

**ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS  
IN LOS ANGELES:  
A Demographic Profile**

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## ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES: A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Paul Ong and Tania Azores\*

From now until the end of the century, Asian Pacific Americans in Los Angeles will face a challenge unparalleled in our history. Today, more Asian Pacifics live here than in any other metropolitan area in the United States. The changes are not limited to absolute numbers. Asian Pacifics have experienced a dramatic demographic transformation along ethnic, economic, and other social lines. The phenomenal growth and greater diversity of the seventies and eighties, driven primarily by immigration, have raised concerns regarding issues such as unfair political representation, access to higher education, and a widening divide between the haves and have nots.

Our ability to formulate a coherent social, political, and economic response to these problems rests on understanding the magnitude and nature of the demographic transformation. Ironically, the transformation has made the development of sound public policy for Asian Pacific Americans exceedingly difficult because rapid changes have made our understanding of this population outdated. Information from the 1990 census is one rich data source, but unfortunately, published information from the Census Bureau on Asian Pacifics in Los Angeles will not be available for months, and detailed tabulations will not be available for years. By that time, the data will be outdated.

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Given the pressing need for timely information, the Public Policy Project at UCLA's Asian American Studies Center has taken on the task of disseminating 1990 census data that are currently available only in machine readable format. This booklet presents a demographic profile taken from two recently released 1990 census datasets, PL94-171 and STF1A (Summary Tape File 1A)<sup>1</sup>, along with data from earlier census, and population estimates and projections. The profile begins with a history of Los Angeles' Asian Pacific Americans, including a brief discussion of the factors that influence the size of this population. The next section presents a demographic profile for 1990: ethnic composition, nativity, age-sex structure, and settlement patterns. This is followed by a discussion of policy implications.

### Immigration History

Los Angeles' Asian Pacific American population has been shaped by a history of immigration flows and restrictive legislation dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. From the 1850s to the 1930s, the flows originated in succession from China, Japan, and the Philippines. Each flow was terminated by restrictive regulations when, as their numbers grew, the Chinese, then the Japanese and, later, the Filipinos were seen as threats to society.

The first wave of Asian immigrants began in 1848 with the arrival in California of a large group of Chinese driven from their homeland by a series of natural disasters and famine and lured by the economic opportunities created by the discovery of gold in the state. While the Chinese were recruited by employers as a source of cheap and exploitable labor, their presence was resented as undesirable competitors by many whites, particularly organized labor. Acting under pressure from California, Congress enacted several laws to stem Chinese immigration. In 1862, it enacted a law that made it illegal to import "oriental slave labor, or coolies." This was followed, in 1879, by a law prohibiting American ships

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<sup>1</sup>PL94-171 is a legally mandated dataset for reapportionment and redistricting purposes. STF1A is the first dataset released which includes a detailed breakout of the Asian Pacific population.

from bringing in more than 15 Chinese passengers at a time, and finally, the infamous 1882 law, the Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned the entry of Chinese altogether for 10 years. The impact of the latter can be readily seen in the number of Chinese in Los Angeles, which dropped from 4,424 in 1890 to 2,602 in 1910, and 2,592 in 1920.

The Japanese filled the vacuum left by the exclusion of the Chinese. Numbering only 36 in 1890, the county's Japanese population was 8,461 in 1910. As was the case with the Chinese, the growth rate of the Japanese, in Los Angeles as well as throughout the state, was seen as a threat to society. Thus, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 limiting the immigration of Japanese workers was drawn between the United States and Japan. This was followed by the 1917 Immigration Act which set up an Asia-Pacific Triangle and barred the entry of all persons from that area, except for certain limited categories of individuals. This act effectively ended Japanese immigration.

