

AFRAZA- Towards Understanding the Intercultural Relations of African Americans and
Latinos:

Tensions and Opportunities for Collaboration

by

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2014

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Abstract

AFRAZA -Towards Understanding the Intercultural Relations of African Americans and Latinos:

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This study documents the perceptions of Latino and African American (AA) stakeholders over a 45-year period on the impact of demographic shifts one of San Diego's political districts. In the 1970's the AA community was the majority ethnic group; before the year 2000 the Latino community became the majority ethnic group. The study's guiding research question are: What role do demographic shifts, socio-political legislation, institutional policies, and interest convergence play in understanding the issues of intercultural conflict or collaboration in a political district that was once majority African American and has shifted to a Latino majority community?

To obtain this data, six African American and six Latino community stakeholders who have respectively participated for over 45 years in the selected political district were asked to tell their stories and shed light on how they perceived Black and Brown community relations over the 45 year period. The study employed a multi-contextual conceptual model for understanding the impact of the demographic shifts in the political district. Qualitative methods were used that included semi-structured interviews, indigenous practice of narrative medicine, case study methods, focus group, and non-statistical methods of analysis (Dedoose software), and secondary data reports.

Using the 12 case study narratives, each of the 12 case studies were coded using the Dedoose software program. This yielded 512 statements that were clustered into eight themes

that correlated with the five sub-questions of the study. The eight themes were: population makers, cultural/ethnic identity, trust, racism, power, conflict and tension, collaboration, and educational instrumentality. Six of the eight themes identified the existing social tensions in the selected political district and the last two pointed to ways to improve intercultural relations.

The study contributes to our understanding of African American and Latino cultural, social, political and educational tensions as a consequence of demographic shifts and the need for a new order of social interaction. The study presents three possible options for inter-community collaboration and/or conflict, two are negative, and one positive that seeks a *super ordinate goal* (Sue, 2003) that can unite Latino and African American communities in creating win-win intercultural relations and community development.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures.....	xi
CHAPTER 1:	1
Introduction.....	1
Statement of the Problem.....	2
Significance of the Problem.....	3
Conceptual Framework.....	4
Research Question.....	7
Assumptions of the Study.....	7
Study Limitations.....	9
Operational Definitions.....	8
CHAPTER 2: Literature Review.....	12
Introduction.....	12
The Question of Identity: A Building or Dividing Factor?.....	14
Demographic Social-Political Shifts.....	18
Nurturing Prejudice.....	24
Institutional Practices and Policies: Why are Latinos A Threat to African-Americans?.....	28
Sociocultural Patterns and Structures.....	30
Communitarism and Intercultural Collaboration.....	32
Synthesis.....	35
CHAPTER 3: Methodology.....	36
Introduction.....	36
Research Design.....	37
Description of Data Sources, Interview Approaches.....	38
U.S. Census Bureau.....	38
CBEDS.....	39
SANDAG.....	39
Semi-Structured Interviews.....	39
Focus Group.....	40
Description of Research Process.....	42

Selection of Study Participants (Phase I to III).....	43
Contact and Approval (Phase IV to V).....	45
Interviews (Phase VI).....	45
Consent Forms.....	45
Confidentiality.....	46
Approval of Transcript for Authenticity (Phase VII to VIII).....	47
Analysis of Common Themes (Phase IX).....	48
Focus Group and Super Ordinate Goal (Phase X).....	49
Profile of Study Participants.....	49
Data Organization Analysis.....	51
Content Analysis.....	51
Interview Protocols.....	51
Credibility and Reliability.....	52
Summary.....	52
 Chapter 4: Demographic Context of District 4 of the SD City Council.....	 54
Introduction.....	54
Demographic Shifts and Trends of SDCC District 4: 50 Years.....	56
Education and School Attendance Patterns in SDCC District 4.....	60
Lincoln High School: A Microscopic Reflection of the Socio-Cultural Characteristics of SDCC District 4.....	62
Black and Latino Distrust of the San Diego Unified School District.....	66
 Chapter 5: African American and Latino Case Studies.....	 69
Introduction.....	69
Case Study 1: George Walker Smith.....	72
Case Study 2: Armando Rodriguez.....	81
Case Study 3: Carroll Waymon.....	89
Case Study 4: Leon Williams.....	100
Case Study 5: Luis Natividad.....	113
Case Study 6: Ken Msemaji.....	124
Case Study 7: David Valladolid.....	136
Case Study 8: Maria Garcia.....	146
Case Study 9: Ernie McCray.....	155
Case Study 10: Linda & Carlos LeGrette.....	167
Case Study 11: Norma Cazares.....	177
Case Study 12: Agin Shaheed.....	191
 Chapter 6: Finding- Theme Identification and Analysis.....	 209
Introduction.....	209
Themes by Research Question.....	209
Synthesis of Results.....	255

Chapter 7: Findings, Implications, Limitations, Discussion and Recommendation.....	260
Overview of Findings.....	262
Synthesis of the Social Context of SDCC District 4 by Five Socio-Political Periods of Demographic Shifts and Social Tensions.....	272
Implications.....	278
Limitations.....	284
Discussion.....	286
Recommendations.....	293
Table References.....	298
References.....	303
APPENDIX A: Semi-Structured Interview Questions.....	310
APPENDIX B: Consent Form.....	312

List of Tables

Table 1. Research Approach in the Examination of a Selected Ethnically Diverse School Community from 1960 to 2010+.....	40
Table 2. African American and Latino Stakeholder Participant Profiles.....	50
Table 3. District 4 Population Demographic Chart from 1970-2014.....	57
Table 4. Theme Population Marker and Subcategories by Racial Ethnic Community Stakeholders.....	210
Table 5. Theme Cultural/Ethnic Identity and Subcategories by Racial Ethnic Community Stakeholders.....	216
Table 6. Salient Trust References and Subcategories by Racial Ethnic Community Stakeholders.....	222
Table 7. Salient Racism References and Subcategories by Racial Ethnic Community Stakeholders.....	227
Table 8. Salient Power References and Subcategories by Racial Ethnic Community Stakeholders.....	233
Table 9. Salient Conflict and Tensions References and Subcategories by Racial Ethnic Community Stakeholders.....	238
Table 10. Salient Collaboration References and Subcategories by Racial Ethnic Community Stakeholders.....	244
Table 11. Salient Educational Instrumentality References and Subcategories by Racial Ethnic Community Stakeholders.....	250
Table 12. Synthesis of Themes and Subcomponents as they address Research Questions.....	256
Table 13. Table References Period 1: Covering events from 1964-1973 and relating to SDCC District 4.....	298
Table 14. Period 2: Covering events from 1974-1983 and relating to SDCC District 4.....	299
Table 15. Period 3: Covering events from 1984-1993 and relating to SDCC District 4.....	300

Table 16. Period 4: Covering events from 1994-2003 and relating to SDCC District 4.....	301
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Table 17. Period 5: Covering events from 2004-2014 and relating to SDCC District 4.....	302
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List of Figures

Figure 1. Multicontextual Model for Understanding the Changing Demographics and Tensions or Collaboration of Ethnically Diverse Communities.....	5
Figure 2. Research Approach Graph.....	43
Figure 3. District 4 Geographical Map.....	55
Figure 4. Demographic Changes in Community Reflected in Student Population.....	61
Figure 5. Lincoln High School Then and Now.....	63
Figure 6. Lincoln High School Student Demographics 2007-2013.....	64
Figure 7. Performance of Lincoln High School Student Pre- and Post-9 th Grade 2010-2011.....	66
Figure 8. Blake, Shepard and Mouton Conflict Scenarios: Attitudes Towards Intergroup Conflict.....	281

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In the context of demographic changes among urban communities with significant numbers of Latino and African Americans, many conditions hinder their intercultural collaboration, access to economic resources, educational opportunities, and social stability. In a world of limited resources and economic inequality, competition and prejudice among different races will likely occur. As outer groups like Latino immigrants increase in size or deviate from the norms of the in-group such as African-Americans, by holding onto their own culture, customs and language, a sense of uncertainty, mistrust and competition will likely arise. To maintain socio-cultural control, the in-group will support any law or social position such as ascribed status, policies, or legislation that maintains the status quo (Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars, 2000). For example, voting data shows that the majority of African Americans favored anti-immigrant propositions like 227 (negating bilingualism), and 187 (negating social services) in California (Fiske, 2002; Straus, 2009). In both California and many other states of the nation, Latino immigrants and U.S. Latino-born alike, have been targets of racial discrimination and are often accused of being illegal and of reaping of social benefits, thus creating racial animosity, division, and barriers in education, politics, and social services (Vaca, 2004; Jimenez-Roman, 2011). Traditional conservative ideologies resurface when a dominant group is in competition with another group. Also, the use of scapegoating stereotypes in media and the use of campaigns of fear are common when competition or a real threat of losing control is taking place. In order to maintain the status quo and to hold onto the majority of resources, a perception is disseminated that resources are scarce and thus competition ensues (Allport, 1979; Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005).

Furthermore, in the United States the concept of multi-identity is not always rewarded yet assimilation is encouraged, and one is only accepted if he or she forgets his or her own identity, culture and language (Telles, 2011; Fergus, 2012). When socio-cultural demographic shifts take place as in the case of Latinos becoming the majority ethnic group in California while the African American population is becoming the minority, animosity or social conflict can occur. African Americans perceive Latinos as not wanting to assimilate given their perceived reluctance not to speak English. There is also the misconception that since Latinos are not Black and they do not share the same social concerns –they are in competition with one another. In reality, Latinos and Blacks have more similarities than differences. Both groups have ethnic similarities; both have struggled in the past and continue to struggle in American society. Both have been shunned from history books and have faced oppression since the day they stepped on American soil, or, as is the case for many Mexicans, when their land became American land after the 1848 Mexican-American War (Takaki, 1993). These issues are critical as the student make-up of most urban public K-12 schools, including community colleges, have significant numbers of African American and Latino students (Telles, 2011; Ravitch, 2013).

Statement of the Problem

Given the increase in demographic shifts in many major urban cities of the United States social friction between Latinos and African Americans, as well as with other ethnic groups in urban communities, is an issue of great concern in our schools systems (Telles, 2011; Vaca, 2006). This phenomenon challenges the manner in which the traditional white-black paradigm views American race relations and now forces it to examine how Latinos, now a majority in many urban cities, relate to African Americans and other ethnic communities in socio-economic, political, and schooling contexts (Grant-Thomas & Orfield, 2000). Adding to the new race

relations paradigm are old stereotypes that fuel fear of competition for economic resources. Such stereotypes damage the relations between African Americans and Latinos and create resistance to unite, collaborate, and build intercultural competence. Thus, the focus of this study seeks to document the impact of the increasing Latino population on a neighborhood in San Diego once highly populated by African Americans and its effect on the changing demographics, socio-cultural shifts, and power dynamics, over a 45-year period. An ethnically diverse high school community that has significant numbers of African American and Latino residents will be the focus of the study.

Significance of the Problem

Understanding the dynamics of intercultural relations contributes to the examination of demographic shifts and socio-cultural tensions that are occurring in communities that have high numbers of Latino and African American residents. Specifically, the researcher examines what is taking place in one San Diego community where demographic shifts are displacing a once majority African American population into a minority. Such demographics shifts in which Latinos are becoming the majority of an urban population reflect the realities of many urban communities in our nation (Straus, 2009; Davis, 2000; Bautista-Hayes, 2011; Vaca, 2004). The current demographics, however, are reflective of a particular social phenomenon, in that 50 years ago the African American community was the majority and in 2010 it became the minority population, while the Latino community has evolved into the majority ethnic group. The study will look at demographic shifts documented by census data and by the personal account of leaders that have been involved in the community for more than 45 years. This study will further contribute to our understanding of African American and Latino cultural, social, political and educational tensions as a direct consequence of such demographic shifts.

This research study examines possible options for inter-community collaboration that may create community spaces designed to benefit both Latino/as and African American in the community. Beyond identifying how the lack of identity, institutionalized racism, lingering stereotypes, negative attitudes and fear of competition affects Latino and African American relations, this research also looks at identifying how social and cultural patterns can promote coalition building and mutual support. This is significant because once Latinos and African Americans have discovered their potential for coalition building and collaboration a realization can take place that they are stronger together than to continuing to be apart.

Conceptual Framework

The Multicontextual Model for Understanding the Changing Demographics and Tensions of Ethnically Diverse Communities serves as the guiding conceptual framework of the study. Figure 1 depicts a multidimensional model for understanding the changing demographics of school communities (adapted from Hurtado, 2012). It demonstrates four dimensions of social interaction that can be used to examine the social consequences of the demographic shifts in school communities and the explicit and implicit tensions that occur as ethnic groups negotiate their entitlement, identity, language, and power relations.

Specific intercultural researchers that support the Multicontextual Model for Understanding the Changing Demographics and Tensions of Ethnically Diverse Communities include: Grant-Thomas & Orfield, (2009) who have researched federal cases and socio-political policies on social integration and demographic shifts that have hindered or promoted social integration among White, Latino and African American residents in urban school communities; Derrick Bell (2004) whose work focused on integration, interest convergence, and critical race theory; the work of Gordon Allport's (1979) on the nature of prejudice and intercultural conflict

relations, Richard Delgado and Stefancic (2000) who studied race relations; Hampden-Turner's and Trompenaars (2000) work on building cross-cultural competence and communitarism; and Derald Wing Sue's (2003) whose work on the *super ordinate goal*, are among the sources that speak to the tensions found as the diversity of school communities shift from majority to minority and minority to majority.

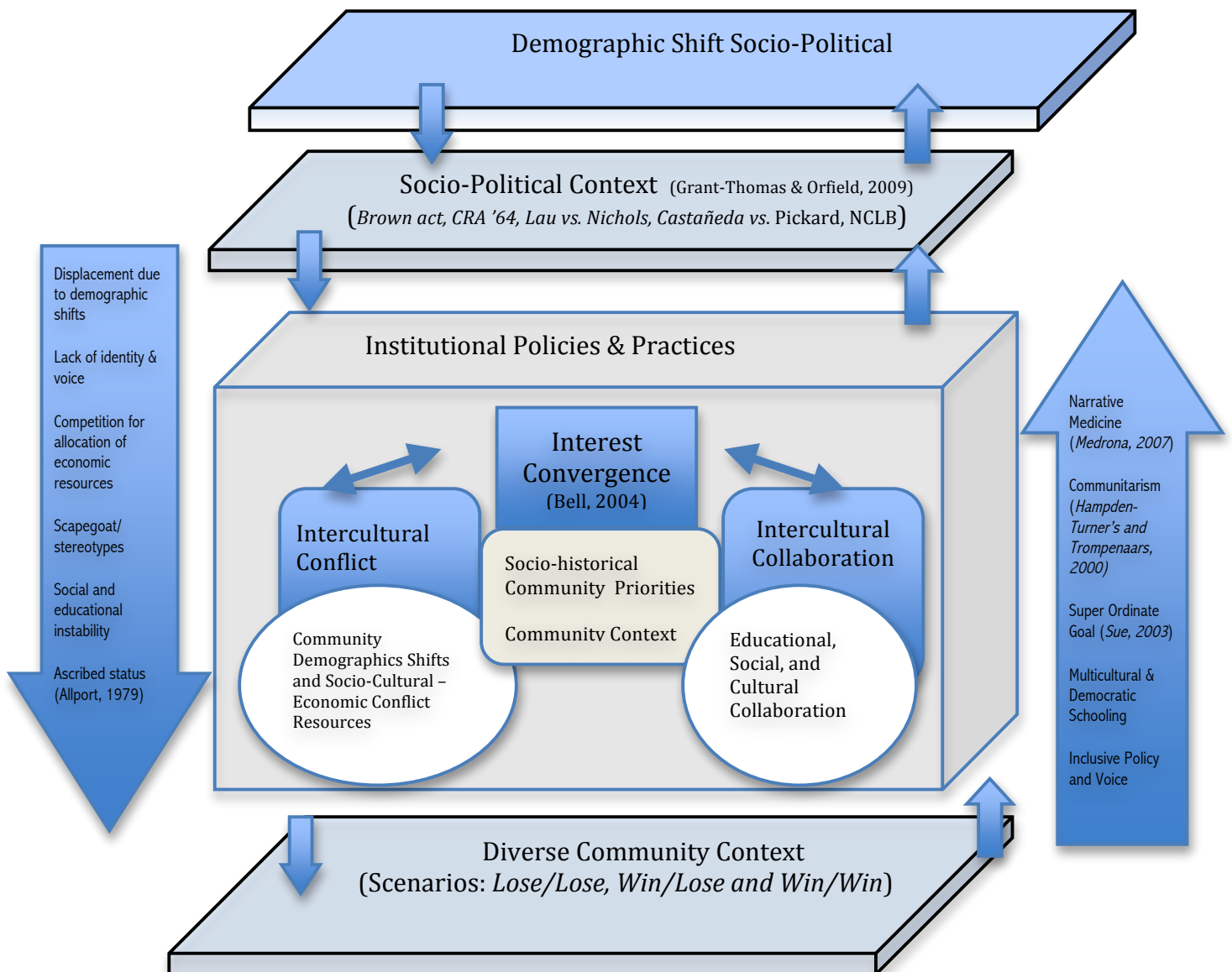


Figure 1. Multicontextual Model for Understanding the Changing Demographics and Tensions or Collaboration of Ethnically Diverse Communities (Adapted from Hurtado, et al. 2012).

The proposed conceptual framework provides a tool for understanding of the phenomena of race relations. For example, the rapid changing demographics of major urban centers in our nation in the 1990's and early 21st Century has seen a shift in the make-up of ethnically diverse communities such as when Latinos outnumbered African Americans. Allport's (1979) social integration framework addresses such changes or awareness of the tensions that are ignited by identifying factors that contribute to prejudice, such as a perceived increase in competition over economic, political, and social services. Allport's nature of prejudice is essential for recognizing and understanding the tensions derived from racial ethnic population shifts.

Conversely, Derrick Bell's (2004) concept of *interest convergence* demonstrates the importance of policies and practices that contribute to how well the tensions of demographic shifts are dealt with, as well as ways to promote intercultural cooperation and reduce social conflict. When faced with access to opportunity, African Americans and Latinos can both understand that their similar social struggles and interest for equity and access to opportunity is comparable. Both communities can compete or cooperate for the social, economic, political, and educational resources rather than competing for a win-lose scenario. Social integration based on mutual cultural values can further serve as the catalyst to begin an open dialogue with the interest of understanding that cooperation over ignorance could improve the social standing of Latinos and African Americans.

Hampden-Tuner and Trompenaars (2000) offers the concept of *communitarism*, as a transformational practice of shared knowledge and value in supporting one another.

If communitarism were practiced, the dialectical gains in the Latino and African American community would be profitable.

Derald Wing Sue (2003) also offers the concept of the *super ordinate goal* that calls for individuals and communities of interest to undertake a process of deviating from naming social ill's as race related and shifting their social awareness to social class in order to unify different sectors of the community. The above concepts will be examined further as a part of the study of a selected school community that faces tensions as its community shifts from being perceived as predominantly African American to predominantly Latino.

Research Question

The guiding research question of the study asked: What role do demographic shifts, socio-political legislation, institutional policies, and interest convergence play in understanding the issues of intercultural conflict or collaboration in a political district that was once majority African American and has shifted to a Latino majority community?

Assumptions of the Study

The study assumes that the selected African American and Latino community leaders recognized for their engagement in the designated school community represent individuals who have a wealth of knowledge regarding the demographics, socio-political, and economic factors of the community being studied. Additionally, it is assumed they will offer valid insights and ideas in order to proactively identify specific areas of tension that impact the relations among Latinos and African Americans. Furthermore, based on the gathering of the data, the researcher will assume that the expressed concerns of the community leaders in the study are representative of the sentiments of the selected community over the past 50 years and can serve as a catalyst of coalition building for both Latinos and African Americans. Finally, it is also assumed that the selected community leaders seek to improve race relations among Latinos and African American residents and to improve the quality of intercultural relations between both ethnic groups in the

community. The study is exploratory in nature and seeks to begin a conversation for identifying areas of tension between the African American and Latino communities and, based on the community leaders responses, to find a common ground to begin intercultural collaboration efforts that can be expanded into other communities facing the same race relation tensions and dilemmas.

Study Limitations

The findings from the study are limited to the selected ethnically diverse school community from which data will be gathered. Data will be derived from one specific research site and community leaders with African American and Latino backgrounds. The results from this study will contribute to race relations between two ethnic groups in one geographical side in California.

The research design and process used in this study develops a framework for understanding and exploring race relations between African American and Latino residents in the Southwest yet will make it difficult to ascertain transferability to other similar school communities in the nation (Creswell, 2002).

In addition to the limited scope of the data, data collection, and data analysis, the study is based on twelve (12) selected community leaders during a specified time frame and is based on the subjectivity of their responses. While it has implications for intercultural relations, the participant size is small and generalizations will be difficult to make. Rather, this study examines critical events in depth and seeks to examine the insights arising from the experiences of the participants in the selected school community.

Operational Definitions

African American/Black: An American of African and especially of black African decent.

Both terms are used interchangeably in the academic research.

Afro Latinos: African descendants from Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Demographic shifts: The evolving change of an ethnic population within a community or region. Specifically in this study, the social phenomena that shows that 50 years ago the African American community was the majority and in 2010 it is the minority.

Integration: The social, economic or cultural inclusion, whether naturally or consciously, of an outer group into the status of an in-group.

Prejudice: Refers to a negative or hostile attitude toward another social group, usually racially defined. It is the judgment of another person before interacting, knowing or understanding her/his background or life conditions. Prejudice is based on assumptions and not facts.

Community leader: A respected individual that works or has worked, resides or has resided, and has demonstrated advocacy and many years of engagement in a particular community.

Ethnically diverse: A communities' make-up that consists of multiple ethnically diverse populations.

Intercultural collaboration: The social or political work between two different ethnic, cultural, and racial groups that share educational, residential, and social spaces with the purpose to improve their situation.

Intercultural conflict: The conflict that arises among two different races that have more in common than they do differences, but prejudices and stereotypes separates them from working together in order to improve their situation. Examples of such are demographic critical mass

shifts when a majority becomes a minority. Another example is the notion of economic meritocracy and the false competition for resources.

Interest Convergence: Interest convergence is defined as elites tolerating racial advances only when the advances benefit their interests. Also, can be defined as two different groups coming together for a common goal (Delgado, 2000).

Latino/Hispanic: Term to describe people of Latina American decent. The U.S. Census Bureau uses Hispanic to refer to a region, not a race, and uses the term to describe any person, regardless of race, creed, or color, whose origins are of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or of some other Hispanic origin.

Narrative Medicine: The practice of storytelling as a process of healing. Telling ones stories in order to identify common struggles and common goals for the advancement of society (Melh-Medrona, 2007).

Intercultural Collaboration: The idea of working together, especially in a joint intellectual or social equity effort to cooperate reasonably as with a perceived oppositional individual, ethnic group or community.

Communitarism: The transformational practice of individuals and communities leaving behind individualism and valuing shared knowledge and values in order to mutually support each other or each community mutually. For the purpose of this study, if the practice of communitarism occurs, both the Latino and African American communities will benefit mutually (Hampden-Turner, 2000).

Ethnically and culturally diverse: A term use to describe the cultural and ethnic inclusion and cultural differences of diverse people in a group, community, or organization.

Race relations: The relationships between people of different races who live in the same

community, as well as the relations between members of two or more ethnic or cultural groups within a community context.

Socio-cultural characteristics: Pertaining to cultural, cultural demographic and linguist characteristics, or signifying the combination or interaction of social and cultural elements practiced in communities and people within a specific geographical space.

Socio-political characteristics: Relating to, or involving both political and social factors of power relations generally based on class, race, gender, or other condition that influences politics.

Super ordinate goal: The processes of deviating from naming social ills as race related, and instead as relating to social class, in order to unify different sectors of the community. An example of such would be of the naming poverty as a social ill that effects both Latino and African communities equally (Sue, 2003).

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

The United States is currently experiencing a major demographic shift in its population. For the first time in its history, the dominant Euro-American population is becoming the minority in major urban cities. The 2010 US Census Bureau (2011) documented that the majority of today's births in the United States are non-white. As demographics shift, major challenges to the established social hierarchy is occurring in urban cities, generating racial tensions among different ethnic groups that are competing for voice and representation, economic opportunities, and the use of existing resources. Presently in the United States, Latinos are fast becoming the largest ethnic group in major urban cities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2011). Furthermore, by March 2014 Latinos will be the majority in California, surpassing whites (Huffington Post, 2014). In poor urban communities where African Americans and Latinos reside, this shift has created particular tensions which have caused several reactions, mainly negative, in social, cultural, political, and educational contexts in such urban communities (Allport, 1954; Davis, 1990; Delgado and Stefancic, 2011; Quiñones, Ares, Padela, et al., 2011; Roman and Flores, 2010; Wilson 1999).

Overall, Latinos are denied access to major structures, and have been shunned and targeted as illegal immigrants, often accused of taking advantage of social resources and services (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Vaca, 2004). Culturally though, Latinos are making a major impact in our society, which can be seen in the influence of popular Latino music, fashion, television, food and, most significantly, our economy (Davis, 2000; Hayes-Bautista, 2004; Haro & Preuhs, 2013; Jimenez-Roman, 2011; Telles, 2012). Politically Latinos have been the focus of a grand voting power, as

they are being courted by every political race in this country. On the night of November 6, 2012, a few hours after the Associated Press announced that Barack Obama was re-elected to the presidency of the United States, Fox News anchor Bill O'Reilly made the following statement:

The White establishment is now the minority. And the voters, many of them, feel the economic system is stacked against them and they want stuff. You are going to see a tremendous Hispanic vote for President Obama (Fox News, 11/6/12).

The frustration expressed by O'Reilly was mirrored across many right wing media outlets (*Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 2012.) The fact that Latinos were emerging as a majority and could be the deciding factor in any upcoming election was recognized, but not without the xenophobic sentiment that they were a parasitic group.

In the public education arena, there has been a great debate for many years as to how best to meet the needs of Spanish speakers learning English, the concept of bilingual education has been a divisive topic and caused many political battles (Darder, 1991). For example, political propositions like California's 227 attacked the value of bilingual education. On the other hand, biliteracy is being valued in schools where dual immersion programs with a Spanish language focus have been applauded by many, and have become popular in higher socio-economic school communities as the new reform in education (Stanton-Salazar, 2001). This occurs at the same time that Latinos are becoming a majority of the population, and yet are still falling behind in regards to education. Therefore, it is imperative that school reform provide a solution to these inequities in order for the nation to compete and sustain itself economically (Hayes-Bautista, 2004; Ravitch, 2010 & 2013).

Public schools are credited as the system that terminates racial inequality (Grant & Orfield, 2002), but school demographics today continue to point to school segregation, where most urban schools in low socio-economic neighborhoods are composed of Latinos and African

Americans. Drawing on the work of Telles (2011), such demographics shifts contribute to friction with other ethnic groups in urban communities, all of which trickle into other social, economic, and educational spaces, such as the schools. Thus, the focus of this review of literature is to document the impact of the increased Latino population on communities that were once highly populated by African Americans. The key areas addressed are: Identity, Demographic Social-Political Shifts, Nurturing Prejudice, Institutional Practices and Policies, Sociocultural Patterns and Structures, and Communitarism and Intercultural Collaboration.

The Question of Identity: A Building or Dividing Factor?

The term Afro-Latino encompasses the mixing of both races that originated in colonial Spanish America and, was first categorized in Miguel Castillo's *Castas* paintings which served as a guide to the hierarchical ordering of races, one that placed White Europeans on the top (Gates Jr., 2014; Jimenez-Roman, 2011). In Latin America, Afro-Latinos presently make up a large portion of the populations in countries such as Brazil, Costa Rica, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. The first Africans to come to North America were in fact Afro-Latinos, thus making the mix of these two races the earliest mixed race group in the history of the United States (Jimenez and Flores, 2010). Furthermore, participatory research conducted by Harvard University professor Henry Louis Gates Jr. (2014) has uncovered that from 1500 to 1870, close to 12 million African slaves were forced into slavery in the Americas and contrary to popular belief only 430,000 were taken into what is today the United States. The rest, overwhelmingly close to 11.5 million, were taken to Latin America. In the United States, Afro-Latinos are classified as people of African descent, either from Latin America or Caribbean regions. In addition, Jimenez-Roman (2011) determined the increase in Afro-Latinos was the result of the transnational relations and

historical backgrounds constructed from previous oppressive imperialist global movements such as the colonizing of the Caribbean region by European nations. Although historically Africans and Latinos have a common ancestry and are genetically mixed, a tension exists between these two groups when they are both the majority demographic in urban cities in the United States. Research has demonstrated that the mis-education by our public schools in addressing this historical fact in its curriculum could be a factor for the intercultural conflict (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008).

In reality, Latino immigrants are multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and rich in mixed identities and are strong holders of their culture. Others often perceive these qualities as non-cooperative, thus creating social and political tensions within urban communities. Sometimes instead of seeing these attributes as positive, they can be perceived negatively by others. Assimilation is often thought of as necessary in order to function and succeed in America, but for some Latinos assimilation means losing one's identity, and language in conforming to the dominant English only culture (Darder, 1991; Wilson, 1999).

In their work, Jimenez and Flores (2010) and Hernandez-Truyol (1994) assert that some Latinos, based on their experience of discrimination towards African Americans in the United States, neglect their African ancestry and instead identify themselves primarily with their European ancestry. African Americans and Latinos alike, when they feel that their values are being challenged, are driven to what Altemeyer (1996) calls *Right Wing Authoritarianism*. Both groups hold negative views towards others that differ from their values. An example given is when Latino youth adopt the hip-hop urban culture that is popular with black youth. Latino parents criticize their own children for wanting to act or dressed as what they perceive to be black (Altemeyer, 1996; Esses, Haddock & Zana, 1993).

Furthermore, Bonilla-Silva (2010) argues that, based on empirical demographic research, Latinos are less segregated and more exposed to Whites than Blacks. Furthermore, he presents findings in which Latinos who identified themselves as Whites are more acceptable and live among Whites, while dark-skinned Latinos of African descent, such as those of Puerto Ricans and Caribbean descent, experience the same rates of residential segregation and treatment as Blacks (Bonilla-Silva, 2010).

Another factor of consideration in the literature that divides Black and Latinos communities relies on what Perea (1997) calls the *White-Black Binary Paradigm*. He argues that it has been a common trend to deal and analyze race in America as either White or Black, and the subject of analyzing other people of color rarely occurs. This theory emphasizes that historically any civil right policy has acted on this White-Black binary paradigm, which can also be compared to the paradigm of evil vs. good. This is important to highlight as it leaves out any serious consideration of how Latinos fit in the spectrum of racial politics. On the other hand, as the Latino population is increasing and surpassing the African population, the focus of such policies are now targeted towards Latinos, as they are becoming a majority. This may create resentment from the African population, due to the lack of attention directly toward the African community (Barreto & Sanchez, 2008).

Hernandez-Truyol (1994) also writes that the reality of Latinos in America do not fit in any category and the pre-existing black and white model does not work or provide any justice for Latinos. The Latino existence is an emerging reality, with fundamental problems such as immigration, demographic shifts favoring Latinos, and the reality that language and culture are becoming a part of American society. In addition, Wilson (1999) states that when people from different ethnicities truly believe that each other's help is needed, this strong belief erases any

initial stereotypes or prejudices and cooperation is enacted. Alternatively, Allport (1979) sees cultural pluralism as possible only when dominant groups see the benefit of a multicultural society. He argues that a minority group, especially if its immigrants are criticized for maintaining their identity/culture or trying to assimilate are damned if they do and damned if they don't. Allport (1979) recommends that neither assimilation nor cultural pluralism will work, and that it should be a mixture of both according to the needs of the immigrant group.

Latinos sometimes seem to be in a racial vacuum, they are not fully seen as whites and they might not consider themselves black. Historically though, Latinos are a mixture of African, European and Indigenous ethnicities. In reality, there are more Latinos that are of African descent as more European descent. A perception exists that since Latinos are not White, they are minorities, and that since they are not considered to be Black, they don't have the same problems as Blacks. In reality, Blacks and Latinos have more in common, particularly in terms of education and employment to name a few. Latinos are seen as the "Other" neither Black nor White, but in reality Latinos have both ancestries (Jimenez-Roman, 2011; Acuña, 2003; Bonilla-Silva, 2010).

Hernandez-Truyol (1994) suggests that Latinos can serve to build bridges between Whites and Blacks. This is because they can view the commonalities that we possess historically and culturally with African Americans and White Europeans. On the other hand, Bonilla-Silva (2010) argues that categories such as "White Latinos" or "Black Latinos" should be discarded. These dualist categories enforce a separation in Latino communities by thinking of its people as belonging to either the White or Black race. He further argues that this dualist division is common in the U.S., as it bases its racial categories on physical appearance, but is alien to Latino immigrants who share linguistic and historical commonalities.

Demographic Social-Political Shifts

This section offers the historical social, economic and political demographics that are common between African Americans and Latinos living in the United States for the past thirty years. Research indicates that Latinos are fast becoming the majority ethnic group in the United States (Telles, 2011; Davis, 2000; Acuña, 2003; Vaca, 2004). African American communities have been impacted by this significant increase in population and have had to share living, community, and educational spaces with Latinos, in areas they did not have to share in the past (Wilson, 2001). Some of these African American neighborhoods are becoming Latino, yet both ethnic communities are still separated from the dominant Euro-American society. It is also no coincidence that recent populations of immigrants reside in such poor areas. Allport (1979) describes this development in his book *The Nature of Prejudice* when he writes, “in America the most serious riotous conditions have coincided with the immigration of large numbers of unfavored groups” (p. 228). Additionally, it is no accident that immigrants tend to huddle together, thus creating communities of common ancestry or country of birth.

In his book *City of Quartz*, Mike Davis (1990) states that history repeats itself. African Americans faced social resistance during the great migration into White middle class neighborhoods in California during the 40’s and 50’s. The same social resistance is being applied now to the Latino community as they populate African American neighborhoods. For example, the HBO documentary *Bastards of the Party* highlights the formation of gangs in Los Angeles as a response to the attacks by White gangs towards African Americans when they began residing in the metropolitan areas of Los Angeles, which had been inhabited by Whites. As documented by Davis (1990), African Americans were not welcomed during this great migration from the South. A social and political resistance by the White community lasted for

many years until the so-called *White Flight* era took place, which saw Whites move towards the suburban areas in Los Angeles (Davis, 1990, 1999). This social ill is continuing to take place now as Latinos are surpassing African Americans in numbers. The once oppressed Latino community is becoming the oppressor in former African American neighborhoods such as South Central Los Angeles, Compton, and Inglewood. Racial animosity has become a common trend between long time African American residents and new Latino Immigrants. The exception is that African-Americans have not had the resources to relocate to the suburbs and have had no alternative but to share the scarce physical resources, social resources, and educational spaces with Latinos (Davis, 1990, 1999; Hayes-Bautista, 2004; Wilson, 2001).

Today in America you can go to any major metropolitan city and if one asks to be taken to where Latinos and African Americans reside, 99% of the time these areas are the poorest in the nation. Wilson (2001) states that, “since 1970, the population in high poverty metropolitan neighborhoods-be they black ghettos, Latino barrios, or white slums-grew by 92%” (p.35). Consistent with Davis’ (1990) theory of *White Flight*, Wilson (2001) contends that the mass departure of Whites and other wealthy ethnicities from varied income areas was a major factor in the spread of ghettos that began in the 1970’s. Following this social trend, in the 1980’s the federal government began cutting services and programs to the urban areas. According to Wilson (2001) this policy was also known as the *new federalism*. As a result of city budget cuts, social resources decreased, business closed and refused to invest in the urban areas, buildings deteriorated, pollution increased, and the lack of services directly resulted in public schools being greatly affected. The schools’ reputations deteriorated. The middle class regarded the urban sectors as too violent, very poor, and dangerous to safely live, conduct

business, and attend school. Wilson concludes, “to many in the dominant white population, minorities symbolize the ugly urban scene left behind” (Wilson, 1999, p.37).

Wilson (2001) also argues it was during this time that unemployment rates rose in urban cities from 11% in the late 1960’s to 41% in the early 1990’s for African Americans solely possessing a high school diploma. It is important to note that during this time the sharp decline in the relative demand for low-skilled labor had a more adverse effect on African Americans than Whites because a large proportion of African Americans comprise the unskilled work force.

Davis (1990) documents that from the early 1980’s to late 1990’s racial tension began to peak; Latinos were not welcomed by the African American communities and had to live in animosity, thus resulting in a hatred towards their African American neighbors. In addition, a research study published in *Duke Today*, entitled “Latino Immigrants Come to the U.S. with Negative Stereotypes of Black Americans, a New Study Shows,” found that Latino immigrants arrived in this country already thinking negatively about African Americans. This study additionally found that when compared to Latinos, African Americans had a more favorable view towards Latinos. Surprisingly, this article also found that Latinos distanced themselves more from African Americans and had a stronger desire to unite with Whites. Based on this condition, horizontal violence amongst African Americans and Latinos became a common occurrence.

Fannon (2004) and Freire (1970) both agreed that when considering the relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor, history teaches us that once the oppressed ascends the power structure, whether social, political or economic, the oppressed often becomes the oppressor. Unfortunately, this historical social dilemma has been true when it comes to the

relations between African Americans and Latinos. As was previously mentioned, during the mass migration of Latino immigrants into African American communities in the 1980's, Latinos were treated with similar animosity, as the African Americans had experienced in the 1950's when moving into White neighborhoods. Today, Latinos are fast becoming the majority in these neighborhoods, and there are increased cases of reversal racial hatred. For example, in January 22, 2013, the *Los Angeles Times* article entitled "Feds Now Investigating Alleged Hate Crimes in Compton," reported the constant hate crimes of a Latino gang towards African Americans in Compton, California. This article also stated that Latinos currently comprise 65% of the population in Compton. Compton was once a highly populated African American urban city, yet today only 33% of the people residing in this area are African Americans. Realizing how dangerous this type of conflict can become a later article by the same newspaper, published on January 31, 2013 and titled "Latino, Black Leaders Unite After Alleged Hate Crime in Compton", documented the formation of a coalition of a dozen leaders from both African American and Latino groups that has initiated a dialogue to address this social epidemic. The leaders of this coalition stated that they would not let criminal acts define their community and that unity among Latinos and African Americans was imperative.

Allport (1954) and Wilson (2001) are in agreement that a minority group, when immigrating in large numbers, becomes a community within a community, often going to the extent of creating their own businesses, restaurants, and churches. This formation of different communities within a larger community might be seen as separatism. Latinos are often accused of refusing to assimilate culturally and linguistically. This type of behavior builds a wall between two communities thus aggravating prejudice and lack of communication between the two. These relationships or better yet, their lack of relations, become hostile when direct

competition for the scarce resources becomes a perceived realistic conflict. Instead of looking at this conflict as a social class problem it, inconveniently, becomes a race issue (Telles, 2011; Wilson, 2001).

Initially, under the umbrella of *Critical Race Theory*, Derrick Bell (1987, 1992, 2000) developed the concept of interest convergence. Interest convergence is defined as elites tolerating racial advances only when the advances benefit their interests (Delgado, 2000). This theory is also often cited in Allport's *Nature of Prejudice*, he explains that prejudice for those that hold power brings exploitative gains such as economic advantage, social snobbery, and an entitlement of moral superiority (Allport, 1979).

Bell (1992) makes a case that the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision provided scraps from the table and that it calmed down the marginalized in order for the dominant members of society to continue benefitting from the capitalistic system. Bell (2004) describes this practice as "the social covenant," which, as Bell describes, it is an unspoken rule within political elite circles, but not known to the masses. He explains that politicians that approve such legislation as the *Brown vs. Board of Education act*, do so with the notion that at any time if such laws threaten their way of living in any form, such legislations would be reformed, or redefined in order to maintain the status quo. In fact, the *Brown* decision pitted the poor Whites against the African community. The wealthy White communities simply move out into the all White suburbs or place their students in private institutions. This same dilemma is apparent with the new demographic shift of Latinos becoming a majority and Africans Americans becoming the minority (Wilson, 2001). The same racial tension resurfaces, and African Americans are now reacting as poor whites did after the *Brown* decision.

Therefore, if such laws were a form of appeasement that created an illusion that racism no longer exists, then how do we re-awaken this sense of urgency for social justice within the African and Latino community? How do we as educators reform our educational system to provide a true democratic schooling system? How do we implement a multicultural curriculum that practices a pedagogy that works to unite African American, Latinos and other marginalized communities in order for them to see their common strengths and to collaborate, rather than continually being divided by ignorance?

In 2013, with the demographic reality of the Latino population becoming a majority ethnic population in the United States and its undeniable voting power, one that most likely contributed to Obama's second presidency, this trend has pushed for national immigration reform to take place. A January 22, 2013, *Huffington Post* article entitled "Latino, White Population Trading Places, But Politics Still Behind New Demographic Reality," noted that even though there is a bipartisan support for a plan to give current undocumented population a path to citizenship, it will likely create a shift in the political, social and economic status of Latinos and other immigrant populations. This will likely not occur without resistance from the white population, which has been a majority and could eventually become a minority. Therefore, would immigration reform be the solution to our racial divide or eventually retrogressed? Bell (2004) compares the *Brown vs. Board* court ruling decision to the post civil war era of reconstruction. Both marked a period of redemption, an open path to social progress, only to be pushed to retrogression. Race continued to be the central focus of conflict, with the majority of the White population in reactionary anger and the African American community left powerless with just the hope that a law would bring justice and equality. Unfortunately, race continues to be a topic of political, social, educational and economic separation.

Nurturing Prejudice

This section of this literature review uses critical race theory as defined by Delgado (2000) and Bell (1987, 1992, 2000) to examine the racial barriers that exist between African American and Latino communities. When it comes to the hostility between African Americans and Latinos, Allport's theory can be applied to explain this dilemma. According to Allport (1979), prejudice and intercultural conflict is most likely to happen when one or several of the following factors take place:

- The social structure is marked by heterogeneity
- Vertical mobility is permitted
- Rapid social change is in progress
- There are occurrences of ignorance and/or barriers to communication
- The size of a minority group is either already large or increasing in size
- Direct competition and realistic threats exist
- Exploitation sustains important interests in the community (interest convergence)
- Customs regulating aggression are favorable to bigotry
- Traditional justifications for ethnocentrism are available
- Neither assimilation nor cultural pluralism is favored

Beyond Allport's theory, recent research has categorized intergroup conflicts into two categories: (1) conflict over tangible resources, which can include political positions and economic resources, or (2) intergroup conflict, which include values and cultural practices. (Esses, 2003; Stephan and Stephan, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Regarding the economic, social, and political relations among African-Americans and Latinos a survey in 2008 conducted by the Pew Research Center study found that:

While blacks and Hispanics hold broadly favorable views of each other, Hispanics are less likely to say the two groups get along well. At the same time, African Americans are far more likely than Latinos to say blacks are frequently the victims of racial discrimination.

This study also concluded that African Americans think that social and economic progress for African Americans has not improved, and that Latinos reduce their job opportunities. On the other hand, Latinos think that African Americans have more opportunities than Latinos, in that they are often U.S. citizens and are native English speakers (Pew Research Center, 2008).

On the state of Black America, the National Urban League documented in 1985 that Blacks made economic progress in the 1960's, reached a peak in the 1970's, but have declined ever since. Today in 2013, the population of African-Americans is declining, while their numbers are disproportionally increasing in poverty, unemployment, and incarceration (Bell, 1987; McGhee, 1985; Pinkney, 1984).

Bell (1987) suggests that Blacks continue to be at the bottom of the economic ladder due to years of oppression and marginalization that has been passed on from generation to generation. Civil rights programs, like affirmative action, have helped blacks attain higher paying jobs, but it has not helped the low-skilled sector where much attention is needed.

The *Social Dominance Theory* by Sidanius and Pratto (1999) discusses how in societies, a socially constructed system based on hierarchies is organized in order for certain groups to receive less resources such as power and money. To maintain such a system, credible theories are invented to legitimize the positions of the dominant groups. The notion of meritocracy and *Social Darwinism* is applied to such theories (Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

In relation to this theory, the *System Justification Theory* by Jost and Banaji (1994) illustrates the false ideology many believe that both the rich and the poor live in a system that is fair. It relies on stereotypes that categorize people from the dominant group, mostly White, as

intelligent and hardworking, and ethnic groups such as Latinos and African Americans as freeloaders and lazy. This theory is often used when the status quo is threatened.

Another strategy used by the dominant group is avoidance or marginalization of the outer group. This practice could take the form of blocking access to social services, human rights, documentation, and by silencing the voices of the outer group, thus rejecting their right to challenge the status quo (McFarland & Warren, 1992). Implementing a psychology of scarcity applies fear and misconception that there are not enough resources to go around, therefore creating animosity, especially among groups in the lower classes who struggle over basic resources.

When considering the history concerning the plight of ethnic minorities for increased social equity in the United States, Wells and Crain (1997) argue that, “most civil rights legislation and court cases focused on giving African Americans the same opportunities as whites to achieve in a white-dominated society. Under such policies, blacks were suddenly unshackled and then expected to compete in a contest in which whites had a 200-year head start, a contest for which whites had written the rules and constructed the meaning of ‘merit’ on their own terms” (pg. 2).

Conversely, the work of Derrick Bell (1992) is often cited to highlight the lack of linear progress in civil rights. He argues that in the United States a subordination of Blacks persists, in fact he calls it “a pattern of cyclical progress and cyclical regression” (p.98). There have been campaigns in the past that have encouraged an exodus of Africans Americans to return to their homeland as a response to the pervasive racism in America. Have African-Americans ever felt equal in White America? Bell (1987) documents that “Garvey himself had told blacks that racial prejudice was so much a part of the white civilization that it was futile to any sense of justice or

high-sounding democratic principles” (p. 38). Was he right? Would there ever be a society in which racism would be totally eradicated?

A reason why a social divide exists is explained by Bell’s (1987) theory of “the dominant circle.” Members of this well to do circle blame ethnic minorities as the culprit in not allowing them to ascend to an upper status. They ignore the established policies designed by the dominant group to bar ethnic minorities from upward mobility. Bell goes further and declares that African Americans have always been used as a sort of buffer or scapegoat, destined to be at “the bottom of the well” (Bell, 1992.) Whites have bonded together with an unspoken rule allowing them to reap the benefits of racism, in which, regardless of their ancestry, economic class, and even immigration status they have an advantage. (Bell, 1992; Crenshaw, 1988; Douglas 1952; Ellison, 1986; Morrison, 1989).

Wilson (2001) argues that White conservatives, based on their subtle racism, still think of African Americans and Latinos as undeserving of economic aid due to their laziness and lack of effort to climb the economic ladder. Unfortunately, Africans Americans in poor neighborhoods think the same of Latinos based on their immigration status, especially when undocumented. Prejudice is a common reaction by certain dominant groups to exert control over other groups that are regarded as a threat (Zarate, Garcia, etl. 2004). In response, Wilson (2001) and Silva-Bonilla (2008) propose that subtle racism or color-blind racism must be confronted and challenged in every social space in order to achieve multiracial cooperation.

The lack of social, economic, and political achievement by African Americans has transformed into frustration. This frustration multiplies when they are faced with Latinos entering the same spectrum of competition, thus resulting in the previous community blaming the new immigrants instead of blaming the system that has set up this unequal system. In the

end, though, what separates these two ethnic communities comes down to their struggle to overcome poverty and racism.

Wilson (2001) argues that it will be counterproductive to address the growing racial tensions between African Americans and Latinos if we do not deal with the problems of institutionalized racism, limited revenue, inadequate social services and unemployment. In urban neighborhoods, Latinos and African Americans are left to compete, often along racial lines, for the limited resources such as the remaining decent schools, housing, and health care facilities. Overall, these factors complicate intercultural competence and racial tensions intensify. Wilson (1991) is in accordance with Hampden and Turner (2000), as they both believe an ideal time to build a multiracial competence is during economic prosperity.

Institutional Practices and Policies: Why are Latinos A Threat to African-Americans?

During economically difficult times, racial antagonism is strong. There are some politicians who also point to immigrants as the culprit of economic recessions, which creates a negative resentment among minorities. First world societies define winners and losers based on the economic meritocracy theory. If one ethnic group is more successful, the success is attributed to their effort and determination and the loser is regarded as lazy, uninterested, and conformist. The theory of meritocracy generates mistrust, envy, and jealousy when a new immigrant arrives in a community and is more successful than the native. What is not often mentioned is that one ethnic group might have had an advantage over another ethnic group; in other words, it was never an equal field with which they started. Thompson and Turner (2002) refer to this ideology as ascribed status. This type of behavior modeled by the “winners take all” theory in society creates or perpetuates a sense of anger towards the minority that succeeds economically.

In 2012, a study on labor abuse toward migrant workers, by sociologist Sheldon Zang from San Diego State University, found that 31% of migrant workers in San Diego County faced labor abuses. Zang (2012) stated that unscrupulous employers, due to their undocumented status, often exploited immigrant workers. The migrant workers became an easy target for employers to traffic, physically and sexually abuse, underpay, and perform dangerous jobs without proper equipment. Furthermore, migrant workers rarely reported such abuses to authorities because they were afraid of being deported. This type of data defies the myth that Latino immigrants are taking desirable jobs away from native U.S. citizens.

Allport (1979) discusses how immigrants are often criminalized in the media and blamed for social ills, and are rarely acknowledged in terms of their enormous cheap labor, and their cultural and economic contribution to American society. Dominant groups will even fabricate myths about the minority group in order to sustain and justify their exploitations. When it comes to social hierarchy stages, African communities might despise immigrants because they feel they are below them for not speaking English, are undocumented, and for believing that they are reaping social benefits.

Supporting Allport's theory, Tajfel (1981) and Staub (1989) both argue that individual frustration easily leads to blaming others not as individuals, but as groups. An individual will rely more on scapegoat stereotypes than formulating opinion of individuals. Blaming others is generally aimed at groups that are easy targets due to their weak political, social, or economic influences. On the other hand, ethnic minority groups that are economically, socially or politically powerful can also be blamed, due to envy and resentment for being more influential than the dominant group. Two examples of communities that clashed causing the minority to be resented are the Armenians during the Ottoman Empire and the Tutsi minority in Rwanda. Both

of these groups were minority regarded as having higher status and benefitting from others, both were persecuted and suffered genocide (Adanir, 2001; Kiernan, 2001; Punier, 2001).

The *Social Dominance Theory*, as explained by Bell (1987), is the desire to bring back a perceived higher status that might no longer exist. They resort to scapegoating to restore their social dominance. African Americans feel threatened or frustrated when their population is visibly diminishing and their communities are physically changing. They long to restore their dominance in numbers and when threatened by an increasing population of Latinos, they resort to scapegoating and adhering to right wing anti-immigrant sentiments (Sidanus and Pratto, 1999).

According to Hampden-Turner (2000), people must aspire to be at the top level of principal and conscience orientation. At this level they will understand a moral commitment to social justice that will enable them to unite with Latinos, or other groups, in order to enact harmonious progress instead of destroying themselves through separation and animosity. Marginalized communities must understand that they are treated as inferior by the dominant White elite society.

Sociocultural Patterns & Structures

This section of the literature review examines the promise of building intercultural competence between Latinos and African Americans in order to achieve social, economic and political progress. According to Wilson (1999) only a sociopolitical coalition can move African Americans and Latinos forward in this country. Building a political coalition is one important step, but a social and cultural coalition must be built as well. Hampden and Turner (2000) emphasize that “intercultural competence can be achieved by recognizing cultural differences, respecting them, and ultimately reconciling them” (p. 349).

The work of anthropologist Ruth Benedict is often cited in the literature to explain cultural patterns of different communities and the benefits of what she called cultural relativity. Benedict (1934) developed a theoretical framework that states that in order to best compare the cultural patterns that would highlight commonalities of two different cultural groups, there is a need to evaluate cultures in relation to each other. Benedict discusses interest convergence among different cultures and claims that, “what really binds men together is their culture – the ideas and the standards they have in common” (Benedict 1934, p.16). The social identity theory by Tajfel and Turner (1979) emphasized the benefit of individuals embracing the collective identity of the groups with which they identified. Under this theory individuals sought the identity of the groups that are valued in society.

Allport (1979) in his classic book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, recommends a basic formula of integration or racial accordance based on four principles: equal status, common goals, institutional support, and a perception of common interests (Dovidio, 2005). Intercultural competence benefits by: working together in making the community more powerful, resolving conflicts that drains and impedes individual and group energies, reconciling dilemmas, and transforming conflicting values into complementary values (Hampdem and Turner, 2000). Conversely, under the framework of *critical race theory*, Derrick Bell’s work suggests that a method of cultural unification and a way to challenge racism and the status quo is based on storytelling; valuing our own stories as a form of identity that is adequate, and original forms of resistance (Bell, 1987, 1992 & 2000). According to the literature on intercultural collaboration there are several opportunities in which Blacks and Latinos can collaborate and unite to improve their social and economic conditions.

Communitarism and Intercultural Collaboration

According to Sue (2003), what promotes a super ordinate goal for a multi-ethnic community is identifying a common enemy. The common enemy for Latinos and African Americans is poverty, racial inequality, the prison pipeline complex, education drop out rates, and the lack of relevant curriculum such as ethnic studies. Sue (2003) questions what it would be like if we built towards a common goal among African American and Latino communities? Sue (2003) argues that regardless of racial lines, if two groups do not share the same goals or see eye-to-eye the chances of working together are poor. Conversely, if we promote early on, through our societal institutions such as schools, popular media, and social cultural groups, that as a society there is a commitment to build multicultural competence, Latinos and African Americans will be better off socially and economically. If common goals are established then social conditions within communities can begin to improve, a theory Sue (2003) identifies as a *Super Ordinate Goal*. Wilson (2001) offers consistent examples that highlight how some organizations that work in urban multi-ethnic communities, when building coalitions, deviate from naming social problems as race specific. They do this because such actions create marginalization among different ethnic communities. Instead the researchers, Sue (2003), Telles (2011), and Vaca (2004), suggest that being objective when addressing social problems, such as poverty, unites and takes the burden of subjectivity by being race specific.

Wilson (2001) claims that it was during the economic prosperity of the 1960's that affirmative action programs began to be discussed and implemented. The idea being that in times of prosperity, generosity grows. Therefore, naming issues like affirmative action creates an interest from both marginalized groups since the struggle is against institutionalized racism, thus a potential starting point of unity when addressing the lack of African Americans and Latinos in higher education. On the other hand, Kahlenberg (1996) argues that affirmative

action should be based not on race, but on class. Poor people are multi-racial and would rally together to correct social injustice and create genuine opportunity for all. Yet, Karabel (1998) argues that affirmative action based on economic need will not remove the issue of a lack of African Americans and Latinos in higher education and it will also exclude the middle class of these two groups. He concludes that these two races are already heavily misrepresented in higher education.

Bell (1987) further asserts that in order to join with other oppressed groups, blacks must decolonize their minds, learn their history, and regain their identity. A multicultural education that values democratic schooling and promotes cultural identity will uncover racist ideologies and naturally challenge biased notions and stereotypes. In considering how education can liberate us from institutionalized racism, Derrick Bell declares that, “education leads to enlightenment. Enlightenment opens the way to empathy. Empathy foreshadows reform. In other words, that whites –once given a true understanding of the evils of racial discrimination, once able to feel how it harms blacks- would find it easy, or easier, to give up racism” (Bell, 1992, p.150).

The concept of community collaboration sometimes clashes with an existing practice of individualism, one that primarily relies on competition in the educational, economic, and cultural institutions of our society (Allport, 1979; Dovidio, Glick and Rudman, 2005). The problem of established individualism, Darwinism, or a meritocracy ideology is that they stem from our educational system. Early on we are taught to basically compete against each other. This concept is exemplified in the standardized machine. African American and Latino students based on their standardized multiple choice testing ability are ranked as advanced, proficient, basic, below basic or far below basic on school assessments. The school as a whole

is measured based on its Academic Progress Index (API) against all the other schools. Schools in urban cities where the majority of the student body are either Latinos or African Americans are often ranked in the bottom and labeled as low performing (Ravitch, 2010, 2013; Spring, 2011).

Hampden-Turner (2000) goes further and states that, “what makes the society communitarian is the belief that such gains originate in shared knowledge, communal values, and mutual supportiveness” (Hampden-Turner, 2000, p.69.) According to Hampton and Turner (2000), the notion of one race just caring for its own and ignoring others is described as individualism versus communitarism conflict, this being a major problem for any society. Therefore, based on this notion, it is obvious that the African American community is threatened when a large population of Latinos continue to move into their neighborhoods. This social conflict of individualism versus communitarism begins in our schooling experience, and only a relevant culturally proficient education could diffuse the dilemma of Darwinism embedded in our American culture.

Hampden-Turner (2000) also cautions that a society without any moral and communitarism values might under invest in education. This might explain why schools in poor areas are always underfunded, experience higher rates of expulsion and dropouts, and attract inexperienced educators and fewer college ready graduates. As opposed to schools in wealthy neighborhoods where competition is high and most students possess the social capital needed to succeed; school there becomes a stepping-stone, their futures have already been planned out (Laureau, 2003; Stanton-Salazar, 2001).

Synthesis

In a world of limited resources and economic depression, competition and prejudice amongst different races will likely occur. As outer groups like Latino immigrants increase in size or deviate from the norms of the in-group, African-Americans, by holding on to their own culture, customs, and languages, a sense of uncertainty, mistrusts and competition arises. Also, the in-group will support any policies or legislation to maintain the status quo or vice versa. Voting data shows that the majority of African Americans favored anti-immigrant propositions like 227 and 187 in California (Fiske, 2002.) Traditional backwards ideologies resurface when a dominant group is in competition with another group. Also, the use of media and campaigns of fear are common when competition or a real threat is taking place. In order to maintain the status quo and hold onto the majority of resources, a perception is disseminated that resources are scarce, and thus competition ensues (Allport, 1977; Telles; 2011).

In the United States, the concept of multi-identity is not always rewarded and yet assimilation is encouraged, and only accepted if one forges one's own identity, culture, and language (Espinoza, 1994.) This can be used to describe the reluctance of Latinos speaking English, as well as the animosity held by blacks towards Latinos for not speaking English. There is a misconception that since Latinos are not black, they do not share the same social issues, but in fact Latinos and Blacks have more similarities than differences. Both groups have struggled and continue to struggle in American society. Both have been shunned from history books and have faced oppression since the day they stepped on American soil or, for some Mexicans, when their soil became American land after 1848. Currently most urban schools are composed of Black and Latino students (Ravitch, 2010; Telles, 2011; Stanton-Salazar; 2003).

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

This study utilized descriptive statistics to examine the demographic shifts of a district that is predominantly comprised of Latino and African American students in San Diego County, California, over a 45-year period. Qualitative methods were employed to examine the social dynamics (political, social, economic and educational) that have taken place in the mostly ethnically diverse community. The ethnically diverse community selected for the study is made up of primarily African American and Latino residents. It is an urban community in San Diego that has experienced a significant demographic shift, particularly in terms of the ethnic make-up of residents (African American to Latino) over the last 50 years. Based on the work of such intercultural researchers as G. Allport, (1954); E. Telles & V. Ortiz, (2008); D. Bell, (2004); R. Delgado & Stefancic, J., (2000); Grant-Thomas, A. & Orfield, G. eds. (2009); P. Gandara (2009); C. Hampden-Turner, C., (2000); Madrona, M., (2007); Sue, D.W. (2003), theoretical concepts have been identified and used to examine and analyze the ethnic shifts in the selected ethnically diverse community.

Furthermore, the indigenous practice of *narrative medicine* was used in the form of semi-structured interviews. Developed by Lewis Mehl-Madrona (2007), *narrative medicine* asserts that the best way to understand a person's stories of lived experiences is through narrative philosophy, which allows different stories and cultures to co-exist and find common ground. His practice is based on research of ancient cultural practices found in traditional Native American practices, Latino practices, Chinese medicine, and African medicine. Madrona uses a framework based primarily on the following four questions that force the individual to tell his or her story:

(1) *Who are you?* (2) *Where did you come from?* (3) *What are your responsibilities?* (4) *Where are you going?* As a starting point of conversation, Mehl-Madrona (2007) asserts that these four questions are the foundation to push the individual participant to tell his or her story and develop and identify his or her identity. These four questions will be used at the beginning of the semi-structured interviews in order to identify common identity trends and offer the participants the space to begin the process of identifying events that either hinder or promote intercultural relations between African Americans and Latinos.

Narrative medicine promotes a healthy dialogue that is oriented towards healing psychologically angry sentiments that might have been sustained by residents in the community over the years, due to the changing socio-political conditions of their communities. To document the narratives, selected African American and Latino community stakeholders and leaders were asked to share stories that would help to shed light on how they perceive community relations have changed over the years. The narratives provide a conceptual space of dialogue that will uncover any intercultural misconceptions and will find a course of action of not only intercultural healing, but also help to identify areas of tension. Additionally, the narratives will allow participants to engage in an action plan to unite the African American and Latino communities that reside in the selected political district.

Research Design

The main question guiding this study is: What role do demographic shifts, socio-political legislation, institutional policies, and interest convergence play in understanding and promoting intercultural conflict or collaboration in a school community that was once highly populated by African American and has shifted to a Latino majority community?

From this guiding research question, there are five sub-research questions (SRQs) that are examined that each correspond to the proposed conceptual framework presented in Chapter 1:

SRQ 1: What have been the demographic and sociocultural characteristics in a selected school community that has been perceived as predominantly ethnically diverse by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 50 years?

SRQ 2: What socio-political conditions have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?

SRQ 3: What federal and local policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?

SRQ 4: What have been the areas of intercultural conflicts/tensions and collaboration in the selected school community over the last 50 years as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?

SRQ 5: What are the scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions and/or collaboration that can unite (Latino-African American) residents of the selected community?

Description of Data Sources, Interview Approaches

This research study employed the use of naturalistic or qualitative methods based upon participant observation, semi-structured interviewing, and non-statistical methods of analysis and reports. The qualitative research methods also combined semi-structured one-on-one and focus interviews with ethnographic field research notes. Among the data sources used were:

U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau's mission is to serve as the leading source of quality data about the nation's demographics, disseminating regional characteristics by race,

gender, educational attainment, and income. Data is accumulated through population and housing data, which is collected every 10 years, as well as economic census data gathered every 5 years. Data by region and by Congressional District is used to make decisions about what government services to provide communities and for analyzing growth patterns used for planning decisions, such as where to provide services for the elderly, where to build new roads and schools, and where to locate job training centers.

CBEDS. The California Basic Educational Data System (CBEDS) is an annual data collection administered in October. CBEDS data are reported through an Online Reporting Application called CBEDS-ORA. The purpose of CBEDS is to collect information on student and staff demographics. There are two separate forms used to collect these data. The *County/District Information Form* (CDIF) is used to collect data specific to district and county offices, focusing on the number of classified personnel, estimated number of teacher hires, and high school graduation requirements.

SANDAG. The San Diego Association of Governments (**SANDAG**) provides demographic data that includes population characteristics such as age, education, and employment. SANDAG develops annual demographic estimates and long-range forecasts in addition to maintaining information from the U.S. Census Bureau.

Semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviewing is an overarching term used to describe a range of different forms of interviewing; it is most commonly associated with qualitative research. The defining characteristic of semi-structured interviews is that they have a flexible and fluid structure, unlike structured interviews that contain a set sequence of questions to be asked in the same way of all interviewees. The configuration of a semi-structured interview is usually organized around an aide memoire or interview guide. This interview approach

contains topics, themes, or areas to be covered during the course of the interview, rather than a sequenced script of standardized questions. The aim is usually to ensure flexibility in how and in what sequence questions are asked, and in whether and how particular areas might be followed up and developed with different interviewees (Mason, 2004). This study used a ten-question semi-structured interview process that parallels the areas of the conceptual framework found in Chapter 1. The questions are found in Appendix A.

Focus group. A focus group is a form of qualitative research in which a group of people are asked about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes towards a product, service, concept, or idea. Questions are asked in an interactive group setting where participants are free to talk with other group members.

Table 1 illustrates the interrelationship of the proposed research questions focusing on the concepts and authors whose research is embedded in the study design, the participants, and the expected outcomes.

Research Question Focus	Constructs & Researchers	Participants N	Data Sources	Expected Outcomes
1. Demographic and socio-cultural characteristics.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity Ethnic Shifts • Displacement (Orfield; Bell) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 African American & 6 Latino Community leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. Census Bureau • CSDE Dataquest • SANDAG 	Patterns & description of demographic population shifts by ethnic diversity over 50 year period
2. Social political conditions in the selected school community that have hinder or promoted race relations and development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social integration • Social inequality • Race relations conflict & collaboration (Delgado; Gandara & Contreras) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 African American & 6 Latino Community leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interviews • Narratives from 12 community leaders using narrative medicine approach (storytelling) 	Identification of social political conditions over time and events that have hindered or promoted race relations and community development

3. Federal, state and local policies and practices have hinder or promoted race relations and development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to opportunity• Prejudice• Due Process & Equal Protection (Allport; Bell; O'Malley & Delgado) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 African American & 6 Latino community leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SANDAG • Semi-structured interviews • Narratives from 12 community leaders using narrative medicine approach (storytelling) 	Identification of Federal, State, and Local policies over a time that have hindered or promoted race relations and community development
4. Intercultural conflicts, social tensions and collaboration in the selected school community.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intercultural conflict • Socio-economic, political tensions • Educational access (Orfield; Allport; Bell; O'Malley & Delgado) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 African American & 6 Latino community leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SANDAG • Semi-structured interviews • Narratives from 12 community leaders using narrative medicine approach (storytelling) • Content analysis of 16 narratives • Focus groups 	Identification of participants' level of social consciousness about explicit and implicit intercultural conflicts, tensions and collaboration among Latinos and African Americans over a period of 50 years.
5. Scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions and/or collaboration that can unite (Latino-African American) residents of the selected school community.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interest Convergence • Communitarism • Super Ordinate Goal • Equality of access & advocacy (Bell; Hampden-Turner; M. Madrona; W.D Sue) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 6 African American & 6 Latino community leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SANDAG • Semi-structured interviews • Narratives from 12 community leaders using narrative medicine approach (storytelling) • Content analysis of 12 narratives • Focus groups 	Identification of three possible scenarios as derived from community leaders that yield the conditions for intercultural collaboration: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WIN/LOSE • LOSE/WIN • WIN/WIN

Table 1. Research approach in the examination of a selected ethnically diverse school community from 1960 to 2010+

Description of Research Process

The research process followed a ten-phase approach (see figure 2) that consisted of first identifying a list of individuals from ethnically diverse experts in the field (Phase I) who have worked and followed the selected community over the last 40 to 50 years. These individuals were asked to provide criteria for nominations of possible participants to be interviewed who could bestow insights into the selected community (Phase I). The second phase (Phase II) consisted of requesting the community elders/experts to identify individual African American and Latino community stakeholders who have followed the selected community over the last 30 years, at a minimum, and who met the set criteria. The third phase (Phase III) consisted of putting together a list of community stakeholders who had been nominated by experts in the selected community using a set criteria for their selection (6 African American and 6 Latino), thus deriving at a list of suitable stakeholders. Phase IV consisted of contacting the selected stakeholders and requesting their participation and/or consent. Phase V was used to get the approval and consent of the selected stakeholders and schedule interview appointments of one to three hours with each individual. Phase VI consisted the conducting of a semi-structured interview with each of the 12 selected stakeholders over a period of two months and, later, transcribing said interviews. Phase VII consisted of sending the written interview transcript to the participants for editing, clarification, or deletion of their statements, thus demonstrating their approval in order to respect their voices and verify the authenticity of their opinions. Phase VIII involved receiving the stakeholders approved and corrected transcripts and proceeding to analyze the transcripts using coding and content analysis techniques in order to identify common themes. Phase IX consisted of data analyses. Various techniques on content analysis were used to identify the salient themes derived from the interviews conducted with the 12 community leader

participants. Finally, Phase X consisted of a focus group (3 African American and 3 Latino stakeholders) that was conducted in order to ascertain the possible scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions and/or collaboration that can work to unite the Latino-African American residents of the selected school community.

