

Wing Phat Supermarket and its Relation to Tract 24

Cities 185
Exercise Three
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Wing Phat Supermarket, a thriving Asian grocery, was a vacant lot a little over a year and a half ago. Located between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets on Washington Avenue, Wing Phat is part of a small complex of stores targeting a mostly Asian-American clientele. The complex of stores includes a furniture store, a clothing boutique, a beauty salon, three Asian restaurants, a music store, a currency exchange office, and an immigration and naturalization services office. The Wing Phat Supermarket is owned by a corporation. The large parking lot in front of the mall implies that customers come from further than the South Philadelphia area to shop. A retractable barbed wire fence surrounds the parking lot and shopping complex area, suggesting that the store owners seek protection from the immediate surroundings.

Part One

The shopping complex which contains the Wing Phat Supermarket is an “L-shaped” structure of non-descript architectural style. The exterior of the building is not much more than a concrete cube with no windows except along the storefront. Of the ten stores in the complex, Wing Phat is not only the largest but also the only store with its own direct entrance from the parking lot. Running the length of the building is a vinyl sign with Wing Phat Supermarket in both English and Cantonese writing. Shopping carts clutter the entrance to Wing Phat and there are merchandise advertisements posted in all the windows.

Upon entering Wing Phat, one is immediately confronted with a unique odor which gets progressively stronger as one ventures further into the store. Although there is an entrance straight from the parking lot, the eight checkout aisles are directly in front of the door and inhibit entrance to the store. In order to access the shopping aisles, one must essentially exit the store into the hallway and reenter the store through another doorway. While perhaps the area immediately to one’s left upon entering the store could be the potential passageway, it is used as a storage space for cases and cases of merchandise.

Having the only exterior door in the complex sets Wing Phat at an advantage and they should utilize it better by having a direct passageway into the body of the store.

The interior of Wing Phat is not aesthetically pleasing. A supermarket should be a pleasant place to shop, thus inducing people to spend more time and money there. However, this is not the case at Wing Phat. The interior lighting is florescent and gives the walls a green tint. The ceiling is made of paneling that is falling apart in places and stained in others due to a leaking roof. After moving beyond the checkout aisles, there are seven unlabeled aisles of mainly imported products, a vast fresh seafood section which includes live seafood, a large meat cooler, a medicine counter, and a small prepared meats counter. Of the seven aisles, five were dried goods, containing foods ranging from MSG to imported rice vinegar, one displayed housewares, and one was filled with fresh produce. The aisle layout of Wing Phat is not unlike that of any other major supermarket, it is the products for sale which differentiate it.

Although the dried goods aisle contains mostly imported Asian merchandise, there are also several American-made products located in this section of the store. These include cases of Coca-Cola, four different brand name cereals, brand name peanut butter, and Ovaltine. Items in the housewares aisle ranged from plastic soup spoons and paper lanterns to straw hats. All the merchandise in this aisle was imported. The produce aisle had a mixture of imported and local produce. There were Asian pears and coconuts alongside typical American items such as lettuce and onions. It was very interesting to note that in all of the aisles the food was shelved or stacked in bulk. There were cases of pears stacked on top of each other in the produce aisle just as there were numerous boxes of MSG arranged in the dry goods aisle. We were told there were several reasons for the bulk packaging. The majority of goods being sold in Wing Phat are imported and arrive in mass quantities from overseas. The supermarket does not have much additional storage space for the excess goods, so large quantities of goods are stocked on shelves regardless of

demand. This need to stock in bulk also has to do with the fact that many of Wing Phat's customers travel from afar to stock up on foods they cannot find in their local grocery.

The seafood and butcher area is located at the rear of the store. In addition to the large quantity of frozen seafood, Wing Phat carries a vast selection of live seafood. This includes fish, eels, lobster, turtles, frogs, and conch. The majority of the supermarket staff was located in this section. Several were taking orders behind the counter and several were on ladders scooping fish out of the tanks while others were milling about the delivery entrance that is also located at the rear of the store. This is the section of the store which contained the most customers as well. Not surprisingly, the odor that was prevalent all over the store was concentrated in this area.

The rest of Wing Phat's staff was located in the prepared food section which also served as a cooking area. Behind the counter hung a whole cooked pig and about a dozen cooked ducks, underneath which was a hot plate which contained trays of cooked vegetables, noodles, and a meat dish.

Next to Wing Phat's entrance from the complex hallway stands a medicine counter. This contains purely foreign products, none of which seemed to be in high demand. There was no staff member regularly situated there.

Despite the fact that Wing Phat is organized like any other supermarket, its standards for cleanliness are noticeably different. Almost immediately, we observed trash intermingled with the products. A Heineken bottle lay in the housewares aisle, and an empty pack of cigarettes had been thrown into a huge ceramic pot containing bagged spices. These pieces of garbage had probably gone unnoticed in Wing Phat for some time and were unmoved each time we visited.

In addition to the trash problem, many of Wing Phat's products had been tampered with. In the tea section there were many boxes of tea open and missing tea bags. It is hard to believe that several boxes would be tampered with each day, it seems more probable that they had accumulated over a longer period of time and gone unnoticed by the supermarket

staff. On Saturday, the busiest shopping day of the week for Wing Phat, we noticed that there was potential for several accidents. In one aisle there appeared to be a leak of some sort coming from a freezer case which spanned the entire aisle and went uncleaned for several hours. A customer easily could have slipped and been injured. In another aisle, a whole bag of coffee beans had spilled onto the floor and scattered all along the aisle. In addition, a box of ginseng bottles fell and broke. The box remained on the shelf for more than a week, exposing shattered glass.

Along with the untidy aspects of the store which could potentially cause accidents, there were other questions of hygiene. In the cooked meats section there was a delivery boy smoking a cigarette. This seems to violate health codes for an establishment selling food products. Several workers were eating behind the counters during lunch time, a site which we were surprised to see. While we do not know what normal standards of air circulation are, we felt that the air was stale and that there could have been better ventilation.

Due to the lack of storage space, there were boxes everywhere, cluttering the floor at the end of each aisle and in some cases in the aisle. In front of one of the checkout counters there were cases of eggs sitting unrefrigerated, despite the label on the box stating "Keep Refrigerated". When questioned about the eggs, a Wing Phat employee replied that the temperature of the supermarket during the winter months was cool enough for the eggs not to be refrigerated.

Upon visiting Wing Phat for the second time, we were approached by a young Asian-American woman. When approached, we asked if it would be possible to talk to her about the establishment. She said that would not be a problem as long as we went and waited at the deserted medicine counter for her. Although not that friendly, she answered our basic questions but refused to give her name. She told us that the three languages spoken most frequently at Wing Phat on the loudspeaker are Cantonese, Mandarin, and English. She said that the majority of their products are imported from the East and

ordered in bulk. Their customers come from all over the city and some travel from as far as New Jersey to do their shopping at Wing Phat. Most of the customers buy in bulk because it is cheaper to do so, and because this allows them to come to Wing Phat less frequently. The majority of the customers come for specialty items to supplement their basic shopping needs. When asked about the American-made products, she said “milk is the only one that really sells, people do not come to buy cereal or peanut butter, but we carry these products in the hope of getting more different people.” She concurred that there was room for improvement in the way that the store was run and that they were certainly understaffed on the weekends.

After observing the Wing Phat Supermarket several times, we decided to compare it to another Asian market in the neighborhood. Hoa Binh Supermarket is six blocks to the east of Wing Phat on Washington Avenue. Although Hoa Binh has a large parking lot in front of the store, there is no barbed wire gate like there is at Wing Phat. Unlike Wing Phat, it is easy to access the shopping aisles from the entrance of Hoa Binh. The size of Hoa Binh is similar to Wing Phat, yet Hoa Binh feels much roomier because there are fewer cases and boxes on the floor. Instead, high shelves located close to the ceiling for storage space are utilized. The aisles at Hoa Binh are labeled with numbers and product types in three different languages. In many cases the labels did not match the products in the aisles, suggesting a recent reorganization of the store. Hoa Binh offered live seafood but the variety was not as extensive as Wing Phat’s. At the front of the store, Hoa Binh had a medicine counter that looked to be more frequented than that of Wing Phat, and there was an employee working behind the counter. There was no trash lying around and the general appearance was one of tidiness and organization. Although there were more Asian specialty products in Hoa Binh than in a grocery store like Acme or Superfresh, they also carried many more typical American products than Wing Phat. One thing that Hoa Binh and Wing Phat both did that we found slightly disconcerting was the lack of refrigeration of

their eggs. At Hoa Binh, the label on the box reading “Keep Refrigerated” had been crossed out.

