ECONOMIC NEEDS

OF ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS IN

DISTRESSED AREAS:

ESTABLISHING BASELINE INFORMATION

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The Ralph & Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies
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CONTENTS

Executive Summary…… 1

Introduction …… 3
Overview …… 3
Background …… 3
Part 1: Methodology and Data …… 5
Data Sources …… 5
Neighborhood Selection …… 5
Part II: Asian Neighborhood Profiles …… 8
Demographic Composition …… 8
Salient Characteristics …… 10
Economic Status of Residents …… 13
Economic Base …… 17
Part III: Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander Profiles …… 19
Demographic Composition …… 19
Salient Characteristics …… 20
Economic Status of Residents …… 22
Economic Base …… 24
Part IV: CBO Perceptions of Problems and Priorities…… 25
Introduction …… 25
Severity of Problems …… 26
Programmatic and Strategic Priorities …… 29
Community-Based Development Challenges …… 31
Part V: Conclusion …… 33

References: …… 34
Appendix A: Advisory Committee Members …… 36
Appendix B: Questions from A/PI CBO Survey …… 37

FIGURES AND TABLES

Part I

Table 1.1 Tract Concentration of APAs in Metropolitan Statistical Areas 5
Table 1.2 APA-Owned Businesses (1997) 6

Part II

Figure 2.1 Neighborhood Size, All Races (2000) 8
Table 2.1 Major Racial Breakdowns 9
Figure 2.2 Ethnic Diversity (1990 & 2000) 10
Figure 2.3 Foreign Birth, All Races (1990) 11
Figure 2.4 APAs with less than a High School Education (1990) 12
Figure 2.5 APA Linguistic Isolation (1990) 13
Figure 2.6 Employment Rate Among APAs (1990) 14
Figure 2.7 Hourly Wages, All Races (1990) 14
Figure 2.8 APAs in Poverty (1989) 15
Figure 2.9 APAs in Rental Housing (1990 & 2000) 16
Figure 2.10 Percentage of All Housing Units – Section 8 or Public 16
Figure 2.11 Neighborhood Job Density (2000) 17
Figure 2.12 Commute Out of Neighborhood (1990) 18

Part III

Table 3.1 Major Racial Breakdowns, Hawaii and San Francisco 19
Figure 3.1 APA Ethnic Diversity (2000) 20
Figure 3.2 APAs with less than a High School Education (1990) 21
Figure 3.3 Foreign Birth, All Races (1990) 21
Figure 3.4 Employment Rates (1989) 22
Figure 3.5 Hourly Wages, All Races (1989) 23
Figure 3.6 APAs in Poverty (1989) 23
Figure 3.7 Study Area Job Density (2000) 24

Part IV

Figure 4.1 Top Seven Neighborhood Problems 27
Figure 4.2 Top Employment and Housing Problems 28
Figure 4.3 Programmatic Priorities 29
Figure 4.4 Strategic Priorities 30
Figure 4.5 Top External Barriers/Challenges to CED 31
Figure 4.6 Top Internal Barriers/Challenges to CED 32

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In spite of a long history of marginalization of and discrimination against Asian-Pacific Americans (APAs), there has been little policy-oriented research focusing on disadvantaged APA neighborhoods. This report seeks to provide baseline statistics for 17 poor APA neighborhoods across the United States as well as insights from a survey of community-based organizations.

The baseline neighborhood profiles reveal a diversity of neighborhood characteristics:

- Neighborhood populations range in size from about 1,000 to 50,000 APAs.
- APAs are a majority in some neighborhoods. In others, they live in shared urban and rural spaces.
- Some neighborhood APA populations are predominantly of a single ethnic group, while others are a mixture of two or more Asian and Pacific Islander groups.
- Employment opportunities vary significantly across neighborhoods.

In spite of substantial variation across the neighborhoods, some common features are seen:

- Most neighborhoods are immigrant communities; consequently, many neighborhood residents are linguistically isolated.
- Educational attainment is lower than for the general population.
- Neighborhood residents are likely to have low earnings.
- Most neighborhood residents commute out of their immediate neighborhoods.
- Neighborhood residents are less likely to own their own homes than the general population.

The responses from the CBO survey mirror the findings of the neighborhood profiles and provide perspectives from community experts. The key results of the survey are as follows:

- Underemployment (i.e., low wages, part-time or intermittent employment, lack of benefits, etc.) is a more critical issue than joblessness or lack of nearby employment. Lack of community healthcare resources and external pressure in the form of neighborhood gentrification also common neighborhood problems.
- In agreement with the neighborhood profiles, linguistic isolation is seen as the most critical barrier to employment.
- Lack of affordable housing leads to a high housing cost burden and overcrowding.

The CBOs identified several programmatic and strategic priorities when asked to allocate funds to improve the quality of life in their neighborhoods. The top two programmatic areas are

- The creation of affordable housing and
- Employment related services.

While the CBOs would allocate about half of the funds for direct services, they would allocate the rest to building community and organizational components.

The CBOs were also asked to identify barriers to community economic development. Some barriers were external to the communities and organizations, while others were internal. The top two external barriers are

- Inadequate funding and resources and
- Inadequate governmental support.

The top two internal barriers are

- Inadequate fund-raising capacity and
- Inadequate staff training.

INTRODUCTION

Overview*:* This report presents the results of a joint effort between the National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development (National CAPACD), the UCLA Asian American Studies Center (AASC), and UCLA's Ralph and Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies. It examines the spatial characteristics associated with Asian-Pacific Americans (APAs) living in economically distressed neighborhoods and provides needed baseline information for the Economic Development Administration (EDA) and other federal departments that are developing economic development programs aimed at APA communities.

For the purposes of our report, APA neighborhoods are defined as clusters of census tracts with significant APA populations located in low-wage areas. Our neighborhood profiles have identified APA communities in all geographic areas of the United States, with diverse ethnic constitutions in a range of economic environments. Some communities have developed recently while other communities have existed for many generations. Several of the profiled communities are located in areas with extremely high urban residential densities; others are located in sparsely populated agricultural areas. Some of the neighborhoods are populated by a single ethnic group that constitutes a majority of all residents in the area. Other neighborhoods are characterized by a significant presence of Asian-Pacific Americans within shared urban and rural spaces.

In spite of this diversity, some common features are seen between the communities. In almost every case, these neighborhoods are characterized by a high degree of linguistic isolation, low educational attainment, and largely immigrant populations. Rates of home ownership are generally lower than for other APAs in the region, as well as the region as a whole.

The neighborhoods that we have profiled are representative of the broad range of experiences of Asian-Pacific Americans within the United States. These study areas are illustrative examples that highlight some of the characteristics of poor APAs. Due to the scope of this project, we have been forced to select only a small fraction of all APA neighborhoods. In some cases, the decision to choose between study areas separated by only a few miles has meant the difference between including one ethnic group over another. Nevertheless, we have made an effort to identify what we feel are the most significant low-income APA neighborhoods in the United States.

The majority of our study areas are located in the western United States. Eight are in California, two are in Hawaii, and one is in Washington. Study areas in other regions include three on the eastern seaboard (New York and Massachusetts), two in the Midwest (Illinois and Minnesota), and one in the South (Louisiana). Chinese are the most prevalent group identified in this study, followed by Southeast Asians (Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Hmongs), and Koreans. In the Pacific Islander study areas, native Hawaiians are the most prevalent group. However, a substantial number of Filipinos and Samoans also reside in these areas.

Background: The richness of American society is embodied in its diversity as people from all over the world have come to the United States seeking opportunity and a better life in this country. Asian-Pacific Americans are no exception to this pattern.

Asians have been an integral part of this nation since at least the mid-1800s when the Chinese ventured in large numbers to California as a part of the Gold Rush, but that

migration came to a halt with the enactment of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (Saxton 1971). There were subsequent waves of immigration from Japan, the Philippines, and other Asian countries, and each wave was met with anti-Asian hostility and restrictive immigration legislation (Chan 1991). Those who did make it into America were forced to take menial jobs and live in separate quarters. Large-scale immigration resumed only after the elimination of racially biased immigration quotas in 1965.

The history of Pacific Islanders is tied to European and United States expansion into the Pacific Ocean. Indigenous Pacific Islanders were incorporated through the establishment of American colonies and territories. Europeans first landed in Samoa in 1722, followed by a period of competition for control by Britain, Germany, and the United States. An 1899 treaty divided the territory between Germany and the United States. Western contact with Hawaii occurred in 1778, followed by a period of increasing American influence and power. The Kingdom of Hawaii was overthrown in 1873. Under colonial rule, the indigenous populations were decimated, their culture and language suppressed, and their land appropriated by others. One consequence of the colonization has been the migration of Pacific Islanders to the mainland of the United States.

Through a combination of immigration and natural increases, the APA population has grown tremendously in the last few decades, from about one and a half million in 1970 to about eleven million in 2000. The APA population is projected to grow to twenty million by 2020 (Ong and Hee 1993; U.S. Bureau of the Census 2001).

While some contemporary APA communities have prospered, others face significant economic development challenges as APAs are amongst the richest and poorest, the best educated and least educated of all Americans (Jiobu 1996; Cheng and Yang 1996; Ong and Hee 1994; Ong 2000). Many of the most disadvantaged live in inner-city ethnic enclaves which share common problems with African American and Latino communities, but that also have unique characteristics (Ong and Umemoto 1994; Ong et al. 1993 and 1999; Urban Institute 2000). For many enclave residents, the problem is low-wage work rather than unemployment (Hum 2000; Ong 1984). While entrepreneurship is higher than for other groups, most Asian businesses are very marginal, offering at best low-wage jobs (Bonacich and Light 1988). In addition to the skill deficits that characterize all low-income communities, many APAs must also overcome language and cultural barriers. Despite the existence of these problems, APAs have been underrepresented in the community-development field, due partly to a lack of internal capacity and due partly to non-APAs not taking APA issues seriously (Sirola, Ong and Fu 1998). The economic development challenges facing these enclaves are further complicated by a lack of policy-oriented research.

The rest of this report provides the baseline data to help inform policy on the economic issues affecting poor APA neighborhoods. The following sections are organized into three major parts: Part 1 describes the methodology and data used for this report, Part 2 profiles Asian neighborhoods, part 3 profiles Hawaiian/Pacific Islander neighborhoods, part 4 discusses the responses from our survey of community-based organizations serving APA communities, and part 5 includes our recommendations.

PART I: METHODOLOGY AND DATA

Data Sources: For this study, we develop demographic and economic profiles of 17 low-income APA neighborhoods and communities to explore their commonalties and differences. We relied primarily on 1990 and 2000 census data. The most important data sets were the 1990 STF-1 (summary tape file 1) and 2000 SF-1 (summary file 1) data (100% counts) as well as the 1990 STF-3 (weighted sample data) and CTPP (census transportation planning package). Employment information was obtained from the 2000 American Business Information data set at the census tract and block group levels. Information about personal income was obtained at the zip-code level using 1998 Internal Revenue Service data. Information about public housing assistance was obtained from 1998 data from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Wherever possible, we selected information that was disaggregated by race or ethnicity. Some variables (e.g., nativity) were not broken out by race, and therefore we report statistics for the general population in these cases.

Neighborhood Selection: To select the neighborhoods for this study we undertook a nationwide analysis of census tracts using the 2000 SF-1 data set. From this, we identified areas in which there were high concentrations of APAs. Since we were interested in the most significant groups of poor APAs, we restricted our study to metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) with at least 20,000 APAs. Among these MSAs, we looked for at least four census tracts with APAs making up at least 25% of their populations. Next, we used 1998 IRS income data aggregated to zip codes to identify areas where there was a high proportion of people either claiming the earned income tax credit, or earning less than $10,000 in 1998. The results of this process are shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Tract Concentrations of APAs in Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA)

MSA Name	Total MSA Tracts	Total APA Population	MSA Percent APA	No. Tracts 25%-50% APA	No. Tracts 50%-100% APA	No. Tracts APA Low Inc.	Total APA Pop Low Inc. Tracts
Large MSAs							
Los Angeles - Long Beach, CA	2,054	1,282,786	13	230	78	235	466,883
New York, NY	2,515	956,185	10	241	51	228	355,010
Honolulu, HI	217	644,817	74	11	183	86	268,950
Orange County, CA	577	436,333	15	71	15	57	120,134
Sacramento, CA	366	184,899	11	43	0	27	47,068
San Francisco, CA	382	441,070	25	96	53	23	45,459
Small / Medium MSAs							
Chicago, IL	1,877	429,517	5	30	8	30	43,463
Houston, TX	780	244,772	6	22	0	19	42,481
San Diego, CA	605	314,709	11	55	8	26	41,900
Oakland, CA	489	467,018	20	100	22	26	40,576
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	527	278,906	12	23	6	17	36,231
Stockton-Lodi, CA	121	79,685	14	16	1	16	32,815
San Jose, CA	341	470,622	28	112	43	16	30,525
Jersey City, NJ	158	63,514	10	16	1	13	17,932
Minneapolis-St.Paul, MN-WI	746	141,365	5	15	1	14	17,215
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	1,330	196,124	4	9	3	11	15,119
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	265	140,113	12	27	3	8	14,796
Boston, MA-NH	702	186,912	5	8	2	5	10,206
Lowell, MA-NH	65	24,999	8	6	1	7	9,956
Fresno, CA	177	77,889	8	4	0	4	7,680
Yolo, CA	37	20,466	12	4	0	4	6,655
Ann Arbor, CA	170	24,859	4	4	0	4	4,502

Note: Includes MSAs with over 20,000 APAs and at least 4 Tracts over 24% APA.

From the list in Table 1.1, we automatically chose the six MSAs with the largest populations of APAs, which we designated "large" MSAs. From the remaining sixteen MSAs, we chose an additional five "small and medium" areas to incorporate based on the input of our academic and community advisory committee (see Appendix A). These additional five MSAs were selected to provide geographic and ethnic diversity. The selected MSAs are also regions with a significant number of APA-owned businesses, as seen in Table 1.2. The MSAs included Chicago, Houston, Seattle, Stockton, Minneapolis, and Lowell. Houston was subsequently excluded because it did not contain a neighborhood that met all of our selection criteria. Houston was replaced by New Orleans. Given the unique position of Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, we chose study areas in Hawaii based on consultation with Hawaiian activists and experts, and with representatives from the Department of Native Hawaiian Homelands. Comments made at the 2002 National CAPACD conference were used to select the Samoan area in San Francisco.