Phases

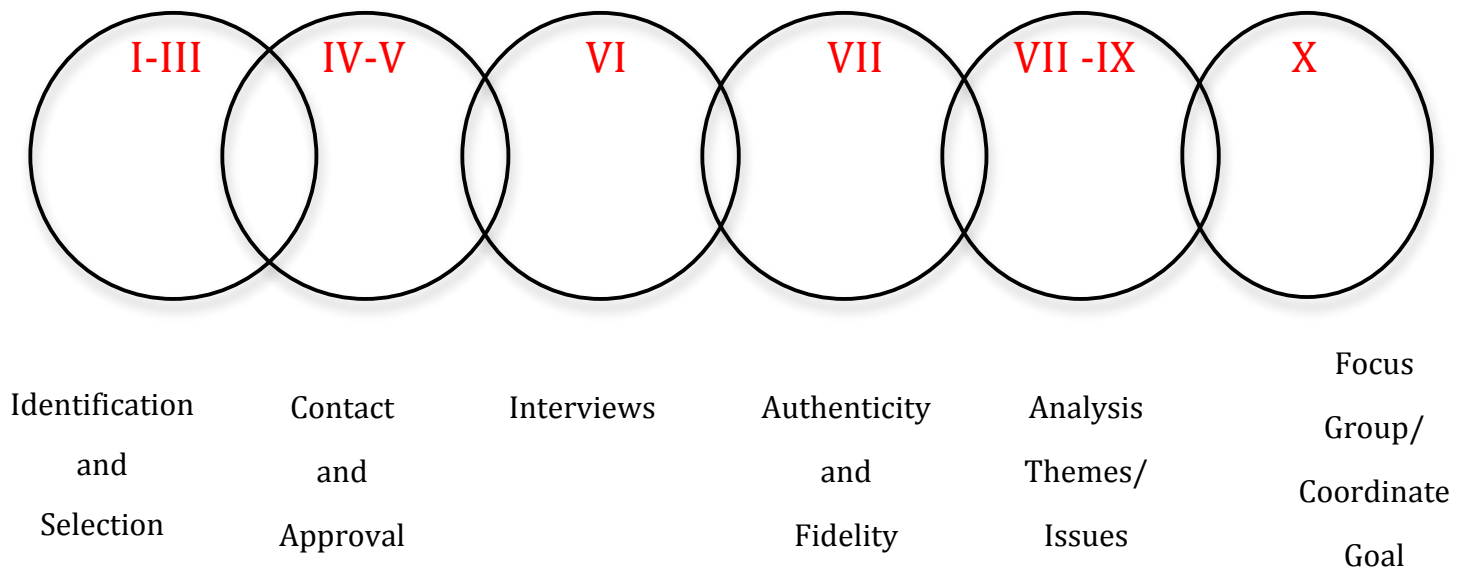


Figure 2. *Research Approach Graph*

Selection of Study Participants (Phase I to III)

The participants in this study were selected based on the criteria set by community elders and leaders who have internal and external respect and ongoing relations with the selected San Diego City District 4 community. These participants have a wealth of knowledge of the social,

economic and political history of the community for at least the last thirty years. Four elders and leaders (two African American and two Latino) were identified using the following criteria:

- They were recognized elders/leaders in San Diego District 4 because of their range of expertise in working in the selected community for more than 40 years.
- They demonstrated a balance of perspectives and judgments based on the sociocultural shifts of the selected community and recognized the importance of intercultural tensions and collaboration.
- They were screened for conflicts of interest, particularly concerning any political or financial or other interest which would conflict with their fair service within the selected community and to ensure there was no unfair competitive advantage for any ethnic group or person or organization.
- *Point of View.* The expert/elders are known for being respectful of different viewpoints and make it known that their opinions reflect their own views rather than those of a representative of any organization.

The selection of study participants followed a three-step process during Phase I to III of the research process to identify African American and Latino leaders:

Step 1. The identification of criteria for the selection six African American and six Latino community expert leaders who were knowledgeable and involved in the San Diego City District 4 community. The criteria included:

- a. Respecting and involving African American and Latino elders that *reside or have resided* in the selected community for at least 30 years.
- b. Respecting and involving African American and Latino elders that have lived or have worked in the selected community for at least 30 years and have participated in at

least one of the following sectors: *education, politics, business, law enforcement, religious, or medical* fields.

c. Respecting and involving African American and Latino elders that have demonstrated advocacy for *social equity* and have had at least 30 years of engagement as advocates for social justice, concerned about intercultural conflict between African Americans and Latinos and who were willing to work for intercultural collaboration.

Step 2. African American or Latino elders/experts with over 40 years of direct interaction with the San Diego City District 4 community nominated participants (African American and Latino) as candidates for the study based on their work and advocacy in the selected community.

Step 3. The identification of list of 15 African American and 15 Latino community leaders in the community, derived from Step 2, and validated by others leaders in the selected school community.

Contact and Approval (Phase IV-V)

After consulting with the four respected elders on the expert panel of community leaders, the compiled list of 30 community leaders served as the basis of prospective community leaders that would fit the criteria for participation in the study. A request to participate in the study was sent to the selected community leaders. From those contacted, the selection narrowed down to 6 African American and 6 Latino elders and leaders in the community who represented various professions and who were willing to sign the consent form to participate. The final step during this phase was to schedule the interviews at a location and time selected by each participant.

Interviews (Phase VI)

Consent Form. The 12 selected community leaders who have direct experience with the San Diego City District Council 4 communities were recruited from a list generated from

elders/leaders during the winter of 2013-14. Descriptions of the study consent form were provided to each selected community leader (6 African American and 6 Latino). The consent form is found in Appendix B. The participants were told both orally and in writing that participation in this study was voluntary and it was their choice whether or not to participate. In addition they were informed that they would be free to withdraw their consent and/or stop their participation.

Confidentiality. All research materials used in this study will be kept confidential to the extent required by law and will only be used for research purposes and to give a group summary of the findings. During the research process all records will be stored in a locked drawer, and computer records will be kept on a password-protected computer to maintain security. Upon completion of the research study, all paper and electronic files will be maintained for three years and then destroyed.

The 12 participants in this study were interviewed over a period of three months. The participants were given consent forms describing the voluntary status of this study and their guaranteed rights as participants. The researcher asked the participants if they wanted their names to be published or if they preferred their identity to be anonymous. They were also were given the opportunity to terminate their involvement at any time.

Each participant was interviewed using a one-to-one interview approach. The interviewer used a semi-structured questionnaire that included the guiding questions of the study. Interviewees read the questions exactly as they appeared on the questionnaire. The interviews, with permission from the participants, were recorded with a digital recording device without any time limit. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed with the full consent of the

participants. Follow-up sessions were also scheduled, when necessary, in order to clarify, gather any additional information, or attain participant feedback.

Approval of Transcript for Authenticity (Phase VII)

The participants' narratives were transcribed and written in five sections. Each of the sections were comprised of the participants' stories and opinions in the following format: *I.*

Background, this section provides a biographical sketch derived from Melh-Madrone's approach to narrative medicine in order to chronicle the participants' backgrounds, life experiences, responsibilities, and ultimately how they wanted their legacies to be remembered. *II.*

Demographic Shifts, this section provides the participants' descriptions and experiences with the demographic population shifts of the San Diego City District 4 community over the last 50 years.

III. Socio-Political Community Climate, this section chronicles the participants' identification of the socio-political conditions over time and events that have hindered or promoted race relations and community development. *IV. Social-Historical Context of the District 4 Community*, this

section describes the participants' observations of federal, state, and local policies that over time have hindered or promoted race relations and community development in the San Diego City Council District 4. *Section V. Social-Cultural Characteristics*, this section offers an in-depth

analysis of the participants' level of social consciousness about explicit and implicit intercultural conflicts, tensions, and collaboration among Latinos and African Americans over a period of 50 years in District 4. *VI. Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions*, this section demonstrates the

participant's experiences and observations of what socio-political scenarios in the community have caused tensions and conflicts between African Americans and Latinos in the San Diego City District 4 communities over a 50-year period. *VII. Intercultural Collaboration- Building*

Trust, this section proposes scenarios, as derived from the participants, which yield the necessary

conditions for intercultural collaboration in the San Diego City Council District 4. *IX.*

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African Americans in The Future, this section allows for the participants to predict, based on their experiences, what they see as future intercultural scenarios that would likely divide or unite African Americans and Latinos in San Diego City Council District 4. Lastly, *X. Concluding Thoughts*, this section offers an open opportunity for the participants to share any last thoughts on the subject.

The written narratives were sent to each participant for them to approve, or clarify anything that was not clear, or that was misinterpreted. The participants were also encouraged to add anything that they felt was necessary in order to authenticate their responses.

Analysis of Common Themes (Phase IX)

The data collected from the interviews was entered into a software program for content analysis. The content analysis process employed a software program called Dedoose to undertake the identification of indicators that would further describe the themes of the study. Dedoose is a software program for qualitative data analysis that allows the researcher to import and export data on observations and manage data to explore the multiple perspectives of the participants' data entries. The findings of this process are found in Chapter 6. Content analysis is a process for identifying and summarizing qualitative data primarily in the social sciences. Based on the collected data entries, the technique calls for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding.

Furthermore, the interview transcripts were analyzed using the conventional and summative approaches of interpreting data. In a conventional content analysis, coding categories are derived directly from the text data. With a directed approach, analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes. A summative content analysis involves

counting and comparisons, usually of key words or content, followed by the interpretation of the underlying context (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Focus Group and Super Ordinate Goal (Phase X)

The focus group approach was used at the end of the 12 interviews to check with the participants on the salient themes and findings of the study. The focus group consisted of three African American and three Latino community leaders who participated in the interviews and whose purpose was to review the findings and the proposed scenarios of intercultural tension/conflict and/or collaboration.

Focus group data provides the opportunity to analyze the strength with which an individual holds an opinion. If they are presented with opposing opinions or directly challenged, the individual may either modify their position or defend it. Bringing together all the comments that an individual makes enables the researcher to determine whether their views have changed in the course of discussion and, if so, further examination of the transcript may reveal which contributions by other focus group members brought about the change (Harding, 2013). The overall goal of the focus group That was conducted, was to bring the participants together to show the findings and bring about a super ordinate goal (mutually supported) for both the African American and Latino communities in order to create a win/win collaboration in the selected regional communities of the San Diego City Council District 4.

Profile of Study Participants

For the purposes of this study all 12 participants are identified by actual name in the study. All of the community leaders have been identified and a general profile of their backgrounds provided. All participants were interviewed in the winter and spring of 2013-2014. A brief profile of each of the participants is provided in *Table 2*.

	Gender	Race/ Ethnic Identity	Worked in SDC District 4 Advocate of Equity	Field of Expertise	Involved in social Justice SDCC District 4 years
1. Ernie McCray	Male	African American	YES	Educator, School Principal, Poet	45+
2. Carroll Waymon	Male	African American	YES	Educator, College Professor	45+
3. Ken Msemaji	Male	African American	YES	Labor Organizer, Community Activist	45+
4. Leon Williams	Male	African American	YES	Politician	60+
5. George Walker Smith	Male	African American	YES	Pastor, School Board Member,	60+
6. Agin Shaheed	Male	African American	YES	Human Relations, School Advocate	45+
7. Norma Cazares	Female	Latina	YES	Community College Educator	45+
8. Maria Garcia	Female	Latina	YES	Educator, Activist	45+
9. Linda & Carlos LeGrette	Male	Latina/Latino	YES	Community Organizers, Activist	50+
10. Luis Natividad	Male	Latino	YES	Politician, Community Activist	50+
11. Armando Rodriguez	Male	Latino	YES	Educator, Administrator	60+
12. David Valladolid	Male	Latino	YES	Political Activist, Parent Non-profit	45+

Table 2. African American and Latino Stakeholder Participant Profiles

Data Organization Analysis

Content analysis. Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique. Current applications of content analysis show three distinct approaches: conventional, directed, or summative. All three approaches are used to interpret meaning from the content of text data, hence, they adhere to the naturalistic paradigm. The major differences among the approaches are coding schemes, origins of codes, and threats to trustworthiness (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Interview Protocols

The questions utilized during the semi-structured interviews consisted of ten questions based on the five guiding questions of the study. Initially, the interview questions were modified so that questions were appropriate for each area of the study. More specifically, selected questions sought to understand how African American and Latino community leaders in the San Diego City Council District 4 described the conditions face by the selected geographical area, with regard to demographic ethnic shifts, socio-political legislation, institutional legal polices, and intercultural conflict or collaboration in an area that was highly populated by African Americans and has shifted to a Latino majority community (see Appendix A Interview questions).

The focus group was convened to reflect on the results of the study and to discuss the findings concerning possible mutual areas of interest or concern, which could ultimately identify a super ordinate goal (mutually supported) for both the African American and Latino communities. This goal could create win-win collaboration in the selected regional communities of the San Diego City Council District 4 (see guiding questions in Appendix A). The researcher conducted the focus group by first creating a comfortable space for discussion and explaining the

issue of confidentiality. The researcher asked questions and allowed the participants to respond.

The researcher stated:

It will be a fairly open discussion, so I will ask you to speak freely, but if you get too far off topic or if one of the participants begins to monopolize the conversation, I will politely ask to move on to the next question. At the end of the focus group I will ask you if you have anything else to add and explain that you can write it down if you have some ideas that you were not able to express within the focus group.

Credibility and Reliability

Establishing both credibility and reliability is crucial when conducting quality research that employs qualitative methods. Thus, all of the participants were provided with their interview transcripts to add, delete, modify, or clarify as needed to ensure the authenticity of their statements. Establishing credibility was necessary to demonstrate the internal validity, in that there must be a strong correspondence between the participants' perspectives and how the researcher portrays their viewpoints (Mertens, 2005). In efforts to establish credibility the researcher used prolonged and substantial engagement with participants, progressive subjectivity, member checks, and triangulation (Mertens, 2005). During the focus group, the researcher obtained the participants' perspectives during 60 to 90 minute sessions. During the focus group session, the researcher summarized and clarified statements to ensure that he was accurately captured the participants' voices.

Throughout the research process, the researcher also kept a journal of his thoughts, feelings, and reactions so as to better expose, acknowledge, and monitor his personal views and biases.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine, explore, and better understand the demographic shifts, socio-political legislation, institutional policies, and the intercultural conflict

or collaboration in the San Diego City Council 4 geographical area that was once highly populated by African American and has shifted to a Latino majority community over a 50 year period, using qualitative methods.

This chapter began with an explanation of the explanatory mixed methods research design used to explore this research question. This chapter continued with a description of the data collection process, instrumentation, and an analysis of the qualitative phases of the study. This chapter then concluded by discussing the confidentiality procedures employed during this study. The subsequent two chapters will detail the socio-political makeup of the San Diego City Council 4 geographical area and the 12 interviews that were conducted with six African American and six Latino community leaders using a ten-phase process for this study. Chapter Four specifically addresses the socio-political context of the study, while Chapter Five presents the qualitative voices of community leaders. Chapter Six addresses the overall pattern of findings, as they work to answer the main research question. Chapter Seven summarizes the findings of the study, implications, conclusions, and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 4

Demographic Context of District 4 of The San Diego City Council

“The old black community from Imperial Avenue has been replaced these days by Mexican immigrants. The neighborhood around my first church at 22nd and Market Streets speaks a different language. Houses have been covered with stucco and painted bright colors, and restaurants serve more tortillas than fried fish. Black families and businesses have moved east to Euclid Street, East San Diego, Lemon Grove and Spring Valley. In a way, it’s a shame. Black History is no longer centered in one place...”

—Reverend George Walker Smith, 2002.

Introduction

San Diego is one of the most popular and ethnically diverse cities in the United States; and has the nickname of America’s Finest City. Yet, the city has a history of social conservatism, while having a military presence, and a desirable climate. Geographically, it is a desirable vacation spot known for its beautiful beaches, casual atmosphere, healthy living, perfect weather year round, and many tourist sites, such as an amusement park, SeaWorld, and a world-class zoo. San Diego city is the 8th largest in the nation. In 2014, the population of San Diego is approximately 1,400,000 residents, with a population breakdown that is comprised of Whites/Euro-Americans (45%), Latinos (29%), Asians (16%), African Americans (6%), and other (4%). The city of San Diego is geographically and politically divided in nine districts (SANDAG, 2014). The San Diego City Council (SDCC) District 4, the second largest district has a population of 143,883. This urban area is referred to as Southeast San Diego and is ethnically diverse, with a majority of the population being Latinos, Asian, and African Americans. The community has experienced visible demographic shifts and tensions over the last 40+ years (SANDAG, 2014).

The context of SDCC District 4 will be described to demonstrate the changing demographics and the tensions that have come about as one ethnic group has replaced another. The most notable shift in ethnic make-up is one that points to the Latino population having had the fastest increase and the African American population having had the fastest decrease in San Diego. *Figure 3* illustrates the geographical boundaries of the communities of SDCC District 4 that is located on the Southeastern part of San Diego, California. This area is located between downtown San Diego to the West, Lemon Grove to the East, National City to the South, and City Heights to the North.

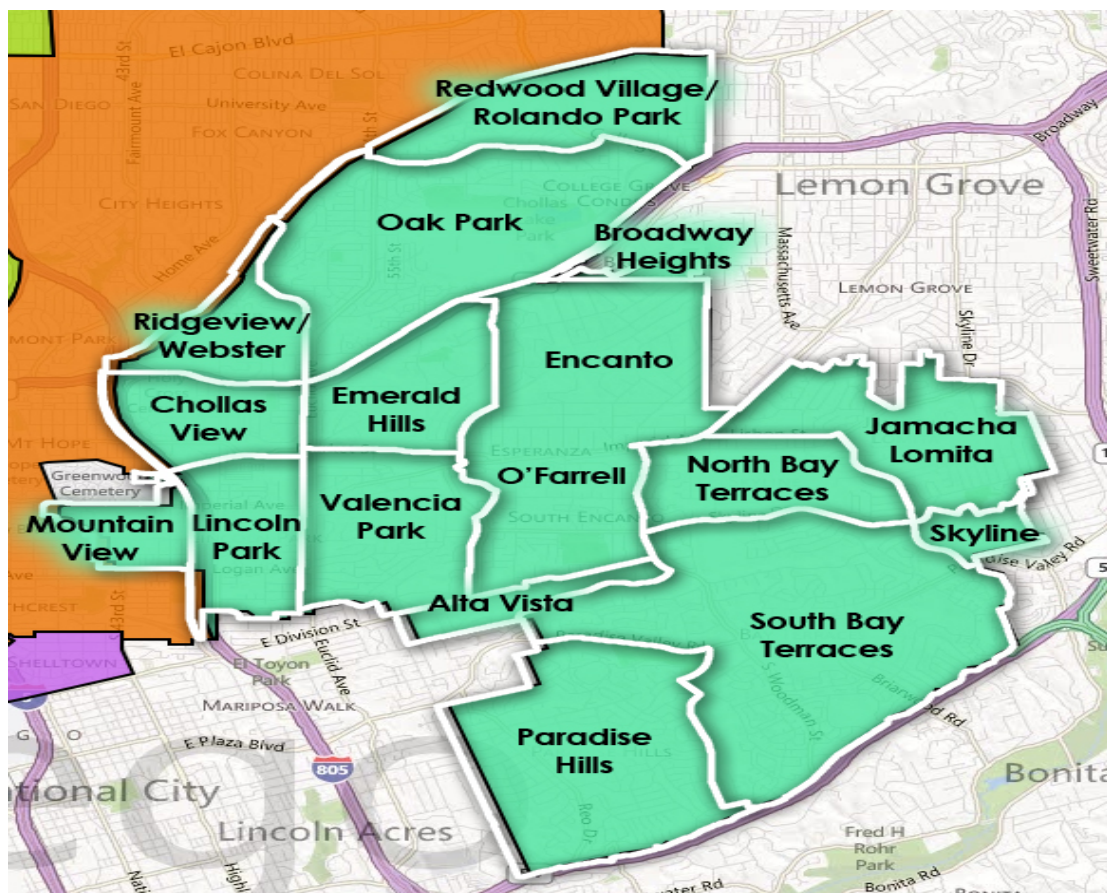


Figure 3. District 4 Geographical Map
(Source: www.sandiego.gov/citycouncil/cd4/communities/index.shtml)

Demographic Shifts and Trends of SDCC District 4: 50 Years

Southeast San Diego encompasses the Diamond Community neighborhoods, located in Southeastern San Diego's City Council District 4, with a diamond-shaped business improvement district as their core. The Community encompasses ten neighborhoods that surround the intersection of Euclid and Market streets. These neighborhoods are home to over 91,000 residents and include the communities of Chollas View, Emerald Hills, Lincoln Park, Mountain View, Mount Hope, North Encanto, Oak Park, South Encanto, Valencia Park, and Webster.

Overall, Southeast SDCC District 4 also covers Redwood Village, Rolando Park, Broadway Heights (north), Ridgeview, Mountain View (west), North Bay Terraces, Jamacha Lomita, Skyline (east), and Alta Vista, South Bay Terraces, and Paradise Hills (south).

Southeast San Diego is an economically marginalized community and is far from the glittery travel brochures that depict San Diego as America's Finest City. Furthermore, the SDCC District 4 has been the stereotypical urban sector in the region, which is often perceived as gang infested, violent and unsafe, plagued by poverty, drugs, poor academically performing schools, and, overall, the most undesirable part of the greater San Diego area. In the early 1990's, a councilman from District 4, George Stevens, proposed a name change for SDCC District 4 to Southeast San Diego. The main driving condition for the name change was that the area was associated with negative stereotypes most often used by the local media. According to longtime and respected Reverend George Walker Smith (2014), the SDCC District 4 had always been a transit community for people to begin their lives, before settling in what they perceive to be as better communities. Table 3 provides a 44- year (1970-2014) overview of the demographic changes in the SDCC District 4, reflecting the significant changes between the African American and Latino residents of the area.

Race	1970*	1980*	1990	2000	2010	2014
Latino	17,581 (17%)	25,002 (21%)	39,498 (28%)	54,788 (36%)	59,258 (42%)	63,163 (45%)
African American	30,941 (30%)	36,817 (32%)	42,624 (30%)	38,210 (25%)	27,386 (19%)	23,802 (16%)
White	48,819 (47%)	40,013 (35%)	29,610 (21%)	18,560 (12%)	16,873 (12%)	16,532 (11%)
Asian (Filipino, Indochinese, Chinese,)	5,168 (5%)	12,490 (11%)	30,701 (21%)	34,451 (22%)	34,214 (24%)	35,149 (24%)
Other (Mixed races or 2+ races)	319 (<1%)	561 (<1%)	974 (1%)	7,879 (5%)	5,045 (3%)	5,237 (4%)
Total	102,828 (100%)	114,883 (100%)	143,407 (100%)	153,888 (100%)	142,776 (100%)	143,883 (100%)

Table 3. District 4 Population Demographics Chart from 1970-2014

Data Source: Adapted and compiled from SANDAG, 2014.

**Data was obtained as regional form identified as Southeast San Diego, which resembles as close as possible the SDCC District 4 prior to 1980.*

Southeast San Diego increased in population during WWII, as San Diego was one of the major destinations for defense contractors, aircraft, shipbuilding and military jobs (Smith, 2002). During this era its population was mainly composed of Whites (Vaca, 2006). In late 1940's and early 1950's, federal courts' rulings allowed for African Americans to move into the above-mentioned communities, which changed the demographics of the SDCC District 4. Two U.S. Supreme Court cases in particular, *Shelley vs. Kraemer* (1948) and *Barrows v. Jackson* (1953), were of great importance to the change in demographics. The Shelley vs. Kraemer decision dealt

with racially restrictive covenants that were common at one time in many American cities. Many old deeds still contained these restrictions, though *Shelley v. Kraemer* made them unenforceable. Private discrimination in housing is now prohibited by the Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, as well as by statutes in most states and by ordinances in many municipalities as well. In *Barrows v. Jackson (1953)*, the Supreme Court ruled that a Los Angeles resident, Leola Jackson, could not be sued for damages incurred by her neighbors after she sold her house to African Americans, even though the real estate contract under which Jackson herself had purchased the property contained a restrictive clause forbidding its subsequent sale to nonwhites.

Both decisions began the undoing of racial covenants, and specifically, the racist practice of not providing and allowing access to housing for African Americans and persons of color in this southeast area of the city (Strauss, 2009). Soon after, the White flight took effect as white families moved to the north of the city and the county, and they either sold or rented their homes to middle class African American families.

By the end of the 1960's, and with the civil rights movement, the demographic shift in SDCC District 4 continued with Whites (47%) and African Americans (30%) becoming the majority ethnic groups and the Latino (17%) population increasing in numbers. In the 1970's, with White Flight causing Whites to move to the north of the city and county, Blacks began to increase and the White population began to decrease. By the 1980's, Whites became 35% of the total population, almost equal to Blacks who were 32% of the population. Eventually, by the 1990's African Americans surpassed the White population for the very first time becoming 30% of the population while Whites dropping dramatically to 21%. At the same time, the Latino population began to increase rapidly (28%), while the Black make-up was 30% of the population. By mid 1990's, and definitely by 2000's, Latinos easily surpassed the Black

population becoming 36% of the population, while the Black population decreased to 25% of the population. This trend has continued to the present day with Blacks accounting for 11%. Furthermore, it is estimated that Latinos will easily reach over 50% of the population by 2020 (SANDAG, 2014).

It is stipulated that the overall population decreased between the years of 2000 and 2010, by over 10,000 residents, due to the housing market crash and the nation's financial recession that began in 2007. Residents most likely moved out due to losing their homes or rent increasing. Interesting, the only ethnic population that did not decrease during this era were Latinos (SANDAG, 2014).

The Asian community increased from being 5,168 (5%) in 1970 to 30,701(21%) in 1990, of the total population, in a period of twenty years. This dramatic increase is attributed to the Vietnamese and Cambodian population that were displaced from their home countries and immigrated as refugees, due to the U.S. military intervention. Presently, the Asian community has maintained itself at about 25% of the population in SDCC District 4. It is also estimated that the category as "other" includes individuals who categorize themselves as mixed-race and two or more races, which can includes a mixed of African-Latino, African-Asian, etc.

Currently in 2014, SDCC District 4 has a small concentrated African American (16%) community within its geographical region, while Latinos have continued to increase becoming 45% of the population. Latinos now almost triple the number of Blacks in the SDCC District 4. A Black leader has represented the city council for District 4 since Leon Williams was elected in 1969, as the first African American to serve District 4 (Union Tribune, 2006). Although, the SDCC District 4 has experienced a decrease of its African population, a strong influence by the African American community persists. There has been an unspoken rule to allow African

Americans to run for this office and for Latinos to run for SDCC District 8 (Natividad, personal communication, 2014; Valladolid & Garcia, personal communication, 2014). As was previously mentioned, Latinos now comprise the majority of District 4's population and its numbers are increasing everyday, as, concurrently, the African American community is decreasing. Luis Natividad, staff member of the SDCC District 4 council under the administration of Myrtle Cole, states that the influential African American community is mostly older folks and they are losing its grip on community affairs. Natividad (2014) thinks that the older African American community is passing on their properties to their young kin, but it seems that the younger generation is opting to sell or rent out residences and move somewhere else. This movement is also contributing to the demise of the African American population in District 4.

Education and School Attendance Patterns in SDCC District 4

Gianzero (2011) in her report to the Jacobs Family Foundation and the Parker Foundation, provides the following overview of the areas schools:

As of 2011, 21 public and private schools, serving students in grades pre-K-12, were operating within these boundaries. Nineteen of these were public schools falling under the jurisdiction of the San Diego Unified School District (SDUSD); the remaining two were private schools. Together, these 21 schools serve a combined student population of 12,539 in 2010, only 220 (2%) of whom were enrolled in private schools. Most of the community's schools (12) are elementary schools serving grades K-5 or K-6. Five are K-8 schools, two are middle schools; one school serves grades 6-12, and the community's high school serves grades 9-12. Within the public schools, five are charter schools, and five are magnet schools. The Diamond Community has a larger percentage of students attending charter schools (20%) than the district as a whole (12%). Most of the charter school enrollment occurs at the secondary level, where 42% of students are in charter middle or 6-12 schools (6-7).

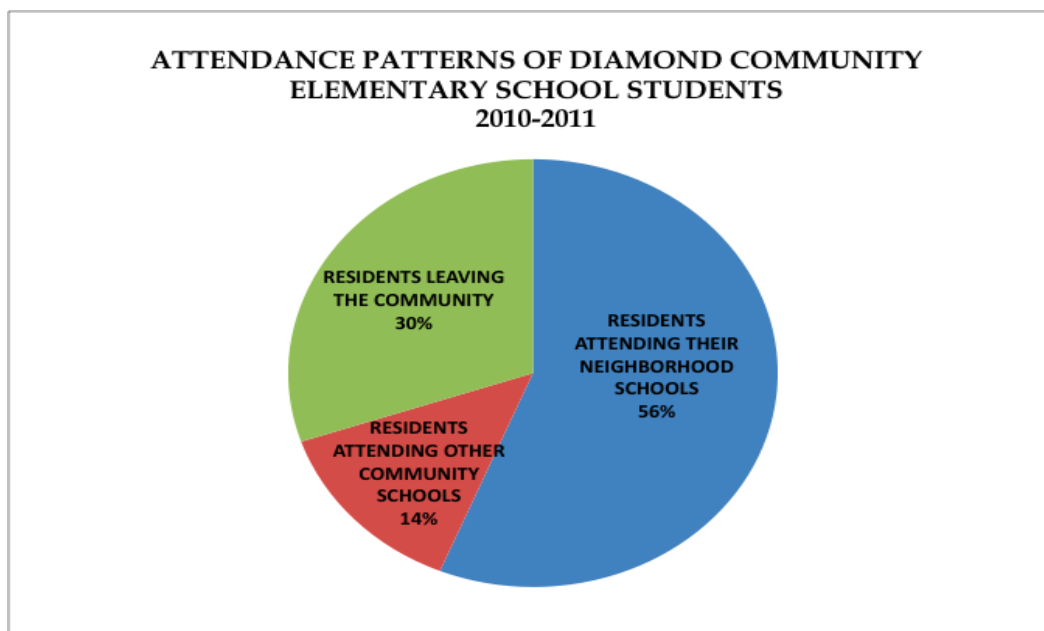
Parallel to the demographic shifts of SDCC District 4, in the early 2000's about 16,000 students attended school in the Diamond Community, the largest subset of District 4. In the fall of 2011, there are closer to 12,000 students, this trend corresponding to the overall declining enrollment in San Diego Unified School District. Most of the decrease in enrollment has

occurred at the elementary school level, where enrollment has dropped since 2001.

The school district's magnet and other school-choice programs enable students from outside the SDCC District 4 to attend community schools. Gianzero (2011) reported that:

Despite this option, the vast majority, between 70-88% of children attending neighborhood schools, actually reside within the community. Community leaders have long been concerned that many of the community's strongest students are using choice programs to attend higher-performing schools elsewhere in the district, depleting community schools of both positive role models and financial resources (8).

Figure 4, as reported by the SDUSD in 2010-11, does not capture change over time, but rather it suggests that at the elementary school level in 2010-2011, 56% of the SDCC District 4 residents chose to attend their assigned neighborhood school, while 14% elected to attend other schools within the community, and 30% of students attended elementary schools outside the region (Gianzero, 2011).



*Figure 4: Demographic Changes in Community Reflected in Student Population
(Source: SDUSD, Instructional Facilities Planning Department)*

At the high-school level, during the 2010-2011 school year, over 58% of students who were assigned to attend Lincoln High School by SDUSD chose to attend a high school outside

the SDCC District 4. Gianzero (2011) notes:

For those concerned about an exodus of students from the community high school, however, – it is worth noting that the total capacity at Lincoln High School is only 2,674 -- far fewer than the 5,239 students residing in the Lincoln attendance area (9).

Parents, administrators, and educators suggest that among the specific reasons why students leave community schools include teacher push, whereby teachers encourage some of their strongest students to consider certain schools outside the community. Furthermore, SDUSD has made transportation available to community students through a variety of school choice programs and NCLB mandates. Gianzero, (2011) in her research report states that:

For many parents, the bus ride across town is perceived as safer than the walk through dangerous streets to neighborhood schools. Other parents are deterred from sending students to neighborhood schools because of perceptions that neighborhood schools are less safe or provide an inferior education... the absence of a district-run middle school has also fueled the exodus of some students from the community to attend district run schools in other parts of the city or charter schools (10).

Figure 4 shows how demographic changes in the core community (Diamond area) are reflected in changes in the demographic composition of students in the neighborhood schools. Once again, one can see a rising Latino/Hispanic population and a decreasing African-American population. These changes place a premium upon teachers' abilities to understand and reach children and families from backgrounds and cultures that may be very different from their own (Gianzero, 2011).

Lincoln High School: A Microscopic Reflection of the Socio-Cultural Characteristics of SDCC District 4

Lincoln High School (LHS), built in 1955 is the local high school that serves the Diamond community, which is at the heart of SDCC District 4 and one of the oldest public schools in the city of San Diego. LHS has experienced a significant physical and demographic

change in the last ten years. Over the years, LHS has gone through major demographic changes, especially in its ethnic make-up of its student population.

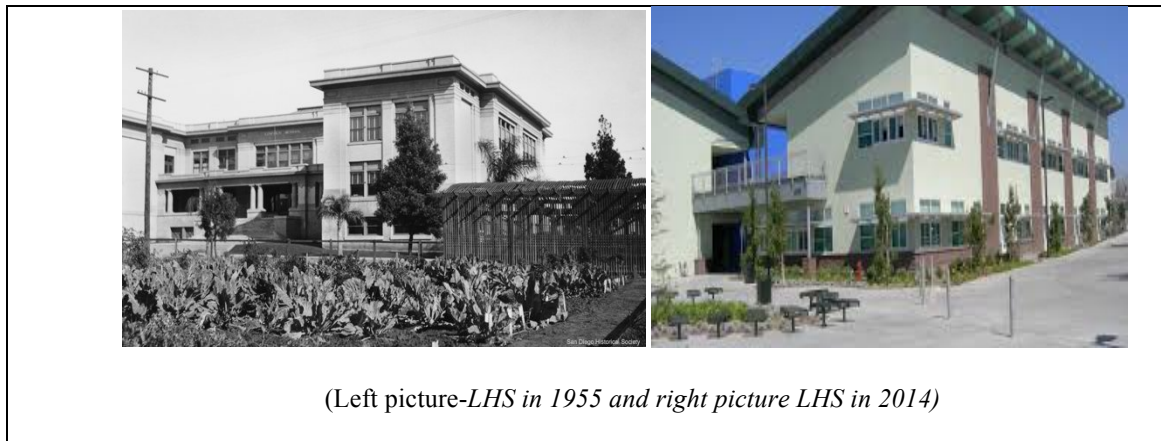


Figure 5. Lincoln High School Then and Now (Source www.kpbs.org)

Lincoln High School was closed in 2004 to rebuild a \$150 million campus. Traditionally, the name Lincoln High School yields the perception of a school that is distinguished for its sports. This is central to Lincoln's perceived culture, especially in football and basketball, mainly due to its multiple championships and outstanding alumni, such as pro football players Terrell Davis and Marcus Allen. The Hornet football and basketball teams are mainly composed of African Americans and have been recognized in multiple articles by local newspapers, which unites the local community, businesses, partnerships, and community leaders. Concurrently, the men's soccer team, which is composed mainly of Latino students, does not have a budget and shares old uniforms with the women's soccer team. In addition to uniting community members, sports unite many parents through information meetings and sports events. However, the majority of parents involved are African Americans, given the school's tradition and, therefore, the perception is that LHS is predominantly an African American school. For example, an interactive slide show created by The Union Tribune newspaper (2007) illustrated the rich history of Lincoln High throughout the last 15 years. This slide show informed the public about the winning record of the football team, the student activism of the 1970's and 1980's, and the

parents that were involved with the rebirth of the school. Unfortunately, the slide show only consisted of the African American student population and did not show the ethnic diversity of Lincoln's campus over the years and, specifically, the present diverse population.

To further illustrate the pattern of the changing demographics in the SDCC District 4, Table 2 presents the latest student demographics for the years 2007-2013. Among the Latino students, there are more low-income students and English-learners in District 4 schools than in the SDUSD as a whole. In addition, a slightly larger number of students receive Special Education services than in other schools in the district. Students from low-income families and those still learning English lie at the greatest risk of failing in deficient educational settings. The growth of the Latino population has coincided with an increase in the percentage of English learners in the SDCC District 4 schools, from 32% in 2000 to 42% in 2010. Meeting the needs of these students requires specific skill sets on the part of educators that are not present in the area schools (Gianzero, 2011).

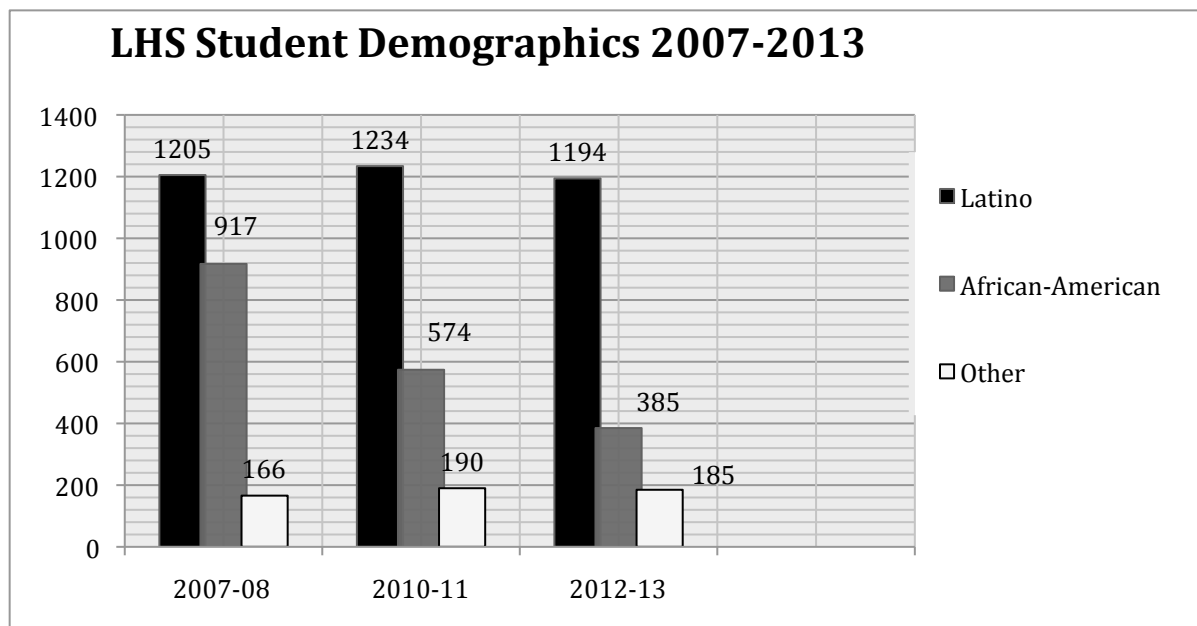


Figure 6. Lincoln High School Student Demographics
(Data Source: The California Basic Educational Data System (CBEDS))

In 2007, when LHS reopened, the school population was about 2,400 students and was composed of 50% Latinos, 40% African-Americans, and 10% other. As of Spring 2013, according to school records, the student population consists of 1,500 students, 62% Latinos, 28% African Americans and 10% other. In six years, a significant drop in the African American student body population has taken place, while the Latino student body population continues to increase. In 2012-13 the LHS enrollment was 1,766 of which 1,194 students (67%) were Latino/Hispanic and 21.8% (385) were African American (CBSED; Dataquest, 2013). The school has lost most of its African American population while Latinos have steadily maintained the majority. The school is not only a microscopic reflection of the socio-cultural representation of the community, but also a symbol of the African American community that is now losing its grip on its population and influence within the community.

Gianzero (2011) contributes the decrease of the African American community at Lincoln High School to many factors such as: parents busing kids out to other schools, due to the negative perspective people have of Lincoln High, the movement of African American families to the east part of San Diego as Latinos increase, the existing violence among our youth in our society, and the push out factor in our schools.

In regards to the academic achievement of students attending LHS, *Figure 7* provides a profile of the urgency to provide academic rigor in the SDCC District 4.

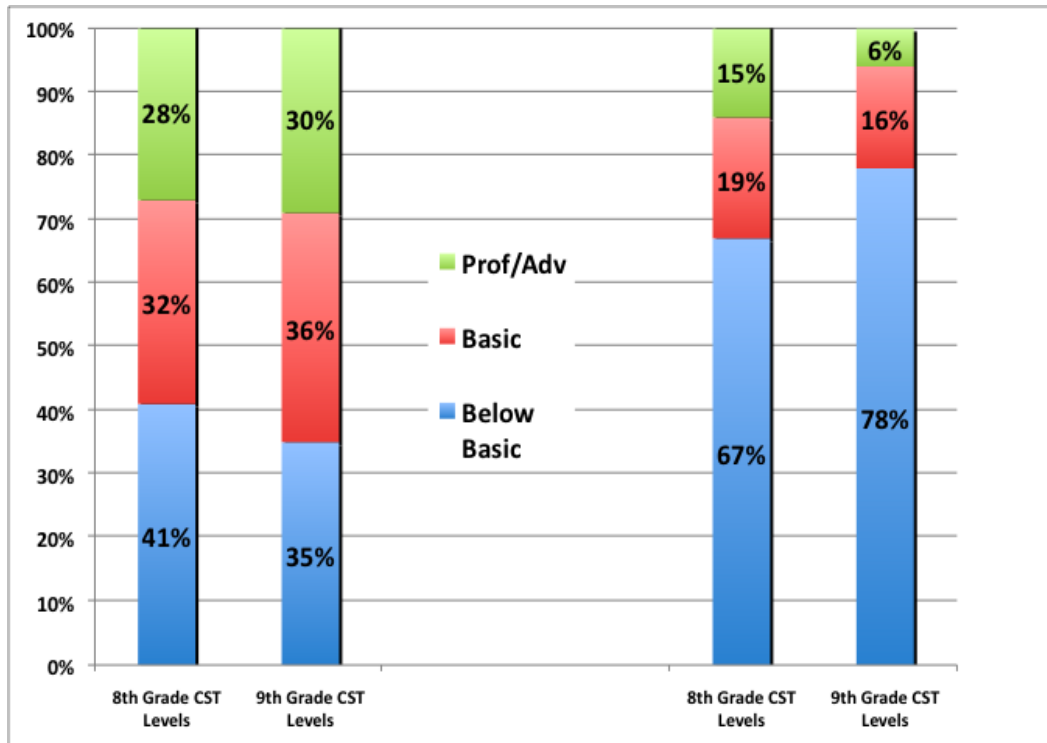


Figure 7. Performance of Lincoln HS Students Pre- and Post-9th Grade 2010-2011

When viewing the profile of LHS student achievement using the 2010-11 California State Standards academic performance at the elementary- and middle-school levels. Gianzero (2011)

notes:

It compares the standardized test scores of 9th graders who entered Lincoln in 2010-2011 at the end of 8th grade and then again at the end of 9th grade. Clearly, most students entered high school reading below grade level in ELA (English) (73%) and below grade level in math (86%). By the end of 9th grade, these students performed only slightly better in ELA and worse in math. These data do not, however, reflect a perfectly matched cohort of students, as the composition of 9th graders may have changed during the school year (p. 27).

Black and Latino Distrust of the San Diego Unified School District

SDCC District 4 community Black and Latino leaders point to a long history of distrust between the communities – particularly the African-American and Latino communities and SDUSD. Community leaders point to over 30 years of the school

district consistently ignoring community and educational needs. Institutional racism is a theme to which community leaders consistently point, as the district has historically made the SDCC District 4 community schools the dumping grounds for some of the worst teachers. Additionally, there is a lack of dedicated programs that match the linguistic and academic needs of ethnically and linguistically diverse students (Gianzero, 2011; Olivos, E.M., Jiménez-Castellanos, O. & Ochoa, A.M, 2011; Olivos & Ochoa, 2008; Ochoa & Raad, 1996).

In the case of Lincoln HS, since its reopening in 2007, there have been six different site administrators. Principals new to school sites have had to invest time in understanding the school culture, assessing its strengths and needs, and building trust among stakeholders, before they can successfully move an agenda for change.

Community discontent has been consistent over the past 15 years given the change in superintendents (five since 1996) and their respective reform agendas. Of concern to Black and Latino community leaders is the perceived lack of commitment to students who are ethnically and linguistically diverse. Gianzero (2011) reports that:

Principals, teachers, and counselors all referred to three groups of teachers on their campuses: those who cared deeply about their work (usually the largest group), those who once cared but who no longer do as a result of negative experiences, and the smallest group – those who have always viewed their work as little more than a paycheck. Racial tensions were apparent in comments shared by parents who felt that principals treated racial groups differently. Teachers expressed concerns that staff hired to work with parents reached only small groups of parents and inadvertently excluded others, causing resentment from both Hispanic and African-American parents. Students claimed that certain racial groups were more often blamed by school security for misbehavior. Principals related instances of resentment by certain parent groups that English-language learners were consuming inordinate resources (39).

While the discontent continues, both Latino and African American community leaders have kept the door open for progress. Though the lack of achievement impacts both

communities, Latino and African Americans collaborate to advocate for their students on selected issues. Also, independently, the educational leadership meets at least six times a year with the SDUSD superintendent to dialogue on issues pertaining to cultural proficiency, biliteracy, special education, parent engagement, school funding, a teaching force that is over 70% white and lacks diversity, access to academic rigor, and the achievement gap in the pursuit for educational access and opportunity for African American and Latino youth.

Chapter 5

African American and Latino Case Studies

Introduction

This chapter presents the case studies of the twelve selected stakeholders who have been engaged with the SDCC District 4 for the past 45 years. The case studies were derived from the interviews of twelve elder-community stakeholders who were selected to participate in this research study. The case studies are presented in the order in which the interviews were conducted. The case studies include six African Americans (all males,) whose professions are as follows: two educators, one politician, one community activist, one human relations activist, and one pastor. In the Latino group there were three women and three men, of which, three were educators, one was a politician and two were community activists. A brief profile of the participants' characteristics can be found in Table 3 in Chapter 3. The profiles describe their respective backgrounds and years of engagement in the communities of San Diego City Council (SDCC) District 4. The primary criteria for participating in the study for both African American and Latina/o stakeholders was their long term engagement in the San Diego District 4 communities over the last 45 years, and that they were identified as community leaders in the city of San Diego by their peers.

The guiding research questions of the study were as follows:

SRQ 1: What have been the demographic and socio-cultural characteristics in a selected school community that has been perceived as predominantly ethnically diverse by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?

SRQ 2: What socio-political conditions have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?

SRQ 3: What federal and local policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and community development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?

SRQ 4: What have been the areas of intercultural conflicts/tensions and collaboration in the selected school community over the last 45 years as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?

SRQ 5: What are the scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions and/or collaboration that can unite (Latino-African American) residents of the selected community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders who been involved in the San Diego City Council District 4 for over 45 years?

Based on the five guiding questions in the study, thirteen questions were developed and field-tested and used for interviewing the 12 stakeholders using a semi-structured interview process. The interview questions were correlated to the five guiding research questions (see Appendix A). The semi-structured interviews sought to understand how African American and Latino community leaders in the San Diego City Council District 4 perceived the conditions in the selected geographical area, focusing specifically on: demographic shifts in ethnicity, socio-political policies, intercultural conflict and tensions, and possible community scenarios for the highly populated SDCC District 4 which was once African American and has presently shifted to a Latino majority.

All of the interviews were transcribed and sent back to the participants to edit, add, and/or delete statements in order to capture the accuracy of their interview responses. Once each stakeholder gave approval their respective statements were placed in the following ten categories that correspond to the research questions:

- Background
- Demographic Shifts in SDCC District 4
- Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences in SDCC District 4
- Socio-Historical Context of the SDCC District 4 Community
- Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the District 4 Community

- Intercultural Climate of the in SDCC District 4
- Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the in SDCC District 4
- Intercultural Collaboration in the in SDCC District 4
- Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the SDCC District 4 Community
- Concluding Thoughts on the Past, Present and Future Conditions of the District 4 Community

What follows are 12 case studies six African American and six Latino community leaders. The order of the narratives is to provide the reader with background information, beginning with stakeholders Walker Smith, Rodriguez, Waymon, Williams who provide the early developments of African Americans moving into SDCC District 4.

Case Study 1: Reverend George Walker Smith

Case Study 2: Dr. Armando Rodriguez

Case Study 3: Dr. Carroll Waymon

Case Study 4: Honorable Leon Williams

Case Study 5: Honorable Luis Natividad

Case Study 6: Ken Msemaji

Case Study 7: David Valladolid

Case Study 8: Maria Garcia

Case Study 9: Ernie McCray

Case Study 10: Linda & Carlos LeGrette

Case Study 11: Norma Cazares

Case Study 12: Agin Shaheed

Case Study 1: Reverend George Walker Smith

Religious and Political Leader

Background

In San Diego, George Walker Smith is simply known as “The Reverend.” Reverend Smith was born in 1929 in Alabama and experienced the racism inflicted by the Jim Crow Era (laws enacted between 1876 and 1965 in the United States at the state and local level). He originates from a sharecropping family that mostly worked on farms owned by white families. To Reverend Smith, sharecropping gave the illusion of fairness, but as he describes it “Blacks were always powerless and helpless”. Reverend Smith served the San Diego community for over forty years as a religious leader, he sat on the San Diego School District Board of Education for sixteen years, and he was the founder of the active political club *The Catfish Club*. When asked about his early life he responded:

I’m George Walker Smith, 84 years old. In 1956, I arrived in San Diego, Golden Hill United Presbyterian Church, the only integrated church in San Diego at the time. At Golden Hill, I preached the social gospel and encouraged community activism for 44 years. I attended the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary School and interned at a predominately affluent, white church for three years and then came to San Diego.

I was the first African American to serve for 16 years on the San Diego City School Board of Education (1963-1979). In 1976 I also served as the president of the National School Boards Association. Among my involvement in social and civic activities, I also started the Catfish Club in 1970, which offered an opportunity for people of different backgrounds to come together and work for the common good and it has been going on for 44 years. The Catfish Club continues to hold forums and serves as a public forum for politicians and the community to voice their opinions on political and social issues.

When asked to describe San Diego and the social environment when he arrived to work in San Diego, he answered:

During our first years in San Diego, jobs for Blacks were available as doormen, bellmen, elevator operators, cooks, housekeepers and caterers. Some Black entrepreneurs had started small businesses along Imperial Avenue, the main street for the Black community. We were very interested in bettering our community lot. But most homegrown

businesses kept Blacks in menial positions. It was terrible employment condition for Blacks and Latinos.

Within a few years, I was on several boards and found myself being “the black board member.” It was important for me to have a seat. It brought me to seats of power that I would have never occupied and expanded my sphere of influence.

Even so, there were places in San Diego that still openly discriminated against Blacks, such as the gracious Lubachs Restaurant and the Luxurious Grant Grill, which also banned women from their tables.

When I bought my house, there were a few Blacks and mostly whites; it was the epitome of racism. There was no color allowed in many sector of the city of San Diego, and I love the challenge of it. I think there were about three Hispanic families when we moved to my present community and not too many Blacks, the rest were Whites.

This is why I bought this house; I wanted a view of the city...I’ve been in this house for over 50 years...

Demographic Shifts

Reverend Smith came to San Diego in a time when Whites were the majority of the residents in San Diego City Council (SDCC) District 4. When asked to describe the demographic characteristics in the SDCC District 4 community over the last 50 years, he answered:

There have been a lot of changes on the 4th district of the city of San Diego since I have been here. When I came here there was no city councilman that was Black. Blacks and Latinos have been absent from the city council.

Also, I noticed the white flight taking place a few years after I got here. In the 1960’s white flight took place and continued through 1990’s with the focus on school integration. In San Diego there hadn’t been any voices raised or protests before that. We were just happy to be thrown in any particular community and be treated like second-class citizens. Leon Williams was the first Black city councilman that replaced Tom Hom.

As white flight took place, in the southeastern part of the city, gradually a few Blacks began to move in. At that time the San Diego City Council fourth district began on 28th street, and every ten years with the demographic census the district lines were changed. But initially if you were Black you had to stay south of Market Street. That was the law because of covenants and even though our church was north of Market Street our home had to be south of Market Street. So most of the Blacks and Latinos could only live in the south part of Market Street and then as things began to changed through the court. Judge Alfred Montgomery ruled against the covenants of Emerald Hills and other communities, and as the Civil Rights movement progressed, things happened and White

people were moving out of the southeastern part of San Diego from the 1970's and on. The present area where Lincoln High School is situated was White at one time. We began to see the shift in the early 1980's and 1990's, and it proliferated in the early 2000's.

When mentioned about the school demographics surrounding Lincoln High School, Reverend Smith recalled the following:

Some has to do with the busing and the availability of educational choices; kids are chasing better schools in the terms of athletics and stuff like that. You started to notice the shift, Lincoln when it reopened they had about 100 kids or so when they closed and people had made their choices to go to other places, they were comfortable and it was difficult to bring them back.

When asked why has the African American community decreased in the District 4 he answered the following:

For better housing! You know that prior the 1950's you wouldn't find black people north of Market Street. And once blacks began to move in the Memorial area community things began to change, economically they thought that they were better than themselves. Everyone wants to better himself or herself and they felt that in order to get more descent housing it was better to move away from here.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

Reverend Smith was reluctant to run for public office primarily because of the racist social and political climate that existed in San Diego, but eventually he felt that it was time for African Americans to take the risk and begin challenging the status quo:

I had absolutely no desire to run for any office. Yet in the 1960's there were very few Blacks elected to any Commission or political office. In the south of our nation, Blacks were suffering beatings and other injustices just to register to vote. Perhaps it was time for me to take a risk. I had served on many boards with friends all over the city. San Diego was still riddled with racism, and I knew that there was no other Black who would stand a chance. So I decided to run for School Board of San Diego City Schools. So we went to work. Because San Diego was a racist town I did not put my picture on any of my campaign literature, nor would I go on television. In 1963 I was elected to the school board.

One of the first political coalitions in San Diego in which African Americans and Latinos joined together took place during a local convention in 1968 organized by the Blacks Oriental and Mexican Brothers (BOMB). When asked about the BOMB, he responded:

I knew about it, but I was not that much involved or an active participant. By 1970, the political scene in San Diego had opened up a bit. The scars of President's Kennedy's assassination, Robert Kennedy's assassination, Merger Evans and Martin Luther King Jr.' assassinations served to bring the community together and begin the healing of segregation and its divisive practices. Watergate had yet to rear its ugly political head, and hope was beginning to spring up in hearts of San Diegan's and the nation as the civil rights movement continued through progressive policies.

The San Diego District 4 community has always been split politically, which is unfortunate because Black and Brown should had been together long time ago for common causes, no matter what the political spectrum is or what party you belong to. Togetherness is what counts, in unity Black and Brown should have been working together for the common causes long before 1954. So BOMB served as a critical event to nominate Black and Latino to government positions.

When asked why he became a Republican in San Diego when not too many African Americans were part of the Republican Party, he answered with the following:

Yes, most Black voters were Democrats, but often the Democratic Party took Blacks for granted. I basically I enjoyed becoming Republican because they respected me, I was not involved in the Republican social or political functions, but I wanted to know their perspectives and policies and how they viewed the ethnic communities, or what Republicans were talking about. I have seen the political ethnic demographics but I do not see the younger generation as committed as the older generation to be committed to the welfare of San Diego. There is no commitment to any specific cause; we want to do our own thing.

Socio-Historical Context of the SDCC District 4 Community

Reverend Smith confronted a racist town in San Diego without any reservations and while he served on the San Diego City School Board he introduced and fought for several educational reforms that addressed school integration. He worked to develop programs such as magnet schools, for the recruitment of more African Americans and Latino administrators and teachers, and programs that challenged the status quo and gave more social and educational

opportunities to the non-White student population. Reverend Smith elaborates further about his service in the San Diego School District Board:

It wasn't too difficult to right some glaring wrongs. First were the employment practices. The district had fewer than two-dozen black teachers and even fewer Hispanic teachers. Yet some schools had 72 percent black and Hispanic enrollment. That had to change.

Where are the ethnic teachers? I asked. Where are the Asians, the Blacks, the Hispanics? We can't find them, was the answer. In practice, 75 percent of teacher recruitment was happening at the School of Education at San Diego State College, which rarely admitted Blacks. If you can't find them here, I said, go out and get them. Even though I was a in a very conservative board, I got them to adopt a policy of promoting equal employment.

While I began my school board tenure in 1963 I began to push for changing the ethnic composition of teachers that was predominantly white. By the early 1970's I was supportive of school integration, but by the early 1980's I became disenchanted because of the still-prevalent social segregation in the schools and school communities of San Diego.

When asked what federal policies and practices hindered or promoted race relations in San Diego, he answered as follows:

Racial discrimination had been outlawed by the U.S. Supreme Court since 1954, overturning the "separate but equal" doctrine that dominated the social consciousness of our nation since its beginnings and by the federal courts acknowledging that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The 1954 Brown Supreme Court order called for school integration "with all deliberate speed." It was the beginning of a social revolution in America. Nonetheless, over 10 years had passed in San Diego without much change, so the federal government had to stepped in.

So I don't think it was because of lack of policy itself that perpetuated segregation. I think we as collective individuals allowed segregation to exist. Working against the undoing of segregation is the thought that Blacks or Latinos can get it undone by going alone. I have advocated that it is more beneficial, to unify, once again my theory is to go after social integration at all levels of society together, not so much for each group, so we have to fight the fight.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the SDCC District 4 Community

Reverend Smith was asked to describe the socio-cultural characteristics in the SDCC

District 4 community over the last 50 years, he elaborated on the following:

When I arrived in San Diego in the 1950's there was very little intercultural exchange or relationships between Latinos/Hispanics and Blacks. What I noticed was that that there

were more interrelations with upper class Latinos and Blacks than the poor. I remember how involved Latinos/Hispanics were in my campaign, as in my campaign manager I had Armando Rodriguez a leading Latino community leader. At that time Armando was the only Latino administrator in San Diego City Schools. When I got to the school board we got to know each other very well...we formed an alliance, the middle class Latino/Hispanics and Blacks worked closely together.

When asked why he thinks Blacks and Latino middle class leaders got together in the early 1960's, he responded:

Well, neither Blacks or Latinos were getting very far. We knew we could do better together than trying to do things out there on our own. So, I understood that we needed each other and that's how partnerships and friendships got started.

When I was in the San Diego City School Board, Lincoln had the White students in SDCC District 4 area and Morse High School was just being built, and all of the white students shifted to Morse. Then when the Skyline area began to integrate, Mount Miguel High School and other schools began to open up. There had been changes in social dynamics in the SDCC District 4 community and Black and Brown people were not fully accepted in the social strata of the San Diego community at-large and we knew had to get involved in many sectors of the community in order for change to be formed.

Intercultural Climate of the District 4 Community

Before 1970, the school system in San Diego had many schools that served a student population where the composition of students was 75% or more African American and/or Latino, and there were few African American and Latino teachers and no African American or Latino administrators. To improve the intercultural climate of the school system of San Diego city, Reverend Smith campaigned for more inclusive staffing that led to the employment of almost 800 African American and Latino teachers by the late 1970's and early 1980's. Reflecting on efforts to integrate the school system of San Diego, Reverend Smith recounted the following:

Historically in the 1950's and 1960's San Diego City Schools originally followed a neighborhood school policy, under which students attended the school nearest to their homes. Thus, the schools reflected neighborhood segregation. While wealthier whites could afford to move to newer, more expensive neighborhoods with better schools, the lower income populations such as Blacks, Latinos, and Indochinese in the 1970's remained in the older, less wealthy neighborhoods with older schools.

The San Diego Unified School District had received many complaints concerning the

blatant segregation of city schools and the separation of students with whites moving to the north of the city and person of color south of the city. Beginning in 1963, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) made recommendations to reduce school segregation in the San Diego Unified School District. By 1965, the San Diego School Board adopted a resolution calling for the elimination of segregation in San Diego schools. In 1966, I worked to bring together the Citizens Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity to study and confirm that a racial imbalance existed. The school district, however, failed to implement any of the Citizens Committee's 39 recommendations. About forty groups, unhappy with the district's non-response, established the Inter-organizational Committee (IOC) to make further recommendations. Larry Carlin, a teacher and former secretary for the Citizens Committee, headed the IOC. In 1967, Carlin and several other parents active in the IOC filed a class action lawsuit against the San Diego Unified School District for alleged inequalities of educational opportunities for students of all ethnic backgrounds, formally titled Kari Carlin et al v. Board of Education, San Diego Unified School District. The plaintiffs filed the suit in the name of ten children who represented four ethnic groups (Caucasian, African-American, Chicano, and Asian-American). A conflict between state and federal law prevented the case from moving forward. San Diego city school segregation was claimed not to be deliberate, it was the result of housing patterns. What happened was that the Federal law stipulated that segregation was illegal, but California law maintained that as long as segregation was not intentional and facilities were equal, de facto segregation was not unlawful. The decision to continue the Carlin case rested on the outcome of Crawford v. Los Angeles Board of Education. In 1976, the California Supreme Court ruled that segregation, "regardless of its cause," must be rectified, thus making San Diego's segregation illegal.

When asked about the impact on San Diego City, Reverend Smith recalls the following through his work as a board member:

In 1975, the Carlin case was reactivated. Two years later Judge Welsh found that twenty-three San Diego schools were segregated, and the Court ordered the San Diego Unified School District to develop a detailed voluntary plan to alleviate racial segregation in these schools. The plaintiffs had hoped for a mandatory plan. In 1978, Judge Welsh created the Integration Task Force to assess and monitor the school district's progress. Annual hearings to evaluate the new plan were implemented, and additional hearings were also set up to deal with any unforeseen issues that arose during the integration process.

In response to Judge Welsh's order, the Board of Education began improving existing school integration programs, and implementing new ones. With the intervention of the United States Office of Education and the Superior Court, Reverend Smith was able to overcome board opposition and establish the Voluntary Ethnic Enrollment and Magnet programs to help eliminate racial imbalance in San Diego schools.

In 1966, the Board had created the Voluntary Ethnic Transfer Program (later called the Voluntary Ethnic Enrollment Program, or VEEP), to improve the ethnic balance at predominately white schools. In 1974, the school board began promoting VEEP through feeder patterns. A magnet program, set up in 1973, was meant to attract white students to inner-city schools. Finally, the Race/Human Relations program, begun in 1972, designed and promoted multicultural awareness through workshops and field trips for staff and

students.

By 1985, the court decided that progress toward an acceptable ethnic balance had been reached, and therefore, it issued a final order, which terminated the Integration Task Force, and ended the annual progress hearings. An annual written report was to be submitted to review the district's progress. Although the Board's plan changed the ethnic composition of city schools, very little social integration occurred, and an achievement gap still existed between the white majority students and the minority students.

In the first 14 years of the 21st Century the achievement gap remains between low income and middle and upper income students, between students living north of the city boundaries and those living south of the city boundaries.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the SDCC District 4 Community

When Reverend Smith was asked about how he thinks that we should overcome the mistrust and fear that exists among African Americans and Latinos, he answered as follows:

As time progresses, there exists a lack of trust among Latinos and African Americans, and although both groups shared the same living spaces a social division persists because there is not a honest effort to socialize and co-live among each other.

When asked to speak further on the intercultural climate in District 4, he spoke on the following:

Well, people want a different environment, even in their neighborhood they are driving them to school because they want them out of gangs and not getting in trouble with the police. They want their community school, yet, what is a neighborhood school when you have to line up and pick up your son or daughter because you do not trust the safety around the school. With community support we should create safety so local youth can walk to school...and that's what changes the social dynamics of the community. When we walked to school, we walked with everybody. But when you are driven to school, that changes the dynamics of who lives around you because you are being driven. I frequently see a bunch of cars at 2:30 pm or so picking up the kids and I think this is one condition why we don't know each other.

San Diego made creative progress in integrating its schools. We also need to address the issue of White parents sending their children to our southern part of town. One approach has been the MAGNET School programs, such as the focus at Gompers in mathematics and science. We founded the O'Farrell School of Creative Arts, which brought kids from every area of the city to Southeast San Diego.

While I see value in integration programs, after a number of years, I began to soften my attitude about the workings of school integration – and now I have completely reversed my support. For all the millions of dollars we spent during all those years (1969-2014), I don't think the outcome was commensurate with the support input. For the most part, students bussed to schools outside their neighborhood have never been integrated into the life of the receiving schools. Some were even required to stay on the bus until

classes started. Once they got to the schools, they pretty much separated ethnically when the bell rang. Society was not, and is still not, that accepting of integration, and I realize that the best way to achieve integration is a natural approach through neighborhood engagement.

When asked to elaborate on conflict and tensions that exists among African Americans and Latinos, Reverend Smith responded by stating:

I see many misunderstandings, lack of cohesiveness and acting on negative stereotypes from both the Black and Latino community.

When you have folks coming together with different backgrounds, you will always have prejudice. What you have to do is create an atmosphere where it is unacceptable to act on those prejudices. That is one important way to keep the peace and beat back prejudice and injustice.

There was some resentment towards each other, primarily because we do not know one another and we act on our mutual misperceptions of each other. We perceive each other as different and often do not know each other's history. There is also the fact that there has not been any work into uniting the Black and Latino communities, especially in working for the same causes.

When asked what has prevented the Black and Latino communities from uniting, he answered:

Mistrust! We have to take it upon ourselves to undue mistrust; we need to make it happen. We need to take the initiative, we need to do it...at all age groups; we need to get involved. I'm happy to see Latinos involved because back in my early years it was the Latino/Hispanic educators and the Black educators that caused change to happen. By participating, questioning, doing work in the community to inform parents

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the SDCC District 4 Community

When asked what would it take for the new generation to care and be committed to social justice, he elaborated as follows:

Choose a cause of mutual interest such as education, political representation, housing, health care ...and I don't know who would do this, but choose people from both communities who are respected, lets get together, let's identify a cause and work towards it. It doesn't have to be race specific, or whether you are a republican or democrat, find a cause and lets go for it.

Well, going back to my original statement in order to have some forward movement between Black and Brown relations, for example the last mayoral election was a prime example. Working for a person who will advocate and work for the community, and more

and more Blacks and Latinos need to think about that, and not just a race perspective, but from a human coalition perspective.

Concluding Thoughts on the Past, Present and Future Conditions of the SDCC District 4 Community?

While Reverend Smith has slowed down on his activism, his wit, knowledge and passion for a better world continue. He reflects that one of his last socio-political accomplishments was serving on the planning committee for the King-Chavez Health Clinic, a modern and top of the line health center, a first family primary clinic to serve Southeast San Diego. He thinks that projects like this health clinic are primary examples of how productive Latinos and African Americans can be when working together for a common cause. He elaborates on the following:

I want people to think of me at the end by saying that George Smith left the community better condition than when he arrived in San Diego. If each of us would have that as a goal, I think this would be a better place to live. You can do that by basically doing good for others as you do good for yourself. You always try to build up and not tear things down. This of course requires giving up something, such as...I had to sacrifice time with my family, a lot of time, involving myself in the life of the community.