With the doors closed on China and Japan, the Philippines became the source of cheap agricultural labor for California because, as a colony of the United States, it was not included in the prohibitions of the Immigration Act. The U.S. census reports that the state's Filipino population grew by more than tenfold between 1920 and 1930, from less than 3,000 to more than 30,000. While no Los Angeles county population figures for Filipinos are available prior to 1950 at which time they numbered 7,117, the census reports that there were 4,498 in the City of Los Angeles in 1940. Despite their status as colonial subjects of the United States, Filipinos were not immune to the anti-Asian hostilities. However, being nationals of the United States, their entry to this country could only be blocked by granting the Philippines their independence. This was achieved with the Philippine Independence Act of 1934, which restricted their entry to 50 persons a year.

For the next three decades, Asian immigration was minuscule. The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1942, but an annual quota of 105 still remained. Furthermore, the provisions



of the 1917 Act barring all others from the Asia-Pacific region continued in effect. With the arrival of independence in 1946, the Philippine quota was raised from 50 to 100. The year also saw the passage of the War Brides Act permitting the entry of foreign-born spouses and children of military personnel. Through a combination of War Brides, political refugees, and the emergence of a second and third generation, the Asian Pacific population grew, from 49 thousand in 1940 to 115 thousand by 1960. With severe limitations on immigration, American-born Asians gained dominance in the community in the period after the depression until the liberalization of immigration in the mid-sixties.

The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 marked a turning point in American immigration history as the removal of restrictions on immigration from Asia and the Pacific region spurred a continuing flow of immigrants from that region. After more than eight decades of discrimination, Asian countries were placed on equal footing with European countries. The 1965 Act gave each Asian country a national quota of 20,000 per year, and provided avenues for the entry of non-quota immigrants. The end of the Vietnam War also contributed to the community's rapid growth. Since 1975, Asians from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have been major beneficiaries of the refugee provisions of the 1965 Act.

The influx from Asia and the Pacific helped swell Los Angeles' Asian Pacific population from 198 thousand in 1970 to 457 thousand in 1980, and 954 thousand in 1990. This rapid growth has propelled Asian Pacific Americans in Los Angeles into national prominence. In 1990, there were more Asian Pacifics here than in all of Hawaii, or any other metropolitan area on the mainland. Within California, approximately one in three Asian Pacifics live in Los Angeles.

Locally, the impact of post-1965 immigration can be seen in the growth of the Asian Pacific population as a percent of the total population which is depicted in Figure 1. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Asian presence in the county of Los Angeles grew from less than one percent in 1860 to over four

percent in 1890. However, the imposition of various legislative restrictions on Asian immigration which started in 1882, began to show its effects by the turn of the century. In 1900, the proportion of Asians in Los Angeles was reduced to less than half its size in 1890. Although it seemed to rebound slightly in the following two decades, 1930 again saw a sharp decline in proportional representation of Asians, a trend which continued until 1950. A steady increase in the size of the Asian Pacific American population began in 1960 and accelerated in the seventies and eighties. By 1990, nearly 11% of the total population was Asian Pacific, and by the end of the century, the figure will be over 14%.