Table 1.2 APA-Owned Businesses (1997)

	Firms Total	Sales ($1000) Total	Jobs Total	Firms per 100 APAs	Sales ($1000) Per 100 APAs	Jobs per 100 APAs
Chicago, IL	32,733	13,244,106	67,868	9.5	38	19.6
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	114,462	55,113,170	309,469	10.4	50	28.1
Lowell, MA-NH	653	195,382	N.A.	3.2	10	N.A.
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	4,661	1,576,802	14,176	4.4	15	13.3
New Orleans, LA	3,210	701,788	5,331	12.0	26	19.9
Orange County, CA	44,840	14,888,741	135,466	12.7	42	38.5
Sacramento, CA	10,409	1,503,746	9,346	7.5	11	6.8
San Francisco, CA	35,427	12,456,194	123,354	9.2	33	32.2
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	16,625	5,945,585	31,759	8.0	29	15.3
Stockton-Lodi, CA	2,577	664,499	15,410	4.0	10	24.0

Within MSAs, we narrowed our selection down to a few neighborhoods. Some of these areas were obvious, such as the Chinatowns in New York and San Francisco. Others were more subjective and were selected in an attempt to represent a diversity of ethnic groups. The selection process was iterative, with refinements being made as we obtained successive information from census and other data sets. Throughout the selection process, we consulted with the academic and community advisory committee to refine the selection of neighborhood boundaries. This selection of illustrative neighborhoods is in no way an exhaustive study of all poor APA neighborhoods in the United States.

One problem in defining neighborhoods relates to reliance upon census boundaries. Frequently, the neighborhood boundaries used by community residents and community-based organizations do not match census-defined boundaries. In addition, neighborhoods are subject to constant change and redefinition as their compositions change, and as they are subject to external pressures. In many cases, it is impossible to even reach a community consensus on boundaries. Sometimes, the boundaries are predetermined by non-APA ethnic groups that were the previous residents, or by the designations imposed by local government agencies. For all of these reasons, the territory of the neighborhoods presented in this report should be considered approximate.

One final issue associated with neighborhood boundaries stems from changes in census boundaries between 1990 and 2000. This problem tends to affect established central city areas less than other areas, and generally results in only minor differences. However, in two cases (Stockton, Filipino area and San Francisco, Samoan area) the differences were considerable and preclude comparison between the two years.

For each identified neighborhood, we produced a number of comparison statistics including total population, major racial breakdowns, population density, employment density, housing ownership, poverty rates, commuting patterns, nativity, educational attainment, average hourly wages, and linguistic isolation. Wherever possible, these statistics were produced for both 1990 and 2000. Unfortunately, production of these statistics was complicated by the release schedule of 2000 census data. Many variables (e.g., earnings, linguistic isolation) are not available on the census releases to date; in such cases we rely on 1990 data. A technical supplement has also been prepared that contains maps and basic statistics for each of the neighborhoods. The following sections present a comparison of the neighborhoods. Asian enclaves are first presented, followed by a section on the two Hawaiian areas and the Samoan neighborhood.

PART II: ASIAN NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES

Demographic Composition: The study neighborhoods vary considerably in both overall population, as well as APA population. The largest overall neighborhoods are Los Angeles' Koreatown (108,240 – total, all races) and the Jackson Heights area of Queens in New York (76,825 – total, all races). The smallest neighborhood in the study was the Seattle study area (6,260 – total, all races). In terms of APA population, New York's Chinatown is clearly the largest with almost 50,000 documented APAs, compared with only about 3,000 APAs in the Cambodian study area in Stockton. In some cases APA residents constitute the majority of the population (in New York's Chinatown 74% of residents were APAs). However, in most of the neighborhoods, APAs constituted less than half of the population. Often, APAs lived with other minorities, but in many cases, APAs were also living with a substantial white population (See Table 2.3).

Figure 2.1 Neighborhood Size, All Races

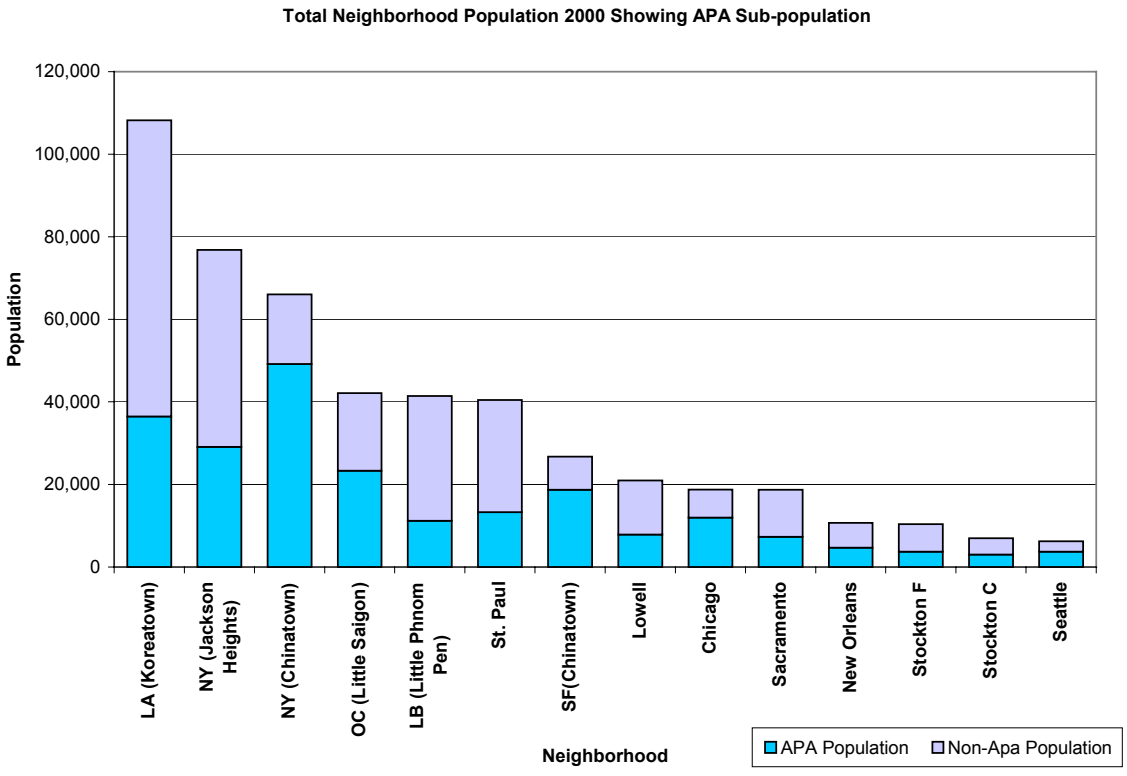


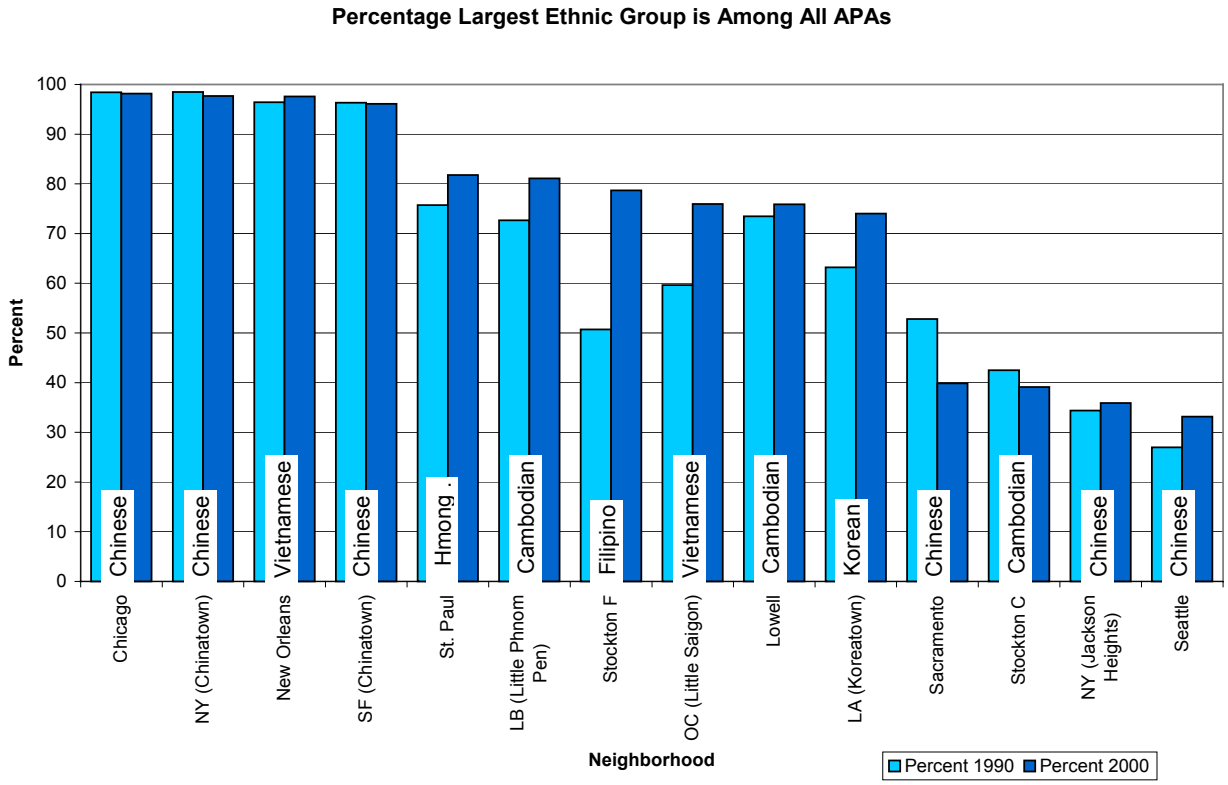
Table 2.1 Major Racial Breakdowns

		Population	APA%	Black%	Latino%	N.H. White%	Other%
Chicago	1990	16,041	52	3	11	33	<1
	2000	18,751	64	2	10	23	1
Long Beach	1990	43,513	30	18	37	14	1
(Little Phnom Pen)	2000	41,416	27	14	51	5	3
Los Angeles	1990	97,905	32	9	44	14	1
(Koreatown)	2000	108,240	34	6	50	9	2
Lowell	1990	20,196	21	3	10	65	<1
	2000	20,961	37	4	12	43	3
New Orleans	1990	10,607	44	45	1	9	<1
	2000	10,699	44	51	1	3	1
New York City	1990	62,895	70	6	12	11	<1
(Chinatown)	2000	66,053	74	5	11	9	1
New York City	1990	62,470	40	4	39	17	1
(Jackson Heights)	2000	76,825	38	2	48	8	4
Orange County	1990	35,914	35	1	18	45	1
(Little Saigon)	2000	42,092	55	1	21	21	2
Sacramento	1990	16,566	33	18	16	32	2
	2000	18,739	39	14	22	20	5
Saint Paul	1990	35,064	22	12	4	59	3
	2000	40,470	33	20	10	34	4
San Francisco	1990	27,517	75	1	1	22	<1
(Chinatown)	2000	26,710	70	1	2	26	1
Seattle	1990	6,251	46	33	3	15	3
	2000	6,260	59	23	5	8	4
Stockton	1990	7,046	52	9	11	28	<1
(Cambodian)	2000	7,001	43	15	19	20	2
Stockton	1990	4,348	50	17	27	4	1
(Filipino)*	2000	10,386	36	18	32	11	4

*Boundaries for the Stockton Filipino area changed dramatically between 1990 and 2000 – statistics are not comparable across years.

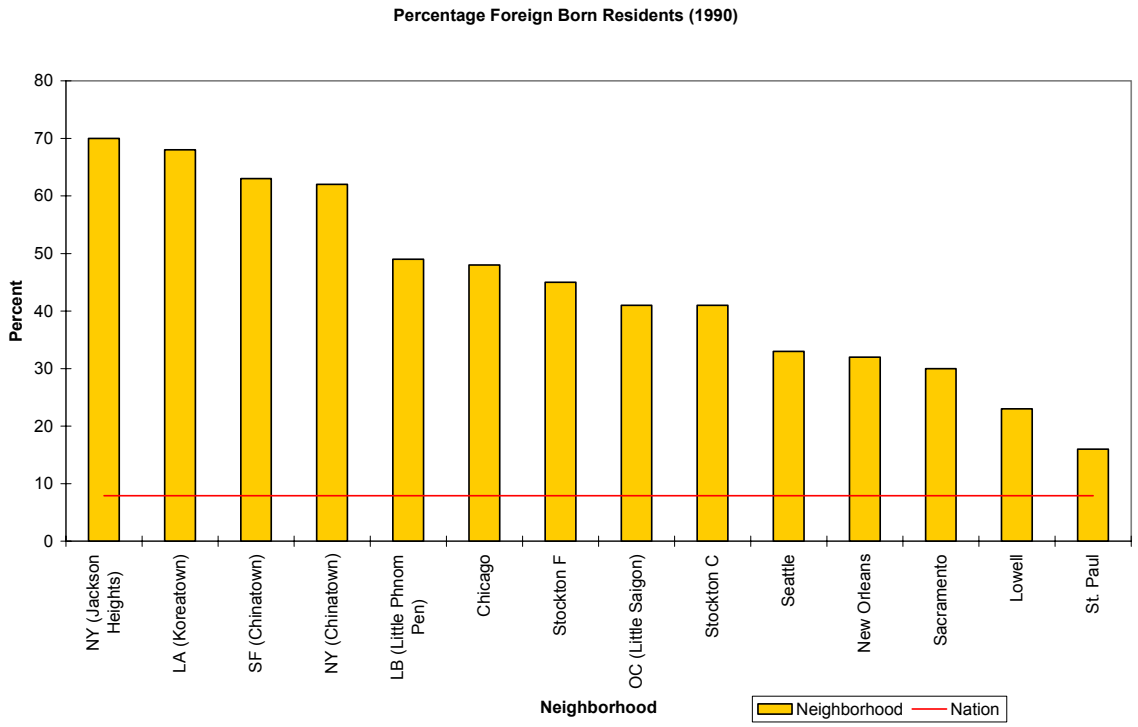
Within most neighborhoods, a single APA ethnic group constituted over half of all APAs living there. In four neighborhoods, a single ethnic group was responsible for almost 100% of all the APAs. In the ten years between 1990 and 2000, most of the neighborhoods saw an increase in the proportion of the most common ethnic group (Figure 2.2). Although, this seems to simply imply that most ethnic neighborhoods are becoming mono-ethnic, the situation is probably more complex. For example, in the Seattle neighborhood, the second most common ethnic group switched from Filipinos to Vietnamese, with the increase in Vietnamese population happening at a rate much higher than the increase in Chinese population. Even in cases like New York's Chinatown, where Chinese are almost 100% of all APAs, the apparent stability between censuses might mask a change in the regional origins of recent immigrants.