I (Reverend Smith) want to be remembered as working to break a lot of racial barriers, fighting a lot of battles on issues of equity, and established a strong political voice and influence, that still continues today with the *Cat Fish Club* that brings together people from all backgrounds and political affiliations. In such forum every politician in San Diego has presented himself/herself to face the tough community questions.

Other Resources:

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Case Study 2: Dr. Armando Rodriguez

Administrator, Educator

Background

I was born in Gomez Palacios, Durango, Mexico, on September 30th 1921, as the seventh of eight children born to Andres and Petra Rodriguez. My first involvement in San Diego

was in 1927, I was 6 years old. I arrived here from Mexico with my family and they quickly enrolled me in school. English was not a language familiar to when I first entered the United States as a youngster. Nevertheless my parents stressed the value of education and encouraged me to never give up. With the support of my teachers and friends I became fluent in English. During my early childhood I had the opportunity in my neighborhood to play, not only to play but also to be able to speak about what I was learning. The first friend I recall was Jimmy McGuire who lived across the street from us. He was the son of an Irishman and a German lady. It was his fathers' second marriage and he and his sister who was married and who lived in Los Angeles, we had the opportunity to play together every day and I had the opportunity to practice the English I was learning in school. He attended a Catholic school while I attended a public school.

I went to a school to learn English, it was Lincoln Elementary school, which is now the present location of the San Diego Community College. From there I went to another elementary school through the 4th grade, and in the 5th grade I attended Sherman Elementary School. I then attended Memorial Junior High School and proceeded to San Diego High School where I graduated in June of 1940. I was almost 19 years of age and the reason for graduating late was because my father refused to let me skip a grade. He said I should learn things step by step and he was right! Although my father had only three years of schooling himself, he had enough knowledge to recognize that I needed a developmental or step-by-step education through all of my elementary and secondary schooling, and I'm glad he took such a position, because that helped me develop good literacy skills. At age 21, I enlisted into military service.

Since I was born in Mexico and being 21 years of age, I had the option to go into the military service in Mexico or the United States, but I enlisted in the U.S. military service. Initially, I was given tests and was placed in a program of cryptography that deals with the art of protecting information by transforming it into an unreadable format, called cipher text. I was used as a translator of code messages for the military. I provided translation services for airplane fighter pilots flying all the way down the Atlantic coast, across to Recife Brazil, to the islands in North Africa that are less than 300 miles between South America and Africa. So we could fly fighter planes along those lines without having to refuel and not lose planes aboard ships that were being sucked along the Atlantic Ocean. I did that until I became very sick in Brazil and needed to be hospitalized. Incidentally, I tried learning Portuguese. I spoke a little bit of Portuguese, not well enough to be able to go into their educational programs. Anyway I came back from the service and I floundered around for about almost a year and we were getting out of the war so I was discharged. After I came back home I went to work in the local shipyards as welder because in the service I learned to weld. I had time on my hands!

Shortly after leaving the military, I applied for the GI Bill and admission to San Diego State College (now San Diego State University). While in college, I joined the Aztec Football team as a varsity running guard and later was invited to coach the SDSC new wrestling team that was able to hold a four-year undefeated record. Additionally, the team went onto California's CAA championships and on the team several athletes participated in the 1948 National Olympic trials.

I graduated from SDSU in 1949 with a bachelor's degree in special education and obtained a secondary teaching credential. I started teaching at Memorial Junior High School in San Diego. Years later, in 1957 I become the first Mexican American to be hired as Vice-Principal at Gompers Junior High School. In 1965, I became the first

Mexican American principal of a junior and senior high school in San Diego, the school was Wright Brothers High school.

Athletics were important to me-and still are - but the most important mission to me was getting a college education. My strong commitment to education led me to pursue and obtain a doctoral degree. I know that one's abilities in athletics only last as long as one's athletic ability holds out; however, the benefits of education will last a lifetime.

From 1965 to 1980 I was heavily involved in state and federal politics. Near the end of my work in Washington D.C., I was given a 5-year appointment under President Carter and President Reagan extended the appointment. He extended it so I could fulfill my federal retirement requirement. I retired having worked for Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan.

I had a lot of things going for me. As soon as I retired, I opened up my own company and started providing educational services and it did well. But more than that I also became a board member of the Fairfax School District in a middle class ethnically diverse local community in Virginia. I was in the school board for 5 and half years. It was a changing community. They were getting Latinos students from Florida, Texas, all over the nation and they were coming into the school system that were not prepared. While on the school board I started pushing for programs in language learning, and parent involvement. We had to open up different parent engagement avenues and opportunities for them to communicate with the district and help their kids.

Demographic Shifts

In recalling the make-up of the schools in what is now San Diego City Council District 4,

Dr. Rodriguez reflected on the diversity of the area:

The regional demographics of the area in the late and early 1940's-1950's as I recall was 50% White and about 50% students of other ethnic backgrounds. In the 1960's and 1970's my estimation of the demographics were probably 40% Latino/Hispanics, 50% Black and 10% a mixture of other ethnic groups and this is just guess estimation. As I recall, the social exchanges between Whites and students of ethnic background were peaceful. Yet, we need to remember that peaceful coexistence meant living under the expected behaviors of segregation. We knew what was acceptable and non-acceptable in order to have a peaceful relationship. Yet, having been in the service in the 1940's led me to see that we were fighting for democracy and the right of people to have equal representation, yet at home democracy was based on accepting conditions of segregation. The 1954 Brown Supreme Court decision was an important step for our nation. As a nation we were confronted to examine if we had equality and opportunity for all. As an educator, I always worked to motivate youth to take advantage of education to move ahead. As a Mexican American educator I always worked with youth that were facing barriers and worked to build up their self-image and sense of identity, but most important to take advantage of their schooling. As the years progressed White residents of the southeast San Diego began to move away from the area that is now San Diego City Council District 4. Presently our schools in this service area face many educational challenges because we are not providing a quality education to our youth to have access

to college. I am very concerned about the lack of equal opportunity to a quality education.

What I read locally the survival of the barrio is extremely important right now because of the stretch of the industry in taking over the housing activity for the need of space to do the business. It is true, business needs to expand but it should not expand at the expense of the needy and those who have less opportunity for mobility. There is less political push in the barrio then there is in other places.

There are more ethnic tensions because new people are seeking their own homes and influence in that territory. The area is new to them, and because it's new they are going to step on some toes and there is going to be a lot of arguing and a lot of complaints. We will need leadership that can bring both communities together and are forcing the issue and I don't see anyone standing up against it.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

When asked to reflect on the community climate experiences of San Diego City Council

District 4 over the past 40-50 years Dr. Rodriguez shared concerns:

The social and cultural climate of the community has had its challenges, some are linguistic and some are cultural, and some are political. As Latinos we have the ability to code-switch our social language that often creates a lack of acceptance or trust. We generally code-switch because it is a natural process for us and we feel comfortable expressing our ideas in the language of our parents. Also, many Latinos are unfamiliar with the way of speaking of African Americans so unconscious linguistic and cultural attitudes will be present in our mutual interactions. This leads to creating distances between Latinos and African Americans. Also, many Latinos may have prejudicial perceptions of African American because the dominant culture has inculcated in us that White is preferred.

So while we live in the same community, our social language of interaction separates us and the pigmentation of our skin creates prejudicial perceptions of what society considers preferred and non-preferred. On a daily basis television commercials remind us of what is preferred, so we create prejudicial images of each other.

Socio-Historical Context of the San Diego City Council District 4

Reflecting on the service area of San Diego City Council District 4, Dr. Rodriguez states:

During the 1960's I began a long career in both politics and national education. In 1962, I was the first Mexican American to run and win the 77th State District Assemblyman election in San Diego. Later, I became the Chief of the Bureau of Intergroup Relations for the California State Department of Education. By 1970, I was appointed Director of the Mexican-American Affairs Office of the United States by President Lyndon B. Johnson. He was interested in my background as an educator because he had been a teacher in Texas and he knew the need to improve the learning process for Mexican

Americans. But when I took the job I also realized that there were Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans and other Latino communities, many on the east coast that needed the same or more attention than the Mexican American children. I became a lead person designing guidelines for bilingual programs and compensatory education for low-income children and youth. Leonard Fierro, a San Diego educator helped me in the development of that bilingual concept. He and I grew up together. We grew up in the same barrio. His brother Manuel and I were good friends. But you need to know that while in Washington D.C. the memories of San Diego low-income communities were my living and visual images of the conditions for advancing equity and equality of access and opportunity.

So I was in a position to dialogue on issues of social integration, health, education and economic opportunities for Mexican American/Latino communities, while understanding that the same issues impacted upon other ethnic communities. While I returned to California, in 1973 I served as President of East Los Angeles College (ELAC). Five years later, in 1978 President Jimmy Carter appointed me to be Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). My responsibilities were to administer Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which outlawed major forms of discrimination including unequal voter registration requirements as well as racial segregation in schools, the workplace, and facilities that served the general public. As Commissioner I was also responsible to enforce the Equal Pay Act as well as the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. Once again the memories of growing up in San Diego were a motivation for improving peoples lives.

In retrospect, the 1970's were a vibrant period for civil rights and I was in a position to advance social equality. In most ethnically diverse communities it helped. In all places where the color of one's skin is so engrained it will be hard to break past attitudes of discrimination. If we can exert one vote and don't give up change will come. We cannot stop working on the concepts of equity and equality. Impatience is something that prevents us from reaching there. We want change now that doesn't mean everyone sees or everyone agrees with you. Make the desirable points of equity and equality, promote the points, prove the points, and you can win them over. It is a very demanding and frustrating process to change attitudes. You win the battles of justice and you have to keep winning them because often lies come in and laws are changed.

During my life, I grew up under segregation. The court case of Lemon Grove vs. Alvarez was an entirely new concept in San Diego in 1932. No one really other than the Hispanics thought that they were going to go to school with everyone else. They were perceived as minorities. It was a struggle to break the idea of segregation. Locally, whole processes of the rights of Mexican American/Latino children began to challenge the separate but equal doctrine and the right to equal facilities and educational access. The Lemon Grove court case is a prime example on how change can be made.

Intercultural Climate of the District 4 Community

When asked to think about the intercultural climate in the geographical area of SDCC

District 4, Dr. Rodriguez reflected on his experiences as an educator in San Diego:

I became aware of discriminatory educational practices in my early days of teaching especially involving Latinos. They would put them in a slow-learning program because whoever was the evaluators were—they had a concept that because they didn't speak well, that they must be retarded. And I got a lot of those identified students out of special education classrooms. I did not trust the school district to do testing appropriately. One way I used to get them out of the classrooms, I used to talk to their parents and have the parents ask questions, as well as insisting that they read and write at home. And I said, 'If you don't do it, this child is not going to succeed in school. You have a responsibility.

And the parents bought it. I would not argue with them. I would just tell them, 'Hey, this kid has potential.' But you can tell which kids are bright-eyed and who listen and respond to questions. You could tell that they had natural intelligence. They just needed the skills. And I tried to get to as many parents through home visits as I could.

In the 1960's the intercultural social and racial climate San Diego was strictly perceived as a racist town. It really was. It changed a lot soon after that, but up until that time. Among, one of the things that helped me work with the Black community was through the help of a minister—George Smith. George Smith who became a school board member. I helped his campaign. I worked with two other fellows who established the Urban League in San Diego. I also made contact with and got Percy Steele to come and be president of the Urban League in San Diego. Then later, I became state president of the Urban League. I was involved in a lot of those things to advance racial collaboration.

At a personal level, I have always lived next door to Black people and we have always been good friends. Some of my outstanding friends in college were black.

We have always gotten along well. In fact we lived in each other's houses. When I was vice principal at Gompers I worked with a lot of Blacks and Latinos/ Hispanics students, and I had more problems with Latinos than Blacks, and I think they thought that because I was Latino/Hispanic I was going to side with them. I was a vice-principal first, Latino/Hispanic second. People don't look at it that way. They look at it as he's Black so he is going to side with me well that's not true. I treated every situation from the point of view that either you are right or you are wrong. I needed to be true to what I was doing, and is not always true, even with people in such positions. I have seen people take sides on social issues because of the color or their ethnic groups.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the District 4 Community

Dr. Rodriguez was asked to discuss his view of intercultural conflicts or tensions between Latinos and African American people, he stated:

There have always been tensions between Latinos and African American people. It is usually people who are insecure that often create such tensions. One's social sense of security usually comes when one is in the majority and when you are not, then you say, "you are prejudice" which is true in this society. The American tradition, the Anglo-white has always dominated the San Diego community because they are the majority and they vote in the majority. However, when one organizes the majority not always wins. In 2008, we elected a Black president and the Blacks are not in the majority, and we elected

a good one. Not only is he Black but he is also a president. But in our natural behavior, if a Black person supports a brown person she/he is look downed upon by his /her group and same goes for the brown people.

To reduce conflict and tension between Latinos and the African American community, you need to first develop trust by having a common goal. Trust first begins between parents and children at home. It is not for them but it is for their kids and the future of their kids. You have to convince both communities that they have more influence over their children at home then the community or the school. You want parents getting involved with their children, change the attitudes of how we view children and this type of change will and can help their kids. And they have to focus in their interest in the developing of education for their children. One of the developments is collaboration within these children with the same purpose in mind. If you get that going with building home-school-community collaboration with 2 or 3 people and time, and soon you will have involved communities across ethnic lines working to improve the wellbeing of the community.

Intercultural Collaboration in District 4

When Dr. Rodriguez was asked to elaborate on intercultural collaboration, he stated:

We need to work to have healthy and proactive collaboration between the Black and Latino communities of San Diego. First of all, the way I got people involved I generally went to my head persons in the community and asked them to sit with me in a first meeting. Once they did that, it established initial contact and a sharing of mutual concerns about the wellbeing of the collective community. We generally identified mutual issues and commitment to work on the issues. If one does not violate those agreements, and one is able to live up to what you say or do, both parties realize that one can work collaboratively and help one another. If you put the time into selected issues and support what they do, then both communities stay within the guidelines that they helped establish. Working patiently, you take notes and acquire their perceptions on how change can happen and always aiming to have a success story. First you have to show each other that working collaboratively really works.

In both the Latino and Black community we have misconceptions of each other. There is a lack of communication between ethnic parents that is a factor that needs attention. I think you have to talk to leadership in the Latino community and in the Black community and get their ideas. They know their communities better than we do and get them to help you set up how to bring both communities together. Let the community leadership help you sort out people who can influence other people. You start with the willing leaders. Leaders are willing to lead. You have to identify the people who are willing to help and do what is best for the kids. If you get two or three of them together start the process for discussion on how we can get our collective children to go to school and identify goals for them. Community leadership that is committed to children will help you in the process of getting other people involved and in the process expand the group and have enough people to begin to influence the kids. Once you go through the process of influencing kids and the show some positive growth then that group can be expanded because that program has been developed and it can now grow, it is a gradual process.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the Diamond District 4 Community

When Dr. Rodriguez was asked to identify possible ways for intercultural scenarios to unite or divide Latino and African American residents in the San Diego City Council District 4 community, he shared the following views:

Reflecting on my work in the Equal Educational Opportunity Commission, five areas of collaboration come to mind, that can bring our ethnic communities together, especially Latino and Black.

1. We are not fulfilling the promises of equal educational opportunity that we have made in this country. Such promise begins in our local communities. In California over 70% of the children in our public schools are ethnically diverse, with Latinos being 53%. Yet, Latinos and Black are underperforming in our schools. Our prisons have a majority Black and Latino population. That is not right in one of the most progressive nations in our world. We must treat every student as an asset in order to create productive and responsible citizens. We must respond to this urgency in our schools in San Diego.
2. In the area of education, there was a need for us to have a local, state, national bilingual policy and programs that teach the children to speak, read, write and think in two or more language as they progressed in their learning process. But they are not going to do that until we provide a program that will bridge the understanding of children in one language (home language) and a second language (language of the economy). In our competitive social and political world, we have to find a way of doing this. Other nations in the world are preparing their youth; they're doing this in Canada and Mexico everyday. Our children will need to communicate with people across the world and we're not doing enough in engaging more people from across the world. Our present graduates from our schools and universities appear to be afraid of not being able to communicate with people from other parts of the world or maybe do not respect each other or see each other like they see themselves.
3. My advice to the Latino and Black leadership of the San Diego community is if you want to do something, and you really care about wanting to do something for yourself and for others, don't hesitate to ask for help and direction. And do it with people who are willing to talk to you about direction and their experiences. You don't have to follow their experiences, knowing that the experiences of each generation are different. But there are enough likenesses in it that you can probably get some benefit from it. But don't be afraid to ask for help, and don't forget to ask for assistance and support. People are willing to help in working for a common goal, a common issue, and for the wellbeing of the children of the community.
4. I think the present generation is looking for ways of being helpful. And I'm not sure that we, as an adult community, are giving them much direction in that. And I don't think that our youth are as aware of their needs of the future as we were. Look around and see what it is they need. And you've got to look at it from their needs perspective. If the ethnic adult leadership has enough experience to make their needs be understood and visible-- to you as you see them today and what it might be like in the future. We have enough

experience to predict what's going to happen in the near future—not the long future because the long future is too far away. If we can just get to the near future, we are on safe ground. And I think that's what we need to focus on the children of our communities. As an adult with a lot of experience, we need to ask: how can we help someone be successful and live a good life in the near future?

5. I think, we need to apply pressure of our educational system to match the needs of our ethnically and linguistically diverse communities. The school systems have to realize that our universities are not preparing teachers on the differences that make up the diverse communities of San Diego or the state. I think they do not understand, they do not know how. They have not gone through the process of learning to understand people other than themselves or from an Anglo-white perspective. They think that everybody is like them. They do not mean to be negligent on what they are doing because they do not know what to do, yet teachers need to be prepared, to teach children whose home language is not English, who have a different cultural background, and are perceived as not capable of going to college. I know that teaching is not easy! But different approaches can be learned, not just one size fits all as in the 1950's. With the bright people that we have today in the colleges, we can find a way. The future of our country depends on culturally proficient educators to access academic success for our youth. Successful Latinos and Black means economically stable communities and increased political influence.

Additional Sources

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<http://library.sdsu.edu/sites/default/files/Rodriguez%20Part%202.pdf> 2 interview

4. Part 3 Interview conducted by Dr. Griswold de Castillo with Dr. Armando Rodriguez on July 16, 2012 at the SDSU Love Library. Retrieved April 17, 2014.

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Case Study 3: Dr. Carroll Waymon

Community Leader, Professor of African American Studies

Background

Dr. Carroll Waymon is a distinguished professor, writer and respected community organizer. He was born in the East Coast and moved to Los Angeles early in 1960 and moved to San Diego in 1964. Although now retired, he continues to be very active and involved in the San Diego City District 4 community. In his interview he shared the following personal information:

My name is Carroll Waymon. I came from Los Angeles to San Diego exactly 50 years ago, in 1964, to head the Citizen's Interracial Committee (CIC), which was the Human Relations Agency in San Diego. It became a popular agency that is now referred to as CIC, which stands for the Citizens Interracial Committee. We produced many reports and got involved in many human relations activities more than any other group in the 1960's. For example, you can find many articles or activities about us by going on the Internet or you can Google my name and be prepared to read about all kinds of socio-political issues we were involved in.

I came from Philadelphia to Los Angeles. I was not born there. I was born in South Carolina, but I was raised as a young child to my teenage years in North Carolina and later in Philadelphia. Then we moved from Philadelphia in 1960 to Los Angeles. I got a job there as a probation officer counseling youth, and did a lot of community work. Then I became involved in the Human Relations Agency for the City of Los Angeles. We did a lot of engagements with diverse communities, a lot of stuff. So they were recruiting here for a director to head their Human Relations Agency, so I chose to come here. I came here in 1964, fifty years ago. I can't believe it. As a result, we have done many social and intercultural programs that were reported by the media. We set up the Human Relations Agency (CIC) and we investigated and produce many community relations' reports for the city and the county. My staff was made up of people from 19 different linguistic and ethnicities and one can look up the history of the nineteen ethnicities in the city. My assistant was Al Caldillo, a Latino you may know.

My responsibility in San Diego was to head the Citizens Interracial Committee and deal with important interracial issues for the city in the 1960's. The CIC did more studies to positively change the cultural awareness of the community than any other group. We set up the agency because we were having "racial difficulties". At first, during 1963, there was a perception that San Diego did not have racial problems at all. Yet, with the Civil Rights movement in the South of our nation, we had three college students that went to the South to work with Martin Luther King Jr. They were all killed and buried. It was after Mississippi Burning when the Mayor of San Diego decided to try again to set up a Human Relations Agency. With racial incidents on the mind of the nation, the consciousness of San Diego residents led to the realization that yes San Diego had problems. So they called Los Angeles Human Relations Agency and said they wanted to set up one in San Diego, and requested help. I was asked to provide the assistance, and after coming with another friend a couple of times, they asked me to head the agency. We opened our doors on September 6th, 1964. That is what we did.

Demographic Shifts

Upon arriving in San Diego in 1964, Dr. Waymon began working with all San Diego community leaders including what is now the San Diego City Council (SDCC) District 4. He recalls how he quickly noticed that the demographics in San Diego were changing and how important it was for politicians to be proactive in representing the changing ethnic communities, in what is now the area south of Highway 8. When asked about his description of the demographics of Southeast San Diego in 1964, he stated:

We had agreed for the last 40 years that SDC District 8 would be primarily Hispanic and Black. It worked out. Now the talk and meetings are about how the demographics have changed and shifted. We needed to change the whole dynamics of our SDC districts now for 4 and 8. You look at it now, with all the Indo-Chinese, and Filipinos, and others ethnic people coming to reside in the SDC District 4. At the same time very few whites have moved into the district. Yea, there was awareness about needing a convention to bring all the ethnic groups together so we can know who is in our district now.

Politically, Leon Williams in 1969 became the first African American elected to the San Diego City Council to represent District 4. He later became a County Supervisor, and then George Stevens was elected. I mentored George Stevens, as his advisor in his first election. I said to him the SDC District you represent is demographically changing. We need to shift gears here. We do not need ethnic polarization. Councilman George Stevens said that was a good idea that needed to be examined.

When asked about his perceptions about how to best address the implications of the SDCC District 4 demographics shifts and how it could be more inclusive, he recalls his conversation with former Councilman George Stevens:

George Stevens said yes, and I want to be the City Councilmember that holds the SDCC District 4 together. George was not just pro-Black; he was pro-Black and pro-Brown, and pro non-white. Everything you hear about him is true. He was adamant about issues of ethnic representation. He turned over some tables. He got the City Council mad. Oh yeah. But you knew where George Stevens was in regards to political representation. Everyone knew where George stood. George made his position clear. That is why he was so great and loved by everybody.

So the demographics were shifting, and I will re-state, I said to George we need to hold this district together. Black, Brown, Yellow and Beige need to control this district. The representative doesn't have to be Black or Brown. We just need to control it so that this SDCC District is primarily represented by a non-White community leader. I don't care if they are Black, Hispanic, Asian, or Native American, just someone that can represent us. Let the representative look like people in this district. Unfortunately, George Stevens died early before all these goals were reached.

Dr. Waymon strongly expressed that the African American community, as well as other races, need to be realistic. There is a great deal of diversity that exists in the SDCC District 4 and, therefore, it doesn't just need a Black council person. A new candidate could be of any ethnicity as long as he/she is the best candidate. He stated:

When I met with Tony Young last time (representative of SDC District 4 a few years ago), we talked about the demographics shifts and ethnic diversity, and that it was time that we realize that District 4 is multi-racial. We don't need the Black and Brown people to fight, like we didn't need the Blacks to fight when they were the majority. We need a community that comes together by consensus. Once again, it doesn't matter if you're Black, Hispanic, Asian, or Native American, as long as we are together on it.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

With regards to the socio-political climate when he arrived in SDCC District 4, Dr. Waymon described the climate as toxic, he referred to the housing covenants as an example of the negative socio-political climate that existed for both Latinos and African Americans, and he described it in the following statement:

It was called restrictive covenants; to restrict a neighborhood to White. It was written back in the 1920s. It was a legal document that you write in your will that this house or the property would never be sold or rented to a black person, or brown person, Yellow or American Indian. In 1958, the Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants were "unenforceable." It didn't say illegal, but ineffective. Restrictive covenants were no longer enforceable in a court of law, meant they would be declared "illegal" someday. In 1964, when I came to San Diego, that was how all people in the communities in San Diego County were being treated and sold. What was surprising to most people was that there were several cities in the county that had restrictive covenants, such as Escondido, Poway, Fallbrook, and National City. These cities honored restrictive covenants. Our job in the Human Relations Commission was to change it.

People in my staff were assigned to work on the changes; Al Caldillo was in charge of three or four, Rosemary to one. Rosemary was from Poway. As I recall I think I took Poway, Escondido, and Fallbrook. The other staff took the others. Any way, we spoke to the Boards, incorporated cities, to assert that we wanted the people of San Diego County to reside and move where they want to. So we stirred up all kinds of stuff again. That's what we did throughout the whole San Diego County. Several years later, restrictive covenants were still used in National City. I went over and spoke to George, the mayor, over there. He said it was still in the books, but we don't enforce it and if it comes up we will tell them to stick it. It is still in the books. I have all that stuff

documented. I can get all that stuff out of the documents, called restrictive covenants. He kept his word; it was changed.

With regards to the political climate, when Dr. Waymon established and headed the first Human Relations Commission in San Diego, one that created a committee to push the progress in the recognition of the city's ethnic minorities, Dr. Waymon recalled that the Citizens Interracial Committee (CIC) had become a threat to the status quo, he explained it as follows:

CIC was closed in 1970 because they (San Diego City Council) didn't want to fund us to the degree needed to service the whole county. They closed us because they wanted to. The official reason, they wanted to expand Human Relations through the whole county. The city of San Diego was paying for the salary, not the county. So they wanted the county to join with the city since we were doing all kinds of intercultural stuff throughout the county. The city stated they were not going to pay for us to go out throughout the county, so the Board decided to disband the CIC and formed another Human Relations Agency that worked throughout the county under Joint Powers Agreement, where the city and the county work together. The Joint Powers Agreement became the legal documents that would allow us to go throughout the county bringing awareness on race relations.

We told them, of course, that it was not going to work that way. We knew it would not work out. However, they went through with the process in 1970. In 1971, they opened the County Human Relations Agency (HRA), it worked for about 3 or 4 months, and then it closed. They didn't know how to run a human relations agency. We helped them a little bit, but my staff and I withdrew. We knew it wasn't going to work the way it was set up. It wasn't intended to work. That's what happened with the Human Relations Agency in the county of San Diego.

Later on, the city formed its own Human Relations Agency, mostly on paper. They had an office and a lady ran it as an Executive Director for about 15 years, I believe but they didn't do much in the community. They did human relations stuff, but it was all done mostly in the office -paper taggers is what it is called. They tried and did some good things, but were limited and things had changed in the community.

When we came the race relations in the city of San Diego were bad, as they perceived it, but we made a great impression on the city. We are still remembered everywhere for all the training and awareness that was created by our programs. We became the model for any Human Relations Agency. We worked for the whole county, for San Diego City schools. We got programs for the city schools. We did all the race relations studies for the so-called Commission that was formed to study race and human relations.

We, CIC brought the lawsuit against the school district, the Carlin Case in the 1970's. It started out in my office, literally in my office. With the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and other attorneys, we formed that Carlin Committee and nine years or so later, after going through many legal battles and so forth, the courts finally withdrew money from the San Diego Unified and its Board of Education because education for over nine years was not doing what they were supposed to be doing. So the court monitored them for the nine years; I believe it was and finally in 1989, I think it was the court finally

withdrew and said they would just monitor the school district's progress through an integration committee.

Dr. Waymon recalled how, at the time, there was a political agreement between Latinos and African Americans to assure political collaboration:

In 1964, one needs to remember that SDC Districts 8 and 4 were drawn together and later on there was an agreement that District 4 would belong to African Americans and District 8 would belong to Hispanics. That is good political stuff. What happened was in 1969 we had a "Culture Convention" just like they have electing a president. It was on a weekend at South Crest Recreation Center, and they asked me to chair the session. The convention was to break the color barrier because at that time there had never been a Black on the San Diego County Board of Supervisors. There had never been a Black or Hispanic on San Diego City Council. There has only been one Black on the Board of Supervisors, as you may know Leon Williams. We plan to have a Hispanic run again. He did a good job this last time running for the Board of Supervisors. We said it is time to break the barriers. It makes no sense- all these white males and females all these many years. Ron Roberts has served over 17 years. This year is his last year. It just makes no kind of sense how he has been able to do it?

After the closing of the Citizens Interracial Committee, Dr. Waymon continued to be politically involved and worked towards the political representation of all races. He stated:

When community advocated for political representation, they called me and said they wanted to break the ethnic representation barriers in the San Diego City Council. Once they called and said we have a Japanese guy who is heading District 4. The City political system did not get the message, it had nothing to do with the individual person. The fact is that Blacks and the Browns were excluded. So we got together and had a Convention just like the "big boys." They asked me to chair the convention and they chose parties and delegates. We had workshops on Friday night, and I was the keynote speaker on Saturday night. Saturday was the big day. We were going to meet with the delegates and choose two people, one Hispanic and one Black to run for City Council. It was great. Women and men, Black, Hispanics and Whites had a good political experience. Sunday, I think, we chose two keynote speakers, Peter Chacon and Leon Williams. The delegations had chosen the two keynote speakers. We had a problem because we were choosing one person to run for City Council. They got two persons. One Black and one Hispanic. If we go back to how it was, the Black and Hispanics will be polarized once again. The Blacks will choose Leon; well most of them, and majority of Hispanics will choose Peter Chacon. We knew that we needed to get away from this fight that was going on, and that was why we were there. On Sunday morning we got up, went through the process, gave the speeches, and we had to choose one, if not we would be back to the same fight. Since there were two, we set up a little committee. After long hour or two, they came back and said what we will do is we will choose both. We will let them meet together on a democratic basis, since we are all here as friends, and see which one wants to take the lead. Let them agree so we do not have to fight it and there is no big confrontation. That was good enough for me.

Leon and Peter were told they had an hour to meet proactively in the corner over there, and “you two decide who will run for City Council.” We were at the convention. Everything was going great. Everyone was cordial and everything. So they went over in the corner, and came back in about 30 minutes, and said that they made a decision. As chair of the whole thing, I asked them to come up and share what decision they made. They made a decision that Leon would go to City Council and Peter would run for State Assembly. At least he could run and get a feel for it, so he would not be defeated right away since he was going to have the convention support. The whole district was going to be behind Pete Chacon, Black, Brown, and White. Just like the whole district was going to be behind Leon for City Council.

Pete had said, “Why don’t you run for City Council? I know that there is going to be an opening for the State Assembly soon and I’ll run for that. In fact, I don’t have to run, I’ll just be there.” That is what we agreed on. So we met, they announced it, applause went up, and we worked it out together. Now we were on our way. So we wrote all the press releases, had another dinner that night, and we had a ball. San Diego City District 4 and District 8 that was the beginning of the unity of the 4 and 8 that still exists today.

Pete Chacon had to wait a couple of months before he could run for the California Assembly District 78. Leon was assigned to prepare to run for City Council as soon as possible. This is how it all started. Today that unity of working together still exists.

Socio-Historical Context of the San Diego District 4 Community

Dr. Waymon is also a historian and has one of the largest archives of race relations memorabilia in San Diego; most of his archives are on display at both the University of California, San Diego and San Diego State University campuses. He stated:

Mine is the largest, biggest individual contribution, I’ve been told, ever made to any of the California educational libraries, including UCSD and SDSU. They organize my collection so people from all over the world could study the materials. They have just finishing organizing the collection on race relations and will ask for it back, or at least part of it. I have other tapes of public programs, which were done over a 27-month period. In the recorded tapes we have the stories of gang members from all over the city and county, the police department, the city attorney, and of ordinary citizens. Every two weeks we made the big news for 27 months, every other Friday by holding meetings with ordinary people. The local TVs and radios stations were there for all meetings. We have the recording of every meeting.

When asked about how federal, local and state policies helped or hindered intercultural relations,

Dr. Waymon stated:

I see what you are talking about. They all helped. Federal policies were the foundation for community programs. If you didn’t have the federal policies such as the backing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1965, you can’t move very much.

We helped lay the foundation in the community about what the Civil Rights movement was all about. But, we and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ran concurrent with the opening of the Race Relations Agency. We were already operating by then and we had run into some problems with all kinds of people because most officials didn't want us around at that time. They didn't want us to do too much about people's rights. They tried to close us down, but my staff, made up of 19 members, which included capable people from all races, colors, and creeds. Al Caldillo was my Assistant Director all the way through our existence. As soon as I got the job I said I knew I needed a capable Hispanic person to be my assistant. Al was the person.

Some federal and state policies hindered and some helped. You were probably not part of all these activities then, but there was California Proposition 54; it was called the Rumford Fair Housing Act passed in 1963 by the California legislature to help end racial discrimination by property owners and landlords who refused to rent or sell their property to "colored" people. The Act provided that landlords could not deny people housing because of ethnicity, religion, sex, marital status, physical handicap, or familial status. We will call it the Housing Act, and it stated that anyone could live or buy wherever they wanted to.

Intercultural Climate of the San Diego City District 4 Community

When Dr. Waymon arrived in San Diego to run the race relations agency for the city, he understood that the staff of his committee should reflect the diversity of the city, and his staff matched such criteria:

When I read the history of the race relations' agency of San Diego, I thought none of this makes any sense to me. There was no fighting between the Black and Brown; there was a little tension back and forth. I said, "What is the big deal? What is the big deal in the first place?" After I did my own study, I wanted to pick a guy who was acceptable to communities, the Hispanic community and staff acceptable to the Black community. Before I hired Al, I met with a few people throughout the community. I had a few friends, before I moved here, and I asked them who was a good guy that was neutral, that no one hated or had created controversy. They suggested I meet with this quiet guy named Al. When I met Al, we hit it off right away. He was quiet, but he knew what he was doing in race relations, he was accepted by the community, and was non-controversial. He stayed with me all the way. We had ourselves a good working relationship. It was simply wonderful.

My staff of 19 people spoke all kinds of different languages, I think we wrote and spoke over 20 languages among us.

When asked if his hiring of a diverse staff was done strategically, he responded:

It was supposed to be human relations agency. We in San Diego had all kinds of people, colors, races, creeds, religions, and I said that is how it ought to be here. So that is what we did. I told Al that people of color are deeply affected by race relations and we need to keep talking to them about what they think could help the community and others. That is

what we did. He was assigned to work with the total community, but especially with the Hispanic and Black community, I was assigned to work with Blacks and Whites. We had a good interactive time. The staff ultimately ended up being 40% Hispanic, but such percentage never occurred to us. That is just how it turned out. If we had a position open and someone came in and had the qualifications and experience, we hired her or him. It never occurred to us till later that our staff was 40% Hispanic, 30% Black, 10%...etc.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the District 4 Community

When asked why there are perceived conflict and tensions still existing among African Americans and Latinos, Dr. Waymon responded with the following:

I think it exists because people don't know about one another. Historically, I suspect the people that moved in, both Black and Brown, did not know about racial harmony. That is why you need the equivalency of a Human Relations Agency. It would be good to have in San Diego City District 4 and 3, some kind of organization that speaks about and addresses racial harmony. I think there is a group that meets here all the time, but you need more than a group. You need an official group that states that we have been here for many years, and if there is no group that preaches harmony, there is no way to do it. People in the community do not understand all this racial harmony or collaboration automatically: this requires hard work.

Furthermore, when the conversation addressed the fact that, although Latino and African American leaders respect each other there is a lack of trust, Dr. Waymon responded to this topic in the following statement:

Just like how it occurs throughout the world, if you leave it to peoples they see natural differences; they often hate each other. They look at you and say you are Brown, they look at me and say I'm Black; someone else is grey and someone else is blue. I belong to my group and you belong to your group. I want everything for my group and you want everything for your group. Unless there is an effort to change, people do not change. There is no automatic way to learn. Look at all the tensions in the world. Why are we fighting and killing each other every day? Do they live in the same country? Sure do. Do they live on the same continent? Sure do. Do they live next to each other? Sure do. But tonight in the news it will be about how many were killed, how many died. It is not a natural thing to accept other people who are different. Respecting each other should be our nature, but it is not a natural thing. So there is a need for more training, a Human Relations Agency or equivalent agency to work in the San Diego City District 4 and District 3 and the new part of District 9 to simply bring people to know one another and work together for the wellness of our community.

Intercultural Collaboration in the San Diego City District 4

Dr Waymon described how tensions and conflicts existed in every community with which he worked. Specifically, with regards to the struggle against race, marginalization, and oppression, and how he was an integral part of those struggles for equity:

They asked me to come to San Diego State University to teach Black Studies. At that time some students were picketing and marching all over the country for Black Studies. What about our city here? San Diego State was one of the third largest universities in California and some students went to the president and said they wanted a Black Studies Department.

The typical kind of thing happened. The University president said no, they were not going to do it. So a group of Black males and gals wrote up a list of 19 “demands.” That is what Black and Brown folks were doing back then, writing demands. So they stuck the list of demands on the president’s desk. The president called on his vice president and said, “Oh shit, I don’t know what I am going to do now. What do I do?” The Vice-President said, “Cool down.”

I was the director of the Citizens Interracial Committee and the Vice-President knew me personally. He knew it would be all right. The Vice President called me up personally and told me what he had said to the president. He told me that the president doesn’t know too much about this demand issues. Come and meet with me. I went out, set up a date to meet and worked to set up the Black Studies Department. That is how I got started.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the San Diego City Council District 4 Community

Dr. Waymon described how higher educational institutions that were supposed to be progressive and advance issues of equity, were at times the most backwards, or chose to be ignorant, or even were down right racist:

At the university level, I taught at SDSU in the Psychology, Sociology, and Anthropology departments. I taught special classes in Business Administration. I was the first one to do that ever. I taught Sociology with my friend who died, McJenkins. They wouldn’t make him permanent there. I said that was crazy crap and that it was time to do something about it. So I petitioned the university to begin to have Black people in all their departments. I said it was ridiculous that the Psychology/Sociology departments all over the country one finds Black, Hispanic and other instructors because this is what it was about. The institution did not respond and he died before they could reconsider such faculty position.

I stayed at SDSU and taught teachers in the Education program. For the next four years (1971-1975) we taught throughout San Diego County. By that time, Dr. Shirley Weber and Dr Chambers arrived at SDSU. A few other Blacks professors also came. I recruited one or two to head the Human Relations Agency at San Diego State, but some refused to

do so. They said “no.” That is to set up the Black Studies Department. There was one that I thought would be great. His name was Jones. I have to dig it up in the archives. He stayed at SDSU for two months. He looked it over and said it was too racist for him, and he left. He was good. Everyone liked him. I can’t think of the rest of his name.

Anyways, I stayed at SDSU and then I left and helped set up the Black Studies department at Mesa Community College, which is still going-on. I lasted for another 27 years, at Mesa and retired from there ten years ago this month. While I was there, I helped set up the Black Studies Departments at many other local schools and I was a consultant for them. I taught at Southwestern College, teaching psychology, sociology and human relations. I taught at Grossmont and helped set up a program there. The president at Grossmont resigned because the college did not want Black people on his staff. He was a great guy. He resigned and became part of the Human Relations Agency in La Mesa. La Mesa set up their first Human Relations Agency with our help. We set up nine Human Relations Agencies throughout the county. La Mesa was only one of them. The head of the office, Sheryl Harris continues to serve the agency. She then set up her own consulting firm, and she is still going strong. She is in her 70s, no 80s, and she is still going strong. So I went from there to Mesa College.

While I was at Mesa College we also set up another university. I was the president for a while and then vice president of the university, the University of Humanistic Studies. I was the president of that. We did really well.

Dr. Waymon expressed that education could be an element of unity, but the right leaders need to be in place, and furthermore, agencies such as race relations committees should be a priority in every school:

One of the elements for a proactive action is to have race relations’ offices. If you don’t have somebody, whose role it is to monitor race relations, it isn’t going to happen.

If you don’t get beyond just putting out fires, you’ll never do it. It should be a proactive race relation’s office that can put programs in all the schools. Yet, the San Diego City Council was not a government unit that accepted us. In the community we were popular and we were able to be effective. We were proactive.

The Citizens Interracial Committee served everybody in this town, every group in this town. Black, Hispanics, Filipinos, Whites, we were accepted by all the groups. That is because of the staff we had and because of our philosophy. Our philosophy was, Color? What does that got to do with anything? “What does race have to do with anything?” The answer is, it has to do with everything in human relations.

When asked to describe scenarios that might predict the future of the San Diego City Council District 4 community, Dr. Waymon felt that the intercultural conditions of Southeast San Diego are currently no different than other part of the nation or the world. He concluded:

Language is one of them. Religious beliefs are another. I suspect all of the religious beliefs and culture makes us different. We live in culture. You live in your culture. I live in my culture. Somebody else lives in his or her culture. The culture gives us our values. If someone comes along to change that, you say that ours is the best and right. It takes a little effort to change that. To answer your question, I suspect religious beliefs and cultural values. We call it differential perception. Differential perception is what we based our perception on something that is different from the others. Not just different, but has different meaning that it is the basis for different behaviors. So I look at you and you are brown, so that becomes the basis of treating you differently. Or we are both the same color but you are from this country and I am from somewhere else, now nationality becomes the basis for treating you differently. Or we are both from the same country, but you are one religion and I have another religion that becomes the difference. It is crazy. In the San Diego City Council District 4, when I ask about tensions, I suspect it is religion. But most of the differences we bring come from both our communities, from our own biases and prejudices. We just take it for granted and assume that my religion is right, and since you do not believe in my religion, yours has to be wrong. Religion differences are a critical differential perception.

Case Study 4: Leon William

Honorable Politician and Civil Servant

Background

The Honorable Leon Williams is considered by the San Diego community to have been a trailblazer in San Diego and a strong advocate of low-income people, specifically in the African American community. During his career, he broke cultural barriers by being the first African American to hold many political positions in the history of San Diego. He was the first African American to be elected to the San Diego City Council in 1969 and first to be elected to the San Diego County Board of Supervisors in 1982. During Williams' years in the City Council, he helped initiate the Southeast Economic Development Corporation (SEDC), which promoted land use programs in order to revitalize and sustain Southeast San Diego. He similarly endorsed the downtown redevelopment project.

He was born into a large family in Oklahoma. His family moved to Bakersfield after the U.S. Stock Market crash of 1929 and the Dust Bowl in the 1930's. He is a respected elder with many years of civil service and he is a champion for social justice causes. When asked about his

background in San Diego and the social issues that created his legacy, he had the following to share:

First of all, I was born in Oklahoma, I finish Junior and High School in Bakersfield and I moved to San Diego to pursue my education. I attended San Diego State University and while in college I got drafted to the military after that the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. So I was involved in World War II. In the military I experienced a United States segregated army. During my military years in WW II, I found myself in Texas and Florida, Australia and in New Guinea. After my years in the military service, I came back to San Diego and completed my college at SDSU. My degree was in Psychology with a minor in English. And I was admitted to Claremont University for a Ph. D. in psychology, but the Korean War broke out. I was able to get a job as a social worker in the county of San Diego. Then I became administrative assistant in the Sheriffs Department of the county of San Diego. And then I became coordinator of the Naval Youth Program for young children and school dropouts. As to my San Diego legacy, I never pay much thought about a legacy, but my name is Leon Williams.

From his earlier years in Oklahoma, Mr. Williams remembers the favorable character of the people that surrounded him during his upbringing:

I guess what I remember most positively is that of all the people, all the adults, that I knew, and my parents' friends and acquaintances, they were all, I guess what I would call, really solid people and committed to their community. They always did what they said they would do, at least as far as I could perceive as a child. Above all they were goodhearted. I never saw friction or mean spiritedness among any of the people that surrounded my community. They were cooperative and helpful to each other. And so that is an important value in my life in growing up in Oklahoma.

Demographic Shifts

Mr. Williams remembers arriving in San Diego in 1941, when the city was very racially segregated. In 1941, San Diego was enforcing a legal living covenant that prohibited African Americans from buying or renting in certain sections of the city. When asked to describe the demographics during that time he stated:

Well, at that time San Diego was predominantly white and I sense the feeling that they thought no else other than white people should be elected into political office. At that time there were no 8 city council, there was only 6 or fewer. I don't remember who the council people were at that time.

When I to San Diego in 1941, I soon learned that all the black people resided in the south side of San Diego, the area that is now called Logan Heights and around Memorial Junior

High. The Logan Heights area was primarily African, but you also found Latinos in what is now called Barrio Logan. I lived there for a while on Sampson St. I rented a room from a Black woman. But in the area there were Latinos, some whites and Japanese people.

So widespread use of racially exclusive real estate covenants had ruled most areas of San Diego off limits to Blacks and Latinos. The 1970 Federal Census revealed that the only concentrations of Blacks and Latinos outside of Southeast San Diego were on the sites of former defense housing projects at Linda Vista and Midway. Thus, there were the restricted covenants and it was in Southeast San Diego where blacks could only buy homes. This very house where I live had a restricted covenant and was only for whites, not to African Americans, not to Latinos, not to Asians, not to Jews!

The restricted covenants were enforced in the courts, until the Supreme Court in 1954, when the covenants became unconstitutional, and in practice the restricted covenants were looser. But white real state agents or white people would not sell their properties to you. They would tell you that the prices were \$30,000 for their home, but the houses were being sold for \$15,000. In seeking to buy a house they would discourage you they will make the process very difficult.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

Among the first things Leon Williams did in 1947, when he first moved to San Diego, was to buy a house north of Market Street. It was on E Street in Golden Hill, a White neighborhood. Its deed said it could be sold only to Whites. Widespread use of racially exclusive real estate covenants had ruled most areas of San Diego off limits to Black, Latino and Asian people, beginning in the early twentieth century.

Leon Williams became San Diego's first Black city councilman in 1969 and the county's first and only Black supervisor in 1982. He retired from the Metropolitan Transit System's Board of Directors in 2006 after 30 years, the last twelve of which he served as president. In his political life, as a representative in the City Council and as a County Supervisor, Mr. Williams was very instrumental in getting such necessary social services as paving the streets, retrofitting buildings, and advocating for health, social, and educational programs with the City Council District 4. Mr. Williams elaborated on the socio-political climate of the San Diego City Council for District 4 upon his becoming a councilman in 1969:

Well, there were a lot of problems with the school communities of SDC Council District 4, like Lincoln High, for example, and Morse High School. In the late 1960's and there were students uprisings, and I would often find myself in negotiating situations. The students were dissatisfied with the way things were, not being fully recognized, and being upset about what was happening in the South of our nation. In regards to community resources the students were getting second-hand textbooks, and the school grounds were not well maintained, the school expectations were low, and a lot of things like that created disempowering educational and social conditions. One thing I did was to arrange the San Diego Unified School District to make traffic flow at Lincoln High School less dangerous. 49th Street was a through street and passed through campus. Given my political position, I arrange a trade so Lincoln High School could have one pad of land. The school district had land on the north side of Imperial Avenue and the city had land on the south side. So we traded the land, so Lincoln High School could be on the south side of Imperial Avenue, and 49th Street was closed, so it became a much bigger pad.

When asked if the schools were segregated back in the 1960's and 1970's, Leon Williams responded:

The schools with the Carlin Case in the mid 1970's became integrated, but in the SDCC district 4 schools one found the Black kids. The school facilities were not as good in comparison to predominantly white schools. And I guess segregation still goes on. I remember that the best teachers would always migrate from one school to another. The collective bargaining units in the school district had those agreements that they would move when they wanted to. So younger teachers would be hired to work in SDCC District 4 and even the less competent teachers would be placed where the Black and Latino/Hispanic kids attended. And once again, I think that's still going on to some extent.

By the way, when I graduated from San Diego State, I couldn't get a job. There were no Black teachers then in the school system, so that was not a possibility. But later, as a community person, I worked hard with the school superintendent from (1953-1954), and the following superintendent (1954-1969). They had the notion that Black people could not be a school principal. I was very involved in getting the first Black principal in SDUSD.

Regarding the socio-political relations climate between Latinos and African Americans, Mr. Williams elaborated on the following:

An important series of events speaks to the socio-political climate of the late 1960's and early 1970's that is related to your question and how I got elected to the city council, I was working with the Neighborhood Youth Corporation in the 1960's, I was quite familiar with the San Diego City Mayor, I knew him very well, we were friends, so when a city council vacancy occurred because the councilman from District 4 was elected to the California State Assembly there was talk in the community about getting a person of ethnic background to represent District 4. But, I had a pretty good job you know. The city council was paying \$5,000, and so I was not eager to be appointed. So, there was

this convention in Southcrest Park and the Black, Oriental, Mexican, Brothers (BOMB) got together and they asked a bunch of people to come to be interviewed and I was very interested in changing things. So, they asked me to do it. A Latino was at the same time supported to run for the State Assembly and me run for city council. So, there was the whole community involved in it. It was kind of a thing of working together; let's make a change, let's not fight against each other. Then I was selected as a councilman as you already know and I was there for 14 years and then I ran for the Board of Supervisors and won and stayed three terms in the Board of Supervisors. My work in city and county politics has always been to work for equality, for justice, for fairness, for people to recognize other people as equals and to diminish adversity and mean spiritedness as much as possible.

As to the social climate, while I don't think there has been a political climate issue, socially, there is some suspicion and lack of trust between our African American and Latino communities. To be honest, there are people in the African American community who feel that Latinos do not really appreciate African Americans because, and there are Latinos who do not appreciate African Americans. Many Latinos can pass as white, and don't want to take the risk of being perceived as being lower than Black folks and separate themselves from Blacks while thinking of themselves as whites. Thus in the African American community a lot of Black folks have a resentment of that Latino perception.

Resentment between the two ethnic communities existed and to some degree it continues today. I think resentment exists because there is fear on the part of Latinos that they will be put down if they associate with African Americans too much. In the 1960's and 1970's, back in those days, I would be in meetings where I would pick up on the resentment, and I always spoke a little Spanish, and was pretty good in understanding, and I would be in with some friends of mine and there would be Latinos and they would be talking in Spanish and I understood what they were saying. Latinos would select issues that only applied to them, you know, they would say...we are really white so this issue doesn't apply to us, but it did apply because I knew what the white folks thought. In my political role I knew the social issues and white people would tell me things that were prejudicial to both ethnic communities. So that was a bit of a thing, and I think that maybe it still exists to some significant extent among some people.

Socio-Historical Context of the SDCC District 4 Community

Mr. Williams first attended San Diego State University in the mid 1940's, when only eight or ten Black students attended the college. When asked to recall the context of the community and his experiences he answered:

Well, in those days 1940's to 1960's, as you can imagine, there was the practice of intentional segregation. I recall being a member of a group of people who challenge this social behavior. Even restaurants were not integrated in those days. There was a lot of racism in San Diego. In order to break the segregated restaurants, there were two groups of people, one led by a fellow by the name of Manuel Talley, Fellowship for Reconciliation, was a dentist here in San Diego, by the name of Jack Kimbrough. As a group of people, we would go to restaurants with a mixed group of kids and Mexicans

and Black kids and Asians, and they would not serve us. But our purpose was to occupy the space, given the Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court decision of 1954, it was not unlawful then. The law was on our side, but it was just the social institutions of San Diego continued to practice Jim Crow behaviors that it was Ok to separate the races such as in the restaurants, so we would sit in restaurants and they would lose business.

When asked about how certain federal and state policies hindered or helped people of ethnically diverse backgrounds, Mr. Williams remembered vividly how at one time the social environment for African Americans in San Diego County was very toxic, and past practices were enforced by legal and unspoken socio-cultural policies that discriminated against people of color:

I don't think federal laws, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 hindered people of diverse backgrounds. They helped because it meant nobody could enforce these restrictive covenants of segregation in housing and social institutions. Remember that at one point through 1965, we couldn't even go into restaurants. When I first moved to San Diego the only restaurant that I could go into was not African American or Latino restaurant, it was a Japanese restaurant. It was down on Market Street called Sun Café. It is still down there, on 4th or 5th on the south side of Market Street. I could go into that restaurant before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Then I had no restaurant to go to.

A significant piece of legislation was the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, signed by President Johnson. I was offered a job to direct a program under the Urban League's control, called the Neighborhood Youth Corps. There were a lot of things going on with that Economic Opportunity Act. Latino/Hispanics and Blacks were beginning to feel that we could be part of the society. Always before 1964, there was a thing that the government stood for, and I quote, "the man." It was always that notion of "the man" controlling everything, and the Blacks and Latinos were not part of "the man"... meaning the "White man". Under our governmental system, we had to struggle for opportunities to open up, and to create spaces of access for ourselves. And that meant not only organizing ourselves, but addressing what we called the "establishment", in such a way that we could be heard and could become part of it. Before 1964, there was a lot of talk on the part of members of the San Diego City Council about what "other people want". "What do those people want? What do they want down there, or over there?" And it was a matter of equal treatment, equal opportunity, equal access to social institutions ...we wanted the same things that everyone else wanted. Specifically, we wanted and want a good education to take care of our children, good health care, good housing opportunities, and a good job and so forth.

And there were a number of others of us. And there were a lot of Latino/Hispanics involved in the 1960's and 1970's addressing the inequality of governmental and social systems.

More recently, when asked about how some California initiatives passed in the past 20 years, such as Proposition 187 (undocumented people), Proposition 209 (affirmative action), and

Proposition 227 (language rights), have united or separated ethnic communities, Mr. Williams answered with the following:

Those initiatives that began in the 1990's, I consider very bad law, such as Proposition 187 that sought to discriminate against undocumented persons.

I don't think those propositions that were passed by California residents led to discussions. All of the three issues could have provided fruitful discussions to get at the problems and solutions. Yet, I don't need to have a discussion to realize that another person should have the legal rights like someone else. No one has to tell me that. However, I thought it was divisive. Not between African Americans and Latinos, but between those with wealth that supported the propositions, and those that controlled the media, and the politics of state as a whole.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the SDCC District 4 Community

Mr. Williams related that at one time, part of Southeast San Diego was predominantly composed of Black owned business and supported socio-cultural centers. Part of Imperial Avenue which crosses through the heart of the present San Diego City Council District 4 was self-determined by the Black community, with its own restaurants, law firms, theatres, and other establishments:

Well, at one time right on Imperial Avenue, west of town to 25th, everyone was Black, virtually everybody. There were a lot of people walking down the street, especially with Black men because there was nothing to do, there were no jobs at that time. There were only domestic jobs and many men were unemployed because the only jobs they could get were limited in numbers, clean up crews, few construction jobs, yet there were a few practicing doctors, and lawyers in the community. There were some business, restaurants, a couple of churches, a theatre limited for African Americans and Latinos too. Latinos had a few more privileges, I think especially if they had a lighter complexion, they could pass as whites...they could sneak in. When I was in SDSU, I had a friend, in an intercultural club that had Blacks, Latinos and Asians and there was one fellow whose name was Tejada, he had a sister named Raquel Tejada. In Hollywood she became a movie star, Raquel Welch, with her light complexion and change of name she was so OK to the film industry.

In those days, the districts were composed on the basis of registered voters, not population. That was a San Diego City Charter provision. So because I had what was then called Southeast San Diego –which included all the way down to the Mexican border –San Ysidro –that whole area was part of the city council District 4. So I had well over 100,000 people in my district. And other members had 65,000-70,000 members. Yet, my district had the greatest problems, because these were low-income Blacks and Latinos/Hispanics, and they wanted recognition, they wanted local government to be

responsive. So their attitude was, “You’re down there, man, you take care of it!” And the other members of the San Diego City Council were white, and as they saw District 4, were ok with them. So, they said, “Well, now we’ve got that unrest over there, Leon Williams, so you are now their representative, so you take care of it!”

When asked when he first noticed the businesses owned by Blacks disappearing, he commented:

Well, I don’t really know about that, but by the time in 1969, I was in the city council. I didn’t take detailed notice of the seriousness of the social conditions, it was something gradual that I documented as I worked with people. I remember when all the city council went down with a reporter from KPBS, and we did a tour through Imperial Ave and other locations in District 4, for the first time the collective city council saw the conditions and inequality of infrastructure as one compared District 4 to other districts in the city. A video exists in the archives of KPBS.

Another issue that Mr. Williams was instrumental in tackling was to improve the culture of District 4 with African American, Latino, and Asian people being having been afraid or not trusting of the police and vice-versa in Southeast San Diego. When asked about how he confronted the culture of police interaction within the community, he responded with the following:

I worked with the San Diego City Council, and I got the police to ride bicycles in the community in order to be more in touch with the community and see what was happening. We asked the police to get out of their car, instead of just riding around. And especially in Southeast community, they would ride and kind of stop people on the street, and interact with them. I said, “You’re a peace officer, you’re not an occupational force. You’re not Nazi troopers.” So I would get the San Diego city manager and the police chief in my office, and sometimes the mayor to discuss creating a culture of respect and service. And one of my arguments was always that most of the people see the police as adversaries, not as friends. And you need to be friends. You’re a peace officer, you’re supposed to help maintain peace in the community, not drive around like you’re a suppressor of some kind.

Intercultural Climate of the SDCC District 4 Community

As a councilmember who represented mostly Blacks and Latinos, Mr. Williams had to address a lot of the social and economic problems that affected them, particularly regarding the intercultural climate among these communities. He elaborated in the following statement:

In trying to create an intercultural climate that was responsive to all people in District 4, my day consisted of a twelve, fourteen, or fifteen-hour a-day job, primarily because I had

many social problems way down south. And I had many ethnically diverse people who wanted something, wanted the government to recognize them. And so I used to have meetings throughout the community, in people's houses in order to try to encourage people to participate – you know, community people in my district. I explained the way people can get the support of the city council – by going in front of the council chambers and speaking to them directly, not as one person but as a community. And they would often say, “Well, I got to work.” And I would say, the problem is “if you don't come down and help to defend your area when an absentee landlord wants to convert that corner lot into a service station, or get a conditional use permit to change the corner lot into a service station, and your house is across the street, what do you do? Can you take some time off to protect your house?” Those were arguments I had to make in the community to get people to participate. But the main problem is getting people to participate, of being listened by the collective city. Remember, in those days other members of the San Diego City Council didn't have much respect for Black people. I'm just telling you the way it was. The social respect level was pretty low for Blacks and Latinos/Hispanics. If they had come down to address the council about an issue it was not taken nearly so well by most of the council members. Yet, the collective voice is necessary to protect one's community. Thus, a substantial part of my effort was to create responsibility within the council that all the people within the city deserved equal attention from the city and equal service.

In general, both the Blacks and the Latinos were politically naïve for the most part. They'd say to me, “You're down there, you take care of it.” And I'd say to them, “You've got to stand up! So I would say, “you've got to come down to the council when decisions are being made that affect you. People in La Jolla, if they want their curbs painted red, they would bring 50 people to the chamber and make presentations and say we want this and we want that.” When the white folks moved, they got conditional use permits or zone changes to put something in the community that, from anybody's honest point of view, was incompatible with the neighborhood.

When asked about what events, people or organizations had an effect on the intercultural climate in the SDCC District 4, Mr. Williams reflected on the following:

In regards to improving the intercultural climate of District 4, I am not too aware of anything except for the Martin King and Chavez Cultural Center.

The Jacobs Center, I do think it has helped a little bit; both groups frequent it, so I guess it has helped a little bit.

I have a lot of appreciation for the Latino artists. I see a lot of inclusion of African Americans, like Martin King in their events. It is a unifying symbol. I think the Cesar Chavez and Martin Luther King connection this is a good one by Latinos. I do not see so much from African Americans because they do not do as much art. In my heart, I have a good feeling about it.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the SDCC District 4 Community

When asked about the intercultural tensions in District 4, Mr. Williams commented on the past and present conditions:

Based on what I have observed, I do not get into those things all that much. I do not dig around and try to find negative things. I have not been aware of any increased conflict in the African American community against Latinos, and I have not perceived any increase from the Latino community. There are some words around the community. Just the other day I heard that there was this place of hard, hard labor that a lot of Black men used to do. I heard someone say they don't see any Black people doing that. That was all I heard, and that was 2-3 months ago. I don't court that kind of thing, for one thing. So many people don't say those kinds of things to me. Maybe they have the same feeling, but I do not know. If they have something to say about it, they wouldn't say it to me. I do not court that kind of thing.

The tensions that I see have to do with how the rest of the city sees District 4, as not one of their concerns. For the most part the psychology is that north of Highway 8 is better. The frowning is on anything south, because those neighborhoods do not have the economic power and privilege.

But as I mentioned before, there is room to create trust and collaboration. Both communities need to interact with one another and work together for the improvements of the District 4. That means that both communities have to create the image in people's minds that they can live closer together, among each other as respectful human beings, and have more viable and more satisfactory communities.

Intercultural Collaboration in SDCC District 4

When asked about the history of the intercultural collaboration that has taken place among Latinos and African Americans, Mr. Williams recalled the following:

The convention by the BOMB (Black, Oriental Mexican Brothers), in the late 1960's...well, that was pretty significant event, as far as I am aware. In the late 1960's we were tired of segregated social practices and the lack of political representation, so we decided to take a stand together. In the 1960's and early 1970's there was always cooperation among the diverse ethnic groups in District 4. For example, when I was in the San Diego City Council, the 805 freeway was going through the communities and they were tearing down communities all the way to the south to San Ysidro area, and that was the district I was representing, so I spent a lot of time in San Ysidro talking with people and trying to help to ameliorate that situation. There was a Black man in the California Assembly named Leon Ralph and he got a bill through the legislative, signed by the governor called the Ralph Act that provided for some amelioration in the area of housing. That was a real problem in the south of San Diego. I represented Latinos as hard as I did African Americans, no difference whatsoever, I did not select one over the other group to do a better job over the other.

When asked if was there any negative feedback from the African community for representing Latinos, and how he was able to deal with both communities he stated the following:

Not whatsoever, in fact I got a lot of help from both ethnic communities. When first I got elected in 1969 I did not have any staff at all, so I had to work hard to get on board to have staff. When I got to the City Council there no previous staff that stayed. I also did not have a secretary of my own; I shared a secretary. Often, the councilpersons would get a stack of planning documents, and when the meeting was over with the planning director or city director, the trashcan was right down the hall. They just reacted to what they heard, but I was not satisfied with that process. I asked questions, I probed, I wanted to know if what was being planned was good for the people in District 4 and the city I asked, what did they think the government should do? I changed the dynamics of the whole city council. The people had a right to know about services and about the infrastructure of the city. After all, that is why we were elected, to represent them. I insisted on representing the people, and that of course changed things.

When asked about how his colleagues in the San Diego City Council reacted to his politics, Mr. Williams answered:

At first they didn't. I wanted the city council to be public. When I got staff, they wanted staff. I worked to get the city council meetings to be broadcasted on the radio, at first the councilpersons didn't like that, but I said the people have a right to know. What are we hiding? These are public meetings. Then we got video coverage and a lot of coverage to inform the people.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the SDCC District 4 Community?

When asked how he perceived the intercultural relations between Latinos and African Americans affect and possible social divisions, Mr. Williams offered the following insights:

Oh I see intercultural relations in lot of ways. But the way I see both ethnic communities in District 4, I don't feel there are divisions by ethnicity. Yet, many people do see divisions and I don't know why people do given their experiences. I feel the same about you as a Latino, or somebody else, or a Black person. I don't feel that I should be more sympathetic for one ethnic group over the other. Doing the right ethical thing is how I feel. It is hard for me to get in the mindset of someone else who has a different kind of feelings or experiences. However, I know that intercultural relations are not simply set behaviors, because I know that human behavior is complex.

When asked if he thinks that politics or education might be a way for Latinos and African Americans to rally together, he elaborated further:

Oh yeah! I think so, really, I think that education is a way to open minds and for schools to teach about questioning and to think critically is a way for ethnic communities to understand and respect each other. Knowledge and understanding builds confidence. Now, I might suggest one thing that may be able to help a lot, and that is for Latinos to learn both of their language, Spanish and English. Latinos tend to speak a lot of Spanish and for African Americans hearing another language that they do not understand, it can feel that they are being excluded. If I'm talking to someone and somebody else says something in Spanish, I don't care because I can understand a lot of Spanish, but some people feel excluded.

Language is part of intercultural relations. Yes, I think Latinos have more leverage in communicating than African Americans because when you start to speak another language, if two Blacks are together and another person starts speaking Spanish the other person doesn't understand the language, and the perception, right or wrong, is that you must be saying something that you don't want us to know about. Latinos need to be aware that being bilingual can give them more power, however, but they must use their language power to create more togetherness and be inclusive of one another.

When Mr. Williams was asked if there was any fear in the African American community that they can lose ground in representative politics in District 4 as Latinos continue to be the majority in District 4, he had the following to say:

Well, I think the fear is particularly what we were talking about earlier, that a lot of Latinos want to separate themselves, at least that's the perspective by the African community, and if they want to separate themselves, and this is the feeling of the African Americans that if a Latino becomes elected, then the Latino will forget about the African Americans in the district. So they have the thinking that you have to lead from the bottom, they perceived that the power structure of society based on color so for the most part Latinos are lighter in color than most African Americans are, so they would abandon the African Americans if they have the power, that's part of the fear, I know that, I know that and that would be the reason why people would be saying that because they know that an African American would lift for everybody.

When asked if he thinks the lack of trust is a factor in the social separation between Latinos and African Americans and how he felt about a Latino possibly becoming the next San Diego Mayor that could unite both communities, he responded in the following manner:

Well, I heard some people say that David Alvarez did not have any Black people in his staff, I heard that myself, and it was told to me when I was supporting him.

Overcoming such ethnic fears have to come from Latinos I think. Well, they could. I don't know David that much, I have not talked to him much, and I just supported him. I talk to him a little bit when he was campaigning and he came to the community, ...I got his telephone number from Linda LeGrette and I called him and talked to him a few

times. But his youth, commitment, and education are positive conditions. He did support an African American Myrtle Cole and both are working together to improve the social conditions of District 4 and 8.

When asked how one's color impacted Latinos and African Americans, he responded as follows:

Well, because the world structure is based on color, even in China the lighter color people make out better socially, educationally and politically. In Mexico I see the same phenomena too, I don't see any dark skinned Mexicans on TV and a large number of Mexicans are indigenous in nature. Racial pigmentation is a worldwide attribute for access and we should just admit that the world power structure is based on the color of one's skin. And I've been to China a couple of times and they told me there that the Emperor preferred lighter skinned girls around him in public.

Concluding Thoughts on the Past, Present and Future Conditions of the SDCC District 4 Community?

Well, you know part of the reason for me to serve on the San Diego City Council, I think was to work to assure that everybody should be treated equal because the city of San Diego has a hierarchical structure and its understood to be so. Low income communities such as Southeast San Diego, which is primarily District 4, San Ysidro, while part of the city are both regarded pretty much the same, kind of forgotten...if you are going to spend money you better spend it on the North part of freeway 8 or the middle and upper income communities.

So yes, there is prejudice in the city of San Diego based on the color of your skin and income. Absolutely, I have a lot of friends living on the north side of freeway 8, and I know of couple of teachers that teach on the north of freeway 8, friends and husband and wife who are both white. In our conversations they share their stereotype of the children who live south of freeway 8 and they would even complain to me, "Oh those kids on the South".

One more thing! I think that part of the substantial reason both African Americans and Latino kids are in trouble is because in some people's eyes they are perceived as not having potential. Our ethnic youth need to be strong, and it takes an exceptional person to know that if he or she is being seen as something less, they need to stand up and ignore all that and still be a person. Yet, it takes a special kind of character to do that and not everybody has it and that's why a lot of those kids don't perform well...the message they receive is not one of support for the development but rather that they will be a dropout.

I remember when I was in the city council there was this librarian who wanted to close the libraries, and the reason she said was because they don't use the library, they don't read. I asked well, do you have any books in Spanish, given that the community is Spanish speaking? The answer was no. If you do not respect their language you are not inviting them to the library. If you put books like Connecticut Yankee, the kids don't relate to that, that doesn't relate to them. Put something in that library that kids in that community can use. Although, they didn't close the libraries, yet other members of the San Diego City Council would have voted to close them down...that's the truth.