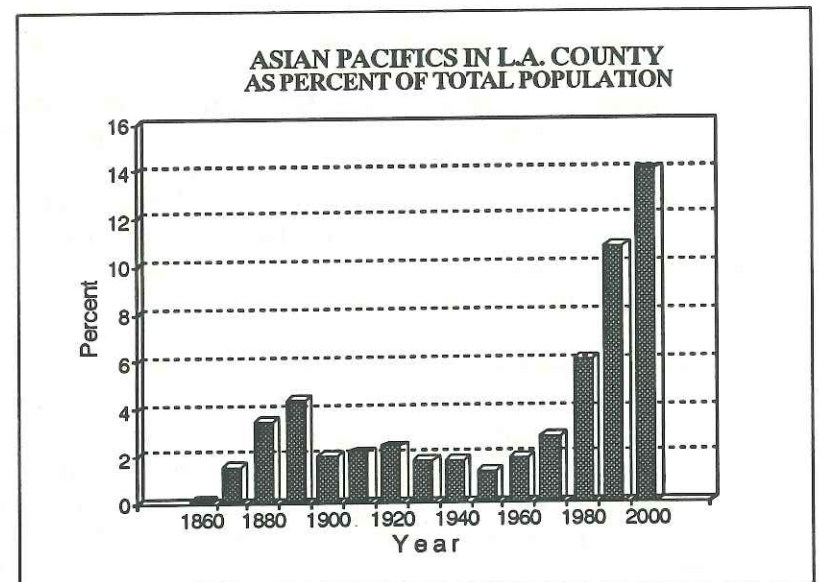


Figure 1

### 1990 Demographic Profile

Greater ethnic diversity has accompanied Los Angeles' population growth. From 1860 to 1900, the Asian population of the county was almost exclusively Chinese. Beginning in 1910 the



Japanese emerged as the dominant group, peaking in 1930 when it accounted for 91% of Asians. Even as late as 1970, the Japanese constituted a majority of the county's Asian population. Immigration in the seventies dramatically changed the ethnic composition. While other Asian and Pacific Islanders began to show up in the census of 1940, the county's Asian Pacific community became diversified in the seventies as evidenced in the 1980 census which reported a distribution of 22% Filipino, 21% Chinese, 13% Korean, 6% Vietnamese, 4% Asian Indian, and 4% Pacific Islander.

This diversification continued in the eighties, as shown in Table 1. Chinese experienced the largest absolute increase, going from 94,521 at the beginning of the decade to 245,033 by 1990. Filipinos increased by approximately 119,000 during the eighties. Besides Chinese and Filipinos, the groups who experienced the highest growth were Koreans (141%), Asian Indians (134%), and Vietnamese (130%). An analysis across decades shows that Pacific Islanders increased at a rate about half that of the Asian Americans. The Samoan population grew the most, followed by the Guamanians, then the Hawaiians.

With renewed large-scale immigration, the foreign-born population re-emerged as the dominant group among Asian Pacifics. As a proportion of all Asian Pacific Americans, the American-born population grew during the period between the Great Depression and the civil rights movement of the sixties, when there was a general curtailment of immigration. Since then, the growth of the Asian Pacific community has largely been driven by immigration. The shift to a more foreign-born population continued in the eighties. For Asian Pacific Americans ten years and older, the percent foreign-born increased from 68% to an estimated 79%.

While the foreign born segment dominates the total population, the proportion of foreign-born differs among different age categories. Nativity characteristics of Asian Pacific Americans in the last two censuses illustrate this clearly (Figure 2). The lowest percent of foreign-born is among the youngest (10-14 years)

TABLE 1. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

YEAR	1970	1980	1990	1980-90 Increase	1980-90 Growth
<b>ASIANS</b>					
Chinese	40,798	94,521	245,033	150,512	159.2%
Filipino	33,459	100,894	219,653	118,759	117.7%
Korean	8,650	60,339	145,431	85,092	141.0%
Japanese	104,078	117,190	129,736	12,546	10.7%
Vietnamese		27,252	62,594	35,342	129.7%
Asian Indian		18,770	43,829	25,059	133.5%
Thai		9,449	19,016	9,567	101.2%
Other S.E. Asians			31,920		
Other Asians	3,300		28,349		
<b>PACIFIC ISLANDERS</b>					
Samoan		7,440	11,934	4,494	60.4%
Hawaiian	4,634	6,126	8,009	1,883	30.7%
Guamanian		3,596	5,632	2,036	56.6%
Other Pac. Islanders	3,100		3,349		
<b>OTHER APAs</b>					
		11,116			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>198,019</b>	<b>456,693</b>	<b>954,485</b>	<b>445,290</b>	<b>109.0</b>

\*Note: Numbers for Other Asians and Other Pacific Islanders in 1970 are estimated from Public Use Micro Dataset. Number of Thais in 1980 are based on number of persons born in Thailand.

age cohort. The highest foreign-born rates are found in the primary working age cohorts (25-34, 35-44, and 45-54), although this was more true in 1990 than in 1980. The biggest change in the nativity distribution is found in the oldest cohort. Between 1980 and 1990, the proportion of foreign-born among those 65 years and over declined from about 78% to 70%.

