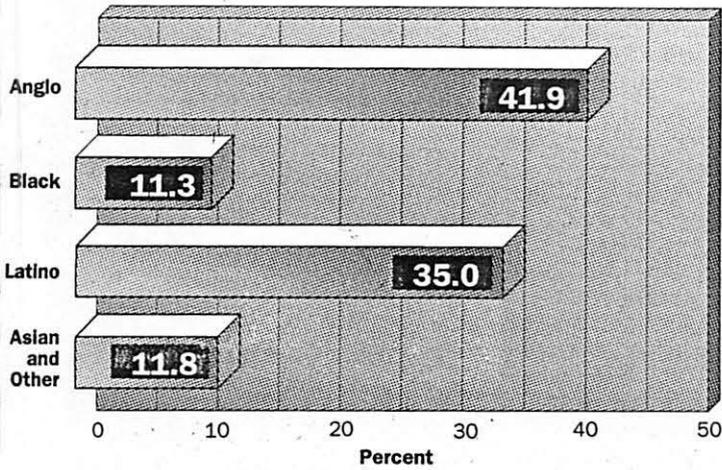


THE PEOPLE OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

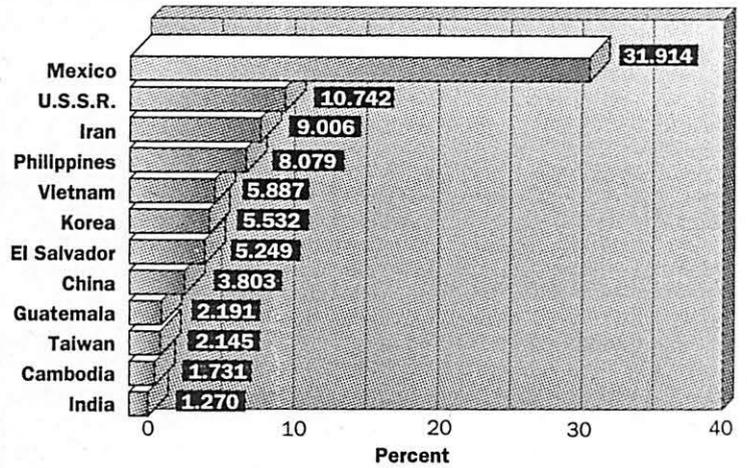
Percentage of Racial and Ethnic Groups



The use of the term "minority" to designate people of color has become increasingly erroneous. Anglos are the largest racial group in the county, accounting for 41.9% of the population. But when "minority" figures are combined, these groups account for 58.1% of the overall population.

Source: L.A. County Department of Health Services, April, 1988, and the county Commission on Human Relations.

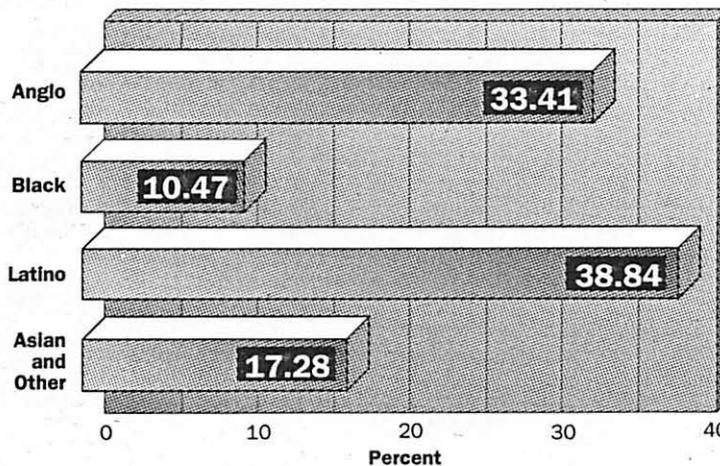
Immigrants and Refugees By selected countries of origin



The dramatic population changes of the last decade are expected to continue into the next century, with major implications for health, education and social service systems. All will see a mushrooming need for programs aimed at specific populations and for bilingual services.

Source: L.A. County Department of Health Services, 1988, and the county Commission on Human Relations.

Projected Population by Year 2000



ANDERS RAMBERG / Los Angeles Times

One out of every 10 newcomers to the United States settles in Los Angeles County. However, these countries of origin for any given year can change as a result of shifts in immigration laws, political opinion and events in other countries.

Source: State Department of Finance, Population Research Section, and the county Commission on Human Relations.

The Changing Definition of Family

The Family Is Changing and We Should Admit It

By THOMAS F. COLEMAN

Public officials are beginning to see that diversity is the hallmark of contemporary family life in America, and the legal definition of "family" is changing.

If two or more people function as a family, legislatures and courts are beginning to say, they are a family and should be treated legally as one, even if no blood tie or formal marriage exists.

This concept was validated on July 6 in a New York court ruling that broadened the legal definition of "family" to include unmarried couples living together in long-term relationships. As a result, Miguel Braschi will not be evicted from the rent-controlled apartment that he shared for 10 years with his now-deceased domestic partner.

The Braschi decision epitomizes American values at their best. It incorporates our legal tradition of flexibility in defining "family" and respects the pluralism of our culture.

Much to the disappointment of some conservative political forces, the court refused to limit the definition of family to blood, marriage or adoption. The definition of family, the state Court of Appeals ruled, should "find its foundation in the reality of family life" rather than "fictitious legal distinctions or genetic history."

Some critics called the decision a gay-rights case that created a sharp break with tradition. Nothing could be further from the truth.

American law has a history of flexibility in defining family. As early as 1921, for example, the California Supreme Court granted worker's compensation survivor benefits to an unmarried woman, ruling that she and her deceased male partner had been a family.

Only three months ago in New York, the Court of Appeals declared unconstitutional a single-family zoning law prohibiting four unrelated elderly people from sharing the same residence, ruling that the four functioned as a family.

In a report released last month, the California Legislature's Joint Select Task Force on the Changing Family recommended that families be identified by functions rather than structures. Locally, the Los Angeles City Task Force on Family Diversity called for the use of expanded definitions of "family" as new laws and regulations are adopted by city government.

Los Angeles and San Francisco have passed "domestic partnership" ordinances, joining the ranks of West Hollywood, Berkeley and Santa Cruz.

Municipalities in other states have made similar legal changes. In March, the Denver City Council repealed a zoning law that made it illegal for an unmarried couple to live in a jointly owned home in many residential areas. Late last year, the city of Madison, Wis., extended sick and bereavement leave to unmarried city employees living with a "family partner."

Although same-sex couples are properly protected by these legal changes, the primary beneficiaries will be the millions of parents and children who live in foster families and step-families and the millions of unmarried heterosexual men and women who live together as domestic partners.

Recent demographic studies show that only a small minority of American households fit the "Ozzie and Harriet" model of a breadwinner-husband and homemaker-wife raising young children. In fact, most people live in families with two working parents, a single parent, a step-parent. Or they live in foster families, extended families, domestic partnerships or one-person households.

Expanding benefits in the name of "family diversity" makes some people uneasy. They cite morality and administrative convenience as reasons to maintain the status quo.

But doesn't morality teach us that we should not discriminate against people just because they do not fit our stereotypes? We should not, however, confuse public morality with private morality. If government gets into the business of legislating a particular brand of private morality, then step-families, for example, might be punished because many religions do not allow divorce and remarriage.

As for administrative convenience, the Braschi decision will consume some court time in determining whether two people are a "family" or merely roommates. However, this problem can be resolved by domestic partner laws that provide for a certificate authenticating the relationship.

In the meantime, America would be better off if our leaders would accept what the public already knows. Family diversity has arrived and it's here to stay. The challenge we face is not how we can turn back the clock, but rather how we can forge solutions to our problems that do not pit one type of family against another.

Thomas F. Coleman, a Los Angeles attorney and adjunct professor at USC Law Center, filed a brief in the Braschi case on behalf of the Family Diversity Project and Family Service America.

Recognizing the Unmarried and Unrelated

Family Redefines Itself,
And Now the Law Follows

By PHILIP S. GUTIS

AS a growing number of unmarried couples claim legal rights, governments, courts and private employers are struggling to decide how to define a family.

Last week, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors approved a law that would allow unmarried partners, both heterosexual and homosexual, to register their relationships with the city, in much the same way that a couple applies for a marriage license.

Mayor Art Agnos has said he will sign the bill, making San Francisco the first city to grant legal recognition to unmarried partners. Less certain is whether the city will follow the board's recommendation that unmarried city employees be allowed to extend their health benefits to their partners, an issue that has taken on great importance because of the AIDS epidemic. Such a policy is already in effect in Berkeley, Calif.

In March the Los Angeles City Council passed a law that gives unmarried city employees sick leave to care for a partner and bereavement leave benefits if they have filed a "domestic partnership" affidavit. But the recognition of unmarried couples does not extend to people who do not work for the city.

In New York, the state's highest court is now deciding whether the surviving partner of a 10-year gay relationship can be considered a family member and keep the lease to an apartment under rent-control guidelines.

In 1988, 27 percent, or 24.6 million, of the country's 91.1 million households fit the traditional definition of a family — two parents living with children. In 1970, the proportion was 40 percent. "The structure of the family has changed quite a bit since the stereotype of 'Leave It to Beaver' days," said Michael Woo, a Los Angeles council member who introduced the measure. The issue not only affects unmarried couples but also handicapped, elderly and other single people living in group homes.

Some groups oppose tinkering with the definition of family, arguing that the effort is not a reaction to a changed environment but an attempt to promote a new social agenda.

"When government begins to legally recognize other kinds of relationships, it educates the citizenry," said Gary L. Bauer, the former Reagan Administration domestic affairs adviser who is now president of the Family Research Council, a conservative research group in Washington. "It says — particularly to the young — that this is a way of living that our society feels

to be just as acceptable as married couples."

Redefining the family is not only a gay rights issue. The New York Court of Appeals recently ruled in a case involving four former mental patients who were living with a family in Brookhaven on Long Island. The town fined the family for having too many unrelated people living in a house zoned for single family use, but the court

ruled that for zoning purposes the group was the "functional equivalent" of a family.

In another New York case, now awaiting a decision from the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court, a mother and son are fighting eviction from a rent-controlled apartment in Harlem that they shared with an unrelated man for about 20 years before his death in 1985. In December 1987, a Manhattan Civil Court judge found that although unrelated by blood, marriage or adoption, the mother and son had formed a family with the man and ruled that they could not be evicted.

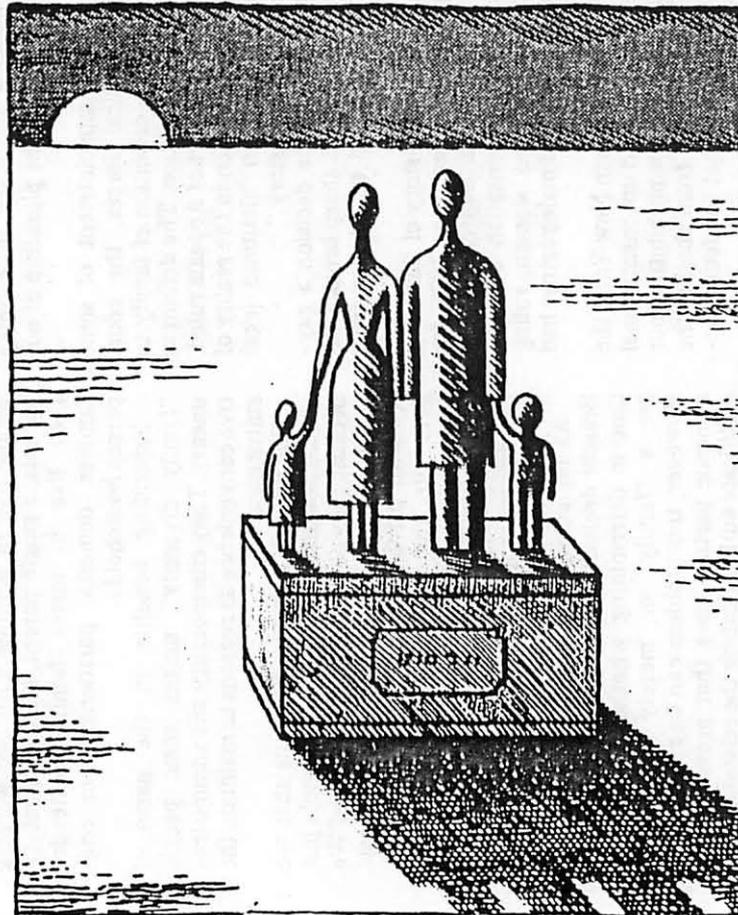
Still, in most places, gay rights organizations are leading the push for changes in government regulations defining a family. "That is almost a matter of necessity since there is no identified constituency of unmarried heterosexual couples," said Shelly F. Cohen of the Mayor's Lesbian-Gay Task Force in Seattle, where a law similar to the one in Los Angeles was recently proposed.

Although cities are free to extend family benefits to their unmarried employees, they are prohibited by Federal law from requiring that private companies do the same. But some experts believe that broader changes are likely.

"There is a trend toward defining family by functions rather than by structure," said Thomas F. Coleman, a member of the California State Task Force on the Changing Family, which was established in 1987 by the state legislature to make recommendations on social, economic and demographic trends. The panel said those functions include: maintaining physical health and safety of members, providing conditions for emotional growth, helping to shape a "belief system," and encouraging shared responsibility.

The private sector has not been immune from pressures to extend the definition of family. The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce has put together a task force to survey its members on policies about unrelated people living together.

"No employer that we know of has extended fringe benefits, such as health care, to people outside the traditional definition of family," said Richard Morten, a vice president of the Chamber of Commerce. "But on a case-by-case basis, certain of our companies are taking a little bit broader interpretation of a family since they know that many of their employees are in nontraditional relationships."



Bob Gale

What we mean when we say, 'We are family'

Richard Morin is director of polling for the Washington Post.

By Richard Morin

WASHINGTON — Americans are rediscovering the family, though the family of the 1980s is something quite different than Ward, June, Wally and the Beaver.

Today, family often includes friends. It may not include close relatives. And it is defined as much by the quality of relationships as by blood ties, according to a national survey of 1,200 adults conducted in June by the research firm of Mellman and Lazarus for Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Co.

So what is a family? According to the poll, three out of four persons interviewed defined a family as "a group of people who love and care for each other." Only about one in five said a family was a group "related by blood, marriage or adoption."

In fact, when asked whom they considered their "close family," one out of 10 persons interviewed mentioned friends.

What are family values? Perhaps surprisingly, they are not found in the ideological mush fed to voters in 30-second sound bites during most political campaigns. To find out what that concept means to people, researchers asked respondents how well the term "family value" described 28 separate values.

AT THE top of the people's list: Being able to provide emotional support, respecting parents, respecting other people "for who they are" and being responsible for personal actions.

At the bottom: Being free of obligations "so I can do whatever I want to do," opposing abortion, having nice things and favoring prayer in the schools.

"Family values address the nature and quality of relationships among people," according to the study summary. "Despite the Moral Majority attempt to associate their objectives with the definition of family values, the American public does not place opposi-

tion to abortion and support for prayer in schools among the top family values."

According to the poll, nearly two out of three persons interviewed said they got the greatest pleasure in their lives from their families, while just 7 percent mentioned friends.

But a majority of Americans believe that the quality of family life is, at best, only fair and is likely to get worse. Fifty-six percent of those interviewed rated the quality of family life today as only fair, or poor, while 44 percent rated it as excellent or good.

Looking ahead, Americans likewise are uncertain about the direction American families are headed. When asked to speculate on the quality of family life 10 years hence, 34 percent offered positive evaluations, while 59 percent were negative.

"It is striking that the only category that shows an increase is 'poor,' which nearly doubled from 16 percent to 29 percent," the researchers wrote. "By contrast, only 16 percent of those who are now negative expect things to be better in the near future."

Americans also were quick — perhaps too quick — to see other families in trouble while viewing their own families as relatively problem-free.

"People seem to saying, 'I'm OK, but you're not,'" researchers said. "For example, while a 56 percent majority rates the quality of American family life negatively, 71 percent say that they are at least very satisfied with their own family life," with 24 percent reporting that they were "extremely satisfied."

Moreover, a majority of people reject the notion that their parents were more satisfied with family life than they are: Just 26 percent of those interviewed said their parents found family life more satisfying than they themselves do. "Similarly, while almost two in three Americans believe family values have gotten weaker, about 60 percent say their families did 'very well' in teaching them their values, and another 30 percent said their families did 'pretty well.'"

The Sacramento Bee Final • Wednesday, October 25, 1989

AND ALTHOUGH respondents said other people placed a higher value on material things than on family, only 6 percent of those interviewed said "earning a living is more important to them than providing emotional support to the family."

"Thus Americans seem to see the family in decline everywhere but in their own home," a phenomenon that perhaps is simply due to people's reluctance to acknowledge personal or potentially embarrassing problems, as well as to the emphasis on dysfunctional families in the media.

The public's prescription for healing whatever ails the family: more time together.

The deeply felt need for more family time is evident in response to questions throughout the survey. Eighty-six percent agree with the view that "families seem to spend less time together than they did 30 years ago."

More than half of those interviewed said spending more time with the family would be "extremely effective" in strengthening family values. Just about a third — 32 percent — said providing better role models on TV and in the movies would be similarly successful, 30 percent said teaching family values in church and synagogue, and 28 percent said having a full-time parent raising children.

And marriage is back, too. Most Americans have a traditional view of marriage. More than two-thirds — 69 percent — saw marriage as "a permanent commitment," with 28 percent saying that marriage was "something that should only last as long as it makes both people happy."

"Older people, who were socialized in a period when divorce was less frequent, are more likely to stress the permanence of marriage (75 percent to 23 percent). Those 18 to 29, however, are somewhat less committed to the traditional view (64 percent to 33 percent). But even those who are currently divorced believe in the permanence of marriage by a narrow margin (51 percent to 45 percent)."

Washington Post

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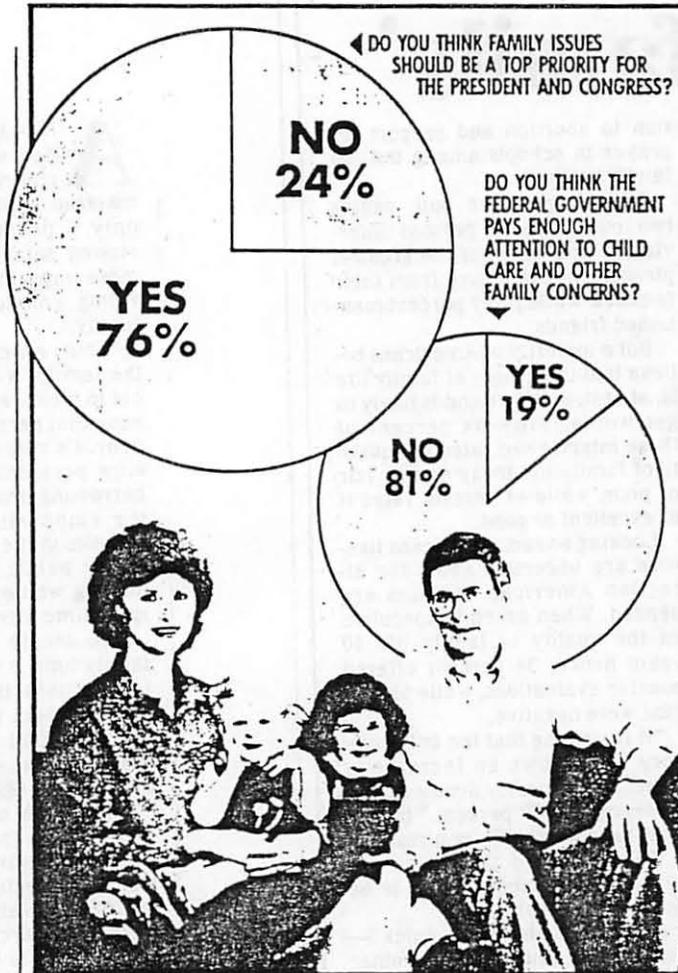
DEAR PRESIDENT BUSH...