Through my political career I had to be strategic, while staying true to my values for equity and fairness. I was appointed to the San Diego City Council in January 1969 to finish George Stevens first term, and since he did only one year I had to get re-elected in September of 1969 for the next two years. Then I had to get elected for the next four years, and the next four years and remember this was not just in the district, I had to get elected by the whole city, I had to get elected in such districts as Rancho Bernardo and Point Loma.

San Diego City had what was called nomination by district by election at-large. I was elected in the city council, and when Maureen O'Connor was mayor they changed the procedures, that's how Wes Pratt lost to George Stevens because Wes Pratt was elected at-large, but George Stevens got more votes in the district than West Pratt did, but in the second election they changed the charter to make it district only.

As a San Diego County Supervisor, I faced lot of racism and sometimes I would take it personally because I was by myself, one Black person and eight white people, sometimes to be honest to God, I would have to cry, but I would go back and faced their prejudice. I was not confrontational because I wanted to get some things done and I didn't want somebody to write me off as not being real, or collaborative. But I would raise issues and would just put it out there, what I felt was fair and what was just...so I never attacked anybody because I needed the votes, if I needed something done I had to do what it required to get it done. And they would say "Leon, what do those low-income people want?" and I would say they want the same things that everyone wants...those people in San Ysidro whose houses are being eliminated, they just want a place to live. I wanted fairness for everybody; I wanted equal treatment. People want their dignity, they want their families to be treated right, for their children to be treated right, they want to work to have enough money to be able to pay for their needs...like you do, we are all the same.

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Case Study 5: Luis Natividad

Politician, Community organizer

Background

Mr. Luis Natividad, or "Louie" as he's often called, has been involved in the San Diego City Council (SDCC) District 4 politics for over a long period of time. He has been one of the

few Latino politicians to be able to work in two different cities: National City, where he has served as the Vice-Mayor, and in SDCC District 4, in Southeast San Diego. He has served as council staff under Councilman George Stevens and current Councilwoman Myrtle Cole. Mr. Natividad is one of the few Latino politicians that has worked and has been involved with the African American community as an intercultural representative between the two ethnic communities. The admiration for his work in SDCC District 4 is commemorated with an image depicted of him on a mural located in the Market Creek Plaza, one of the most lucrative commercial plazas in Southeast San Diego.

Prior to Mr. Natividad's success in politics, he tells of his troubled upbringing in Tijuana:

First of all I was born in El Paso, Texas in 1942. My dad was in the U.S. Navy, so I guess he went out to war and my mom came out to San Diego and their marriage broke up. I have a brother named Johnny and he went with me to the international border city of Tijuana, Mexico. That is where we were raised. My grandma raised me. When Johnny was in third grade, they brought him back to El Paso. My mom picked him up and brought him back to San Diego, and I stayed in Tijuana until 6th grade. So, I came back over to San Diego after my 6th grade graduation in Tijuana, but I couldn't speak English. So they put me back one grade until I learned English. The school system was going to transfer me back over to my corresponding grade for my age, but they never did.

I enjoyed the fact that I was different because I was in an all-white school. Here in National City, during those days segregation existed and there was two separate schools, the white school on the east side and on the west side was the Latino or Spanish school. So I was raised with white kids. I lived in the middle of the city near the east side. We really didn't have a choice; we had to go to that school. So, it was segregated era of our history, that period before 1954, and its corresponding events that shape my life and helped create my personality. First of all you know I was hanging out with gangsters in Tijuana when I was 12 years old and I was with *vatos* in the Coahuila area of the city. So I was 12 years old, they were 17 to 19 years old; they were old *veteranos*. I was like a *mascota* to them, you know what I mean? So I hung around with them up there in the *parque* (park). You got to like the area because you know, its like protection, I was in the Coahuila, one of the toughest areas in Tijuana, so I kind of like that. So that kind of mentality was part of and that way of thinking came with me. Socially, I was more advanced than some of the teenage guys in San Diego. As far as you know gangsterism (gang life) made you deal with people. So I really like the fact that girls were following me around.

In my school in the east side of National City, I think there were one or two Black guys in the school and there was only about three or four Latinos. So we were a few Latinos, and few could speak Spanish and I couldn't speak English. So we had a problem, so anytime there was time to seriously discuss an issue or something they brought up related to me,

the janitor was used to translate for me. I remember one case when they said they want to know if I wanted to go to camp. Camp!! I said No! For me camp was where all my friends were going when they committed a crime in the Tecate area. So, I said no, I don't want to go to camp and then I realized years out later that what they meant was the sixth grade educational camp. So I missed out, so what do I now. Later in life I raised money for any kid to go to the sixth grade camp. As a matter of fact teachers often call me and gave me cards that the kids signed to thank me. But you know what I've been doing this for years. I never did it to promote myself.

By the time Louie entered junior high, he began to balance his different worlds and discovered his ability to bring people together. He discussed this ability in the following statement:

When I transferred to Junior High, basically, I became an ambassador, a self-made ambassador so when *vatos* came to the West side and the teenagers from the East side came together there was a conflict with race, with background and culture and stuff like that. But I hung around with both east and west side guys. In the morning I went to school in the East side but in the evening I hung around in the West side. It was more exciting for me because it was easier to speak Spanish with them and do familiar cultural activities from eating tacos and joking without being embarrassed, you know what I mean? In those days you hid your tacos at lunch in a bag, we didn't have money to buy lunch so we had to bring our own. So it was easy out there in the West side for protection, I still love it. So when there was a problem at school I got in between, I was the middle guy and the negotiator. When someone new came to school I showed him around, instead of the teacher. So, it was in the Kinder to 8th grade school settings where I learned to come along with people different from me.

So, that was Junior High, so when I went to Sweetwater High School, and started surfing, I started hanging out with the surfers guys, so that was very unusual for a Latino to surf during the 1960's and I was still a gangster at night and then during the day I went to the "*playa a surfear*" (beach to surf). So it was the same concept as in Junior High and I don't know if the guys talked about me, because I was hanging out with the white guys. But there was some kind of respect for being able to walk both sides of the racial divide having communities that were racially segregated. I weighed 135 pounds, I was a skinny guy, but I was always defending myself, or the first one to start the fights. But, the concept of self-protection came from always being the small guy, and needing to prove yourself. So I went throughout high school socially interacting with *vatos*, whites, and any person of color, and yes, I got beat up a couple of times, but I graduated from Sweetwater in 1961 and got married in 1963.

So, the idea of going to college was foreign. One day they called a meeting, the Cazares, others and myself. There were 25 of us; we talked about how there were no Chicano cops, no Chicano teachers, and no Chicano lawyers. We also talked about where we live and how our streets were not paved, so we discussed ...look at this and look at that. I never realized that we have no one in political office and all of our politicians governing the city were white. So he got us all riled up and we met again two weeks later, I think only half of us showed up, the other half just accepted how things were, they are not

going to change. In those years there was not even any soccer in our schools, a popular game for Latinos. So we made that an issue because our kids were all skinny and none of us could play football, the American sport. So we wanted to have another sport that we could excel in. So we went to school and we asked for soccer to be part of the sports program, and they denied us man, they said no. Now everyone plays soccer, all the kids liked it and play and they don't realized that it was us that started that. There was a guy named Louie Camacho, a Latino, and he ran for the National City council. Louie was the first Latino council member elected in the city (1968-1984). I think he was appointed; he wasn't elected at first, but was reelected in his second term.

Demographic Shifts

When asked about the demographic shifts that he had seen during his lifetime, Mr.

Natividad stated that in the Southeast part of the city of San Diego, the shifts in demographics has been similar to the natural progression that most urban centers in our nation experienced.

Regarding demographic shifts, he reflected on the changes in the following commentary:

To understand the present demographics of the city of San Diego and you have to go back more than 50 years. You have to go back to when cowboy's resided in our region. First the Native Americans have been in the region for hundreds of years. The building of the railroads in the early 1900's brought a lot of people here and then the port of San Diego fishery industry brought Portuguese and then Italians. The diversity of San Diego changed and living together became a reality. First, you have the trains, then the people that own the trains and the people that work the trains. The people that put the railroads, so the people that owned the trains lived on A street, and then the people that worked on the trains lived on the West side on the shacks, so this people began opening businesses and they were making more money and it was time now to move to D street. And then the people laying the railroads said lets move to A street because its now empty. The real estate business got started, and now they are renting the houses on A Street to the workers. Look at Paradise Hills, the nicest houses were built as an affluent community where all the white people lived, and now you have the Filipinos moving in and now you have a Filipino community. The same pattern occurred in to the Black community, once you had a lot of Black people living together and now Latinos are the majority.

I recalled when I started the food bank, I was the first director and my office was on 3rd Avenue in downtown. At the time, every building in the area of 3rd Avenue had a Chinese name. Because the sailors had to come through the water on 5th Avenue in order to get to Broadway, there were whorehouses there, and my office was a whorehouse at one time. So the sailors would come in and they would be all *caliente* and all, the *chinitas* would be there and *andale!* That's how developing communities start, that's why the east part of San Diego was all white. When people of ethnically diverse backgrounds start moving in, white people start moving away. This is what happened to Southeast.

When asked what he thinks about Latinos being the majority in Southeast San Diego, he replied with the following:

I think ethnic shifts in San Diego have happened because a lot of the older white folks are passing, they're dying and they are leaving their houses to their kids, a lot of the kids don't want to live in ethnically diverse communities, so they either rent the house out or sell them to make money. Over the last 35 years the price of houses are lower in the Southeast area of San Diego and most people don't want to move there. The businesses are physically not nice, for example there are very few restaurants in Southeast Diamond community that sells breakfast, there's no movie theaters, there are no big groceries stores, there is no Safeway, no Vons.

Within the last 10 years Market Creek Plaza was developed and is owned by the community, a lot of people had to buy shares to own it. Those stores are having trouble because they are selling crap in there, the fruits have bugs in them, the floors are dirty, they don't have the stuff that you need. So what's the use of having a store if it's going to look like shit, its almost disrespectful! We want your money but we serve shit, the same thing with the meats, a lot of bad stuff happening. Improvements are needed!

I have been following the developments of Market Creek Plaza. The people in the community do not have the trust of the businesses in place. I worked for Jacobs for two years. It was run by two people there, they were non-Black and on white background. They tried to portray themselves as loving minorities, but deep inside they love money more. They were getting paid a lot of money and they promised all but deep inside they were not sincere and our people could read them. Then they start buying land banking, you know what land banking is? They start buying properties at low prices and they don't do anything to improve the properties and just sit there, and pretty soon they start buying everything.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

In reference to the socio-political climate of the SDCC District 4, Mr. Natividad shared his earliest memory in which African Americans and Latinos had gotten together to discuss political positions that would benefit and serve the communities of Southeast San Diego. This meeting was in 1967:

In 1967, there were two positions open; one was SDC Council District 4 and the other the California Assembly. We got together for the first time ever, Latinos and Blacks to discuss the two opportunities to elect people from the community for the two positions. We met as a Black and Latino community and after much discussion on the needs of the region; we came to that conclusion that it was not a good idea to run against each other. Collectively we decided to select two people one Black to run for one, and a Latino to run for the other. So it was, and we won the primaries in the 79th Assembly District with Pete Chacon. With the support of the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) and for the first in state political elections, MAPISTAS went going door-to-door campaigning, and we were on huaraches man! We went door to door. Then we had a meeting with Herman Baca: listen man, the Democratic Party offered Pete \$26,000 to support him, that's a lot of money in those days. At the beginning we were selling *tortas* in the corners of the community trying to pay for his campaign, so the Democratic Party

said we have \$26,000 to give you, but you have to get rid of those guys from National City. He said Ok! Thank you guys for your help, but we had long *pelos* (hair) from walking. He said I love you but. Anyways, in National City Herman Baca got pissed and we never talked to Chacon, ever again...*nos vendio el Chacon*.

Chacon eventually received 55% of the vote against the incumbent Tom Hom (Republican) in 1970 and he successfully held the 79th District for the next ten elections. Pete Chacon was one of the first Latinos elected to the California Legislature, and one of five founding members of the Chicano Legislative Caucus, founded in 1973. He would chair this caucus for fourteen consecutive years, and retiring from the Assembly in 1992. In 2012, Shirley Weber, a Black professor, won the 79th California Assembly District with 61.7% of the votes. The ethnic make-up of the Assembly District today is: 34% Latino, 11% Black, 19% Asian, 33% White, and 3% other ethnicities.

Socio-Historical Context of the District 4 Community

In reflecting on the historical context of SDCC District 4, Mr. Natividad remembered District 4 Councilman George Stevens as being one of the few politicians that attempted to build relations with Latinos:

In the SDCCC District 4, I used to have a limo company to earn more for my family. I had three cars, then business went bad, gas went up, the economy went down, so I remember a person that used to come to my business all the time, his name was, turned out to be a Councilman, George Stevens. He was elected; he used to come over here to meet with us at the headquarters with Herman Baca, a community activist for Chicano Rights, at his print shop. That was the headquarters where everyone met; if someone wanted to talk to us we could be found in the National City community that's where they came. We were friends from before; George Stevens was a Black activist from that community. In matter of fact he broke away from the Black Panthers and they started the US organization, with Zambuzzi and Sukudo, Sukumo, Msemaji... They were activists in the Black community and we were activists in the Latino community. So we did talk to each other and sometimes we interchange ideas. Still, I mean there was only one Black family in the west side of National City, the Whitney family. Jimmy Whitney was part of our gang. He was called "Lighting" because he was so fast. So we weren't exposed to Black culture as much. We were not dealing with Black issues, but some issues that impacted the black and Latino communities were the same: police and education issues, housing, health care... So we have the similar issues, but they advocated for the Black people. They didn't say well we need more police for Latinos; it was we need more Black cops, so we do this and we do that. So, I called George Stevens up, when he got

elected in 1991, so I said, congratulations I want to work for you. He said you Mexicans did not help me get elected. I said well, we did not help you but we are 29% of your district, so even if we did not help you, you still have to deal with us, in terms of people we are almost 50% now. The ethnic shift went from 29% in the 1970's to 50% Latino in 2013 or half of southeast San Diego is now Latino. So with 29% of the people, there has to be some cooperation now, Blacks are living next door to Mexicans and now you see Mexican stores in the southeast community.

So George Stevens ended up hiring me and remained councilperson from 1991 to 2002 for SDCC District 4. He had a choice, but it's really important to be elected in San Diego and so, he says even though you Mexicans didn't help me get elected, come over and apply for the position. So, I went and applied and he realized well, we need one Latino representative, so they hired me. But we were friends, even if he was my boss; we talked about social and political problems weekly. I'm good at working with people and brokering relationships, that is what I do, so I helped him connect with the older Latinos, and even the Black community embraced me. As a matter of fact, they still seek me out, because I deliver on dealing with concerns, not only I deliver to my Latino people but also to my Black brothers and sisters, that is my part of my cultural values. Whatever their needs are, I will get it done, such as: fixing potholes, getting lights on the streets, so George Stevens really saw how much people supported the work. So, it was stupid if he let me go, I did not give him a reason to let me go, because I worked hard, I didn't mind what they were asking me to do, even working on Sundays, I didn't care. So that was what happened, I was with him for over 11 years. That is a lot of years to work in one district.

Then, one of our staff members ran for office, his name was Charles Lewis, a grass-roots Black politician and he became San Diego Councilman in 2002. He was a soft-spoken representative of the city's most racially diverse council district. So I was with him for two years, and then Charles passed away in 2004, at a very young age of liver problems. Then Tony Young, another Black politician, who now runs the Red Cross, he became the SDCC District 4 councilperson from 2005 to 2013. When he got recently elected Young came in to a meeting I was having with labor union members and he fires me, it was 10 o'clock, but by 1:00 o'clock he fired me. Because I have been involved in the workers union since I bagged groceries, and I worked for Cesar Chavez so I knew all the union people of Local 89, which is the cement workers. I had organized the trash pickers, so the union people knew me, I believe, there is no question in my mind why he fired me. He would tell me later that I would take some of that power of the District away from him, yet I knew that he had no such power. Besides that he can direct staff people to do stuff and handled money, he had money to give away, he had that kind of power, but having the power of the people, he did not have any. He had to get the respect and he had to work for that. He told me later on, I want people to know that I'm the councilman, because I was already a councilman in National City. It's very rare to be a councilman and work for another councilman. George Stevens had encouraged me to run for councilperson because he knew how much I was needed in the region. Everywhere he went in the SDCC District 4 people attacked him by asking: why did you get rid of Louie Natividad?

I know that he regrets it and feels bad because every time I see him he is really humble. It was stronger because he let me go. He would say Louie, I'm going to help you get a job. People knew me more than him. What I am saying is that if I was the councilman and you knew the community and work, why would I want to get rid of someone

valuable? He proceeded to hire a bunch of lazy people, people that did not have any feeling for the community. People who just wanted a paycheck every two weeks, people that didn't go out of their way to do things. So, maybe that was the kind of people that he wanted, people that would go yes sir, yes sir. I had a lot of disturbing complaints when I went back, about him and about his staff. They would not answer the phones, they promised things that never happened. At least try to get back to the people and not just ignore them.

So, Myrtle Cole was running for SDCC District 4, so I went to work the phones to get the Latino vote and she saw me there. She got elected in 2013, so she tells her chief of staff to hire me. So her chief staff calls me to meet him, and it was not an interview, he knew who I was, and he was instructed to hire me. So I am back working for SDCC District 4

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the District 4 Community

When considering the cultural characteristics in SDCC District 4, Mr. Natividad expressed that Latinos and African Americans have learned to coexist with each other and to not pry in each other's business. He elaborated on this concept further:

It's been an unwritten law that Browns and Blacks who live next to each other, might say hi to each other and even bring over some food to each others homes, it happens occasionally and I'm sure that happens, but 99% of the time they stay with their own comfort zone. Even in the community, they might work next to each other, but afterwards they go on their own way. *Casi no se meten*, they do not socialize with each other. And it's the law of live and let live. I will shop where you shop when I need some certain things. You don't see a lot of Black people in Gonzalez in Barrio Logan or 43rd Street by Hwy 805. Those are ethnic stores, as they are called. So we have learned to live together, work together, coexist actually, but not to meddle too much with each other. I don't see it that working, yet it would be better for us to socialize with each other. Actually my work has been to keep the peace among each other's cultural community, from the seniors, whether they are 40 years old or teenage gangsters, that's been my job, to avoid community wars.

In the 1980's outside people started buying properties under the guise of community development that created conflict in the SDCC District 4. For example the Northgate store, in that area was commissioned to be open from the Highway 5 all the way through Logan until you hit Highway 805. It was supposed to connect the Highway 5 with Highway 805, and it was called the corridor. So, special interests displaced the people, and African Americans owned most of the houses. So they moved people out of the community and where were they going to go? La Jolla? I don't think so, and National City I don't think so because there is no room. So the only destination was south to San Ysidro. They started building 225-low income units apartments by Willow Elementary very close to the border and apartments by the Catholic Church. So now you have an influx of Black people into a 99% Mexican San Ysidro community without preparing the Latino and Black community about their mutual cultural ways and that created great suspicion and conflict. It's a powder keg man! You only need one Black kid to fight and it gets the whole community conflict going. So complaints from residents of the projects

ranged from expression of racist, anti-black sentiments to violence between teens. Even some community leaders from San Ysidro admitted that the presence of Blacks caused resentment among some members of the community.

Intercultural Climate of the District 4 Community

With regards to the intercultural climate between African Americans and Latinos, Mr. Natividad expressed that the lack of trust is a big factor in our fragmented relationships. He also attributed federal government programs siding with one race over the other as a factor that has augmented the tensions, which he explained in the following statement:

I know for a fact that every Black council member of SDCC District 4 has been open to Latino needs, there's no question about it. Although, there are people that say look at all those Mexicans are moving in and taking our jobs. Latinos say the same thing about Blacks, you know. I never heard of us saying lets not move to a Black neighborhood, we never see it that way. If a house is for rent and we can afford it, we just move in. But misperceptions of each other are real.

As human beings we all want the same thing. Whether you live in La Jolla or Maryland, or Washington State, or Oregon we just want a good job, descent housing, descent food, and descent school for our kids. However, our incomes determine what we can afford ... we all want the same except at different levels. I have never heard my Latino people say I want to live in La Jolla. I think if a *Mexicano* wins the lottery, he will just buy a duplex in the neighborhood, he will bring his grandma to live next door, you know. I don't think it matters. However conflict arises whenever anyone threatens our kids, then we step up. So yes, there is tension in our communities but we all want the same thing for our families.

Over more than 40 years I have observed that Latino and Blacks tend to politely tolerate each other, yet we do not go beyond superficial activities and getting to know each and work on creating mutual trust. I know for a fact because I know they feel like that, they do not need a Mexican in their associations, in their church, in their clubs or whatever organization. If you go to the retirement home behind Martin Luther King Park, its called the George Stevens retirement home, but you won't see any Latino/Mexicans, the same thing with our Latino organizations, you have never seen a Black individual run an organization like MAAC. Yet, it is the same in the Black community, they have the Urban League, the Neighborhood House, and they are led by Blacks from the directors to the managers. Its amazing man! So I started working for racial coexistence, in the Neighborhood House, that's how I opened up the Food Bank. I worked for Jacobs, and that's how we started the street patrols in the community, and that's how I sold stocks to Latinos, owners of that Market Creek Plaza, shopping center. Although, Jacobs owns most of it, the community owns 51% so they still keep the majority of the vote and can decide what to do with it. So in the SDCC District 4 the need to work on coexistence between Latino and Blacks is very important, because we do not trust each other.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the District 4 Community

Mr. Natividad attributes economics and the lack of resources as a major contributor to the tensions that exist among Latinos and African Americans. He elaborated on this in the following comments:

I think that a lot of times Blacks feel that Latinos side with the whites, so that creates suspicion and lack of trust and sometimes it happens because the white man is not stupid, he knows that by dividing us (Latino and Blacks) they can maintain political power. You know what I mean? You see that with the federal government programs that are perceived to be benefiting certain ethnic communities. Sometimes the federal government gives funding for Latino educational programs and vice versa. Blacks are perceived to be given special programs that deal with health, housing or education. Blacks then get mad at Latinos and Latinos get mad at Blacks, it is often done on purpose to divide the communities against each other. When it comes to immigration and undocumented persons looking to improve their lives, Blacks feel they are taking their jobs, they are not to happy with immigration practices. They want to protect themselves. So you have misinformation, misperceptions of each other way of life and culture, different communication styles, and you have the formula for mistrusting each other.

Intercultural Collaboration in District 4

Regarding intercultural collaboration, Mr. Natividad was somber about the prospect of collaboration; he expressed his feelings that money is the root of all evil:

Money runs every activity in the U.S.; it's not love, it's not color, none of that shit, it is money that creates differences, suspicion, prejudice. You tell me how much money the owner of Apple computers has? He or his family will never say I'm going to donate money to help the Latinos. He's up there in Africa teaching them how to water the plants and deal with their health and social problems. So intercultural collaboration begins within Latinos who come from different conditions of struggle—most poor and some very wealthy. Some do not advance the conditions of their people. For example, the guy who owns the fish taco Rubios, once said that his stores are not geared for Mexican people, and you know once his shops became popular, he sold it to a white company; he took the money and ran. So it's amazing that we need to get our priorities together, then you add ethnic and language differences, such as differences between Black and Latinos and you have a big collaboration agenda!

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the Diamond District 4 Community?

You know what I think, I think that there is an evolution among ourselves, but when you talk about the future in 30 years, about relations between Latinos and Black Latinos I don't know what will happen if we continue to compete for what is best for me and me.

Community needs get lost in the political world. I never ran for Congress or for the California Assembly, because I know what happens. There is a political machine that dictates everything, if you get elected they tell you do this and that, and the party controls you, that's how it works. I think its more of hey you owe me man, so you need to do this for me then anything else if you want to get elected, so you become a pawn. There is no question that the political system changes you, no matter how much you say that you are for the *Raza* and all, it doesn't work like that, they will tell you be here tomorrow at 10 and you better be there for the political party. You lose your individuality and I know this because here I can speak my mind and yes, I get in trouble all the time because I say what I feel and I never think twice. I say what I feel...I am known for that.

Yet, my priorities for the future are that we need to work for youth. Working with young people is investing in the future because, they, are an asset to our communities. Our work as adults is to make sure kids reach their educational potential and have the knowledge of their culture and language so they can have pride of themselves and to never give up. The other priority that is important for the future of the Latino and Black communities is creating job growth with decent wages.

Concluding Thoughts on the Past, Present and Future Conditions of the District 4 Community?

When you work in politics you will always get much criticism. During the civil rights movement you know, since sixth grade like I told you what helped me get elected is that I was not boxed in as I'm too Chicano, I'm too this or that. I was an electable person. I ran in 1969 but lost by 65 votes, but 30 years later I won. So when I was elected to the city council of National City, there was a guy that I looked up to in the movement, we worked together, we suffered together, and on the first day I got elected and was working for Tony Young (SDCC District 4) and I told him I got elected in National City and that I needed Tuesdays off. You know what he told me, he says sure but I will take \$10,000 from your paycheck. So you know what I make here, so when I got elected I voted for a raise, which was only 2%. Then I get this letter from this guy that I looked up to and in the letter it says: "what are you doing?" You dis-service your race. How do I think I felt? Look at me, I've been working since 1965, and I do not have anything now.

Last story I want to tell you, when I got here we had to fire the chief of police because of drinking or something. So when he leaves he tells the second guy in command, here is my badge and you are the chief now. So, I called the city manager and I told him you cant have this guy be the chief, he shot a friend of mine and the community will be here tomorrow if this happens. Even before I did that, I had received calls from people saying how can you let this happen and I said, hold on, I'm working on it give me a day. I just can't snap my fingers and make it happen. Eventually, we kicked him out also, but if I were not in the city council, here he would be the chief of police today...so you know what I'm trying to tell you. Getting involved makes a difference!

Case Study 6: Ken Seaton-Msemaji

Community and Labor Organizer

Background

Mr. Ken Seaton-Msemaji has a long history of engaging in the struggle and of organizing workers; he referred to himself as a Chavista and thinks of the late civil rights leader, Cesar Chavez, as the most influential person in his life. Ken Seaton-Msemaji has served as founder, president, and Chief Executive Officer of the United Domestic Workers of America (UDW). UDW is the first known successful domestic workers union in the United States, and only the third enduring union in American Labor History to be founded, built and directed by African-Americans or Latinos. He has over 50 years of community service that began during the civil rights movement and he credits his organizational successes to the early support and close relationship between Cesar Chavez and the UDW. The legacy of Cesar Chavez was always in the forefront of the UDW's activities and today provides union representation opportunities to over 400,000 California home care workers. When asked about his upbringing he related the following:

I'm Ken Seaton-Msemaji, born in New York and raised in Los Angeles, escape left Los Angeles in 1970 and came here to glorious San Diego. All my life even, when I was a kid, something in me always stuck in my mind about people that fought for fairness. I didn't understand what I was doing as a kid but reflecting back I can say that I am a human being that loves people and who thinks that best thing for everybody is to embrace the richness of everybody and create equal opportunities to move forward, and nurture the positive and not the negative things. I'm also blessed to have had the opportunity to work with a bunch of people from a range of backgrounds, some very famous and some you never even heard of. For some reason some community leaders took an interest in me, Cesar Chavez probably had the strongest impact in my life, even though I worked with Jesse Jackson & Ruiz Tijerina and spent a little time with Martin Luther King Jr. and Adam Clayton Powell all of them great people, but Cesar Chavez changed my life. So I'm a justice fighter for everybody...

Mr. Msemaji began working for social justice causes in Los Angeles in the 1960's where he was a member of Dr. Maluana Karenga's US Organization and was part of creating Kwanzaa! Eventually he found his way to San Diego where he became involved in what is now the San Diego City Council District 4 politics and became a permanent fixture in community's socio-political events. It was in San Diego where he first met Cesar Chavez:

I came in from Los Angeles in 1970 and not long after that I got involved with the Kumba Foundation, the foundation had two programs founded by the City of San Diego's Model Cities Program: one was the integration Institute of African American Studies, and the second one was the Communications Complex. I worked on the second and trained Latinos and Blacks, and even some low-income whites that were poor how to do communications. Communications involved radio broadcasting, journalism, and how to actually print a magazine, Cable TV...all those things that had to do with communications. We had access to 15 hours a week on PBS Radio. We had a magazine called "Kumba Time." That was the first real job that I had when I arrived in San Diego. But I got here because prior to that, you have heard of Kwanza right? I was part of the group that started Kwanza, I was working with Dr. Maluana Karenga group, and most of his African cultural ideas were his, we kind of help him push them in the community, so we had a chapter down here in San Diego and I would come once in a while, for an event or a special activity. So, I knew a lot of people including the LeGrette's and a lot of other involved people in the community.

Through my involvement in the community, this is how I met Cesar. He was pushing Proposition 22, I forgot what it was but it was in on the 1972 ballot, so he came to the Communication Complex, because that was one of the media outlets and he came to do a radio interview, we were enthralled with him and he was enthralled with us, and he stayed for hours afterwards. His staff was pissed off with Cesar because he had a lot of other meetings to do, but he stuck around. I followed him the whole time; Cesar remained in San Diego for about three days. He spoke at churches and universities, I didn't know why specifically I was following him around, but a few people were. But I did! I didn't see him again for a while until 1975 when the National City police killed a guy named Tato Rivera. There was a huge march to protest the killing, and it ended up in a rally at a Catholic church. The church was packed and a the guy who was MC'ing said we have a special guest, we had no idea that Cesar was coming, you are going to love it, but I won't tell you know... we will take a short break to go to the bathroom. Say hello to the person next to you and around you! As it happens Cesar was sitting in front of me, and turned around, and looked at me and said, brother Ken, how have you been? He said it like it was just yesterday when we met. So then we kept dialoguing and that was the beginning of a whole process that lead to supporting the work for poor people, not only to and the creation of the domestic United Domestic Workers of America.

He changed my life in some substantial way: my attitude about race, about religion, about violence and non-violence, in addition to all the technical things about organizing and all of that kind of the logistical matters. That's how I became a Chavista! Me, my wife, Fahari Jeffers, Greg Akili, Raquel Beltran started the UDW Committee in 1977. Most people that thought that it was impossible at in the beginning were right, but I believed in Cesar and he said that it's going to be difficult and hard and not to get any illusion that it would be easy. It will take the rest of your lives so if you're not ready don't start! Anyways, we did it and but when my wife, Fahari almost died in 2004 and at that time we left after building the UDW for its first 28 years. Cesar spent a lot of time with us besides people in the UFW, because he said that he always wanted to help the poor people, the domestic workers but that most community leaders always turned him down.

Demographic Shifts

Mr. Msemaji fondly remembered the predominantly Black businesses district in San Diego City Council District 4's most populous street, Imperial Ave. By the 1970's he recalled seeing Black owned business disappearing and the demographics quickly changing from Black to Latino. Reflecting on the demographic shifts, he also pointed to the fact that in District 4, the community continued to elect African Americans over Latinos. He has reflected on this in the following statement:

In the 1950's and 1960's the present SDCC District 4 was predominantly all Black. There was a Black business district up and down Imperial Ave. There was every kind of business that you can think of, insurance companies, banks, stores, hair care places, mortuaries, doctors and lawyers...there was every kind of business in the community. And that began to diminish in the late 1960's, but you didn't notice it a lot, but by the mid 70's the Black businesses gone. In the early 1970's the demographics in Southeast were predominantly Black, but there were Latinos and some whites and some Asians, particularly Filipinos. Over the years the changes have been dramatic, now it's overwhelming Latino. One interesting fact about SDCC District 4 is that it has elected African Americans to the city council for the last several elections but the people in the area have been overwhelmingly Latino. Yet, in the political ballots you might see a Latino name on the ballot and it is a consideration, but not the only consideration. Whoever is running your neighbor, cousin or who is presently representing you... that is your candidate, so they keep electing Blacks, they treated us well, and will continue to do so as long as the Councilmember represents them well!

In the adjacent SDCC District 8 they elect Latinos and in the SDCC District 9 it will be a Latino once Marti Emerald is gone. So the racial divisions it's not as bad in some ways as it appears to be, but it is also worse in ways we would not want to admit. Most recently, there was a Latina lady in the last ballot (2013), a very nice lady, but she only got a few votes. That goes to show you that it's not all about race but whom you know in the community and believe they will serve you fairly.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

Mr. Msemaji reflected on past historical events and present issues in response to the discussion about the socio-political community climate of San Diego and SDCC District 4. Regarding federal and state laws that affected race relations, Mr. Msemaji discussed how court cases in 1932 began to affect educational and social laws in the United States. He elaborated on the treatment of Mexicans that spoke Spanish:

You know before the *Brown Vs. Board of Education* in 1954 there was the Lemon Grove 1932 incident and that actually was the first court case to impact local area, but it did not get much publicity, but it was the first of those cases challenging the principle of due process and equal access. In a community like Lemon Grove, do you know that Richard Barrera's mother was a student when the case began and her father was among the leaders of the Lemon Grove School incident? I think he didn't speak much English, but he was intellectually sharp and he recruited someone that spoke English and let him be the spokesman while he did the organizing. So this is a good example of discrimination during a national period when the nation applied the separate but equal doctrine. In the 1930's Lemon Grove had one school for Mexicans and another for whites. Lemon Grove also did not want Mexicans speaking Spanish anywhere. So if you think of that, that was good for Blacks too because it sent the message that you are not going to get away with discriminatory practice that treated human beings unequally. While Blacks did not file a suit at such time, the legal case was coming...at the end of the day people won't tolerate discrimination, they will rise up and stop it. So I think court cases like the Lemon Grove decisions helped everybody.... whoever happens to be there.

With regards to anti-immigrant propositions that have affected the socio-political climate of San Diego and specifically SDCC District 4, he had the following to say:

Well, we all go through social situations that are terrible. Cesar Chavez taught me that when we have union members paying dues and they are electing you as their representative, you have to start representing their interests first. He told me, Ken I know that you are involved in all of this community coalition work and its good, I did it too, but at some of those community activities you wont be able to because you have to do the union members business first.

An example to Cesar's advise, I came to realization when Proposition 187 came about in 1994 and Pete Wilson was the Mayor of San Diego, I knew him and worked to get him to respond to the needs of domestic workers. And when he went on to become the governor, given his background in San Diego, he was moderate and I had the Domestic Workers Union, I convinced him to do the right thing and he was very supportive of home care issues and legislation that came to his desk and he took on the budget fights to fund home care. So my work was to represent all the workers from across the state of California. So we didn't oppose him when he ran for election, but there were several people, community leaders who did not speak to me for quite awhile. So when I tried to explain to them, they kind of understood philosophically, but they were uncomfortable with my work with Pete Wilson. It didn't last long, but that's something you have to do in order to protect all people, in my case the domestic workers.

When asked how the teachings of Cesar Chavez had help him work with the Black and Brown community, he elaborated on the following:

Working in communities the SDCC District 4, one has the responsibility to work for the people. Often the decisions are not easy. For example, well, Cesar was not in favor of undocumented workers. Once I was with him in the border city of Mexicali, Mexico and

he was explaining how people in the Union Farm Workers (UFW), just like today you will find Mexicans that got to the United States long time ago and now they do not want anyone who crosses the border to be undocumented and that they should abide by the law. Cesar hate that, what do you mean you have to abide by the law and he had to convince his people that they could not be doing this type of preferential treatment stuff. We have to go down to Mexico and organize them in starting service centers and social programs so they eventually learned how to provide services to people and possibly a future Bracero program. Just like the Vietnam War, Cesar was against it from the beginning and his members were not, so it took him some years to get workers to see the inhumanity of war. Same thing with the Filipinos, he went to Manila in the Philippines and liberal Filipino farm workers hated him, because they hated President Marcos. His position was half of my UFW members were Filipino and half of them want him to visit their homeland, so Cesar went for Filipino workers and not for him.

Sometime in our social movements we have to understand the rules and the rules are to do what is in the best interest of your members at the time. Try to have some long-term vision, they will embrace that too, but sometimes it takes time.

When asked specifically about the anti-bilingual initiative Proposition 227 and how it affected the socio-political climate in San Diego, he had the following to say:

Well, everyday Black community members that were not involved in anything would say, well they are here, how come they don't want to speak English? So in that sense there were a lot of Blacks that were irritated and held onto some of that negative sentiment. In regards to recent immigrants not speaking English, David Valladolid and I about a month ago met with Peter Chacon the father of bilingual education, who was in the California Assembly in the 1970's, he's at Frederick Manor, and now he is very old and his health is failing. He was under attack by those who felt that by introducing bilingual education to California schools that he was an idiot and a communist, but he understood that he was representing the community in a very diverse community and the right of children to receive an education they could understand while learning English.

People who understood the power of bilingual education people and were involved in civic life understood the legislation and it took some years and votes to pass and it did in 1972. A lot of the Blacks understood the right to bilingual education. From the Latino community when I needed help, I found my second mother Bianca Gutierrez who passed away in 2010. My mama was somebody that understood English but she refused to speak it. She became my second mother because when we started the domestic workers union there was no money or anything, so we were barely surviving and we were piling up in a two or three bedroom place with 8 to 10 people. So it was under those conditions that those years were very difficult. She was a domestic worker, she also had her five grandchildren, but for some reason one day two of our workers Charlene and Blanca came back to the union's office and they said you have to meet this woman. They said you have to go there, so one day I went to speak to her and my Spanish is and still is terrible and she offered support to our family.

So, reflecting on one of the things that Cesar taught us was the need to get to know a person. At first there should not be any union talk, you know how to do social services.

They need that, you helped them solve their problems and they in exchange help you build the union. Mama taught me the importance of knowing people; she had every problem yet found time to help others. Mama had a friend that was 20 years younger than her but they were best friends and she had 9 kids, so mama got many jobs and took care of all 15 people in her house. We would help by driving to places she needed to go, and piled all the kids to go where she had to go. In the evening when we had meetings with union members, she would go and listen and learn from their concerns. Bianca Gutierrez became my second mother and taught me to respect every single person. I never said I love you to her, she was a Latina and I am Black... it just happened. Yet, what happened was that her kids and her best friends kids got to know each other. I often made visits and I go over her house and saw the kids talking and playing. Some of those kids will shout "Papi," I said to mama what are they talking about? She told me in a straight face and said they know what they are exactly talking about, you to them are their father. The kids don't know anything else but you are the closest to a father that they ever had. So, in a couple years we became a family without trying, we just became a family. That was what saved me from all the organizing...was the love of my kids. I had four kids from a previous marriage; they always stayed with me in San Diego while their mother was in Los Angeles. So I had my own kids and the Gutierrez kids, and you get to a point of no return. You can't fight what you are.

When people get to know one another, they will support each other. So what happened in the domestic workers union, you will see with curiosity, was that members would bring big bags of clothes, ironed and folded that probably were used by their kids and grandkids who had grown out of it, as well as canned goods, food...etc. They would say, when Ken comes give him these things to give to others.

The people outside the union had a different view; they would say what's this Black guy doing with all of those Latino kids. Is he going to adopt them? And they would say why don't you adopt some of your own kind motherf***! But they wouldn't say it to my face. So the Mexicans were really confused seeing a Black man caring for Latino children. They would see the Latino and Black kids and think well they get along really good. But the white people would be very quiet, but you can tell they were bothered, to some of them we are animals, savages, and they would think, oh well Latinos and Blacks they are the same, they are on their own.

When explaining the current socio-political climate between African Americans and

Latinos, he expressed the following:

Let me give you another example, Myrtle Cole loves David Alvarez, she would fight to the end for him. When she was running for election, he walked precincts for her, Alvarez and myself were watching three polls to make sure that we were getting the vote out - she won in election night. So he did that for her, but its more than that, since she been in the San Diego City Council they have worked well together and they understand there might be some differences in certain parts of the community, but she would go anywhere for him and vice-versa, and nobody can mess that up, his enemies can't mess that up. So now it's beginning to come back. Those two will keep doing their collective work as long as they are in public office. So it's about people that are committed to help each other in order to improve the quality of life for everyone.

Socio-Historical Context of the San Diego City Council District 4

When considering how Latinos and African Americans could establish and develop a strong network to help with social causes of common interest, a recent event provided a possible scenario of how networking can play an important role in pushing social issues and change. He elaborated on it in the following:

I notice that both Latino and Blacks can work together, because I saw that in the 1960's and the 1970's. Many of the activists grew up together, it was a whole bunch of people, that network together and it has never stopped, It is still going on today with whoever is still alive. In San Diego it has expanded with new people like Richard Barrera, he's young enough to be my son, and he is a Chavista, although he never met Cesar but his values and life are tailored to Cesar's values. So, now when you have a network, it's hard for anyone or any color to disturb that, what ever we wanted to do we can do it, and not one will want to stop us, because we have a legacy. So its different for us, yeah there is differences between Blacks and Latinos, but then there are Blacks that wouldn't support Obama at first because they didn't believe that he could win. A lot of Latinos wouldn't support him at all, it wasn't until later than they met him, and well they said maybe he'd be good. So there is prejudice all over the place in how people see one another. But the white establishment has a hard time when Latino and Blacks come together because we are and been around for too long.

One example of networking is the current Superintendent of San Diego City Schools, Cindy Martin. We found her, we developed her, we trained her, but she is a great educator of her own so we put the politics together. I remember about four years ago I told her, Cindy from what I've seen in your work, you should be superintendent. She looked at me and said Ken, come on I know you do not do drugs, did you have too much wine...what's the matter? So I went and got Richard Barrera to speak to her and then she thought we were both wacko. So we said fine, we will leave you alone, but she was part of our education reform group that networked every week. Well, to give Cindy more time, Bill Kowba was selected Superintendent to be the best person to bridge between past and present administration, and that gave us time to approach other board members. They all wanted someone like her and why go to the whole recruitment process, we want her and it took some organizing. I use this as an example, as a way to show that when people stick together for the common, we can work for the civic good. So when we have racial conflict, and it happens when one group is hurting the most, and one can easily blame each other or someone in your neighborhood than to look at the root causes, such as policies that favor one group over the other.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the San Diego City Council District 4

Socio-culturally, both Latinos and Blacks are respectful of each other but they do not socialize much together, perhaps it's the language that creates distance between the two communities. Cultural events, sports and recreational activities are possible ways to bring people together. In the community, we see many types of cultural and recreational

activities taking place. Of importance is to keep in mind the importance of getting together or belonging to a team or being part of the community. Well, with Blacks and Latinos particularly, Latinos have family activities that take place around the year, and on special years, such as the *quinceañeras*, mostly Catholic ritual when a girl turns 15 years of age and is introduced to the community as a young adult. Blacks have Debutante Balls that are a Methodist and Baptists, Protestants tradition similar to the *quinceañera*. Both Blacks and Latinos are also very much involved in sports for adults; with Latinos heavily involved in soccer. Sports is a way to release tension without hurting anyone else, you can scream, shout, drink beer and eat...you know you have to go to work next day. For the kids its extremely important, whether they are going to go to a local event or a city wide event, the point is that that type of physical activity can give them a sense of team, a sense of self-worth. Sports can also begin to teach them discipline, it teaches them that nothing is free in life, if you want to be in the team you have to pass your classes. Success in school and sports is something to dream about, so it's the same for both.

Blacks and Latinos have special foods. Blacks might cook at home some soul food, but they love Mexican food as well. Mexicans are a bit different, they don't seem to deviate from their cooking, and they pretty much stick with Mexican food. If they go somewhere in the community, they might be polite, but they don't cross much.

For music, at least for the new generation like Hip-Hop it seems that both Latinos and Blacks share it. When I was younger the oldies were our music, but now it seems that Latinos are into the oldies more than Blacks, even though they are performed by Black singers. I don't know why, but it is what it is.

Intercultural Climate of the San Diego City Council District 4

In focusing on intercultural engagement or working in the organization of workers of different backgrounds and ethnicities, Msemaji provided the following insights:

What we need to focus on is the commitment to social justice that goes beyond working with some group of people. In the 1960 and 1970's in the United Farm Workers Union, we had an enormous number of people who were scared or frighten to collaborate across racial groups. People would say that the reason collaboration would not work is because most of the workers are going to be Black and Latino and they are not going to get along. And it turned out it was Blacks and Latinos, and Asians and whites, and even people of Russian background joined the UFW and many Latinos and Russian did not speak English. So I learned from Cesar's guidance, that upon entering a community, we needed to hold a meeting to explain the purpose of organizing. We told everyone who participated, look we are not here to tell people how to live their lives, that is your business...we are here as members of the UFW to gain fair wages and improve working conditions. We need every one to work for such causes, if we are going to win the cause we need to prevent differences getting in the way. What happened was that most people were relieved to know the reasons for organizing, because they were looking around and they were seeing people that they didn't even know. They did not know what to expect but they saw the strength of working together. The strategy we emphasize is beyond getting them together in the same room, we were very firm and upfront that any racial

discrimination will not be tolerated in the Union. We told them that we needed every one of them and that any racial discrimination would kill us.

In my conversations with Cesar I asked that he train me, I had a lot of questions for him, among my questions was the fact that the majority of the farm workers were Latino and Chicano and I'm not Chicano. I am Black, I mean I have Caribbean descent, but I did not know if that was enough? Cesar, said to me: Are you committed? Do you RESPECT THEM? Yes! That's all that matters, they don't care what you look like, where you are from, what language you prefer to speak, they will know if you are committed, whether you respect them and if you are committed to the causes of the union...they will come and that's how it turned out.

The whole racial diversity or differences is so important to acknowledge. By the time I got involved with Cesar I just came out of the Black power movement, and the Black power movement had very close associations with the Chicano movement and Asians, but it was very militant. We thought that every problem was a white man's problem and categorically we were against white people. Cesar would look at me and smile and he would say, you know who Clarence Thomas is right? Well, the version of Clarence Thomas was present in San Diego and it happens to have the same name, his name was also Clarence. Cesar would say to me well, you have Clarence right here who is Black and you have this white guy here, who is doing some good work. Cesar would say, whom do you trust? I answered, "Well I don't trust Clarence." Cesar would say, "Then you need to look at people beyond their color." Well, there was more to this, but eventually he convinced me that you have to view people as human beings and their commitment to justice. It is important and fine to be proud to be Chicano, but you have to be for everybody and you have to feel it.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the San Diego City Council District 4

When asked to reflect on intercultural conflict, Mr. Msemaji expressed that Latinos and African Americans have been conditioned to not trust each other, and each community are always on guard, he feels that trust is an issue:

When Latinos that are involved in a community social problem or Blacks are involved in a similar type of issue, they believe that each other is the problem. It doesn't make any sense because we make false assumptions about each other. These assumptions are often media manipulated that lead us into accepting prejudicial thinking, and both communities believe it. Now regarding people that have been really involved in civic activities for many years, they might not be crazy about Blacks or vice versa, but they know better and they don't step in each other's foot. At the end it seems that common sense reaches the top and if Latinos and Blacks want to be successful in San Diego they need to work together, because if you are not white you have to be ten times better to break down the doors of opportunity.

Another person who has worked for the underrepresented people was Willie Brown. He is probably one of the most successful politicians in the history of California. I got to know him since the 1960's even thought he was elected to the California Assembly in the

mid 1960's, he was always involved in civil rights issues, it never stopped him. He's always been extremely socially conscious and worked for social causes. He would make himself available to people in need. He could have been a professor or teacher because he was always teaching. He was the most powerful politician as the speaker of the Assembly, short of the governor, for the whole state. He thought that he was the best and he was kind of arrogant, but, he was Black... and he knew that he would always confront issues that white legislators felt they control.

When Mr. Msemaji was asked about how tensions could be prevented between Blacks and Latinos, he elaborated on how there has been a culture of respect in certain political spaces in the present San Diego City Council District 4. He elaborated on it in the following:

There is a need for respecting people's right to political opinions and to run for office. If a young Black woman wants to run for city council, I say well this is America, anybody can run whenever they want and we all have to respect that, but beyond that there is other considerations. In District 4 people have been waiting to run and in the city of San Diego Latinos are more than 1/3 and they have only one representative. That's not right, the present District 9 was created for them and there are Latinos waiting for this and they will be competing after Emerald moves on. So we need to be sensitive not to set racial animosity back. If people don't have a seat at the table because one of their allies took it, it sets you back a decade, maybe two decades. I have found out that bullying people is not productive or proper, but I never pushed someone to not run for an office. Racial representation will continue to come up and I'm going to have to do everything in power that a person get defeated if they do not have the respect of the community, after all people have to be treated fairly and if you are 1/3 of the population and Blacks are only about 8% of the population we shouldn't be working against Latino representation. Well, people can say there are Brown and Black, but Blacks and Latino s need to make sure that Latinos are represented.

We must learn that none of the community belongs to a person or to you or to anyone, each political district is a collective community and that's whom those city council seats belong to. Those who are active in the community need to take up the responsibility to maintain what's right, if not racial conflict is going to blow up and will send it back to the 1950's. This is important because most people who live in these ethnically diverse neighborhoods, whether they are eligible to vote or not, they don't keep track of all this political rights, I wish more people would be active and did more to improve intercultural relations, but they don't. Many people work 3 jobs to stay economically even, or are worrying about their kids joining up in a gang or getting shot, I meant they have personal stuff going on.

Intercultural Collaboration in San Diego City Council District 4

Mr. Msemaji reflected on the cultural celebrations in District 4 that are now being enjoyed by an ethnically diverse community, he elaborates on the following examples:

Music is a powerful way to bring communities together. A lot of that stuff that is collaborative happens. About three years ago at the Tubman-Chavez Center situated in District 4 there was a Latino folkloric group and African dance group for the kids. We know that parents want something good and clean for their kids and they don't care what it is as long as it is clean and good, and the kids are interested. So a lot of the Latino kids participate there, they want to learn ethnic or cultural dances and the woman that was running the activities would encourage Latino and Black kids to learn the dances. Since the kids liked the activities, so did their parents. The kids and parents never stopped and said is this politically correct, if it is good for my kids then its good for me. So the *Danza Folklorica* and the African Dance were back and forth. I think that when people have the opportunity to be in close proximity and engage with each other, and have a dedicated space they take advantage of the opportunity to get to know each other as opposed to seeing as a challenge or conflicting.

Teaching kids to work together is important. This past spring of 2013, when we had the second mayoral debate done by K-12 kids, a few college kids were involved but most were K-12 kids. The first one was done at Roosevelt Middle School and was entirely done by kids, they asked the questions, and they moderated. Prior to that we had 727 questions from kids, so we had to work with them to narrow it down to 15. So kids did it all and it was better than the one ran by the adults.

So these kids, mostly Latino, Blacks, Asian and white, are members of the school's Chavistas social service club, by doing activities together they believe that the world is theirs. Confidence and not arrogance was demonstrated. The San Diego mayoral was done by a coalition with many organizations and the local TV Channel 6 was present. As they were promoting the event, Channel 6 came to the Chavista club and so it happens that the two kids that got the more airtime were three females, an African American, a white girl and a Latina student. So you look at that and you see what tomorrow can be for America. The kids were confident...and what we learned from such an event was that kids are supportive of each other work better than anything that is around. The framework for collaboration is to teach our youth about leadership in our schools and about how to get involved as leaders, how to run meetings and prepare agendas, how to have elections to vote for officers, and work for social justice in their community.

Now going back to the Latinos and Blacks in San Diego, at the end of the day you have to be able to be real good at whatever you do and you will get even further if both ethnic communities work together. A good sign is the Latino Association of Employees have been going on for quite some time and five years ago they asked a small group of us (Linda, Carlos and Richard) that they were doing a Cesar Chavez celebration every year and they wanted us to come and do a panel for their members. The Association had the good judgment to bring kids that educationally cares for homeless youth, from the MONARCH school, and we presented the values of Cesar, since I was so fortunate to have had that experience in life. It is now an annual event and every year they ask us to come back and Filipinos want us to come and speak to their group because of the history between Cesar and the Filipinos. Now, the San Diego Black County of Employees Association is starting to work hand in hand with the Latinos. What they would do is

share information if something comes up to be able to compete for jobs. So as you can see, I believe that building trust and collaborating across ethnic lines will take our community to the next level of responsible representation and taking care of each other.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the San Diego City Council District 4?

Time is beginning to work on our side as we work to elect representatives that are part of the community. A good recent example, is Dr. Shirley Webber, her California Assembly District 79 covers some San Diego, a little bit of Lemon Grove, a little bit of la Mesa, some National City, and some Chula Vista and in her district Blacks are 6th percent of the voters. Everyone else is Latino, white or Asian and she won the district overwhelmingly and it was not based on the color of her skin. So it's a challenge being accepted as a legitimate leader regardless of your color or the voter's color, but that's an evolutionary thing. When we get to local city council districts, Blacks can't get elected anywhere other than District 4th district. Unless you are Shirley Webber and even that may be different for a city council seat. So we have to build coalitions and awareness that whatever color you are or neighborhood you are from, it should be secondary. If you have a good track record and are prepared to represent the community that should be enough, and the general public will know. Until we get there with our awareness, and that becomes part of our genuine values, we will see leaders working for the benefit of each other as opposed to working against each other.

Concluding Thoughts on the Past, Present and Future Conditions of the Council San Diego City Council District 4 Communities?

There are good things going on like PIQE (Parent Institute for Quality Education), the Cesar Chavista service clubs in our schools, and there are other community programs that are working to create awareness and in improving the collective wellbeing of our low-income communities. Keep doing it and keep doing it especially for the benefit of all human beings and not just for one community of color.

You know who Malcolm X was, right? Well Malcolm X and Martin Luther King (MLK) used to be friends, they used to call each other, although they only met once I think. Malcolm X would say to MLK, I'm coming to Mississippi and I'm going to talk a little bad about you and MLK would say well I'm coming to New York and would do the same. But they understood that they needed each other to open doors of dialogue.

You have to understand that there are many roads to any goal. All roads don't have to be the same to get at the same goal, understand the difference and understand the need for different pathways and you can get more accomplish, there is no one way to anything you wish to pursue.

Many people thought of Chavez as a Chicano as a civil rights leader and forgot about the labor part. He was for Chicanos and Mexicans and they thought that was it, but Cesar was the first one to stand with Bobby Seale from the Black Panther Party. I don't agree with the violence, but I agree with everything else that deals with seeking social justice and the need to protest injustices, and such struggles that seek solutions, that are real and

serious issues.... I support them. Yet we need to be on the alert to provide and communicate with the people across racial boundaries. Among leaders in our communities, we sometimes have emotional outbursts that are based on misinformation. Misinformation is a threat to the work for justice.

When a leaders works for the people s/he will be respected. In Florida there were about thousands of workers that worked for Coca-Cola. 90% of them were Black, their connection and relationship with Cesar was the same as Latinos, Filipinos, there were Arabs and Jews in the field at that time. All of those people had the same relationship, and they respected him. He was not only a Chicano leader, he was a leader for low-income people and he never shied away from that. How many Blacks wouldn't stand with Bobby Seale or h?

People from the left have been instrumental in opening the doors of dialogue. One such event took place in 1967, a conference was called in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Latino, Native American, Black leaders, and from all over the country came to meet. Among the leaders was Reyes Tijerina's Alianza del Pueblo. Tijerina was a fire cracker like Malcolm, and then you had people like Corky Gonzalez from Colorado, US Organization led by Ron Karenga, all of these different people met to solidify their relationships and work for justice. In his speech Karenga who knew several languages, began his speech by saying "*gente de color vamos a sobrevivir.*" A collective document was signed that called for mutual support of each others work for undoing injustices.

There are some amazing people that are proud of their culture, but they are also proud of us. And in the 1960's it was not hard to build a strong coalition. In San Diego, the Brown Berets and Blacks and Browns were fighting each other. Community leaders intervened and convinced them that the enemy was not each other. They joined the civil rights movement and the bottom line was that you are not going to fight each other. The Brown Berets and US organization did stuff like that and there was even a time in Los Angeles that the gangs were eliminated, they came back once the movement was over.

Case Study 7: David Valladolid

Community Organizer, Leader and Educator

Background

Mr. David Valladolid is a Chicano/Latino leader in the community of San Diego. Mr. Valladolid is a graduate of San Diego State University (1975) and is married to Teresa Pascual Valladolid and has four children: Dave, Sara, and Maite and Evita. He is a Vietnam Combat Veteran (1968-69) who was wounded twice and is a Purple Heart recipient. His older Brother Jerry also served in combat in Vietnam with the Big Red One (1966-67).

Over the years, David has held many positions advocating for Civil Rights, including as a consultant for the California State Department of Fair Employment and Housing and as Senior Deputy Labor Commissioner for the California Department of Industrial Relations. He served as Chief of Staff for Assemblyman Peter Chacon (79TH Assembly District) and as Legislative Consultant to Speaker California State Assembly, Willie Brown. He worked as the Policy Administrator for the United Domestic Workers of America (UDWA), and over the last 18 years, David Valladolid has served as the National President and CEO of the Parent Institute for Quality Education (PIQE). Mr. Valladolid has extensive knowledge and experience in statewide management, leadership, fundraising and program administration.

When asked to reflect on his Chicano/Latino & Mexican identity he explained:

Well, I often tell people that I was born in Mexico and when asked where in Mexico, I tell them I was born in Oxnard and they tell me that Oxnard is not in Mexico. I explain that on my mother's side I am sixth generation Californian; I didn't cross the border, the border crossed me. On my father's side I am first generation because he crossed over during the "Cristero War/Movement" in the State of Michoacán in the mid-1920s. Unfortunately, he passed away very young; he was only 39 and left my mother with five children. We were living in Fresno, California at the time and five years later we moved to San Diego because her sister Eleanor Olvera and her father Ysaías Torres had moved to Ensenada, Baja California. My father's two brothers, Rodolfo, lived in Tijuana, Mexico and Antonio and his family lived in Chula Vista, California. So they all convinced her to move her five children here to San Diego, to have more family support and she did.

We lived initially in mid-city San Diego in a one-bedroom house with six family members. Several years later, because my mom was a Registered Nurse having graduated in the class of 1939 from St. Mary's Help Hospital in San Francisco, she applied and was offered a position at the Visiting Nursing Association (VNA) in San Diego. That allowed her to eventually buy a home in North Park, where she moved all five of us. We were the first Latino/Mexican family to live in North Park. At the beginning, we were not well received. Many of the neighbors moved out of the area and needless to say, there was tension and disputes with many of the young kids who lived in the neighborhood.

Mr. Valladolid fondly recalled his early relationship with the African American community, which he found to be very positive and supportive. He explained how an African American doctor provided free health care to his mother and family:

My father befriended many African-American workers in his neighborhood and they visited our home on a regular basis. When we moved to San Diego after my father's passing, my mother was told by some friends in Fresno to look up E.B. Singleton. She did research on him upon arrival in San Diego and found out that he was an African American Medical Doctor with a Health Clinic on 43rd and National Avenue. He adopted our family and gave us free medical care and wouldn't let my Mother pay a cent. So it was my father and mother laying down that foundation, that the African-American community is part of our family. And then Dr. E.B. Singleton adopting us here and making us feel accepted and embraced, we all developed a close bond with the African-American community. Parents definitely play a critical role in promoting respect and unity between ethnic communities!

Demographic Shifts

When asked to reflect on the demographic shift that has taken place in what today is the San Diego City Council District 4, Mr. Valladolid recalled that such shift occurred as early as the 1970's. At the time, the residents of District 4 were primarily African-American. Yet, despite their large representation, they lacked a voice on the City Council.

He asserted that it was important for African-Americans to be represented by an African American in Southeast San Diego by explaining the following:

In the late 1970's and early 1980's, with the Chicano movement in action, the Latino community came to the understanding that the African American community would never be able to elect an African-American to the city council because they did not have the numbers; but at the same time they deserved to have a representative on the city council. So the Chicano/Latino and African American community leaders came together and defined the district as an African-American district and that was the only reason why, for so many years, it has had the leadership of an African American person in the 4th District...even to this day. Yet, I hear some young Latinos/Chicanos saying that we need to take that district back; we are the majority in San Diego District 4 and why are we allowing an African American to represent us? When I have the opportunity, I take time to give them a little bit of history as to why we need to support the African American community. It was done with the intent to bring our communities together and create family and extended family bonds.

Mr. Valladolid further elaborated on the recently adopted San Diego City Council 9th District, which was formed as a response to the growing demographic representation of Latinos south of Highway 8. He explained the reason why this happened in the following explanation:

In spite of creating the 9th San Diego City Council seat, I would still argue that the African American community still deserves to have a City Council person representing

them in the 4th District. In the 1970's we fought for representation, I was Chairperson of the Chicano Federation Board and we filed several lawsuits against the city of San Diego because they wouldn't allow "District Elections" and we could not get a Latino elected and it was not until we removed the City-wide at-large elections and created specific district elections that Chicanos/Latinos started getting elected. Attorney Mike Aguirre carried all of those cases and prevailed in eliminating the discriminatory practice of citywide elections.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

When asked about the socio-political climate between Latinos and African Americans in the city of San Diego, Mr. Valladolid recalled how his parents exemplified the respect felt between all communities. Mr. Valladolid stated:

As I mentioned before, my father, before he passed away in Fresno, bonded with African Americans. So our home, every night, was full of African American workers that worked in the area. So, they would come over to visit him. When he died they still kept coming to help with yard work, take out the trash, and sometimes they would scare us because they would come over late at night and they'd be drinking and calling out for Jerry, my father. My Uncle Frank had to ask them to stop this practice and he would tell them that Jerry wouldn't want you coming over and scaring his family. You need to leave this area at night so you don't scare his children. My mother would tell us that my father was respected because he related to all people as human beings. From my mother I also learned to respect our fellow members of our ethnic communities. She would counsel and advise us not to react to the hostility of others but to embrace them and eventually they would be our friends. Her most common advice was, "If you don't have something nice to say; its better not to say anything at all!" That eventually happened in our neighborhood; we have Anglo friends to this day that grew up with us.

Mr. Valladolid remembered questioning his origins; he learned early on that he wasn't accepted by Mexicans, either in Mexico or in the United States, or by Whites, so to him it was natural to unite with African-Americans and to become active in the Chicano movement in order to establish his own identity. He elaborated about his return from Vietnam:

My older brother and I are both Vietnam combat veterans. We bonded a lot with the African-Americans in the military. When we came back it was the beginning of the Chicano Movement. I remember returning to the United States in 1969 and my older and younger brothers (Jerry & Tony) saying that they were going to take me to Los Angeles. When I asked why, they said they were taking me to the Chicano Moratorium. I said, first tell me what a Chicano is and then tell me what the moratorium is for. They explained to me what a Chicano was, how it was about self-determination, knowing our

ancestral roots, defining who we were and not letting others define us. Having come from that sense of growing up in a vacuum, not having a strong sense of identity with either the United States or Mexico, the Chicano movement made real sense for me, and provided a search for my own identity and purpose to improve our communities. The Chicano Moratorium was the first united stand against the war in Vietnam by the Latino community. It ended up being raided by the LA Police and they killed LA Times reporter Ruben Salazar and 3-4 young Chicanos during the riot. The police arrested 100s of Latinos at the event.

Given the most recent developments in the city of San Diego, and David Alvarez running for mayor of the city, Mr. Valladolid reflected on the socio-political climate change in San Diego:

David Alvarez's running for the office of San Diego Mayor offers a hopeful direction, and a hopeful vision for our city. Yet he is confronting a city that has been run by the haves and he's going to have to learn how to work and navigate through a business owned city/community that is often not interested in investing in improving ethnically diverse low-income communities. David Alvarez has a bright mind and is a young politician who cares about developing low-income communities. I hope the community comes out and supports him. He has gained the support of most Latinos and African Americans.

Socio-Historical Context of the San Diego City Council District 4

Considering the socio-historical events over the past 50 years that have offered hope for improving equal opportunity for all residents of our nation and specifically Latino and African Americans, Mr. Valladolid stated:

Over the past 40 years, I have been witness to many civil rights events in San Diego that have had as their attempt/goals to advance equal access to opportunity for all residents of the city and county. Much passion has been demonstrated by community leaders committed to improving the inexcusable conditions facing low-income communities, from housing, health care, jobs, neighborhood conditions and educational equality. Upon my return from combat in Vietnam in 1969, I embraced the belief that the only way out of poverty and oppression was through education, being organized and actively involved in the community. Working with people of many multicultural and religious backgrounds throughout my professional career, I have dedicated my life to improve the lives of working families and low-income communities. As a legislative consultant to California Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, I engaged communities throughout California in using the process, such as working to be involved in the legislative district reapportionment process in ways that it gave voice to under-represented people and finding ways for communities of color to become active in the political process. As chief of staff to California Assembly member Peter Chacon, I worked to initiate community councils to identify important public policy issues that could be addressed through legislation. As the political director for the United Domestic Workers (UDW), I played

key roles in organizing campaigns and supporting critical legislation to protect home-care workers. I bonded with two of the founders of UDW, Ken Seaton Msemaji and his wife Fahari Jeffers and they became part of my family to this day. Over the last 18 years, my work with PIQE has been to work across ethnic communities to improve educational opportunities for all low-income students.

While gains have been made in San Diego and California, much disparity still exists in the case of student school dropout rates, the majority of our jails have over-representation of Latinos and African Americans and quality housing conditions remains a challenge for the majority of low-income people.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the San Diego City Council District 4

Mr. Valladolid reflected on the socio-cultural differences of the existing political service area of the San Diego City Council District 4. He stated:

I have seen San Diego City Council District 4 go through many changes over the last 40 years. Traditionally, over the last 40 years the political service area of the 4th District has been perceived as an African American one, yet over the last 30 years Latinos have increased their representation creating a perceived social representational tension. While racial interaction between the Latino and African-American communities is limited, language (Spanish and English dominance) and cultural traditions (cultural norms and values) are conditions that create differences. Another condition is the perceived levels or lack of assimilation and ethnic identity of both groups.

Another disempowering condition is how outsiders perceive San Diego City Council District 4 and its diverse ethnic makeup. It is most often perceived from a deficit perspective. For example, it views low-income parents as not caring about the education of their children. Yet, what I have seen over many years at PIQE is that low-income parents care as much about a quality and post-secondary education as any parent of any social background. In my present work over a half-million low-income parents have demonstrated to be strong advocates for their children's education, and exercising their leadership to gain access to educational resources and services in spite of their own lack of formal education, social class, immigration status, or language barriers. The dedication to their low-income children and ethnically and linguistically diverse youth is consistent, unselfish, and humane.

Intercultural Climate of the San Diego City Council District 4

Upon return from military service, Mr. Valladolid attended San Diego Community College and San Diego State University and began working in the local and state government sector, where he experienced a disenfranchised intercultural community. He explained his experiences with the intercultural racial climate in the following statements:

The San Diego community being close to the border, one often deals with people who perceived Latinos as recent immigrants or as undocumented. One particular African American individual and leader at a community gathering on border issues stood up and called for the newly arrived brown people to go back to Mexico. I told him, this was Mexico at one time. You are talking about half of Mexico's territory being stolen by the United States. I told him, I do not understand how you can claim we just got here when I have been here for six generations, and it is not ever like we just got here. It was ignorance of historical events, because he couldn't respond to my comments. He was like, "Wow".

The media plays an important role in shaping people's perceptions. The San Diego and national media often portrays Latinos like we are all newcomers, and such negative reporting practices continue. The way news is reported shapes the perceptions of adults who in turn transmit such perceptions to their children. When you hear negative perceptions about people of color at home, such as those wetbacks are trying to take over our jobs and you go out into the streets the tension can easily escalate and explode.

