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CHAPTER 3

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND DISPARITIES

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The growing Asian American & Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (AA&NHPI) population has been important to the economic growth of Orange County. In addition to bringing a diverse workforce of high- and low-skilled workers, the number of both large and small Asian-owned businesses has increased dramatically, especially with the creation of ethnic commercial centers. While some of these businesses cater to ethnic clients and customers, many have grown to serve the broader Orange County community. The increase in the number of businesses and developments established by overseas Asian entrepreneurs is also noticeable. These businesses bring new jobs, increase tax revenue, and attract new investments into the area, and they have helped to stimulate the local economy during economic downturns or recessions. However, there are still issues of poverty and unemployment among different AA&NHPI groups. Broader economic trends have impacted the livelihood of immigrant small business owners. Additionally, AA&NHPI workers face discrimination and challenges in the workplace, and overseas Asian investors face local resistance to their developments. AA&NHPI small business owners and workers face gaps in political representation to address these ongoing issues.

ASSETS

Contributions to the Workforce

AA&NHPI have made important contributions to the county's workforce. After World War II, Orange County became an area primarily for the manufacturing industries; however, beginning in the 1990s, the county's economic base shifted

away from manufacturing to the service, information, and tourism industries. The AA&NHPI presence in the local economy also increased during this period, with many workers, including low-wage earners, arriving to work in these developing industries. The boom in AA&NHPI population growth has paralleled the more recent shift toward higher-skilled industries and jobs based in Orange County, with many U.S.-born and foreign-born skilled professionals in technology, finance, and legal fields contributing their talents to the local economy. Currently 63% of adult Asian Americans and 67% of adult Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders are in the labor force, close to the county's overall rate of 66%.¹ No longer confined to racially segregated jobs, college-educated Asian Americans are now in a range of professional occupations that require

skilled workers. In Orange County, over 50% of Asians work in management, business, science, and arts occupations.² Approximately 37% of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders work in service occupations and 29% in management, business, science, and arts.³



*Photo courtesy of Asian Americans
Advancing Justice – Orange County*

Growth of Businesses and Commercial Centers

The growth of the AA&NHPI communities has not only brought contributions to the local workforce but has also reshaped the local economy. California has the largest AA&NHPI consumer base in the United States.⁴ The local economies have shifted to reflect their growing purchasing power, which can be seen in the growth of AA&NHPI-owned businesses that cater to the different communities. Orange County, in particular, has seen a steady growth. In 2012, there were 78,701 Asian American-owned businesses and 1,225 Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander-owned businesses, a growth from 2007 of 24% and 37%, respectively. Combined they continue to be the second-largest group of small business owners in the county. In 2012, these businesses brought in nearly \$26 billion in revenue and provided approximately 105,000 jobs to the county.⁵

These businesses do not just cater to AA&NHPI interests. This entrepreneurship has created more jobs and increased the tax revenue that can be used to improve the county's infrastructure and provide better public services. Furthermore, many of these businesses are helping to revitalize depressed neighborhoods, with the renovation of dilapidated mini-malls or the development of new commercial spaces. Mary Anne Foo, who is of Chinese and Japanese descent and the founding executive director of the Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Alliance, summarizes the economic transformations and how they contribute to changing attitudes:

It's just been amazing! So for Asian Americans, what was known in the '90s and 2000 was Little Saigon, Koreatown—this amazing business center [and] the number of incredible first-generation immigrant-owned businesses. . . . They just transformed cities and you saw communities coming in, so a lot of investments into Orange County. From there, now you see all these companies and restaurants and businesses and corporations coming from Asia to invest in Orange County, really wanting to be here, and then families wanting to stay.

When we were first doing advocacy [with the county] and talking to policy makers, they would be like, 'Oh, you know, you guys are a drain on us! You know, all these refugees drain all these taxpayer dollars.' And I'm like, 'No. They actually are bringing in all this economic development, all this money into the business community. You're getting all the city taxes because of these businesses.' And now we can say, 'Hey we're bringing in billions—more than 20 billion in revenue into your cities, so you now can't question us.'

