PolicyLink

California Unincorporated:
Mapping Disadvantaged Communities
in the San Joaquin Valley

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California Unincorporated:

Mapping Disadvantaged Communities in the San Joaquin Valley

In partnership with California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc.
and California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation

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Preface

The Community Equity Initiative (CEI), a partnership of California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. (CRLA, Inc.), and PolicyLink, is dedicated to advancing innovative solutions to address poor infrastructure quality and service delivery in communities with a particular focus on the unincorporated communities in California's San Joaquin Valley and the Coachella Valley. The initiative aims to improve the conditions in some of California's most underinvested communities, and provide models for forging new leadership and capacity within communities and developing effective policies to dismantle and overcome historical patterns of exclusion and neglect.

Early in the development of the Community Equity Initiative, the three partner organizations engaged a diverse set of stakeholders and advisors from within communities, universities, foundations, government, and the nonprofit sector to discuss how planning and infrastructure investment can build healthy, sustainable community change. As a result, the initiative pursues a four-pronged strategy that includes: increasing community capacity for political participation and advocacy, improving local and state policy, legal representation, and research.

As part of the research agenda, the initiative has developed a new methodology to shed light on and describe communities that have gone overlooked, ignored, and underinvested for decades. Using and analyzing 2000 census data and other publicly available data, the research has uncovered thousands of Californians who are living in these invisible com-

This document describes the new methods for identifying, measuring, and mapping disadvantaged unincorporated communities and a first account of the findings from applying these new methods to the San Joaquin Valley. For readers seeking the complete technical details of the data sources and methods, please see the Technical Guide on the Community Equity Initiative website.

munities, what the CEI calls "Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities" or DUCs. Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities are disproportionately low-income places that are densely settled and not within city limits. For the legal definition, please visit SB 244 Section 65302.10.

All charts, tables, and maps within this report are derived from an analysis of 2000 census data, and county parcel and boundary data. This methodology will also be applied to 2010 census data with research findings to come. Ultimately, it is hoped that this new mapping methodology will help improve policies and decision-making practices not only within California's unincorporated communities but also in America's unincorporated communities at large.

For more on the Community Equity Initiative, please click **here**.

Introduction

California's San Joaquin Valley is one of the most agriculturally rich regions in our nation, contributing over half of the state's total value in agricultural production.[1] It is also home to some of the nation's poorest communities. A 2010 study found the San Joaquin Valley's 20th congressional district ranked the lowest in the nation on resident well-being, based on an assessment of health, education, and income.[2] Among the poorest and most isolated of these communities are places outside of city limits that lack the most basic features of a safe, healthy, sustainable neighborhood—potable drinking water, sewer systems, safe housing, public transportation, parks, sidewalks, and streetlights. People of color make up 54 percent of those living in the San Joaquin Valley, and make up a disproportionate number of those living in underinvested neighborhoods. Historically, these communities have been home to mostly African American and Latinos, and a growing Southeast Asian population. Governed by counties, which were not set up to provide services to dense urban areas, and lacking the representation of a city council, they are systematically underserved in the overall allocation of public resources and are frequently left out of local decision-making processes. Concentrated poverty, institutional and individual racism, and California's systems of public finance and land use regulation exacerbate the plight of disadvantaged unincorporated communities.

To make matters worse, many decision makers and county officials do not know that these communities exist. A map delineates boundaries, records a name, facilitates (though does not guarantee) data collection by the United States Census Bureau and other data collection entities, and provides a basis

Eight Counties of San Joaquin Valley
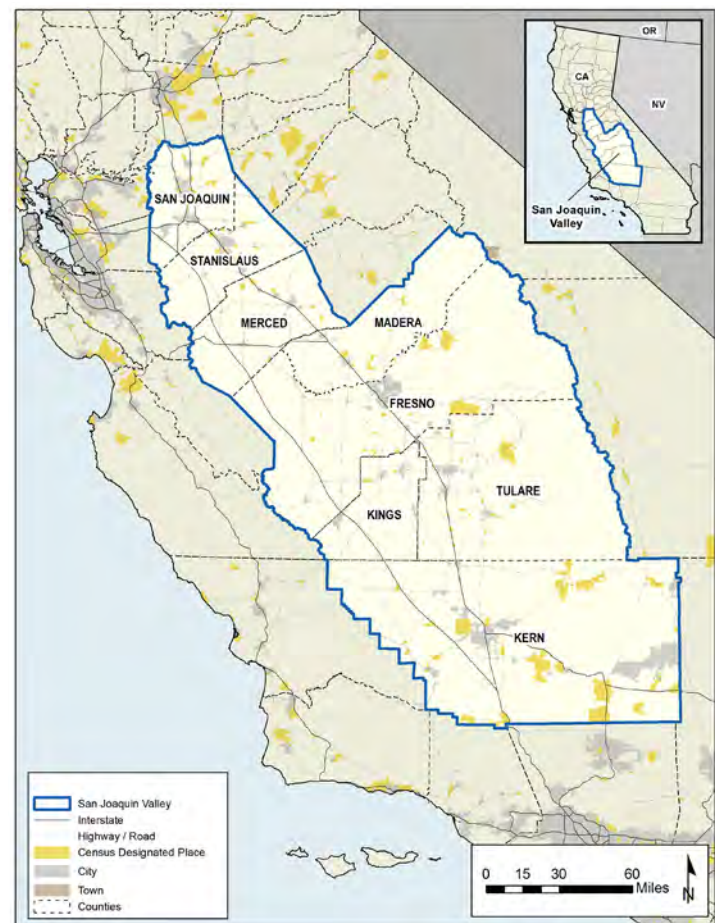
Source: 2000 U.S. census.

for demographic and special analysis used to direct programs and services from the federal or state to local level. For residents and organizations living and working in these communities the lack of official recognition and the data that flow from it presents a huge barrier. It becomes very challenging to capture political attention, aggregate and provide a sense of scale to the challenges faced across communities, and readily access critical public resources that are distributed based on community-level data. Identifying the places and their particular challenges (drinking water, waste water systems, safe roads, etc.) is the first step in a longer process to develop strategies and priorities, and to organize, and mobilize to address these challenges.

1 See Great Valley Center. "Assessing the Region Via Indicators, The Economy." 2009.

2 Based on the Human Development Index of the Social Science Research Council: http://www.measureofamerica.org/maps/.

Purpose of This Research

The Community Equity Initiative developed this report, and the methodology discussed within it, as part of a larger effort to make visible the hundreds of communities that have gone neglected and ignored and are suffering critical challenges of livability as a result. Through this work, the initiative seeks to provide local and state officials, policymakers, advocates, and community organizations with a better sense of where underserved, unincorporated communities are located, and seeks to bring the problems they face into the public view. The research presented here is the first step in quantifying and locating the number of places and people that have been left off the map in the eight-county San Joaquin Valley region. It brings attention to some of California's most forgotten and underinvested places, and starts to make the case for more coordinated long-range planning, targeted resources, and community capacity building for improved quality of life.

This research aims to:

- **equip residents, community-based organizations, and policymakers** with more tools for organizing, case-making, and advocacy;

- **increase public awareness** of the breadth and scale of disadvantaged unincorporated communities and the challenges they face; and

- **support better research and data collection** of disadvantaged unincorporated communities through a new tool that can be used as a basis for future research about quality of services and infrastructure.

Key Findings

The following are key takeaways from the analysis of 2000 U.S. census data and other publicly available data for California.

3.6 million

Californians found by the Census Bureau living in Census Designated Places in 2000

2.8 million

Additional number of Californians living in unincorporated neighborhoods not recognized by the 2000 census because their communities were not characterized as Census Designated Places

310,000

People living in low-income unincorporated communities in the San Joaquin Valley

This is 70,000 more than what the Census Bureau included in its low-income Census Designated Places in the San Joaquin Valley

People of color were disproportionately represented in Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities in comparison to cities, counties, and Census Designated Places.

65%

Percentage of the population living in disadvantaged unincorporated communities that were of color

57%

Percentage of the population living in cities that were of color

64%

Percentage of households in the San Joaquin Valley's disadvantaged unincorporated communities that were low income

This was a significantly higher percentage than in cities and counties in California where 48% of households were low income, and in Census Designated Places where 51% of the households were low income.

Emerging Areas of Impact

This research is helping to make the case for advocacy, build public awareness, and contribute to new knowledge around inequities that exist.

Supporting Organizing, Case-Making, and Advocacy

There is power in being made visible. Once a community is visible, a shared collective identity can develop, which in turn serves as the foundation for residents' capacity to organize themselves and mobilize for change. Mapping equips residents with information about their communities and others', provides them with a tool in their advocacy, and facilitates recognition within the policymaking process. This work provides an important foundation for advocates, researchers, and policymakers to layer additional information and stories about the conditions and history of these communities.

Tulare Lake Basin Study – In 2008, **SB1xx and AB2356** appropriated millions of dollars to address drinking water quality and waste water services in the Tulare Lake Basin region. With the tremendous support of community advocates, these bills provide targeted funding for planning and construction of projects in disadvantaged areas. The CEI mapping of low-income unincorporated areas was one of the many data points considered when identifying disadvantaged communities for targeted inclusion in the planning process and in the outreach phase of the project. The CEI mapping helped identify some of the smaller communities that may not have shown up in an initial scan of disadvantaged communities through the census.

Increasing Public Awareness

A community's needs cannot be properly addressed—or assets leveraged—if the community itself is not known to the larger world. Early work of the initiative indicated that many policymakers at the county and state level did not know of the existence of disadvantaged unincorporated communities generally, nor were they aware of the existence of such communities within their electoral districts. Many more continue to be unaware of the basic infrastructure deficits so many of these communities face. Once these communities are officially mapped, have a name to identify them, and are tracked and recorded by the U.S. Census Bureau or city or county agencies they stand a better chance of being well represented and well served.

Local Government Support – Several local and state-level policymakers have looked to this mapping to understand the scale, location, and character of the issues in previously invisible unincorporated areas. Specifically, the mapping has supported the implementation of **SB 244** that requires local government agencies—specifically LAFCOs, cities, and counties—to plan for disadvantaged unincorporated areas. The **Local Agency Formation Commissions** (LAFCOs) of Fresno and Tulare Counties have requested the CEI mapping to help identify and prioritize underserved areas in their planning process.

Contributing to Research

The U.S. Census Bureau is the most accessible source of periodic demographic data for unincorporated communities, yet it does not capture all unincorporated communities. Many unincorporated communities, including many low-income unincorporated communities, are too small, lack clear boundaries, or are simply not sufficiently known or recognized to be included in the census as a place. With the exception of surveying individual households, communities

are left without a reliable source of data to describe their neighborhood. As a result, their needs are often unaccounted for, they are not acknowledged in planning processes, and they cannot compete for infrastructure investments on a level playing field. This is particularly true when eligibility for these programs is tied to being able to demonstrate that community-level demographics meet specified criteria. This research begins to fill this gap. It creates a set of maps that will continue to evolve, and that identify hundreds of communities not previously mapped. These new maps can serve as the basis for layering additional information about demographics, infrastructure, and quality of life.

Sharing with the U.S. Census Bureau – Most recently, the data have served to inform the Census Bureau about additional places to consider including as 2010 Census Designated Places (CDPs) which are unincorporated places that are surveyed and tracked much like cities and towns. Typically, counties submit the names of communities that they recommend become Census Designated Places.[3] Having CDP status means that residents and local governments have more and better access to information about their communities and how they have changed over time. This is particularly important when applying for grants and loans for infrastructure and services. As a result of this new mapping, CEI staff recommended that the Census staff include 39 additional communities in their 2010 Census Designated Places survey. Nearly half of these recommended communities became CDPs in 2010. CEI staff is currently analyzing 2010 data and will continue to share findings with the Census Bureau staff.

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3 Counties use a process called Census Participant Statistical Area Program to recommend Census Designated Places. Census Designated Places are defined by the U.S. Census Bureau as places that are closely settled, named, unincorporated communities that generally contain a mixture of residential, commercial, and retail areas similar to those found in incorporated places of similar sizes.