In the case of Latino immigrants who live in communities with African-American and are perceived as maintaining and using their Spanish language, the uninformed African American community feels that Latino immigrants are unwilling to assimilate. They are keeping their ways of behaving and retaining their own culture and their own language, and they reject the American ways.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the San Diego City Council District 4

When reflecting on the intercultural conflicts that Mr. Valladolid experienced as the result of being one of the first Mexican families to move into the neighborhood of North Park in the 1950's, Mr. Valladolid recalled the following:

In the early 1950s there was a lot of tension. Kids in the neighborhood and adults had grown up under a separate but equal doctrine and the nation was moving towards integrated communities as a response to the 1954 Brown Supreme Court Decision. When my Latino family moved into North Park, San Diego, many neighbors moved out. As a young man I could feel a lot of tension. My brother and I were in a lot of fights. I had two brothers and people would come by and yell, "Wet backs!" They would say, "Go home!" and we would call them back and get in fights with them. So we grew up in social tension in a time when our nation was uninformed and discriminatory practices were tolerated.

Every week end or during school vacation days, my mother would send us to Tijuana or Ensenada to be with family. In Mexico we experienced similar rejection and we were called "Pochos", for not speaking Spanish well and using English to communicate. So we would get into fights in Mexico with Mexican youth. We finally came to the realization that we were living and growing up in a vacuum and we did not belong to either side. Fortunately, we had a mother that taught us that if you treat people the way you want to be treated, you could win them over, and with time we did. Even to this day

I have friends that came out of the North Park community, which we remain very closely bonded.

When asked about the lack of interaction between Latinos and African-Americans as one of the main aspects as to why tensions existed between the two communities, he elaborated on how *convivir* (sharing physical space) in a legitimate way could eradicate the tensions between these two ethnic communities:

For the most part, I think that it's based on a lack of understanding and interaction with one another and the lack of being open to our differences and/or expressing acceptance of one another. Given my history of working close to African-American on social issues, I find that I can easily bond with the struggles of Blacks or poor people in general. The other day in El Centro, Imperial Valley, where my wife's family lives, which is majority Raza/Mexican American, we were visiting her family. They live in the East Side part of the Barrio of El Centro. We took my mother-in-law for a walk and all of a sudden there was a house with three or four cars with all African-Americans, drinking and partying and suddenly three or four saw me and I said "What's happening Brothers?" and they stopped what they were doing and came over and began shaking my hands and my mother-in-law asked my wife, why do they treat him like that way? I know that when I connect and show them respect, they know its real, it isn't phony and it isn't pretentious. So one of the challenges that face San Diego City Council District 4 is finding ways to *convivir*, to find mutual spaces of collaboration, and work together respectfully on behalf of each other's families. *Convivir* with each other is a most important goal!

When asked about why, historically African-American and Latino communities have been seen as not being able to work together, Mr. Valladolid expressed that Latino and African-Americans adults over the last 50 years have been viewed with hate and contempt by the Euro-American middle and upper class. This was particularly true towards Latino and African-Americans youth. He elaborated on his perceptions:

At the local and national level, as well as the global level, I have seen social problems in our community that are related to educational access and personal caring for the poor. In 2014, the Campaign for College Opportunity, led by Executive Director Michele Siqueiros reports that a large number of Latino and African American youth are being locked up in jails and prisons; thousands of our youth that are dropping out of school; and, that less than 5 out of 100 that begin their schooling get a college degree. These statistics are present in the San Diego City Council District 4. Thus, if as a nation and community we treat youth with hate and contempt, we are teaching hate, and we will end up understanding that hate and contempt destroys the hopes and dreams of our youth. We must work with our schools and families to understand that prejudice towards others is

not a natural thing. And if prejudice to others is taught, it can be untaught, and I think parents play a major role in that endeavor. But I also think that our Latino and African-American youth and communities can also play a role in bringing us together by understanding that our greatest power for change will come when we can come together and be organized/united.

Intercultural Collaboration in District 4

When asked to elaborate further on how his early upbringing and his father was able to showed him how to collaborate with African Americans and how he presently sees the importance of the power of unity, he explained:

“I think my father got more personal acceptance working with the Black families than he did with White families in Fresno in the early 1950’s. Fresno was not what Fresno is today, it was controlled by wealthy landowners, and I think he was able to make personal connections with those he worked with. I was so young when he passed away that I didn’t get to know him that well, but he was a very incredible person. By all types of stories and definitions of people that got to know him, he had an incredible ability to bond with the people around him by showing respect, caring, and helping others in need. So my early upbringing is the foundation that connects me to the African-American community. I have two African-American daughters who adopted me as their father. One is Ms. Sherehe Hollins, she is a great poet who found her African-American roots when she visited and lived in Mexico. She wrote a beautiful poem entitled, “Somos Una Gente” (We Are One People) that I have recited all over the nation every time I’m addressing a multi-cultural group. About six years ago she took me out on Father’s Day and told me the story of how her father abandoned her family when she was two. She never knew her father well, but she got to know me. She told me we first met at the first Obama campaign, then she met my kids, my daughters, and she bonded with them. She told me, “One of your daughters, Maite is like my “Gemela” (Twin), and so I wanted to ask you if you would be my father, my “Papi.” I said, Absolutely Mija”. We talk every week but our busy and crazy work schedules don’t permit us to visit enough.

I truly believe in the power of unity, especially for the San Diego City Council District 4. While we need to see value in our cultural and linguistic differences, we also need to see that the power of unity benefits all communities working for the wellbeing of each other. The work of unity begins with seeing each other as Brothers and Sisters who have the same needs and this begins by treating each other with respect, caring and “*convivir*” (*Co-exist*) in our mutual struggles for access to opportunity and equality in all aspects of life.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the San Diego City Council District 4

As a longtime community organizer and educator who has worked to build bridges between the Latino and African-American communities, as well as all communities, Mr.

Valladolid offered the following suggestions:

I think certainly education is one of avenues that can bring us together because it is a depressing reality that low quality education is affecting many low-income students. I think that I want to believe that the 99% of people of our country that weekly need to earn enough income to pay for their basic needs are going to finally come to terms to the fact that the 1% of the most wealthy no longer care or no longer promote the interest of the whole country. It doesn't make any sense to me that because the 1% does not care to understand that the course of profit at all cost that they have taken has created ecological destruction of our natural surrounding and environment. The finding of scientific research on our natural resources is telling us that we are heading in the wrong direction and towards self-destruction. I would hope that at least our Religious leadership would assume a more progressive position in standing up and accepting that our way of dealing with the well-being of our fellow families is not healthy or acceptable. Basically all of the religions leaders of churches and denominations at the local, national and global levels should not accept the conditions of the world in which we are living. Yet I see that Christians, Muslims, Buddhist and everyone else are not standing up and calling for an end to war and the social and ecological violence in our nations of the world. We must accept that we are living in a world in which millions of people are dying daily of hunger and from violence and this is such an incredible contradiction and violation of our humanity.

When asked what specific conditions work to divide Latinos and African-Americans, he shared the following thoughts:

The biggest challenge facing the social division between Latinos and African-Americans specifically is to be organized to oppose violence and human misery in our communities. In the Latino and African-American communities of our city, we do not have organized communities that are guided by principles of justice and mutual trust, and often as Latinos we have a very difficult time accepting our own leadership that confronts social issues. I think is because a lot of our values stress humility and right away when we see someone stand-up and take charge we cut him or her down for not being humble or perceive her/him as wanting to have all the power. We often think or express, wait a minute who do you think you are, instead of working with and through people to follow constructive action and direction that creates a win-win. More than ever we need to create an organizational structure in which young people and a spectrum of people of all ages can work together and understand how critical is to change the conditions of our communities where we all benefit, such as good health care, equal wages, a quality education and affordable housing. We need to rekindle the civil rights movement that for 20 years awaken the minds and spirit of our nation and that is presently dormant. It was A. Philip Randolph who organized the March on Washington in the 1960s that once said, "You will get what you're organized to take!"

When asked if the lack of trust between the Latino and African-American communities is an important condition of division, he stated:

I think that in addition to the humility factor there is a trust factor, when a community person or leader seeks to change conditions. There is the perception that people have self-interest and they are promoting themselves or have other interests. We need to create trust in others to do the right thing. For me service is a value that my family provided by example, specifically my mother and father working to serve others in need. So I say services to others can generate trust...I believe in giving others an opportunity. The present organization that I am involved, the Parent Institute for Quality Education (PIQE), has given me the opportunity to continue my service to others. Over the years, I never stayed in a job for more than six years, but with PIQE I have stayed the longest because I can see the results. When I see parents come to terms with what opportunities they have when they get involved there is growth and opportunity that often leads to civic involvement and a better future for their children.

We must remember that both the Latino and African-American communities in San Diego City Council District 4 have children with over 30% living in poverty, it is a nightmare to be young and poor and be locked in poverty. Both communities more than ever need to work for better educational opportunities and jobs, affordable health care and housing! If not, the nightmare of despair will continue. It was Cesar Chavez that taught us that the ultimate purpose of an education is service to others.

¡SI SE PUEDE-YES WE CAN!

Case Study 8: Maria Garcia

Educator, Community Activist

Background

Maria Garcia is a very respected educator who has been a teacher, principal and community advocate for over 40 years in San Diego. She was born in Yuma, Arizona and was raised in San Diego, and she received her BA and MA from San Diego State University in 1972. She also obtained a teaching credential from Point Loma Nazarene College. Garcia initially worked as an elementary school teacher, but eventually became principal at Baker, Audubon, and Bandini Elementary Schools. While at Baker Elementary, Garcia implemented a successful mentor program for at-risk students, and helped to establish a language-arts magnet program with an emphasis on computers. During the 1970s, Garcia actively lobbied for bilingual

educational programs. She is an active member of the Chicano Federation of San Diego County, which provides services to Latino families. She has participated in many committees and advisory boards related to education, Chicano/as issues and community development. She is an active participant in the Latino Advisory Committee to San Diego Unified School District. Ms. Garcia retired as a school principal, and most of her school assignments were within the San Diego City (SDC) Council District 4. Although she has retired, she is still very active in the socio-political circle in San Diego.

When asked about her childhood she stated that she never saw herself going to college. She thought college was something for only rich people. When asked about her upbringing she related the following:

I went to St. Judes and the nuns, and as a child I found them to be very mean. First, they tried to change my name to Mary and I could not relate to the name because in my home I was Maria and had a very loving family. I experienced nuns that were racist spite of the values of the Catholic teaching that we are all born as equals. Whatever the result, for me Mary was a negative image because it was not me. It was not until in college and for the Chicano movement and it liberated my self-image and self-assurance. Getting involved in social issues in college made a big difference in my life.

I was born in Yuma, Arizona but we moved to San Diego when I was a little girl. So, for the longest time it was just the four of us, I had a sister. When I was 11 my mom had a boy, and then we were a family of five. We were always poor because my dad worked in construction, so when it rained there was no work...it was that simple. My father always worked, he was always looking for work, that kind of commitment to his family. I remember one time when he was working in a laundrymat and it went out of business, so we didn't have any presents for Christmas. However, my father and mother taught me about work ethic and commitment to one's family.

Ms. Garcia became politically involved at a very young age; she related how her active political work has been centered on social issues and education. She elaborated further:

Awareness of how educational systems work came slowly. I remember my counselor telling me that I hadn't scored high enough to go to college, so I started working right after high school with Youth Corps and they assigned me to St. Ritas. I would do some paperwork, work in the kitchen and do some cleaning. One day a friend of mine went over to San Diego Community College and I found out that one could go to a community college and it did not cost a lot of money. The lesson for me was not to accept other perceptions of one's motivation or abilities. So I registered in the local community

colleges and found out that it did not cost a lot of money. I always thought that college would be very expensive and I would not be able to afford, because no one ever told me any differently. So I started going to college and transferred to SDSU right during and while the Chicano Movement was highly active. I stated getting involved and enjoyed the activism for social justice in our school communities. I joined the national Teacher Corps that was guided by a philosophy of change and required that we work in the community as we took classes. Teacher Corps paid my tuition and was able to complete my teaching credential.

Upon finishing my teaching credential, I applied for a teaching position but the San Diego Unified School District was not hiring when I graduated. Since I was determined to stay in San Diego, I applied for a substitute job and then I got a long term assignment at Chollas in a Special Education class that was full of Black kids and I was open to work with low income youth, while other substitutes were afraid to work in the community. So, I finished this assignment and I got a call at Balboa Elementary to come and sign a contract, so I was hired in October of 1972. I taught in Balboa for five years almost every grade and began to advocate for bilingual programs.

After my teaching assignment in Balboa Elementary, I applied for the bilingual resource teacher in the central-office, two positions were available; one for Elementary and one for Secondary. I applied for the Elementary job and Gil Guzman was the bilingual education district director under superintendent Tom Goodman. I was told that I had scored the highest in the interviews, so I left the classroom to the district office and was in charge of bilingual materials too. We had a bungalow in Rolando Elementary full of bilingual materials, looking back there were insufficient resources for a large school district and understood the inequality of curriculum resources in the white community (north of Highway 8) and ethnically diverse communities (south of Highway 8).

My path took me to Samberg Elementary in Miramar upon the recommendation of Grace Perkins, who encouraged me to apply for a Vice-Principal ship. So I went to the interview and I got the assignment. An interesting question that I was asked by the parents was: Did you go to college? They all assumed that I was given the position because of affirmative action. I was at Samberg for two years and wanted to come back to Southeast San Diego to work with ethnically and low-income children. So I asked if there were any openings and I ended up as Vice-Principal of Emerson Bandini and I loved it. I was then encouraged by the Assistant Superintendent to apply for Sherman Elementary. So I applied and got the position at Sherman Elementary. I worked at Sherman for another year and was later became a school principal.

Demographic Shifts

Ms. Garcia was asked if she had witnessed a demographic shift in the Southeast communities. When reflecting on growing up in Southeast San Diego, she remembers that the majority of her neighbors were White, then “White flight” took place and it became an African-

American majority, which was followed by a Latino influx. Now she sees a return of White families. She stated:

When I first lived in the Southeast community of San Diego as a child the community was very Anglo, there was a mix of people but mostly Anglo. Like the Encanto community that was predominantly white, and it's funny because at that time or the 1950's it was rural so people had horses, my dad had chickens and ducks. But I think that everybody wanted the same thing, which was for their kids to progress in their education. We all played together and I don't think that we thought about race since we were all neighbors. Then they built the houses in the Lomita area, those were the uppity neighbors, because those houses were new, and those people had more money than we did. Paradise Hills was the upscale neighborhood, and few could afford the Paradise Hills community at that time. So through the years I've seen it change, whites left the Southeast community and African Americans moved in, and then African Americans moved out to Spring Valley communities, and Latinos came into the Southeast communities...and now there seems to be another shift, I'm seeing Anglos coming in now.

When asked if she thought that gentrification might be the reason why Whites are moving back to the SDCC District 4, she answered:

I don't know...you know I think Emerald Hills is one of the best-kept secrets; you have the view of the bay and the bridge. I don't know if it's that, I think African Americans who seemed to have move forward, they have stayed in that community than Latinos do. I think that Latinos are just passing through, upward mobility.

I think that African Americans have moved out east because there are a lot of African Americans in El Cajon now. That was never seen in the past, that would have never been seen, so I think that's one of the reasons of the changes and I think that affordable housing has given people other avenues and that's why people are moving East.

George Stevens, I met him when he was Shaka, his African name, he knew me since I was a little kid, When I went to Audubon, he would give me anything I needed for that community. In fact, since city schools wouldn't do it, he was going to finance to put grass on the school, only city schools wouldn't pay for upkeep. I worked on George forever to get that done and I was really disappointed in the district because that school needed something. Those are contacts that were made.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

In her personal life Ms. Garcia related that throughout her life she has always had good relationships with African Americans in the SDCC District 4:

My experience with African Americans has been good throughout my life, from my schooling years and in my professional life. Initially, I was terrified in middle school and afraid of public speaking, but eventually overcame the fear through the support of teachers. In my professional work I always had a good experience with African Americans because I had interacted with them all my life and because my mother always taught me that if they treat you right you treat them right no matter what color they are. She used to place importance in respecting people, and frequently reminded me to be respectful, back then I used to think oh God there comes her lecture again, but I'm glad she did because it really stuck with me. My mother was ahead of her time in respecting people given the segregated policies of our nation before 1954, but I didn't know.

When considering the political climate of SDC Council 4 over the years, Ms. Garcia felt that social and governmental structures have created oppositional competition for resources between Latinos and the African Americans. She explains this belief in the following statement:

I think they pit us against each other. An example is the last San Diego city election the sentiment was why would you want a Latino mayor. It makes me angry because the SDC Council District 4 has the same kind of attitudes. Latino and African Americans should be working together in resolving problems that affect both ethnic communities. We do come together in general events or community celebrations and to some degree they are helpful because Latinos and African American start to mix and as you meet people you start knowing them and you feel more comfortable when you interact with them. But we need to go deeper into our getting to know each other and working together and overcome our superficial interactions. Again, the longer you know people the more you trust.

Socio-Historical Context of the District 4 Community

Ms. Garcia takes the position that federal and state laws that were passed during the civil rights era, beginning with the *Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court Decision of 1954*, have been important in advancing the principle of "equal opportunity", but at the same time, there has been limited progress for ethnically diverse people, due to fact that laws or mandates are based on providing access, but not necessarily on the development of people or communities. Ms. Garcia discussed how federal programs create oppositional competition for resources. She explained the following:

I think the Brown Supreme Court decision of 1954 case attempted to stop the practice of social segregation. However, I think it really hurt communities of color because we ended

up being people being bussed out of our ethnic communities in order to integrate the white communities. The white communities were really against it for the longest time. But then I thought that it was wrong to segregate people and began to support the integration of our schools. But the at-large community did not think it was for their best interests because few white decided to send their children to ethnically diverse school communities.

There is no guarantee that kids of color who get bussed into white school communities would get what they need educationally, such as bilingual education.

As an educator, it has been my experience that even in our ethnic communities bilingual programs have not been favored by the White and African American communities because of the belief that English language learners should be learning only in English. Thus, African Americans have not favored bilingual education because it has been perceived that Latinos are refusing to assimilate to American culture, while ignoring the academic and social benefits of bilingualism. The Latino community has never said that they shouldn't learn English. The advantages of being bilingual are immense, because it gives the students the ability to think, speak, and write in two languages. African Americans that are bilingual have prospered because of their bilingual skills.

So court cases in education are often resisted because people do not like mandates, even if the mandates call for social justice and access to opportunity for all children.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the SDCC District 4 Community

Ms. Garcia has lived and worked in ethnically diverse communities. Due to her extensive experiences in such communities, she been able to act upon her cultural sensitivity practices, which have allowed her to identify and work alongside people of different ethnicities. She discussed the following:

As I mentioned before, the demographics and diversity of the communities of San Diego District 4 has changed many times. As the years have passed over the last 30 years I have been politically active to address issues of social and educational inequality. Meaning that as the District 4 community has become more ethnically diverse, one sees inequality in the form of resources, social services and treatment of people by those that control city government.

Over the years I saw a big influx of Laotian community coming in and that was a big change for everyone in District 4 or the Diamond communities. So I think it was good because it gave it another ethnic diversity aspect in the community. When I was in Baker Elementary, I learned to find ways to communicate with the Laotian because the school community had a Laotian population. So I learned how to welcome parents and saw a lot of people living and growing together.

In the late 1960's, I remember the community having intercultural conflict. I recall when they had a riot, by Lincoln High School on the corner of Euclid and Imperial. I had been

in Shelltown and I was driving home and there were a lot of police persons in Memorial middle School, there was a lot of trouble between Blacks and Latinos and they would fight with each other. The community in Memorial School would make an actual human chain and push back the kids trying to fight each other... Latinos on one side and The African Americans on the other side. We tried to tell them, you guys are *tontos* you cannot fight against each other, we need each others support and need many resources for both communities, but when you are 13 you do not listen or care about community well-being.

Speaking of needs, politically I am active and have worked in several campaigns. These campaigns have focused on a number of Propositions, such as 187 (denial of services for undocumented person), 227 (denial of bilingual programs) and 209 (denial of affirmative action practices). Yet, I recall that when I was a college student, I worked in Mr. Pete Chacon's first political campaign; he was a strong advocate of educational rights and programs. Mr. Chacon had been an administrator at Sherman Elementary. I never knew anyone that had run for office, so it was a big deal and then he won, I remember the night that he won the Assembly District seat in state government, we were at the Holiday Inn in downtown going up in the glass elevator. I had never been in a fancy hotel; I was probably 22 or 23 years old. So it was a big deal!

In regards to religious institutions in the community, many Latinos have picketed the Catholic Church in Encanto because the community wanted them to do more for the community. We also picketed the Catholic Bishop's house, while Jose Villarino was making *movimiento* music, I don't know if you are familiar with the bishop's residence, but they have a huge mansion in Mission Hills. From such protests with the Catholic Church in San Diego, came the Hidalgo Center. It was a senior center but the church did away with the center but it lasted a good 20-30 years.

Intercultural Climate of the SDC Council District 4 Community

Ms. Garcia expressed that the intercultural climate of the community must be built among not only African Americans and Latinos, but other races as well, and that K-12 education is an important avenue to introduce the values of respect and collaboration. She reflected on the following:

The I think that the educational system pits Latinos and African Americans against each other by competing with supplemental funds, often state or federal funds, and we fight over the crumbs. It is funny, when I started working at Baker Elementary, a poor school community the head counselor was African American and she and I used to joke with each other on how our respective communities saw us. For example, when she did something nice for a Latino kid, she was accused of liking Latinos better over African American children. If I did something nice for an African American kid then it was the same, we joked with each other about who are you favoring today? Because you know you really have to bend over backwards to let people know that you are treating everyone equal. It was the same with discipline problems because if you punish some kid it would come down to race. We worked well together because we supported each other. If

parents spoke Spanish I would tell them: “ella es la consejera,” I wanted them to know that we were a unit, but it was hard, but we were good friends and we worked well together. I think some happened within the Diamond District, such activities go on a daily basis, but not enough. There has been some collaboration in political elections. More recently in 2013, look at Shirley Webber winning the Assembly seat. Politically, there appears to be more collaboration when people know each other.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the SDC Council District 4 Community

The influx of the Latino population in Southeast San Diego has threatened the African America community. Ms. Garcia stated that Latinos and African Americans are fighting for the crumbs that come with state and federal programs. She elaborated on the following:

I think that Latinos do not understand or know African Americans, so in the Latino community there is this kind of fear of the unknown. At the same time African Americans do not understand or know Latinos, once again is the fear of the unknown.

I think it was very threatening for the African American community to see so many Latinos are living in the community. Lincoln High School was predominantly African American in the early 2000's is now majority Latino. Yet, I think that we are fighting over political power, when no one has power. We are fighting over resources that equate to crumbs and are thrown to the community to divide the people. I think too that there is reluctance by both communities to let the new generation take over the voice of the community. The old generation wants to hold onto their positions, at the local and state levels. I think that it is time to let new blood come in, because we had our day in the sun and can still contribute to the improvement of the San Diego City District 4 communities.

When asked about the unspoken rule regarding African Americans representing SDC Council District 4 and Latinos representing District 8, as well as if there has been any collaboration in supporting each other, Ms. Garcia responded:

Yes there is collaboration but it has been superficial, like attending special educational or social events. Symbolically attending each other political fundraisers events. But it is not consistent because we have not interacted with each at a personal or community level.

When asked if a Latino would ever dare to run for the SDC Council District 4, she responded with the following statement:

Well, I think they should because I think it's healthy that Latinos or Blacks run in every San Diego City council district. I mean power wise it makes sense, because we are all Americans. Will it happen, probably not in my life, I will never see it happen! I mean it

was the Latinos who pushed over the vote to get President Obama elected. Intercultural consciousness is very much needed.

Intercultural Collaboration in SDC Council District 4

Ms. Garcia believes that in times of conflict, whether social or economic, are perfect scenarios for collaboration. Ms. Garcia stated the following:

As I mentioned before, we need to start in the early years is a perfect time to create educational spaces for children to know each other, to interact with each other, and establish a common bonds regardless of their ethnicity, culture, religion or home language. I think that as we become more interested in the human race, in our collective humanity, and care about the well-being our children and diverse people, collaboration will happen. You know I think that Vietnam War united us in a crazy way, it destroyed the nation, but I think we had dialogue and questioned national policy as we saw many of our youth get killed. The war woke up all of a sudden we realized that Blacks and Latinos were dying in large number or returning to our communities injured physically and emotionally. Certain events that were probably of shock value and gave us unity.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the SDCC District 4 Community

Ms. Garcia feels that in our ethnically diverse school communities, we have to hold each other accountable, no matter the color or background of the people. She elaborated on the following:

Political representational issues can be factors for disunity. A question that I ask myself is, when will we have a Latino or Black city mayor? Can a significant large ethnic community like Latinos elect a mayor? What political issues exist that divide us? I don't know the specific political dynamics that create resistance. But I know that our schools need to teach the values of respect, collaboration and equity. I think it's about being fair, being committed to improving our communities in a manner that benefits everyone. We need to prevent our ethnic leadership from modeling negative behaviors. One of my teacher's once said to me, why are you working for equity? Such as: "You made it", what do you mean? I made it; I made it as far enough as they allowed me.

Concluding Thoughts on the Past, Present and Future Conditions of the District 4 Community?

I think San Diego City Council District 4 has a lot of promise, I think there is a lot of good things going on that most people are not aware of. Unfortunately, gang activity has picked up, and that again is because the economy is bad. For example, this whole situation of a Black boy that robbed an ice cream truck with a gun, a boy by Audubon Elementary, they say he was between 10 and 14. Then the ice cream man reports to the

media, “I not going to be around that neighborhood anymore, it’s a nice neighborhood, but you know I was robbed”. The image of the community is further contaminated with the notion of crime. I had terrible things happen to me in the Baker school community, but I always felt safe there. And I always walked around the community; instead of driving I walked there and here. We need to believe in people.

We need to dialogue with youth. When I was in Sherman school community, I bought a Corvette, it was a beautiful car so I went across the street and I spoke to the guys and told them we need to have a talk. I told them you can steal the car, but you have to take the whole car, you cannot take the radio, you cannot take the tires, you have to take the whole car. I’m telling you now, the car is unlocked and I will leave it unlocked, but if you decide to take the whole car do not take parts. I don’t want to come out and find it on blocks. My car was never touched, never. It sat on the block even with the top down. On another occasion, a little Laotian kid at Baker once we were talking, and I kept saying “mijo” and then I asked him do you know what “mijo” (my son) means? And he says no, but I know it’s nice because the way you say it.

We need to confront misinformation about each other’s racial community. I have a friend who goes to Alabama regularly, she’s Black and she hears racial derogatory comments about Latinos. “Like those Mexicans are going to take over community”. She always takes the time to discuss with them, who do you think is feeding you, who do you think is working in the fields, who would take those farm worker jobs and in reality which of our kids would take those jobs? By creating dialogue, mutual understanding, and confronting each other’s stereotypes, we can improve the level of cooperation and collaboration, for no other reason than to benefit each other’s children.

Case Study 9: Ernie McCray

Educator, Writer, Poet, Community Leader

Background

Ernie McCray is recognized as an educational and social advocate in San Diego. Mr. McCray has worked all of his life for educational access and social justice. He reflected on his early years:

I grew up in Tucson, Arizona the first 24 years of my life. I didn’t find out until later in my life, even more and more, what a wonderful upbringing I had. I’m a college graduate, not that it has to mean anything. I was always exposed to ideas, and it never occurred to me not to go to college. It wasn’t brought up all the time either, like you better go to college. It was like, you go to elementary, junior high, high, and college. That was the way my mind worked. We traveled a lot. I’ll tell you how I found out how privileged I was. Black and Latinos think a lot in terms of not being able to eat in the café and the back of the bus, and that type of thing.

The initial hitch was that as a 24 year old I wasn’t long removed from my own childhood and hadn’t yet realized how valuable my being raised with exposure to art and music and

sports and books and travel and interesting and colorful folks and all kinds of political and religious and secular and common sense ideas would be to me.

Mr. McCray described some of the assumptions made by people about his upbringing in the following statement:

You don't think about it, but I was at Lincoln (Diamond area of San Diego) about a year ago at one of those conferences of some kind and this one woman, I do not remember her name, said some cultural thing and if you experienced that in your life you move a step forward. You would think that Latinos and Blacks would be way in the back. I can't remember all the questions, but they were like, did you take a family vacation? We had traveled a lot and I had to do some thinking.

Mr. McCray moved to San Diego in the early 1960's. He started working as an educator at Perry Elementary and lived on Division and Harbinson. He reported to his first teaching job at Perry Elementary in Bayview Naval Housing. In the world of the 3 R's his love for the city's children grew. He stated:

Not right away, though. I mean I came to them feeling a little shaky, a little jumpy, like most people who are "probationary" and new and not real sure of what to do. But I instinctively knew enough to treat those kids in Room B5 like they were the most special people alive, and they treated me likewise in return.

Mr. McCray perceives himself as a person who basically rises every day to make the world a better place. He stated:

I get up and it doesn't have to be something really wonderful. Sometimes during the day, I will just write down what I have done. Maybe I haven't done anything in the day and I may call my son and tell him I love him. Just a little something in my mind...

As an educator, I always felt like my role in my community was to be an educator beyond the classroom. Once you have a student in your classroom and the school year is over, your work isn't done. Now I feel you have to live by example. Right now I am writing a lot of books and stuff, and someone I taught in 6th grade is now in their sixties, they might see what I am doing and if I am out here just jiving. I taught my kids, we live in America and we have the right and responsibility to make things better.

Demographic Shifts

Mr. McCray was asked about his perceptions of the Diamond region, particularly considering its demographic characteristics and changes in the District 4 community over the last 50 years. He stated:

I am trying to remember. My first principalship was at Horton Elementary in San Diego Unified. I remember when I got there in 1971, as I saw some old yearbooks. When I first moved to San Diego in 1962 there were a lot of white kids there, like in Emerald Hills. Then when Blacks started coming in around the mid-60s, white people said oh the community is changing, and took off. There was true white flight. What was sad about it was, I understand the American Dream, like if you live in Emerald Hills or Lincoln Heights, and you get a chance to move to Mission Hills or Golden Hill back then or La Jolla, you go for that. That is part of our American dream, make a little money and get a place on the beach. But they left and went to places like Allied Gardens and Claremont and San Carlos in the same type of houses they left. It wasn't about upward mobility. It was just getting the hell out of they felt uncomfortable around people who were different. Blacks came in and then, as I mentioned, the Blacks started moving out into Skyline and Latinos started coming in. We had these parallel communities but we never got together in the cultural and social ways I thought we should be celebrating. There is just that fear and jealousy, I don't know specifically what exactly creates such an attitude. The Black community thinking that damn Latino community is taking over. Many false assumptions are made about one another, you know? So I have seen great demographic shifts in the Diamond community of San Diego. I have seen white flight and Blacks coming in. I have seen the growth of Latinos residing in the Diamond community.

Mr. McCray related the demographic shifts to how schools are perceived by the community at-large. He stated:

As schools become majority Black, Latino, Asian, the schools start getting labeled as bad schools, and all that kind of negative perceptions, labels, and similar stuff. In the 70's and 80's the focus was on being perceiving low-income people as disadvantaged. While in the 1990's and 2000's, the approach became fixing poverty schools, such as in the Superintendency in San Diego Unified, when school were mandated to focus on test scores, and using a one size fix all approach.

There shouldn't be any escaping the neighborhood because there is a general perception from the outside on a given community. Although when I am driving on Market heading east just before you get to 47th street, you look over to the left. And you see large numbers of town houses? When you place large number of people together, things happen.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

As a resident of San Diego he took part in many of the political activities going on in the 1960's pertaining to civil rights and social inequality. In San Diego, he became involved in getting Leon Williams elected, Leon Williams was the first black city council person in the city of San Diego. He considered Leon Williams to be a very special person who advocated for the representation of and services for the community. He experienced the social division between the African American community and the police of San Diego city. He was in the geographical area in 1965 when the Red Squad, the city police anti-communist group who went out into the community and put out lies between the community and the Black Panthers. The 1960's and 1970's brought a lot of awareness to people in the community. Debate and dialogue generated much reflection. He described such an event below:

When Vernon Zukumo was prominent and US (member of Organization Us, founded in 1965), I remember having a community meeting on whether to call ourselves Black as opposed to Negro or Colored. You know trying to get people to buy into things. Then James Brown came out with "I'm Black and I'm Proud". As a matter of fact, I was very briefly part of an organization called New Black Young Democrat. I went to an informational type of gathering. All of a sudden, people just made me president, which was fine. I had the role of president of and on in school growing up in a community in Tucson. After a while I found out that most people in that were just in it for the social something so I just kind of drifted off and looked into some other ways. But I was around for the beginning of a lot of things. I remember big, I can't remember the year, that there was a big walk out at Lincoln High. That whole time and going to some of the meetings. I was part of the dialogue with Dr. Carrol Waymon.

The importance of dialogue, communication, and reflection with people is an important part of Mr. McCray's life and his pedagogical approach to teaching. He spoke to the importance of his interactions with local people:

We had dialogues, and that is how I met up with Angela Davis, at some of the dialogues because she was at UCSD and Thurgood Marshall. Part of that whole thing... Being in the City School system. Always my kids, always, got a deep understanding of all the movements. I am a theatrical kind of person. So, I remember in the 60s with my class teaching 6th grade at Perry Elementary. Malcolm X, somewhere around there had come out with his "Ballot or the Bullet" speech. We talked about that with my sixth graders because at that time they loved Martin Luther King and hated Malcolm X. They didn't know why.

So I asked them one day, “So what is up with this hating Malcolm X?” “Well, he is violent.” “Ok, well your homework assignment is to come back with an article or anything that indicates definitively that Malcolm X is violent.” The next day they came in and they didn’t have proof. So I asked them where did they get this and they said, “Well my mom said and my dad said.” So then I said, without wanting to put their parents down, but I had some rough boys that would get in fights and sent to the office. So I asked them, “When you guys are fighting out on the recess field, what is that all about?” “You know when someone says something about me or they hit me, and I hit them back.” I said that that is a human kind of response, even though we are trying to teach you now to deal like that. It is a human reaction and pretty much that is Malcolm X reaction, he will not turn his other cheek like Martin Luther King, in that respect. But he is not out here looking for somebody’s butt to kick. But how many teachers do that? Do you know what I mean? You are in the profession.

Mr. McCray told of his excitement when exposing students to different points of view in his school:

You see; that was my role. That is what I got excited about creating dialogue; for example, when the girl from South Africa came she shared her experience through her eyes. While we had a pretty large school staff the majority didn’t understand the real world. For me teaching was exposing students to the real world in and around the community and viewing concepts deeper and in terms of their lives.

Mr. McCray told about the pain that educators often experience in teaching in marginalized communities. As an advocate for social justice and fairness, schooling is not an eight-hour job; it is a 24-hour vocation:

You would think I would come home from work and just put my head down and just relax. But I have three daughters because I feel like I have to practice what I preach. I don’t want my daughters to feel like I am a hypocrite. I did not want my children to know me as a person who could talk all this good stuff outside, the home but at home he does the opposite. So at home I am still working. I don’t want them to have the preacher’s son syndrome and do the opposite. So it seems to me that all teachers need to walk the talk and be models for students.

I probably run into somebody every month that I touched in some form, well some of my ex-students are in my circle, but I run into somebody once every three months that I haven’t seen in years. We will just look at each other. Right away he may introduce me to his wife, “This was the most amazing teacher.” When I hear educators today say, “Man, kids these days. I don’t get any respect.” I don’t know what they are talking about. I got so much respect. Kids know when a person is legit or not. I just love kids. I just think I picked the right career.

A lot of teachers and people are afraid of ethnically diverse students. But if you care as an educator, who is going to bother you if you are turning kids around. I mean, somebody might mess with you, but your job is ok. Not to brag, but there have been situations

where years ago, I was on a superintendent's Tom Goodman, negative list and they were talking about getting rid of me. If they had tried there would have been had hundreds of people to support my work. The district office would be in a difficult corner to explain themselves to the media, such as Channel 7 as to why they had messed with McCray.

In the late 1990's, Mr. McCray was faced with the dilemma of either respecting his values of making a difference for children, or of fitting in to what the educational system of San Diego dictated. He stated:

As a matter of fact, the reason I retired was because I did one year with Alan Bersin (San Diego Unified Superintendent 1998-2005). Then after that year I reflected, if I hang out with this man too much I am going to do something to really embarrass my family and myself. He made every like...If I had been in the classroom everything would have been cool, but then I thought that wasn't part of my plan. I was about three to four years from retiring and I could to go in the classroom and all that. The main reason I had to retire and leave was the fear of somebody I once taught, which also knew how Bersin acted, he expected people to jump through hoops. Here I taught we don't jump through hoops. We stand for what we believe in and in action. I couldn't face someone in Vons and say, "Hey I'd like you to meet my family." "Oh, you work for the district? So does that mean you are ok with that?" My answer was putting my head down, so I needed to get out of there. That is where I feel my role is, setting an example for people.

In the community, Mr. McCray's legacy is that he is the person that always takes part in sociopolitical issues impacting the community and weighs in on them with something to say. He stated:

Part of it is part of my involvement like being on stage. I am an actor. I have performed in things that are community-minded. I was the first narrator minister in the annual Black Nativity with Flora Daphne and some of the others. Years ago I did stand up about local issues at the Catamaran and Mexican Village in Coronado. I used to have a regular kind of circuit. I had something to say about social justice.

Socio-Historical Context of the District 4 Community

Over the past 50+ years Mr. McCray has seen and participated in a number of events that have left both good and bad memories. Mr. McCray was asked about how federal policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the San Diego City District 4 Diamond community. He stated:

That is real interesting. I remember when we first started talking about integrating schools and the busing system. I think that started with Brown (1954) but really after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the mandate helped, but in the late 1970's after we started moving kids around, mostly minority kids to other areas, then we open up. Most of my principalships were assigned, and I liked it that way, were not in the southeast. Most people don't realize how needed a person like me to be in those schools. Teachers in those schools were like, if you had a kid from the southeast raising hell, they would want to send them back. I would have to explain that this is their school. I know they live on Diamond regional area, but this is their school. You can't just dismiss them and kick them out, no more than you could to a kid that lived there. Unless it is a kid that is just so far off, that they really did need to go somewhere else.

With regard to the social commitment to integration, Mr. McCray shared some of his concerns and frustrations, especially around the two-decade period of the 1980's and the 1990's. He stated:

I'll never forget confronting my colleagues about the hypocrisy of talking about "integrating" our schools while millions of our retirement fund dollars were going to businesses operating in South Africa where "apartheid" was a way of life – while they stared at me as though I was Freddie Krueger. I can still feel the frustration of trying to get a school superintendent to understand how undercover drug busts on our campuses undermined our ability to build trust with students and the equally annoying feeling of having to say "Hell no!" to Proposition 187 which was designed to flesh out "illegal's" in our schools, as being a deputy for "la migra" was not in my job description. Not to mention that my Latino students were dear amigos of mine.

In the early 2000's, the federal government generated educational reform, Mr. McCray spoke to the consequences on low-income youth, he stated:

In 2002 with the passage of federal education legislation under No Child Left behind, I think is one of the major hindrances working against low-income youth. Such educational policy continues today (2013) with the overemphasis on tests, and this comes directly from the No Child Left Behind emphasis on test scores. That drives me crazy, and then you do a type of prescribed teaching. We need to find other ways, in conjunction to test measures because you know it is never going to stop test scores, to show success or to show a student's potential. To just take a raw test score to tell the story of a school is not right! It is not simply about selecting the right response to a test question, find the best answer, A, B, C, or D, or all of the above.

When asked about the book on the No Child Left Behind policy written by Diane Ravich, he reflected on his interaction with her in San Diego. He stated:

Yes. She talked to me as a matter of fact. She came here, when was the past kick ass SDEA. She used my name and quoted me. She was the one with the idea and then oh shit. That is the point of learning, you can be wrong and then be able to change it. To not just go with the wave, but take a stand when you think it is wrong. There is a lot of learning, for me, when I am following somebody, and they did something that I didn't like and it is disappointing. Then later they saw the light assuming your point, your point of view. You can appreciate a person that can say that they did something wrong- since then I found out and then we learned.

Yet, with regards to standards, the United States seems to be always behind Asian countries and other nations. Kids are learning to be really good test takers but when you given a problem situation in which they have to work in a group or use their imagination, they often fail. Perhaps the proposed common core can be adapted to any curriculum. It is a lot of writing and reading, focusing on basic and critical thinking skills. Yet, I think that some teachers think there is an agenda behind it, a privatization agenda. I think a lot of people would have appreciated if they had taken more into account an educator's perspective.

With respect to education, many progressive educators are pointing to the fact that education is a civil rights issue. Mr. McCray commented on the need for students to develop their critical skills and minds in discussing social issues, he stated:

Thinking outside of the box. Being able to come up with ideas. I am against test scores. Even as a principal, I didn't go through any big thing with my staff or kids. Other than telling my kids before the test, these tests are not about you, they are about the grownups and the state. You just go in there and look over things, see what you know. Write things down that you know. Get plenty of rest and if you have extra time, take a second look through. I was not to get them all worried. Part of my opposition of tests is that I am not really good at tests. I am good if I took a course from you, I will pass your test. I am a daydreamer kind of person on a test, and I could know the correct answer. I could know the answer is B, but I look at D and say ok. There is something to be said if I can't take tests like that. I find myself doing ok and then, ok yeah. There have been times were I didn't get a high enough score on the GRE to qualify for something, you need a 700 but I got a 695, but I got in because I qualified because I was able to demonstrate my ability to think.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the District 4 Community

Mr. McCray was asked about the last 50 years in the Diamond community and how it has been impacted by demographic changes, such as in the case of Lincoln High School. Opened in 1949, and originally serving middle school students, Lincoln was converted into a high school in 1955. The original buildings were demolished and rebuilt between the years of 2003-2007. The

new face of the high school is rumored to have been built due to the gentrification-taking place in the area. The assumption is that as more White folks move into the downtown area, more students would start going to Lincoln. Mr. McCray stated:

There has been some pretty good energy. During the '60s and the Civil Rights Movement, a lot of awareness was built. That is what made the kids walk out of school demanding access to a quality education. Then the thing kind of died down in the 70s, after we kind of won. Lately there have been some developments, and some has been with wealthy white money coming into the Market Creek and Jacob's Center. You know, you hear all kinds of things. They think they are just the front ends of redevelopment. But people are talking about that community, Felix's BBQ and before that Magnolias. I would go there just to support. It is nice for the neighborhood and a nice place. To have people come up to you and ask, May I help you? And they are making it. Felix' looks like it is doing real good. In the process of redevelopment you can see the King Chavez Clinic, right there on Euclid. The San Ysidro Health Clinic just built a center right there on Euclid. It is a state of the art medical clinic.

Intercultural Climate of the Diamond Community

Mr. McCray reflected on the intercultural climate, both positive and negative, in of the Diamond community over the years. He stated:

Yeah. Let me look at the condition of intercultural conflict. I think the hindrance of race relations begins with the lack of education, just people needing more understanding of each other. I think the Lincoln High School community is important in that. In the last few years I think that the social justice curriculum at Lincoln High School is doing some great things. I got to visit the school pretty regularly a couple of years ago when we would meet in one of social justice classrooms to dialogue on Education, "Not Arms Coalition". I can see that issues were being discussed in a school. And when that happens, a community changes. Kids are going to go home and say something insightful about social issues. A parent might say, Well that is bullshit. And that is ok too. They can talk about all kinds of ideas. I went by there early for a meeting one time. I had known one of the guy's from before; he was, for lack of a better term, a Black Nationalist. He was robbing' with some kids, and he is one of those people that I think at times gives kids too much of a certain aspects of the truth. You know, I am all about being truthful with the kids and upfront, and I mentioned about talking about Malcolm X. He was saying, well, some people think this is what happened. But the white man did this and that. He was going pretty fast. He is an intellectual brother, a strong activist, and probably kicks your ass, but just slow down. That is when you get that accusation, in something like the Chicano Studies program in Arizona. That is when parents get the idea that you are teaching the kids about narrow ideas, I don't want to give any racist anything, but I can see where parents' fears are. They think you are...well this guy kept going on. He started bad mouthing Obama. Fro the most part everything he was saying I agreed with but, he was saying it in a way for a kid, it would be hard for him or her to

leave and think if that guy was right or wrong. He just put too much information without letting kids digest and probe the ideas.

But I think there is a discussion and there are gathering places now around the Diamond communities. We could use the Jacob's Center more. The Malcolm X Library. That is one of the most beautiful things that has ever happen to our community. To walk in that place... Man, I have been in gay rights gatherings in there, ethnic studies presentation, and many community more events. You see kids in there and they feel proud. Over there I went to that Beck forth Library a year ago. I hadn't been there in years. The day I was there they had tons of kids in there in some type of after school program. So there is a learning community feel that was kind of absent for a while. They also have the Chavez-Tubman Center across the street too. So there is hope for build up.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the Diamond Community

When asked what state and local policies or practices have hindered or promoted race relations, Mr. McCray commented on Proposition 187 (California undocumented persons rights, 1994). He stated:

No services to certain communities, I was at Marvin Elementary as a principal at that time. That gave me some insight in terms of what adults were thinking. The staff were coming up to me and saying that we need to know. In fact, I was a principal along with progressive principals (Dennis Doyle, Maria Garcia and Linda Valladolid) and others. We said, we were not going to treat children unequally and I wrote up a piece in the Union Tribune. As a matter of fact, I got one of the people to watch in the San Diego magazine because of my stance and stuff on children's rights to an education. That hindered and helped in the same way in that it got people talking. It got people thinking that maybe we are not considering all of our clientele in our schools. The local case under the Lemon Grove incident (1932 local federal case), it dealt with the whole integration thing and the right to equal access to facilities and quality education.

Another major issue shared by Mr. McCray was the militarization of San Diego County and the recruitment of low-income youth to enter the military. Mr. McCray addressed this issue by reflecting on the presence of the armed forces on high school campuses. He stated:

There's never a lack of things to do for children in this city. The militarization of them in their schools has occupied many a minute of my time over the years – through Project YANO (Youth and Non-Military Opportunities) – as the school system has no apparent problem with Uncle Sam rounding up our youth to wage his ill-conceived wars, caught up, like our society, in general, with jiving them regarding the military with talk about patriotism and heroism and the possibility of earning money for college – with no mention of killing and dying. YANO gives them the info they need to “go for what they know” as we used to say.

Intercultural Collaboration in District 4

When asked to elaborate on activities that have promoted positive race relations over the last 50 years, Mr. McCray reflected on some salient points:

I think dialogues definitely. There were several places. One was over by Chollas School, and I don't even know if these particular buildings are there any more. There used to be this particular site for meetings. Before the Jacobs moved to the Market Creek they had something on Federal and Euclid. So, there has been a lot of talk about race relations' issues. George Stevens, a city Councilperson, for example was an example of a leader who went all out for his community and pissed me off with some of his things, but that is part of politics. But I can never say that he didn't care about the community. Then, came Tony Young and some people who have respect and guided social issues and race relations along. There again, the Lincoln's High School social justice ninth grade curriculum has placed emphasis on social issues in making students think.

When asked about the *Dream Act* to enable undocumented students from the Diamond area to go to college, Mr. McCray responded:

That is right (college education). It gives opportunities to people. I look at it this way. If you put some legislation in there, we can work on it. Sometimes, like Obama care you don't just get rid of it. You just say, you don't like this or that. You don't just get rid of it. That is what being human is about, doing things in a gradual way; learning, refining things and making them better.

In the case of the common core standards, maybe that is their agenda, to privatize education. That doesn't mean we have to take part in it. We just take what is good from it and work and change it. From what I see from there is completely whining. I do not know. I guess there is a lot of top down. But educators can be wimpy. On Facebook, I don't know if you have seen it. Badass teachers can just whine all the time about the new common core standards. I can't weigh in it that much because I don't know much. But, just the bits and pieces that I see, I don't quite understand what the problem is. Is possible that there has been full implementation and forced upon without teacher's having any training. You are to make it up on your own. Like the way they have been doing everything for the last 20 years. Going back in years, what was so sad about what Bersin brought was that there was a lot of good professional development stuff in there. Yet he just took it and beat people over the head with it. Rather than saying, here is what I consider to be some wonderful stuff, he presented it like, you dummies. This is what you should have been doing all along.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the SDCC District 4 Community

Well, one thing, I do not know what will divide us but keep us divided or where we are. If Blacks do not see David Alvarez (running for city mayor), as representing the same kind of aspirations that we have... because the Barrio is the inner city! This is our common experience. If we don't join rather than saying Latinos are taking over. Just get

in there and join in. If you look at pictures of David Alvarez on Facebook and on his website, you see a couple of Blacks, a lot of Brown, and some white. I don't know? Dr. Shirley Weber (Assemblywoman), is one of his...Yes, I think that helps. He is more respected in the community when they see that.

We have a chance to do some real growth here now; we really need to see the commonality on how both communities struggle. That is where the schools come in. I see it getting better. This is the best I have ever felt about San Diego. I moved to California to eventually make it to San Francisco and San Diego, Santa Ana, and El Cajon offered me a job. Then 6-7 years later, San Francisco offered me a job. I didn't go because I thought San Francisco is full of people that think like me. I needed to stay in San Diego, it needed me. When I first moved to San Diego, I thought it was going to be like Hollywood, all hip. Then I realized that San Diego was so backwards. I just felt that I was needed here. Now it is a city with progressive thinking, where David could be. A year ago no one was thinking of a Latino mayor, and now that is all we are talking about.

Also, having the dialogues, using the Jacob's Center, and Lincoln High School as spaces for the total diverse community to come together is promising. You guys have had some nice conferences in the last 2-3 years. I keep throwing it back, I think you guys (ARE teachers) are in a lot of ways you are the showcase school of the district because of the social justice. Every school should be like that, but not every school is. The campaign that the social justice unit at Lincoln High School and the kids led to get the weapons off campus. That was a big victory.

In all my years in working in a community, I consider that to be one of my biggest accomplishments. We actually got them to change their terminology and their rules. Some leaders like Nancy Cruz, and David from Mission Bay. He is a full ride scholarship. He was part of that. Kids at Lincoln took part of that and ARSO. That is good documentation to keep, to show kids what they can do. Sometimes my students think they can't do anything about it.

That is the worse thing we can think, that we can't do anything about it because it truly is a numbers game. The establishment has millions of dollars but there are still more of us. If we can just figure that one out, we can make them jump through hoops of social justice.

Changes are coming. Of importance is that we want students to come back to their community. The present concept of being successful is moving out of your community, going to greener pastures and leaving this place. If you leave this place you are successful. If you go to college, you are good. The message should be: if you are successful, you come back. That's right. To come back, to a lot of people, they take it literally. So you live in La Jolla, but you come back and take part in it. If you are on a committee in the community, have a meeting in your place in La Jolla. So when kids, once they get involved can look around and aspire to get something like this, this is beautiful. The La Jolla Cove is right down the street.

We have a good chance with David Alvarez in the February 11, 2014 major election. You know? To rally the community behind... I feel so good, well first with Bob Filner getting in. Wow, I couldn't believe it. But you know, you think after that no one is going to want to hear from a progressive. Unless David has a big scandal going on, he could be mayor. I really feel it. When I saw those statistics, and I am not your biggest

data driven person because I act on emotions a lot, but I remember Francine Busby sent out an email to Democrats and they were in, Kevin Faulkner and him were even. I thought it was like April's Fools. I was like, if he is even today and that was three weeks ago that she sent that in, talk about momentum. We have somebody who understands. Filner should be thanked for this despite what happened because he did it. I just don't know what happened to him. I just hope he stays involved because he is the most unusual politician I have personally known. He is truly progressive. He would take things on his own. He would say, "I went to Bob with this problem." He wouldn't put it through some bureaucracy. Some one said they visited him in D.C. about something, and he said excuse me and walked down the hall and took care of some thing.

On our city newspaper, The Union Tribune, now I will take a second to talk about them, is so outrageous. They are so, I don't like terms, but they are so conservative and right wing. They had a chance to join and be part of the movement. I am not saying they should change their political vision, but just tamper them down a bit. To see what we all can do. Their TV channel shows? I can't really comment on them because I have only seen about 5 minutes of them one time. We are a progressive city. The statistics are showing that we are a progressive city. Todd Gloria is becoming a little more progressive lately from what I have heard of the things he is supporting. So far he is no Tony Atkins or Christy Kehoe, but he is coming around.

You know what else is helping out the community, people have all kinds of feelings about charter schools, but Gompers Charter seems to be doing real well and these kids are part of this thing UCSD has, like Preuss. I guess kids from Lincoln and all other surrounding schools will access to them. So many kids are going to be guaranteed scholarships. So we have a major university (UCSD) that hadn't been in the conversation all these years, and now they are part of the conversation. A number of the kids at Lincoln have received the Chancellor's scholarship.

Also, San Diego State is hopefully backing out of getting people from out of state. Yeah, they are a Hispanic Serving Institution for the community.

Case Study 10: Linda and Carlos LeGrette

Community Organizers, Educators

Background

In March of 2014, Linda and Carlos LeGrette were recognized by the Union Tribune newspaper in San Diego by being given the Latino Champions Lifetime Achievement Award for their dedication and commitment to service, equality, education, and social justice in the community for nearly half a century. The LeGrette's have strong roots in San Diego. Linda, a graduate of Madison High School, grew up in Shelltown and Clairemont. Her family goes back

five generations in San Diego. Carlos, is a graduate of Point Loma High School, and grew up in Logan Heights and Old Town. He is a fourth-generation San Diegan.

Linda and Carlos LeGrette are a respected married couple in the San Diego community, but most of all, they are a powerful political couple that has dedicated their whole lives into improving the lives of others. At one point during their early adult life, they packed and left San Diego and joined the late labor leader Cesar Chavez. Today, they both continue the legacy of Cesar Chavez by developing young leaders in schools all over San Diego with their educational program, the Cesar Chavez Service Club. They both reflected on their early upbringing:

Linda: When I reflect about my life and about the things that we are doing now, I connect them the things that my mother taught me before she passed away. As a family we were involved in community and politics and city engagement, community service. As an adult, my mom used to tell me that I was like that all my life, she said 'I remember when you were in kindergarten and first grade, and you attended Balboa Elementary in Shell town. The first thing your first grade teacher would say is that you would do this and that and you were always volunteering. For me, I don't know if it has to do where I was born or whatever I'm a middle child, I'm from July and some people call it cancer, but I don't like that word, I'm a moon child, and moon children are pleasing. One has a sort of a sense of peace, and is really important to me. I have worked for peace throughout my whole life, peacefully trying to do something, which at times it appears not so peacefully. But working for peace and service makes me feel good to do what we do. It makes me happy.

I was born in San Diego, sixth generation in my mom's Mexican side and first generation in my dad's side. My dad was born in Siberia, Russia. So I have a bi-racial background, so I grew up sort of with an American culture with a heavy bent on the Mexican side, I think my mother always infused Mexican culture in our home, plus my grandparents lived in San Diego, so that's my ethnic background.

In regards to my schooling, I first went to Balboa Elementary in San Diego, and then we moved to North Carolina where we lived for four years. I actually loved it as a little kid. My father was in the marines and he was transferred to North Carolina. Then when we came back to San Diego and my parents bought a little house in Claremont. So I went to Marston and then they built a new school site, and then I attended Hale Junior High, and proceeded to attend Claremont High. The school district was building schools, so I then went there and graduated from Madison High School in 1964. After high school I became a Mesa Community College kid, and then SDSU.

Carlos: As I reflect on my background, I'm always searching to find my roots. Well, I think I'm a product of the experiences that I had growing up, and taking those experiences and making them into opportunities in one way or another. I think that's what I've been able to do, its learning from those experiences, then taking advantages of

those opportunities that have lead me to be who I am today, and who I am I think, its different to certain people. To my family I am a different person in contrast to the person on the street. They might not know the real me, a person who is a quiet guy, more of an introspective, but a lot of people would not agree with such perspective.

I was born in San Diego; my mom was born in San Diego and my dad in Los Angeles. My mom's mom was born in Los Angeles, yet prior to the 1900's my family came from Mexico. From my mom's mother side and my dad's father side, my grand grandparents came through El Paso to Los Angeles and then came to San Diego right at the turn of the century. My grandma came through Oxnard from a biracial background; Chinese, Filipino and mostly Mexican, and that shaped a lot of our lives growing up. We lived all over San Diego in housing projects such as in Barrio Logan, Ocean Beach, the frontier area where the sports Arena is now located. The frontier area had many housing projects, it was huge and there were probably a thousand of us, it went from Midway Drive to where home depot is presently located and the sports arena. It used to be primarily Latino and Black, but it was an ethnically mixed community. I probably attended about 13 schools. I was a troubled youth causing trouble, not so much in the elementary schools but as a young adolescent in the middle schools. We had huge social and economic issues in the family going on. I free fall for about 3 to 4 years. By the time I got out of school, I had attended over 3 high schools: Claremont, San Diego High and Point Loma.

When asked how they both became involved in social justice causes in Southeast San Diego, they elaborated on the following:

We began our social justice work in 1966 in Mesa Community College we were involved there in a social club called "Club Amigos", a little charity service club, it was not about changing society, it was just about charitable work. Then we got involved putting together a more political club called "Maya" and the Mayas would become MEChA in 1968, and I think ours was one of the first chapters. Through MEChA we met quite a few of the African Americans on campus who were doing community organizing, and then it was the Black Panthers. There was *US* organization with brother Ron Karenga.

Demographic Shifts

Carlos and Linda LeGrette vividly remember the mass demographic changes that took place in the present San Diego City Council District 4. Carlos in particular recalled the following event:

San Diego was a segregated city, yet living in low-income housing and being raised in the housing projects it was a natural activity to interact daily with ethnically diverse people. We were hanging together, you just did that, and they were your neighbors. Although, housing projects were somehow segregated by the federal government. When I looked back now, Blacks were placed in a separated part of the projects. I am positive that it was done strategically. Obviously there was a larger plan to keep us apart.

So growing up in housing projects was never an issue of connecting with others different from your ethnic group.

Linda and I were married in 1966, right after marriage we ended buying a house in Southeast, so we lived around 45th and Market.

Linda: Before we moved to Southeast San Diego, we were living in a duplex in the Clairemont area and we got started in the farm workers movement. So before we moved there our landlord showcased us as the model tenants. With time as our work with the farm workers became more visible as the press began writing on boycotting and as the farm workers campaign became news, our names began appearing in the paper, and given that our landlords were very conservative, they started to raise our rent and doing little things. At that time our rent was something like \$95 a month and that was really expensive for college students. So as we drove around looking for cheaper rent and we saw a house for rent, we would call only to be told by agent and he said, "oh we rented that house, oh but we "have the house for sale". But we were students and how could we buy a house. Then one agent said well, let me just come down and talk to you about buying a house, and that's how it happened, that we ended up buying that house. And actually our mortgage was \$20 less a month than our rent, so it was a great investment. The Southeast community was an adventurous neighborhood; there weren't many people from the outside that community and it was primarily Black at that time. We bought the house in 1968.

Linda: It was in high school is where I got involved and began seeing the demographic shifts taking place in San Diego. My awareness of ethnic diversity was mostly through school clubs, and then when I was a senior in high school I got involved in some political campaigns and when I went to Mesa Community College involved, that where I met Carlos. Well I think a lot of us gravitated and found each other, so the base was the community college campus, but at that time Carlos and I lived in Southeast.

Carlos: The Southeast community in the late 1960's was a transition happening, our neighbors from both sides of the house were African American and the neighbor behind us and in front of us were Latinos, and there were some Samoans. There was a white family that never really participated in anything around the neighborhood. Southeast San Diego was a community of African Americans before and was going through a huge transition.

We lived there for about 3 years and the reason we moved there is because it was a small cottage of two bedrooms. Then our daughter was born, that was in 1970 and right about the same time she was born, we rescued Linda's mom and her two brothers from a phone booth at two o'clock in the morning, she had enough of her dad and the three of them moved in with us. And then my cousin had just returned from Vietnam and he needed a place to stay...and we had two dogs, and so we had closed the farm workers' office here in San Diego, we had signed some big contracts and we thought we didn't need the office anymore. And so I about that time I was hired at SDSU for the Educational Opportunity program (EOP) program so I made some money so we bought a house. We were in this house for about 6 months and then we moved to the national farm workers headquarters outside Delano, California. At the same time, San Diego began to experience that white flight was taking place in the early and mid 1970's, to the suburbs of San Diego city.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

When asked about the socio-political climate, they recalled how racism prevented the area from progressing, and how it was instrumental to keep alliances among different ethnicities intact:

Carlos: Yes, the tension of equal opportunity and integration was a big deal in California and in San Diego. When we worked with the farm workers union we went everywhere throughout California and interacted with everyone. It didn't matter what color you were we just wanted to gain their socio-political support for farm workers rights. As Linda has mentioned I San Diego, we had a lot access in the Black community. For example we would be at the Muslim mosque and be with brother Amos X on Imperial Avenue, when they used to have the old mosque there. We were given access to talk to those attending services to boycott grapes as a way of supporting human rights for workers. Next we would be at over with the NAACP and speak to its membership. That gave us entrée and developed strong relationships with different groups. That's how we have a working relationship with the Black stakeholders like Williams and Ernie McCray.

Linda: In the 1970's there was a real cohesive group, the US Organization group in the African American community, the Chicanos and the Asians.

Carlos: It was called the BOMB (Black Oriental Mexican Brothers) that's what was it called.

Linda: How did you remember that? Oriental, We wouldn't say that today.

Carlos: But that's what it was BOMB and that was another way to keep it together. Like Leon Williams we brought him at Southcrest, he was the favorite to run for city council and there was a negotiation for Peter Chacon to run for the 78th Assembly District seat.

Carlos: a complete sea change. In bringing Chicanos, Latino, and Blacks together, I remember an event that took place in the Tubman-Chavez Center. It had to do with the freedom writers of the 1960's. I was part of that group and they picked us up in a limousine, so I'm in this limo and it was all Black that I knew, and there was Sukumo, Kudumo, Shorchazy, and all individuals were part of the US Organization. So we are driving by Lincoln High School and one of the Blacks who has moved out of San Diego says: "So how are we doing at our Black Lincoln High School and Sukumo, who is a dear friend, just laughs and said, not anymore, there are more Chicanos than Blacks.

Even now if you look at the school there is a lot of Black people that emotionally want to see it as an African American school, but the demographics are in 60% Latino.

I'm sure there is a tug of war in the Lincoln High School area and emotionally want to see it, as an African American but demographically is majority Latino.

Speaking on racist sentiment, one of issues was the naming of Martin Luther King Parkway, I think the city council passed the naming of the parkway, but a lot of people rejected it. Business owners said that they had to change their stationary, but I think what

it was more than that, it was racism. Eventually, Market Street was renamed Martin Luther King Jr. Way for a few years in the 1980s and 1990s before Highway 94 a freeway traveling east from downtown, was renamed the Martin Luther King Jr. Freeway.

Another sensitive issues is political representation in SDC Council District 4, as a social struggle for representation we want the District 4 to have a seat with an African American representative, but if you look at the demographics, the demographics don't support it. Yet, a lot of times we spent a lot of time with Latinos that want to run, but we think that's not a good idea. I think it's not a good idea, politically. But is more than emotional issue, but politically is the insensitivity of inclusion. But, you know its not, I don't see the fairness to it. It's not a take over, I mean if you walk down the street you see who lives there. I would say that all Mexicans families want to have political representation and have their kids speak English and Spanish as well.

Socio-Historical Context of the SDCC District 4 Community

Linda and Carlos LeGrette emphasized that historic federal and state laws that were created to improve race relations helped, but the struggle was not dependent on them specifically. They elaborated on the following:

Linda: For me personally, I never let the laws stop me or guide me from what I needed to do for social justice. I would say, honestly, that federal programs calling to a community for change its not always helpful. Federal funding I think can be more divisive sometimes because something happens to people when it comes to greed, what's better for me or better for you. I don't think federal support is necessarily needed, what we learned in the farm workers movement, and when we came back to San Diego, is that when people get involved I could see some of socially happening. Cesar would never take money from the government because it comes with some strings and then there is all of this reporting which ties you down of what you can do. Cesar would say that as organizers you could only talk to the person drinking from the blue cup and not the one sitting next to him with a red cup. He would say forget it, we would figured it out.

Cesar was all about workers of all races and creeds, whether they were from here or somewhere else. However, often when the farm workers went on strike, the government would bring workers from Mexico and it was not because they cared about provided them with work, they could care less about their well-being. So Cesar was not opposed to workers from Mexico, he was pissed off because the government was using them to break the farm workers union and fair wages and working conditions. He did not care if they came in, he would want to organize them too, so that's was about...Cesar was about promoting what was best for workers rights. Such focus needs to occur in SDC District 4.

Linda: I think it united us as a collective people to overcome injustices. For example, we thanked Governor Wilson in the mid 1990', because if he had not passed Proposition 187, we would not have brought people together to work for the rights of undocumented people, he pushed us to be together on a common issue.

When asked about how African Americans supported such California propositions as 187, Carlos responded:

Carlos: The dominant white community probably saw it as if we were taking their jobs, taking their schools, displacing them where they used to lived because they were pushed out, I'm not sure if that was the case, but in their minds they were probably thinking that and generally you swing to the person closest to you, instead of going after the real threat.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of SDCC District 4

Reflecting on the intercultural climate of the SDC Council District 4 community, Carlos and Linda felt that the intercultural climate that they have experienced has always been positive, as others have always welcomed them. To this day, they feel supported by the African American community. They expressed their insights through the following comments:

Linda: I remember the BOMB (Brown, Oriental, Mexican, Black) and we didn't say BOMB because it could have had a negative violence consequence. I remember being called Yellow, brown, red and black by people who felt threatened by ethnic collaboration. I love it when we were all working together, and like Carlos has previously stated, those are the relationships that we were building and we are still working to maintain those relationships.

Carlos: There was a trust between the diverse ethnic communities because we worked together so they had my back and I had their back. I think it all goes down to the whole process of leadership. In our present leadership we have the likes Myrtle Cole (Black) and David Alvarez (Latino) representing Black and Brown interest in the San Diego city districts, and Senator Ben Hueso (40th District) in California. Yet, we need to look at them and ask them, what are they going to do in the terms of supporting and nurturing community leadership? Elected representatives? Then we have the other institutions like business and education and, what are they going to do in those sectors. Because I think that will be key when we get these individuals together. In developing leadership I'm looking down the line and nurturing youth through the Cesar Chavez Clubs from Point Loma High School to Hoover High School and Lincoln High School. We are thinking of going over to Lincoln High School, and sooner than we anticipated in the clusters schools, to work with youth and their leadership skills. Then you have youth from all ethnicities working together and not just on school issues, but in developing them as future leaders of our community. That's what I explain to a lot of individuals.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the SDC Council District 4 Community

In regards to the tensions that exist among the different ethnic groups in the SDCC District 4, Linda and Carlos emphasized that a separation or a division could be the biggest enemy and that we all must recognize other emerging communities:

Well, I can tell you one thing that can divide us and that's by recognizing that there are more than Latinos and Blacks in our community. We need to recognize that is also a huge Asian population and we have to start developing relationships with our Asian brothers and sisters. There is no denial that we cannot afford to take Asians for granted. If we do not recognize Asians as a group or groups in our communities we moved against being inclusive and inviting intercultural conflict, and I do not believe is healthy. I just think that's a very important that in our schools we need to learn about each other cultures and languages. Its about respecting each other, its about understanding our values, and is not about competing for resources or creating the tensions between the "haves" and the "have nots." In the past, the majority community has found a way to always keep people of color apart. Now that the people of color are the majority, the stronghold of those communities is still finding ways to keep us a part so we have to find ways and recognize not let it happen.