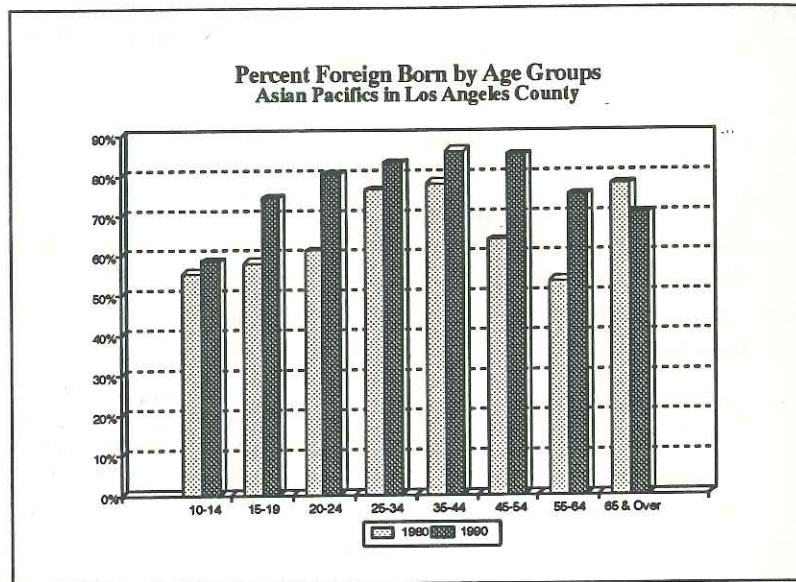


Figure 2

Although all age-sex categories experienced growth in the eighties (see Table 2), there are some important distinctions. Males ages 10-14 and females ages 20-24 registered the smallest increases, but even for these groups, the growth was remarkable, 79% and 82% respectively. The biggest growth rates occurred among the elderly with females 65 years old and over growing 172%, while their male counterparts increased at the rate of 146%. Females between ages 35-44 increased two and a half times (148%) while males in the same age range increased 137%. Dividing the

TABLE 2. LOS ANGELES ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS BY AGE AND SEX

	1980	1990	Increase	% Growth
<b>Males</b>				
0-5	16,951	36,206	19,255	113.6%
5-9	17,574	35,753	18,179	103.4%
10-14	18,950	33,864	14,914	78.7%
15-19	18,920	38,648	19,728	104.3%
20-24	20,976	40,559	19,583	93.4%
25-34	47,380	90,771	43,391	91.6%
35-44	33,458	79,607	46,149	137.9%
45-54	22,412	49,047	26,635	118.8%
55-64	15,816	31,056	15,240	96.4%
65 & Over	12,810	31,513	18,703	146.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>225,247</b>	<b>467,024</b>	<b>241,777</b>	<b>107.3%</b>
Youth/Total	32.1%	30.9%	29.8%	
Elderly/Total	5.7%	6.7%	7.7%	
<b>Females</b>				
0-5	16,137	33,942	17,805	110.3%
5-9	17,284	33,987	16,703	96.6%
10-14	16,287	31,699	15,412	94.6%
15-19	17,579	35,728	18,149	103.2%
20-24	21,370	39,004	17,634	82.5%
25-34	51,429	95,936	44,507	86.5%
35-44	34,279	88,576	54,297	158.4%
45-54	24,145	51,436	27,291	113.0%
55-64	18,109	36,865	18,756	103.6%
65 & Over	14,827	40,288	25,461	171.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>231,446</b>	<b>487,461</b>	<b>256,015</b>	<b>110.6%</b>
Youth/Total	29.1%	27.8%	26.6%	
Elderly/Total	6.4%	8.3%	9.9%	