U.S. Census Bureau: Current Definitions

The most accessible source of data about unincorporated communities comes from the U.S. Census Bureau, which calls these neighborhoods Census Designated Places (CDPs). In the year 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau identified 600 Census Designated Places across California that were home to 3.6 million people. Of the 600 CDPs in California in 2000, 250 (42 percent) of them were low income. For purposes of this research, low-income communities are defined as places where half of all households have a median household income of less than 80 percent of the state's median household income. Simply put, half of all households in these communities had annual incomes of $38,000 or less. One million people lived in these low-income Census Designated Places.

....

Census Designated Places
are areas that are closely settled, named, unincorporated communities that generally contain a mixture of residential, commercial, and retail areas similar to those found in incorporated places of similar sizes.

....

COMPARING LOW-INCOME CENSUS DESIGNATED PLACES

	Number of Communities Total	2000 Population (% of state population)
Total California Population	**N/A**	**33,871,648**
Total CDPs in California*	**600**	**3,669,329 (10.8%)**
Total Low-Income CDPs in California	**250**	**1,069,778 (3.2%)**
Total Low-Income CDPs in San Joaquin Valley	**80**	**241,968 (0.7%)**

*CDPs with population greater than zero.
Source: 2000 U.S. census.

While low-income CDPs are found throughout California, they are most heavily concentrated in the San Joaquin Valley. This eight-county region is home to nearly one-third of all low-income CDPs in California. Eighty of the state's 256 low-income CDPs are located in the region. There are nearly a quarter million people living in these communities, approximately 25 percent of all Californians living in low-income CDPs.

While the 2000 census tracked 3.6 million people in CDPs, in that same year nearly 2.8 million additional people lived in unincorporated areas that were not defined as CDPs. Upon launching the Community

Equity Initiative, staff at the partner organizations saw that many, if not the majority, of communities the initiative is concerned with are not captured by the Census Bureau's CDPs. CRLA, Inc. staff working in the communities found that these places were usually either not on maps, or were mapped incorrectly. PolicyLink staff working to develop a clear picture of the communities struggled with the same absent or inaccurate data. Subsequent mapping and resident interviews confirmed how widespread this phenomenon of exclusion was.

As a result of not being a CDP, these communities are not only usually left off of maps; they are rarely tracked in any systematic way, and are largely invisible to the larger public and policymakers. The mapping methodology, discussed in the next section, has established a way to identify these places using publicly available data, making it possible to begin to address their challenges and needs.

Low-Income
Census Designated Places
in California

Disadvantaged CDPs (256)
Census Designated Place (598)
San Joaquin Valley
Interstate
Highway / Road

0   25   50   100
Miles

N

Source: 2000 U.S. census.

Mapping Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities: The Methodology

This project used Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology[4] to identify unincorporated communities in the eight-county San Joaquin Valley region. The following abbreviated methodology describes the steps and results for this initial phase of identifying what the Community Equity Initiative has termed as disadvantaged unincorporated communities or DUCs—places that are densely settled, outside of city limits, and low income.[5] For a more detailed explanation of the data and methods used, please refer to the **Community Equity Initiative** website for technical appendixes. The technical appendixes provide step-by-step guidance on data sources and methods to replicating this mapping research.
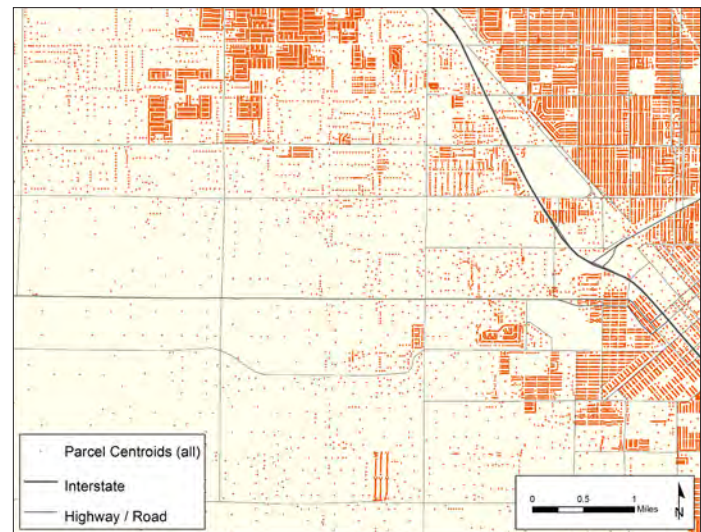
CEI used four basic types of data to identify these places:

Unincorporated Status: The project used boundary shape files from cities, counties, or from the U.S. Census Bureau to determine unincorporated status (all areas that are not within city limits).
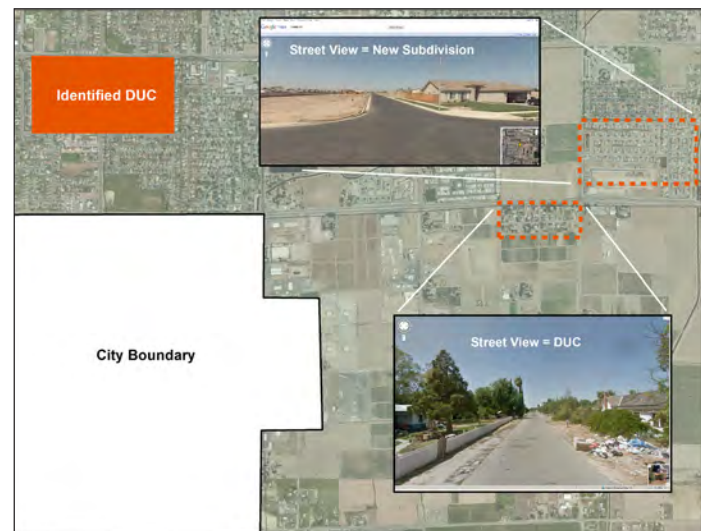
Parcel Density: The project focused on identifying places that are closely settled with a large number of homes, rather than very spread out rural communities. From publicly available sources, the outlines of parcels (land that is subdivided into lots) were gathered. The areas with a density of at least 250 parcels per square mile were identified. This benchmark was chosen because it is comparable to the density of Census Designated Places (unincorporated communities tracked by the Census Bureau).

Sample map of parcels to determine density.

Sample map of visual inspection for each DUC.

4 ESRI ArcView for ArcMap 9.3.1 with the Spatial Analyst 9.3 extension, Windows machine with an Intel Core 2 Quad CPU.

5 This term was developed by CEI to describe low-income, densely settled, unincorporated communities.
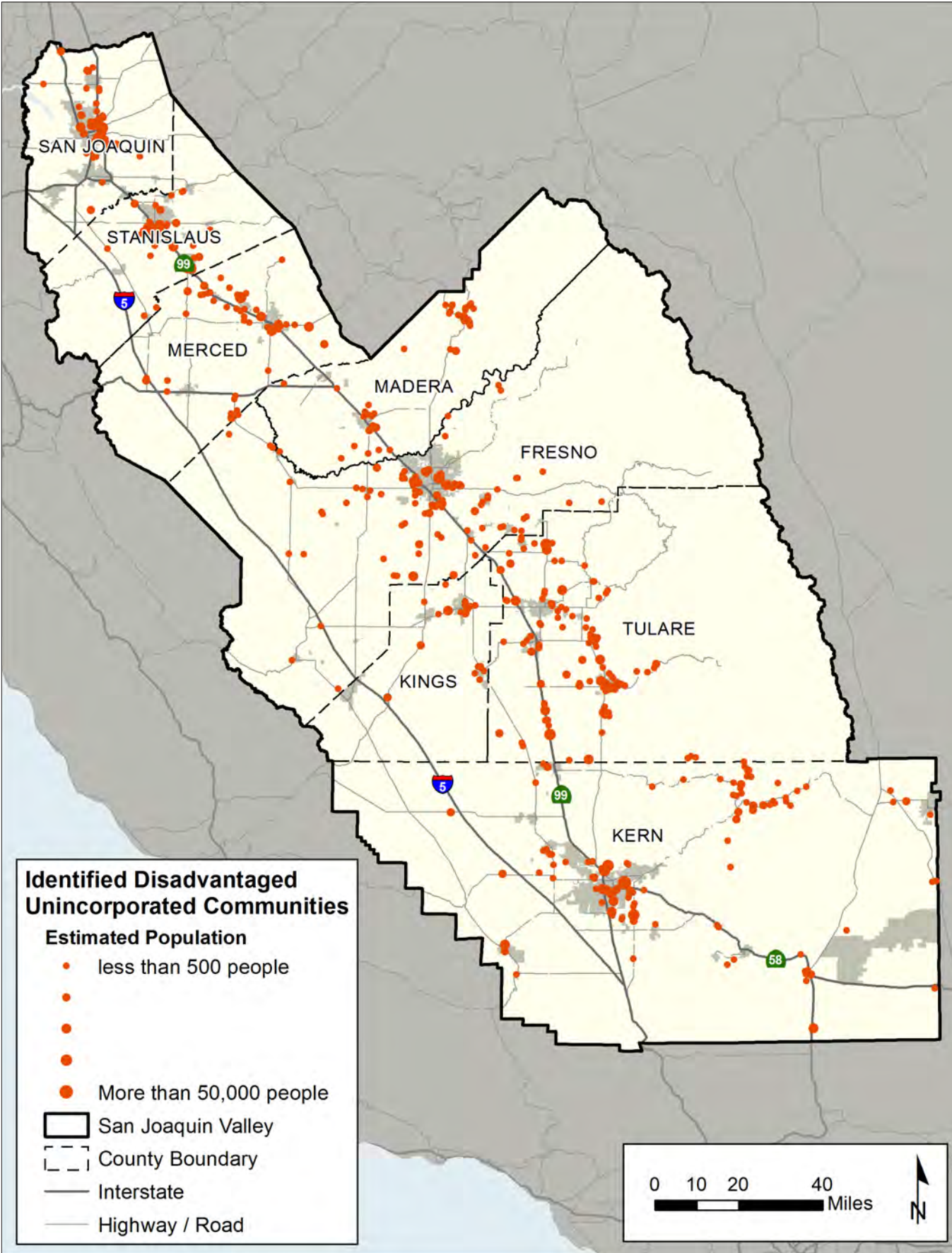
Low-Income Neighborhoods: In the work of the CEI, we have found that many low-income unincorporated communities also face infrastructure challenges. Because there is no single indicator, or discrete set of indicators, which allows us to assess infrastructure conditions, the initiative's work began by identifying low-income unincorporated communities. It used 2000 census[6] block group data to identify places of interest. Since the income status of households relative to those across the state is a frequently used criteria for state-funded programs, the initiative selected those block groups where the median household income was less than 80 percent of the median household income of the state. This is a benchmark used in several state-level infrastructure funding programs that target low-income communities, including the **Safe Drinking Water State Revolving Fund** and the **Storm Water Management program**. In 2000, the median household income of the state of California was $47,493, so any census block group with a median income of less than $37,994 was included in our analysis.

This threshold is not a perfect metric for identifying disadvantaged unincorporated communities because there are many places, like resort communities, that may have low recorded incomes, but are not actually home to significant populations of low-income people.

Visual Inspection & Additional Filters: The project mapped land use to help filter out agricultural land, and used information from aerial photography and Google street view to verify that the places highlighted by our analysis were indeed underserved communities. Through this review it was found that some communities at the edge of cities had been "low-income" agricultural fields during the 1990 census but have since been developed. Communities that had been identified as less than three-quarters of an acre in size were also removed as they often contained only one or two houses, if any.

6 While dated, the 2000 census provided a more accurate depiction of income levels at the block group level than more recent American Community Survey data.

Identified Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities

Estimated Population

- less than 500 people
- More than 50,000 people
- ☐ San Joaquin Valley
- ⸤⸣ County Boundary
- Interstate
- Highway / Road

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

525 Communities: Findings and Analysis

Once the four types of data were overlaid on one another, 525 distinct, low-income, densely settled, unincorporated areas emerged that are home to over 300,000 people in the San Joaquin Valley. In 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau recorded only 80 unincorporated communities that were low income. This research identified many communities that are smaller communities than Census Designated Places. One hundred forty-nine of these disadvantaged unincorporated communities were located within existing Census Designated Places and 23 of these 149 DUCs were small communities that fell within larger, wealthier Census Designated Places that would not have been identified by solely relying on an analysis of low-income CDPs. For those low-income communities

community members to solicit their input on maps. Participants were asked if they recognized the identified places as neighborhoods with names and did some "ground-truthing" to verify that the places highlighted were indeed places with infrastructure challenges. A listing of named places is included in Appendix 2: County Map Gallery. Those places without names were assigned a number.

