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Distressed Asian American Neighborhoods

Douglas Miller and Douglas Houston

Introduction

In spite of a history of marginalization of and discrimination against Asian Americans (AAs), little policy-oriented research has focused on the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of AAs living in distressed areas. This article responds to this void in our knowledge by providing community development professionals and academics with current information on the racial/ethnic diversity, educational attainment, poverty, and employment rates of fourteen disadvantaged AA neighborhoods. It also highlights analytical methods that can be used to develop a baseline understanding of the characteristics and needs of distressed neighborhoods using recent census, employment, and commute data.

Findings show that although AAs comprise a majority of the population in many distressed AA neighborhoods, they often reside among other racial/ethnic groups. AAs in low-income areas face a number of barriers to employment including low levels of educational attainment and high rates of linguistic isolation. Contrary to the common perception of immigrant neighborhoods as ethnic enclaves, results suggest that most workers in distressed AA neighborhoods are integrated into the regional economy and commute outside their immediate neighborhood for work.

Analytical Methods for Community Profiles

This section describes the research methods used to develop baseline profiles of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of fourteen distressed AA neighborhoods. In describing our methods, we discuss methodological and data assembly challenges that often prevent widespread integration of available information into community development plans. This section provides

an example of how census, employment, and commute data can be integrated by community development professionals and academics to assess the characteristics and needs of low-income communities.

The goal of our analysis is to use recent data to profile a diverse range of distressed AA communities across the nation. We do not attempt to provide a comprehensive description of all distressed AA neighborhoods. Rather, we tailor our neighborhood selection criteria to ensure that we profile the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of a variety of AA ethnic groups living in low-income areas, including newly settled regions as well as long established AA neighborhoods. Based on the experience of conducting this research, we feel that it is important for community development professionals and academics to have clearly stated goals and methods when developing community profiles, especially given the time and energy necessary to assemble, manage, and analyze large data sets.

Neighborhood Selection

The first step of this analysis involved identifying metropolitan areas that contained potential study neighborhoods, that is, regions with a concentration of AAs living in low-income areas. First, we analyzed nationwide tract-level Census 2000 data to identify metropolitan areas with a high concentration of AAs. The Census 2000 data tabulations provide a new level of detail on race and ethnicity. Unlike previous decennial census counts, respondents could indicate they were of multiple races, such as “White” and “Asian.” Based on these data we extracted an “inclusive” count of AAs that includes all individuals who classified themselves as Asian, Native Hawaiians, or other Pacific Islanders, including multi-race AAs. We classified census tracts with 25 percent or more of AAs as “AA tracts” based on our assumption that this level of concentration in an area represents a significant AA residential presence around which potential community development activities could be organized. Although many metropolitan areas contain a sizeable AA population, we only investigated regions with at least four “AA tracts.” We also narrowed the scope of analysis by considering only metropolitan areas with at least 20,000 AAs.

Once we identified metropolitan areas with a high concentration of AAs, we used 1998 Internal Revenue Service (IRS) zipcode-

level income data to identify “AA tracts” in these regions that were low-income. We define low-income areas as zipcodes with at least 20 percent of the residents either claiming the earned income tax credit, or earning less than \$10,000 in 1998. Since 2000 census tract-level data on the socioeconomic status of AAs were not available at the time of neighborhood selection, we overlaid the 1990 census tract-level counts of AAs in poverty to confirm the income patterns identified using zipcode-level data were reasonable.¹

Twenty-two metropolitan areas were identified as having at least a moderate concentration of AAs living in low-income areas. We examined the racial/ethnic characteristics of AAs in these regions using Census 2000 data in order to select metropolitan areas that contained neighborhoods that we felt represented the diversity of AA experiences. We sampled from well known AA neighborhoods (such as New York’s Chinatown) and newer, less prominent AA neighborhoods (such as Long Beach’s Little Phnom Penh). This subjective selection criteria was required, given the purpose and limited scope of this analysis. Community development professionals and academics must often confront the daunting task of selecting study areas for research, assessment, and investment. This selection process is often difficult and benefits from clear research goals, especially given the time and energy required to assemble local-scale data.