Diversity is our constituency; the demographics are changing. I also don't want to ostracize the white people either, they need to be included as well, even though we don't agree on things, we should be able to come together and talk about our differences. As we disagree, we should be able to respectfully disagree, listen to each other, and we might agree on some issues, as well as disagree on others. But if we do not have the open communication we will not have the means to discuss our pressing social and economic issues. The failure to not having open communication is a divided community and that's just not healthy.

Intercultural Collaboration in SDC Council District 4

When asked about how collaboration could improve among Latinos and African Americans intercultural relations, the LeGrette's responded in the following manner:

Carlos: Providing leadership knowing while knowing that not everyone wants to be a community leader. So we need to view leadership in different forms. I our work with the Cesar Chavez Clubs, our youth know that the most valuable people are those behind the scenes. The important work is often done by the "steady eddies", that ones that lay the groundwork. Not everyone has to be the main voice, and it doesn't meant that the kitchen is too hot for them, they like to be in the kitchen, but they just don't want to be the leader or the main voice. There is a role for everyone in the social change process, for a leader to be successful s/he needs support and everyone plays a key roles and making their person a leader...and that's our goal.

Linda: Leadership is not a pie in the sky, it's working together and understanding that it is about collaborating and working together and pursuing the vision that collectively needs to be attained. We want our youth to have a confidence and be a part of the change,

instead of thinking that someone is better than you because of whatever they are or not doing. We all have the capacity to believe that that social change can be achieved that benefits the whole community and not the individual person. Our mission with our kids is to inspire them and to believe in him or herself, so they know they can make a difference, if you go to the annual Cesar Chavez breakfast you will see our youth in action. These are 6th and 7th graders and we have very healthy discussions and they have different opinions, but they are learning how to dialogue and to do something about issues that concern them. Not to just walk away from issues, but to discuss and to do something about it.

When asked about how they respond when people think that Cesar Chavez service clubs are just for Latinos and not for other races, they answered:

Linda: You hit it right on the head; just the name implies Latinos right? When we started going into the schools and we talked about the Cesar Chavez Club, they would answer well we already have a MEChA. Our response is to affirm that we want you to keep MEChA, but the Cesar Chavez Club is not just about Latinos, I know that the name implies that but its about inclusiveness.

Carlos and I worked in the farm workers movement for 12 years and did not get paid much and we know a lot of people did and that many of the volunteers and the farm workers were of a mixed racial background. Many were Filipinos, Chinese, Blacks, Okies as they called them, and some white people, middle eastern and so when we worked for the farm workers union for 12 years with Cesar, it was not just about Latinos, because he was Latino, but it was about the inclusiveness of social and farm workers rights. In those 12 years Carlos and I found that many were non-Latino volunteers. Many were religious people like the AFSC, and people that thought they wanted to be in the seminary and decided they wanted to go in a different path, because they had a passion for economic justice. So I think that was important. So we always say at the very beginning, that we are about the legacy of Cesar Chavez and without a Cesar Chavez there wouldn't be any service clubs. But again, we are not just about the farm worker movement and we are not just about Latinos; we just made that very clear. We are about inclusiveness, social justice, and the right to equal opportunity.

You know our first school we started the Chavez Club in San Diego was at Chavez Elementary it was perfect to have it there. The very first election that we had with our Chavistas, our very first president was a little girl and she was African American. She was the first president at the Cesar Chavez service club and now you will see at our breakfast that the presidents are now Muslims, Chinese, Japanese, White, Mexicans, a big diverse group of students.

I clearly remember our 3rd annual breakfast. I vividly remember that we didn't have to tell anyone what the club was about; if someone was at that breakfast they could tell in the very first 5 minutes what we were about inclusiveness and social service. It was a Muslim Chavista who introduced the rabbi in Buddhist tradition at a Cesar Chavez event during holy week. To me it was wow! Does anyone else get this or am I the only one, and our MC was a Black student. And we knew this, but now our diversity of our community naturally brings it out. In our schools we still, well all of us, inside and outside the Cesar Chavez Club, we know that we have to take into consideration our

Asian community and I don't know why it seems that there is a separation, some of it has to be cultural. We also take our kids to Washington D.C. and many times when we talk to the parents of the Asian kids, they won't let them go, and we know we have some work to do in order to get the trust of our Asian parents. We want all of our parents to be involved in our service clubs; we have to do a better job in reaching out to our Asian parents to make it happen.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the SDC Council District 4 Community

Linda: What can unite our communities? By working on our mutual interest by working together in order to make a community of people have a voice. With the result of community people having positions in business, politics, seating on boards and commissions that are representative of the culturally diverse and whole community. This working together begins by respecting each other differences based cultural, language, and religion or atheism, because we have some families that are atheists, and understanding that we are all different.

It's about understanding and accepting of who we are and recognizing cultural, language, and religious differences. When we began our Cesar Chavez clubs we thought of high school may be the starting place, but we learned right away that by high school might be too late. I tell you something, if we had the capacity we should start at 3rd, 2nd, 1st or K grade levels. It would be great to start working with youth in the early grades and will I tell you that our 4th and 5th graders are amazing because about the time they get into 6th grade and junior high, we lose some because of the complexity happening in their lives, but by 8th grade they come back to us, but we worked hard with them all the way through high school.

Carlos: Well, for me is the importance of developing youth to give back to their communities and developing their leadership. You know the beauty of the Chavista service clubs as we see them, is the use of school community clusters because they go from Elementary, to Junior to High School and in the process they are Chavistas every year because it is a 3rd to 12th grade continuum. This way they continue to their academic and social responsibility growth. We are having Chavista club coordinators who themselves were Chavistas, and those coordinators are great to have because they know the culture behind being a Chavista.

Part of our growth is a summer project designed for coordinator development because now we have over a hundred coordinators that we have trained and probably 6,000 Chavistas. So now that we understand what we are doing we are trying to capture a way to following them by obtaining their names and addresses.

Linda: Staying in touch with them is very important, so we want to develop a way to follow their development and keep them inform of our events in schools and community, instead waiting for them to contact us first. We want to continue pushing the concept of giving back to their community.

Linda: Our work in San Diego and in SDC Council 4 is to engage the next generation in civic participation, through the Chavista process from kindergarten through high school

in learning about civic responsibility and leadership and our 10-point curriculum founded on the values that Chavez promoted, including: nonviolence, respect, service, determination, tolerance and knowledge. When a student becomes a Chavista, s/he “learns self-reliance, collaboration, civic responsibility, leadership and the lifelong understanding and commitment to service”. The transformation in these students is magical.

Case Study 11: Norma Cazares

College Counselor, Community Activist

Background

Mrs. Norma Mena Cazares has been involved in socio-cultural and political activities in the San Diego City Council (SDCC) District 4 for over 40 years. Born and raised in Southeast San Diego, Ms. Cazares has been a community activist through her commitment to improve the economic and educational access to low-income communities, never compromising her beliefs and always speaking out when others have been afraid to do so. Mrs. Cazares, due to her work ethic, her honesty, and her passion for her community, is one of the few community activists that is respected equally by both the African American and Latino communities in SDCC District 4. When asked about her background and community involvement in Southeast San Diego, she recalled her grandfather’s influence and stated:

My mom says what is in my blood came from her father. My mother was born in Miami, Arizona. It is a little mining town, a little Bisbee. There are a lot of little mining towns in Arizona. That is where a lot of *Mexicano* families ended up in, in the copper mining towns. My mom was born there, along with her 7 siblings. She was the 2nd oldest. Her father saw the brutal treatment and unjust treatment of the miners. So he started unionizing them. The mining companies were not thrilled about it and sent the town sheriff to knock on their door in the middle of night to ask them to leave on their own in two days or be thrown out. They had to flee. That is when my mom moved back to Juarez. She was seven years old when they were unofficially deported because that is what they did. They were US Citizens, but they got deported. She ended up in Juarez, Chihuahua at 7 years old. She never went to Mexican schools. My grandfather wanted to live in border towns, and El Paso, Texas was right across the border. She went to school in El Paso, Texas and stayed with the family during the week and would then come home. She never went to Mexican schools, unlike the rest of her siblings. Her older brother and she never went to Mexican schools, but her younger siblings did. I don’t know why they did that; I found such action strange.

So, my mom would say, you are like my father, standing for people's rights." Who knows? I think it was the times, my interests, just seeing that something isn't right, that something doesn't smell right, something doesn't feel right, something isn't right. Rather than just sitting back and watching it, I would just make a decision that somebody has to do something about it, and it usually just takes one person.

Now, for a 62 year-old woman that's a lot to ask about my community involvement. Just to start with a little bit of history, I am a native San Diegan born to a Mexican father and a US citizen mother who was pretty much raised in Mexico. I was born in 1951 and lived in Logan Heights up until I was 9 years old, and then our family moved, what my dad said, "Moving up in the world a little bit." That was 42nd Street and Market Street, on Morrison Street. We lived there for many, many years, which was then referred to, and I still refer to, as Southeast San Diego.

There are seven of us, and I am 2nd to the oldest. I attended elementary schools in Logan Heights, but then when we moved residence I went to Burbank. That is where I finished my elementary school years. Then I went to Gompers Middle School and Lincoln High School. I (formerly, Norma Mena) graduated from Lincoln High School in 1969. You know, the community consisted of the typical working class families. We were poor; we just didn't know we were poor because every one in the neighborhood lived about the same that we did. At the time, we moved in 1960 to Morrison Street by 42nd and Market, it was actually a pretty ethnically diverse community. We still had the original, older white neighbors, who owned their homes for decades, but we had African American and Samoans neighbors, we had new immigrants, Chicanos, a pretty ethnically diverse community. When I got into Lincoln High in 1967 as a sophomore, that was when the high school configuration was still 10th, 11th, and 12th and the community was primarily African American. We would actually walk to school, and what a difference it would make in getting to know people. When we went towards Lincoln Park, Valencia Park, and surrounding areas, the school was about 75-80% African American. By the time I graduated in 1969, Lincoln was about 80% African American.

Ms. Cazares' reason for becoming active in the 1960's was due to the civil rights and the Cultural Revolution happening in the United States. She was introduced to the Chicano movement and the need to undo past discriminatory practices:

It was a very exiting socio-political time! Everything was happening in the 1960s. I was able to experience all that, the Civil Rights Movement, the protest against the Vietnam War that was going on, the Chicano Movement, the Black Movement, every movement you could think of- even gays' voice were starting to be heard too. It was a very exciting time, a time of social turbulence, but an exciting time to participate socio-politically. For sure the most memorable for anyone living at that time.

Mrs. Cazares spoke about entering San Diego State and facing the reality of racism. College was a different world, although not too far away from her home, where she had to figure out how to survive the higher education institutional system. She attributes the Chicano movement and

mentors, both African Americans and Latinos, for helping her not only to be admitted, but also to be able to graduate as well:

I went to San Diego State. I got recruited. Gus Chavez and Jimmy Estrada pulled me out of my advanced English class at Lincoln High School. They were the outreach folks for the brand new program at San Diego State, which was the Equal Educational Opportunity (EOP) Program. I think I was in the first class of the EOP program at San Diego State. They pulled me out my class at Lincoln High and asked why I had not applied for San Diego State. They said that my grades showed that I definitely made the requirements or exceeded the requirements. I told them that I did apply to San Diego State, and that they never answered me. It turns out that my counselor never submitted my application to San Diego State.

My counselor turned my college application to the ones he wanted me to go to, but not to where I wanted to go to or where my parents, or mom, would allow me to go to college. By that time my dad had passed away. My dad died when I was 16 years old. There was no way my mom was going to let me go anywhere. I thought I was going to go to the community college, like my older sister was at San Diego City College. That was fine by me, you don't know any different at high school. But they said, "No, we want you to go to San Diego State". They actually submitted my application late, but they did it through EOP, so I was admitted to San Diego State. I was 17 years old when I started at San Diego State. My counselor meant well. He wanted me to go away from San Diego and go to college, but he didn't understand the Latino culture. He was a white guy, Mr. Shore. He was also my advance English teacher.

When asked about why counselors would do that, she answered:

They just don't understand the Latino culture. I was the first one to go away, the first generational college student. If it had not been for Gus Chavez and Jimmy Estrada, I probably would not have gone directly to a four-year university. I am sure I would have accomplished my educational goals eventually, the way I wanted to. I love school, and I knew I wanted to be in college. There was no doubt about that.

Mrs. Cazares spoke to her activism and community involvement while attending SDSU and living at home:

I still lived at home when I went to San Diego State. What was interesting to me was my early involvement in my community and it continued while I was at San Diego State. I guess people call it activist. When I was 15 years old I got to get to know George Stevens. He was a community activist and he was the first activist that I got to know. He basically recruited me because I was bilingual to help register people to vote. I could not even vote, but he recruited me to help people register to vote. He knocked on my front door and asked my mom if I could go with him. The fact that my mother knew him, she let me go with this man to go around the neighborhood and he was a good guy who wanted to improve the community. He was always looking to do good things, like get the streets fixed and the traffic lights fixed, and all that kind of improvements in the

neighborhood. Then I got involved in the walkouts at Lincoln High School, that was a really interesting experience seeing how adults responded to our concerns. Then later in the late 1960's early 1970's I continued my activism in the Chicano and student movement, till today.

When asked what she thought of former SDCC District 4 councilman George Stevens and if she considered his reputation with Latinos positive, she answered by stating:

Yes. That is when I realized the power of people. He didn't get elected to City Council until, I think he tried in the 1960s, but he didn't get elected till later in the 1990s. I think he attempted to get elected to San Diego City Council a few times. I think he was perceived as too radical for some people. The status quo people of the time, predominantly white males probably thought he was too radical, but he was effective.

When asked what led her to be involved in social movements, she elaborated on the following:

I think it is just a matter of having people like Revered Smith and Reverend Stevens who influenced me in the way they advocated for people's rights. Reverend Stevens was a Baptist minister and Reverend Smith was a Presbyterian minister. Also my doctor was African American. We used to walk to his clinic. I used to admire him, the fact that he was black and with a medical degree and a doctor. Yet, there was a lot of discrimination. When I was growing up you could see the divisions by social class, communities and treatment of people.

Dr. Melvin Williams passed away a number of years ago. I was his babysitter. He used to come and get me. He used to live in Mt. Helix, but his office was on Market Street. He would come all the way down the hill to pick me up and take me back to take care of his kids. That was impressive too because he lived in a really nice community. It was like, Wow! He is Black and he lives here! We used to talk a lot about what was going on. He hired me as a receptionist for his medical office when I got a little older. We would just talk about what was going on socially and politically, and things like that. Also, just living my adolescence and young adult life in the 1960s, especially in college, one had more exposure to what was going on with the civil rights movement. There was a lot of dialogue and discussions in classes and with peers. My experiences at Lincoln High School, that certainly impacted me as well because we experienced and lived in the inequality and the shitty education that was coming out of Lincoln High School. As a matter of fact, remind me and I will pull out a student album from back then. It was like 75-80% black, but all the teachers and administrators were white. They used to put the *Mexicanos*, the new immigrants who didn't speak English or spoke little English, in low educational tracks. They did not have bilingual classes or English as a second language classes. Instead they would often place students who spoke little English in EMR classes, Education for the Mentally Retarded or special education classes. There were a bunch of special education classes because they thought that was their level of academic competence. Rather than working with them, let's just throw them in low achieving courses. So what was going on in Los Angeles at the time inspired Latinos. In Los Angeles, students were walking out of school months before we walked out of Lincoln High School in 1968.

During the student movement in the late 1960's, Lincoln High School had a very active student body and Mrs. Cazares was one of the key Chicano leaders during that student movement working as liaison to the Spanish-speaking students. When Lincoln High re-opened in 2007 the city's major newspaper, the Union Tribune, ran a segment dedicated to Lincoln in which it highlighted the students' demands during the late 1960's student movement. When asked about this historic event, Mrs. Cazares elaborated on the following:

I think there was like 15-20 demands that students made regarding relevant education. Kenny Denman from the Black Panthers and Carlos LeGrette, a Chicano activist came to support us. Among the demands, we wanted teachers that looked like us. We wanted bilingual education. We wanted culturally relevant curriculum. We wanted food that we could eat. We wanted courses that would prepare us for college. There was a list of things. I think there was one recommendation about the immigrants that the school was discriminating against them because they were placed in special education without adequate assessment. During the initial walkouts, there was a lock-down and we could not leave school.

When asked how she has been involved directly with the SDCC District 4, she answered with the following statement:

I think that my involvement involves working with the elected officials, you know in SDCC District 4. More recently working with the community college that sits on District 4, which is San Diego City College. I have been advocating for low-income students to have access to UCSD and SDSU. I advocate for the region, but specifically for Southwestern and San Diego City College because we have similar student populations that are still underserved. When it comes to educational access and opportunity in higher education, we are the two colleges south of Highway 8 that have always gotten the short end of the stick. So, trying to address the educational inequities of the students that we serve and that have existed for a long time—and after 40 years of working for access such issues continue to exist and is always a battle. You have to stay on top of the educational issues, because when one thinks conditions are getting a little better ... they begin to slip back.

So that's how I am involved more by helping elect the politicians and representatives from the low-income areas that include Latinos and Blacks, as well as working in with community leaders to pressure the local higher education institutions to be more responsive.

When asked if she is still involved with the Lincoln alumni, she responded:

Yeah, in fact the planning of our 45th reunion has begun, you know which is pretty amazing. In fact I was involved in our 30th reunion, it's a very involved year, 1969 graduating class is probably the most socially active class of all the years. Many of the graduates from Lincoln are grouped together in cluster of years, but the class of 1969 pretty much stays together. In fact they began fundraising, we had a couple of picnics and community activities, so it's nice to stay in touch with people from the community and what different graduates have done in the community.

Demographic Shifts

Mrs. Cazares reflected on the changing demographics of SDCC District 4 when she was a high school student. She elaborated on her educational experience and the student and faculty diversity of Lincoln High School in the 1960's:

I was very fortunate to be in advanced classes pretty much throughout high school. I was not in advanced classes for math and science, but just history and English, and electives. When it came to math, forget it. I was fortunate, and I consider it fortunate, to have been in a mix of classes. For my friends in all advanced classes, it was all the same people and they didn't have the same experience that I had at Lincoln High School. My girlfriend, Elsa, she was like me taking advanced English and social studies but regular math. I got to meet all kinds of people. In the advanced classes, I found classes with no Blacks. It was primarily the few whites and Japanese students that were left. Lincoln had approximately 5% Japanese. Where Lincoln was built, originally used to be farmland and it was surrounded by farmland and the Japanese owned them. We had the Shinsakis's, the Ochis farm. We had the Yamamodos, Kanishi's, and Suidas, There were a few Japanese students at Lincoln High, and they were usually in the advanced classes with the whites, very few Blacks, and some of us Chicanos, Mexican-Americans. So they would stay together and then there was me, I would go to classes with the regular students. So I got to know the ethnic diversity of the school really well, and I could mix in all circles. Being bilingual, I could mix with another group of students, the new immigrants, the *Mexicanos* that still spoke Spanish in the school. So when we started with the students' walkouts, my job was to get the *Mexicanos* engaged. That is why we got some educational demands that pertained to new immigrants. That was something we wanted for them as well. Above all, I saw the segregation of opportunity or access within the school.

When asked about the recent demographic changes in California, Mrs. Cazares called the demographic shift, the "Browning of California," with Latinos becoming the major ethnic group in San Diego and the whole State of California. When asked about what she has witnessed in the last 50 years, she elaborated on the following:

SDCC District 4 has significantly changed; also not only in California but also in the nation, it's the browning of California for sure. After the Vietnam War we began to get a

lot of Vietnamese refugees coming into where we lived. I mean, well first of all you have to understand that the Logan Heights area is so full of low-income people. The Logan heights community did not have the racial restrictions or covenants as other parts of town.

So, some of the communities of San Diego did not have covenants, so poor people basically were forced to move into communities that allowed them live there. Because of segregation in the 1960's and early 1970 many areas of the city did not allow persons of color to reside in many parts of the city. People of Indochinese background came from different countries, were low income, and of working class. So, I remember when the Vietnamese came to the SDCC District 4, they lived between Burbank Elementary and the cemetery. So they pretty much took over that part of the community because once a family arrived another family would come and lived with them. Yet, I don't remember the Vietnamese going to Lincoln High School, so I don't know where they went. I think they must have gone to Morse High School because they didn't go to Lincoln and I don't remember any Vietnamese or Cambodians at Lincoln High School.

The browning of San Diego began in the late 1970's, so is not surprising that today Lincoln High School is over 60% Latino. So with change you are going to have your conflicts, your challenges... demographic changes are taking place and any time there is a loss of one ethnic group, such as Blacks, one senses that nobody likes to lose their power, it doesn't matter what ethnic entity, nobody likes to lose power. In the 1970's I remember that there was a little bit of conflict between the *Mexicanos* and the Blacks. It wasn't so much with the Chicanos, it was with the *Mexicanos*. It was interesting. I remember being a kind of mediator back then between the groups. I tried to help the groups understand where each was coming from because the Blacks had all the power. They had pretty much all the political and school positions, especially by 1969. When I arrived in 1967, I have a school album where you can see that the school community had white influence in the leadership positions, but after the early 1970's rolled around, it was all Black.

When asked if she recalls when the "White flight" took place, and if it coincided with the opening of Lincoln in 1949, Ms. Cazares stated:

No, white flight had already began to take place by then but it accelerated with the Brown vs. Board of Education decision of 1954. We have some friends older than me who went to Lincoln High School and it was all white when they went to attend Lincoln High School or between 1957 and 1960, it was still pretty much white.

Lincoln High School opened up in like 1949 or in 1950, or something like that. It opened in the 1950's it was all white. My friend, who went there, a Chicana, she said it was pretty much all white in 1960. So between 1960 and 1969, just in 9 years, a lot changed. The face of the school community changed primarily to Black. And I would venture to say that it began turning Brown in the late 1970's, and then through the 80's.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

Mrs. Cazares was asked about her perceptions and experiences concerning how certain federal legislation has influenced the socio-political climate in the SDCC District 4 over the past 40 years. In response to this, she provided the following:

I think many of the state and federal laws have helped the pursuit of equal opportunity, except the state of California Propositions such as 187 that call for undocumented persons to not receive state services. In the case of Proposition 209 it attacked the use of Affirmative Action. Both Propositions were totally anti-people of color, especially when you are banning ethnicity or race to be used as a criteria for admission to universities and that, still exists today. While there are ways to get around Proposition 209 which are perfectly legal, but Affirmative Action is a civil right which was meant to address the total inequities and racial prejudice and discrimination, dating back to the torture of Blacks and Jim Crow laws, so I think Affirmative Action was a starting point for equal opportunity for all, but again if the power structure is not in support then you will continue to have discrimination and inequality of access in the public institutions of society. We are in 2014 and we read reports about how law enforcement searches more African Americans and Latinos over Whites, so discriminatory practices based of racial prejudice still exists. That's a certain culture that exists, unfortunately, and leadership can change, for example you have Bejarano who was Chief of the Police Department in San Diego and now he is Chief in Chula Vista, however, now you have Chief Lansdown in San Diego, so you see the leadership in the Police Department can change but the culture within the organization, the old guard, people are there for 30 to 40 years right, continues. And so that culture is still there, the mentality of prejudice is still within the organization. While leadership matters, like Chief Bejarano in Chula Vista, his crime statistics are very low in Chula Vista and that's because of his efforts and bringing community people to sit on his advisory committee and I bring things to his attention that are going on. Such as bringing attention to the Border Patrol that was stopping all the landscapers that were brown and the police were sitting them down on the curbside. It turns out they ended doing that due to solicited congressional inquiry, but you see if you do not say anything such practices can just continue. So community needs to push for organizational cultural change to match the needs of its community.

In the case of access to higher education for underrepresented communities, Ms. Cazares feels that policies are not enough to reverse past discriminatory trends of underrepresented communities in higher education. She reflected on higher education issues in San Diego and in particular on SDCC District 4:

Change cannot be left to just politicians or certain policies; people need to drive such changes. So, anyways the only way that things can change is if people demand change because if you leave it to the institution it is not going to happen on its own, especially when you have administrators who have not moved or advocated for access for students of color. I believe that when there is a will there is a way not to ban the criteria of race and ethnicity as part of the admissions process. I mean everybody knows that we need

people of color, particularly underrepresented students, but the only federally designated underrepresented groups in higher education are African Americans, Latinos and Native Americans... it's not Asians, it's not Whites, its only those three groups and it should reflect the population of the institution. I just brought it up to UCSD that in San Diego for being 37% Latino, they only have 14% Latinos and the last 13 years they have been 1 to 2% African Americans at UCSD.

We also have the most Indian reservations in San Diego County for the whole State and possibly nation. Yet, Native Americans have even lower numbers of students than Latino, and African Americans of all the UC campuses. Should we not use race as criteria to even the access playing field? I realize that there are a lot of other guidelines that you can use in order to serve the underserved populations...so it's still a battle. So as long as you have people to advocate for access to public institutions it can be done...but always there is a need for voice to keep the decision makers in power on their toes, part of change begins with advocacy for equity and access.

When asked about other areas that can impact the socio-political climate of San Diego and SDCC

District 4, Ms. Cazares indicated the following,

Another area of importance is electing political officials that really care and understand the issues of the community and underserved people that are very important. But certainly getting people elected that understand what the pressing issues are and are passionate about what can bring change is very important. Political officials are the policymakers, they have the power, but it takes community folks to get them elected, it takes a community to get them engaged about what's really going on in the communities and in SDCC District 4, we need more Latinos to be active.

Socio-Historical Context of the District 4 Community

Ms. Cazares has positive images growing up in Southeast San Diego, which have shaped her identity and experiences and have defined her passion for the well being of the community:

From a socio-historical perspective, I remember growing up on 42nd street and around me I experienced many social revolutions advocating for fairness, representation, and equity. Even in the music world, Soul music, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones came in the 1960's. Southeast San Diego had a strong Black influence around the 1960's and 1970's.

When asked about what businesses, commercial stores, and restaurants that were popular and thriving in Southeast San Diego, she answered:

We were poor, if we went out to eat anywhere we went to eat in Tijuana, Baja California, less than 20 minutes from our house, because there was no way my father could take the seven of us to eat here in San Diego. But, really there was the Black Sabbath, the Urban League, and Willie Morrows hair products were also down the street from Oscars Market on Market Street. I remember I was so impressed because Willie Morrow had taken over

a big building and it was owned by African American brothers, the Morrow brothers, they manufactured hair products and they each owned a Jaguar automobile. One had a black jaguar and the other had a white jaguar. To this day a Jaguar is my dream car! But, anyway you can see that the African American community was growing and becoming business owners, but being able to see “wow” things are improving, things are getting better, getting into businesses and investments like that.

The food was interesting, I saw changes in the community, early in my schooling I remember unwrapping the burrito my mother made for lunch, but we would hide it, we would stick it in the lunch bag, take a bite and then pushed it back into the bag. It was funny because by the time I got to high school everybody wanted a burrito. So we were switching lunch, but remember that there was a Japanese population, so they had their rolls, sushi rolls and their rice balls and seaweed wraps and stuff, and I would have my burritos. So we used to exchange our food. The Black students usually had sandwiches, but they would say, “Hey Norma, what did you bring for lunch today? What kind of burrito do you have?”

When I was 16 years old, I was hired to work for the phone company in the summer and the reason I was hired, which is the only time I remember that I benefitted from knowing somebody and getting a job. My godmother worked for the phone company and I remember that we were very poor, my father worked a laborer and a house painter, but when it rained, no work, right? So, my godmother would ask me if I wanted to work for the phone company during the summer, and I said sure. I was the youngest telephone operator that they had ever hired. I was making \$2.35 an hour which was unbelievable, a lot of money for me, I was making more money than my dad was making, so I worked the Summers and Winter breaks from school and by then I was 18. Even in the telephone company I got involved in changing company policy that dealt with dress code!

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the SDCC District 4 Community

When asked about the socio-cultural characteristics of Southeast San Diego, she answered:

In the area of socio-cultural characteristics, such as language and customs, I think anytime you live in a community for an extended period there is one dominant language, dialect, you are going to pick-up; its mannerisms, and if you talked to me over the phone back then you would think I was Black. As a matter of fact, I remember being at SDSU and everybody teasing me, because I did talk with some of mannerisms, the slang. So I remember the influence of language and the assumptions people made about my speech patterns or expressions. Coming from a community environment such as Lincoln High in Southeast San Diego and attending SDSU was like major culture shock. Remember that I was going to a school that was 80% Black to a college that was predominantly White, and like only 8 miles apart. I can literally say...it was like day and night, I've never seen so many white people in my life, never, never it was a major culture shock, very few Blacks, very few Chicanos, and the Chicanos that were there kind of hung together at SDSU. So people used to tease me about my accent, but I was proud of it, I was fine with it, and would say to them, that is your problem not mine.

But I would say it took me 4 to 5 years to kind of work out using certain language speaking characteristics, but like I said I was proud of the way I expressed myself. In the end, I know for a fact, since I grew up around African Americans to this day I don't have any problems relating or communicating with any ethnic group.

When you are around a certain culture you pick up a lot of their cultural attributes, you begin to better understand their cultural roots, traditions, aspirations, how they got to where they are, and where they want to go, and what they hold important. So when you live in a multicultural community you grow up together and people sense that you relate with the community, and identify with them. Even to this day people ask me so where did you grow up, and I say around the Lincoln High School community, or they would say, "Where is that lady from?" She dances like us, and people would say, "oh no wonder..."

So living in the SDCC District 4, I developed community social skills that have given me the ability to interact with all different types of ethnic communities and by default, a sort of a cultural ambassador for Southeast San Diego.

Intercultural Climate of the District 4 Community

Ms. Cazares has been a bridge between the Latinos and African Americans, a skill that she continues exercising in dealing with intercultural community issues. She elaborated on this skill and how it was developed:

I believe that in all communities where different cultures come together and speak different languages, competition for power and lack of trust are common occurrences. In such intercultural climate, cultural sensitivity trainings are needed to increase dialogue and find common ground as an ongoing process. Unfortunately, there are always challenges before positive things come up and you have to work through the challenges first in order to get there.

In the case of Black and Latino community perceptions of each other, at any time that one perceives that your base of power is getting eroded or chipped away, you go into an automatic defense mode and the tendency is to be cautionary or reactionary, because again no one likes to lose their power. So one needs to see if trust exists and see if things can be work out naturally. If not, one needs to be strategic and specific in dealing with community tensions through a combination of steps such as working with the elected officials that represent SDCC District 4, but also the leadership of the community and with the buy-in from the city as a whole, the county, the schools, and the whole community. It is an ongoing process in seeking collaboration.

Often creating a kind of forum where people can express their fears as well as their hopes and dreams for their community is another strategy to expose the concerns of the diverse ethnic communities. We need to understand that not only one kind of people live in that community, rather there are many different groups that come with different experiences, different cultures, as well as understanding that people problem solve issues differently. African Americans have experienced generations of discrimination and prejudice, and more recently, Latinos have, and both groups have fought long battles to attain and

maintain civil rights. While the attainment of civil rights has been helpful, it has not changed discriminatory practices entirely.

In SDCC District 4, other ethnic communities have come from war-torn countries like the Vietnamese residents, and they had a different experience. *Mexicanos* come from many different states in Mexico. Indonesian communities come from countries where corruption has existed, as with Mexico. So often there is no trust with government and things like that, but if you don't understand that about each other, it is not easy to create trust and collaboration. That is why its not easy, getting ethnically diverse people to understand each other without some cultural awareness or sensitivity training. It takes time, but it can be done...and it needs to be presented in ways that benefits every community.

Everybody in the SDCC District 4 wants good schools, so how do we make our local schools better. Our local schools need to contextualize education. Its amazing to me that few students today or local community people know about the civil rights movement, or about Cesar Chavez, or the Chicano movement, or about gay rights, or about the Vietnam war! They say history repeats itself, well it doesn't have to repeat itself if we are real clear about the mistakes that were made and understand the lessons that we learned. I would say that the majority of young people today don't know, or are totally unaware of the struggles that were suffered as a result of past discrimination and/or inequities and basically how at some level it has made their lives a little easier for them.

I am glad to see that more students of color are deciding to go to college but such growth did not happen through its own, it was the result of past struggles. So our communities of color need to come together and find what are our mutual commonalities, not their differences...now that we know what we agree on, what do we have to do to secure equal opportunity for all students who have been underserved. But for this to happen people have to have commitment and ownership of the issues. Otherwise we take one step forward and two steps back.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the District 4 Community

When Mrs. Cazares was asked to speak to the issues of intercultural conflict and tensions in SDCC District 4, she stated:

Clearly demographic shifts have created tensions among Latinos and African Americans in Southeast San Diego, but I attribute discrimination and prejudice to be the roots of not knowing about each other. Creating trust amongst different ethnic communities is complex. In the case of demographics Brown folks are having babies and unfortunately what's happening with the African Americans community its totally overrepresentation of African American males in the prison system. Such in the case of being stopped by the police; It is not by accident that the San Diego Police Department is more likely to stop and search an African American. Over the last 15 years, when I ask my African Americans students, "where do the Blacks live? Where are they going? East County? With cheap housing in SDCC District 4 Latinos have moved into the community. But most Latinos have had limited contact with Blacks, so many misconceptions are made about each others' culture and life styles.

But most important is the question: where does mistrust come from? It comes from past experiences in enduring discrimination and prejudice and in the assumptions that people have of each other, often acquired through the media.

Intercultural Collaboration in the SDCC District 4

Over the years there has been a few attempts by the different ethnic communities to collaborate on common issues. When Mrs. Cazares was asked why she believes collaboration has been limited, she expressed the following:

Collaboration between the Black and Latino communities in Southeast San Diego has lacked a genuine and on-going effort. Perhaps, there have been more attempts, but the problem is that they don't continue. They may last for six months or a year or two, but fail to continue. Like with the Muslim population when the Somalis and other Muslim communities started moving into the SDCC District 4, meetings about awareness of interracial – intercultural groups were held. The same with the Jewish community, the Jewish groups would basically hold seminars trying to bring people together through an awareness and educational effort.

But, there were different intercultural exchanges, like Jewish relations with Blacks and Blacks with Mexicans relations. Perhaps it served as a good catalyst to initiate dialogue. But in order to improve relations between ethnic communities, dialogue needs to be ongoing, consistent, and deliberate in addressing social issues.

When asked about the BOMB (Black, Oriental, Mexican Brothers) convention in late 1960's, she answered:

Yeah! That was a long time ago and my now husband, Roger, was the one involved with the group. Latinos got involved in that local community convention to identify the support for Black, Latino, and Asian political representation.

While in the late 1960's and early 1970 persons of color began to be elected to school districts, city, and county entities, yet today Southeast has shifted to a Latino majority, but it continues to be represented by African Americans in the San Diego City Council. The present representative is Myrtle Cole although Blacks are no longer the majority in the community. Previously, it had been held by Blacks, since Leon Williams. I know that we are currently talking about the African American community, but we had Tom Hom, he was the first Chinese city council person in the city of San Diego and probably the only one that we ever had, because Chinese people faced their own discrimination here in San Diego so they also had their own battles for representation.

So yes, we have had events in trying to support one another, but it is not consistent and oriented towards issues of mutual concern. There is much need for intercultural collaboration that can create benefits for all residents in the SDCC District 4.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the SDCC District 4 Community

When Ms Cazares was asked to elaborate on possible scenarios that could benefit Black, Brown, or Asian residents of the SDCC District 4, she explained:

In the next ten years the SDCC District 4 communities will have close to 100% Latino, and it will require the political leaders to adjust their focus and meet the needs of these emerging demographic shifts of the city and District 4 population. So, political representation can divide or unite the community. But I am serious about what I see, first we are a border community and I see it in our community colleges, specifically Southwestern Community College becoming majority Latino. Secondly, I see more Latino families coming in to the United States, because both San Diego County and northern Baja California are more of a region now. Thirdly, within 10 years, I'm not saying there's not going to be an international border, but there will be much more interaction, relationships, and economic partnerships between San Diego and northern Baja California.

The flow is going to be greater and, geographically, in ten years African American residents might feel unwelcomed in the SDCC District 4 because we naturally come together with people that look like you, think like you and it might not be intentional, and it is not the idea of moving or pushing someone out, but when you start losing the social fabric of your community you see that your neighbors start moving away. Today in the county of San Diego, I think East County now has the largest African American population growth. If you would've asked me that ten years ago, I would have said no, East County? No...no way, African American are also moving to Lemon Grove and Spring Valley, that's another part where African Americans growth is taking place. But, regarding District 4, in ten years it will probably be close to 100% Latino.

So, present and future city council folks for SDCC District 4, now council-woman Myrtle Cole, is encouraged to pay attention to the needs of the Latino people in her District 4. The city council person sitting in that seat must be aware of the existing and future demographics of the population and start to work with that community. I also believe that the District council seat is not going to last as an African American seat. Sooner or later it's going to lose the tradition of being an African American seat. While people in the community see the changes, it is difficult to accept and see one's power base being shifted.

Common issues can unite both Black and Brown communities. Finding common needs for our children and community can unite the communities in collaborating and fighting for issues such as education, and the issues do not have to be race specific, like effective and responsive schools, and access to healthcare. I think those are the kind of social issues that can bring people together...not to say you don't have some challenges.

Concluding Thoughts on the Past, Present and Future Conditions of the SDCC District 4 Community?

Just to reiterate again, first I think that communities can come together definitely with a common goals, but it takes work, its not just going to happen, it takes a concerted effort, an organized effort and you need to include all the stakeholders, the community, elected officials, leaders within the different ethnic entities, young people need to get engaged because they are the ones that are going to have to keep the momentum and we need to mentor some of our own young folks.

Secondly, encourage our graduating high school students to go to college and obtain a higher education degree, and for them to come back to their communities and become the leaders in the community.

Thirdly, for youth and community members to be engaged, you stay engaged. Once again, it takes a concerted effort, and there needs to be passion for your communities.

Fourthly, in one's work in the community look to the future, for you and for our kids and grandkids because they are going to continue living in the SDCC District 4. It can be done and it can be just one person, but that person needs to engage others, keep advocating, if intentions are right, and is not about promoting yourself but rather for the good of the whole community, I think people will support it.

Lastly, if I leave a legacy, I want to leave people a passion for activism: If you see something that needs to be fixed or addressed, never think that you are just one person so it cannot be done, because the power of one can transform. It usually only takes one person to get an issue moving and then you can bring people together. If they can see what your vision is, what the purpose is, such as serving your community-- jump in. It is not easy because being a trailblazer is never easy, but you just have to be confident, and maintain that self-confidence. You do the work but it's not about you or to get attention or anything like that. If you have a meaningful purpose, and people see that you are committed to an issue and your intentions are community based, you can convince them that this is for the good of all. They will begin to see the benefits, and they will start to move forward.

Case Study 12: Agin Shaheed

Director of the Human Relations Department for the SDUSD

Background

For over thirty years Mr. Agin Shaheed has been a permanent fixture in the second largest school district in California, the San Diego Unified School District (SDUSD). This is no small feat, as he describes that people of color in leadership positions for the SDUSD are

temporary and rare. Mr. Shaheed was born and raised in Compton, California, and he comes from a long line of educators. Compton, similar to Southeast San Diego, has undergone some major demographic shifts over the last 30 years, from a heavily African American population to a now majority Latino population. Although Mr. Shaheed describes himself as having grown up in an African American culture, he testifies that he is a human being from multiple ethnicities.

When asked about his background and his acculturation of Mexican and Black culture he elaborated on the following:

So who I Am? I just came to find out by doing my DNA analysis, and I wanted to do this DNA analysis because I was mostly interested in my African history, because I had no knowledge since my ancestors came in the enslavement, so I could not say what tribe or area of Africa I was from. So I did the analysis and I found out that I am 40% African, so I am 28% Nigerian, I am 7% Togo Benin, and 12% a variety of West African: Mali, Senegal and other cultures. And I am 1% Pacific Islander...to my surprise, although its hard to hear it, to my surprise, well I knew I was multiracial and raised in the African American culture, so to my surprise I am 50% Caucasian, so I'm 38% English, 12% Italian, Greek, Finnish, Russian and to my surprise, I tease Macedonio because I always said that I had no Spanish blood, but I found out that, I'm 5% Andalusia, which is the name that Spain was called before it was called Spain, so I do have some Spanish blood...Ok!

So that's who I am biologically, but who am I culturally? I grew up in Compton, California and I grew up in predominantly an African American culture, it was a very small Mexican-American population, so when I said small, we are talking three! There were three Mexican-American students in my school. Growing up I always thought that I was Mexican because I look very Mexican when I was a young boy, my hair was straight at that time and people always mistaken me by appearance that I was Mexican. So I used to get into a lot of social stuff around that. I come from a family that has been involved in education for over 150 years. So on the black side and even on the Caucasian side. I just did a family tree, I have a granddaughter who just graduated from USD, she got a masters in psychology so it was a little gift to her, we had a party and I did this thing that said "welcome to the family tradition of education, so we have to date 48 people in our family since 1840 that have a degree in education. So yeah, which is unusual for a so-called black family, but a black and a Mexican family with some Caucasian and so I come from that tradition so that's how I ended up in education because I come from a long line of educators. My grandpa was a superintendent for attendance in LA Unified school district in the 1930's. His father founded the Christian college in Texas, now is Houston Christian College and the relatives before that who were Caucasian educators came from a family that were senators, congressmen and governors.

My acculturation, my stepfather, I was raised by my stepfather, he came from a generation from San Diego, my stepfather grew up with the Mexican culture, so he was a Spanish speaker, he also was perceived quite often to be Mexican, he had a Hispanic

look, although he was a multiracial black, his first wife was Mexican from TJ, so I have a brother in TJ and cousins and nieces from the border area. So I come from a very interesting background. His brothers and sisters married into the Mexican culture, so I have many, many cousins in San Diego although they have what I would call some black ancestry, but by appearance they look typical Mexican. You wouldn't know they were typical black unless you asked them because they look Mexican.

So this subject is dear to me because I come from a family that is very multicultural; Black, White, I also have Jewish blood so, it's a very interesting mix. My grandmother was a gatekeeper, she kept a lot of information and that's why I have been able to sit down and look at it, really because of her. So I have a whole collection that has been given to me: pictures, articles and all kinds of stuff because my family was very, very social. They were social activists all the way down to at least 150 years, dealing with race. So the ending of my story was that while in the navy I was actually the head of human relations for the US Pacific Fleet, so this is my second time that I'm doing race and human relations and this is during the time when there was a lot of tension between the black, white and Mexican population on the ships, there were riots and things and all of that. So when I got out of the navy, I went into the business world, I had a business partner with heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali, I did a lot of travelling with him, international experiences, but then I left that lifestyle because it was tugging at my young family at that time and so I left that lifestyle, I went back and got my degree in education and followed the family tradition that I had left because I went into the business world, so I came back to education, now I'm one of them (laughs).

When asked about what his responsibilities and involvement have been in SDCC District 4, he answered as follows:

So some of my responsibilities here for our school district are, for one I started as a guidance counselor, then I became a district counselor and I was assistant to the director of guidance, I was instructed to do research, I also was assistant to the VEEP program. I used to set up counseling centers for the district. Then I became a pupil advocate for the academic improvement of African American males, that was a district program and so I was at Fulton Elementary School next to Morse High School and so for 12 years I worked for strategies for the academic achievement of African American students and travelled around the country and gathered programs from across the nation and assisted many, many schools in our districts to look at strategies on working with African American students from that I came here to the department of human relations. I've been with this program for 16 years now. Now that I think about it...yes! Its been 16 years, so I left and came into this so essentially I've been doing what I did for African Americans I'm doing for everybody. My job is to look for the well being of all groups of people to have a healthy identity, that they have their place in the sun, and we look at the so called White privilege and racism, and culturism and how we can have an ethnic plurality in which everyone has a healthy history of themselves and a place of themselves. So that's what they have me in the district, I've been in the district for 30 years.

This is a job where no two days are alike...

As director of the Human Relations department for the SDUSD, Shaheed asserted that one of his main goals is to meet the educational, social, and economic needs of the increasing Spanish-speaking population. He fears that as the Latino population increases the poverty level will concurrently grow with this population, he elaborated further on this concept:

So for the Spanish speaking population I have a very specific goal with the office of then supt. Bersin and he had me read some books from the state department of Education and in these books they talked about trends for the Spanish speaking population for the state of California, so in the trends I read that by 2020 one of every three people in California will be Latino but 2040, two of every person will be Spanish Speaking, so my specific concern about the Spanish Speaking population is that I believe that is our duty as educators to assist this population who were the original people of this part of the world to find their destiny and their place as they re-influence the economy in California who happens to be the 6th and 7th economy of the world, I also read that by 2040 one of every three people of wealth will reside in California and at that time they say it would be a culture of the very rich and the rest one of two people will be living on the minimum wage that will be available at that time. So this would become the place of the very rich and the very poor. My concern is the very poor, maybe made up of mostly Spanish speaking people and whoever else is left from the acculturation and you I hear you are working on your doctorate that pleases me because I believe that there should be a step up effort for education and economic for the young Spanish speaking population to regain their place and reversed those trends, because those can be reversed and those are just projections...that's my concern.

In addition, Mr. Shaheed is very interested in the common history that can unite the African American and Latino populations:

The additional legacy piece because in this specific part of the world, the African American population who are less than 5% of the current city's population, but in this part of the world it was a part of a very large culture and ultimately Baja California and something that I am very interested in the African American population understanding the historical roots of Blacks as Mexicans, so particularly I am a co-author of a book "The history of Blacks in California: our roots run deep 1900-1970." And we have another book 1600 to 1900. So in the 1600-1900 a particular concern the Pio Pico family who was a Black-Mexican family, the tip Pico and what's important about it and for this part of the world. Pio Pico they owned over 5,000 acres of land, probably one of the richest black Mexicans in the history of California.

This is the kind of information that we need to know that I believe will help and bring a closeness to the two cultures and they are distant apart because they don't know their history and connectedness because here in SD the Pico family own the current Island of Coronado. They own all the land that apparently houses UCSD, they owned all of Old Town, camp Pendleton, and there is still a little museum there actually. They owned Beverly Hills, California. They owned San Fernando, and they owned Simi Valley. So this is no small family, it was huge...This particular family again for us to study about it

in this certain time it is important that we understand the culture that was very multicultural. For me Mexican is a nationality like American, but is made up of many ethnicities. So there are black Mexicans, Irish Mexicans, Indian Mexican...etc.

So I am very interested in what I called accurate information to assist our future population and inform so they make meaning out of existence and not out of ignorance, but out of knowledge, so that's the legacy.

I am also a Muslim by culture, Im Islamic so this topic is important because present day Spain some of the seeds of the Mexican American culture come from the Islamic traditions, because Spain was Muslim and ruled by the Moors for many years. So there is a very strong multi-ethnic culture, they were Arabs and African, so within the Spanish speaking culture there is another thread of African connectedness with the African moors, so for example the word *Camisa* which is shirt in Spanish, *Camisa* is not Latin or Spanish word its an Arabic word, *Camisa* is Arabic so its part of the Arabic language, so probably 15% of the words in Spanish are Arabic. So coming back to the Mexican culture, I believe that the Mexican culture is a culture that we have yet to see the results of because some multifaceted and multi common blacks and everybody in the world can see themselves in them, it will be exciting to see emerged, so part of my legacy is to see that it emerges and to defy the one dimension way and I think it's a way to unite the world.

So you can see that you are talking to someone who is really invested in family and culture and destiny of us as people in this part of the world and the Spanish speaking population to me plays a major role.

When asked how has he specifically worked with schools within SDCC District 4, he answered as follows:

Yeah, the schools that I have worked in that area I began working in Fay Elementary school which is in the Mountain View by Ocean View area and then I worked at the McKinley Elementary school, then at Johnson Elementary school which is in the Emerald hills area and then I worked at the Fulton Elementary which is adjacent to Morse High school in the Skyline area and then I worked in Pershing Middle, so those are the specific schools that I worked in... Now, when I became a pupil advocate I worked with many schools throughout the district, I did presentations at many, many schools presenting on strategies in how to work with the African American population and then more recently assisting you with human relations, but there is probably no school that I haven't worked on, very few.

Demographic Shifts

Mr. Shaheed has lived in Southeast San Diego since the early 70's. He has also raised his family in Southeast San Diego because he wanted his children to grow up with and be exposed to

a diversified community. When asked about his opinion on the demographic shifts in SDCC District 4, he answered:

Well, coming here for the Navy in 1969, I was in the navy station in Miramar and that was a place of fields with rabbits and what not, so I watched the Mira Mesa community just become another world. I watched San Diego really grow and transcend...I live in the Encanto area, I purposely chose to live in Encanto because I wanted my children to grow in an area that was ethnically rich and so in the area that I live in is probably 1/3 Caucasian, 1/3 Mexican and less than 1/3 black and that's what I wanted for my children and so I watched however how South East San Diego growingly become more a Spanish Speaking and Mexican as it has been predicted and how it will be. So, I'm seeing in the LA area in which I grew in and the High School, I went to Centennial High I can report to you there were three Mexicans that went to my school, I knew them because they lived on my street and there were actually half white, and now Centennial High School is probably 94% Spanish Speaking. So the Compton who I knew is becoming increasingly Spanish Speaking. In the neighborhood that I grew up in which was all black, my father was probably the only Spanish Speaker in the whole neighborhood and now he has plenty of neighbors to talk Spanish to. And that neighborhood transformed because the blacks moved in it had been Japanese, but due to the internment during WWII, the Japanese either lost their property or moved out...so it went from Japanese, Black to Spanish Speaking.

Socio-Political Community Climate Experiences

When asked about the socio-political climate of SDCC District 4, Mr. Shaheed feels that policies can be misinterpreted and only offer a band-aid to bigger socio-political problem. Some of these socio-political contradictions are reflected in our educational system, he elaborated on the following:

Well, policies are like opinions, everybody has one and sometimes policies might take a stab at a certain aspect of it, but no policy, not one bill is going to resolve the multi problems that we have and you have to remember that the state of California there are more hate groups than any other state, so this land of the Sun that tends to be one way is very, very racist, it's a very hateful place. The reason why is that people come from all kinds of places and have brought their ways with them and we are all living together in this sunny climate. So we have to be very careful not to be fooled by, that's why the book says "under the perfect sun" because it is a perfect sun, but underneath what's going on here and it has to be talk about...but my hope is that common core in theory is supposed to look at multiple perspectives, its an opportunity now because the curriculum you know, I don't think that we are going to get new curriculum until 5 or 6 years when they have the curriculum change. You can bring different literature, speakers, people like yourself who is doing a dissertation, you can bring that into the classroom so I am hoping that we will use more multiple references to offset what I would call the curriculum.

So speaking of Lincoln High School, at Lincoln there was once a program there call social justice and I was trained in that program, I trained with the teachers at Lincoln, I went to Santa Barbara, CA and the architects of the program I was there for a week retreat and a couple of my staff and then when the teachers will trained I trained with them and the outcome of the social justice program for me was collusion. So the social justice program asked us how do we collude with racism and all the other Isms. That's the big piece. Each and every one of us needs to examine everyday how am I perpetuating this system. Unfortunately, the school of social justice, as you know, has come to almost a kind of an end. But within it was the possibilities of having the district look at something that I thought would be very important which was collusion; and that we are all responsible to examine, how am I colluding with these things, in each of everyone of us? So just because we don't have the school of social justice at Lincoln in a meaningful way currently doesn't mean that we don't have the concept, and the concept is still very, very, very valuable.

When asked if common core can be exerted in social justice education, he answered as follows:

Absolutely. Social justice is just a name, but what you are doing is just teaching accurate information. You see, what I done is try to chose words that have been done, like ethnic studies and white privilege. These are all words the people embrace or run from. What I like to do is go to the district and just call is accurate information. Just call it accurate information and let the chips fall where they fall. The information is teaching social justice. The question is, are you willing to teach accurate information?

We have something in our department called, "the single story". The single story is something I invite you to look at. It is actually a Pulitzer Prize winning African female from Nigeria. I have a block on her name, but she coined the term, and we use it in our trainings. A single story is when you take a concept and you look at it from only one perspective. You don't look at the fact that it may be 10 things bundled together. How does that serve you to only look at it from one perspective? That is the single story. What we need, and what common core emphasizes, is we need multiple stories.

When asked if textbooks have been written with a single story in mind, he responded:

So in every curriculum and every course, don't get dismayed by something called social justice. Now do that in every course. That is really the goal of it anyways. The goal was not to be this separate thing something forever. That is how you start off, to isolate and respond, but that is not what you want forever. The goal is always for it to become mainstreamed. It doesn't even have to be called social justice anymore. It just has to be called, culturally relevant instructional status.

But, we need to...there's an African American educator Ron Edmonds, who coined a phrase that I like, he says "we already know all we need to know to affect change and to have progress among underdeveloped people that have been made underdeveloped, we simply have to face the fact that we haven't done it so far." So I like to bring a picture that I used when doing presentations to the district, and I did one with Alan Bersin present in which I portrayed the district as a donkey with books on its back and I say the district is a donkey with books on its back...and why I said that is because the donkey is a very interesting creation, it has very large ears and it looks like it can hear everything,

but it has poor hearing, it has very large mouth structure that looks like it can probably talk more than any other animal and its legs look very strong and it can probably walk the length of the country, but yet it would go around and around in circles. So I often thought of the district something that appears to listen very well, but has poor listening skills, something that can speak well, but speaks poorly and something that appears to be stronger, but is very weak and has books on its back, information systems that particular individuals can articulate very well of but it just carries it on its back, instead of integrating it into the system. So that's my symbolic statement.

When you are ignorant a little bit, a one –two can tumble a mountain of lies, a one –two, so a whole history of lies people have to look at themselves and ask, “maybe I don't belong in education?” maybe im fostering something that isn't real and etc...So we are in a very serious, serious time here and so my concern is being able to move to and put pressure under the previous administration under Bill Kowba when the pressure was put he did stand up, he did rise to the occasion and he and his whole central office was trained in culture proficiency. We had four full days retreat on racism in education and that was unheard of in this system to invest in that kind of time and we had three years looking at cultural values, so my job is for the current administration which is right at the doorstep, nibbling, will follow suit in that kind of commitment this year, it's a young administration, its new, I understand that, but it's a year old and I will be having a conversation with the heads of the district for about an hour and I will discussing the things that we are saying you know. So, it takes a village, it takes all of us. Someone has to say it, someone has to articulate it, it has to be on somebody's agenda. Yes, so these are the concerns.

Socio-Historical Context of the District 4 Community

Mr. Shaheed believes that San Diegans and other populations do not really know the true history of San Diego. He commented on the strength of White privilege that still exists in the city and how this power structure manipulates the socio-politico arena and has a firm grip on the economic development of the community. He elaborated further:

It's very important that individuals have a historical grounding on SD society, because it's very, very important because SD society, as Gino Flores once said to me, “it's the biggest small town, that he has ever seen”. So it's really a small town, but it's a big small town. SD also has a very conservative threat because the mainstream Caucasian population, it's a retirement community, a military community, a college community; San Diego is the best in mainstream white culture. Some people have called it the little Mississippi of the West. San Diego, if you haven't read it its called *Under a Perfect Sun*, you will, interestingly, find it in the travel section, but its not a travel book, its about a social-political history of the beginnings of San Diego. It goes right from the beginning in the 1700's and it's a book that mainstream society is not fond of because it does pokes at the military, it pokes at the government and it pokes at the so-called social structure and some real unkind ways and hard hitting ways and it would really give you the history of a city that was always meant to experiment for a particular kind of reasons and its never been interested in developing an ethnic multicultural society, and this is all I'm

going to say to you, “it has never been interested in that...” and so that bleeds into education and so we have a lot of ignorant people, and what I mean with ignorant is to ignore the truth and so we have educators that have not had the proper education, the proper socio-political background to train children in urban cultures, so it a malaise, its an arrested development that takes place. Like a friend of mine once said, “teachers cannot teach live children” so people that are dead in their thinking. So, I’m going to report to you their intention, they are well intended teachers particularly in the Caucasian population, but they are just misinformed in education, so all of the well intention does not translate into the kind of efficiency that they could be if they have the right multi-cultural deficiency and the right socio-political training so they could be a light to the student population.

I called it we have to have cultural courageous conversations about race, we have to have cultural relevant instruction strategies that are relevant to the population of students that the district serves, and we have to have cultural proficiency that looks at beliefs and values, and assumptions. We have to look at privileges, white privileges and we must look at that...so there are some areas that we scratched the surface on, so I want to report to you that when you look around the nation and be very careful of what I’m going to say to you, “its not that we know so much, its that people operate and know so little and appear to be giants.” So unfortunate, around the nation the San Diego School District is taught to be progressive because in cultural proficiency we have trained senior managers, we have trained more than what other people have dreamed of, and I have talked to people that think that we have only scratched the surface. So, the other problem that we have is that we celebrate small symbolic victories, but we never get to the deeper stage of growing that and making it the mindset, making it a goal, or making it the methodology and not until we make it the priority that will move the PD of the district, really taking the stuff that I’m talking about we will continue making about the 2% progress that we tend to make year after year and as one person said it recently in a meeting that ok then by 2080 we will be cultural proficient, but we all going to be dead.

Socio-Cultural Characteristics of the District 4 Community

Describing the socio-cultural characteristics in SDCC District 4, Mr. Shaheed used the social dynamics of the school district as a reflection, he explained:

The district is still overwhelming Caucasian American by numbers so I think the national numbers are that 85% of all teachers in public education are white and female, so the district reflects that, there is a wavering population of Spanish speaking and African American teachers, administrators, and counselors to my opinion not nearly enough, just scratching the surface and a very frank conversation in the central office we have had some meaningful Mexican American presence, but it didn’t seem to do well historically. In fact I coined the term, I actually said to Gilbert Gutierrez, who is currently one of our past area superintendent and now he is in HR, “Gilbert I need you to be, watch out now because Mexican men don’t do well in central office in this district. Ok! Everyone that we had has ended in some kind of something...and so can we reverse that trend?” There has been, we even had Gina Flores who was as close as to a superintendent to the district as you can give, but Gina left and went to Washington D.C. We had people over the

finance department, over HR, Mexican American female, had a couple of Mexican Americans areas superintendent, and then they just left...

When asked why he thinks they left, he answered:

My observation tends to be is that they were politically and socially voiceful, and they didn't...I was once told, and they gave me permission to do this, so I'll just keep the name, but a Mexican American Administrator in the central office once told me, "the Mexican Administrator has it very, very hard because in one sense some of us may even look Caucasian, they don't respond to us like the blacks and somehow, somehow they expect us to be with the mainstream white..." Now, that was his analysis, so when you are like me because he considers himself just the opposite and outspoken I know what's coming, and what was coming is that he only lasted two years and was gone, so that's what was coming... So, I have seen that is to my dismay that I'm very concerned that empower of persons of color don't seem to last very long in our district. In fact, I will personalize that there are people that come to me as a person of color and they asked, "Again, how have you done it? How do you still exist? The way that you do and the way that you talk?" and jokingly I say to them, "That's because I'm a hybrid." Because it doesn't get any blacker than living in Compton, it doesn't get any diverse than being a Muslim, it doesn't get any worse than me because I have the Caucasian blood, I can fit very easily in White society without blinking an eye and because I come from a family of social activists. I have no problem speaking very directly about equities and so it's that combination of skill set and most of it by aligning myself with powerful individuals and community organizations and persons, creating an effective lobby, so when something happens it has a voice. Yes, but not everybody has the inclination, desire to go through that kind of process, many people that would be in my position would had probably left already, but I have persevered because I have my own skill set, my own background and Im not going to be pushed out.

It is also interesting that Mr. Shaheed's staff is made up of Latinos and African Americans. He described the make-up of his staff in the following passage:

Then I have been fortunate, I'm having a very direct conversation, the individuals that make up the vision of the human relations department pretty much have been hand selected, so to have a Macedonio Arteaga, to have a Mario Valladolid, to have a Marianna Gomez, to have a Rodolfo Parra, who grew up in Tijuana. I have a very healthy mix of Spanish speaking folks and then I have a Leonard Thompson, to have Susan Rogers, who is the daughter of ex-city councilman Leon Williams. My staff is not an ordinary group of people, so us together are very important and then to link ourselves with individuals like yourself, to find the progressive people in our district who are standing for movement and advancement, its our duty to do that. It's our duty to put that in place.

Intercultural Climate of the District 4 Community

Mr. Shaheed described how racism is a powerful force that to this day dictates the intercultural climate in our society:

I have something call Symbolic integration, no visual integration is to me saying, “Oh, we have a black, a Mexican, a gay...” so I say well it looks like its integrated but by mentality, do all think the same? Do they all come from the same school? So, is there an integration of thinking? So its very strong language that I’m going to say to you because I’m very concerned about this as you look at racism: some years ago in some south part of the country a white coach had an opportunity to integrate his team with blacks at that time and he refused to do it. Even people said to him if you do this you know they have Robinson, it’s the time to do it and he looked at them and he said, ‘I rather play all white and lose than play a nigger and win.’ I believe that we have people today that have the same philosophy I rather play all female than play a male and win. I rather play all white than play with someone of color. I rather play all heterosexual players than play with a gay and win. We have all of these who is included and who is left out, you have to look very, very deeply at this visual integration versus philosophical integration. So who are the *niggas* that are being left out? That’s my concern!

A friend of mine who worked in the Chula Vista school district and who did some good work on Africans, Chuck Ambers did a lot of good work in Chula Vista once said, “the strongest population he had to tend to fight more for approval was the Spanish speaking population because they were very conservative, it was more threatened by that information than the mainstream population.”

This is a very serious conversation and you can see by the tone of my voice that in one sense I’m one kind of an interesting person because in one sense you don’t know what’s going to come out of my mouth and people know that, but on the other end I do know how to articulate in such way that I am a team player and I will work and go through a process for education because that’s why we are here to do, but that process has to look at change everyday and continue.

Intercultural Conflicts/Tensions in the District 4 Community

Mr. Shaheed believes that intercultural conflicts have stemmed from the lack of a meaningful, and multicultural curriculum in our educational system, he elaborated on further on this concept:

I think the rift between the Spanish-speaking population and the so-called African American population has in some parts continued to grow due to the misunderstanding and due in part the education system. Not teaching meaningful curriculum that can bring them together

So there is a work done by Frido Holland on cultural identity that looks at the stages of blackness. The stage one is the gathering of information to get one empowered through the idea of identity. Stage 2 is you begin to do some social outcome of that, it can even

get to militancy, it can even get to revolution and it can get to all kinds of things. Stage 3 is an interesting stage, that's when an individual gets to recognize all groups of people that have been oppressed and the common oppression of all groups of people and end oppression everywhere. So that's the goal that I would like to see the school district begin to embrace...is to take on information systems that simply end systemic oppression for whoever who might be oppressed and the education system can be the biggest oppressor. When it closes itself in one identity and one single story and it can also. We did recent training in Serra High School, we invited Dr. Amir Branch of the NAACP and he did a word of the 8 stages of systemic oppression and one of the oppression he identified was *adultism*. So adults as oppressors is because I am an adult so therefore you have to do this, this, this...What we are asking them to do might not even be good for them for the development of this society, but because I am an adult you would do this and even pointed out how these systems are sustained. How do we get away with this, pointed out for example that the constitution of the U.S. The bill of rights, cherished documents so called freedom for our country, does not mention of the rights of children, it's an adult document and perpetuates *Adultism*. So we have big things that we need to look at...Right here in our school district, you ask me this specific question and I am a member of the school task force and we are looking at student to student bullying, adult to student bullying and adult to adult bullying. All three fronts have to be look at, so there are adults who bully students.

When asked about trust and how we can build trust among different communities, he answered:

Trust must be earned, trust must have content, so we have something I called "time bomb concept" it's a concept that is timed and its future development can blow up in your face. So we can actually begin to think that we are building trust but embedded in the philosophy what we are doing is designed to make us differentiated at one time.

An illustration of that is at one time, I was being interviewed by Roger Hedgecock, and I had been interviewed because I have spoken at a conference. Now, I was interviewed by a senator in a conservative radio station in Northern San Diego, and the radio host did not tell me I would be speaking with a US senator, so he kind of tricked me, but it was OK. So we had the conversation and it was about Ebonics. So I asked him where he was from and he said the Appalachians and I said, I noticed that you speak mainstream English, but when you are at home in the Appalachians do you speak like this? He said, "No, we speak civil!" Well, I said that's the same thing Spanish speaking and West African speaking blacks, so we have many linguistic farm of things. So out of that conversation I was written in the young republicans, a very, very conservative magazine and they misquoted me and said all kinds of things, so Roger Hedgecock called me and said that he will give me the opportunity to vindicate myself. So, since I'm having fun and I don't know what can come out of my mouth a lot people in the district were concerned that I would be doing this interview. Some people even try to block this interview, there were people in the central office, I was a pupil advocate at that time, that didn't want me to do this interview, there were also some progressive people and said, "Well, you know Agin is an American, he's an educator, he has a masters degree. I'm sure he will say what he says. So, in that interview Roger Hedgecock embedded in that interview, try to introduced in such a way that Blacks and Mexicans had a disservice to both populations and the questions he asked I thought would pit one against the other. So, I said Mr. Hedgecock by the nature of your questions and I want to tell you that I am very unwilling to participate in questions that would cause black and Mexican groups to fight over

pennies and faulty contributions to their development. So he said, "Thank you for your interview Mr. Shaheed" and ended it right there.

So we have to have the sets to hear when someone, coming back to your question, unfortunately I do believe that many of our progressive movements have sunken into ethnocentrism pursuits and trappings on one way is very healthy to do so because you must have a healthy sense of self, but if it stays and you do that and get out of that stage you can never join the fight for common oppression, so you can actually become an enemy to the very thing that you are trying to do, because now you are the new oppressor.

A famous Lebanese poet once said, "that in order to destroy a tyrant you must first destroy the tyrant within yourself." So what we have to be very careful is that the young do not rise up and become the new tyrants, the new oppressors.

Frederick Douglas said, "the limits of tyrants are based on the endurance of the oppress." So, oppressed people, we keep tyrants in power by not becoming educated, by not being activists, by not being critical thinkers, so the tyrants within ourselves and outside of ourselves stay in power. So we do have to have an education, and I hoping that common core will produce a new thinking were we will be looking, ask ourselves who am I? Am I the new oppressor? So its very, very serious and you can have well-meaning people, being in human relations I ran into them all the time. You can have people that really believe in themselves to be liberated, to be this and that and by behavior they are outright oppressors.

Its really a concern, unfortunately some amongst the oppressed have taken on what I would call misguided philosophies and they are time bomb philosophies. They appear to be good things, I'm preserving my ethnic identity, I'm doing this and is a good thing when its done in the proper order of things, but if you stay locked in that stage you become arrested in your development and this is exactly what happens because I see it in people all the time. Listen there aren't more ignorant people in earth than the Caucasian people. During the middle ages they were probably some of the most ignorant, uneducated people on the face of the earth. When they interacted with the Andalusia population, what we now call Spain a renaissance sparked, the European population after coming from the black plague they came upon with the right minded goal to be educated, to become knowledgeable, but unfortunately when they did that they cooped themselves in culturalism and their history is upon us now and White supremacy and ethnocentrism, so what started to be a good thing. So, I like to invite whites all the time who look at the condition of low socio economics of people of color of Spanish speaking of African descent, well I say look at your own history there wasn't any more ignorant than you and the history of your culture, I mean among the most ignorant history of the world look at you today? Well certainly if you could pull yourself up than others can too...so that's my message. I also think that amongst the most oppressed people of the world are the white males. And the oppression that they have is that them among all people have lost their healthy definition of humanity as they take on whatever white male has become in the history of the world and so to disinvest themselves in that becomes a whole new piece, so it's a kind of an oppression within itself. So there is nobody that is not oppressed.