Part Two

The part of Washington Avenue where Wing Phat is located is sandwiched between two housing projects: Martin Luther King on Fourth Street and Washington Avenue and Southwark which spans the area between Third, Fifth, Washington Avenue, and Christian Street. Although this subsidized public housing is not full, the population is primarily African-American. Socially there is little interaction between each of the projects and the surrounding area. Based on information from an interview with Private Paul, a police man stationed at Wing Phat Plaza, we were told that there is little racial tension between these African-American communities and the Asian-American community. However, another policeman, Sgt. Katz explained that while the Asian-Americans are comfortable using the African-American neighborhood as their center of business, there is resentment on the part of the African-American community. They have expressed concerns about the Asian-American population taking away job opportunities. Wing Phat Plaza and the other two Asian shopping centers nearby are staffed almost entirely by Asians/Asian-Americans. In addition to this, much of the crime in this area results from the housing projects. Private Paul believed that residents of the housing projects venture into the surrounding communities to commit crimes and flee back to the haven of the projects. Few of the customers at Wing Phat or Hoa Binh were African-American. This is further evidence that while both Martin Luther King and Southwark are within walking distance of the Wing Phat Plaza, they coexist through separation.

African-Americans and Asian-Americans are not the only ethnic groups that play a role in the social dynamics of the area. The Italian market, two blocks away from the Wing Phat Plaza, has a significant impact on the area and acts as a sub-community. Shopping in

the market that stretches for several blocks down Ninth Street, one senses a unique atmosphere. It is an open air market that extends out into the streets, resulting in an overwhelming feeling of crowdedness and activity. We felt much more comfortable in the Italian market than we did in Wing Phat. This may have been due to the fact that we are White and the Italian Market is a more public space. The customers in the market represented many cultural backgrounds whereas Wing Phat is an Asian space. Additionally, the openness of the market along with the amount of interaction between workers and customers give the Italian market a friendly community feeling that is difficult to replicate.

Unlike the Italian Market, Wing Phat Plaza does not jump out at passers-by as an exciting place to shop. Wing Phat Plaza seems to simply be a shopping complex randomly placed on Washington Avenue. Taking a closer look, we realized that Wing Phat Plaza is actually one of the many sub-communities in South Philadelphia. From the moment we entered the complex, it was clear that it is an entity that is different and separated from the surrounding area in which it exists. One can only enter Wing Phat Plaza by passing through a barbed wire fence that encloses the parking lot. The barbed wire was most likely included in the plans of the center for security purposes, but it can also be seen as a symbol that conveys how separate and isolated the Asian shopping complex is from the rest of Washington Avenue.

Walking into Wing Phat as five Caucasian students, it was obvious that we were not typical customers. The typical customers are predominantly Asian and Asian-American. The Plaza draws people from many different places in the greater Philadelphia region. Most of the shoppers travel a good distance by car to get to Wing Phat Supermarket. We spoke with a male customer who came all the way from southern New Jersey and also interviewed a woman who lived close enough to bike. Because the majority of the customers are not locals, talking with them gave us insight into Wing Phat Plaza but very little information about the surrounding neighborhood.

We were interested in what it was about Wing Phat Plaza that brought people from every part of Philadelphia, and even New Jersey, to this small shopping complex in South Philadelphia. From talking to several customers, we found that most people shop at Wing Phat because there is a large selection, the food is fresh and the prices are low. One customer told us that it is significantly less expensive to buy Asian food in an Asian area. Wing Phat also carries a lot of specialty items that cannot be found in other supermarkets. Many customers fulfill their everyday needs at neighborhood grocery stores and then make a trip to Wing Phat for specialty items. Wing Phat caters primarily to the Asian and Asian-American communities (the closest ones being in South and South-West Philadelphia), they stock very few American products. Another customer mentioned that he shopped at Wing Phat because he knew the manager of the store and he liked the sense of community. The people who frequent this strip mall are connected through common backgrounds and needs.

The supermarket is the most important part of this Asian, multi-purpose, commercial center. It is the largest and busiest of stores in the complex and it occupies about half of the Plaza. From the visual perspective of the street, Wing Phat is also the most prominent store. Wing Phat is not only the focal point architecturally, but is also the place with the highest concentration of customers.

Wing Phat Supermarket and the entire area surrounding the Plaza can be characterized by the hybridization that occurs. The majority of the customers at Wing Phat share a Far Eastern background, however there are a small number of African-American, Caucasian, and Latino shoppers. The plaza attracts people from many socio-economic backgrounds many of whom drive to the area bringing business to the neighborhood.

Part Three

Police District Three, where Wing Phat is located, provides all services necessary for supporting the people who live there. Wing Phat there is not the only Asian grocery store in the area. Hoa Binh is located on Sixth Street and Washington Avenue and is Wing Phat's primary source of competition. The two groceries are very close in terms of location and size and they both have large parking lots. However, from our observations, Wing Phat clearly attracts a significantly larger group of customers. Hoa Binh recently renovated the store with the hope that upgrading the store would bring more customers. The store is immaculately clean, it is well organized, and the products are displayed well. However, Hoa Binh seems to be preoccupied with appearance and neglecting function. For example, they have huge, tri-lingual signs identifying the products in each aisle, but these signs are completely useless because they are inaccurate because they are hung over the wrong aisles. While Wing Phat has unmarked aisles, lacked in terms of food display, and wasn't nearly as clean as Hoa Binh, on the Saturday afternoon that we visited both stores, Wing Phat was busy while Hoa Binh had a few scattered shoppers. In addition to appearance, these two grocery stores also differ in the types of products that they provide for their customers. The meat and fish section in Hoa Binh is much smaller than the section at Wing Phat. Hoa Binh also has a wider variety of American food. From this we can conclude that the way a market functions is obviously more important than the way it looks for most shoppers. Customers prefer large selections of fresh foods and the environment in which they find these products seems to be less important. Wing Phat is apparently more successful at satisfying the needs of the Asian community.

The police station is a few blocks away from the Wing Phat Plaza on the corner of Eleventh Street and Wharton. The police department for the third and fourth districts of Philadelphia share one station. The station itself was fairly empty and rundown. The

officers were very helpful in answering our questions. They were candid in their opinion of the safety of the third district relative to the city as a whole.

There are very few places for entertainment in the area. Riverview Cinema, on Fourteenth and Delaware Avenue, is the only movie theater nearby. We noticed a few restaurants while driving through the neighborhood, but they were all fairly casual and relatively inexpensive. Other than the stores in the Wing Phat Plaza, we didn't see many retail stores. The closest mall is the Gallery, located at the Market East Station.

Three Fire Stations protect the neighborhood. They are located on Twelfth Street and Ridge, at six hundred South Broad Street, and one hundred Washington Avenue. The closest hospital is the Pennsylvania Hospital on Twelfth and Spruce Streets. A Social Service Agency is located at nine hundred Washington Avenue and a welfare agency is at thirteen hundred Bainbridge. The United Check Cashing Office located one block east of the Wing Phat plaza serves as a resource for those community members who are not able to maintain a bank account.

South Philadelphia High School is the only public high school in this part of the city. There are two housing projects, previously mentioned, in the area. The Martin Luther King housing project on Fourth Street and Washington Avenue and the Southwark housing project. The best way to access this part of Philadelphia by public train is the Broad Street Line. In addition, bus route twenty-three runs through the area.