Figure 2.2 Ethnic Diversity



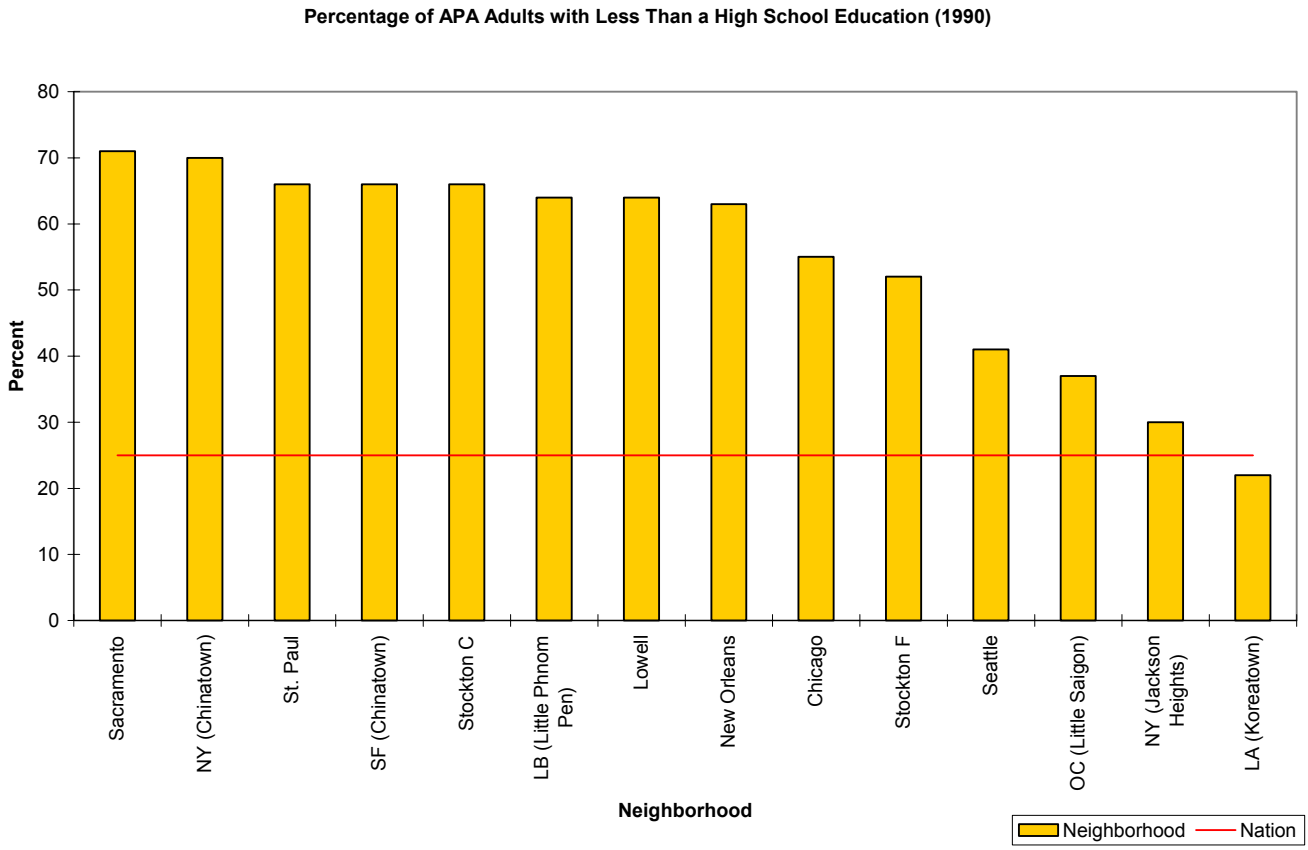
Salient Characteristics: All of the study areas have rates of foreign birth considerably higher than the national average. It is important to stress that these low-income APA communities are made up of substantial numbers of recent immigrants. Figure 2.3 compares the neighborhood rates of foreign birth against the national average. In many of these neighborhoods, the rate of foreign birth among only APAs is probably much higher than the figure shown, since these statistics represent all neighborhood residents.

Figure 2.3 Foreign Birth, All Races



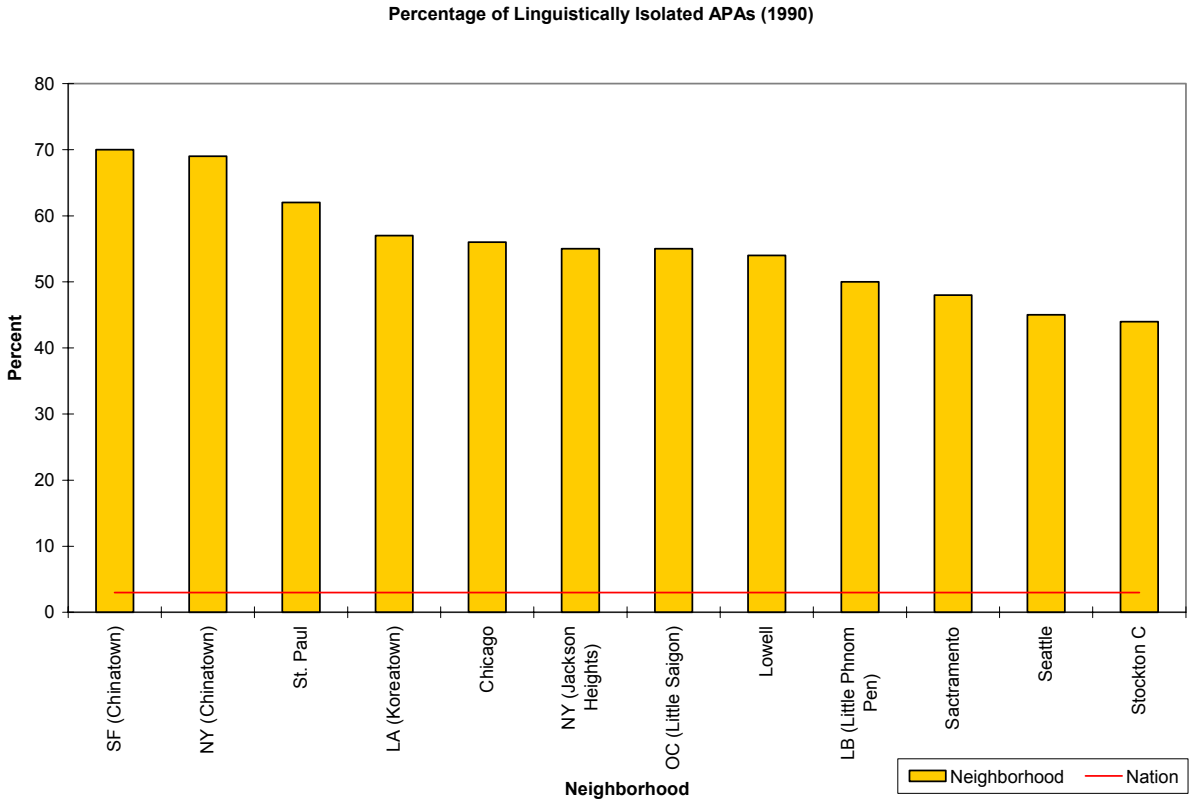
The largely immigrant populations have barriers to economic advancement due to deficiencies in marketable job skills and poor language skills. Using high school education as a proxy for job skills, Figure 2.4 shows that, out of our study areas, only Los Angeles' Koreatown has an APA high school completion rate matching the national average. For an overwhelming majority of the neighborhoods, the percent without a high school education is two to threee times higher than the national average.

Figure 2.4 APAs with less than High School Education.



Along with an educational deficit, many have an English language deficiency, not uncommon in immigrant communities. Linguistic isolation (i.e., the inability to communicate in English) implies a greater reliance on jobs within the ethnic community where language does not represent a barrier to work. The rate of linguistic isolation among APAs is well above the national rate of linguistic isolation for all races in all of our Asian study areas (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5 APA Linguistic Isolation



Economic Status of Residents: Employment rates in some neighborhoods are quite high, though in others the employment rate among APAs is well below the national average among all races. Figure 2.6 shows employment rates for 1990 for all of the Asian study areas. The lowest rates of employment are in neighborhoods with high percentages of Southeast Asians. Unfortunately, even in neighborhoods with high employment rates, the hourly wage earned by workers is often very low, even controlling for regional differences in pay rates. Figure 2.7 shows a comparison of neighborhood average wages as a percentage of regional hourly wages (based on 1990 census data for all races). New York City's Chinatown is by far the worst, with hourly wages only 50% of the regional average. Low employment rates and wages translate into high poverty rates. Figure 2.8 shows the 1989 poverty rates (from the 1990 census) relative to the national rate. Six of the Asian neighborhoods had rates that were at least three times higher. All of the others had rates noticeably higher than the national average.

Figure 2.6 Employment Rate Among APAs (1990)

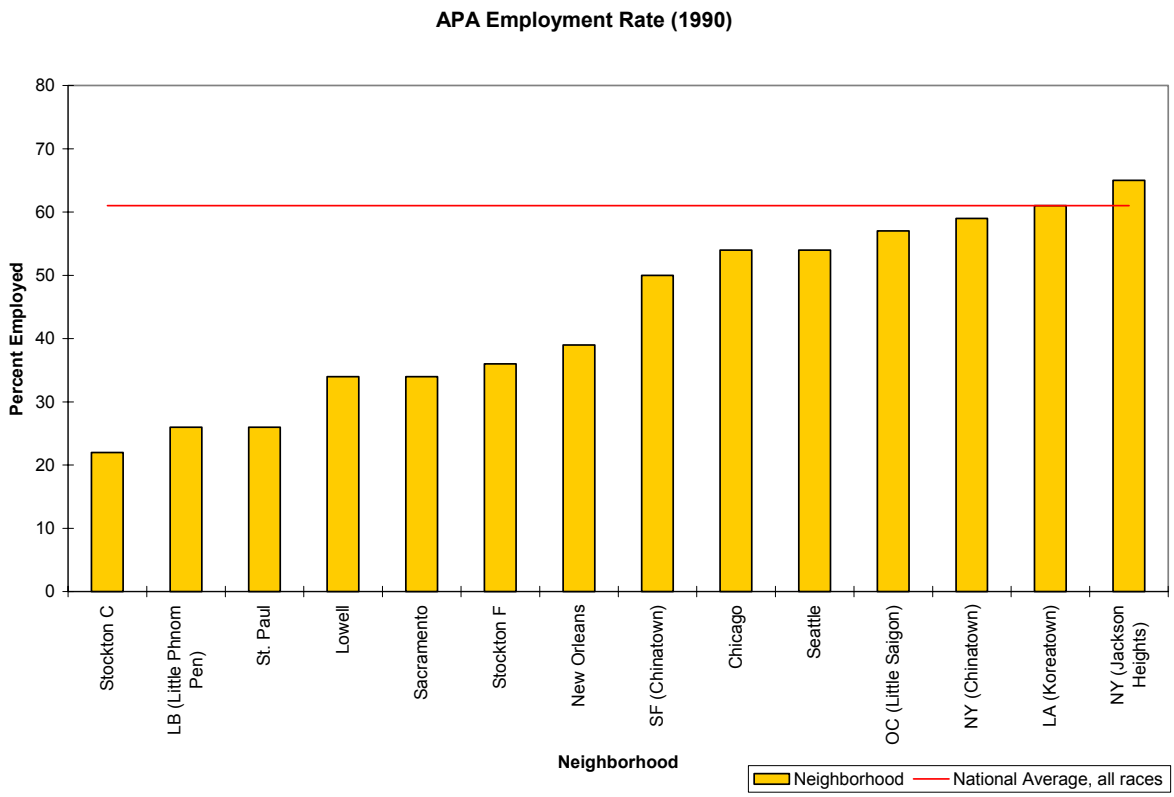


Figure 2.7 Hourly Wages, All Races (1990)

