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African Americans versus Latinos in Los Angeles; Coalition or Conflict?

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Anotace

Diplomová práce „Afroameričané versus Latinoameričané v Los Angeles; Koalice nebo Konflikt“ pojednává o současné otázce minoritních vztahů v Los Angeles a zaměřuje se zejména na výše zmíněné etnicity. Práce je rozčleněna do několika samostatných částí zabývajících se historií obou minorit v dané oblasti, politickou, ekonomickou a sociální sférou, ale také vývojem minoritních vztahů do budoucna. Jak již zmíněno, v první části je čtenář uveden do historie vývoje obou minorit v Los Angeles. Zde jsou stručně vyzdvíženy nejdůležitější historické události, které ovlivnily budoucí vývoj obou minorit v této oblasti. V další části se práce dále zabývá nejvýznamnějšími konflikty poslední doby a snaží se na dané události aplikovat obecné teorie rasových vztahů ve Spojených Státech. Dále je pak pojednáváno o problému zvýšené kriminality gangů spojeného se vzdělávací krizí, která poslední dobou tvrdě zasáhla obě minority. Další část se věnuje politické scéně a zaměřuje se zejména na volby starosty Los Angeles v roce 2001 a 2005. Tato kapitola analyzuje možné náznaky spolupráce anebo naopak soupeření mezi Afro-Američany a Latino-Američany na politické scéně. V další kapitole je probírán problém narůstajících konfliktů v ekonomické sféře, což je přímý důsledek zvýšeného zapojování Latinoameričanů do pracovního procesu. Poslední kapitola se poté zabývá vývojem vztahů těchto minorit do budoucna a snaží se odhadnout možné důsledky nynějších rozporů.

Annotation

Diploma thesis „African Americans versus Latinos in Los Angeles; Coalition or Conflict?“ deals with the issue of inter-minority relations in the Los Angeles area. The project is divided into several parts in order to make it easier for the reader to orientate and to draw point more clearly. The first part deals with the establishment of both communities within the Los Angeles area, focusing on the most important events shaping their developments. The next part then analyzes the reasons for increasing conflicts by stressing the most important ones and by trying to apply the general theories of race relations within the United States. It basically focuses on the educational sphere, the problem of both Latinos and blacks dropping-out in large

numbers and the increasing violence connected to gang activities. In the next chapter, the political scene comes into question; the 2001 and 2005 Mayoral Races are analyzed and compared in order to draw conclusions and provide possible explanations for their outcomes. Moreover, a general background for the urban political theory of minorities is provided. Furthermore, the next part deals with the increasing competition within the economic sphere; this part tries to answer the question to what extent and in what ways has Latino immigrants impacted the lives of native Americans. The last part then analyzes the possible future outcomes of black-Latino relations by predicting various scenarios.

Klíčová slova

Afro-Američané, Latino-Američané, Los Angeles, historie, vzdělávací sféra, politická scéna, zaměstnání, společenské vztahy, konflikt, spolupráce, etnicita, rasové vztahy

Keywords

African Americans, Latinos, Los Angeles, history, educational sphere, politics, employment, social interactions, conflict, cooperation, ethnicity, race relations

Prohlášení

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1 Introduction

The increasing Latino immigration within the Los Angeles County area has been irreversibly changing its demography and at the same time rearranging the minority relations in the city. To the purpose of this thesis, the state of African American-Latino relations in Los Angeles is put into question in order to determine how do they respond to each other within the economic, educational, social and political sphere and to what extent do the zero-sum game, reciprocal stereotyping and the role of the media impact the possibility of black-Brown rainbow alliance? Furthermore, to the purpose of this thesis, I decided to use the title Latinos as a means of comprising all subgroups of this very diverse group.

In deciding a topic of my thesis the fact that I have spent some time abroad getting acquainted with many people of African descent living in all parts of the world, who felt strongly opposed to the role of the media and Hollywood movies, in which they are portrayed as the typical victims of stereotyping, perceiving it as the biggest obstacle to be overcome on the way to their upward mobility, was a significant factor. This incited my interest in minority relations and because California and specifically Los Angeles is probably the most diverse area, I decided to direct my interest this way. Moreover, for the issue of black-Latino relations within the United States has been the main target of the American press lately, I decided to use Latinos as a comparative factor that would help me show more clearly the changing state of minority relations within the United States while trying to show both sides of the story in comparison with the recent trend of the media and many authors portraying one group as a victim of the other while completely ignoring the 'larger' picture of the issue.

In order to find answers to the core questions of the thesis, I analyzed the target spheres one by one, when dividing the thesis into several separate chapters that would help me portray more clearly the diverse attitudes within individual spheres. The second and third chapter briefly introduces the reader into the history of both minorities within the Los Angeles area covering the 20th century and concentrating at the residential patterns while briefly mentioning the political, economic and social prospects that

helped both groups to establish themselves as an influential minority within the American society. The first chapter is used as a starting point, which is further developed in the next chapters. The first part of the fourth chapter deals with the problem of black-Latino violence on the streets and jails including a brief mentioning of the 1992 Los Angeles rioting; it tries to portray the violent aspect of the conflict as connected more with the lack of social ties between both groups, which leads to reinforcing of reciprocal stereotyping and at the same time effectively preventing the creation of coalitional bridges, rather than as a pure stance of Latinos aiming at ‘cleansing the black community in Los Angeles. In addition to this, the second part of the chapter focuses on another conflicting sphere within the black-brown relations, the education. It tries to highlight the common ground and explain the failure of both groups to unite in order to increase the prospects of black/Latino children for climbing the social ladder. It argues that the black support of anti-Latino educational initiatives, as the Proposition 227 or the bilingual education initiative unquestionably was, was not purposely targeted at hurting the Latino community but rather originated out of black fear that economic resources would be drawn from black children and given to the Latino ones. Also, this part operates within the stereotyping sphere when explaining the huge rate of black/Latino drop-outs and suggests possible solutions how to reverse the current trend. The fifth chapter then focuses on the political sphere, drawing from the context of 2001 and 2005 L.A. Mayoral elections portraying both elections as a clear example of black resentment towards Latinos in the first case and as a turning point of improving black-Latino relations in the second case, I argue that this is not the case and that the bright future of black-Latino political relations is not so bright after all. Moreover, the fifth chapter introduces the reader into the general trends of Latino and black political voting, while laying the ground for the possible future political alliance and conflict. In the next chapter, the sixth one, the economic sphere comes into question. First, it covers the area whether the cheap Latino labor really threatens the economic stability of black workers, which I argue is true in the case of low-skilled workers, drawing my conclusions from the main working papers carried out recently. However, in the contrast with several authors, I argue that the trend of black replacement by Latino workers is conditioned by other more important factors than just an increasing Latino population within the region; I state the importance of preferential

racial hiring, the lack of official hiring process, the decline of manufacture industry and last but not least, the ‘attitude’ of the black workers. All the arguments drawn from the previous chapters and then further processed in the chapter seven dealing with the future prospects of black-Latino alliance into the future. This chapter is rather theoretical and operates within a larger frame than in the case of Los Angeles, stating possible outcomes for both groups while adding new dimensions to the topics researched at the early stages of the thesis. As the final point of the thesis, all the points argued are summed up in the conclusion, providing the reader with the ‘mortar’ necessary for sustaining the whole ‘picture’ of the author’s arguments.

Moreover, it is important to note that in order to achieve the goals stated above, I draw from materials of specialists on this problem, briefly mentioning Nicolas Vaca, Earl Ofari Hutchinson, Roger Waldinger, Karen Kaufman or Michael Stoll; however for the interest in the issue of black-Latino relations on the part of researchers is rather recent, secondary sources in the form of major American newspapers like Los Angeles Times, New York Times or the International Herald Tribune, and leading research portals like JSTOR, Political Science Quarterly, American Political Science Review or Project Muse were used either supporting or disputing the author’s conclusions. Moreover, for additional statistics and graphs, portals like National Center for Education Statistics, the Urban Institute, American Civil Liberties Union, American Immigration Center and many others were used in order to support the points argued in this thesis.

In this part, I will review the most valuable sources I used when writing the thesis, starting with the primary ones. The political analyst Earl Ofari Hutchinson (2007), the positive feature of his book is that he manages to cover all important aspects of black-Latino relations without getting into one-side story, specifically mentioning the importance of stereotyping negatively impacting the prospect of the rainbow coalition; however, the individual aspects would need to be further developed. Moreover, Hutchinson seems to put more emphasis on conflicting interpretations of black-brown relations, however this does not spoil the overall picture of the book, which might serve as a guidebook for the minority relations related researches. Nicolás Vaca (2004) in his book concentrates on the historic and present black-brown relations, mostly directing

his focus to three key areas, Los Angeles, Miami and Houston. He disputes the 'myth' of black-brown coalition and rather provides the reader with the conflicting factors that drive the two groups apart. Just like Hutchinson, Vaca tries to cover as many aspects of black-Latino coexistence as he can, yet with most of his focus being given to the political scene. He seems to orientate slightly more towards the African-American community, blaming the black leadership from the unwillingness to address the growing problem of black-Latino tensions for they are those in danger of being overpowered by Latinos. On the other hand, he identifies the problem of Latino diversity as being the biggest obstacle to unity, which would in return produce greater political participation on the part of the Latino community. Once again several aspects of the book would need to be researched more profoundly, yet overall, Vaca offers the reader a complementary review of black-brown relations in America, stressing the need of them being properly addressed and openly criticizing the 'correct' attitude of the black/Latino political scene. Josh Sides (2004) in his book largely deals with the myth that Los Angeles was a racial paradise for the minorities and stressed that in reality Los Angeles has own city limits not dissimilar to those of the rural South. Sides basically describes the foundation of black ghettos, focusing on the history of the black minority establishment within the city of L.A. throughout the twentieth century to the present, providing the reader with the overall bases of the development and transformation of black Angelenos as we know them nowadays. Mostly, Sides deals with the formation of black political identities, the residential segregation that led to blacks being trapped inside the City Central and economic discrimination that black Angelenos had to suffer. Most importantly, Sides argues that the economic divide inside the African-American community resulted in growing poverty within the black ghettos of City Central. Throughout the whole book, Sides clearly develops his points, enriching the text with several authentic materials and oral interviews of black Angelenos who personally experienced Los Angeles of that time, making it interesting to read, almost like a narrative. The only 'lack' of this book is Sides's comparison of black-white relations, with only a slight focus on the Latino community, who were more in direct competition with black Angelenos than Anglos were, along with less attention dedicated to the development of race relations throughout the 1990's. Martin Schiesl's book (2006) is another book covering Los Angeles's history but this time more from the point of view

of minorities. The book is divided into two parts, with the first one covering the period of 1900-45 and the second ranging from 1945-present. The first part of the book is based on personal narratives of all major minority groups within the Los Angeles Area, Latinos, blacks, Asians and so on. Moreover, this part provides the reader with a more personalized approach that is often in direct contrast with the so-called reality of that time as described by the historic textbooks and this allows a potential reader to create his/her own image of that time. The book is unquestionably a valuable source for those who are interested in getting to know the period more profoundly because it is full of historical events while it manages to keep the attraction of the reader by blending the facts with personal stories. Moreover, the pre-WWII chapters focus on all aspects of minority development, including the economic, social, political and spatial spheres. The second part of the book deals with the turbulent changes that came in the aftermath of the WWII era. Schiesl emphasizes the new possibilities that opened to minorities in that time while contrasting it with the economic downturn that came during the 1980's in the form of the relocation of blue-color jobs from the City Central to suburbs. Overall, the history parts in this book are well processed with the exception of several cases when the author does not provide explanations for less known events, which I believe the general reader does not necessarily know. The second part of the book focuses more on political mobilization of minority groups and providing more insights into present time race relations than the previous book. Joao Costa Vargas (2006) was probably the most interesting book reaching far beyond the historical events in L.A. and focusing more on the anthropological point of view of the black community. Although sometimes hard to read, Vargas pictures the economic, political and spatial transformation of black community within the Los Angeles area ranging from the 1980's till the present time, yet he does not state a mere list of historic events but rather connects everything with the blackness (identity, culture..), which he perceives as the main driving source of change. Furthermore, Vargas personally interviews black Angelenos trapped inside the ghettos, gang members but also jazz musicians and tries to portray the differences that each of the interviewed held when confronted with the term blackness; by doing this he comes directly to the roots of the black identity around which all the historic events spin. Moreover, Vargas adds his personal stories explaining what he was experiencing as a person of color, by which he sets even more personal tone of the book, making it

maybe less valuable source for those who concentrates strictly on finding a list of chronic historical events, but at the same time even more valuable for those who want to get to the roots of black nationalism, which is far different from that portrayed in Hollywood movies as part of the stereotyping culture.

As for the secondary sources, the most valuable is probably Michael A. Stoll (1998, 1999, 2000, 2004, and 2005) as he was the one most often referred to by various authors. In all of his papers, Stoll focuses on the problem of spatial mismatch connected to employment for both blacks and Latinos living inside the City Central in poor deteriorating neighborhoods with almost a zero-access to suburbs blue-color jobs, which were relocated from the City Central during the 1980's. He focuses mainly on the Los Angeles area using the results of the 1994 Los Angeles Urban Inequality Survey; Stoll makes his point of low-skilled blacks and Latinos being disadvantaged at several stages when searching for an employment clearly and develops it throughout the whole text. Moreover, he uses empirical studies in order to prove his argument, yet sometimes they are harder to follow, which is compensated by him using several graphs where a general reader can orientate more easily. Overall, the findings are supported with 'bullet-proof evidence' provided by him and based on other credible resources.

Karen Kaufmann (2003) is one of the authors concentrating on the black-brown rainbow coalitional prospects. Throughout her whole career as a prominent researcher, Kaufmann has been focusing on the prospects of sustainable political coalition in urban politics, stressing such barriers as stereotyping and attitudes as the main obstacles that largely keep blacks and Latinos apart. One of the most important aspects that Kaufmann stresses in her research is the importance of the Latino identity unification before any biracial coalitions could be formed, followed by the fact that blacks and Latinos will always prefer their intergroup interests over the common agenda, which is supported by another leading researcher on the field of inter-group relations, Paula McClain (1998, 2009). Likewise, Raphael J. Sonenshein (2005, 2006) another major specialist basically supports this conclusion while stressing that the chances for biracial coalition are far larger in the case of black-white liberals. As for Kaufmann, her study clearly serves as a good base for further research, yet somehow the study does not manage to find a balance between the attention dedicated to Latinos and blacks, apparently focusing

more on the first group, and second, the author limits the scope of her research to political sphere while ‘neglecting’ for example the social sphere, which would seem to be the right way to start with when trying to form bonds between blacks and Latinos. Meier, McClain, Polinard & Wrinkle (2004) complement Kaufmann’s research by concentrating more on general problem of black/Latino zero-sum game divide, specifically in the educational sphere, pointing to both negative and positive aspects of the possibility of coalitional formation, however once again fail to provide the reader with a more complete picture. Last, but not least very influential and helpful source on the field of minority relations is Roger Waldinger’s paper (1997). He focuses on the impact of Latino immigrant workers upon the black employment within the Los Angeles area, the preferential hiring that puts black on the last rank of the racial ladder, the referral hiring used by Latinos that prevents blacks from applying for opened positions and most importantly on the negative effects that follow from it, pitting blacks and Latinos against one another and by that deepening the racial division. I think Waldinger is one of the most prominent researchers dealing with the question of black-brown relations and that his study was a starting point for many other researchers to further develop his conclusions. Most importantly, Waldinger questions the immigrant impact upon black workers from all sides, stressing that other more important factors shaped the rate of black unemployment, which he proves when interviewing the employers within the Los Angeles area. Overall, the study is easy to follow and each point made is properly looked into so that Waldinger’s conclusions might serve as a reliable source of information.

2 Brief History of African-Americans in Los Angeles

The focus of these two chapters is put on the brief development of black and Latino establishment within the Los Angeles area, including the residential patterns, political activism, employment opportunities and social ties. As the individual topics are thoroughly analyzed one by one in the next chapters, only a brief overview is provided in here in order to introduce the reader into the background of black-brown relations.

According to Schiesl, a specialist in the history of Los Angeles, Los Angeles's African American population in 1900 totaled 2131 residents, which ranked it as the second largest community in the West.¹

In contrast with other big cities of that time, Los Angeles of early 20th century had a reputation of the dream city for African-Americans. Highly probably because of that, Los Angeles became a beacon of African-American activism attracting waves of black immigrants fleeing the insufferable conditions in the South; the following statement of one of the black Angelenos clearly express the general mood of that time, which pictured Los Angeles in the most idealistic way, I admire the openness of the city and its lack of segregated Negro districts.² However, the picture was far from being the reality; ironically, as a reaction to huge immigration to the city, the Afro-American Council was established by black Angelenos. It was probably one of the most influential organizations of that time aiming at eliminating any possibility of discrimination that might occur and as such promoted the Afro-American interests throughout the whole California. The Afro-American Council along with other organizations like Californian NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) branch managed to keep the city relatively clean of discrimination till the 1920's. The changing demographic and ethnic composition of Los Angeles caused by widespread immigration irreversibly changed the racial relations in the city. Before World War II, most African-Americans in Los Angeles shared neighborhoods and socially interacted with Mexicans, Japanese, Italians, Jews, and the city's small Chinese population on daily basis.³ (See the Table 1 in Appendix 1) As we can see from the table areas in the City Central like

¹ SCHIESL, M., *City of promise: Race and Historical Change in Los Angeles*, p. 59.

² *Ibid.*

³ SIDES, J., *L. A. city limits : African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the present*, p. 6.

for example Compton exhibited features of mixed-neighborhoods. Yet, this social interaction was far from being based on idealistic relations; although not being comparable to tensions that will resurface during the 1990's, the black-brown relations were interpreted neither in terms of inter-group conflict nor a coalition because back then, black Angelenos perceived the bigger threat in Asian immigrants. Discrimination and racial segregation penetrated into the city's districts leaving minorities with no actual weapon to fight back with; the lack of legislative support is most clearly reflected in the enactment of the so-called Shank Rule that allowed for charging black Angelenos higher prices for various articles than Anglos, the owners of the saloons seized this opportunity in large numbers right before the Shank rule, charging comparably higher prices for drinks to persons of color. Eventually, what had been a reality for quite a long time became a rule purposely initiated by the city mayor as a reaction to complaints of many black Angelenos against such a treatment on the part of white business owners and became firmly established in other spheres of the daily life as well.

As a reaction to growing tensions arising from the fear of spreading racism, the Los Angeles branches of the Liberator and the Eagle headed by African-American publishers, along with a significant support from Los Angeles Sentinel and Los Angeles Times, openly protested against discriminatory practices on the basis of color and declared their belief of equality of all people. They were known for their political activism, publicly protesting grievances black Angelenos were forced to suffer and urged blacks to fight back. Oddly enough, in spite of the racism penetrating deeply into the city neighborhoods, such journals actually helped to incite even greater Afro-American immigration into the city by sending a clear message that Los Angeles resolutely fights against racism and will not submit to Anglo definitions of racial subordination. In addition to that, the relatively acceptable racial climate and reasonably well-performing economy were further positive factors that attracted African-Americans; yet, the lure of homeownership for African-Americans unprecedented to other areas was probably the most decisive factor. By 1910 home ownership among black Angelenos remained extremely high in contrast to other urban cities throughout the nation.⁴ Yet, the greater opportunity of the homeownership for black Angelenos in

⁴ WALDINGER, R. & BOZORGMEHR M., *Ethnic Los Angeles*, p. 8.

Los Angeles was irreversibly connected to the limitation of settling within strictly defined areas, especially in the aftermath of the World War I. (See the Table 2 in Appendix 1) From the map we can see that areas of the City Central and parts of San Fernando Valley and Pasadena became increasingly crowded with black population. Just as the black Los Angeles population doubled in 1920's, the whites started to trap blacks within the boundaries of the Central Avenue Area, justifying it with restrictive housing covenants. (See the Table 3 in Appendix 1) These covenants originated in the 1890's and were strongly supported by the California Real Estate Association that basically forbade the owners to sell homes to minority groups in certain areas, usually areas with Anglo majorities in better neighborhoods, and helped to sustain them till the very 1960's. They were officially attacked by local branches of NAACP, in the 1926 case, *Corrigan v. Buckley*, however the appeal was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court and the racial housing covenants would not be challenged again until 1948 in the *Shelley v. Kraemer*.⁵ During the WWI, the patterns of residential segregations were firmly established in Los Angeles; racial city policies headed by the restrictive housing covenants aroused calls for greater activism on the part of the African-American community and at the same time put the idea of 'color-blinded' Los Angeles into the corner, the city of Angeles was finally showing its real face.

Los Angeles became a typical example of color divided city, with the white population standing against a diverse mix of ethnicities. As mentioned above, during the 1920's and 1930's, black population started increasingly agglomerate in the South Central area; yet, this neighborhood was far from being exclusively black when we take into consideration that the City Central was the only place where minorities were allowed to settle almost freely, which conditioned its diverse ethnic character; for example a 1940 report stated that approximately twenty-two thousand Mexicans lived in the black neighborhood of Central Avenue.⁶ In addition to the City Central, blacks were continuing to reside in Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles.⁷ (See the Table 4 in Appendix 1) Another part of the City Central L.A. with significant black presence was

⁵ Schiesl, M., *City of promise: Race and Historical Change in Los Angeles*, p. 77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷ Sides, J., *L. A. city limits : African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the present*, p. 18.

Watts; although in Watts, the distribution of ethnic percentage differed significantly in the 1940's, with the white population still leading, followed by black and then Hispanic population. (See the Table 5 in Appendix 1) black and Latino settlement patterns leading them to occupy the same neighborhoods will later result in a tensed atmosphere gradually transforming itself into violent clashes, which has its origins in this period. The trend of minority concentration within the City Central impacted the development of black-Latino relations more than anything else; by constantly forcing them to coexist within all spheres of their daily lives, the black-Latino relations were increasingly at stake exhibiting more and more features of conflicting behavior. This black and Latino parallel negatively impacted for example the educational sphere; around the 1930's, black students were largely concentrated in Jefferson and Jordan High Schools within the Central Avenue and Watts neighborhood. Both these schools were racially diverse containing huge percentage of blacks and Latinos along with the mix of other ethnicities. Initially more stable relations were gradually transforming into the racial hatred between blacks and Latinos, following the demographic changes within the neighborhoods' compositions. Basically, on the verge of World War II, black Angelenos were facing racial and residential segregation within all spheres, which in return negatively impacted the sense of unity among them and prevented them from properly promoting their economic, civic and political interests.

Occupationally, Los Angeles became one of the last cities to integrate blacks into the industrial order.⁸ By facing discrimination deeply integrated into the Los Angeles society along with the creation of black and Latino enclaves within the City Central seriously limited the potential of both groups to compete for jobs outside their designated areas, thus pitting them against each other in the fight for scarce jobs. The increasing sense of competition bothered most the black community; it was the result of first, the preferential hiring of Mexican workers in the pre-war period, which left black workers with a strong feeling that they were losing ground within the Los Angeles area. Second, Blacks were either excluded from most industries or limited to unorganized custodial work in factories...⁹ Blacks saw their working opportunities diminishing and

⁸ Waldinger, R. & Bozorgmehr, M., *Ethnic Los Angeles*, p. 381.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

fiercely opposed any further encroachments. Luckily for them, the change came in the form of World War II, irreversibly transforming all spheres of social and economic relations for African-American community; consequently, the shortage of workers overpowered the racial prejudice and allowed for making the economic beacon out of Los Angeles. Unquestionably, during and in the aftermath of the WWII, the economic opportunities for blacks became increasingly enhanced; Assigned to such jobs as housekeeping, janitorial work, and some service and menial labor¹⁰, black Angelenos were suddenly acknowledged as ‘valuable’ labor source in these areas. However, in spite of black Angelenos’ apparent uplifting, the barriers of discrimination were far from being torn down and it would take the Civil Rights Movement to do the job, although not completely for the racial barriers are still present even nowadays. Yet, black Angelenos were not the only ones whose economic opportunities widened because those who benefited most from the post-war development in Los Angeles were Latinos, more specifically Mexicans; basically, their racial rating by the standards of the white society was more favorable than that of black Angelenos, who were far behind Latinos as desirable workers. This general trend stirred even greater resentment towards the immigrant Mexican community on the part of black Angelenos and the zero-sum competition became increasingly prevalent within both communities. It is true that the economic boom in Los Angeles accelerated the working opportunities, however it also accelerated overt managerial racism, restrictive seniority rules, white worker’s preferences, and deepening competition with Mexican workers.¹¹

During the 1960’s, the residential patterns of black segregation were shattering, resulting in the black depopulation of areas earlier confined to black Angelenos. The racial boundary started to shift south of the Central Avenue, gradually reaching Watts and creating a black monopoly; out of the fear that the white community would eventually end up being too close to the deteriorating neighborhoods of the City Central, the Central Avenue itself was gradually being refrained from booming into other Anglo majority areas. Moreover, as a response to changing compositions of the City Central neighborhoods and the Watts riots in 1965, both whites and established

¹⁰ SCHIESL, M., *City of promise: Race and Historical Change in Los Angeles*, p. 113.

¹¹ SIDES, J., *L. A. city limits : African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the present*, p. 75.

better-off African Americans started the exodus from the city center, moving outside the ghettos to areas like Baldwin Hills or West Adams. (See the Table 3 in Appendix 1) The fleeing of better-off black Angelenos stirred an inter-group conflict when revealing the economic divisions that existed within the black community; poorer sections of the black community saw the escape of better-off black Angelenos as an ultimate betrayal to their common interests because they were basically fleeing not just the black identity which they were perceived as exchanging for the white one but also took the hope that the conditions within the deteriorating neighborhoods might improve with their help. Likewise, as a result of let's say Mexican 'rapprochement' to the white community, South Central was gradually changing to exclusively black ghetto in the 1960's, an area full of poverty. This trend was to be seen in other formerly multiethnic neighborhoods like Watts or the Eastside, where the earlier Mexican presence was nowhere to be seen in the post-war decades, along with one of the most racially transformed areas Compton, where blacks represented a significant number of residents in spite of the strong white resistance. Black Angelenos residing in Compton were a classical example of newly-born middle-class of African-Americans, initially exempted from the deterioration of black neighborhoods within the core of the city central, they were ironically later hit the hardest in this area.

The economic boom of Los Angeles came to a sudden end during the 1970's and 1980's, which proved to be a really devastating period for black Angelenos, following the collapse or transfer of many South Los Angeles factories to suburban areas; the economic shift deprived blacks of economic opportunities and left many of them in deep poverty. Consequently, the rates of black Los Angelenos' unemployment soared and left the South Central of Los Angeles devastated. Furthermore, the 1980's proved to a violent decade when the physical deterioration of poorer black neighborhoods accelerated, and poverty, crime, and social isolation intensified.¹² The worsening conditions within the neighborhoods proved to have long-lasting consequences, reaching from the souring rates of crime connected to drug trafficking and the chronic unemployment circle; the worsening situation stirred even greater waves of people

¹² SIDES, J., L. A. city limits : African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the present, p. 124.

moving out of this area, however not everybody was able to escape the minority ghettos.

As a result of the souring crime rates within the City Central, the tensions between blacks and LAPD (Los Angeles Police Department) grew even deeper, resulting in greater probability of violent clashes, street justice within the neighborhoods, police abuse and helpless situation for the residents of such neighborhoods surrounded by the gang culture and their own rules. The changing economic situation was accompanied by further demographic shifts within the City Central area; Latino community that was previously abandoning the City Central in large numbers was increasingly coming back during the 1980's and 1990's. Yet, this time the Latino community was a more diverse group in contrast with the majority of Mexicans that inhabited the City Central previously. African-Americans reacted strongly and violently against such encroachments upon their majority black territory, after all the territory was all they had. During the 1990's, the Latino population of South Central increased by approximately 78,000 while the black population decreased by almost 70,000.¹³ The trend of transformation of initially black neighborhoods into majority Latino ones continued throughout the 1990's, reaching its peak nowadays. The problematic race relations within the neighborhoods, chronic unemployment, high rates of crime and turf wars made a discouraging example out of the City Central; as a symbolic act, the South Central became South Los Angeles in 2003, symbolically erasing the culture of drugs and gang violence while shattering the city limits at the same time. Yet, despite the fact that the city limits are not so strictly designed as they used to be a couple of decades ago, they still play a powerful role in shaping the relationship among various minorities living in Los Angeles.

3 Brief History of Latinos in Los Angeles

According to Sides, at the beginning of the twentieth century, most Mexican-Americans were situated in segregated downtown Los Angeles barrios such as Sonora

¹³ SIDES, Josh, L. A. city limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the present, p. 126.

Town and the adjacent Plaza District.¹⁴ (See the Table 1 in Appendix 2) The anti-Mexican mood was firmly established in Los Angeles by the 1920's, specifically on the part of black Angelenos and poorer sections of the white society, provoking Mexican discrimination, racial hatred and segregation before the World War II. Yet, in comparison with the black community, Mexicans were not segregated along strict lines in for example East Los Angeles around the 1920's; rather they were spread through the whole neighborhood. The areas of East Los Angeles with the biggest density of Latino population were the areas of Belvedere, Elysian Park, Maravilla, City Terrace and Boyle Heights.¹⁵ (See the Tables 1 & 2 in Appendix 2) As a result of the white pressure escalating during the 1930's along with the housing covenants, East L.A. was becoming increasingly overcrowded by Latino immigrants. One of the reasons that Mexicans had initially greater freedom of movement at least within the limits of designated neighborhoods is the fact that the influx of Mexican immigration to Los Angeles well till the 1960's was insignificant to what came after the end of the Civil Rights Movement; rather Los Angeles's main driving force of immigration was represented by the African-American community at that time, fleeing the oppression in the South. Just as black Angelenos, the Latino community was disabled from moving away from these zones by restrictive housing covenants; consequently Mexican barrios started to form, trapping its citizens inside and creating ground for inter-minority conflicts. After the World War II, the residential segregation of Mexican-Americans remained still less strict than that of African Americans. During the 1960's, the Mexican-Americans were told to be only slightly segregated, following the scarcity of long-established barrios and closer rapprochement to the white culture. Likewise, Mexican-Americans had a far greater chance for settlement in Southern California suburbs formerly defined for white population than the blacks had, following the relatively decent Mexican-white relations. Moreover, the Mexican 'acceptance' on the part of the white population stirred an interesting phenomenon of Mexican's perceiving themselves as nearly white. In general, the Spanish speaking population was experiencing better housing conditions than black Angelenos in the post-war period. Yet, this trend was gradually changing during the 1970's, reflected in mass departures of white residences from neighborhoods

¹⁴ SCHIESL, M., *City of promise: Race and Historical Change in Los Angeles*, p. 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

occupied by Latinos. Formerly racially mixed neighborhoods suddenly became exclusively Latino. The similar pattern continued till the 1980's when the Mexican population was portrayed as being located in and around the traditional enclaves, most importantly East Los Angeles, San Fernando and Azusa.¹⁶ (See the Table 2 in Appendix 1) Likewise, the increasing Latino immigration resulted in their establishment in non-traditional areas comprising Long Beach, South Bay, the San Gabriel Valley and most importantly, formerly black areas of Watts, Compton and Inglewood. (See the Tables 3a & 3b in Appendix 2) The Latino immigration irreversibly changed the ethnic and demographic composition of Los Angeles. Decades of violent oppression, economic and social restriction in the form of Proposition 187, resulted in Latino political activism during the 1990's, although previously there had been some attempts in previous decades, the diverse Latino community however did not manage to unite themselves in significant political entity back then; yet for example the Latino residential areas of Eastside, the San Fernando Valley, the San Gabriel Valley, the Southeast of the County or the Westside became politically prominent during the 1950's, reaching its peak during the 1960's.¹⁷ (See the Tables 3a & 3b in Appendix 2) Out of the diverse Latino community, the Mexican subgroup probably represents the most successful long-lasting group in comparison with other recently settled minorities within the Los Angeles County.

As far as the social aspect is concerned, when compared to black Angelenos who were after all Americans and let's say fairly assimilated into the society, Latino immigrants who lacked the English proficiency and had other cultural traditions along with other minority groups, became a primary target of Americanization that resulted in further marginalization of Latino generations in Los Angeles. Waldinger & Bozorgmehr argue that by 1930, it was estimated that 16,000 foreign-born Mexicans lived in Los Angeles County.¹⁸ They early managed to integrate themselves into the labor market, occupying positions within the agricultural, domestic and constructional spheres. The launching of the World War II connected with a renewed economic hope for American citizens initially bypassed the Latino immigrants and other minorities in L.A., which

¹⁶ WALDINGER, R. & BOZORGMEHR M., *Ethnic Los Angeles*, p. 266.

¹⁷ SCHIESL, M., *City of promise: Race and Historical Change in Los Angeles*, p. 182-83

¹⁸ WALDINGER, R. & BOZORGMEHR M., *Ethnic Los Angeles*, p. 50.

only increased the already aroused tensions. These tensions were partially relieved by the 1950's better economic opportunities, when large numbers of Latino immigrants were finally able to achieve a decent standard of living and were actually the group that benefited most out of all minority groups.

The 1960's became a starting point for the Latino community when the influx of Latino migration started to rise significantly, mainly thanks to the Hart-Celler Act that finally abolished immigration quotas for various countries including Latin America. In spite of this legislation, for example Mexicans were still most likely to come to the United States as undocumented workers. The Hart-Celler Act proved to have far-reaching consequences for black Angelenos; the increasing influx of new Latino immigrants into already overcrowded downtown Los Angeles provoked their resettlement into black neighborhoods in South Los Angeles. (See the Table 1 in Appendix 2) This apparent encroachment upon black territories along with the closeness to Watts' area, the pearl of the black community, immediately incited resentment that fully manifested itself in the next decades in the form of racial tensions and to that related violence. Interestingly enough, tensions aroused by increasing Latino population did not hit only the black-Latino relations but also the relations between the new-coming Latino immigrants, especially Mexican workers, and the settled Latinos that perceived the former group as a lower-class. Yet, with the help of new Latino immigrants and specifically with further dispersion of Mexican community, the slums in the Plaza barrios were gradually destroyed and the Latino community increasingly settled Belvedere instead, which was situated right east of La Plaza, creating of the most thriving Latino barrios in Los Angeles.

Portrayed as undesirable parts of American society unable to assimilate, the Mexicans in Los Angeles suffered from the atmosphere of racial, social and economic deprivation. The war-time era resulting in economic prosperity in Los Angeles revolutionary changed the status of the Latino community within the L.A. society. Increasing clashes within the employment sphere between Hispanics and black Angelenos lead to greater tensions and increasing violence. Likewise, as mentioned above, after the World War II the Mexican population moved away from largely black neighborhoods represented mainly by the Central Avenue and Watts and were more

likely to share the neighborhood with the white population, which was a result of their rapprochement to whites. Census tract figures reveal a steep decline in Mexican-immigrant and Mexican-American population of South Central during the three decades after World War II.¹⁹ On the contrary, the 1970's represented a period of relative stability for Latino immigrants in L.A., especially those of Mexican origins. Moreover, the period was rather revolutionary in some regards because the interest of Mexican employment switched from the agricultural to industrial and trade sector, considerably the manufacturing, the sphere that was the main source of living for great numbers of black Angelenos. As the Mexican illegal immigration rapidly increased during the 1970's and 1980's; the new migrants developed into a subgroup that merely reinforced the isolation of the now heavily overcrowded East L.A. barrio.²⁰ Later during the 1980's, the Latinos again gradually populated the South Central, transforming it back to the thriving community with the help of established family businesses and luring of economic capital. This general trend aroused deep opposition on the part of African-Americans, mainly because they settled in their area but probably also because Latinos managed to do the job that better-off black Angelenos were to do, to revive the South Central economy. In similar manner, the Latino presence in the South Central put new obstacles to black political power in Los Angeles while increasing the probability of interest clashes between those two ethnicities. The Latino empowerment became more and more visible within the employment sphere; the Latino challenge proved to be critical for L.A.'s manufacturing when as much as 80 percent of the workforce was undocumented.²¹ The majority of Mexican and Latin American immigrants were low-skilled workers often with lower educational achievements. The fact that the Latino labor occupied pretty much the same position within the society as black Angelenos presented a great obstacle for them; for even though black Angelenos would otherwise be willing to work under poor conditions introduced especially for Mexican workers, they did not stand a chance against the Mexican workforce that flooded the market.

¹⁹ WALDINGER, R. & BOZORGMEHR M., *Ethnic Los Angeles*, p. 122.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²¹ SIDES, J., *L. A. city limits : African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the present*, p. 185.

4 Rise of a conflict: Changing face of Los Angeles since the 1980's

The inter-minority conflict, specifically the black-Latino one, has become a critical issue since the time that Latinos started to flood the country in great numbers. The tensions occurring sporadically were most clearly reflected in three key spheres: the educational, economic and more recently political. This chapter deals with the increasing rate of violent clashes between black Angelenos and Latinos at various stages, it tries to go to the roots of conflicts by providing background studies explaining the reciprocal attitudes of both groups towards each other and attempts providing insights on individual issues from both sides.

4.1 *The impact of the 'zero-sum game' on black-Latino relations in Los Angeles*

According to Nicolas Vaca, a leading sociologist specializing on the problem of black-Latino relations, the Latino population ballooned from 9.6 million in 1970 to 14.6 million in 1980, representing an increase of 52.1 percent over the prior 10-year period.²² The striking reality invoked new interpretations of Los Angeles; instead of the paradise for minorities, the city of angels became the city strictly divided along the racial lines reflected in the creation of invisible city limits. The only difference was that the Latino community was growing way too fast without putting pressure on black Angelenos. This trend continued well into the 1990's when the Latino population increased by 7.7 million to 22.3 million whereas the African-American population grew a mere 3.4 million to 29.9 million.²³ (See the Table 1 in Appendix 3) As a result of such an unprecedented growth, the increase of tensions between these two groups rocketed. The interests of both groups collided on various levels making it almost impossible to achieve a compromise acceptable for both sides. The general argument that blacks were the most oppressed minority within the United States and such should reap the benefits of the Civil Rights era was opposed by Yzaguirre - Kamasaki's 1991 revolutionary

²² Vaca, Nicolas C., *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and what it means for America*, p. 18.

²³ *Ibid.*

paper²⁴ that put the possibility of black-Latino coalition into a new light by portraying blacks more as ‘oppressors’ of the Latino community. First, they argued that blacks were purposely denying Latinos any entitlement to the rights achieved in the Civil Rights era by claiming that they were designed as a means of remedy for blacks.²⁵ By this claim, the Latino discrimination and their role in the Civil Rights movement was diminished to a minimum, which in return provoked increased efforts on the part of the Latino community to get their share of civil rights. However, the black leadership perceived such demands as irrelevant and any Latino attempt to get the same privileges was strictly opposed by the black community. The Yzaguirre and Kamasaki paper stirred passionate responses, driving further wedges between already quarrelling minorities. The issue of black-Latino tensions was further discussed by Jack Miles, who in general still argued that blacks should be those benefiting most from remedies; however more importantly, he publicly expressed what had been obvious for quite a long time before that in Los Angeles, blacks were competing more directly with Latinos than with any other ethnic group and emphasized the importance of whites losing the majority status in Los Angeles.²⁶

Yzaguirre and Kamasaki along with Miles set the tone of the 1990’s decade in Los Angeles, the decade full of black-Latino clashes and sparkling tensions which could not have possibly been guarded, turning the streets into the battlefield. Faced with the peril that the initially black territories in the City Central would be flooded by Latinos, blacks put into the corner saw the only chance in turning to violence in order to prevent such takeovers. The main driving force behind the violence was of course the fear of black displacement not only within the limits of their neighborhoods but also in other decisive and influential spheres, the political, economic and social. In addition to that, the reciprocal stereotyping played a significant role in determining the black-brown relations; Earl Ofari Hutchinson supports this argument by citing that the relations between blacks and Latinos are rife with myths and misconceptions. It’s partly cultural

²⁴ Charles Kamasaki is the vice-president of National Council of Latino Rights aiming at improving opportunities for Hispanic Americans; Raul Yzaguirre is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and an advocate of Hispanic rights in the USA

²⁵ Vaca, Nicolás C., *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and what it means for America*, p. 9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

and partly economic.²⁷ (See the Table 2 in Appendix 3) A large portion of blame for depicting the blacks as drug dealers, gang members in other words criminals with violent tendencies, lazy, ignorant, poor, having rhythm or being intellectually inferior is attributed to television and media, Hollywood is probably the most successful and influential in spreading this image among its viewers. However, the origins of these stereotypes come largely from the history when blacks occupied the role of slaves within the society and whites were portraying them as the biggest threat to the society. Likewise, partially blamed could be the blond and blue-eyed Western standard of beauty picture distributed by the Mexican media,... because Mexico is one of the most rabidly color-conscious of societies.²⁸ This image is distributed in some countries of Latin America as well and might be the reason for the majority of Mexican population emphasizing the lighter tone of their skin in comparison with the one of African-Americans, sometimes even depicting themselves as white rather than brown, strictly differing themselves from the black race. This trend is deeply engrained in the status of blacks in some of the Latin American countries, where blacks and black Latinos occupy lower positions within the society. The typical examples of this feature are Latino telenovelas where blacks or darker skin Latinos are always portrayed in the role of servants less intellectually gifted let's say. Following that, Latinos living in the United States tend to associate themselves more with the Anglo identity and culture rather than with the black one and is probably one of the reasons why Latinos perceive themselves as superior to black ethnicity. Moreover, its strong family ties and religion compel them to despise the collapsing black family units. Hutchinson acknowledges that sadly, many immigrants transport those negative racial attitudes with them to America.²⁹ On the top of that, during the 1990's, Latinos were picked as an example community that was flourishing and developing in comparison with the deteriorating situation of black community, which basically carried a clear message that as much as Latinos separate themselves from the black community, the better for them. On the other hand, Latinos are just as much victims of stereotyping as blacks; most often they are being portrayed as poor, aggressive, lazy, loud, emotional, uneducated, unambitious, rude, messy,

²⁷ Hutchinson, Earl Ofari, *The Latino Challenge to Black America: Towards a Conversation Between African Americans and Hispanics*, p. 26

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34

family-orientated, proud and so on.³⁰ In addition to that, the majority of African Americans view Latinos as being more likely dependent on the welfare than any other ethnic group; likewise, they blame them for taking their jobs, have poor English and being difficult to get along with. The origins of Latino stereotyping have probably more to do with their status of immigrants, which is negatively connected to lower social and economical status.