AN OPEN LETTER ABOUT FAMILY CONCERNS

BY KATE GREER, MANAGING EDITOR

Dear President Bush:

Is America neglecting its children—and its future? That's the message we and 20 other national magazines got in response to a questionnaire we all published in our February issues. The survey, "Family Matters," was originated by the Child Care Action Campaign, a New York-based coalition of nonpartisan advocates of better, more available, more affordable child care. It focused primarily on care for the children of working parents and on the issue of family leave to care for new infants and seriously ill children or parents. The magazines that joined us in publishing the questionnaire range from *Ladies' Home Journal* to *Money*, *People*, and *The New Republic*.



child care should be left to parents, government should help make good, affordable child care available for all children who need it. Similarly, say 62 percent, business should help. (The three most critical child-care concerns that respondents identify are: 1. Quality of care, 2. Safety, and 3. Cost.) The federal government simply does not pay enough attention to child care and other family concerns, think 81 percent, and 76 percent think that family issues should be a top priority for both the President and Congress.

The most significant majority, 93 percent, believe that every mother and father should have the right, without fear of job loss, to take a leave from work to take care of a newborn or newly adopted child, or a seriously ill child or parent. In addition, 71 percent say that the leave should be either fully or partially paid.

WHO ANSWERED?

For all the magazines, the majority of respondents are employed-outside-the-home married women with children under 18 years, though fathers, grandparents, and single mothers also participated. We compared the responses of our *Better Homes and Gardens* readers to the rest and found there was precious little difference in opinion—a few percentage points here and there.

GETTING THE WORD TO WASHINGTON

The new and not-so-kind reality in America today is that the need to generate income is impinging on the family's basic function—that of nurturing

and caring for its members. In the majority of homes with young children, both parents are employed outside the home. (Presently, more than 9 million children under age 6 have mothers who are employed outside the home. Projections are that in five years, as the labor shortage intensifies, the number of working mothers will increase to more than 15 million.) Still more worrisome is the growing legion of single mothers, women who are the sole breadwinners for their families.

So, who's taking care of the children? Too often, the answer is not one you want to hear.

Of all respondents to the survey, 65 percent say that while the choice of

HEY, WHAT ABOUT US?

It must be noted that in a survey of this type the readers who take the time to respond are a self-selected group, likely to be more interested and to have stronger opinions than other readers. In this case, parents feeling the pressure of balancing work and family care are reflecting the concerns they have firsthand. However, another group of BH&G readers, stay-at-home parents, took the time to write to us to explain their views on the subject of child care. These readers point out again and again in their letters that they have made major career and material sacrifices so as to have one parent at home

continued on page 20

continued from page 19

rearing of the children. They are often outraged about tax breaks and other tax-funded benefits that go or would go only to parents who pay others to take care of their children. To them, such discrimination, besides being unfair, seems unwise in that it encourages parents to assign the responsibility of child rearing to others. We see the sense of their argument: Any tax credit or fund dispersal for child care should be distributed across the board to all parents, employed or not.

One possible model for such a program is the Family Allowance system that Canada has had in place for decades. All resident parents, regardless of income, receive a \$32 check each

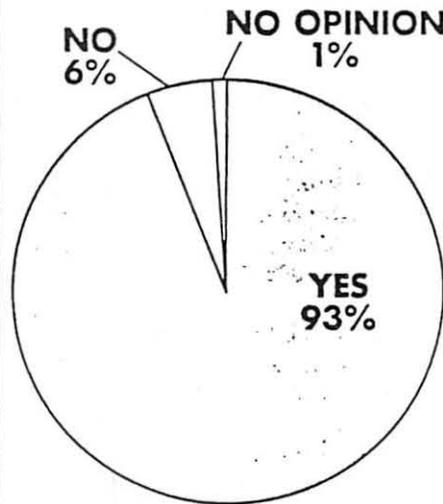


In the end, what's good for families is good for business and for government, too. That's the real American way.

month from the federal government for each child under 18. It can be used for whatever the parent wishes: child care, clothing, food, health care, and so on. There is no stigma of poverty or welfare attached. To be effective in solving the child-care problems we face, the monthly benefit would need to be greater and perhaps the cutoff age for children younger.

Another fair and useful possibility that's been discussed is tax credits for all families with preschool children.

SHOULD EVERY MOTHER AND FATHER HAVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE A LEAVE FROM WORK WITHOUT FEAR OF LOSING HIS/HER JOB TO TAKE CARE OF A NEWBORN OR NEWLY ADOPTED CHILD, OR A SERIOUSLY ILL CHILD OR PARENT?



SO, WHO'S REALLY PRO-FAMILY?

Our principal reason for publishing the "Family Matters" questionnaire was to take advantage of yet one more opportunity to focus attention on the need for both government and business to be more sensitive to family concerns. In the abstract, both government and business are quick to extol the virtues of family values. During political campaigns, candidates compete to out-platitude each other in claiming alignment with family and everything good the concept stands for. "I'm pro-family," they say. Flag, country, Mom, apple pie, and family. It's a familiar ritual. Also familiar is the way all those platitudes tend to evaporate after the election, and business returns to normal.

None of us really wants the federal government in the child-care business. And none wants onerous legislation that threatens business. What we do want is for both government and business to wake up and smell the coffee. It's time for policies, funding, and yes, laws, to enable today's families to care for their members while still earning an adequate income for material needs.

So, Mr. President (and members of Congress), will you reaffirm your commitment to family by presenting to the nation a major policy initiative? Our children's future—and our nation's—depends on your leadership. In the end, what's good for families is good for business and for government, too. That's the real American way.

TC-51

Families of Color

Asian Newcomers Who 'Get Ahead So Fast' May Be Far Behind Where They Started

By RONALD TAKAKI

In Spike Lee's film "Do the Right Thing," three unemployed black men are sitting on the sidewalk in a New York City black community, and one of them points to the Korean greengrocery across the street. Those Koreans, the Lees, own that store, he says. And they got off the boat only a year ago. Why we can't do the same thing?

But the question is left unanswered. We leave the theater with little understanding of why the three men are out of work and why the Lees are operating a store.

Had Spike Lee allowed his viewers to enter the back room of the greengrocery we might have seen a college degree from a Korean university hanging on the wall and learned that grocer Lee may have been a professional worker—an engineer, school teacher or administrator—in Korea. About 78% of Korean greengrocers, a New York survey found, had college degrees. In the mid-1970s, only 6% of Korean householders in New York City had been small-business owners in the old country. Yet, 34% of them were in the retail and wholesale businesses. They became shopkeepers after their arrival in America.

"What else can I do?" explained greengrocer Ill Chung, who holds a master's degree in engineering.

"I need money but there are not good jobs for Koreans." Korean professionals such as Chung face discrimination, and, even if they are hired, many hit the "glass ceiling"—a barrier that allows them to see high-level management positions but not reach them.

Most Korean immigrants also encounter another difficulty. "The English-language barrier," observed one of them, "virtually makes the [Korean] newcomers deaf and dumb." According to a 1975 study of Korean immigrants over 23 years of age, only 10% were fluent in English. As greengrocers, Korean immigrants need only a minimal knowledge of English to operate their business.

The main reason why they are able to "own" stores is the fact that they often bring capital with them. "They sell their homes, everything they own in Korea and bring their cash with them," explained Christopher Kim, who has worked as a lawyer in Los Angeles' Koreatown for over a decade. "Many then open liquor stores in the black community."

But most do not become shopkeepers. Instead they find themselves trapped as stockers and clerks in grocery stores, service workers in restaurants, operatives in garment factories or as janitors at airports and in hotels. "We came for a better life," complained garment-factory worker Jung Sook Kim, "but we

have not found it better yet. It is work, work, work."

The highlighting of Korean shopkeeping success by Spike Lee and also by the news media has overlooked the plight of these Korean laborers. This has helped create the myth of Koreans and other Asian Americans as a "model minority." Although many achievements in education and employment by Asian Americans have indeed been impressive, they should not be allowed to shroud other realities that exist.

Twenty-five percent of the New York Chinatown population lived below the poverty level in 1980, compared to 17% for the city. From 50% to 70% of the workers in Chinatowns in Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York are crowded into low-paying jobs in garment factories and restaurants. "Most immigrants coming into Chinatown with a language barrier cannot go outside this confined area into the mainstream of American industry," said Danny Lowe describing what happened to him. "Before, I was a painter in Hong Kong, but I can't do it here. I got no license, no education. I want a living, so it's dishwasher, janitor or cook."

Hmong and Mien refugees have an unemployment rate that reaches 90%. A 1987 California study showed that 3 in 10 Southeast Asian refugee families have been on welfare for 4 to 10 years. "We have no other skills

but farming—except that we are not even farmers anymore," said a Hmong refugee. Referring to the enlistment of the Hmong by the CIA in the "secret war" in Laos, he added: "We are just unemployed soldiers." While thousands of Vietnamese young people are entering universities as "whiz kids," others are on the streets. They live in motels and hang out in places like the Midnight Cafe and the Saigon Center pool hall in the San Gabriel Valley east of Los Angeles.

College-educated Asian Indians can be seen working in luncheonettes featuring Indian "fast food" and operating newsstands in Manhattan subways. Filipino immigrants can be found in food and health services: In San Francisco, their employment rate in these occupations is 21% percent, compared to 6% for whites.

Finally, even Korean immigrant "success" has been exaggerated. In San Francisco, for example, Korean-immigrant men in 1980 earned only 60% of what their white counterparts earned. The figure for black men was 68%.

To do the right thing we also need to see the world from the other side of greengrocer Lee's counter.

Ronald Takaki, a professor of ethnic studies at UC Berkeley, is the author "Strangers From a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans," (1989).

Dramatic Rise in Infant Death Rate for Latinos Cited

■ **Health:** County figures show the Latino infant mortality rate has risen by more than a third since 1987. Stillbirths during the same period rose by 45%.

By JANNY SCOTT
TIMES MEDICAL WRITER

The infant and fetal death rate among Latinos in Los Angeles County is rising dramatically—a trend that health officials trace in part to the acculturation of Latin American immigrants and their adoption of unhealthy U.S. habits.

The Latino infant mortality rate—the rate at which babies die before age 1—has risen by more than a third since 1987, according to county health statistics released Thursday. The rate of stillbirths among Latinos during the same period rose by 45%.

"The realization that many, if not most, of these deaths

are unnecessary and preventable mandates immediate, strong and effective action on the part of the public and private sectors of our community," said Dr. Irwin A. Silberman, the county's top maternal-health official.

Infant mortality is considered by many a barometer of a society's health and of the condition and priorities of its health-care system. Patterns of infant and fetal death often reflect other social patterns in income, education and opportunities.

In the past, the Latino infant-death rate has been as much as 40% below that of Anglos and 66% below that of blacks. Health officials have attributed those differences in large part to strong family and community support for pregnant Latinas.

Now, the Latino death rates are rising in the county at a time when Anglo rates are dropping. Health officials trace the rise among Latinos in part to poverty, lack of education and lack of access to medical care, and in part to assimilation into U.S. society.

Some Latina immigrants, Silberman said, "are acquiring many of the characteristics of the established populations . . . such as alcohol, smoking and substance abuse [and] being subjected to the stresses and strains of living in poverty communities."

Alcohol, tobacco smoking and drug use during pregnancy are prime causes of birth defects, disabilities and so-called low birth

weight. Babies born weighing 5.5 pounds or less are 40 times more likely than others to die during the first four weeks of life.

Stress on the mother, too, has been linked to premature labor and preterm birth.

PREGNANCY OUTCOMES

The infant mortality rate among Latinos in Los Angeles County, per 1,000 live births:

1987	5.8
1988	7.5
1989 (preliminary figures) ...	7.9

Comparison figures for other whites and blacks:

■ **Non-Latino whites**

1987	10.0
1988	8.8
1989 (preliminary)	7.4

■ **Blacks**

1987	16.3
1988	21.1
1989 (preliminary)	20.8

The fetal mortality (stillbirths) among Latinos in Los Angeles County, per 1,000 live births and fetal deaths:

1987	6.0
1988	7.4
1989 (preliminary)	8.3

Comparison figures for other whites and blacks:

■ **Non-Latino whites**

1987	6.0
1988	5.2
1989	NA

■ **Blacks**

1987	13.4
1988	15.1
1989	NA

Figures from Los Angeles County Department of Health Services. Preliminary 1989 figures do not include statistics from Pasadena and Long Beach.

Silberman released what he called "these appalling figures" at a press conference Thursday at which a coalition of private and nonprofit groups announced a campaign to encourage Latinas to make use of opportunities for prenatal and pediatric care.

As part of the campaign, 20 neighborhood clinics intend to make available this Saturday free prenatal and well-baby care for Latinas, along with information on how to get coverage for future care under the state's MediCal insurance program for the poor.

The program is being sponsored by La Opinion, the Spanish-language daily newspaper; the Los Angeles chapter of the Healthy Mothers, Healthy Babies Coalition; the March of Dimes, and local health providers. (For information, call 213/250-8055.)

Silberman, director of maternal health and family programs for the county Department of Health Services, based his statements on preliminary 1989 statistics. While the figures are provisional, he said he did not anticipate significant changes.

According to Silberman, the Latino infant death rate rose from 5.8 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1987 to 7.4 in 1988 and 7.9 in 1989. By contrast, the Anglo infant death rate dropped from 10.0 in 1987 to 8.8 in 1988 and 7.4 in 1989.

The black infant mortality rate is substantially higher, as previously reported. It rose from 16.3 in 1987 to 21.1 in 1988. It appeared to level off at 20.8 in 1989, but Silberman noted that the latest figures do not include statistics from Pasadena and Long Beach.

The fetal death rate among Latinos rose from 6.0 stillbirths per 1,000 live births and fetal deaths in 1988 to 8.3 in 1989. The Anglo rate dropped from 6.0 to 5.2 between 1987 and 1988; the black rate rose from 13.4 to 15.1.

Los Angeles Times

FRIDAY

JULY 20, 1990

Latino Poverty Grew Over Decade, Study Finds

By KEVIN DAVIS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Although they have made significant inroads politically, Latinos nationwide are more likely to be poor now than they were 10 years ago, according to a report released Friday by the National Council of La Raza.

Latino officials say the statistics are particularly sobering because of the startling level of poverty among married-couple and multiple-income Latino families. In 1979, 13.1% of married-couple families were below the poverty line. In 1988, the number rose to 16%.

Overall, 26.8% of Latinos were poor last year, compared to 25.7% 10 years ago, the study reported.

"The Hispanic reality is not in keeping with the American dream that if you get married, have children and the father goes out and works full time you will do all right," said Raul Yzaguirre, president of the council. "Poverty can afflict even those who are committed to hard work and family values."

Yzaguirre said that realization comes as a particular blow to the growing Latino population.

"The work ethic is purely embedded in the Hispanic community," he said. "What we're finding is that does not translate into economic security . . . because policies of this country have a punitive impact on the working poor. It's not necessarily in the best interest to go-to work for a minimum wage job and forfeit Medicaid, housing allowances and food stamps, as well as welfare."

The council's report said future prospects for Latinos are further clouded by continuing employment discrimination against the group, the high dropout rate of Latino high school students and limited access to higher education. "At a time when education has become a cornerstone of economic security," the report states, "Hispanics are the most undereducated group in the country."

In 1987, the most recent year for which comprehensive statistics are available, only 51% of Latinos over the age of 25 completed high school, compared to 78% of non-Latinos, the report said. The report, which charted college entrance rates between 1976 and 1986, found that the percentage of Latinos pursuing higher education dropped from 35.8% to 26.9%.

Overall median incomes, when adjusted for inflation, decreased slightly among Latinos in the last decade, falling from \$23,088 to \$21,759.

The 26.8% poverty rate for Latinos last year compared to 32.6% for blacks and 10.4% for whites.

There were, however, important gains for Latino women in the work force. In 1979, Latino women had annual median earnings of \$10,863. By 1988, their median earnings had grown to \$14,845—an increase of 37%.

Los Angeles Times

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1989

**"LATINO PARTICIPATION IN THE LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT:
A REPORT OF FACTS AND FINDINGS"**

Submitted by the

**HISPANIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE
TO THE
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT**

Members:

**Roberto Uranga, Chairperson
Margie Rodriguez
Irma Archuleta
David Rios
Jerome Orlando Torres, Editor**

June 12, 1989

**This Report is dedicated to the memory of
Francisco "Pancho" Sandoval, Ph.D., 1942-1989
A Pioneer in Bilingual Education and Chicano Studies**

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BACKGROUND

On March 17, 1986, a coalition of Latino community groups spoke before the Board of Education for the Long Beach Unified School District (LBUSD) regarding the growing problem of Latino dropouts within the local public school system. This coalition was represented by the Mexican-American Education Commission; LULAC Council #2047, Long Beach Chapter; LULAC-Headstart, Inc.; the Chicano Political Caucus; and the Hispanic Business Association. This coalition presented a proposal to the Board of Education underscoring the following elements:

- o Development of a comprehensive drop-out study by LBUSD analyzing the cause and effects of Latino drop-outs.
- o Devotion of lottery funds by LBUSD for minority drop-out prevention programs.
- o Establishment of a Hispanic Advisory Committee.

At a meeting on April 24, 1986, facilitated by newly-appointed Superintendent Dr. E. Tom Giugni, the Hispanic Advisory Committee was formed. Representatives from the following organizations were invited to participate in the Committee in order to develop a dialogue between the School District and the Latino Community: Hispanic Business Association, Pan-American Cultural Center, South Coast EOP/Consortium, LULAC Council #2047, and St. Lucy's Church. Since the Spring of 1986, the Committee began the lengthy process of evaluating and discussing LBUSD policies, practices and procedures with the purpose of assessing their impact upon Latino students, parents and staff. School District administrators and staff have met with the Committee in order to assist with the evaluation process, and to provide clarification on issues and concerns raised by the Committee.

