ORANGE COUNTY *on the* CUSP OF CHANGE

A report by the UCI Community & Labor Project
and the UCLA Labor Center

July 2014

Acknowledgements

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Cover Photos: Orange County Labor Federation

About the UC Irvine Community and Labor Project

As social justice movements build momentum in Orange County, community and labor organizations recognize the need for institutional support to facilitate their long-term goals and organizational efforts. This collaboration consequently brings together community, labor and university resources in order to build a Community and Labor Project under the principles of research justice. The Project prioritizes the recognition of workers and community members as experts, the equal access to information, and the use of research for empowerment and organizing.

www.communityandlaborproject.org

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About the UCLA Labor Center

The UCLA Labor Center has created innovative programs that offer a range of educational, research, and public service activities within the university and in the broader community, especially among low-wage and immigrant workers. The Labor Center is a vital resource for research, education, and policy development to help create jobs that are good for workers and their communities, to improve the quality of existing jobs in the low-wage economy, and to strengthen the process of immigrant integration, especially among students and youth.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:
Orange County on the Cusp

Once a rural, agricultural region, Orange County has become a vibrant, diverse metropolitan area. Though Orange County has been changing demographically and politically for the past four decades, its common reputation continues to be one of conservatism, right wing activism, homogeneity and affluence. Although it was once the land of Richard Nixon, the John Birch Society, and per Ronald Reagan, "the place where all good Republicans go to die," the reality is that Orange County is increasingly more heterogeneous and politically diverse. Yet a dominant narrative of wealth and affluence in the county obscures the existing inequality, which varies from city to city and leads to economic and social disparities among residents.

This report aims to understand the key challenges residents of today's Orange County face. The research is primarily comprised of secondary data including academic research, policy reports, indicator studies, newspaper articles, and government and voting data. In addition, the research process included community forums where community leaders helped shape the analysis of the data. The following are key findings based on the research:

Job growth in low-wage industries will increase economic disparity. Orange County is the sixth largest county in the U.S. and the third largest in California in terms of population. After World War II, large manufacturing plants employed a unionized workforce that was able to command family-supporting wages. However, in the 1990s and 2000s, the economy shifted towards information and service industries. Much of Orange County's job growth in the next ten years is expected to take place in low-wage industries. The largest numbers of jobs that will be created are concentrated in low-wage entry-level jobs that pay less than $20 per hour. Most of these workers would be unable to afford a one-bedroom apartment in Orange County.

High cost of living and economic inequality spread across the county. Low and middle-income people struggle to sustain themselves and their families in one of the most expensive parts of the country. Sixty percent of renters cannot afford rent in the county while almost half of households are unable to afford entry-level home ownership. Over the past two decades, Orange County has had one of the fastest growing income gaps between the rich and poor. This inequality divides along racial, ethnic, and geographic lines, with immigrant communities, people of color, and residents in North and Central Orange County bearing the brunt of low incomes. Economic disparity will only grow worse, because future job growth will primarily be in lower wage industries and occupations while policies are doing little to alleviate the high living and housing costs in the county.

Environmental issues impact low-income neighborhoods and communities of color more acutely. North Orange County, which is a predominantly low-income area, is at the top ten percent of communities in California most burdened by pollution. A recent environmental report card found that Santa Ana, a mostly Latino and low-income city, is among the least healthy places to live in California, while just a few miles away, the affluent city of Newport

Beach, is one of the healthiest. Furthermore, majority-White communities have more open access to green space per person than majority-Asian and majority-Latino communities across Orange County. In addition, fracking has been taking place for a few years in North Orange County's cities like Brea and La Habra.

People of color are the new majority in Orange County, but disproportionately face issues such as poverty, language isolation, and educational attainment challenges. Major demographic shifts have transformed Orange County from a predominantly White county into a place with vibrant communities of various ethnic and social backgrounds. Latinos comprise 34 percent of the county's residents and Asians, 19 percent. However, many of these communities are struggling in the county. Latino families have twice the rate of poverty than the county average. Vietnamese and Korean residents have the lowest rates of English language proficiency of all Asian groups in California. Blacks and Latinos have the highest dropout rates and Black residents report the highest rate of hate crimes in the county. Almost a tenth of the county residents are undocumented immigrants that work in low-wage jobs. Children of undocumented parents are four times more likely to be living in poverty than those with a U.S.-born parent.

Orange County is seeing dramatic political changes, but political systems pose barriers to participation for low-income and communities of color. Orange County has experienced dramatic political changes. Once the hotbed of Republican activity, Republican voter registration has sunk to 41 percent. Out of the 34 Orange County cities, five have Democratic majorities, while five more are at a tipping point, where only hundreds of registered voters separate Republicans and Democrats. Meanwhile, over the next few decades Latinos will become the majority in Orange County and at least half of Orange County voters will be Asian or Latino. This projected growth in minority populations, many of which are progressive-leaning, presents a key opportunity to build a voter block that can demand the county focus on issues pertaining to them. Yet, the current political structures pose barriers for low-income and communities of color to actively participate in political processes. For example, at-large elections give disproportionate weight to the majority political group over racial and political minorities.

This report shows that there is a continued need to reduce economic and social disparities in the county and to create systems and structures that address these inequities. At the same time, Orange County is on the cusp of several "tipping points," as demographic, economic, and political conditions are ready to be leveraged to create significant change. The tipping points need a push from the ground up to move the county to create systems that include government transparency and accountability, responsible development, quality jobs, expanded social services, environmental protections, just immigration policies and adequate resources for all. In order to realize these potential gains, residents must come together through a variety of forms of collective action including organizing, mobilization and advocacy.

This report aims to understand how the current conditions can lead to opportunities to build an equitable and inclusive Orange County. The report begins with an overview of the economic history of the county. Section 2 explores the economic and social problems experienced by residents followed by a section on environmental issues that impact low-income and immigrant communities. The next three sections discuss emerging ethnic

communities, key issues faced by these communities and the particular struggles of the undocumented community. Sections 7 and 8 take a closer look at the political and electoral shifts as well as structural barriers to civic participation.

In the last section, we recommend four key strategies to achieve a better Orange County:

- Civic Engagement encourages residents to partici-pate in the social and political structures of Orange County to improve conditions and shape the future of the county.

- Community Organizing engages residents through their participation in organizations, joint deci-sion-making and developing shared leadership that leads to collective action that may influence key decision-makers on a range of issues.

- Political Reform allows residents to define the public good and support policies that contribute to the public good while reforming inadequate institutions.

- Research provides information and tools to engage residents and inform stakeholders about the issues impacting low-income and communities of color.

PHOTO CREDIT: JOESE GLORIA

Each strategy strengthens the other. Shifting political systems can increase opportunities for civic engagement. Civic engagement is stronger when there is robust organizing demanding accountability and equitable resource allocation. Research can be a tool for bringing community members from diverse backgrounds into the room together to develop a shared frame-work for the problems as well as solutions that can be addressed through civic engagement, political reform and organizing. Taken together, these approaches can put pressure on the tipping points to create a county that provides livable and workable conditions for all its residents.

1. Working in Orange County

Orange County covers 798 square miles of land, including 42 miles of coast-line. It is the sixth largest county in the U.S. and the third largest in California in terms of population.[1] Its economy is estimated at $197.1 billion GDP.[2] Over the past five decades, Orange County transformed from a quiet rural area to an affluent urban area. Orange County is now struggling with income inequality resulting from an economic transition that replaced thousands of well-paid professional and manufacturing jobs with low-wage service sector jobs. Job growth is expected to occur primarily in occupations that provide low wages; coupled with the region's high cost of living, this lack of quality employment opportunity means many Orange County residents will continue to struggle to make ends meet.

Orange County is the sixth largest county in the U.S. and the third largest in California in terms of population.

Changes in Key Industries

Until the 1950s, Orange County had a small and mostly rural population, with a predominantly agricultural economy. After World War II, aerospace and electronics manufacturing sectors grew dramatically in Orange County, bolstered by large postwar defense contracts. Large manufacturing plants employed a unionized workforce that was able to command family-sup-porting wages.[3] In the 1990s and 2000s, the economy shifted when the military contracts that had previously supported aerospace and defense were cut, global economic shifts led to the outsourcing of labor to other countries, and companies shifted from large plants to small ones. Job quality and wages suffered as a result.

FIGURE 1: **Employment Share Change in Selected Industries, 1960–2020**
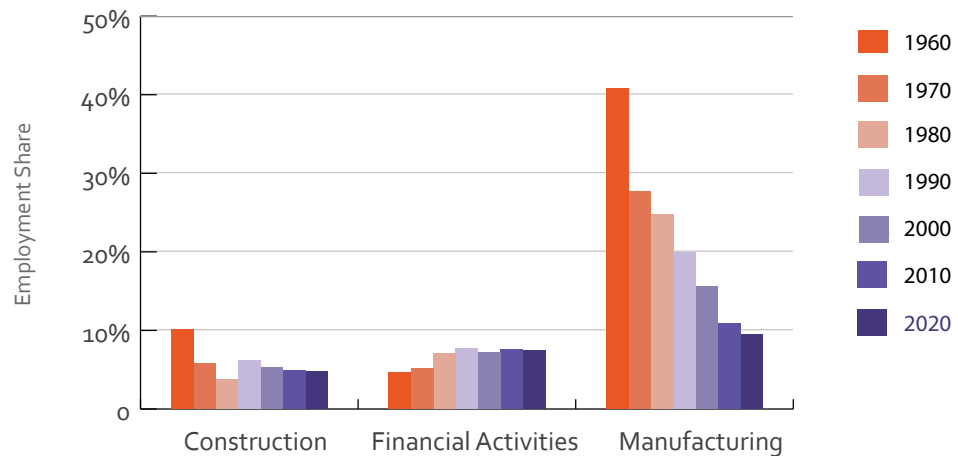
Source: King, Olin and Poster, Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II, "Estimated Wage and Salary Workers by Industry, Selected Years 1960-88"; California Employment Development Department, "Industry Employment and Labor Force by Annual Average 1990-2012"; and "2010-2020 Industry Employment Projections."

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1   Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2013 (Irvine: Orange County Business Council, 2013), http://www.ocbc.org/wp-content/uploads/2013-Community-Indicators-Report.pdf.

2   California State University, Fullerton, Orange County Facts & Figures, Issue brief (Fullerton: Center for Demographic Research, California State University, Fullerton, 2013), http://www.fullerton.edu/cdr/ocff.pdf.

3   Allen J. Scott, High Technology Industry and Territorial Development: The Rise of the Orange County Complex, 1955-1984, Working paper no. 85 (Los Angeles: Department of Geography University of California Los Angeles, 1985), http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/28722/07/bk0003t9n07/files/bk0003t9n07-FID1.pdf.

In the last two decades, Orange County's economy has shifted towards reliance on the service and information sectors, with particular emphasis on tourism.[4] Much of Orange County's job growth in the next ten years is expected to take place in low-wage industries, which will create more low-wage jobs. As Figure 2 and Table 1 show, the largest proportion of growth in the workforce is expected in the education and health services, leisure and hospitality sector, and professional services. Tourism is one of the leading industries in Orange County, accounting for nearly 15 percent of the county's employment; yet, the average salary in the tourism sector was $23,707 in 2012.[5]

Tourism accounts for nearly 15% of the county's employment; yet the average salary in the tourism sector was $23,707 in 2012.

FIGURE 2: **Employment Share by Industry, 1990-2020**
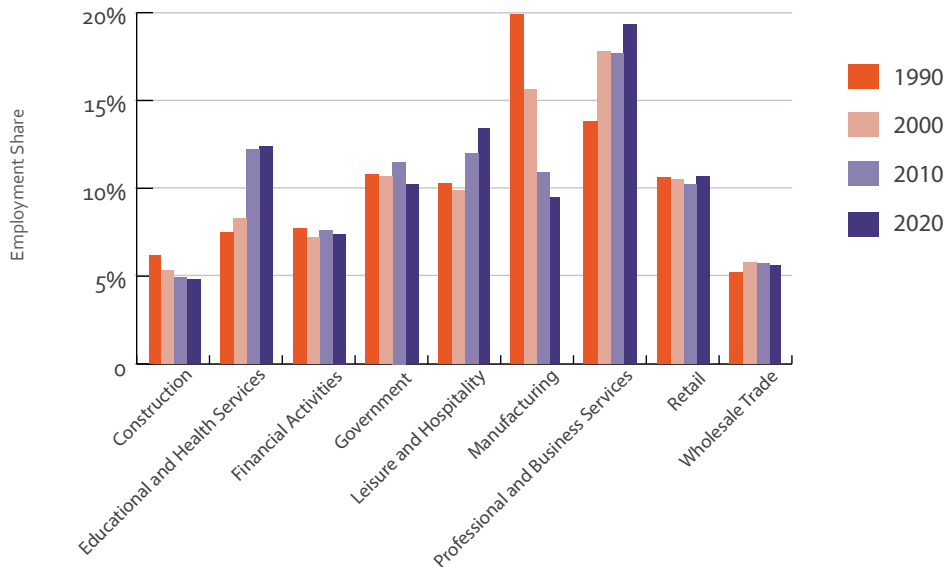
TABLE 1: **Change in Employment by Industry, 2010-2020**

	% Change 2010-2020
Construction	9%
Mining and Logging	-20%
Manufacturing	-2%
Utilities	8%
Financial Activities	11%
Retail Trade	18%
Leisure and Hospitality	23%
Professional and Business Services	23%
Educational and Health Services	24%
Other Services	9%
Information	2%
Government	4%
Transportation and Warehousing	7%
Wholesale Trade	11%
Total Non-Farm	14%
Total Farm	-19%
Total	13%

4   California Employment Development Department, "Industry Employment and Labor Force by Annual Average 1990-2012"; and "2010-2020 Industry Employment Projections."

5   Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

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The largest numbers of jobs that will be created are concentrated in low-wage entry-level jobs.

The largest numbers of jobs that will be created are concentrated in low-wage entry-level jobs as shown in Figure 3. For example, over 40,000 retail and restaurant jobs will be created over the next 10 years. Except for police officers, all of these jobs pay less than $20 per hour.

FIGURE 3: Hourly Wages for Occupations with the Most Job Openings, 2010-2020
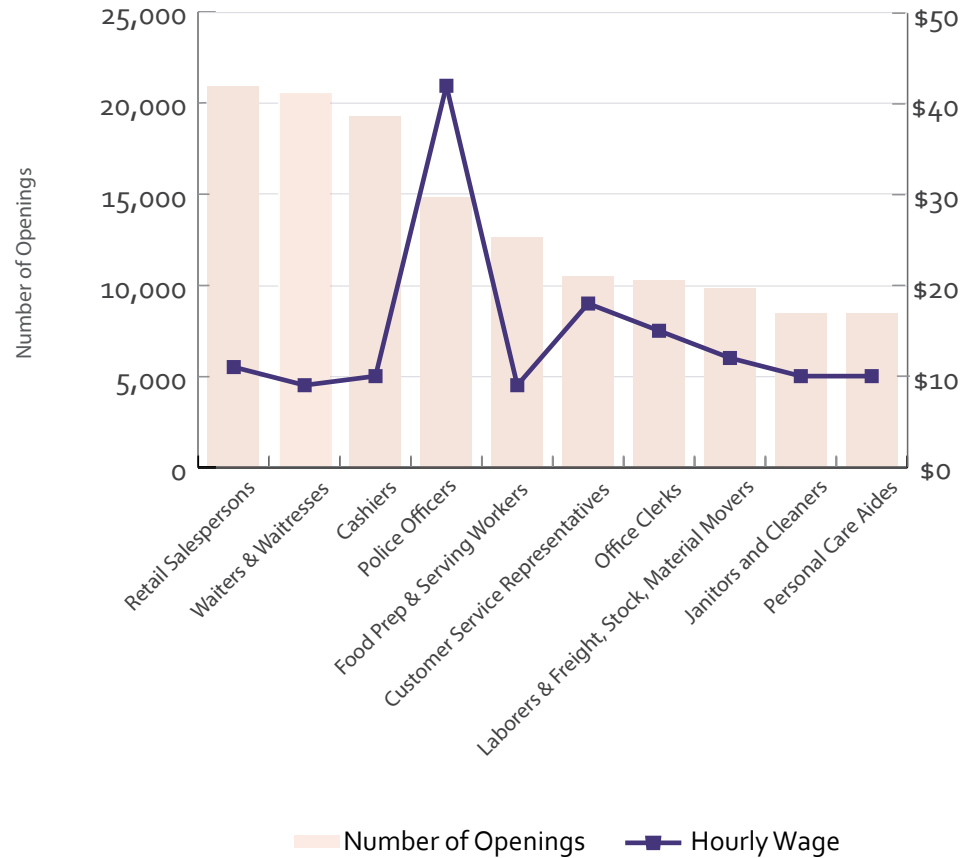
Source: California Employment Development Department, "2010-2020 Occupations with the Most Job Openings", and Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

IMPROVING WORKING CONDITIONS FOR TRASH-SORTERS

Four years ago, 400 private-sector trash sorters in Anaheim, CA organized to demand safe and clean working conditions. A worker's day consisted of eight-hour shifts sorting through all forms of garbage and searching for recyclables. They worked with outdated machinery that made sorting through the trash substantially more difficult. Though provided with safety equipment such as gloves, masks and earplugs, all too often they would get dirty or rip so that workers would end up having to buy their own replacement materials. At the start of their shift, they signed up on a "bathroom board" on which workers were required to schedule their breaks. The bathroom breaks were among the few things workers desperately needed in order to wash away the debris and sweat they were covered with.