Neighborhood Boundaries

The second major step of this research was to select the distressed AA study neighborhoods within the selected metropolitan areas and to identify corresponding census tracts to define as boundaries. We used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to identify clusters of distressed “AA tracts” based on our assumption that clusters of tracts likely represented a “neighborhood.” In some cases the clusters of tracts corresponded with long-established AA communities, such as Chinatown in San Francisco. In these instances we were able to consult with previous research to help choose the most appropriate boundaries. In other cases the clusters represented recently established communities such as the predominately Hmong tracts within St. Paul, for which little previous research was available.

Given our goal to profile a diverse range of distressed AA communities across the nation, we identified fourteen study neighbor-

hoods based on GIS-based tract-level maps of the selected metropolitan areas. The majority of our study neighborhoods are located in the western United States. Eight are in California, 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), Koreans, and Filipinos.² Note that some cities contain numerous AA neighborhoods, and even in the cities included in this study we have not examined all of the known AA neighborhoods.

Although sub-regional maps were helpful in selecting clusters of tracts, additional efforts were required to identify the tract-level boundaries³ of distressed AA study neighborhoods (especially in new and rapidly developing AA communities) since it was unclear whether our initial selection of boundaries correspond with local definitions of neighborhood boundaries. Residents and community-based organizations frequently define the boundaries of AA neighborhoods in different ways based on their daily activities and travel patterns. These local definitions of neighborhood boundaries often do not conform to administrative boundaries, such as census tracts, and often shift with evolving residential patterns. To confirm our neighborhood selections and definitions, we consulted existing studies of AA neighborhoods and area designations imposed by local government agencies. When possible, we reviewed proposed boundaries with academic and community advisors familiar with study neighborhoods. Appendix A provides a brief description of the neighborhood boundaries used for this article.

This process revealed that investigating neighborhood boundaries and consulting with local experts require a substantial investment in time. Nevertheless, local-level knowledge is important for ensuring that resulting neighborhood boundaries and profiles correspond with local experience. We encourage community development professionals and academics engaged in similar research to dedicate the effort required to investigate and document local neighborhood definitions.

Data Sources

The profiles of distressed AA neighborhoods in this article

draw from census, employment, and commute data sources. We rely primarily on socioeconomic data from 1990 Summary Tape File 1 (STF1), Summary Tape File 3 (STF3), and Summary Tape File 4 (STF4), and 2000 Summary File 1 (SF1) and Summary File 3 (SF3). We also integrate supplemental job density data from 2000 American Business Information (ABI) data and residential commute data from the 1990 Census Transportation Planning Package (CTPP).