Comparing Counties

The eight counties of the San Joaquin Valley vary significantly in terms of size and population distribution within incorporated and unincorporated areas. The research found that while Fresno is the most popu-

Comparing Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities in the San Joaquin Valley

	Number of Communities	Population (% of San Joaquin Valley population)
Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities in the Valley	**525**	**310,231 (9.3%)**
Disadvantaged Unincorporated Areas in CDPs in the Valley	**149**	**187,180 (5.7%)**
Low-income CDPs in the Valley	**80**	**242,216 (7.3%)**

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

that depend on Census Bureau data to inform their grants, advocacy, and communications work, being located and lumped in with a wealthier CDP could very well mask the challenges of the communities.

Many of the communities (188 to be exact) were named places either because they were existing CDPs or were recognized by community members. As part of the process of verifying the methodology, CEI staff hosted several workshop sessions with

lated county, accounting for 24 percent of the valley's population, only 9 percent of the population living in the region's disadvantaged unincorporated communities are in Fresno County. On the other hand, Kern and Tulare Counties have disproportionately high percentages of their populations living in disadvantaged unincorporated communities. Kern is home to 20 percent of the region's population, but 42 percent of the population living in disadvantaged unincorporated communities, and Tulare has 11 percent of the

total valley population but 18 percent of the valley's DUCs. This can largely be explained by the fact that a significant portion of the total population in Kern (46 percent) and Tulare (36 percent) Counties live in unincorporated areas. Tulare and Kern also have the highest percentages of their unincorporated populations living in low-income, densely settled communities, with 49 percent and 38 percent respectively.

Maps of each county are available in **Appendix 2: County Map Gallery**. The Appendix includes a breakdown of each type of community (Island, Fringe, and Legacy discussed later) listed, as well as population summaries.

Demographic Analysis

Examining the racial makeup and economic status of DUCs and comparing those to cities, other parts of unincorporated counties, and to counties, helps demonstrate whether or not underinvestment in infrastructure is correlated to race and class. The work of the CEI in large part stemmed from litigation against discriminatory practices in Stanislaus County and the

city of Modesto. This case revealed that the city of Modesto was excluding low-income neighborhoods and communities of color from its growth, development, and most basic infrastructure and services.

This current research looks to build from the evidence prepared for Modesto and other cases to better understand and describe the relationship between race, income, and infrastructure quality. The new mapping and analysis shows that disadvantaged unincorporated communities are largely home to people of color,[7] making up 65 percent of the population living in San Joaquin Valley's DUCs. This number is especially high compared to the fact that throughout all of the counties, people of color make up only 54 percent of the population.

The CEI compared the racial and ethnic makeup and number of low-income households in DUCs to Census Designated Places, cities, and counties. Since Census Designated Places are the only unincorporated communities that are tracked by the U.S. Census Bureau, this is an important scale of comparison. Comparing DUCs to cities is important for understanding how much incorporated status can influence and drive

Percent People of Color in Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities, Census Designated Places, Cities, and Counties
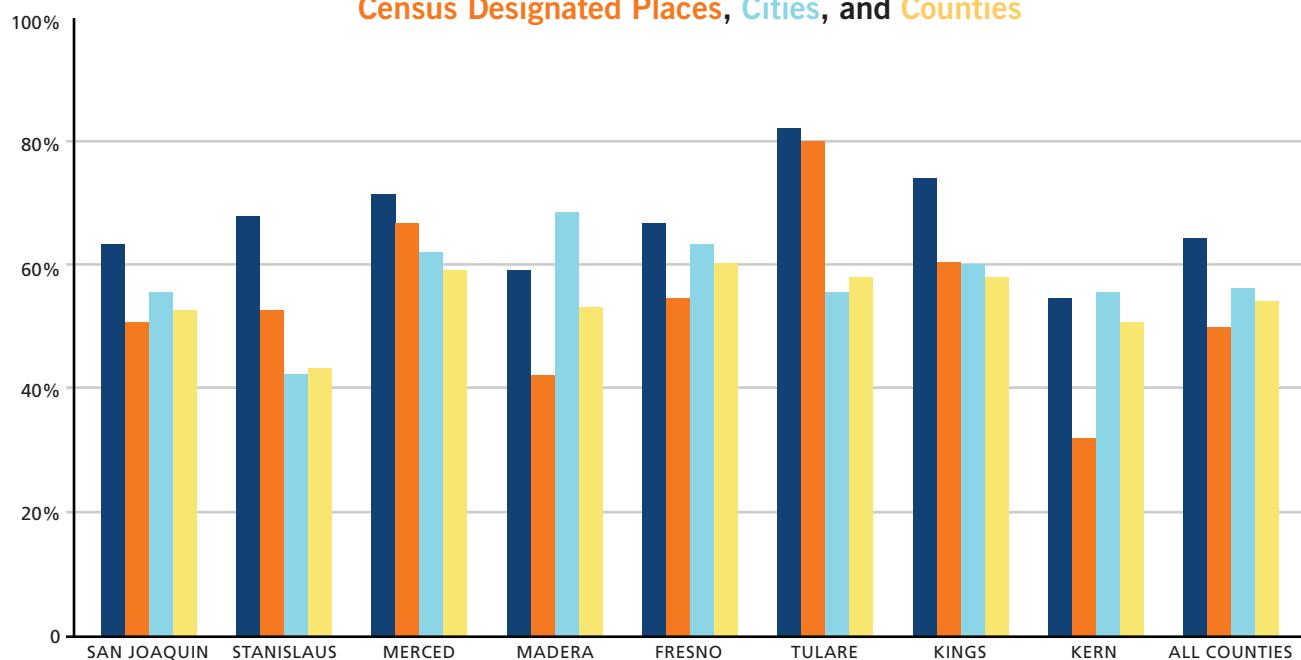
Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

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7 "People of color" describes the sum of all racial/ethnic groups that are not white (or non-Hispanic white).

disparities. A comparison to counties provides the context in which DUCs reside. Ideally, the research should find that low-income households and people of color are equally represented in all three scales.

As the graph on the previous page illustrates, in every county people of color in DUCs are overrepresented in comparison to the percentage of people of color living in CDPs, cities, and the county population as a whole.

Although the people who live in DUCs are partly defined by the fact that they meet specified income criteria, the study also wanted to understand how their income characteristics compared to other incorporated and unincorporated population groups in the region. The research found that low-income households are overrepresented in disadvantaged unincorporated communities in comparison to CDPs, cities, and counties. The results are conservative estimates due to the limitations of the census.[8] The graph below illustrates that the percentage of low-income households in DUCs across the San Joaquin Valley ranges between 11 and 20 percentage points higher than their respective counties. When compared to CDPs, DUCs generally have a much greater percentage of low-income households; the exception being in Tulare and Kings Counties where low-income households are proportionate in CDPs and DUCs. Across the entire San Joaquin Valley, it was estimated that 64 percent of households living in DUCs are low income compared to much lower rates in CDPs (51 percent), cities (48 percent), and counties (48 percent).

Percentage of Households that are Low-Income in Disadvantaged Unicorporated Communities, Census Designated Places, Cities, and Counties
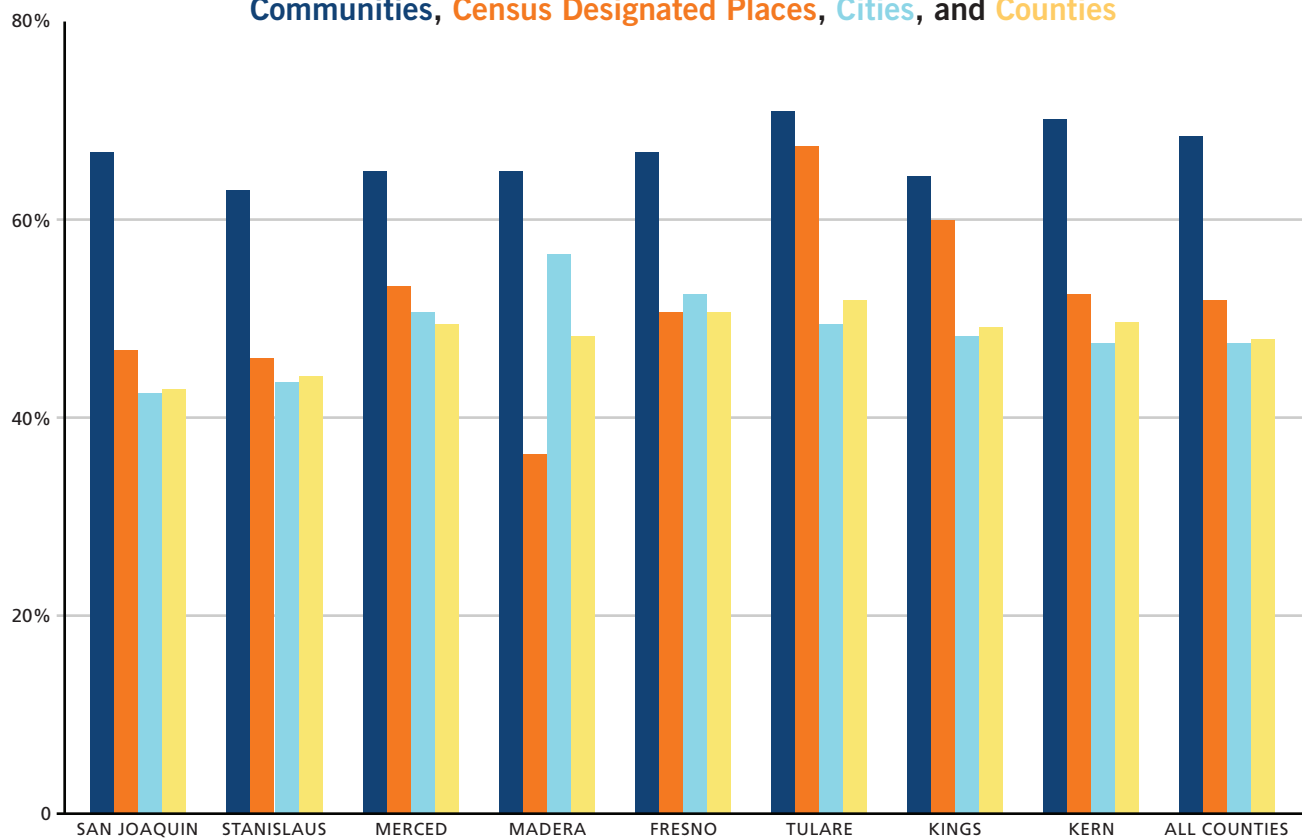
Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

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8 For purposes of this research, low income is defined as household income below 80 percent of state household median, which is $37,994. The 2000 census only provides household income in ranges. These results include all households with income below $34,999.

Please refer to **Appendix 1** (Demographic Analysis) for a detailed table comparing the demographics of DUCs to counties, cities, and Census Designated Places.

Types of Communities

While documenting the number of communities is an important step in telling the story of the San Joaquin Valley's unincorporated communities, proximity to a neighboring community or city plays an important role in determining the opportunities that these places have to improve their infrastructure. A community that is, for example, 20 miles away from a city will have different concerns and opportunities for infrastructure investment than one that sits close or adjacent to a city, and different again from a neighborhood nearly or completely surrounded by the same city. Because of this, our work looked to further describe these communities based on their spatial relationship to incorporated areas.

Island and Fringe Communities

During the agricultural and industrial boom of the early and mid-twentieth century, communities developed on the edges of cities where industry was concentrated and housing was more affordable. As the cities grew, they annexed land around the unincorporated communities—avoiding and excluding communities of color and low-income communities. Decades of neglect and exclusion by cities and counties have been reinforced by the state's counter-productive system of taxation and land use policies. These communities find themselves stuck between the county and their neighboring city. The city does not want to invest in county territory, nor does the county wish to invest in a community that, once improved, will be more attractive for incorporation by a neighboring city.