Through unionization, employees and labor organizations aimed to get dignity and respect for the employees. The first phase of organizing included educating the surrounding community about the working conditions the workers who sorted through their trash faced. As a result, it was not only Teamsters Local 396 and local union affiliates protesting at the facility, but community residents participating in actions to demand better working conditions. After over a year of organizing, the campaign succeeded and workers gained safer and dignified working rights. They were able to get updated machinery that sorts close to eighty percent of the trash, making it safer and faster for employer to organize the trash. They were also able to get replacements for ripped gloves, unlimited drinking water, water sprinklers on hot days and an end to the "bathroom board".[6]

6   Stan Sinberg, "The Three Lives of Tefere Gebre," OrangeCoast, May 6, 2014, http://www.orangecoast.com/features/2014/05/06/the-three-lives-of-tefere-gebre; and Gloria Alvarado, "Recycling Campaign," Interview by author, May 28, 2014.

2. Living in Orange County

Orange County is among the most expensive places to live in the entire country. The Anaheim-Irvine-Santa Ana metropolitan area is the second least affordable area in the nation to buy a home. The Cost of Living Index compares the prices of housing, consumer goods, and services in Orange County and peer metro areas.[7] In the most recent estimates, Orange County scored 143.8 in 2013, with 100.00 being the average. In other words, it is 43.8 percent more expensive to live in Orange County than the national average.[8] In a recent study, Orange County ranked 4th out of the largest 100 metropolitan areas for fastest growing income gap between the rich and the poor between 1990 and 2012. In 1990, the rich made 7.5 times more than the poor; in 2012 that figure rose to 11.7 times more.[9] The income gap will only widen with the increase of low paying jobs while the cost of living continues to outpace wage and salary growth. Resulting challenges include overcrowding, homelessness, and poor health.

Orange County ranked 4th out of the largest 100 metropolitan areas for fastest growing income gap between the rich and the poor between 1990 and 2012.

TABLE 2: Least Affordable Major Metro Areas to Buy a Home in the U.S., 2014

1.	San Francisco, CA — San Mateo, CA — Redwood City, CA
2.	Santa Ana, CA — Anaheim, CA — Irvine, CA
3.	Los Angeles, CA — Long Beach, CA — Glendale, CA

Source: National Association of Home Builders/Wells Fargo Housing Opportunity Index.

Uneven regional development and migration patterns have created a county with social polarization and geographic inequalities. South County lies south of the 55 freeway where commercial firms developed planned communities in Irvine, Laguna Niguel, and Mission Viejo. These communities promised a suburban utopia - open space, healthy living, modern homes, good schools - that led to the migration of wealthy, and often White, residents.[10] Figure 4 shows the sharp economic divide within the county with low-income residents concentrated in cities in Central and North Orange County. There is also a higher concentration of unemployment in Central Orange County than anywhere else in the county. The top five cities with highest unemployment in Orange County - Anaheim, Santa Ana, Garden Grove, Stanton, and Buena Park - are also the lowest-income areas.[11] When statistics are calculated for the county, often the lower unemployment numbers in South County cities and affluent Northern Cities such as Yorba Linda obscure the economic hardships faced in parts of the county.

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7   The Council for Community and Economic Research, Cost of Living Index, 2013.

8   Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

9   Mary A. Milbourn,"O.C. Income Gap Getting Wider Fast, Analyst Says," The Orange County Register, March 14, 2014, http://www.ocregister.com/articles/county-605717-orange-rich.html.

10 Rob Kling, Spencer C. Olin and Mark Poster, Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

11 Orange County Community Foundation, Our Orange County (Newport Beach: Orange County Community Foundation, 2012), http://connectoc.org/Learn/SafetyNet/HangingByaThread/Unemployment.aspx.

FIGURE 4: Median Household Income by City, 2008–2012
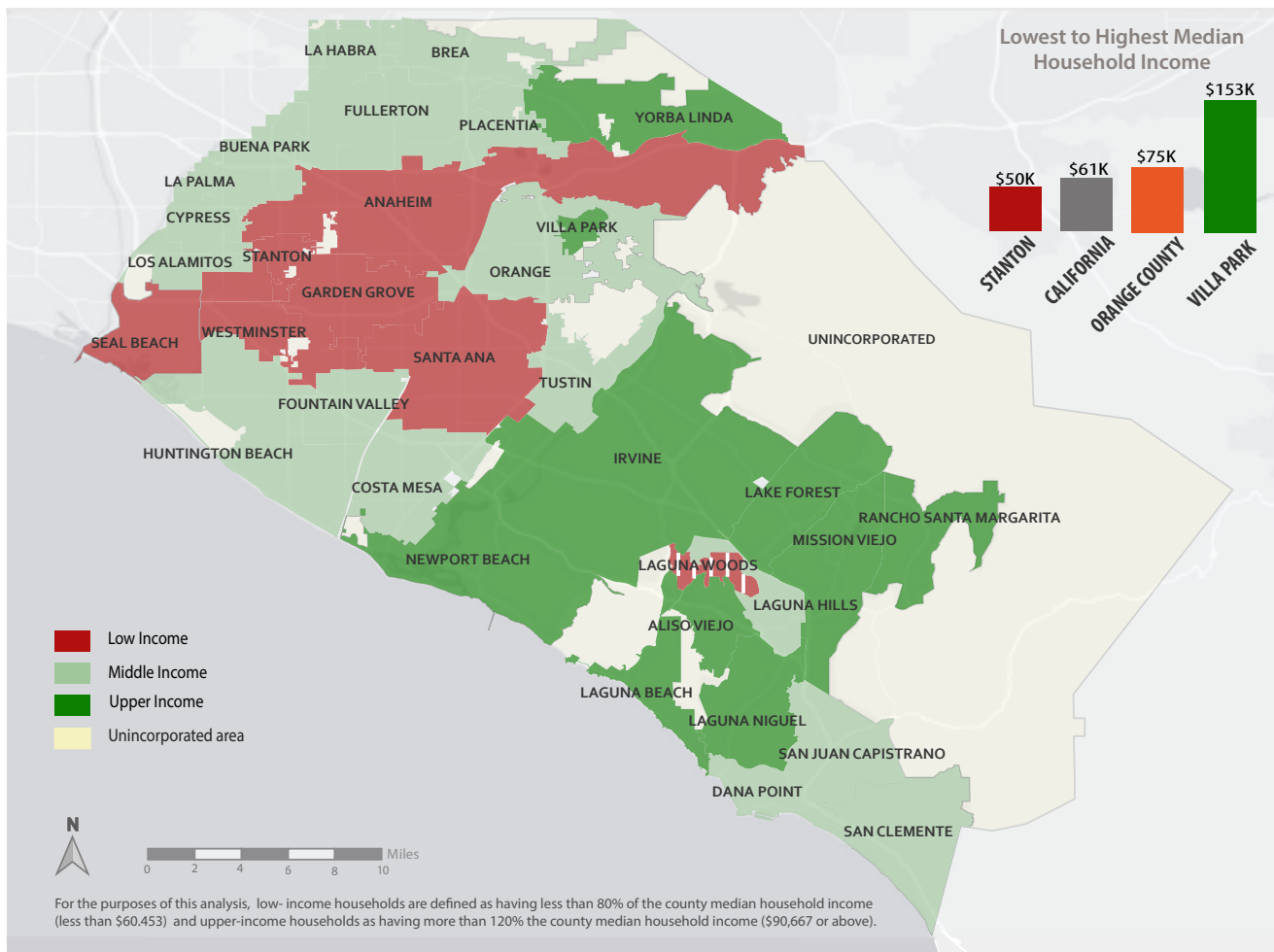
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2008-2012 American Community Survey.

Most people of color live in in the lower-income areas of North and Central Orange County.

In addition to the income divide, there are also stark racial and ethnic separations in the county. Most people of color live in the lower-income areas of North and Central Orange County. The majority of Latinos live in Santa Ana, La Habra, Stanton and Anaheim, and almost one-third of all Asian and Pacific Islanders live in Westminster, Garden Grove and Irvine. Up until the 1950's, developers refused to sell individual properties to people of color. People of color were also prohibited from purchasing beachfront properties. Decades later, when the ban was lifted, most could not afford the homes due to the rise in price for beachfront properties.[12] As a result, over 70 percent of beachfront areas are White. Figure 5 highlights the concentration of people of color in North and Central Orange County while majority White communities live in South Orange County and along the beaches.

12 Robert Garcia et al., Healthy Parks, Schools, and Communities: Green Access and Equity in Orange County (Los Angeles: City Project, 2011), http://www.cityprojectca.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/CityProject_OCreport_ENGLISH1.pdf.

FIGURE 5: Percent of People of Color by City
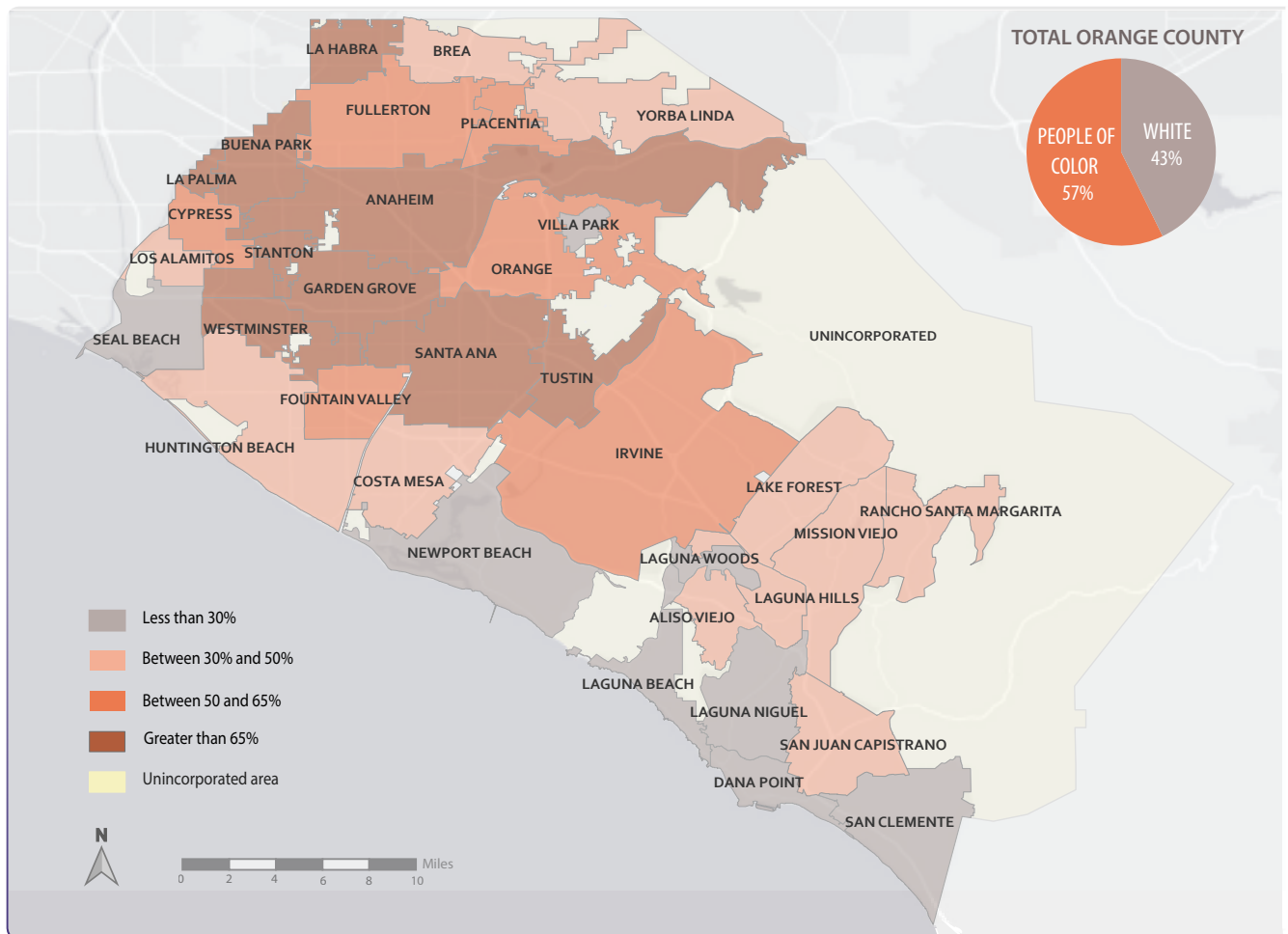
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Population Estimates and 2008-2012 American Community Survey.

High Cost of Housing

Given Orange County's extremely high cost of living, holders of low-wage jobs find it nearly impossible to sustain themselves and their families. The fair market rent, which is the median rent for the area, for a one-bedroom apartment is $1,312. A renter would need to earn an hourly wage of $25.23 to afford a one-bedroom apartment, or the equivalent of an annual income of $52,480.[13] A minimum wage worker would need to work two full time jobs, or 126 hours, to be able to afford the rent.

For most renters in Orange County, the cost of housing is unaffordable. Forty one percent of Orange County residents are renters and earn the median wage of $18.42. That means that sixty percent of renters are unable to afford rent in the county.[14] As mentioned in the last section, low-wage occupations with the most growth have wages below $20. These workers would be unable to afford to a one-bedroom apartment in Orange County.

Sixty percent of renters are unable to afford rent in the county.

13   Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

14   Althea Arnold et al., Out of Reach 2014 Twenty-Five Years Later, The Affordable Housing Crisis Continues (National Low Income Housing Coalition, Washington, DC. 2014).

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FIGURE 6: **Hourly Wages for Occupations with Most Expected Growth**
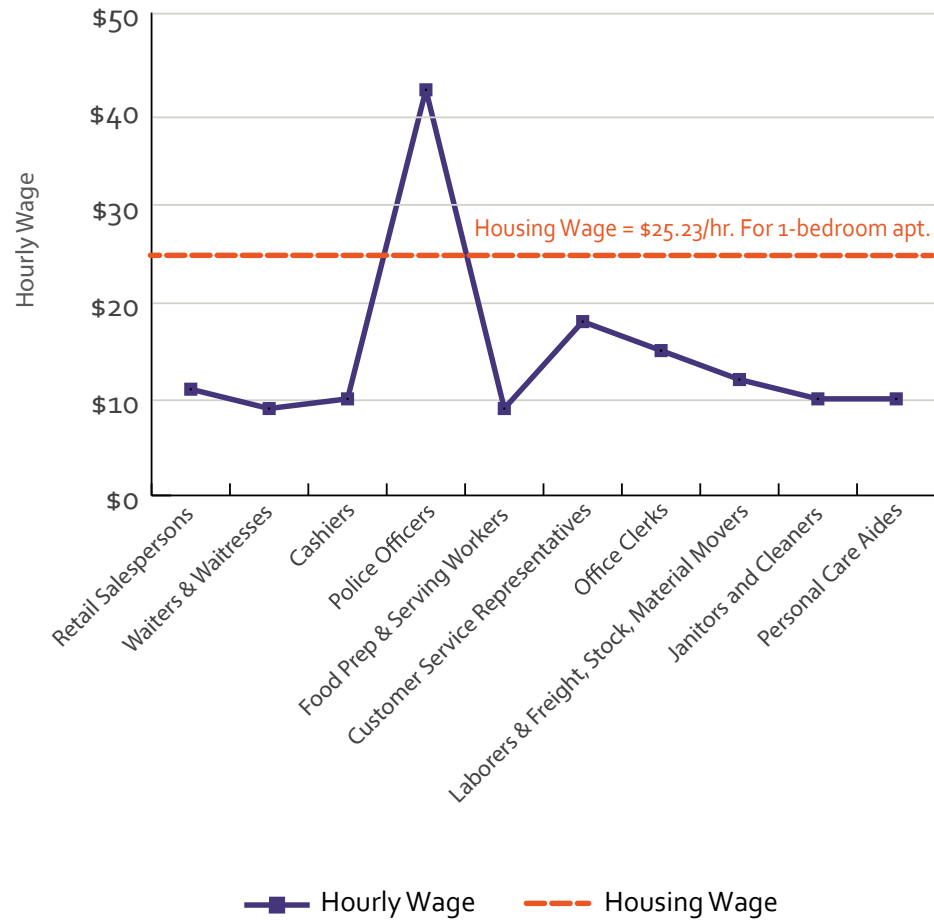
Source: California Employment Development Department, 2010-2020 Occupations with the Most Job Openings, and Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

PHOTO CREDIT: BILL LAPP

There is also limited government housing subsidies for families. Currently, there are 50,000 applicants on the waiting list for rental assistance in the county but due to funding issues, the county will not provide any new housing vouchers.[15]

High home prices also deter families from being able to purchase a home. The median home sale price is $677,660. First-time home-buyers would need to earn $82,180. Forty three percent of households are not able to afford an entry level home.[16] As Figure 7 illustrates, residents in lower income cities such as Santa Ana, Anaheim and Stanton have lower homeownership rates than the more affluent ones.

15 Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

16 Ibid.

FIGURE 7: Homeownership Rate, 2008–2012

Homeownership Rate (bar chart) vs. Median House Price (line), by city: Stanton, Santa Ana, Anaheim, Costa Mesa, Fullerton, Irvine, Laguna Niguel, Yorba Linda, Villa Park. Arrow from Lowest Income to Highest Income.