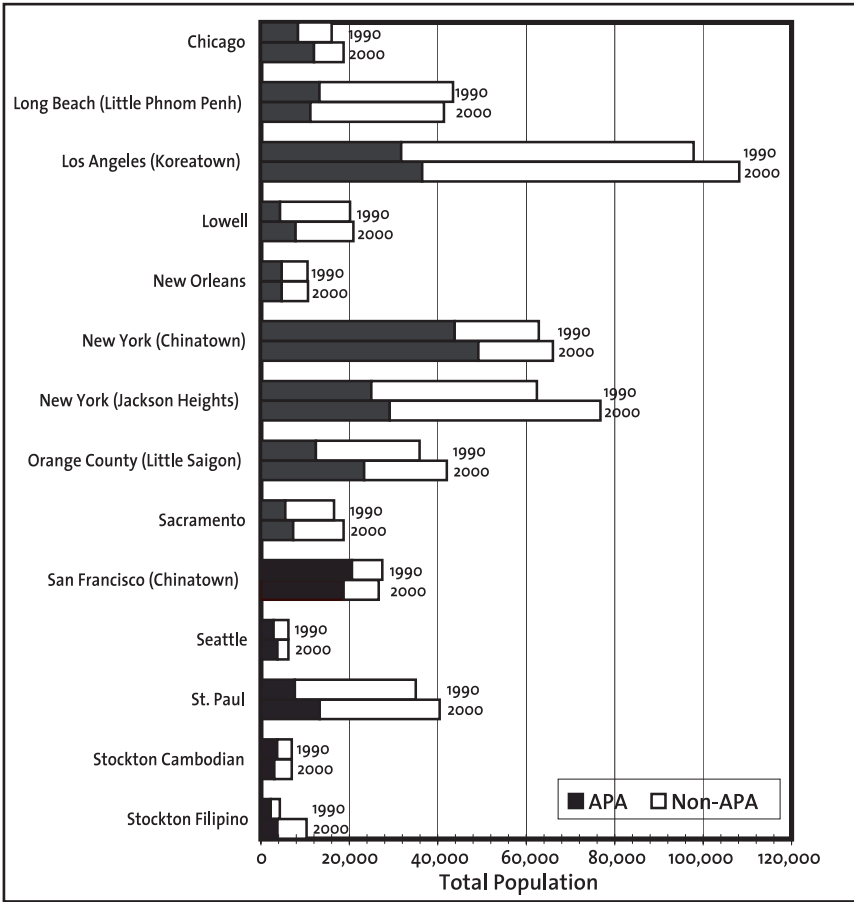
Demographic Characteristics

Distressed AA neighborhoods exist in both small and large metropolitan areas (Figure 1). The neighborhoods with the largest total population are Koreatown in Los Angeles and the Jackson Heights area of Queens in New York. The smallest neighborhood in the study was the Seattle study area. New York's Chinatown has the largest AA population with almost 50,000 documented AAs, contrasted with only about 3,000 AAs in the Cambodian study area in Stockton. Many distressed AA neighborhoods are racially and ethnically diverse.

Although AA residents constitute the majority of the population in the predominantly Chinese study neighborhoods of New York, San Francisco, and Chicago, and in the Vietnamese study neighborhood of New Orleans, AAs compose less than half of the population in most study neighborhoods. In fact, in some distressed AA neighborhoods, non-AA racial/ethnic groups predominate distressed AA communities and at times constitute the majority (Table 1a). For instance, Koreatown in Los Angeles is predominantly Latino; although AAs went from 32 percent to 34 percent between 1990 and 2000, Latinos increased at a faster rate, going from 44 percent to 50 percent of all residents. In 2000, AAs were a majority in five of the study neighborhoods. Three other neighborhoods contained a majority of another non-AA racial group in 2000. The remaining seven were mixed neighborhoods in which no single group formed a majority, suggesting that AAs in distressed areas often reside alongside other racial/ethnic groups.

The AA community in most of the study neighborhoods is predominantly a single AA ethnic group (Table 1b). In four neighborhoods, a single ethnic group was responsible for over 95 percent of AAs. Between 1990 and 2000, most of the neighborhoods saw an increase in the proportion of the most common Asian group. Despite this trend, study neighborhoods are not necessarily becoming

Figure 1. Asian Pacific American (APA) Composition of Study Neighborhoods, 1990-2000



monoethnic. For example, although the size of the largest ethnic group in the Seattle neighborhood (Chinese) increased between 1990 and 2000, the proportion of Vietnamese residents grew at a much higher rate. In fact, Vietnamese passed Filipinos to become the second largest Asian group. Even in cases like New York’s Chinatown, where Chinese are almost 100 percent of AAs, there may be substantial changes in the regional origins of recent immigrants (Sachs 2001). An understanding of the ethnic composition of distressed AA neighborhoods is essential for developing community devel-

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

* Bolded areas indicate majority.

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

opment plans that are tailored to local needs and experience.

In spite of diversity in size and ethnic/racial composition, we found some common features across the communities. In almost every case, AAs in the study neighborhoods are primarily immi-