The reaction of black Angelenos to the statement of Latinos being an example minority community aroused huge opposition resulting in even stronger resentment towards the Latino population. As mentioned above, the African-American stereotyping of Latino community is equally prejudiced, which significantly increased the likelihood of conflict rather than cooperation taking the place in the black-Latino relations. In spite of the common agenda of both groups (the scarce resources in education, discrimination, political underrepresentation...), which could have theoretically incited efforts for coalition, the 'zero-sum game' (if one group benefits, the other immediately loses) sparked further tensions. Oliver Wong argues that Black residents of predominantly black Los Angeles neighborhoods report a greater sense of zero-sum competition with Asians and Latinos and a greater threat from immigration.³¹ It became deeply engrained in the minds of both groups that the gains for one group automatically meant losses for the other, which was reflected in the fight for scarce resources in educational, housing or employment spheres. One of such examples of the 'zero-sum game' can for example be found within the employment sphere where increasing opportunities for one group within certain industry effectively prevents the other group from gaining the same benefits as the previous group. The tensed situation got even worse with the official publication of the 2000 census reporting that in January 2003, Latinos officially became the largest minority in the United States.³² This hard reality hit African Americans even more than anything else before and forced both sides to re-evaluate their positions once again. Initially more supportive of illegal immigration, blacks radically changed sides, ending up with putting their support behind the key anti-

³⁰ Gilbert, Daniel T., Fiske, Susan T., Lindzey, Gardner, *The handbook of social psychology*, Volume II. p. 379.

³¹ Oliver, E.J. & Wong, J., *Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings*, p. 577.

³² Vaca, Nicolás C., *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and what it means for America*, p. 19.

immigrant legislations and even joining radical groups like Minuteman projects in order to suppress the flood of Latino immigrants to the country. I think it would be interesting to mention here briefly the re-interpretation of the 1992 riots that have lately become a subject of a slight controversy. There is no doubt that the riots were a result of white/Korean versus black Angeleno tensions along with the role of social and economic deprivation that blacks and other minority groups suffered within the deteriorating neighborhoods of the City Central; likewise, the black neighborhood deterioration connected to the chronic circle of poverty and unemployment incited increasing rates of drug trafficking and spread of AIDS. All that topped with the fact that statistically black Angelenos were more likely to be stopped by LAPD forces than any other ethnic group, triggered the long-hold frustration of black Angelenos, which resulted in one of the biggest ethnic clashes Los Angeles has ever experienced. Following the acquittal of four white Angelenos in the police force after beating black Angeleno Rodney King, widespread wave of protests flooded the South Central and Compton where blacks assembled first, in order to protest the acquittal and second, more importantly to fight the Korean but also the Latino community threatening their position within the society as a result of the demographic shifts; the Census of 2000 revealed that the Latino population of South Central (58%) finally outnumbered the Black population (40%).³³ The media immediately portrayed the riot as a race issue; Los Angeles Times, the most prominent newspapers within the area not surprisingly became the victim of racial stereotyping when offering its readers stories depicting blacks as the main source of the rioting, while at the same time trying to invoke some positive features of the black community; the stories were mostly put within the black and white context. Consequently, the riots became irreversibly connected to the black ethnicity even though that they were definitely not the most active participants; the majority of the arrestees came from the Latino community.³⁴ More interestingly though, the 'La Prensa San Diego' newspaper argued that it was Black-on-Latino violence that characterized most of the crimes committed during the riots.³⁵ (See the Tables 3, 4, 5 in

³³ Schiesl, M., *City of Promise: Race and Historical Change in Los Angeles*, p. 126.

³⁴ Vargas, Costa Joao H., *The Los Angeles Times' Coverage of the 1992 Rebellion: Still Burning Matters of Race and Justice* p. 225.

³⁵ Vaca, Nicolás C., *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and what it means for America*, pp. 10-11.

Appendix 3) Moreover, the images transmitted by television channels directly after the acquittal showed the Blacks violently beating Latinos. Nicolas Vaca in his book *The Presumed Alliance* claims that the biggest property damage was on the part of Latinos, leaving behind more than 60 % of Latino business ruined³⁶, which is clearly supported by table 3 in Appendix 3.

4.2 Ethnic Cleansing in Los Angeles and L.A. limits

According to the statistical report carried out by Los Angeles, the city of angels has had a violence crisis for over 20 years.³⁷ Moreover, Los Angeles is a place like no other in the world when we take into consideration the deep-rooted tradition of gang culture. Originally concentrated in neighborhoods with either black or Hispanic substantial presence, more precisely in immigrant zones where clashes occur on daily bases, nowadays the limits of gang violence has been shifting towards previously secured middle-class neighborhoods, which finally alarmed a great deal of attention. In spite of the significant presence of gangs in L.A. County, only a small percentage of the City's 700 gangs and estimated 40,000 gang members engage in routine violence.³⁸ (See the Table 6 in Appendix 3) Yet, in spite of this relatively small percentage, Los Angeles remains the city with the highest percentage of gangs, which keeps growing every day. In general, the place with the most probable occurrence of gang violence is the South Central also called the 'inner city'. The conditions in these neighborhood are usually poorer, with great numbers of families either scarcely earning their living or being constantly unemployed due to the outflow of business from the South Central to the suburbs-for example the extinguishment of manufacturer jobs-, transport difficulties or the invisible but strict city limits related to tensed minority relations. As the prospects of ghetto and barrio residents are not s promising, young males or more precisely young black males often turn to gangs in order to sustain their identity or earn their living with the help of drug trafficking, which helps to provide for their families. Such individuals living in risky neighborhoods with their employment and educational options being seriously curtailed usually see no other option than to enter a gang, which represents

³⁶ Vaca, Nicolás C., *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and what it means for America*, pp. 10-11.

³⁷ Advancement Project Los Angeles, *Citywide Gang Activity Reduction Strategy: Phase III Report*, p. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

some kind of security, a means how to get out of the cycle of poverty related to chronic unemployment, and by doing this they actually help to sustain the black stereotypes that have a large share upon their status as undesirable employees. Moreover, the gang life has an irreversible impact upon the lives of young blacks; more commonly, poor young men in South Central expect neither to constitute nor settle with a family, spend much time out of prison, or live past their twenties.³⁹ The chronic economic deprivation is disproportionately concentrated in South LA, Central LA, East LA, and the East San Fernando Valley.⁴⁰ (See the Table 7 in Appendix 3) The continuing circles of prison and violence makes it almost impossible for such an individual to escape and start afresh, with almost zero possibility to get a job, which would in return enable such an individual to get away from the gang culture. According to the data provided by Jose Vargas, in Los Angeles County nowadays, one in three African American men between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine is under the supervision of the criminal justice system, either in prison or in jail, or on probation or parole.⁴¹ The social exclusion, history of segregation along with the placement of the majority of African Americans at the bottom rank of the racial and economic ladder resulted in his pushing closer towards the most easily accessible sources of opportunity, the gangs.

In November 2005, the Los Angeles City Council and its Ad Hoc Committee on Gang Violence and Youth Development⁴² worked out a plan, which would help to diminish the steadily growing percentage of gangs in the streets of Los Angeles. On the large scale, the plan was a total failure; first, the gang reduction plans established did not have far-reaching consequences, second, for the plan to actually work, the city would have to develop a long-term comprehensive plan that would restructure all spheres related to gang violence. In the first place, the epidemic of gang violence is a direct result of the city's original unwillingness to deal with the problem. As mentioned above, L.A. has been dealing with the gang violence for over 20 years, during most of which the L.A. city was turning a blind eye on the issue. There are two major reason; first, as long as the gang violence was kept within the boundaries of poor socially

³⁹ Vargas, J.C. *Catching Hell in the city of Angeles: Life and Meanings of Blackness in South Central Los Angeles*, p. 14.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁴² Advancement Project Los Angeles, *Citywide Gang Activity Reduction Strategy: Phase III Report*, p. 1.

excluded immigrant neighborhoods, the city did not have a sufficient reason to react and come up with an overall strategy that would prevent further spread of gang-related crimes, and second, the overall declining statistics of L.A. County's crime rates suggested that middle and higher classes neighborhoods were becoming safer, which was the long-term result the city wanted to achieve; the fact that the crime statistics of the City Central were obviously getting worse did not initially incite greater action on the part on the part of L.A. Municipal government neither the LAPD. However, the position of the city has irreversibly changed from the passive ignorance towards a more active approach; it was conditioned mainly by the shifting of gang violence closer to middle-class Anglo neighborhoods and by the persistent growth of gangs, which in return stirred further tensions and racial hatred, resulting in the public pressure demanding that the city would finally solve the problem. According to the Los Angeles Fire Department (LAFD), in 2005 there were over 1,400 shooting related 911 calls in South LA, over 200 calls in East LA, over 400 calls in Central LA and over 300 calls in the Valley.⁴³ (See the Table 8 in Appendix 3)

Another important factor concerning the gang violence is unquestionably the presence of the city limits. In reality, these limits are not firmly set but rather invisible barriers on the streets of L.A. marking the territories of various ethnic groups. As far as the Latino gangs are concerned, in 2007 there has been an estimate of 22,000 Latino gang members in L.A.⁴⁴ Yet, more importantly, Latino gang members are the most numerous among all the gangs within the Los Angeles area and the majority of them profess the Mexican Mafia violent practices. The Mexican Mafia is one of the oldest and most influential gang families in L.A., with a long legacy of hostility directed at the most powerful African-American gang, the Black Guerilla Family. During the 1990's, the Mexican Mafia put every effort behind uniting diverse Latino gangs in order to displace blacks from Latino neighborhoods; immediately headlines entitled 'ethnic cleansing of blacks' started to appear in the newspapers, offering catastrophic scenarios in the style of Hollywood gangster movies. According to the 2008 Los Angeles County report, the hate crimes admittedly have been peaking in the last five years, placing the Latino-on-black at the first place and black-on-Latino violence at the second. However,

⁴³ Advancement Project Los Angeles, Citywide Gang Activity Reduction Strategy: Phase III Report,p. 11.

⁴⁴ Watson, J.P. Racist Mexican Gangs "Ethnic Cleansing" Blacks In L.A.

overall statistics suggests that black-on-black and Latino-on-Latino crimes within the Los Angeles area still dominate. One of the recent examples of the Latino-on-black violence though was connected to the Harbor Gateway in 2007, a section of Los Angeles, where Latino gang members established the city limits.”⁴⁵ Crossing such invisible boundary by black Angelenos meant sure conflicts, highly probably resulting injuries or according to the worst scenarios, even death. Yet, the crossing of such limits was not the only pretext for the Latino gang to act; more importantly, black Angelenos living within this section were increasingly forced to move away when they were beaten, shot or prevented from entering various places in the neighborhood. blacks returning from school were stopped by gang members, provoked and humiliated even though they had nothing to do with gangs. Yet, in order to be fair, it needs to be emphasized that such practices are not limited exclusively to Latino gangs but are common for black gangs as well. The killing of 14-year old black girl Cheryl Greene by a Latino gang member attracted a huge attention of Medias to the problem of Black-Latino violence. Cheryl Greene was mortally wounded when hanging with her school mates near 206th Street and Harvard Boulevard ⁴⁶on the black side of the territory, while thoroughly avoiding the Latino side. The killing was immediately labeled as racially motivated and sparked passionate responses from both sides, making out of this section of Los Angeles a ‘time bomb’. It is necessary to emphasize that an exactly opposite trend was happening within the neighborhood where Greene was killed; instead of black Angelenos being displaced by Latinos, the black community was increasingly moving into these areas invoking negative attitudes on the part of Latino residents. Moreover, right after the murder of Cheryl Greene Latinos were given full responsibility; yet later some speculations occurred about the killing being a reaction to another murder of a young Latino exactly one week before committed by members of a black gang operating in this area. The murder however was swept away by the police as an unsolved case. No matter how profound affects this murder might have had on the black-Latino tension within this area, these speculations were never properly researched and any possible connections between these two murders were downplayed by the

⁴⁵ Vaca, Nicolas C., *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and What It Means for America*, p. 59.

⁴⁶ CBS, *Teen Girl Shot in Racially Motivated Hate Crime*.

media, picturing blacks as the only victims of the shooting. It seems that whenever racially-motivated murders between blacks and Latinos occur, the media immediately take sides without properly looking into the whole picture of the story, blaming one or the other side, which really does not help anything, it only keeps pitting both groups against each other, which will definitely not solve the problem that Los Angeles unquestionably has. For the percentage of black-Latino violence in Los Angeles after any racially-motivated murder immediately shoots up. More importantly, lately there have been clear indications that the major reason for clashes between Latino and black gangs is rather the color of their skin than the defense of their territories; for example the tradition of Latino gang members getting stripes for killing black people because stripes are a gang-soldier's badges of honor.⁴⁷ The Latino gang-the Avenues- operating within the Highland Park area are responsible for shooting the 21-year old Anthony Prudhomme in his home; this highly publicized case, during which the Avenue gang member was sentenced on the charges of hate crime, attracted attention to the problem of racially-mixed neighborhoods. Moreover, the press immediately portrayed the badge tradition as the main motive for the killing without any solid proof. Yet, more importantly, this case served as an example of black-Latino violence spreading into areas of middle-class neighborhoods, which was a new threat to the Los Angeles community. In comparison with other racially-motivated assaults by Latino gangs on African Americans, the Prudhomme case turned out to be a landmark decision when all the Avenue gang members participating on the murder were sentenced to life in federal prisons, signaling a clear warning to all gangs operating within the Los Angeles County. As said above, the racially motivated attacks are more probable in places with higher concentration of both the Latino and black community, in other words in racially mixed neighborhoods, especially in places where Blacks are gradually being replaced by the Latino majority. Among these places unquestionably belong the City Central, specifically Compton, the Southwest, Northwest and East L.A. The most significant Latino gangs that operate in these areas are the Varrío Tortilla Flats, the Street Gang, the Toonerville gang and the Avenues.⁴⁸ Whether the reasons for conflict from the Latino side are engrained anti-black racism, the competition for blue-collar jobs, the

⁴⁷ Mock, B., L.A. blackout.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

changing neighborhoods or the unwillingness of African-Americans to leave the Latinos some of the achievements of Civil Right era, it is more than obvious that the situation will rather worsen than improve. Moreover, the recent escalation of black-Latino violence impacted the tendency of observers to put the blame for this conflict rather on African Americans than Latinos, switching to the latter group when looking for the culprit without considering their own role and the legacy of the Anglo society in general. Lately, blacks has been portrayed more in terms of innocent victims rather than the aggressors of conflicts, whereas the Latino role has shifted from being more of a preventive one to being clearly aggressive in their determination 'to clean' the Latino neighborhoods from any black presence. This trend has roots in Latino resentment to any social interaction with African Americans in racially-mixed neighborhoods, perceiving them in terms of stereotyping. Likewise, Latinos who have always been more likely to be portrayed as the initiators of black-Latino coalition by media, have lately showed more antipathy to such an action than blacks have. (See the Table 9 in Appendix 3) Another problematic area of black-Latino violence is the Florence-Firestone district, which is an unincorporated area north of Watts. (See the Table 10 in Appendix 3) Initially, the rivalry between the Latino gang Florencia 13 and black gang East Coast Crips focused on the drug trafficking that sustained the living style of both the groups. However, after the change in Mexican Mafia strategies, Latino gangs started to target black gangs on the basis of their color, focusing on their displacement. Two Florencia gang members came upon a black couple on Florence Boulevard in September 2005. One shouted "F— Cheese Toast" (a derogatory name for the East Coast Crips) and ordered the other to shoot the pair. (The feds say the couple wasn't affiliated with any gang.)⁴⁹ The prospect for blacks in ever increasing Latino territories will highly probably worsen rather than improve when taking into consideration the powerful Mexican Mafia influence upon Latino gangs, who keeps encouraging Latino gangs to purify the Latino streets from black presence. Tony Rafael, who is a leading specialist in the field of gang activity put the blame for racial conflicts on both Latinos and blacks equally; on the other hand he furnishes that when taking into consideration the overall prospects, Latinos will probably gain more by invoking conflicting situations

⁴⁹ Murr, A., Racial Cleansing in L.A.

for they will continue being the most numerous group with the biggest potential into the future.

The gang truce established in Watts between the major factions of the Crips and Bloods in March of 1992 sought to quell the escalating violence between young blacks.⁵⁰ The contemporary Black gang identity goes back to 1970's when most of the black gangs divided their loyalty to either the Crips or their rival gang, the Bloods. The latter arose as a defense against the Crips and originated mainly from the South Central. These gangs were gradually gaining on power, finally reaching the peak in the 1990's. Originally, black gangs were purposefully created to combat the growing anti-black violence on the part of the white community. Gradually, however, after the white depopulation of the typically black neighborhoods, the black gangs turned against each other in an effort to gain power in territories. Throughout the mid-1970's, Crip identity took over the streets of South L.A. and turning them into an epidemic of shootings and street fights.⁵¹ It is important to emphasize that black youth, who was seriously curtailed in several spheres, saw the gang as the only possibility for sustaining the black identity and self-expression of every individual. (See the Table 11 in Appendix 3)

Things started to change with the demographic shifts stirred by increasing Latino immigration into L.A. neighborhoods. The immediate response to this situation was the transform from black-on-black violence into black-Latino violence. One of the initial conflicts equally provoked by the Bloods and the Latino 18th Street gang occurred in South L.A. ending with the death of one member of the latter group and turning the conflict into a race war. In order to overthrow the picture spread by the media that each gang automatically aims at eliminating each other, it needs to be emphasized that some black gangs have members of other ethnicities including Latinos or even agreed to conclude partnerships with gangs of various ethnicities. Nowadays, most of the black gangs continue to fight each other for narcotic-related profits and in defense of territory, and many remain unstructured and informal.⁵² Likewise, it is more likely for black

⁵⁰ Vargas, Costa Joao H., *Catching Hell in the City of Angeles: Life and Meanings of Blackness in South Central Los Angeles*. p. 177.

⁵¹ Alonso, A. A., *Racialized Identities in Los Angeles*. p. 669

⁵² Cgiaonline, *African-American gangs*.

gangs to clash with the Los Angeles Police Department rather than other ethnic gangs unless they are forced to do so.

4.2.1 Black-Latino violence in Los Angeles jails since the 1990's

The violence between the inmates of different racial backgrounds in jails and prisons has been escalating lately, yet it is far from being surprising taking into the consideration the long-lasting legacy of prison violence in Los Angeles County, reaching back to 1980's; ⁵³ back then, street gangs within the Los Angeles County were gaining ground, spreading their influence far behind the territory of L.A. streets. The transition of the black-Latino conflict from streets to prisons marked further escalating stage of inter-group violence (See the Table 12 in Appendix 3), signaling the increasing antipathy between those two groups. As mentioned before, it was the 1990's that launched an epoch of violent prison clashes and rioting in Los Angeles County jails. One of the earliest cases of black-Latino violence occurred within the downtown Los Angeles in Men's Central Jail, a prison dominated by the members of Latino gangs. The long-lasting tensions resurfaced right after the media transmitted serious of images from the 1992 riot, basically showing the Black frustration directed against the Korean, but also Latino population of the City Central and adjacent areas. Consequently, brawls between the Latino and black inmates broke out; overall, these brawls were more likely to be stirred by Latino prisoners aiming at showing the Black inmates their place within the prison hierarchy. It was the result of Latinos being a majority within most of L.A.'s prisons. Yet, what was so special about the Men's Central Jail, is the fact that back then, it was the only one out of several L.A. County prisons that permanently employed gang specialists in order to minimize the threat of gang-related violence. (See the Table 13 in Appendix 3) It was in here that back then, the gang specialists uncovered a new phenomenon of prison violence being connected to street gangs, more precisely to powerful gang families behind these street gangs. Likewise, they witnessed a growing importance of the Mexican Mafia family within the gang hierarchy; the Mexican Mafia started to stress the importance of Latino unity, the ideology later used within the political sphere by Latino community leaders, and made attempts to stop the Latino-on-Latino violence and instead direct it against blacks in order to gain an advantage over

⁵³ Archibold,R.C., More Injuries as Race Riots disrupt Jails in Los Angeles.

them in drug trafficking. (See the Table 14 in Appendix 3) I think that the Mexican Mafia is fueling the fire that is already present in the communities, said Sgt. Wes McBride, a gang expert with the Sheriff's Department.⁵⁴ The support of this claim came early, during the 1994 rioting in prisons, which was the most significant and coordinated violence of that time believed to be launched by the Mexican Mafia. Hundreds of inmates were involved, and 76 were injured in the violence, whose center was the Peter J. Pitchess Jail in Castaic,⁵⁵ situated north of the San Fernando Valley, thus outside the reach of the City Central. The next decade witnessed more than 150 racially-motivated jail fights between blacks and Latinos, leaving more than 80 inmates most of whom were blacks injured.⁵⁶ However, the worst times were yet to come; the Latino flooding of Los Angeles County, tighter connections between the Latino gangs and powerful Latino gang families along with the lack of opportunities for both blacks and Latinos resulted in increasing tensions and competition for scarce resources. Yet, it is necessary to emphasize that in spite of the black-Latino unwillingness to social interactions, the majority of blacks and Latinos living within the racially mixed neighborhoods where the gangs of both ethnicities operate, is less prone to inter-group conflicts and coexists peacefully. Yet the same can not be said about gang members and drug dealers, who are those personally engaged in violent clashes.

The segregation of Los Angeles County prisons became the only means of preventing violent clashes between inmates of various ethnicities. However, what was designed as a means of keeping prisoners from getting hurt, was to come to an end in 2005, by a single ruling of the Supreme Court ironically viewing the California prison segregation system as discriminatory and supporting its ruling with the *Brown v. Board of Education* case that ended the segregation of public facilities. Once again, a short-sighted decision in the favor of 'justice' beat those directly impacted by it. The decision represented a great obstacle for prison officials in L.A. County, who found themselves in a difficult position with seriously restricted means of how to sustain security in newly integrated prison facilities. The prison guards were persuaded that the integration of

⁵⁴ Mydans, S., Racial Tensions in Los Angeles Jails Ignite Inmate Violence.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Dalton, Andrew, One dead and more than 100 hurt in Castaic prison riot.

blacks and Latinos would only lead to further killings whose primary victims would unquestionably be blacks, for they lack far behind Latinos in numbers. Oddly enough, any such claims were directly attacked by Republican Latino senator Gloria Romero, who believed that integrating inmates reduces all forms of prison violence.⁵⁷ Well, what makes her think that integration would actually help to diminish the rates of black-Latino violence within the prison system when it largely failed to do so within the neighborhood system is a mystery. Likewise, until the powerful families will stop controlling every aspect of prison life, no such an idealistic end is likely to happen.

The Mexican Mafia has been lately representing one of the most influential obstacles to peaceful coexistence of blacks and Latinos. They control who gets assignments to what jobs. They let the prison guards know that to maintain the peace, certain people should be celled with other people.⁵⁸ In an attempt to comply with the Supreme Court ruling, the L.A. prisons launched a promotional campaign informing inmates about the new policy of prison integration by providing videos and manuals. Only certain types of inmates were to be integrated; totally excluded were those who have been involved in interracial violence or gangs, these will remain segregated, yet at some high-security prisons, that's half the population.⁵⁹ Likewise, those inmates that do not come under the previously mentioned status thus are suitable for the integration but refuse to do so, would find themselves being a subject of sanctions. The integration complicated by the strong influence of gangs was to be completed gradually, starting from lower-security housing where the possibility of ethnic violent clashes is less probable than in higher-security prisons. Since the ruling, there has been argumentations going on at the official level, yet the most important points were made by the prisoners themselves; some of the inmates of L.A. prisons asked Sheriff Baca to let various ethnicities separated in order to keep everyone safe for their own sake. The introduction of integration policies had the worst impact upon the prisoners; the inmates faced a difficult decision of which codes they should obey to, either to those of prisons aiming at decrease the violence through integration or the unwritten codes of Mexican Mafia following an exactly reverse outcome. The former could have presented obstacles in the

⁵⁷ Gumbel, Andrew, Californian Jails End Racial Segregation.

⁵⁸ Stoltze, Frank., California Prisons start desegregating inmates.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

form of sanctions for them, yet the latter ones were to be taken more seriously if one wanted to get safely out of the prison.

The integration system of Los Angeles prisons has not so far proved effective. Since its introduction, further clashes between Latinos and blacks occurred on several places. In February 2006, rioting broke out again at the East Facility of Pitchess Detention Center in Castaic.⁶⁰ The primary reason for the clash seemed to be the forced integration; the fighting occurred in a group dorm where both Latinos and blacks instead of mixing with each other took positions in opposite corners of the room. A 45-year old black was beaten to death by Latinos, which was said to be revenge for the fatal stabbing of a Latino gang member in another Los Angeles jail week before the accident.⁶¹ There is a suspicion that Latino gang leaders directed the Latino attack against Black inmates. Subsequently, all the units where the fighting broke out were placed on lockdown. Right after these violent clashes, Sheriff Baca came under a strict criticism from one of his supervisors Mike Antonovich, who condemned him for failing to protect Black inmates against their violent Latino counterparts. Well, what was he supposed to do with the limited resources he had, for the Los Angeles County prison system is seriously underfinanced leading to shortages of the prison staff, along with the Supreme Court ruling hanging around his neck? In the aftermath Los Angeles County Sheriff Lee Baca immediately ordered segregation of black and Latino inmates completely ignoring the ruling. The Pitchess Detention Center has been a violent place since the 1990's and most of the clashes included Latino-on-black violence. After two decades of violent clashes in prisons it was the highest time to address the problem. Earl Ofari Hutchinson, the author of the *Presumed Alliance*, who deals with the issue of black-Latino violence, has appealed several times to Los Angeles political leaders of both groups, in particular the Latino ones, to stop the violence, yet he has only met a wall of silence so far. The only exceptions were two community leaders -Latino state Sen. Gilbert Cedillo and African-American pastor Rev. Carl Washington of Los Angeles – who publicly pledged their support for the emergency segregation.⁶² According to their plan, the California Supreme Court decision of prison integration

⁶⁰ Kearney, Kevin, Two dead, 100 injured in Los Angeles County jail riots.

⁶¹ Reuters, L.A. Jails on lockdown; blacks, Latinos segregated.

⁶² Ibid.

could be bypassed in cases of real emergency in order to secure safety of the inmates. Lately, the black-Latino violence provoked an interesting and non-precedent sideway effect on the part of previously quarrelling black gangs the Crips and Bloods, who seem to unite themselves in order to fight the increasing pressure of Latino gangs. Although this might be only a temporary phenomenon, there are some indications that this trend might continue in the future. On a recent evening, Deputy Tim Brennan, a patrol officer in Compton, stopped two members of warring black gangs, the Bloods and the Crips, riding in one car. "What are you doing?" Brennan asked, clearly surprised to see the two men -- one wearing red, the other blue -- in the same vehicle. "Going to get the Mexicans?"⁶³

4.3 Black-Latino Conflict in the Educational Sphere in Los Angeles

This subheading deals with the general problem of black-Latino educational lack behind the white students in educational sphere and its further impact upon their economic and social opportunities. First, it introduces the reader into the history of major educational initiatives concerning either black or Latino students in the subchapter called 'Fight for bilingual education', with a special emphasis on the black-Latino divide reflected in California Proposition 187 and 227. Second, 'the subchapter black-Latino High School drop-out rates', based on the statistical data from Los Angeles County provided either by the U.S. Census or the Pew Hispanic Center, tries to draw conclusions and provide explanations for the low black-Latino educational achievements. The last subchapter then focuses on the major school conflicts between blacks and Latinos since the 1990's while providing possible reasons for the increasing violence between these two minorities.

Race has and continues to operate as a barrier to educational and social mobility and change.⁶⁴ After the revolutionary 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which implemented the end of school segregation, the trend of multi-racial schools was to become the prevailing pattern in American education. Affirmative action programs aiming at increasing the number of minority students in the educational sphere were

⁶³ Pomfret, J., *Jail Riots Illustrate Racial Divide in California*.

⁶⁴ Carter, T. Robert & Goodwin, Lin A., *Racial Identity and Education*. p. 291.

introduced and the general pro-minority mood in the aftermath of the 1960's was settling in the American society. Yet, in spite of the greater accessibility to education for minorities, one trend has not changed so far; increasing numbers of minority students were not reflected in the equal increase in minority educators. Till nowadays, the majority of teachers tends to be white, which is the impact of restrictive measures introduced by white supremacists and sustained well into the late 20th century. Likewise, the stereotyping plays a significant role in designating somebody's potential, which seriously curtails the possibilities of individuals, in our case Latino or black students. The history of viewing the members of other races as inferior and lacking the necessary intellectual and social potential in order to become valuable members of the American society had probably the biggest impact on the shaping of ethnic identities for generations. The most influential study dealing with the negative impact of stereotyping upon ethnic groups was carried out by the social psychologists Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson in 1995; in their study, they claimed that black college freshmen performed more poorly on standardized tests than white students whenever their race was emphasized.⁶⁵ These conclusions were further researched in the aftermath of Steele & Aronson publication, among the most prominent was probably the 2002 study of the social psychologists Gonzales, Blanton and Williams the Latinos were prone to perform poorly in their academic achievements whenever they were intentionally exposed to stereotyping according to their ethnicity, which seriously underscored their mental abilities.⁶⁶; As a result of that, the individuals that come under the group of ethnic stereotyping, tend to exhibit signs of anxiety and depression about their possible failure in the educational sphere and due to this factor, they are more vulnerable to give up the effort in advance and excuse it with the stereotyping barriers that expected them to perform poorly since the very beginning. The stress caused by negative stereotyping might also lead to low self-esteem and low self-control or to the individual perceiving himself/herself as a total failure. (See the Table 15 in Appendix 3) Some of the individuals are not able to cope with the anxiety brought upon them by the stereotyping culture and tend to leave school while asserting themselves in other spheres that would allow them to fully express their identity.

⁶⁵ ReducingStereotypeThreat.org., What is stereotype Threat?

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Substantial evidence connecting the educational achievements of minority groups and their predispositions based on their race can be found in the study carried out by professors specializing in the field of mental abilities Lesser, Fifer and Clark (1964), which lays further bases to the claim that ethnicity is a significant determinant of mental capabilities.⁶⁷ During the 1970's and 80's various the stress on poverty, cultural heritage and family tradition came into focus, establishing a relation between those determinants and the educational achievements of various ethnicities, which was supported by the leading sociologist Daniel P. Moynihan. Overall, at that time the widespread belief was that Blacks lacked behind white students in educational achievements due to their virtually non-existent nuclear family unit connected to high percentage of single parent families living in poverty, which in return resulted from centuries of racial discrimination. Growing up in such an environment conditioned the lower scores for Blacks in education, higher probability of drop-out and with it related inclination to criminality and violence. Another significant research in the field of minority education was carried out by John Ogbu (1983), a prominent social cultural anthropologist. This project concluded that Blacks and Latinos were the victims of social and demographic limitations within the American society.⁶⁸ The segregation of these groups in ghettos and their social exclusion made them more likely to fail in comparison with other ethnicities. In order to respond to the increasing interest concerning the widening educational gap of some minorities, the creation of educational programs that aimed at erasing these differences while creating a uniform culture was incited. The latter was increasingly criticized in the 1990's in the wake of multiculturalism.

Black youngsters are often told to leave racial and cultural patterns behind when they enter school if they wish to succeed,⁶⁹ cite Carter & Goodwin. Young blacks often find it very difficult to reconcile the two identities, first the one of black culture and the other they are supposed to adopt if they want to succeed. This confusing struggle tends to end up with the creation of a new racial identity associated with low self-esteem of

⁶⁷ Lesser, Gerald S., Fifer, Gordon & Clark, Donald H., *Mental Abilities of Children from Different Social-Class and Cultural groups*. p. 53.

⁶⁸ Ogbu, John, *Minority Status and Schooling in Plural Societies*. p. 171.

⁶⁹ Carter, T. Robert & Goodwin, Lin A., *Chapter 7: Racial Identity and Education*. p. 305.

young blacks in its early stages, turning back to the rebirth of black identity in its final stage. The problem concerning the identity of African-American youth and their school performance is an interesting arena for research. It seems that the majority of black students views the adoption of 'white' identity as an ultimate betrayal of their Black identity, which often leads to their exclusion from their ethnic group. In other words, they have a sense of belonging to neither the black nor the white group. On the other hand, African-American students are recognized as being one of the most aspirational ethnicities as far as the educational achievement is concerned. In the study of Allen, Bonous-Hammarth, & Suh (2003) the researchers found out that the high aspirations are connected to African American belief that education represents the only means of climbing the social ladder.⁷⁰ Interestingly enough, a similar pattern can be found in the families of immigrant Latinos who tend to perform much better in the terms of education than their native-born Latino counterparts. It can be explained by in terms of higher aspirations of immigrant families; they tend to press their children towards the inclusion into the new society as quickly as possible by emphasizing the importance of education assuring them upward mobility. However, out of the black and Latino groups, Latino immigrant students are those with much lower self-esteem rates and measurably exhibit higher percentage of psychological problems than blacks, which makes them less successful in achieving their educational objective.

There are several factors associated with poor achievements of Latino and black students. One of these factors is the general trend of lower expectations from schools with substantial presence of minorities; in other words, such schools usually engage in lower-demanding activities on the part of students with specially adjusted curricula. As a result of that, the level of educational achievement in comparison with higher-profile schools is substantially lower, which is also connected with the absence of sufficient, quality and experienced staff or school resources available in such schools. Furthermore, poor Latino or black students are seriously underrepresented in high-profile schools due to first, their lack of above-mentioned resource and second, their general perceiving rather in terms of lower performances, which seriously limits their

⁷⁰ Parson, Gail C. & Kritsonis, William A., A National Focus: An Assessment of the Habits of African-American Males From Urban Households of Poverty Who Successfully Complete Secondary Education Programs. p. 5.

possibilities to assert themselves. This claim is supported in the case study of Carter and Goodwin (1994); the half of black and Latino public school students attends schools where at least 75 percent of the student body is poor, but only 5 percent of White students do so.⁷¹ Ironically enough, districts with higher percentage tend to receive far lower federal resources on education than districts with insignificant number of minority residence. Likewise, most of the Latino and black students trapped inside ghettos or barrios are forced to go into such poorly doing underfinanced schools in their segregated poor neighborhoods. All this connected with the declining support for affirmative action resulted in further setbacks for black and Latino students. This argument is supported by Manning Marable, the director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies at Columbia University, when claiming that the vast majority of black and Hispanic students continue to function under a kind of educational apartheid, more than a generation after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.⁷²

As far as the inter-group relations are concerned, the likelihood of better black-brown relations is attributed to higher levels of social interaction between both groups; the more various ethnic groups interact with each other in their neighborhoods, the more likely are they to socialize with them at schools. Both Latinos and African Americans have been designed as being strongly group orientated rather than individualistic, which differentiate them from whites. Moreover, it seems that the more positively the individuals feel about their ethnicity, the more positive relations with other ethnicities they can have. The case study carried out in sample Los Angeles schools revealed that African Americans expressed more positive out-group attitudes than did Latinos; and males expressed more positive in-group attitudes than did females.⁷³ As mentioned above, stereotyping plays a significant role in black-Latino school relations as well; the majority of Latinos would still overwhelmingly describe blacks as less intelligent than themselves in spite of them being the most lacking group in terms of educational achievement, at least in the recent decades.

⁷¹ Powell, John A., *Creating Communities of Opportunity for African Americans and Latinos* .p. 2.

⁷² Marable, Manning, *Defining Black Higher Education for the Twenty-First Century*. p. 113

⁷³ *Ibid.*

4.3.1 Fight for Bilingual Education v. the California Proposition 227

The bilingual education initiative was comes under the title of affirmative action programs, directed at promoting higher diversity in American schools. Originated in the 1970's, the bilingual education was supposed to facilitate the inclusion of minority Spanish-speaking children into the American society by allowing them to study in Spanish before achieving a sufficient knowledge of English in order to be capable to study in it. Initially, it was the white opposition that sparked the controversy carried on till nowadays. The main arguments on the part of white Angelenos concerned the clash of interests the bilingual education represented for them and their children. First, promoting Spanish language at schools would in the final stage lead to the necessity to use it on the daily basis, which would for monolingual white Angelenos mean an obstacle. Second, the burden in the form of financial resources that would be necessary for carrying out the bilingual program would, according to the white Angelenos, fall most heavily upon them, while there would be no benefit for their children coming from such a program. On the contrary, the financial resources would be taken away from them, which would lead to the deterioration of the quality of education. Third, a significant role played a negative attitude towards Latino population and the stereotypes. The last but not least argument against bilingual education on the part of whites attracted the attention of blacks towards the issue as well, it concerned the economic sphere; as for the previous arguments concerning the linguistics and educational resources, blacks turned out to have a more positive attitude than whites towards the adoption of bilingual education at schools. First, they themselves were a minority and the majority of their children studied at schools that lacked financial resources along with Latino children. As a result of that, they perceived the bilingual education as a means of how to attract the desired attention and resources to such schools. Moreover, blacks were more likely to share a neighborhood with Latinos than any other ethnic group, thus were instantly exposed to Latino culture and language. Yet, the instant black-Latino job competition put the bilingual education into a new light; if the Latino children would be given a possibility to study in their language, they would highly probably achieve higher scores, graduate in higher numbers and as a result of that, get better jobs and perform well economically, which would rank blacks as inferior to Latinos.

The opposition towards bilingual education at schools that spread during the 1990's was preceded by two other California initiatives that had a great impact upon the opposition. First, it was the Proposition 187, which passed in 1994 and resulted in denying many publicly funded social and health care services to illegal immigrants and to prevent their enrollment in tax-supported educational institutions.⁷⁴ The Proposition 187 was a result of California bad economic situation in the 1990's, which was believed to be largely conditioned by huge waves of illegal immigrants coming into the state. The widespread belief that illegal immigrants were the major cause for California recession persuaded many California voters to pass the Proposition. Yet, in the long run, the Proposition 187 only turned out to be a weak attempt of how to save California from being flooded by Latino immigrants. Immediately after its passage, sharp opposition aroused on the part of many Latino organizations, American politicians, the Mexican government and mainly those who were primarily touched by the resolution, the Latino immigrants living in California protesting against it by organizing protests and boycotts. After challenging its legality, a federal judge in L.A. ruled the same year against the implementation of Proposition on the basis of violating the constitution. This ruling was upheld by US District in March 1998, irreversibly killing the Proposition.⁷⁵ The second proposition that greatly influenced the desire to end the bilingual education in California was the Proposition 209. The Proposition 209 was initiated in 1996 and was designed to end most public affirmative action programs in California.⁷⁶ In reality, it meant the end of race-conscious policies that allowed schools to hire students from minority groups in order to promote diversity on school campuses. Since its adoption, the Proposition had the most devastating impact upon African American and then Latino students in California. (See the Table 16 & 17 in Appendix 3) The unintended impact of the Proposition 209, which resulted in the decline of both black and Latino school enrollment, was the unfriendly climate that those minority students who were successful had to face in Californian schools.

⁷⁴ Alvarez, Michael M., Why did Proposition 227 Pass? p. 3

⁷⁵ ACLU, CA's Anti-Immigrant Proposition 187 is Voided, Ending State's Five-Year Battle with ACLU, Rights Groups.

⁷⁶ Alvarez, Michael M., Why did Proposition 227 Pass? p. 4.

The Proposition 227 sparked a controversy in California; two groups were created, first those who argued for the end of bilingual education in order to improve the education for children coming from non-English speaking families and second, those who widely perceived the measure as being racist and discriminatory lead by the Latino community. The former group claimed that bilingual education failed to reach its purpose with the majority of Latino students studying in their native language instead of improving their English skills, whereas the Proposition 227 required schools to teach in English and provided for 1 transitory year that would place children who could not keep up into special bilingual classes before assigning them to English-thought classes. In 1996-97, California schools identified 1.4 million, or 25 percent, of these students as "limited English proficient" (LEP).⁷⁷ The result was that Latinos were continuing to perform poorly and were dropping out in large numbers, which impacts upon their whole life. Likewise, insufficient or non-existent English only causes stress and anxiety and disables the inclusion into the mainstream society. Los Angeles Times Polls carried out in 1998 found out that among registered voters, 63% said they approved of the measure and 24% opposed it, with the 50% support on the part of Latino voters,⁷⁸ who realize that the only chance their children have to succeed is connected to English proficiency, which confounds the claims that all Latinos always demand preferential treatment and by that consume the money of taxpayers without even slightly trying to assimilate. Blacks were strongly in favor of Proposition 227 passage, which revealed a strong racial divide present in California. On the other hand, the latter group defended the bilingual education because it offered non-English speaking students and their parents various ranges of services and programs that helped them to improve their knowledge of English and gave them a possibility to choose whether they wanted to study in English or Spanish while providing a special funding for these services. On the other hand, the end of bilingual education seriously endangered the chances of Latino speaking students for quality educational achievements. According to the research carried out by the Pew Hispanic Center, a specialist in the Latino studies, 44% of first

⁷⁷ Decker, Cathleen , Bilingual Education Ban Widely Supported.

⁷⁸ Decker, Cathleen , Bilingual Education Ban Widely Supported.

generation Latino has a poor English knowledge ⁷⁹; however, this percentage has a tendency to lower with each generation. (See Table 18 in Appendix 3)

After the passage of the Proposition 227, the percentage of Latino English learners in Los Angeles County decreased from **491,094** in 1997/08 to **421,118** in 2007/08 while the percentage of Hispanic proficient English-language students increased from **202,257** to **345,636**.⁸⁰ This suggests an increasing tendency of English knowledge on the part of Latino youth, yet whether this increase was conditioned by the end of bilingual education can not be conclude from the data provided. Both the proponents and opponents of Proposition 227 have remained devoted to the issue even after one decade of its introduction. The former group has launched a media campaign celebrating the achievements of Proposition 227, sometimes even citing figures as 100% improvement of English Language proficiency for immigrant students. This would mean that the Proposition 227 has largely succeeded in performing what it was created for and at the same time significantly improved the lives and inclusion of immigrant students into California society. Ron Unz, the ‘father’ of Proposition 227, highlighted the positive statistics of English learners that have been transferred to English proficient since the initiative introduction and at the same time pointing out the increasing percentage of Hispanic school enrollment. (See table 19, 20 in Appendix 3) The table 19 in appendix 3 suggests that the Latinos are clearly enrolling at Los Angeles County schools in higher numbers and even are performing better, yet these tables ignore, purposely or not, the changing demographic situation in the Los Angeles County; the increasing percentage of Latino population in Los Angeles County automatically means higher percentage of Latino students. Professor Eugene Garcia, Dean of the Graduate Schools of Education at the University of California, Berkley, is one of those who argue that the end of bilingual education in California has not proved effective for minorities so far. He states that before passage of Proposition 227, 30% of the ELL population (8% of the total school population) was enrolled in bilingual programs.⁸¹ This percentage approximately responded to the percentage of teachers

⁷⁹ Fry, Richard & Gonzales, Felisa, A Profile of Hispanic Public School Students. p. iv.

⁸⁰ The California Education Department, Language Group Data.