Today there are unincorporated communities that are like an island, completely surrounded by incorporated city territory but are on county land and therefore do not receive city services. Fringe communities are neighborhoods that are adjacent to incorporated areas or within a city's sphere of influence[9] but are located on county land. The isolation faced by fringe and island communities is stark: their neighbors within city limits—across the street even—receive services that they do not. Some communities may literally have city infrastructure running under or through their community but are not linked into that infrastructure to receive its benefits. Seventy percent of the population of the disadvantaged unincorporated communities identified live in island or fringe communities. As the table below shows, this is over 200,000 people in 274 island and fringe communities. Distinguishing these communities in this way is important because

Comparing Types of Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities

	Number	Estimated Population (% of DUCs)
Total Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities	**525**	**310,231**
Island communities	**44**	**45,501 (14.7%)**
Fringe communities	**230**	**172,237 (55.5%)**
Legacy communities	**231**	**92,358 (29.8%)**

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

9 According to the California Association of Local Agency Formation Commissions, a sphere of influence is a planning boundary typically beyond a city or special district that ensures the provision of efficient services while discouraging urban sprawl and the premature conversion of agricultural or open space lands.

the potential strategies for addressing infrastructure deficits vary depending on the proximity to cities and other communities. For example, several fringe communities have worked out agreements with neighboring cities or townships for sharing service provision or infrastructure investments like water resources.

Legacy Communities

A third type—legacy communities—are more remote. These communities lie beyond the growth boundaries of incorporated cities, and have been in existence at least 50 years.[10] Legacy communities started growing in the early to mid 20th century, principally due to the advent of industrialized agriculture. As demand for low-wage agricultural labor increased, these communities became home to workers from the American South, the Depression-era Dustbowl, and Mexico seeking work as farm laborers. Legacy communities grew close to the farms where workers labored, and over time, these com-

munities have become stable, year-round residential areas, but without the investment to make them healthy and sustainable. Nearly 100,000 people live in legacy communities. The geographic isolation of these places means that they cannot as readily rely on shared service provisions and the typically small population size means that privately funded infrastructure investment is cost prohibitive because of a lack of economies of scale. Leveraging targeted public funding is a necessity in legacy communities.

The graph below illustrates the distribution of disadvantaged unincorporated communities by population range, number of communities in each population range, and their spatial relationship to incorporated areas (Island / Fringe / Legacy). A majority (81 percent) of these communities are small—fewer than 500 residents. While only 12 communities have populations greater than 5,000, these 12 communities make up 45 percent of the total DUC population across the valley.

Number of Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities by Type and Population
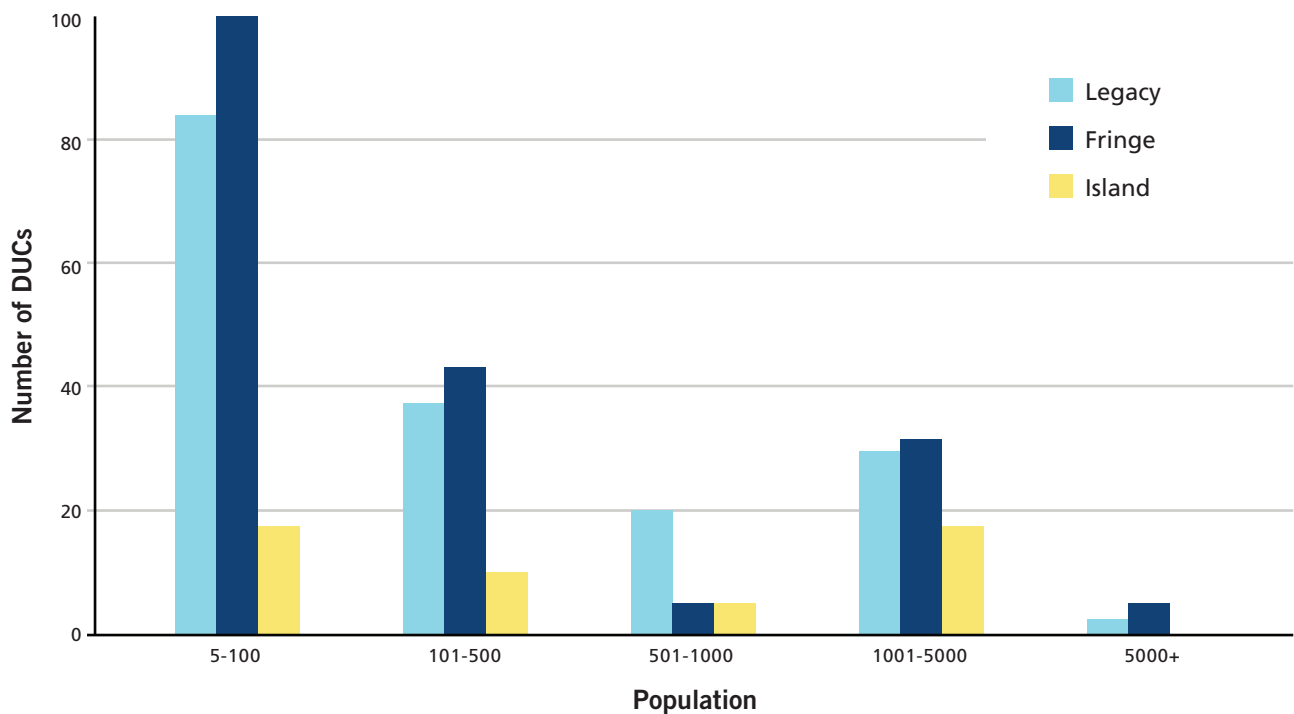
The methods tended to underestimate population size in very small rural communities. One hundred and thirty-five of the 525 communities have an estimated population of less than five people and are not displayed here.

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

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10 Definition in part from the Senate Bill No. 244.

Next Steps

Cities and counties cannot plan for, and serve, communities that they do not even know exist. Administrators and elected officials must understand the scale and scope of issues within their jurisdiction. This research will help build their understanding of the scope of the issues impacting unincorporated communities and will support local and regional efforts to plan for infrastructure improvements and more coherent, sustainable land uses. The Community Equity Initiative will continue hosting sessions where community members and organizations can help verify and name places on maps identified by this methodology.

The data used for this first run of the model are limited because the census has historically undercounted minority and rural populations. Also, the income data are from 2000, which are dated and do not reflect changes brought by the most recent recession. The CEI will be updating its research with more recent American Community Survey data and 2010 U.S. census data. It is also adding demographic data such as median age, length and type of housing tenure, education, and more. We are in the process of undertaking additional investigation to better understand the breadth and depth of challenges that these communities face.

The next phase of mapping will include additional "ground-truthing" with residents, further exploration of the demographics of these communities, and gathering and analysis of information about the quality of infrastructure, amenities, and services. This foundational mapping will allow us to better describe potential infrastructure challenges, disparities in investments, and trends in population over time beyond the race and income data included here. The next phase of this work, for example, may draw closer parallels between race and income and infrastructure investment per capita.

The initiative will continue to share this information with community organizations and groups who find it useful. For example, it is currently sharing its findings with community organizations and researchers who are studying how nitrate contamination in groundwater is affecting communities in the San Joaquin Valley and across California. The pairing of these data sets will add dimension to both the water quality data and the mapping of disadvantaged communities. A clearer picture should emerge of the types of communities that do not have healthy drinking water, along with increased understanding about the water quality in underserved communities. This dual approach will inform the decision-making process around setting priorities for allocating resources to areas in need.

This mapping has also sparked interest in collecting and sharing data about unincorporated areas more broadly, including access to parks, air quality data, and environmental hazards. Ultimately, the Community Equity Initiative is committed to using the information that is gathered to empower residents in California and elsewhere as advocates for better, healthier communities.

For more information about the work of the Community Equity Initiative, our successes, and our research, visit: **www.PolicyLink.org/communityequityinitiative** or **www.crla.org/node/30**. You may also contact Chione Flegal at PolicyLink by email at chione@policylink.org or Phoebe Seaton at California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. by email at **pseaton@crla.org**.

Appendix 1: Detailed Table of Demographic Analysis

The following tables compare demographics for counties, cities, Census Designated Places, and disadvantaged unincorporated communities by county. The data have been summarized in preceding charts but are presented here more comprehensively and include:

- **Total population and number** of households

- **Population and percentage** of people of color (people of color defined as the sum of all racial and ethnic groups that are not white or non-Hispanic white)

- **Total and percentage** of low-income households (households with income less than $34,999 annually)

Countywide Estimates

COUNTY	County Population	Unincorporated Population	Percentage of County Population Living in Unincorporated Areas
FRESNO	799,407	170,191	21%
KERN	661,645	266,821	40%
KINGS	129,461	37,369	29%
MADERA	123,109	69,074	56%
MERCED	210,554	78,738	37%
SAN JOAQUIN	563,598	129,891	23%
STANISLAUS	446,997	122,107	27%
TULARE	368,021	142,510	39%
COUNTIES	3,302,792	1,016,701	31%

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

Countywide Estimates

COUNTY	Population People of Color	Percentage of Countywide Population that are People of Color	Total People of Color Living in Unincorporated Areas	Percentage of Unincorporated Population that are People of Color
FRESNO	481,885	60%	85,749	50%
KERN	334,455	51%	114,373	43%
KINGS	75,644	58%	20,498	55%
MADERA	65,718	53%	28,676	42%
MERCED	124,969	59%	43,032	55%
SAN JOAQUIN	296,596	53%	56,544	44%
STANISLAUS	190,996	43%	54,617	45%
TULARE	214,105	58%	87,786	62%
COUNTIES	1,784,368	54%	491,275	48%

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

Countywide Estimates

COUNTY	Total Households in County	Households in Unincorporated Areas	Total Low-Income Households in County (Earning <$34,999)	Percentage of Households in Counties that are Low Income
FRESNO	253,304	72,329	127,527	50%
KERN	208,786	92,571	103,134	49%
KINGS	34,429	10,851	16,810	49%
MADERA	36,207	24,862	17,373	48%
MERCED	63,933	28,399	31,485	49%
SAN JOAQUIN	181,612	50,273	77,225	43%
STANISLAUS	145,253	42,784	63,291	44%
TULARE	110,356	50,336	56,563	51%
COUNTIES	1,033,880	372,405	493,408	48%

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

Citywide Estimates

COUNTY	Total City Population	Total Population People of Color in Cities	Percentage of City Population that are People of Color	Total Household in Cities	Estimated Total Households in Cities that are Low Income	Percentage of Households in Cities that are Low Income
FRESNO	629,216	396,136	63%	200,517	104,841	52%
KERN	394,817	220,079	56%	122,530	57,754	47%
KINGS	92,092	55,146	60%	25,032	11,928	48%
MADERA	54,035	37,042	69%	14,558	8,146	56%
MERCED	131,816	81,937	62%	40,999	20,673	50%
SAN JOAQUIN	433,707	240,052	55%	141,336	60,062	43%
STANISLAUS	324,890	136,379	42%	112,620	48,395	43%
TULARE	225,511	126,319	56%	70,442	34,491	49%
COUNTIES	2,286,084	1,293,090	57%	728,034	346,290	48%

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

Census Designated Places (CDPs)

COUNTY	Total CDP population	Population People of Color in CDPs	Percentage of CDP Population that are People of Color	Total Households in CDPs	Total Low-income Households in CDPs (Earning < $34,999)	Percentage of Households in CDPs that are Low Income
FRESNO	18,793	10,270	55%	5,956	3,005	51%
KERN	128,136	40,877	32%	45,380	23,758	52%
KINGS	13,453	8,159	61%	3,334	1,992	60%
MADERA	26,657	11,229	42%	8,466	3,034	36%
MERCED	29,175	19,533	67%	8,042	4,259	53%
SAN JOAQUIN	52,430	26,410	50%	16,350	7,602	47%
STANISLAUS	52,430	27,794	53%	14,900	6,801	46%
TULARE	56,125	45,154	80%	14,161	9,482	67%
COUNTIES	377,144	189,426	50%	116,589	59,933	51%

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities (DUCs)