OBSERVATIONS

Introduction

The issue of Latino participation within LBUSD becomes urgent in light of its growing Latino student population within the LBUSD (Table 1, Page 13). For instance, 10 years ago, Latinos comprised only 15% of LBUSD's total student population. Today, of the 70,507 students attending LBUSD schools and programs, almost 1/3, or 20,612, students are Latino. The age distribution of Latino students indicates this growth will continue through the next few generations (Table 2, Page 13). In fact, the ethnic/racial makeup of LBUSD's student population is not unique but, rather, reflective of the greater Los Angeles County region (Table 3, Page 14).

Coupled with the recent growth in the number of minority students, in general, and Latino students, in particular, has been a corresponding growth of LBUSD's Limited English Proficient (LEP) student population. For instance, in 1983-84, only 16.7% of the entire student population were identified as LEP. Today, 1 of 4 students are LEP students. In 19 of 59 elementary schools in LBUSD, at least 1 of 3 students are LEP students. In

certain elementary schools the amount is particularly startling. Most certainly, LBUSD will join the other 16 School Districts within California with LEP students comprising 45%, or more, of the total student population. The School District's LEP student population is concentrated within four primary language groups (Table 7, Page 16), with Spanish as the number 1 minority language spoken. The predominance of Spanish-speakers within the LEP student population is not unique. According to the State Department of Education, 73% of the LEP students, state-wide, are Spanish-speaking. Within the LBUSD, over half (53%) of its Latino students are also LEP students. Latino LEP students, alone, now comprise 15% of the entire student population.

In light of the above, two central questions arise when analyzing Latino participation in the School District: (1) Are Latinos properly represented in LBUSD programs? (2) Are Latinos, especially those who are LEP, properly serviced in LBUSD programs? Tragically, the answer to both questions is: NO!

During the various presentations, the Committee identified several programs, which reflect the Committee's contention that Latinos are being denied "full" participation within LBUSD. The Committee recommends that programs be evaluated by the Board of Education to assess their adverse impact upon its Latino student population. Additionally, the Committee requests that an outside agency be employed to conduct these evaluations so as to ensure complete objectivity.

The Committee's own observations and recommendations on certain programs are included within this Report. These programs include the following:

- o Personnel Services
- o Limited English Proficiency (LEP) Program
- o Special Education Program.
- o Gang Abatement Program
- o Cities in Schools

In some instances, requests for additional information are submitted. It is the Committee's expectation that the recommendations offered within this Report will serve as a basis for further analysis of these respective programs.

Personnel Services

Latino under-representation in the administrative and teaching corps of LBUSD is a very serious problem. Since the inception of this Committee, the School District has made virtually no gains in the recruitment and promotion of Latino staff. In 1986, the representation of Latino credentialed staff averaged 4%. Today, that average has not changed (Table 4, Page 14). The past and present composition of LBUSD's workforce cannot be justified when using the criteria of representativeness as it relates to either student population or existing labor market (Table 5, Page 15). The present under-representation of minorities among LBUSD's teacher credentialed staff is of particular importance because of the absence of effective role models, especially for Latinos (Table 6, Page 15).

The problem is compounded by the absence of Latinos in key policy-making positions. The Committee believes that nothing can communicate a clearer message about LBUSD's commitment to addressing this problem than the appointment of Latinos to top level administrative and teaching positions.

Adoption of an aggressive Affirmative Action Master Plan, which will address the under-representation of Latinos within LBUSD's workforce requires immediate action. The Committee's proposals regarding this effort is outlined in the RECOMMENDATIONS Section of this Report. However, the Committee has identified other practices which the Personnel Services Division should immediately adopt to begin addressing the existing under-representation of Latinos. These include:

- o Authority vested in LBUSD recruiters to provide early "on-the-spot" conditional hiring of prospective minority and/or bilingual college graduates during April, rather than offer prospective candidates positions in August.
- o Encouragement of present and future minority high school students, especially Latinos, to pursue academic careers in field of education. Options should include internship and scholarship programs, and other incentives.
- o Heavier use of Latino media in present and future recruitment efforts.
- o Development of an internship program to cultivate existing Latino staff for future administrative appointments.
- o Development of an internship program with CSULB, and other campuses within the CSU system, to recruit bilingual/bicultural teachers.

Limited English Proficiency (LEP) Program

The development of cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in English among LBUSD's LEP student population (i.e., building conceptual knowledge via the use of the student's primary language) calls for serious scrutiny. For instance, the present teacher to student ratio within LBUSD is 37 to 1. Yet, for LEP students, the ratio is 109 to 1. Therefore, how can this process begin given the extreme shortage of qualified teachers who are able to give instruction in the students' primary language (Table 8, Page 17). The pervasive shortage of qualified bilingual staff begins at LBUSD's Office of LEP Services (Table 9, Page 17), whose responsibilities are to conduct initial evaluations of LEP students, provide in-service training, conduct monitoring of LEP programs, etc.

The School District's answer to addressing the shortage of "primary language" bilingual teachers has been to place LEP students in the School

Districts' so-called English Language Development (ELD) classes. Yet, LBUSD currently estimates a shortage of 520 CTC-qualified elementary teachers and 20 CTC-qualified secondary teachers in its ELD Program. As a result, the School District is forced to place many of its LEP students in classes with a majority of students who are Fluent English Proficient (FEP). This policy has virtually destroyed the pedagogical soundness of a core curriculum in the students' primary language. The essence of a successful LEP program is daily communication within the student's primary language. Yet, in LBUSD, LEP students are offered only two ESL classes as part of their daily instruction, if they are available. Consequently, many LEP students are placed in classrooms staffed by teachers who are monolingual and/or monocultural.

Adoption of an aggressive Limited English Proficient (LEP) Master Plan, which will address the critical need for qualified bilingual teachers within LBUSD's workforce requires immediate action. The Committee's proposals regarding this effort is outlined in the RECOMMENDATIONS Section of this Report.

Special Education Program

The pervasive underrepresentation of Latinos within LBUSD's programs, and its inability to properly service Latino students, is evidenced in the Special Education Program. For example, of the 326 professional staff members, only four are bilingual and two are Latino (Table 10, Page 18). The absence of bilingual and/or Latino staff members is critically important considering the extensive methodology involved in the screening process. This concern is founded upon the fact that approximately 70% of the total students screened by the Special Education Program during 1988-89 have been Latino (Table 11, Page 18). Moreover, evidence indicates a pervasive misdiagnosis of Spanish-speaking special education students due to the inability or unwillingness of teachers to deal with their charges. Validation of this concern is illustrated by the amount of screenings for a full work-up, which were subsequently denied by Program staff (Table 11, Page 18). Therefore, the Committee recommends the LBUSD:

- o Ensure proper staffing levels within the Special Education Program to provide effective in-service training of LEP and Non-LEP teachers in the area of "special education identification," with an emphasis in cultural sensitivity.
- o Create a LEP Program specifically designed for gifted Latino children.

Cities in Schools

On June 1987, the LBUSD released its study on drop-outs, entitled "A Limited Study of LBUSD Students Classified as Drop-Outs." One fact within the Report stands out: minority students, in general, and Latino students, in particular, drop-out of school at much higher rates than their Anglo

counterparts within LBUSD. Yet, there exists a disparity in the delivery of services to those students who are in the most need of them. A case in point is the LBUSD's Cities in Schools Program. For example, during the 1987-88 academic year, approximately 97 students were serviced by the program at Marshall Junior High School. Of that amount, less than 10 were Latinos. (Figures for the 1988-89 academic year were unavailable.) Additionally, no Latino and/or bilingual staff were employed during the 1987-88 academic year. Therefore the Committee recommends the LBUSD:

- o Increase service levels toward Latino students, especially at Marshall Junior High School, with a corresponding increase in Latino and bilingual staff to accommodate increased Latino participation.
- o Ensure Latino student participation in JTPA programs.
- o Enlist members from the Latino Business Community to serve on the Board of Directors so as to serve as a direct channel between the Program and the Latino Community.

Gang Abatement Program

During July 1987, the Report of the Mayoral Task Force on Substance Abuse and Gangs indicated the emergency of a growing gang population within the City of Long Beach, with Latinos comprising over half of the entire membership. Most troublesome is the fact that half are 18 years old and younger. Current Police Department estimates indicate there exists 40 gangs, consisting of upwards to 5,000 members in the City of Long Beach. The Report also emphasized the use of a three-fold approach to dealing with gangs in Long Beach: prevention, diversion and suppression.

The ability and willingness of LBUSD to participate as a major player in the prevention of gangs and gang-related criminal activity is critical. Thus, the inclusion of the Latino Community within established LBUSD programs becomes particularly important. The effectiveness of LBUSD's Gang Abatement Program in reducing gang involvement within its Latino student population is contingent upon its willingness and ability to reach out toward them. Therefore, the Committee recommends LBUSD:

- o Emphasize Latino parent education and participation in the Gang Abatement Program.
- o Recruit qualified Latino, especially bilingual, instructors within the Gang Abatement Program.
- o Target elementary and junior high schools with a large minority student population, especially within high crime areas, for placement of the Gang Abatement Program vs. the present "voluntary" system.

- o Commit to cultural education within LBUSD to promote cultural understanding and minority self-esteem including, but not limited, multi-cultural extra-curricular activities and curriculum.
- o Intensify outreach efforts toward Latino students to participate in school student councils, advisory groups, peer counseling groups, etc. (Examples: Drug Alternative Nights and Counseling Events (DANCE) Program and Helping Other People Excel (HOPE) Program.
- o Intensify outreach efforts toward Latino students to participate in anti-graffiti efforts with the City of Long Beach, Community Development Department and Parks and Recreation Department.
- o Intensify outreach efforts toward Latino students to participate in LBUSD's Regional Occupational Program (ROP).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout the meetings of the Hispanic Advisory Committee, two issues repeatedly surfaced during presentations given by LBUSD administrators: the under-representation of Latinos within LBUSD Programs, and LBUSD's inability to properly serve its Latino students, especially those who are Spanish-speaking. Therefore, the Committee recommends that the Board of Education immediately act upon developing a Limited English Proficient (LEP) and Affirmative Action Master Plan to correct the present situation. The Committee recommends these Plans include the following elements:

Limited English Proficient (LEP) Master Plan

Staffing and In-Service Training--

- o Mandatory second language skill development of all administrators, teachers, and support staff who occupy positions within schools with a 30% or more Limited English Student (LEP) population.
- o Peer staff development as a means to provide in-service training to all teacher-credentialed staff in grade levels Kindergarten through grade 6.
- o A career ladder for all qualified bilingual teacher aides.

Compensation--

- o A bilingual pay differential, and other incentives, for all certified bilingual teachers, administrators and support staff.

Other--

- o The restructuring of LBUSD's traditional parent involvement program (i.e., the District Advisory Committees on Bilingual Education (DACBE) and Bilingual Advisory Committee (BAC) by providing more opportunities for Asian and Latino parent participation.
- o A parent education "newcomer" program for recent immigrants.
- o Latino/Asian bilingual student tutor internships/work study programs to provide additional volunteer staff for ELD teams.
- o Expansion of bilingual-bicultural instruction in early childhood development programs (i.e., Headstart).

The Committee recommends the development of the School District's Bilingual Master Plan be accomplished through a cooperative effort between administrator, teacher, parent, and concerned citizen. This process could take the form of a Blue Ribbon Committee established by the Board of Education, with the mandate to develop a proposal for "immediate adoption" by the Board no later than one year from the date of its inception. The Blue Ribbon Committee should be comprised of a minimum 50% minority members.

Any discussion regarding the development of a LEP Master Plan must adequately address each of the following ten areas:

- o Elementary Program
- o Secondary Program
- o Gifted and Talented Student Program
- o Special Education Program
- o Staffing
- o Staff Development
- o Parent/Community Involvement
- o Student Assessment and On-Going Monitoring
- o Program Evaluation
- o Counseling and other Support Services.

The Committee requests that more in-depth research and analysis be conducted on LBUSD's LEP Program to assess its overall effectiveness. This research and analysis should, at the very least, fully address the questions developed by the Committee, outlined in Appendix B of this Report.

Affirmative Action Master Plan

The Board of Education should immediately adopt a 3-year Affirmative Action Master Plan, which sets forth LBUSD's obligation and commitment to equal employment opportunities for Latinos within its workforce, by adopting the following:

- o Development of an affirmative action program containing specific, timely, relevant and effective goals and timetables. Included within the goals should be the following:
 - An immediate 10-20% increase in minority hiring for all credentialed, classified and non-classified staff positions within LBUSD.
 - An immediate 10-20% increase in bilingual hiring goal for credentialed, classified and non-classified staff positions within LBUSD.

CONCLUSION

The absence of credentialed, classified and non-classified staff, which can relate, both culturally and linguistically, to Latino student and parent within LBUSD has served to deny to children, and parent alike, "equal access to quality education" within our local public school system.

If LBUSD is to succeed in establishing a viable, if not credible, Limited English Proficient or Affirmative Action Program, it involves more than adopting a School Board policy or developing a Master Plan: it requires action. Improving the delivery of services to LEP and minority students via a collaborative effort among teachers, parents, administrators, and community leaders must be of the highest priority. Developing employment opportunities for qualified minorities becomes a prerequisite. Both, entail the full participation of minorities, especially Latinos, within the LBUSD. Indeed, it is submitted that the effective education of LBUSD's growing minority student population could well determine the short- and long-term socioeconomic well-being of the City of Long Beach.

APPENDIX A
TABLES AND FIGURES

**Table 1. ETHNIC TRENDS OF STUDENT POPULATION
IN LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT (LBUSD)
1978-1988***

	<u>-1978-1979-</u>		<u>-1983-1984-</u>		<u>-1988-1989-</u>	
	<u>Amount</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>%</u>
Anglo	35,815	61	27,370	43	23,143	33
Black	10,389	18	12,337	19	12,713	18
Latino	8,866	15	14,333	22	20,612	29
Asian	3,742	6	9,880	15	12,383	18
Other+	366	1	342	1	1,656	2
Total	59,178	100	64,262	100	70,507	100

+Includes American Indian and Pacific Islander.

*Includes K-12, preschool, special classes, Education Partnership Program, School for Adults, and Gifted Students.

Source: Long Beach Unified School District

**Table 2. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF STUDENT POPULATION (K-12)
IN LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT (LBUSD)
Fall 1988**

	<u>-Elementary-</u>		<u>Junior High School</u>		<u>High School</u>		<u>---Total---</u>	
	<u>Amount</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>%</u>
Anglo	12,935	32	4,737	34	4,930	38	22,602	33
Black	7,400	18	2,663	19	2,411	19	12,474	18
Latino	11,481	29	3,901	28	2,722	21	18,104	27
Asian	7,246	18	2,184	16	2,538	20	11,968	18
Other+	1,028	3	322	2	269	2	1,619	2
Total	40,090	100	13,807	100	12,870	100	67,767	100

+Includes American Indian and Pacific Islander.

Source: Long Beach Unified School District

**Table 3. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF STUDENT POPULATION (K-12)
IN LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT VS.
PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY**

	Long Beach Unified, 1988-89		Los Angeles County, 1987-88	
	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Anglo	22,602	33%	614,117	47%
Black	12,474	18%	181,405	14%
Latino	18,104	27%	380,558	29%
Asian	11,968	18%	113,035	8%
Other+	1,619	2%	26,939	2%
Total	67,767	100%	1,316,054	100%

+Includes American Indian and Pacific Islander
Source: Long Beach Unified School District
California Teachers Association (CTA)

**Table 4. RACIAL/ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF EMPLOYEES
IN LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT (LBUSD)
Fall 1988**

	w/ Teaching ---Credential+--		---Classified*--		-----Total-----	
	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Anglo	2,813	82%	1,770	60%	4,583	72%
Black	309	9%	560	19%	869	14%
Latino	137	4%	324	11%	461	7%
Asian	137	4%	177	6%	314	5%
Other++	34	1%	119	4%	153	2%
Total	3,430	100%	2,950	100%	6,380	100%

+ Includes teachers, librarians, counselors, principals and other administrators.

* Includes secretaries, clerks, custodians, maintenance personnel and cafeteria workers.

++Includes American Indian and Pacific Islander.

Source: Press Telegram, Fall 1988. Information provided in article consisted of percentages. Therefore, actual figures may vary slightly.

**Table 5. COMPARISON OF LBUSD EMPLOYEES TO
LBUSD STUDENT POPULATION AND
LOS ANGELES/ORANGE COUNTY LABOR MARKET**

	LBUSD ---Employees---		LBUSD Student --Population*--		Los Angeles/Orange Co. Labor Market+	
	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Anglo	4,583	72%	22,602	33%	3,101,965	63%
Black	869	14%	12,474	18%	436,059	9%
Latino	461	7%	18,104	27%	1,095,103	22%
Asian	314	5%	11,968	18%	282,447	6%
Other++	153	2%	1,619	2%	39,642	1%
Total	6,380	100%	67,767	100%	4,955,216	100%

+ Labor Market figure based on Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) standard derived from 1980 Census. Source: State of California Employment and Development Department.

++Includes American Indian and Pacific Islander.

* Includes K through 12 only. Figures based on 1988 academic year. Source: Long Beach Unified School District

**Table 6. RATIO OF TEACHER CREDENTIALLED EMPLOYEES TO STUDENTS
(K-12) BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP WITHIN
LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT (LBUSD)**

Anglo Teacher Credentialed Employees to Anglo Students	1 to 8
Black Teacher Credentialed Employees to Black Students	1 to 40
Latino Teacher Credentialed Employees to Latino Students	1 to 132
Asian Teacher Credentialed Employees to Asian Students	1 to 87
Other+ Teacher Credentialed Employees to Other Students	1 to 48
All Minority Teacher Credentialed Employees to All Minority Students	1 to 73
Total Teacher Credentialed Employees to Total Students	1 to 20

+Includes American Indian and Pacific Islander.

Source: Long Beach Unified School District
Press Telegram

**Table 7. LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT (LEP) STUDENT POPULATION
IN LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT (LBUSD)
March 1989**

<u>Level</u>	-----Languages Spoken-----					<u>Total LEP</u>
	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>Vietnamese</u>	<u>Filipino Ta' log</u>	<u>Cambodian</u>	<u>Other*</u>	
K through 6						
Amount	7,568	434	404	3,204	1,126	12,736
% of LEP	59%	3%	3%	25%	9%	
7 through 9						
Amount	1,375	141	102	481	199	2,298
% of LEP	60%	6%	4%	21%	9%	
10 through 12+						
Amount	716	126	97	663	181	1,783
% of LEP	40%	7%	5%	37%	10%	
TOTAL						
Amount	9,659	701	603	4,348	1,506	16,817
% of LEP	57%	4%	4%	26%	9%	100%
% of Total Enrollment**	15%	1%	1%	7%	2%	25%

* Languages in this category include Cantonese, Lao, Greek, Italian, etc.
 + Includes Grade 9 students enrolled in Millikan and Polytechnic Sr. H.S.
 **Total enrollment at end of 6th month was: K-6 = 40,218; 7-9 = 13,901; and 10-12 = 12,340; Total = 66,459. Does not include students taught by home teachers.