Table 1b. Ethnic Composition and APA Diversity of Study Neighborhoods, 1990-2000

Neighborhood	Year	Cambodian	Chinese	Filipino	Hmong	Korean	Vietnamese
Chicago	1990	<1	98	<1	<1	<1	<1
	2000	<1	97	1	<1	<1	<1
Long Beach (Little Phnom Penh)	1990	73	3	3	<1	1	8
	2000	75	4	3	1	1	7
Los Angeles (Koreatown)	1990	<1	4	20	<1	63	8
	2000	<1	2	15	<1	72	7
Lowell	1990	73	2	<1	<1	<1	6
	2000	71	3	<1	<1	<1	9
New Orleans	1990	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	96
	2000	<1	<1	<1	<1	<1	96
New York (Chinatown)	1990	<1	98	<1	<1	<1	<1
	2000	<1	96	<1	<1	<1	<1
New York (Jackson Heights)	1990	<1	34	10	<1	30	1
	2000	<1	34	10	<1	17	1
Orange County (Little Saigon)	1990	1	7	4	<1	19	60
	2000	1	5	2	<1	10	75
Sacramento	1990	1	53	7	4	1	19
	2000	1	38	7	10	<1	20
San Francisco (Chinatown)	1990	<1	96	1	<1	<1	1
	2000	<1	95	1	<1	<1	1
Seattle	1990	9	27	21	1	1	15
	2000	6	33	21	<1	1	25
St. Paul	1990	5	1	1	76	<1	4
	2000	3	1	1	78	<1	7
Stockton (Cambodian)	1990	42	2	10	21	<1	13
	2000	38	2	15	20	<1	15
Stockton (Filipino)**	1990	12	1	51	14	<1	1
	2000	4	2	74	10	1	2

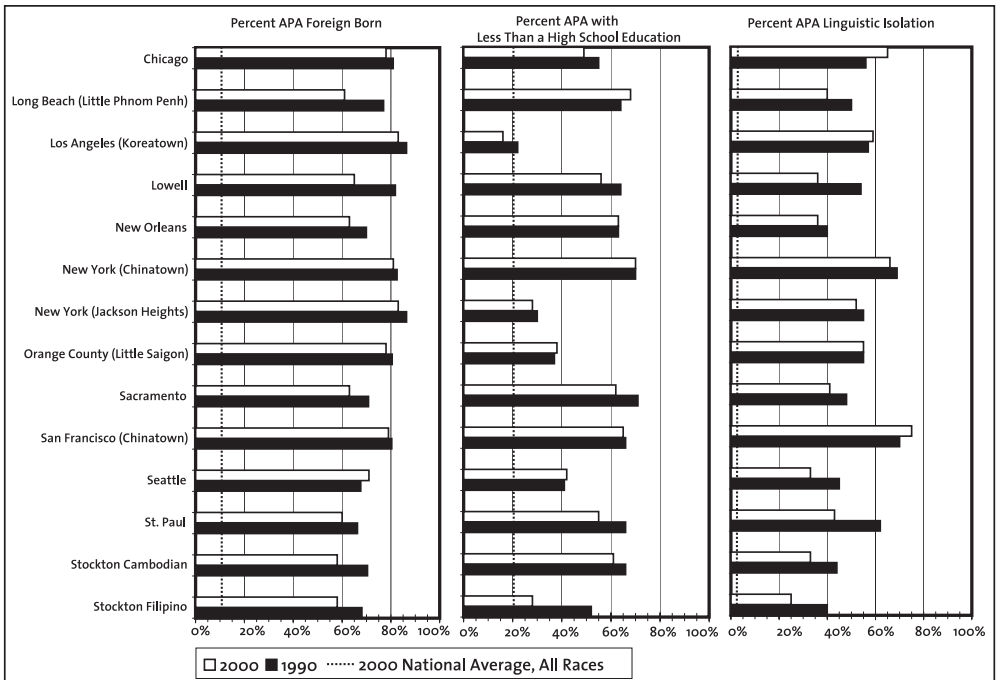
* Bolded areas indicate majority.
 ** Boundaries for the Stockton Filipino area changed dramatically between 1990 and 2000, statistics are not comparable across years.

grant populations. The foreign birth rate of the AA populations in these areas is considerably higher than the national average (Figure 2). Findings suggest that the largely immigrant populations of distressed AA neighborhoods face multiple barriers to economic advancement due to deficiencies in marketable job skills and poor language abilities. We approximate the level of neighborhood job

skills based on the percent of residents who completed high school, since more direct measures of human capital are not readily available in aggregate public data. Among our study areas, only Los Angeles' Koreatown has a high school completion rate among AAs that matches the national average. For an overwhelming majority of the neighborhoods, the percent without a high school education is two to three times higher than the national average.