The emergence of distinct ethnic neighborhoods shows the economic contributions of Asian Americans. These areas have become major commercial centers, some surrounded by ethnic residential hubs. These one-stop areas cater to the ethnic

population, flourishing with stores that sell clothes, furniture, cars, and jewelry as well as services such as real estate, banking, insurance, medical, and auto repair. Most visible are concentrations such as the Little Saigon area, which is officially marked with welcome signs in Garden Grove, Santa Ana, and Westminster, and the Korean business districts in Garden Grove and Buena Park.

Orange County's Little Saigon, the largest Vietnamese American concentration in the country, started with a few Vietnamese businesses in Santa Ana and Westminster, which then spread to Garden Grove and Fountain Valley. Tam Nguyen, former president of the Vietnamese American Chamber of Commerce and the second-generation owner of Advance Beauty College, explains that his father established the family business in Little Saigon because the community could draw from resources through ethnic networks centralized in that area: "He could see Little Saigon being the epicenter pretty early on in the organization or with leaders who had the resources and the vision for something larger."

Like other refugees who were forced to switch careers, Nguyen's father, who was formerly in the South Vietnamese military, followed his wife into the nail and beauty industry, first as a worker and then as a business owner, to support the family. Due to the discrimination they faced and their lack of English language skills, many refugees, even those without entrepreneurial experience, opened businesses that catered to co-ethnics in Little Saigon. What started out as a handful of small Vietnamese enterprises has blossomed into thousands of businesses, both chain stores and mom-and-pop shops. Frank Jao, who opened the landmark Asian Garden Mall and owns many of the mini-malls and other developments, is credited with Little Saigon's expansion. With all the entertainment centers and other amenities that Little Saigon offers, it has become a major tourist destination.



Photo courtesy of Linda Trinh Vo

Korean business hubs have also emerged. The concentration of Korean-owned businesses in Garden Grove developed in the period after the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest, when Koreans were seeking safer sites to open their businesses. Most recently, in North Orange County, Buena Park has received attention as an emerging Korean American center. Distinct from the older Korean American business district in Garden Grove, it tends to attract younger generations as well as non-Koreans. Major Korean restaurants and retail have emerged around Beach Boulevard, a main

thoroughfare, including H-Mart, the popular Korean supermarket chain. A new retail complex, The Source, houses restaurants, an entertainment area, and CGV Cinema, which is owned by a major South Korean conglomerate and specializes in showing Korean movies and providing a 4DX interactive experience.⁶ Cities like

Buena Park have emerged as a new hub for international investment, helping to revitalize formerly economically depressed areas in Orange County.

Cities like Irvine and Fullerton also have pockets of Asian businesses, but it has become commonplace to see Asian-owned businesses in the ubiquitous mini-malls that dot the Orange County landscape. In contrast to the evolution of ethnic enclaves such as Little Saigon and Koreatown in Garden Grove with a concentration of many ethnic small businesses, the current trend shows a deliberate development of Asian-oriented commercial spaces. For example, the Diamond Jamboree Shopping Center in Irvine is one of the city's most bustling commercial centers and is occupied by a mixture of Asian and Asian American chains and local brands that attract both Asians and non-Asians alike.

Next-Generation Entrepreneurs and Innovators

Orange County is on the cutting edge of businesses serving and rooted in Asian American communities. In addition to the ethnic businesses and commercial hubs described earlier, Asians and Asian Americans are launching innovative and entrepreneurial businesses or expanding Asian global businesses via Orange County. First-generation Vietnamese small businesses have grown into major Orange County businesses, and a number are now managed by the younger generation. While pursuing an MBA at California State University, Fullerton, Tam Nguyen, owner of Advance Beauty College, which trains nail and beauty salon workers, used his family business as a setting to apply his classroom projects: "My fellow classmates loved it because we got a chance to access a business that was very willing and open to change from every aspect, from management to marketing to accounting. So all the major aspects of a business or operations, was like we had a real-life case study and example. I think those are the years where our business changed the most."