Homeownership Rate   Median House Price
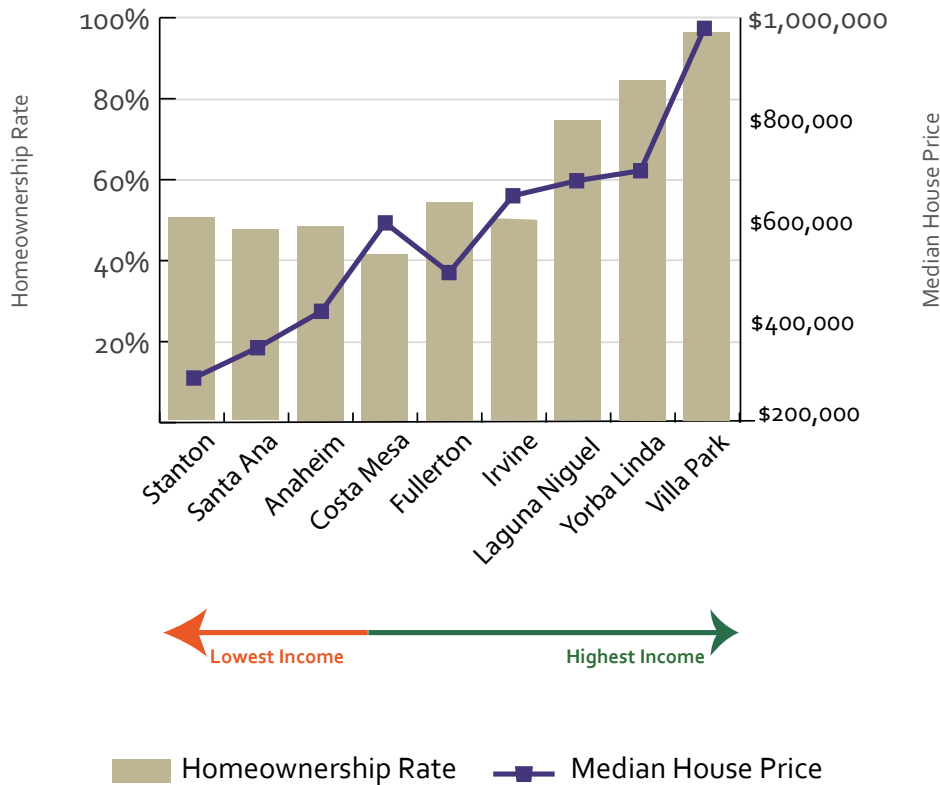
Overcrowding

Lack of affordable housing often leads to individuals and families increasing the number of people living in their home to be able to the cover the cost of the rent or mortgage. Overcrowding can lead to poor health, low test scores and behavioral issues among children. Between 1960 and 2007, Orange County cities ranked both in the top five (Santa Ana) and bottom five (Mission Viejo and Seal Beach) in Southern California for percentage of people living in crowded conditions in city clusters.[17] A recent study found that half of the most heavily crowded areas in the entire country are located in Los Angeles and Orange County.[18]

Homelessness

Homelessness, especially family homelessness, is exacerbated by the high cost of housing and the prevalence of low-wage job opportunities. During the 2012/13 academic year, the number of children between preschool and twelfth grade that identified as homeless or in unstable living arrangements rose seven percent to over 30,000.[19] Over 12,000 Orange County residents are believed to be homeless at some point during the year, and between

Half of the most heavily crowded areas in the entire country are located in Los Angeles and Orange County.

17 John R. Hipp, Victoria Basolo, Marlon Boarnet, and Doug Houston, Southern California Regional Progress Report (Irvine: School of Social Ecology, Metropolitan Futures Initiative, UCI, 2012), http://socialecology.uci.edu/sites/socialecology.uci.edu/files/users/pdevoe/uc_irvine_mfi_first_regional_report_final_0.pdf.

18 Emily A. Reyes and Ryan Menezes, "L.A. and Orange Counties Are an Epicenter of Overcrowded Housing," Los Angeles Times, March 07, 2014, http://www.latimes.com/local/la-me-crowding-20140308%2C0%2C6827011.story#ixzz2vmoWVJ9P.

19 Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

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PHOTO CREDIT: OCCCO

4,000 to 7,000 are believed to be homeless every day.[20] The county only has 3,600 shelter beds to accommodate them.[21] Santa Ana and Anaheim have adopted ordinances that ban the homeless from setting up tents or sleeping in public areas. La Palma Park, often referred to as Orange County's tent city, was the driving force behind Anaheim's policy change. Santa Ana and Anaheim have shelters that open from December to March, but Fullerton recently defeated a proposal that would have created the first year-round shelter in the county.[22] Some families have avoided living in the streets by relocating from motel to motel, and staying the maximum 30 days permitted at each one.[23]

The number of children between preschool and twelfth grade that identified as homeless or in unstable living arrangements rose 7% to over 30,000.

Poverty and Food Insecurity

One third of residents experience financial instability, measured through employment, income and rent burden, and are located mostly in North and Central Orange County. The cities with the highest levels of family financial instability are Santa Ana, Anaheim, Stanton, Westminster, and San Juan Capistrano.[24] In 2012, Orange County also saw the number of children and families living at or near poverty levels rise, as demonstrated by the Free or Reduced Lunch enrollee numbers.[25] The percent of students receiving free or reduced lunch in Orange County as a percent of the total public school enrollment increased from 38.7 percent in 2002/03 to its highest of 46.4 percent of all students in 2011/12.[26] Three school districts, Anaheim, Magnolia and Santa Ana have the highest free or reduced lunch enrollments, with over 85 percent of their students participating in the program. Furthermore, food security is described as a household not living in hunger and having physical and economic access to safe, nutritious food to meet their dietary needs. Orange County ranked as the second highest rate of food insecurity in the state according to the 2009 California Health Interview Survey.[27]

20 Megan K. Schatz, Emily Halcon and Tracy Bennet, Homeless Count & Survey Report (July 2013), http://www.pointintimeoc.org/2013_pit_final.pdf.

21 Orange County Community Foundation, Our Orange County (Newport Beach: Orange County Community Foundation, 2012), http://www.connectoc.org/Learn/SafetyNet/HangingByaThread/HomelessHousing.aspx.

22 Adam Elmahrek, "Anaheim City Council Bans Homeless Tents in City Parks," Voice of OC, October 8, 2013, http://www.voiceofoc.org/oc_north/article_4b4f0cdc-3bf2-11e3-9811-001a4bcf887a.html.

23 Mary A. Foo, Interview by author, March 12, 2014.

24 Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

25 California Department of Education, Data Reporting Office, Selected County Level Data - ORANGE for the Year 2012-13.

26 Orange County Children's Partnership, The 19th Annual Report on the Conditions of Children in Orange County (Orange County Children's Partnership, 2013), http://www1.ochca.com/ochealthinfo.com/docs/occp/report2013/.

27 UCLA Center for Health Policy Research, 2009 California Health Interview Survey.; and World Health Organization, "Food Security," http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story028/en/.

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FIGURE 8: **Children Receiving Free or Reduced Lunch, 2012–2013**

Legend:
- Under 30%
- 30% to 60%
- 60% to 85%
- Over 85%

Map labels: LA HABRA, BREA-OLINDA UNIFIED, FULLERTON, PLACENTIA-YORBA LINDA UNIFIED, BUENA PARK, CENTRALIA, MAGNOLIA, ANAHEIM, ORANGE UNIFIED, CYPRESS, LOS ALAMITOS UNIFIED, GARDEN GROVE UNIFIED, WESTMINSTER, SANTA ANA UNIFIED, TUSTIN UNIFIED, OCEAN VIEW, FOUNTAIN VALLEY, HUNTINGTION BEACH, SADDLEBACK VALLEY UNIFIED, NEWPORT-MESA UNIFIED, IRVINE UNIFIED, LAGUNA BEACH UNIFIED, CAPISTRANO UNIFIED

N

Miles
0   2   4   6   8   10

Data shown by Elementary & Unified School District boundaries. Unified High School District data not displayed.

Source: Report on the Conditions of Children in Orange County, 2013.

PHOTO CREDIT: H DRAGON

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PHOTO CREDIT: EL CENTRO CULTURAL DE MEXICO

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3. Health and Environmental Impacts

Inequality in the county is also measurable through environmental indicators. As residents struggle to make a living and deal with immediate issues such as food and shelter, they are less able to address environmental concerns that may also be impacting them. A strong environmental justice movement links the environment, health, race and economic sustainability as all of these issues are interconnected. Low-income communities, immigrants and people of color are often the ones that live in the most polluted or unhealthy neighborhoods. Their neighborhoods are often targeted to host facilities with negative environmental impacts, such as a waste facility or truck depot.[28]

Disparities in Resident Well-Being

The Well-Being Index is determined through an annual poll across the country via a partnership with the national polling firm Gallup. It factors in physical health, emotional health, healthy behavior, and access to basic necessities. By these measures, in 2013, the 48th Congressional District, which includes Seal Beach, Costa Mesa, Newport Beach, Laguna Beach, Aliso Viejo Sunset Beach, Huntington Beach, Midway City as well as parts of neighboring cities ranks among the top six percent for basic access to food, shelter and medicine and the top one percent for overall well-being. Alternatively, the bordering 46th district that encompasses parts of Central Orange County and includes cities like Garden Grove, Huntington Beach, Santa Ana, Seal Beach, and Westminster and is two-thirds Latino ranks in the bottom seven percent for basic access and the bottom third for overall well-being.[29]

> **Cities in North Orange County are at the top 10% of communities in California most burdened by pollution.**

FIGURE 9: Well–Being Index, Congressional District Rankings, 2013
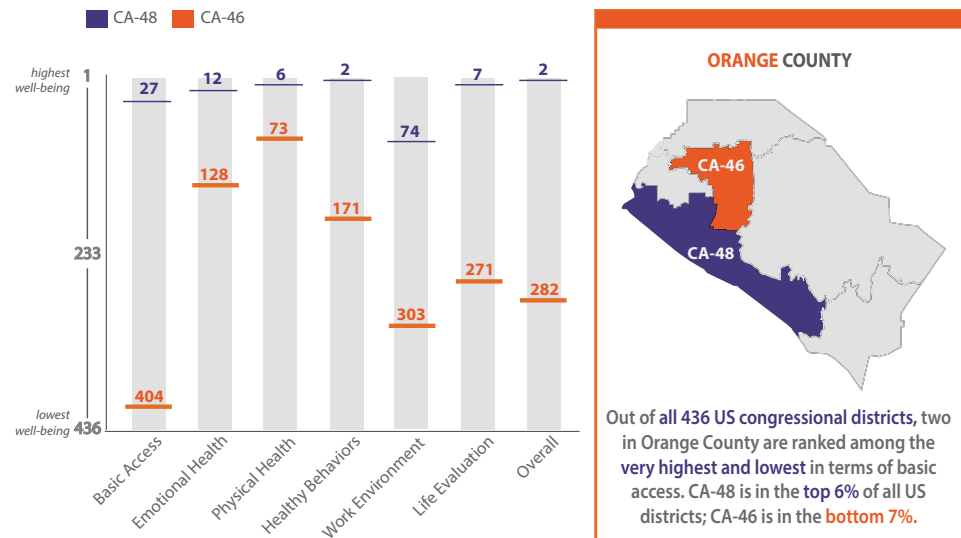
Source: Gallup and Healthways, Well-Being Index, State of California Well-Being 2013.

28 Renee Skelton and Vernice Miller, "The Environmental Justice Movement," Natural Resources Defense Council, October 12, 2006, http://www.nrdc.org/ej/history/hej.asp.

29 Gallup and Healthways, State of California Well-Being: 2013 State, Community, and Congressional District Analysis (Gallup and Healthways: 2014).

Air Quality and Pollution

The California Environmental Protection Agency Screen Tool, which overlays different environmental, health, and socio-economic indicators, identified various cities in North Orange County at the top ten percent of communities in California most burdened by pollution.[30] A recent environmental report card found that Santa Ana is among the least healthy places to live in California - with dirty air and pollutants, chemical releases, a large amount of hazardous waste cleanup sites and groundwater contaminants—while Newport Beach, just a few miles away, is one of the healthiest places to live.[31]

FIGURE 10: CalEnviroScreen Scores for Orange County, 2014

Census tracts with higher CalEnviroScreen scores are estimated to have relatively high pollution burdens and population vulnerabilities. Census tracts with lower scores correspond to lower estimated pollution burdens and population vulnerabilities.
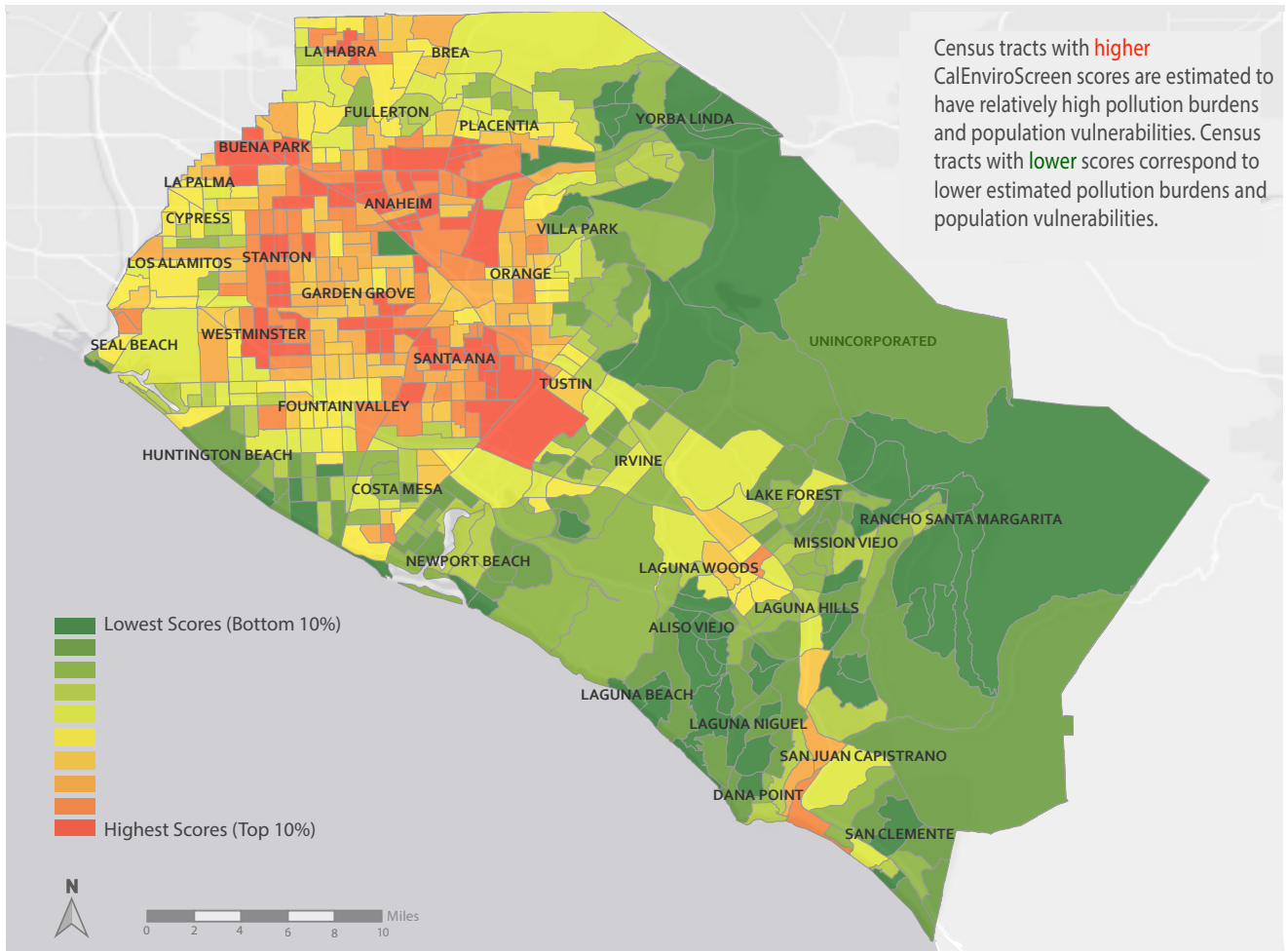
Source: California Communities Environmental Health Screening Tool, Version 2.0.

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30   John Faust et al., Draft California Communities Environmental Health Screening Tool, Version 2.0 (2014).

31   Daniel Weintraub, "Measuring Environment vs. Health," The Orange County Register, May 3, 2013, http://www.ocregister.com/articles/health-506954-tool-state.html.

Park Space

Park space is limited in parts of Orange County, particularly in north and central regions. Parks provide environmental benefits like absorbing and naturally filtering polluted stormwater runoff. They also provide children and families with a place to exercise and play in safer zones. A recent study concluded that in low-income areas, people that lived within 1 mile of a park were more likely to exercise. The National Recreation and Parks association recommends at least 10 acres of park space per 1,000 residents, a target many Orange County communities fail to achieve.[32] Cities with higher rates of poverty have limited park space as well as higher rates of childhood obesity. For example, the low-income cities of Stanton and Santa Ana have one acre per 1000 residents and around half of the children in those cities are overweight or obese.[33] In contrast, Laguna Beach has 69 acres and Irvine has 38 acres per 1000 residents.

A recent study on park access in Orange County found that park access disparities exist among different ethnic and socio-economic groups.[34] Majority-White communities have access to 0.018 acres of open access green space per person. Majority-Asian communities have access to 0.013 acres of open access green space per person. And Majority-Latino communities have access to 0.009 acres of open access green space per person. These figures illustrate how park space distribution favors White communities over ethnic minority communities. Similarly, study findings indicate that residents living in high-income communities have an average of 2.8 open access park facilities within walking distance (400 meters in any direction). Residents living in middle-income communities have an average of 2.4 open access park facilities within walking distance. And low-income communities have an average of 2.3 open access park facilities within walking distance, which indicates inequitable access among communities of varied socio-economic status.

> # In Orange County, park access disparities exist among different ethnic and socio-economic groups.

DEFEATING A DEVELOPMENT PLAN TO SAVE NATURAL OPEN SPACES

West Coyote Hills is one of the last remaining natural open spaces in North Orange County. From the late 19th century until the 1970's, Chevron used the area for oil production. In recent years, Chevron began a process to build homes and a shopping center in this area. Fullerton's city council rejected Chevron's development plan in 2010 based on water supply and public safety concerns. One year later, a new and more conservative city council, under pressure from a Chevron lawsuit, approved the plan.