Part Four

Wing Phat Supermarket is located in the twenty-fourth census tract. The population of the tract has been steadily declining since 1970. In 1990 tract 24 had a population of 4,311 people, whereas the 1970 population was 6,588. Between the 1970 and 1980 censuses the population had dropped by 28% to 4,760. The population declined another 9.5% between 1980 and 1990. This decline in population is not isolated to tract 24, the

population of Philadelphia fell by 13% from 1970 to 1980 and another 6.1% between 1980 and 1990. (See "Total Population" Chart and "Tract 24 Population" Chart)

While the population of tract 24 changed drastically between 1970 and 1980, the percentage of vacant housing units did not increase dramatically. The population decreased by more than a quarter, but only a 3.4% increase in vacant housing was reported. This indicates that people began to live in larger spaces and the number of persons per unit of housing fell, therefore the quality of the housing increased. This increase in quality lead to an increase in the median housing value for the tract. Between 1980 and 1990 the population continued to decline as did the percentage of vacant housing. The trend towards fewer persons per unit continued and thus the quality of housing continued to climb. Between 1980 and 1990 the median housing value for tract 24 more than doubled and eclipsed the city-wide median value. (See "Median Housing Values" Chart and "Vacant Housing" Chart)

As the population declined and the median housing value increased, the median household income increased as well. Tract 24 reported a median household income that was consistently four-fifths of the median household income for the city as a whole. The city-wide median household income increased by 163% between 1970 and 1990. However the median house value increased by almost six times for the city and close to seven times for tract 24 and the median contract rent increased almost four times for the city and almost five times for tract 24 over the same time period. (See "Median Household Income" Chart)

There is no stunning contrast between the total percentage of people below the poverty line and the percentage in tract 24. However the trend of steady increase that is obvious in tract 24 is not exhibited by Philadelphia as a whole. While the percentage of persons below the poverty line increased by between one and two percent in each of the three decades, the percentage for Philadelphia as a whole jumped 5.2% between 1970 and 1980 but actually fell by 0.3% between 1980 and 1990. This decrease is encouraging for

the city as a whole, but the fact that while the city wide poverty level decreased the poverty in tract 24 continued its steady increase is cause for concern. (See "Poverty" Chart)

The comparison of the level of educational achievement in Philadelphia compared to that of tract 24 reveals an encouraging trend. While tract 24 continues to lag behind the city in the percentage of persons who have a high school degree or more, the gap is decreasing rapidly. In 1990 the gap was less than ten percent as compared to 17.4% in 1970 and 16.9% in 1980. The change in the percentage of those persons from tract 24 who have graduated from high school and who have received a college degree is amazing. In 1970 only 1.1% of the 22.5% of the who had graduated from high school had also graduated from college. In 1980 this figure had increased to 7.7%, and by 1990 16.4% of people who had graduated from high school had also graduated from college. This number surpassed the 15.2% reported for Philadelphia as a whole and represented a dramatic change and a positive trend within tract 24. (See "% B.A. or More" Chart and "Percent High School Degree" Chart)

In 1990, 47.2% of people over the age of sixteen living in tract 24 were not in the labor force and of the 52.8% who were, 9.7% were unable to find employment. The city as a whole experienced an equal level of unemployment, but the lower labor participation rate in tract 24 led to a lower per capita income within the tract than within Philadelphia as a whole. This occurred because while the same percentage of those who were seeking work were unable to find employment, within tract 24 a lower percentage of the residents were actively seeking work. Therefore a lower percentage of the total eligible full-time wage earners in tract 24 held a job in 1990. This observation can be made in all three of the census surveys with tract 24 consistently lagging behind the city in labor participation, and consistently reporting approximately equal levels of unemployment. Therefore the fact that tract 24 consistently exhibited a lower per capita income level than the city as a whole should come as no surprise. (See "Total Labor" Chart and "Tract 24 Labor" Chart)

For each of the three census surveys compared, tract 24 reported a higher percentage of foreign born residents than the city of Philadelphia. In both 1970 and 1990 the percentage of people who were born in foreign countries was almost twice the percentage for the city as a whole. In 1980 there was less disparity, but tract 24 had a significant edge. (See "% Foreign Born" Chart)

The racial breakdown for tract 24 in 1990 is surprisingly "White". Of the 4,311 people who lived in tract 24 in 1990 74.8% were White, 15.6% were Black and 7.5% were Asian. These numbers create a sharp contrast to the city as a whole. In 1990, of Philadelphia's 1,585,577 people, 53.5% were White, 40.0% were Black and 2.7% were Asian.¹ I say that the area is surprisingly "White" because as we walked through the neighborhood it seemed that the racial statistics of Philadelphia as a whole fit the neighborhood much better than the actual reported percentages for tract 24. (See "Race 1990" Chart and "Race 1990" Chart)

Part Five

Although Wing Phat Supermarket does appear to be successful, there are ways in which we feel it could be improved to be more efficient as a neighborhood grocery store. In regards to the inadequate entryway of Wing Phat, we think that an uninterrupted pathway leading directly into the shopping area would be better than the roundabout entrance that exists now. Perhaps moving the exterior entrance from directly behind the checkout aisles to the area from which the rest of the complex enters Wing Phat would work better. This would allow for a separate entry/exit area that would not inhibit the checkout area.

¹The definitions of the racial categories were changed in each of the three census years so a comparative analysis year by year was impossible. Because of this I have chosen to only include race statistics for 1990 in this analysis.

Perhaps employing a similar storage system like that of Hoa Binh with high shelving for excess merchandise would open up the supermarket and create more space for movement by the customers. This would also allow Wing Phat's merchandise to be stored more appropriately.

Utilizing the staff in a more balanced manner would significantly decrease the risk of accident created by minor spills and messes in the store. By having staff moving around the store, broken or open products could be removed and trash within the store could be dealt with more promptly. This would also help with the accessibility of employees to customers throughout the store, allowing customers to ask questions more easily.

The aisles should be labeled. Because of the variety of products throughout the store it is difficult to find things in Wing Phat unless you are a frequent customer of the store and know where everything is. By labeling and organizing the aisles it would be easier to find the products that you are seeking.

Adding air vents above the fish tanks would greatly improve the air quality in the building. In turn, the smell would not be as striking when customers enter Wing Phat. While placing vents above the seafood tanks may not be feasible an improved ventilation system should be considered for the entire store. With these changes or additions, Wing Phat could go from being a decent supermarket to one which customers find to be a more pleasant environment.

In terms of alternative uses for the space, we've concluded that the most obvious one would be a warehouse. With such a vast amount of space it would be very easy to turn Wing Phat into a storage facility. When considering the surroundings contained in Wing Phat Plaza the idea of warehouse no longer seems appropriate. Most of the shops seem to survive as a result of the presence of Wing Phat Supermarket. Customers of Wing Phat stop at the smaller shops on their way through the plaza. Hence, Wing Phat would have to be replaced by a facility of similar drawing power.

Another possible use for the space would be a Laundromat and dry cleaner. In this case, the lack of windows and concrete box structure would not have to be modified. The large building would provide excess storage space for clothing. However, it is questionable how successful a laundromat of that size would be in this neighborhood. The space is so massive that the laundromat would have to accrue enough business to outweigh the huge operating costs. The neighborhood surrounding Wing Phat is not completely residential, therefore a neighborhood dry cleaner might not attract a large enough clientele. The reason that Wing Phat is successful is because it provides a unique service that draws people from areas other than the immediate community.

Due to the fact that Wing Phat Supermarket is part of the larger Wing Phat Plaza, it would be difficult to convert the supermarket space without changing several of the other shops. The success of Wing Phat Plaza as a whole is a result of the unique shopping environment it creates, namely one that caters to an Asian-American population. If for example, Wing Phat Supermarket was converted into a health club, it is unlikely that their clientele would overlap with the customers of the Asian restaurants and stores in the plaza. We speculate that much of the survival of Wing Phat Plaza as a whole is a result of a combination of stores that target common clients. Aside from a supermarket whose merchandise is focused in the Asian market, it is difficult to come up with a successful alternative use for the space that would continue to cater towards an Asian-American clientele.

Conclusion

Wing Phat is not located in a primarily Asian part of Philadelphia. However, the majority of the clientele are Asian and the market is quite busy. The customers often travel distances to shop at Wing Phat and presumably in the surrounding area. Thus, Wing Phat brings consumers to the neighborhood bolstering the economy. However, because the

demands of these shoppers are met most easily by Asian-run businesses with mostly Asian employees who do not live in the neighborhood, the residents of tract 24 do not reap the majority of the economic benefits created by the Wing Phat Supermarket. This economic separation furthers the social isolation of Wing Phat within the neighborhood.