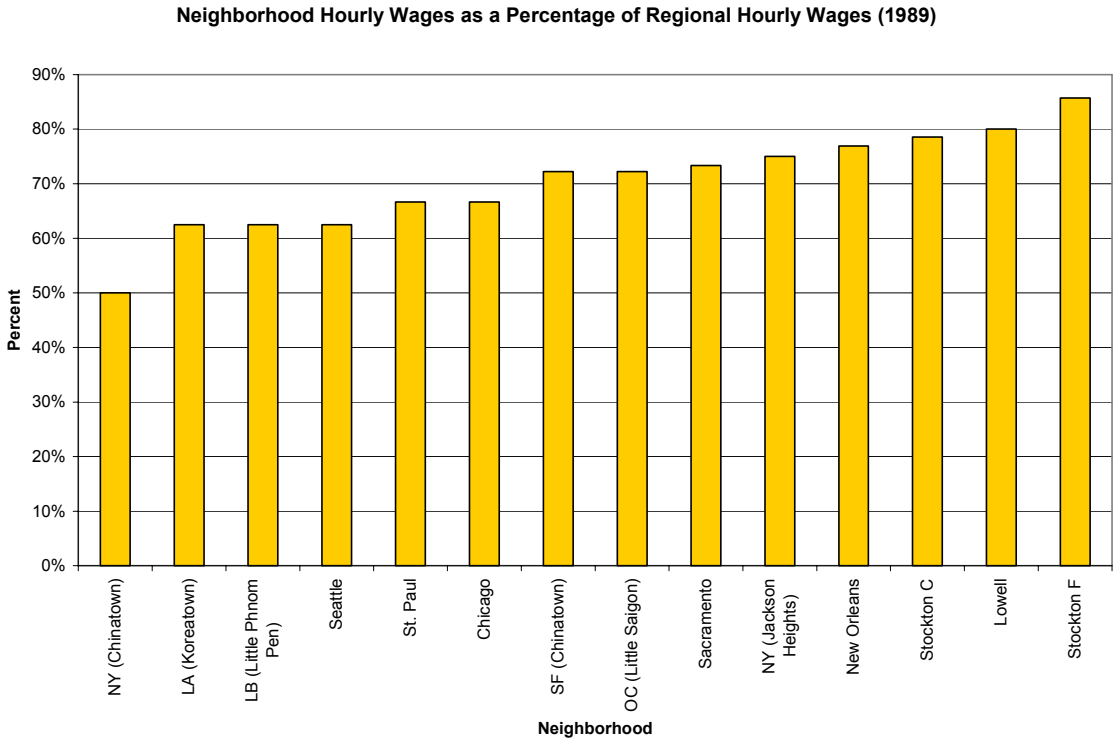
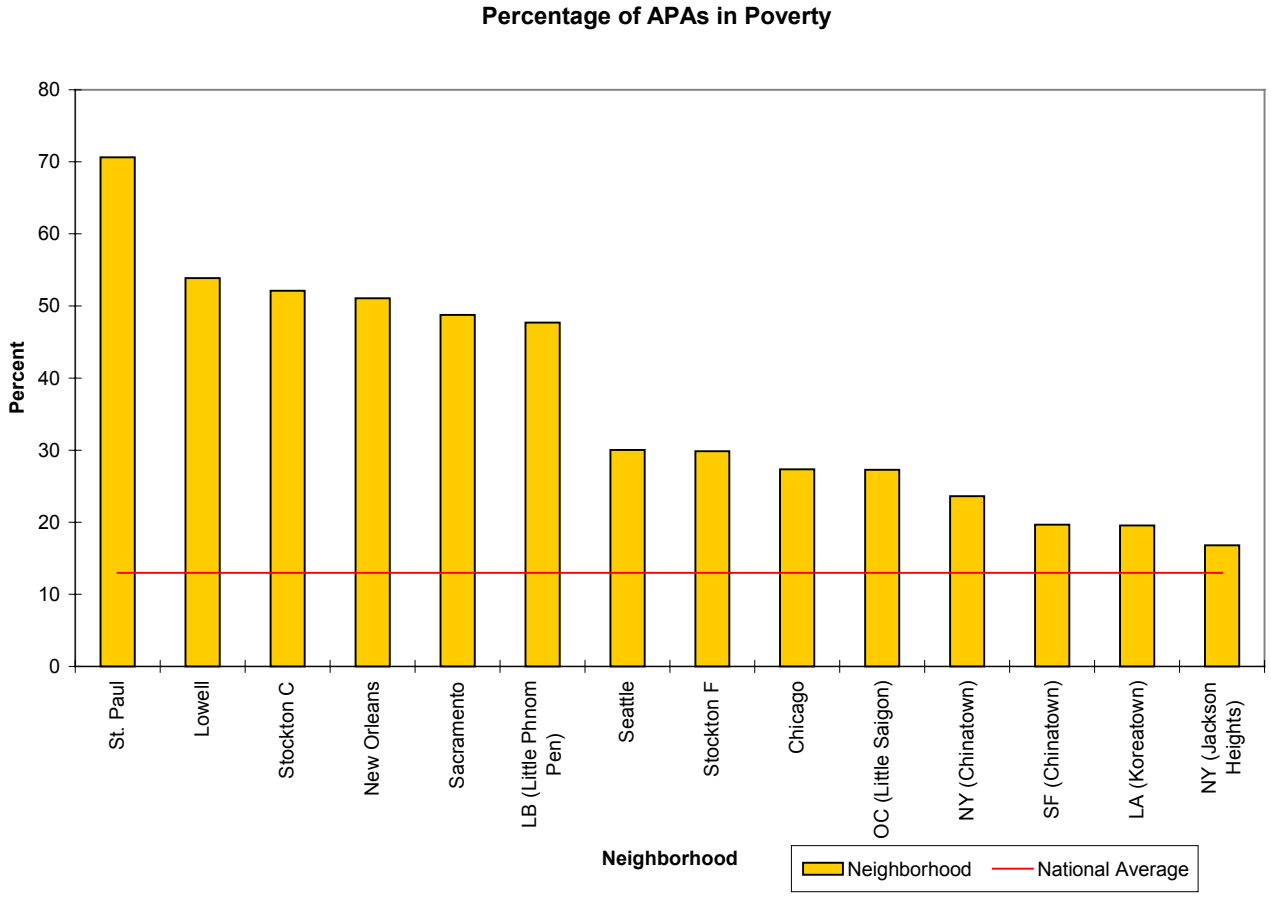


Figure 2.8 APAs in Poverty (1989)



Because of the low economic status of the vast majority of neighborhood residents, most are renters. This means that the residents have few assets in the form of home equity. Despite low incomes, most of the Asian neighborhoods have few subsidized housing units as shown in Figure 2.10.

Figure 2.9 APAs in Rental Housing

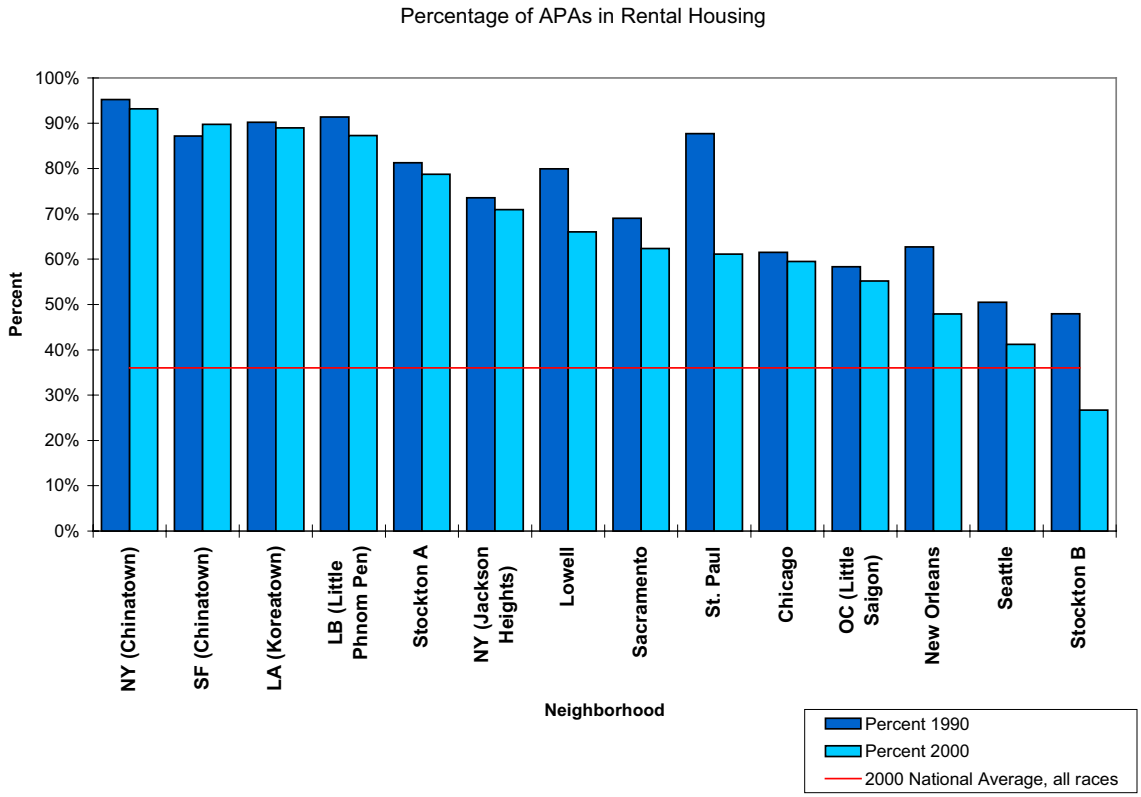
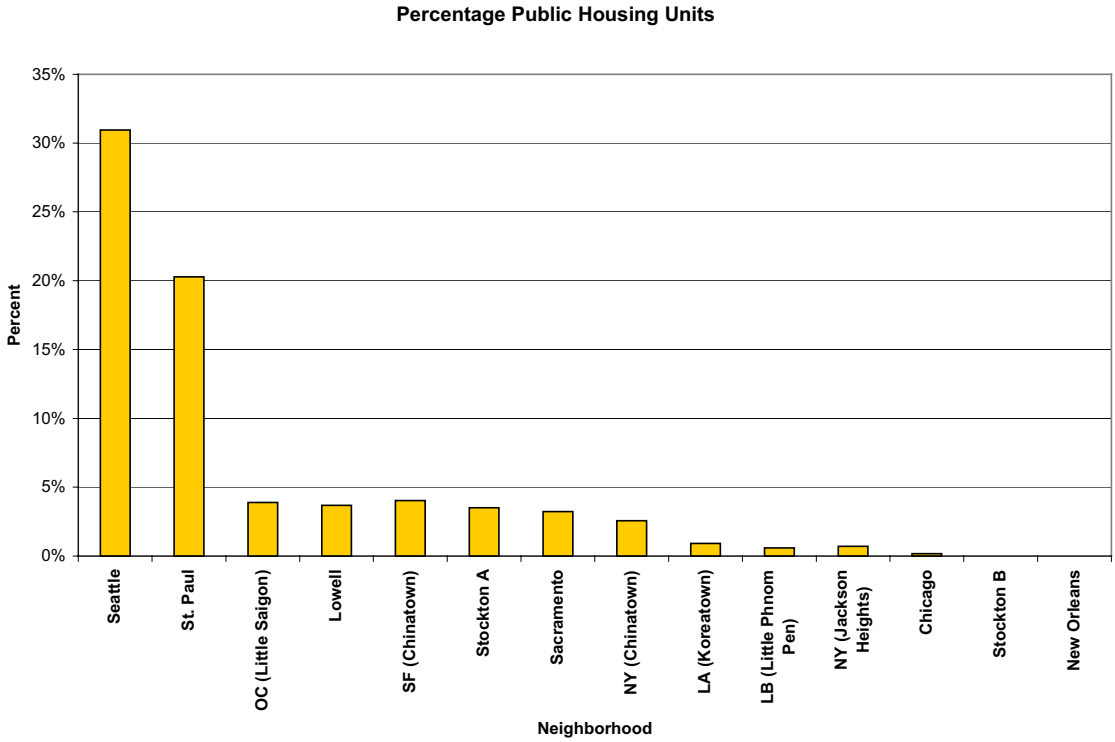
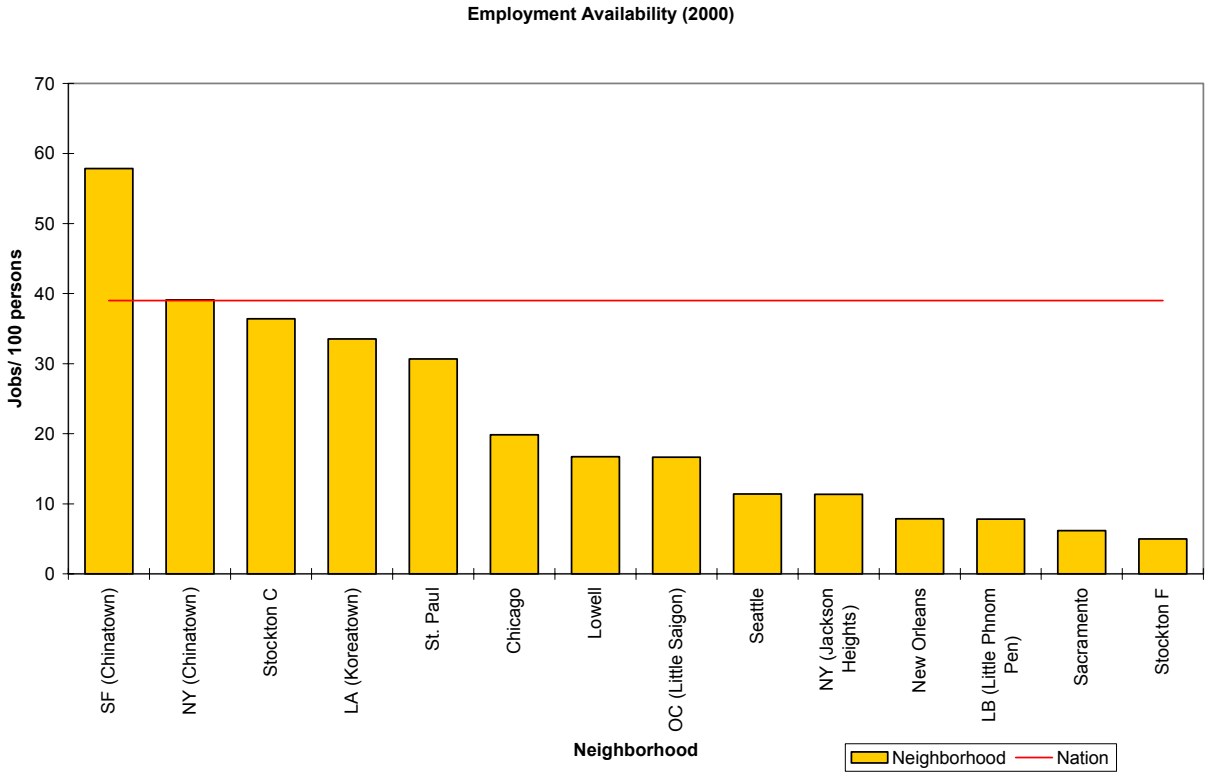


Figure 2.10 Percentage of All Housing Units Either Public Housing or Receiving Section 8 Support



Economic Base: Asian enclaves are often depicted as having a vibrant ethnic economy, and while that is true for some, it is not an accurate depiction for most. Figure 2.11 displays the number of private sector jobs per 100 residents in the neighborhoods. Relative to the national average (jobs/100 persons), only San Francisco's Chinatown has a higher ratio, indicating that it is a relatively job rich area. New York's Chinatown has a job ratio equal to the national average, and the enclave's ratio is probably higher after adjusting for the number of unreported jobs in the informal sector. While jobs are available in these two neighborhoods, many of the jobs, particularly in Asian-owned businesses, are concentrated in the low-wage sector (restaurants, small retailing, garment assembly). The next three neighborhoods (Stockton Cambodian study area, Los Angeles Koreatown, and St. Paul) have a ratio close to the national average. If one factors in possible informal jobs in the Asian neighborhoods, these neighborhoods exhibit what some call a jobs-housing balance — that is the relative number of jobs is roughly proportional to the number of workers. However, as we will see later, the picture is far more complex. The remaining nine neighborhoods are distinctly job poor, with ratios considerably lower than the national average.