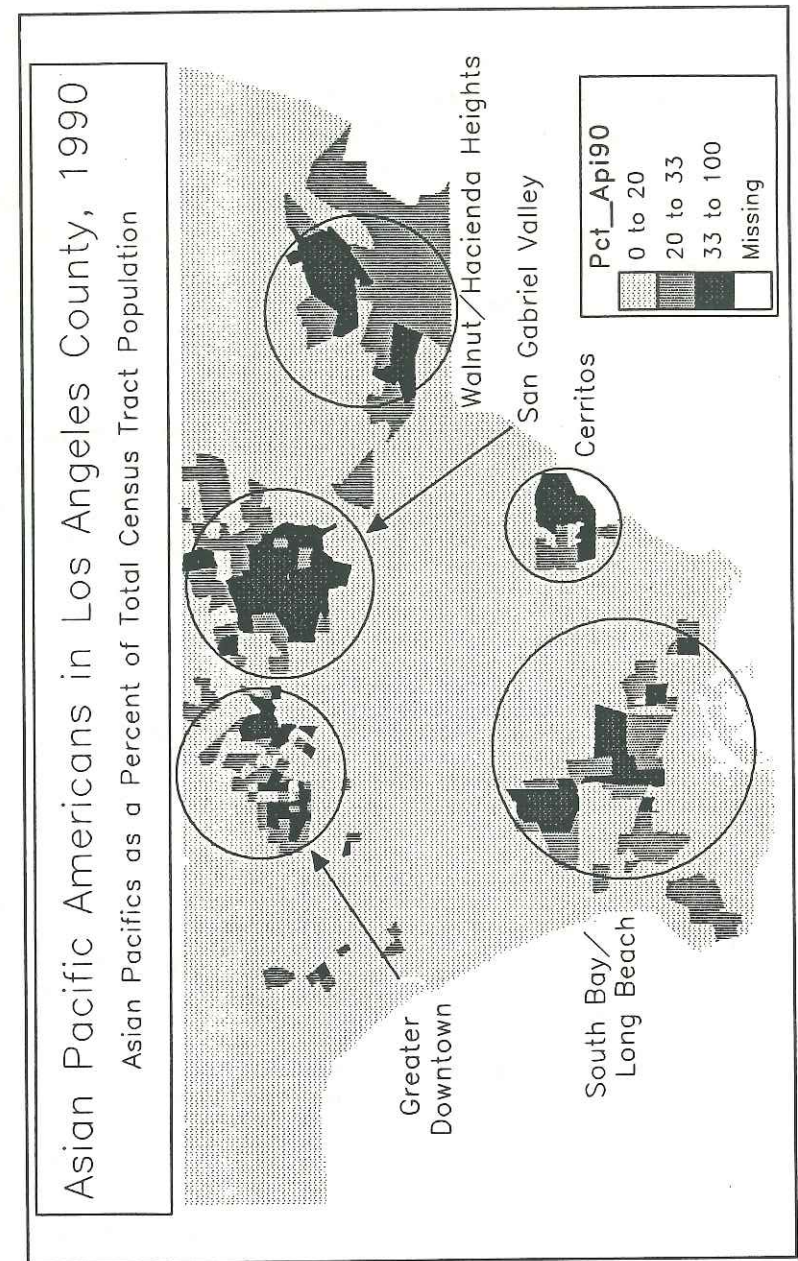
combined male and female population into three major groups, *i.e.*, youth (ages 0 to 19), actively working adults (ages 20-64), and elderly (ages 65 and over), one finds that the elderly population grew two and a half times between 1980 and 1990, while the youth doubled during the same period. The working age adults, meanwhile, increased at the rate of 108%. Given these growth rates, there has been a slight realignment of the population along major age categories. The relative number of young people, those under 20 years old, decreased slightly, from 32% in 1980 to 31% in 1990 for males, and from 29% in 1980 to 28% in 1990 for females. On the other hand, the elderly population grew in relative importance, as the proportionate number of Asian Pacifics over the age of 64 grew from 6% in 1980 to 7% in 1990 for males, and from 6% to 8% for females.