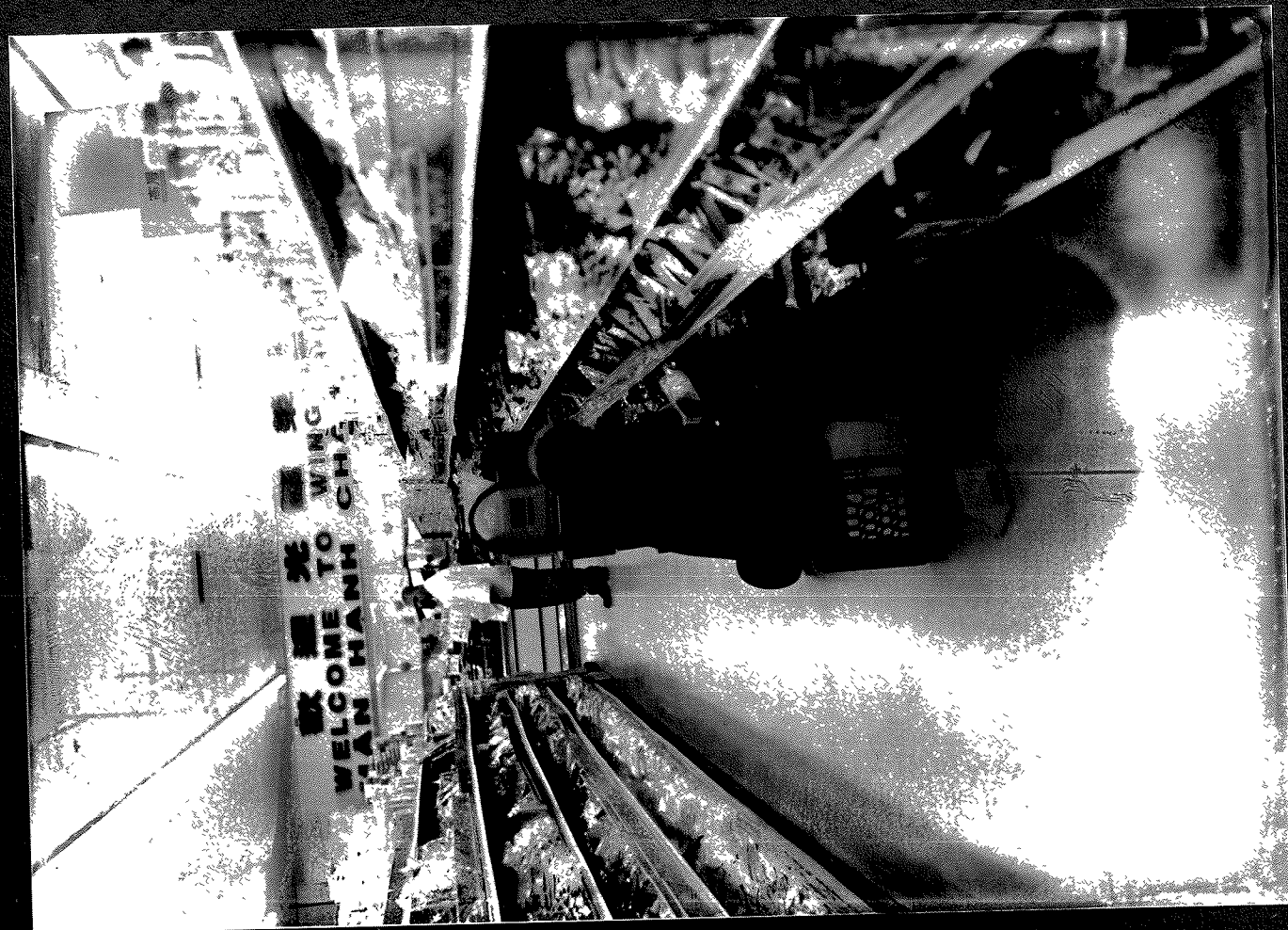
WING PHAT SUPERMARKET



↑ View of WING PHAT'S exterior from the parking lot on Washington Ave.