The largely immigrant AA populations of the distressed study neighborhoods experience a rate of linguistic isolation that is well above the national rate. Linguistic isolation, or a limited proficiency in English, could limit job opportunities of residents. Although many residents with limited language skills probably secure jobs in the regional economy that require only limited English proficiency, some may prefer to rely on jobs within the ethnic community where limited English abilities do not represent a barrier to employment. In such cases, this dependence on the ethnic economy can greatly

Figure 2. APA Foreign Born Rate, Educational Attainment and Linguistic Isolation of Study Neighborhoods, 1990-2000

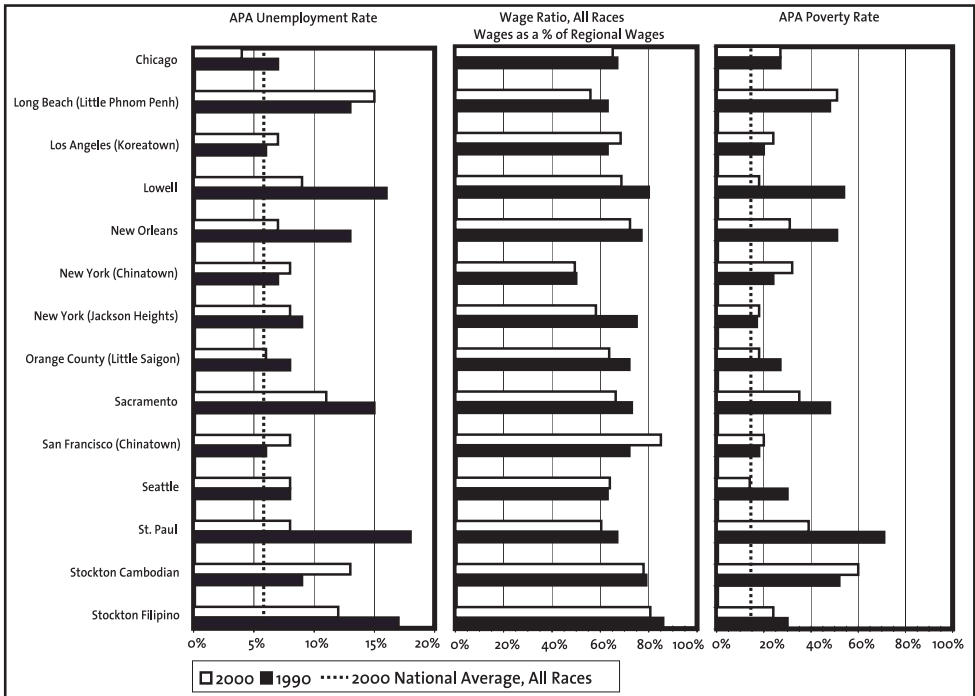


constrain the earning and career possibilities for AAs with limited economic opportunities.⁴ Whether or not workers are confined to the ethnic economy, low English proficiency signals a population whose immediate job opportunities are limited to low-wage work.

Unemployment and Poverty

The percentage of AAs in the labor force without a job (AA unemployment rate) matches the national unemployment rate in many of the study neighborhoods and is relatively higher in a few (Figure 3). Unfortunately, even in neighborhoods with low unemployment rates, the hourly wage earned by workers is often very low, even controlling for regional differences in pay rates. Figure 3 compares the neighborhood average wages as a percentage of regional hourly wages.⁵ New York City’s Chinatown is by far the worst, with hourly wages only 50 percent of the regional average. This finding is consistent with previous research which suggests

