Ricans migrated from Puerto Rico in the middle of the twentieth century, the communities they established maintained cultural, economic, and political ties to those places of origin much like the city’s immigrant communities. Both communities also continued to grapple with the meaning of full participation in American identity, and Puerto Ricans in particular continue to advocate on behalf of their homeland. All of these groups are navigating multiple scales of political identity: maintaining ties to a group with shared experiences and histories, establishing or defending a position of power within the local politics of

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2 In 2000, Polish immigrants made up the second largest population of foreign-born residents in the Chicago Metro Area with 137,670 residents. Germany and Italy were 9th and 10th respectively in country of origin for Metro Chicago’s foreign born population in 2000 (Paral, Rob, and Michael Norkewitz, “Metro Chicago Immigration Factbook.” Institute for Metropolitan Affairs, Roosevelt University, June 2003).
Chicago, and asserting a right to participate in or to challenge the boundaries of American identity.

During my research I also grappled with the problem of whether to include Chicago's LGBT community and Pride Parade as one of my cases. As evidenced above, I do count the Pride Parade among the population of ethnic and immigrant parades in Chicago although I did not capture data on this parade through interviews or observation. My primary reason for including it among the population of ethnic parades is that the Pride Parade is viewed by city residents as a kind of ethnic celebration, and the city's gay community is grappling with similar issues of how to challenge mainstream – heteronormative – American identity while also demanding full access to the rights and privileges of American citizenship like the freedom to marry. While I include the LGBT parade in my overall population and have examined news coverage of the event, I do not focus on it in this study. Fundamental differences remain between sexual orientation and ethnic identity, which is made evident by the fact that separate LGBT groups applied to participate in various ethnic parades across the city in the early 1990s. In addition, ethnic groups in other US cities have demonstrated a history of excluding the participation of explicitly LGBT organizations. A prominent example of this is the St. Patrick's Day Parade in Boston, MA, whose organizers went to the Supreme Court to protect their right to exclude organizations from their event. In light of this pattern of exclusion, I discuss the Chicago LGBT community's efforts to participate in various ethnic parades and the outcomes of that effort in chapter six.

Another important issue has been how to interpret my interview data, which in and of itself is rich with detail about both the parades and Chicago's ethnic communities. Early on in my interview process I realized that my interviews were politically sensitive and even mundane questions about parade content or the parade organization elicited caution from some of my subjects. This sensitivity resulted in using note-taking and post-interview recall to capture most of my interviews. Of thirty-seven interviews, I recorded only fourteen. Despite the politically sensitive nature of the parades, I believe most of my interview subjects were candid, and all told stories that reflected their interest in the event. I listened to my interview subjects with a critical but not a cynical ear, and I always tried to consider their work in its larger context – almost always as a voluntary effort that developed out of a small community of friends working together. I did not see evidence that parades are money-making machines for their organizations despite the fact that a number of interviewees indicated that others' parades are. The few parade organizations that have succeeded in cultivating a large and generous donor and member base generally are reinvesting that money into the parade itself or into related community programming. The organizers are universally excited for the opportunity to represent their communities in public, to bring their communities together, and to run successful events, and they are universally relieved each year when the event is over. Rather than cynically dismiss this enthusiasm as a smokescreen for other motivations, I take it as a data-point and consider it
alongside observations about the relationship between individual and community benefits that emerge from the parade process.

Finally, I believe it is important to note my own position relative to the parade landscape. As a female graduate student, a second-generation Norwegian American, and the wife of a second-generation Asian-Indian-American, I engaged my interview subjects from a particular perspective. I am grateful that everyone I spoke to welcomed me so warmly into their communities – particularly Chicago’s Indian community, which accepted me as one of their own. As a non-native Chicagoan and a stranger to all of the city’s ethnic communities, I might have expected to encounter more resistance. Instead I was met with candor, enthusiasm, and a real interest in learning from the experiences of other parade organizers in the city.