↓ Broken Ginseng bottles on a shelf in front of an Ovaltine package

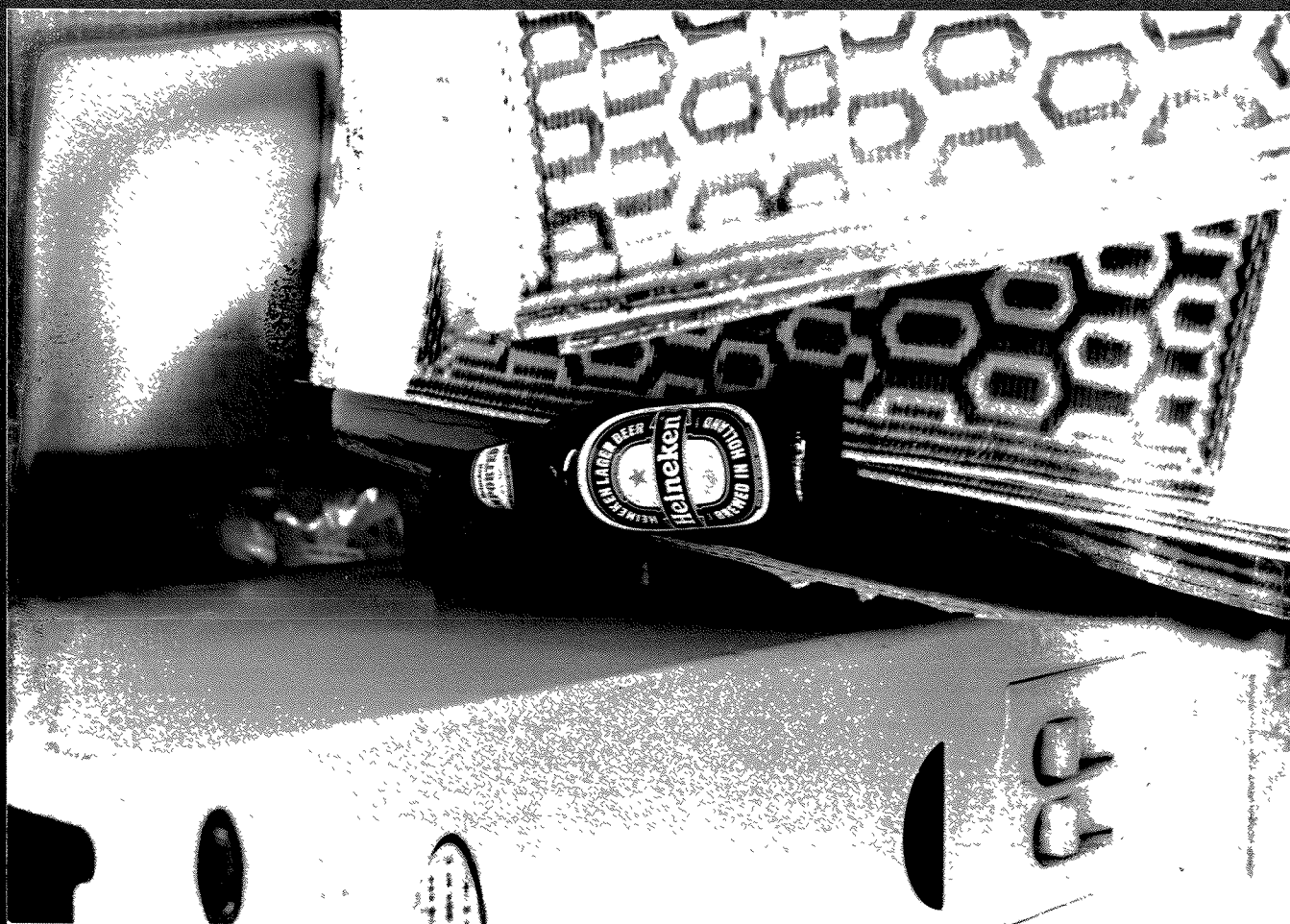




↑ A WINGPHAT EMPLOYEE STOCKING

↓ One of WING PHAT'S IMPORTED PRODUCTS





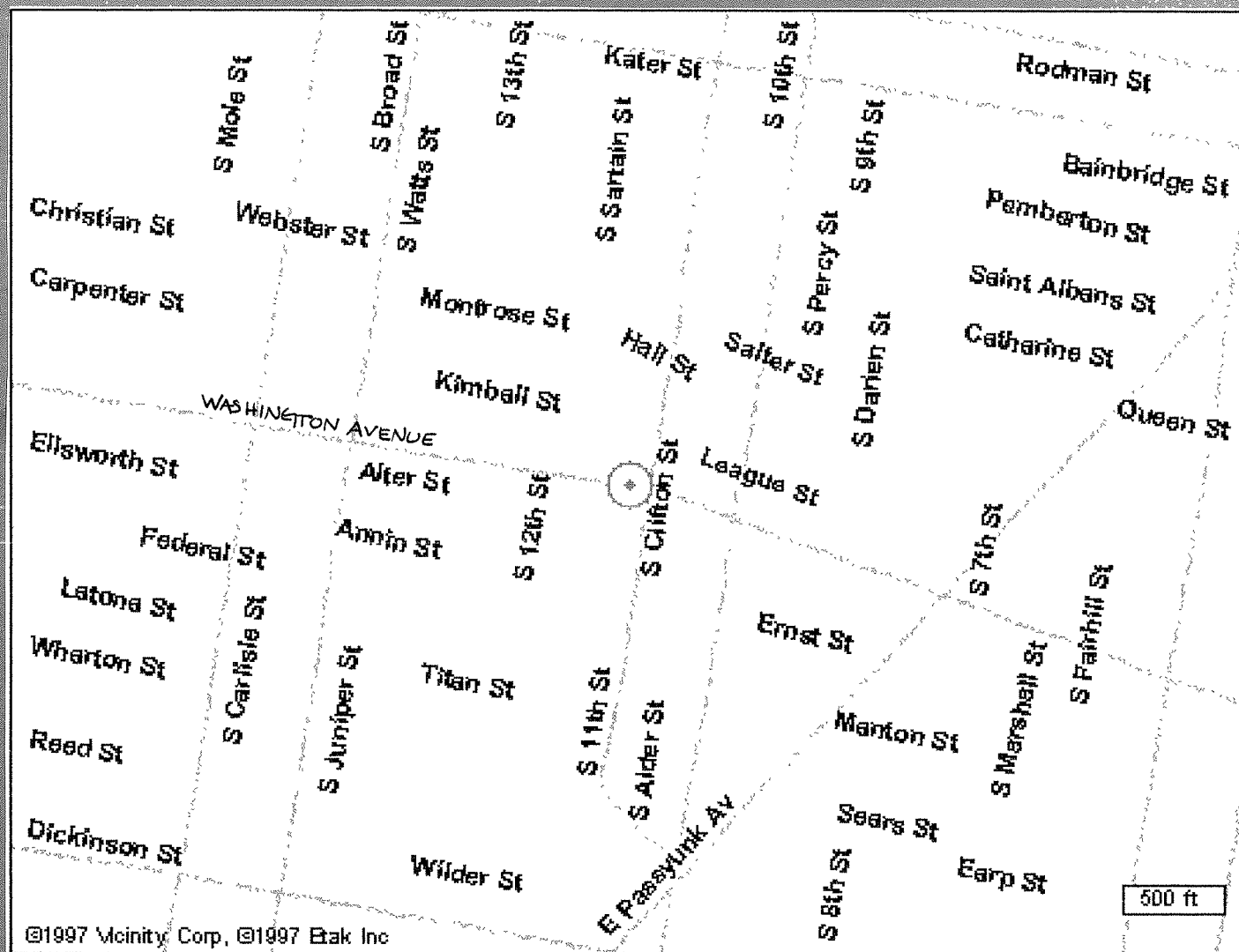
↑ The Heineken bottle which lay in the same spot for over a week.

↓ The cooked duck and pig on display for purchase



WING THAT Supermarket

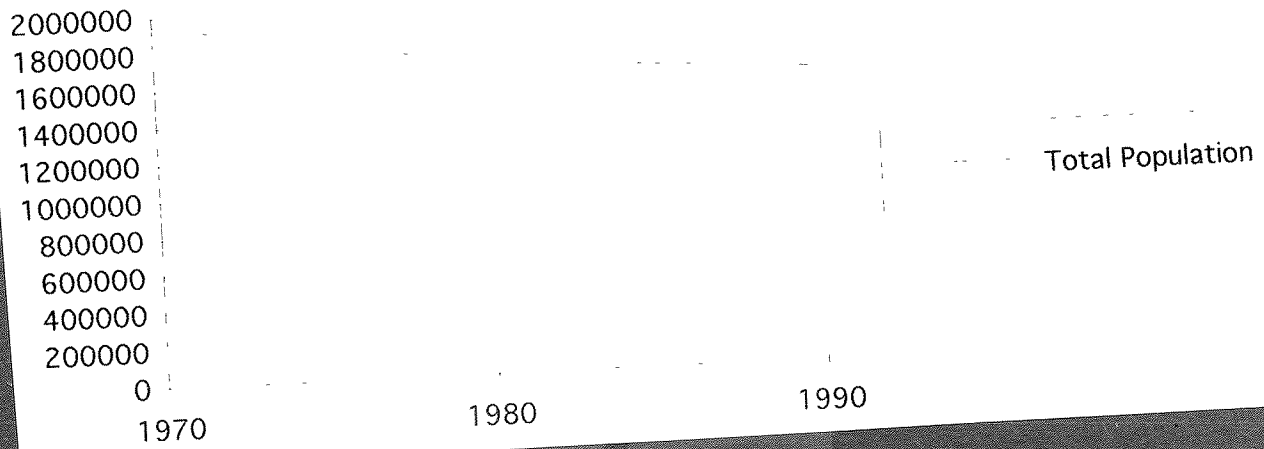
1122 WASHINGTON AVE., S. Philadelphia



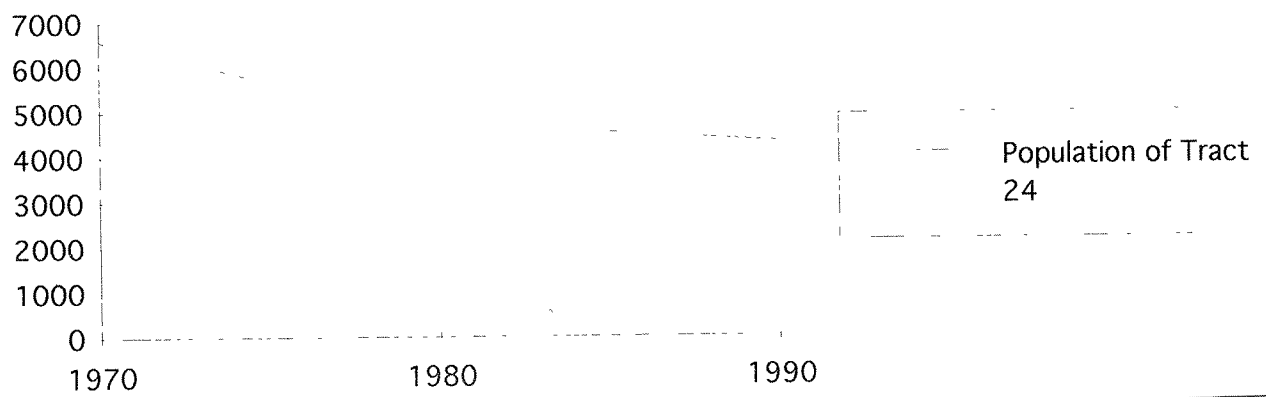
Cities Worksheet

	1990 (T)	1990 (24)	1980 (T)	1980 (24)	1970 (T)	1970 (24)
Population	1585577	4311	1688210	4760	1948609	6588
% Foreign Born	6.6	11.1	6.4	8.4	6.5	10.7
% High School Graduate (+)	64.3	56.5	54.3	37.4	39.9	22.5
% College Graduate (+)	15.2	16.4	11.1	7.7	6.8	1.1
% Persons in Labor Force	58.4	52.8	54.2	47.7	74.1	67.5
% Unemployed	9.7	9.7	11.4	10.4	4.5	5.2
Mean Household Income (\$)	31208	23049	16258	13509	10431	8436
Median Household Income (\$)	24603	19104	13169	10338	9366	7224
Per Capita Income (\$)	12091	10155	6053	5218	N/A	N/A
% Persons in Poverty	20.3	26.3	20.6	24.9	15.4	23.7
% White	53.5	74.8	58.2	79.7		
% Black	40	15.6	37.8	15.6		
% Asian	2.7	7.5	2	4.8	N/A	N/A
% Owner Occupied Housing	55.4	59.8	61	63.7	57	53.3
% Vacant Housing	10.6	12.2	9.5	12.6	4.6	9.2
% Of Vacant Houses Boarded Up	1.4	14.7	18.7	1.5	N/A	N/A
Median Number of Rooms	5.6	5.2	5.6	5.7	5.6	5.6
Median Value (\$)	49400	55600	23500	17800	10600	7100
Median Rent (\$)	357	352	168	136	76	60