Percentages are rounded to nearest amount.
 Source: Long Beach Unified School District

Table 8. BILINGUAL TEACHER SHORTAGE WITHIN THE LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT (Elementary and Secondary)

	<u>Total LEP Students Needing L₁ Instruction</u>	<u>L₁ Teachers Required</u>	<u>CTC Teachers Providing L₁ Instruction¹</u>	<u>Bilingual Teacher Shortage</u>	<u>L₁ Team Members Providing L₁ Instruction</u>
Spanish	4,940	231	68	(163)	104
Cambodian	1,572	104	0	(104)	4
Vietnamese	328	15	0	(15)	0
Filipino (Tagalog)	288	14	1	(13)	0
Other Asian	409	20	0	(20)	0
Total	7,537	384	69	(315)	108

L₁ = Primary language instruction.
 CTC = Certificate of Competency

Source: Long Beach Unified School District

Table 9. LONG BEACH UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT OFFICE OF LEP SERVICES AND ASSIGNMENT CENTER Fall 1988

<u>Language Spoken</u>	<u>Bilingual Staff</u>	<u>Bilingual Aides</u>
Spanish	3	1
Cambodian	4	7
Vietnamese	3	0
Tagalog	1	1
Lao/Hmong	1	0
Samoan	0	1
Total	12	10

Serving 19 Elementary Schools, 4 Junior High Schools, and 5 High Schools.

Source: Long Beach Unified School District

Table 10. LBUSD SPECIAL EDUCATION PROGRAM STAFF COMPOSITION
Fall 1988

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Bilingual</u>	<u>Latino</u>
Teachers	250	0	1
Nurses	47	0	0
Physicians	1	0	0
Psychologists	19	3	0
Social Workers	1	0	0
Facilitators	8	1	1
TOTAL	326	4	2

TABLE 11. SCREENINGS COMPLETED IN LBUSD SPECIAL EDUCATION PROGRAM
(as of April 10, 1989)

Full Work-Up

	<u>Overall</u>	<u>Latinos Only</u>
Approved	36	26
Denied	35	27
Total	71	53

Second Language (Elementary)

	<u>Overall</u>	<u>Latinos Only</u>
Approved	67	43
Denied	7	2
Total	74	45
Total:	145	98

APPENDIX B
SUPPLEMENTAL QUESTIONS

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OPTIONS

- (1) What program options does LBUSD offer LEP students?
- (2) Which schools are implementing the board-adopted program options?
- (3) What data has been collected to assess the success/failure of the various LBUSD program options? What plans are being made to assess program success/failure?
- (4) What procedures are utilized to assist schools that are unable or unwilling to implement program options?
- (5) What has been the student English oral language success/failure rate? Student primary language progress? Academic achievement of LEP students? How is all of the above information gathered?
- (6) How are students redesigned as FEP? How is their progress monitored? How many are designated annually and in what grade levels?

STAFFING INFORMATION

- (1) How many LBUSD teachers hold special State certificates for serving LEP students (i.e., BCC-certified, LDS-certified)? How many of these teachers are assigned to teaching LEP students? What schools and which grades?
- (2) How many bilingual volunteers are recruited to serve LEP students? What languages other than English do they speak?
- (3) What efforts are being made to recruit bilingual teachers, paraprofessionals, support personnel, and volunteers? What incentives are being provided? If none, why not?

RESOURCES

- (1) How much supplementary funds are spent on LEP students?
- (2) How much EIA-Bilingual funding does LBUSD receive? Funds for immigrant and refugee students? ESEA- Title VII funding? Other funding?
- (3) Aside from base funding, how much additional funding does LBUSD allocate to LEP services?

NAACP Seeks Solutions to Crisis of Black Males

By RON HARRIS
TIMES STAFF WRITER

The statistics alone are startling enough. Gathered from studies by government agencies, national think tanks, educational associations and medical and health organizations, they paint a bleak picture of life for black males in America.

- One of four black men in their 20s is either in jail, in prison, on probation or parole.

- Violence is the No. 1 cause of death for black males between the ages of 15 and 25; their murder rate is 10 times that of their white counterparts. In California, black males are three times more likely to be murdered than to be admitted to the University of California.

- Black men in poor, inner-city neighborhoods are less likely to live to the age of 65 than men in Bangladesh, one of the world's poorest nations. Black males are the only U.S. demographic group that can expect to live shorter lives in 1990 than they did in 1980.

And the list goes on.

What makes those raw numbers even more frightening, say educators, health officials, politicians and community activists from across the nation who are gathered in Los Angeles this week for the NAACP national convention, is what they eventually could mean.

"If we cannot turn these numbers around, they threaten the very existence of the race," said Beverly Cole, director of education and health for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Consequently, the NAACP tried in a Monday workshop on "The Endangered Black Male" not only to examine the situation but to pass along solutions to a problem that officials say threatens black communities and America as a whole.

During a 1½-hour session Monday—the second major conference on the subject held by the NAACP—panelists grappled with what has become a national concern. While the statistics for blacks as a whole are bad, they note, for black males they are even worse.

Black males place at the bottom of nearly every social indicator, statistics show: Highest unemployment—black males, more than double the national average; highest infant mortality rate—again, black males, more than double the national average.

For life expectancy, high school graduation and college participation and graduation, black males rank lowest.

But the primary focus of the BNAACP seminar was to pass possible solutions to these problems on to representatives from the organization's 2,200 chapters.

The hope is that those representatives will return home to implement programs that will turn around more black males like Nehrwr Schoop of Chicago. Two years ago Schoop, then 14, was a member of the Black Stone Rangers, a notorious Chicago gang. Later he joined the Moorish Americans, another gang. He drank, fought, robbed, smoked marijuana and sold a little drugs on the side, he admits. He says he had been shot at, stabbed, beaten and had watched as a fellow gang member stabbed a 7-year-old in the back over a belt as the youngster ran to get into the car of his parents.

Today, Schoop is one of 1,000 bright young high school students nationally who have traveled to Los Angeles to compete for \$300,000 in college scholarships by showing their talent in categories such as chemistry, architecture, computer science, photography and physics. The scholarships are awarded under the NAACP's ACT-SO program. A chemistry wiz, Schoop has a project called "How Different Sea Water Salts Affect the Oxidation of Iron."

After Schoop saw the 7-year-old killed he began to rethink his life, he said. He began to listen to friends and family who had been trying to steer him in another direction.

But for Schoop and youngsters like him, finding that new direction is not easy.

"Coming out of grammar school, I didn't have any goals," said Isiah Murray, 19, whose photographs are up for an NAACP award.

"A lot of my friends were the same way," added Murray, who plans to enter college in the fall and eventually teach. "They got out of high school and they were just stuck. I knew I had to get myself together. I had a mission to find out what I was going to do with my life."

Many of the problems, panelists said, are systemic. Black males operate in school systems where there are few black male teachers

to serve as role models or counselors. They are greeted with lower expectations than other students. Consequently, they are disproportionately placed in remedial and special-education programs.

Panelist Antoine Garibaldi, dean of the Xavier University school of arts and sciences in New Orleans, pointed to a study of that city's school system showing that while black males made up 43% of the students, they made up 58% of those who got failing grades, 65% of suspensions, 80% of expulsions and 45% of dropouts.

"It seems that black males fare much worse on all of these indicators in terms of behavioral performance," he said.

But for Garibaldi, the most disturbing portion of the New Orleans study was a survey of teachers' attitudes toward black male students. Six of 10 said they did not believe their black male students would go to college. Sixty percent of those teachers worked in elementary school and 65% were black.

"Obviously, teachers' racial, ethnic or cultural affiliations do not make them immune from holding negative self-fulfilling prophecies about the children whom they teach," Garibaldi said.

But while there are systemic problems, much of the blame for allowing the situation to deteriorate to its current level must be placed squarely on the shoulders of black adults, some panelists said.

Garibaldi said that in New Orleans, a fourth of parents never reported to school on report card day, a mandatory routine for all parents in that city's school system.

Panelist Jawanza Kunjufu, a Chicago educational consultant and author, noted that Asian children study an average of 12 hours a week, white students eight hours, and black students five hours.

"Consequently, Asians score 980 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, whites score 908 and blacks average 719," he said.

"I would say two-thirds of the problems are our own creation. At the same time, we are 100% of the solution."

Los Angeles Times

TUESDAY, JULY 10, 1990

12-320

BLACKS: Grim Statistics Considered Threat to Race

The panelists laid down a list of possible solutions. At the core was greater emphasis on education.

Teachers should hold black male students to the same standards that they hold other students, they said. They should encourage students in the earliest grades to pursue college or postsecondary education. More black male elementary school teachers should be hired, especially in kindergarten through the third grade. Currently, black males make up only 1.2% of teachers in elementary grades.

Black male students should be required to participate in extracurricular activities not related to sports, such as student government, debate teams, acting clubs.

Schools should place the most emphasis on rewarding academic achievement, such as awarding "letter" jackets, sweaters and shirts that go along with academic performance.

Parents must become more active participants in the education of their children by visiting the schools frequently and assuring that their children are in school daily.

And there should be a moratorium on placing black males in special-education classes.

Beyond education, panelists said that the black community, particularly black men, must take a greater role in providing guidance and role models for young men.

They suggested that black males become more involved in mentor programs. They suggested the implementation of a "Rites of Passage" program to teach boys what it takes to become men.

"Obviously the gangs can't do it," Kunjufu said. "The adult men have to do it."

Kunjufu said there is disparity between the way many black mothers raise their boys and their girls.

"Black mothers tend to raise their daughters and love their sons," he said. "They teach their daughters to be responsible and not their sons."

He suggested that women hold their sons to the same standards as their daughters.

"They should teach them how to cook, how to sew, have them clean the house and study in the same way that they would have their daughters study," he said.

NUMBER OF Inner-City Single Mothers on Rise

13

Families: Experts see a shortage of 'marriageable' young black men. The situation fosters a cycle of poverty, they say.

By STANLEY MEISLER
and SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

CHICAGO—Willie Jean Nash is a 30-year-old welfare mother of five children who, like many of her friends, has never been married.

"I'm waiting for the right man," she said recently at a preschool center in a dismal public housing project on the South Side of Chicago. "I'm waiting for someone who has a good job and is good to the kids. But they are hard to find."

Nash's comments cut to the heart of one of the most dismaying problems of the black underclass in the large cities of America—an enormous and ever-growing number of families headed by single, unmarried mothers on welfare.

The number of black families headed by a single mother more than doubled from 1.3 million in 1970 to 3 million in 1987. The percentage of black families headed by mothers who had never married increased from 16% to 37%. In Illinois, where Nash lives, four in every five children born to black mothers in their early 20s are illegitimate; so are practically all children born to black teen-age mothers.

Although some analysts blame the welfare system or some kind of cultural failing among poor blacks, many sociologists believe that the cause of the disturbing phenomenon is more obvious: the shortage of marriageable males in the black underclass.

Few young men have good enough jobs to support a family; most are either out of work or in jail or at school. In sheer economic terms, analysts say, a typical young, underclass black male is usually worthless to a family. He cannot earn enough to support the family. If he marries the mother of his children anyway, analysts note, she will lose much of her welfare assistance.

"Black women, especially young black women, are facing a shrinking pool of 'marriageable' [i.e., economically stable] men," according to sociologist William Julius Wilson of the University of Chicago.

Mark Testa, a colleague of Wilson at the University of Chicago, said that illegitimacy was a stigma as recently as 25 or 30 years ago.

"Women wanted to give their children a name," Testa said in his office, less than a mile from Willie Jean Nash's housing project. "So you would have seen higher rates of marriage to jobless men just for social reasons. That has changed now. Very few women will say that they think it's a good idea to marry a jobless man."

The large number of young, single mothers perpetuates a cycle of poverty. Mothers drop out of high school before they have enough training to qualify for anything but the most menial and poor-paying jobs. They often lack the maturity and the income to guide their children out of the traps of the inner city. The children grow up to become unemployed fathers and single mothers.

In a recent survey of young black men in the inner city, Testa found that half said they had become fathers before their 25th birthday. That is no different from similar surveys taken for many years.

"What has changed dramatically," said Testa, "is the proportion who are not working and the proportion of those jobless men who fail to marry the mother of their first child. . . . Employed men were almost twice as likely to marry the mother of their first child conceived out of wedlock as were unemployed men."

The image of the unmarried mother has convinced many Americans that the inner cities are crammed with poor young women breeding children like never before. The evidence does not bear the image out.

In fact, younger black women are having fewer children than they once did. The fertility rates of black women between the ages of 15 and 24 have plummeted since 1960, as it has for young white women. The average family on welfare had three children in 1970; by 1985, the average had dropped to two. Willie Jean Nash, with her five children, is the exception, not the rule.

Testa said that many poor black women tend to have two or perhaps three children before their mid-20s but then stop. Their birth rate is thus not much different from that of middle-class women who postpone children until they have assured themselves of a stable marriage and perhaps a career.

Moreover, black women of all ages are having about the same number of children as

they did 20 years ago. The total number of black births increased from 565,000 in 1970 to only 622,000 in 1986. During the same period, the percentage of children born out of wedlock almost doubled from 38% to 61%.

"You have to keep those two facts straight," Testa said. The big change is the dearth of marriages—not the numbers of children born to young mothers. Marriage among very young blacks is a disappearing institution."

Climentene Jones, who works at the center attended by Nash's children, said that she asks pregnant teen-agers why they would allow themselves to become pregnant when the reward is usually a certain sentence to extreme poverty.

"They look at you . . .," she said. "Sometimes people feel like this is their opportunity to love something, or it makes them feel more adult. Whatever."

"The teen pregnancy thing," said Sister Susanne Beaton, a Roman Catholic nun who works with homeless mothers in Boston, "is nothing but a reflection of the search for love. The mothers have something that pays attention to them and that they have as their own."

Jones said that a large number of pregnant teen-agers know very little about birth control. And, although Willie Jean Nash acknowledged having one abortion, most social workers say that abortion is almost never discussed by young pregnant black mothers.

Medicaid, the federal-state health program for the poor, does not finance abortions. In Chicago, Jones said, private abortions cost about \$350, well beyond the reach of poor pregnant black teen-agers on welfare.

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BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times

Single mother Mary Giles rocks daughter Jessica Hines at their home in a public housing project on Chicago's South Side as friend Belenda Simes looks on. The number of black families headed by a single mother more than doubled between 1970 and 1987.

4th Salute to Black Families Accents Positive

LOS ANGELES TIMES

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1989

■ **Parenting:** Two families that have demonstrated unity and motivation win annual award.

By JEANNINE STEIN
TIMES SOCIETY WRITER

Between the candy-coated cheerfulness of TV's Huxtables and the negative stereotype of drug-obsessed youths and apathetic parents lies the truth of the black family, Lucille Boswell believes, and she likes to prove it.

For the fourth year in a row, she has. As the manager of consumer affairs for the Los Angeles office of Coca-Cola, Boswell once again has produced Coca-Cola's Salute to the Black Family.

Thursday night at the Sheraton Grande Hotel, members of the business community gathered at a cocktail reception honoring one single- and one dual-parent family that demonstrated unity and motivation.

"Today you hear many things about our families being in trouble, and you hear a great deal about dope and gangs in the black family, but you don't hear about the positive side as much as you should," Boswell said. "What affects one family affects all families. If any of us don't keep our families together, whether we be black, white, yellow or brown, then our country cannot survive."

Amid enthusiastic applause from the audience, Boswell added: "I wasn't doing that for any applause, gang. I was just talking the truth!"

An 11-member selection committee, co-chaired by Dan Austin and Eugenia Scott, had selected the two families based on criteria that included stability, religious affiliation, accomplishments of the children, extending encouragement and direction to their children and to others, education, work history, community involvement, the ability to overcome odds and strong family values.

Judy Reinhold and her children Angela, 16, and Kurt, 11, from Los Angeles, were honored as the outstanding single-parent family.

"Even in the midst of tragedy things can go on and you can still strive and make it," said Judy Reinhold, a medical technician, who lost her husband to cancer six years ago. "Being 100% behind your kids and motivating them is all you can ask. My main concern is keeping them right on track, and do what their father would have pushed them to do had he been there. And I attribute all the positives in my life to love of the Lord."

"Getting this award was the furthest thing from my mind. I go about my life not thinking anyone is cluing in to what I'm doing, that it's of no importance to anyone else. But something like this comes along and you say, 'I must really be doing OK. It's working.' We have to work as a chain and stick together. We have our ups and downs, but this is definitely an up."

Daughter Angela, a junior at Immaculate Heart High School, said: "It's an honor for this to happen to

us, and the work that we've done has paid off."

Added son Kurt, a student at Notre Dame Academy: "Sometimes we have bad times, but we get together afterwards and we're friends."

Raymond and Maple Cornwell of Inglewood and their children Eric, 31; Mark, 28; and Craig, 22, were honored as the dual-parent family. (Eric, a surgeon, was not able to make it for the ceremony.)

Each had his own explanation for the family's success.

"I think that education would probably be the backbone of the whole family," said Mark, a Los Angeles-based territory manager with American Express. "There was a lot of determination in regards to our endeavors."

"I concur with Mark," said his mother, a public school district supervisor, "but I also think our foundation comes from the knowledge and love of God. I think another strong point is our extended families. Our parents were very strong people, and we just continue the process. And also there is adaptability, being able to adjust to different situations. Without that we would not have made it after the fire."

She was referring to a fire 13 years ago that destroyed their home. (It was rebuilt eight months later.) "We actually had to start as if we were just married," she added, "but with three children."

"Our way of life has to do with strong faith," said Raymond Cornwell, pastor at Faith Chapel Baptist Church. "Faith in God, in ourselves, in one another. That has been one of the main things that has kept us going. We've demonstrated it as a way of life, not just words. And no negative thoughts—always positive."

Added son Craig, a procedures analyst with McDonnell-Douglas: "I always knew my parents were there for me to fall back on. I always try to be independent, but I've seen friends of mine try to do some things that I've done [but] without parental love and support, and I see how hard it is."

Both families spoke of the need for positive family role models.

"Not all families have to be [depicted] as being in the ghetto and being in deep trouble," said Judy Reinhold. "I know of other families in similar situations to ours. You hear about all the negative things about black families, rather than the positive."

Said Maple Cornwell: "It's not a mystery that we've made it, the mystery is that [few are aware] that it's happened to so many others. I feel we stand in for those folks who work hard."

12-275

Monday, August 7, 1989

Black Family Reunions

The contemporary American family rarely fits into the once-traditional configuration of a father who works hard, a mother who stays at home and wholesome children who never get into trouble. As more couples divorce, more single-parent households grow. As more fathers refuse to provide, more children grow up in poverty. As divorce, drug abuse, teen-age pregnancy and other social problems become more pronounced, more families experience trouble.

Hardest hit are black families. The majority of black families are headed by single women. The majority of black children grow up poor in depressed environments where unemployment, drug abuse, crime, illiteracy and discrimination take a hard toll. In response to the obstacles, many black leaders are pushing self-help strategies during a summer drive to strengthen the black family.

The Black Family Reunion Celebration '89, national festivals scheduled in five cities, highlights the historic strengths of black families. The founder, Dr. Dorothy I. Height, uses the forums to remind black Americans of a time when all black adults took responsibility for all black children. "If we are not going to do something for ourselves," says Height, the president of the National Council of Negro Women, "no one is going to help us."