Through his education and professional training, Nguyen and his sister have added more structure to the business and expanded it from a small family business to a multisite business that hires nonfamily employees and serves a diverse student population. He and other second-generation Vietnamese American business owners build off their parents' generation by incorporating the knowledge and skills they gained through their education into the family businesses: "The second generation was college educated. They still had the parents' work ethic. They were able to blend that nicely together to really scale up and be successful. I think the dream is to not only be successful in Little Saigon, which our parents were, but to be able to scale up and be broader, serve other communities besides just your own ethnic enclave."

Many of these Vietnamese American-owned businesses, both first and second generation, now extend beyond the vicinity of Little Saigon. Nguyen describes this development:

Since I've gone to college, you got the Lee Sandwiches, you got the great restaurants, you got the 7 Leaves [Café]. You got iconic brands coming out of Little Saigon that are going mainstream, that are being supported by Americans. Boiling Crab [restaurant] is another one. I mean, I can keep naming them. But there's a lot of great brands that my non-Vietnamese friends, my neighbors, would [say], 'Wow! . . . We went and had a great experience.' And to know that comes from a Vietnamese family that started in Little Saigon, there's a lot of pride to that that's hard to describe.

Asian American-owned businesses are being incubated and established in areas outside of ethnic enclaves and expanding even further throughout the county and country. Wahoo's Fish Taco, a casual restaurant chain with its first location in Costa Mesa, has expanded to other states and internationally to Japan. In 1988 Chinese-Brazilian American brothers Eduardo Lee, Mingo Lee, and Wing Lam, who were raised in Newport Beach, founded this popular chain. Their food is a blend of Asian, Brazilian, and Mexican influences, combining their childhood experiences working at their parents' Chinese restaurant, Shanghai Pine Gardens on Balboa Island, and their surfing treks to Mexico. Eduardo Lee, who mentors emerging entrepreneurs, comments on how Asian markets and foods have become popular: "The Asian influence . . . it's almost everywhere. When they talk 'fusion,' they're always talking [about] Asian food. They're not talking [about] anything else pretty much. So anything that says 'fusion' it's usually Asian and Mexican, or Asian and Caucasian, or Asian and something. It's something Asian based."

Orange County is home to many Asian chains, both local and overseas. Korean immigrant Philip Chang founded the popular chain Yogurtland, opening his first location in Fullerton. Korean American Jay Yim established his first Creamistry ice cream shop in Irvine and has expanded across the United States and to other countries. Vietnamese American entrepreneurs also started 7 Leaves Café and Afters Ice Cream, which have locations across the county and are expanding to other areas. In addition, restaurants and bakeries from Asia have opened locations in Orange County. Most notably, Taiwanese bakery 85°C Bakery Cafe opened its first U.S. location in the Diamond Jamboree complex in Irvine, and its popularity led to the opening of other locations nationally.

This emerging restaurant and food scene highlights the contributions of Asian innovators in Orange County. Lee points out:

If you look at all the top restaurants, they're all [owned by] younger Asian, Chinese, Vietnamese, Koreans. . . . These are second-generation restauranteurs. Most of them are probably born here, kind of thing, were raised here for a super long time. So we understand the business culture a little bit differently than if you just came off the boat today. . . . I mean we're becoming really—not that we weren't acknowledged as

businesspeople—but we’ve become solid, legitimate businesses, a force to contend with.

The media and foodie fans are giving accolades to many of the major chefs in Orange County, including young Asian Americans. Leonard Chan, a Chinese American from Irvine who founded The Alchemists restaurant consulting group, was recognized as one of Orange County’s most influential people in 2014 for developing a range of popular restaurants and food halls across Orange County, including McFadden Public Market in Santa Ana. Ryan Garlitos, a Filipino American chef who operates Irenia Restaurant in Santa Ana, which serves modern Filipino cuisine, was named 2016 Best New Chef by the *Orange County Register*. Carlito Jocson, a Filipino American raised in Orange County, is the executive chef and original co-owner of Yard House chain restaurant and has also been praised for his culinary success.