⁸¹ Mora, Kerper Jill, Proposition 227's Second Anniversary: Triumph or Travesty?

who were qualified and experienced enough to work under the bilingual programs. In the aftermath of the initiative passage, the percentage dropped significantly, with most of the ELL being transferred to a transitory 1-year English Language programs mostly thought by monolingual staff. The SAT Scores that were carried out in 2003/04 and 2004/05 in Los Angeles County Schools were to reveal the impact of Proposition 227 upon the students' achievements. It revealed the declining tendency of grade 12 enrollment for both Latino and African-American students while at the same time indicating only a slight improvement in Math and English-reading skills, which is apparent from the following tables. (See the Tables 21, 22, 23 in Appendix 3) The middle passage between proponents and opponents of bilingual education represents the research of Hakuta Kenji, Professor of Education at Stanford University. She claims, that SAT scores for LEP students increased somewhat in the aftermath of the Proposition 227, while also emphasizing that the improvement concerned even schools that were not directly impacted by the end of bilingual education because they never introduced it and point out towards a general trend of lower achievements usually getting better with time.⁸² Likewise, the increase in SAT scores concerned all districts with various ranges of programs and non-LEP students. Still, according to the overall tone of the article I would argue that she inclines towards a less positive scenario concerning the Proposition 227's impact; however, in comparison with Gonzales, she blames the failure on other factors as well, which she does not mention specifically, rather than putting it exclusively on it. In order to see the rates of educational achievement before and after the passage of the Proposition 227, please see the Tables 24, 25 in Appendix 3.

4.3.2 The Roots of Black/Latino's High School drop-out rates in the Los Angeles County; Is there a solution?

Some groups are more likely than others to drop out, between these groups are Latinos and blacks whose probability to graduate in California equals to half of their total enrollment in comparison with their much more successful white counterparts. The statistics speaks even worse for black and Latino males. The 2007 research at Los

⁸² Hakuta, Kenji, Boler, Yuko Goto, Bousquet, Michele, SAT-9 Scores and Proposition 227. p .1.

Angeles School carried out by the California Department of Education revealed that in 2006/07, 305,168 Latino and 57,532 African-American students were enrolled in 9-12 grades at schools in Los Angeles County, yet out of the total number 16,143 Latinos and 3,663 African Americans dropped out.⁸³ Out of this percentage, the majority of dropped-out Latinos and blacks would more likely end up either unemployed or in a poorly paid job, starting the never-ending cycle of poverty and crime. According to 'Immigration Watch International', with a 58 percent dropout rate the South LA Jefferson has the worst dropout record in the Los Angeles Unified School District, the nation's second-largest.⁸⁴ As mentioned in the introductory chapters, Jefferson is one of the first schools established within the area of the City Central. It is a typical example of inner-city LA school with the majority of students being composed of either LEP Latinos or Blacks who both suffer from the lack of financial resources and sometimes the family unity. 'The Fight Crime Invest In Kids' organization who has been dealing with the troubling increase of high school dropouts connected to violence stated in its 2007 report that "High school dropouts are three and one-half times more likely than high school graduates to be arrested, and more than eight times as likely to be incarcerated."⁸⁵ One of the possible solutions would be the introduction of school reforms and increased investments since the kindergarten in order to avoid further prolonged drop-out crisis that has been destroying the lives of thousands of students. Yet, with a view to the current economic crisis within the United States, this scenario is more likely not to happen in the near future.

The probability of drop out increases with the place of residence; usually residents of neighborhoods with high proportion of minorities, attend a school where the majority of students consists of minorities. Students attending such schools are most often of either Latino or black background in Los Angeles. The probability of graduation increases with certain economic and social factors; first, suburban and rural districts in L.A. have much higher rates of minority graduation than the L.A. central city districts. Second, the higher education of parents obtained, the higher probability of

⁸³ California Department of Education, Dropouts by Grade and Ethnicity.

⁸⁴ Immigration Watch International, Hispanic-dominated L.A. school grapples with worst dropout rate and gang problems.

⁸⁵ Fight Crime Invest In Kids.org., School or the Streets. p. 3.

child's educational achievement. Third, the single parent families diminish the possibility of stable background for children and fourth, the better economic situation of parents, the higher possibility to graduate for children. All of these factors mentioned above are more likely to lack in African-American and Latino families. Dr. Julie Mendoza at the California State University found out that in Los Angeles only 48% of black and Latino students who start 9th grade complete grade 12 four years later.⁸⁶ What is even worse, the Civil Rights Project, which has been doing research concerning the minority drop-out crisis, found out that minority students in Los Angeles usually drop out school between grades 9 and 10⁸⁷; this basically prevents them from climbing the social ladder in order to surpass their parents and fail to fully contribute to the California economy. Specifically, the 9th grade that is a transitory year from middle-school to high-school turns out to be problematic for minority students. Even if the Latino or black students in Los Angeles manage to finish High-school, there's only a slight chance for them that they would get accepted to any university in California. For example Californian Universities have a majority students coming from public high schools, yet only a minimum of African-American and Latino students fulfill the entrance conditions. As a contrast to the previous argument it is important to note that oddly enough, California is the state with most of African-American students pursuing higher education; this is however largely shadowed by the fact that African-American High-school graduation rates have been among the lowest in California.

The Latino graduation rates are much lower than that of black Angelenos; in general, a large number of Latinos is enrolled at high schools but only a minority of them manages to graduate. They have the highest numbers in Los Angeles high school enrollment; in 2007/08 they represented 30,588 or 53.2%⁸⁸ out of the total student enrollment in the final high-school year. Out of this number, 4,238 Latino students were subjected to high-school leaving exam, in which only 30% succeeded.⁸⁹ This is incredibly huge gap suggesting that the educational achievement of Latinos has been getting worse recently and that this trend will more likely continue into the future as

⁸⁶ The Civil Rights Project, *Confronting the Graduation Rate Crisis in California*. p. 8.

⁸⁷ The Civil Rights Project, *Confronting the Graduation Rate Crisis in California*. p. 2.

⁸⁸ California Department of Education, *2007-08 Los Angeles County Enrollment by Gender, Grade & Ethnic Designation*.

⁸⁹ California Department of Education, *California High School Exit Exam 2007-08*.

well, which seriously undermines the possibility of the Latino community climbing the social ladder. In addition to that, Latinos are more likely than any other group to be part-time students and if they manage to get their degree, they are more likely to do it at later age. More importantly, Latino students who participate in extra-curriculum activities at High-schools and to some extent have stronger family support tend to perform better than those Latinos who lack both. Moreover, it is important to note that Latinos are a very diverse group and that there is a significant difference between the US-born Latinos and their immigrant counterparts; in general, the former group is more likely to finish high-school than the latter one, which tends to have greater numbers of drop-outs and is more vulnerable to quitting an education for a job, in order to help sustaining their family. Nowadays, Latinos have become the most lacking group behind all major groups in terms of educational achievement. (See the Table 29 in Appendix 3) There were several factors that influenced the performance of Latino students in the High-school exit exam; one of such factors was the language proficiency of the students; yet when we look properly into the results of the statistical research carried out in Los Angeles, analyzing the results of language proficiency of English learners and native speakers, (in order to do that please see the Table 28 in Appendix 3, surprisingly no huge gap was found between those groups as expected before the research. Second, the educational performance of both Latino and Black students is greatly influenced by the so-called drop-out factories. The drop-out factories are schools that consist largely from minority students dropping out in large numbers and having poor educational achievements. (See the Table 29 in appendix 3) Professor Robert Balfanz, a specialist from Hopkins University, was conducting a research directed at discovering the reasons behind both black and Latino low graduation rates. First, he pointed out that in California, black and Latino students are 3 times more likely than White students to attend a high school where graduation is not the norm.⁹⁰ This is the result of the majority of these schools being seriously underfunded, which is the greatest problem for the majority of economically disadvantaged minority students who would otherwise be eligible for various social services but can not obtain them because of the school's economic situation. Likewise, the high-profile schools in Los Angeles where the

⁹⁰ The Civil Rights Project, *Confronting the Graduation Rate Crisis in California*. p. 2.

graduation rates are steadily high, host only a small percentage of both Latino and black students. Similarly, the racial isolation of both Latinos and blacks increases the probability that they would attend a low-profile school in their poor neighborhood, where the majority of students consists of their own minorities. One of the typical examples of low-profile schools is the Los Angeles Unified School District where the majority of students consist of Latinos followed by African Americans, whose graduation rates fall far behind their actual enrollment; out of the graduation percentage in LAUSD only 1 in 5 black or Latino students in LAUSD meet the state's four year public college bound criteria.⁹¹ This is a devastating percentage reflecting the scarce chances of African Americans for moving from the bottom to the comfort of the middle-class. In addition to that, the Anglo dream including on-time graduation from high-school, going to college and then in some cases transferring to university is far less real for both blacks and Latinos; the California Research Project Report no.14 concluded that the chances of both Latinos and African Americans for the on-time graduation move around 45%⁹² at LAUSD. The previously mentioned 'phenomenon' of the English proficiency not having such a significant impact upon the test results of English and non-English speakers, was found at the LAUSD as well; the explanation of the English language proficiency not having any impact upon the graduation here, lays highly probably within the majority of Spanish-speaking LAUSD students being capable to use both English and Spanish.

The lack of qualified teaching staff is another significant factor influencing the quality of educational achievement for both black and Latino students; students who attended high schools where more than one-fifth of the teachers were not fully certified graduated from high school at lower rates.⁹³ (See the Table 30 in Appendix 3) Latino and African-American students in Los Angeles districts attend the majority of such schools. Furthermore, specifically the Latino students face a challenge in the form of them attending schools where the majority of students is designed as ELL (English Language Learners). Such schools usually suffer from the lack of necessary financial

⁹¹ The Civil Rights Project, *Confronting the Graduation Rate Crisis in California*. p. 2.

⁹² Silver, David, Saunders, Marisa & Zarate, Estela, *What Factors Predict High School Graduation at LAUSD*. p. 8.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

resources and a special staff experienced enough to teach such students. Moreover, along with the qualified staff, the class-size influences the students' achievement as well; the Morgan-Hart Class Size Reduction Act of 1989 established a program to reduce class size in grades nine through 12 in California.⁹⁴ Recent reports have showed that class-size reduction has actually helped to increase the student's performance in California. (See the Tables 31, 32 & 33 in Appendix 3) This policy had a tremendous effect especially on minority students attending low-performing schools in California. This finding is largely supported by the Vital Research, a consulting firm specializing in research and evaluation residing in Los Angeles, and by the California Teachers Association.

From the economic point of view, first, the drop-out students are more likely to cost the California state more on social and health care services, second, they are less likely to actively participate in political process and or to engage in civic activities. Third, they are more likely to turn to crime in order to earn their living; this in return increases the probability of them being jailed, which leads us back to economic burden for the state and its taxpayers. Following that, the more practicable solution would be a greater investment in California's educational system, which would in return more likely increase the educational achievement of minority students who otherwise fail to do so. This would mean a lower fiscal burden for the state on welfare, crime-related expenditures and healthcare services for the drop-out students, for graduates are more likely to have a health care insurance provided by the employer, and the overall increase of California economy. The more students graduate in California, the higher probability of them climbing the social ladder and contributing to the California economy. In 2004, the total expenditure on the county level for education equaled only to 1%⁹⁵ of the budget.

The current educational system in California contributes rather to increasing drop-out rates than to their decrease. According to current educational system in California First, the policy of SAT testing tend to create an enormous pressure on the minority students that are more likely to come under the category of lower-performing

⁹⁴ California Department of Education, High School Class Size Reduction.

⁹⁵ Belfield, Clive R. & Levin, Henry M., The Economic Losses From High School Dropouts in California. p. 14.

students; the minimal achievement the schools are bound to get, (See the Table 34 in Appendix 3) launches a cycle that starts with schools forcing lower-performing students out and ending with their dropping out. This could be effectively prevented by assigning the state the central role in monitoring the improvement of each school district, providing sufficient resources and services to low-performing schools and if even after that such a school fails to improve its standards, it should be subjected to penalties. This policy is partially executed as a part of ‘No Child Left Behind Act’ for minority and non-English speaking students or students with disabilities. The schools with such students are required to monitor and report such the academic yearly progress of students. Moreover, the California Education Department assesses yearly a certain rate that requires the Spanish-speaking students to achieve proficiency in English language. Moreover, the California students are subjected to Spanish Assessment of Basic Education, which monitors basic skills of Spanish-speaking students, the California Standard Test that compares the school results and the California High School Exam in order to monitor that students scores high enough in math and English before being able to graduate.⁹⁶ Yet, this policy sets a deadline until which the schools are to achieve certain improvement; this leads to enormous pressure first on the students covered by the policy and second, the schools that fear the possible sanctions they might be subjected to. The report carried out by Human Resources Research Organization revealed that the CAHSEE proved to be most problematic for black and Latino students and it might have a great impact upon their dropping out in such a large numbers in California. (See the Table 35 in Appendix 3) This claim is supported by Dr. Catherine Horn, who is researcher at the National Center for Student Success in Houston, in her case study Standardized Assessments and the Flow of Students Into the College Admission Pool. Particularly Latino students designed as English Learners and economically-disadvantaged students achieved very low scores. In spite of the effort of many California schools that developed programs for low-performing students in order to help them to succeed in CAHSEE, the majority of schools with significant percentage of Latino or African American students fail to do so either out of the lack of financial or staff resources. This is only one example where the California policies aimed at

⁹⁶ Timar, Themas; Biag, Manuelito & Lawson, Michael, Does State Policy Help or Hurt the Dropout Problem in California.. p. 9

increasing the schools standard actually backfired and unintentionally incited further dropping out of Latino and African American students. This claim needs to be however further researched in order to prove to what extent the CAHSEE impacts the decision of African-American or Latino students to leave school.

California belongs to the states that take the graduation crisis rather vaguely. So far California has not been able to come up with a program that would directly address the overall problem of drop-out crisis. There have been various ranges of program available statewide and based either on the financial incentives or sanctions, among them drop-out prevention programs that engage both students and special counselors. The legal tools seem to be the most frequent ones used to assure the obligatory attendance of children under the California legal code. The School Attendance Review Board is the main agency coordinating the efforts of local and state agencies in order to promote the school attendance; however it's largely failing in its effort according to the latest statistics. Further incentives for schools are reflected in the form of financial aid. The financial aid to schools is distributed on the basis of each school attendance rather than on the basis of each school enrollment, which makes it a subject of controversy for many people. Schools with high percentage of low-performing students, which is the majority of predominantly African-American and Latino school districts, have tendency first, to track students' attendance and second, to keep only the higher-performing students that would guarantee to schools financial resources. Overall, the high percentage of minority students that drop out each year should attract attention to this system that is apparently not working. Another incentive that focuses at increasing the percentage of graduates in California is the alternative high school, which provides schooling for those children who are not able to cope with performing at the ordinary high schools; these are for example children with special needs or children with behavior problems. However, in spite of the range of programs available, it is higher improbable that the wide gap existing between the minority and white students could be narrowed without the state first solving the problem of high minority students dropping out. California has set the minimum graduation rate to be achieved in 2013-14 to 83.6%⁹⁷, which is far from the reality possible to accomplish. For the percentage of the

⁹⁷ De Cos, Patricia L., High School Dropouts, Enrollment, and Graduation Rates in California. p.12.

graduations rates of minority students from the California University see the Table 36 in Appendix 3.

5 The Political sphere, Conflict over Coalition?

This chapter deals with the political sphere, more precisely with the context of the 2001 and 2005 of Los Angeles Mayoral Elections; it focuses on the participation rates of both Latinos and blacks and tries to provide possible explanations for the election outcomes in both cases. Moreover, it stresses the importance of the historical coalitional building within the Los Angeles area and traces the origins of the ‘rainbow coalition’ as envisioned by the Black ex-mayor Tom Bradley. Similarly, it explores the possibility of Black–Latino political alliance by focusing on their common agenda while at the same time mentioning the reasons of their political divisions as well.

The flooding of California by Latinos has irreversibly changed its political landscape and at the same time diminished the political empowerment of African Americans. The initially black-white conflict has gradually transformed into the Black-Brown competition. Consequently, the clashing minority interests resulting from the competition for the scarce resources allocated to minorities have penetrated into most spheres. The issue of bilingual education mentioned above is only one sphere where the interests of African Americans and Latinos stand against each other, resulting in further splits between these two groups. In spite of the fact that both groups share a common ground, concerning for example the anti-discrimination agenda, a salient issue for both African Americans and Latinos, they are not capable of leading a dialogue that would finally unite both groups and push them in one direction or the other; the views on how such possible achievements of the unification should be divided between both groups tend to be the most conflicting area, specifically at the local level.

First, the demographic situation in Los Angeles is one of the most influential factors in minority politics. The great diversity of Los Angeles’ neighborhoods incites the interaction of various minorities, most commonly African Americans and Latinos, in several spheres including the employment, education or politics. As a result of that, the minority groups in racially mixed neighborhoods are often faced with a difficult choice

between the deep-rooted stereotyping that makes them to classify the members of other races according to certain standards most often creating negative attitudes, and the reality that is often far from the ingrained standards. Second, the ethnic identification of each group impacts the group's decision of which political initiative they would be more likely to promote, in order to highlight its status, and which more likely to oppose in case it would clash with its salient interests; the politics based along the racial lines successfully prevents any attempts of the coalitional building more than anything else. According to the research carried out by Public Policy Institute in California, blacks expressed the most intense sense of ethnic group identification and a majority of Latinos said that their racial identity was *very* important.⁹⁸ It seems that the more the individuals identifies with its ethnic group, the more likely will he/she identify with the group's needs, which will in return influence his/hers political preferences. Another important factor of urban coalitional politics is the political affiliation of both groups; whereas the majority of blacks tend to associate themselves exclusively with the Democratic rather than Republican Party, Latinos become staunch democratic supporters after a longer period spent in the United States.

The rising numbers of Latino immigrants in California seriously threaten the political power of African Americans; the rivalry between Latinos and African Americans in the political sphere is perceived as another example of the 'zero-sum game' by both groups. As a clear response to this, Blacks in California has attempted several times to prevent Latinos from replacing them as the most influential minority power by aligning themselves with Anglos and supporting legislations directed against Latino immigrants; this is the case of bilingual education and the Proposition 187 mentioned in the previous chapters. In an attempt to achieve greater representation at the local level, both groups tend to sacrifice the possibility of a coalition that would serve their interests better than their individual pursuing of the group's self- interests.

5.1 The context of the 2001 Los Angeles Mayor's Election

The 2001 mayoral elections in Los Angeles revealed what a deep division existed between black Angelenos and their Latino counterparts; the result of the 2001 election reaches far back to Tom Bradley's mayoral terms. Tom Bradley was the first

⁹⁸ Cain, Bruce, Citrin, Jack & Wong, Cara. *Ethnic Context, Race Relations, and California Politics*, p. 29.

African-American Los Angeles mayor that managed to be elected with the help of not only biracial but rather multi-racial coalition back in the 1970's. Bradley envisioned a political coalition based on black, Anglo and Jews cooperation, which would successfully promote him to the role of Los Angeles black mayor and he managed to do so. His success was partially shadowed by the vain or rather virtually non-existent support of the Latino community within the area, which contributed to his election rather negatively, following from decades of engrained stereotyping and the zero-sum election of Gilbert Lindsey in 1963, the black deputy to the Anglo county supervisor Kenneth Hahn as the District 9 City Councilor.⁹⁹ Latinos perceived this step as usurpation of their powers mainly because, first, the District 9 was labeled as a Latino territory and second, the outgoing District 9 Latino councilor was to be substituted by another Latino candidate in order to retain the only place Latinos held in Los Angeles City Council. (For the map of the District 9 please see the Table 1 in Appendix 4)

The election of a Black Angeleno as a representant of their district infuriated the Latino population and undermined further efforts for the black-brown coalition. Moreover, Latinos perceived this step as an ultimate betrayal of their previous goodwill concerning the promotion of Black representation into the City Council. The disputed City Council election left in many Latinos a taste of bitterness and resentment and at the same time turned out to be a typical example of how the short-reaching interests of one group have a tendency to overpower the possibility of a long-term flourishing alliance of both groups in order to break the Anglo monopoly in Los Angeles politics. Similarly, further resentment and dislike of Latinos towards supporting a black candidate was sparked by the City Council elections in the next two Los Angeles Districts. Tom Bradley secured another spot for Black Angelenos in the City Council back then but this did not prevent the black community from pitting another black Angeleno candidate against a Latino one, in an attempt to gain another seat and exclude the Latino representation in the City Council completely. The opportunity of a black-brown political coalition that would have been possible if Blacks had refrained from this attempt, which would consequently ensure an equal representation of both groups in the City Council, irreversibly evaporated after blacks clearly signaled that they would put

⁹⁹ Vaca, Nicolas C., *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and what it means for America*, pp. 94-95.

every effort behind limiting the Latino influence within the political sphere to a minimum; the Los Angeles's media were printing headlines urging the black community to defeat the Latino candidate and by doing this, they significantly contributed to the establishment of the zero-sum game politics; the direct help of the just-elected candidate Tom Bradley was the last drop for the Latino community who perceived Bradley as a candidate for every minority within the city but the Latino one. This City Council election incited the black political empowerment in Los Angeles and according to Nicolas Vaca, the liberal money and support had been flowing to blacks, most notably Bradley, creating resentment among even liberal Latino activist.¹⁰⁰ The Black-White coalition helped to sustain Bradley as a mayor of Los Angeles well till the 1990's, when Bradley decided to refrain from another contest for Los Angeles mayor, while being largely opposed by the Latinos. The Black-White coalition basically evaporated in the late 1990's, when the then white mayor Riordan refused to renew the contract of the black police chief Willie Williams.¹⁰¹ As a result of that, a new 'partnership' was created; Blacks infuriated by such a proceeding refused to support Riordan's reelection and instead voted for his opponent, whereas Latinos actively mobilized, after a long time of being practically passive, and put their support behind Riordan. By that Latinos openly expressed their hostility towards black Angelenos and indicated that any attempts for minority coalition would be met with rejection.

The history of black-brown political conflict in Los Angeles set bases for the outcome of the 2001 L.A. Mayoral election. Antonio Villaraigosa, a Latino liberal Democratic candidate, and James Hahn, an Anglo liberal Democratic candidate, both put their names on the electoral for the L.A. mayor in 2001; they both aimed at creating a biracial coalition, which was so successfully formed during the times of Tom Bradley; yet the racial and political climate during the 2001 contest differed significantly from the one Bradley experienced during his elections. Whereas African Americans, moderate and conservative whites preferred Hahn, the majority of Latinos and Liberal Democrats voted for Villaraigosa.¹⁰² Once again, black Angelenos and Latinos stood

¹⁰⁰ Vaca, Nicolas C., *The Presumed Alliance*. p. 97.

¹⁰¹ Vaca, Nicolas C. *The Presumed Alliance: The Unspoken Conflict Between Latinos and Blacks and what it means for America*, p. 101.

¹⁰² Austin-Wright, Sharon D. & Middleton, Richard T. IV., *The Limitations of the Deracialization Concept in the 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election*, p. 283.

against each other, which only confirmed the improbability of their political coalition. Villaraigosa did not build his political campaign along the racial lines but rather used the multicultural aspect prevalent in the L.A. society. Being the first Latino candidate who had a real chance to become the first L.A. mayor in centuries of its existence and being aware of the burden of black-brown competition, Villaraigosa smartly refrained from special appeals to any L.A. minority group including its own and rather talked about issues that were connected to larger segments of the society. The approach Villaraigosa adopted was a direct result of black resentment towards the possibility of Los Angeles having a Latino mayor; the persuasion that a Latino mayor would automatically mean the increase of power and opportunities for Latinos at the expense of blacks was far too real to be ignored. By urging the voters that he would introduce a real multicultural coalition, Villaraigosa successfully and more than surprisingly managed to court the support of Asians, Jews and Latinos in the primary, which put him in front of the other candidates. After the crashing victory in the primary elections, nobody doubted that Villaraigosa would be the first successful candidate, right after Bradley, who would manage to win the mayoral election with the support of multi-racial coalitional electorate. Yet, oddly enough, Hahn and not Villaraigosa became the L.A. mayor at the day of general election, which meant that something went terribly wrong for Villaraigosa between the primary and general elections. (See the Tables 2 & 3 in Appendix 4)

There were several factors that greatly influenced the final outcome of 2001 mayoral election; first, and most importantly, the black vote knocked Villaraigosa down to his knees. According to Earl Ofari Hutchinson, Villaraigosa got less than one-fifth of the black vote in comparison with a phenomenal 80 percent for Hahn.¹⁰³ There is no need to further explain what this crashing percentage meant for Villaraigosa's ideologies of multi-racial coalition. The 'zero-sum game' was a decisive factor in the election and Villaraigosa's campaign based on its denying could not change decades of difficulty to see the common ground of black Angelenos and Latinos; in spite of the constant courting of the black vote by meeting with prominent black leaders of the leading organizations, Villaraigosa failed to gain support from the most influential of

¹⁰³ Hutchinson, Earl Ofari, *The Latino Challenge to Black America: Towards a Conversation Between African Americans and Hispanics*, p. 101.

them who mostly put their support behind Hahn, which was a direct result of the past and present black-White coalition and further factors. The only exception was the black director of Southern Christian Leadership Conference in L.A., Norman S. Johnson, who was considered as one of the most influential African Americans in L.A. Second, a non-present individual in the L.A. mayoral race impacted and non-intentionally courted the black vote in favor of Hahn; it was his father Ken Hahn, an ex-mayor of L.A. who had a long-lasting legacy of being a promoter of black interests in neighborhoods with the significant black presence like the South Central. That was a sufficient factor for the older generation of L.A. influential African Americans who saw in Hahn the potential of his father and so did the majority of black electorate. Moreover, the black-white coalition worked on the bases of non-direct competition within most of the spheres, which represented the major difference for black Angelenos, who clashed with Latinos on daily bases. On the other hand, Villaraigosa's disadvantage, except for him being Latino of course, was that he was an unknown candidate with no legacy for the black community. Third, in the 2001 L.A. Mayoral Election there were three white candidates, which conditioned the initial split of the white electorate in the primary election, and which might explain why Hahn lacked behind Villaraigosa, whose victory was perceived as the direct result of his successful deracialized campaigning based on the model of Tom Bradley.

In contrast with the latter mentioned, Villaraigosa concentrated on two key groups in order to win the election, white liberals and Latinos; though he dedicated most of the time to campaigning directed at the white electorate and at other L.A. minority groups, mainly black Angelenos and Jews who were known for their larger voter turnout in comparison with for example the Asians. (See the Table 4 in Appendix 4) Worried that by increasingly addressing the Latino community he would only confirm his opponents charges of his pro-Latino agenda, Villaraigosa intentionally reduced the courting of the Latino vote, which later turned out to be another decisive factor contributing to his defeat in the mayoral election. If he had managed to mobilize the Latino vote, his chances would have increased significantly, although it would not still guarantee him the victory, not without the Black support. Fourth, Hahn's skills to use the negative campaigning had a great impact upon the stern decline of Villaraigosa's

voters' preferences between the primary and the general election. Hahn skillfully used his long-term legacy as a fighter against the crime and used it against Villaraigosa by depicting him as not hard enough on crime and not trust-worthy and by emphasizing that Villaraigosa had supported a federal pardon for a convicted cocaine trafficker, the son of a campaign contributor.¹⁰⁴ Oddly enough, black Angelenos who were stereotypically connected most with drug-trafficking consequently should have viewed Hahn's campaign as highly offensive, continued to support him in large numbers. Likewise, the fact that the voters were not informed about other City Council officials supporting the same pardon no matter what their race is highly controversial.

Also, more importantly the frequency of Villaraigosa's attacks on Hahn was far smaller and throughout his whole campaign he continued to be mostly positive and avoided responding to Han's attacks, which greatly contributed to his defeat because it put Villaraigosa into a new light depicting him as a weak candidate. The most important factor on the part of Hahn's negative campaigning was however his capability to persuade other non-Latino minority groups that if elected, Villaraigosa would only promote the Latino interests; in spite of Hahn having nothing to support his claim with, the minority preferences for Villaraigosa declined significantly after the attacks. Fifth, the fact that both candidates were Democrats and both were depicted as liberals might have enforced the voting pattern along the racial lines; for the less informed voters who were not influenced by any factors mentioned above, might have been appealed by the race of the candidates. Six, according to the Tables 5 & 6 in Appendix 4, the Asian community and especially Hahn's successful appeal to middle-voters was just as important factor as the unwillingness of black Angelenos to vote for the Latino candidate in this mayoral race. Overall, the 2001 L.A. mayoral race seems to be a typical example of voting along the black-Latino racial lines; yet, in order to contrast this claim, I cite the example of the city attorney race running in the same year, where Delgadillo, a Latino Democratic candidate, received the majority support from both Latino voters and black voters.¹⁰⁵ This poses a question why was the Black electorate so

¹⁰⁴ Krebs, Timothy B. & Holian, David B., A Study of Negative Campaigning in the 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral Election. p. 129.

¹⁰⁵ Abrajano, Marisa A., Nagler Jonathan & Alvarez, Michael M., A natural Experiment of Race-Based and Issue Voting. p. 208.

supporting of the Latino candidate in the city attorney race, while being totally negative in the mayoral race the same year? Delgadillo seemed to have been more successful in creating a moderate cross-line coalition consisted of Latinos, blacks and Asians, whereas Villaraigosa failed to do the same with the liberal coalition.

The Latino concentration in urban Los Angeles gives them a great political potential in these areas; the 2001 L.A. mayoral elections completely restructured the L.A. politics, creating new coalitions, which was a direct result of the active Latino participation unprecedented to that time. According to Raphael J. Sonneshein, a professor of political science at the California State University, Latinos made up a record 25% of the vote.¹⁰⁶ This was a clear mark of increasing political activism on the part of the Latino population living in Los Angeles as compared to previous elections where the Latino electorate was rather low. As mentioned above, till the 1993, the coalition political patterns in Los Angeles concentrated mainly along black-white liberal support, giving Tom Bradley a twenty-year of political empowerment. Oddly enough, Los Angeles proved to develop a very strong biracial coalition that sustained for such a long time and managed to avoid significant clashes of interests that occurred elsewhere and resulted in ending of such coalitions. The possible explanation might lay in Los Angeles' non-partisan elections that do not require the candidates to associate themselves with the ideals of any political party, which in return provides a certain space for the creation of more liberal coalitions ranging across a various interest and ideals. It seems that the voting behavior is shaped by individual's identity and its place of residence; Sonneshein emphasizes that in spite of individual's ethnicity, he/she might develop a political attachment to candidates of other ethnicities on the basis of their residence¹⁰⁷; in other words, in neighborhoods with larger concentrations of stable minority population where the population transition is rather low, the social interactions help to create new non-ethnic based relations that in return stirs the creation of new bi or even multiracial coalitions. These coalitions are founded on the bases of common ideologies and interests that might evolve into long-lasting political coalitions.

¹⁰⁶ Sonneshein, Rafael J. & Pinkus, Susan H., *Latino Incorporation Reaches The Urban Summit*, p. 717.

¹⁰⁷ Sonneshein, Rafael J. & Pinkus, Susan H., *Latino Incorporation Reaches The Urban Summit*, p. 719.

Nowadays, the age of immigration has irreversibly changed the local urban politics; various new ethnic blocks have been created that conditioned the formation of new ideologies and with it created spaces for coalitions. (See the Table 7 in Appendix 4) As far as the 2001 L.A. mayoral election was concerned, it was a clear example of the block-voting; first, Villaraigosa's support was mainly drawn from the heavily Latino districts with black districts heavily opposing his election. The latter event helped to form a new unprecedented coalition consisted of black and white Republicans while deepening the divisions of black-Latino minorities. The black-white Republican coalition however evaporated earlier than it could have properly developed, for except of the black resentment towards a Latino candidate it had almost no common agenda upon which it could build a long-lasting relation upon. Yet, it represented a new trend in L.A. local politics by openly placing black Angelenos against the increasing political activism of Latinos. The improbability of black-Latino political coalition has been revealed several times since the voting on Proposition 187, in which blacks in California expressed their fears of being politically displaced by Latinos. The increasing mainly Mexican immigration to the city in the last decades has significantly threatened the interests of black Angelenos, who have been placed into the role of renew competition for what they thought to have already deservedly secured. Yet, even the black political block in Los Angeles was not politically constant over the decades. The increasing class differences within the black community gave space to the black-Latino biracial coalition. Newer generations of black Angelenos might prove to be more willing to establish longer-lasting political alliances with its Latinos counterparts than the older dominant black generations who perceive the Latino increasing political activism as a threat to their hardly established interests.

A research was carried out by Jackson, Gerber & Cain (1994), all three of them professors at California Universities, concerning the perspectives of Black-Latino political coalition; according to their research, back in the late 1980's, the majority of black Angelenos perceived their relationship towards Latinos in positive terms.¹⁰⁸ The answer to the question why it was so in spite of large numbers of Latino immigrants flowing to the city, lies within the virtually non-existent Latino political activism in Los

¹⁰⁸ Jackson, Byran O., Gerber, Elisabeth R. & Cain, Bruce E., *Coalitional Prospects in a Multi-Racial Society: African-American Attitudes towards Other Minority Groups*. p. 280.

Angeles of that time. Likewise, at that time the majority of black Angelenos supported the idea of political coalition with other group in order to promote their interests and would not resist if they would have a non-black representative. Despite this, significant divisions were discovered in the black community concerning the relationship towards Latinos; lower classes of Black Angelenos were more likely to be in direct competition with Latinos, thus were less supportive of the vision of black-Latino alliance. This approach became increasingly prevalent in the 1990's and achieved its peak in the 2001 election, when the Latinos managed to politically mobilize in large numbers.

Moreover, the positive approach towards the black-Latino alliance is greatly influenced by the education level of individuals; usually the higher-income and higher-educated Blacks and Latinos tend to perceive the possibility of black-Latino alliance as a contribution to their interests. As described in the chapter education, both Latinos and blacks in Los Angeles have lower educational achievements in comparison with Whites and Asians, which in return leads to lower incomes; according to this model, this might be a significant factor why both blacks and Latinos resent each others alliance. Following that, Whites and Asians should be more willing to conclude cross-ethnicity alliances. Also, it seems that the neighborhood integration plays a major role in shaping the individual's opinion about biracial alliances. Those black Angelenos that live in neighborhoods with insignificant Latino population would be most supportive of possible black-Latino alliance; this is quite reasonable because such neighborhoods tend to be situated in higher-profile districts, which is connected to higher income and education, which is in return associated with higher rates of positive attitudes towards biracial alliances. The neighborhood boundaries are influential factors in establishing political alliances. According to Clark & Morrison, both prominent geographers dealing with the relation between demography and ethnic empowerment noted the unfortunate irony in using a form of electoral 'apartheid' to remedy inadequate representation.¹⁰⁹ This is the case of black-Latino zero-sum game where the remedy for one's group underrepresentation reflects the injustice for the other. In order to address this issue, the researchers argued that there are basically two possibilities of district formation; first, either by creating a district with dominant Latino or black minority, which would only

¹⁰⁹ Clark, William A.V. & Morrison, Peter A., *Demographic Foundations of Political Empowerment in Multi-minority Cities*, p.186.

lead to conflicts related to 'zero-sum' game or second, creating districts where both blacks and Latinos would have a chance to influence each other equally. The latter mentioned case would have a greater chance of achieving black-Latino coalition because none of the two majorities would represent a majority in a single district. Yet, in reality this possibility is almost unfeasible. Rather, districts where both of the cases coexist are more likely to be seen in Los Angeles, which brings us back to the dilemma of how to enhance the political activism of one group without damaging the other.

Moreover, in spite of Hispanics being the biggest minority living in Los Angeles, they form only a fraction of its real potential as far as the voting electorate is concerned; as a result of that non-Latino communities are the key players in deciding who will govern the 'Latino' city. The Los Angeles political arena is influenced by the 'zero-sum' game; according to the survey carried out Johnson, Walter & Guinn (1997), the majority of blacks was persuaded that Latinos could only gain power in local politics at the expense of black Angelenos.¹¹⁰ In spite of political differences, black Angelenos and Latinos tend to share a common political agenda in the form of party affiliation; the majority of both groups associate themselves with the Democratic Party, in spite of Latinos being more conservative and blacks more liberal.

The concept of rainbow coalition based on the notion of blacks and Latinos being political allies with common agenda has lately proved to be virtually non-existent. Karen Kaufmann, a prominent specialist on the field of black and Latino political behavior, carried out a valuable research within the Denver area and the reason why her conclusions are applied to Los Angeles are that first, both areas are ethnically very diverse, with blacks and Latinos representing the leading minorities within the city, second, black neighborhoods in Denver are undergoing the same demographic shifts as Los Angeles neighborhoods, third, the political scene in Denver is being transformed as well, with the Latino candidates substituting the black ones; fourth, Denver elected its first Latino mayor Federico Pena in 2004, followed by the election of Villaraigosa in 2005, although it is true that the history of black-Latino reciprocal support seems to be somewhat larger in Denver than in Los Angeles, which is clearly reflected in the 1991

¹¹⁰ Johnson, James H. Jr., Farrell, Walter C. & Guinn, Chandra, *Immigration Reform and the Browning of America: Tensions, Conflicts and Community Instability in Metropolitan Los Angeles*, p. 1086.

Denver Mayoral race when the Latino electorate helped to elect the first black mayor Wellington Webb.¹¹¹ Kaufman perceives the Black-Latino relation in two different ways; first, she invokes the positive features in the form of shared interest of both groups including their political underrepresentation or lower economic status.¹¹² According to this scenario, the coalitional prospects for both groups would automatically lead to increased cooperation between Blacks and Latinos in order to heighten the political and economic status. In reality, both groups should support each other's candidates specifically if these candidates are challenged by Anglo ones. There are several reasons supporting this scenario among them the common necessity to improve the educational attainment of both groups, the poverty, high crime rates or the discriminatory hiring practices on the part of employers. Second, a more real scenario highlights the fact that the lack of economic and political power represents the main obstacles to the rainbow coalition; in other words, the common agenda both the groups share, demonstrates itself as the main reason of their division.¹¹³

The political empowerment of Blacks and Latinos affects each of them in different ways. For both groups, the political empowerment represents an inclusion into the political sphere and turns out to have a positive impact upon individual's political activism. This is especially true for black political empowerment, which incites greater political engagement on the part of blacks; the impact upon Latinos has not been properly researched so far but it seems to influence the political activism to a much lesser extent. The bases for this statement can be found in the 2001 L.A. Mayoral Election where the Latino turnout in the primary election surpassed any possible expectations, which was a direct result of Latino candidate being possibly elected as a mayor of L.A., yet once again fell behind in the general election as a result of failure to invoke sufficient political engagement on the part of Latinos. This clearly corresponds to the empowerment theory mentioned above; the political empowerment of either blacks or Latinos tends to stir higher voter turnout and political activism of both groups. Although, in general Blacks usually proves to be more willing to support a Latino candidate than Latinos in the case of a black candidate. As far as the bilateral influence

¹¹¹ Moreno, Ivan, In key states, Latino vote fueled Obama's victory.

¹¹² Kaufmann, Karen M., Black and Latino voters in Denver, p. 108.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 109.

from the 2001 L.A. mayoral election is concerned, it looks like blacks seem to be more influenced by the presence of a Latino candidate in the political race than Latinos in the reverse situation. Moreover, in the case of 2001 L.A. elections, the scenario of in-group interests overpowered the scenario of rainbow coalition based on the common ground for both groups. This proves that the political empowerment of one group does not incite the immediate positive response on the part of the other but rather creates ground for a possible conflict. This finding basically confirms Hamilton and Carmichael's conclusion that groups are politically self-interested and that political coalition founded on shared ideologies are politically unstable.¹¹⁴

Likewise, the Latino community is rather politically diverse, which is in contrast with more united black population; Latinos have many obstacles to overcome on the way for political inclusion like for many of them their insufficient or virtually non-existent English language skills, large numbers of illegal immigrants entering the country and least but not least, the difficulty of them to get a status of citizens. Now that we concluded that the bilateral black-Latino political support is strongly influence by self-interest of both groups at the first place, it is time to ask whether if successfully elected, black or Latino mayors actually help to enhance the lives of minority groups. Kenneth Mladenka, concentrating on the issue of blacks and Latinos in urban politics, argues that black mayors usually turn out to have a significant impact upon black live enhancement in the city, whereas the impact of Latino mayors is significantly smaller.¹¹⁵ This is clearly reflected in the election of Tom Bradley during the 1970's as mentioned in previous chapters, which largely corresponds to the political empowerment and increase in the municipal employment for black Angelenos. The question whether Villaraigosa's election in 2005 and his recent 2008 re-election have actually positively impacted the opportunities of the Latino community within the area needs to be further researched; yet as for the time being, the empowerment of the Latino community in the city seems to be comparably lower than that of black Angelenos right in the aftermath of Bradley's election, at least within the municipal sphere, however this does not necessarily mean that the situation will not change in the years to come.

¹¹⁴ Kaufmann, Karen M. Black and Latino voters in Denver, p. 125.

¹¹⁵ Mladenka, Kenneth R., Blacks and Hispanics in Urban Politics p. 167.

5.2 The context of the 2005 L.A. Mayoral Election

Being aware of the failure to court the black and partially the Latino vote in the previous mayoral election, the Latino candidate Villaraigosa was constantly working to improve his image among the black electorate this time; he was participating at all significant black events, persuading the black leaders that if elected he would promote policies that would enhance the lives of all minorities living in Los Angeles. Once again, Villaraigosa was staking everything on one card when using the legacy of Tom Bradley in order to form a multi-racial coalition that would catapult him to the mayoral office. Villaraigosa managed to do what he failed to do four years ago; he became the first L.A. Latino mayor elected in that century. The question is what did actually change during those four years? There were several factors that helped Villaraigosa beat Hahn in the 2005 election; first, there is no reason to believe that black-brown relations improved so significantly during those four years so it would lead to the formation of 'rainbow coalition', yet unquestionably black Angelenos supported Villaraigosa in greater numbers in 2005 than they did in 2001. Why?

At the first place, it is important to emphasize that Villaraigosa used once again the deracialized campaign, assuring blacks that the black-brown coalition would be beneficial to both groups, courting the black vote intensely while refusing to put a special emphasis on the Latino electorate. However, this was pretty much a model campaign of 2001 election that resulted first, in Latino insecurity about whether Villaraigosa would not sacrifice the Latino interests in order to court the black vote, and second, would not probably achieve a greater success than four years ago as far as the black electorate was concerned if it was not for other factors. Among these factors was Hahn's political suicide that cost him the majority of the black vote that helped him to get elected in the previous election; when replacing the black police chief Bernard Parks with an Anglo one William J. Bratton, Hahn basically lost any chance for courting the black vote and by that lost one of his major allies. Besides, Parks will later candidate in the 2005 mayoral election as a Democratic candidate. The second importing factor shaping the results of the 2005 mayoral election concerned the white conservative electorate; James Hahn (a Democrat) alienated the white conservative voters when he

openly refused to back the secession movement in the San Fernando Valley shielded by white conservatives. Both these events represented a serious influx of supporters from his two main political bases, which in return increased Villaraigosa's chances for success. Furthermore, a third prominent candidate turned out at stage, taking away further key votes from James Hahn; it was Bob Hertzberg, a prominent Democratic Jewish politician from the San Fernando Valley.¹¹⁶ Having two strong opponents backed by his former strong political bases further undermined Hahn's chances for re-election.