### Asian Pacific Communities

The vast geography of Los Angeles County is a mosaic of cultures with numerous Asian Pacific enclaves, as the post-1965 immigration revitalized a number of the pre-existing Asian Pacific neighborhoods and led to the development of new ones.<sup>2</sup> Although these communities are not contiguous, they do form five major geographical clusters: Greater Downtown Los Angeles, West San Gabriel Valley, East San Gabriel Valley, Cerritos/Norwalk, and the Southern Region (See map).

Within the City of Los Angeles, the Greater Downtown area contains four visible and distinct 'ethnic' towns. Little Tokyo, for example, is two blocks from the City Hall steps, while Chinatown is a mile away to the north. Both of these communities trace their origins to the nineteenth century. With the influx of the new Chinese immigrants and Southeast Asian refugees of Chinese descent, Chinatown has experienced a rebirth as its population increased by 93% in the seventies and 29% in the eighties.

<sup>2</sup>It should be noted that because Asian Pacifics are less residentially segregated than blacks or Latinos, many Asian Pacific Americans live in white neighborhoods, and a significant number also live in heavily black or Latino areas.





Although Little Tokyo has not experienced the same population increase, it has been redeveloped as a cultural and commercial center for both Japanese Americans and Japanese nationals. While Little Manila in the twenties and thirties was in the area now known as Little Tokyo, the heart of today's Filipino Town is one mile northwest of the Civic Center. Koreans, meanwhile, who did not arrive in large numbers until the sixties, are found in the sprawling Koreatown, two miles west of the Civic Center. These four 'ethnic' towns contain the heaviest concentrations of Asian Americans in the City of Los Angeles.

Outside the city limits, the South Bay has a 'Little Cambodia' in Long Beach, a 'Little Manila' in Carson, and a 'J-town' in Gardena. Samoans are found in great numbers in Carson, and another Koreatown is in the making in Cerritos. Then there is Monterey Park, a city in the West San Gabriel Valley that has always had a diverse population but has, almost overnight, become majority Asian (mostly Chinese). Meanwhile in the East San Gabriel Valley, both Chinese and Filipinos are beginning to have a significant presence. The following sections will discuss the ethnic composition within these areas.

The area that has experienced the greatest growth of Asian Pacifics is the San Gabriel Valley. In the western part of the valley, the cities of Alhambra, Monterey Park, Rosemead, San Gabriel, and South San Gabriel are at least 30% Asian Pacific. Monterey Park has the unique status as the only city in California with a majority (58%) Asian Pacific population. Although the Asian Pacific population in this region is diverse, the area is heavily Chinese. Except for South San Gabriel where the Chinese comprise 45% of the Asian population, two-thirds of the Asians in the other cities are Chinese. The eastern part of San Gabriel Valley is less dominated by the Chinese. In Walnut, for example, which is 38% Asian Pacific American, Chinese and Filipinos make up two-thirds of the Asian population. Adjacent to Walnut is West Covina which has a population that is 17% Asian Pacific American. This city's Asian Pacific population is 43% Filipino and 27% Chinese. The majority of Asians in Hacienda Heights are Chinese. Over a third of Rowland Heights Asians are also Chinese, but there is a

strong presence there of Filipinos (25%) and Koreans (20%) as well.

In the South Bay, Carson, Gardena, Long Beach and Torrance are the major cities with large Asian Pacific populations. More than any other region in the county, the South Bay represents the wide diversity within the Asian Pacific community. Carson, which is 25% Asian Pacific, has the heaviest concentration of Filipinos and Samoans.<sup>3</sup> Japanese are a majority in Gardena's Asian community, while they comprise 45% of the Asians in Torrance. Long Beach, meanwhile, has 58,000 Asian Pacific Americans made up of 30% Filipino, 30% Cambodian, and 6% Samoan.