This set the stage for a 2012 voter veto referendum known as Measure W that aimed to overturn the city council's plan approval. A small non-profit group known as, "Friends of Coyote Hills" who has a 13-year relationship with the Fullerton community, worked to raise awareness about the issue. The top signature gatherer was a 90-year-old man. He stood outside a Stater Bros. Market for hours getting the community informed and gathering signatures. With a budget of $62,000, "Friends" was able to defeat Measure W in a landslide win of 60.8 percent opposing the measure. Crucial to their success was a simple slogan: "Don't be Fooled by Chevron". Chevron spent nearly $1.5 million in ads and campaign work to approve Measure W.[35]

32 Garcia et al., Healthy Parks, Schools, and Communities: Green Access and Equity in Orange County.

33 Orange County Healthcare Agency, Healthy Places, Healthy People: Snapshots of Where We Live, Learn, Work, and Play (2012); and UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and California Center for Public Health Advocacy, Overweight and Obesity among Children by California Cities (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and California Center for Public Health Advocacy, 2012).

34 Ian R. Boles, "Parkways as Found Paradise: A GIS Analysis of the Form and Accessibility of Green Spaces in Orange County, California," (California State University, Long Beach, 2012).

35 Diane Bonono et al., "Interview with Friends of Coyote Hills," Interview by author, March 25, 2014.

FIGURE 11: **Park Availability in Orange County, 2011**

Areas with less than 3 acres of park per thousand residents are considered **park poor**, according to California law.

Acres of Parkland per Thousand Residents
- Less than 1 acre
- 1-3
- 3-5
- 5-10
- More than 10 acres

Miles
0 2 4 6 8 10

Includes all park ownerships with public access or restricted public access. Park ownerships include the following agencies: non-governmental organizations, city, county, state, and federal governments.

Source: The City Project, "Healthy Parks, Schools and Communities: Green Access and Equity for Orange County" and U.S. Census Bureau, 2008-2012 American Community Survey.

Oil Drilling in Orange County

The Monterey Shale formation, which spreads across 1,750 miles from Orange County to Central California, contains tight oil or shale oil, which is an alternative to crude oil. Development of shale oil in other areas such as North Dakota and Texas has created an oil boom reversing the oil production decline since the 1970s. There has been much speculation that California could host the next oil boom as the Monterey Shale represents about two-thirds of the United States' shale oil reserves.[36] In 2011, federal energy officials estimated that the formation could produce 15 billion barrels of oil.[37] Recently, they downgraded that number to 600 million.[38] Proponents saw the production of shale oil as a source for an economic boom for California while environmentalists raised concerns about the environmental risks such

36 Norimitsu Onishi, "Vast Oil Reserve May Now Be Within Reach, and Battle Heats Up," The New York Times, February 03, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/04/us/vast-oil-reserve-may-now-be-within-reach-and-battle-heats-up.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1&.

37 United States Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, Review of Emerging Resources: U.S. Shale Gas and Shale Oil Plays (Washington D.C.: 2011), http://www.eia.gov/analysis/studies/usshalegas/pdf/usshaleplays.pdf.

38 Louis Sahagun, "U.S. Officials Cut Estimate of Recoverable Monterey Shale Oil by 96%," Los Angeles Times, May 20, 2014, http://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-oil-20140521-story.html.

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PHOTO CREDIT: RICHARD MASONER

as potential water contamination and the creation of artificial earthquakes given that extraction is done through fracking, a process that involves the injection of water, sand, and chemicals into the ground under high pressure to crack the rock and allow the oil and gas to flow.[39]

FIGURE 12: **The Monterey Shale Formation in California**

Source: Doug Stevens, Los Angeles Times.

As of 2012, Orange County ranks 5th in the state in terms of active gas and oil wells.[40] In addition, fracking has already been taking place for a few years in North Orange County's cities of Brea, La Habra, and extensions of the Carbon Canyon area. It is unclear how long and when they have been active, or what chemicals they have used or released.[41] In 2013, an oil company obtained permits to conduct a geophysical survey that could help identify new oil reserves in the predominantly low-income cities of Santa Ana, Anaheim, Garden Grove, Westminster, Stanton, Cypress, and Buena Park.[42]

39   University of Southern California Global Energy Network, The Monterey Shale & California's Economic Future (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Global Energy Network, 2013).

40   California Department of Conservation Division of Oil, Gas and Geothermal Resources, 2012.

41   Brandon Ferguson, "Fracking on the Fringes of Orange County, With Little Oversight," OC Weekly, August 29, 2013, http://blogs.ocweekly.com/navelgazing/2013/08/fracking_orange_county_linn_ en.php; and "Orange County Oil & Gas Wells Map," DrillingMaps, http://www.drillingmaps.com/ ocsd.html#.U4UY2K1yHZa.

42   Adam Elmahrek, "Is Fracking in Orange County's Future?" Voice of OC, June 3, 2013, http://www. voiceofoc.org/oc_north/article_2aa179b6-cc5d-11e2-910e-0019bb2963f4.html.

4. The New Face of Orange County

Before World War II, Orange County had a population of 130,000 and was a predominantly rural area with an agricultural economy.[43] Over the following 60 years, it saw a massive increase in its population, coupled with major economic and demographic shifts. Today, Orange County is one of the most urban counties in California, and has a population of over 3.1 million.[44]

FIGURE 13: **Population Growth in Orange County, 1900–2030**
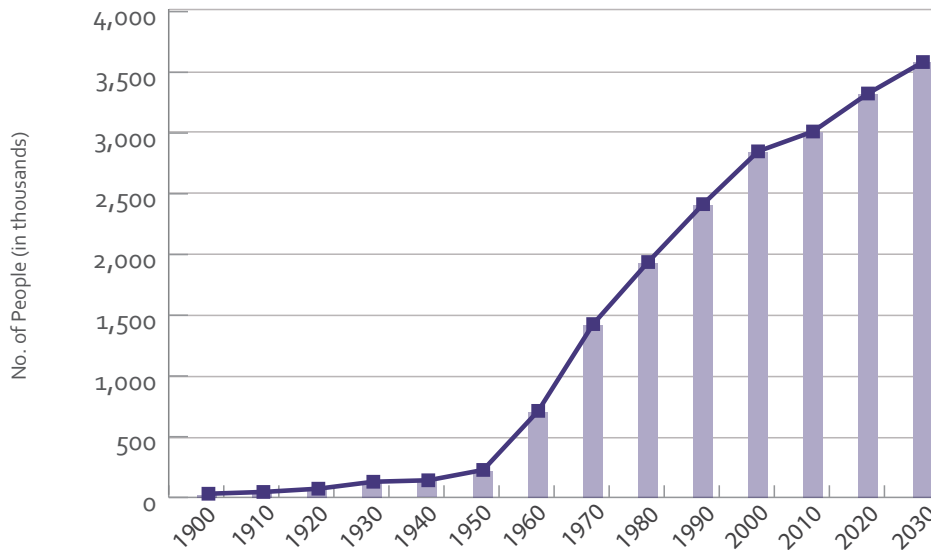
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Orange County, California, Population of Counties by Decennial Census 1990-1990, and California Department of Transportation, Orange County Economic Forecast.

Much of the county's population growth from the 1950s to 1970s was driven by domestic and international migration. However, since the 1980s natural increase (births minus deaths) has outpaced migration, thus becoming the main source of population growth.[45] As Figure 14 shows, foreign immigration has continued to trend positively since 2000, although domestic migration trends show more people moving out of Orange County than moving in.

PHOTO CREDIT: VIET RAINBOW OF ORANGE COUNTY

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43   John R. Hipp, The Orange Crush: The Squeezing of Orange County's Middle Class (Irvine: University of California, Irvine, 2009).

44   U.S. Census Bureau, 2013 Population Estimates.

45   Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

Components of Population Change in Orange County, 2000–2013

Negative numbers indicate that more people left Orange County for other counties/states than moved from other Areas to Orange County.

Source: California Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit.

Immigrants make up one-third of Orange County's population.

Over the years, major demographic shifts have transformed Orange County from a predominantly White county in the 1960s and 1970s into a place with vibrant c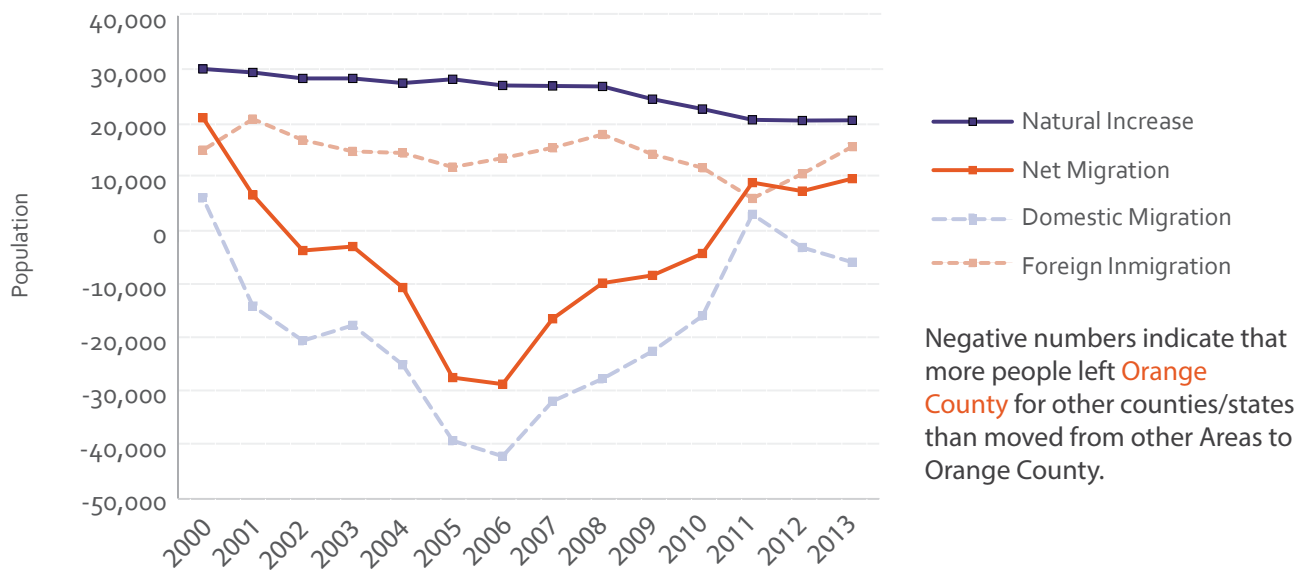ommunities of various ethnic and social backgrounds. Orange County has attracted new immigrants for the past century — from the agricultural workforce that picked orange citrus in the 1920s to blue collar Latino and Asian assembly line workers that constructed computer and biomedical equipment starting in the 1970s to low-wage service sector workers that now represent the largest growth sector.[46] Today, immigrants make up one-third of the county's population with 922,000 immigrants including Somalis, Arabs, Romanians, Filipinos, Samoans, Indians, Vietnamese, Germans, Mexicans, Iranians and more. The majority of immigrants (79%) arrived from 1980 to 2000 and 21 percent arrived in the last decade.[47] These communities present both opportunities for shifting the political, social and economic landscape of the county while also presenting the need for support and services such as language access and jobs.

Figure 15 shows the change of demographics over the past three decades. Less than half (43%) of Orange County residents self-identify as Non-Hispanic White. Furthermore, 19 percent identify as Asian or Pacific Islander (API)[48] and 34 percent identify as Latino.[49] In addition, Orange County has a substantially higher proportion of foreign-born residents (31%) than the nationwide average (13%) and only somewhat higher than the statewide average (27%).[50]

46   Kling, Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II.

47   University of Southern California, Orange, Issue brief (Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration, University of Southern California); and U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey 5-year Selected Population Tables.

48   Asian and Pacific Islander includes: "Asian Indian," "Chinese," "Filipino," "Korean," "Japanese," "Vietnamese," and "Other Asian"; A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or South Asia.

49   U.S. Census Bureau, 2013 Population Estimates.

50   Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2014.

FIGURE 15: Orange County Ethnic Composition, 1990–2010
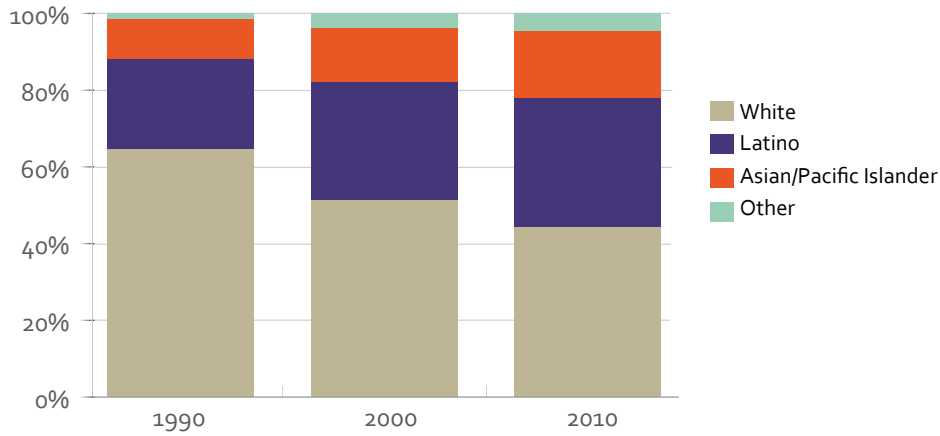
Legend: White, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Other

FIGURE 16: Age of Orange County Population by Race/Ethnicity, 2010
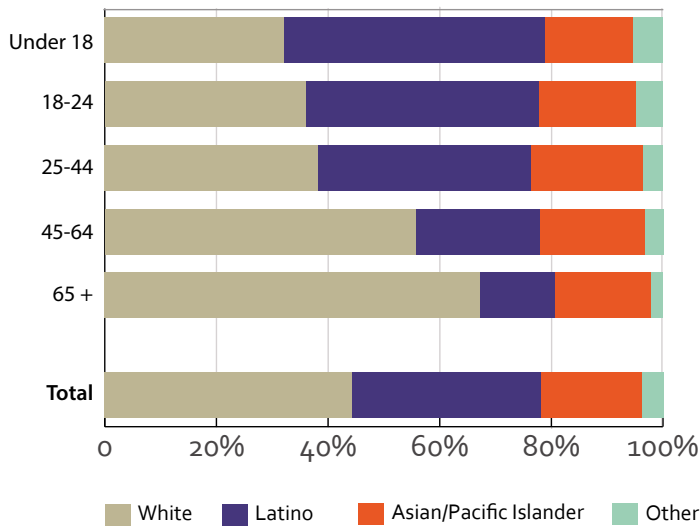
Categories: Under 18, 18-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65 +, Total

Legend: White, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Other

Non-White communities are expected to grow over the next few decades. As shown in Figure 17, Latinos are outgrowing all ethnicities at such a pace that they will comprise nearly half (45%) in Orange County by 2060.

FIGURE 17: **Projected Components of Population by Ethnicity in Orange County, 2010–2060**
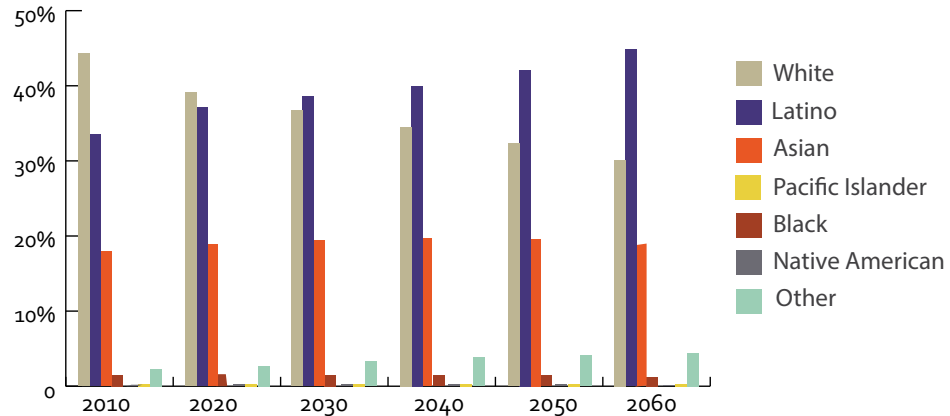
In Orange County, the Asian and Pacific Islander (API) community has also been growing rapidly over the past two decades and now makes up the third largest API population in the country behind Los Angeles and Santa Clara Counties. The Vietnamese and Korean business districts make the county unique in that it is mostly Chinese or Japanese business districts that are commonly recognized elsewhere.[51]

Orange County has the third largest API population in the country.

FIGURE 18: **U.S. Counties with the Largest Asian Populations, 2000–2010**
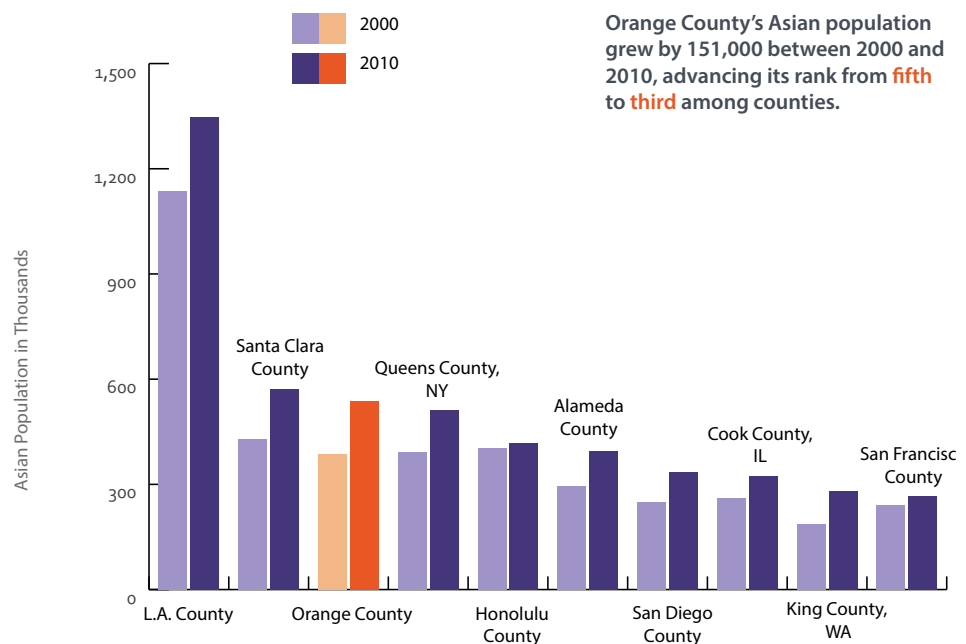
Orange County's Asian population grew by 151,000 between 2000 and 2010, advancing its rank from **fifth** to **third** among counties.