The primary of 2005 election basically mirrored that of the 2001, with only slight changes in coalitional patterns; Villaraigosa ranked first with a significant lead, followed by Hahn, who in return was closely followed by Hertzberg. (See the Tables 8 & 9 in Appendix 4) However, this time, Villaraigosa's support among the white electorate slightly diminished as a direct result of its flowing to the Jewish candidate Bob Hertzberg; on the other hand, Villaraigosa managed to score higher within the Black electorate; this time he was not challenged by Hahn in the fight for the black vote but rather the black ex-police chief Bernard Parks. The presence of a popular African-American candidate in the 2005 mayoral election represented a new obstacle to Villaraigosa's vision of black-brown coalition. The result of the 2005 primary clearly indicates that the inter-group interests within the Black community overpowered the notion of rainbow-coalition in Los Angeles when the majority of the black electorate gave votes to Parks, taking them away from Hahn. Fourth, another decisive factor of 2005 election was the Latino voter-turnout; in comparison with the previous election when the Latino turnout scored incredibly high in the primary but significantly diminished in the general election, taking away the key votes from Villaraigosa's camp, both the 2005 primary and general election witnessed a stable Latino turnout with greater support for Villaraigosa than previously. According to the study of Mollenkopf, Champeny, Sonenshein & Drayse, black and Hispanic voters were strongly mobilized in the 2005 election.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Sonenshein, Raphael J. & Drayse, Mark H., *Urban Electoral Coalitions in an Age of Immigration*, p. 575.

¹¹⁷ Mollenkopf, John, Champeny, Anna, Sonenshein, Raphael & Drayse, Mark. *Race, Ethnicity and Immigration in the 2005 Mayoral Elections in L.A. and NY*. p. 19.

Moreover, the black electorate in Los Angeles represented the swing vote in both the 2001 and 2005 elections, helping to defeat Villaraigosa in the first election while increasing his chances in the second race by taking their vote away from Hahn. Although, blacks supported Hahn in significantly smaller numbers, he still managed to court a decent black vote given the fact that he had managed to alienate the majority of them by firing Parks. This might be the result of the long-lasting legacy of black-liberal white coalition. Most importantly, Villaraigosa proved to be a charismatic leader who managed to combine ideological differences across the racial lines and he was perceived as a minority candidate who does not use his ethnicity in order to gain the mayoral office. Furthermore, this time Villaraigosa managed to get a support of influential African-American leaders, which was in direct contrast with the 2001 election; Democratic Congresswoman Maxine Waters representing large parts of the South Central, a retired prominent basketball player and businessman Earvin Magic Johnson and his counter candidate Bernard Parks, all three of them African Americans.¹¹⁸

Interestingly enough, the support of so many influential African Americans, especially Parks, who evidently did not have the slightest chance to win the conquest after the primary election and as a result of that put his support behind Villaraigosa, did not reflect so significantly in the black Angelenos' choice during the general election. Although, according to the article in L.A. Times, Blacks do not want Parks to be first but they do not want him to finish last, because if he's marginalized as a candidate, then they are marginalized as a community.¹¹⁹ Following the article, it seems that many Blacks actually favored Villaraigosa over Parks based on his ideologies and charismatic appearance, yet they were conflicted by the fact that they shared the same ethnicity with Parks who reflected them as a community, thus finally voted for him. Likewise, it seemed that the core of Villaraigosa's Black electorate was represented by young black males, which is surprising given the fact that young Black males are more likely to be the source of black-Latino conflict as stated in previous chapters. (See the Table 6 in Appendix 4) Although, the main reason why the majority of blacks put their support behind Parks, except for the theory of voting along the ethnic block and the inter-group interest, seems to be the persuasion that if Villaraigosa was elected, he would give

¹¹⁸ Sonenshein, Raphael J. & Pinkus, Susan H., *Latino Incorporation Reaches The Urban Summit*. p. 716.

¹¹⁹ Pleasant, Betty, *Blacks in a Quandary Over L.A.'s Mayor's Race*.

preferential treatment to Latinos while shutting down the possibilities for blacks. However, this time Villaraigosa was prepared for the possibility that black voters would in spite of his constant courting support other candidate; he managed to form a white-Latino alliance, which basically took most of the voting power away from them in order to precede what happened back in the 2001 election when the black vote cost Villaraigosa the election.

Apart from African-American leaders, the Jewish candidate Hertzberg, followed by the majority of Jewish candidates, and all L.A. Latino officials this time openly put their support behind Villaraigosa along with ex-mayor Richard Riordan, who represented an increasing support of white electorate, and many others. This was a proof that Tom Bradley's legacy might be revived, in spite of the dream of the rainbow coalition still being a long way away. Finally, Villaraigosa managed to obtain a majority of white and Latino electorate, slightly underscoring with the black one while being completely shot down by the Asians. According to the final results of the 2005 L.A. Mayoral Election, the Jewish-Latino alliance seemed to be far closer to be concluded than the Black-Latino one. (See the Table 10 in Appendix 4) Most importantly, the black-brown 'coalition' created during the 2005 mayoral election was not a direct result of improving relations between those two groups or common ideologies but rather a temporary alliance resulting from interests of both groups; however, alliances built on interests tend to evaporate for the interests never last and are frequently changed.

As mentioned above, the policy of creating uniform districts in order to remedy minorities whose representation on the City Council is seriously lower in comparison with other ethnicities seems to be most threatening to Latinos in Los Angeles due to their significantly lower numbers of voting electorate. In order to enhance their political representation, Latinos should be more likely to create coalitions with other minorities; yet, in order to be able to do that, Latino political activists need to be capable of handling the 'art' of deracialized campaigning, which consists mainly of three strategies; political style, issues and mobilization tactics.¹²⁰ Originally envisioned as a means of black political mobilization and creation of black-white alliance, the method

¹²⁰ Underwood, Katherine, *Ethnicity is not Enough: Latino-Led Multiracial Coalitions in Los Angeles*. p. 4.

of deracialized campaigning became accepted as the only means of forming cross-line coalitions. Villaraigosa used this knowledge successfully in the 2005 Mayoral Elections, for he knew that first, the deracialized campaign might be applied easier in Los Angeles with its diverse population and second, Los Angeles's non-partisan elections where candidates are not limited by official party's orientation enabled them to mobilize larger segments of Los Angeles electorate. Such candidates should associate themselves with topics that would address the largest segments of the electorate possible. Villaraigosa's deracialized campaign in both the 2001 and 2005 elections was based on crime, education and poverty issues, which applied to all ethnicities living in Los Angeles. Having a strong reputation of being an activist and having a relevant experience with education and poverty, Villaraigosa's chances for creating a multi-racial coalition based around these common ideologies significantly increased. However, the issue of crime proved to be problematic in the first election and cost him a significant support after Hahn's negative campaigning labeling Villaraigosa as soft on crime. The fact that both Hahn and Villaraigosa were Democrats and liberals made it difficult for them to differentiate themselves from one another, which led to Hahn taking an advantage of his crime legacy and at the same time damaging Villaraigosa's image.

During the 2005 election, Villaraigosa was once again campaigning on the issue of crime and once again failed to present himself as a strong crime-related activist in comparison with Hahn. Luckily for him, Hahn's reputation had already been seriously politically and morally damaged by then, which prevented him from using the same advantage again. Moreover, Los Angeles is a city with significantly lower budget resources than for example New York; this creates tensions between various minorities, especially blacks and Latinos, who keep fighting for the scarce resources for their communities. This is another decisive factor that Villaraigosa was trying to play down during both 2001 and 2005 election in order to get the black support, which he at the final stage failed to do in spite of the slight increase of his preferences on the part of Black electorate. Following this, the lower budget of Los Angeles is presented as a negative factor in multi-racial coalition building. Another factor that influences the bi/multi-racial coalition formation is the voter turnout; based on the study carried out by

Natalie Masuoka, a specialist in the area of American racial and ethnic politics, black group consciousness based on shared deprived status continues to play a predictive role in the black participation even that of higher socioeconomic factors.¹²¹ In other words, with each successive generation, the group consciousness does not diminish. Moreover, the black consciousness is irreversibly connected to their race, which is the reason of their grievances and in return leads to political mobilization.

On the other hand, the group consciousness of older Latino generations lowers with each generation, especially if the socioeconomic factors are favorable. Yet, the more recent Latino immigrants, usually of the Mexican descent, tend to exhibit an increase in the group consciousness. Those Latinos who associate themselves most with their place of origin exhibit lower voter turnout; given the fact that most of Los Angeles' immigrants are Mexicans recently arriving with strong ties to their country and nationality, there can be no surprise that the Latino voter turnout in L.A. is significantly small than that of Black Angelenos. Moreover, the Latino voter participation increases only when the voting is somehow connected to either Latino issue (like the case of bilingual education or immigration) or the Latino racial consciousness (as in the case of Villaraigosa). However, if the voting does not contain features of race consciousness, Latinos participate in significantly lower numbers. Rudolfo de la Garza, one of the leading specialists in ethnic politics concludes in his study that Mexican-Americans tend to participate in politics most actively than other Latino groups, however mostly at the neighborhood level.¹²² Mexican-Americans tend to exhibit features of Anglo political values more than any other Latino sub-group. In spite of their uncertain status in large numbers of cases, Mexican-Americans tend to become more politically involved. Moreover, as a group, Latinos do not differ from other ethnic groups and in the majority of cases whenever they are given a choice between electing a Latino or non-Latino candidate, they mostly decide to vote along their racial lines. The voting along the racial lines is however more typical in cases where no other major determinants play a role; for example whenever the political race between those two previously mentioned candidates would include the party affiliation, Latinos would in higher numbers support a Democratic candidate over a Republican

¹²¹ Masuoka, Natalie, *Defining The Group: Latino Identity and Political Participation*. p. 37.

¹²² De la Garza, Rudolfo O., *Latino Politics*. p. 95.

one, for the Democratic Party has been tightly knit with the immigrant agenda, a salient issue for the Latino immigrants.

As argued above, Latinos has been one of the less mobilized groups as far as the voter turnout is concerned; the true of this statement is clearly reflected in the 2001 Los Angeles Mayoral elections, where the Latino voter turnout significantly declined between the primary and the general elections, which cost Villaraigosa many key votes he needed to beat Hahn. Barreto, Segura & Woods (2004) however discovered that certain factors might positively influence the Latino political mobilization; they argue that the majority Latino districts and majority-minority districts seem to have positive impact upon the Latino turnout.¹²³ This would mean that racially mixed neighborhoods where the percentage of blacks and Latinos equals would exhibit lower political activism on the part of the Latino community than majority Latino neighborhoods. The problem of lower rates of the Latino political stimulation has already cost many Latino candidates an opportunity to entry the first league within the political sphere; the most effective means of higher voter turnout on the part of Latinos seems to be the active mobilization, which has been so far more likely to be carried out in less populated districts of Los Angeles rather than in districts with the substantial Latino presence; the inclusion of Latinos into the political process in such districts tend to increase first, the voter turnout and second, the prospects of bi/multi-racial coalitions.

Furthermore, in order to find an answer to lower political participation on the part of some minority groups and to promote its increase, the neighborhood city council system was created in Los Angeles in the late 1990's as a response to San Fernando Valley secessionist threat; the system was envisioned as a tool of promoting more citizen participation in government and make neighborhood council representative of diverse interests in communities.¹²⁴ By doing this, communities were given a sense that they actually participated on the decisions concerning their daily lives. Likewise, the system of the neighborhood councils was attempting to promote diversity by including all ethnic groups living in the neighborhoods and any ethnic group in the council was

¹²³ Barreto, Matt A., Segura, Garry M. & Woods, Nathan D., *The Mobilizing Effect of Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout*. p. 65.

¹²⁴ Musso, Juliet A., Weare, Christopher, Oztas, Nail & Loges, William E., *Neighborhood Governance Reform and Networks of Community Power in Los Angeles*. p. 83.

strictly prohibited from becoming a majority, which would irreversibly disturb the balance and the councils would lose their purpose. Following this, the neighborhood councils were to promote formation of bi/multi-racial alliances, help to bridge the gap between various ideologies of ethnic groups and prevent inter-group clashes. Likewise, the neighborhood city councils aimed at promoting collective action by helping to create ties that would in return incite more social assimilation leading to inter-minority friendships and reciprocal trust. The research carried out by McClain, Carew, Walton & Watts argued that collective action is the best means by which the group can improve its status and realize its interests.¹²⁵ After one decade of its creation, the question whether the neighborhood city council system has proved to be an effective means of improving the civic engagement in Los Angeles is still doubtful; first, changes made at the local level do not necessarily influence higher levels of Los Angeles's political scene, which has been powered by the elite for centuries and will not be so easily transformed into an equally balanced minority model; second, the successful creation of bonding ties among various groups at the local level has not been so far as successful as expected, for the social assimilation has lacked far behind its expectations.

6 Illegal/Legal Latino immigrants vs. black workers

The economic sphere is another stage where black-Latino conflict has been fully developed and shaped along the rules of the 'zero-sum game'. California, especially Los Angeles, which is the final destination of millions of either legal or illegal Latino workers, has often been depicted as a town where the majority of lower-skilled jobs goes directly to immigrants at the expense of the native-born workers, specifically African Americans. With the increasing immigration to the country, various studies have been conducted in order to find out the impact of illegal labor on the native-born citizens; two opposite groups have been formed trying to prove that illegal immigrants either have or have not a significant impact upon the wages of lower-skilled blacks. Based on the study of Earl Ofari Hutchinson 'the Latino Challenge', the case study of Los Angeles County government jobs arena is a typical example of the replacement of

¹²⁵ McClain, Paula D., Carew-Jonson, Jessica D., Walton, Eugene Jr. & Watts, Candis S., Group Membership, Group Identity and Group Consciousness. p. 476.

black Angelenos by the Latino community within the sphere of janitorial jobs; the fact that black Angelenos represented a majority of employees within the janitorial sector in Los Angeles County did not diminish their resentment towards such an encroachment that was undermining their economic stability in the city. The janitorial industry in Los Angeles represented one of the key sectors of black economic security and blacks were ready to do hold on to it no matter what. However, with the changing demographic portrait of Los Angeles, the janitorial sector was gradually transforming into a Latino domain. There were quite a few reasons for such a transformation; first, the janitor's union in Los Angeles, whose members were primarily black Angelenos, did not manage to keep up with the increasing market demand and second, Latino wage demands were significantly lower than that of black Angelenos. Furthermore, there was the second sector of the Los Angeles economy, especially construction jobs; it was initially envisioned as a partial remedy for black Angelenos' underrepresentation in the labor force. However, Latinos were those who managed to benefit enormously from the construction jobs provided by the city. Black Angelenos who were already hurt by the reallocation of the manufacturing industry from the city center to the suburbs and personally witnessed the preferential treatment of Latino workers by employers, saw such an encroachment as another step towards their displacement as the most influential minority within the United States. Consequently, blacks became resolute fighters against further Latino immigration to the country, seeing it as the only means of getting their jobs back and along with it their status within the society. Black Angelenos were capable of finding other sectors that helped them to earn their living; they were for example overrepresented as bus and truck drivers, freight and baggage handlers, and telephone installers.¹²⁶ The explanation for the greater success of black Angelenos in these occupations lay within the providing of such services by larger companies who were and still are more likely to promote the affirmative action. Moreover, the public employment represented another sector where black Angelenos were long overrepresented. The most influential factor, along with the general mood back in the wake of the Civil Rights era promoting the affirmative action policies, was the election of Tom Bradley as a mayor of Los Angeles. During his administration, the employment

¹²⁶ Waldinger, Roger, *Ethnic Los Angeles*. p. 391.

of black Angelenos within the public sector increased; yet the privatization of the public sector cut many black Angelenos off the main source of their living. Latinos experienced an exactly opposite trend when their increasing numbers helped them to gain a greater political empowerment and resulted in their calls for greater share of the public sector jobs. Likewise, the higher educational achievements of higher-class black Angelenos led to their transfer to other industries than just the public sector; naturally the result should have been higher employment for low-skilled black Angelenos, yet the introduction of minimal educational requirements in these positions largely prevented them from gaining the public sector jobs in large numbers. Despite the fact that new low-skilled and poorly paid jobs were created, blacks Angelenos had only a minimal success in obtaining them in comparison with Latino immigrants, who made the source of their living out of these jobs and at the same time became the main labor force for the employers. The purpose of this chapter is to examine to what extent the illegal Latino immigration really impacted the wages and economic opportunities of lower-skilled blacks, in what sectors are they more likely to clash and what effect it has upon the black-brown relations?

First, I start to analyze the findings of a sociologist Abel Valenzuela (1994) who in his case study directed at Los Angeles County argues that immigration is not associated with decreasing economic opportunities and wage depreciation for lower-skilled Black Angelenos.¹²⁷ There is no arguing that in some sectors of the labor market employers might be more inclined to depreciate wages for the native-born citizens, mainly because the supply of cheap illegal immigrant labor allows them to act this way. Moreover, as far as the displacement of lower-skilled native-born workers in Los Angeles is concerned, the overall tone of Valenzuela's research paper suggests that it might be happening but rather at a smaller scale, which basically acknowledges the charges that illegal immigrants have negative economic outcomes for the native-born citizens no matter how rare these can be. Most important although is Valenzuela's argument that till the 1990's in Los Angeles more industries showed complementarity rather than displacement for blacks and Mexicans.¹²⁸ As argued throughout the whole

¹²⁷ Valenzuela, Abel, *Compatriots or Competitors? A Study of Job Competition Between the Foreign-born and Native in Los Angeles, 1970-80*, p. 5.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22. ; Complementarity takes place when native groups gain jobs, while immigrants lose.

project, black Angelenos are more likely to clash over jobs with immigrants (most often of Mexican descent) because of their similar educational and residential background; however, during the time of increased Latino immigration, the 1970's and 1980's, Latino immigrants contributed to the labor market within the Los Angeles area by filling the gap that existed in there, rather than that they would purposefully target the jobs of black Angelenos. (See the Tables 1 & 2 in Appendix 5) Similarly, the fact that the Latino preferential hiring on the part of Anglo employers unquestionably existed back then and that it was in no way connected with the increasing Latino immigration but rather with the negative image of black males as argued earlier in the thesis, only proves that the problem of black employment have much deeper roots than just the influx of immigrants. This is supported by Roger Waldinger (1997) who argues that the preferential hiring of Latinos is related to their strong family ties connected to their recommending each other to various positions;¹²⁹ once recommended by their relatives by using the so-called referrals, Latinos tend to work really hard and largely avoid causing troubles, which is a part of their cultural and ethic codex. Blacks, this is rather general, on the other hand, are an exactly opposite case, with most of the troubles being caused by their negative attitude and their positioning themselves into the victimized status following their long history of discrimination. A great number of employers within the diverse L.A. area has already experienced the negative attitude of the black community; blacks say if you fire them, they'll sue for discrimination and you can't do anything about it.¹³⁰ Waldinger, in comparison with the previously mentioned Valenzuela, is more likely to argue that increased Latino immigration has a direct impact upon the black employment but rather in terms of Latinos being more acceptable for the majority of employers than black workers, because of the black negative attitude. On the other hand, the Latino social ties that help them to get a job through referrals, at the same time prevent them from getting a higher-income job, for the majority of Latinos operates within the lower-income rather than higher-income spheres; in other words Latinos are more likely than blacks to be employed, yet they are also more likely to end up in poorly-paid jobs. Likewise, the social networking tends to create racially

¹²⁹ Waldinger, Roger, *Ethnic Los Angeles*. p. 404.

¹³⁰ Waldinger, Roger., *Black/Immigrant Competition Re-Assessed: New Evidence from Los Angeles*. p. 379.

uniform jobs; in other words, a Latino working in the construction sector will recommend another Latino to an open position through a referral, which will in return result in more and more Latinos working in this sector, thus creating a racially uniform environment. Consequently, social networking used mainly by the Latino community could seriously impact the diversification process within the labor force. Similarly, the social networking seems to threaten most the black community, who lacks the social cohesion typical for Latinos and rather relies upon ‘official’ methods of applying when looking for a job. Elliot’s study focusing on homogenous hiring in certain employment spheres concludes that recent immigrant Latinos followed by longer-resident Latinos tend to be employed most in homogenous jobs.¹³¹ Overall, the importance of social ties for the Latino immigrant community can have a negative impact upon the community itself. One of such examples is clearly exhibited in the janitorial industry within the Los Angeles County; black Angelenos who dominated the janitorial industry gradually enhanced their working conditions through union membership, which directly clashed with employer’s interests and later led to their decision to switch to cheap non-union illegal labor represented by immigrant Latinos. The employers exploited the Latino dependency upon social ties when gaining a job and by that transferred the janitorial sector into the Latino-dominated industry. Consequently, the social ties of Latino immigrant workers gave employers increased power and potential over the hiring process within the janitorial industry by creating an immense pool of mostly illegal Latino workers who were ‘willing’ to work for low wages and under poor and sometimes dangerous working conditions. Exploited illegal Latino workers had no means of opposing such an abusive treatment because of their status. It was not till the ‘Justice for Janitors Campaign of the Service Employees International Union’,¹³² that black Angelenos were once again partially integrated into the janitorial sector, however with a strong resentment not directed at the Anglo contractors but rather at Latino immigrant workers that initiated the process of their displacement. On the other hand, black Angelenos were not the only ones holding a negative attitude towards the Latino community. Most of the Latinos ‘paid blacks back in their own coin’, which is clearly

¹³¹ Elliot, James R., Referral Hiring and Ethnically Homogenous Jobs: How Prevalent Is the Connection and for Whom? p. 412.

¹³² Cranford, Cynthia J., Networks of Exploitation: Immigrant Labor and the Restructuring of the Los Angeles Janitorial Industry. p. 393.

reflected in the following statement by a Mexican immigrant capturing the real nature of Latino relations towards the black community; this is an excerpt from an interview about the Los Angeles janitorial sector,...they do not want to work hard, or they want to earn good money without working hard.¹³³ In general, Latino immigrants that were displacing black workers within certain industries felt that they deserved the job better because they worked harder and did not have an attitude like blacks.

Another example of pitting black and Latino workers against each other can be found within the public sector of L.A. hospital-related industry. Initially, most of the blue-color jobs were held by the black workforce who possessed an advantage in the form of English-language proficiency and higher educational achievement over the immigrant workers. However with the increasing diversity of the Los Angeles County, bilingual Latino immigrant personal was gradually given preference, specifically in places with the majority of black workforce. The process of hiring into the hospital service-related jobs was another significant factor shaping the transformation of this sector; since the expenses for filling a vacancy by official way means are high, the employers within the hospital sector increasingly got used to relying upon the referrals for recruitment; referrals, a typical recruitment method of Latino workers, managed to spare time and money to the employers while enabling them to get a worker who knew all about the job without it actually being posted; likewise, such a worker was obliged to work hard because he was hired through a strong social ties of a relative or close friend who would only recommend such an individual if he knew that he/she would perform well in the job, otherwise he/she would threaten his/hers own job and work ethic so important for Latino workers. However, since higher positions within the public sector require higher skills and educational achievements, only lower-skilled black Angelenos were increasingly threatened by Latino immigration competing for the very same jobs. Similarly, since the majority of hospital service personal has been black for decades, the increasing diversification of this sector has not so far threatened the dominant minority position of black Angelenos within the industry. Yet, even here the process of the diversification has met with resentment on the part of the black community; one of such examples surfaced in the Martin Luther King Jr. Medical Center situated within the

¹³³ Cranford, Cynthia, *Economic Restructuring, Immigration and the New Labor Movement: Latina/o Janitors in Los Angeles*. p.21.

originally black City Central.¹³⁴ Initially designated as a means of black employment and treatment, the demographic changes within the City Central resulted in the centre serving mostly Latino residents. Consequently, the resentment of black hospital leaders to diversify the labor force as a response to lack of bilingual skills among its personal lead to further deepening of tensions between both the groups. Black Angelenos feel that Latinos have no right to this hospital because they did not help to build it and have no merit at its long-term administrating. As a consequence of the elimination of hiring non-black groups, Latinos took legal steps in order to achieve their inclusion within the hospital personal, which they successfully managed to do in spite of blacks pointing to the fact that Latinos have completely dominated some industries through their social ties hiring. Furthermore, the fact that the hospital-service sector becomes increasingly impacted by the employers' perceiving of blacks just as any other sector within the L.A. economy, ranking blacks far behind Latinos or any other minority in preferential racial hiring, further limits the chances for black employment. In addition to that, the trend of displacing union workers (this category includes mostly African-Americans) with non-unionized workers (mostly Latinos) penetrated into the hospital-service sector as well, and helped to accelerate the process of racial diversification in favor of Latino workers. This might indicate that the availability of large numbers of cheap Latino immigrant workers might have a negative effect upon the wages of long-term black employees within this sector but more importantly, it contributes to preventing black Angelenos from further access to blue-color jobs within certain sectors. Likewise, the preferential shift from English-proficiency and certain levels of skills to bilingualism and low cost further undermines the position of black Angelenos within the L.A. economy.

Similarly, another sphere which might be interpreted in terms of the black-Latino competition is represented by the municipal government jobs. In general, ethnic minorities are largely underrepresented in public sector or government jobs in comparison with Anglos. The increasing political competition between blacks and Latinos suggest that the public sector belongs to scarce resources that represent both economic and political enhancement for minority groups. Managerial positions represent a key sector where both blacks and Latinos remain largely underrepresented

¹³⁴ Fletcher, Michael A., In L.A., a Sense of Future Conflicts.

due to their lower educational achievement and specifically the limitation of access to such positions. Consequently, initially, the possibility of a Black/Latino conflict formation within this sphere remained insignificant because neither blacks nor Latinos became dominant enough so it would provoke the zero-sum game. On the other hand, non-managerial positions seem to experience higher levels of inter-ethnic competition. Kerr, Miller & Reid (2000) mention that whenever black urban workforce becomes larger, it automatically negatively affects the Latino municipal employment, which is not true if the situation reverses.¹³⁵ Similarly, both black and Latino presence in administrative positions is rather low, however out of both groups Latinos are those who lack most behind the representations in such positions. This conclusion might be explained by the long-term apathy concerning the assertion of political power on the part of the Latino community along with their ‘uncertain’ status, which successfully prevented them from competing with black Angeleno workers within the public employment sphere. Interestingly enough, with the growth of immigrant population within the Los Angeles area, the necessity to increase the public sector employment force became urgent, resulting in the increase of black Angeleno employment within this sector; this exemplifies that first, the Latino immigrant population actually had a positive but rather unintentional effect upon the black Angeleno employment rates in the public sector. Second, the cheap immigrant Latino labor provided cheaper goods and services, which had a positive impact upon large streams of L.A. society, although it is true that these included rather higher-classes than lower segments of the society. Consequently, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that black Angelenos had been discriminated a long time before Latino immigrants entered the labor force; there is no arguing that specifically Latino lower-skilled immigration had a significant negative impact upon the lower-skilled black Angelenos, however the discrimination and concentration of African Americans within the lower sectors of the LA labor market as a result of the ineffective educational system seem to have a greater impact upon the employment rates than the immigration itself. In addition to that, when taking into consideration that Los Angeles is an area with huge potential of cheap labor in comparison with the rest of the United States, the employers might consider Los

¹³⁵ Kerr, Brinck, Miller, Will & Reid, Margaret, *The Changing Face of Urban Democracy: Is there Interethnic Competition for Municipal Government Jobs?* p.773-4.

Angeles as a suitable area where to set up their business, thus incite the employment growth within the city; ¹³⁶ this theory would unquestionably benefit the Latino immigrant population, however, to what extent would such an attitude influence the black joblessness is still problematic.

Furthermore, residing in neighborhoods with significant poverty rates negatively affects the employment chances. (See the Table 3 in Appendix 5) Black Angelenos are most negatively impacted by their lack of education along with their race, whereas Latino immigrants are threatened most by their poor knowledge of English, the lack of working experience, which predestines them low-skilled sectors of the economy, and their lower educational achievement. The fact that the majority of blacks and Latinos live in the neighborhoods with significant rates of poverty basically prevents them from accessing sources and information necessary for climbing the social and economic ladder. In addition to the poverty levels, the employment growth is another significant factor determining both black and Latino working opportunity chances within the Los Angeles area. For both groups overwhelmingly reside within the city central and East L.A. where the employment growth is rather low, specifically around the deteriorating minority neighborhoods, their job search results tend to be seriously limited. (See the Table 4 in Appendix 5) Moreover, the changing demographic situation during the 1990's, incited the growth of more conflicting interpretations of black-brown economic relations. The employment spheres where blacks used to be the majority labor force suddenly started to be increasingly Latino. Moreover, the increasing resentment between blacks and Latinos made it difficult for them to share a working place, which further contributed to the lack of diversification within certain industries. On the other hand, McClain and Tauber conclude that during the 1990's the socioeconomic competition between blacks and Latinos in Los Angeles continued to be rather low and the direct political competition not that significant;¹³⁷ rather both groups were getting better off at the same time. Moreover, it seems that during the 1990's Latino immigrants were still those who were largely lacking behind black Angelenos, whose increasing

¹³⁶ Borjas, George, *Increasing the Supply of Labor Through Immigration; Measuring the Impact on Native-born Workers*. p. 2.

¹³⁷ McClain, Paula D. & Tauber, Steven C., *Black and Latino Socioeconomic and Political Competition: Has a Decade Made a Difference?* pp. 240, 242.

population, although not such as the one of the Latino community, tend to negatively impact the economic outcomes for Latinos. Consequently, the overall prospects for the coalition formation between blacks and Latinos on the field of employment were still far too unreal.

Minority groups, specifically Latinos and African Americans tend to be those at the bottom rung of the racial ladder. The job distribution within the cities largely varies according to the racial patterns. According to Stoll, Holzer & Ihlanfeldt (2000), much of this spatial concentration of disadvantage is found in black, and to a lesser extent Latino, central city ghettos and barrios.¹³⁸ Moreover, the employment opportunities are much higher in suburbs than in the city central, where in the case of Los Angeles most of the black and Latino population resides. This seriously diminishes their chances of getting an employment and creates larger and larger underclass within the society. Also, this situation creates tensions between both groups who keep fighting for the scarce jobs left within the reach of their neighborhoods. Specifically the black concentration in Los Angeles city central is the result of the restrictive housing covenants mentioned before that undermined black economic opportunities by trapping them within the strictly marked boundaries, thus denying them a possibility to find a decent employment. After several decades of crowding blacks within the L.A. city central, a class of black low-skilled workers was firmly established, growing every day and creating an immense surplus that could not possibly be filled by the internal labor market.

Moreover, the low-skilled jobs that appeal most to both blacks and Latinos are overwhelmingly situated outside the city center, where both groups tend to reside and are instead distributed around the Anglo suburbs; however, white suburbs tend to have the majority of educated higher-income residents with only a limited or virtually non-existent appeal to low-skilled jobs, which is in direct contrast to both black and Latino preferences; for great numbers of both groups tend to have a high percentage of high-school drop-outs, which consequently makes them dependable upon such jobs. As a result of that, both Latinos and blacks are put against each other in order to capture the scarce jobs left within the area because the majority of them can not afford to travel a long distance to work situated in white suburbs. Likewise, the public transit was not

¹³⁸ Stoll, Michael A., Holzer, Harry J. & Ihlanfeldt, Keith R., *Within Cities and Suburbs*. p. 207.

designed to connect the city central to the suburbs or middle class-neighborhoods; the time inner-city residents spent travelling to get to work might be incredibly long, not to mention the necessity of further walking because the suburban companies tend to be situated in remote areas. For example a one-way trip by bus from the black central city to the west San Fernando Valley in the white suburbs is approximately 2.5 hours long and requires three bus transfers.¹³⁹ Also, the lack of low-skilled jobs in this area is associated with higher concentration of welfare recipients among the residents of the city central; the chances to transfer such a resident to a job are quite small.

In addition to that, Latino L.A. neighborhoods have larger base of low-skilled jobs than the black ones; this might be explained by Latinos being the least educated minority along with their perception of being hard-workers with no record of troublemakers. Likewise, their percentage of labor force is much larger than that of black Angelenos, both in the Latino city central and suburbs incorporated to it. The theory of spatial residence being negatively connected to job distribution is further developed in the Los Angeles case study by public policy specialist Michael Stoll (1998). Unquestionably, black/Latino job opportunities in Los Angeles are much smaller than those of their white counterparts and that the same rule applies to wages; moreover, Stoll argues that both black Angelenos and Latinos dedicate similar amount of time looking for a job as whites do, yet they are less successful.¹⁴⁰ Likewise, it seems that blacks tend to search in a more distanced downtown L.A. areas than Latinos and are willing to invest more in the job search, which is probably the result of greater success of Latino job seekers in the city-central areas. However, if Latinos decide to search for a job outside the area of their ethnic enclaves in Los Angeles, they are more likely to find a better-paid job than they would if they limited their search to the city central. The decision of blacks to search outside the city central usually generates higher employment opportunities for them in return; however the effect upon their wages remains constant. (See the Table 5 in Appendix 5) The issue of higher minority concentration connected to lower wages is explored by Julie Kmec (2003). She argues that in sectors where the majority of labor force consists of minorities, the wages tend to

¹³⁹ Michael A., Holzer, Harry J. & Ihlanfeldt, Keith R., *Within Cities and Suburbs*. p. 219.

¹⁴⁰ Stoll, Michael A., *Spatial Job Search, Spatial Mismatch, and the Employment and Wages of Racial and Ethnic Groups in Los Angeles* p. 132.

be lower;¹⁴¹ in other words wages per hour for jobs occupied predominantly by minorities tend have lower value than reminiscent jobs occupied by white majority. Following that, whenever a Latino/black laborer works at a majority white workplace, his chances for higher wages automatically increase.

Furthermore, the general policy of reserving certain sectors to minority population makes it difficult for minority individuals to penetrate to better-paid higher-status jobs. Overall, we might conclude that immigrants do have a significant impact upon the wages of native-born labor, specifically in lo-skilled jobs. Immigration may reduce the wages of the average native in a low-skilled occupation by perhaps 12 percent, or \$1,915 a year.¹⁴² Following that increasing Mexican-American immigration to the country seems to incite resentment on the part of Latino population, who see it as damaging to their economic interests and according to several researchers, native-born Latinos are those who see Mexican immigration as the biggest threat. This attitude seems to be in direct opposition with the one of Latino community leaders who perceive Mexican immigration as a vital component of their political ambitions; clearly the more Mexican immigrants to the country, the greater empowerment for the Latino community. Also, those who clearly benefit from increasing immigration into the Los Angeles County are Anglos who most often own businesses that employ such immigrants. Catanzarite (2003) goes in her research even further when claiming that immigrants within the Los Angeles area actually help to sustain the blue-color jobs when successfully preventing them from being relocated overseas.¹⁴³

Another vital part of the native-born grievances is the general belief that immigrants are those who benefit most from the welfare paid by the taxpayers. Consequently, the Proposition 187 mentioned above and the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Control Act, imposed a five-year time limit on federally funded cash assistance, imposed stricter work requirements,¹⁴⁴ were adopted in order to prevent access of illegal immigrants to social services. The new policies adopted impacted great portion of Los Angeles immigrant population; as seen from the Tables 6 & 7 in

¹⁴¹ Kmec, Julie A., *Minority Job Concentration and Wages* p. 39.

¹⁴² Camarota, Steven A., *The Wages of Immigration: The Effect on the Low-skilled Labor Market*. p. 5.

¹⁴³ Catanzarite, Lisa, *Occupational Context and Wage Competition of New Immigrant Latinos With Minorities and Whites*. p. 88.

¹⁴⁴ Polit, Denis F., Nelson, Laura, Richburg-Hayes, Lashawn & Sein, David, *Welfare Reform in Los Angeles*. Summary p. 1.

Appendix 5, the welfare distribution was unequally divided in favor of illegal immigrant population before the adoption of both legislation. However, illegal Mexican immigrants that were perceived as the main burden for Los Angeles citizens were actually less likely to use the welfare; when they were forced to do so, they did it to a lesser extent in comparison with other illegal immigrant groups, which might be explain by their higher employment rates through referrals in comparison with other immigrant groups; the finding was in direct contradiction to the widespread belief of that time. In the aftermath of the adoption, the percentage of welfare non-citizen recipients declined rapidly as seen from Table 7 in Appendix 5, oddly enough, the impact was mostly pronounced in the category of legal immigrants, naturally followed by undocumented immigrants.

However, the problem of welfare dependency did not touch only immigrants but black Angelenos as well; in order to respond to growing underclass, California enacted California Work Opportunities and Responsibility to Kids that aimed at helping lower-level income families to transfer from welfare usage to employment.¹⁴⁵ The implementation of the program led to greater increase of job opportunities for both poor and better-off neighborhoods and at the same time accelerated the time for welfare-to-job transition. However, the core of black neighborhoods did not seem to show such a positive impact, with over half of the black single-parent women being the welfare recipients; likewise, the Latino population in Los Angeles still exhibited the pattern of lower-incomes at jobs with virtually non-existent social benefits; although it is true that higher percentage of Latinos managed to enter the workforce. In general, the percentage of single or two-parent Latino and black families living in poverty did not significantly decreased in the aftermath of the enactment, which indicates that further programs needs to be established in order to diminish the poverty levels within the minority groups. Moreover, to what extent could be the achievements mentioned above attributed to CalWORK would need to be further researched but for the time being it seems that

¹⁴⁵ CalWORKs The *CalWORKs* program provides temporary financial assistance and employment focused services to families with minor children who have income and property below State maximum limits for their family size. Most able-bodied aided parents are also required to participate in the CalWORKs GAIN employment services program.

the enactment of the program has unquestionably laid some bases for further improvements within the quality of life of minority groups.

Overall, during the 1990's the Los Angeles economy managed to employ greater number of its residents, yet at the same time witnessed an increase of the poverty line, with the majority of affected being either blacks or Latinos. Furthermore, women in Los Angeles proved to be the least positively affected by the welfare reform with the worst results being exhibited by Latina women whose English knowledge was seriously limited. Likewise, the neighborhoods with the majority of underclass residents were growing rather than declining, which further undermined the economic opportunities for both blacks and Latinos who were the majority residents of such neighborhoods. The question is why the welfare reform in Los Angeles did not manage to put the lower-income minority neighborhoods out of the poverty? First, the newly-created jobs were mainly situated in suburbs, which presented the biggest obstacle to both black/Latino residents of inner-city poverty neighborhoods. As mentioned previously in this chapter, the transport problems along with other barriers effectively prevented both groups from gaining an employment outside the city central. Second, the manufacturing industry in which the low-skilled minority workers found their living sharply declined during the 1990's while being replaced by other sectors, where lower-skilled worker use was seriously limited. Third, the housing market in Los Angeles was growing inadequately to the wages, highly exceeding the price of other metropolises. Fourth, the changing economy of Los Angeles providing greater percentage of higher-skills jobs connected to higher-levels of education further weakened the capability of poorly performing blacks and Latinos in education. Also, the better-off and higher-educated individuals tend to have better access to transportation, which increases their chances of getting a good job.

The inclusion of Latino legal/illegal immigrants into the workforce exhibits interesting patterns; according to the Table 9 in Appendix 5, illegal Latino immigrants are more likely to have a job than their legal Latino or other native-born counterparts. In addition to that, there is a distinction between the possibility of entering the workforce for illegal Latino men and women; whereas the first group is most likely to work, the latter tend to stay home with their families, which makes them more vulnerable to poverty; in comparison to the rest of California, Los Angeles have the highest level of

poverty concentration. As far as heavily immigrant jobs in Los Angeles are concerned, about 80% of the workers were foreign-born in 2004.¹⁴⁶ The large percentage of immigrant workers within the Los Angeles labor market was supported by the changing economy towards the global markets during the 1990's, leaving behind small percentage of low-skilled jobs in clothing and food processing that were poorly paid, tend to provide no health insurance and did not acquire the union membership.¹⁴⁷ Such jobs gained its bases among the immigrant workers because they were most likely to work under those poor conditions than black Angelenos. Moreover, African Americans are more likely than any other ethnic group to enter the union because they tend to be rather dissatisfied in their job and perceive unions as shielding from discrimination. On the other hand, recent Latino immigrants would be less likely to organize within the unions; specifically the Mexican-Americans' preferences for entering a union will be depressed at the initial phase, relative to other immigrants.¹⁴⁸ This is explained by the fact that they are a part of the so-called 'circular movement', coming to California for work and getting back home once they have earned enough money; this makes them more difficult to include within the labor market and assimilate them properly. However other Latino long-term residence seem to have a more positive relationship to unionization, which indicates that the longer term of residence, the higher probability of Latino immigrants entering the union.

The tension between blacks and Latinos are further conditioned by employers' preferential hiring of one race over the other, usually following the pattern the lighter the skin the better opportunity to get employed. This pattern do not apply exclusively to White-black or White-Latino employment relationship, but to Latino-black relationship as well; with the increasing percentage of Latino population in California, particularly Los Angeles, the probability of black Angeleno encountering a Latino family businesses when looking for a job around his/her neighborhood is getting larger. Before examining the Black-Latino reciprocal work experience, it is important to once again emphasize why Latinos perceive blacks as inferior to their culture; Anti-black racism, is a

¹⁴⁶ Fortuny, Karina, Capps, Randy & Passel, Jeffrey S., *The Characteristics of Unauthorized Immigrants in California, Los Angeles County and the United States*. p .

¹⁴⁷ Gottlieb, Robert, Vallianatos, Mark, Freer, Regina M. & Dreier, Peter. *The Next Los Angeles*. p. 84.

¹⁴⁸ Waldinger, Roger & Der-Martirosian, Claudia, *Immigrant Workers and Immigrant Labor: Challenge...or Disaster?* p. 60.

pervasive and historically entrenched fact of life in some countries in Latin America.¹⁴⁹ Consequently, Latino immigrants living in the United States transfer the deeply-engrained anti-black racism to next generations, who do not adopt the anti-black sentiment in the United States but rather bring it along from their native countries. As a result of that, Latinos in general are more likely to hire employees within its own ethnic group due to factors mentioned above; at the same they are more successful at setting up their businesses in areas with significant percentage of black residents because in contrast with blacks, they are capable of obtaining the necessary capital, thus become the dominant group within the retail industry. Following the decline of blue-color jobs within the Los Angeles area, self-employment became the factor to enhancing or sustaining the status within the society. Latino immigrants were one of those whose self-employment rate increased immensely during the 1990's, whereas black self-employment rate stagnated, lacking far behind any other minority groups in LA. The increased levels of Latino self-employment during the 1990's partially helped to relieve the saturated and declining blue-color market, while catapulting some of the Latinos into the desired middle-class status, although the general rate of Latino unemployment increase during the 1990's due to the severe recession. As for the unions who originally directed their campaigns at black Angelenos, they became increasingly appealing to Latino workers and by that, they officially acknowledged the Latino labor force potential within the area.