COUNTY	Number of Disadvantaged Unincorporated Areas (DUCs)	Estimated Population in DUCs	Percentage of Countywide Population Living in DUCs	Percentage of Population in Unincorporated Areas Living in DUCs
FRESNO	93	27,704	2%	9%
KERN	105	130,388	2%	5%
KINGS	24	7,494	11%	39%
MADERA	44	8,558	12%	21%
MERCED	47	20,861	15%	21%
SAN JOAQUIN	51	29,203	14%	61%
STANISLAUS	47	31,127	7%	26%
TULARE	114	54,775	4%	10%
COUNTIES	525	310,230	9%	1%

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

Disadvantaged Unincorporated Communities (DUCs)

COUNTY	People of Color in DUCs	Percentage People of Color Countywide Living in DUCs	Percentage of DUC Population that are People of Color	Estimated Total households in DUCs	Estimated Total Low-Income Households in DUCs (Earning < $34,999)	Percentage of Households in DUCs that are Low Income
FRESNO	18,439	6%	67%	7,457	4,648	62%
KERN	71,561	39%	55%	28,820	17,715	66%
KINGS	5,561	10%	74%	458	276	60%
MADERA	5,106	13%	60%	983	598	61%
MERCED	14,926	17%	72%	3,001	1,814	60%
SAN JOAQUIN	18,433	10%	63%	7,456	4,627	62%
STANISLAUS	21,249	16%	68%	6,240	3,622	58%
TULARE	45,080	26%	82%	5,701	3,815	67%
COUNTIES	200,355	17%	65%	58,117	37,113	64%

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

Appendix 2: County Map Gallery

The following maps illustrate the location and approximate population of disadvantaged unincorporated communities (DUCs) in each of the eight counties of the San Joaquin Valley. Tables associated with the maps show the estimated population by type of community (island, legacy, or fringe). Each county is accompanied by a list of the names of some DUCs.
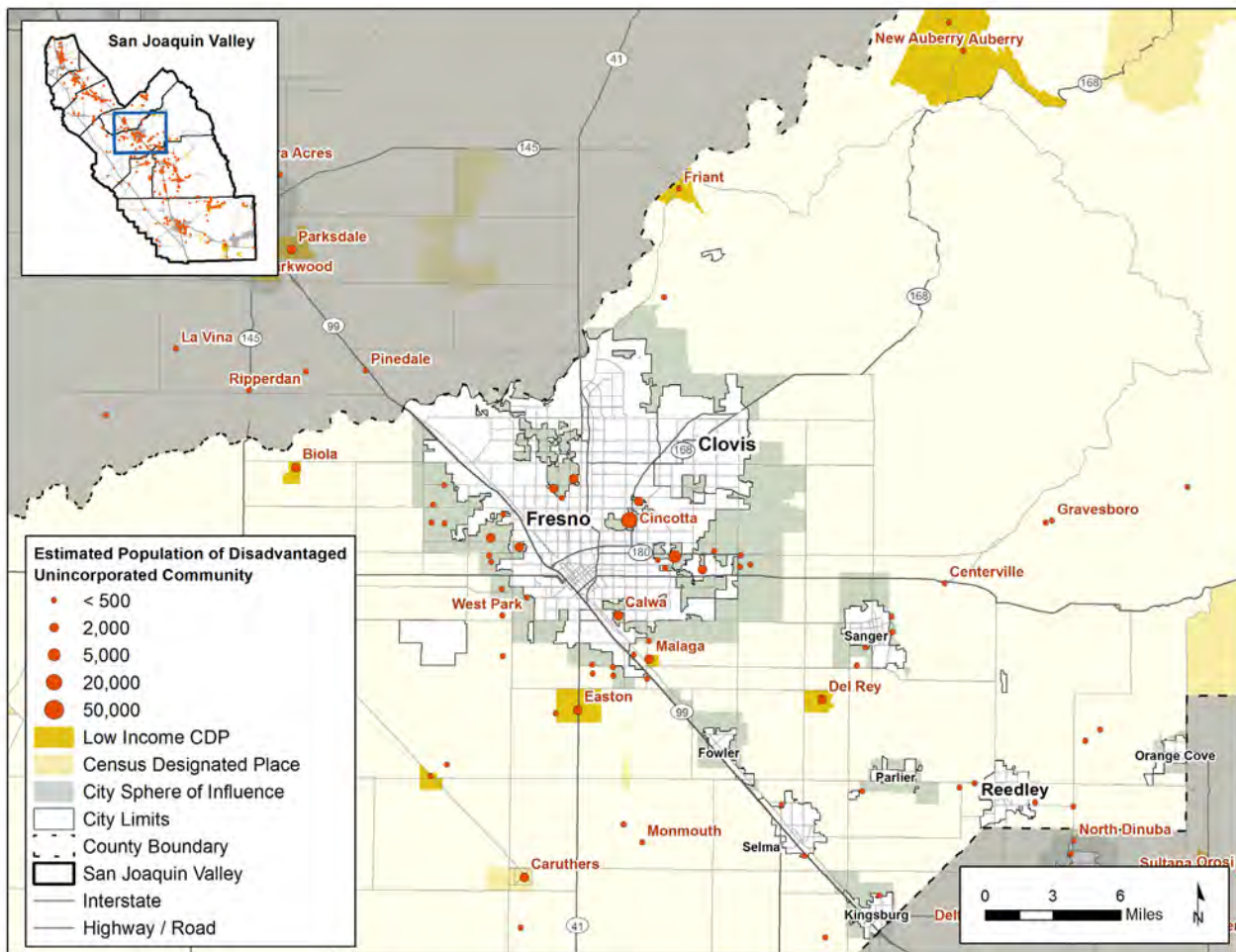
Fresno County (West)
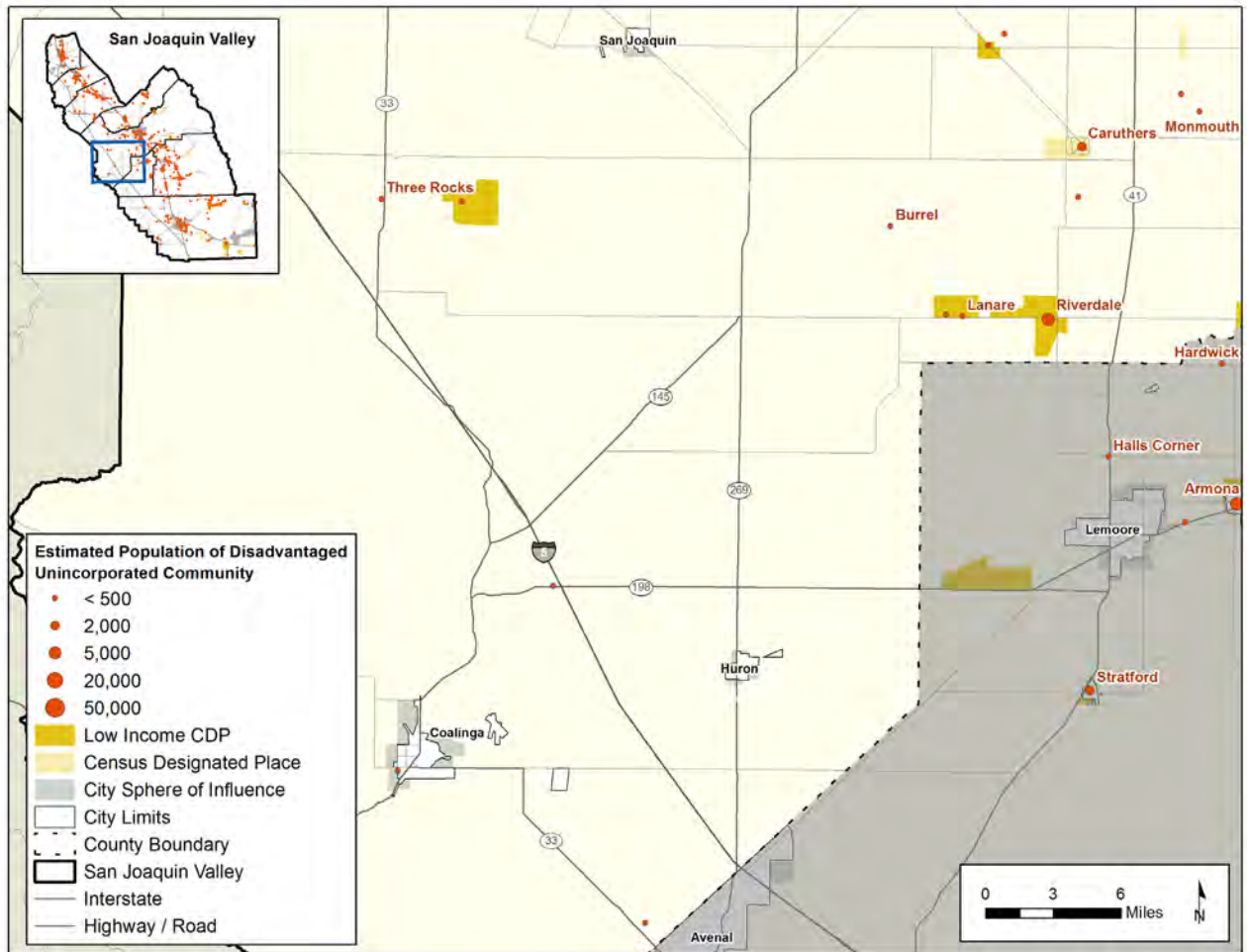
Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

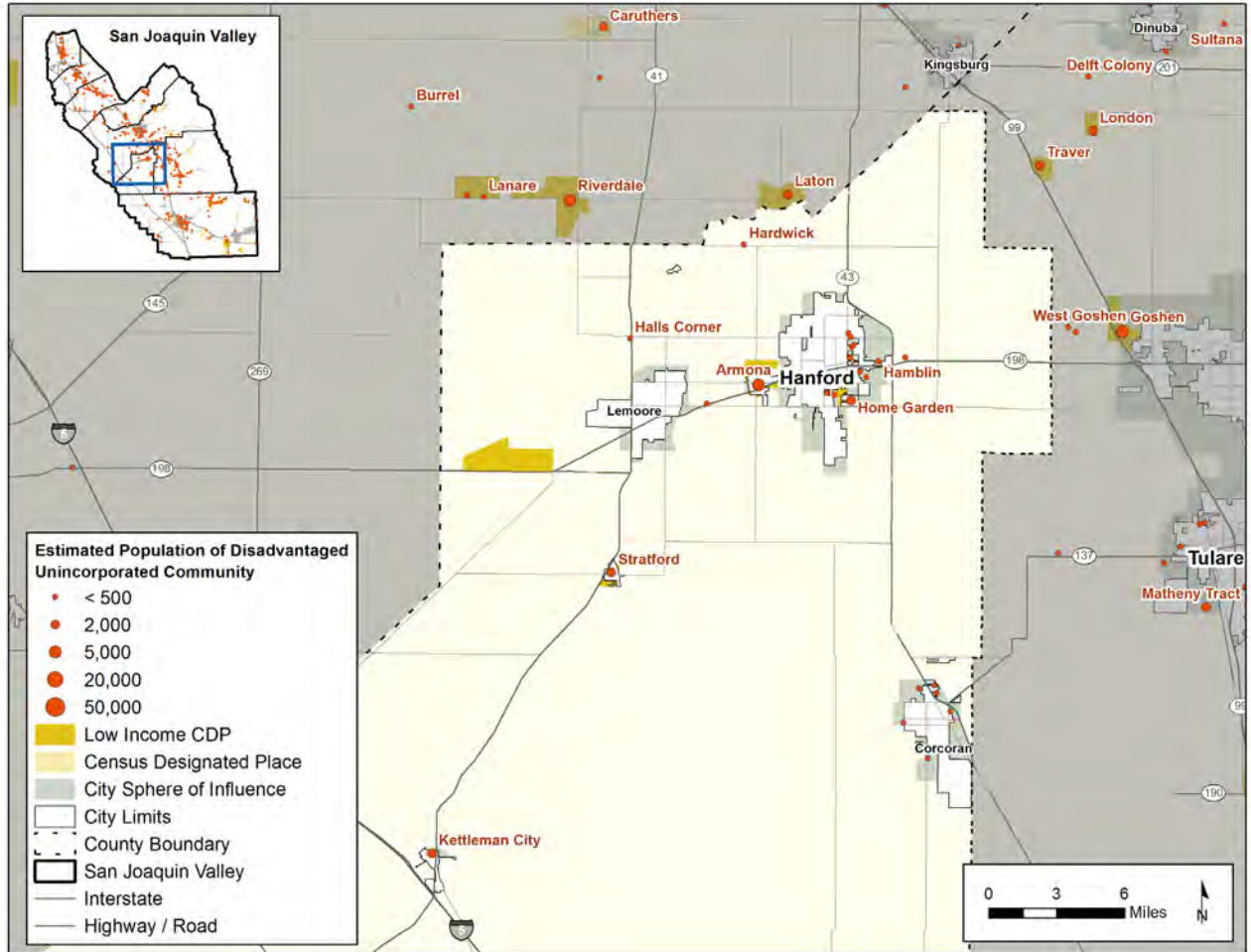| FRESNO COUNTY	Number of DUCs	Estimated Total Population
Total	**93**	**27, 704**
Fringe	34	3,616
Legacy	49	8,156
Island	10	15,932