Transnational Companies and Economic Connections

Asian Americans as well as Asian nationals have founded major computer and technology companies, some of them multinational, with headquarters in Orange County. Taiwanese immigrants cofounded VIZIO and Kingston Technologies, Inc.; online sources estimate VIZIO’s revenue to be \$3.1 billion and Kingston Technologies, Inc.’s revenue to be \$6.5 billion. In addition, Orange County is also attracting overseas investment from Asian corporations such as carmakers Kia, Hyundai, and Mazda, which have opened U.S. corporate headquarters in the county. Some Asian businesses have opened corporate offices in the region because they perceive it to be a welcoming climate to Asians and the large Asian American population, who could be potential employees or customers.

Asian Americans have cultural and linguistic skills as well as connections that can attract these international or multinational businesses to the region and expand local businesses internationally. Tam Nguyen believes the ties that immigrants and refugees have to Asia will increase transnational investments that can assist in the continued growth of Orange County:

We’re also going to see global business. . . . There are natural, not only just family, but business ties from here to each homeland, whether it’s the Korean community [or] the Vietnamese community. And these are significant communities in Orange County. You’re going to continue to see . . . international projects develop that way. . . . It doesn’t come from the enterprises or the corporations; it comes from the ethnic communities. These are organic relationships that are family and friends from the community. . . . As I view Orange County moving forward, I view it as a very global port that has a very nice Asian flavor. But it’s not just Asian American—it’s Asian with a tie back to Asia, and for me that’s pretty exciting.

“We’ve become solid, legitimate businesses, a force to contend with.”

Contributions of Economic Organizations

Asian American employees and entrepreneurs have formed a multitude of organizations that are intended to help them advance economically and contribute to the local economy. Although some business owners join mainstream chamber of commerce organizations, a number of ethnic business organizations and chambers have a mission that is specific to assisting co-ethnics in learning about business regulations and opportunities, building networks, and expanding their businesses. In some cases, members can assist each other when contending with racial discrimination in the workplace as well as finding co-ethnic mentors, which can be helpful to new immigrants. For the children of immigrants and refugees, they are often the first ones in their families to attend college in the United States and are the first ones in their families to enter professional fields in the private or

public sectors. There are profession-specific organizations that focus on lawyers or health care practitioners as well as formal AA&NHPI networking groups that exist within public or private companies, which were created to develop a supportive network to share resources and knowledge to advance in their field. Over the years, the number of Asian American or ethnic-specific—such as Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Taiwanese, and Vietnamese—organizations and groups have hosted seminars, workshops, and social gatherings.



Photo courtesy of Tam Nguyen

NEEDS

Poverty and Unemployment

Despite the strong AA&NHPI presence in the Orange County workforce and the contributions that AA&NHPI entrepreneurs have made in the county, there are significant poverty, unemployment, and income disparities, especially among specific AA&NHPI ethnic communities. The model minority myth often feeds into the stereotype that all Asian Americans are well educated and wealthy, without recognizing the tremendous socioeconomic diversity of the AA&NHPI population. Ellen Ahn, executive director of Korean Community Services, explains how ethnic groups, especially those perceived as more successful, often hide these issues: “There are some Koreans that are very well-off. But if you tease out the numbers, our poverty rates are there, especially among our single mothers, our seniors. There are certain pockets of our population that are very poor, and so that’s a huge misperception.” Approximately 12% of Asian Americans in Orange County are living in poverty, lower than the general population of 13%.⁷ However, Thai, Vietnamese, Korean, and Cambodian ethnic groups all have higher poverty rates

than the total population.⁸ Thai Americans, Vietnamese Americans, and Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have particularly high poverty rates countywide, with approximately 20% of Thai Americans, 16% of Vietnamese Americans, and 15% of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders living below the poverty line.⁹