Figure 3. Unemployment Rates, Poverty Rates and Hourly Wages, 1990-2000

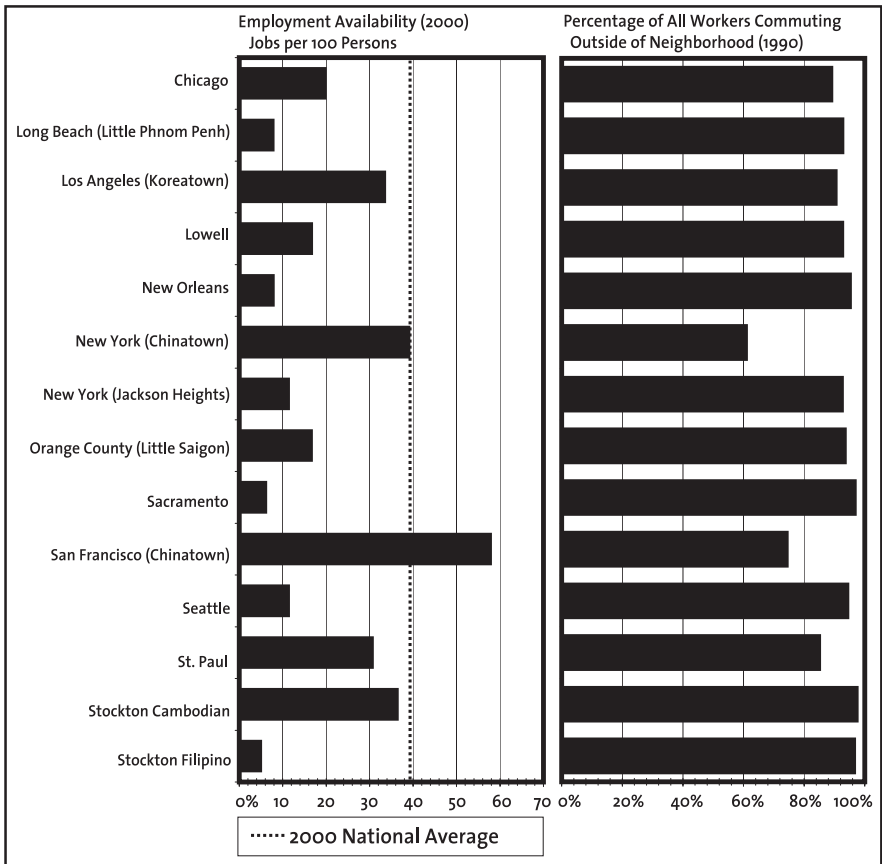


that a problem among many enclave residents is low-wage work rather than unemployment (Hum 2000). Low wages and higher unemployment rates (in some neighborhoods) translate into high poverty rates for the study neighborhoods. Many have poverty rates higher than the national average, while six have poverty rates at least three times higher.

Economic Base

AA neighborhoods are often depicted as job-rich ethnic enclaves with vibrant ethnic-based economies. While this may be true for some distressed AA neighborhoods, it is not an accurate depic-

Figure 4. Job Density & Commute Patterns of Study Neighborhoods, 1990-2000 ⁶



tion for most of the study neighborhoods (Figure 4). We approximate neighborhood job density based on a ratio that represents the number of private sector jobs per 100 working-age residents. Only San Francisco's Chinatown has a job ratio higher than the national average, indicating that it is a relatively job-rich area. New York's Chinatown has a job ratio equal to the national average. Its ratio would probably be higher if it were adjusted to account for unreported employment in the informal economy. Although these AA enclaves are job-rich, research indicates that jobs in these enclave communities tend to be in low-wage jobs in restaurants, small retailing, and garment assembly (Ong and Hee 1994; Ong and Umemoto 1994). While these industries may provide valuable jobs to workers in these distressed areas, they may offer only limited opportunities for economic advancement.

Three additional neighborhoods—the Stockton Cambodian area, the Los Angeles Koreatown area, and the St. Paul Hmong area—also exhibit what some call a jobs-housing balance. That is, the relative number of jobs in these neighborhoods is roughly proportional to the number of workers who reside in the neighborhood. In contrast, the remaining nine distressed AA neighborhoods are distinctly job-poor, with job ratios considerably lower than the national average, suggesting that most residents will have a greater reliance on the regional economy for employment.

Lack of jobs in a neighborhood is not necessarily an indication of economic distress, given that recent residential development has favored land-use patterns that isolate housing from commercial centers. Therefore, it is not surprising that 1990 census commute data indicate that almost all workers who reside in the distressed AA study neighborhoods commute outside their immediate neighborhood for employment (Figure 4).⁷ This pattern is more extreme for workers in job-poor study neighborhoods. Even in the job-rich Chinatown neighborhoods of San Francisco and New York with a so-called jobs-housing balance, over 60 percent of workers rely on the regional economy for employment. Even though many residents of distressed AA communities are immigrants with limited English proficiency and low levels of educational attainment, residents do not limit their job search to ethnic enclave economies in their neighborhoods. Additional analysis of the 1990 commute data indicates that the majority of jobs in the study neighborhoods are held by workers living outside the immediate

neighborhood. These commute patterns show that distressed AA neighborhoods are not self-contained sub-economies, but that their workers are integrated into the larger regional economy. An understanding of these commute patterns is important when targeting community development efforts toward increasing the economic vitality of distressed areas and neighborhood workers.