The help comes in the form of information. At a discussion on education, a cab driver learns she can get her high school equivalency diploma without returning full time to school and giving up her livelihood. At another forum, teen-agers

get summer jobs. The help also comes in discussions led by trained leaders and some celebrities. At the Atlanta festival, Coretta Scott King explains how she raised four children alone after her husband, the civil rights leader, was murdered in 1968. She talks about her life as a single mother, valuable and inspirational information for other single parents.

The help is available during workshops on parenting, drugs, women's issues, business, health and employment. At the Los Angeles celebration, which attracted an estimated 300,000 participants to Exposition Park last weekend, serious discussions also focused on the recent Supreme Court decisions and affirmative action, national black population shifts and concerns about a possible black undercount in the 1990 census.

More than 2 million participants have attended Black Family Reunions since 1986. There is no admission fee, so no mother will have to choose how many children can attend. Corporate sponsors such as Procter and Gamble underwrite the events and give away laundry detergent, toothpaste and other products. The emphasis is on information, but there is music, food and booths selling hard-to-find items such as children's books on black heroes. The mood is positive.

The final Black Family Reunion is scheduled to take place at the Washington Monument during the second weekend in September. During the celebration, black leaders will take their message to Capitol Hill as they push their strategies to rebuild the black family.

Facing Up to Being White

Diversity: For members of America's dominant culture, there are some hidden prices to pay, experts say.

By ITABARI NJERI
TIMES STAFF WRITER

A fragile-looking woman with blond hair and delicate, pale skin, flushed pink with emotion, is biting her lip.

The setting is a conference room on the UCLA campus and a seminar on *diversity*—that buzzword generated by massive demographic changes affecting every aspect of American society.

"This is the only place you are going to be able to say this and not be called a racist because of the imbalance of power in our society," says Julian Roybal Rose, an expert in cross-cultural communication. "I want you to pump back your shoulders and say 'I'm proud to be white.'"

"I'm proud to be white," Cindy Nulty says quietly.

"What goes through your mind?" Rose asks.

"It's OK to be proud to be white," says Nulty.

"Uh. Say it one more time . . ."

She's not talking about whites on a power trip, Rose explains. "I'm talking about the essence of your ethnicity."

Not the things your parents or grandparents said you are ashamed of, like: 'Don't play with that black child.' I want you to separate the pattern [of racism] that they were taught from the person. Think of your white, European lineage . . . your grandparents are great-grandparents." Place them in a circle that represents the essential goodness of all human beings.

Rose charges, and says: "I want to come home."

The woman, in tears, can barely mumble it. "I want to come home."

"What is it you are thinking?" asks Rose.

"I want a place to belong," says Nulty.

Says Rose: "Most white people don't know what home is."

They have, she says, lost what she calls the "handles" of their culture—a distinct language, music, food . . . unique traditions.

At the beginning of her workshops, she asks participants to identify themselves by ethnicity. Often, in a tone that suggests it's irrelevant, they answer: some place in Europe. . . . I'm just an American. Or, conversely, in attempt to find some cultural validation, she says, "they dig up that 1 / 68th Indian blood."

This is a price, Rose says, that whites pay for being the dominant group in a society that has demanded cultural

homogeneity and denigrated differences: They lose fundamental aspects of their own identity. This loss, she asserts, has important psychological implications. It helps to understand why whites may feel threatened by the cultural and racial diversity that is happening fastest and first in California.

To varying degrees, all Americans have been "coerced into assimilating, whether we are of German heritage or black or Chicano," says Roberto Chené, director of the Southwest Center for Cross Cultural Relationships in Albuquerque, N.M., and a frequent consultant to universities, including UCLA, on diversity.

"Whenever you have been coerced into giving up anything . . . you pay a high price. If you don't grieve the loss, you get stuck in a rigid place of wanting everybody to be like you," he says.

In his workshops, which are similar in approach to Rose's, Chené finds that "white people will often spontaneously start to cry. They start to grieve. And once they begin to sense that they personally lost something—that their family lost their language, their heritage, whatever—I think there is a very deep-seated need to grieve that loss.

"It's very difficult to let others be who they are if you paid an unacknowledged high price for your loss. And white people, often, are totally unaware that they lost anything."

Echoing "An American Dilemma," Gunnar Myrdal's classic work on American racism, Rose points to the inconsistency between this nation's values of justice and equality and its history of discrimination and exclusion based on race and ethnicity.

At varying levels, whites are aware of this contradiction, she believes, and because of racism, they pay the price of diminished self-worth.

Diane Kenney, a white minister for United Ministries at USC, believes that whites pay a psychological penalty for racism: "One of the major ones is that most of us are so busy trying to prove that we are persons of value. I think that's a frantic attempt to overcome [feelings] that we aren't."

"Even if it was our ancestors" who committed the wrong of racism, "we feel that somehow we are less as human beings than we should be," says Kenney, co-founder of an ad hoc USC group called Pro-Act—Push Racism Out, Accept the Challenge Today.

Says Nulty, a 29-year-old computer expert raised in the South Bay: "For years, I've had the voices of my family and friends resounding in my ears, things . . . I am ashamed of. Like, my grandmother would say bad things about Asians and blacks. I had friends who were Asian and black, so it was like an attack on them.

"My attitudes are very different. I didn't ever feel like I had any place to go," where other people shared her values, she says. "I've always been ashamed of that part of my upbringing and being white."

Many whites who attend Rose's workshops—which usually include a range of ethnic and racial groups—wonder why she spends any time analyzing Anglo-Saxon culture or Euro-Americans in general. Understanding diversity, they assume, means learning about people who are different, people who are exotic.

"Plants are exotic, fish are exotic. People are not exotic," Rose tells them.

The presumption that another human being is exotic is an expression of ethnocentrism and part of the problem, she explains. The dominant group in every society uses itself as the standard by which others are judged.

Diversity and the conflicts that arise from it, social scientists point out, are only superficially about race or ethnicity. Race and ethnic relations are types of group power contests. Since whites hold the power in America, their behavior is the key to understanding most inter-ethnic tensions, Rose asserts.

But the idea of cultural pluralism, the notion of diversity "effaces the real issues . . . all the power imbalances in America," says Nulty, who holds a master's degree in history. "I hear people talk about pluralism and it's like everybody, with their different ethnic origins, is going to stand holding hands in a circle, as if everything is going to be happy. That's bull."

Pluralism, she says, "is far better than the melting pot idea"—everybody assimilating to one cultural standard. But, "when I hear people say: 'Yeah, I have friends from Cuba. I love Cuban food.' Is that pluralism? That means that you're not treating a Cuban as an individual, but as some cultural oddity."

Sitting in her El Segundo apartment days after a Rose seminar, Nulty adds, "Why should I think that just because I'm a good white person, sensitive to ethnic issues, I can go into a Latino community and expect them to accept me? That's what I think a lot of people

WHITES: Reassessing Their Role and Ethnicity

want to believe. But that's condemnation. And as a white person, I'm still coming from a place of privilege."

But Nulty asks the same question many social scientists do: How does racism hurt whites with no sensitivity to the issue?

"If you ask most white Americans, and in fact, in surveys, we have asked this very question, the majority would say, 'No, I don't feel any effects of racism. I feel sorry for blacks. Too bad they don't work harder.'" says Thomas Pettigrew.



One in a series

a social psychology professor at UC Santa Cruz and author of numerous studies on race relations, including a 1981 assessment of racism's effects on whites' mental health.

Further, whites like Nulty and Kenney who do feel the pain of racism and care about social justice "are already sensitive. They are the ones involved in making change. But the rest of white society isolates them as radical, bleeding-heart do-gooders. That's a mighty sociological barrier to cross," says Alex Norman, a professor in the School of Social Welfare at UCLA and a race relations consultant to Hughes Aerospace, TRW and Lockheed.

Rose nods her head. "It's true, most white people are numb to racism. But you can see on the faces of whites in the seminar, that when they find the safety to heal and to feel, they will respond. I don't believe white people don't care."

Rose, a 47-year-old Latina born into a family of political activists in East Los Angeles and trained at Stanford University's Institute for Intercultural Communication, believes her approach breaks through the numbness.

If she can get whites to "connect with the forms of oppression they are most familiar with"—child abuse, class discrimination, sexism—she is better able to penetrate the psychological wall that blinds them to the most intractable of American social problems: Racism.

A policewoman, fed up with the sexist behavior of a male officer in a Northern California police department, reported his latest offense to her commander. The male officer retaliated, Rose tells her UCLA audience. He jammed her radio. He failed to send backup to a crime scene—almost getting her killed. He put dirty panties in her locker, then soiled sanitary napkins. His dirty tricks escalated daily, until the female officer finally had to take a leave of absence because of mental stress.

The day that Rose conducted a seminar for the officers in that Northern California police force, a policewoman stood up: "If just one of you, just one male officer had been able to say 'This is wrong,' it would have made all the difference in the world," recounts Rose.

"One very brave white male officer raised his hand," she says. "He had to be brave; this was a room full of officers. He told her: 'I wanted to say something. I wanted to stop my friend from doing this. But I was afraid if I did I would be called' female body parts."

He was "quite graphic about what female parts," says Rose, "and then he went on to list all the other things that had happened to male officers who had stuck up for females on the force."

When he had finished, Rose asked him: "What did you give up?" He choked up. "I could not be soft," he said. "I could not be kind. I could not be human."

For white women in the seminar, this is a model of oppression they can easily identify with. And for white men with any sensitivity, it sheds light on the way sexism scars victims as well as perpetrators. It illuminates, Rose says, the way all forms of oppression scar "targets" as well as "non-targets."

Near the end of the draining day, Rose asks seminar participants to stand on one side of the room if they have been "targets" of a particular oppression and on another side of the room if they are "non-targets" of it:

"If even one parent attended college . . ." she says, "stand here." The room divides; she asks everyone to think of the missed opportunities . . . the frustration that ensued if their parents didn't go to college. If their parents were working class, she tells these non-teaching university employees, they had only a 7% chance of attending college and becoming a university professor. This is an expression of class oppression in our society, she says. You may have the talent, but if you don't have the money, you don't have

"Raised in a single-parent, female-headed household, stand here." Again, the room divides. She asks them to think of the consequences: latch-key children waiting for a mother who has to work late, eating alone, losing a childhood to care for younger brothers and sisters. Remember being a child and "your mother coming home at night exhausted," having to support the family that an absentee father won't, Rose says. This, she says, is an expression of sexism, women left with the responsibility of raising children but today making 64 cents for every dollar a man earns.

"Jewish, this side of the room. not-Jewish this side of the room." The group is reminded of the Gentile woman in another workshop who told Rose: "I don't see what all the hullabaloo is about. I love Jewish culture, the food, the music, the dancing at the weddings. I'd love to be a Jewish mother." Rose's reply: So be a Jewish mother. "And by the way, it's 1943."

"Suffered abuse as a child . . . did not suffer abuse as a child." She reminds the divided room that abuse is part of "adulthood," the universal oppression of children. And without fail in the workshops she conducts—for colleges or police departments—tough white cops, white university administrators, white college jocks line up on the side of the targets, along with Asians, blacks and Latinos.

At some point, virtually all participants indicate they have been the target of some form of oppression. And as they stand, Rose asks them to "look into each others eyes . . . and make a human connection."

There are seldom any dry eyes, rarely any steady lips.

Those attending her sessions are not self-selected. They usually are ordered to attend by employers concerned about tensions in a work force increasingly characterized by ethnic, racial and sexual diversity.

"Whites know what oppression is," Rose says. "Look how many white people cross over to the target side on the issue of child abuse."

Citing psychologist John Bradshaw, who says "most people forget the abuse as a strategy for survival," Rose says of her sessions' participants: "If, somehow, you can get people to drop the postures, to feel the pain of their own oppression under adultism or whatever, pulling them across to see racism is much easier."

She draws on various sources for concepts for her workshops: "I steal from everybody," Bradshaw's work on the family, especially; and the ideas of the late Ricky Sherover Marcuse (the widow of Marxist theorist Herbert Marcuse), a San Francisco area consultant, famed for her workshops on unlearning racism.

"Racism, sexism—all forms of institutionalized oppression—are passed on from non-target group to non-target group," Rose says.

By definition, she says, it becomes institutionalized when attitudes toward a chosen group are in the "national consciousness, when it is reinforced in the social institutions and when there is an imbalance in social and economic power" between targets of oppression and perpetrators.

□

Pettigrew and other social scientists agree that whites are harmed by racism but they are unaware of it. And if a tree falls in the forest and nobody hears it. . . .

Precisely because of that denial, Pettigrew and others believe racism must be attacked systemically.

Rose's approach is "too clinical," says Norman, the UCLA professor and corporate race relations consultant. "I'm a behaviorist. It makes more sense to change behavior than to get to people's psychic pain. There has to be a system of penalties and rewards in the workplace. . . ."

The social theory underlying Norman's approach is this: People are fundamentally conformists. If

'Whites know what oppression is. Look how many white people cross over to the target side on the issue of child abuse.'

LILLIAN ROYBAL ROSE

the environment they operate in—the corporate world or society at large—tolerates racist behavior, people behave accordingly; if penalized for it, the majority won't.

If seminars like Rose's "help white people work through problems, feel better about themselves, be a little less hostile, that's all to the good," Pettigrew says. "But it's an aspirin and Band-Aids approach. . . . I learned long ago that attitudes are much more likely to follow, rather than precede, significant change."

Rose agrees. Her seminars are not meant to supplant the systemic change Norman and Pettigrew seek; it is adjunct therapy. If an institution is trying to implement an affirmative-action policy to remedy discrimination, the entire work force needs to understand the need for it and their stake in it, or they are potential saboteurs, she says.

Whites may think the civil rights movement and affirmative-action policies are just for "victims" of racist oppression, Rose says. But that view is full of "patronization and condescension." They need to "fight oppression because of what it does to them . . . because it is consistent with their sense of justice," she says.

That was the conclusion of the President's 1968 report on civil disorders: The problem of race in America is a problem created, maintained and condoned by white America. The Kerner Commission, which issued that report, urged the nation to "turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. . . . It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens—urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group."

□

Twenty-one years later, a white male named Sean Hogan, a USC junior, sits at a campus restaurant and says: "I look around this campus and wonder if it's really 1889 or 1989. Racism here is bad."

Hogan, an English major, is president-elect of USC's chapter of Phi Gamma Delta fraternity, which was sanctioned earlier this year for distributing a leaflet deemed racist by school officials. It advertised a slave auction, bearing a picture of what once was the frat mascot: The Fiji-man—a caricature of a dark-skinned island native.

The flyer—crafted by a white freshman from the Midwest who had attended only private schools, was under deadline pressure and did not know that the Fiji-man mascot had been banned as racist years earlier by the fraternity's international office—went out without approval, he explains. The auction's point, he insists, was simply to have "girls bid and pledge money for a guy to come over and help them wash cars or clean."

To make amends for its flyer, Phi Gamma Delta arranged to have Rose conduct a diversity seminar for two members from each fraternity on campus.

It was not one of her more successful efforts, Rose says.

Hogan says that 15 of the 25 people who came stayed; the feedback he got from them "was positive."

But the atmosphere at USC, overall, is "unbelievable . . . it's not just black-white, but religious bigotry—anti-Semitism is pervasive . . . sexism. It seems like things are getting worse, not better," Hogan says.

He says he hears "people say very rude, very obnoxious, insulting statements, all the time," about Asians, blacks, Jews and other racial, religious and ethnic minorities. "How do I feel about it? I feel bad, because I hear the same type of words about my brother and it upsets me." (His brother has Down's syndrome.) Praising Rose's seminar, he says it "makes you look at people, no matter who they are, as people."

Bart Holladay is Phi Gamma Delta's current president. He believes fraternities provide a substitute identity for white males who have lost their sense of ethnicity. "The fraternity ritual is kind of a white, American thing. I'm white, but what does that mean," when white culture in America is so transparent? "Well, I'm a white Fiji. My father was a Fiji before me. I can relate to that."



Holladay is a 21-year-old history major, who identifies himself as Slavic. He attended private boarding schools most of his life and grew up in a well-to-do family from Boston's Beacon Hill. It's hard, he says, to buck peer pressure and challenge racist behavior.

"I'm working with this [black] guy who started this group on campus called Diversity Encouragement Advisers," he says. "He called me up and said he wanted to make his presentation to the interfraternity council and that he wanted me to introduce him to the other presidents at the next meeting. I said great. I like to get up and say things anyway. This will show I'm involved."

Then it hit him: "What about all those guys. I've heard them say things, make comments, slurs," says Holladay, who speaks Japanese and plans to work in Asia after graduating. "God, I thought, are they going to think I'm just some bleeding heart, some blank-lover. That sort of hit me. But it's a matter of character. . . . I'm not ashamed to think what I think. So I had to jump that hurdle."

He introduced his fellow student.

Holladay, who attended Rose's USC workshop, says, "To really raise awareness, make a difference, the type of thing Lillian does needs to be taught from kindergarten on."

Nothing could be worse, counters Pierre L. Van Den Berghe, an anthropology and sociology professor at the University of Washington and author of several texts on comparative race and ethnic relations.

He thinks seminars on diversity exacerbate America's preoccupation with race: "I think what is needed in American society is less and less race categorization of people. I would apply that across the board. I'm opposed, for example, to race-based affirmative action. It constantly rubs people's nose into it and makes them act in a race-conscious manner, which perpetuates and aggravates the problem. I believe in affirmative action . . . but it should be based on class."

Domination, he says, "is by no means based on race only. I think class domination aspects are much more important than race aspects."

Many social problems that resulted from "blatant racial discrimination can now be perceived in terms of class," says Hubert G. Locke, director of the William O. Douglas Institute in Seattle and a University of Washington professor. But the "roots" of most of these problems, "now discussed in terms of class are in fact racial," Locke says, countering Van den Berghe's argument.

Most white Americans prefer to think of racists as a "kind of fringe element in the society," Locke says. He points to "the Klan, the Order," and other white supremacist groups suspected in the recent rash of Southern mail bombings, that killed a white federal judge and a black civil rights attorney but adds, "If one confuses the problem of racism with outfits like that alone, one fails to perceive that racism cuts across a much wider swath of our society. It is in many ways a drain on a major segment of our society," affecting public policy decisions.

If white Americans, as many social scientists contend, are unaware of the damages done to them by racism on a psychological level, its social and economic costs are evident, others say.

Challenging Van den Berghe's position, Pettigrew says racism is "wrapped up" in most of the nation's social problems.

He, for example, accuses the administrations of Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush of creating millions of homeless people, in part, by "playing on racism to support their wholesale withdrawal of support for the poor." This was done by unfairly portraying welfare recipients as "predominantly lazy, black women who were unmarried with 12 children," he says. In fact, blacks represent only a "tiny percent of those on welfare," most of whose recipients are white. And over "half of the homeless are white," he says.