The unemployment rate for Orange County is 7.6% and has been slowly decreasing since 2013.¹⁰ While Asian Americans have the lowest unemployment rate at 6.7%, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have the highest unemployment rate of all racial and ethnic groups at 12.8%. Vast differences also exist across ethnic groups. For example, Pakistani (10.4%), Indonesian (9.1%), and Vietnamese Americans (8.0%) have unemployment rates that exceed the county average.¹¹ In addition, state-level indicators show that while Asian Americans have a higher average salary of \$62,979 compared with Whites at \$56,730, when further disaggregated, Asian Americans make less than their White counterparts in occupations such as schoolteachers and retail salespeople.¹² Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders also tend to make less than their White and Asian American counterparts, with the exception of sales workers and truck drivers.¹³ In addition, data on per capita income rather than household income show that Asian Americans in Orange County actually earn \$33,703 and Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders earn \$30,630, which is substantially less than non-Hispanic Whites (\$49,817).¹⁴ Cambodian Americans earn only \$19,274, which is less than all racial groups except Latinos (\$17,028).¹⁵

Workplace Discrimination and Exploitation

Historically, the county has not always welcomed Asian laborers or businesses. While racial attitudes have improved, anti-immigrant and anti-Asian rhetoric, which can create a negative and unwelcoming business environment for AA&NHPI, is still present. Early in the development of the Vietnamese and Korean districts, some had their businesses vandalized, and Anglo residents complained about the number of ethnic businesses “taking over” their town, business signs in Asian languages, and business owners not speaking English. Current political rhetoric complaining about immigrants taking away jobs from Americans or framing China as the “economic enemy” can also lead to misplaced violence or discrimination against Asians.

AA&NHPI continue to face workplace discrimination, which may vary among different ethnic groups and across occupations. In a landmark case in 2003, Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Los Angeles (Advancing Justice-LA) filed a class action lawsuit with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) Legal Defense and Educational Fund against the clothing retailer Abercrombie & Fitch over racially discriminatory employment practices.¹⁶ An Asian American plaintiff from a Costa Mesa store witnessed corporate representatives telling management to hire staff that looked like their advertisements, which were

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*Photo courtesy of Asian Americans
Advancing Justice – Orange County*

primarily White models. The lawsuit resulted in a \$40 million nationwide class settlement, and the company agreeing to changing its hiring and employment policies as well as the company's operations and marketing practices.

AA&NHPI may also face discrimination based on gender and racial stereotypes that create barriers and prevent them from advancing into leadership positions. Immigrants encounter additional obstacles based on their limited English language skills or a lack of recognition

of their college degrees and work experience from their homeland. Even among AA&NHPI professionals, extra effort is required to prove themselves in the workplace. Caroline Hahn, past president of the Orange County Korean American Bar Association, shares her experience as one of the few Korean American female lawyers in Orange County and balancing the gender and racial stereotypes others may have of her: "In the end, I have to be extra smart, extra better, extra on time, extra polite. There has to be nothing that the judge can say I've done wrong in order to prove myself, in order to make sure that my package is not affected, that my work speaks for itself. And so in a sense it motivates me to be an extra better attorney. . . . But it just shocks me! It's 2017 now, but it's [discrimination is] still there. And I very much try to fight against it."

Moreover, immigrant workers are often more vulnerable to exploitation due to their lack of English proficiency or lack of legal status.¹⁷ In 2016, Advancing Justice-LA filed a case on behalf of Vietnamese American nail salon workers challenging exploitative industry-wide labor practices such as long hours without required breaks, minimum wage and overtime violations, and unlawful deductions for using equipment and supplies. Many low-wage workers are also undocumented, with a higher likelihood of turning to the underground economy or being paid "under the table." These workers may not be paid the minimum wage and have a harder time protecting their legal rights. Some low-wage workers are also victims of human trafficking, laboring under terrible work conditions for little-to-no pay, and are among the hardest workers to reach and legally represent.