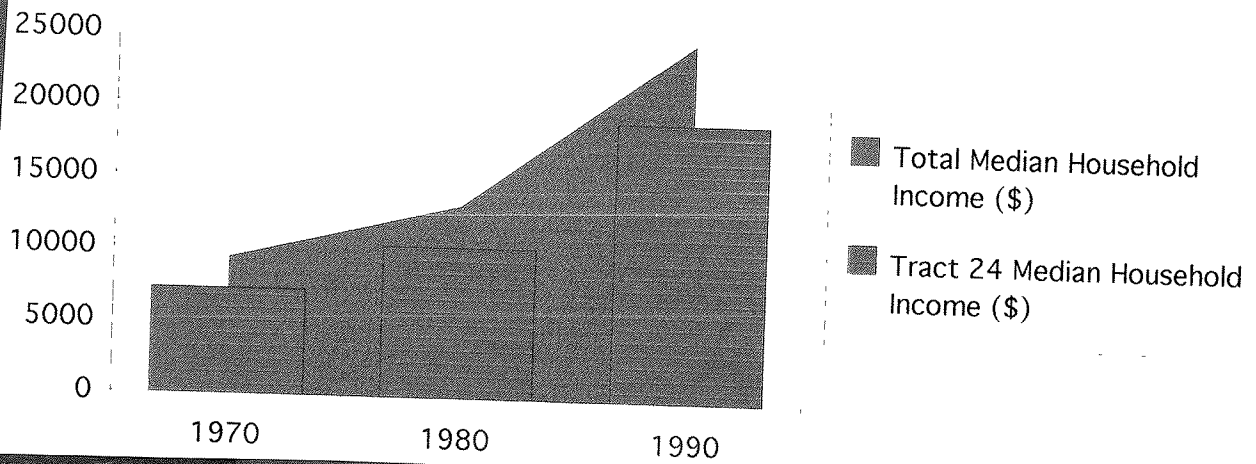
Total Population



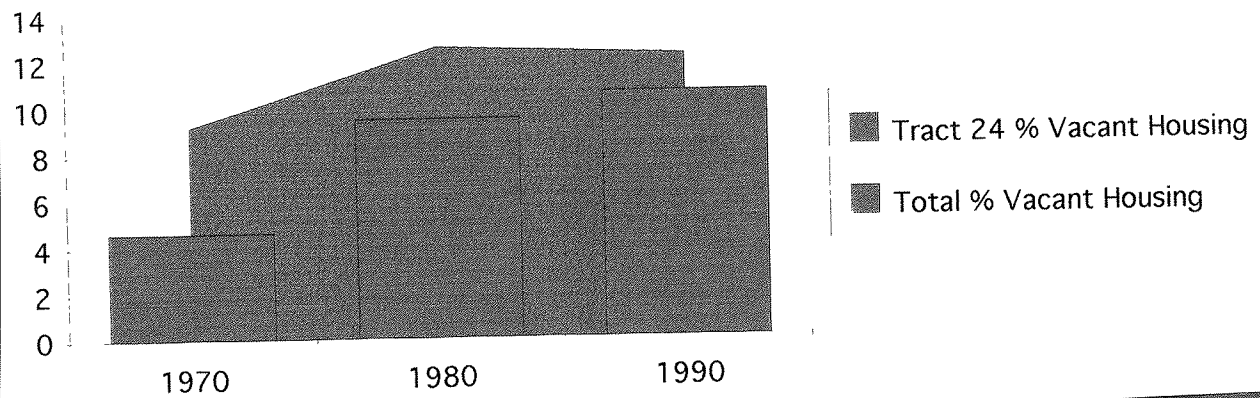
Total Population of Tract 24



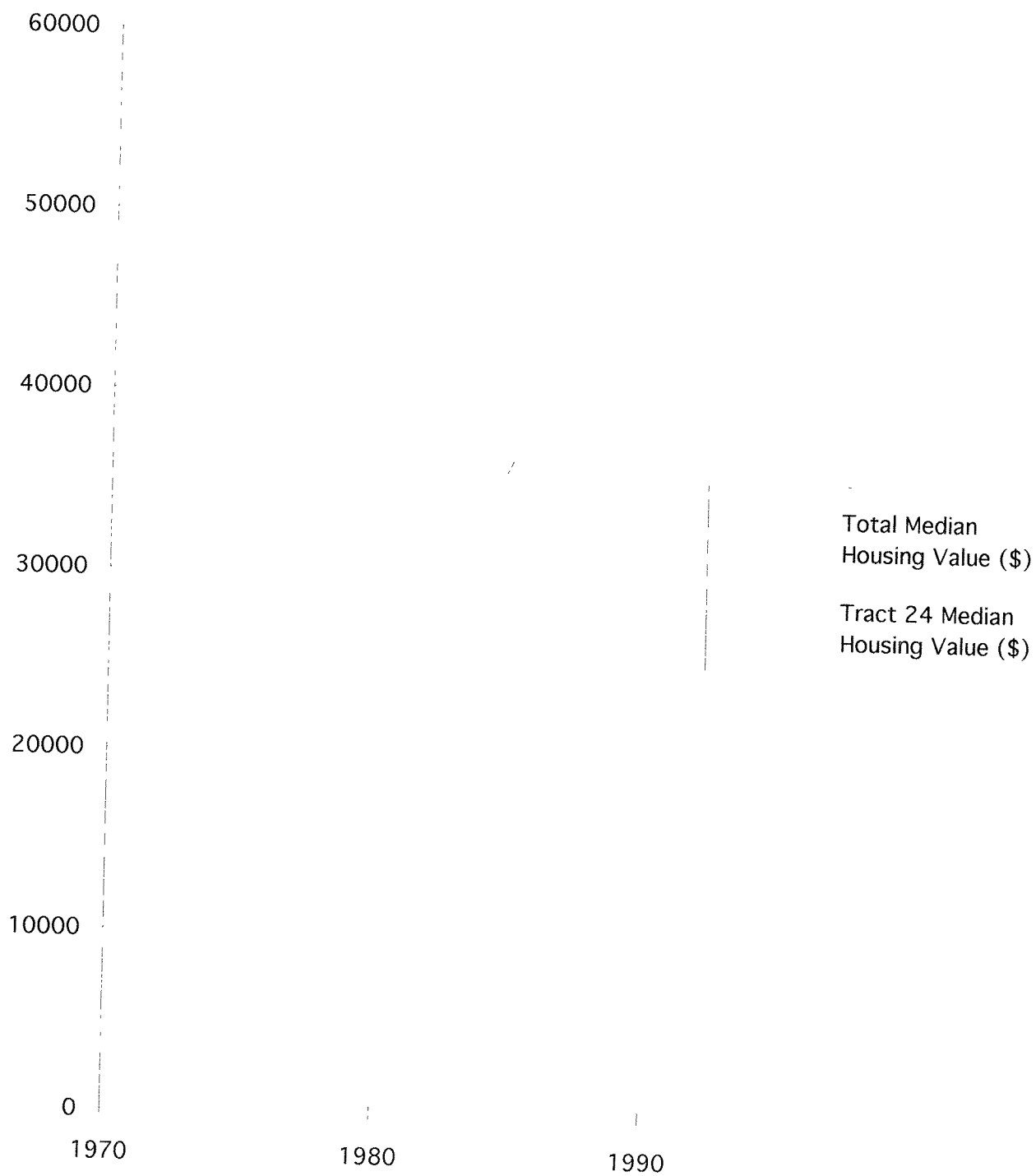
Median Household Income