51 Linda T. Vo and Mary Y. Danico, "The Formation of Post-suburban Communities: Koreatown and Little Saigon, Orange County," International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy 24, no. 7/8 (2004): 15-45. doi:10.1108/01443330410791000.

Vietnamese are the largest API group, making up over one-third of the Asian population followed by Koreans, Filipinos and Chinese.
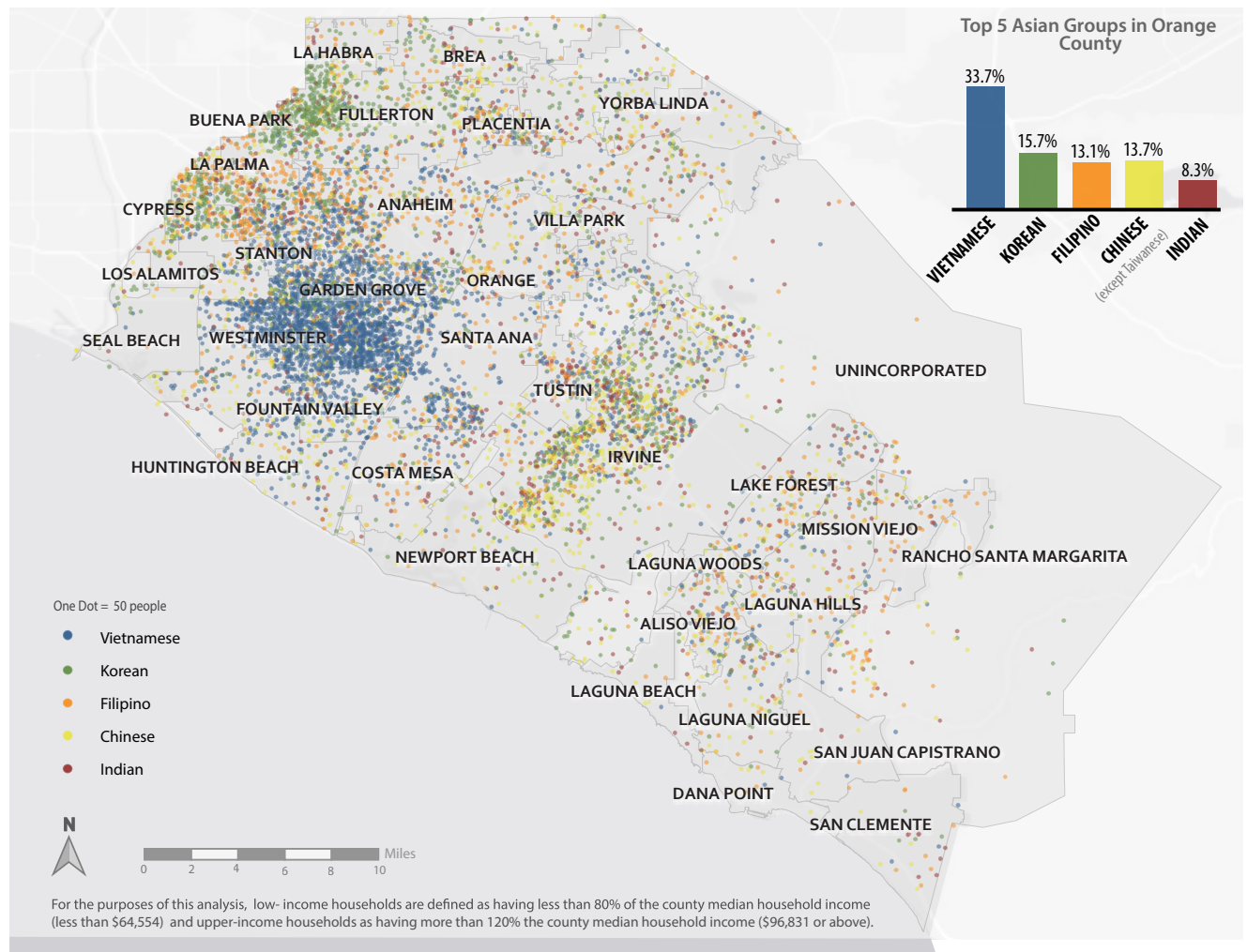
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2008-2012 American Community Survey.

In Central and North Orange County, demographic shifts created different ethnic enclaves such as Little Saigon, Little Arabia, and Little Seoul. Almost half (44%) of all Latinos in Orange County live in Santa Ana and Anaheim.[52] Research shows the significance of Orange County's enclaves in immigrants' search for housing and employment opportunities and political engagement.[53]

There are other emerging communities, such as the Iranian and Arab communities. Figure 20 is a map based on individuals of Arab and Iranian ancestry, which provides perspective on where these communities are located. Currently, there are efforts by Arab business leaders and community

Almost half of all Latinos in Orange County live in Santa Ana and Anaheim.

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52   Orange County Health Needs Assessment, A Look at Health in Orange County's Hispanic/Latino Community (Orange County Health Needs Assessment, 2011).

53   Victoria Basolo and Mai T. Nguyen, "Immigrants' Housing Search and Neighborhood Conditions: A Comparative Analysis of Housing Choice Voucher Holders," Cityscape 11, no. 3 (2009): 99-126; and Vo, "The Formation of Post-suburban Communities: Koreatown and Little Saigon, Orange County."

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members to give increased recognition to Anaheim's Little Arabia and eventually have the city give it an official designation and freeway sign, similar to Little Saigon's official designation.[54]

FIGURE 20: Population of Arab and Iranian Ancestry, 2008-2012

One dot = 20 people
- Born in Arab Country
- Born in Iran
- Low Income
- Middle Income
- Upper Income

For the purposes of this analysis, low- income households are defined as having less than 80% of the county median household income (less than $60,453) and upper-income households as having more than 120% the county median household income ($90,667 or above).
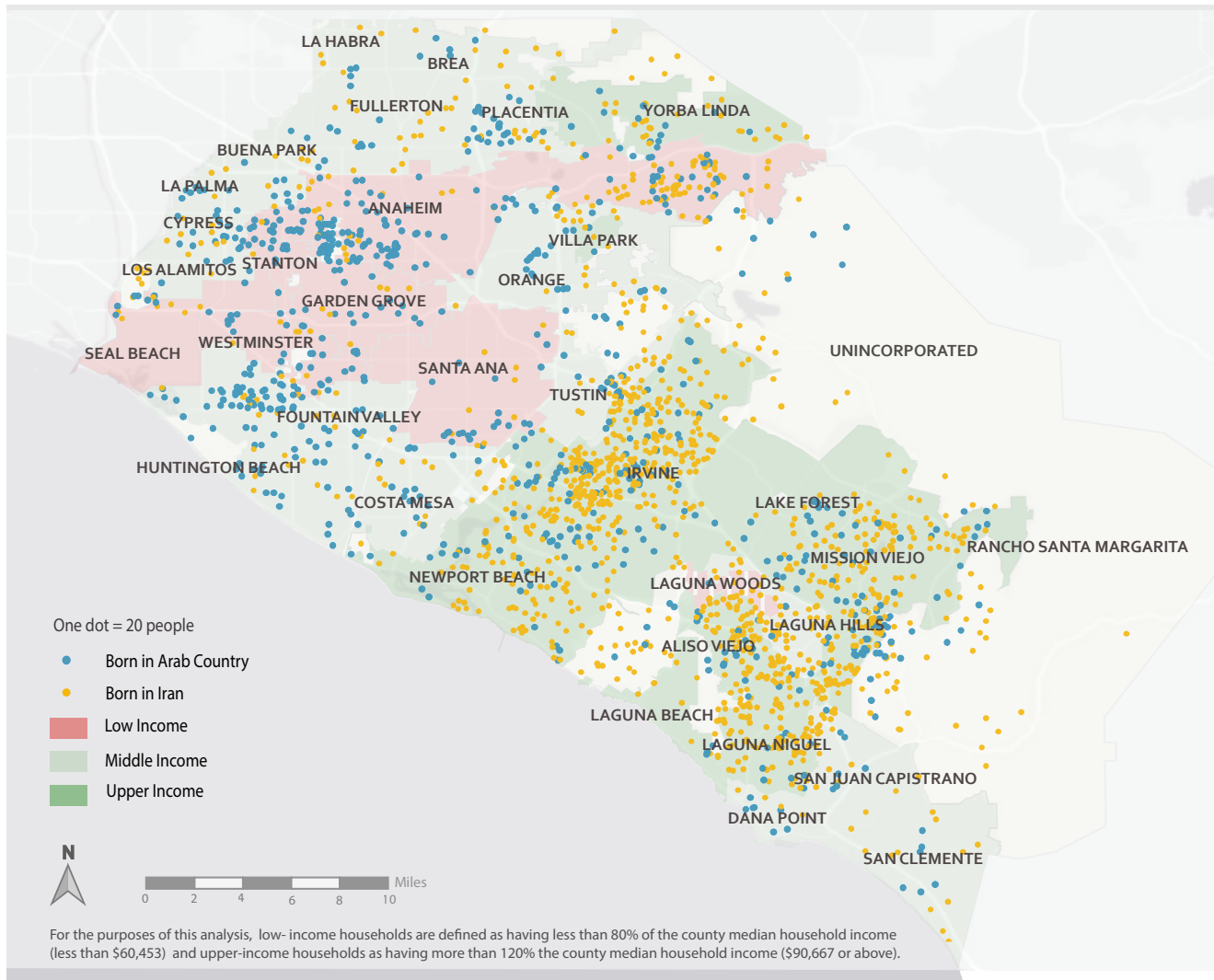
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2008-2012 American Community Survey.

54 Paloma Esquivel, "Anaheim's Little Arabia Pushing for a Higher Profile," Los Angeles Times, March 15, 2014, http://articles.latimes.com/2014/mar/15/local/la-me-little-arabia-20140316.

5. Inequality Spreads Across Color Lines

Ethnic and racial communities experience various forms of inequality in the county. Although the county's diverse communities come with different histories and cultures, their shared experiences as Orange County residents intersect in similar and familiar ways. For instance, while members of the Korean community have a substantially better record of educational attainment rates than members of the Vietnamese community, both groups are affected by linguistic isolation that hinders their ability to seek or receive help on a wide range of issues like healthcare and educational services. There have been some efforts to combine forces and collaborate. For example, merchants in both the Korean and Vietnamese communities have organized against city ordinances that restrict their commercial autonomy.[55] Stories like these provide the foundation for future coalition building.

Emerging communities tend to be lower income, and face educational attainment challenges and language isolation. Latino and Vietnamese households led Orange County with 16.5 and 13.7 percent living in poverty, followed by Koreans, with 13.0 percent of them living in poverty.[56] In 2011, 17.3 percent of Orange County residents lacked health insurance. Latinos are more likely to be uninsured (30%), followed by Asians (15%) compared to White (9%).[57] In terms of food stamps received in Orange County, Latinos and Vietnamese both led all ethnic groups with 7.4 and 7.8 percent respectively (compared the Orange County population total of 3%).[58]

Three-fourths (74.3%) of Latinos in the county are not U.S. citizens.[59] Latino per capita income of ($17,028) is half of the overall per capita income in Orange County ($34,017). Latinos tend to be employed in service; construction, extraction, maintenance, and repair; and production, transportation, and material moving.[60] Latino families have twice the rate of poverty than the county average of 7.1 percent. Furthermore, nearly three times (43.5%) the number of Latinos have attained less than a high school diploma compared to 15.7 percent of all Orange County residents.[61] In addition, Latino students, followed by African Americans, have the highest high school dropout rate.[62]

Emerging communities tend to be lower income, and face educational attainment challenges and language isolation.

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55 Vo, "The Formation of Post-suburban Communities: Koreatown and Little Saigon, Orange County."

56 U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey 5-year Selected Population Tables.

57 Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2013.

58 U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey 5-year Selected Population Tables.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Orange County Health Needs Assessment, A Look at Health in Orange County's Hispanic/Latino Community.

62 Orange County Children's Partnership, The 19th Annual Report on the Conditions of Children in Orange County.

High School Dropout Rates in Orange County, 2009–2012
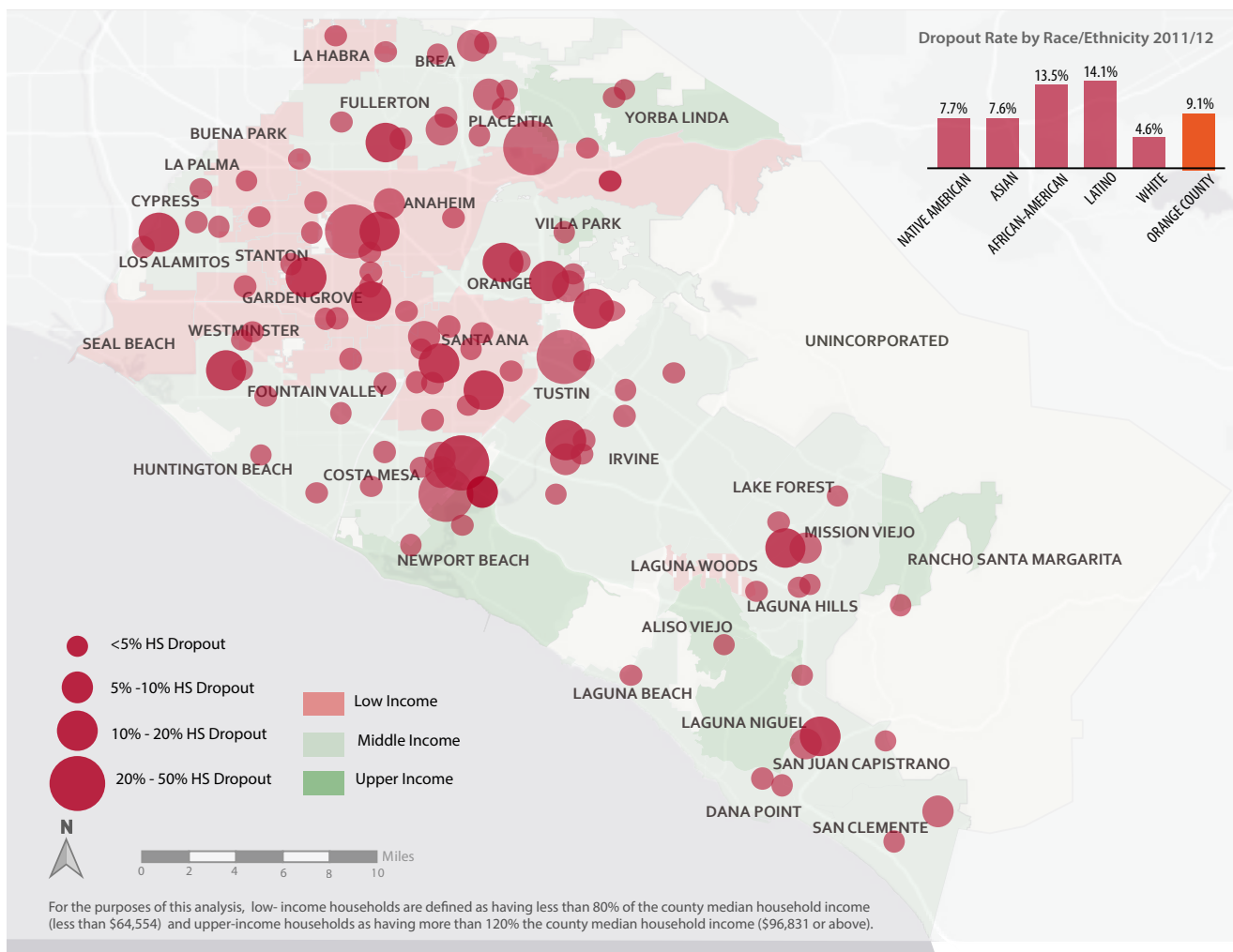
Source: Report on the Conditions of Children in Orange County, 2013.

Orange County is home to the largest Vietnamese community in the United States.

Orange County is home to the largest Vietnamese community in the United States. Seven in ten Orange County Vietnamese residents are foreign born.[63] The Vietnamese community suffers from economic, health, and educational issues that are often overlooked. Like other Asian and Pacific Islander ethnic groups, they are aggregated into a category of "Asian and Pacific Islander" which dilutes the issues that affect each individual API ethnic population. For instance, if we examine educational attainment in a 2007 survey of adults in Orange County, of API groups as a whole, 54.5 percent report completing college while only 21.3 percent of Vietnamese report completing college. In addition, the community faces economic challenges. Almost half (43.7%) of Vietnamese make less than $25,000 a year working in low-wage jobs.[64] Language barriers also impact the Vietnamese community. Asian Americans Advancing Justice indicated in their demographic report that the Vietnamese community has the second lowest rates of English language proficiency of all Asian groups in California.[65]

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63   U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey 5-year Selected Population Tables.