History of black segregation and the inter-group conflicts following the economic enhancement of a minority of black Angelenos along with increasing Latino immigration during the 1990's created further deep divisions between the minorities in 'the city of Angeles'. The loss of manufacturing jobs along with the end of affirmative programs imposed upon blacks a burden they were not able to handle. Consequently, young black males became the most vulnerable group as far as the unemployment is concerned. Following the job decentralization in Los Angeles, young black males followed by Latino ones, have only limited opportunities to find a job within the central-city. Stoll in his study concludes that young black and Latino males' duration of

¹⁴⁹ Hernández, Katerí Tanya, *Latino Inter-Ethnic Employment Discrimination and the Diversity Defense*. p. 268.

unemployment is about 5 and 2 weeks longer than that of whites.¹⁵⁰ Clearly, this is the result of whites overwhelmingly residing in more job accessible neighborhoods along with their higher educational achievement and better family background. Moreover, the job decentralization seems to be a less influential factor than family background in determining once chances for employment with blacks occupying the lowest ladder followed by more family business orientated Latinos. In order to reverse the current trend, a policy of job influx into the L.A. city central needs to be adopted to increase the chances of both black and Latino males for economic enhancement. As argued in the previous chapters, young black Angeleno males are more likely to be incarcerated than any other ethnic group, which significantly impacts their chances of getting a decent job in order to avoid a circle of chronic unemployment connected to violence and crime. Based on the study of Holzer, Raphael and Stoll (2003), the imprisonment of an individual decreases his employment chances and earnings of 10-30 %.¹⁵¹ When hiring a new employee, the majority of employers in Los Angeles County actually check the criminal records of its potential worker. On the other hand, the research have discovered that a substantial percentage of L.A. employers cooperates with third-party agencies that aim at include ex-convicts into the labor force; yet the actual percentage that proves willing to really hire such individuals is comparably lower, which is reflected in survey indicating that the majority of employers within the L.A. County would not be willing to hire such a candidate. (See the Tables 10 & 11 in Appendix 5) Moreover, the question whether less serious offends would automatically increase the chances of ex-convicts for a job seems to be rather inconclusive; although some of the employers might consider such applicants more acceptable than serious offenders, the reality is that when challenged by a non-black candidate with clean criminal record, ex-offenders usually do not stand a chance. Consequently, black Angeleno ex-offenders are disadvantage at two stages at the same time, first, by their race and second, by their past acts.

Likewise, the percentage of welfare-recipients is large among both blacks and Latinos in Los Angeles, while the probability of welfare recipients being hired is larger

¹⁵⁰ Stoll, Michael A., *When Jobs Move, Do Black and Latino Men Lose?* p. 225.

¹⁵¹ Holzer, Harry J., Raphael, Steven & Stoll, Michael A., *Employer Demand For Ex-Offenders: Recent Evidence from Los Angeles.* p. 1.

than that of ex-offenders, it is still rather low, although some preference was given to drug-related crimes over violent offences, climbing almost to zero when it comes to individuals with over one year period of unemployment. All three categories mentioned in here include large percentage of both Latinos and blacks making them a visible target of endless circle of poverty related to unemployment. As the study concludes, industries with little customer contact, such as manufacturing, are more willing to hire ex-offenders than others.¹⁵² It was given by the fact that the manufacturing industry along with other sectors with the majority of low-skilled workers do not tend to verify the criminal record of potential employees, with a slight increase after the 2001/11 incident. Apart from that, companies who are willing to hire ex-offenders are rather declining for only 6 % of employers ask about the criminal record the applicant themselves.¹⁵³ However as stated above, the manufacturing sector within the Los Angeles area suffered a serious strike and as a result of that stopped the main source of ex-convict employment. Also, sectors like transportation and construction who would otherwise be willing to provide jobs to black ex-convicts became increasingly Latino.

In the employment sphere, several similarities have been found between the Latino and black workers. First, Latino labor force represents the most poorly paid class within the American society, followed by African Americans. Second, the educational achievement of both groups is largely the same, lacking far behind Anglo or Asian minority. Consequently, the high percentage of low-skilled workers between these two groups creates tensions resulting from competition for the same jobs in severely limited sectors within the economy. (See the Tables 12 & 13 in Appendix 5) Since the 1990's, the job opportunity for Latinos has increased several times; on the other hand, black young low-skilled males were those who were affected most negatively by the 1990's changing economy. If only blacks and Latinos would be able to overcome their reciprocal resentment and accept that both the groups share the same interests that do not necessarily collide, the socio-economic enhancement of both groups would be carried out much easily.

¹⁵² Holzer, Harry J., Raphale, Steven & Stoll, Michael A., Employer Demand For Ex-Offenders: Recent Evidence from Los Angeles. p. 11.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 19.

The economic conditions of both groups have a great impact upon their reciprocal perceiving; in other words, black Angelenos who reside in a neighborhood where they are economically disadvantaged over Latinos usually tend to view Latinos in a more negative way, which is related to their stereotyping of them along with the fear of being displaced in sectors that were originally black dominated. In such cases, the possibility of a coalition within the economic sphere remains highly improbable; likewise for black Angelenos are gradually being pushed out of low-skilled jobs, they are more likely to be depicted as the aggressors of the economic black-Latino conflict. It is obvious that lower-class black Angelenos would have higher rates when it comes to viewing Latinos as competing for the same jobs than better-off black Angelenos, who would be more likely to establish a black-Latino economic alliance in order to enhance the status of both groups. First, higher-class black Angelenos are less likely to share a neighborhood with Latino majority, second, they are not forced to compete for scarce resources because they live in economically better-off neighborhoods and third, they are less likely to compete for the same jobs. Third, a study by America's leading immigration economist George Borjas from University of California indicates that immigrants negatively affected the employment of low-skilled African Americans by 7.4 % between 1980 and 2000.¹⁵⁴ Consequently, it seems that the less the black Angelenos interact with the members of other group, the more positive attitudes they have and the less likely they resort to negative stereotyping. In general, the size of Latino population is not the main determinant of black resentment; it is rather the feeling that Latino population has better economic and social position on the labor market. Moreover, the fact that California has a large segment of illegal Latino population, (in 2005 there was an estimation of 800,000 illegal immigrants in the Los Angeles County ¹⁵⁵) who is perceived as benefiting from taking away the native-born jobs without contributing to the state as taxpayers and at the same time using services not enacted for them, rather worsens the state of race-relations and limits the prospect of a coalitional building into the future.

¹⁵⁴ Parker, Randall, Hispanic Immigrants Lower Black Wages and Raise Black Unemployment.

¹⁵⁵ Laalmanac.com., Illegal Immigrants in California.

7 Visions of the future; Will Coalition prevail over Conflict?

This chapter focuses on possible outcomes of black-brown relations into the future in a more general way than the previous chapters, where the study was limited to one particular area. Moreover, all the conclusions stated in this chapter are only hypothetical.

The history of black-Latino relations exhibits features of both conflict and cooperation as it was portrayed in the previous chapters. California, where the percentage of Latino immigrants comes to higher numbers than in any other U.S. area, is a specific case that needs to be treated that way; higher percentage of Latinos is a potential source of increasing probability of black-Latino conflict rather than cooperation, however the generalization seems to be rather inappropriate in here for it the relations needs to be analyzed in a more individual way. In this chapter, I argue that the essence of black-Latino relations is apart from other things rooted within the reciprocal stereotyping of both groups; the point when the Latino population became the majority within the United States society represented a peak in the transformation of deteriorating black-Latino relations. However, specifically in the case of Los Angeles, Latinos had overrepresented black Angelenos long before the official results of the 2000 census and the history of negative black-Latino relations was far more precarious in this region. Moreover, the black-Latino relations became increasingly dominant within several spheres, including the political or labor market transformation. Likewise, black-brown relations were increasingly covered by the media, which put a special emphasis on the zero-sum game between both groups, preferring to portray the conflict picture over the cooperation. In order to prove the deep division which unquestionably exists between the black-Latino groups, first I focus on the intermarriage patterns between those two ethnicities. Firstly, it is important to note that literature has so far treated the marriage between Latinos as overwhelmingly positive, picturing it in terms of a stable happy relationship, extremely unlikely to break up. Inter-group black marriages on the other hand were portrayed in rather negative ways, labeling them as unstable, unhappy, hardly to sustain based on the negative stereotyping of them. In here, the association of positive stereotyping with the Latino group and negative stereotyping with the black

group reveals how the black-Latino relationship is perceived from both outside and inside group world. When we take into consideration, that blacks are the least desirable partners for Latinos,¹⁵⁶ (whereas blacks put Latinos in front of whites as their marriage partners) that they tend to live in the same neighborhoods, however limit their social interaction to a minimum and that they compete at the most important levels, the conflict interpretation seems to be a more appropriate as a prediction into the future. In spite of this, Los Angeles is one of the cities where the intermarriage rate remains constantly high, which ranks it high in inter-group relations, yet not quite that positive in black-brown relations. As we discussed in the previous chapters, the better educated the individuals of both groups are, the more likely are they to favor the black-Latino alliance, which could be applied to intermarriage patterns as well; however given the lower educational achievement of both groups, this possibility seems to be evaporating.

For Latinos and blacks could cooperate, they need to have a sense of shared interests; however, the fact that both blacks and Latinos occupy the same position within the American society, which constantly pits them against each other, makes it very difficult for them to find a common ground upon which they would be able to establish a long-lasting coalition. Consequently, their similar background both offers ground for positive and negative outcomes. In the past, there have been several indications of cooperation with a view to achieve a goal that would enhance the lives of both communities without necessarily involving the zero-sum game competition. Although, it is true that in places with significant percentage of immigrants and scarce resources, which for example Los Angeles unquestionably is, the rivalry tend to shadow 'the larger picture.' To mention a few examples from the previous chapter, the transformation of the janitor and manufacturing sector in Los Angeles, the recent fight for the public jobs or the clashing interests in the form of bilingual education. As I have already stated above, in the cities where there is a black majority, Latinos usually experience socio-economic setbacks; Sanchez (2004) proves that biracial coalitions are less likely to occur when one group maintains a class or power advantage over the

¹⁵⁶ Fu, Vincent Kang, How Many Melting Pots? Intermarriage, Panethnicity, And The Black/Non-Black Divide. p. 12.

other.¹⁵⁷ Yet, the projections into the future indicate that the probability of black majorities will seriously diminish with further influx of Latino population. These projections will probably further push blacks into the corner and increase the likelihood of their deep resentment against the progressing demographic trends whose main driving force would be Latinos.

The economic sphere is designated as equally important for blacks and Latinos and the main source of their clashes; related to that is their position within the labor market, which indicates that both blacks and Latinos share the similar portion of racial discrimination within the society, which would lead to the conclusion that both groups should cooperate in order to change it. In spite of this, the discrimination has however turned into another zero-sum game competition for both blacks, who perceive Latinos as the main reason for the employers' Latino preference within the labor market, and Latinos, who think that blacks do not have the exclusive right for jobs because they do not want to work hard for it. The fact that blacks are often not able to acknowledge that their working ethic or attitude might stand in the way of their employment just as the surplus of low-wage Latino workers, along with the Latino denying that there could be something about blacks' grievances of Latinos taking their jobs, further undermines the possibility of black-Latino coalition building. The fact that both blacks and Latinos represent a minority within the United States should help them unite against their common opponent, the Anglos. However, so far there have only been seeds of coalitional acting whenever the issues somehow applied to both groups and the outcomes of coalition building would have a positive effect upon both groups. Such common interests incite stronger determination to cooperation. At the political scene, the possibility of an alliance might be somewhat stronger in the future, given the affiliation of both groups to the Democratic Party, but the cooperation at this stage will highly probably be limited to issues of great importance to both the groups, which will not be perceived as one group gains, while the other loses; The self-interests of both groups will always prevail over the coalitional prospects, however recent events indicate that ideology might be a more important factor in coalition formation than the race itself; to what extent this suggestion apply to the reality will show in the future.

¹⁵⁷ Sanchez, Gabriel R., Building a Foundation For Coalitions Among Latinos and African Americans: The Impact of Latino Group Consciousness on Perceptions of Commonality With African Americans. p.5

Moreover, Sanchez (2004) suggests that Latinos divided into several sub-groups must first find common ground and unite among themselves before they will be able to link their interests to those of blacks¹⁵⁸, thus lay bases for a longer-lasting alliance that could be sustained. (See the Table 14 in Appendix 5) The identification of self-interests of the black community arises from their cultural unity and common experience of slavery, whereas the diversification of Latinos and their different experience make it more difficult for them to identify with one another and create a 'homogenous' group. The biggest obstacle to black-Latino cooperation at the political stage, apart from stereotyping, seems to be the uncertain status of many immigrant Latinos along with the lack of assimilation of recent immigrants, which largely prevents them from seeking a common ground with other minority groups. Likewise, the age, demographic situation, the economic status and education belong among factors shaping the individual's mind about the necessity to create biracial coalitions. This pattern will most likely prevail into the future. According to Stoll (2000), the participation in voluntary associations increases the likelihood of individuals to identify with the needs of other ethnic groups and positively affects the attitudes towards the biracial coalitions formations; the research carried out in the Los Angeles area concluded that blacks are more likely than Latinos participate in voluntary associations,¹⁵⁹ which makes them more reliable coalitional partners. Furthermore, the fact that younger generations of both blacks and Latinos have a greater tendency to seek common ground with each other seems to be a promising factor into the future of black-Latino relations. Specifically, in the case of highly diversified Los Angeles with the non-primary elections, the tendency towards coalitional building should be stronger than anywhere else, however the recent evidence about increasing competition suggest an opposite trend. As the 2005 black mayoral candidate Bernard Parks said: Why do we have to look at it as blacks lose, Hispanics win? No one wins in this city without a coalition.¹⁶⁰ Tom Bradley's legacy of multi-racial coalition still remains largely unchallenged in Los Angeles, when we accept that the outcome of the 2005 mayoral election that experienced the black-brown coalition,

¹⁵⁸ Soto DeFrancesco, Victoria M., *Is Blood Thicker than Water? Social Group Identification and Latino Candidate Evaluation*. p. 6.

¹⁵⁹ Stoll, Michael A., *Race, Neighborhood Poverty and Participation in Voluntary Associations*. pp. 24-5.

¹⁶⁰ Han, Euisuok, *Competitions and Conflicts in Multiracial Politics: Blacks, Latinos, and Asian Americans in Los Angeles*. p. 3.

was largely due to the personal resentment of blacks towards the Anglo candidate Hahn, rather than the expression of black-Latino improving relations. In addition to that, if Latino candidates succeed in mobilizing the Latino voters in Los Angeles properly, than they will probably have no need in cooperating with their main competitors black Angelenos, but rather turn to Anglos with who they perceive to have more in common than with blacks. Following this, the only method of achieving stable ground for black–Latino alliance seems to be a comprehensive immigration legislation that would prevent the further influx of low-skilled Latino workers into the country; however, several administrations have attempted to deal with this salient issue, yet the outcomes have not been promising so far. Also, the question whether the political elites of both groups are really interested in the coalition formation between blacks and Latinos still remains unanswered. For once both lower-class blacks and Latinos alienated, they might start perceiving the class differences within their own group more seriously and act in order to diminish the gap within the poor and rich, which would not unquestionably be in their interest. Specifically Latino leaders were more likely to put emphasis on the promotion of white identity within the Latino community while largely ignoring the possibility of a rainbow coalition.¹⁶¹ Also, the increase of the Los Angeles budget would positively affect the black-Latino relations as they would be given more public resources and the necessity to compete for them would diminish, however when taken into consideration the state of the American economy, this will not more likely happen in the near future. For the zero-sum competition levels are quite high between blacks and Latinos in Los Angeles with comparison to other multicultural cities, the introduction of these factors would unquestionably help diminishing it. Lately, several organizations has been acting as mediators of black-brown relations apart from other, with a view to finding a middle ground and promoting the rainbow coalitional strategies.; among those organizations are for example NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People) , the National Council of La Raza or The Urban Inequality Project and others; these organizations, either addressing the needs of Latinos or blacks, have carried out several researches in order to find out to what extent minority organizations would be willing to cooperate on issues concerning either both

¹⁶¹ Rocha, Rene R., Cooperation and Conflict in Multiracial School Districts: Revisiting the Rainbow Coalition and Power Hypotheses. p. 5.

or only counterpart groups. I would argue that there would be a tendency to cooperate between those two groups whenever an issue would apply to both groups and on the other hand, a non-cooperative attitude would be adopted whenever the issue would not be salient to one of the groups. This would largely prove the point that self-interest of one group will be always dominant when considering the formation of the rainbow-coalition.

Likewise, given the large percentage of residential segregation of both groups, the probability that in the future both blacks and Latinos will increasingly share a neighborhood is even larger than nowadays; based on the power hypothesis that the lesser the social distance between blacks and Latinos, the greater the likelihood of the rainbow coalition. Yet as we know from previous chapters, in spite of the increasing demographic proximity of both groups, the social distance remains constantly high indicating that this trend will be further continuing. Also, I argue that the tensions concerning the socio-economic factors will be increasing rather than declining in the next couple of decades. As for the gang black-Latino violence, I argue that in spite of the media publishing headlines as ‘ethnic cleansing in L.A.’, most of the homicides will probably continue to be black-on-black or Latino-on Latino violence, while the black-Latino violence will continue to be sporadic. Consequently, both black and Latino gangs will probably continue to leave each other alone and mind their own business unless openly confronted, which is typical for the Florence area; otherwise both black and Latino gangs will continue to operate within their own ranks (in the case of drug trafficking, which is one of the main sources of income, blacks and Latinos tend to sell different products than the other group, thus largely avoiding in each other) and associate with the members of their own race. Yet, there have even been several cases of cooperation within both groups whenever the prospects of economic gain overpowered the ethnic lines; such cases were most often related to drug-trafficking and this trend will most likely continue into the future as well for the sake of economic benefits, which suggests that gangs are no longer associated that much with color but rather with money. However, the growing numbers of Latino population in L.A. will highly probably incite greater likelihood of black-Latino gang violence, specifically on the Latino side when taken into consideration that the rate of Latino gang members is

growing faster than the one of blacks. Likewise, I argue that with the increasing power the influence of Mexican Mafia over Latino gangs will not diminish and Latino gangs will be increasingly perceived as the aggressors of the conflict accessing more territories on the way to greater business profits, while cooperation will be taking a back seat. Also, the gangs will continue to play a central role within the neighborhoods, controlling every aspect of the residents' lives while spreading fear and violence and trapping more and more black/Latino youth within the boundaries of their neighborhoods and gangs' ideologies.

The future prospects of the black-Latino coalition are even further shadowed by the fact that the multi-racial coalitions are based on friendly social interactions, lower rates of economic competition and common ideologies.¹⁶² Consequently, at the time being the lack of those factors serving as a mortar in the coalitional building makes it highly improbable that any such attempt would have a long-term impact; rather any attempt of black-Latino alliance will highly probably turn to an unstable coalition. One of the chances to increase the likelihood of rainbow coalitional success would be the presence of strong political elites dedicated to building a black-brown coalition and openly acted according to their determination, emphasizing the common ties of blacks and Latinos rather than staying politically neutral; for in general people do not have a direct access to information, thus rely upon their political leaders to make up their mind. As stated in the previous chapters, both blacks and Latinos give their voters preferences to candidates of their race; however, whenever the ideology, political affiliation or community interests plays a role, both groups do not resist to voting for a candidate of other race if they are persuaded that he/she will address their community interests better than their co-ethnic candidate. As a result of that, I argue that deracialized campaigning in Los Angeles are a good way to go for the minority candidates, yet political leaders should specifically consider emphasizing the common black-Latino interests even if it would mean that they would lose the support of other minority candidates. However, even if the political elites of both groups would be really willing to do that, there is still a long way to go in order to figure out how to overcome the social hostility, decades of stereotyping and the reality of competition between these two groups. Following from

¹⁶² Chi, Young Joo, Han, EuiSuok & Chang, HeyYoung, *Social Interactions Among Korean, Latino, and African-Americans in Los Angeles*. p. 11.

that, I would argue that if there is any chance for creating a long-lasting biracial coalition in Los Angeles, it would be a black-white liberal coalition, which has a history of successful cooperation, rather than the black and brown. Moreover, the prospects for black/Latino-white coalition are much brighter than the prospects of black-brown alliance; the winner-takes-most system incites minorities to cooperate with the Anglos in order to become a part of the winning alliance.¹⁶³ Likewise, until the political, economic and social arena will be perceived as a part of the zero-sum game, the incentives for the black-brown cooperation will remain limited; the likelihood for black-brown cooperation into the future will be greater when issues like health care, education or public services will be at stake.

One of the positive signs is unquestionably the black-Latino summit organized by the leading black and Latino activists in Los Angeles during October 2008, focusing on gathering both blacks and Latinos around one 'table' and promoting the necessity of black-Latino cooperation in spirit of Bradley and Villaraigosa's ideologies on the way of putting down the barriers of reciprocal resentment. The 2008 Los Angeles summit was preceded by other attempts of finding a balance between both groups and directing it the right way; this is the case of African American/Latino Leadership Alliance when Rev. Al Sharpton (black civil rights activist often portrayed as too radical, yet this exactly what is needed right now), Christine Chavez (Latino leading civil rights activist), and Najee Ali (a black civil rights who seems to have cherished the common interests of both groups lately) expressed a positive feeling about the state of black/Latino relations when campaigning in Los Angeles in 2005¹⁶⁴, right after the election of A. Villaraigosa, suggesting that blacks and Latinos might find a way out of the zero-sum game circle after all. The 2008 Los Angeles summit was second in the row, preceded by the 2005 summit that was perceived as a boring polite cocktail party of black/brown political elites full of courtesy and vain statements, lacking any signs of commitment while completely ignoring the voices of those who were directly impacted. I would say that this is probably the truest state of black/brown alliance during these

¹⁶³ Kaufman, Karen M., Still Waiting for the Rainbow Coalition? Group Rationality and Urban Coalitions. p. 10.

¹⁶⁴ Wood, Danie B., L.A.'s blacks, Latinos see answers in alliance.

days. I would compare it to the renaming of the South Central to South L.A., as a symbol of the immediate erasing of all the crime and violence that ever happened down there, without ever mentioning them again, which makes it look like they actually never existed. The question is whether it is better to completely ignore the reality and avoid sensitive issues, which basically means talking in vain, or to talk about them, although inappropriately as in the case of Mexican president Vincente Fox, who in his public speech could not have stereotyped blacks more than he did, but loudly expressed the feelings of the majority of Latinos, although he only saw one side of the story, and by that came to the roots of black/Latino resentment.

8 Conclusion

The parallel histories of black and Latino community development within the Los Angeles area could have been interpreted in the ways of both conflict and coalition at early stages; the fact that they occupied the same position within the society-on the latest ranks of the racial ladder along with the fact these two minorities were more likely to share the same experience of discrimination provided them with enough ground for cooperation in order to enhance their lives at the expense of the dominant Anglo majority. Yet, the scenario took a different path, the one where blacks and Latinos were constantly pitted against each other in the fight for the scarce resources provided to them. Moreover, the demographic concentrations of both black Angelenos and Latino immigrants within the same neighborhoods of the City Central led to the deepening of the existing tensions and the stereotyping scenario became the most common means of perceiving each other. The argument that racial covenants restricting the free settlement of both groups was the main driving force behind the creation of racially mixed crowded and deteriorating neighborhoods proved to be just right. Moreover, the increasing influx of the Latino community during the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's stirred the demographic transformation of the city neighborhoods, transforming the balance in the favor of the Latino community and initiating the process of the zero-sum game within the black-brown relations.

The 1990's proved to be a violent decade setting the direction for the development of black-brown relations. Increasing rates of violent crimes, greater percentage of gang-related activity and the transfer of the conflict from streets to prisons and jails signaled that the race relations in the city of angels were getting into a new dimension. In spite of the catastrophic scenarios presented by the media and spread by Hollywood, the ethnic cleansing was not flooding the city; in spite of sporadic outburst of black-on-Latino violence or Latino-on-black violence, most of the crimes continue to be black-on-black or Latino-on-Latino and the majority of Latino and black gangs keeps minding their own business, largely ignoring each other unless forced to act, either by territorial clashes, business conflicts or in the wake of racially sensitive cases including the members of both groups. There is no arguing that several case of unprovoked attacks occurred targeting the individuals on the basis of their race, yet first, they are

less often and second, they include the members of both groups and not only Latino gangs targeting blacks as the media try to portray it, for the increasing Latino community becomes an easily visible target. Although, I must admit that the fact that Latinos became a majority group within the city and that in some of the recently they have turned out to be the initiators of violent clashes, especially within prisons where they represent the majority, makes it sometimes easier to incline to the side portrayed by the media.

As far as the educational sphere is concerned, several cases of cooperation and conflict have been found between the black and Latino community. The fact that the majority of both blacks and Latinos attend schools with significant presence of both races should make them more inclined towards the cooperation scenario because first, the majority of such schools suffers from the lack of resources and qualified staff and second, both groups have the highest percentage of high-school drop-outs out of all minority groups in Los Angeles. The social and demographic limitations that both groups experience and are the main reasons behind their failure to fully integrate and become valuable members of the society. The low educational achievements of both groups make them more vulnerable to poverty, prevent them from climbing the social and economic ladder and create further generations of low self-esteem blacks and Latinos who perceive themselves as a failure. Moreover, as argued in this thesis, the higher education the individuals of both groups attain, the more likely are they to support the notion of black-Latino coalition as a means of enhancing their lives. Consequently, the low graduation rates of both groups signal that the possibility of such an alliance into the future is rather low, rather the educational sphere will be further perceived as another example of the zero-sum game as clearly reflected in the overwhelming black support of the Proposition 187 or 227; yet in spite of the latter legislation being portrayed as the black means of attacking the Latino community, I conclude that it is important to note that the majority of Latinos themselves favored its passage as the only means of full integration of their children into the society. Moreover, as far as the Proposition 227 is concerned, it has not proved to be as effective as predicted so far, for no significant decrease in the Latino drop-out crisis has occurred yet. I would conclude that the main reasons behind the percentage of Latino/black drop-

outs are mainly the problem of their spatial concentration within neighborhoods hit by the poverty, attend seriously underfunded schools with the shortage of the staff, specifically in the case of black Angelenos often come from the single-parent families with the lack of support, which would significantly increase the chances for their graduation, bad economic situation that forces such an individuals to leave school for work, attend the majority black/Latino schools and most importantly study under the system that makes them more likely to drop-out; when imposing sanctions for lower scores on schools and pumping the necessary resources into majority white schools with higher rates of test scores, and when forcing black/Latino low-performing students to pass several exams they are not able to pass because the system did not provide them with sufficient resources that would allow them to pass them.

On the political scene, the conflicting interpretation of black-brown relations has become more common lately; although I conclude that to judge the resentment of both communities towards the political alliance only on the basis of race is not correct and that the ideology plays an equally significant role in shaping the minds of both groups. Moreover, the past and recent examples of the reciprocal political support, like for example the Delgadillo's election as the City Attorney, which was largely supported by the black community or the black support of Villaraigosa in the recent 2008 Mayoral election, prove that the black/Latino political alliance has already occurred sporadically. However, I argue that the future prospect of the political alliance into the future will remain rather minimal as the Latino community will gain more empowerment within the city; similarly, I conclude that the interpretation of the 2005 Mayoral election as a beginning of new positive era of black-Latino relations is more than exaggerated and that the outcomes of the election were shaped by other factors than the improving relations between those two groups; Hahn's failure to sustain the black and white political alliance, the presence of Bernard Parks in the election, Hahn's moral failures and so on. In other words, no miracle in the form of the crashing black support for Villaraigosa happened back then. Rather it was the 2001 Mayoral election that uncovered the true state of black-Latino relations, when black Angelenos represented one of the key factors preventing Villaraigosa to enter the City Hall. Moreover, I conclude that the fact that both blacks and Latinos affiliate themselves as Democrats

does not play a role whenever the political race includes two democratic candidates of both races, for the interests of both groups and the bloc voting along the racial lines tend to overpower the possibility of any political alliance.

The economic sphere exhibits the same features as the social and political spheres; the influx of cheap Latino labor force conditioned the transformation of several industries previously occupied by black Angelenos. However, I conclude that the displacement of the black low-skilled community has much deeper roots than just the market labor surplus in the lower-skilled positions; first, the preferential hiring of other minorities over blacks by employers as a result of black stereotyping and black 'attitude, the transformation of L.A. economy, the relocation of the manufacturing industry to suburbs, the switching of contacting companies from union to non-union workers, the policies promoting diversity within certain employment spheres, specifically within the public employment and so on. In spite of this, I agree with the supporters of the charges that the increasing influx of the cheap illegal immigrant labor seriously impacts the working opportunities of lower-skilled black Angelenos and that it tends to depreciate wages within certain industries. Moreover, the reciprocal resentment of both groups, the stereotyping and the Latino hiring through referrals tend to create uniform industries, which prevents one or the other group from successfully applying for a position within such industry. Within the employment sphere, the persuasion that if one group gains, the other automatically loses becomes even stronger and in return supports charges that either illegal alliance are taking the jobs of native-born Americans or that native-born Americans, specifically the black community, do not deserve these jobs because they do not want to work hard. Moreover, I conclude that the working opportunities of both blacks and Latinos are seriously limited by their place of residence; specifically residing within the deteriorating area of the City Central does not have its residence many chances to find a job neither within nor outside its neighborhoods because their economic situation and the problematic transportation system does not allow them to travel long distances to work. As a result of that, such individuals tend to remain dependent upon the welfare system and are less likely to easily transfer from welfare to job, trapping themselves and their children within the cycle of poverty and chronic unemployment. As for the claim whether illegal

immigrants tend to misuse the welfare system, I would conclude that in spite some sporadic cases occurring before the implementation of the 1996 legislation eliminating the use of social services by illegal immigrants, any such claims do not have firm bases nowadays.

Počet slov: 210, 171/bez mezer

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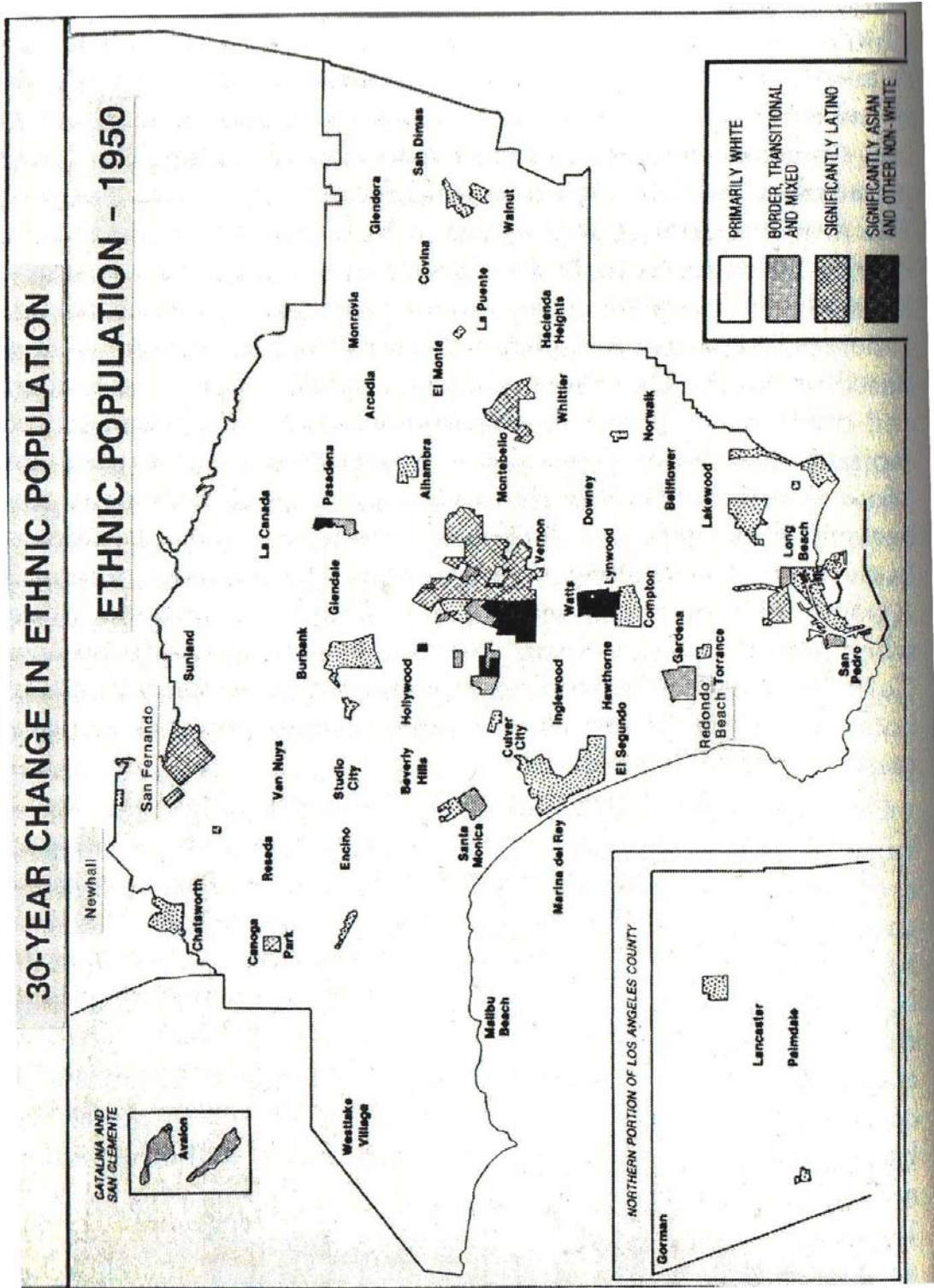
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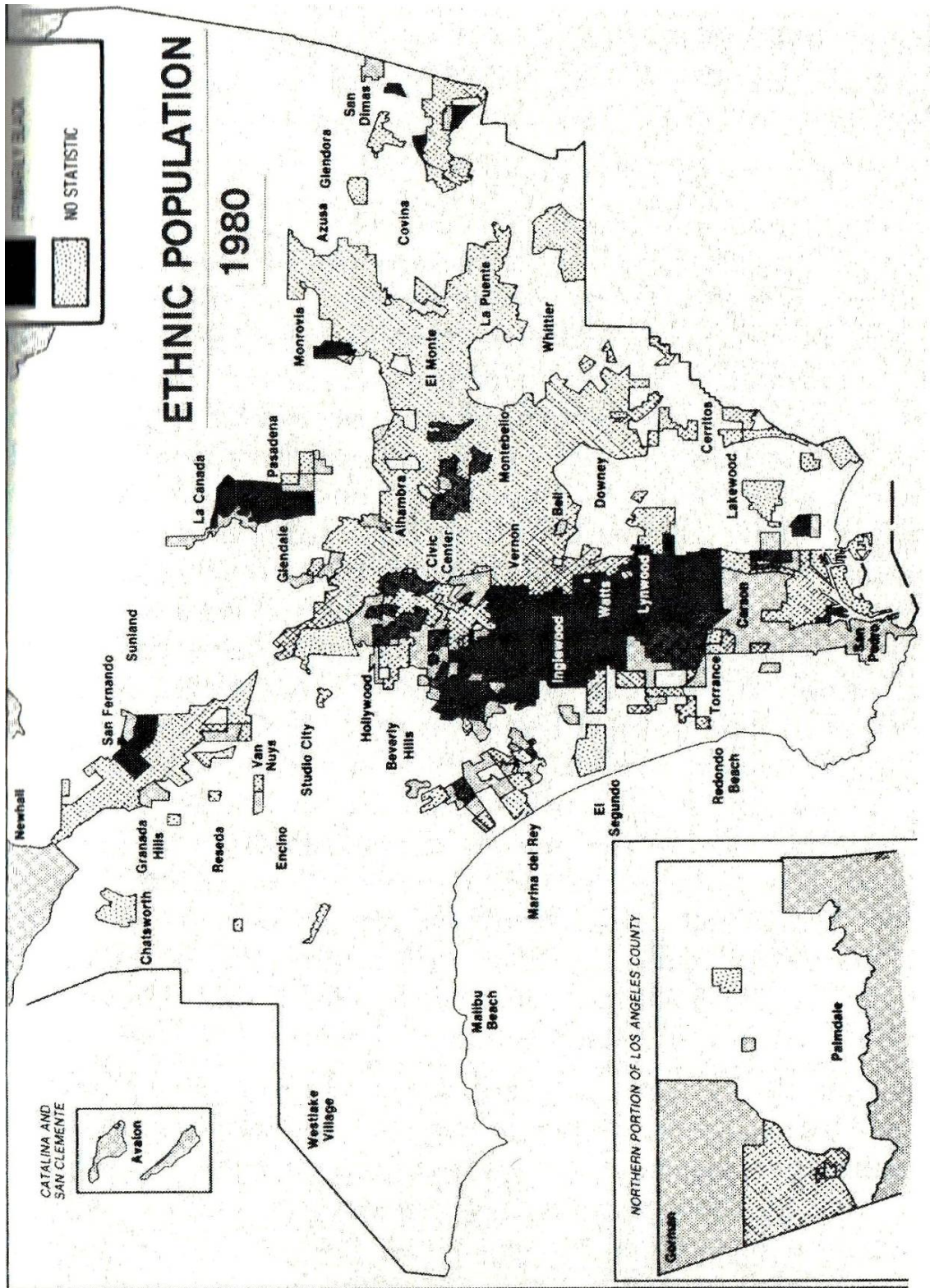
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10 Appendix 1

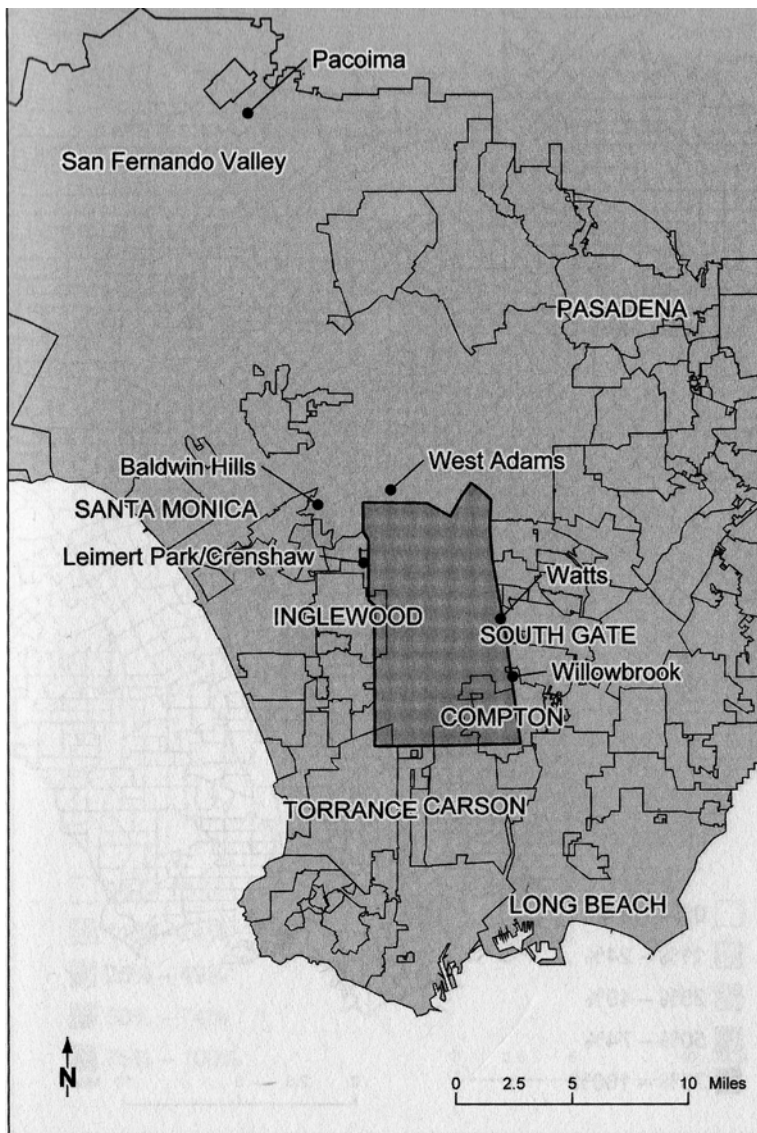
10.1 Table 1



10.2 Table 2



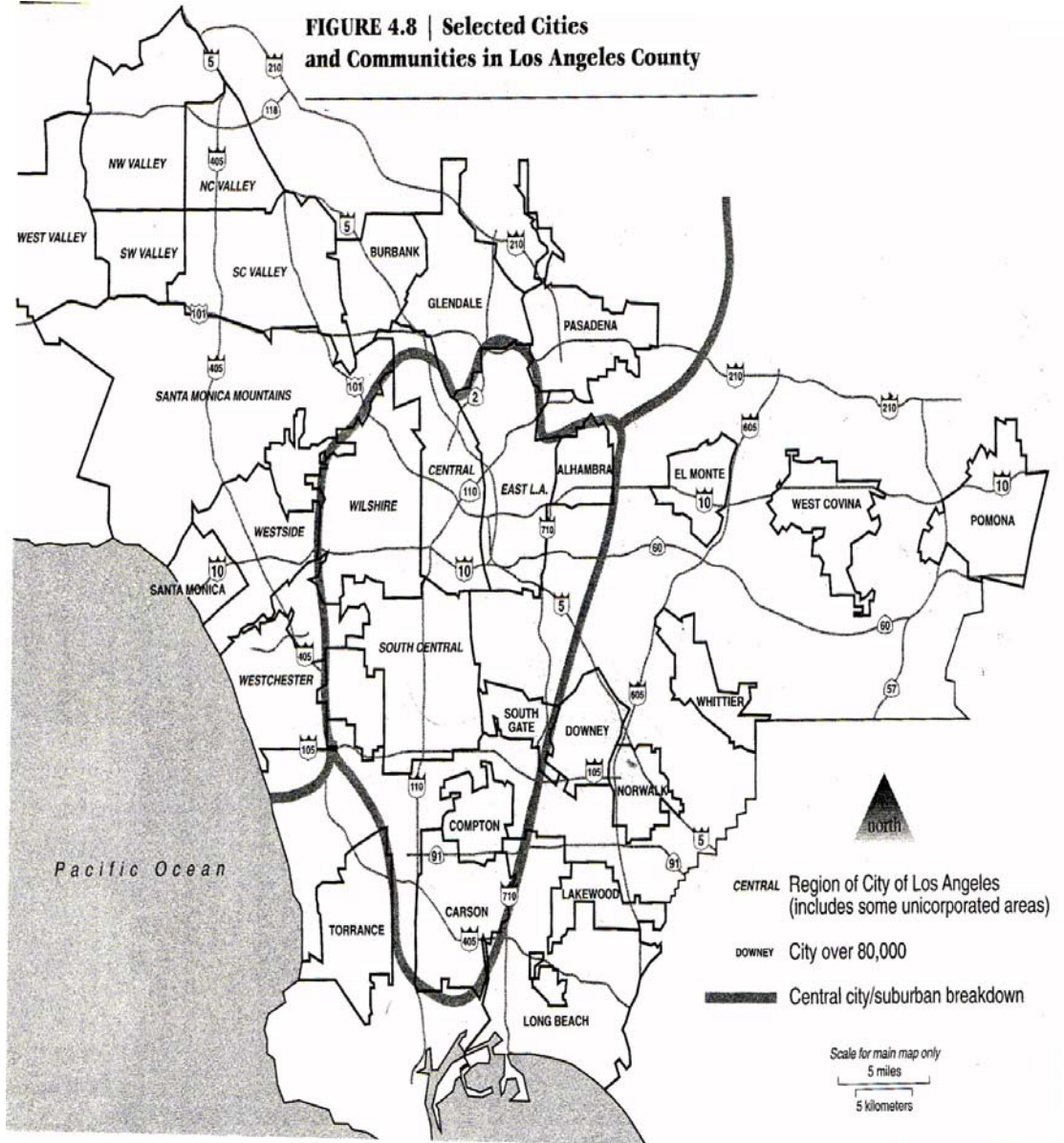
10.3 Table 3



MAP 1. South Central and the greater Los Angeles area. Darker shading indicates South Central. The names of incorporated cities appear in capital letters. Maps 1–8 created by Michael Bufalino, Center for Geographic Information Science Research, Cal Poly, Pomona. Based on data from Philip J. Ethington, Anne Marie Kooistra, and Edward De Young, *Los Angeles County Union Census Tract Data Series, 1940–1990, Version 1.01* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 2000).