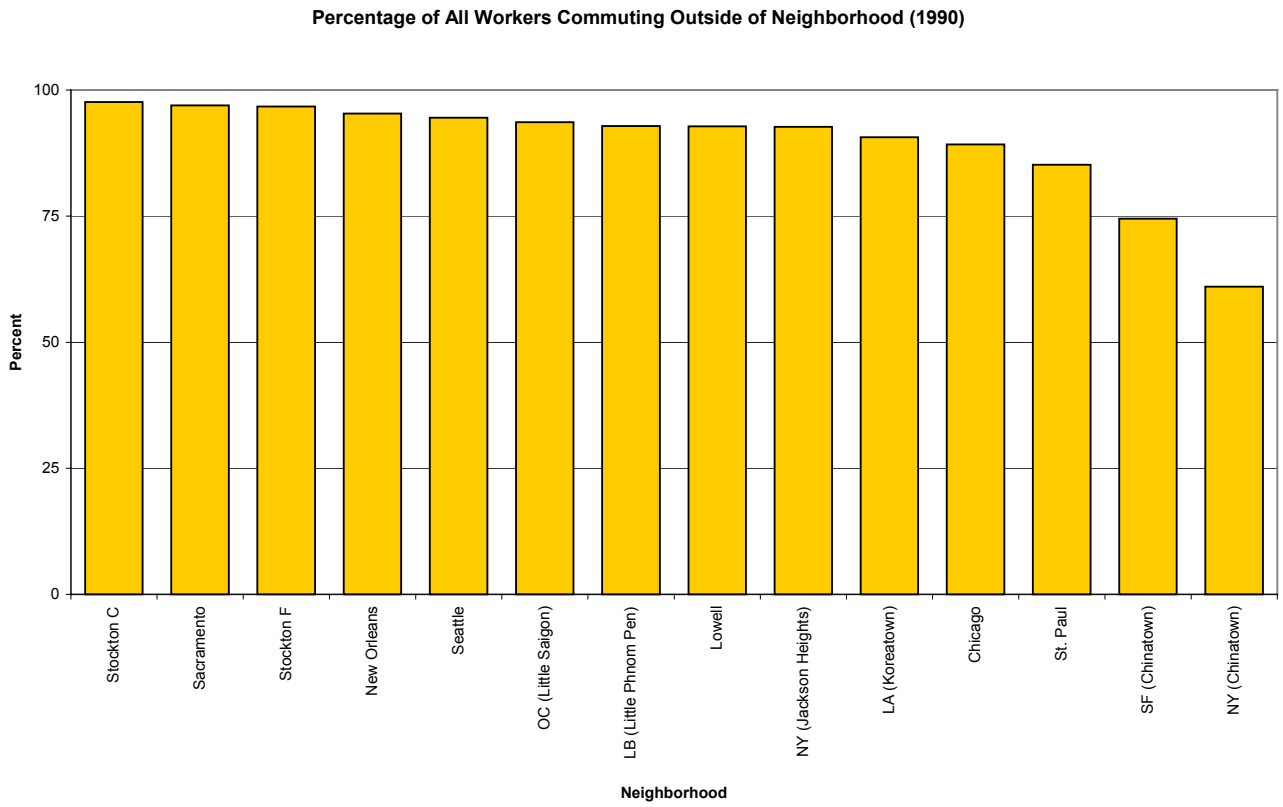
Figure 2.11 Neighborhood Job Density



Although some neighborhoods support employment within the ethnic community and within the neighborhood, census commuting data indicate that most study-area residents commute out of their immediate neighborhoods in order to find work. In dense

urban areas this is less likely to be the case (e.g., New York), but even in these cases, the majority work outside their neighborhood. Jobs strictly within the enclaves are more likely to represent a higher share of low-wage jobs than in the region as a whole. Finding employment in the larger economy is also a common feature for neighborhoods with a so-called jobs-housing balance. In agricultural areas, almost 100% of neighborhood residents commute out of the immediate area to work (e.g., Stockton). These patterns clearly show that residents are not isolated in the enclave economy. Moreover, the neighborhood economy is not reliant solely on enclave workers. The majority of the jobs in these neighborhoods are held by those living outside of the neighborhood. The bottom line is that Asian neighborhoods are not self-contained, isolated subeconomies. Unfortunately, these enclaves do experience the myriad of economic problems cited earlier.

Figure 2.12 Commute Out of Neighborhood



PART III: NATIVE HAWAIIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER PROFILES

Pacific Islanders represent a special subset of the APAs profiled in this study. On the mainland, there are few communities of Pacific Islanders of sufficient size to be included in our list of study areas. However, major portions of the state of Hawaii are occupied by Native Hawaiians and, to a large extent, other Pacific Islander and Asian groups. To better understand poverty among Pacific Islanders, we selected two study areas in Hawaii and one study area in San Francisco. Large fractions of the Hawaiian study areas are Native Hawaiian Homelands.

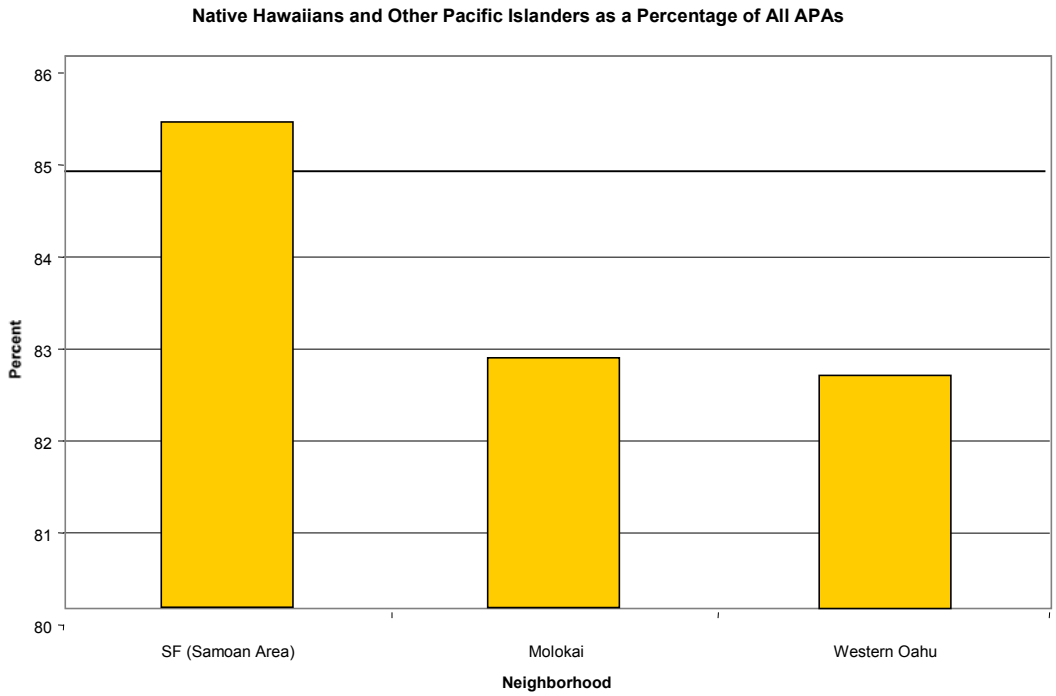
Table 3.1 Major Racial Breakdowns, Hawaii and San Francisco

		Population	APA%	Black%	Latino%	N.H. White%	Other%
Western Oahu	1990	29203	75	2	6	17	1
	2000	34030	70	1	7	8	15
Molokai	1990	6717	81	<1	2	17	1
	2000	7404	74	<1	3	14	10
San Francisco	1990	8383	12	80	4	3	1
(Samoan Area)*	2000	4649	16	74	4	2	3

*Boundaries for the San Francisco Samoan area changed dramatically between 1990 and 2000 – statistics are not comparable across years.

Demographic Composition: Our Hawaiian and Pacific Islander study areas range in size between the Western Oahu study area (34,030 total population, all races) and the San Francisco Samoan area (4,649 total population, all races). Although the geographic area covered by the San Francisco Samoan area is comparable with many of the Asian neighborhoods, both of the Hawaiian study areas are much larger, in the case of Molokai, by two orders of magnitude. The Samoan study area covers only about one square mile, compared with 42 square miles on Oahu, and 280 square miles on Molokai. In both of the Hawaiian study areas, APAs constitute the majority, while in the San Francisco area, APAs are only about 16% of the population. All three areas contain a high proportion of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders when compared with all APAs living within the study area (Figure 3.1). Both Hawaiian sites contain several Native Hawaiian Homelands, areas held in trust by the state of Hawaii. Roughly a third of the Native Hawaiians in the two study areas reside in Native Hawaiian Homelands.

Figure 3.1 APA Ethnic Diversity in Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Study Areas.



Salient Characteristics: The two Hawaiian study areas and the San Francisco Samoan area differ from the Asian neighborhoods that we profiled in several significant ways. Unlike the Asian neighborhoods, the proportion of foreign-born residents is lower than in the region as a whole and is in line with the national average for all races (about 8%). This is not surprising, given that Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders are indigenous populations to the State of Hawaii and the American Samoan territory. In Hawaii, persons of Asian descent are more likely to have been in the United States for several generations due to historical migration of Asian agricultural workers (chiefly Filipino) in the early 20th century.

Figure 3.2 APAs with less than a High School Education, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Study Areas

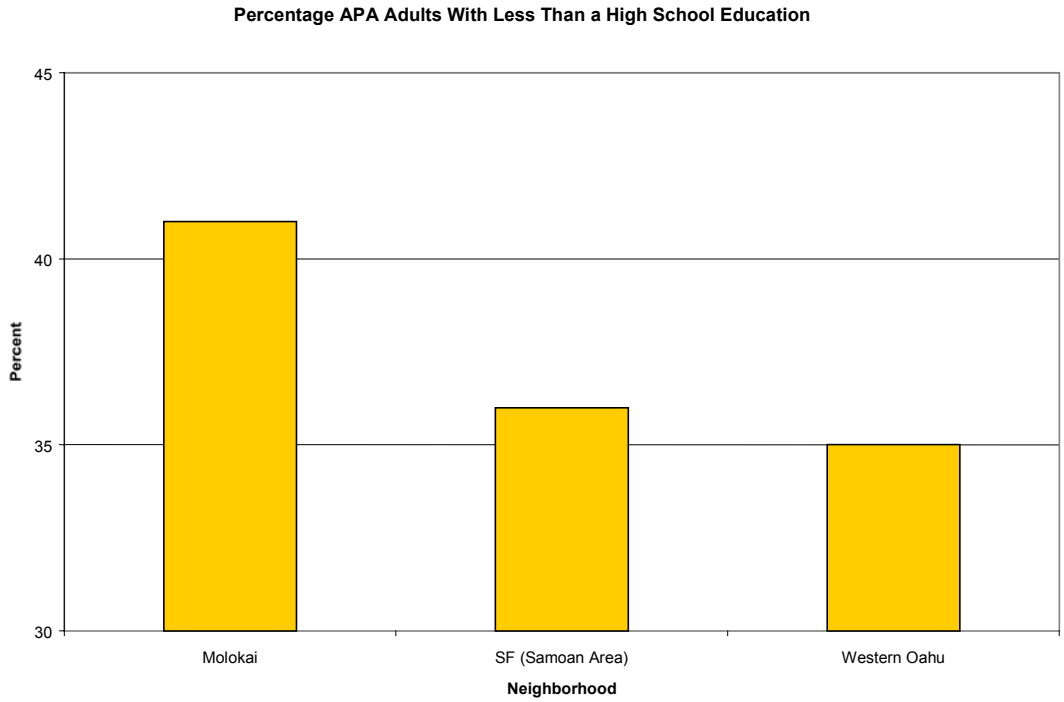
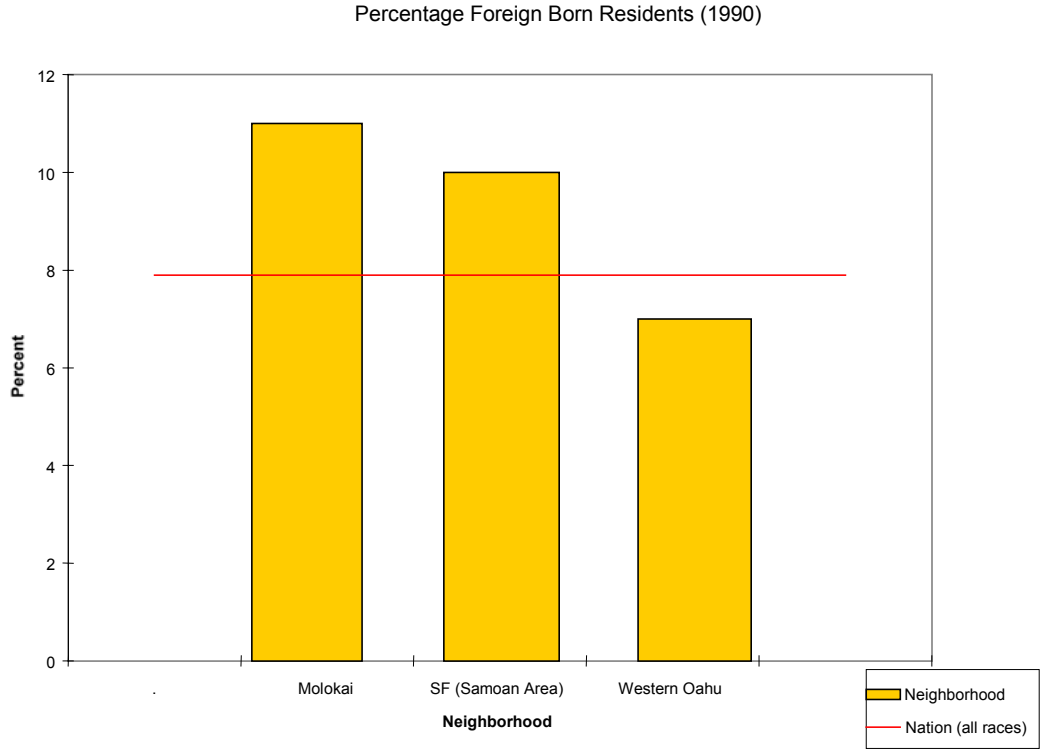


Figure 3.3 Foreign Birth, All Races, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Study Areas



Educational attainment is, as in the Asian study areas, lower than for the general population. Linguistic isolation rates are lower for the core study areas than for the surrounding regions, and only slightly higher than the national average. Housing among APAs is relatively more likely to be owned by residents than by the population as a whole.