64   Orange County Health Needs Assessment, A Look at Health in Orange County's Vietnamese Community (Orange County Health Needs Assessment, 2010).

65   Asian Americans Advancing Justice, A Community of Contrasts: Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in California (Asian Americans Advancing Justice, 2013).

Bringing Rainbows to our Communities

In February 2013, organizers of the Lunar New Year parade banned lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer/questioning (LGBTQ) community members from marching in the parade that year. The reason for the denial was that there were some who felt LGBTQs are not part of the Vietnamese culture. Viet Rainbow of Orange County (VROC), a community-based organization founded by Vietnamese-Americans with a diverse prism of sexual orientations and gender identities, mobilized the community and hundreds of people protested along the route of the parade. Their presence was loud and clear, with signs and rainbow flags as the parade passed. In the next several months, VROC continued to organize trainings and provide visibility and a voice for the Vietnamese LGBTQ community.

In November 2013, the same parade organizers voted to once again exclude the Vietnamese American LGBTQ contingent, despite the fact that they had not yet been granted the permit from the City of Westminster. Over the next month, VROC mobilized the community, business sponsors, social media, and political leaders to pressure the organizers. One month after their vote to bar LGBTQ members of the community, the parade organizers were forced to call for a second public community assembly of local Vietnamese organizations. Feeling the mounted pressure and shift in community attitudes, they voted in favor of LGBTQ people participating in the parade. On February 1st, 2014 the LGBTQ contingent and their allies marched proudly along Bolsa Avenue in Little Saigon. They vibrantly displayed their Vietnamese American and LGBTQ identities. VROC and its members marched with the motto, "We, as a community, are not complete without each other."[66]

The Korean community is the second largest API ethnic group and between 1990 and 2006, more than doubled in size with a 122 percent increase—faster than the rate of Latino growth in the county.[67] Koreans follow the same trend as Vietnamese residents in terms of language spoken. Half (51%) reported speaking English less than "very well." Like the Vietnamese community, seven in ten (72.4%) of Koreans in the county are foreign born.[68] Economically speaking, while Koreans in Orange County are often viewed as an affluent community, their median household income is a quarter (23.9%) less than that of the overall API community and a fifth (19.5%) less than the total Orange County population. Coincidentally, Koreans also have a higher rate of poverty than the aggregated API and Orange County population as a whole. Furthermore, Koreans have nearly twice as many residents without health insurance (29.9%) than both the API population and total Orange County population.[69]

Though Blacks comprise only 2.1 percent of the population, they report the highest rate of hate crimes in the county. Most notorious was the Black family in Yorba Linda who was literally forced to move after facing several instances of harassment. Moreover, Blacks cite racial discrimination, housing costs and a lack of community as reasons that make it difficult to move to Orange County.[70] No area in Orange County exceeds a 4 percent population level of Blacks, which is lower than state, and national levels.[71]

Korean median household income is a quarter less than that of the overall Asian community and a fifth less than the total Orange County population.

66   Anh Do, "A Rainbow-hued Tet Parade in Little Saigon," Los Angeles Times, February 01, 2014, http://articles.latimes.com/2014/feb/01/local/la-me-ff-0202-tet-parade-20140202; and Hieu Nguyen, Email Correspondence, Compiled by Hugo Romero, April 24, 2014.

67   Mikyong Kim-Goh, Ellen Ahn, David Wee and Leen H. Shin, Profiles of the Korean American Community in Orange County (California State University, Fullerton, Children and Families Commission of Orange County, and Korean Community Services, 2008).

68   U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey 5-year Selected Population Tables.

69   U.S. Census Bureau, 2012 3-year Estimates .

70   Black Behind the Orange Curtain: Our Shared Experiences, directed by Shandell Maxwell (2013), http://bbocfilm.com/.

71   Hipp, Basolo, Boarnet and Houston, Southern California Regional Progress Report.

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FIGURE 22: Main Targets of Hate Crime, 2003 to 2012

Legend:
- African American (purple dashed)
- Gay/Lesbian (orange solid)
- Jewish (teal dotted)
- Muslim/Arab (pink solid)
- Latino (green dashed)
- Asian/Pacific Islander (yellow solid)
- White (blue dashed)

	76	99	96	101	82	79	77	56	78	61
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
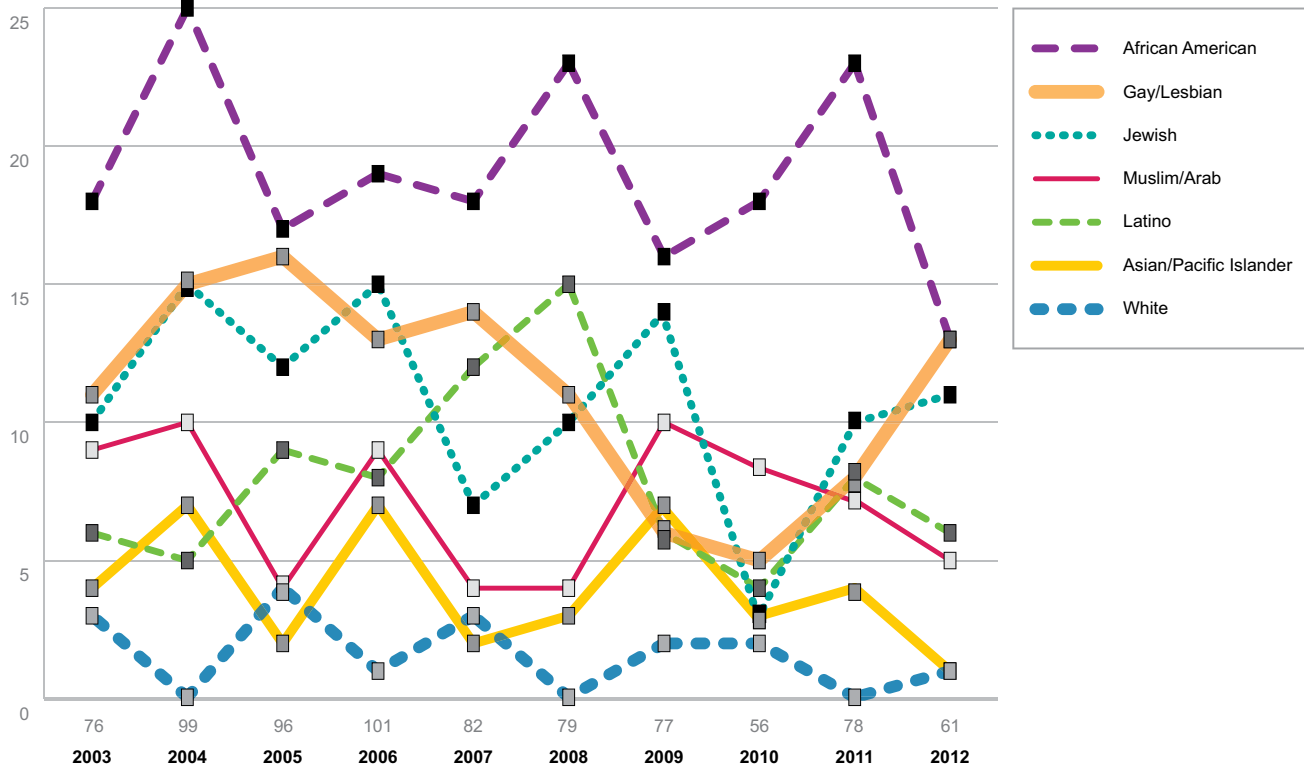
Source: OC Human Relations Commission, 2012 Hate Crime Report.

PHOTO CREDIT: ORANGE COUNTY LABOR FEDERATION

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6. The Struggles of Immigrant Communities

Orange County is an epicenter of anti-immigrant policies. It is the birth-place of California's Prop 187, the "anti-illegal alien" initiative which called for denying undocumented residents access to health care, public education, and other public services. It is home to the founder of the Minuteman Project, a vigilante group that targets immigrants at the border. And, it is where congress member John Campbell (R-Newport Beach) boasts of having blocked law enforcement grants to cities that forbid police from turning information about undocumented immigrants over to federal authorities.[72] Of all the undocumented youth referred to immigration authorities in California, 43 percent are from Orange County.[73]

However, immigrants play a vital role in Orange County's economy. Today, between 8 to 9.6 percent of Orange County residents are undocumented immigrants who often share the same, or worse, economic and social issues that people of color face in the county.[74] From grassroots organizations, such as the Orange County Dream Team, composed of immigrant youth and allies, to prominent county forces like the Orange County Labor Federation, halting deportations and passing humane immigration legislation at the local, state, and national level are some of their top priorities. Community members have stated that employers continue to intimidate workers who fear that if they stand up for their rights, their immigration status will be revealed. Families continue to be separated due to the government's deportation policies.[75] People are still suffering from illnesses because affordable health care is unavailable due to their immigration status.[76] While some of these issues impact the entire nation, Orange County has an opportunity to address issues of the undocumented population in the county.

There are an estimated 300,000 undocumented immigrants living in the county.[77] About 4 in 5 (83%) of undocumented immigrants are Latino and 14 percent are Asian and Pacific Islanders. Most of them have lived in the county for almost 10 years. Most reside in the central parts of Orange

There are an estimated 300,000 undocumented immigrants living in the county.

72 Gustavo Arellano, "Let Orange County Bash Immigrants, Please!" The Huffington Post, June 26, 2006, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/gustavo-arellano/let-orange-county-bash-im_b_23797.html; and Ana Siria Urzua, Gentrification and Displacement: Assessing Responses in Santa Ana, California (Irvine: University of California, Irvine, 2008).

73 Victoria Anderson et al., Second Chances for All: Why Orange County Probation Should Stop Choosing Deportation over Rehabilitation for Immigrant Youth (Irvine: University of California, Irvine School of Law, 2013).

74 Manuel Pastor, Enrico A. Marcelli, Vanessa Carter and Jared Sanchez, What's at Stake for the State, Undocumented Californians, Immigration Reform, and Our Future Together (Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Immigrant Integration, University of Southern California, 2013), http://csii.usc.edu/documents/whats_at_stake_for_the_state.pdf; and Laura E. Hill and Hans P. Johnson, Unauthorized Immigrants in California, Estimates for Counties (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2011), http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/report/R_711LHR.pdf.

75 Michael D. Shear, "Obama, Citing a Concern for Families, Orders a Review of Deportations," The New York Times, March 13, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/14/us/obama-orders-review-of-deportations.html?_r=0.

76 Imelda S. Placencia, Alma Leyva, Mayra J. Jaimes Peña, and Saba Waheed, Undocumented and Uninsured (Los Angeles: Dream Resource Center of the UCLA Labor Center, 2014).

77 Pastor, Marcelli, Carter and Sanchez, What's at Stake for the State, Undocumented Californians, Immigration Reform, and Our Future Together.

County, which include the cities of Anaheim, Santa Ana, Garden Grove, and Westminster, where the biggest pockets of Latinos and Asian and Pacific Islanders tend to live.

FIGURE 23: Top 5 Countries/Regions of Origin for Undocumented Residents in Orange County, 2009–2011
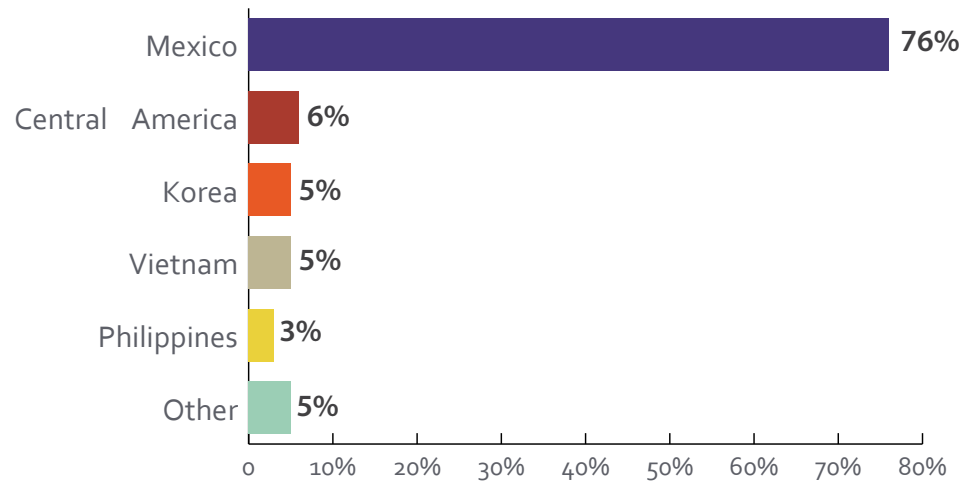
Children of undocumented parents are four times more likely to be living in poverty.

In addition, 18 percent of children in the county have at least one undocumented parent and over half (53%) have an immigrant parent. Four out of five of those children with an undocumented parent are U.S. citizens. Children of undocumented parents are four times more likely to be living in poverty than those with a U.S. born parent. Even children or youth with an immigrant parent who is not undocumented are over two times more likely to live in poverty.

TABLE 3: Children living in Poverty

OC Children in Poverty (Below 150% of poverty line)	%
With U.S. Born Parent	14%
With Immigrant Parent	37%
With Undocumented Parent	61%

Undocumented immigrants tend to obtain low-paying jobs, such as restaurant and domestic work, due to the lack of a legal work permit. The median annual earning of an undocumented adult is $20,760.[78] Unlike other low-wage workers, undocumented immigrants are ineligible for government assistance and programs that could provide economic relief leaving them in a perpetual state of poverty and mental stress. Studies show that legal authorization to work and citizenship for undocumented immigrants in Orange County would provide a $400-800 million income boost to the county. This is money an immigrant worker would spend in the economy, creating a multiplier effect.[79]

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

The Bravo Family Organize

In 2013, Jessica Bravo, a young student activist, was doing work on raising awareness about immigration reform and met with different legislators to encourage them to support reform. During one of these visits, one particular legislator reacted negatively when she revealed her undocumented status. Jessica left the meeting feeling disrespected and mistreated. She came home and shared the incident with her family. Rather than let the incident deflate them, they became even more determined.

The incident proved to be a defining moment for the Bravo's. The family collaborated with community organizations and held actions in front of legislators' offices, shared their story publicly, and participated in phone banking to educate other community members about immigration reform. Jessica's 11-year-old brother, the youngest among the family of six and the only citizen, was one of the phone bankers. He shared how he feared that his father could one day get pulled over and be deported. Despite the economic hardship of not earning income for a month, Jessica's parents embarked on a one-month, 285-mile pilgrimage from Sacramento to Bakersfield. Not too long afterwards, Jessica fasted for five days outside Ed Royce's office where she and others slept in a tent. Her mom and older sibling fasted in solidarity. The Bravo family also worked on successful campaigns like Proposition 30 and the California TRUST ACT. [80]

Healthcare Access

A 2006 study by the University of California, Irvine found that low wages of undocumented Latinos correlate with how often they accessed health-care.[81] Only half (54.8%) reported seeking medical services in the year prior to the survey. In fact, they were significantly less likely than legal Latinos, who access health care at lower rates themselves, to seek medical help. Furthermore, contrary to the argument that undocumented immigrants take advantage of the emergency room, of those that did seek health care, only 6.9 percent reported using the emergency room. Those that did use the emergency room tended to have medical insurance (77.8%). Most reported using health centers and outpatient clinics. Affordable health insurance continues to be a barrier for the undocumented community. In February 2014, a California state legislator introduced a bill to expand Covered California to include undocumented residents in California.

Detention and Police

Orange County is home to the Theo Lacy Detention Center. Located in the city of Orange, CA and operated by the Orange County Sheriff's Department, it is one of several county jails that ICE contracts with to house immigrant detainees. A report by the Detention Watch Network exposed various accounts of racism, verbal and physical abuse, poor visitation rights, and lack of access to medical care.[82]

Orange County's Probation Department enacted a policy that refers immigrant youth to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Forty three percent of all ICE detainer requests in the state between October 2009 and February 2013 came from Orange County. There are more detainer requests in Orange County than the next three California counties combined (37%). This is a sharp contrast to the rehabilitation goals juvenile centers claim to

80   Jessica Bravo and Minerva Gomez, "Bravo Family Interview," Interview by author, April 29, 2014.

81   Leo R. Chavez, "Undocumented Immigrants and Their Use of Medical Services in Orange County, California," Social Science & Medicine 74, no. 6 (June 1, 2011): 887-93, doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.05.023.

82   Detention Watch Network, Expose & Close: Theo Lacy Detention Center, California (Washington D.C.: Detention Watch Network, 2012), http://www.detentionwatchnetwork.org/sites/detentionwatchnetwork.org/files/ExposeClose/Expose-TheoLacy11-13.pdf.

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accomplish.[83] The detainer policy exacerbates the fear nearly half (44%) of Latinos have in deciding whether or not to contact police due to the likelihood of a loved one being prosecuted for their immigrant status.[84] In June 2014, the Orange County Probation Department ended its compliance with ICE detainer requests for undocumented adults and juveniles who are held in custody past their court-ordered release date.[85]

WINNING IMMIGRATION POLICIES

Though the federal government continues to face insurmountable challenges to passing just immigration policies, the immigrant community, both documented and undocumented, has won major victories at the local, state and national level. President Obama signed an executive order for DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) that pledges not to deport eligible youth and provides them with work authorization. California passed the TRUST Act, which limits the state's cooperation with Secure Communities, a federal program that created a partnership among federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. And, beginning in January 2015, undocumented immigrants will be able to obtain driver's licenses in California. At the local scale, cities like Costa Mesa and Santa Ana have fought anti-immigrant ordinances including the halting of funding for a day labor center and helped end unjust car towing policies.[86]

83   Anderson et al., Second Chances for All: Why Orange County Probation Should Stop Choosing Deportation over Rehabilitation for Immigrant Youth.