Fresno County (Central)

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

DUCs with commonly recognized names in Fresno County:

Auberry	Del Rey	Laton
Biola	Del Rio	Malaga
Burrel	Dos Palos	Miramonte
Calwa	Easton	Monmouth
Caruthers	Friant	New Auberry
Centerville	Granz (historical)	Riverdale
Cincotta	Gravesboro	Three Rocks
Date Street	Lanare	West Park

Kern County (West)
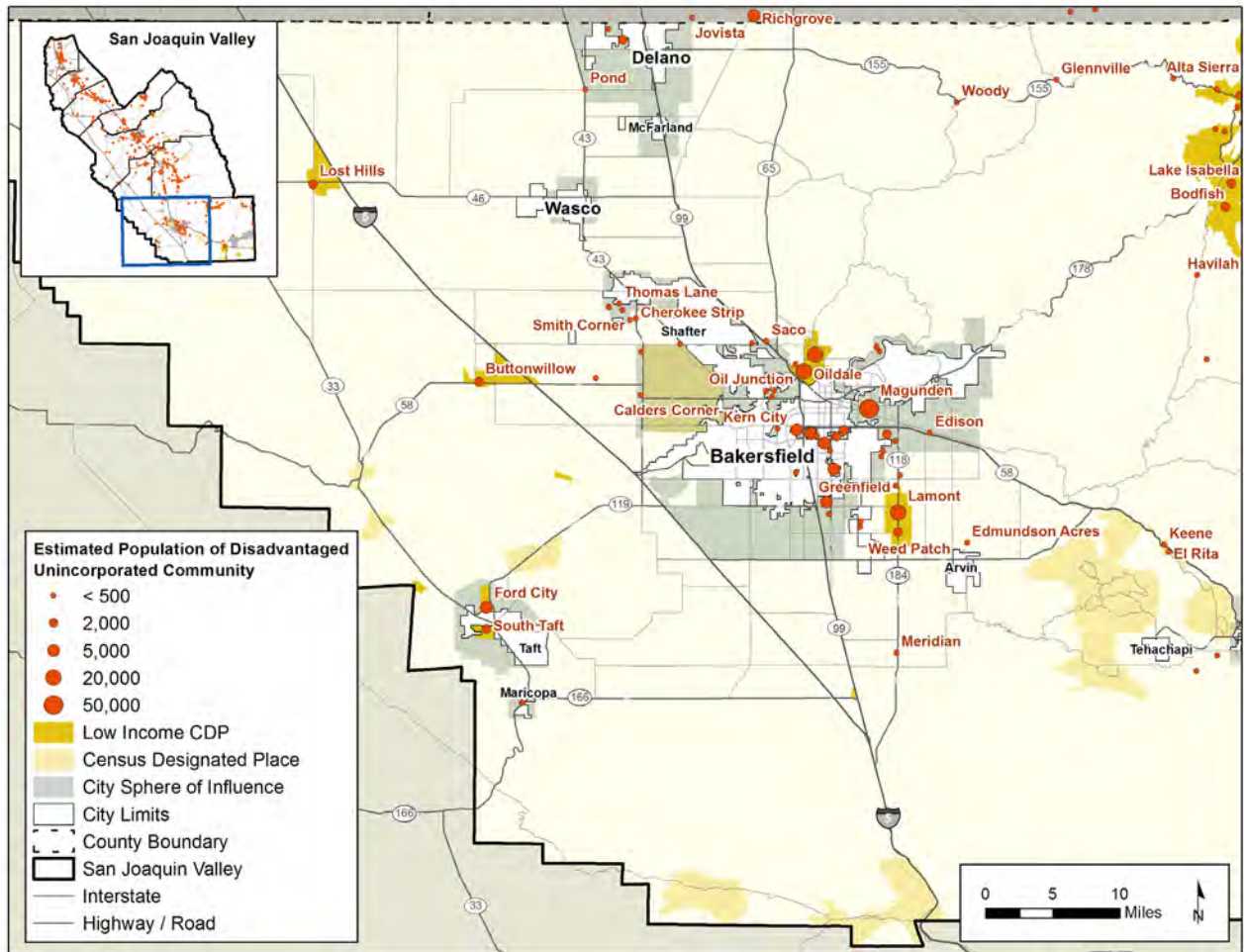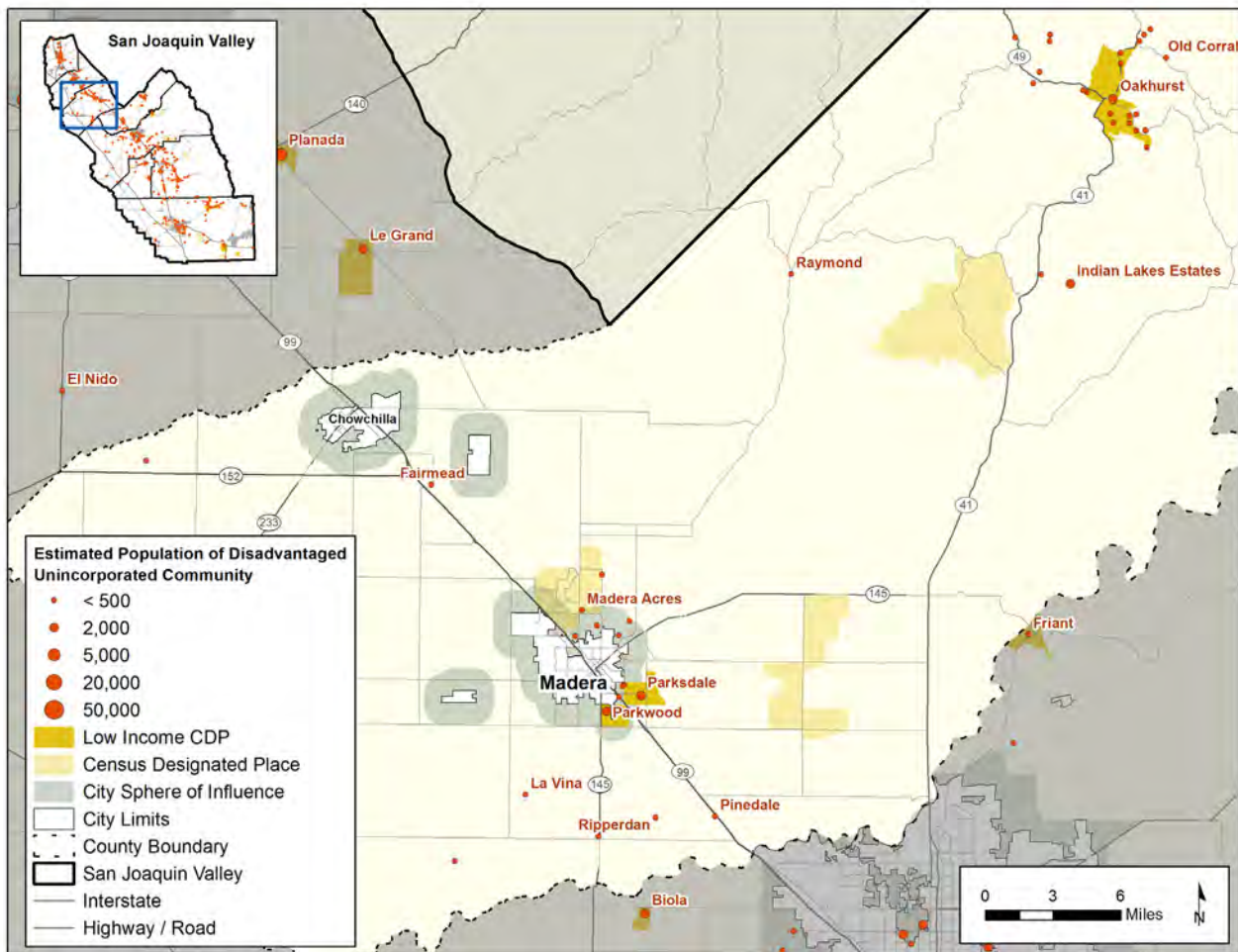

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

KERN COUNTY	Number of DUCs	Estimated Total Population
Total	**105**	**130,388**
Fringe	31	79,302
Legacy	64	33,083
Island	10	18,003

Kern County (East)
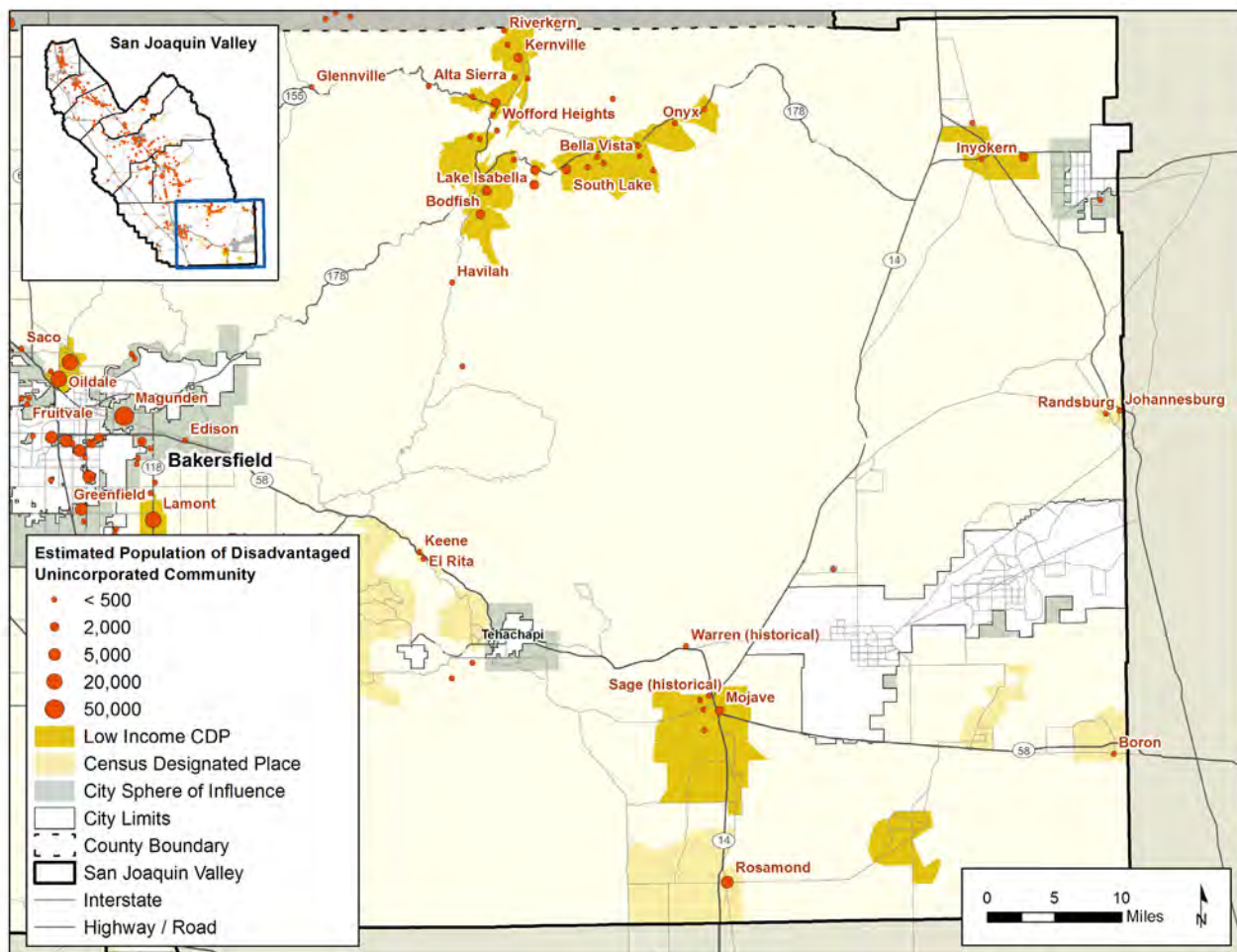
Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