So I advocate White studies and people say to me that we already have white studies in the curriculum, but Im not advocating for that kind of white studies, im talking about look at the history of the White culture because White to me is a political construct, what

I am asking is for Caucasian people to look at the history of being Caucasian before it became white. So there is a book called “how the Irish became White” which talks literally about how the Irish became White. So, it examines that because Irish people at one time used to be amongst the most oppressed for historical reasons and part it was because they were thought of having Black blood because of the Spanish armada landing In Ireland and because they were so cultural and they did not want to go into mainstream white culture, but when they gave that up they became white Irish, when the Italians gave themselves up they became honorary white, when the Greeks, in this country Greeks were at one time more oppressed than the Blacks. Study Jonny Otis, Johnny Otis who was Greek musician actually started telling people he was Black to escape oppression of the Greeks in the bay area in San Francisco because Blacks got treated better than the Greeks.

So racism has different shades and this is the stuff we should be learning. So, we are talking about liberation...

Intercultural Collaboration in District 4

When asked about intercultural collaboration in SDCC District 4, Mr. Shaheed chose to tell a biblical story to represent why collaboration is a hard task, he elaborated on this concept in the following passage:

Historically it does have a history of this and the history starts and stops. So I’m going to tell you a little story because it’s a large subject so I’m going to use a little story. So be patient because in this little story there is your answer and since you are taping it just study what I’m going to share with you. So one of the thinkings of the world is called the Bible, and the western culture has been influenced by the Bible, so we will pick on that. So in the Bible is the story called Jacob and Issa and in the story you have some parents call Rebecca and Isaac and they are old and they are praying to their idea of the creator saying, “Hey we don’t have any children, what’s going on?” so they pray, pray and pray so the creator blesses them and they have two children one called Jacob and one called Issa. So the story goes on and says that Jacob is smother skin and Issa is hairy and goes on to even describing them and goes on to even saying that in the womb the twins were like competing so Jacob in the womb tries to position himself to come out first because in the culture of that culture whoever comes first goes on to inherit the land, so Issa comes out first and Jacob comes out second. So the story goes that Jacob later in life goes to his mother Rebecca and asks, “How can I steal my brother’s birthright?” and the Mother says, “Well put some wool on your hair and put some wool on your neck and since your father is old and blind he would reach out and the way he’s going to feel you, he’ll think that you are Issa.” So as the story goes, Jacob makes sure that Issa is away and he goes to the father and the father believe him, that he was Issa, and gives him the knowledge of the time and he wanted the information that would empower him to be in the leadership role. So as the story goes on it says that Jacob rules over the society and the society becomes corrupt and morally corrupted, so even Jacob becomes sick of himself. So, he goes to Issa and says, “Look you should it have this anyways, help me redirect the society?” So Issa says something interesting, “Well look, you have done your job well because nobody listens to me they only listen to you so the real transformation is going to

take place when you change, you change and people would look at you and say, “oh well we are doing things differently.” So, the story ends in another scripture and Jacob is seen wrestling an angel and the angel wrestles him down and he asks for a repeat, so he changes his name from Jacob to Israel. So the meaning of the story for us in modern times is that in Hebrew the word Jacob literally means the supplanter. Issa means justice, so the symbolism of the story is not just about individuals but it’s about the whole society. So what’s is saying is that the thinking was old and the society was old.

The society wasn’t producing anything and the knowledge community was producing anything. Well, it produced something because Jacob had smooth skin with no hair, so Jacob was to be the birth of society and Issa was to be the birth of the knowledge community. So why do they use hair is because over the five senses there is hair: over the eyes resides hair, over the mouth for speech there is hair, over the hands there is hair, even in our reproductive and brain there is hair, so when it says that Issa was hairy is what it was given you was the knowledge community. So what you really had was two societies like today battling. You had the general society, which it worries about food, clothing and shelter only, and you had the knowledge society that says that by thinking you can transform the society. So, in that society the food, clothing and shelter which is today, you had people that basically said feed me, clothe me, give me some sex, give me some food, and make me feel good and that is the society and it makes no difference if you are wealthy and it doesn’t make a difference where you are coming from or you have the society which is the thinking society who are interested in human transformation. So what happens is when they see Jacob wrestling with an angel and the angel symbolically represents the forces of existence. So, when Jacob says change my name what it symbolizes is that the community Jacob begins to realize that they are more than food and clothing and shelter because they started talking, and this is key what I’m sharing with you, when Jacob put the wool on to fool the father, Jacob was still Jacob and he only wanted land and materialism, but he talked like his brother so the father thought that he was his brother. So you have communities like Jacob, they are really interested in materialism, dominance and occupation, but they have taken upon a language that sounds like freedom, justice and equality, but really their goal is, and you can see these societies to this very day, watch these societies that are talking freedom, justice and equality, but when you watched their behaviors they are definition of their oppressors. So the answer to your question is, are you of the sign of Jacob or are you of the sign of Issa? So I’m talking very frankly with you now, you have the Jacobs center in east San Diego, and its interesting that it has the very name of Jacob and you have a center that comes into east San Diego and by its linguistic it poses as something that offers liberation and for the oppressed its talking like Issa, its talking like the oppressed, but all the while its amassing land, its amassing materialism, so Im afraid that one day it would give that up and give it to the community. If you watch the Jacob center more and more to this very minute its not offering anything to anybody and even its original goal that by 20 whatever it would meet those goals and now be careful by the signs of Jacob which is materialism and social dominance and societies that are thought to be of the Issa sign for social transformation because embedded in that could be some switches and yet to see what the goals of those are. Our educational system is the same thing, there are people that talk a real good game, that can talk the language of freedom, justice and equality, but if you look at their behavior is not inclusive, its oppressive, it is meant to perpetuate and collude with the status quo, etc...

So we have to be very, very careful of what we are a part of, so remember Issa’s ammunition to his brother, Issa would be like the educator the transform committee

would say, “Hey look man, you have our backs against the wall, nobody listens to us because of you, so you go change, so you change and transform yourself and become the change. So like in the story, Jacob changes his name to Israel and Israel means children of god, so what that means that Jacob by community transforms and becomes a community that was looking for transformation. The story ends in a very curious piece, it says that Jacob was seen walking over the hill with a limp, now in its left leg and that’s how the story ends. So, I am going to report to you the social analysis of that is be careful when you see communities that profess to be transformative because the limp in the left leg, if something has limp that means they can walk straight. So it has a limp and right even today means... So look for those communities that say to you, “That’s what we have transformed ourselves.” Look for the mainstream white population that says we have transformed ourselves, but if you look closely, do they have a limp? I hear you talking, but I see your behavior, look for the Mexican population that has a limp on their leg, and look for the black population that has a limp on their leg or any population that has a limp.

Mr. Shaheed warned that sometimes organizations and individuals might have good intentions or are knowledgeable about how to manipulate communities by sounding progressive, but in the end corruption can influence such organizations. He explained further about this concept:

So if you ask me, I am a person in the role that I play here and I’m asking us to look for transformative teaching practices that would help us find and liberate the human being and to keep us and the answer to your question regarding Southeast San Diego as a place where war is going on and I see it as a victim of society under the influence of organizations like Jacobs domination as it seeks to be liberated and only when you shine the light of understanding the dust it can be shown to be from afar and it can grow to be progressive and it wants to be one. I really believe that it wanted to be something, but unfortunately the individuals that became part of it and their mechanisms they all, if you really study the Jacobs center and what has really happened to it. Anything like that in the community and I’m not just picking on the Jacobs, it could be the Mexicans, it can be Black lead, it can be gay, it can be anything lead, but what really is going on? It can be Lincoln High School, what’s really going on with all of us?

If you look at the downtown expansion it supposed to extend all the way to the gates of Lincoln High School. All of that property...lets talk about the Mexican population now, I went to the MLK breakfast the one that was on Logan at the big warehouse. That whole area is going to be a social battle because the mainstream population wants it and its currently being held by low socio economic Mexican population, so just keep your eyes on all of that and see what happens.

Southeast San Diego, I once talked with a very influential person of the city and we had a very interesting conversation and his analysis was to look for the poor to be relocated into Temecula and outgoing areas and they will buy big beautiful homes for very cheap, but the goal is for the disenfranchised to the outline areas and for the populations in the suburbs to relocate and as they come back to emerald Hills and Southeast San Diego and now with money they can transform those little shacks into mansions. There is no more

beautiful area than Emerald Hills, that's why its called Emerald hills or Encanto, I see the view.

Intercultural Scenarios That Can Unite or Divide Latino and African American Residents in the SDCC District 4 Community

When asked about the possible scenarios that would be conducive to collaboration, Mr.

Shaheed shared the following:

So, talking about Southeast San Diego we need to transform ourselves and I live in Southeast San Diego and I live in Encanto, I raised my family in Encanto so that part of the city is very sought after. I get letters all the time and people asking me that they want to buy my property, who wouldn't want to live there 10 minutes away from downtown. Encanto properties are ½ to 1 acre; even Hollywood wanted to buy Encanto at one time. They wanted to make it a big movie set because of the rolling hills and what not.

So, Barrio Logan is a beautiful area it was once the hub of the wealthy and they wanted back!

So kind of embedded in the analogy that I gave you early, the progressive people that are for the transformation of San Diego will be those that who can look at common oppression, commonly and resist the pool of ethnocentrism and culturalism, now be very happy and proud of your culture, but...I'm Muslim, so Im going to give you a Muslim proverb that goes, "I have made you into tribes so you can know one another and not that you will despise one another. If I wanted you to be one, I would have made you one." So the creator is telling the community that there is health in diversity, but don't make your diversity a badge, don't try to make everyone Mexican, Don't try to make everyone Black or gay, Don't try to make...there is health in diversity so each community can be in competition with good deeds and what is a good deed that can come out of the community. So what is it about this transformation Im looking for the cycle to be broken, if we could break the cycle and if the current and future organizations and thinking of the people can move out of these non-transformative postures and not be the future tyrants themselves; then the society can grow. If not look at the dominant society, so Machiavelli, do you know him, the prince...Its very important, a quick story- so in the story of the prince Machiavelli there is an oppressor that comes into town and the oppressor comes in and wipes, kills, rapes, they just wiped the town out, they do everything except kill the children because they know if they killed the children the outside societies wont go for that. So what the oppressor the prince says ok it wont happen for awhile, but those kids are going to grow old and if we killed their mothers and fathers and destroy their society.

O the prince says, we will come every 20 years and we will kill the oppressor which is their own, we will killed our own and we will be held as the liberators and we would ruled them again. So watch out the oppressors that killed the other oppressor in order to become the oppressor...so that's real Machiavelli. I once told Alan Bersin, "look Alan, it's really great that you are doing this reading program and there is some value in that, but there are other things that you have to look at. Why don't you take your name out of this thing so it wont become the Bersin thing because believe me when you are gone

someone is going to take your place and its going to be all over again. So we have to be very careful and study our ancient culture, so watch out for Machiavelli and politics and be careful because sometimes and it was Elijah Mohammed of the nation of Islam once said a very powerful quote, “Be careful with people that they put microphones on and in peoples faces because they create the leaders that they want by putting a microphone on their face and the leader that they want can sound progressive, they can really sound like that.

Concluding Thoughts on the Past, Present and Future Conditions of the District 4 Community?

I'll leave with the end of this: I am a person who is very, very interested in individual liberation; I am not gigantic in organization liberation. All organizations are subject to corruption that doesn't mean good, but the individual must protect itself from all oppressors, so our children have to be given a philosophy that protects them from adultism, that protects them from systems, that protects them from tyrants, that look and don't look like them, so its extremely serious this thing.

So Southeast San Diego would have to involve some strategies, some thinking, some coalitions, hopefully its not too late. The mire might have already been casted, it might be too late. But nothing is ever too late...

The following chapter will specifically discuss the themes derived from the twelve elders interviews and will also provide sub-categories under each theme to operationalize the meaning of the respective themes.

Chapter 6

Findings: Theme Identification and Analysis

Introduction

The data collected from the 12 interviews (six African American and six Latino stakeholders) was entered into the Dedoose software program for content analysis. Content analysis was used to find salient themes within all the twelve interviews that address the research questions in the study. Dedoose is a tool used for qualitative data analysis that allows the researcher to both import and export data on observations, and to manage data used to explore the multiple perspectives of the participants under study.

Thus, Dedoose was used for content analysis and as a process for identifying and summarizing the qualitative data. The first step was to transfer the interview data into the Dedoose software program; second, the statements were coded based on explicit rules of coding; third, the coded statements were categorized; fourth the categories were clustered, and fifth, the salient themes were identified and named, and sub-categories were identified describing the themes.

What follows is the identification of themes by research question and sub -categories.

Themes by Research Question

SRQ 1: What have been the demographic and socio-cultural characteristics in a selected city council district that has been perceived as predominantly ethnically diverse by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?

The data from the twelve interviews was analyzed and placed into ten categories that define the socio-cultural and demographic shifts of SDCC District 4. Table 5 presents the theme

of *populations markers* and Table 1B presents the theme of *cultural identity* that corresponds to RQ1.

Table 4 provides the population markers through five sub-categories and 48 statements that speak to the socio-cultural diversity of the two ethnic communities and the social ramifications for SDCC District 4 over the last 45 years. Latinos accounted for 52% of the statements, while African Americans for 48% under the theme population markers.

Theme: Population Markers	African-American	Latino	Total
1.1 Open and Closed Access to Resources	5	1	6
1.2 Cultural diversity & lifestyle	5	4	9
1.3 Immigration policies & social change	4	2	6
1.4 Ethnic differences, ignorance and barriers to communication, and size	5	12	17
1.5 Social Covenants & White Flight	4	6	10
Total statements	23	25	48

Table 4. *Theme population marker and subcategories by racial ethnic community stakeholders*

1.1 *Ethnic differences, ignorance and barriers to communication, and size.*

The first prominent sub-category that yielded 17 statements under the theme of population markers, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, is *ethnic differences, ignorance and barriers to communication, and size* and was most referenced by Latinos with 17 statements. This category provides explicit and implicit perceptions that both African Americas and Latinos have of each other. In SDCC District 4, many perceptions exist that are both negative and positive about Black and Brown lifestyles. Among the socio-cultural markers in the community that create barriers in getting to know one another is the color of one's skin. This often leads to prejudice

and discrimination, as society regulates what is preferred and not preferred. Another marker is the lack of social contact and interaction that often generates ignorance and ethnic stereotypes. Language is another powerful marker of perceived assimilation, as one's ability to communicate in the dominant language or English, as well as the ability to code switch from one language to another in public places demonstrates a person's level of assimilation. The most powerful markers, though, is the size of an ethnic group. As size or critical mass increases tolerance diminishes and fear of losing control increases. Stakeholder Williams (African American) and Valladolid (Latino) spoke to socio-cultural markers that create differences.

Language is part of intercultural relations. Yes, I think Latinos have more leverage in communicating that African American because when you start to speak another language, if two Blacks are together and another person starts speaking Spanish the other person doesn't understand the language, and the perception, right or wrong, is that you must be saying something that you don't want us to know about. Latinos need to be aware that being bilingual can give them more power, however, but they must use their language power to create more togetherness and be inclusive of one another.

-Leon Williams

I have seen San Diego City Council District 4 go through many changes over the last 40 years. Traditionally, over the last 40 years the political service area has been perceived an African American, yet over the last 30 years Latinos have increased their representation creating a perceived social representational tension. While Latinos come in many colors and racial interaction between the Latino and African American communities is visible, language (Spanish and English dominance) and cultural traditions (cultural norms and values) are condition that creates differences. Another condition is the perceived levels of assimilation and ethnic identity.

-David Valladolid

1.2 *Social covenants & White flight*. The second most prominent sub-category, which yielded 10 statements under the theme of population markers, is *social* mobility & White flight. This category, while generating few statements, provided insights into the social phenomena of the demographic shift that is generated by social covenants and White flight, which create

changes in the socio-cultural makeup of a community. Most notable in the city of San Diego were the social covenants that limited the groups who were welcomed into neighborhoods or specific areas of the city. As the civil rights movement took effect, the existing social covenants of the city began to break. Whites in the SDCC District 4 in the 1960's and early 1970's moved out and shifted the dominant demographics of the area to African American, and, again, in the mid 1990's Latinos took the majority residency in the area. Thus, White flight into the suburbs of the city was ignited by the challenging social covenants, as well as the civil rights movement pushing for social integration, and the fear of people that looked different. Stakeholders Reverend Walker Smith (African American) and LeGrettes (Latino) articulated this sub-category.

As white flight took place, in the southeastern part of the city, gradually a few Blacks began to move in. At that time the San Diego City Council fourth district began on 28th street, and every ten years with the demographic census the district lines were changed. But initially if you were Black you had to stay south of Market Street. That was the law because of covenants and even though our church was north of Market Street our home had to be south of Market Street. So most of the Blacks and Latinos could only live in the south part of Market Street and then as things began to change through the court. Judge Alfred Montgomery ruled against the covenants of Emerald Hills and other communities, and as the Civil Rights movement progressed, things happened and white people were moving out of the southeastern part of San Diego from the 1970's and on. The present area where Lincoln High School is situated was white at one time. We began to see the shift in the early 1980's and 1990's, and it proliferated in the early 2000's.

-Reverend Walker Smith

The dominant white community probably saw it as if we were taking their jobs, taking their schools, displacing them where they used to live because they were pushed out, I'm not sure if that was the case, but in their minds they were probably thinking that and generally you swing to the person closest to you, instead of going after the real threat.

-Carlos and Linda LeGrette

1.3. *Cultural diversity & lifestyle*. The third most prominent sub-category, which yielded 9 statements under the theme of population markers, is *cultural diversity & lifestyle*. This category speaks to the differences in life styles of both Black and Brown communities. Church denominations, food preferences, cultural expressions and celebrations, dress, music styles, and historical celebrations serve both to enrich present lifestyles in SDCC District 4, and to create an implicit distance in Black and Brown social interaction. Stakeholders alluded to how diversity of lifestyles, value systems and experiences have consequences for social interactions, as both Black and Brown communities develop understandings of each others' cultural backgrounds. Stakeholders Ken Msemaji (African American) and Cazares (Latina) articulated this cultural diversity sub-category.

Socio-culturally, both Latinos and Blacks are respectful of each other but they do not socialize much together, perhaps is the language that creates distance between the two communities. Cultural events, sports and recreational activities are possible ways to bring people together. In the community we see many types of cultural and recreational activities taking place. Of importance is to keep in mind the importance of getting together or belonging to a team or being part of the community. Well, with Blacks and Latinos particularly, Latinos have family activities that take place around the year, and on special years, such as the *quinceañeras*, mostly Catholic ritual when a girl turns 15 years of age and is introduced to the community as a young adult. Blacks have Debutante Balls that are a Methodist and Baptists, Protestants tradition similar to the *quinceañera*. Both Blacks and Latinos adults are also very much involved in sports for adults; with Latinos heavily involved in soccer. Sports is a way to released tension without hurting anyone else, you can scream, shout, drink beer and eat...you know you have to go to work next day. For the kids its extremely important, whether they are going to go to a local event or a citywide event, the point is that these type of physical activity can give them a sense of team, a sense of self-worth. Sports can also begin to teach them discipline, it teaches them that nothing is free and life, if you want to be in the team you have to pass your classes. Success in school and sports is something to dream about, so it's the same for both.

-Ken Msemaji

But I would say it took me 4 to 5 years to kind of work out (I remember being at SDSU and everybody teasing me, because I did talk with some of mannerisms, the slang), but like I said I was proud of it. In the end, I know for a fact, since I grew up around African Americans to this day I don't have any problems in relating or

communicating or whatever with them. And I think with anybody if you are around a certain culture you picked up a lot of their culture, you begin to understand where they come from, how they got to where they are at, and where are they going, that kind of stuff, and together you grow up with them and people can tell that you relate and identify with them, even to this day they would ask me so where did you grow up, and I say Lincoln, and they would say, “oh, no wonder” its always that kind of stuff... they would see me dancing, I remember an event at the Jacobs center, one of my colleagues retired and she had her party there and she told me, Norma everybody is wondering and asking, “where is that lady from?” She dances like us, but people would always would say, “oh no wonder...” so different stuff like that, that you picked up...

-Norma Cazares

1.4 *Immigration policies and social change*. The fourth sub-category yielded 9 statements under the theme of population markers, this category was identified as *immigration policies and social change*. This category, while having only 6 statements, speaks to the social change tensions of our times, particularly after the events of 9/11 in the United States, and the existence of a very national weak immigration policy. There is no doubt that many undocumented persons reside in SDCC District 4, especially Latino. In SDCC District 4, the perception of immigrants by African Americans is that they need to assimilate to the American life style. Stakeholders Leon Williams (Africana American) and Cazares (Latina) articulated about the *immigration policies and social changes* sub-category.

Now, I might suggest one thing that may be able to help a lot, and that is for Latinos to learn both of their language, Spanish and English. Latinos tend to speak a lot of Spanish and for African Americans hearing another language that they do not understand; it can felt that they are being excluded. If I’m talking to someone and somebody else says something in Spanish, I don’t care because I can understand a lot of Spanish, but some people feel excluded.

-Leon Williams

I think in the next ten years (SDCC District 4), its going to be probably close to 100% Latino and I’m serious, we are a border community and I see it at our college, families coming in, its more of a region now, within 10 years, I’m not saying there’s not going to be a border, but there will be so much interaction, relationships, and stuff like that, the flow its going to be so easy that geographically in ten years African American residents might feel unwelcomed

because we naturally come together with people that look like you, think like you and it might not be intentional, and its not the idea of moving someone out, but when you start losing the social fabric of your community and you see that you start moving away, like you said east county now has a the largest African American population than ever before. You would asked me that ten years ago, I would had said no, East County? No...no way, they are not going to go to East County. Lemon Grove and Spring Valley, that's another part where African Americans are going now.

-Norma Cazares

1.5 *Open and closed access to resources*. The fifth sub-category yielded 6 statements under the theme of population markers, and discussed *open and closed access to resources*. This category discusses resources that have been directed to address the social needs of the SDCC District 4 through state and federal funding. Often, as in the case of education, the funds are targeted to a specific need and thus open to those that meet such assistance and closed to those who do not meet the specified conditions for funding. Moreover, the formulas for funding often benefit those who meet the specific criteria, such as low-income, language other than English, location of area, gender, and/or special needs. In the case of SDCC District 4, resentment occurs due to targeted resources that benefit African Americans (special programs Black males) or Latino (language programs targeted to immigrants). Stakeholders Natividad (Latino) and Ken Msemaji (African American) articulated further about the open and closed resources sub-category.

I think that a lot of times Blacks feel that Latinos side with the whites, so that creates suspicion and lack of trust and sometimes it happens because the white man its not stupid, he knows that by dividing us (Latino and Blacks) they can maintain political power. You know what I mean? You see that with the federal government programs that are perceived to be benefiting certain ethnic communities. Sometimes the federal government gives funding for Latino educational programs and vice versa. Blacks are perceived to be given special programs that deal with health, housing or education. Blacks then get mad at Latinos and Latinos get mad at Blacks, it is often done on purpose to divide the communities against each other. When it comes to immigration and undocumented persons looking to improve their lives, Blacks feel they are taking their jobs, they are not to happy with immigration practices. They want to protect

themselves. So you have misinformation, misperceptions of each other way of life and culture, different communication styles, and you have the formula for mistrusting each other.

-Luis Natividad

The people outside the union had a different view; they would say what's this Black guy doing with all of those Latino kids. Is he going to adopt them? And they would say why don't you adopt some of your own kind motherf***! But they wouldn't say it to my face. So the Mexicans were really confused seeing a Black man caring for Latino children. They would see the Latino and Black kids and think well they get along really good. But the white people would be very quiet, but you can tell they were bothered, to some of them we are animals, savages, and they would think, oh well Latinos and Blacks they are the same, they are on their own.

-Ken Msemaji

Table 5 presents the theme of *cultural/ethnic identity* that also corresponds to RQ1. Table 5 provides the theme of cultural identity through five sub-categories and 44 statements that speak to the socio-cultural identity and diversity of the two ethnic communities and the social ramifications for SDCC District 4 over the last 45 years. The Latino stakeholders accounted for 72% of the statements under the theme of cultural and ethnic identity.

Theme: Cultural/Ethnic Identity	African-American	Latino	Total
1.6 Opportunity Access	3	4	7
1.7 Cultural Dualism & Negotiation	5	13	18
1.8 Cultural Assimilation & Alienation	1	2	3
1.9 Family Heritage	2	6	8
1.10 Racism & Poverty	1	7	8
Total	12	32	44

Table 5. *Theme cultural/ethnic identity and subcategories by racial ethnic community stakeholders*

1.6 *Opportunity of access*. The first sub-category yielded 7 statements under the theme of *cultural and ethnic identity*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *opportunity of*

access. This category indicates the struggle to improve the community and schools of SDCC District 4 and promote academic rigor and culturally relevant curriculum that ensures access to careers and/or higher education for Black and Brown youth. Opportunity of access is among the highest concerns in the Black and Brown communities. The statements of McCray (African American) and Dr. Rodriguez (Latino) expressed the importance of developing career and the doors to opportunity access.

No services to certain communities, I was at Marvin Elementary as a principal at that time. That gave me some insight in terms of what adults were thinking. The staff were coming up to me and saying that we need to know. In fact, I was a principal along with progressive principals (Dennis Doyle, Maria Garcia and Linda Valladolid) and others. We said we were not going to treat children unequally and I wrote up a piece in the Union Tribune. As a matter of fact, I got one of the people to watch in the San Diego magazine because of my stance and stuff on children's rights to an education. That hindered and helped in the same way in that it got people talking. It got people thinking that maybe we are not considering all of our clientele in our schools. The local case under the Lemon Grove incident (1932 local federal case), it dealt with the whole integration thing and the right to equal access to facilities and quality education.

- Ernie McCray

We are not fulfilling the promises of equal educational opportunity that we have made in this country. Such promise begins in our local communities. In California over 70% of the children in our public schools are ethnically diverse, with Latinos being 53%. Yet, Latinos and Black are underperforming in our schools. Our prisons have a majority Black and Latino population. That is not right in one of the most progressive nations in our world. We must treat every student as an asset in order to create productive and responsible citizens. We must respond to this urgency in our schools in San Diego.

-Dr. Armando Rodriguez

1.7 Cultural dualism and negotiation. The sixth sub-category yielded 18 statements under the theme of *cultural and ethnic identity* and was named *cultural dualism and negotiation*. This category suggests two types of social interactions that permeate in the SDCC District 4. The first is cultural dualism, a concept demonstrated by people who seek accommodation within the community by practicing one's own cultural traditions, lifestyle, heritage language at home, while outside the home, behaving to fit the expectations of the American culture. This set of

behaviors is found among many immigrants who reside in the area and who seek to be accepted as part of the community. The *negotiation* dimension refers to residents in the community who negotiate their biculturalism openly and often assertively as equal members of the community. Friction between Black and Brown community members can occur as long as residents of the community perceive immigrants (Black and Brown) as not willing to assimilate. The voices of Mr. Shaheed (African American) and David Valladolid (Latino) alluded to the existing friction, as well as the *cultural dualism* and *negotiation behaviors*.

I think the rift between the Spanish-speaking population and the so-called African American population has in some parts continued to grow due to the misunderstanding and due in part to the education system. Not teaching meaningful curriculum that can bring them together.

-Agin Shaheed

In the case of Latino immigrants who live in communities with African American and are perceived as maintaining and using their Spanish language, the uninformed African American community feels that Latino immigrants are unwilling to assimilate. They are keeping their ways of behaving and retaining their own culture and their own language, and they reject the American ways.

-David Valladolid

1.8 *Cultural assimilation and alienation*. Conversely, the eighth sub-category yielded only 3 statements under the theme of *cultural assimilation and alienation*. This category suggests that residents of SDCC District fully assimilate to the way of life of the dominant white society and seek to leave their national origin lifestyle behind and behave in a manner that fits the expectations of American culture. Alienation can also be a response that seeks to reject White dominant lifestyle and maintain one's ethnic identity. These set of behaviors suggest the resident is either accepted or rejected. The voices of Walker Smith (African American) and Natividad (Latino) alluded to being perceived as exhibiting the behaviors of *cultural assimilation and alienation*.

Yes, most Black voters were Democrats, but often the Democratic Party took Blacks for granted. I basically, I enjoyed becoming Republican because they respected me, I was not involved in the Republican social or political functions, but I wanted to know their perspectives and policies and how they viewed the ethnic communities, or what Republicans were talking about.

-Walker Smith

So, that was Junior High, so when I went to Sweetwater High School, and started surfing, I started hanging out with the surfers guys, so that was very unusual for a Latino to surf during the 1960's and I was still a gangster at night and then during the day I went to the "playa a surfear" (beach to surf). So it was the same concept as in Junior. High and I don't know if the guys talked about me, because I was hanging out with the white guys. But there was some kind of respect for being able to walk both sides of the racial divide having communities that were racially segregated. I weighted 135 pounds, I was a skinny guy, but I was always defending myself, or the first one to start the fights. But, the concept of self protection came from always being the small guy, you and needing to prove yourself. So I went throughout high school socially interacting with *vatos*, whites, and any person of color, and yes, I got beat up a couple of times, but I graduated from Sweetwater in 1961 and got married in 1963.

-Luis Natividad

1.9 *Family heritage*. This ninth sub-category yielded 8 statements under the theme of *cultural and ethnic identity*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *family heritage*. This category, while having few stakeholder statements, nonetheless indicates that one's family heritage is valued and plays an important role in one's ethnic identity. Family heritage carries the strong value and support for one's culture and language, especially for Latinos. The statements of McCray (African American) and the LeGrettes (Latinos) recognized the importance of *family heritage and identity*.

I grew up in Tucson, Arizona the first 24 years of my life. I didn't find out until later in my life, even more and more, what a wonderful upbringing I had. I'm a college graduate, not that that has to mean anything. I was always exposed to ideas, and it never occurred to me not to go to college. It wasn't brought up all the time either, like you better go to college. It was like, you go to elementary, junior high, high, and college. That was the way my mind worked. We traveled a lot. I'll tell you how I found out how privileged I was. Black and Latinos think a lot in terms of not being able to eat in the café and always setting in the back of the bus, and that type of thing. The initial hitch was that as a 24 year old I wasn't long removed from my own childhood and hadn't yet realized how valuable my

being raised with exposure to art and music and sports and books and travel and interesting and colorful folks and all kinds of political and religious and secular and common sense ideas would be to me.

-Ernie McCray

When I reflect about my life and about the things that we are doing now, I connect them the things that my mother taught me before she passed away. As a family we were involved in community and politics and city engagement, community service. As an adult, my mom used to tell me that I was like that all my life, she said 'I remember when you were in kindergarten and first grade, and you attended Balboa Elementary in Shell town. The first thing your first grade teacher would say is that you would do this and that and you were always volunteering. For me, I don't know if it has to do where I was born or whatever I'm a middle child, I'm from July and some people call it cancer, but I don't like that word, I'm a moon child, and moon children are pleasing. One has a sort of a sense of peace, and is really important to me. I have worked for peace throughout my whole life, peacefully trying to do something, which at times it appears not so peacefully. But working for peace and service makes me feel good to do what we do. It makes me happy.

-Linda LeGrette

1.10 *Racism and poverty*. The tenth sub-category yielded 8 statements under the theme of *cultural and ethnic identity*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *racism and poverty*. This category suggests the awareness of existing poverty in the SDCC District 4 and the presence of racism in and outside the community. Racism takes many forms, through social policies, unemployment, lack of health services, gang violence, police practices, and a mismatch of educational services lacking academic rigor towards Black and Brown youth. Racism and poverty create a climate of always catching up, struggling to maintain shelter and having enough food in the table. Racism and poverty are ever present in the minds of the Brown and Black community. The statements of Shaheed (African American) and Garcia (Latina) discussed *conditions of existing racism and poverty*.

So for the Spanish speaking population I have a very specific goal with the office of then Superintendent. Bersin and he had me read some books from the State Department of Education and in these books they talked about trends for the Spanish speaking population for the state of California, so in the trends I read that by 2020 one of every three people in California will be Latino but 2040, two of

every person will be Spanish Speaking, so my specific concern about the Spanish Speaking population is that I believe that is our duty as educators to assist this population who were the original people of this part of the world to find their destiny and their place as they re-influence the economy in California who happens to be the 6th and 7th economy of the world, I also read that by 2040 one of every three people of wealth will reside in California and at that time they say it would be a culture of the very rich and the rest one of two people will be living on the minimum wage that will be available at that time. So this would become the place of the very rich and the very poor. My concern is the very poor, maybe made up of mostly Spanish speaking people and whoever else is left from the acculturation and you I hear you are working on your doctorate that pleases me because I believe that there should be a step up effort for education and economic for the young Spanish speaking population to regain their place and reversed those trends, because those can be reversed and those are just projections...that's my concern.

-Agin Shaheed

I think San Diego City Council District 4 has a lot of promise, I think there is a lot of good things going on that most people are not aware of. Unfortunately, gang activity has picked up, and that again is because the economy is bad. For example, this whole situation of a Black boy that robbed an ice cream truck with a gun, a boy by Audubon Elementary, they say he was between 10 and 14. Then the ice cream man reports to the media, "I not going to be around that neighborhood anymore, it's a nice neighborhood, but you know I was robbed". The image of the community is further contaminated with the notion of crime. I had terrible things happen to me in the Baker school community, but I always felt safe there. And I always walked around the community; instead of driving I walked there and here. We need to believe in people.

-Maria Garcia

SRQ 2: What social and political conditions have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?

The data from the 12 interviews identified four sub-categories of social and political conditions that hinder or promote race relations and community development between the African American and Latino communities in SDCC District 4. Table 6 identifies the theme of *trust* and its four sub-categories that corresponds to RQ2. Overall, 49 statements alluded to issues

of trust between the two ethnic communities. Latino's accounted for 57% of the statements, while African Americans accounted for 43%.

Theme: Trust	African-American	Latino	Total
2.1 Mutual acknowledgement without personal action (formal politeness/ignoring deeper social differences)	4	6	10
2.2 Lack of trust (physical, language, social interaction)	14	16	30
2.3 Civil Rights and Struggles	1	3	4
2.4 Priority of city resources	2	3	5
Total	21	28	49

Table 6. *Salient trust references and subcategories by racial ethnic community stakeholders*

2.1 Mutual acknowledgement without personal action. The first sub-category yielded 10 statements under the theme of *trust*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *mutual acknowledgement*. This sub-category expresses how both the Black and Latino communities acknowledge the presence of one another; yet no social interaction takes place. While people from both communities speak to each other, it is often based on assumptions made by others or perceptions that they have internalized about each other's cultural communities in the SDCC District 4. When interacting with each other, the Black and Brown community members acknowledge that they live in the same community and see and hear different language expressions, have diverse skin color, and have similar life styles that are not embraced for their richness, but with suspicion. Stakeholder Reverend Walker Smith (African American) and Natividad (Latino) shared their perception on this sub-category named *mutual acknowledgement*.

As time progresses, there exists a lack of trust among Latinos and African Americans, and although both groups shared the same living spaces a social division persists because there is not a honest effort to socialize and co-lived among each other.

-Reverend Walker Smith

It's been an unwritten law that Browns and Blacks who live next to each other, might say hi to each other and even bring over some food to each others homes, it happens occasionally and I'm sure that happens, but 99% of the time they stay with their own comfort zone. Even in the community, they might work next to each other, but afterwards they go on their own way. "Casi no se meten," they do not socialize with each other. And it's the law of lived and let lived. I will shop where you shop when I need some certain things. You don't see a lot of Black people in Gonzalez in Barrio Logan or 43rd Street by Hwy 805. Those are ethnic stores, as they are called. So we have learned to live together, work together, coexist actually, but not to meddle too much with each other. I don't see it that working, yet it would be better for us to socialize with each other. Actually my work has been to keep the peace among each other's cultural community, from the seniors, whether they are 40 years old or teenage gangsters, that's been my job, to avoid community wars.

-Luis Natividad

2.2 *Lack of trust*. The second sub-category and the most prominent, yielded 30 statements under the theme of *trust*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *lack of trust*. This sub-category speaks to the nature prejudice. The unknown, not seeing the individual as a person or possessing prejudice, often drives a lack of trust. Allport (1979, p.6) speaks of prejudice as a feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, an actual experience. Lack of trust can occur based upon physical features or language characteristics of Black and Brown culture. The lack of trust has also been generated by lack of social interaction within and across the Black and Brown communities in SDCC District 4 and in the city of San Diego. Stakeholder Msemaji (African American) and Natividad (Latino) shared their perception on this category.

When Latinos that are involved in a community social problem or Blacks are involved in a similar type of issue, they believe that each other are the problem. It doesn't make any sense because we make false assumptions about each other. These assumptions are often media manipulated that lead us into accepting prejudicial thinking, and both communities believe it. Now regarding people that have been really involved in civic activities for many years, they might not be crazy about Blacks or vice versa, but they know better and they don't step in each other's foot. At the end it seems that common sense reaches the top and if

Latinos and Blacks want to be successful in San Diego they need to work together, because if you are not white you have to be ten times better to break down the doors of opportunity.

-Ken Msemaji

Over more than 40 years I have observed that Latino and Blacks tend to politely tolerate each other, yet we do not go beyond superficial activities and getting to know each and work on creating mutual trust. I know for a fact because I know they feel like that, they do not need a Mexican in their associations, in their church, in their clubs or whatever organization. If you go to the retirement home behind Martin Luther King Park, its called the George Stevens retirement home, but you won't see any Latino/Mexicans, the same thing with our Latino organizations, you have never see a Black individual run an organization like MAAC. Yet, it is the same in the Black community, they have the Urban League, the Neighborhood House, and they are led by a Blacks from the directors to the managers. Its amazing man! So I started working for racial coexistence, in the Neighborhood House, that's how I opened up the Food Bank. I worked for Jacobs, and that's how we started the street patrols in the community, and that's how I sold stocks to Latinos, owners of that Market Creek Plaza, shopping center. Although, Jacobs owns most of it, the community owns 51% so they still keep the majority of the vote and can decide what to do with it. So in the SDCC District 4 the need to work on coexistence between Latino and Blacks is very important, because we do not trust each other.

-Luis Natividad

2.3 Civil rights and social struggles. The third sub-category yielded four statements under the theme of *trust*, and was named *civil rights and social struggles*. While all 12 of the stakeholders in the study were participants and leaders in the civil rights movement of the 1960's and 1970's, the four statements speak to an implicit resentment towards Latinos in SDCC District 4, in that they are now benefitting from the struggle of the Black community to achieve civil rights. This resentment is based on the Latino residents' lack of awareness of the social discrimination faced by African Americans before and after the Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court (1954) decision, discrimination that African Americans encountered daily. Yet, one can point to school curriculum and its narrow view of social justice perspectives, as well as its inability to acknowledge the contribution of all ethnic groups in the development of the

United States. The voices of McCray (African American) and Dr. Rodriguez (Latino) speak to this category.

That is real interesting. I remember when we first started talking about integrating schools and the busing system. I think that started with Brown (1954) but really after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the mandate helped, but in the late 1970's after we started moving kids around, mostly minority kids to other areas, then we open up. Most of my principalships were assigned, and I liked it that way, were not in the southeast. Most people don't realize how needed a person like me to be in those schools. Teachers in those schools were like, if you had a kid from the southeast raising hell, they would want to send them back. I would have to explain that this is their school. I know they live on Diamond regional area, but this is their school. You can't just dismiss them and kick them out, no more than you could to a kid that lived there. Unless it is a kid that is just so far off, that they really did need to go somewhere else.

-Ernie McCray

In retrospect, the 1970's were a vibrant period for civil rights and I was in a position to advance social equality. It most ethnically diverse communities it helped. In all places where the color of one's skin is so engrained it will be hard to break past attitudes of discrimination. If we can exert our vote and don't give up, change will come. We cannot stop working on the concepts equity and equality. Impatience is something that prevents us from reaching there. We want change now that doesn't mean everyone sees or everyone agrees with you. Make the desirable points of equity and equality, promote the points, prove the points, and you can win them over. It is a very demanding and frustrating process to change attitudes. You win the battles of justice and you have to keep winning them because often lies come in and laws are changed.

-Dr. Rodriguez

2.4 Priority of city resources. The fourth sub-category yielded 5 statements under the theme of *trust*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *priority of city resources*. This sub-category, while also only having a few statements, speaks to the past and existing negligence that the SDCC District 4 has historically faced from the San Diego City Council by giving the Black and Brown communities very low priority in the social and economic development of the highly populated and ethnically diverse area of SDCC District 4. The statements of Leon Williams (African American) and Maria Garcia (Latina) spoke to this

category.

In trying to create an intercultural climate that was responsive to all people in District 4, my day consisted of a twelve, fourteen, or fifteen-hour a-day job, primarily because I had many social problems way down south. And I had many ethnically diverse people who wanted something, wanted the government to recognize them. And so I used to have meetings throughout the community, in people's houses in order to try to encourage people to participate – you know, community people in my district. I explained that the way people can get the support of the city council – is by going in front of the council chambers and speaking to them directly, not as one person but as a community. And they would often say, “Well, I got to work.” And a would say, the problem is “if you don't come down and help to defend your area when an absentee landlord wants to convert that corner lot into a service station, or get a condition to use permit to change the corner lot into a service station, and your house is across the street, what do you do? Can you take some time off to protect your house?” Those were arguments I had to make in the community to get people to participate. But the main problem is getting people to participate, of being listened by the collective city. Remember, in those days other members of the San Diego City Council didn't have much respect for Black people. I'm just telling you the way it was. The social respect level was pretty low for Blacks and Latinos/Hispanics. If they had come down to address the council about an issue it was not taken nearly so well by most of the council members. Yet, the collective voice is necessary to protect one's community. Thus, a substantial part of my effort was to create responsibility within the council that all the people within the city deserved equal attention from the city and equal service.

-Leon Williams

As I mentioned before, the demographics and diversity of the communities of San Diego District 4 has changed many times. As the years have passed over the last 30 years I have been politically active in addressing issues of social and educational inequality. Meaning that as the District 4 community has become more ethnically diverse, one sees inequality in the form of resources, social services and treatment of people by those that control city government.

-Maria Garcia

SRQ 3: What federal and local policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and community development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?

The interview responses to the questions corresponding to SRQ3 were analyzed to identify which federal and local policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and community development. The data from the 12 interviews identified the theme of *racism* and *power* as the two themes corresponding to RQ3. SDCC District 4 through the mid 1970's faced explicit discrimination due to gerrymandering and social covenants. It wasn't until the mid 1970's that federal and local policies attempted to open restrictive policies of discrimination. Table 7 identifies the theme of *racism* and its four sub-categories that correspond to RQ3 and that serve to explain the gains and tensions between the African American and Latino communities. Overall, 94 statements alluded to issues of *racism* that have been experienced by the two ethnic communities and the challenges that remain in attaining social equality. The African American stakeholders accounted for 59% of the statements, while Latinos accounted for 41%.

Theme: Racism	African-American	Latino	Total
3.1 Structural discrimination (socio-cultural and education, physical attributes)	25	15	40
3.2 Legal and Traditional Behaviors	13	5	18
3.3 Social Discriminatory Practices	11	16	27
3.4 Segregation Based on Social Economic Classes	6	3	9
Total	55	39	94

Table 7. *Salient racism references and subcategories by racial ethnic community stakeholders*

3.1 *Structural discrimination*. The first prominent subcategory yielded 40 statements under the theme of *racism*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *structural discrimination*. This category was most referenced by African Americans with 63% statements,

while Latinos made 37% of the statements. This category focuses on *separate but equal practices* that explicitly prevailed in the SDCC District 4, and in our nation, through the mid 1970's when African Americans and Latinos began to hold positions of political representation. Structural discrimination in the last 45 years in SDCC District 4 have existed through systemic policies, practices, and economic and political structures, which place racial and ethnic groups at a disadvantage in comparison to the dominant White majority. School integration was placed on the shoulders of Blacks and Latinos, as they were bussed to the White school communities. Another example is demonstrated in that public school budgets are determined by property values: rich neighborhoods are more likely to be more White and have more experienced teachers, and more money for education in neighborhood public schools. Other forms of structural discrimination include restrictive housing contracts and redlining policies that have also been listed as forms of institutional racism. With regards to infrastructure, the unpaved streets and the poor conditions of roads in the ethnic communities of SDCC District 4 were and continue to be prevalent. Stakeholders Williams (African American) and Garcia (Latina) reflect on issues of structural discrimination that have worked against the development of SDCC District 4.

Well, you know part of the reason for me to served on the San Diego City Council, I think was to work to assure that everybody should be treated equal. Because the city of San Diego has a hierarchical structure and its understood to be so. Low income communities such as Southeast San Diego, which is primarily District 4 and San Ysidro while part of the city are both regarded pretty much the same, kind of forgotten...if you are going to spend money you better spend it on the North part of freeway 8 or the middle and upper income communities.

-Leon Williams

I think the Brown Supreme Court decision of 1954 case attempted to stop the practice of social segregation. However, I think it really hurt communities of color because we ended up being the people being bussed out of our ethnic communities in order to integrate the white communities. The white communities were really against it for the longest time. But then I thought that it was wrong to

segregate people and began to support the integration of our schools. But the at-large community did not think it was for their best interests because few white decided to send their children to ethnically diverse school communities.

There is no guaranteed that kids of color who get bussed into white school communities would get what they needed educationally, such as bilingual education.

-Maria Garcia

3.2 Legal and traditional behaviors. The second subcategory yielded 18 statements under the theme of racism and was named *legal and traditional behaviors*. This category was most referenced by African Americans with 72% of the statements, while Latinos made 28% of the statements. The community stakeholders pointed to forms of legal and traditional behaviors that were accepted throughout San Diego County and the city of San Diego that restricted persons of color. In particular, the discriminatory housing covenants that restricted Black, Latino and Asian families to live in specific concentrated areas in the city of San Diego. Thus, SDCC District 4 served as an open community since no covenants or social or economic barriers prevented them from living in an ethnically diverse community. Another form of legal differentiation, alluded to by Black and Latino community stakeholders, was the use of standardized testing mechanisms to decide the preferred types of knowledge and ways of thinking as a requirement for educational access or opportunity. Stakeholders Waymon (African American) and Cazares (Latina) spoke to social discrimination that has worked against equal access and the social development of the residents of SDCC District 4.

It was called restrictive covenants: to restrict a neighborhood to be White. It was written back in the 1920s. It was a legal document that you write in your will that this house or the property would never be sold or rented to a Black person, or Brown person, yellow or American Indian. In 1958, the Supreme Court ruled that restrictive covenants were unenforceable. It didn't say illegal, but ineffective. Restrictive covenants were no longer enforceable in a court of law. When I came to San Diego), that was how all the communities in San Diego County were being lived. What was surprising to most people was that not only did Escondido,

Poway, Fallbrook, National City, there were seven in the county that had restrictive covenants. The cities honored restrictive covenants. My job was to change it.

-Carrol Waymon

I think many of the laws...(as well as Propositions) 187, 209... were totally anti people of color. Especially when you are banning ethnicity or race that are used to get admission to universities and that, it still exists today, while there are ways to get around that which are perfectly legal, but you have the civil rights which were meant to address the total inequities and racial prejudice and discrimination, a lot of torture of Blacks, so I think it was a starting point but again, if the powers to be don't really buy into them, then you are going to continue to have the same issues, you know they will be manifested in one way or another, through discrimination. I mean we are in 2014 and just a report came out recently, I don't know if you saw it, about how much more African Americans and Latinos are stopped and search by police over Whites, so anyways that shit still exists.

-Norma Cazares

3.3 *Social discriminatory practices*. The third subcategory yielded 27 statements under the theme of *racism*, and was named *social discriminatory practices*. This category was most referenced by African Americans, who made 11 of the statements, while Latinos made 16 of the statements. At issue are the discriminatory practices that work against Blacks and Latinos in SDCC District 4, in the form of racial profiling by security guards and police, and the misrepresentation of Black and Brown racial groups in the mass media and newspapers through the use of racial stereotypes and negative caricatures. Other forms of discriminatory practices include the barriers to gainful employment and professional advancement. Stakeholders Williams (African American) and Valladolid (Latino) reflected on issues of structural discrimination that have worked against the development of SDCC District 4.

A significant piece of legislation was the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, signed by President Johnson. I was offered a job to direct a program under the Urban League's control, called the Neighborhood Youth Corps. There were a lot of things going on with that Economic Opportunity Act. Latino/Hispanics and Blacks were beginning to feel that we could be part of the society. Always before 1964, there was a thing that the government stood for, and I quote, "the man." It was always that notion of "the man" controlling everything, and the Blacks and

Latinos were not part of “the man”... meaning the “White man”. Under our governmental system, we had to struggle for opportunities to open up, and to create spaces of access for ourselves. And that meant not only organizing ourselves, but also addressing what we called the “establishment”, in such a way that we could be heard and could become part of it. Before 1964, there was a lot of talk on the part of members of the San Diego City Council about what “other people want”. “What do those people want? What do they want down there, or over there?” And it was a matter of equal treatment, equal opportunity, equal access to social institutions ...we wanted the same things that everyone else wanted. Specifically, we wanted and want a good education to take care of our children, good health care, good housing opportunities, and a good job and so forth.

-Leon Williams

At the local and national level, as well as the global level, I have seen social problems in our community that are related to educational access and personal caring for the poor. In 2014, the Campaign for College Opportunity, led by Executive Director Michele Siqueiros reports that a large number of Latino and African American youth that are being locked up in jails and prisons, thousands of our youth that are dropping out of school, and that less than 5 of 100 that begin their schooling get a college degree. These statistics are present in the San Diego City Council District 4. Thus, if as a nation and community we treat youth with hate and contempt, we are teaching hate, and we will end up understanding that hate and contempt destroys the hopes and dreams of youth. We must work with our schools and families to understand that prejudice towards others is not a natural thing. And if prejudice to others is taught, it can be untaught, and I think parents play a major role in that. But I also think that our Latino and African American youth and community can also play a role in bringing us together by understanding that our greatest power of unity will come when we can come together.

-David Valladolid

3.4 *Segregation based on social class*. The fourth subcategory yielded only 9 statements under the theme of *racism*, and was named *segregation based on social class*. This category was most referenced by African Americans with 67% of the statements, while Latinos made 33% of the statements. While this category had fewer statements, stakeholders spoke strongly of the conservative climate present in San Diego, in that its middle and upper social classes control city and county politics and have historically not been supportive of social integration. For the majority of stakeholders, San Diego is a segregated city with over 100 neighborhoods, often

referred to as north Highway 8 and south of Highway 8, as well as east and west of Highway 805. Segregation is also visible in the makeup of students in SDCC District 4 schools and the city of San Diego. Over the last 30 years in the SDCC District 4, the schools have been predominantly ethnically diverse with few white students. Given the de facto segregation of the city of San Diego, the majority of the ethnically diverse schools in SDCC District 4 are perceived by economically middle and upper class as having low quality education and often attribute the low achievement of the children and youth to the lack of parental engagement. Stakeholder Williams (African American) and Natividad (Latino) commented on segregation and social class.

One more thing! I think that part of the substantial reason both African Americans and Latino kids are in trouble because in some people's eyes they are perceived as not having potential. Our ethnic youth need to be strong, and it takes an exceptional person to know that if he or she is being seen, as something less, they need to stand up and ignore all that and still be a person. Yet, it takes a special kind of character to do that and not everybody has it and that's why a lot of those kids don't perform well...the message they perceive is not one of support for their development, but rather that they will be a dropout.

-Leon Williams

As human beings we all want the same thing. Whether you live in La Jolla or Maryland, or Washington State, or Oregon we just want a good job, descent housing, descent food, and descent school for our kids. However, our incomes determine what we can afford ... we all want the same except at different levels. I have never heard my Latino people say I want to live in La Jolla. I think if a Mexicano wins the lottery, he will just buy a duplex in the neighborhood, he will bring his grandma to live next door, you know. I don't think it matters. However conflict arises whenever anyone threatens our kids, then we step up. So yes, there is tension in our communities but we all want the same thing for our families.

-Luis Natividad

Table 8 identifies the theme of *power* and the four subcategories that also correspond to RQ3. Overall, 63 statements pertain to the theme of *power* that promotes competition between the two ethnic communities, particularly in terms of political representation, which creates socio-

political division. Latinos accounted for 54% of the statements, while African Americans accounted for 46% of the statements.

Theme: Power	African-American	Latino	Total
3.5 Ethnic division	8	9	17
3.6 Maintenance of the status quo	7	10	17
3.7 Political representation	6	9	15
3.8 Symbolic authority	8	6	14
Total	29	34	63

Table 8. *Salient power references and subcategories by racial ethnic community stakeholders*

3.5 *Ethnic division*. The fifth subcategory yielded 17 statements under the theme of *Power*, as identified by the stakeholders, and was named *ethnic division*. This category expresses that as long as ethnic division exists in SDCC District 4 and in other communities in the city of San Diego, the White power brokers will be able to preserve the existing White power structures in the areas of politics, education, and social class. One mechanism of such control is through the mass media and local newspapers that report on a daily or a weekly basis the perceived existence of ethnic division, ethnic conflict, and ethnic problems. When the media perpetuates such ethnic divisions, Black and Latino communities are faced with forms of internalized racism, which forces members of the ethnic communities to accept negative beliefs about their abilities and intrinsic worth. This internalized racism can be manifested through embracing “Whiteness”, self-devaluation (e.g. racial slurs), and a sense of resignation (e.g. dropping out of school or not wanting to vote). Persistent negative perceptions influence interpersonal relations. For the SDCC District 4, this means pitting Latinos and African Americans against each other.

Stakeholders Williams (African American) and Garcia (Latino) expressed such events and concerns.

Resentment between the two ethnic communities existed and to some degree it continuous today. I think resentment exist because there is fear on the part of Latinos that they will be put down if they associate with African Americans too much. In the 1960' and 1970's, back in those days, I would be in meetings where I would pick up on the resentment, and I always spoke a little Spanish, and was pretty good in understanding, and I would be in with some friends of mine and there would be Latinos and they would be talking in Spanish and I understood what they were saying. Latinos would select issues that only applied to them, you know, they would say...we are really white so this issue doesn't apply to us, but it did apply because I knew what the white folks thought. In my political role I knew the social issues and white people would tell me things that were prejudicial to both ethnic communities... so that was a bit of a thing, and I think that maybe it still exists to some significant extent among some people.

-Leon Williams

The I think that the educational system pits Latinos and African Americans against each other by competing with supplemental funds, often state or federal funds, and we fight over the crumbs. Its is funny when I started working at Baker Elementary, a poor school community the head counselor was African American and she and I used to joke with each other on how our respective communities saw us. For example when she did something nice for a Latino kid, she was accused of liking Latinos better over African American children. If I did something nice for an African American kid then it was the same, we just to joke with each other about who are you favoring today? Because you know you really have to bend backwards to let people know that you are treating everyone equal. It was the same with discipline problems because if you punish some kid it would come down to race. We worked well together because we supported each other. If parents spoke Spanish I would tell them: "ella es la consejera," I wanted them to know that we were a unit, but it was hard but we were good friends and we worked well together. I think some within the Diamond District, such activities go on a daily basis, but not enough. There has been some collaboration in political elections. More recently in 2013, look at Shirley Webber winning the Assembly seat. Politically, there appears to be more collaboration when people know each other.

-Maria Garcia

3.6 *Maintenance of the status quo*. The sixth subcategory yielded 17 statements under the theme of *Power*, as identified by the stakeholders, and was named *maintenance of the status quo*.

This category speaks of the overt political intentions to maintain the status quo by supporting

city council persons that are supportive of business and projects that benefit middle and upper class communities at the expense of low-income communities in San Diego. The infrastructure of the city serves as an example of the quality of conditions in neighborhoods, such as lower income communities like the SDCC District 4, which have little infrastructure development versus the development of the more affluent neighborhoods like downtown San Diego.

Stakeholders Shaheed (African American) and Natividad (Latina) expressed the inequality of treatment with regard to ethnic communities, such as SDCC District 4, by outside people attempting to take advantage of poor people by maintaining the community's status quo.

If you look at the downtown expansion it supposed to extend all the way to the gates of Lincoln High School. All of that property...lets talk about the Mexican population now, I went to the MLK breakfast the one that was on Logan at the big warehouse. That whole area is going to be a social battle because the mainstream population wants it and its currently being held by low-socio economic Mexican population, so just keep your eyes on all of that and see what happens.

-Agin Shaheed

I have been following the developments of Market Creek Plaza. The people in the community do not have the trust of the businesses in placed. I worked for Jacobs for two years. It was controlled by two people there, they were non-Black and on white background. They tried to portray themselves as loving minorities, but deep inside they love money more. They were getting paid a lot of money and they promised all but deep inside they were not sincere and our people could read. Then they start buying land banking, you know what land banking is? They start buying properties at low prices and they don't do anything to improve the properties and just sit there, and pretty soon they start buying everything.

- Luis Natividad

3.7 Political representation. The seventh subcategory yielded 15 statements under the theme of *power*, and was named *political representation*. This category speaks to the absence of a Latino representative in SDCC District 4 over the last 45 years. Through the political process of gerrymandering, political power is maintained, and through the use of psychological manipulation, the SDCC District 4 has been designated as a city council seat for a Black

representative, though the demographics currently indicate that the Latino community is a majority and deserves a representative. Social preferences for specific ethnic groups are at work in this scenario, and they are maintained as long as they do not become a threat to the existing power structure of the city, and, additionally, they have candidates that are friendly to the power structure. Stakeholders Msemaji (African American) and Cazares (Latina) spoke to the preferred behaviors, in terms of political support and representation.

There is a need for respecting people's right to political opinions and to run for office. If a young Black woman wants to run for city council, I say well this is America, anybody can run whenever they want and we all have to respect that, but beyond that there is other considerations. In District 4 people have been waiting to run and in the city of San Diego, Latinos are more than 1/, and they have only have one representative. That's not right, the present District 9 was created for them and there are Latinos waiting for this and they will be competing after Councilwoman Emerald moves on. So we need to be sensitive not to set racial animosity back. If people don't have a seat on the table because one of their allies took it, it sets you back a decade, maybe two decades. I have found out that bullying people is not productive or proper, but I never pushed someone to not do run for an office. Racial representation will continue to come up and I'm going have to do everything in power that a person get defeated if they do have the respect of the community, after all people have to be treated fairly and if you are 1/3 of the population and Blacks are only about 8% of the population we shouldn't be working against Latino representation. Well, people can say there are Brown and Black, but Blacks and Latino s need to make sure that Latinos are represented.

-Ken Msemaji

An although since the 1970's District 4 has always been represented by an African American, people like Myrtle Cole its going to have to start addressing the needs of the Latino people because its not going to last like that anymore. If the representative that is sitting in that council seat is not working in the community, and does not respond to the need of the population, that city council seat is not going to last as an African American seat. Presently the demographic shift has taken place and its past tradition of being an African American seat is no longer.

-Norma Cazares

3.8 *Symbolic authority*. The eighth subcategory yielded 14 statements under the theme of *power*, and was named *symbolic authority*. This category expresses how members of the ethnic

communities are given positions of authority that are more symbolic and they do not actually have the authority to address equity and equal access to resources. Often such positions have the title of liaison for governmental affairs, community director, or director of internal affairs. Stakeholders Reverend Smith (African American) and Natividad (Latino) spoke about the concept of symbolic authority that has no significant influence to improve the socio-political and social conditions of the SDCC District 4.

Within a few years, I was on several boards and found myself being as “the black board member.” It was important for me to have a seat. It brought me to seats of power that I would have never occupied and expanded my sphere of influence. Even so, there are places in San Diego that still openly discriminate against Blacks. When I bought my house in District 4, there were a few Blacks and mostly whites; it was the epitome of racism. There was no color allowed in many sector of the city of San Diego, and I love the challenge of it. I think there were about three Hispanic families when we moved to my present community and not too many Blacks, the rest were Whites.

-Reverend Walker Smith

Community needs get lost in the political world. I never ran for Congress or for the California Assembly, because I know what happens. There is a political machine that dictates everything, if you get elected they tell you do this and that, and the party controls you, that’s how it works. I think its more of hey you owe me man, so you need to do this for me than anything else if you want to get elected, so you become a pawn. There is no question that the political system changes you, no matter how much you say that you are for the Raza and all, it doesn’t work like that, they will tell you be here tomorrow at 10 and you better be there for the political party. You lose your individuality and I know this because here I can speak my mind and yes, I get in trouble all the time because I say what I feel and I never think twice. I say what I feel...I am known for that.

-Luis Natividad

SRQ 4: What have been the areas of intercultural conflicts/tensions and collaboration in the selected school community over the last 45 years as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?

The data from the 12 interviews identified five subcategories of intercultural conflicts and tensions that work against intercultural collaboration between the African American and Latino communities in SDCC District 4. Table 9 identifies the theme of *conflict and tension* and its corresponding five subcategories for RQ4. Overall, 50 statements alluded to *conflict and tensions* between the two ethnic communities. African Americans accounted for 52% of all statements, while 48% were from Latinos.

Theme: Conflict and Tension	African-American	Latino	Total
4.1 Power structure	1	2	3
4.2 Interest convergence for advantage	8	3	11
4.3 Social commitment to common issues to mutually collaborate	9	4	13
4.4 Competition to resources	7	8	15
4.5 Demographics changes	1	7	8
Total statements	26	24	50

Table 9. *Salient conflict and tensions references and subcategories by racial ethnic community stakeholders*

4.1 *Power structure*. The first subcategory named *power structure* yielded 3 statements under the theme of *conflict and tension* as identified by the stakeholders. One African Americans and two Latinos described power structure. During the interviews, three stakeholders alluded to issues of asymmetrical power relations between the SDCC District 4 and the San Diego City Council, specifically regarding the need to have political voice, yet there were few specific statements about the power structure. Stakeholders Walker-Smith (African American) and Valladolid (Latino) pointed to such situations:

There have been a lot of changes on the 4th district of the city of San Diego since I have been here. When I came here there was no city councilman that was Black. Blacks and Latinos have been absent from the city council.

I had absolutely no desire to run for any office. Yet in the 1960's there were very few Blacks elected to any Commission or political office. In the south of our nation, Blacks were suffering beatings and other injustices just to register to vote. Perhaps it was time for me to take a risk. I had served on many boards with friends all over the city. San Diego was still riddled with racism, and I knew that there was no other Black who would stand a chance. So I decided to run for School Board of San Diego City Schools. So we went to work. Because San Diego was a racist town I did not put my picture on any of my campaign literature, nor would I go on television. In 1963 I was elected to the school board.

-Reverend Walker Smith

Yeah! Well that was the purpose of creating the 9th San Diego City Council seat, but I would still argue that the African American community still deserves to have a councilperson. In the 1970's we fought for representation, I was Chairperson of the Chicano Federation Board and we filed all the lawsuits against the city of San Diego because they wouldn't allow district elections and we could not get a Latino elected and was not until we removed the city wide at large elections and created specific district elections that Chicanos/Latinos started getting elected. Attorney Mike Aguirre carried all of those cases.

-David Valladolid

4.2 *Interest convergence for advantage*. The second prominent subcategory under the theme of *conflict and tension* category yielded 11 statements, as identified by eight African American and three Latino stakeholders, which described *interest convergence for advantage* as a conflict or tension. Most interviews mentioned political or social scenarios where situations have created tensions among the African Americans and Latino communities in SDCC District 4 over a forty-five year period. Interest convergence occurs when one ethnic community uses or takes advantage of another ethnic community through social situations or political policy.. Philosophical dilemmas occur that seem contrary to those advocating for social justice. An example of interest convergence is the case of Pete Wilson who became governor by demonizing

undocumented persons. Ken Msemaji (African American) and the LeGrettes (Latino) described the socio-political phenomena of interest and advantage.

An example of Cesar's (Chavez) advise, came to realization when Proposition 187 came about in 1994 and Pete Wilson was the Mayor of San Diego, I knew him and worked to get him to respond to the needs of domestic workers. And when he went on to become the governor, given his background in San Diego, he was moderate and I had (led) the Domestic Workers Union, I convinced him to do the right thing and he was very supportive of home care issues and legislation that came to his desk and he took on the budget fights to fund home care. So my work was to represent all the workers from across the state of California. So we didn't opposed him when he ran for election, but there were several people community leaders who did not speak to me for quite awhile. So when I tried to explain to them, they kind have understood philosophically, but they were uncomfortable with my work with Pete Wilson. It didn't last long, but that's something you have to do in order to protect all people, in my case the domestic workers.

-Ken Msemaji

Another sensitive issue is political representation in SDC Council District 4, as a social struggle for representation we want the District 4 to have a seat with an African American representative, but if you look at the demographics, the demographics don't support it. Yet, a lot of times we spent a lot of time with Latinos that want to run, but we think that's not a good idea. I think it's not a good idea, politically. But is more than emotional issue, but politically is the insensitivity of inclusion. But, you know its not, I don't see the fairness to it. It's not a take over, I mean if you walk down the street you see who lives there. I would say that all Mexicans families want to have political representation and have their kids speak English and Spanish as well.

-Carlos and Linda LeGrette

4.3 *Social commitment to common issues to mutually collaborate.* The third prominent subcategory yielded 13 statements under the theme of *conflict and tension* as identified by the 12 stakeholders. The issue is the need for a commitment to common issues that would assist in the mutual collaboration among each other's ethnic communities in such areas as social, political, economic, or health equity issues. Generally, the perception in both ethnic communities is one of a false belief that a commitment to collaborate would improve the social issues, and it is often simplified to the notion that "if we can only get along any social concern can be improved".

Behind the call for commitment to mutually collaborate on common issues, there is no real or deep dialogue, discussion, or direct action taking place. The voices of Agin Shaheed (African American) and Maria Garcia (Latina) drove this category.

So what is it about this personal and community transformation? I am looking for the cycle of lack of trust to be broken. If we can break the cycle of lack of collaboration, trust and competition and if the current and future community organizations in and outside SDCC District 4 can move out of these non-transformative postures and not be the future tyrants themselves, then the community and society can grow.

So Southeast San Diego would have to involve some strategies, some thinking, some coalitions, hopefully its not too late. The mire might have already been casted, it might be too late. But nothing is ever too late...

-Agin Shaheed

Yes there is collaboration but it has been superficial, like attending special educational or social events. Symbolically attending each other political fundraisers events. But is not consistent because we have not interacted with each at a personal or community level.

-Maria Garcia

4.4 *Competition for economic, political, and social resources.* Competition for resources was the most prominently identified theme of *conflict and tension* as identified by the 12 stakeholders. Fifteen (15) statements described the perceived tensions of competition in terms of the available economic, political, or social resources available to both the Black and Brown communities. These statements were almost evenly divided in regards to African American and Latino stakeholders. The following voices from Waymon (African American) and Maria Garcia (Latina) echoed the tensions in the *competition for economic, political, and social resources* in SDCC District 4.

Just like how it occurs throughout the world, if you leave it to peoples they see natural differences, they hate each other. They look at you and say you are Brown, they look at me and say I'm Black, some one else is grey and someone else is blue. I belong to my group and you belong to your group. I want everything for my group and you want everything for your group. Unless there is an effort to change, people do not change. There is no way to learn. Look at all

the tensions in the world. Why are we fighting and killing each other every day? Do they live in the same country? Sure do. Do they live on the same continent? Sure do. Do they live next to each other? Sure do. But tonight in the news it will be about how many were killed, how many died. It is not a natural thing to accept other people who are different. Respecting each other should be our nature, but it is not a natural thing. So there is a need for more training, a Human Relations Agency or equivalent agency to work in the San Diego City District 4 and District 3 and the new part of District 9 to simply bring people to know one another and work together for the wellness of their community.