Discussion and Conclusion

This article profiles the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of fourteen distressed AA neighborhoods and highlights analytical methods that can be used by community development professionals and academics to identify the characteristics and needs of distressed communities.

These profiles document the existence of distressed AA communities and provide a baseline understanding of their composition and economic status. Many AAs in low-income areas face barriers to employment, including low levels of educational attainment and high rates of linguistic isolation. The majority of the profiled neighborhoods made gains in educational attainment between 1990 and 2000. Most reduced the percentage of AAs who are linguistically isolated. In part these transitions probably represent the influence of U.S.-born AAs as well as a younger generation of immigrant AAs who have been educated in the United States, and who have been exposed to English in school. Over the long term, these gains are important to the economic development of a neighborhood since they signal increasing human capital among neighborhood residents. In spite of gains, linguistic isolation remains a serious problem in every study neighborhood, and in almost every study neighborhood, the high school completion rate is considerably worse than the national average. These characteristics are reflected in the low wages of neighborhood residents.

In most neighborhoods the poverty rate of the AA population stayed the same or declined from 1990 to 2000. Although encouraging, this trend must be considered in the context of the strong economy of the late 1990s. It is likely that an economic downturn could disproportionately affect these neighborhoods. Many workers in these neighborhoods are competing for low-skill jobs, which become exceptionally scarce as the economy softens. Even considering the strength of the economy, the poverty rate of a number of distressed AA neighborhoods increased. It is worth noting

that this article reports poverty rates based on the federal poverty line, and therefore may underestimate poverty in some areas, particularly in areas with a high cost of living. For instance, the increase in the AA poverty rate in San Francisco is exacerbated by the exceptionally high cost of living in the Bay Area.

Profiled neighborhoods probably benefited from tight labor markets as indicated by employment rates in all of the neighborhoods that are near the national average. Even adjusting for regional wage differences, neighborhood wages are substantially below regional wage levels. This pattern is consistent with previous studies that suggest that many residents of AA enclaves face the problem of low-wage work rather than unemployment (Hum 2000; Ong and Hee 1994). Workers living in New York's Chinatown average only about 50 percent of the average hourly wage in the metropolitan area. This is particularly troubling since this neighborhood was severely affected by the events of September 11, 2001 (AA Federation of New York 2002).

We suspected at the outset of this study that the high levels of linguistic isolation among AAs in the study neighborhoods implies a reliance, when possible, on jobs in an ethnic-specific economy. However, commute data clearly indicate that this is a minor issue. The ethnic economies of distressed AA neighborhoods are insufficient to support the vast majority of workers who live in those neighborhoods. While ethnic economies are not strictly confined to the neighborhoods in which AAs live, many of the businesses that cater to AAs are located within these areas (Ong and Hee 1994). Patterns observed in the profiled neighborhoods counter the notion of self-contained enclaves and suggest that distressed AA areas tend to be job-poor. Analysis of 1990 commute data confirms that, like the majority of other workers in the United States, the most workers living in distressed AA neighborhoods commute to work elsewhere in the region and are integrated into the larger, regional economy. This integration may be limited, though, particularly in light of the skill deficiencies and linguistic barriers of AA workers.

Although AA groups comprise a majority in many distressed AA neighborhoods, they often reside alongside other racial/ethnic groups. Tarry Hum (2002) argues that neighborhoods comprising multiple races, rather than evolving into monoracial enclaves, actually represent a new model in neighborhood formation. There-

fore, neighborhoods like Sacramento, St. Paul, or Jackson Heights may become the norm, in which case structuring neighborhood development plans strictly along racial lines may be inappropriate.

The linguistic and educational barriers highlighted in this article are not problems confined to the AA community, but are problems common to most recent immigrant groups. Such barriers may offer the basis for community development strategies that cross racial/ethnic lines. For instance, Peter Kiang (1990) documents the success of an Asian/Latino coalition that formed around access to education in Lowell, Massachusetts. We present these results in the hopes that policymakers will look beyond the stereotypes that have sometimes inhibited community development efforts directed toward AAs, and use this example as a basis for further research on the challenges facing these communities. Many additional, specialized sources of information can be developed that will give greater insights than those presented in this article, and we sincerely hope that the value of such information will be recognized. Policy-oriented strategies must address the diverse, and often rapidly changing, needs of low-income AA neighborhoods, but before these challenges can be met, they must be better understood.