DUCs with commonly recognized names in Kern County:

|			
Alta Sierra	Fuller Acres	Magunden	Saco
Bella Vista	Glennville	Mayfair	Sage (historical)
Bodfish	Greenfield	Meridian	Smith Corner
Boron	Havilah	Mexican Colony	South Lake
Buttonwillow	Inyokern	Mojave	South Taft
Calders Corner	Johannesburg	Mountain Mesa	Squirrel Mountain Valley
Cherokee Strip	Keene	Oil Junction	Thomas Lane
Crome-Heights Corner	Kern City	Oildale	Warren (historical)
Edison	Kernville	Onyx	Weed Patch
Edmundson Acres	Lake Isabella	Pond	Weed Patch Highway
El Rita	Lamont	Randsburg	Wofford Heights
Ford City	Lonsmith	Riverkern	Woody
Fruitvale	Lost Hills	Rosamond	

Kings County

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

KINGS COUNTY	Number of DUCs	Estimated Total Population
Total	**24**	**7,494**
Fringe	20	7,428
Legacy	4	66
Island	0	0

DUCs with commonly recognized names in Kings County:

Armona	Hamblin	Home Garden	Stratford
Halls Corner	Hardwick	Kettleman City	

Madera County

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

MADERA COUNTY	Number of DUCs	Estimated Total Population
Total	**44**	**8,558**
Fringe	10	3,074
Legacy	54	5,484
Island	0	0

DUCs with commonly recognized names in Madera County:

Fairmead

Indian Lakes Estates

La Vina

Madera Acres

Oakhurst

Old Corral

Parksdale

Parkwood

Pinedale

Raymond

Ripperdan
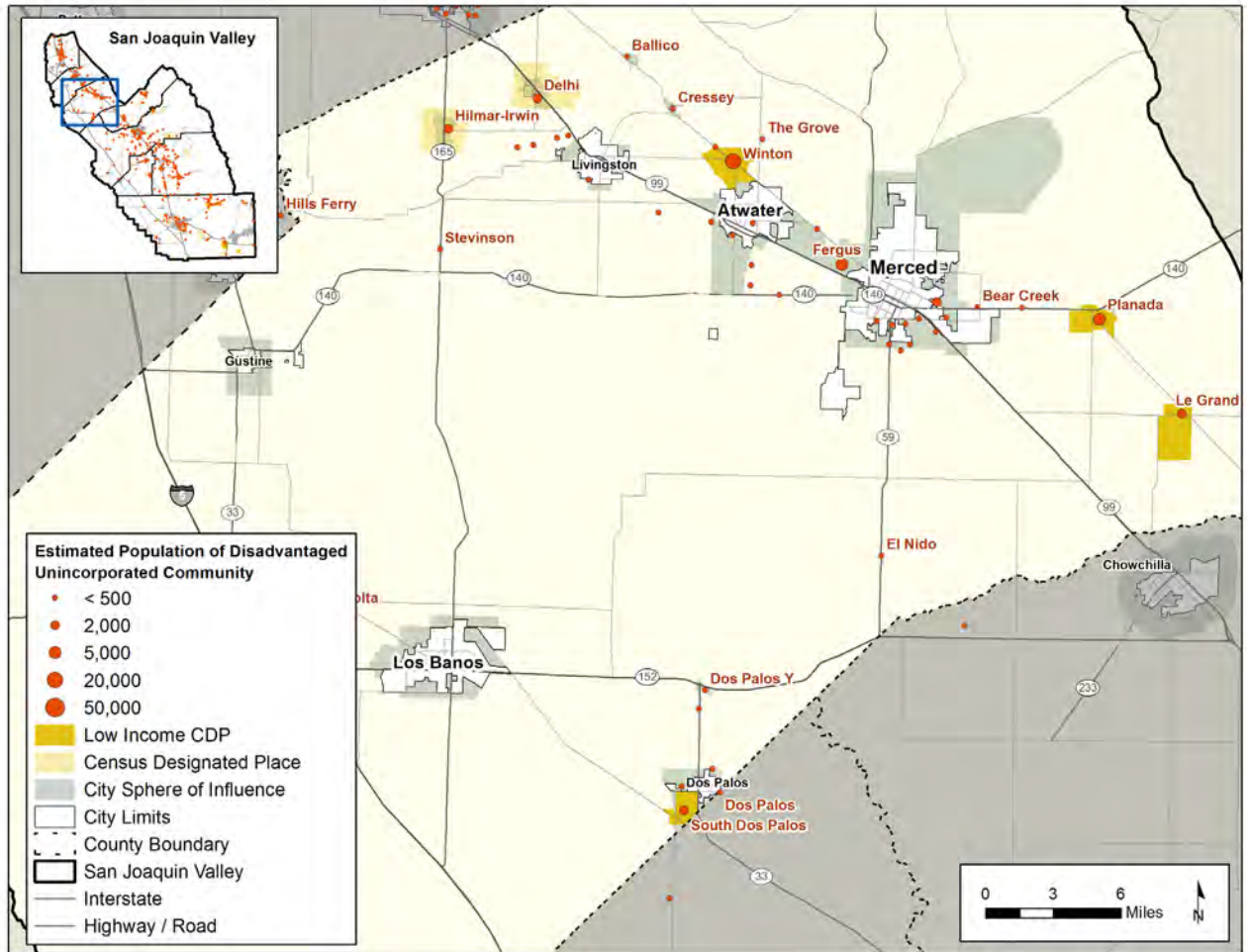
Merced County

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

MERCED COUNTY	Number of DUCs	Estimated Total Population
Total	**47**	**20,861**
Fringe	29	20,537
Legacy	17	251
Island	1	73

DUCs with commonly recognized names in Merced County:

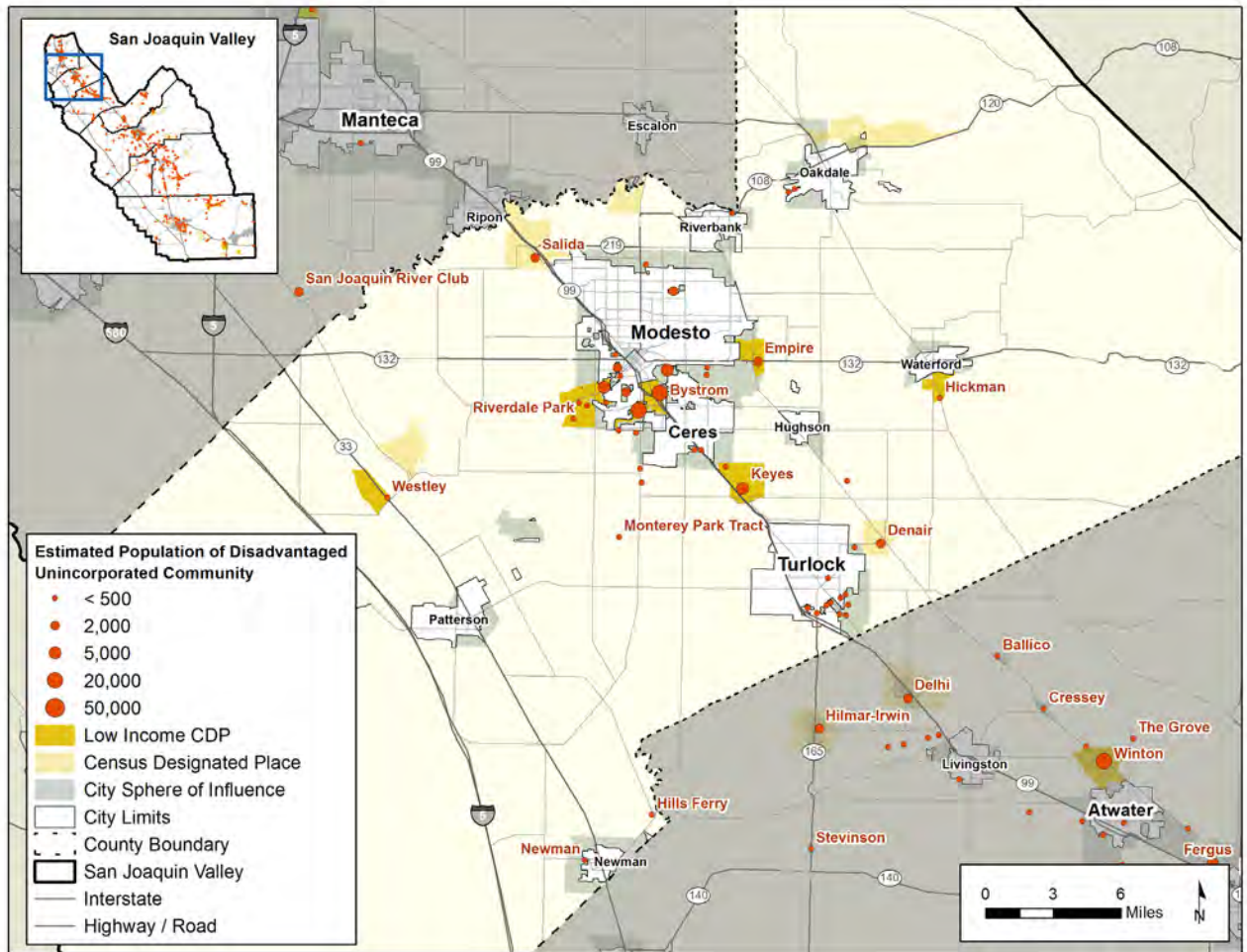|					
Ballico	Delhi	Fergus	Planada	South Dos Palos	Volta
Bear Creek	Dos Palos Y	Hilmar-Irwin	Santa Nella Village	Stevinson	Winton
Cressey	El Nido	Le Grand	Snelling	The Grove	