84   Nik Theodore, Insecure Communities: Latino Perceptions of Police Involvement in Immigration Enforcement (Illinois: University of Illinois at Chicago, 2013).

85   Yvette Cabrera, "Court Case is Changing Policies on Immigration Holds," Voice of OC, June 3, 2014, http://www.voiceofoc.org/countywide/county_government/article_355d6d06-eafc-11e3-b4ce-0019bb2963f4.html.

86   Vicki L. Ruiz, "Citizen Restaurant: American Imaginaries, American Communities," American Quarterly 60, no. 1 (2008): 21.
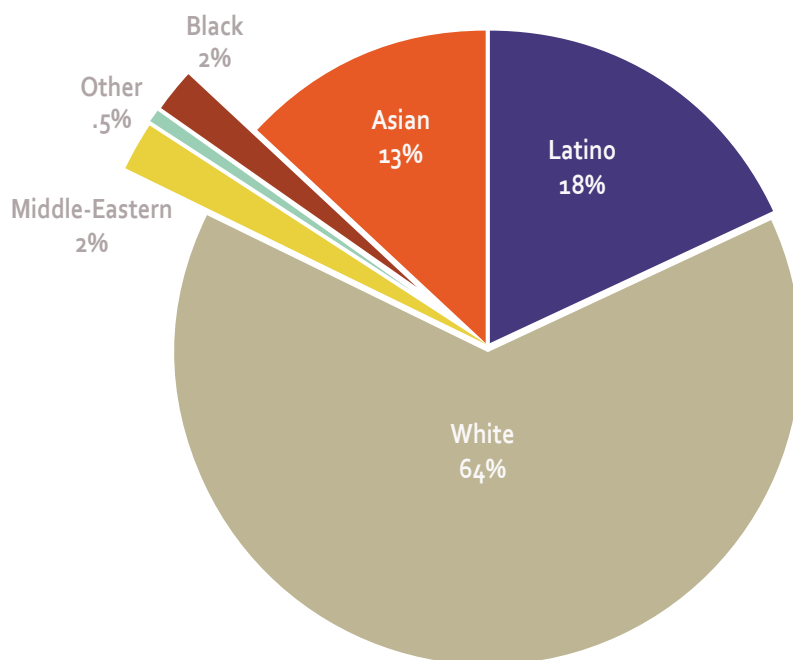
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7. New and Emerging Voters

In 2010, the New York Times reported that "Orange County is no longer Nixon County." Republican registration had sunk to 43 percent, its lowest number in over seven decades. President Obama had garnered an unprecedented 48 percent of the county vote in 2008 when in contrast Jimmy Carter was only able to pull 23 percent in 1980.[87] Orange County's changing electorate has been transforming the county. But there is still a need to further engage the growing and changing electorate as well as non-citizen residents to participate in the political process and be informed about the issues.

The Need for Voter Outreach

As of October 2012, 87 percent of Orange County residents who are eligible to vote are registered.[88] Yet, voter registration representation has not proportionally kept up with demographic changes. Non-Hispanic Whites comprise the proportion of registered voters at 64.4 percent, while Latino voters represent only 18.3 percent of registered voters in the county.[89] So while Latino and API registration rates have increased since 1990, there is a continued need to register and engage new voters. As a part of this effort, the Orange County Labor Federation has registered over 65,000 voters in the past 5 years.[90]

FIGURE 24: Orange County Registered Voters by Race/Ethnicity, 2012

Black 2%
Other .5%
Asian 13%
Latino 18%
Middle-Eastern 2%
White 64%

Source: Voter Action Network; and Orange County Congregation Community Organization Analysis, 2012.

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87 Adam Nagourney, "In California, the New Orange County Is No Longer Nixon Country," The New York Times, August 29, 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/30/us/politics/30orange.html?_r=0.

88 Orange County Business Council, Orange County Community Indicators 2013.

89 Voter Action Network, Orange County Congregation Community Organization Analysis, 2012.

90 Orange County Labor Federation, Registration Numbers Analysis, 2013.

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FIGURE 25: Orange County 2012 Total Population, Registered Voters and Voted in 2012 by Race/Ethnicity

Shifting Political Parties

In terms of party affiliation, the county has seen a significant drop in registered Republicans since 1990. As Table 4 illustrates, most of those lost Republican voters have migrated over to the Decline to State category, as opposed to the Democratic Party.

TABLE 4: Orange County Party Affiliation in 1990 and 2014

Political Party	1990	2014	% change
Republican	55.6%	41.1%	-26%
Democrat	33.9%	31.6%	-7%
Declined to State / Other	10.5%	27.3%	+160%

Out of the 34 Orange County cities, five have Democratic majorities: Buena Park, Anaheim, Santa Ana, Laguna Beach, and Stanton. However, five more are at a tipping point, where only hundreds of registered voters separate Republicans and Democrats: La Habra (111 voters), La Palma (150 voters), Irvine (1,000 voters), Laguna Woods (159 voters), and Los Alamitos (434 voters). If this trend continues, within a few years close to one-third (10/34) of Orange County cities will be majority Democratic.[91]

91   Political Data Incorporated, Voter Registration, 2014.

For the purposes of this analysis, low- income households are defined as having less than 80% of the county median household income (less than $60,453) and upper-income households as having more than 120% the county median household income ($90,667 or above).
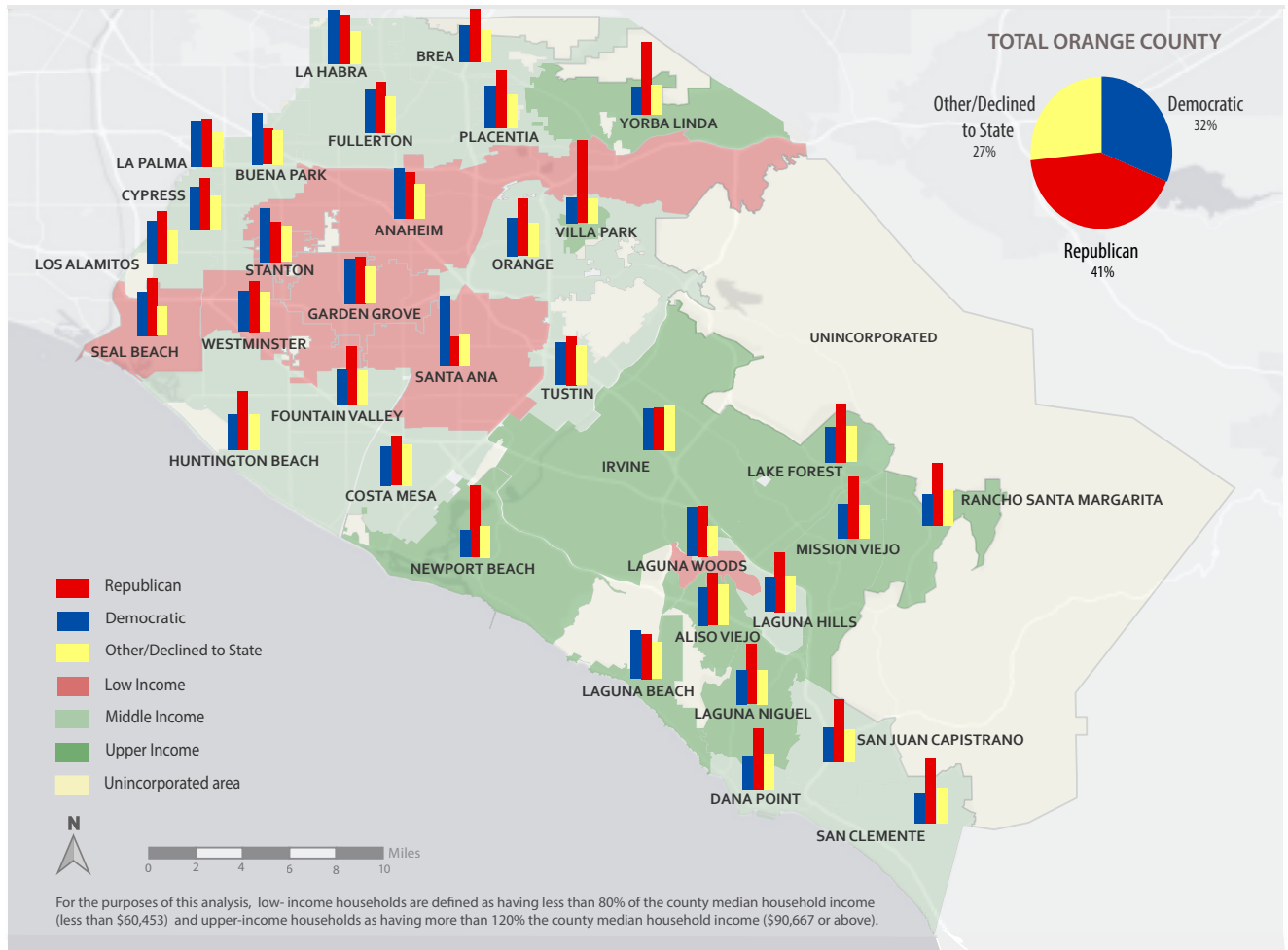
Source: Political Data Incorporated, Voter Registration, 2014.

AD 65 SWINGS, AGAIN...

Assembly district 65 includes the cities of Anaheim, Buena Park, Cypress, Fullerton, Garden Grove, La Palma, and Stanton. The district is 69 percent Asian or Latino and 60 percent are either Democrat or declined to state. In 2010, Republican gubernatorial candidate Meg Whitman carried the district with an 8-percentage point margin. In 2012, Democrat Sharon Quirk-Silva made state headlines by unseating the district's Republican incumbent by over 5,000 votes.[92] The win propelled California Democrats to have their first supermajority in the state legislature since 1883. Assembly District 65 is expected to be one of the tightest state races in the 2014 elections.

92 "Assembly District 65," Around the Capitol, http://www.aroundthecapitol.com/districts/AD65/.

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Asian and Latino Voter Bases

The voting base is expected to shift alongside the demographic shifts. By 2040, the UC Davis Center for Regional Change expects 50- 59 percent of Orange County voters to be Asian or Latino.[93] Latino voters are growing in power as their numbers continue to grow. There was a 62 percent Latino voter registration increase between 2002-2010. This increase ranked 7th among all 58 California counties during the same period.[94]

There was a 62% Latino voter registration increase between 2002–2010 in Orange County.

Asian Americans, a population that has increased sharply in Orange County, are also creating a strong voting base. In the 2012 general election, they represented 12.4 percent of the total votes casted in Orange County. Nearly 3 in 4 (72.9%) of Asian American registered voters are born outside of the United States. The Vietnamese community composes the majority of API voters, followed by the Chinese and Korean communities. Asian members represent a very significant number of the registered voters in cities like Garden Grove (37.2%), Westminster (45.1%), and Irvine (23.2%).[95] Providing materials and translation in multiple languages is key in ensuring accessibility for all voters.

FIGURE 27: Percent of Registered Asian Eligible Voters by Ethnicity, 2014

Other 11.4%
Japanese 7.8%
Filipino 12.9%
Korean 13.1%
Chinese 13.4%
Vietnamese 41.4%
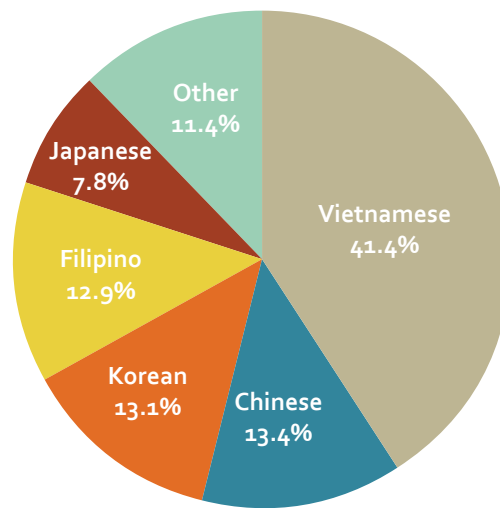
Source: Political Data Incorporated, Voter Registration, 2014.

In a 2012 poll of Orange County Asian registered voters, most considered themselves Republican (37%) and Independent (35%) but were inclined to support progressive leaning issues. On President Obama's decision to provide administrative relief to qualified undocumented youth, DACA, 66 percent expressed support for the decision. Similarly, two thirds (65%) supported a tax increase on millionaires and corporations to fund social services and education. When given a list of issues, 80 percent cited protecting government funding for education as one of their top two

93 Mindy Romero, Is Demography Political Destiny? Population Change and California's Future Electorate, (Davis: UC Davis Center for Regional, 2014), http://regionalchange.ucdavis.edu/ourwork/projects/copy2_of_UCDavisCCEPPolicyBriefIssue7.pdf.

94 UC Davis Center for Regional Change, "2002 -2010 General Election - Statewide Database," Compiled data, UC Davis Center for Regional Change, California Civic Engagement, Davis.

95 Political Data Incorporated, Voter Registration, 2014.

priorities in the general election. An increase in investment for affordable housing was the second most important issue.[96] Similarly, cities with heavy Vietnamese and Asian registration numbers, like Garden Grove and Westminster, registered as Republican but went for Barack Obama in 2012 and voted in favor of Proposition 30's tax increase.[97]

Vietnamese voters only recently received mainstream political attention as often representing the swing voters who can make the difference in close elections.[98] Vietnamese voters in Orange County represent 2 in 5 registered Asian American voters, are mostly foreign born (96%) and have experienced dramatic shifts in party affiliation over the past few decades. At one point in 2002, the Republican advantage among

PHOTO CREDIT: ORANGE COUNTY LABOR FEDERATION

Vietnamese voters had shrunk to 6 percent. However, Van Tran, a Republican who became the first Vietnamese to hold office in the state legislature, opened the gap up to a 16 percentage point Republican advantage.[99] In 2014, Vietnamese voters are registered as Republican (39.3%), Democrat (26.9%) and Declined to State (30.1%).[100]

Ethnic communities emerge as significant economic and political players. This is in part due to their capacity to expand their businesses, ethnic economies and media outlets. The economic success of places like Little Saigon has been part of increasing the capacity of the Vietnamese community to be involved in local electoral campaigns and economic development policy and planning. For example, Vietnamese Americans politically organized to establish freeway exit signs and markers to demarcate the entrance to Little Saigon. Furthermore, this connection between electoral politics and local oriented projects has been an incentive for numerous Vietnamese Americans to run for office.[101]

Vietnamese voters in Orange County represent 2 in 5 registered Asian American voters.

96 "Quad Asian Poll- Orange County Asians," Compiled data, 2012.

97 Martin Wisckol, "Wisckol: O.C. Asian Americans - GOP in Name Only?" The Orange County Register, November 20, 2012, http://www.ocregister.com/articles/percent-378258-asian-american.html; and Political Data Incorporated, Voter Registration, 2014.

98 Linda T. Vo, "Constructing a Vietnamese American Community: Economic and Political Transformation in Little Saigon, Orange County, " Amerasia Journal 34, no. 3 (2008).

99 Wisckol, "Wisckol: O.C. Asian Americans - GOP in Name Only?"

100 Political Data Incorporated, Voter Registration, 2014.

101 Vo, Constructing a Vietnamese American Community.

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8. Systems that Need Fixing

In 1994, Orange County shocked the country when it became the largest municipality to declare bankruptcy due to high-risk speculation in the financial markets. The need for government reform became clear and yet, two decades later, many systems in Orange County continue to need reform. The changing demographics of the county coupled with increased inequality requires that communities participate in the political process to ensure that their needs are heard, taken into account and acted upon. Yet, the current political structures pose barriers for low-income and communities of color to actively participate in political processes.

Lack of Input into Development

The passing of Proposition 13, a property tax relief measure, in the late 1970s led to a fiscal fallout for local government, heavily impacting a major revenue source and leading cities and counties to search for alternative sources of funding. This has led to the fiscalization of land use—meaning that land use decisions are often based on their ability to generate taxes for the city or county. Cities expanded their local tax base by bringing in commercial properties that generate sales tax (prioritizing them over residential and affordable housing), redeveloping areas to increase property values and collecting development fees.[102] In addition, "developers in the private sector have assumed key roles in urban planning and revitalization projects throughout the nation."[103]

In Orange County, Anaheim and Santa Ana, predominantly Latino and working class cities are at the front lines of aggressive development policies. Santa Ana is one of Orange County's largest and oldest cities. In the 1980s, the city proposed a convention center and hotel, a plan to "revitalize" the downtown area that would bring in middle class residents and negatively impact the immigrant community. In response, the mostly immigrant Latino residents organized into neighborhood associations and built coalitions to oppose the city's policies.[104] Still, redevelopment efforts continue in the city with the investment of millions of dollars into lofts, museums, and artist villages that threaten to displace working class and immigrant communities. Additionally, many of the development projects are approved without job quality standards, affordable housing, and other community resources.[105] They also lack public process and accountability. Between 2005 and 2010, 21 projects in Santa Ana and Anaheim faced more opposition than support, yet 20 of them were approved. In Anaheim alone, over half of those appointed to planning commission lived in affluent areas that represent less than 20 percent of the city's population. Furthermore, residents are usually only notified if they live within a 300 feet radius and projects are practically approved by the time public hearings are held, at which point it is too difficult to create change.[106]

Between 2005 and 2010, 21 projects in Santa Ana and Anaheim faced more opposition than support, yet 20 of them were approved.

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102 Jefferey I. Chapman, Proposition 13: Some Unintended Consequences (Sacramento: Public Policy Institute of California, 1998).

103 Urzua, Gentrification and Displacement.

104 Ibid.

105 Armando Ibarra, Robert Nothoff, Eric Altman, and Carolina Sarmiento, The Rubber Stamp Process: Broken Governance in Planning and Development and How Communities Can Regain a Voice (Garden Grove: Orange County Communities Organized for Responsible Development, 2010).