Economic Status of Residents: The employment rates in the two Hawaiian study areas are close to the national average for all races, with the rate on Molokai matching the average, and the rate in the Oahu study area falling slightly below the national average. However, in the San Francisco study area, the employment rate is almost 20% below the national rate. Hourly wages in the two Hawaiian study areas are both about 79% of the regional average, while the wages in the San Francisco Samoan area are only about 67% of the regional average.

Figure 3.4 Employment Rates, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Study Areas

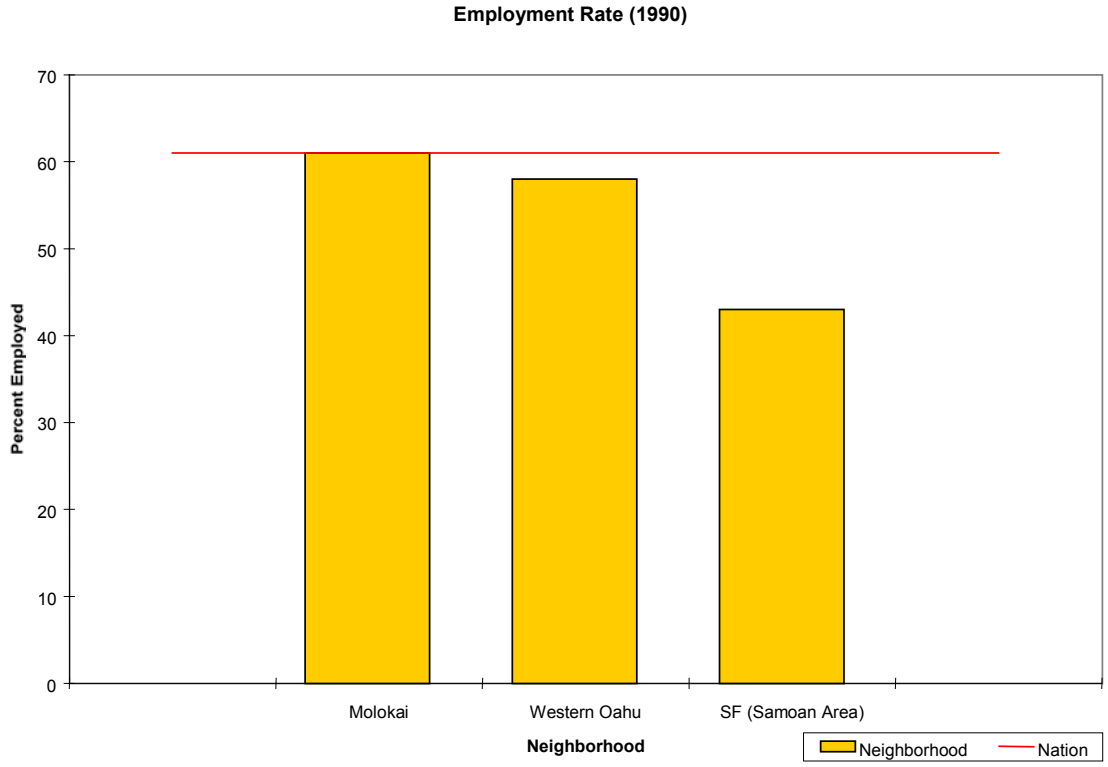


Figure 3.5 Hourly Wages, All Races (1989)

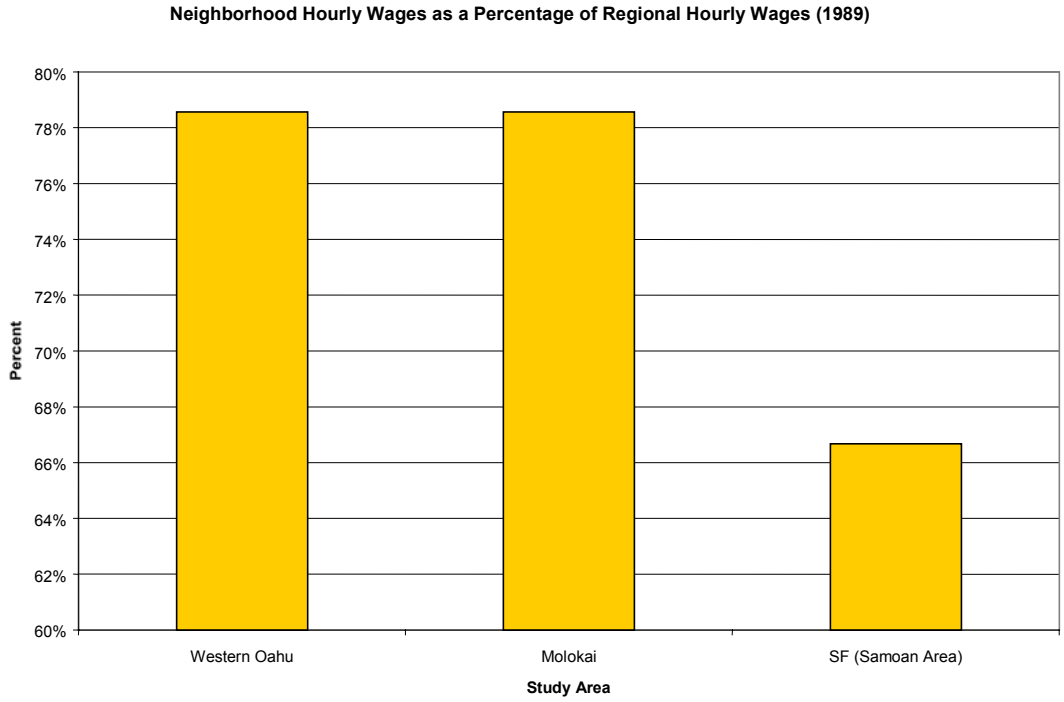
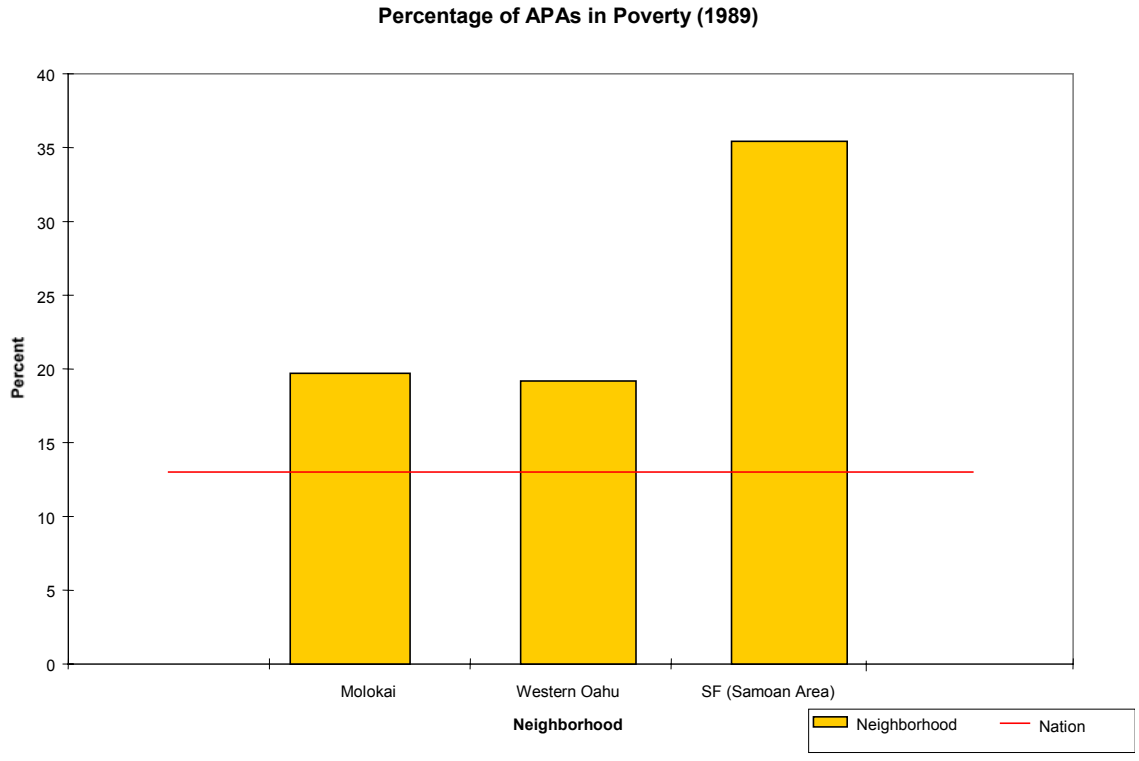


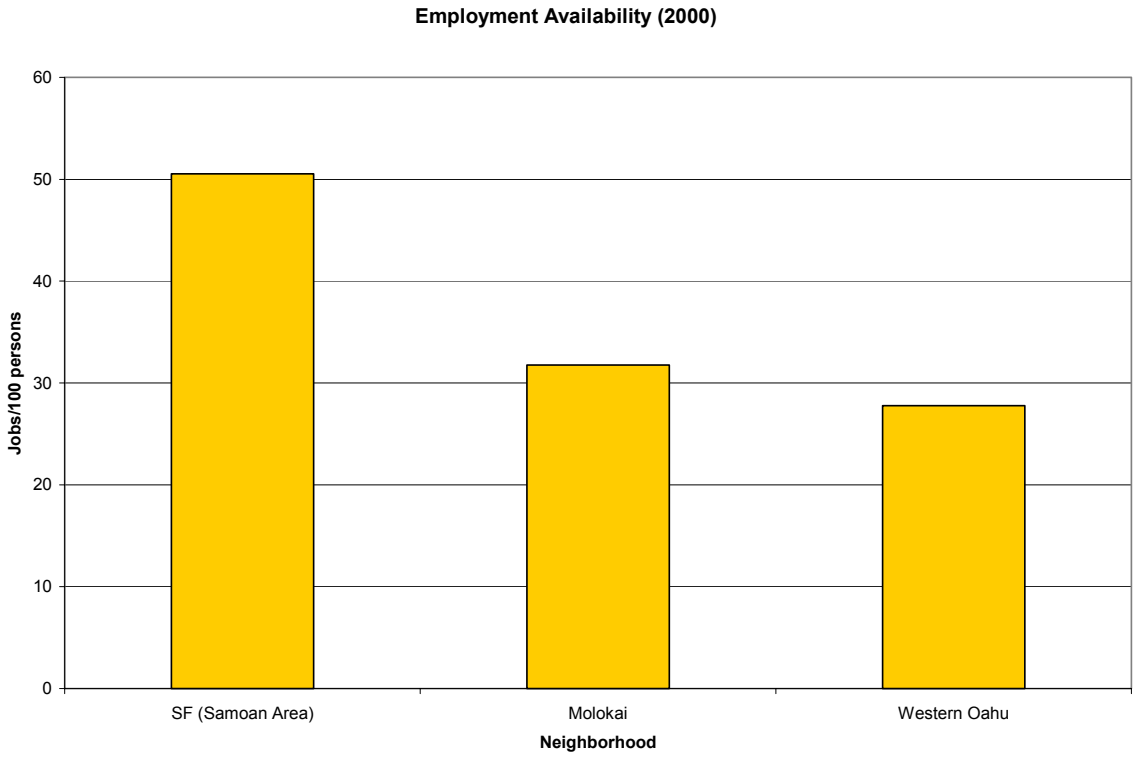
Figure 3.6 APAs in Poverty, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Study Areas (1989)



Housing in the Hawaiian study areas is much more likely to be owned than rented, which sets these areas apart from most of the other neighborhoods included in this study (Molokai only 34% rent, Oahu 33% rent). In part, this can be traced to the large areas designated as Hawaiian Homelands, which is in effect a program to encourage housing ownership among Native Hawaiians. Nevertheless, 1% of the housing units on Molokai and 9% of housing units in the Oahu study area either received Section 8 funds or were public housing units. On the other hand, the rate of rental housing in the Samoan neighborhood in San Francisco is among the highest of all of our study areas at 89%.

Economic Base: The lowest job density of any area in our study was found on Molokai, which averages less than 4 jobs per square mile. However, because residential density is also low, the ratio of jobs to people is comparable to the national average for this area, with the Oahu study area slightly lower. The opportunities for employment within these study areas compares with the high group of Asian neighborhoods. In these two Hawaiian areas, many of the jobs are likely to be agricultural. The San Francisco Samoan study area is second only to the San Francisco Chinatown neighborhood. In spite of this seemingly high job availability, the low employment rate in this area suggests a disconnect between residents of this area and the ready jobs.