It will be interesting to see, he adds, "what happens to any money that is freed up from reduction in defense spending," because of the thawing of the Cold War. "A lot of it has got to go to debt reduction. . . . Then there may be a possibility of money for social programs again."

But will that money, for example, go toward ending the capital gains tax for the rich, as President Bush wants, or social programs? That, he says, will be "an interesting early 1990s conflict," shaped considerably by perceptions of race.

Finally, Chené believes two fundamental things have to happen before the individual and institutional effects of racism can be reduced.

Minorities, he says, must give up their posture of "victimization." After years of powerlessness, they internalize this attitude and "continually blame others" for their problems. Whites, meanwhile, must move past their denial about racism. They must stop saying racism is a "historical problem," for which they are not personally responsible.

"In a sense, I think one way to undo history is for everyone to assume responsibility," he contends. "We have to learn to apologize to each other."

Additional Readings on Various Family Forms

Los Angeles Times

Thursday, September 14, 1989

Family Unity Ranks First in Immigration

By STEWART KWOH

In 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act dealing with illegal immigration. Now it is closely examining legal immigration.

The ongoing debate has raised fundamental questions of our fairness, national interests and family values.

Should job skills replace close family ties as the priority in our immigration policy? How should we develop a method to allow more Europeans, referred to as our "seed" immigrants, to come to the United States? How should we respond to xenophobic fears concerning the large percentage of Asians and Latinos who have made full use of our family unity policies and now comprise more than 80% of legal immigrants to the United States?

Our system of giving preference to close relatives of U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents has worked well, both for these immigrant families and for the country as a whole. It would not be in our national interest or be consistent with our family values to severely alter our system of family preference immigration.

Current law provides that spouses, parents and minor children (immediate relatives) of U.S. citizens may come to America without numerical limitation. But in six other categories dealing with family or employer-sponsored applicants, the ceiling is 270,000 a year.

Changes are indeed needed. For example, skilled immigrants can make a positive contribution to our economic vitality—provided their skills do not have a negative impact on American labor. This reform should be encouraged. Because skilled workers would not need to have close relatives in the United States in order to

apply to immigrate, this would also encourage diversity in the pool of immigrants.

Yet family unification should remain the cornerstone of our legal immigration policy. As Rep. Howard L. Berman (D-Panorama City) has stated, "To cut back on the ability of new Americans to be with their family members betrays the core American value and tradition of emphasizing the integrity of the family."

Immigration policies based on family unification have not always been fairly applied. The passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and subsequent laws directed at diverse Asian groups virtually halted Asian immigration to the United States until 1965.

Then, amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act allowed Asians to immigrate on an equal footing (20,000 persons per year from each country, in addition to immediate relatives). With the implementation of these fair immigration laws, not only Asians but Latinos, Greeks, Lebanese, Soviet Jews and others also have thrived.

Many Americans, not just immigrants, have reaped the benefits of these new sources of energy, skill and capital.

It has recently been estimated that Asian American high-tech entrepreneurs in the San Francisco Bay Area alone generate more than \$1 billion in sales annually, creating thousands of jobs, enhancing the nation's competitiveness, spurring innovation and increasing tax revenues. Many of these entrepreneurs are products of family or employer-sponsored immigration.

With the increasing internationalization of the American economy, such diversity in population can only benefit the United States. Our addition of language abilities, skills and cultural understanding can be an

invaluable contribution in global trade and commerce.

While the number of immigrants has more than doubled between 1950 and 1985, a Labor Department study has concluded that the increase has not adversely affected American workers.

And sponsoring families have supported and anchored newly immigrating relatives through employment, loans and educational assistance.

In July, the Senate passed a bill that takes some positive steps to address needed changes in U.S. immigration policies. Yet the measure would also have a negative impact for immigration based on family unification. For example, it does not provide for remedies to the already severe backlogs and waiting lists that potential immigrants seeking family unification must face. It also contains a provision setting new per-country ceilings for family preference immigration.

Over the next several years, this would reduce by about half the number of family-based visas for certain Asian and Latin American countries. That would mean, for example, that waiting times could double—from 10 years to 20 years—for brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens who have applied for legal entry.

The House has the opportunity to recognize the importance of family-based immigration and to address the important issues not adequately dealt with in the Senate bill. Its deliberations should be guided by the importance of the family in American values, the anchor for a system that has benefited all of our national interests.

Stewart Kwoh is executive director of the Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California.

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Los Angeles Times Magazine

FEAR and REALITY in the Los Angeles Melting Pot

BY JOEL KOTKIN

PHOTOGRAPHED BY
IRIS SCHNEIDER AND HYUNGWON KANG

ON A WARM afternoon in Long Beach, at Pei Lin, a Cambodian restaurant on Anaheim Street, Indo-chinese teen-agers, dressed like Valley girls, clutch their schoolbooks and cluster around the the big-screen Mitsubishi in the corner, lip-synching along with MTV. Across the room, middle-aged refugees stare blankly as they drink their tea.

Marc Wilder, an urban planner and a former Long Beach City Council member, sits at one of the tables, eating a fish and rice lunch and considering the impact of immigration on Southern California.

"Anything will be possible here in the future," he says. "These people who are coming here can succeed or they can fail. They can be our hope or our downfall."

Immigration has become *the* irresistible force in the life of Southern California. In 1970, only 11% of the Los Angeles area population was foreign-born; a decade later, 22% was foreign-born, and predictions by the Southern California Assn. of Governments puts the figure at close to a third by the turn of the century. Last year, the Immigration and Naturalization Service issued 122,268 new green cards in the seven-county Southern California region. The immigrants came from Mexico and El Salvador and China and Vietnam and Ireland, some 30 countries in all, with a majority fitting under the headings Latino and Asian. Next year, 40% of Southern California's population, by birth or



From left: Immigrants Tammy Tran, Susan Quach and Minhgio Doa visit Westminster's Asian Garden Mall. Opposite. Latinos have made Broadway in downtown Los Angeles one of the region's busiest shopping districts.

ancestry, will be either Latino or Asian. In another 20 years, according to projections from SCAG, those groups will make up an absolute majority in the region.

Already, in the Mid-Wilshire district, in Monterey Park, in Orange County's Westminster or along Anaheim Street in Long Beach, a stranger to Southern California would think the region's predominant language was Korean, Chinese, Vietnamese or Cambodian. And in the Los Angeles Basin, in a huge arc stretching from San Fernando to Santa Ana, Latinos, a majority of them immigrants, form the second-largest concentration of Spanish speakers in North America (the first is Mexico City).

For Marc Wilder, this is a geography of hope—a unique opportunity to build a bracing, multiracial, multicultural urban civilization. "We are going to be different than anywhere," he says, "and we are going to do things

differently because a Cambodian, a Hispanic and a Jew share the same space. . . . We will see new kinds of institutions made by new kinds of people."

Wilder's hopeful vision of a future built on immigration is evidently not shared by most Southern Californians. A Los Angeles Times Poll conducted in January found that 57% of the residents polled agreed that there are "too many" immigrants here. The result echoed a 1986 poll in Los Angeles and Orange counties that found 55% agreement with the statement "immigration is a change for the worse." And throughout the region, there are widespread

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Newlyweds Touch Bin and Simone Yin, center, at their wedding reception at a Long Beach restaurant after a traditional Cambodian wedding at home. With them are groomsmen Hear Por and Chrouth Chea and bridesmaids Vanessa Lang and Sam Pec.

concerns that massive immigration is threatening our economic future, our social cohesion and our quality of life.

The anti-immigration mood shows up in blatant ways. Last year, for instance, then-Monterey Park Mayor Barry Hatch dispatched a letter—on city stationery—to the leading presidential candidates calling the immigrants “a horde of invaders,” linking undocumented foreigners with “drug runners, terrorists and criminals” and suggesting a five-year ban on all immigration.

This year, in Westminster, the commercial hub for Orange County’s estimated 85,000 Vietnamese, vandals have attacked at least eight signs that direct motorists to the “Little Saigon” shopping district. In April, the City Council there rejected a request for a parade of Vietnamese veterans groups honoring those who died fighting alongside American soldiers in the Vietnam War.

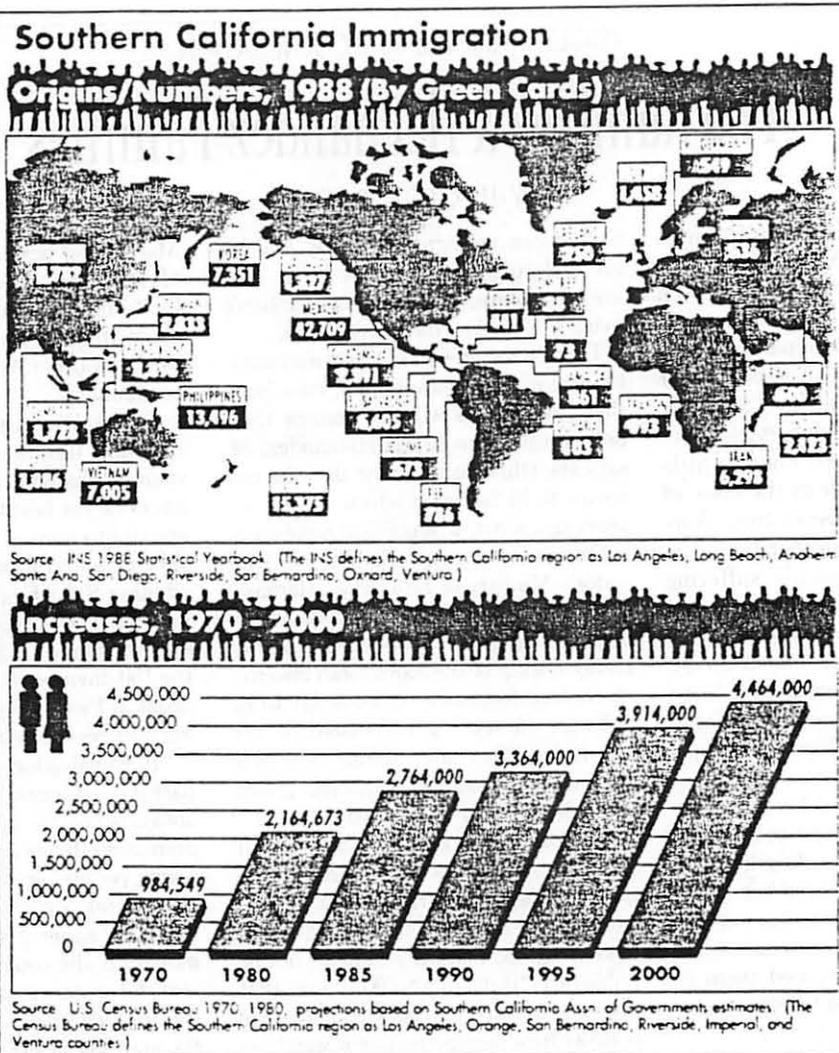
“It’s my opinion that you’re all Americans and you’d better be Americans. If you want to be Vietnamese, go back to South Vietnam,” City Councilman Frank Fry told

the organizers of the South Vietnam Armed Forces Day. “That may be unfair,” he added, “but that’s my opinion, and I’m sure that it is the opinion of a lot of people around here.”

The Federation for American Immigration Reform, an anti-immigration lobby, links newcomers to such issues as crowded freeways, soaring housing costs and overcrowded schools. “The immigrants are resented strongly because of their impact on livability,” says Los Angeles City Councilman Ernani Bernardi, a member of FAIR’s national board of advisers. “We just can’t accommodate the population. They can’t *all* come here.”

Among many of the region’s blacks and some native Latinos, there is fear that the new immigrants will usurp both their homes and jobs, leaving their communities even poorer and less empowered. And even among the liberal and academic elites of the Westside, long the self-styled supporters of minority rights, there is mounting concern. “One leading liberal told me the other day that immigrants were eating up the resources and that they are not like their parents or grandparents,” relates Antonia Hernandez, executive director of the Mexican American Legal

Joel Kotkin is a contributing editor of this magazine.



Defense and Educational Fund.

The anti-immigration mood can be summarized in three basic fears: the fear that natives will be displaced from jobs and neighborhoods, the fear that immigrants will be caught in a growing underclass and the fear that this extraordinary wave of newcomers will not or cannot fit in—and become Americans. These fears can be attributed to simple racism or nativism; they can be explained by tightening economic realities; they can be traced to the demonstrable changes that add up to a lost Southern California “paradise.”

They can also be challenged. There is evidence—in the *barrios*, along Anaheim Street, in Westwood’s “Little Tehran,” in Monterey Park, in Koreatown and throughout the new Los Angeles—that the pessimism is unfounded, that the future can be cast in positive terms, that immigration can help revive dying communities, strengthen the changing economy and, with an interplay of cultures and values, become a source of innovation in the region.

“Maybe,” says Marc Wilder as he finishes his tea in the Pei Lin restaurant, “we are already evolving into something new and exciting. And, maybe we don’t even know it.”

DEBUNKING THE DISPLACEMENT THEORY

SOME SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS would have it that if high-paying jobs are scarce, traffic is a nightmare and property values in their neighborhoods have escalated beyond reach, the new immigrants are to blame. For instance, nearly 60% of all blacks in Southern California and almost half of the whites, according to a 1983 Urban Institute poll, were convinced that immigrants are taking jobs from native-born Americans. And that feeling often broadens to sweeping generalizations. “The jobs that used to go to blacks are now going to Latinos,” complains Fritizer Hopkins, a community leader with the Southern California Organizing Committee, which represents 83,000 families in the south Los Angeles area.

In fact, the jobs that immigrants take are new jobs: low-wage, low-benefit positions in the burgeoning manufacturing and service industries responsible for the rapid expansion—at nearly three times the national rate—of the Southern California economy. To a large extent, these additional jobs helped the region recover from the loss of

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The Ramirez & Hernandez Families

BY HECTOR TOBAR

TO HEAR MARILU Ramirez talk, you would not believe that two of her brothers have been killed by the Salvadoran military; that she has been separated from five of her nine children since she fled her country in 1987, and that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is trying to have her deported. There is little trace of anger or despair in the voice of the 37-year-old housekeeper from Sonsonate in western El Salvador.

"There are many people suffering what we are. . . . At least we have a roof over our heads," Ramirez says quietly in Spanish as she sits in a one-bedroom apartment shared by more than a dozen relatives. "I know a lot of people who don't even have this. There are people living on the streets."

Ramirez, who asked that her real name not be published, to protect relatives in El Salvador, came to Los Angeles after soldiers detained and tortured her for six days in 1987. She says members of her family were targeted for repression because military officials accused them of being "subversives" linked to leftist guerrillas.

Like many of the 350,000 Salvadorans who have come to Southern California, Ramirez lives in Pico-Union, a community just west of downtown Los Angeles. Pico-Union is mostly a community of exiles, the product of a decade of revolution and civil war that has ravaged their tiny country. Today, only San Salvador, El Salvador's capital, has a larger Salvadoran population.

The community is a cross section of Salvadoran society. There are country people like Ramirez but also city dwellers from San Salvador's working-class barrios. Exiled guerrilla fighters have formed a local support network for the revolutionary movement, and they coexist with several thousand former soldiers and National Guardsmen who also have found refuge in Los Angeles from their country's violence and economic difficulties. There also is a small number of well-to-do businessmen.

Although exact figures are not available, Nina Lockard, a social services coordinator at the Central American Refugee Center, calculates that about 60% of the

Salvadoran immigrants in Los Angeles are undocumented. Perhaps about 70% are unemployed, she says, and probably living at or below the poverty line.

Despite the growth of the community, there are many Salvadorans who hope that Los Angeles will not become their permanent home. Maria Hernandez, 32, says she still dreams of the day she can return to El Salvador, which she left six years ago, a victim of political repression.

Once a sociologist working for El Salvador's Ministry of Education, Hernandez says she survived two assassination attempts after she published a study highly critical of the Salvadoran government. Her desire to return one day to El Salvador, however, is not shared by her 19-year-old daughter, Margie, who was born in El Salvador but who has grown into adulthood in the United States.

"I'm pretty sure that I could go back if the situation improves so that my life isn't in danger," says Hernandez, a case-worker at a Pico-Union legal aid clinic, who also asked that her real name not be published. "But I'm also 90% sure that my daughter won't go back. She says life is easier here because no one is watching us or following us."

Hernandez now lives in suburban Azusa; raising children in the Pico-Union barrio, she says, was difficult. She is currently studying for a master's degree in political science, and Margie is a first-year student at Cal Poly Pomona.

Although she is grateful that both

Margie and her other daughter, Fatima, 12, have adjusted well to life in Southern California, Hernandez says she worries about the effect of television, "materialism" and other American institutions on her family.

The same concern over American culture and traditional Salvadoran family values is shared by Ramirez. She says she has done her best to make sure her teenage children avoid the problems of gang violence and drug abuse that have affected other Salvadoran youths in Pico-Union. The Los Angeles Police Department says the largest of the Salvadoran gangs, the 150-member Salvatrucha gang, deals drugs in Pico-Union and has been growing and becoming more violent.

"In El Salvador, children listen to their parents," Ramirez says. "And there is always someone home when your children come home after school. Here, our young people seem to be lost to us."

Ramirez says raising her children would be easier if she could make more money. If she could afford to pay more rent, for instance, they wouldn't have to live in such crowded conditions: Before the manager of her building complained, 26 people were living in her apartment.

The problem, Ramirez says, is that only she and two of the other eight adults living with her—brothers, sisters and in-laws—can find work. The others don't have work permits because the Immigration Reform and Control Act granted amnesty only to those illegal immigrants who came to the United States before 1982—effectively excluding the Salvadorans, most of whom began arriving in the mid-1980s.

Despite the law, Ramirez says she has plans to bring more of her relatives to Los Angeles, where they will be safe from the violence of the Salvadoran countryside. Recently, one of her brothers has undertaken three trips from Tijuana to El Salvador and back to guide family members to California.

"We're used to living close to each other," she says of her family. "We can't be all together right now, but we still have to try to help each other all we can." ■



Maria Hernandez, left, worries that the influence of American culture may lead her daughters Fatima and Margie, center, to change their values.

Hector Tobar is a Times staff writer.

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Hermilnia Rodriguez, left, Rodolfo Macias Corona and Josefa Angulo are among the 14,000 immigrants who will study English at Evans Community Adult School this year.

thousands of unionized blue-collar positions, which disappeared when employers such as GM and Firestone closed down their Southern California operations during the 1970s and early 1980s. The jobs are part of a new economy—and they are jobs that natives do not want.

"Young blacks don't want to start at the bottom," says George Givens, chief organizer for the Southern California Organizing Committee, as we drove through the industrial districts in the grim eastern reaches of South-Central Los Angeles, where the vast majority of workers appear to be Latinos. "If a job doesn't pay \$15 an hour, you don't want to do it."

Such anecdotal evidence against the displacement theory is also supported by the bulk of economic research. A 1988 report issued by the highly respected National Bureau of Economic Research in Cambridge, Mass., concluded that immigrants do not cause unemployment among native-born Americans. The bureau and other researchers found that cities with large-scale immigration, such as Los Angeles or Miami, actually created more high-paying jobs for natives, including blacks, than areas with fewer newcomers. According to a report from UCLA, from 1979 to 1987, Los Angeles experienced an increase of 11.3% in high-paying jobs, compared with 8.5% nationwide.