Notes

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1. After 2000 tract-level data on the economic status of AAs were released, we confirmed that the 2000 income patterns were consistent with the patterns identified using 1998 IRS and 1990 census data. The Results section integrates 2000 tract-level data on

the economic status of AAs.

2. Although not integrated into this paper, the associated report on distressed AA neighborhoods prepared in conjunction with the Economic Development Administration of the U.S. Department of Commerce includes neighborhood profiles of a Samoan neighborhood in San Francisco, California and two Native Hawaiian neighborhoods in Hawaii (Ong and Miller 2002).
3. When possible, we selected tract boundaries that were compatible between 1990 and 2000 since tract boundaries often change between each decennial census. In the case of the Filipino neighborhood in Stockton, California, the 1990 and 2000 tract boundaries were considerable and preclude comparison between the two years.
4. While ethnic economies are not inherently better or worse than any other segment of the economy, workers who do not look for non-ethnic jobs automatically eliminate the vast majority of all jobs. Additionally, some enclave economies are known to be associated with stiff competition for a few jobs, implying a depressed wage level (Ong and Hee 1994).
5. Estimates are constructed from aggregate earnings and hours worked as reported in census data for all races.
6. No national comparison figure is included in the graph of neighborhood commutes. There is no national data set that allows such a comparison. Furthermore, these statistics rely on our neighborhood definitions and cannot be generally applied without first defining a new neighborhood boundary.
7. Census 2000 commute data were not available at the time of writing.

Appendix A

This appendix provides a general description of the neighborhood boundaries used for this article. See the Research Design section for a description of the neighborhood selection process.

Table A.1. Approximate Boundaries for Study Neighborhoods*

Metropolitan Area	Common Name / Largest APA Group	Neighborhood Boundaries & Description
Chicago, IL	Chinese	The area south and east of the intersection of I55 and I90. Generally bound on the east by S. Throop St, on the north by I55 and the south by E 31 st St.
Long Beach, CA	“Little Phnom Penh” Cambodian	Generally bound on the south by E 7 th St. on the east by Atlantic Ave, on the north by Hwy 1, and the west by Redondo Ave.
Los Angeles, CA	“Koreatown”/ Korean	The area west of downtown generally bound on the north by Beverly Blvd., on the east by N. Vermont Ave, and the south by Pico Blvd.
Lowell, MA-NH	Cambodian	The area south of the Merrimack River generally bound on the north by Middlesex St., on the west by Central St., and the south by Plain St.
New Orleans	Vietnamese	Generally bound on the north by I10, on the west by Hwy 47, and south by Hwy 90.
New York, NY	“Chinatown”/ Chinese	The area in lower Manhattan generally bound on the south by Frankfort, on the west by Centre St., on the north by Rivington St., and the east by Clinton St.
	“Jackson Heights”/ Chinese	The area in Queens generally bound on the north by Roosevelt, on the west by Junction, on the south by Queens and the east by Laurel Hill.
Orange County, CA	“Little Saigon”/ Vietnamese	The portion of Westminster generally bound on the north by Garden Grove Blvd., on the west by Brookhurst St., on the south by Bolsa Ave. and the east by Hwy 39.
Sacramento, CA	Chinese	The area east of Hwy 99 and generally bound on the east by Stockton Blvd., on the north by Fruitridge Rd., on the east by Power Inn Rd., and the south by Florin Rd.
San Francisco, CA	“Chinatown”/ Chinese	The area east of Van Ness Ave. and north of Market St. generally bound on the east by Battery St., on the south by California, and the west by Leavenworth St.
Seattle, WA	Chinese	Generally bound on the west by S. Airport Way and on the east by Hwy 167.
St. Paul, WI	Hmong	The area intersected by I35E generally bound on the south by I94, on the east by Hwy 49, and the east by Hwy 61.
Stockton, CA	Cambodian	The area immediately west of West Ln. near the intersection of E Hammer Ln.
	Filipino	The area immediately west of I5 and south of Hwy 4.

*Ong and Miller 2002

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