Figure 3.7 Study Area Job Density, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Study Areas



PART IV: CBO PERCEPTIONS OF PROBLEMS AND PRIORITIES

Introduction: Because the statistical neighborhood profiles presented in the previous sections rely on the limited available data collected by the census, we supplement the analysis with an organizational survey of Community Based Organizations (CBOs). The intent of the survey is to tap grassroots knowledge of the nature of economic problems, community priorities and economic development challenges and strategies in various neighborhoods throughout the nation. The survey targets the directors and practitioners of APA CBOs engaged in economic development activities in distressed APA neighborhoods. The survey instrument was developed by staff at UCLA's Ralph and Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies in collaboration with the National CAPACD, and reviewed and approved by UCLA's Institutional Review Board (IRB) for compliance with human-subject protections.

The survey analysis is based on a series of closed-ended questions focused on three general areas: the severity of problems in APA neighborhoods, the programmatic and strategic priorities of the CBO, and the primary barriers and challenges to community economic development. Appendix B includes the questions analyzed for this report.

The first group of questions gathers information on the CBOs' perceptions of the severity of neighborhood problems, with a particular focus on employment and housing. Each question in this section included eight to fourteen problems or barriers and respondents were asked to rank the relative severity of each (Very Severe, Moderately Severe, Not Severe, and Don't know). The three questions in this section include:

1. Please rate the severity of the following problems in the neighborhoods your organization serves (e.g., joblessness, under-employment, lack of childcare).
2. Please rate the severity of the following barriers to employment in the neighborhood served by your organization (e.g., low education, lack of English proficiency, lack of experience).
3. Please rate the severity of the following housing problems in the neighborhoods your organization serves (e.g., housing discrimination, lack of affordable housing).

The second group of questions is used to determine the CBOs' economic and community development priorities. Rather than asking respondents for their subjective judgment about the level of priority or for an ordinal ranking, we designed a unique method to quantify priorities. We placed a dollar value on the responses by asking the respondents to allocate funds by programmatic areas and strategic approaches. Moreover, we asked respondents to make the allocations relative to community needs rather than the needs of their organization, an approach we believe will minimizes biases due to self interest. The two questions are:

1. If you were awarded a $5 million grant to improve the quality of life for your entire neighborhood, how would you allocate the dollars by program area?
2. If you were awarded a $5 million grant, how would you allocate the dollars by community development strategy?

The first question includes fifteen items (e.g., provide job training, provide affordable childcare) and an "other" category. Respondents were asked what percent of the $5 million they would allocate to each programmatic area. The second question includes five strategic approaches (direct services, advocacy/planning, grassroots organizing, organizational capacity building, and other), and the respondents were asked what percent of the $5 million they would allocate to each strategic approach area.

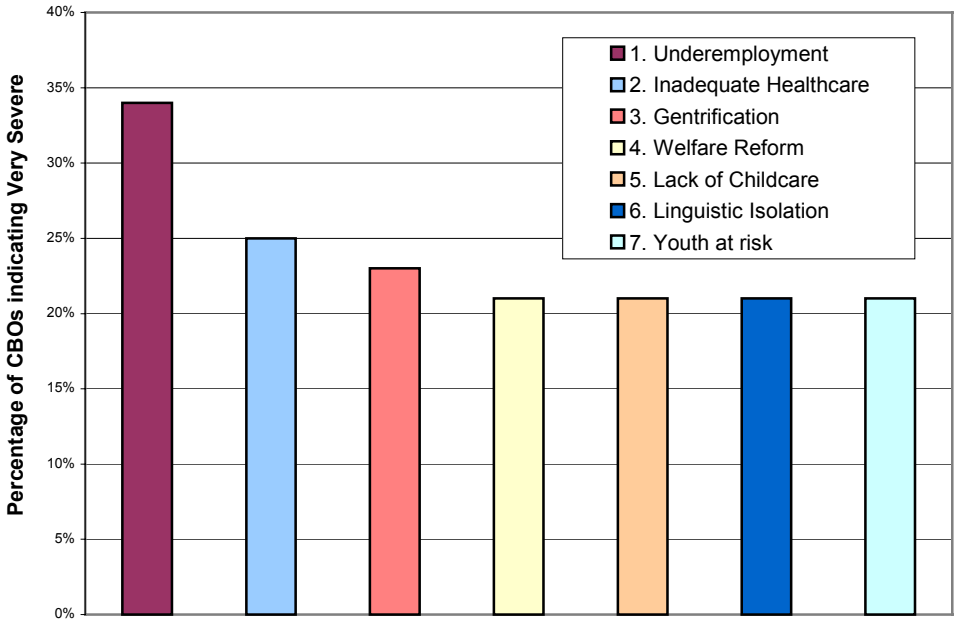
The final group of questions is used to examine the challenges facing CBOs pursuing economic and community development priorities. The first question focuses on factors external to the organization and includes twelve items (e.g., inadequate funding/resources). The second question focuses on factors internal to the organization and includes nine items (e.g., staff training needs). The respondents were asked to check all that apply.

1. What are your greatest external barriers/challenges to the provision of economic development activities?
2. What are your greatest internal barriers/challenges to the provision of community economic development activities?

The survey was sent by mail. The sample frame was drawn from membership lists maintained by National CAPACD and directors from other national APA organizations. The sample included organizations engaged in community development, economic development, work force development, and business development. A total of 312 surveys were sent; three were returned because the organizations no longer exist or moved without forwarding addresses. As of June 19, 2002, 60 completed surveys were returned.

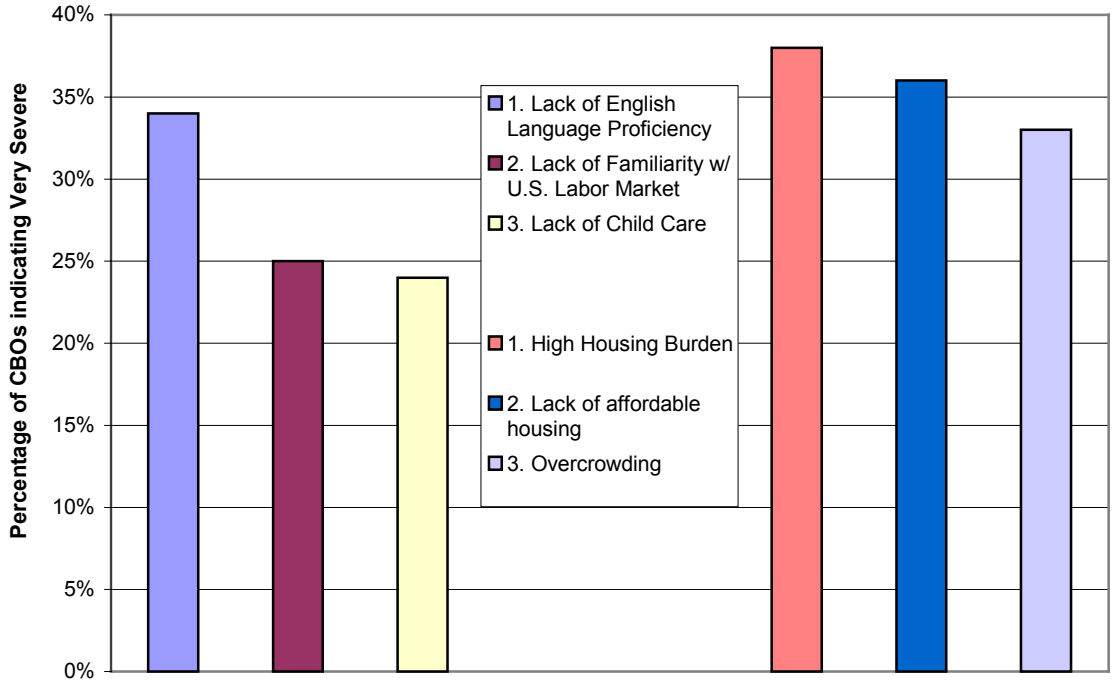
Severity of Problems: Figure 4.1 lists the seven neighborhood problems most frequently cited as being "very severe." The figure presents the percentage of CBOs indicating that the problems are "very severe." The top problem is "underemployment," which includes low wages, part-time and contingent employment, and limited benefits. Interestingly, relatively few respondents indicated that "joblessness" or a "lack of nearby jobs" is a severe problem**.** These responses are consistent with the results of the neighborhood profiles, which indicated that jobs are available within or nearby many APA neighborhoods. The responses from the CBOs indicate that the jobs held by residents are less than desirable. The second ranked neighborhood problem is a "lack of access to quality health care." This is likely related to a lack of employer-provided health insurance, but is probably also due to a paucity of linguistically and culturally competent health care.

Figure 4.1 Top Seven Neighborhood Problems



The third most cited problem is "Threats from gentrification pressures or major development projects." Many APA neighborhoods are located near central business districts and are not perceived as areas to be avoided. Their locations offer access to job centers, tourism, and other nearby facilities and services. Unfortunately, these same factors make these neighborhoods potentially attractive for outside investments. The fourth through seventh ranked problems received the same number of "very severe" responses: the impacts of welfare reform, linguistic isolation, a lack of childcare, and youth involvement in at-risk activities. Three of these items are related with family-oriented issues, indicating that community development should not only address economic concerns but also broader social concerns.

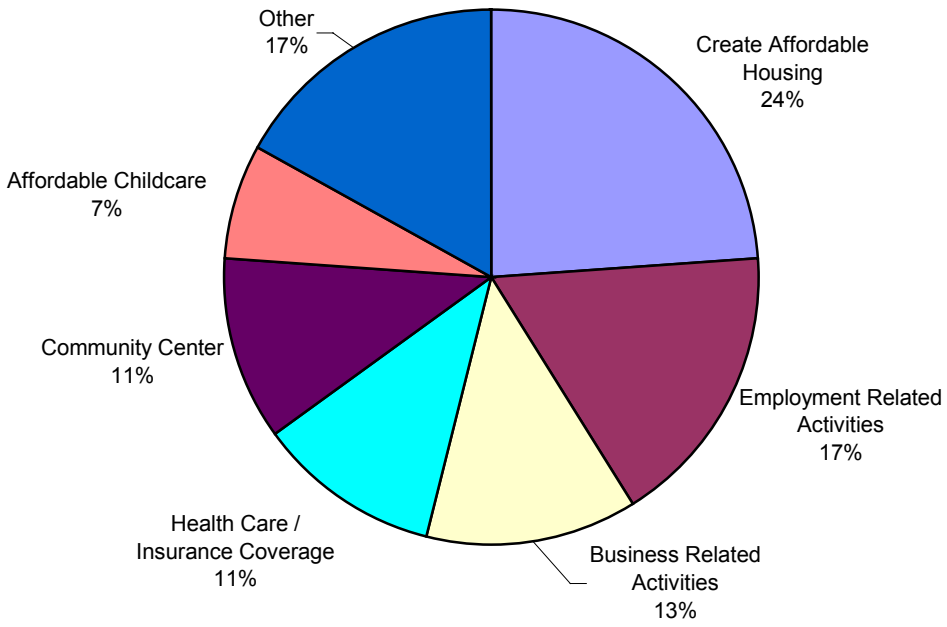
Figure 4.2 Top Employment and Housing Problems



The first set of bars in Figure 4.2 lists the three employment barriers most frequently cited as being "very severe." The top problem is a lack of English-language proficiency. This is consistent with the statistical analysis of census data, which shows that many of these neighborhoods are predominantly immigrant communities characterized by linguistic isolation. According to CBOs, the language barrier is by far the most daunting hurdle to meaningful employment. The second employment problem is a lack of familiarity with the U.S. labor market, and this is also associated with the immigrant characteristic of these communities. The third most cited employment barrier is a lack of child care. While the existence of extended families is often cited as one of the strengths of APA populations, the responses from the CBOs indicate that extended families are not an adequate substitute for formal childcare services.

The second set of bars in Figure 4.2 lists the three housing problems most frequently cited as being "very severe." The top two problems are closely related and rooted in the high cost of housing (relative to the economic means of neighborhood residents). The top problem is a high housing burden, which is defined as paying over a third of income for housing and utilities. This is correlated with a lack of affordable housing, which ranks second among the respondents. Not only is the housing burden high, but according to the CBOs much of the housing is overcrowded, defined as two or more persons per bedroom.

Figure 4.3: Programmatic Priorities



Programmatic and Strategic Priorities: Figure 4.3 depicts how the CBOs would allocate a $5 million grant by programmatic areas. The percentages reported are the mean value for that program area, and some items are collapsed to facilitate reporting. The greatest proportion of funds, nearly one-quarter, would be allocated to creating affordable housing. Only slight variations existed based on the CBOs perceptions of the severity of the housing problem. Those stating that a high housing burden and a lack of affordable housing are severe problems allocated a quarter of the grant, while those stating that neither a high housing burden nor a lack of affordable housing is a severe problem allocated about a fifth of the grant.

The CBOs allocated between a quarter and a third of the funds to two programmatic areas addressing economic conditions. On average, about one sixth of the funds would be allocated to programs designed to help workers increase wages, provide training and worker placement, and assist those required to transition from welfare to work. The CBOs stating that underemployment is a very severe problem in their neighborhood allocated slightly more than the remaining CBOs. But even the latter group allocated nearly an eighth of the grant to employment-related activities. Along with efforts to help workers, CBOs would also support programs to assist businesses in their neighborhoods. Approximately one-eighth of the grant would go to efforts that help businesses acquire capital and training. Slightly more than a tenth of the grant would go to building a community center and an equal amount would go to providing affordable health care and/or affordable health insurance. The balance of the grant (about a quarter of the total) is divided among various social and educational activities.