106 Ibid.

CREATING TRANSPARENCY FROM THE GROUND UP

In 2012, the Santa Ana city council approved the Sunshine Ordinance that increased transparency and participation in the city's governance process. A coalition of groups, Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development (SACReD), consisting of neighborhood residents, labor and business members, community organizations, and neighborhood associations came together to advocate for the policy as a way to demand accountability in development projects and ultimately, transform the overall planning process.

A year later, in 2013 Santa Ana residents put the Sunshine Ordinance to work and through community organizing efforts, filled up a community center with residents ready to engage and comment on a range of issues impacting the city. They were participating in a 5-year strategic plan, a process enacted as part of the ordinance, with a renewed sense of civic engagement and community participation. The Santa Ana City Council unanimously adopted the community-led plan in March 2014.[107]

Lacking Local Representation

Anaheim is the largest city in California to use at-large elections to elect its local representatives.[108] At-large elections means that the entire city votes for all of its city council members and those members represent the city as a whole. There are many problems with at-large elections. For one, they reduce local accountability of the representative. If the council member is voted into power by a district to represent that district, there is direct accountability between the local representative and the community the member represents, but when all councilmembers represent the whole city, accountability is diluted. Second, at-large elections give disproportionate weight to the majority political group over racial and political minorities.[109] So, for example, an interest group may be able to garner large amounts of votes throughout a district while a minority group may have enough votes to elect a candidate to their area but not enough to win over the whole district. In that way, the group with more political power and resources will be able to elect the winning candidate. Lastly, without district elections, the city council is more likely to be beholden to those with power and financial resources in its decision making due to the high costs of campaigning in an at-large election.[110] Activists in the Anaheim community have raised concerns that the current voting system disempowers its working class and Latino residents.

The city of Santa Ana currently uses a disguised at-large voting system. It is divided into six wards where there is one representative elected per ward. Yet, anyone in Santa Ana can vote for the representative of any ward. An analysis of the 2008 and 2010 city council elections showed that in several instances, the winning candidate received more than twice their votes in wards that they were not going to represent in city council.[111] Similar to Anaheim, this makes it difficult for residents to hold council members accountable and leaves them unrepresented.

107 Adam Elmahrek, "Santa Ana City Council Adopts 'Historic' Five-Year Strategic Plan" Voice of OC, March 25, 2015, http://www.voiceofoc.org/oc_central/article_9b326a32-af6f-11e3-a051-001a4bcf887a.html.

108 Paloma Esquivel, "Anaheim Voters to Decide If Council Elections Should Be by District," Los Angeles Times, January 08, 2014, http://articles.latimes.com/2014/jan/08/local/la-me-anaheim-voting-rights-20140109.

109 Mark Packer, "Tracking the Court Through a Political Thicket: At-Large Election Systems and Minority Vote Dilution," Urban Law Annual 23, no. 1 (1982).

110 Orange County Communities Organized for Responsible Development, District Elections, An Equal Voice for All of Anaheim (Garden Grove: Orange County Communities Organized for Responsible Development,2014).

111 Chirag Bhakta, "2008 and 2010 Santa Ana City Council Elections Analysis," Orange County Labor Federation, 2010.

Costa Mesa's resident population consists of over one-third (36%) Latinos and 7 in 10 students are Latino. The Westside neighborhoods are nearly 70 percent Latino. Yet, there has never been an elected Latino council member.[112] The city has initiated numerous anti-immigrant policies, such as a resolution that barred day laborers from seeking work on the streets. Civil rights groups filed a lawsuit against the City in 2010 and the city finally repealed it in 2011.[113] Costa Mesa also allowed an Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agent into its jail to check immigration statuses[114] and asked that police check the immigration status of people they stop.[115] In 2010, the Costa Mesa City Council voted to declare itself a "rule of law" community and would uphold immigration law contrary to other cities that choose not to stop or arrest someone because they are undocumented. The lack of Latino representation is apparent in the face of these anti-immigrant policies. Unfortunately, as in Anaheim, the at-large system makes it structurally difficult to hold local elected officials accountable.

ADVOCATING FOR REPRESENTATIVE ELECTIONS

In Anaheim, the community has raised concerns about the at-large voting system. The city has stark segregation between the Anaheim Hills in the east, which is predominantly White and affluent, and the flatlands in central Anaheim, which is mostly Latino. In the past ten years the flatland has had very minimal council member representation. Communities in the flatlands have expressed concern that resources are not allocated evenly across the city and favor the affluent neighborhoods. In 2012, the issue of district elections in Anaheim gained momentum. Propelled by community efforts, Latino activists sued the city alleging that at-large elections made it difficult for Latinos to elect members from their community.

By switching to district elections, voters cast ballots only for candidates that live in their area. This reform could open up opportunities for communities to elect candidates from within their geographic area. It would also allow those communities to be able to hold those candidates accountable. The lawsuit led to a settlement with the city in 2014 that the issue of district elections would go before voters. In November 2014, voters will decide whether or not district elections will replace the current at-large system.[116]

Lack of Support for Issues Affecting Low-Income Communities

Economic and environmental issues disproportionately impact low-income and immigrant communities. Though these communities comprise the new majority in Orange County, public officials are not supporting initiatives that could address their issues. For example, though Assemblymember Tom Daly represents the 69th District, the most Latino assembly district in the state and is comprised by Santa Ana, Anaheim, Garden Grove and Orange, he did not support the California Trust Act, a bill that aimed to curb the amount of deportation holdings for minor crimes.[117] He voted no in the first round, and then abstained from voting on the final bill.[118]

112 Orange County Congregation Community Organization, "Orange County Voter Analysis," (Anaheim: 2013).

113 Hannah Fry, "Costa Mesa Repeals Anti-solicitation Law, " Los Angeles Times, October 04, 2013, http://articles.dailypilot.com/2013-10-04/news/tn-dpt-me-1005-costa-mesa-solicitation-ordinance-20131004_1_anti-solicitation-law-colectivo-tonantzin-day-laborers.

114 Ellyn Pak, "Mayor Wants Costa Mesa to Be a 'Rule of Law City," The Orange County Register, May 17, 2010, http://www.ocregister.com/articles/immigration-249161-city-mansoor.html.

115 Mona Shadia, "Costa Mesa Declares Itself a 'rule of Law' Community," Los Angeles Times, May 20, 2010, http://articles.latimes.com/2010/may/20/local/la-me-0520-costa-mesa-immigration-20100520.

116 American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, "Press Release: Anaheim moves towards change in its at-large electoral process" January 8, 2014, http://www.aclusocal.org/pr-anaheim-settlement/.

117 "Analysis of CA Assembly Districts," California Elections: Assembly District 69, http://www.aroundthecapitol.com/districts/AD69/.

118 "Tom Daly's Voting Records on Issue: Immigration," VoteSmart, http://votesmart.org/candidate/key-votes/138462/tom-daly/40/immigration#.U3aCxa1yHZY.

There are two voting report cards that look at the lifetime voting patterns of Senate and Assembly members in the areas of pro-environmental or labor legislation. As Figure 28 and Figure 29 show, Republicans provide minimal to no support for bills that improve labor and environmental conditions. Democrats are more likely to support these bills, as evidenced by the voting records of Sharon Quirk-Silva (AD 65) and Tom Daly (AD 69). Lou Correa (SD34), a Democrat, has a lower rate of 52 percent on environmental issues.

FIGURE 28: State Assembly Voting Records for Labor and Environment
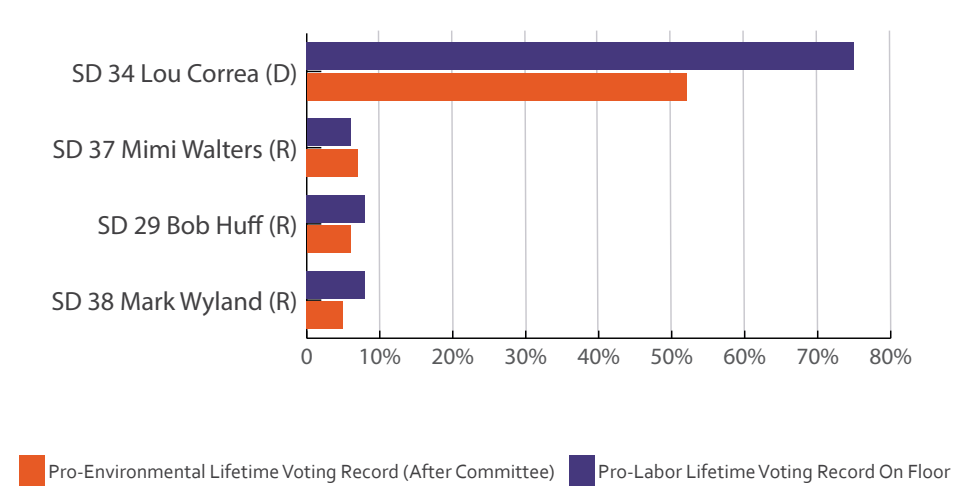

Legend: Pro-Environmental Lifetime Voting Record On Floor | Pro-Labor Lifetime Voting Record On Floor
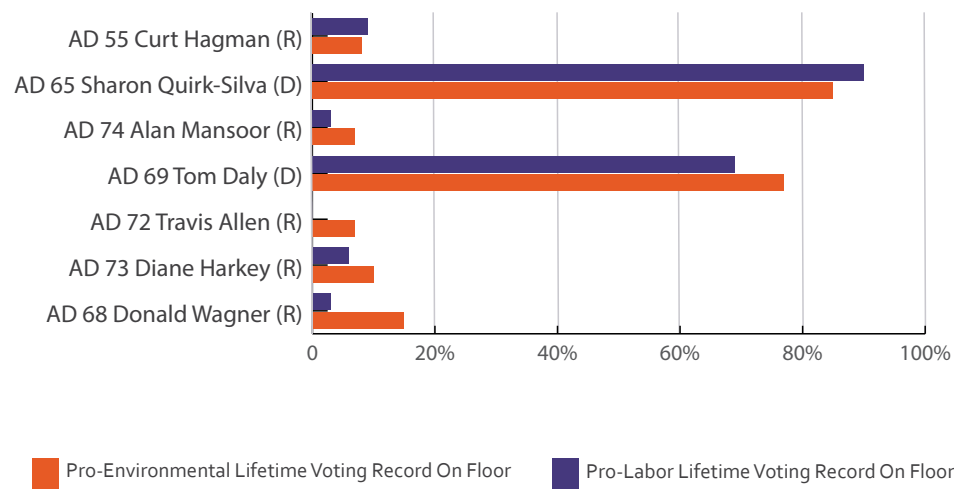
FIGURE 29: State Senate Voting Records for Labor and Environment

Legend: Pro-Environmental Lifetime Voting Record (After Committee) | Pro-Labor Lifetime Voting Record On Floor

Source: California Labor Federation's 2013 Legislative Scorecard and League of Conservation Voters' 2014 California Environmental Scorecard.

Business industries have an interest in Orange County politics, with real estate and insurance funders leading with contributions to State and Assembly members. In addition, the majority of funding comes from outside the county. Table 5 provides a glimpse into the types of campaign contributions occurring in the county.

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TABLE 5: Campaign Contributions for State Senate and Assembly since 2003

State Assembly	Total Contributions	% from Outside his/her district	Top three Interest Funders
AD 55 Curt Hagman (R)	$624,751	79.2%	Insurance Real Estate Tribal Governments
AD 65 Sharon Quirk-Silva (D)	$678,928	Not Available	Public Sector Unions General Trade Unions Lawyers & Lobbyists
AD 74 Alan Mansoor (R)	$371,624	Not available	Insurance Real Estate Hospitals & Nursing Homes
AD 69 Tom Daly (D)	$526,712	Not available	Real Estate Insurance Public Sector Unions
AD 72 Travis Allen (R)	$211,052	Not available	Lawyers & Lobbyists Real Estate Lodging & Tourism
AD 73 Diane Harkey (R)	$504,345	67.9%	Real Estate Tribal Governments Insurance
AD 68 Don Wagner (R)	$320,499	Not available	Real Estate Insurance Tribal Governments

State Senate	Total Contributions	% from Outside his/her district	Top three Interest Funders
SD 34 Lou Correa (D)	$1,426,642	89.4%	General Trade Unions Public Sector Unions Insurance
SD 37 Mimi Walters (R)	$2,214,442	78.9%	Real Estate Insurance Tribal Governments
SD 29 Bob Huff (R)	$1,581,179	77.7%	Insurance Real Estate Health Professionals
SD 38 Mark Wyland (R)	$574,008	86.9%	Tribal Governments Insurance Health Professionals

Source: "Campaign Contributions Received by California Legislators," MapLight, http://maplight.org/california/legislator.

YOUNG PEOPLE ENGAGE IN CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

In 2012, six students, primarily from Fullerton Joint Union High School District participated in the Orange County Korean Resource Center's Youth Civic Leadership Program. The students spent ten weeks learning about the importance of civic engagement in promoting community empowerment and civil rights. They also learned about the intersection of civic engagement with the challenges they faced in their schools, families, and communities around immigrant rights, education funding, and economic justice. At the end of the program, the students met with and received awards from Hacienda La-Puente School Board member Jay Chen and former Cerritos mayor Joseph Cho. After graduating, the students became interested in Proposition 30 that increased funding for public schools and could alleviate overcrowding in their schools and promote economic justice. The students spent a month knocking on over one hundred voters' doors, calling one thousand voters in their communities, and registering a dozen of their graduating friends and family members to vote. Ultimately, California residents approved proposition 30.[119]

PHOTO CREDIT: OCCORD

119 Dayne Lee, Interview by author, May 13, 2014.

9. Tipping Points: Building a New Orange County

There are key issues and hardships faced by many communities such as unemployment and underemployment, low wages, education access, language isolation, lack of affordable housing, overcrowding, homelessness, poverty, environmental issues and xenophobia. These issues are severe in North and Central Orange County while minimal in other areas. Many residents face economic insecurity and struggle to make ends meet. This report shows that there is a continued need to reduce economic and social disparities in the county and to create systems and structures that support government transparency and accountability, responsible development, quality jobs, adequate resources for all, social services, environmental protections, and just immigration policies.

Orange County is on the cusp of change. But it needs a push from the ground up to move the county to develop solutions and policies that address the needs of low-income, people of color and immigrant communities. There is powerful work happening on the grassroots and community level as illustrated through the stories presented in this report. We believe it is important to support efforts by those most heavily impacted by the social and economic disparities. In order to address the issues, there are four key strategies - civic engagement, community organizing, political reform and research, which can be key triggers in pushing over the tipping points. It is important for different stakeholders to participate and support these efforts. The following are recommendations on how to best support each of the strategies:

- **Civic Engagement.** Civic Engagement allows residents to participate in the social and political structures of Orange County through group membership or formal means such as voting in order to improve conditions and shape the future of the county.

  Community + Labor: Scale up voter outreach, educate communities about issues that impact them, and increase community participation in the political process to ensure that their needs are heard, taken into account and acted upon.

  Academics: Develop research methods in collaboration with community-based organizations to help measure the impact of civic engagement efforts and identify gaps and barriers in civic participation.

  Policy-makers: Address barriers, such as language isolation, political participation for low-income residents and communities of color and support policies that attempt to increase participation in planning, electoral, and budget processes.

  Funders: Provide resources and technical support to organizations and coalitions that can increase resident participation through voting, strategic planning, public input, etc. Funders may support efforts that can amp up community participation in cities that are on tipping points.

- **Organizing.** Community organizing engages residents through their participation in organizations, joint decision-making and developing shared leadership that leads to collective action that may influence key decision-makers on a range of issues.

  Community + Labor: Increase in multi-sector and community organizing, coalition-building and community and labor alignment to raise living and work standards for residents. Work across communities and issue areas to build stronger alliances and break down silos related to issues and different communities.

  Academic: Design research in collaboration with communities that includes both targeted research and new research questions that can guide and support organizing efforts.

  Policy-makers: Listen to community-based initiatives, bring organizers to the decision-making table and provide them with the same information as other actors.

  Funders: Increase organizing investments in current organizing efforts and provide support for organizations to expand to other cities that are approaching tipping points.

- **Political Reform.** Orange County residents define the public good and support policies that contribute to the public good while reforming those institutions that are inadequate.

  Community + Labor: Build organizations and multi-stakeholder coalitions to reform institutions that pose barriers for community participation, transparency or accountability in the public process.

  Academic: Conduct research on political processes, the systems of accountability in place, and innovative models to increase transparency and accountability. Evaluate current political systems and identify existing barriers for broad community participation.

  Policy-makers: Respond to community concerns regarding lack of accountability and transparency in institutions. Ensure that public monies and community resources are allocated equitably and in communities of color.

  Funders: Support emerging political institutions as well as grassroots initiatives that are addressing systems of accountability.

- **Research.** As social justice movements build momentum in Orange County, community and labor organizations recognize the need for research to facilitate their long-term goals and organizational efforts

  Community + Labor: Design and participate in research projects and use research to bring forth stories of their communities and as a tool to develop shared analysis and policy solutions.

Academics: Create a research infrastructure to compile data annually to share with residents, particularly those most impacted by the issues as well as designing participatory and community-led research projects to collect new data about the county.

Policy-makers: Make research public, accessible and available to all residents.

Funders: Support research initiatives that are community-based and -led that elevate the experiences of low-income and immigrant communities in the county.

Each strategy strengthens the other. Shifting political systems can increase opportunities for civic engagement. Civic engagement is stronger when there is robust organizing demanding accountability and equitable resource allocation. Research can be a tool for bringing community members from diverse backgrounds into the room together to develop a shared framework for the problems as well as solutions that can be addressed through civic engagement, political reform or organizing. Taken together, these approaches can put pressure on the tipping points to create a county that provides livable and workable conditions for all its residents.