The Competitive Market for Businesses Owners

While there are successful Asian American-owned small businesses that have grown and established a mainstream presence, many small businesses are still struggling. Tam Nguyen observes how competition can be fierce in ethnic communities where there are similar businesses and owners have to give substantial discounts in order to stay competitive:

There's a small number of individuals that succeeded, and they get highlighted, and so we become this 'model minority' and . . . [people think] all businesses are succeeding like that, which isn't the case. I mean we get to highlight some certain exceptions to the rule. Businesses are struggling. Business is hard. From 2008 to 2012 . . . that was a major recession that demoralized a lot of businesses. A lot of businesses went out of business. . . . There's certainly, with every sector that you talk about, there's certainly the one or two great success stories, but overall I think there's still a lot of assistance and there's a lot of attention that's needed to be placed on Vietnamese and Asian businesses in order [for them] to thrive.

Immigrant-owned, small businesses still struggle with developing the legal, compliance, and accounting knowledge to sustain a business. Language barriers can make it even more difficult to follow federal and local rules and regulations.

The growth of online shopping hurts local brick-and-mortar businesses of every scale. While this affects all businesses, it can have more substantial consequences for Asian Americans. According to Eduardo Lee of Wahoo's Fish Taco, the high number of small business owners and already-slim profit margins make them vulnerable to economic downturns:

Retail is dying because of the internet. So no one's shopping at malls anymore, and it's bad for the community. So I'm out there advocating, 'Spend your dollars here in Orange County. Keep your tax dollar base here. If you're buying online, the tax dollars are not staying in Orange County, so schools suffer.' First of all, the landlord suffers because the malls are all having problems. These big boxes are hard to replace. When you get a Nordstrom that leaves, that's 50,000 square feet of empty space. You can't replace it. . . . So the thing that happens with that is you also probably laid off maybe 3,000 employees. Your local base is disappearing, so you got to shop locally.

Even though smaller ethnic businesses are a destination stop and provide specialty items that are unavailable online, they are still vulnerable to economic downturns, and trends can have ripple effects in ethnic communities. For example, the nail salon industry is a major industry for Vietnamese Americans. Not only are workers and owners dispersed throughout the county, but the beauty schools that train workers and the beauty supply stores are concentrated in Little Saigon, so many are dependent on this industry.

Resistance to Business Owners and Lack of Representation

The economic investment from overseas corporations has also led to concerns about how they transform the identity of a community, with some Korean entrepreneurs

facing resistance from mainstream political leaders to develop in Buena Park. Charles Kim, a longtime community activist who cofounded the Korean American Coalition in Los Angeles in 1983, explains:

We have our hurdles too because local, traditional Americans, they're not happy. . . . [They said] 'We don't want this to be Koreatown. Period.' So that's the fight we need to fight here. [We asked] 'Then who's going to come here to develop?' Because it used to be really run-down and nobody wanted to come. . . . This area [was known for] prostitution and beggars and just nothing here. But Village Circle [shopping center opened], then the Korean building started . . . popping up and booming. So Buena Park is seeing the changes on Beach Boulevard, but some of the leaders are not happy 'cause it's not initiated by their own, [it's] built by what they call 'foreigners' from Korea. So we're actually converting this area whether you like it or not.

Political representation is lacking for many immigrant small business owners and workers. Within AA&NHPI communities, there is still a culture of not wanting to bring attention to their problems and to solve issues on their own. Nguyen explains, "But unfortunately going back to not having a voice at the table or key decision makers who are in strong funding positions . . . even today we're still like, 'Just leave me alone, I got my blinders on. I'm just going to work hard and just get out of this rut on my own.' Not so much 'I'm looking for assistance and help' kind of mentality, and that could hurt." For first-generation immigrants and refugees who are from countries of political conflict, speaking out politically is perceived to be dangerous. They may be unwilling to speak up even when their rights as business owners are being violated.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Collect and report disaggregated data for AA&NHPI on economic assets and needs (e.g., income, poverty, employment, workforce barriers, consumer spending, small or ethnic businesses).
- Provide culturally and linguistically accessible education, outreach, and assistance for AA&NHPI for safety net programs (e.g., CalWORKs, Medi-Cal), workforce development programs (e.g., English language classes, job training, job placement services), and worker protection laws.
- Preserve and strengthen safety net programs for the most vulnerable, including cash assistance (CalWORKs, Cash Assistance Program of Immigrants), food assistance (CalFRESH), social services (In-Home Supportive Services), and health care (Medi-Cal).
- Protect AA&NHPI, immigrant, and low-wage workers by enforcing antidiscrimination laws, enforcing laws that prohibit intimidation of or

retaliation against employees based on immigration status, enforcing federal and state labor laws (e.g., wages and hours, health and safety), and passing local ordinances against wage theft.