That's partly because having a large pool of low-wage immigrant workers allows small subcontractor firms to cut the price of parts and components they sell to larger companies. Those lower prices help keep production costs in bigger American companies close to those in overseas factories, maintains Wayne Cornelius, director of the Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies at UC San Diego, and thou-

sands of high-paying industrial jobs are preserved for native-born Americans. Without the contributions of the immigrants, Cornelius and other economists suggest, these better-paying jobs would have long ago migrated "off-shore."

Another major charge against immigrants is that they depress wage rates for native-born workers. But recent studies by both the Urban Institute and NBER have concluded that the influx of low-cost Hispanic labor has had no appreciable negative effect on wage rates for native-born workers. "There's absolutely no evidence that immigration hurts wage rates," sums up NBER's Richard Freeman, who is also a professor of economics at Harvard University. "The average American benefits from immigration—and there's not a major economist who disagrees with that. [Immigrants] produce more than they consume—everybody benefits."

There is a softer side to the displacement theory, a sense among longtime residents that the successes of immigrants somehow threaten the quality of life for natives.

Some have seen their communities transformed as revitalization sparked by immigrants has been accompanied by congestion, increased inconvenience and the possibility of displacement. "A way of life is disappearing, and it's brought out the worst in people," says Antonio Bitonti, an 80-year-old retired deputy L.A. County assessor who lives in Westminster. "Many of these people have been here 20 or 30 years and haven't caught up with the changes in Southern California." Immigrants are an easy target for their resentments.

Seventeen years ago, when Bitonti first moved to West-



A Korean parade in Garden Grove's Koreatown draws a mixed crowd of spectators.

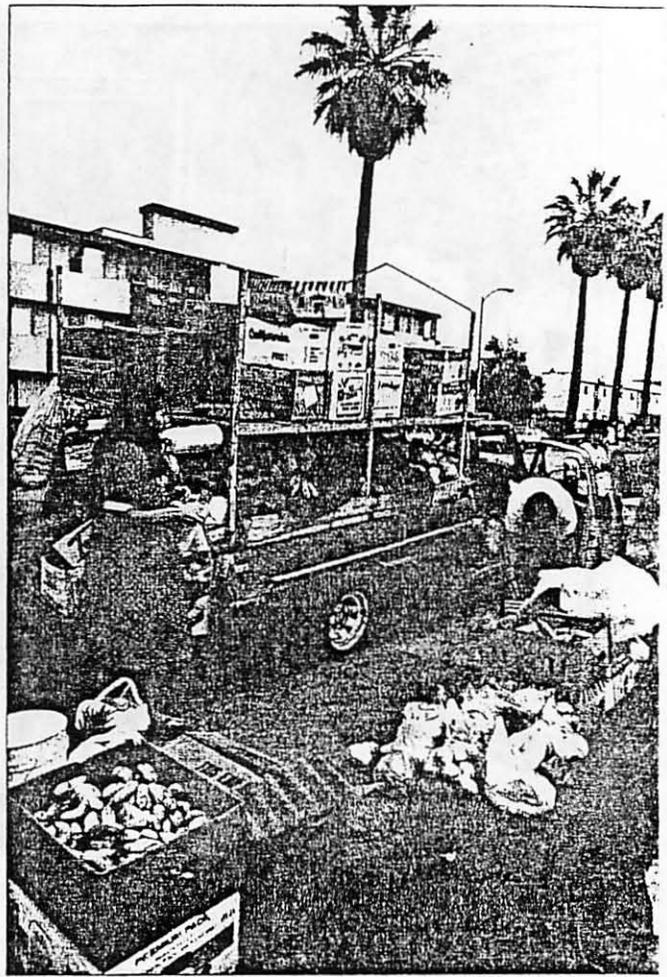
minster from Long Beach, it was a sleepy, almost-bucolic place. "Right around the street here I picked tomatoes," Bitonti recalls. "I picked strawberries down at the corner of Magnolia and Bolsa."

Today, the strawberry fields are gone, replaced by bustling dim-sum restaurants, noodle houses and ginseng parlors, all part of a \$100-million thriving commercial center with more than 700 businesses owned by Southeast Asians. Los Angeles leads the nation in both Latino- and Asian-owned business, including more than 7,000 enterprises run by Koreans alone. And Orange County, according to a recent U.S. Department of Commerce study, has the country's third-largest number of Asian-owned businesses, after Los Angeles and Honolulu.

For Bitonti and his neighbors at the Mission Del Amo trailer park, the immigrants' success has brought distress. As Vietnamese-driven development has lifted commercial property values along Bolsa Avenue from \$7 to \$70 a square foot since the early 1980s, the pressure on owners of trailer parks to sell has mounted. Caught between capitalist economics and the demographic tidal wave, the retirees in the mobile home parks feel threatened, and hostility toward the Vietnamese has mounted.

"At least 50% are prejudiced, even members of my own family," Bitonti says. "People call them 'gooks.' It's wrong, but there's a lot of prejudice here."

Sally Ringbloom, one of Bitonti's neighbors, says she thinks of the Vietnamese every time she turns left onto Bolsa. "The traffic has become terrible. It takes forever to



Produce trucks bring food to neighborhoods where immigrants often don't own cars.

make that turn, and they [the Vietnamese] are the worst drivers in the world."

Ringbloom says she once hoped "to die here" but now plans to move. So does her daughter, who lives with her family on the other side of the 405 Freeway in Huntington Beach. "My grandkids don't like it anymore. There's too much traffic, too many immigrants. They've made life difficult for Americans."

As unpleasant as Ringbloom's assertions might be, they do reflect an undeniable fact that immigration increases population pressures. For Ringbloom or for the average commuter fuming in morning traffic on the San Bernardino or Ventura freeways, immigrants became the focal point for the ever-growing complaints about getting there from here.

But in reality, notes David Diaz, a city planner from the heavily Latino El Sereno district of Los Angeles, immigrants generally are not the ones spending hours clogging the roadways. Most cluster closer to downtown and the industrial areas of the city, and they are likely to commute by RTD or drive only a short distance.

"If people are so concerned about smog and traffic, maybe they should look at the people who are coming from the Northeast or Midwest," suggests Diaz, sitting on the porch of his close-in home. "Those are the guys who are commuting from out in the suburbs, not the *Mexicanos* who are riding the bus from East L.A. The *real* problem is our political infrastructure won't move. It won't get the job done to blame the powerless first."

The Razi Family

BY GREGORY CROUCH

ALI RAZI TALKS about Feb. 12, 1979, like it was the day he died.

On a business trip in London, he had awakened to a cup of coffee and the morning news. The president of a mega-corporation in Tehran, he sat on the edge of his hotel bed listening to an inconceivable TV report—the Imperial Iranian Army of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi had surrendered to the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

"Twelve hours later, my secretary called and said, 'There is an ayatollah sitting on your desk, taking over the company,'" he recalls. The young woman told him that it wasn't safe to return to Iran especially after she had informed the ayatollah that he could never replace a man as great as Razi.

Razi still cannot tell the next part of the story without crying. His wife, Anousheh, must finish it for him.

The company he started from nothing and built into a construction giant with \$250 million in sales, 5,000 employees and joint ventures around the world had become a memory in just a few hours.

The Razis, with their daughter and two sons, came to Los Angeles in late 1979 carrying a few suitcases, some savings and the hope that Razi's business experience would help them get by.

The family has done better than just survive in the 10 years since. Razi, 48, and Anousheh, 46, have woven themselves into the fabric of Los Angeles politics and business. He is a partner in a Newport Beach development company, and she is a member of the country club set in Bel-Air. Both are active in national politics and local charities.

"There is a Persian poet who says a human being is like a nail," Razi says. "The more you hammer on top of it, the more it is driven in and becomes stronger."

The metaphor drives the Iranian community in Los Angeles, which has absorbed at least 400,000 refugees—including a large, well-educated group of doctors, poets, architects, actors, engineers and attorneys—who fled the fall of the Shah's regime in the late 1970s and early '80s.

The 848-page Iranian Yellow Pages for Southern California is a testament to their success in the

United States—about 1,600 businesses and professionals are listed, including 91 dentists and 58 accountants.

Nowhere in Los Angeles is the Iranian presence stronger than on the half-mile strip of Westwood Boulevard near UCLA that is an eating and shopping mecca. Everything from Burger King to the used-car lot is Iranian-owned.

On Sunday afternoons, Iranian families stroll down the street bumping into friends and celebrities, including the Shah's nephew, Shahbaz Pahlavod. The smell of *taftoon* bread sneaks out of sidewalk cafes to tantalize passers-by, while local bakeries entice them with trays of Persian treats. Fortune-cookie messages are printed in Farsi.

For many children, the weekly pilgrimage is really a field trip. Westwood Boulevard is the only place they have ever been that even remotely resembles Iran.

The Razis' youngest son, Keyvan, 12, has no recollection of his year and a half in Iran and speaks Farsi with an American accent. He prefers pizza and Gatorade to chicken kabob and a glass of *doogh*.

Parents fear that their children will see Iran only through the eyes of the media—hordes of Muslims denouncing the United States or staring into the moon hoping for a glimpse of the ayatollah.

"The younger generation will not go back," Ali says. "It's not practical. They will go to help, but this is where they know and this is where they are going to stay."

Keyvan's grandmother, meantime, is simply hoping to live long enough to see the day she can return. Badri Dadsetan, 77, left Iran with great reluctance. She was finally forced to get on a plane after the chants of *Allah Akbar*—God Is Great—finally unnerved her son-in-law. Razi and Dadsetan were the last two holdouts—the rest of the family had fled to London months earlier. None has ever returned to Iran.

Now Dadsetan spends three hours every day listening to Farsi television and radio and tries to read many of the 20 or so Iranian magazines and newspapers published in the Los Angeles area.

She is a representative of a small component within the Iranian population in Los Angeles that doesn't speak English and rarely talks to outsiders. They drive back and forth on Coldwater Canyon because it reminds them of the road to Chalus, and they sit on the shores of the Pacific pretending it's the Caspian Sea. They miss the sounds of street vendors selling watermelons and hot beets and the smell of the grass in Iran.

"Even today she is incredibly upset," Niloofar, the Razis' daughter, says. "All her thoughts are still on Iran."

But the rest of the family says this is now their home. For several years, Razi has taken a leadership role in local Republican Party politics, even traveling to Sacramento to cast an electoral vote for George Bush. Now Niloofar, 21, and her brother Babak, 23, are joining political groups, too.

"We got a lesson from the revolution," Razi says. "In Iran, we thought we do our profession, and politics is taken care of by the government. We learned that we have to be active."

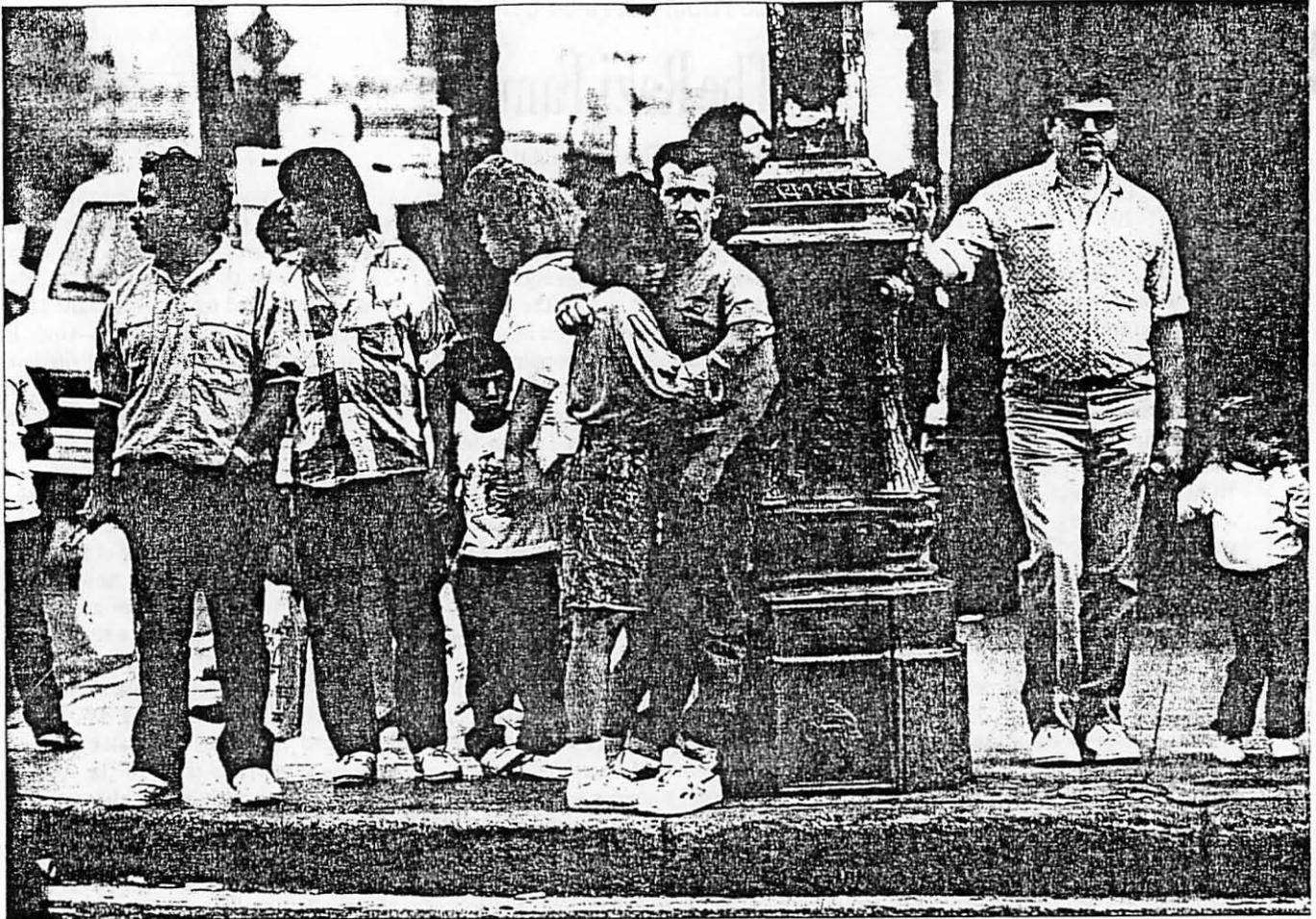
Early this year, Razi and Anousheh watched from the steps of the U.S. Capitol as George Bush became the nation's 41st President.

"It was democracy in action. This country stands for freedom and liberty, and sometimes I think the newcomer appreciates that more than some of the people who are born here," Razi says. "It's important to keep this dream going."



With the exception of Dadsetan, center, the Razis say America is now their home. Clockwise from left: Keyvan, Anousheh, Babak, Ali and Niloofar.

Gregory Crouch is a Times staff writer.



A young couple seem to be in their own world amid the weekend bustle on Broadway.

BEYOND THE UNDERCLASS

IF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS feel threatened by the successes of newcomers, they're equally disturbed by the specter of the immigrants' failure. One vision of many who fear immigration is that Southern California's newest residents and the generations that follow will be trapped at the bottom of society and never find an upward path. They see these groups as likely prisoners of a welfare-dependent, crime-ridden underclass, unable to find jobs and soon not even trying.

These fears were bolstered earlier this year by a report from UCLA's Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning. "The Widening Divide" analyzed income inequality and poverty in Los Angeles, and its findings concerning Latinos and some Asian groups, many of whom are recent immigrants, were most troublesome. The report showed a growing gap between the haves and these have-not groups and predicted that the latter were potentially destined to remain stuck at the bottom of an emerging "two-tier" society. In short, according to the report, many immigrants may never acquire the skills or be offered the opportunities necessary for upward mobility.

The key word is *may*. The UCLA study only indicated a trend, not a current reality. The report repeatedly stresses that government and industry can intervene and provide better educational and occupational opportunities in order to avert such a two-tier society.

The effect of such opportunities is demonstrable. At Windline / Amanet, a small manufacturing company typi-

cal of the industries that are fueling L.A.'s booming economy, one positive scenario for the future is unfolding.

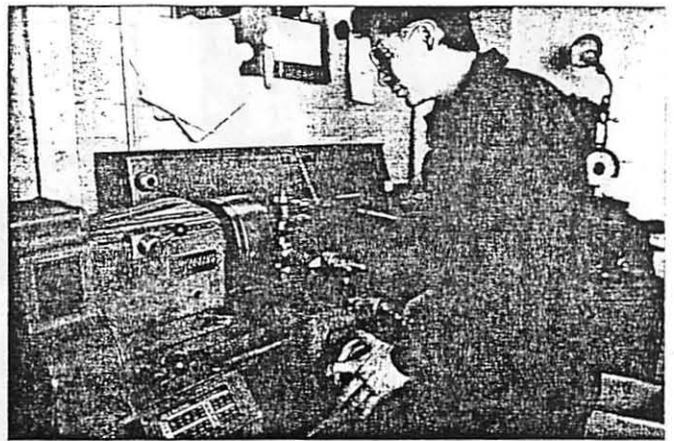
Mario Toledo came to Los Angeles illegally from Guatemala in 1981, when he was 16. He spoke no English, had no industrial or trade skills and had only a 10th-grade education. Toledo worked at a series of menial jobs, then found work on the assembly line at Windline, putting together marine-safety products for close to the minimum wage.

After three years on the job, he has applied for citizenship in the amnesty process and moved up the ladder at the company. He is making close to \$7 an hour building prototypes for new equipment. His wife, Rosa, 19, a Mexican immigrant whom he met at Windline, also started there at about the minimum wage and also has advanced quickly. She now makes \$6.50 an hour inspecting aerospace components. Together, their earnings, boosted by overtime, add up to nearly \$30,000 a year. The Toledos are bona fide American dreamers.

For Rosa and Mario, life in Los Angeles has been tough, but not the Dickensian hell portrayed in the UCLA study. They live with two other immigrant couples in a \$650-a-month apartment in Culver City near Rosa's mother, who occasionally cares for the Toledos' 18-month old son, Mario Jr. And encouraged by Windline's president, Robert Barbour, both are learning English. About a quarter of the company's 40 employees, like the Toledos, are new immigrants, and the company pairs non-English-speaking employees with natives to teach them the language on the job. Windline also offers Spanish-language job training and videos, and those who learn English are eligible for promo-



At Our Lady Queen of Angels Church, worshipers attend Mass said in Spanish.



Mario Toledo, a Guatemalan immigrant, is learning English and advancing on the job.



Teen-agers pass the time in a Cambodian neighborhood in Santa Ana.

tions and training for higher-paying jobs. Rosa takes classes at night to finish her high school education and plans someday to attend college.

"It was hard to be here at first, but now we feel we're going up in the world," she says, during a break at the Marina del Rey factory. "You know, when we started, we had nothing. We were very low. But now I have many dreams, particularly for little Mario running around. Things are going in a positive direction."