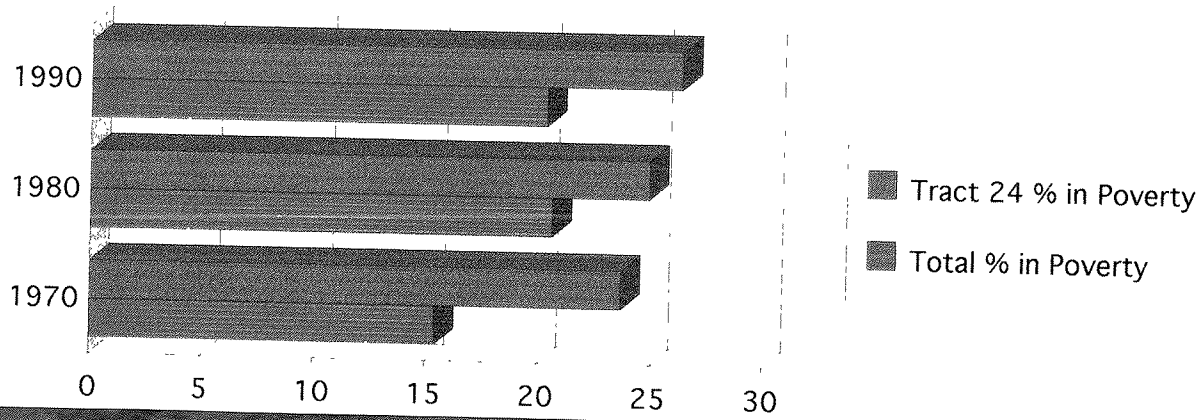
Vacant Housing



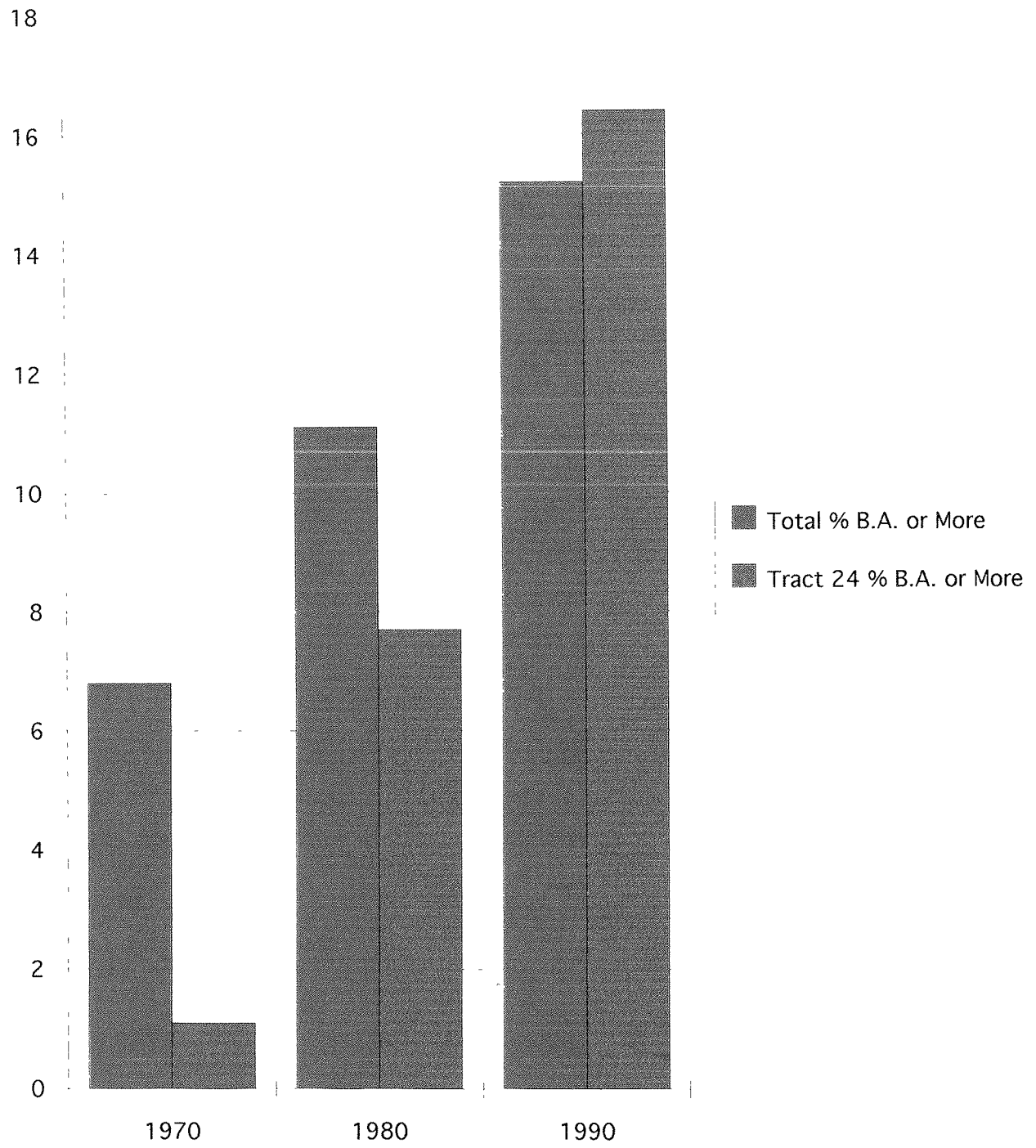
Median Housing Values



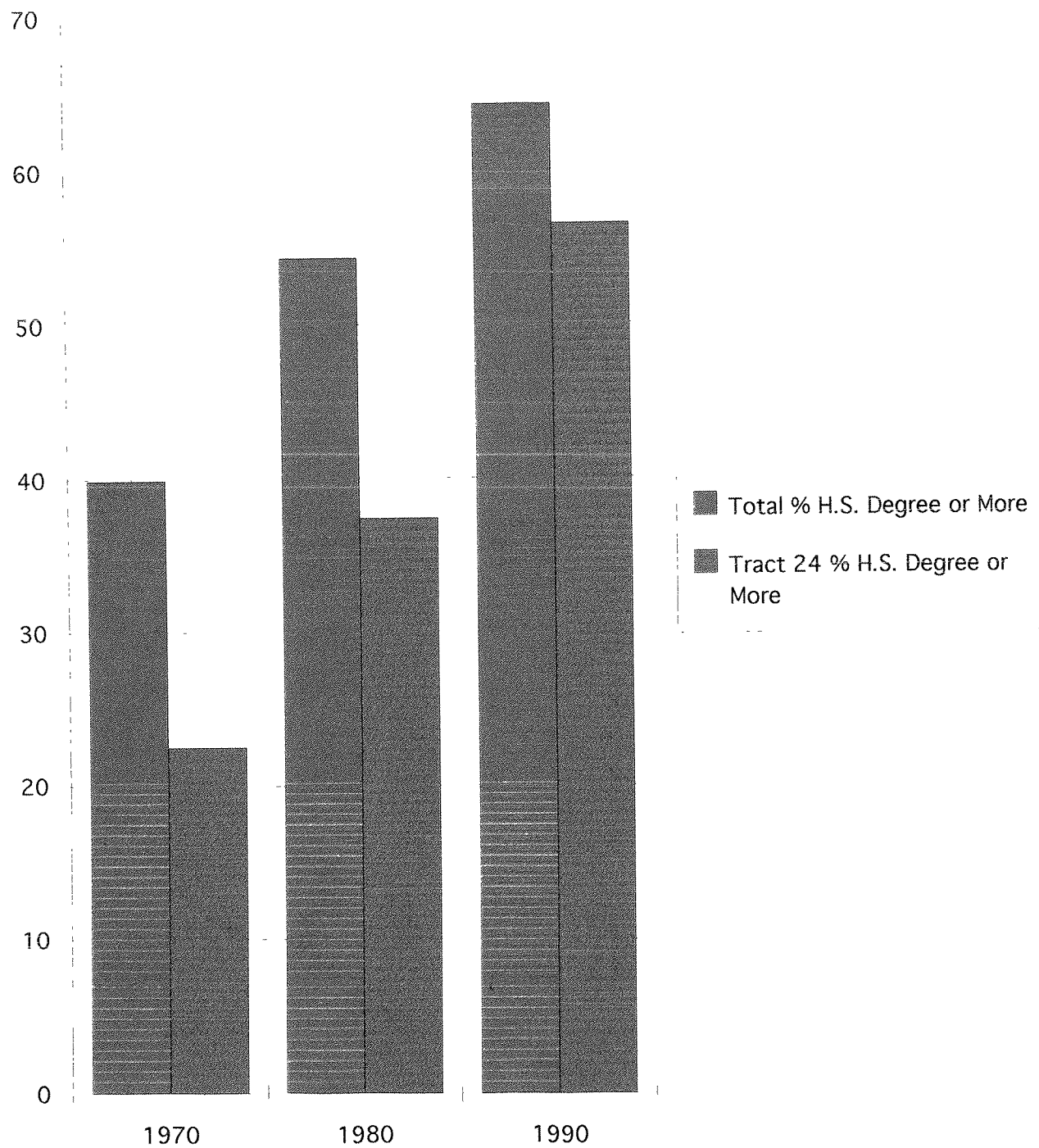
Percent of Persons Below the Poverty Line