Cerritos and Norwalk, two relatively new cities on the southeastern edge of the county, are increasingly becoming more and more Asian. In 1990, Koreans outnumbered Filipinos who were the majority Asian population in Cerritos in 1980. Cerritos' 45% Asian population is made up of 23% Chinese, 24% Filipino, and 27% Korean. Norwalk's Asian community, on the other hand, is 32% Filipino and 23% Korean (Tables 3, 4).

### Policy Implications

Our public policies should reflect the tremendous growth in size and diversity of the Asian Pacific community in Los Angeles. Many issues raised over the last two decades are now even more critical. The fact that a majority of young Asian and Pacific Americans are foreign born heightens the need for multilingual/multicultural education in the schools.<sup>4</sup> Unless schools respond to the curriculum and personal development needs of immigrant and refugee children and youth, feelings of alienation and failure to comprehend or adjust to the American system often

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<sup>3</sup>Over two-thirds of Asian Pacific Americans in Carson are Filipinos; eleven percent are Samoans.

<sup>4</sup>Asian Pacific Americans comprise 10% of public school enrollment in Los Angeles County.



TABLE 3. ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICANS IN SELECTED CITIES IN LOS ANGELES: 1990

CITY	TOTAL POP.	APA POP.	% APA	SPECIFIC SUBGROUPS AS PERCENT OF TOTAL APAs				
				Chinese	Filipino	Korean	Japanese	Vietnamese
1 Los Angeles	3,485,398	341,807	9.8	19.7	25.6	21.3	13.3	5.5
2 Long Beach	429,433	58,266	13.6	6.5	29.7	2.6	6.1	8.8
3 Monterey Park	60,738	34,898	57.5	63.0	3.1	3.5	17.4	7.8
4 Alhambra	82,106	31,313	38.1	68.0	5.8	2.7	5.3	12.2
5 Torrance	133,107	29,097	21.9	17.7	6.7	20.2	44.7	2.8
6 Glendale	180,038	24,543	13.6	11.0	32.7	38.5	6.8	5.1
7 Cerritos	53,240	24,057	45.2	22.5	24.4	27.1	8.9	2.9
8 Carson	83,995	20,972	25.0	2.5	67.2	4.3	6.1	2.0
9 Rosemead	51,638	17,725	34.3	61.1	5.4	1.6	5.9	20.3
10 Gardena	49,847	16,566	33.2	5.9	9.9	17.2	55.6	4.5
11 West Covina	96,086	16,522	17.2	26.6	43.5	4.9	6.2	7.6
12 Hacienda Heights	52,354	14,283	27.3	54.9	8.0	16.6	13.2	1.2
13 Diamond Bar	53,672	13,360	24.9	32.6	19.1	19.2	7.6	4.1
14 Rowland Heights	42,647	12,504	29.3	37.2	24.6	19.7	7.3	2.0
15 El Monte	106,209	12,489	11.8	54.3	11.0	2.7	3.2	19.6
16 San Gabriel	37,120	12,044	32.4	63.5	7.7	3.4	6.8	12.9
17 Calabasas (pt.)	192,143	11,877	6.2	28.0	21.5	11.8	14.6	6.8
18 Norwalk	94,279	11,702	12.4	8.5	32.1	22.6	4.6	10.2
19 Arcadia	48,290	11,322	23.4	63.4	3.8	12.7	11.5	0.8
20 Walnut	29,105	10,909	37.5	33.4	33.6	11.2	7.0	3.7
TOTAL COUNTY	8,863,164	954,485	10.8	25.7	23.0	15.2	13.6	6.6

TABLE 4. TOP TEN CITIES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY FOR SELECTED ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN POPULATION GROUPS: 1990