Significant research underlines that "positive direction." In 1982, University of Illinois researcher Barry Chiswick found that the longer immigrants stay in the United States, the less likely they are to be in poverty.

And a key study completed in 1985 by the RAND Corp. also challenged the notion that immigrants are doomed to poverty. The study focused on Mexican immigrants (the largest segment of Latino newcomers), and it assessed the achievements of members of three generations. The report's author, demographer Kevin McCarthy, summarized the results as consistent with the traditional American immigrant pattern: "The process is . . . three-generational. . . with poorly educated immigrants coming in and filling the lowest-level jobs, their children getting more education and then moving into skilled blue-collar jobs, and then the next generation, if they get the additional education, moving into the white-collar jobs."

But at the end of the report, McCarthy injected a warning: Shrinking numbers of mid-level, steppingstone jobs, along with other economic factors, might halt the traditional pattern of upward mobility. And although McCarthy found

evidence that educational levels had improved over the generations, he stressed that that process must continue if immigrants were to make it in America.

The UCLA study, four years later, found that the situation in Los Angeles came closer to McCarthy's warnings than to his positive assessment of the progress so far. The study showed that in areas such as income level, occupational attainment, education and households in poverty, the overall situation for Latino immigrants, in particular, had worsened over a 20-year period. More full-time workers lived in poverty; more jobs paid low wages, and more Latinos held them than any other group; more native-born and immigrant Latinos were dropping out of school (at rates of almost 70% for the foreign-born, 40% for native-born). Latino immigrants might still be improving their lot from generation to generation, but they were falling further and further behind Anglo society.

"There was good opportunity in the past," says Paul M. Ong, the study director. "You could end up in a middle-income job with just a ninth-grade education. There were enough blue-collar jobs around to propel you. But the economy is not producing the jobs it used to; the opportunities aren't as plentiful. And if you are a minority, studies show you will end up in a school district that performs badly."

There is some information, however, that recent studies did not consider. For example, the education data used by UCLA come from public-school sources and do not include the thousands of Latino students who attend Catholic schools. In the Catholic School System of the Archdio-



A proud father with daughter in her Sunday best.



An Anglo-Asian merger revitalized the Monterey Park Kiwanis. David Ma, center front, is with treasurer Gene Thayer.

case of Los Angeles, which includes schools in Los Angeles, Ventura and Santa Barbara. 44,135 Latino children—46% of the Catholic school system's enrollment—attend classes. According to recent surveys, they possess reading skills equal to those of their Anglo peers in the parochial system and superior to those of whites attending public schools. And the dropout rate is similar to the Anglo dropout rate for Catholic schools: less than 1%.

But even Latinos who fail to finish school should not be cast too quickly into the underclass mold of crime, hopelessness, broken families and disenfranchisement from the working world. Latino immigrants in Southern California are for the most part actively and notably involved in the job market. The UCLA report emphasizes this: Latino immigrants constitute the vast majority of Los Angeles' *working* poor. And perceptions bear out its statistics: "You just don't have the sort of long-term unemployment [among Latinos] that you have in South-Central," says El Sereno planner Diaz. "These people are making ends meet. You simply don't have the sort of urban defeatism you associate with some of the big cities back East."

Despite polls showing that some believe Latinos are welfare-dependent and violent, the RAND study indicates that Latinos are half as likely as the average Californian to be on welfare. And prison records and arrest rates show that Latinos commit crimes at rates slightly lower than those for the Anglo and black populations.

Latino immigrants' family structure, too, defies the underclass stereotype. Somewhat more than 60% of all Latino households, for instance, are headed by married couples, a figure that is likely to be much higher in immigrant families. That number is significantly higher than the rates for either whites or blacks. Only the households of Asians, as a group, are close to this percentage. Family cohesion may explain how Latino and Asian immigrants succeed despite a lack of education and employment in low-wage jobs.

"It's the little factory jobs, the service jobs that they have that let [Latinos] pool their money and buy into South-Central," observes Hopkins of the Southern California Organizing Committee. And, despite the undeniable pov-

erty in such heavily immigrant areas as East Los Angeles, those communities seem to be improving rather than declining. Underclass neighborhoods traditionally contain storefronts and homes that are deserted or in ill repair. In East Los Angeles, however, homes are usually well-maintained.

And the area's commercial strips, such as the one along Whittier Boulevard, also are flourishing. During the past five years alone, according to Luis Valenzuela, a 34-year-old developer born in Mexico and brought up in East Los Angeles, the price of prime land on Whittier Boulevard has risen from \$20 to \$50 a square foot. He scoffs at those who see his old neighborhood as little more than a slum for Latinos.

"I find it pretty amusing," Valenzuela says in his well-appointed Mid-Wilshire office. "People on the Westside think they are entering a different city once they cross Western Avenue. They are not talking about the same East L.A. I'm doing projects in right now. It's probably because they don't work the streets and don't know what's really going on."

Anglo businesses are seeing some of the positive signs that Valenzuela trumpets. Vons grocery chain, in the form of the new Tianguis markets, is targeting Latinos—a vote of confidence in their potential buying power and an acknowledgment of a growing consumer market. Rather than viewing the immigrants as an emerging underclass, top Anglo executives such as Jim Miscoll, executive vice president of the Bank of America, see them as a crucial resource for anyone interested in doing business in Southern California.

Miscoll, in fact, has high hopes for the long-term prospects of the new market he hopes to serve. "B of A was built on the San Francisco immigrant community," Miscoll says. "It's only a lack of firsthand knowledge that makes people fear the immigrants. We tend to forget what our own grandparents went through when they first got here. People are coming here today for the same thing my family came from Ireland and Luxembourg [for], and in time they will contribute just as much to the economy."

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The Ngoy Family

BY DAVID HALDANE

TED NGOY HAD an unrelenting obsession during his 1975 plane ride from Southeast Asia to Southern California.

"I just wanted to raise pigs and chickens and have enough meat and eggs to take to the market," recalls Ngoy, who came from a poor family in Cambodia, where 99% of the people are farmers. "That was my dream."

The dream would not be fulfilled, but eventually, Ngoy, now 47, made his way in a manner more spectacular than he ever could have imagined.

In Cambodia, Ngoy was in law school when poverty forced him to drop out and work as a travel agent and tour guide. Later, he became a major in the army assigned to his country's embassy in Bangkok, Thailand. That's where he was in 1975 when the communist Khmer Rouge took control of his native land and began a four-year reign of terror.

Unable to return home, Ngoy fled with his wife and three children and arrived almost destitute at Camp Pendleton in Oceanside. They spent their first month in America waiting for a sponsor. Eventually, a Lutheran church in Tustin hired Ngoy as its full-time janitor, allowing the family to move into a small, showerless room on the premises.

To make ends meet, Ngoy took on two extra jobs: as an evening clerk at a Builders Emporium and as a nighttime pump jockey at a gas station. Then, as if it had been preordained, it happened: Ngoy discovered doughnuts.

One night at the gas station, a co-worker ducked over to a nearby doughnut shop to bring him his first taste of the sugary snacks. "I didn't know what it was," Ngoy says, "but I liked it. My kids liked it, too."

The next day, the ambitious church janitor bicycled to the doughnut shop and, holding out the small amount of cash he had managed to save, offered to buy the place. "They didn't understand me," recalls Ngoy, who spoke little English at the time. "They turned me down."

A day later, he approached a Winchell's doughnut shop with the same offer. As fate would have it, the company had just initiated an affirmative action program to increase its minority

hiring, and Ngoy was soon enrolled in a management-training program. After a year of managing a Winchell's Donut House in Newport Beach, Ngoy had borrowed enough money from friends and relatives in the tightknit Cambodian community to buy Christy's, an independent doughnut shop in La Habra.

By the mid-1980s, Ngoy had saved and scraped together money many times over. The one shop had become 50—a veritable doughnut empire stretching from San Francisco to San Diego. And the new Cambodian doughnut czar and his family occupied a luxurious home on a private lake in Mission Viejo.

"I am very happy," says Ngoy, who now employs most of his relatives, including his wife and children, and has begun to diversify. Over the years, he has also repaid his loans by setting up dozens of his countrymen in shops of their own. "America is a miraculous country."

Indeed, it must seem miraculous to the hundreds of Cambodian refugees who, like Ngoy, are changing the face of Southern California. Their impact can be seen most dramatically in cities such as Long Beach, where nearly half of the region's estimated 85,000 Cambodians live. They have virtually remade a bleak portion of that city's central "Anaheim corridor" into a thriving commercial district, a neighborhood infused with their religion and culture.

One anchor of the Long Beach Cambodian community is the \$1.4-million

Khemara Buddhikarama pagoda, a religious and cultural center that provides social services. Another is the United Cambodian Community, which, over the past 12 years, has expanded from a few friends with part-time use of a borrowed desk to an organization with seven offices and a \$2.4-million budget that annually serves more than 10,000 people from a variety of immigrant groups.

The community as a whole faces serious problems, says Vora H. Kanthoul, associate executive director of the center. Although Cambodian immigration has slowed to a trickle, according to Kanthoul, many of the immigrants are still unskilled and unemployed. Unlike doughnut mogul Ngoy, who was lucky enough to escape the atrocities under the Khmer Rouge, many of the immigrants face a particularly acute need for mental health services to treat what experts describe as disorientation, depression, inertia, paranoia, even functional blindness apparently brought about by the traumas they experienced. They also encounter discrimination. Asian leaders agree that most Americans seem to have a healthy respect for Cambodian culture, but occasional misunderstandings still evoke the sort of hostile reactions that some fear may be lingering just below the surface.

An incident in Long Beach earlier this year is one example. Animal-rights activists expressed outrage after a judge dismissed cruelty charges against two Cambodians who had admitted killing a German shepherd puppy for food. Cambodian leaders were quick to characterize such behavior as un-Cambodian. Nonetheless, the incident provoked ugly responses, including a rash of seemingly racist bumper stickers, and resulted in state legislation outlawing the killing of pets for consumption.

Overall, most Cambodians say, life in America is improving. "The longer you stay, the better things get," Kanthoul says. "It's a success story. Considering that [the immigrants] came with nothing but their bare hands, if you're not impressed with the achievement, I don't know what you're looking for."



Ted Ngoy, foreground, with his family in front of a recent acquisition, Angelo's Drive-In in Anaheim. "America is a miraculous country," he says.

David Haldane is a Times staff writer.

Immigration

Continued from Page 18

Ong, director of the UCLA study, is less sanguine. "There is a problem—there is no easy solution," he says. "We need policies that force corporations to think in the long term. We need incentives so that people look beyond today's profits. In the school system, we can't just target the best and the brightest; we need to train and educate everyone equally.

"Tackling it all is a big venture, but if you break it out into small chunks, solutions are achievable. If we have the will."

SEPARATE NATIONS?

JONATHAN LA escaped from Vietnam in 1978, eventually making his way along with his parents and six brothers and sisters, to Westminster's Little Saigon. A slight, highly articulate young man, La became an American citizen and worked his way up from dishwasher to waiter and eventually to maitre d' at a restaurant in Los Angeles' Chinatown. Other family members also took low-paying jobs in local businesses. They managed to save close to 50% of their combined incomes.

Four years ago, La's family opened a tea and ginseng shop in Little Saigon. But to La, now 28, the success hasn't been complete.

"You can feel and sense the tension," he says. "We get hardly any business from Caucasians. We have isolated ourselves here. We want to reach and interact, but we don't know how. We can't just rely on ourselves alone forever. We feel so alone."

Such separations between immigrants and natives have exacerbated fears that the many new immigrant enclaves may never be incorporated into the broader fabric of the community. Former Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm, a vociferous opponent of immigration, sees Latinos as already living in "linguistic ghettos" that by the year 2000 could create an American version of apartheid, with Spanish-speakers inhabiting a permanently separate and unequal nation.

Similar views, albeit less drastic, are increasingly commonplace in Southern California. Richard Weinstein, dean of

the UCLA School of Architecture and Urban Planning, believes that many of the region's predominantly Latino newcomers have little motivation for assimilating into American life. "The problem you have now is a large number of people with an ethnic tradition or another culture, without the inclination to be part of American culture," Weinstein maintains. "If you can do all your shopping and movies, [and] work in Spanish, there's not the incentive to learn English and fit into the prevailing culture."

Substitute *Polish* or *Yiddish* for *Spanish* and Weinstein could have been talking about earlier immigrants from Europe to the East Coast. Those waves of immigration were accompanied by identical concerns.

Traditionally, every incoming group has dreamed of returning "home." Los Angeles City Councilman Michael Woo's grandfather, for example, kept a packed camphor chest at his Los Angeles home, filled with clothes, shoes and other necessities for his eventual return to China. "He always thought about going back to China," Woo recalled, with a slight smile, "but like most every other immigrant, he never went back."

What's different in the case of Southern California Latinos is the proximity of "home." Many immigrants from Mexico can and do build lives on both sides of the border. But this pattern, believes Sergio Munoz, editor of *La Opinion*, the city's dominant Spanish-language newspaper, is breaking down. Munoz traces this to both deteriorating economic conditions in Central America and, ironically, the increasing Latinization of regions such as Southern California.

"There's a shift of attitudes even among the older people," the Mexico-born-and-educated Munoz explains. "We know we will have numbers here so we are more comfortable. But we must make compromises to live here. We give up a relaxed life style we love in Mexico for better jobs here. The key for us is to make the transition to a better life, and that better life is here."

Recent surveys reinforce Munoz's assertion. A poll of foreign-born Latinos conducted earlier this year by the Tomas Rivera Center found that about 85% want to stay in the United States permanently.

And, researchers say, they are highly unlikely to remain in permanent "linguistic ghettos." After 15 years in the United States, according to a report from the nonprofit Hispanic Policy Development Project, three out of four Latino immigrants speak English daily. Among their native-born offspring, adds the RAND report, more than 90% are fluent in English—and nearly 25% speak no Spanish. "Immigrants have a great incentive to learn English because of the huge economic advantages of doing so," says Lewis H. Butler, president of California Tomorrow, a nonprofit research and public-policy advocacy group. Indeed, so great is the demand for English instruction that the Los Angeles Unified School District's Evans adult school downtown offers classes until 2 a.m. twice a week.

The desire to integrate is clear even among the the most disenfranchised of immigrants. Jose Guadalupe Martinez Diaz came to California first in 1952 as a migrant worker and stayed on illegally. Now, under the amnesty program, he works walking horses at Santa Anita Race Track. As he

learns English and reaches toward citizenship, Martinez also seeks to begin making his mark on the larger Los Angeles society as an active member of United Neighborhoods Organization, a community action group.

"My inspiration is to see the Hispanic community move ahead. I want to be a part of it," says Martinez, a slight, leather-faced immigrant whose five children are all fluent English speakers. "I believe this is our time, our time to learn English, our time to gain power. I want to be a part of this city."

To some, such talk might seem every bit as frightening as predictions of a burgeoning underclass or Lamm's apartheid scenario. For in their rush to become a part of Southern California, the immigrants will also seek to change what we ourselves are. In organizations such as UNO and LA Action, a Latin-Asian coalition fighting the proposed county jail, they are fighting for their neighborhoods, their concept of Los Angeles. Unlike the model immigrants imagined by some, they will not simply "melt" into Los Angeles; they will transform it.

"I think Los Angeles will be moving toward something very different," says Monterey Park City Councilwoman Judy Chu. "You accentuate your similarities and celebrate your differences and out of this comes something that works, that creates understanding, a unique culture. This is what a pluralistic society is all about."

Amid the current Angst over immigration—and the tensions at the surface—Chu's notion might seem somewhat overly optimistic, even fanciful. Yet one can see this new multicultural vision of Southern California, forged by immigration, coming into being. It is even happening in Monterey Park, one of the most racially divided cities in the region.

Certainly that's the way it looks to Gene Thayer. As he has for more than three decades, Thayer attends the regular Kiwanis meeting in Monterey Park. But today, most of his fellow Kiwanians are Chinese, members of a previously all-Asian chapter that merged with Thayer's old Monterey Park chapter in 1984. The merger, Thayer recalls, was a result of necessity, of adjusting to new realities.

"The Asians came but didn't feel comfortable with our chapter," the trim, white-haired Thayer says. "But slowly our members moved away. We were down to such small membership we could have lost our charter. We were on a downhill skid. It was merge or die."

At first, things didn't exactly go smoothly. Many Asians, he recalls, didn't know the words to either the Pledge of Allegiance, which opens the Kiwanis meetings, or to "America the Beautiful." They had to sing along by following sheets of the lyrics written out phonetically. But today, Thayer believes that the Monterey Park chapter is as strong as ever, although with a slight change in emphasis. In addition to its customary charitable activities, for instance, the group now sponsors a multicultural festival and an Asian youth project.

"In the beginning, let's face it, it was awkward. They didn't know the ropes; we didn't know what to make of them," Thayer admits. "But now this club is better than ever before. Our activities increase every year. We horseplay with each other like it's totally natural. We are no longer strangers. We are neighbors." ■

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SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ABOUT DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP FAMILIES

A Presentation to the Long Beach Family Diversity Project

Question: What Does the Term "Domestic Partners" Mean?

Answer: The term "domestic partners" generally refers to two adults (regardless of their gender) who live together and function as a family unit, even though the individuals are not related to each other by blood or marriage. The dictionary definition of the term domestic is "belonging to the house or home; pertaining to one's place of residence and the family." The latin root of "domestic" is "domus" which means a house. The term "partner" means "a sharer or partaker; an associate; a husband or wife." Thus, the term "domestic partners" is a more formal term for "family partners." "Life partners," "lifemates" "cohabiting couples," and "unmarried partners" are some other terms that have been used to describe domestic partners.

Question: What is the Origin and Use of the Term "Domestic Partners"?

Answer: The term "domestic partners" was first used in an ordinance proposed in 1982 in San Francisco which would have extended a variety of family benefits to unmarried couples. Since then, it has been used once by the California Legislature (without definition) in connection with AIDS-related legislation. It also has been used in two published judicial decisions in California (without definition). One case involved bereavement leave and the other involved domestic violence protection. Several municipalities have used the term in resolutions or ordinances granting benefits (such as sick leave, bereavement leave, and health insurance) to city workers.

Question: Who Are Domestic Partners and How Many Are There?

Answer: The Census Bureau has estimated that in 1988 there were 4.2 million unmarried-partner households in the United States. In the Los Angeles area, unmarried partners account for about 7% of local households. Recent studies have shown that domestic partners include a wide range of relationship variations, including: same-sex couples who cannot legally marry; young opposite-sex couples who live in so-called "trial marriages" for a few years before they enter into a formal marriage; divorced persons who are hesitant to immediately remarry when they find a new mate; disabled adults who will have benefits reduced or terminated should they enter a formal marriage; and elderly widows or widowers who will forfeit spousal survivor benefits if they marry a newfound mate. A more accurate count and profile of this constituency will emerge from the 1990 census because the Census Bureau is officially counting "unmarried partners" for the first time. The Census Bureau defines "unmarried partners" as two adults of the same or opposite sex who are unrelated but who share living quarters and have close personal relationship to each other.