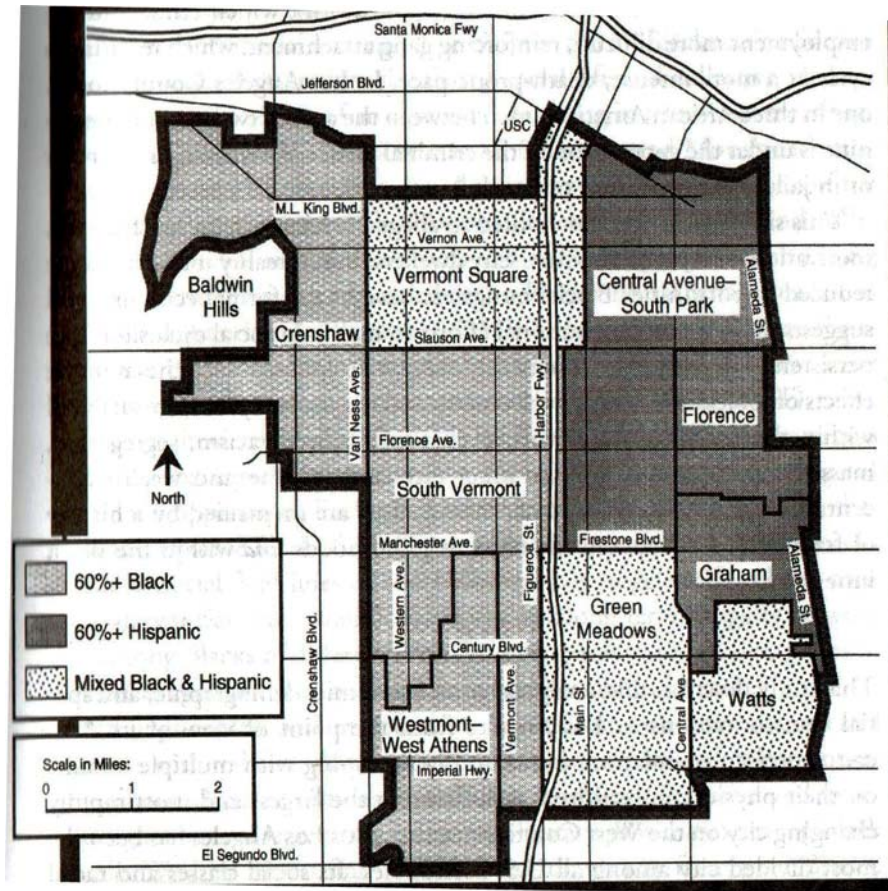
10.4 Table 4

FIGURE 4.8 | Selected Cities and Communities in Los Angeles County



*Boyle Heights are situated right on the left side of East L.A.

10.5 Table 5



*Neighborhoods of the South Central Los Angeles

11 Appendix 2

11.1 Table 1

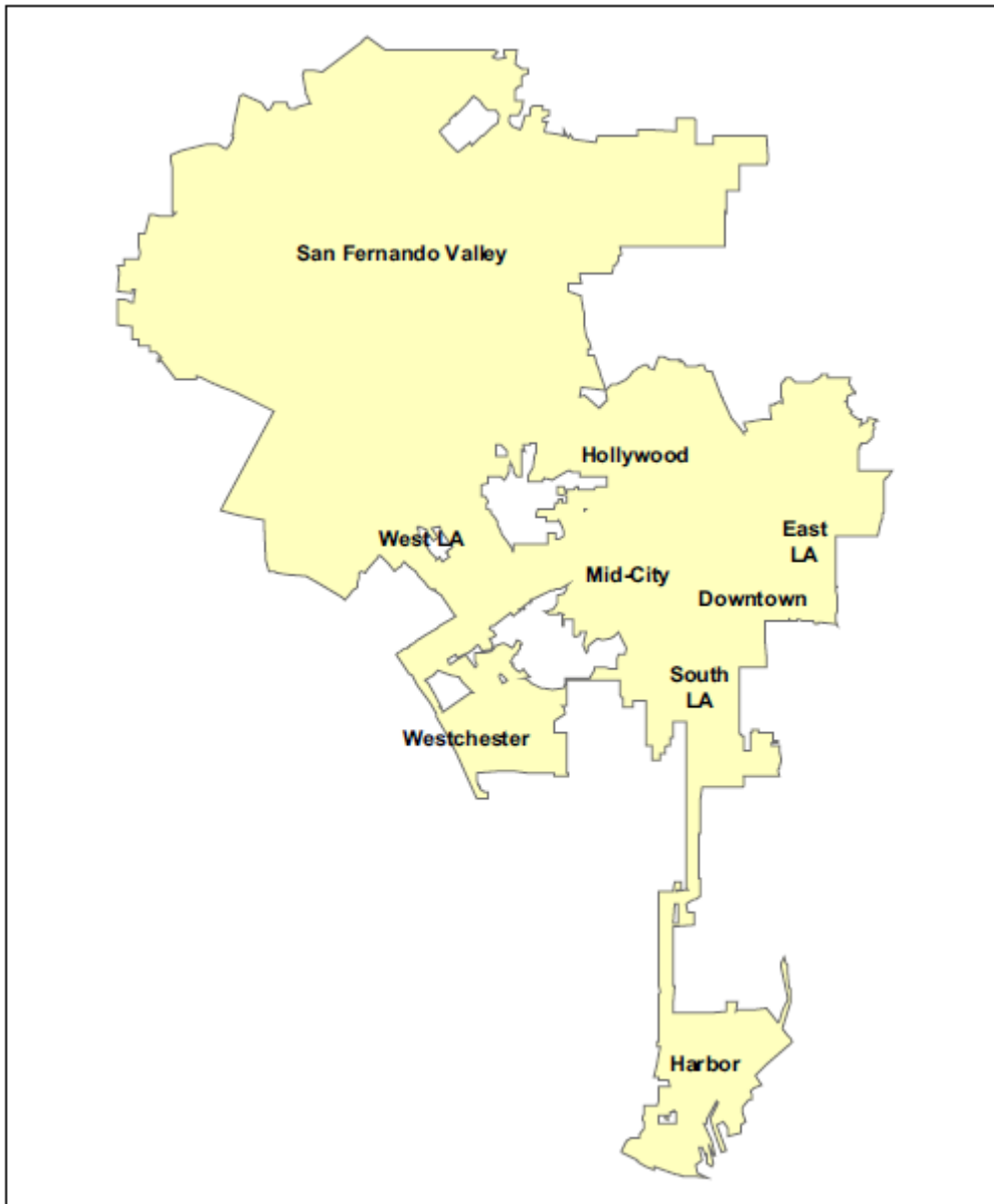
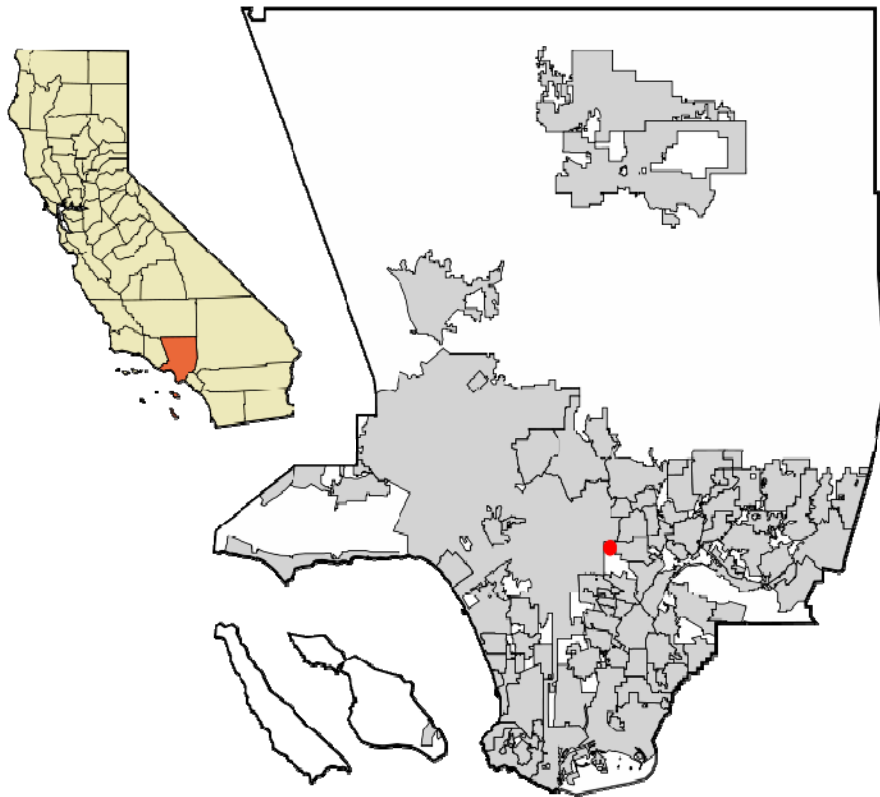


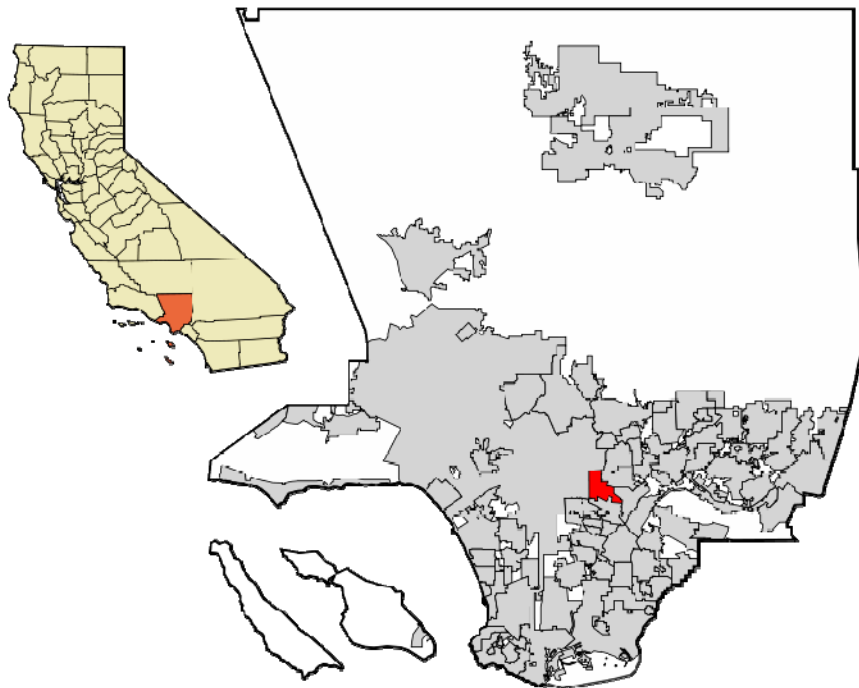
Fig. 2. City of Los Angeles areas.

*Sonora Town and the Plaza District in Downtown L.A., within the City Central area

11.2 Table 2

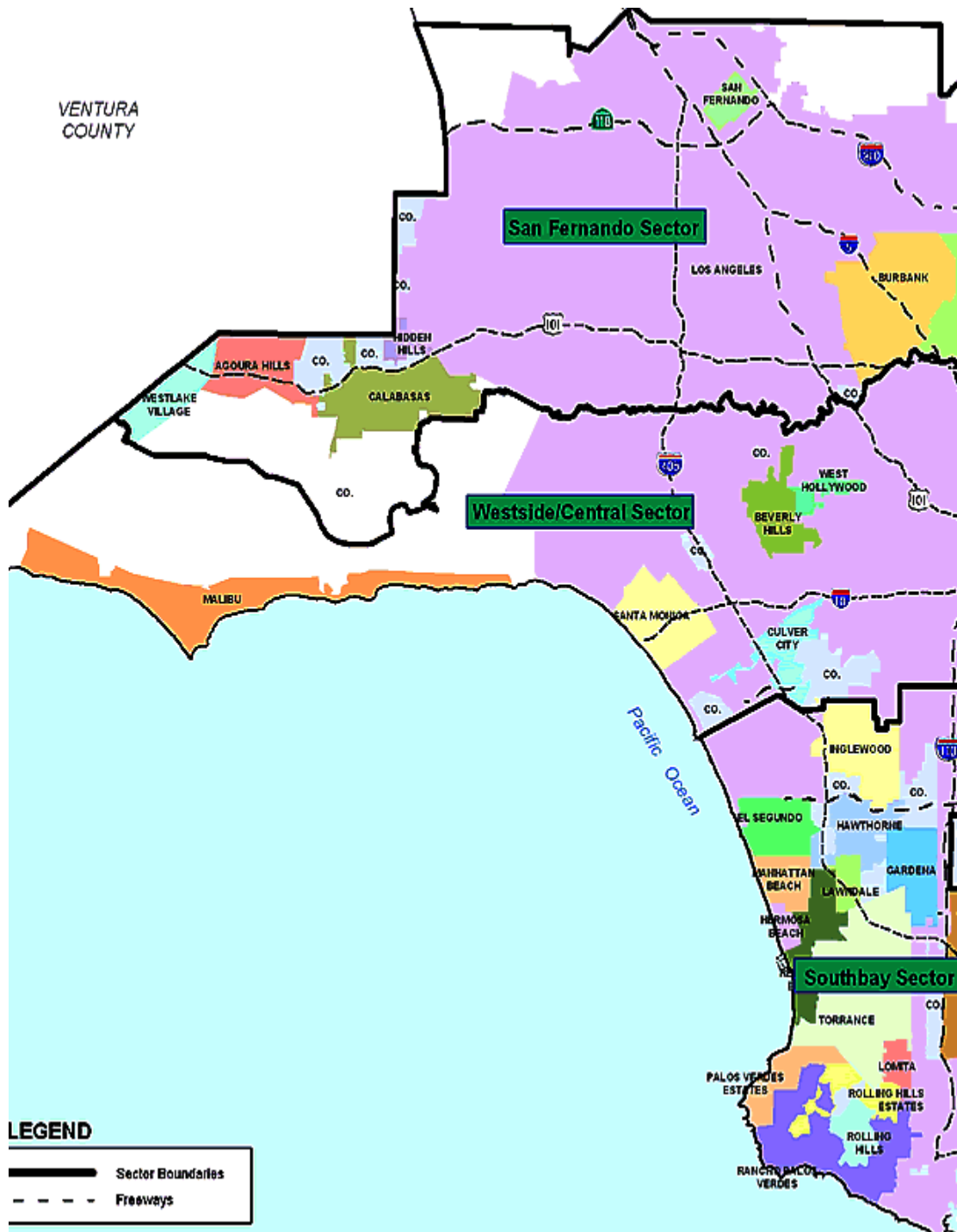


City Terrace

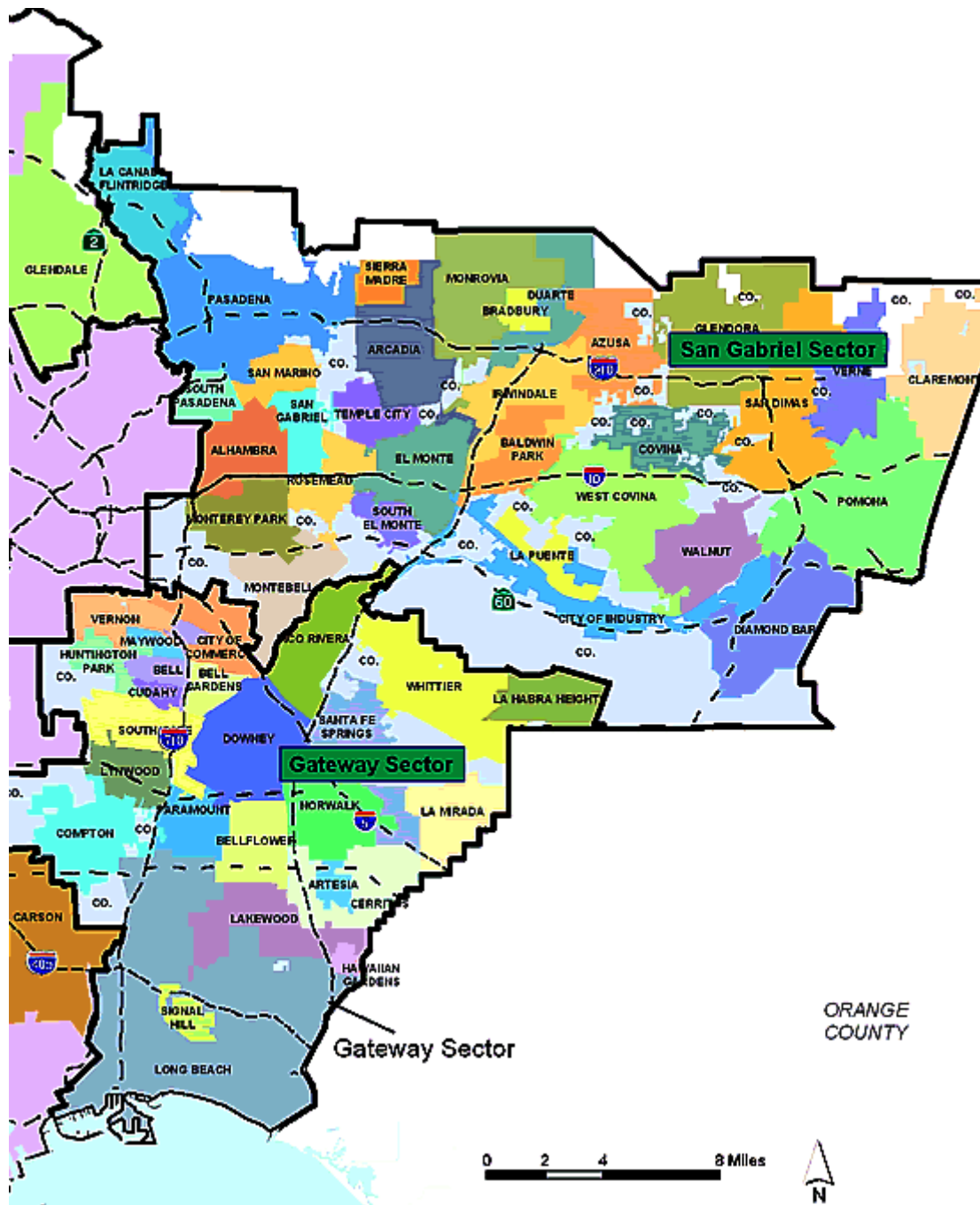


East L.A. areas

11.3 Table 3a



11.4 Table 3b



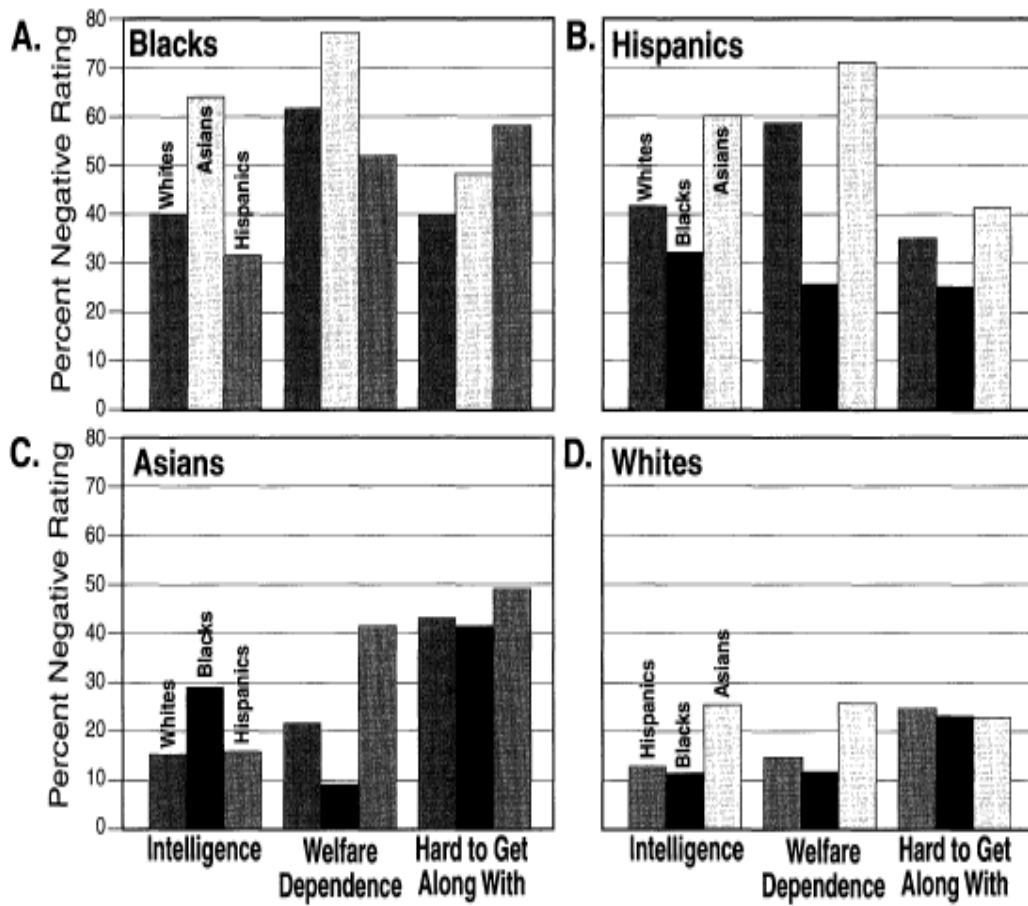
12 Appendix 3

12.1 Table 1

GROUP	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
White	2,620,450	3,796,190	4,897,580	4,798,872	3,977,480	3,647,555
Black	75,206	214,897	459,806	755,719	924,774	931,449
Hispanic	61,248	249,173	582,309	1,288,716	2,071,530	3,359,526
Asian-Other	52,911	57,582	123,638	201,704	436,241	963,642
Total	2,809,946	4,317,984	6,063,364	7,041,362	7,510,424	8,902,172

12.2 Table 2

Figure 2. Intergroup Stereotypes



Source: Compiled by authors from the Los Angeles County Social Survey, 1992.

12.3 Table 3

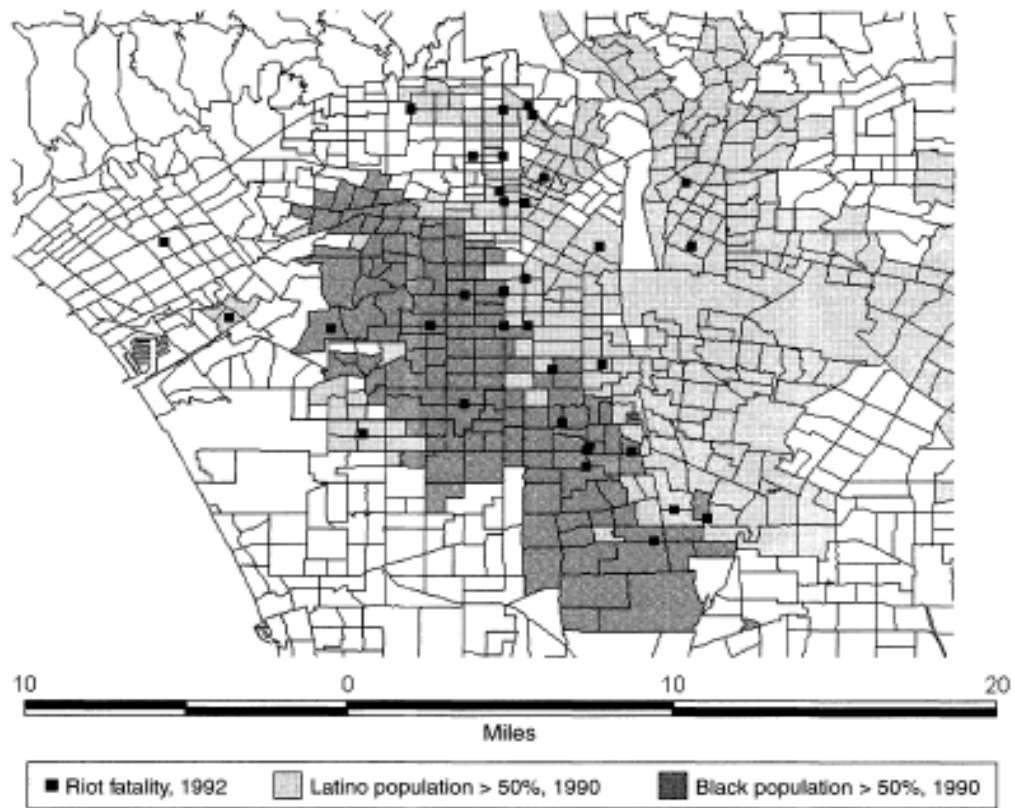


Figure 1. Riot Fatalities and Ethnic/Racial Composition: Los Angeles County Census Tracts, 1990

12.4 Table 4



Figure 2. Riot Fatalities in Areas of Ethnic/Racial Overlap: Los Angeles County Census Tracts, 1990

12.5 Table 5

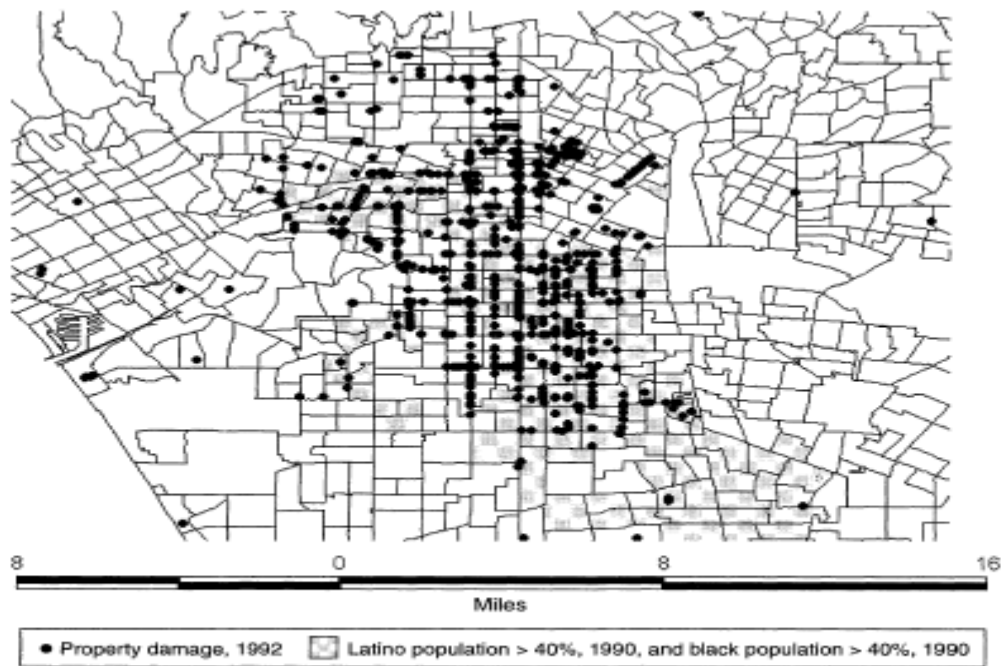
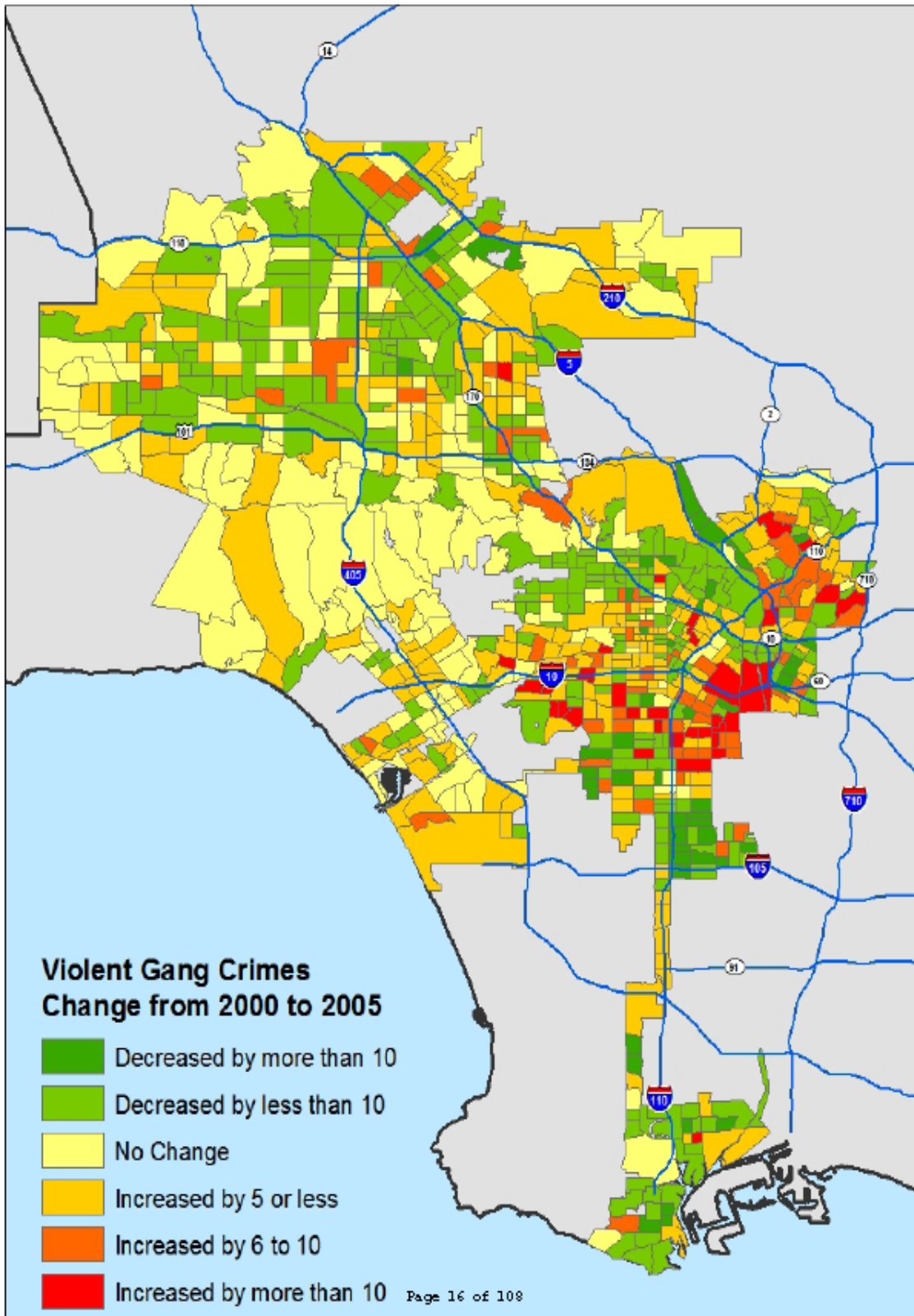


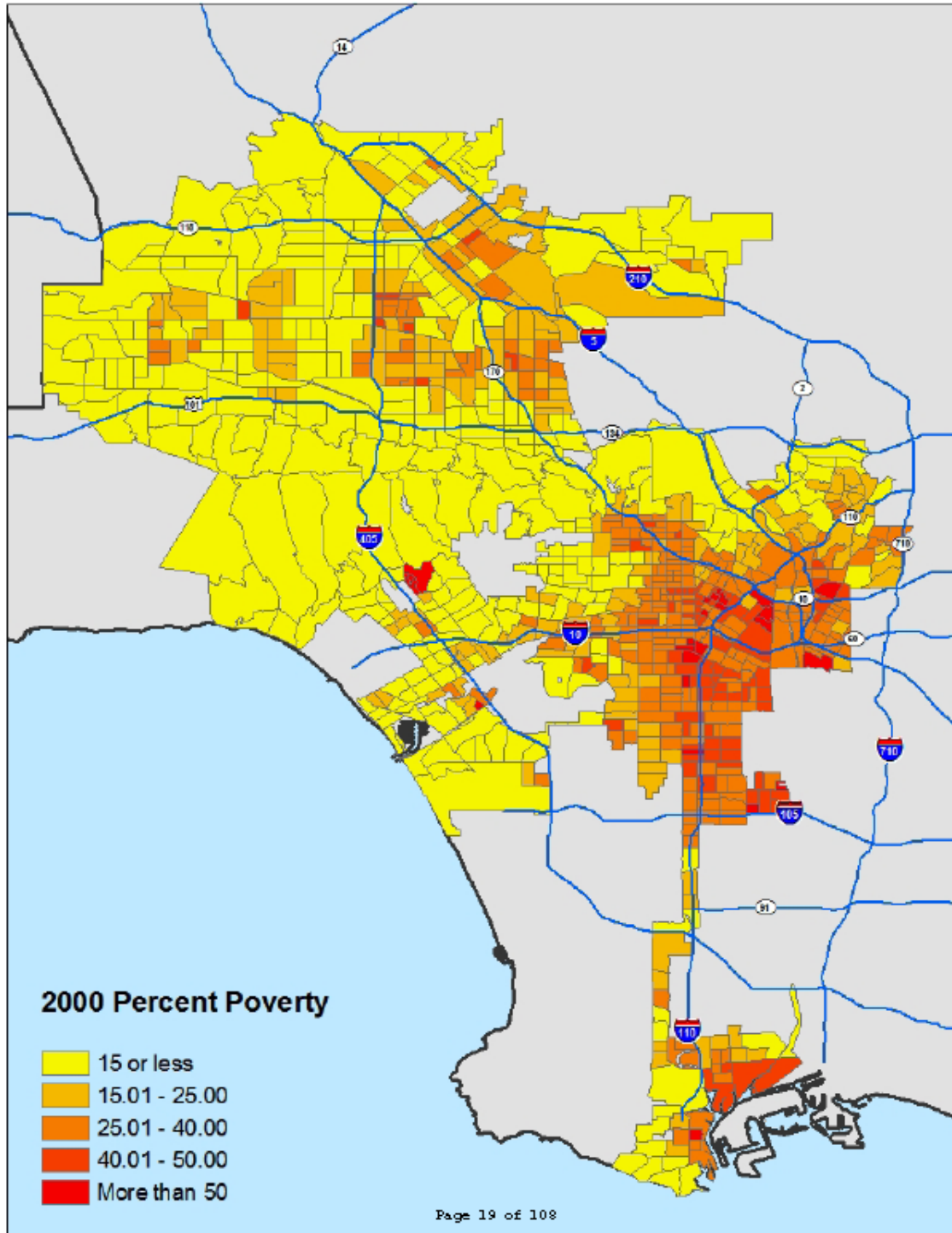
Figure 3. Reported Riot Property Damage in Areas of Ethnic/Racial Overlap: Los Angeles County Census Tracts, 1990

12.6 Table 6



*Los Angeles Area

12.7 Table 7



*Los Angeles Area- as seen from the map, most of the poverty is concentrated within the City Central neighborhoods and adjacent areas

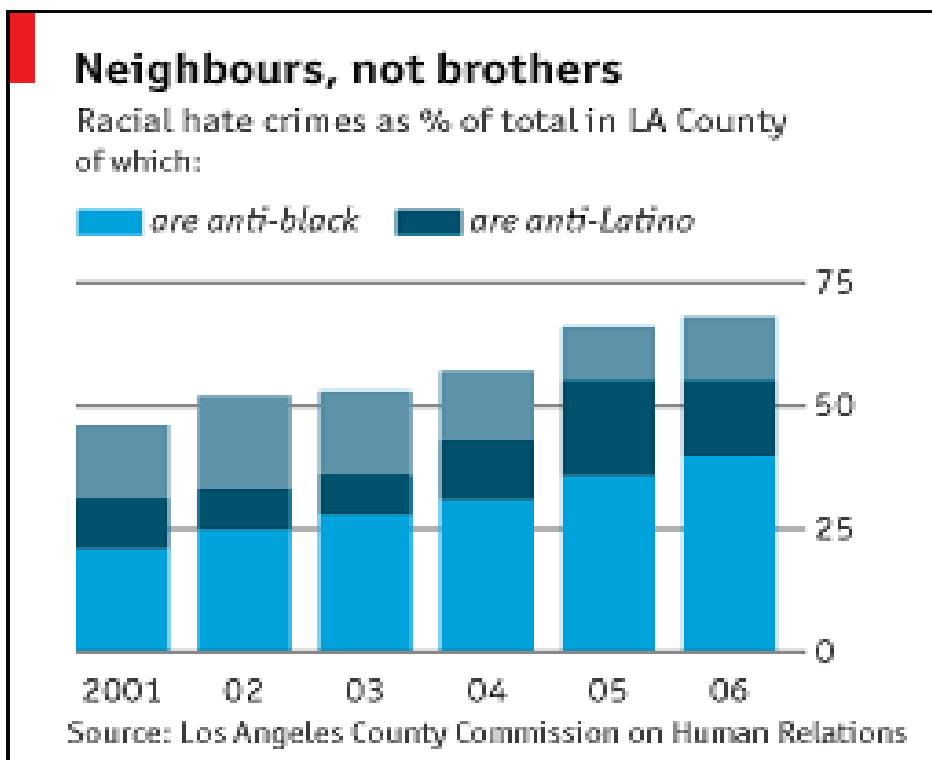
12.8 Table 8

Figure 1: Chance of Homicide and Violent Crime in Los Angeles²⁸

LAPD Division	Chance of Homicide	Chance of Violent Crime
West LA	1 in 78,233	1 in 399
Van Nuys	1 in 21,420	1 in 233
Hollenbeck	1 in 6,137	1 in 153
Southeast	1 in 2,175	1 in 51

Crime statistics and population from LAPD PACMIS/COMPSTAT.

12.9 Table 9



12.10 Table 10



Sources: ESRI

Los Angeles Times

12.11 Table 11

Figure 3 shows the risk of becoming a gang-homicide victim by age and gender. Males between the ages of 15 and 35 face the bulk of the risk, with a sharp rise for teenagers, a rapid fall after age 20.