San Joaquin County
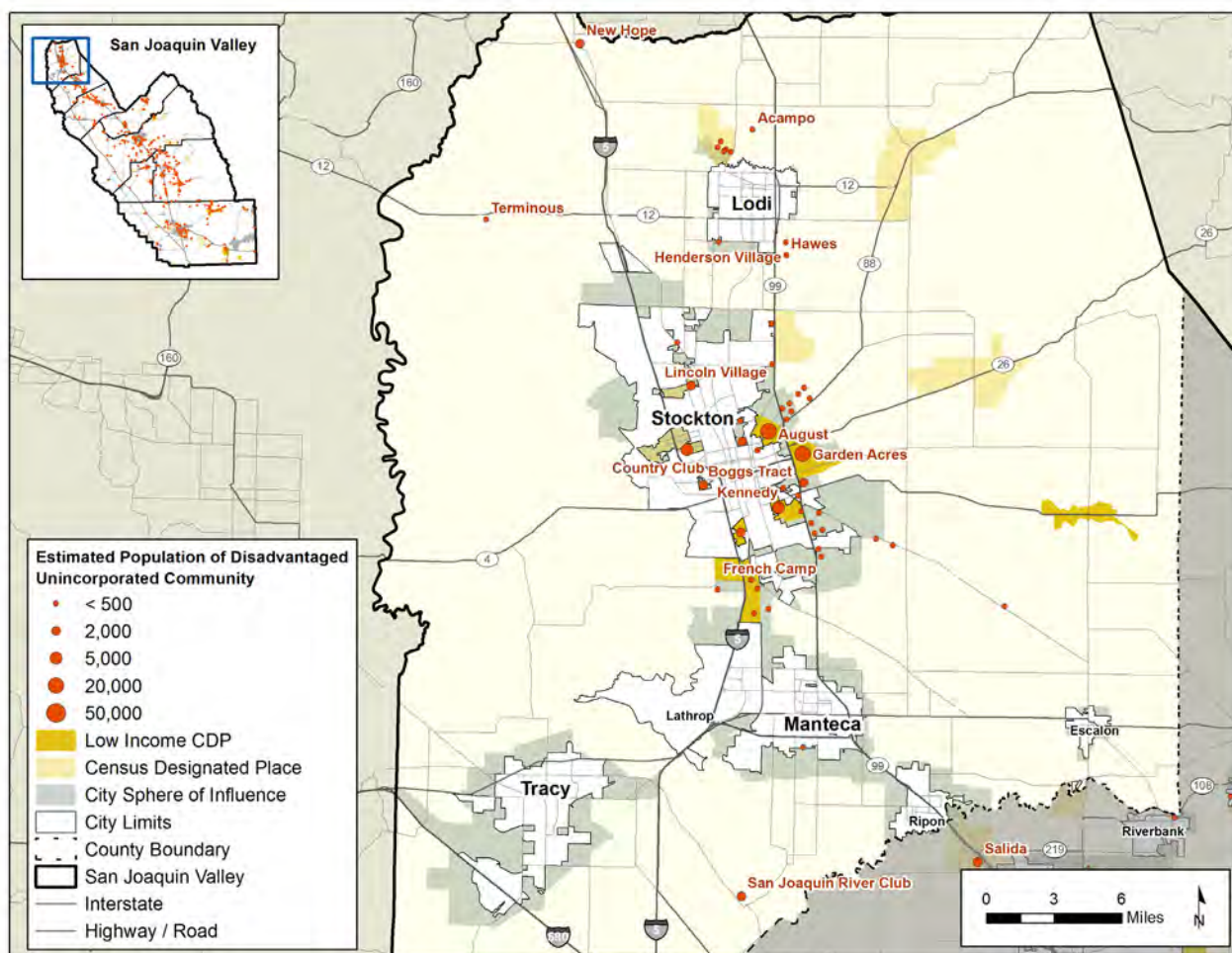
Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY	Number of DUCs	Estimated Total Population
Total	51	29,203
Fringe	26	21,678
Legacy	17	1,705
Island	8	5,820

DUCs with commonly recognized names in San Joaquin County:

Acampo
August
Boggs Tract
Country Club

El Pinal
French Camp
Garden Acres
Hawes

Henderson Village
Kennedy
Lincoln Village
New Hope

San Joaquin River Club
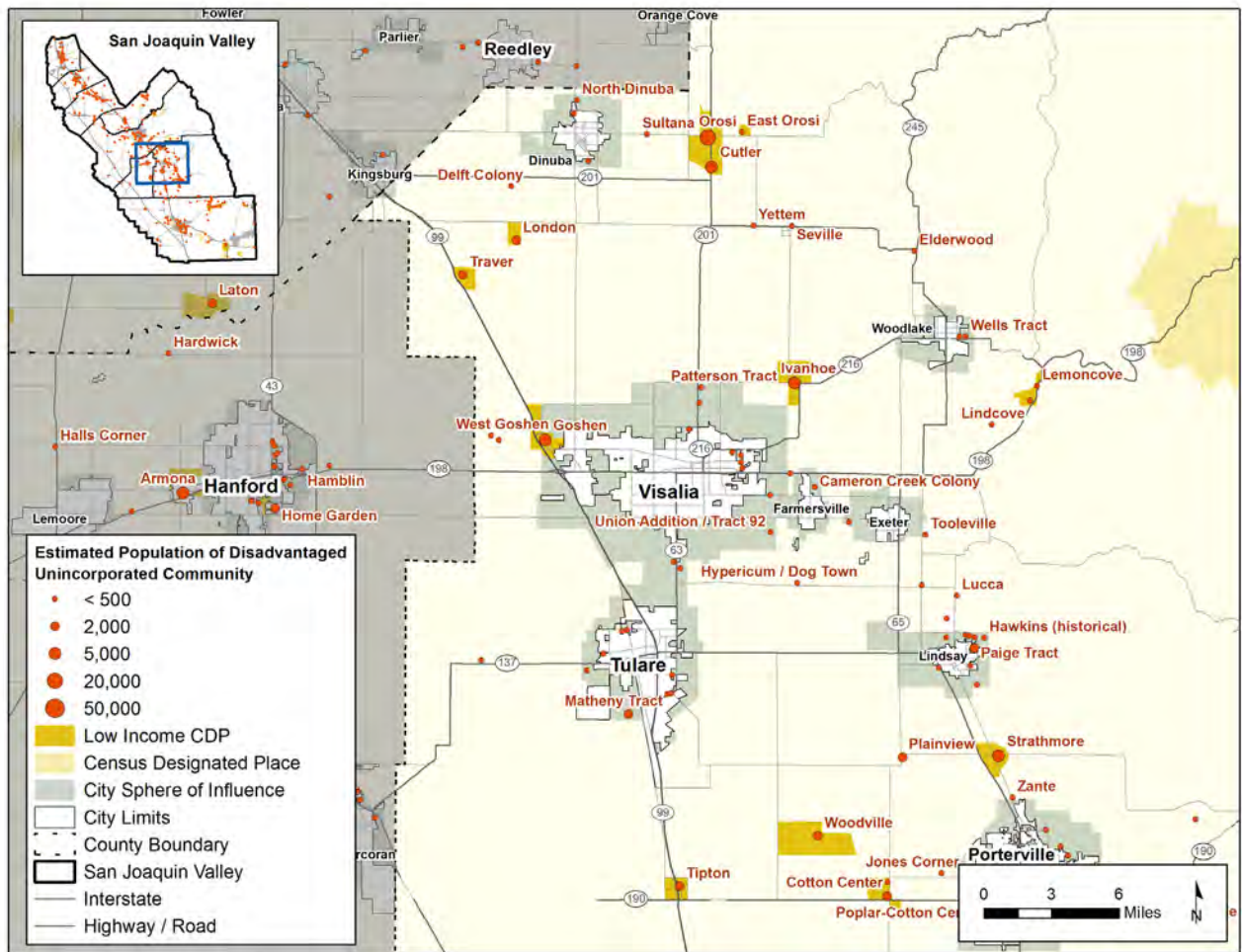Terminous

Stanislaus County

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

STANISLAUS COUNTY	Number of DUCs	Estimated Total Population
Total	**47**	**31,247**
Fringe	27	24,569
Legacy	13	4,768
Island	7	1,910

DUCs with commonly recognized names in Stanislaus County:

|			
Bystrom	Garden	Monterey Park Tract	Salida
Denair	Hickman	Newman	Shackelford
Don Pedro area	Hills Ferry	Riverdale Park	Westley
Empire	Keyes	Riverside	

Tulare County (North)

Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

TULARE COUNTY	Number of DUCs	Estimated Total Population
Total	**114**	**54,775**
Fringe	53	12,168
Legacy	53	38,846
Island	8	3,761

Tulare County (South)
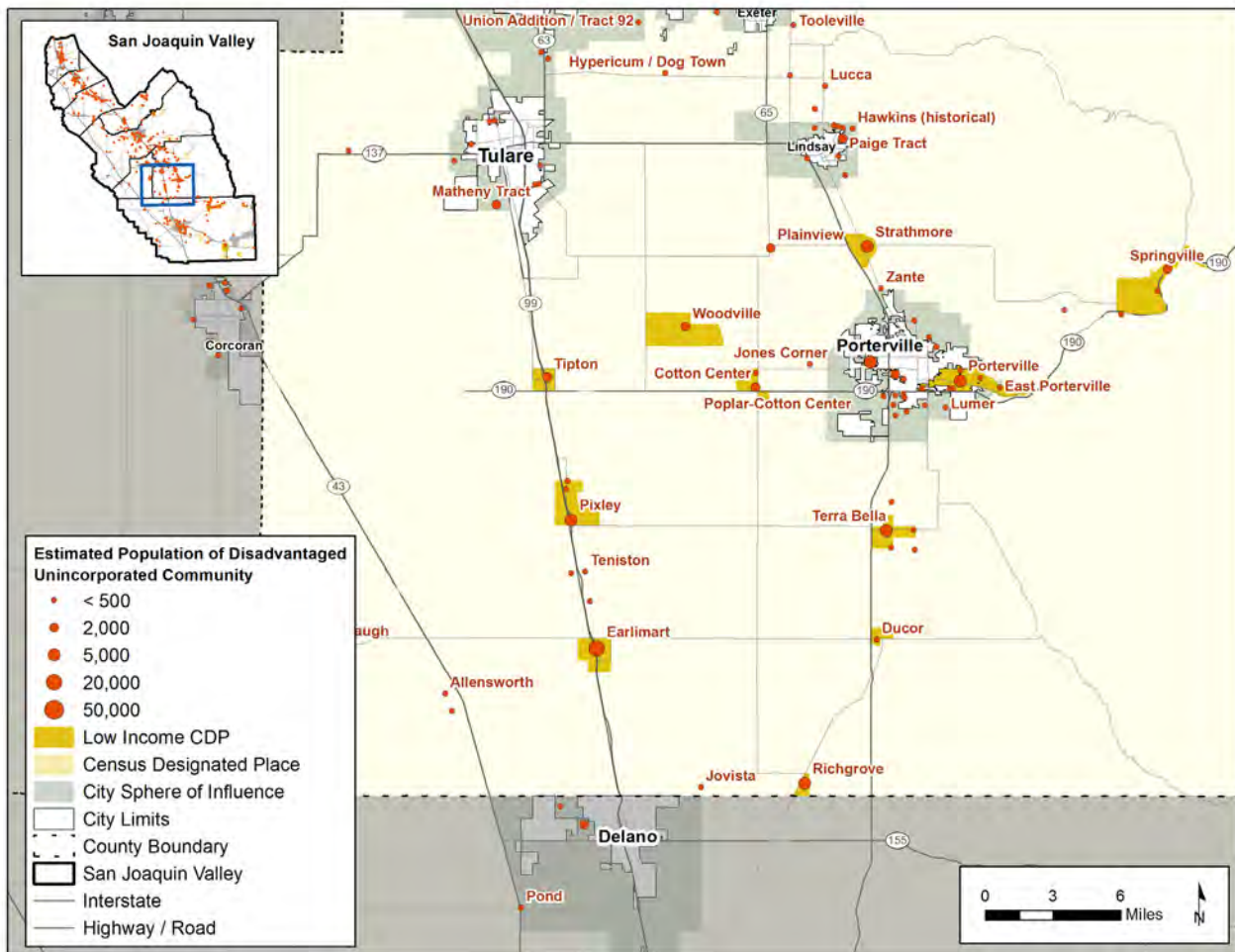
Source: PolicyLink analysis of 2000 U.S. census and county parcel and boundary data.

DUCs with commonly recognized names in Tulare County:

Allensworth	Hypericum / Dog Town	Paige Tract	Terra Bella
Alpaugh	Idlewild	Patterson Tract	Tipton
Cameron Creek Colony	Ivanhoe	Pixley	Tooleville
Cotton Center	Jones Corner	Plainview	Traver
Cutler	Jovista	Plano	Union Addition / Tract 92
Delft Colony	Lemoncove	Poplar-Cotton Center	Wells Tract
Ducor	Lindcove	Porterville	West Goshen
Earlimart	London	Richgrove	Woodville
East Orosi	Lucca	Seville	Yettem
East Porterville	Lumer	Springville	Zante
Elderwood	Matheny Tract	Strathmore	
Goshen	North Dinuba	Sultana	
Hawkins (historical)	Orosi	Teniston	

Authors' Biographies

Chione Flegal is an associate director with PolicyLink. She works to ensure that infrastructure and land use policy promote economic, social, and environmental equity. She leads the organization's policy work in California, as well as efforts to address disparities faced by low-income unincorporated communities.

Solana Rice is a senior associate with PolicyLink. As a researcher and policy advocate, she works to advance opportunity for low-income communities and communities of color by promoting equitable solutions to community development through wealth building, small business development, and other economically focused strategies.

Jake Mann is a temporary research assistant with PolicyLink supporting the mapping and analysis for the Community Equity Initiative.

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Lifting Up What Works®

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