Figure 4.4 Strategic Priorities

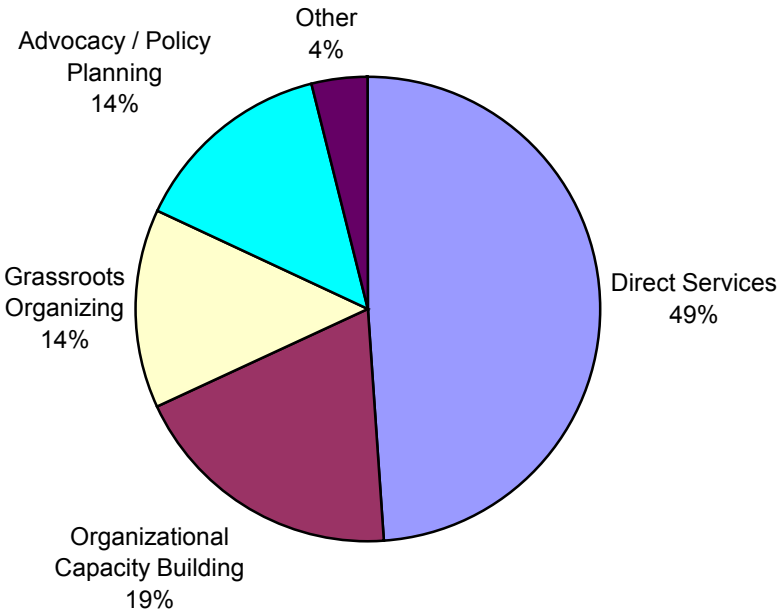
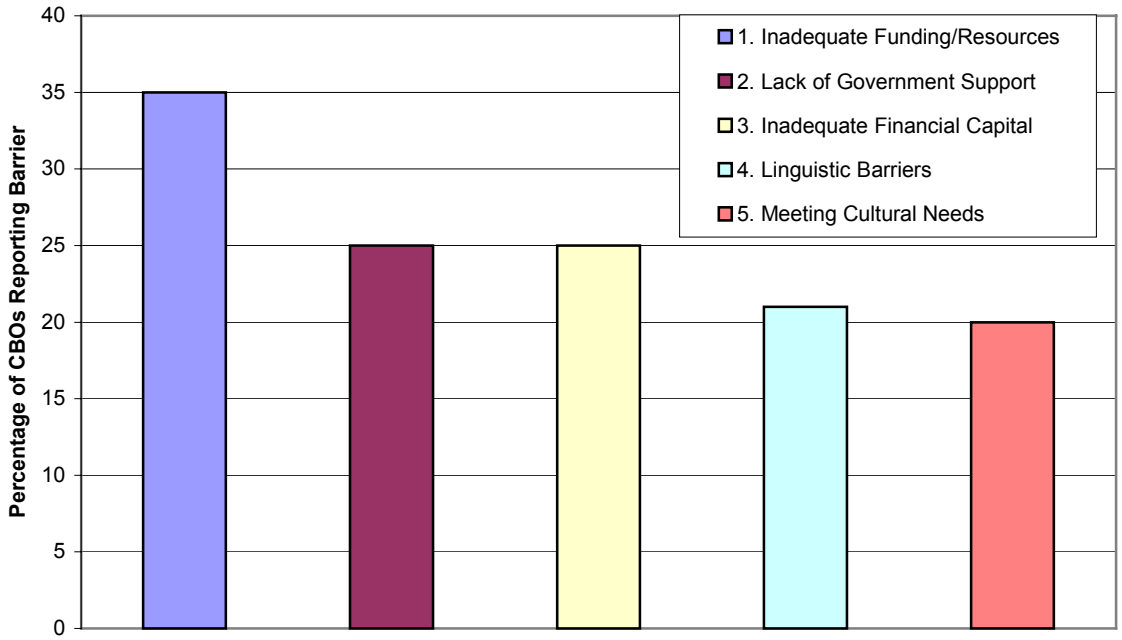


Figure 4.4 depicts how the CBOs would allocate a $5 million grant by strategic approaches. On the average, nearly half would go to funding direct services, such as employment training, housing, and commercial development. What is surprising is the allocation to strategies that would enhance the community capacity. Nearly a fifth of the funds would go to building organizational capacity. This suggests that there is a shortage of social capital that can be utilized to promote community and economic development. A part of this is directed to improving the delivery of direct services; however, the allocation to the other two areas indicates a strong desire to strengthen the community's ability to influence decisions in arenas outside the APA neighborhoods. Over a quarter of the funds would go equally to supporting grassroots organizing and to advocacy and policy planning. One interpretation of the emphasis on capacity building is that many of the CBOs feel that they can strategically serve their neighborhoods by shaping policies and increasing the community's share of external resources. While the survey does not provide any direct data to confirm this hypothesis, the interpretation is consistent with what CBOs perceive as major challenges and barriers to the provision of economic development, which is discussed below.

Figure 4.5 Top External Barriers/Challenges to CED

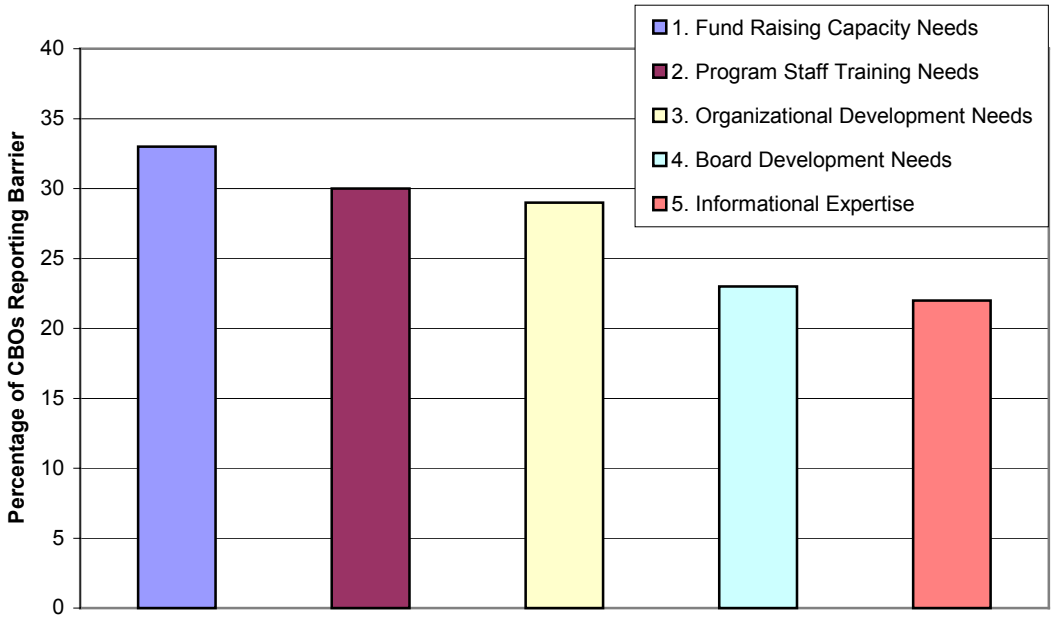


Community-Economic Development Challenges: Figure 4.5 depicts the five greatest external barriers and challenges to the provision of economic development activities. The most frequently cited barrier is inadequate funding and resources. Two-thirds of those with inadequate funding and resources also stated that they had inadequate capital, a problem that tied for second place as the most cited external barrier/challenge. The problem appears to be rooted in inadequate support from the public sector. Two-thirds of those with inadequate funding and resources stated that a lack of government support was a problem, which tied for second place as the most cited barrier/challenge. The fourth and fifth most cited external problems are closely related: the cultural and linguistic needs of diverse ethnic groups. Many CBOs operate in bilingual/bicultural and multilingual/multicultural environments. There is a significant but not perfect overlap in the responses to these two items, indicating that when the problems occur, they appear simultaneously in most but not all communities. Both problems are rooted in the large immigrant population in these neighborhoods; however, even Pacific Islanders who are indigenous populations face cultural and linguistic issues.

Figure 4.6 depicts the five greatest internal barriers and challenges to the provision of economic development activities. (Internal refers to factors within the organization.) The most frequently cited problem is inadequate fund-raising capacity. Not surprisingly, this problem is related to being underfunded. Nine out of ten with inadequate funding and resources have a need to improve their fund-raising capacity. The second most cited barrier or challenge is inadequate staff training. Many CBOs are unable to offer competitive wage and benefit packages, so it is difficult to recruit and retain staff with the desired expertise and experience. Moreover, even the highly

educated staff members require training to master the details of their profession and to stay current with ever-changing legislation, regulations, policies, and program requirements. The need for organizational development is a close third in the CBOs' ranking. There is a need to enhance the organizations' abilities to act strategically. This applies to both staff members and board members. A part of that development includes board development, which ranks fourth. The problem that ranked fifth is a need for informational expertise, a problem tied to inadequate technology. Two out of three with a need for informational expertise also have inadequate technology.

Figure 4.6 Top Internal Barriers/Challenges to CED



PART V: CONCLUSION:

The profiles of 17 poor APA neighborhoods reveal diverse neighborhood characteristics, including variations in economic base, size, and ethnic composition. In spite of substantial differences, some common features are seen. Most neighborhoods are linguistically isolated immigrant communities with low educational attainment, and low earnings. The responses from the CBO survey mirror the findings of the neighborhood profiles. Respondents suggested that language and cultural barriers are important barriers to employment. Underemployment is a larger problem than joblessness. Affordable housing is scarce in many areas.

The CBOs identified several programmatic and strategic priorities when asked to allocate funds to improve their neighborhoods. The top programmatic areas are the creation of affordable housing and allocations for employment related services. The CBOs allocate about half of the funds for direct services, and the rest to building community and organizational capacity. The CBOs also identified barriers to community economic development, which included inadequate external funding and governmental support. Internal barriers included inadequate fund-raising capacity and inadequate staff training.

The baseline statistics presented in this report represent a starting point for future policy-oriented research on disadvantaged Asian-Pacific Americans neighborhoods. Given that this report provides only baseline data for a few select neighborhoods, we see a crucial need for further research. In particular, we recommend the following:

1. Additional analysis based on upcoming census releases for 2000, especially the SF-3 and CTPP releases.
2. Requests for data and statistics from APA neighborhoods not in the study need to be accommodated. One option is to train CBO staff members so the organizations can perform their own analyses.
3. Additional data should be collected from CBOs, particularly those that did not participate in the CBO survey for this report.

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APPENDIX A: ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Community Advisory Committee:

- Paige Barber: President/CEO, Nanakuli Neighborhood Housing Services, Kailua, Hawai'i.
- Kerry Doi: President/CEO, Pacific Asian Consortium in Employment, Los Angeles, California.
- Lynette Jung Lee: Executive Director, East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation, Oakland, California.
- Ben Warnake: Acting Managing Director, Renaissance Loan Fund, New York, New York.

Academic Advisory Committee:

- Tarry Hum, Assistant Professor, Urban Studies, Queens College, New York.
- Davianna McGregor, Associate Professor, Ethnic Studies, University of Hawai'i, Manoa.
- Michael Omi, Associate Professor, Asian American & Ethnic Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- Lois Takahashi, Associate Professor, Urban Planning, University of California, Los Angeles.

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONS FROM A/PI CBO SURVEY:

Severity of Problems:

Please rate the severity of the following problems in the neighborhoods your organization serves.

	Very Severe	Moderately Severe	Not Severe	Don't know
Joblessness				
Impacts of Welfare Reform				
Underemployment (low wages, part time/ contingent, limited benefits)				
Lack of access to quality healthcare				
Lack of access to quality K-12 education				
Lack of access to transportation				
Lack of nearby jobs				
Lack of childcare				
Struggling neighborhood business				
Linguistic Isolation				
Lack of community based orgs.				
Lack of culturally or linguistically competent services				
Youth involvement in at risk activities				
Threats from gentrification pressures or major development projects				

Please rate the severity of the following barriers to employment in the neighborhood served by your organization.

	Very Severe	Moderately Severe	Not Severe	Don't know
Lack of Employment experience				
Low Educational Attainment				
Lack of English Language Proficiency				
Lack of familiarity with the U.S. Labor Market				
Lack of access to job training & education for adults				
Lack of access to transportation				
Lack of nearby jobs				
Lack of child care				

Please rate the severity of the following housing problems in the neighborhoods your organization serves.

	Very Severe	Moderately Severe	Not Severe	Don't know
Housing discrimination				
Lack of decent affordable housing				
High housing burden – (over 1/3 of income for housing and utilities)				
Overcrowding (more than 2 people per bedroom)				
Substandard housing conditions				
Lack of elderly nursing homes or assisted living				
Lack of emergency housing or domestic violence shelters				
Lack of homebuyer assistance programs				
Predatory mortgage lending				

Programmatic and Strategic Priorities:

If you were awarded a 5 million-dollar grant to improve the quality of life for your entire neighborhood, how would you allocate the dollars by program area?

Program Area	**Allocation by %**		**Program Area**	**Allocation by %**
Create affordable housing			Increase Political participation	
Increase wages			Affordable Health care/insurance coverage	
Provide Job training			Provide affordable Childcare	
Create a Job Placement center			Improve public Transportation	
Provide Business development capital			Improve schools Education/GED training	
Provide Business training			Food insecurity	
Provide Technical/ Computer training			Improve Welfare to work programs	
Other(s) *Specify:*			Build a community center	

If you were awarded a 5 million-dollar grant, how would you allocate the dollars by community development strategy?

Community Development Strategy	**Allocation by %**
Direct Services (such as employment training, housing and commercial development).	
Advocacy/Policy planning	
Grassroots organizing	
Organizational Capacity Building	
Other(s) *Specify:*	

CED Challenges:

What are your greatest **external** barriers/challenges to the provision of economic development activities?

Barriers/Challenges	**Check all that apply**
Inadequate funding/resources	
Inadequate financial capital	
Lack of affordable professional services, e.g. architects, contractors	
Non-conducive policy environment	
Lack of government support	
Lack of statewide or nationwide information/data	
Meeting cultural needs of diverse ethnic groups	
Meeting Linguistic barriers of diverse ethnic groups	
Non-responsiveness of the media	
Legal restrictions to advocacy	
Access to training	
Others *(Specify)*	

What are your greatest **internal** barriers/challenges to the provision of community economic development activities?

Barriers/Challenges	**Check all that apply**
Program staff training needs	
Organizational development needs (e.g. strategic planning)	
Informational expertise	
Technology needs	
Board development needs	
Staff cultural competency needs	
Fund raising capacity needs	
Lack of community visibility	
Other(s) *Specify*	

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