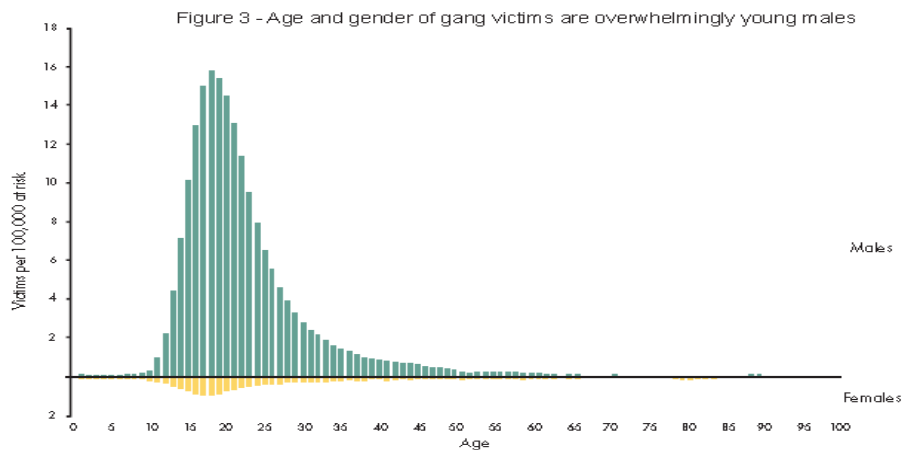


Table 2 – Homicides per 100,000 by homicide type, race/ethnicity and gender

	African-American Males	African-American Females	Hispanic Males	Hispanic Females	Everyone Else Males	Everyone Else Females
Rape	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2
Argument, relative, no gun	1.5	1.0	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2
Spouse, intimate partner	1.5	1.4	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.6
Argument, stranger, no gun	3.2	1.2	2.0	0.2	0.6	0.2
Felony, no gun	3.7	1.5	1.3	0.3	0.9	0.5
Argument, acquaintance, no gun	5.4	1.9	1.9	0.4	0.8	0.4
Robbery, burglary, et c., with gun	14.1	1.4	3.6	0.3	1.3	0.2
Gang killing	14.7	1.0	6.5	0.3	0.3	0.0
Argument, stranger, with gun	23.1	3.8	8.2	1.0	2.1	0.6
All homicides	67.3	14.1	24.1	3.5	6.7	3.1

Table 3 -- Victimization rates in Los Angeles County contrasted with rest of the state

	Los Angeles	Rest of California
Rape	0.2	0.1
Argument, relative, no gun	0.4	0.3
Spouse, intimate partner	0.6	0.5
Argument, stranger, no gun	1.0	0.6
Felony, no gun	1.2	0.7
Argument, acquaintance, no gun	1.2	0.9
Robbery, burglary, etc., with gun	2.7	1.1
Gang killing	4.0	0.6
Argument, stranger, with gun	4.6	2.5
All homicides	15.9	7.3

12.12 Table 12

The growth of Black-Latino violence

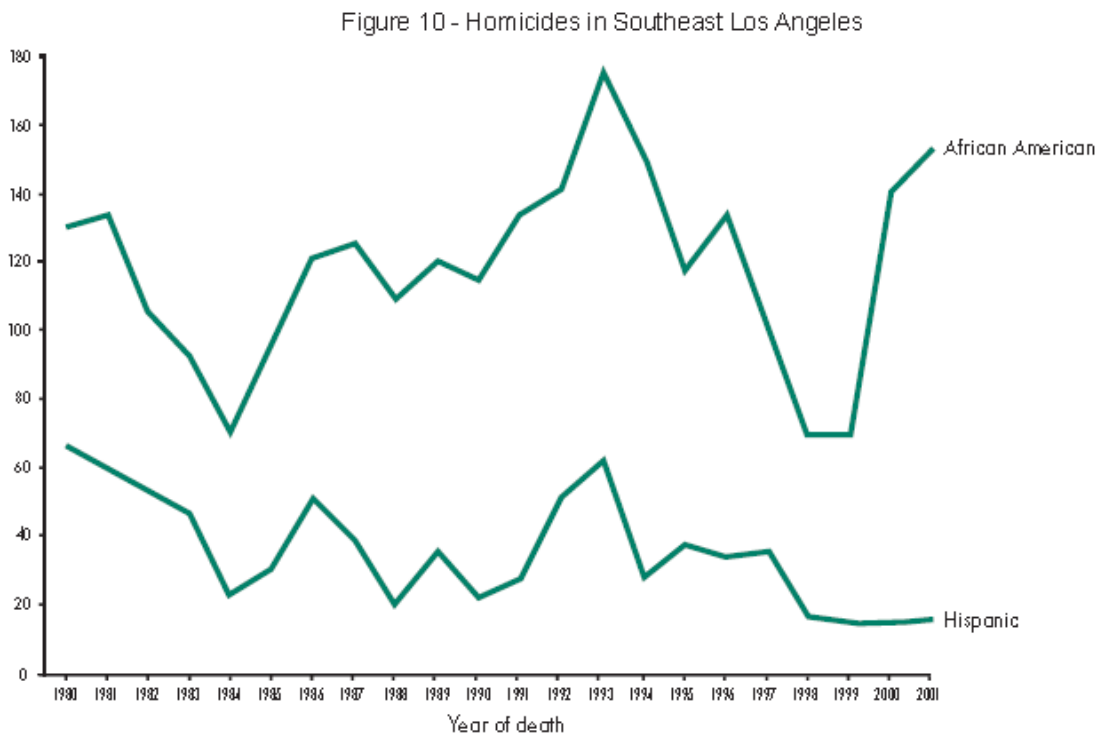


Table 13 Number of Gangs in Los Angeles County

City/Area	1972	1978	1982	1996
Los Angeles	11	31	74	138
Compton	4	11	25	36
Athens	1	5	5	16
Inglewood	1	2	7	14
Carson	0	6	3	11
Long Beach	0	0	3	10
Pomona	0	0	4	7
Florence	0	0	4	6
Rosewood	1	1	2	5
Pasadena	0	0	2	5
Gardena	0	2	2	5
Hawthorne	0	0	1	4
Willowbrook	0	2	6	5
Altadena	0	0	2	2
Torrance	0	0	0	2
West Covina	0	0	0	2
Lynwood	0	0	9	2
Duarte	0	0	1	1
Lakewood	0	0	0	1
Paramount	0	0	1	1
Santa Monica	0	0	0	1
Total	18	60	155	274

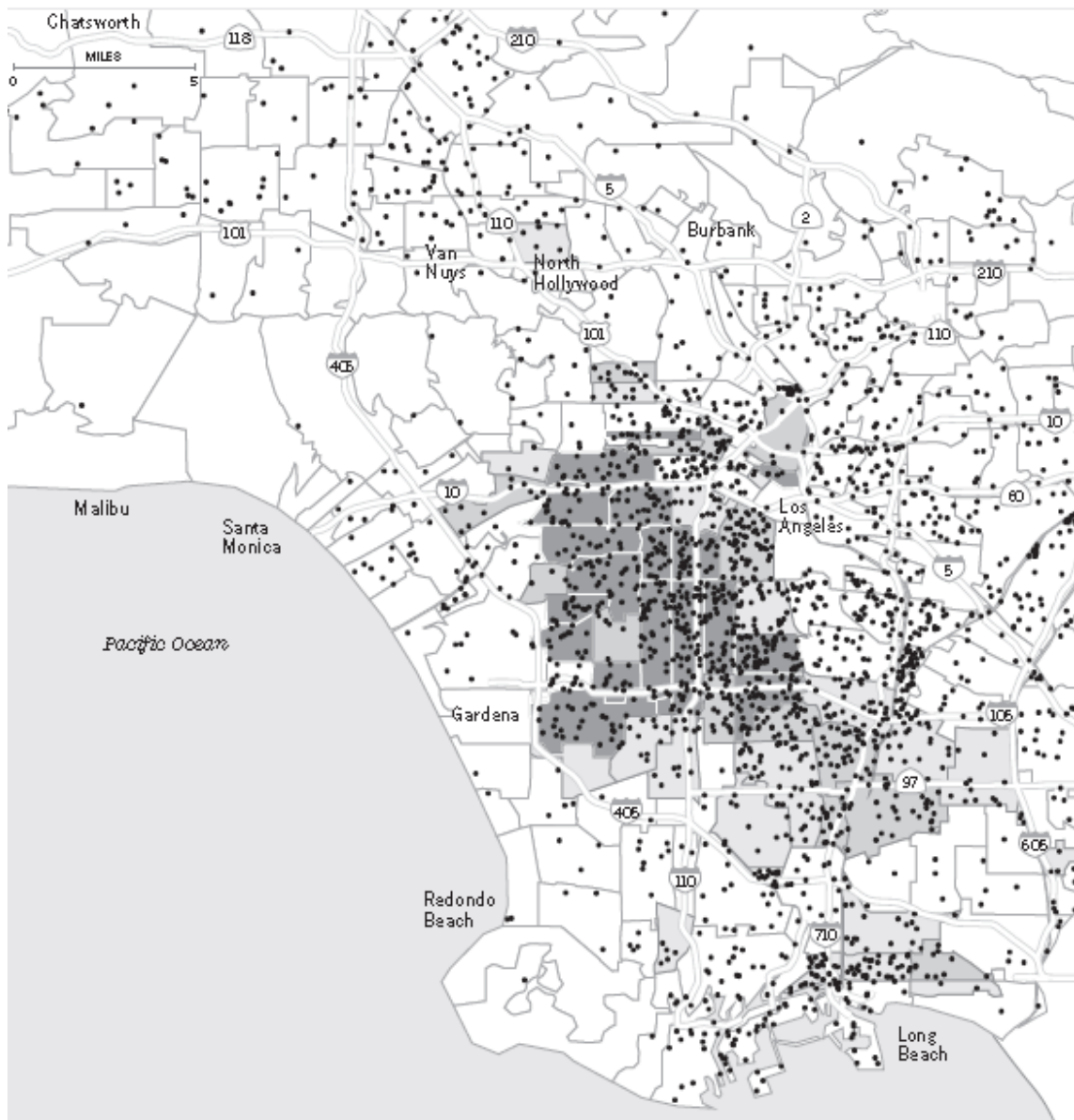
12.13 Table 14 The homicide zone

Homicides occur most often where more young black men live: South-Central Los Angeles, stretching into Compton and north Long Beach. Local homicide numbers reflect a longstanding national pattern. Blacks are 12.7% of the U.S.

population but have made up almost half of its murder victims for at least 25 years. The dots, each representing three homicides from 1995 to 2000, are randomly distributed within ZIP Code boundaries.

Black males age 15-34 per sq. mi.:

0-175.0
 175.1-350.0
 350.1-525.0
 525.1-1,083
 • Each symbol represents 3 homicides



12.14 Table 15

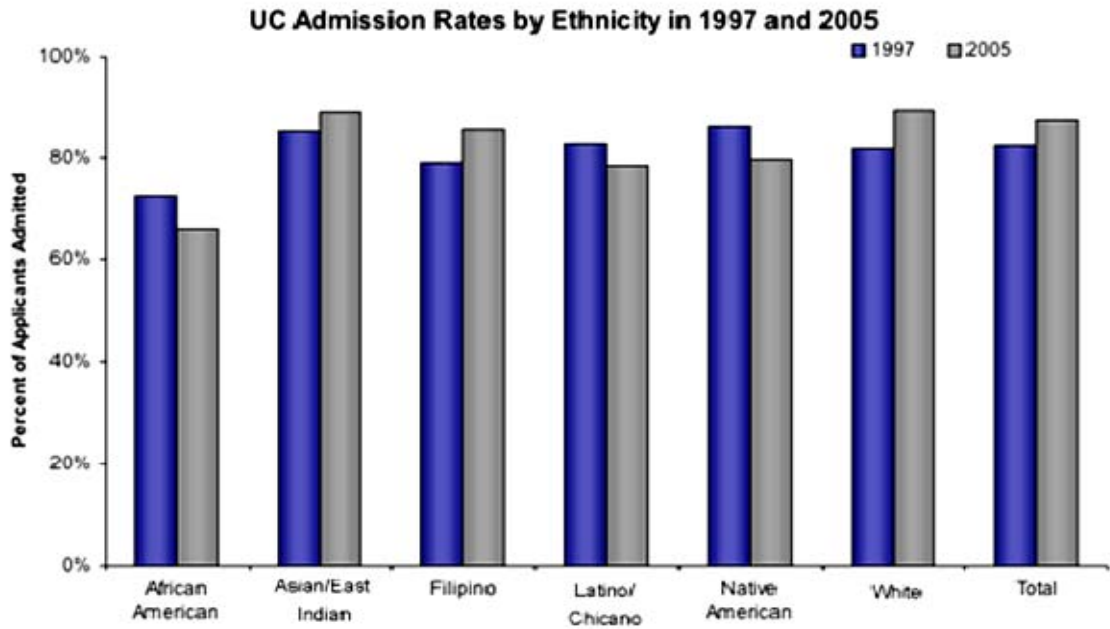
TABLE 1
SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE, ASIAN, BLACK, AND LATINO STUDENTS

	White	Asian	Black	Latino
Median family income (\$)	40,000	40,000	34,000	30,000
Fathers with college degrees ^a (%)	30.6	43.2	27.0	13.5
Mothers with college degrees ^a (%)	30.9	40.8	26.8	13.6
Fathers in professional, managerial jobs ^b (%)	23.0	20.6	10.2	16.6
Mothers in professional, managerial jobs (%)	25.8	27.3	29.5	12.6
Single female families ^a (%)	21.5	12.2	49.7	33.5
Single male families ^b (%)	4.0	2.3	2.8	3.8
Immigrant parents ^a (%)	3.5	72.8	5.2	50.8
Born in U.S. ^a (%)	98.0	47.0	97.1	69.8
Average Grades received ^a				
C or below (%)	11.4	7.1	13.4	12.1
B (%)	62.3	60.2	71.8	65.7
A (%)	26.3	32.7	14.8	22.2
Indicators of current level of angst ($\alpha = .754$)				
Feeling depressed a lot to all of the time (%) ^b	9.2	12.7	10.0	11.8
Feeling fearful (%) ^a	2.9	4.7	4.2	4.9
Feeling sad (%) ^a	6.3	8.9	7.7	8.9
Feeling like a failure (%) ^a	2.8	4.7	5.2	5.2
Feeling it's hard to start doing things (%) ^a	8.2	14.6	8.8	6.8
Feeling life is not worth living (%) ^a	2.4	7.5	4.3	4.7
Highest quartile of angst index ^a	24.8	37.6	28.9	34.5
Indicators of self-esteem ($\alpha = .845$)				
I feel like I'm doing everything just about right (% strongly agree) ^a	17.1	14.6	22.4	18.3
I have many good qualities ^a (% strongly agree)	35.9	23.5	46.1	31.4
I like myself as I am (% strongly agree) ^a	31.3	28.6	44.0	32.6
I have a lot to be proud of (% strongly agree) ^a	40.0	29.1	52.4	38.0
I feel socially accepted (% strongly agree) ^a	26.7	18.3	35.8	26.8
I feel loved and wanted (% strongly agree) ^a	40.6	28.2	49.3	36.9
Rating of own intelligence compared to others ^a				
Moderately above average (%)	27.4	25.9	29.0	19.2
Extremely above average (%)	5.3	3.8	11.3	3.3
Lowest quartile of self-esteem index ¹ (%)	26.3	37.1	17.6	30.1
N	3861	212	1575	735

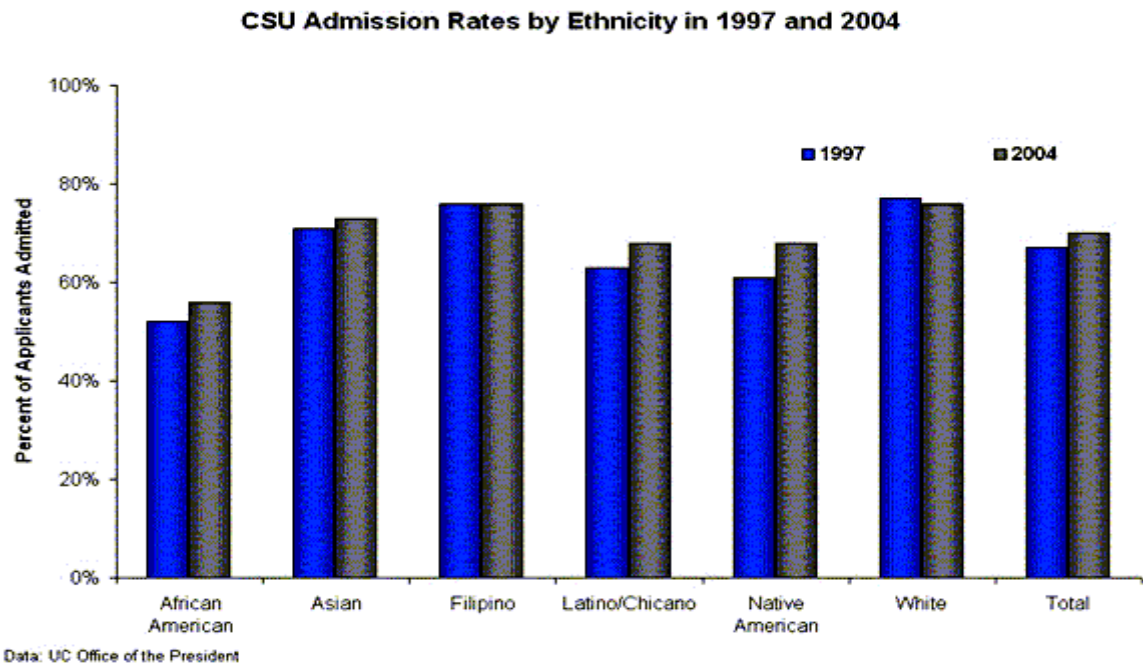
Note: ¹ χ^2 significant for full table at $p < .001$

² χ^2 significant for full table at $p < .05$

12.15 Table 16



12.16 Table 17



12.17 Table 18

Table B3
Generational Distribution of Hispanic Public School Students, by Language Spoken in the Home and English-Speaking Ability of Public School Students: 2006
(Parents unless otherwise noted)

	Generation ¹				TOTAL
	First	Second	Third+	Unknown	
TOTAL (in thousands)	1,560	4,449	3,213	600	9,821
Language Spoken in the Home and English-Speaking Ability²					
Speaks only English	1.4	17.1	73.5	8.1	100.0
Speaks English very well	16.4	60.3	17.9	5.4	100.0
Speaks English well	34.8	52.2	8.2	4.8	100.0
Speaks English but not very well	44.0	40.7	10.4	4.9	100.0
Does not speak English	58.4	30.9	6.0	4.7	100.0
English Proficiency³					
English proficient	1.4	17.1	73.5	8.1	100.0
Speaks English with difficulty	22.1	57.1	15.5	5.3	100.0
Linguistic Isolation⁴					
Not linguistically isolated	10.8	42.0	40.7	6.5	100.0
Linguistically isolated	33.8	58.1	4.9	3.2	100.0
Language Spoken in the Home					
English	1.4	17.1	73.5	8.1	100.0
Spanish	22.1	57.2	15.4	5.3	100.0

Notes: ¹First-generation students are foreign born. For second-and-higher generation students, generation is determined using the citizenship status of one or both parents. The generation of approximately 600,000 Hispanic students could not be determined because they did not live with at least one parent. These students' generation is categorized as "Unknown."
²Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of the 2006 ACS 0PUMS 1% sample.


Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 2007

Table 19. Language Spoken at Home and English-Speaking Ability, by Age, Race and Ethnicity: 2007

Universes: 2007 resident population ages 5 and older

	Younger than 18				18 and Older			
	Language other than only English at home				Language other than only English at home			
	Only English spoken at home	English spoken			Only English spoken at home	English spoken		
very well		less than very well	Total	very well		less than very well	Total	
Hispanic	3,304,570	5,246,507	1,889,472	10,437,549	5,625,712	10,591,129	13,328,789	30,045,670
Native born	3,254,807	4,487,270	1,280,144	9,022,221	5,031,303	6,710,895	1,798,579	13,528,777
Foreign born	48,763	759,237	609,328	1,415,328	604,409	3,880,234	12,330,130	16,516,833
White alone, not Hispanic	29,098,609	1,357,075	371,463	30,825,137	147,465,242	6,287,962	2,372,198	156,639,322
Black alone, not Hispanic	7,305,874	316,249	98,464	7,718,677	24,221,225	1,134,462	357,862	26,059,539
Asian alone, not Hispanic	748,300	973,579	389,462	2,060,331	2,141,801	4,019,117	4,253,467	10,214,375
Other, not Hispanic	1,911,837	217,265	48,137	2,175,269	3,755,366	687,756	295,247	4,748,389
Total	42,367,390	8,140,665	2,739,968	53,217,663	183,220,366	22,780,416	21,707,463	227,708,235
Percent Distribution								
Hispanic	31.7	50.3	18.1	100.0	18.7	35.2	46.0	100.0
Native born	35.1	49.7	14.2	100.0	31.1	49.8	13.3	100.0
Foreign born	3.5	53.6	42.8	100.0	3.7	23.5	72.8	100.0
White alone, not Hispanic	64.4	4.4	1.2	100.0	94.1	4.0	1.8	100.0
Black alone, not Hispanic	64.7	4.1	1.2	100.0	93.0	4.5	2.5	100.0
Asian alone, not Hispanic	35.3	47.3	16.4	100.0	21.0	39.3	39.7	100.0
Other, not Hispanic	67.9	10.0	2.1	100.0	79.1	14.7	6.2	100.0
All	79.8	15.2	5.1	100.0	80.5	10.0	9.5	100.0

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2007 American Community Survey (1% PUMS)

12.18 Table 19

**Selected County Level Data - LOS ANGELES
for the year 2007-08**

	Enrollment	<u>English Learners</u>	<u>Fluent-English-Proficient Students</u>	<u>Students Redesignated FEP</u>
County Totals:	1,648,102	473,003 (28.7 %)	448,079 (27.2 %)	60,411 (12.1 %)
<u>State Totals:</u>	6,275,469	1,553,091 (24.7%)	1,176,151 (18.7%)	150,573 (9.6%)

**Selected County Level Data - LOS ANGELES
for the year 1997-98**

	Enrollment	<u>English Learners</u>	<u>Fluent-English-Proficient Students</u>	<u>Students Redesignated FEP</u>
County Totals:	1,583,283	561,293 (35.5 %)	294,683 (18.6 %)	42,822 (7.7 %)
<u>State Totals:</u>	5,727,303	1,406,166 (24.6%)	720,479 (12.6%)	96,545 (7.0%)

2008-09 Los Angeles County Enrollment by Ethnicity

County	Hispanic or Latino	African American	White (not Hispanic)	Total Enroll.
Los Angeles Total	1,022,390 (62.8 %)	154,554 (9.5 %)	244,295 (15.0 %)	1,629,085

1998-99 Los Angeles County Enrollment by Ethnicity

County	Hispanic or Latino	African American	White (not Hispanic)	Total Enroll.
Los Angeles Total	932,964 (57.7 %)	189,639 (11.7 %)	320,253 (19.8 %)	1,617,764

12.19 Table 20

California English Language Development Test 2007/08

Annual Assessment - Primary Language-Spanish 2007-2008

Grades	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Performance Level														
Number and Percent of Students at Each Overall Performance Level														
Advanced	27 2.0%	4,386 9.0%	1,147 3.0%	1,493 4.0%	2,172 6.0%	3,563 10.0%	2,142 7.0%	2,303 9.0%	2,343 9.0%	1,250 5.0%	1,060 5.0%	1,434 9.0%	1,257 10.0%	24,577 7.0%
Early Advanced	104 8.0%	12,963 26.0%	7,901 18.0%	7,460 19.0%	9,294 26.0%	13,135 37.0%	9,186 30.0%	9,629 36.0%	9,146 36.0%	7,530 30.0%	6,414 30.0%	5,862 35.0%	4,417 36.0%	103,041 28.0%
Intermediate	372 30.0%	19,141 39.0%	17,716 40.0%	18,674 46.0%	17,202 47.0%	13,801 38.0%	13,109 43.0%	9,540 36.0%	9,334 37.0%	10,508 41.0%	8,233 39.0%	5,948 36.0%	4,053 33.0%	147,631 40.0%
Early Intermediate	398 32.0%	8,870 18.0%	11,997 27.0%	8,584 21.0%	4,814 13.0%	3,511 10.0%	3,951 13.0%	3,556 13.0%	2,823 11.0%	3,805 15.0%	3,319 16.0%	2,258 14.0%	1,363 11.0%	59,249 16.0%
Beginning	338 27.0%	3,687 8.0%	5,300 12.0%	3,976 10.0%	2,894 8.0%	1,918 5.0%	1,868 6.0%	1,652 6.0%	1,503 6.0%	2,304 9.0%	2,188 10.0%	1,210 7.0%	1,227 10.0%	30,065 8.0%
Number Tested	1,239 100.0%	49,047 100.0%	44,061 100.0%	40,187 100.0%	36,376 100.0%	35,928 100.0%	30,256 100.0%	26,680 100.0%	25,149 100.0%	25,397 100.0%	21,214 100.0%	16,712 100.0%	12,317 100.0%	364,563 100.0%
Domain Mean Scale Scores														
Listening	383.1	428.1	465.4	468.7	505.6	533.7	546.4	560.3	574.9	559.3	570.1	585.0	577.7	
Speaking	376.1	438.2	475.9	492.1	517.1	538.7	530.4	543.1	554.5	543.9	551.7	568.4	567.4	
Reading			432.6	466.6	494.8	521.0	523.4	532.7	549.2	547.5	561.4	574.2	571.2	
Writing			442.7	479.8	500.9	518.2	522.0	528.9	540.6	540.5	545.0	552.9	542.0	

Annual Assessment - Primary Language-Spanish 2001-2002

Grades	K	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Performance Level														
Number and Percent of Students at Each Overall Performance Level														
Advanced	0 0.0%	922 2.0%	730 1.0%	640 1.0%	1,328 3.0%	2,141 5.0%	603 2.0%	741 3.0%	1,002 4.0%	899 4.0%	1,027 5.0%	1,033 8.0%	876 11.0%	11,942 3.0%
Early Advanced	0 0.0%	8,722 15.0%	6,920 11.0%	3,506 6.0%	5,894 13.0%	8,552 20.0%	5,445 16.0%	5,796 21.0%	6,695 27.0%	6,513 29.0%	5,993 31.0%	4,563 35.0%	3,113 37.0%	71,712 17.0%
Intermediate	0 0.0%	27,229 47.0%	25,529 40.0%	19,379 35.0%	20,050 45.0%	19,987 47.0%	16,517 50.0%	12,972 47.0%	11,245 45.0%	9,746 43.0%	7,516 38.0%	4,777 37.0%	2,952 35.0%	177,899 43.0%
Early Intermediate	0 0.0%	16,406 28.0%	21,388 34.0%	22,051 40.0%	12,772 28.0%	8,907 21.0%	7,442 23.0%	5,212 19.0%	3,906 16.0%	2,902 13.0%	2,784 14.0%	1,548 12.0%	720 9.0%	106,038 26.0%
Beginning	0 0.0%	4,800 8.0%	8,644 14.0%	9,760 18.0%	4,897 11.0%	3,292 8.0%	3,018 9.0%	2,716 10.0%	2,277 9.0%	2,469 11.0%	2,325 12.0%	1,125 9.0%	663 8.0%	45,986 11.0%
Number Tested	0 0.0%	58,079 100.0%	63,211 100.0%	55,336 100.0%	44,941 100.0%	42,879 100.0%	33,025 100.0%	27,437 100.0%	25,125 100.0%	22,529 100.0%	19,645 100.0%	13,046 100.0%	8,324 100.0%	413,577 100.0%
Domain Mean Scale Scores														
Listening/Speaking	0.0	478.1	507.0	480.4	492.1	501.7	494.4	495.2	498.4	501.3	499.7	509.7	512.7	
Reading			447.1	466.9	488.3	502.2	494.9	503.6	515.0	514.6	518.8	531.2	539.0	
Writing			464.2	483.0	498.9	509.7	504.6	506.2	510.5	502.2	500.5	508.1	512.9	

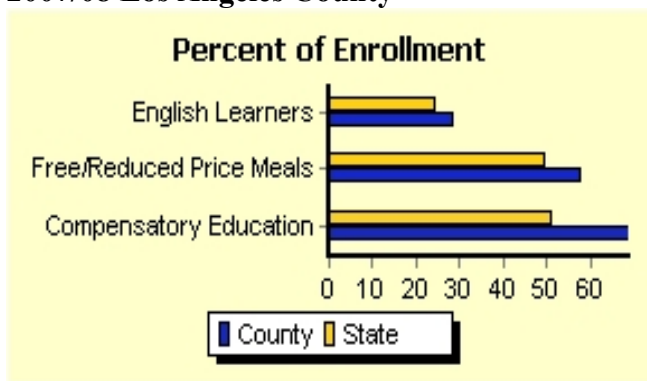
12.20 Table 21

2003/04 SAT Scores in LA

2004/05 SAT Scores in LA

	Latino	African American		Latino	African American
Grade 12 Enrollment	46,829	10,976	Grade 12 Enrollment	51,220	11,330
SAT Test Takers-Number	11,198	3,485	SAT Test Takers-Number	12,800	3,677
SAT Test Takers-Percent	23.9	31.8	SAT Test Takers-Percent	25.0	32.5
Average Verbal Score	426	416	Average Verbal Score	431	424
Average Math Score	438	413	Average Math Score	441	421
Average Total Score	864	829	Average Total Score	872	845
Meeting Criteria (>= 1000)-Number	2,468	653	Meeting Criteria (>= 1000)-Number	3,071	745
Meeting Criteria (>= 1000)-Rate	5.3	5.9	Meeting Criteria (>= 1000)-Rate	6.0	6.6

2007/08 Los Angeles County



12.21 Table 22*Statewide SAT-9 Scores (Math) For LEP Students and For All Students*

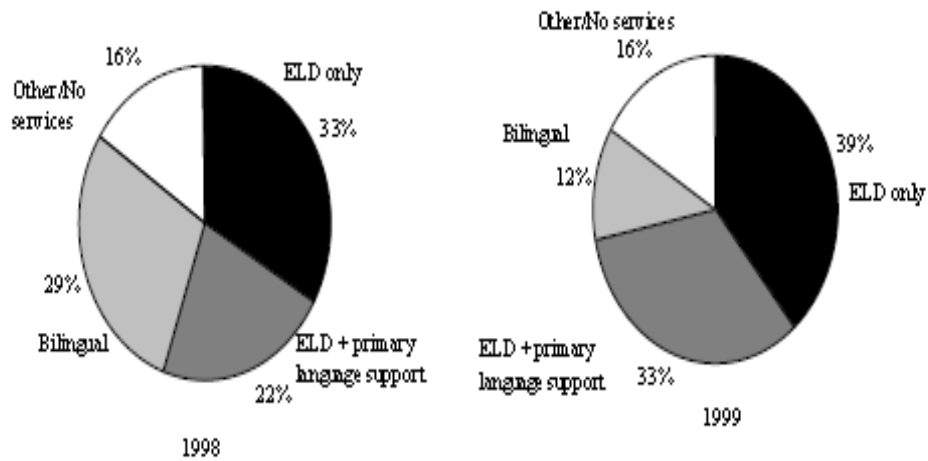
Grade	LEP Students				All Students			
	1998	1999	2000	Change 98-00	1998	1999	2000	Change 98-00
2	27	34 (+7)	41 (+7)	+14	43	50 (+7)	58 (+8)	+15
3	25	32 (+7)	39 (+7)	+14	42	49 (+7)	57 (+8)	+15
4	21	25 (+4)	30 (+5)	+9	39	44 (+5)	51 (+7)	+12
5	21	24 (+3)	28 (+4)	+7	41	45 (+4)	51 (+6)	+10
6	24	28 (+4)	31 (+3)	+7	48	52 (+4)	57 (+5)	+9
7	22	24 (+2)	27 (+3)	+5	45	47 (+2)	51 (+4)	+6
8	23	25 (+2)	27 (+2)	+4	45	48 (+3)	50 (+2)	+5

12.22 Table 23*Statewide SAT-9 Scores (Language) For LEP Students and For All Students*

Grade	LEP Students				All Students			
	1998	1999	2000	Change 98-00	1998	1999	2000	Change 98-00
2	19	23 (-4)	28 (+5)	+9	40	45 (+5)	50 (+5)	+10
3	19	24 (-5)	29 (+5)	+10	39	44 (+5)	50 (+6)	+11
4	23	26 (-3)	29 (+3)	+6	44	46 (+2)	50 (+4)	+6
5	21	23 (-2)	25 (+2)	+4	44	46 (+2)	49 (+3)	+5
6	22	24 (-2)	26 (+2)	+4	47	49 (+2)	52 (+3)	+5
7	19	21 (+2)	23 (+2)	+4	49	51 (+2)	54 (+3)	+5
8	19	21 (+2)	22 (+1)	+3	47	49 (+2)	51 (+2)	+4

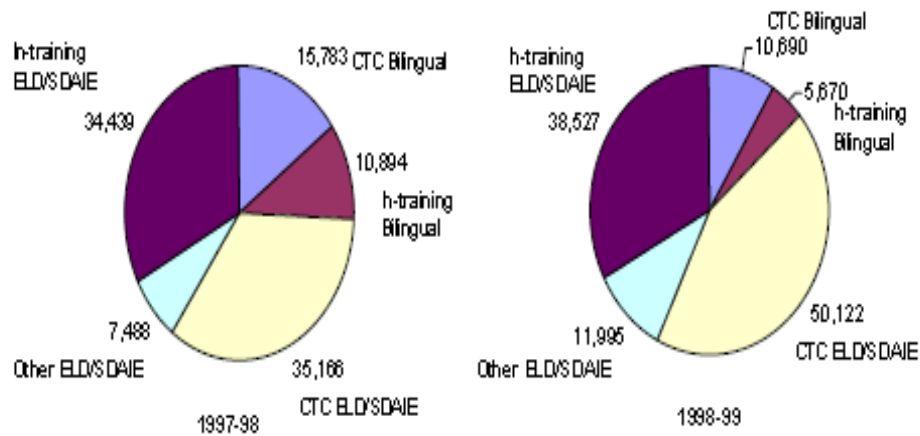
12.23 Table 24

Figure 1. Instructional services for English language learners before and after Proposition 227



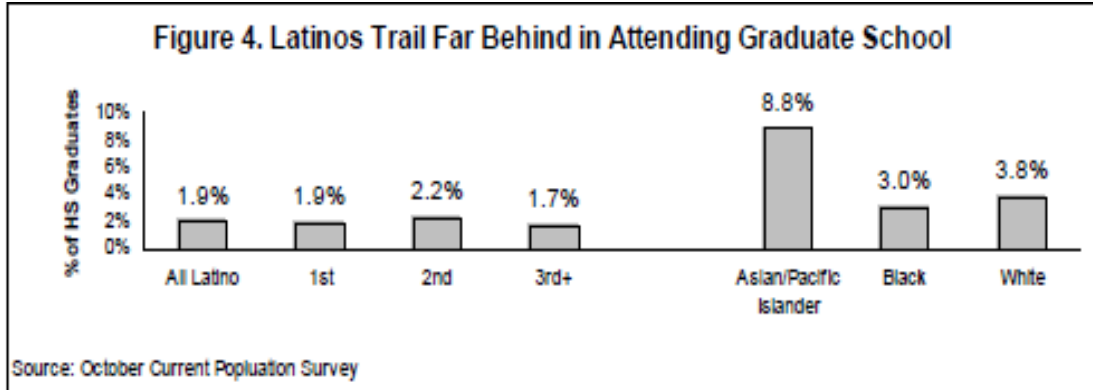
12.24 Table 25

Figure 2. Number of teachers providing instructional services for English learners by certification, before and after Proposition 227



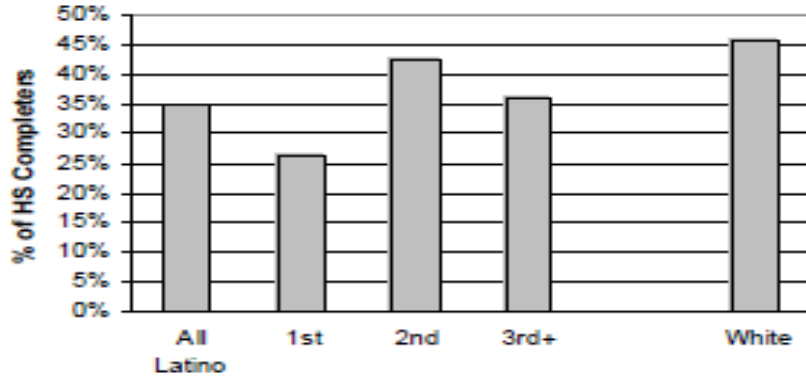
12.25 Table 26

The 2002 Census



12.26 Table 27

Figure 5. The Second Generation has a High 18-to-24 College Enrollment Rate



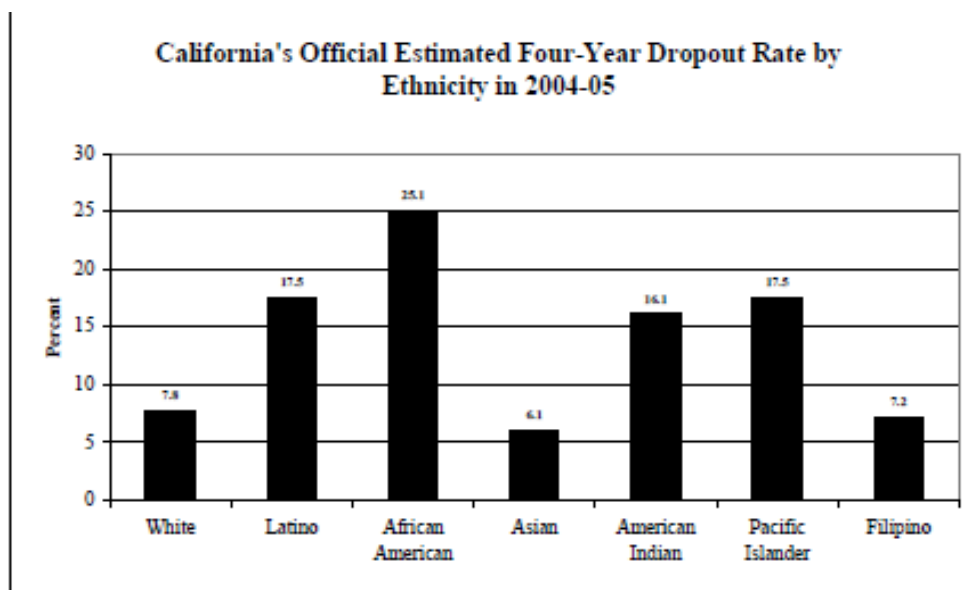
Source: October Current Population Survey

12.27 Table 28

Language Fluency

Category	Number Tested	Number Passed	Percent Passed	Number Not Passed	Percent Not Passed	Mean Scaled Score	Reading Avg. Percent Correct Word Analysis	Reading Avg. Percent Correct Reading Comp.	Reading Avg. Percent Correct Lit. Resp. Analysis	Writing Avg. Percent Correct Writing Strat.	Writing Avg. Percent Correct Writing Conv.
English Only Students	1,187	372	31%	815	69%	337	63%	51%	53%	42%	55%
Initially Fluent English Proficient (IFEP)	171	51	30%	120	70%	339	62%	51%	55%	43%	56%
Redesignated Fluent English Proficient (RFEP)	350	160	46%	190	54%	345	67%	56%	57%	47%	61%
English Learner Students	2,971	687	23%	2,284	77%	333	58%	50%	49%	44%	55%

12.28 Table 29



Source: The California Department of Education, CBEDS.

12.29 Table 30

Schools by Type Los Angeles County, 2007-08				
	Number of Schools	Enrollment	Full-Time Equivalent Teachers¹	Pupil-Teacher Ratio²
Elementary	1,255	762,532	38,421.4	19.8
Middle	274	313,091	13,487.2	23.2
Junior High	2	2,377	100.8	23.6
High School	252	482,711	20,385.0	23.7
K-12	19	19,891	1,002.5	19.8
Alternative	46	28,751	1,180.7	24.4
Special Education	27	6,873	905.9	7.6
Continuation	92	16,150	773.2	20.9
Community Day	35	4,334	319.0	13.6
Opportunity	7	1,725	86.3	20.0
Juvenile Court	1	3,279	222.8	14.7
Calif. Youth Authority	1	176	13.0	13.5
Nonpublic, Nonsectarian³		6,212		
Total	2,011	1,648,102	76,897.8	21.4

² The Pupil-Teacher Ratio is enrollment divided by the number of full-time equivalent teachers. Because some teachers are not assigned to a classroom, the Pupil-Teacher Ratio is usually smaller than the average class size.

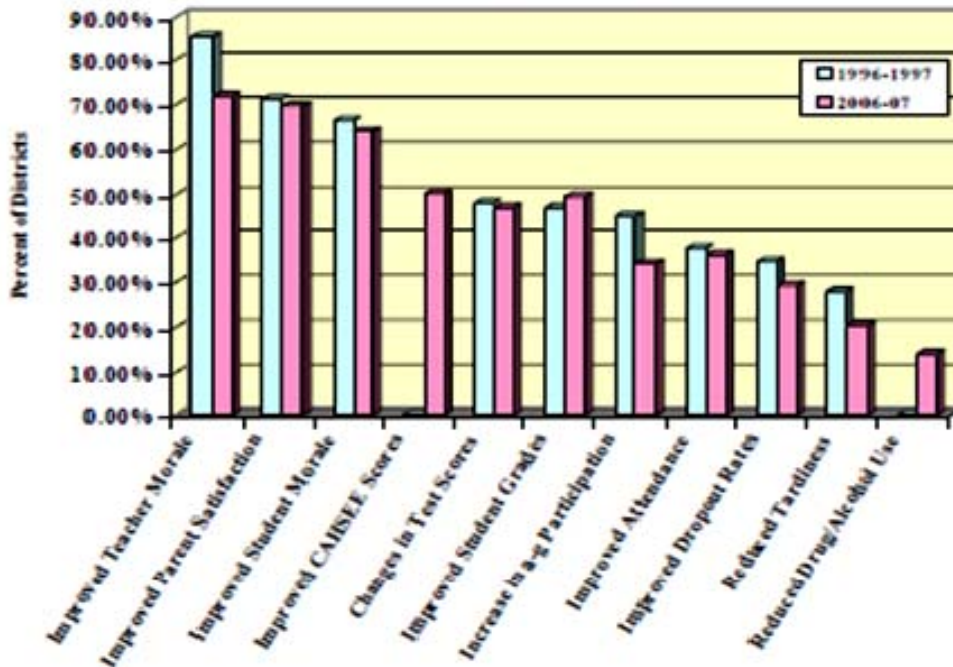
Source: California Department of Education, Educational Demographics Office (CBEDS, assign07 7/15/08, pubschs 10/1/08, sfib0708 10/6/08)

12.30 Table 31

Average Class Size in English			
Course enrollment Los Angeles County			
	<u>Total Course Enrollment</u>	Number FTE Teachers	<u>Avg. Class Size</u>
English 9	60,479	495.82	24.1
English 10	59,594	381.35	30.8
English 11	43,31	278.62	30.1
English 12	29,053	190.85	29.5

12.31 Table 32

**The impact of the class-size reduction
Improvements Reported by Districts**

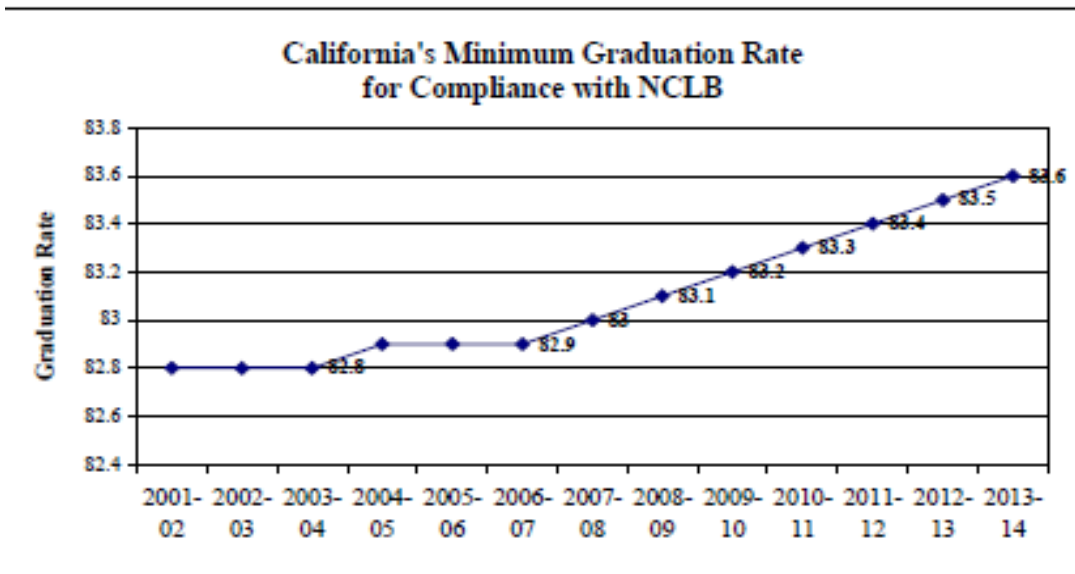


12.32 Table 33

Reported Benefits of CSR Program

CSR Benefit Areas	<u>% Responding Yes</u>
Increased Individual Student Attention	97.71%
Increase in Student Class Participation	96.47%
Increased Academic Achievement	93.98%
More Personalized Feedback	93.02%
More Productive Class Time	92.86%
Less Class Time Spent on Discipline	92.77%
Increase in CAHSEE Pass Rates	83.54%
More Student Work Completed	72.94%

12.33 Table 34



Source: California Department of Education, *2005 Accountability Progress Report: Information Guide*.