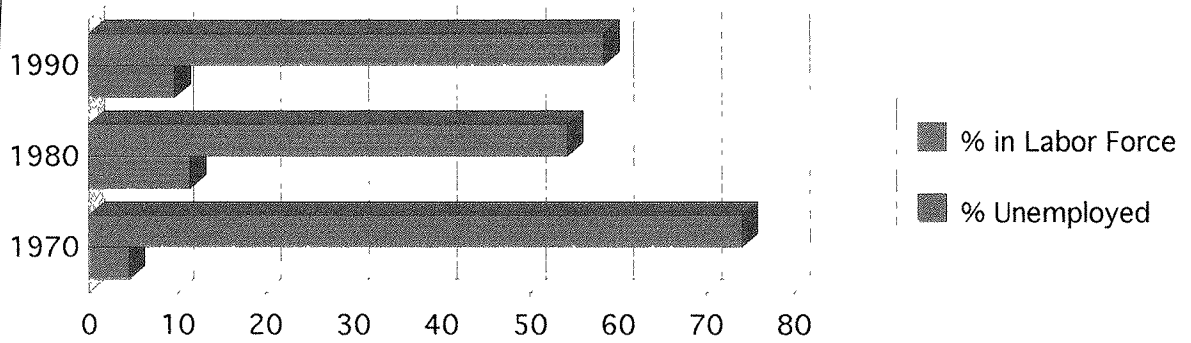
% B.A. or More



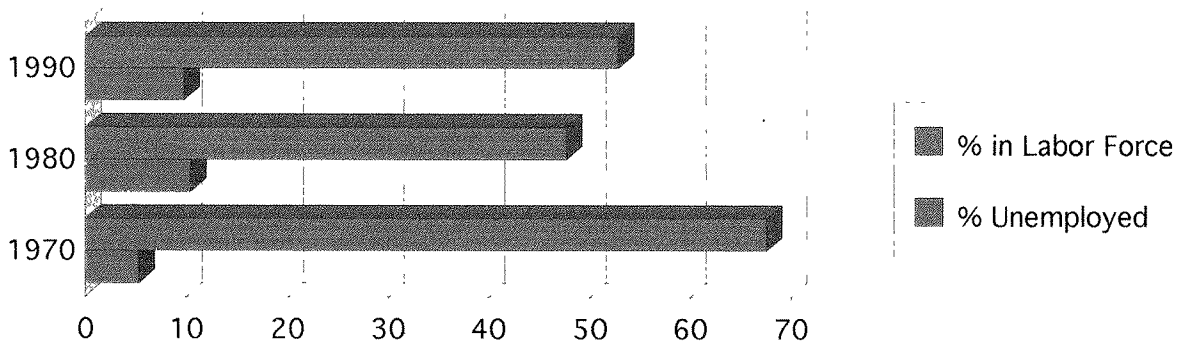
% High School Degree or More



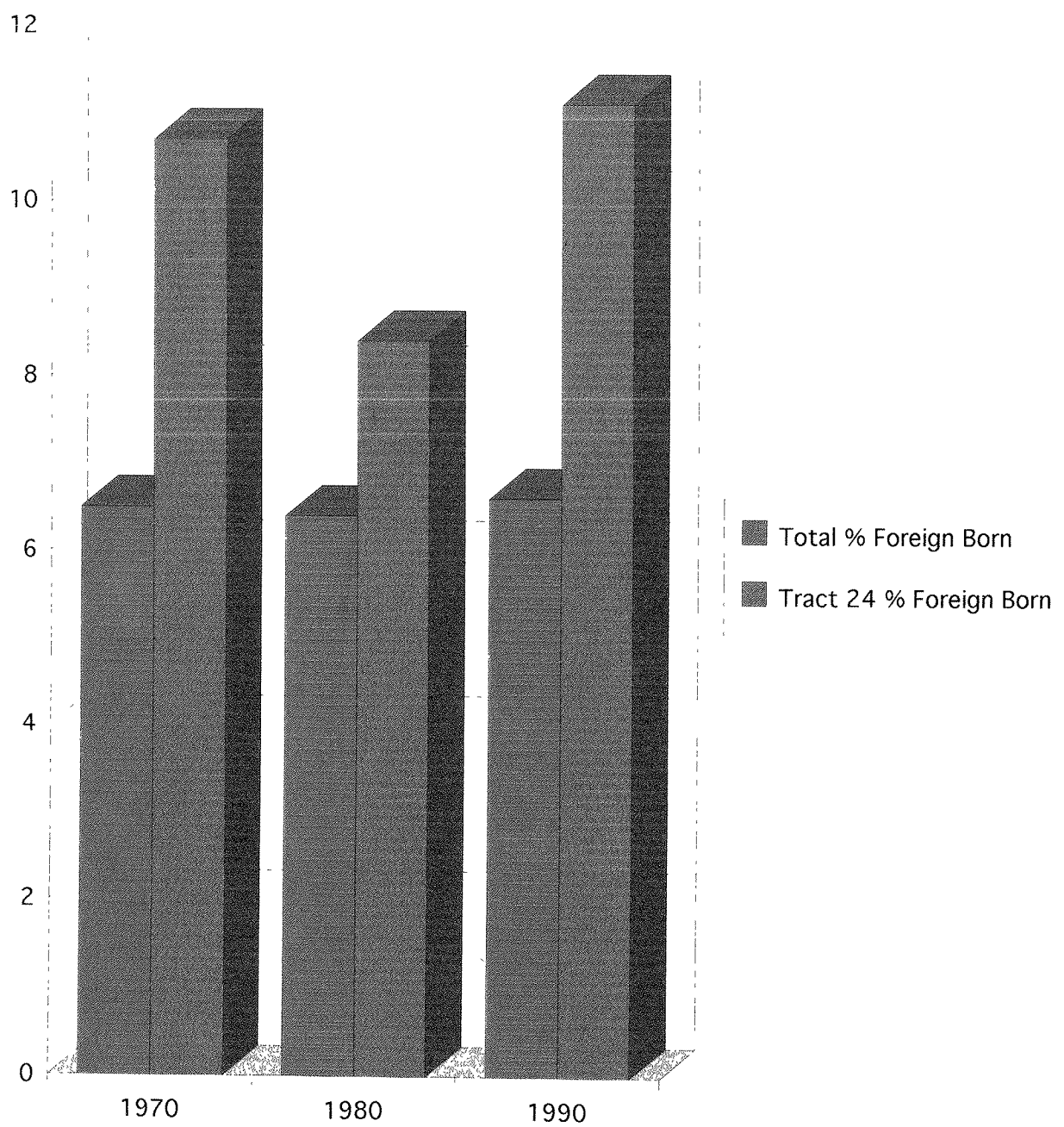
Total Labor Participation and Unemployment



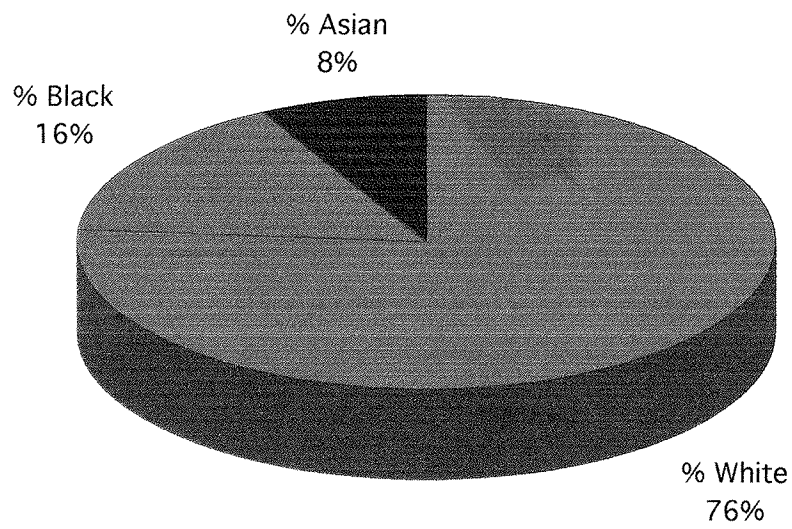
Tract 24 Labor Participation and Unemployment



% Foreign Born



Racial Breakdown of Tract 24 in 1990



Racial Breakdown of Philadelphia in 1990