- Include AA&NHPI in equal opportunity programs (e.g., minority public contracting programs) and advocate for equitable hiring and promotion policies for all employees.
- Hire a workforce that reflects the diverse AA&NHPI clients or customers.
- Provide culturally and linguistically accessible education, outreach, and assistance for AA&NHPI small businesses on their rights and obligations as employers.
- Support the development of AA&NHPI small businesses and specialized chambers but also include AA&NHPI small businesses in mainstream chambers and business associations.
- Educate local governments and chambers about demographic changes in the county and support policies that create a welcoming county for all ethnic groups.

INTERVIEWED COMMUNITY LEADERS

Ellen Ahn	Executive director of Korean Community Services
Mary Anne Foo	Founder and executive director of the Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Alliance (OCAPICA)
Caroline Hahn	Past president of the Orange County Korean American Bar Association
Charles Kim	Cofounder and first executive director of the Korean American Coalition
Eduardo Lee	Cofounder of Wahoo's Fish Taco
Tam Nguyen	Former president of the Vietnamese American Chamber of Commerce; owner of Advance Beauty College; former president of the California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) Alumni Association

The quotes from these interviews are represented verbatim in this report, with some shortened for space considerations, shown by an ellipsis. The only other modifications are to help provide context, shown in brackets.

NOTES

1. U.S. Census Bureau, 2011–2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Tables C23002D, C23002E, and DP03.
2. Ibid., Table C24010D.
3. Ibid., Table C24010E.
4. Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Los Angeles, and Asian American Federation. 2014. *Making America Work: Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in the Workforce and Business*. Los Angeles: Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Los Angeles, and Asian American Federation.
5. U.S. Census Bureau, 2012 Survey of Business Owners, Table SB1200CSA01. Note: Business owners who identify as more than one race may be double counted in these estimates.
6. Chan, Alex, and Bryce Alderton. 2017. “O.C.’s Koreatown: Buena Park Draws Residents and Businesses from L.A.” *Los Angeles Times*, March 24, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/entertainment/tn-wknd-et-0326-korean-businesses-20170325-story.html>.
7. U.S. Census Bureau, 2011–2015 American Community Survey Selected Population Tables, Table DP03.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. U.S. Census Bureau, 2011–2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table S2301.
11. U.S. Census Bureau, 2011–2015 American Community Survey Selected Population Tables, Table DP03. Note: Data include Asian alone and in combination.
12. U.S. Census Bureau, 2011–2015 American Community Survey Public Use Microdata Samples 5-Year Estimates, accessed on September 6 2017, <https://datausa.io/profile/geo/orange-county-ca/>.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. U.S. Census Bureau, 2006–2010 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates, Table B19301. Information taken from Asian Americans Advancing Justice, and Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Alliance. 2014. *A Community of Contrasts: Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in Orange County*. Los Angeles: Asian Americans Advancing Justice.
16. Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Los Angeles. n.d. “From Our Litigation Archives: APALC Sues Abercrombie & Fitch.” Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Los Angeles, accessed October 16, 2017, <https://www.advancingjustice-la.org/blog/our-litigation-archives-apalc-sues-abercrombie-fitch#.WeUkUWhSw2x>.
17. APALA and UCLA Labor Center. 2009. *Breaking Ground, Breaking Silence: Report from the First National Asian Pacific American Workers’ Rights Hearing*. Los Angeles: APALA; UCI Community & Labor Project and UCLA Labor Center. 2014. *Orange County on the Cusp of Change*. Los Angeles: UCLA Labor Center.