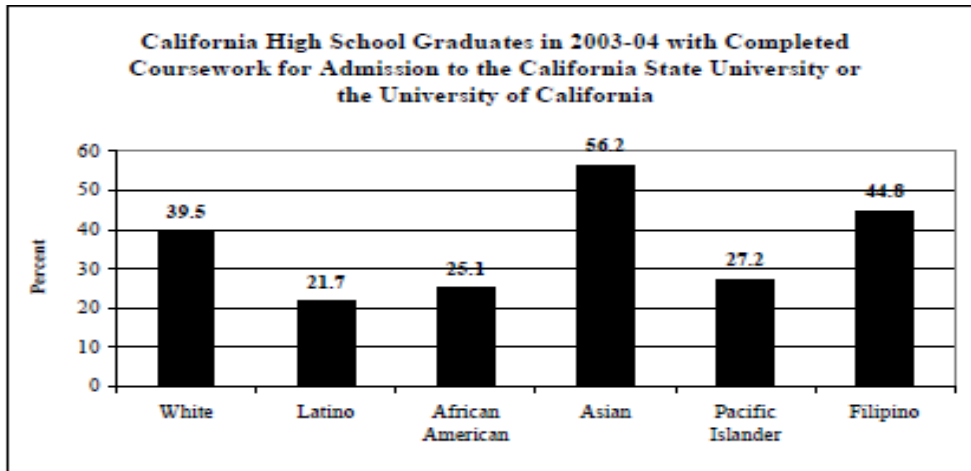
12.34 Table 35

Table 6

Comparison of Ten Largest California Districts' High School Graduation Rates for the Class of 2001									
District	Enrollment	% Minority	% Free-Reduced Lunch	Total CPI Graduation Rate	White CPI Graduation Rate	Latino CPI Graduation Rate	African American CPI Graduation Rate	Asian CPI Graduation Rate	American Indian CPI Graduation Rate
Los Angeles	721,346	90.1%	73.5%	46.4%	68.1%	40.2%	48.1%	76.6%	50.8%
San Diego	141,804	73.0%	46.3%	61.3%	74.0%	47.0%	49.2%	77.9%	79.5%
Long Beach	93,694	82.2%	68.7%	74.8%	83.7%	67.0%	69.7%	84.6%	59.9%
Fresno	79,007	79.8%	71.5%	55.8%	68.4%	44.3%	Not Avail.	77.7%	Not Avail.
Santa Ana	60,643	96.4%	73.4%	61.7%	Not Avail.	61.0%	32.2%	66.5%	33.3%
San Francisco	59,979	88.9%	54.2%	66.7%	64.1%	48.4%	49.2%	76.3%	Not Avail.
Oakland	54,863	94.4%	53.8%	30.4%	56.6%	25.3%	23.4%	49.5%	9.3%
Sacramento City	52,734	75.1%	60.5%	70.0%	59.0%	61.8%	63.8%	89.3%	43.4%
San Bernardino City	52,031	79.7%	74.8%	42.1%	45.0%	40.0%	37.2%	65.2%	27.0%
San Juan	50,266	24.9%	28.8%	80.9%	80.3%	Not Avail.	76.8%	90.4%	74.2%

Source: Swanson, Christopher B. et al. *Who Graduates? Who Doesn't? A Statistical Portrait of Public High School Graduation, Class of 2001*, Urban Institute, 2003 (using the Common Core of Data Local Educational Agency and School Surveys, NCES).

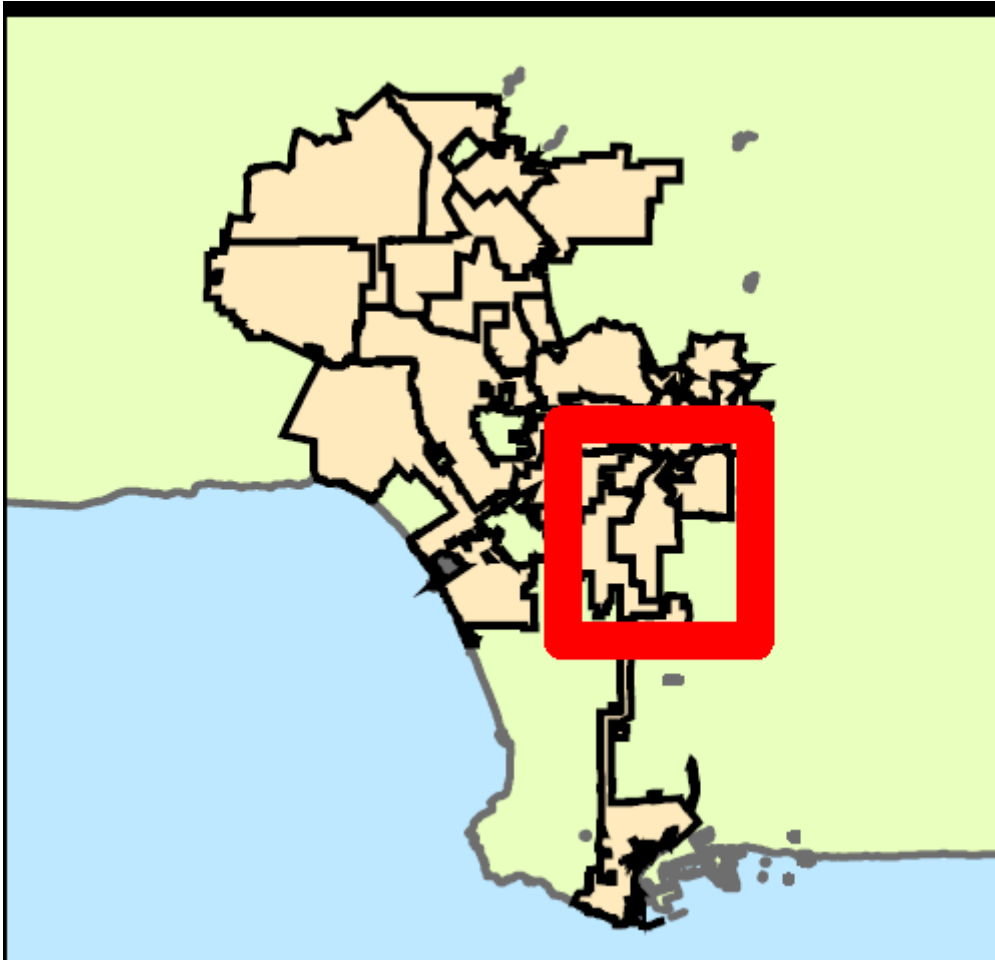
12.35 Table 36



Source: The California Department of Education, CBEDS.

13 Appendix 4

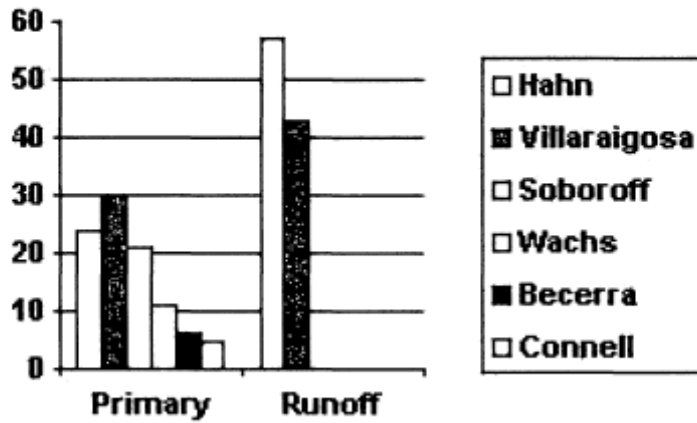
13.1 Table 1



Council District 9

13.2 Table 2

≡ TABLE 2
RESULTS OF THE 2001 PRIMARY AND RUNOFF
MAYORAL ELECTIONS IN LOS ANGELES



Sources: *Los Angeles Times* 2001c; *Los Angeles Times* 2001a.

13.3 Table 3

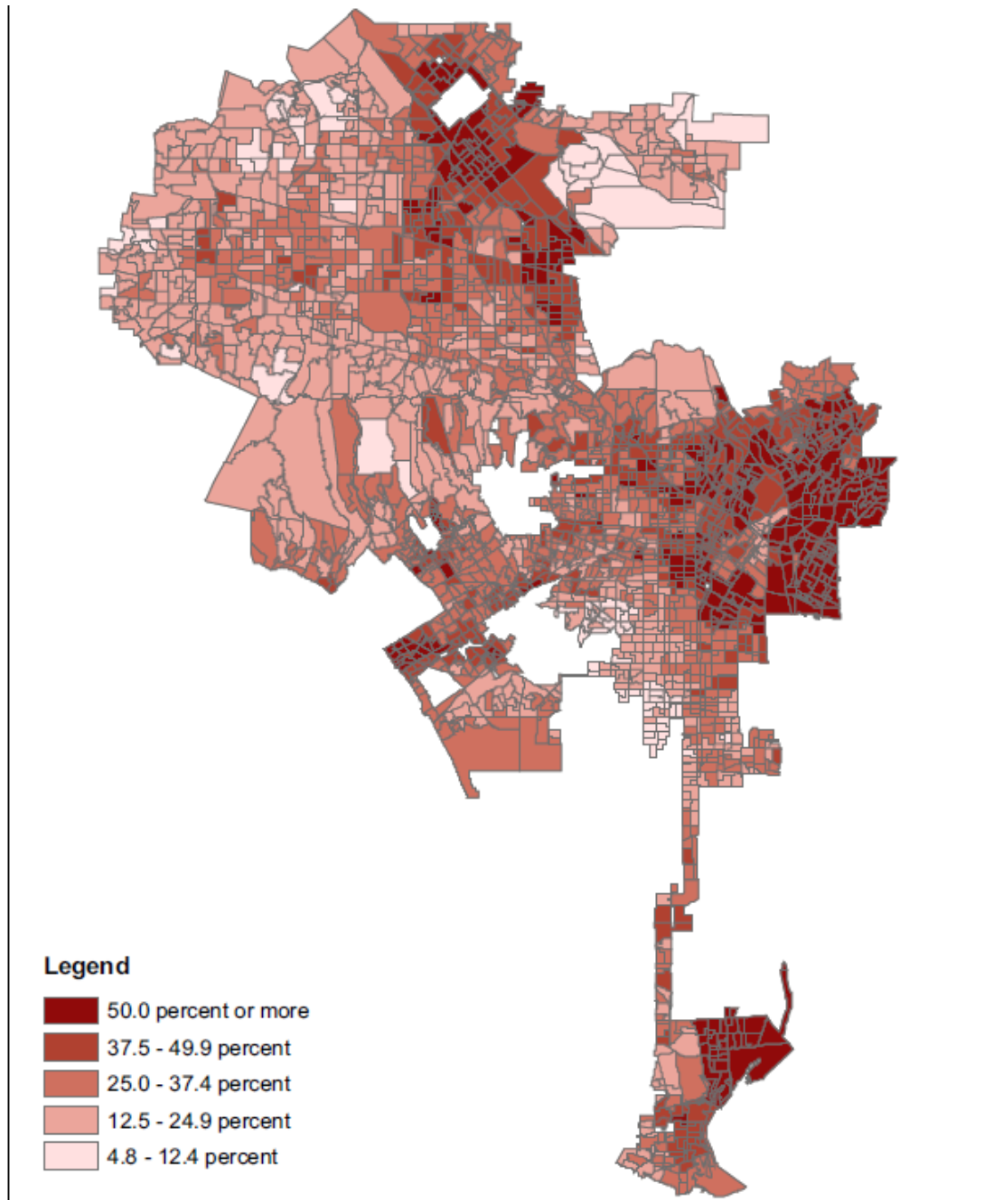


Fig. 4. Vote for Villaraigosa, 2001 primary—City of Los Angeles.

13.4 Table 4

2001 POPULATION, VOTING-AGE POPULATION, REGISTERED VOTER, AND TURNOUT PERCENTAGES OF LOS ANGELES RESIDENTS BY RACE

Race of Voter	% of Population	% of V.A.P.	% Eligible To Vote	% Registered Voters	% Runoff Turnout
White	29.7	34.3	56.4	65.6	52.0
Black	10.9	10.8	18.4	20.7	17.0
Latino	46.5	40.9	17.5	11.1	23.0
Asian	9.9	11.1	7.1	3.2	3.0

Sources: Michael B. Preston 2001; James Rainey, and Greg Krikorian 2001a. *Los Angeles Times* 2001a; U.S. Census of Population 2000.

13.5 Table 5

BREAKDOWN OF VOTES IN THE 2001 MAYORAL RUNOFF ELECTION BY RACE, RELIGION, AND IDEOLOGY

	James Hahn	Antonio Villaraigosa
Whites	59.0	41.0
Blacks	80.0	20.0
Jews	54.0	46.0
Latinos	18.0	84.0
Asians	65.0	35.0
Liberal Democrats	41.0	59.0
Moderate Democrats	58.0	42.0
Moderate Republicans	70.0	30.0
Conservative Republicans	87.0	13.0

Sources: City of Los Angeles Voter Statistics; *Los Angeles Times* 2001a.

13.6 Table 6

CANDIDATE VOTE, BY DEMOGRAPHICS

	Mayor	
	Hahn	Villaraigosa
Official Results	53.5%	47.5%
Exit Poll: All Voters	52.2%	47.8%
Race		
White	58.4%	41.6%
Black	79.2%	20.8%
Latino	18.1%	81.9%
Asian	65.2%	34.8%
Income		
Low	47.5%	52.5%
Middle	54.3%	45.7%
High	52.9%	47.1%
Education		
High School	48.6%	51.4%
College	57.8%	42.2%
Pos: College	50.4%	49.6%
Ideology		
Liberal	41.0%	59.1%
Moderate	61.7%	32.3%
Conservative	54.4%	35.6%

Source: *LA Times* Exit Poll Data 2001, weighted sample; official results from Los Angeles City Clerk's Office.

13.7 Table 7

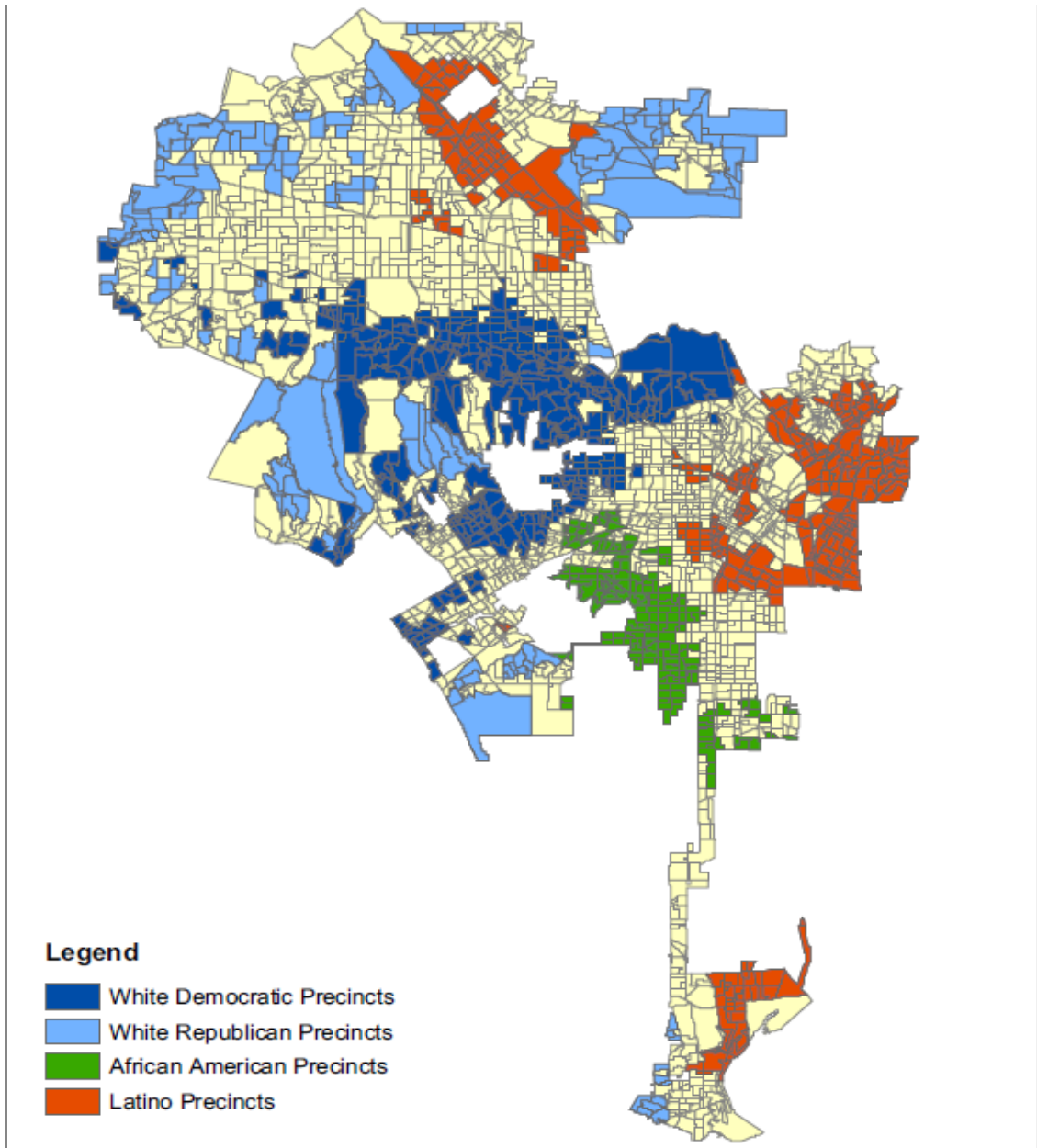


Fig. 3. Ethnic blocs—City of Los Angeles.

13.8 Table 8

Table 1
Vote by Precinct Race, 2001 and 2005 Primary and General Elections, Los Angeles

	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Total
2001 Primary	194151	34822	158925	5915	393813
Villaraigosa	33.7%	19.4%	48.5%	37.5%	38.5%
Hahn	23.9%	83.7%	29.6%	37.3%	31.7%
2001 General	281277	48297	229891	8263	577699
Villaraigosa	41.7%	22.1%	57.5%	43.4%	46.5%
Hahn	58.3%	77.9%	42.5%	56.6%	53.5%
2005 Primary	213853	33344	152272	6335	405804
Villaraigosa	26.6%	21.5%	46.1%	31.8%	33.6%
Hahn	25.5%	18.9%	22.1%	40.0%	23.9%
2005 General	239860	38629	206869	7705	498709
Villaraigosa	51.5%	57.5%	67.5%	48.0%	58.6%
Hahn	48.5%	42.5%	32.5%	52.0%	41.4%

Note: Absentee ballots allocated to precinct totals

13.9 Table 9

Voting in the 2005 Mayoral Primary

% of all voters		Alarcón	Hahn	Hertzberg	Parks	Villaraigosa
Totals						
100%	All voters*	4	24	22	13	33
When decided to vote						
27%	Weekend/later	6	27	22	11	30
73%	Earlier	3	23	23	13	34
Region of the city						
17%	Westside	3	28	25	7	33
40%	San Fernando Valley	5	21	34	9	24
25%	Central	5	25	14	7	47
18%	South	2	25	3	36	33
Race/ethnicity						
52%	Whites	3	23	36	5	27
16%	Blacks	2	23	5	54	15
22%	Latinos	9	17	6	3	64
6%	Asians	-	59	12	8	19

13.10 Table 10

Candidate	White	Black	Latino	Asian
Hahn	16.2%	19.6%	16.1%	52.2%
Villaraigosa	36.1%	24.5%	71.1%	17.5%
Hertzberg	34.9%	2.9%	2.7%	15.2%
Parks	4.7%	49.0%	2.0%	6.5%
Alarcon	3.1%	1.0%	6.7%	6.5%
Other	4.7%	3.9%	1.3%	2.2%

Final Numbers by Race in the 2005 election

14 Appendix 5

14.1 Table 1

Muller's Comparison of Wages, Los Angeles County and the United States, 1972-80

	Los Angeles Wages, 1980 (\$)	Increase in L.A. Wages, 1972-80, as a Percentage of U.S. Wage Increase	Mexican Immigrants as Percentage of All Workers, 1980
All workers	15.594	108.8	9.9
Low-wage manufacturing ^a	5.06 ^b	76.7	47.1 ^c
High-wage manufacturing ^d	7.97 ^b	90.7	19.5 ^c
All retail	9.469	108.2	9.5
Eating and drinking establishments (restaurants, bars)	5.591	89.1	16.8
All other retail	11.196	108.4	6.6
All services	14.099	115.8	5.5
Hotels, etc.	7.312 ^e	95.1	15.0 ^c
Personal services	8.069	92.2	15.2
All other services	14.659	117.2	3.9
Finance, insurance, and real estate	15.590	104.4	2.6

Source: Muller and Espenshade, 1985, p. 111.

^aIncludes leather goods, apparel, textile mills, lumber and wood products, and furniture and fixture industries.

^bHourly wages include only production workers.

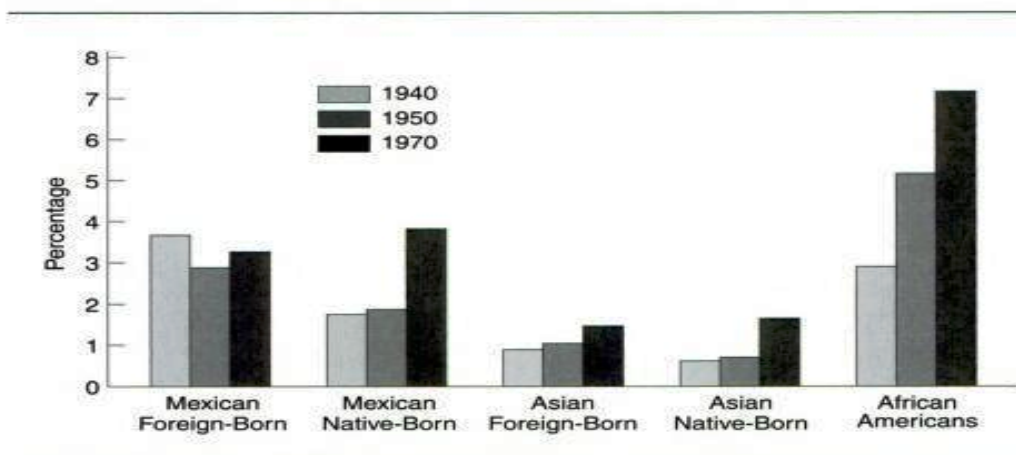
^cProduction workers only.

^dIncludes metals, machinery, stone, clay, and glass, food, and transportation equipment industries.

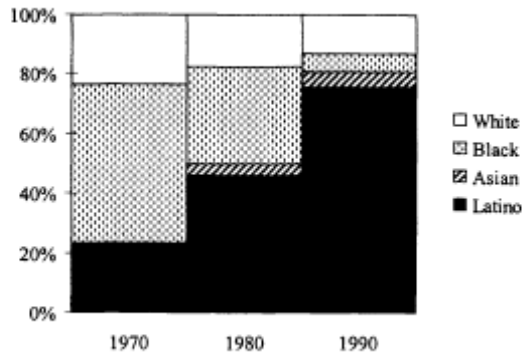
^eEstimated

14.2 Table 2

FIGURE 2.4 | Group Employment as Share of Total Employment, Selected Ethnic Groups, Los Angeles Region, 1940-1970



CRANFORD

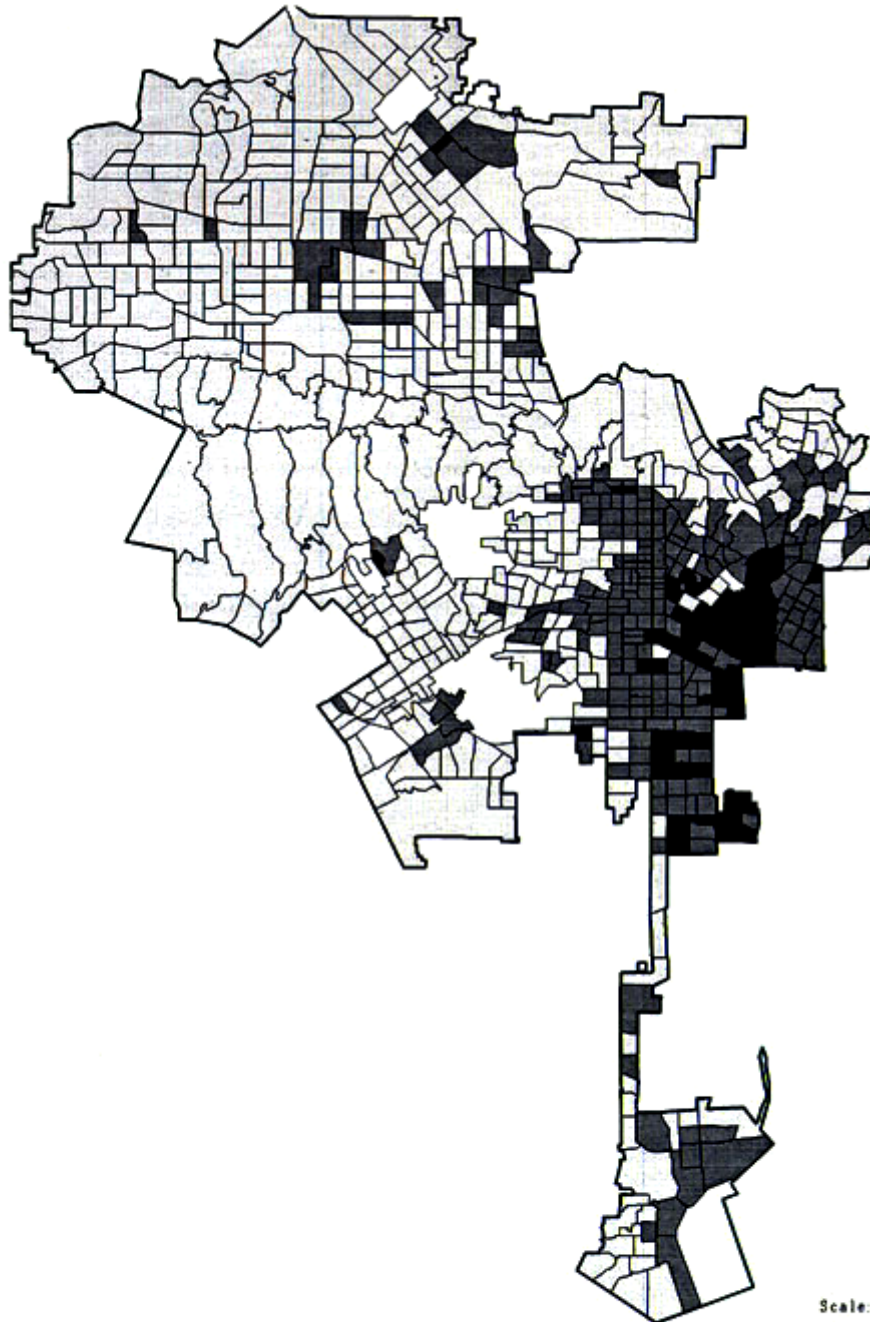


1





Source: U.S. Census Public Use Microdata Samples, 1970, 1980 and 1990

Figure 1 • Percent of Building Services Cleaners by Race and Nationality, Los Angeles County, 1970, 1980, and 1990

14.3 Table 3



POVERTY
Total Persons in
Poverty Status

-  Greater Than Two Times City Average (38-83.6%)
-  Above City Average (18.9-37.9%)
-  Below City Average (0-18.8%)
-  No Data or N/A

14.4 Table 4

Table 7. Percentage of residents,^a employees, recent hires, applicants, and hire rates for low-skill jobs^b within sub-metropolitan areas: Los Angeles.

	Total central city	Black central city	Latino central city	White central city	Central business district	Total suburbs	Black suburbs	Integrated suburbs	White suburbs	Total
% residents										
Black	.159	.510	.020	.060	.045	.041	—	.054	.039	.093
Latino	.429	.186	.520	.226	.386	.164	—	.221	.125	.224
% employees										
Black	.108	.325	.017	.138	.130	.070	—	.048	.088	.086
Latino	.458	.381	.508	.370	.483	.373	—	.510	.246	.406
% applicants										
Black	.307	.455	.231	.365	.274	.213	—	.202	.233	.253
Latino	.458	.377	.496	.496	.358	.391	—	.436	.331	.418
% recent hires										
Black	.149	.575	.024	.186	.059	.095	—	.060	.124	.123
Latino	.351	.413	.398	.489	.118	.459	—	.600	.342	.411
Ratio of recent hires to applicants										
Black	.485	1.264	.104	.510	.215	.446	—	.297	.532	.486
Latino	.766	1.095	.802	.986	.330	1.174	—	1.376	1.033	.983

Sources: ^a 1990 U.S. Census. 1994 MCSUI (data on jobs).

Notes: ^b The low-skill jobs category refers to the union of all low-skill job categories defined in Table 1.

— indicates no cases.

14.5 Table 5


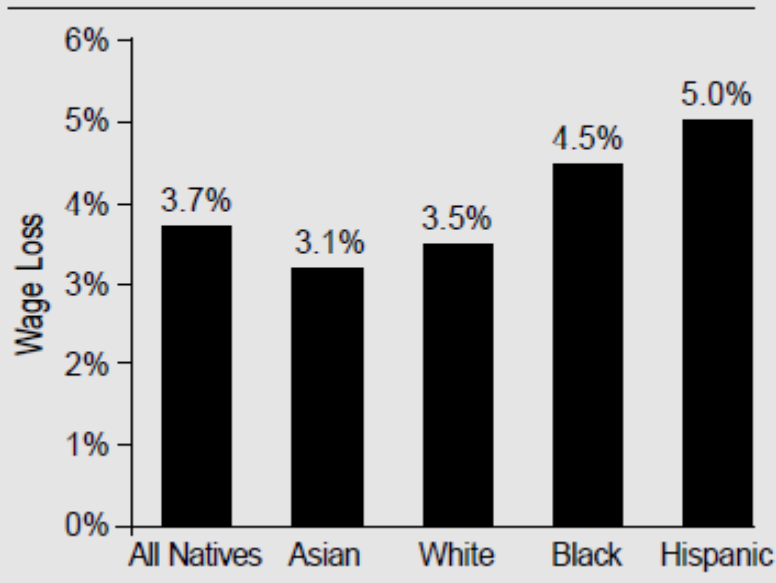
 Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 2007 <small>a Pew Research Center project</small>	
Table 29. Median Personal Earnings, by Race and Ethnicity: 2007	
Universe: 2007 resident population with positive earnings	
	Median earnings (\$)
Hispanic	21,048
Native born	23,274
Foreign born	20,238
White alone, not Hispanic	30,357
Black alone, not Hispanic	24,286
Asian alone, not Hispanic	32,786
Other, not Hispanic	22,262
All	28,333
<p>Note: Due to the way in which the IPUMS adjusts annual incomes, these data will differ from those that might be provided by the U.S. Census Bureau.</p> <p>Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2007 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)</p>	

Figure 3. Impact of 1980-2000 Immigrant Influx on Wage of Native Workers, by Race



14.6 Table 6

**Household and Individual Incidence of Welfare Reciprocity Gaps by Citizenship Status,
Los Angeles County, 1994-95, Percent**

	HOUSEHOLDS			INDIVIDUALS		
	Non-Citizen	U.S. Citizen	Usage Gap	Non-Citizen	U.S. Citizen	Usage Gap
MEANS TESTED ENTITLEMENT PROGRAMS:						
A. Cash:						
1. AFDC & GA	39.9	15.4		5.6	2.2	
2. SSI	8.6	5.2		4.3	2.1	
Total:	19.0	6.1	13.0	10.7	4.1	6.5
B. Non-Cash:						
1. MediCal (Medicaid)	24.0	8.5		15.1	12.9	
2. Food Stamps	19.0	6.1		17.4	12.5	
3. Housing	5.6	3.0		3.8	2.7	
4. School Meals	40.5	14.0		14.1	23.3	
Total:	56.6	23.3	33.3	35.9	35.7	0.1
Total - Means Tested Programs:	57.7	24.3	33.4	36.7	36.2	0.5
N	1,051	2,242		2,525	6,062	
Weighted N	584,593	1,599,549		2,423,441	6,695,085	

Note: Households assigned citizenship status of householder. At the individual level, the "U.S. Citizen" category includes both native-born and naturalized U.S. citizens. "Non-citizen" includes all non-naturalized foreign-born persons.

14.7 Table 7

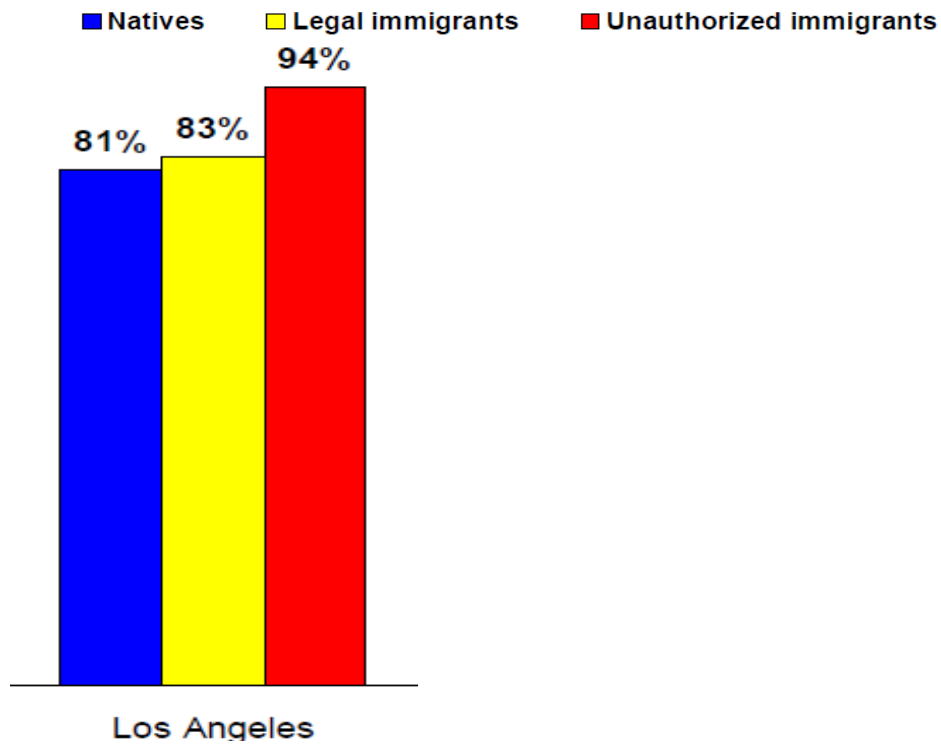
Cases Newly Approved for AFDC/TANF with Medi-Cal in Los Angeles County by Immigration Status of Household Head*: January 1996-January 1998

Month/Year	Total Monthly Approvals**	Citizens	Percent of Total	Non-Citizens	Percent of Total	Legal Immigrants	Percent of Total	Undocumented Immigrants*** (Unaided)	Percent of Total
January 1996	7,332	4,085	56%	3,177	43%	1,545	21%	1,632	22%
January 1998	5,669	4,072	72%	1,519	27%	450	8%	1,069	19%
1/96 - 1/98 Percent Change	-23%	0%		-52%		-71%		-34%	

*Data are provided by "first adult" in household. This person is typically the parent. Each case usually includes one or two parents and their child(ren).
 ** Citizens and noncitizens do not necessarily add to the total because this total includes "other" cases, including those in which the immigration status of the household head is unknown.
 ***Undocumented immigrants are not eligible for AFDC/TANF or regular Medi-Cal. These cases typically include citizen children who are eligible for assistance.
 Note: All AFDC recipients are automatically eligible for Medi-Cal. Most also receive federal food stamps (excluding ineligible immigrants). Data include both single- and two-parent families.

Table 9

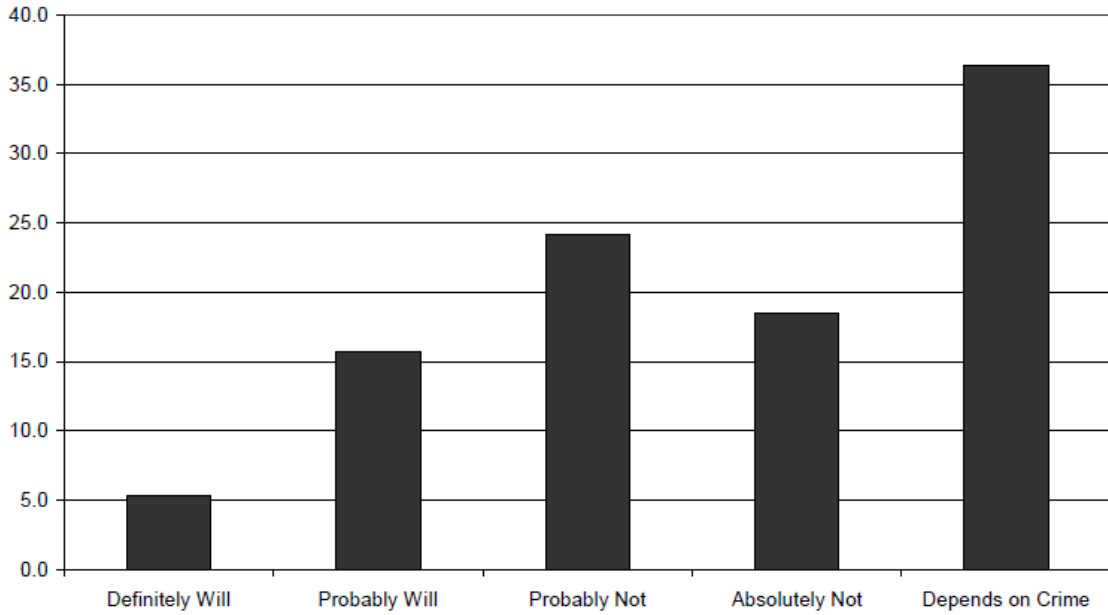
Labor Force Participation Rates for Men Age 18 to 64: United States, California, and Los Angeles County



Source: Estimates based on March 2004 Current Population Survey using specialized files with immigrant status assignments.

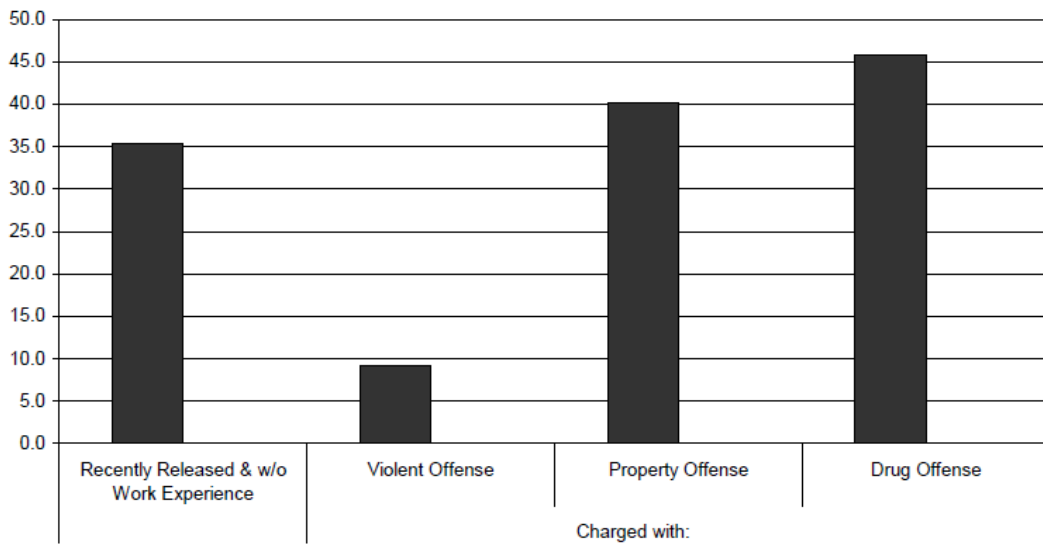
14.8 Table 10

Figure 1
Employer Willingness to Accept Applicants with a Criminal Record
into Last Filled Noncollege Job, 2001




14.9 Table 11

Figure 7
Percentage of Employers Willing to Hire Ex-Offenders Currently by Characteristics of
Offenders, 2001*



14.10 Table 12

 Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 2007								
Table 24 cont. Occupation, by Race and Ethnicity: 2007								
Universe: 2007 resident population ages 16 and older who worked in the past five years								
Percent Distribution								
Occupation Group	Hispanic			Non-Hispanic				Total
	Total	Native born	Foreign born	White alone	Black alone	Asian alone	Other	
Management, business, and financial operations	6.9	9.0	5.1	14.5	8.4	14.7	9.5	12.7
Science and engineering	2.0	2.7	1.3	4.9	2.5	12.6	3.9	4.6
Legal, community and social services	1.5	2.3	0.8	2.7	3.0	1.8	2.3	2.5
Education, training and library, and arts, design, entertainment, sports and media	4.3	6.1	2.8	8.6	5.7	7.0	6.7	7.5
Healthcare	4.0	5.4	2.8	6.7	8.8	10.0	6.2	6.7
Food preparation and serving	8.3	6.8	9.6	5.2	6.6	6.5	7.9	5.9
Building and grounds cleaning and maintenance	9.1	4.5	13.0	3.1	5.7	2.1	4.8	4.2
Other services	5.2	6.6	4.0	5.3	7.6	5.5	7.0	5.6
Sales	9.5	12.6	6.9	12.2	10.4	12.2	11.3	11.6
Office and administrative support	12.5	18.1	7.6	14.5	15.8	12.1	15.0	14.2
Farming, fishing, and forestry	2.5	0.7	4.1	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.8	0.8
Construction and extraction	11.9	6.7	16.4	5.8	4.1	1.7	7.0	6.3
Installation, maintenance and repair workers and production	13.0	9.7	15.8	9.4	9.7	9.3	8.9	9.9
Transportation and material moving	8.2	7.1	9.2	5.7	9.3	3.3	6.7	6.3
Military	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.4
Unemployed	1.0	1.3	0.7	0.5	1.7	0.8	1.4	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2007 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS)

14.11 Table 13

Geography: Los Angeles County

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

2000 Census of Population and Housing

Labor Force Status by Race/Ethnicity and Sex

Universe: Persons 16 years and older

Data Element: Count	Total population	Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	White alone	Black or African American alone
Total Population	7 122 525	2 850 856	2 477 365	658 144
Total Labor Force	4 312 264	1 672 311	1 575 508	387 194
Labor Force Participation Rate	60,5%	58,7%	63,6%	58,8%
Armed Forces	4 502	1 132	1 969	656
Civilian Labor Force	4 307 762	1 671 179	1 573 539	386 538
Civilian Labor Force Participation Rate	60,5%	58,6%	63,5%	58,7%
Employed	3 953 415	1 505 127	1 482 444	333 185
Unemployed	354 347	166 052	91 095	53 353
Unemployment Rate	8,2%	9,9%	5,8%	13,8%
Not in Labor Force	2 810 261	1 178 545	901 857	270 950
Total Males				
Total Males	3 465 768	1 422 272	1 215 641	294 245
Total Labor Force	2 358 802	961 761	869 852	176 478
Labor Force Participation Rate	68,1%	67,6%	71,6%	60,0%
Armed Forces	3 771	977	1 652	480
Civilian Labor Force	2 355 031	960 784	868 200	175 998
Civilian Labor Force Participation Rate	68,0%	67,6%	71,4%	59,8%
Employed	2 169 112	877 052	817 328	148 449
Unemployed	185 919	83 732	50 872	27 549
Unemployment Rate	7,9%	8,7%	5,9%	15,7%
Not in Labor Force	1 106 966	460 511	345 789	117 767
Total Females				
Total Females	3 656 757	1 428 584	1 261 724	363 899
Total Labor Force	1 953 462	710 550	705 656	210 716
Labor Force Participation Rate	53,4%	49,7%	55,9%	57,9%
Armed Forces	731	155	317	176
Civilian Labor Force	1 952 731	710 395	705 339	210 540
Civilian Labor Force Participation Rate	53,4%	49,7%	55,9%	57,9%
Employed	1 784 303	628 075	665 116	184 736
Unemployed	168 428	82 320	40 223	25 804
Unemployment Rate	8,6%	11,6%	5,7%	12,3%
Not in Labor Force	1 703 295	718 034	556 068	153 183

14.12 Table 14

**The Impact of Latino Commonality on Percieved
Commonality With Blacks**