CITY	CHINESE		FILIPINOS		KOREANS		JAPANESE	
	POP.	%	POP.	%	POP.	%	POP.	%
Los Angeles	67196	87625	Los Angeles	72970	Los Angeles	87625	Los Angeles	45370
Monterey Park	21971	17329	Long Beach	9445	Torrance	17329	Torrance	13017
Alhambra	21303	14100	Carson	6513	Glendale	14100	Gardena	9217
Hacienda Hgts	7839	8022	Glendale	5888	Torrance	8022	Monterey Park	6081
San Gabriel	7649	7185	West Covina	2999	Downey	7185	Long Beach	3531
Arcadia	7180	5875	Cerritos	2857	Gardena	5875	Cerritos	2136
El Monte	6781	3853	Baldwin Park	2559	Diamond Bar	3853	Hacienda Hgts	1885
Cerritos	5406	2546	Diamond Bar	2374	Hacienda Hgt	2546	Glendale	1667
Diamond Bar	4355	2360	Lakewood	1579	Burbank	4355	Alhambra	1669
Long Beach	3771	2202	Bellflower	1552	Bellflower	2202	Culver City	1504
ASIAN INDIANS			VIETNAMESE		CAMBODIANS		PACIFIC ISLANDERS	
Los Angeles	17227	18674	Los Angeles	17468	Long Beach	17468	Los Angeles	7433
Cerritos	2075	5112	Long Beach	4257	Los Angeles	4257	Long Beach	5186
Diamond Bar	1666	3816	Alhambra	907	Pomona	907	Carson	2965
Long Beach	1464	3590	Rosemead	575	Monterey Pk	575	Compton	1295
Norwalk	1065	2736	Monterey Park	435	Paramount	435	Gardena	576
Glendale	874	2453	El Monte	427	Rosemead	427	Hawthorne	554
Hawthorne	646	1718	Hawthorne	385	Norwalk	385	Inglewood	542
Culver City	573	1249	Glendale	371	El Monte	371	Torrance	494
Downey	544	1138	Lawndale	335	Lakewood	335	Lynwood	467
Alhambra	487	795	Baldwin Park	257	Signal Hill	257	Norwalk	459



lead not only to educational disadvantage but also to anti-social, and sometimes violent, behavior, both in and out of school.

The working age segment of the Asian Pacific American population presents a different type of challenge directed primarily at the economic and political sectors. When there are relatively high levels of unemployment, nativist sentiments can stand in the way of employing "alien looking" Asian or Pacific Americans, regardless of merit or nativity. As for the limited English speaking immigrant or refugee for whom self-employment is the only way to success, finding and locating the right business is not only economically risky, but it also has wide-ranging social, economic and political implications as proven by recent developments in the Black-Korean conflict.

The elderly present challenges unique to their population group. Numbering some 72,000 in 1990, the county's Asian Pacific Americans age 65 and over grew more than two-and-a-half times over the last ten years. Seventy percent of them are foreign-born. This has enormous implications in terms of social, health, and mental health services. Old people are treated with reverence in traditional Asian and Pacific cultures. Their authority is undisputed. American egalitarianism is like a slap in the face of many Asian Pacific Americans who immigrate at a late age. The social and psychological dislocation they suffer upon arrival in this country is not easily mitigated when they live in homes that are run "American-style," when they venture outside the home to even more alien surroundings, and when available social and mental health service providers are often not culturally sensitive.

The challenges are clear. But, we will not see the development of feasible policies unless we overcome political under-representation. The problem is best illustrated in the state houses. Despite the fact that a tenth of all Angelenos are Asian Pacific Americans, there has been no Asian Pacific in the state legislature for over a decade. Political representation on local jurisdictions is also disproportionately low. The increasing challenges that have come with the rise in population have given rise to a sense of urgency and impatience at the lack of community representation in politics. Progress will come about only when Asian Pacific Americans take a forceful role in the current redistricting effort.

#### Other reports from the Asian American Studies Public Policy Project

1. Azores, Tania and Philip Okamoto. *Asian Pacific American Awareness and Involvement in Redistricting*. May, 1991.
2. Ong, Paul, Yen Espiritu and Tania Azores. *Redistricting and Political Empowerment of Asian Pacific Americans in Los Angeles: A Position Paper*. May, 1991.
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