-Carrol Waymon

I think it was very threatening for the African American community to see so many Latinos living in the community. Lincoln High School that was predominantly African American in the early 2000's is now majority Latino. Yet, I think that we are fighting over political power, when no one has power. We are fighting over resources that equate to crumbs and are thrown to the community to divide the people. I think too that there is reluctance by both communities to let the new generation take over the voice of the community. The old generation wants to hold onto their positions, at the local and state levels. I think that it is time to let new blood come in, because we had our day in the sun and can still contribute to the improvement of the San Diego City District 4 communities.

-Maria Garcia

4.5 Demographic changes. The fifth subcategory yielded 12 statements under the theme of conflict and tension as identified by the stakeholders. Tensions brought about because of demographics shifts within the SDCC District 4 yielded eight statements about explicit and implicit racial tensions, as well as misunderstandings due to ethnic traditions, language, and or social rights. Latinos brought up 7 of the 8 statements. Stakeholders Norma Cazares (Latino) and Ken Msemaji (African American) pointed to such situations:

I think in the next ten years, its going to be probably close to 100% Latino and I'm serious, we are a border community and I see it at our college, families coming in, its more of a region now, within 10 years, I'm not saying there's not going to be a border, but there will be so much interaction, relationships, and stuff like that. The flow its going to be so easy that geographically in ten years African American residents might feel unwelcomed because we naturally come together with people that look like you, think like you and it might not be intentional, and its not the idea of moving someone out, but when you start losing the social fabric of your community and you see that you start moving away, look at east county

now has a the largest African American population than ever before. You would asked me that ten years ago, I would had said no, East County? No...no way, they are not going to go to East County. Lemon Grove and Spring Valley, that's another part where African Americans are moving now.

-Norma Cazares

In the 1950's and 1960's the present SDCC District 4 was predominantly all Black. There was a Black business district up and down Imperial Ave. there was every kind of business that you can think of, insurance companies, banks, stores, hair care places, mortuaries, doctors and lawyers...there was every kind of business in the community. And that began to diminish in the late 1960's, but you didn't notice it a lot, but by the mid 70's the Black businesses were gone. In the early 1970's the demographics in Southeast of our nation was predominantly Black, but there were Latinos and some whites and some Asians, particularly Filipinos. Over the years the changes have been dramatic, now it's overwhelming Latino. One interesting fact about SDCC District 4 is that it has elected African Americans to the city council for the last several elections but the people in the area have been overwhelmingly Latino. Yet, in the political ballots you might see a Latino name on the ballot and it is a consideration, but not the only consideration. Whoever is running your neighbor, cousin or who is presently representing you... that is your candidate, so they keep electing Blacks, they treated us well, And will continue to do so as long as the Councilmember represents them well!

-Ken Msemaji

SRQ 5: What are the scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions and/or collaboration that can unite (Latino-African American) residents of the selected community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders who have been involved in the San Diego City Council District 4 for over 45 years?

The data from the 12 interviews identified two themes that correspond to RQ5, namely, *collaboration* with five categories and *educational instrumentality* with three subcategories. Both themes serve as pathways to promote possible intercultural collaboration between the African American and Latino communities in SDCC District 4. Overall, 116 statements suggest evidence on the importance and need for collaboration between the two ethnic communities. African Americans accounted for 53% of the statements, while Latinos accounted for 47% of the

statements. Table 10 demonstrates the trends in the responses.

Theme: Collaboration	African American	Latino	Total
5.1 Cultural brokering	9	14	23
5.2 Interest Convergence as representation	26	16	42
5.3 Community Role Models	2	10	12
5.4 Social commitment to resolve common community issues	13	9	22
5.5 Proactive acts of consciousness	11	6	17
Total statements	61	55	116

Table 10. *Salient collaboration references and subcategories by race and ethnic stakeholders*

5.1 *Cultural brokering*. This subcategory yielded 23 statements under the theme of *collaboration* as identified by the stakeholders and was named cultural brokering. It was most commonly referenced by Latinos with 14 statements. Cultural brokering refers to the act of being able to navigate and be accepted by both the African Americans and Latino communities in the SDCC District 4. This requires the ability to demonstrate knowledge and a comprehension of the ways of interacting within and outside of particular ethnic communities. To be able to collaborate, one must have the socio-political skills of cultural brokering. Respected community stakeholders become important persons in forging collaboration. Leon Williams (African American) and Luis Natividad (Latino) provided insights as to how to best use cultural brokering as a tool for collaboration.

The convention by the BOMB (Black, Oriental Mexican Brothers), in the late 1960's...well, that was pretty significant event, as far as I am aware. In the late 1960's we were tired of segregated social practices and the lack of political representation, so we decided to take a stand together. In the 1960's and early 1970's there was always cooperation among the diverse ethnic groups in District 4. For example, when I was in the San Diego City Council, the 805 freeway was

going through the communities and they were tearing down communities all the way to the south to San Ysidro area, and that was the district I was representing, so I spent a lot of time in San Ysidro talking with people and trying to help to ameliorate that situation. There was a Black man in the California Assembly named Leon Ralph and he got a bill through the legislative, signed by the governor called the Ralph Act that provided for some amelioration in the area of housing. That was a real problem in the south of San Diego. I represented Latinos as hard as I did African Americans, no difference whatsoever, I did not select one over the other group to do a better job over the other.

-Leon Williams

So George Stevens ended up hiring me and remained councilperson from 1991 to 2002 for SDCC District 4. He had a choice, but it's really important to be elected in San Diego and so, he says even though you Mexicans didn't help me get elected, come over and apply for the position. So, I went and applied and he realized well, he need one Latino representative, so they hired me. But we were friends, even if he was my boss; we talked about social and political problems weekly. I'm good at working with people and brokering relationships, that is what I do, so I helped him connect with the older Latinos, and even the Black community embraced me, as a matter of fact they still seek me out, because I deliver on dealing with concerns, not only do I deliver to my Latino people but also to my Black brothers and sisters, that is my part of my cultural values. Whatever their needs are I will get it done, such as: fixing potholes, getting lights on the streets, so George Stevens really saw how much people supported the work. So, it was stupid if he let me go, I did not give him a reason to let me go, because I worked hard, I didn't mind what they were asking me to do, even working on Sundays, I didn't care. So that was what happened, I was with him for over 11 years. That is a lot of years to work in one district.

-Luis Natividad

5.2 Interest convergence as representation. The most prominent subcategory under the theme of *collaboration* yielded 42 statements, as identified by the stakeholders, and was named *interest convergence as representation*. This subcategory was most referenced by African Americans with 26 statements. The category of *interest convergence as representation* was mentioned as an important collaborative activity that needs to happen by ensuring that a person who has the support and interest of the community represents the SDCC District 4. An African American community person has represented SDCC District 4 for the past 45 years. The African American stakeholders recognize the shifting demographics of the geographical area of SDCC

District 4, with Latinos now being the largest ethnic group. The hope for *interest convergence as representation* and collaboration across the Black and Brown ethnic communities was articulated by both Ernie McCray (African American) and the LeGrettes (Latino):

Well, one thing, I do not know is, what will divide us and keep us divided or where we are. If Blacks do not see David Alvarez (running for city mayor 2014) as representing the same kind of aspirations that we have because the Barrio is the inner city. This is our common experience. If we don't join rather than saying Latinos are taking over. Just get in there and join in. If you look at pictures of David Alvarez on Facebook and on his website, you see a couple of Blacks, a lot of Brown, and some white. I don't know? Dr. Shirley Weber (Assemblywoman) is one of his (supporters)...Yes, I think that helps. He is more respected in the community when they see that.

-Ernie McCray

There was a trust between the diverse ethnic communities because we worked together so they had my back and I had their back. I think it all goes down to the whole process of leadership. In our present leadership we have the likes Myrtle Cole (Black) and David Alvarez (Latino) representing Black and Brown interest in the San Diego city districts, and Senator Ben Hueso (40th District) in California. Yet, we need to look at them and ask them, what are they going to do in the terms of supporting and nurturing community leadership? Elected representatives? Then we have the other institutions like business and education and, what are they going to do in those sectors. Because I think that will be key when we get these individuals together. In developing leadership I'm looking down the line and nurturing youth through the Cesar Chavez Clubs from Point Loma High School to Hoover High School and Lincoln High School. We are thinking of going over to Lincoln High School, and sooner than we anticipated in the clusters schools, to work with youth and their leadership skills. Then you have youth from all ethnicities working together and not just on school issues, but in developing them as future leaders of our community. That's what I explain to a lot of individuals.

-Linda & Carlos LeGrette

5.3 *Social commitment to resolve common community issues*. The third subcategory that yielded 22 statements under the theme of *collaboration*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, was *social commitment to resolve common community issues* and was mostly referenced by African Americans with 13 total statements. The *social commitment to resolve common community issues* suggests taking action until an issue is resolved. In the case of political representation, as

was seen in the most recent San Diego city political elections (June 2014), both communities mobilized to support Black and Brown candidates. Both communities mobilized for Myrtle Cole (African American) in the SDCC District 4, and for Mayor David Alvarez (Latino) as mayor of San Diego. Cole was therefore elected to office and Alvarez ran a strong race for mayor, only narrowly losing the position. Stakeholders Msemaji (African American) and Valladolid (Latino) commented on *social commitment to resolve common community issues* through collaboration using political support as an example:

Time is beginning to work on our side as we work to elect representatives that are part of the community. A good recent example, is Dr. Shirley Webber, her California Assembly District 79 covers some San Diego, a little bit of Lemon Grove, a little bit of la Mesa, some National City, and some Chula Vista and in her district Blacks are 6th percent of the voters. Everyone else is Latino, white or Asian and she won the district overwhelmingly and it was not based on the color of her skin. So it's a challenge being accepted as a legitimate leader regardless of your color or the voter's color, but that's an evolutionary thing. When we get to local city council districts, Blacks can't get elected anywhere other than District 4th district. Unless you are Shirley Webber and even that may be different for a city council seat. So we have to build coalitions and awareness that whatever color you are or neighborhood you are from, it should be secondary. If you have a good track record and are prepared to represent the community that be should enough, and the general public will know. Until we get there with our awareness, and that becomes part of our genuine values, we will see leaders working for the benefit of each other as opposed to working against each other.

-Ken Msemaji

With David Alvarez running for the office of Mayor it offers a hopeful direction and a hopeful vision. Yet, he is going to confront a city that has been ran by those that have wealth and he's going have to learn how to work and navigate through a business community that is often not interested in investing in improving ethnically diverse low-income communities. David Alvarez is bright mind and young politician who cares for developing low-income communities. I hope the community comes out and continues to support him. He has gained the support of most Latinos and African American communities.

-David Valladolid

5.4 *Proactive act of consciousness*. The fourth subcategory that yielded 17 statements under the theme of *collaboration*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *proactive*

act of consciousness, was most commonly referenced by African Americans, with 11 total statements. This subcategory speaks to the deliberate attempt to unite both Black and Brown ethnic communities in SDCC District 4. This was accomplished by explicitly recognizing the demographic shifts, and recognizing the absence of a strong voice that can mobilize city politics. Additionally, the *proactive act of consciousness* addresses the importance of social issues, such as the abuse of police practices, the lack of health services, the increasing unemployment rate, and the limited access to educational opportunity. Community stakeholders Msemaji (African American) and Valladolid (Latino) commented on the *proactive act of consciousness* and collaboration.

Now going back to the Latinos and Blacks in San Diego at the end of the day you have to be able to be real good at whatever you do and you will get even further if both ethnic communities work together. A good sign is the Latino Association of Employees that has been going on for quite some time and five years ago they asked a small group of us (Linda, Carlos and Richard) that they were doing a Cesar Chavez celebration every year and they wanted us to come and do a panel for their members. The Association had the good judgment to bring kids that educationally cares for homeless youth, from the MONARCH school, and we presented the values of Cesar, since I was so fortunate to have had that experience in life. It is now an annual event and every year they ask us to come back and Filipinos want us to come and speak to their group because of the history between Cesar and the Filipinos. Now, the San Diego Black County of Employees Association is starting to work hand in hand with the Latinos. What they would do is share information if something comes up to be able to compete for jobs. So as you can see, I believe that building trust and collaboration across ethnic lines will take our community to the next level of responsible representation and taking care of each other.

-Ken Msemaji

I believe in the power of unity, especially for the San Diego City Council District 4. While we need to see value in our cultural and linguistic differences, we also need to see that the power of unity, both communities working for the well being of each other. The work of unity begins with seeing each other as brothers and sisters who have the same needs and this begins by treating each other with respect, caring and *convivir* (mutual support) in our mutual struggles for access to opportunity in the areas of education, employment, health, and political representation.

-David Valladolid

5.5 *Community role models*. The fifth subcategory yielded 12 statements under the theme of *collaboration*, as identified by the 12 stakeholders, and was named *community role models*. This subcategory was most referenced by Latinos with 10 total statements. Active and visible African American and Latino *community role models* were identified as an essential and proactive manner for both the Black and Brown ethnic communities to inspire the SDCC District 4 to unite and develop intercultural understandings, tolerance, and a respect for the well being of all residents, especially children. Community stakeholders Msemaji (African American) and Rodriguez (Latino) commented on the need for political *community role models* to ignite collaboration:

Let me give you another example, Myrtle Cole loves David Alvarez, she would fight to the end for him. When she was running for election, he walked precincts for her, Alvarez and myself were watching three polls to make sure that we were getting the vote out - she won in election night. So he did that for her, but its more than that, since she been in the San Diego City Council they have worked well together and they understand they might be some differences in certain parts of the community, but she would go anywhere for him and vice-versa, and nobody can mess that up, his enemies can't mess that up. So now it's beginning to come back. Those two will keep doing their collective work as long as they are in public office. So it's about people that are committed to help each other in order to improve the quality of life for everyone.

-Ken Msemaji

My advice to the Latino and Black leadership of the San Diego community is if you want to do something, and you really care about wanting to do something for yourself and for others, don't hesitate to ask for help and direction. And do it with people who are willing to talk to you about direction and their experiences. You don't have to follow their experiences knowing that the experiences of each generation is different. But there are enough likenesses in it that you can probably get some benefit from it. But don't be afraid to ask for help, and don't forget to ask for assistance and support. People are willing to help in working for a common goal, common issues, and for the well being of the children of the community.

-Dr. Rodriguez

Table 11 identifies the theme of *educational instrumentality* with three subcategories that corresponded to RQ5. This theme was passionately articulated by the 12 stakeholders and was

named *educational instrumentality*. It was referred to as a proactive community activity that could raise civic consciousness and ongoing collaboration in the community, particularly with regard to the youth. Overall, the theme of educational instrumentality yielded 48 statements and was discussed as an avenue for the youth of SDCC District 4 to acquire the values of civic engagement and personal preparation to succeed in the challenging world of work, which requires necessary higher order thinking skills. For the stakeholders there is an urgency and an importance to view education as a pathway that can provide youth the opportunity to acquire careers and attend college, while inculcating a responsibility for civic engagement and collaboration between the two ethnic communities. Latino stakeholders accounted for 54% of the statements and African Americans accounted for 46% of the total statements.

Theme: Educational instrumentality	African American	Latino	Total
5.6 Access for Intercultural Dialogue	8	13	21
5.7 Intercultural Communication	4	4	8
5.8 Identity and Voice	10	9	19
Total statements	22	26	48

Table 11. *Salient educational instrumentality references and subcategories by race and ethnic stakeholders*

5.6 Access for intercultural dialogue. The sixth subcategory yielded 21 statements under the theme of *educational instrumentality*, as identified by the stakeholders, and was named *access for intercultural dialogue*. Latinos most commonly referenced this subcategory, with 13 total statements. *Access to intercultural dialogue* through education was identified as the need to promote an open and respectful exchange or interaction between students, parents, teachers, community members, groups, and organizations with different cultural backgrounds or points of

views, in the SDCC District 4 and in the city of San Diego. The important aims of access to intercultural dialogue are: to develop a deeper understanding of diverse perspectives and practices, to increase participation, to develop the freedom and ability to make choices, to foster equality, and to enhance creative community dialogue of civic engagement. In the case of SDCC District 4, this implies teaching marginalized communities to identify the lack of equitable representation and to be able to navigate social systems in the community. Stakeholders Shaheed (African American) and Cazares (Latina) spoke to the importance and complexity of intercultural dialogue.

We have to have cultural courageous conversations about race, we have to have cultural relevant instruction strategies that are relevant to the population of students that the school district serves, and we have to have cultural proficiency that looks at beliefs and values, and assumptions. We have to look at privileges, white privileges and we must look at that...so there are some areas that we scratched the surface on, so I want to report to you that when you look around the nation and be very careful of what I'm going to say to you, "its not that we know so much, its that people operate and know so little and appear to be giants." So unfortunate, around the nation the San Diego School District is taught to be progressive because in cultural proficiency we have trained senior managers, we have trained more than what other people have dreamed of, and I have talked to people that think that we have only scratched the surface. So, the other problem that we have is that we celebrate small symbolic victories, but we never get to the deeper stage of growing that and making it the mindset, making it a goal, or making it the methodology and not until we make it the priority that will move the PD (professional development) of the school district, really taking the cultural proficiency concepts that I'm talking about, we will only continue making about the 2% progress that we tend to make year after year and as one person said it recently in a meeting that ok, then by 2080 we will be cultural proficient, but we all going to be dead.

-Agin Shaheed

Unfortunately, there are always challenges before positive things come up and you have to work through the challenges first in order to get there and that's why is important to do what you are doing with your dissertation and it would be good to have some kind of follow up with it, you know, again you are going to need support for that, for the powers to be and such from community folks and I think that at anytime, as I said early, at any time that the perception of your base of power is getting eroded or chipped away at, I think automatically there is a defense mechanism that would pop up, your defense comes up and it can be

cautionary or reactionary, because again no one likes to lose their power. But, its not something that can happen where things can be work out naturally, I think it needs to be strategic, specific, it needs to be worked out with a combination of the elected officials that represent that area, but also with the buy-in of the city as a whole, the county, the schools, the whole community basically, there has to be a kind of forum where people can express their fears as well as their hopes and dreams for their community, there needs to be some kind of sensitivity training, or exposure so that communities can understand who they are and that is not one kind of people who lives in that community but a many different groups that come with different experiences, different cultures and understanding that people problem solved differently too, you know, African Americans have had generations and decades of discrimination and prejudice and they fought a long battle through the civil rights, the civil rights was helpful, but still didn't change things entirely.

-Norma Cazares

5.7 Intercultural communication. The seventh subcategory yielded 8 statements under the theme of *educational instrumentality*, as identified by the stakeholders, and was named *intercultural communication*. African American and Latinos stakeholders equally referenced the statements in this subcategory. Intercultural communication as opposed to dialogue consists of creating competence to communicate across cultures. Communication is a form of social interaction and people send and receive messages through different forms of social interaction, with their bodies, with heritage language, and with the ways in which they interact in their local environments. This subcategory, under *intercultural communication*, calls for our educational system in San Diego to teach, facilitate, practice, and create intercultural competence from Kindergarten to the 12th grade. The absence of intercultural communication awareness leads to the unconscious cultural clashes that frequently occur in SDCC District 4. Unconscious cultural clashes can take the form of a message that is shared, but that has a conflicting meaning, and that is offensive to a given community or person. When the general community and even the culturally and linguistically diverse community members have little ongoing dialogue and do not develop communication competence across cultures – intercultural communication conflict

occurs. Stakeholders Shaheed (African American) and Cazares (Latino) spoke to the importance of an education that teaches youth about our communities, about knowing others intercultural communication complexities, and about knowing oneself and understanding how we communicate with each other.

It's very important that individuals have a historical grounding on San Diego society, because it's very, very important because SD society, as Gino Flores once said to me, "it's the biggest small town, that he has ever seen". So it's really a small town, but it's a big small town. SD also has a very conservative threat because the mainstream Caucasian population, it's a retirement community, a military community, a college community; San Diego is the best in mainstream white culture. Some people have called it the little Mississippi of the West. San Diego, if you haven't read it its called Under a Perfect Sun, you will read, interestingly, you will find it in the travel section, but its not a travel book, the book is about a social-political history of the beginnings of San Diego. It goes right from the beginning in the 1700's and it's a book that mainstream society is not fond of because it does pokes at the military, it pokes at the government and it pokes at the so-called social structure and some real unkind ways and hard hitting ways and it would really give you the history of a city that was always meant to experiment for a particular kind of reasons and its never been interested in developing an ethnic multicultural society, and this is all I'm going to say to you, ""it has never been interested in that..." and so that bleeds into education and so we have a lot of ignorant people, and what I mean with ignorant is to ignore the truth and so we have educators that have not had the proper education , the proper socio-political background to train children in urban cultures, so it a malaise, its an arrested development that takes place. Like a friend of mine once said, "teachers cannot teach live children" so people that are dead in their thinking. So, I'm going to report to you their intention, they are well intended teachers particularly in the Caucasian population, but they are just misinformed in education, so all of the well intention does not translate into the kind of efficiency that they could be if they have the right multi-cultural proficiency and the right socio-political training so they could be a light to the student population.

-Agin Shaheed

Our school communities are complex. Many immigrants come to our existing communities and they come from many economically depressed conditions or war-torn countries like the Vietnamese did and they have a different whole experience, where they do not trust people from other culture...you have issues like Mexicanos that come from many states in Mexico and do not know they ways of new communities Vietnamese come from countries where corruption exists, there is no trust with government and things like that, but if you don't understand that about each other, and that's why its not easy, getting people to understand each other through some cultural awareness or sensitivity training takes time, it

takes time, but it can be done...and the way it needs to be presented too is not a certain group being the lead or taking the lead or benefitting more than others, it should be that all benefit from it...because everybody wants good schools, everybody does, every community wants a good school to send their child too, so how do we make this a better school, what does it mean for us, and it doesn't mean that music has to be from the same culture, or the books have to be from the same culture, which I think the schools are still doing a terrible job, showing the diversity of our communities, of our populations, its amazing to me that few people know about the civil rights movement, how a few people know about Cesar Chavez, a few people know about the Chicano movement, a few people know about gay rights, do not know about the Vietnam war! I talk to students that don't have any historical clarity of what that was, what it meant, what was the result of it, so our educational system absolutely needs to do a better job, that's how we learn through our history. They say history repeats itself, well it doesn't have to repeat itself if we are real clear about the mistakes that were made and what were the lessons that we learned and why should we repeat the stupid mistakes that we made, but it has a lot to do with how we are educated. I would say the majority of young people today don't know, or are totally unaware of the struggles that were suffered as a result of the inequities and basically how at some level it has made their lives a little easier for them.

-Norma Cazares

5.8 Identity and voice. The eighth subcategory of *identity and voice* yielded 19 statements under the theme of *educational instrumentality*, as identified by the stakeholders, and was almost equally referenced by African American and Latinos. *Identity and voice* was referred to by the stakeholders from both Black and Brown backgrounds, as the need to cultivate SDCC District 4 with a strong sense of identity, one that creates awareness of one's culture, language, heritage, civic engagement, and promotes intercultural sensitivity towards other cultures. Voice refers to creating and using an educational curriculum that promotes the principles of democratic engagement and taking responsibility. Of importance to developing identity and voice, is the implementation of a culturally relevant curriculum such as ethnic studies or social justice in our public schools. A K-12 curriculum that provides for both a reflective and culturally responsive social justice framework based on democratic principles, can guide SDCC District 4 youth to develop a strong identity, critical thinking skills, and most importantly, a community of critical

thinkers and agents of a multicultural and culturally pluralistic way of life. Stakeholders Shaheed (African American) and Garcia (Latina) spoke to the importance of developing identity and voice.

So speaking of Lincoln High School, at Lincoln there was once a program there call social justice and I was trained in that program, I trained with the teachers at Lincoln, I went to Santa Barbara, CA, I was there for a week retreat and a couple of my staff and the architects of the program trained the teachers and I trained with them, and the outcome of the social justice program for me was collusion. So the social justice program asked us how do we collude with racism and all the other isms. That's the big piece. Each and every one of us needs to examine everyday how am I perpetuating this system. Unfortunately, the school of social justice, as you know, has come to almost to a kind of end. But within it was the possibilities of having the district look at something that I thought would be very important which was collusion; and that we are all responsible to examine, how am I colluding with these things, in each of everyone of us? So just because we don't have the school of social justice at Lincoln HS in a meaningful way currently, it doesn't mean that we don't have the concepts of social justice that are part of our Constitution, and the concept is still very, very, very valuable.

-Agin Shaheed

As I mentioned before, we need to start in the early years of schooling, it is a perfect time to create educational spaces for children to know each other, to interact with each other, and establish common bonds regardless of their ethnicity, culture, religion or home language. I think that as we become more interested in the human race, in our collective humanity, and care about the well-being our children and diverse people, collaboration will happen You know I think that Vietnam War united us in a crazy way, it destroyed the nation, but I think we had dialogue and questioned national policy as we saw many of our youth get killed. The war woke up all of a sudden we realized that Blacks and Latinos were dying in large number or returning to our communities injured physically and emotionally. Certain events that were probably of shock value and gave us unity.

-Maria Garcia

Synthesis of Results

This chapter presented the themes and subcategories that were derived from the 12 stakeholders interviews. Table 12 provides an overview of the findings based on the 512 statements that addressed the five research questions of the study.

Research question	Themes and sub-components	African American	Latino	Total N=512
RQ1. What have been the demographic and socio-cultural characteristics in a selected city council district that has been predominantly ethnically diverse as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?	1a. Population Markers: (1.1 Open and closed access to resources; 1.2 Cultural diversity & lifestyle; 1.3 Immigration policies & social change; 1.4 Ethnic differences, ignorance and barriers to communication, and size; 1.5 Social covenants & white flight)	23	25	48
	1b. Cultural/Ethnic Identity: (1.6 Opportunity access; 1.7 Cultural dualism & negotiation; 1.8 Cultural assimilation & alienation; 1.9 Family heritage; 1.10 Racism & poverty)	12	32	44
RQ2. What social and political conditions have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?	2. Trust: 2.1 Mutual acknowledgement without action -- formal politeness/ignoring deeper issues; 2.2 Lack of trust --language, skin color, traditions; 2.3 Civil rights and struggles; 2.4 Priority of city resources)	21	28	49
RQ3. What federal and local policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and community development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?	3a. Racism (3.1 Structural discrimination; 3.2 Legal and traditional behaviors; 3.3 Social discriminatory practices. 3.4 Segregation Based on Social Economic Classes	55	39	94
	3b. Power (3.5 Ethnic division; 3.6 Maintenance of the status quo; 3.7 Political representation; 3.8 Symbolic authority)	29	34	63
RQ4. What have been the areas of intercultural conflicts/tensions and collaboration in the selected school community over the last 45 years as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?	4. Conflict/ Tension (4.1 Power structure; 4.2 Interest convergence for advantage; 4.3 Social commitment to common issues to mutually collaborate; 4.4 Competition to resources; 4.5 Demographics changes)	26	24	50
RQ5. What are the scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions and/or collaboration that can unite (Latino-African American) residents?	5a Collaboration (5.1 Cultural brokering; 5.2 Interest Convergence as representation; 5.3 Community role models; 5.4 Social commitment to resolve common community issues; 5.5 Proactive acts of consciousness)	61	55	116
	5b Educational instrumentality (5.6 Access for Intercultural Dialogue; 5.7 Intercultural Communication; 5.8 Identity and Voice)	22	26	48

Table 12. *Synthesis of Themes and Subcomponents as They Address Research Questions*

The twelve stakeholders selected for the study have been engaged with the SDCC District 4 for over 45 years. An aggregate of 512 statements were derived and coded from the 12 interviews of the elder-community stakeholders. They were evenly divided by race and ethnicity. There were six African Americans (all males) that included three educators, one politician, one community activist, one human relations activist, and one pastor. In the Latino group there were three women and three men, which included three educators, one politician and two community activists.

Under RQ1, addressing demographic and socio-cultural characteristics in SDCC District 4, two themes were identified. The first was *Population Markers* with 48 statements that were categorized into 5 subcategories as follows: 1.1 Open and closed access to resources; 1.2 Cultural diversity & lifestyle; 1.3 Immigration policies & social change; 1.4 Ethnic differences, ignorance and barriers to communication, and size; 1.5 Social covenants & White flight. The second theme corresponding to RQ1 was *Cultural/Ethnic Identity* with 44 statements that were categorized into five subcategories: 1.6 Opportunity access; 1.7 Cultural dualism & negotiation; 1.8 Cultural assimilation & alienation; 1.9 Family heritage, and 1.10 Racism & poverty. Overall, under RQ1 *Population Markers*, ethnic differences, ignorance and barriers to communication, and size had 17 of 48 (35%) of the statements. Under *Cultural/ Ethnic Identity*, cultural dualism and negotiation had 18 of the 44 (41%) of the statements.

Under RQ2, addressing the social and political conditions that have hindered or promoted race relations in SDCC District 4, one theme was identified as *Trust* with 49 statements that were categorized into 5 subcategories as follow: 2.1 Mutual acknowledgement without action (formal politeness/ignoring deeper social differences); 2.2 Lack of trust (physical, language, social

interaction); 2.3 Civil rights and struggles, and 2.4 Priority of city resources. The subcategory *lack of trust* (physical, language, social interaction) had 30 of the 49 (61%) of the statements.

Under RQ3, addressing federal and local policies and practices that have hindered or promoted race relations and community development in SDCC District 4, two themes were identified. The first named *Racism* with 94 statements that were categorized into four subcategories as follow: 3.1 Structural discrimination (socio-cultural and education, physical attributes); 3.2 Legal and traditional behaviors; 3.3 Social discriminatory practices; 3.4 Segregation based on social economic classes. *Structural discrimination* had the most statements with 40 of 94 or (43%) of the statements. The second theme was identified as *Power* with 63 statements that were categorized into 4 subcategories as follow: 3.5 Ethnic division; 3.6 Maintenance of the status quo; 3.7 Political representation; 3.8 our Symbolic authority. All four categories had 14 to 17 statements.

Under RQ4, addressing areas of intercultural conflicts/tensions and collaboration in SDCC District 4, one theme was identified as *Conflict and Tension* with 50 statements, which were categorized into five subcategories as follow: 4.1 Power structure; 4.2 Interest convergence for advantage; 4.3 Social commitment to common issues to mutually collaborate; 4.4 Competition for resources; 4.5 Demographics changes. Competition for resources had 15 of 50 (30%) of the statements.

Under RQ5, addressing scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions and/or collaboration that can unite (Latino-African American) residents in SDCC District 4, two themes were identified. *Collaboration* with 116 statements, which were categorized into five subcategories as follows: 5.1 Cultural brokering; 5.2 Interest convergence as representation; 5.3 Community role models; 5.4 Social commitment to resolve common community issues, and 5.5 Proactive acts of

consciousness. Interest convergence as representation had 42 of the 116 (36%) of the statements. The second theme corresponding to RQ5 was *Educational Instrumentality* with 48 statements that were categorized into 3 subcategories as follows: 5.6 Access for intercultural dialogue; 5.7 Intercultural communication, and 5.8 Identity and voice. Access for intercultural dialogue had 21 of 48 (44%) of the statements.

Of the eight themes identified by the 12 elder-stakeholders participating in the study, the most prominent theme, was *Collaboration* with 116 statements of 512 or (23.6%). Collaboration had five subcategories: Cultural brokering; Interest convergence as representation; Community role models; Social commitment to resolve common community issues; Proactive acts of consciousness. The second most prominent theme was *Racism* with 94 of 512 statements or 18.3%. Thus *Collaboration* and *Racism* accounted for almost 42% of all coded data statements.

The last chapter of the study will discuss the findings and implications of the study and will make recommendations for follow-up research and community action.

Chapter 7

Findings, Implications, Limitations, Discussion and Recommendation

This chapter provides an overview of the findings, synthesis of salient events in the socio-political context of SDCC District 4 using five periods of social tension, implications for SDCC District 4 using three conflict scenarios, the researcher's discussion of the eight themes identified, limitations of the study, and recommendations for further research.

The study focuses on the southeast community in the city of San Diego, specifically SDCC District 4, that in the early 1970's was the African American community began to increase in size and in the 1980's became the majority ethnic group. However, due to the influx of the Latino population, currently SDCC District 4 consists of over 45% Latinos and 16% African American. The African American population has decreased. Furthermore, the Asian population is 24% larger than the African American community, and the White community makes up 11%, while others comprise 4% of the total population (SANDAG, 2014). Interestingly, surrounding communities and popular media outlets continue to refer to SDCC District 4 as an African American community. Overall, the demographics of the city are 45% White, 29% Latino, 18% Asian, and 7% Black (SANDAG, 2014).

This research study used descriptive statistics to examine the demographic shifts of a political district that is predominantly Latino and African American, located in San Diego City Council District (SDCC) 4 in California, over a 45-year period. Qualitative methods were used to document and examine the social dynamics (political, social, economic and educational) that have taken place in the largely African American and Latino community.

The SDCC District 4 was selected because of the high numbers of African American and Latino residents that have been residing in the political district for over the last 45 years. It is a

community in California that has experienced a significant demographic shift pertaining to the ethnic resident make-up. For example, in the early 1970's, the community had over 30% African American residents and in 2000 it changed to 25%, while the Latino residents increased to 36%, yet over the last 45 years African Americans have represented the political district. In many urban communities in our nation this phenomena has been taking place and as demographic shifts take place so do intercultural tensions. Based on the work of intercultural researchers that include G. Allport, (1954); E. Telles & V. Ortiz, (2008); D. Bell, (2004); R. Delgado & Stefancic, J., (2000); Grant-Thomas, A. & Orfield, G. eds. (2009); P. Gandara (2009); C. Hampden-Turner, C., (2000); Madrona, M., (2007); Sue, D.W. (2003) theoretical concepts were identified and used to examine and analyze the ethnic shifts in the selected ethnically diverse community.

In addition, using the research and social constructs of the above researchers, *The Multicontextual Model for Understanding the Changing Demographics and Tensions of Ethnically Diverse Communities* was used to guide the conceptual framework of the study. Figure 1 in Chapter 1 depicts a multidimensional model for understanding the changing demographics of SDCC District 4 (adapted from Hurtado, 2012). The Multicontextual Model specifically calls for the examination of a geographical region in relation to its demographics and socio-cultural characteristics, socio-political dynamics over a period of time, the manner in which federal and local policies have impacted the selected region, the intercultural conflicts and tensions that arise in the region, and the intercultural scenarios that can increase or decrease social tensions between the ethnic communities with regards to political representation, power relations, and factors of identity. The main question guiding of the study states: *What role do demographic shifts, socio-political legislation, institutional policies, and interest convergence play in understanding and*

promoting intercultural conflict or collaboration in a political district that was once highly populated by African American and has shifted to a Latino majority community?

To examine this research question in the SDCC District 4, twelve elder-stakeholders, comprised of six highly respected African American and six highly respected Latinos, who are each activists in one form or another, and who also have had over 45 years of direct experience, were selected and interviewed. Their background information can be found in Chapter 3. A semi-structured interview process consisting of thirteen questions was used that correlated to the five guiding questions in the study.

Overview of Findings

From this guiding research question, there are five sub-research questions (SRQ's) that were examined, which each correspond to the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 1. Overall, using the twelve elder-stakeholders interviews, 512 statements were coded and analyzed using the Dedoose qualitative software, with the statements yielding eight overall themes. The most prominent theme was *Collaboration* with 116 statements of 512 or 23.6%. Collaboration had five sub-categories (cultural brokering, interest convergence as representation, community role models, social commitment to resolve common community issues, and proactive acts of consciousness). The second most prominent theme was *Racism* with 94 of 512 statements or 18.3%. Thus *Collaboration* and *Racism* accounted for almost 42% of all statements or coded data statements. What follows are the salient findings under each of the research questions of the study.

SRQ1: *What have been the demographic and socio-cultural characteristics in a selected city council district that has been perceived as predominantly ethnically diverse by African Americans and Latino leaders over the last 45 years?*

Two themes were identified corresponding to SRQ 1, namely, *Population Markers* and *Cultural Ethnic Identity*, which derived from 92 coded statements made by the elder/stakeholders. These statements pertained to the changing demographics and socio-cultural characteristics of SDCC District 4. The 92 statements contribute to 5 sub-categories of social tensions. Under *Population Markers*, five sub-categories described the socio-cultural aspect of SDCC District 4, as perceived by the 12 elder/stakeholders over a 45- year period (1.1 Open and closed access to resources, 1.2 Cultural diversity and lifestyle, 1.3 Immigration policies and social change, 1.4 Ethnic differences, ignorance and barriers to communication, and size, 1.5 Social covenants and White flight). The most highly referenced population markers were ethnic differences, ignorance and barriers to communication, and the size of the Latino community over the last 20 years. The institutionalized practice of residential covenants was mentioned as a factor that first prevented African Americans and other ethnicities from moving into SDCC District 4. Although housing covenants were prohibitive in San Diego they were heavily enforced through the early 1970's. Once the housing covenants were challenged, as referred to by Dr. Waymon (personal communication, 2014), White Flight began to take effect, which became the prominent population marker of the time in which African Americans began to reside more heavily in Southeast San Diego. By the mid 1990's, Latinos began to increase in numbers and surpassed the African American population in SDCC District 4, which is also the time in which social tensions became more apparent. For instance, one type of fear expressed is of Latinos not assimilating to American culture and maintaining their native identity. Another concern was the prevalent use of Spanish in community socio-cultural spaces and school settings as the demographics keep changing. Another concern are the Latino's different lifestyles and cultural traditions that are influencing Southeast San Diego.

The second theme corresponding to SRQ 1 was *cultural ethnic identity*, which had five sub-categories (1.6 Opportunity access, 1.7 Cultural dualism and negotiation, 1.8 Cultural assimilation and alienation, 1.9 Family heritage, and 1.10 Racism and poverty). As demographics began to shift, both populations began to negotiate their cultural practices in order to adapt to the demographic and cultural changes of the community. For Latinos, as referenced by the Latino elder-participants of the study, this meant practicing their native language, customs and other traditions at home, while outside the home applying expected civic behaviors or responding to American cultural expectations in order to fit in and not be ostracized. The sub-category referring to dualism and negotiation was most commonly mentioned. Dualism refers to the pressure to assimilate as an important process in order to succeed academically and in social settings. At the same time, there is resistance from Latinos to not let go of who they are, which creates a distrust in the African American community towards Latinos who maintain their language and cultural identity. Socio-cultural tensions in the SDCC District 4 persist as Black, Brown, and Asian communities live side by side, yet do not understand each other's lifestyles.

SRQ 2: What socio-political conditions have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?

The salient theme corresponding to SRQ 2 was *Trust*, which consists of 49 coded statements made by the elder/stakeholders, with five sub-categories (2.1 Mutual acknowledgement without action--formal politeness/ignoring deeper issues, 2.2 Lack of trust--language, skin color, traditions, 2.3 Civil rights and struggles, and 2.4 Priority of city resources). For most of the 12 elders/stakeholders, *Trust* is an integral socio-cultural and psychological condition they believe is necessary in order to build a solid coalition among different ethnic

communities. For example, African American elders Leon Williams and Reverend Walker Smith both recognized that it is unfortunate that, although both Latinos and African Americans have shared the same living spaces, as time progresses the lack of trust increases. Interestingly, Mr. Leon Williams expressed repeatedly that there is a fear in the African American community that Latinos think of themselves as better than Blacks and are perceived to associate more with Whites. Among the strongest sub-categories mentioned was a lack of trust based on language, skin color, and traditions. Mr. Williams also expressed that this fear increases when Latinos speak in Spanish though aware that others don't speak the language. This sentiment was also voiced by elder Luis Natividad, "I think that a lot of times Blacks feel that Latinos side with the white community, so that creates suspicion and lack of trust and sometimes it happens because the white man is not stupid, he knows that by dividing us (Latino and Blacks) they can maintain political power."

This lack of trust is also attributed to the superficial relations among the Latino and African Americans community leaders. Community elders interviewed expressed that there is a common practice to attend one another's social events, to sit down together, even to enjoy a meal and a friendly chat, but to never discuss the deeper intercultural tensions that exists in the community. Elders such as Luis Natividad elaborates on this topic with the following comment, "Over more than 40 years, I have observed that Latinos and Blacks tend to politely tolerate each other, yet we do not go beyond superficial activities and get to know each other and work on creating mutual trust."

Other elders like Norma Cazares and Maria Garcia acknowledge this practice and attribute the lack of trust to the demographic shift that is taking place in SDCC District 4 and to

African Americans' fear of losing their hold of their community, or as Cazares puts it, "losing the fabric of their community."

Another factor mentioned in the academic research that contributes to the lack of trust is the perception by the African Americans community that Latinos are benefitting from the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 1960's, during which African Americans fought against violent struggle for equality, yet they feel there is a need for Latinos to pay their dues. Latinos are perceived by the Black community as not being appreciative of the Black struggle for civil rights (Telles, 2011; Vaca, 2006). This was also mentioned with regard to San Diego city resources or, in actuality, the lack of resources provided to the SDCC District 4, which often creates division between the Black and Brown communities. Elder Maria Garcia reflects on this issue when she states the following, "I think that the educational system pits Latinos and African Americans against each other by competing for supplemental funds, often state or federal funds, and we fight over the crumbs." Thus, *Trust* is a complex concept to achieve when mistrust prevails in SDCC District 4 between the Latino and African American communities, a political district perceived by the establishment as primarily a Black district.

SRQ 3: What federal and local policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the selected school community as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?

The salient themes corresponding to the SRQ 3 *Racism and Power* were derived from 157 coded statements made by the 12 elder/stakeholders. Under *Racism*, four sub-categories were identified by the elders/stakeholders (3.1 Structural discrimination, 3.2 Legal and traditional behaviors, 3.3 Social discriminatory practices, and 3.4 Segregation based on social economic classes). Under *Racism*, structural discrimination and social discriminatory practices

were the most pronounced concerns by the elder/stakeholders. While federal and state policies have been important in the struggle for equality, racism prevails in District 4. For example, it was mentioned by the first Black councilman of San Diego, Leon Williams, that it was known that the City of San Diego operated under a hierarchical structure and openly discriminated against African Americans and Latinos. Leon Williams further elaborated about how he had to confront such racist practices in the city council and that he often was the only voice that addressed such practices. Southeast San Diego, according to the participants of the study, has never been taken seriously by the city council and the political district has always been given fewer resources than other districts. Furthermore, under social discriminatory practices, racist ideologies and stereotypes towards African Americans and Latinos are often fueled by the media and by police racial profiling. The low academic expectation of Black and Brown children is another form of discriminatory practices that has been recognized for over the past 45 years in SDCC District 4.

Under the theme of *Power*, four sub-categories were identified by the elders/stakeholders (3.5 Ethnic divisions, 3.6 Maintenance of the status quo, 3.7 Political representation, and 3.8 Symbolic authority). The participants mentioned all four sub-categories equally. The perpetuation of ethnic division in SDCC District 4 was referenced as benefiting the white power structure that rules over San Diego. This factor of ethnic division also contributes to the communities' inability to forcefully act upon the negative perceptions of District 4 that are reported by the media, specifically, its high unemployment rates, poverty, prison pipeline, school dropout rates, and low participation in politically democratic practices.

By not addressing how ethnic division hurts the community as a whole, the theory of divide and conquer is supported. The elder-participants highlighted this status quo condition

when mentioning the poor infrastructure of the community, the lack of hospitals, restaurants, and food markets in the SDCC District 4. Also, the low participation in politics has led to District 4 being ignored by the power structure of the city. The sub-category of *symbolic authority* was identified as part of a status quo that appears fair and that has existed for over 45 years, meaning that while the city has one African American city councilmember it is not a threat to the power structure of San Diego. More recently, there is an awareness for a need for political collaboration to increase ethnic representation and attention to low-incomes communities in SDCC District 4 and across the city. The two themes of *Racism and Power* are existing concepts that historically have challenged the democratic ideals government of the United States.

SRQ 4: *What have been the areas of intercultural conflicts/tensions and collaboration in the selected school community over the last 45 years as perceived by African Americans and Latino leaders?*

The salient theme corresponding to the SRQ 4 was *Conflict and Tension*, which consisted of 50 coded statements made by the 12 elder/stakeholders. Under this theme five sub-categories were identified (4.1 Power structure, 4.2 Interest convergence for advantage, 4.3 Social commitment to common issues to mutually collaborate, 4.4 Competition to resources, and 4.5 Demographics changes).

The 12 elder participants interviewed overwhelmingly mentioned the theme of *Conflict and Tension* and, specifically, the five sub-categories that collectively work against a possible collaboration between African Americans and Latinos. For example, the unbalanced power relation between the constituents of SDCC District 4 and the city of San Diego is one factor that contributes to the tensions in the community, as they pit Latinos against Blacks for the use of resources in the area, and builds on stereotypes of self interest as they compete for the few

allocated city resources. Telles (2011) points to the fact that some Latinos might realize that that they are now the majority ethnic community, such as in District 4, and therefore they possess an upper hand and might be reluctant to unite with the minority Black population. Vaca (2004) and Camarillo (2004) also give the example of Compton, California where the unwillingness of its African American political leaders to include Latinos in community affairs and leadership has resulted in African Americans tensions about their representation and most community affairs. Unfortunately, there is an absence of a collective consciousness to deliberately work to build collaborative coalitions, rather that perpetuate the practice of interest convergence that benefits mostly those who control the political power. As in the case of Compton, California, what has resulted in Latinos slowly gaining control, through social, economic, and political power positions, they too will leave the African Americans' community voice behind.

***SRQ 5:** What are the scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions and/or collaboration that can unite (Latino-African American) residents of the selected community?*

The salient themes corresponding to the SRQ 5 were *Collaboration* and *Educational Instrumentality* and derived from 116 coded statements from the 12 elder/stakeholders of the study.

Under *Collaboration* five sub-categories were identified (5.1 Cultural brokering, 5.2 Interest convergence as representation, 5.3 Community role models, 5.4 Social commitment to resolve common community issues, and 5.5 Proactive acts of consciousness). Under the theme of *Collaboration*, when looking at past experiences and events, the 12 elders were asked collectively in small focus groups to describe what scenarios continue to create conflicts. They were also asked about what possible actions could be enacted to bring both Black and Brown communities together to collaborate in the best interest of SDCC District 4.

The elders pointed to a few critical events that have brought the communities together in the past. As referenced by most of the elders in the interviews, during the proactive civil rights era in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the *BOMB* convention was the closest example of a successful collaboration effort and political coalition that has taken place. The fact that, at such time, there was no representative in the San Diego City Council that was of African American or Latino descent, the issue brought the community leaders to a community convention in 1968. In his interview, Leon Williams recalls,

“The convention by the BOMB (Black, Oriental, Mexican Brothers), in the late 1960's...well, that was pretty significant event, as far as I am aware. In the late 1960's we were tired of segregated social practices and the lack of political representation, so we decided to take a stand together. In the 1960's and early 1970's, there was always cooperation among the diverse ethnic groups in District 4”.

There are existing forces of resistance that work against Black and Brown collaboration, such as debate about honoring Martin Luther King, as Carlos LeGrette recalls,

“Speaking on racist sentiment, one of the issues was the naming of Martin Luther King Parkway. I think the city council passed the naming of the parkway, but a lot of people rejected it. Business owners said that they had to change their stationery, but I think what it was more than that, it was racism. Eventually, Market Street was renamed Martin Luther King Jr. Way for a few years in the 1980s and 1990s before Highway 94 a freeway traveling east from downtown, was renamed the Martin Luther King Jr. Freeway”.

Unfortunately, the BOMB convention was also an unwritten agreement that both communities would not step in each other's way, leaving SDCC District 4 to be represented by African Americans and District 8 to be represented by Latinos. As demographics shifted over the last 45 years in Southeast San Diego, SDCC District 4 is now comprised of 45% Latino, African American 16%, and Asian 24%.

The fact remains that an African American, Myrtle Cole currently, continues to represent a Latino majority district. District 8 in the Logan area continues to be represented by a Latino, currently David Alvarez. As the Latino population continues to increase, as suggested by elders Waymon and Cazares, leaders like councilwoman Myrtle Cole must address this issue and incorporate Latinos fully in all community affairs. This will, ideally, rebuild trust between the Latino, African American and Asian communities in SDCC District 4. Yet, there is hope, as the 116 coded statements under the theme of *Collaboration* address a possible proactive directions, namely: *cultural brokering* by building social and political bridges, *interest convergence as representation* by identifying community leaders that work to unified the community, community role models that demonstrate a social consciousness of social transformation, community leadership that has the *social commitment* to resolve common community issues, and *proactive acts of consciousness* that call for daring the Black, Latino and Asian leadership to advance the collective interests and well being of SDCC District 4.

Under the theme of *Educational Instrumentality*, the 48 coded statements point to a consensus that education plays an important part in educating youth and developing a civic consciousness that is inclusive of all ethnic communities. The three sub-categories (5.6 Access for Intercultural Dialogue; 5.7 Intercultural Communication; 5.8 Identity and Voice), under this theme serve as indicators as to what educational instrumentality can do, namely, it can allow for access to intercultural dialogue among community members across ethnic communities, it can develop intercultural communication through educational curriculum, and it can develop a cultural pluralistic consciousness that promotes identity and voice in the SDCC District 4 in Southeast San Diego.

Through our local schools, most importantly, *Educational Instrumentality* calls for each community to learn each other's history and cultural ways of living. For example, how would African American and Latino communities react to learning that both African Americans and Latinos were lynched during the Jim Crow era (Carrigan & Webb, 2013)? Or even the surprising fact that out of 12.5 million Africans who were kidnapped and forced into slavery from 1500 to 1878, only 450,000 were taken to what is today the United States, and over 11 million were taken into the Caribbean and Latin American countries (Gates Jr., 2011). A strong Afro-Latino legacy exists in Latin American countries today that has influenced generations through music, dance, food, religion and other cultural traditions (Jimenez-Roman, 2011). Latinos are probably more surprised than African Americans to learn that they are part African heritage (Gates, 2011). One could only imagine the possibilities of a Black and Brown coalition if this historical truth was taught, explored, and magnified in our public school K-12 curriculum. Critical ethnic studies (narratives of history not exposed) is a prominent field and necessary curriculum that must be taught in our schools if we are to decrease intercultural tensions, increase intercultural dialogue, increase community social consciousness, and increase collaboration.

Synthesis of the Social Context of SDCC District 4 by Five Socio-Political Periods of Demographic Shifts and Social Tensions

Southeast San Diego's SDCC District 4, has gone through significant demographic changes over the last 45 years. Furthermore, demographic and social changes have been influenced by major political and social events in the United States, California, and in the city of San Diego. To further contextualized the five research questions and the eight themes derived from this study, five periods of demographic shifts and social events are illustrated in the following five periods: Period I (1964-1973) Civil Rights and the pursuit of equal educational

programs, Period II (1974-1983) Social and educational mandates addressing equity and access, Period III (1984-1993) Local control and decentralization of federal mandates, Period IV (1994-2003) Undoing basic rights via California Propositions 187, 207, 227, and Period V (2004-2014) Post 9/11 and *No Child Left Behind* and *One Size Fits All* educational policies. Allport's (2002) concepts of prejudice are also utilized to focus on tensions that have occurred between African Americans and Latinos in SDCC District 4. These five periods are also presented as chronological periods that can be taught through diverse perspectives about SDCC District 4 in any social studies course or critical social justice curriculum.

The **first period** (1964-1973) marked the initial developments of the civil rights movement. The *Civil Rights Act of 1964* initiated political, social, educational, and reform programs to undo past discriminatory practices through social equity reform programs. According to the San Diego Historical Journal the "Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 formally put an end to discriminatory housing practices, but Southeastern San Diego never fully recovered from the declining socioeconomic conditions that had been exacerbated by years of segregated living" (Page & Turnbull, 2013, p.83).

In 1964, the city of San Diego established its first human relations committee with the founding of Citizen Interracial Committee (CIC) under the leadership of Dr. Carroll Waymon and, therefore, the voices of SDCCC District 4 began to finally be heard. At one of the committee meetings in particular, the topic of police brutality towards Brown and Black youth was the main topic of discussion. The CIC declared that the city had practices that were racist and they wanted the chief of police and the mayor to not only name the racist practices, but to change behaviors and, additionally, for elected officials in San Diego to articulate it to the public (<http://library.sdsu.edu/scua/citizens-interracial-committee>). Eventually, the CIC was disbanded

with the excuse that the city wanted to expand the program to become countywide as opposed to citywide. The truth behind it, according to Waymon & Williams (2014), was the heavy criticism of racist practices (e.g., public covenants) that the CIC presented to the city. Also, during this period the Black, Oriental, Mexican Brother's (BOMB) intercultural conference took place in the SDCC District 4. During this conference, the issue that Leon Williams would run for District 4 and Peter Chacon would run for the State Assembly was decided and democratically voted on. Consequently, both were elected, making Leon Williams the first African American to serve in the San Diego City Council. Peter Chacon was also elected to the California State Assembly and introduced the legislation that would eventually institutionalize bilingual education in California (personal communication, Rodriguez, 2014; Msemaji, 2014). Furthermore, Reverend George Walker Smith was the first African American to be elected to the San Diego School District's Board of Education. From an intercultural perspective, this period, using conditions that increase prejudice Allport's (2002), was driven by rapid social change (Civil Rights Movement), challenging social structures marked by a politically White power structure (confrontation), ignorance and barriers of communication between SDCC District 4 and the city government, and the increasing presence of African Americans in SDCC District 4. This period is graphically outlined in Table 14 at the end of this Chapter.

The **second period (1974-1983)** brought many changes to educational policies that advocated for immigrant students, students with disabilities, second language learners, and the implementation of bilingual education. In addition, civil rights advocacy challenged the irregularities of school districts and local agencies with respect to the serving of ethnically and linguistically diverse communities. The federal government sought agency and school district compliance under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in addressing the inequalities in education and

social welfare programs advocated by the civil rights movement (Ochoa, 2011). During the early 1980's, the social and educational activism by Black and Latinos organizations reached its peak, and enforcement agencies worked to gradually disband such SDCC District 4 organizations as the Black Panthers and the Brown Berets, as well as other political organizations (Griswold Del Castillo, 2011). Table 15 at the end of this chapter provides more information about the salient events that impacted SDCC District 4. From an intercultural perspective, using Allport's (2002) conditions that increase prejudice, this period is marked by traditional justifications for ethnocentrism practices that were challenged and resisted. The application of federal legal decisions was debated from an assimilation vs. cultural pluralism perspective. Intercultural tensions arose as driven by ignorance and barriers to communication within SDCC District 4 and across the state and nation.

The **third period (1984-1993)** was negatively impacted by federal policy, as enforcement of civil rights policies took a dormant stance. Under Ronald Reagan, federal policies were decentralized and the gains of the late 1960's and 1970's were diminished as the responsibility was placed on states and local communities for to comply with civil rights polices. *The Southeastern San Diego Plan* was adopted in 1987, with the major objective to improve and revitalize the social, economic, educational, and political conditions of Southeast San Diego. This ambitious plan finally gave much-deserved political, economic and social attention to Southeast San Diego (The City of San Diego Planning Commission, 2005). Also during this period, the 1993 NAFTA policy increased commercial trading with flexible restrictions for major commercial companies, which eventually terminated small businesses and farmers in Mexico, thus increasing migration of undocumented workers to the United States (Griswold Del Castillo, 2011). Table 16 at the end of the chapter depicts the events impacting SDCC District 4 for a ten-

year period of time. Tensions were created over economic, social, and educational resources. From an intercultural perspective, using conditions that increased prejudice Allport's (2002), this period is marked by rapid demographic shifts and social changes that took place, as the population size of the Latino community in SDCC District 4 increased and became larger than the African American community. In this period, Latinos feeling unrepresented were perceived as being in direct competition for social and educational resources and, additionally, realistic threats of inclusion in SDCC District 4 existed in the political and educational arenas.

The **fourth period (1994-2003)** marks a dark period for immigrants in the United States and particularly for Latinos in California. In the mid-1990's, as a result of the increasing number of Latinos in California, conservative campaigns with a heavy load of financial backing lashed out at Latinos with policies aimed to limit social programs, education, employment opportunities, and basic human rights, such as health care to undocumented families. *Operation Gatekeeper* was also launched which militarized the border and increased border security. This policy worked to scrutinize and victimize Latinos in general (Griswold Del Castillo, 2011; Hayes-Bautista, 2010). This campaign of fear and ignorance only increased after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2002. The formation of the Homeland Security Department and the *Patriot Act* (2001) also increased prejudice towards all immigrants and challenged basic constitutional rights. During this period, Latinos became the majority population in Southeast San Diego surpassing African Americans. From an intercultural perspective, using conditions that increase prejudice Allport's (2002), this period is marked by the exploitation of fear and suspicion of undocumented people, as the border patrol began to enter SDCC District 4 on a regular basis. The regulation of perceived aggression permitted bigotry against Latinos, as well as ethnic divisions among African Americans and Latinos in SDCC District 4 in the areas of health and

educational, services and political representation. The ongoing demographic shifts in SDCC District 4 generated negative perceptions that viewed Latinos as unwilling to assimilate to American society. Table 17 at the end of the chapter summarizes the critical events impacting SDCC District 4 from 1994 to 2003.

During the current period, the **fifth period (2004-2014)**, Southeast SDCC District 4 is experiencing historic milestones such as the re-opening of Lincoln High School with a modern \$129 million campus. Lincoln High School is perceived as the pride and joy of the African American community. The opening of a modern school facility gives the proper attention and hope to a community that has been plagued by a bad reputation in terms of school success. Although the same social problems persist, a main difference between the old Lincoln and the new modernized Lincoln is its current student demographics. Lincoln was once thought as an African American school, but it is now composed of Latino and African American students, and there is a decline in the African Americans student population (see Figure 6, Chapter 4).

Also, during this period the *San Ysidro Health Center* opened a modern health clinic named *The King-Chavez Clinic*, the name of the clinic seeks to unite both Latinos and African Americans, as it is purposely named after two historic figures in the civil rights movement, Martin Luther King Jr. and Cesar Chavez of the Chicano Farm Workers Movement. This event also marks the first time that a dignified state of the art health clinic is located in Southeast San Diego, with the intent of servicing the underrepresented and often forgotten community of SDCC District 4.

In the political arena, the seat vacated by Councilman Tony Young in 2013, who resigned in order to take the position of director of the local Red Cross Association, was filled by Myrtle Cole, the first African American woman to serve on the council of District 4. Myrtle Cole,

knowing that she now represented a majority population of Latinos in her district, hired National City's Vice-Mayor Luis Natividad to her staff in order to build bridges with the Latino community. Also, during the same time District 8 councilman David Alvarez ran a tight race for the mayoral position of San Diego. David Alvarez ran an intercultural campaign with the backing of most of the African American and Latino communities of San Diego. From an intercultural perspective, using conditions that increased prejudice Allport's (2002), this period began with minimal support from the African American community towards immigration reform, as the changing demographics and the size of Latinos became larger than that of the African American community. Legal regulations called for the equality and quality of educational resources at all schools in SDCC District 4 to be analyzed, and were effected by direct competition for resources which created ongoing mistrust and realistic threats of social division as to who represents the Latino community. Table 18 at the end of the chapter provides an overview of the salient events impacting SDCC District 4 from 2004 to 2014.

Implications for SDCC District 4

This section discusses possible scenarios of conflict facing the SDCC District 4 with respect to collaboration or conflict that directly relate to the five questions of the study. The findings of the study identify themes that suggest that conflict and social tensions are actively at work in SDCC District 4. The themes serve as a discussion point in examining three possible scenarios for the short and long term future of SDCC District 4.

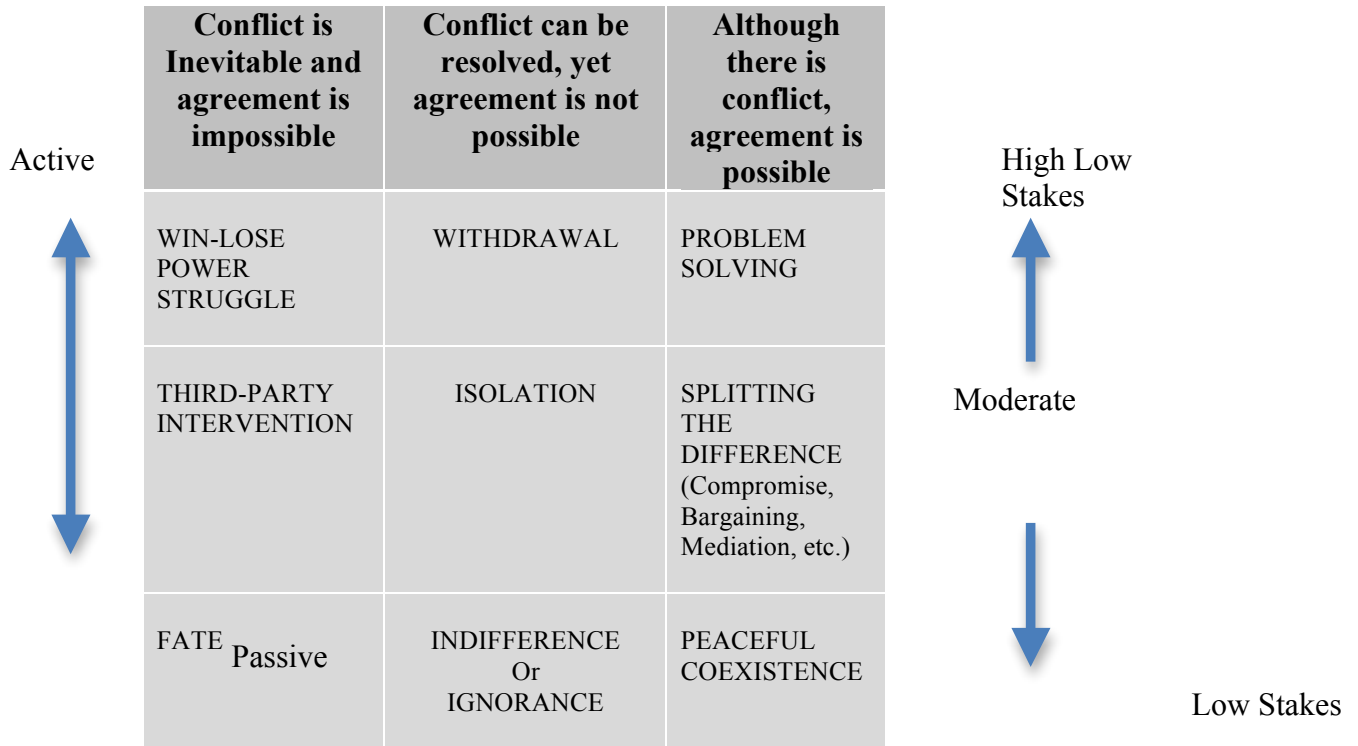
These themes include *population markers that view ethnic differences and identity* as factors that can unite rather than divide both the African American and Latino communities; the presence of *mis-trust* or the need to nurture trust; *racism* impacting both ethnic communities, due, in part, to the conservative power structures of San Diego County; *power* as a political

entity, that calls for inclusive representation, both within and outside, as perceived by both ethnic communities; *conflict and tensions* under the concept of interest convergence which gives an advantage to either one or the other community, or those that control political power in the city; *collaboration* in the absence of a collective number of community leaders who can commit to common issues that will mutually create win-win conditions for both Black and Brown communities; and the importance of *educational instrumentality* as a catalyst for actualizing an educational system that yields cultural and academically competent youth who see the value and power of diversity.

The scenarios are driven by Allports' conditions that contribute to prejudice and intercultural conflict, and Blake, Shepard and Moutons' (1964) attitudes toward conflict. Intercultural conflict can be defined as how different ethnic communities relate, think, and deal with each other, based on power relations, and perceived stereotypes or mutual social experiences. Furthermore, intercultural relations can be based on socio-economic and political constructs. When it comes to the intercultural relations between Latinos and African Americans in the urban cities of the United States, many events can influence intercultural relations between ethnic groups, such as waves of immigration moving into urban spaces, harsh economic times that can altered attitudes towards how we see others, competition for jobs and wages, and even blaming undocumented immigrants for crime in one's community. As mentioned by Allport (2002), and by most of the study participants, at least three major factors contribute to intercultural tensions and a lack of trust in the SDCC District 4. First, are the mis-perceptions and stereotypes of Black and Brown individuals have of each other. Secondly, is the lack of an honest effort to move beyond politeness and to dialogue about deeper issues including organizing towards a super ordinate goal of mutual interest. Thirdly is the competition for

resources, as this worsens in low socio-economic communities that already have limited access to funding infrastructure projects, housing, health, and employment. Fourthly, is the lack of inclusiveness of diverse voices in political decisions.

When demographic shifts take place over the years, tensions can develop and can persist among different ethnic groups, especially from those groups that feel they are being displaced or feel as if they are losing their grip on the powerful social and political positions in their community as their numbers shrink. Although tensions create conflicts that are inevitable among ethnic communities, such as is the present case in Southeast San Diego, potential agreements can take place when the ethnically diverse communities acknowledge that conflicts exist, and agree that socio-political concerns can be dealt with in a peaceful co-existence. Schematically, the following figure (figure 8) provides the various scenarios based on Blake et al. (1964) attitudes towards conflict that are challenging and confronting the present and future of SDCC District 4.



Win/Lose.....Win-Win

Figure 8. Blake, Shepard and Mouton Conflict Scenarios: Attitudes Towards Conflict

These three attitudes towards conflict and behavior can remain passive or active depending on the way the people involved see the extent to which they see the importance of the conflict (Blake et al, 1964). The following is a brief overview of the three scenarios that challenge and confront the SDCC District 4:

Scenario 1: Conflict is inevitable and agreement is impossible

When ethnic communities are threatened conflict is inevitable, and short-term agreement is not possible. In SDCC District 4, intercultural tension exists, yet this scenario has not been present. However, in District 4 relationships between the Black and Brown communities is low

and the level and intensity of conflict can increase. If the present socio-political conditions are maintained as they have been during the last 45 years, and as the demographic patterns continue to have a greater number of Latinos and Asians, therefore, one can predict that level of conflict will increase. As Parker (1974) notes:

Conflict not managed will bring about delays, disinterest, lack of action and, in extreme cases, a complete breakdown of the group. Unmanaged conflict may result in the withdrawal of individuals and an unwillingness on their part to participate in other groups or assist with various group action programs (2).

Norma Cazares speaks to the issue of having a feeling of losing power,

“...With any kind of change, especially that kind of change (demographics) you are going to have your conflicts, your challenges...because at anytime there is a sense of loss, it comes with the feeling that the powerbase is changing and nobody likes to lose their power, it doesn’t matter what entity, nobody likes to lose power”.

Scenario 2: Conflict can be resolved, yet agreement not possible

When ethnic communities become isolated and withdrawn in existing socio-political conflict, and leaders are resistant to engage in dialogue, the possibility of agreement is not possible. In SDCC District 4 conflict is inevitable due to the socio-cultural and demographic shift that has placed Latinos in the majority, yet they have no political voice or representation in the daily social, economic, and political affairs of the community that has been controlled by African Americans for the past 45 years.

Agreement is not possible if the Black and Brown community acknowledges that outsiders have control of their community. In October 11, 2014, an editorial by the San Diego UT newspaper titled “Changing a Neighborhood” focused on the Jacobs Family Foundation and its philanthropy work in Southeast San Diego. Reginald Jones, the head of the Jacobs Family Foundation, expressed in the interview that although Latinos are now the majority in Southeast San Diego, they lack a power base because the Latino community is unorganized. When asked

how the Jacobs Center deals with the demographic shift that has displaced the Black community and made it a minority, Mr. Jones responded that creating a power balance is difficult when a lack of trust exists. He also stated that it is even more difficult when an outsider like the Jacobs Center, a wealthy, White philanthropic group, comes in and tries to build a coalition (*San Diego UT, October 11, 2014.*) This is extremely important to highlight, in that, if a moderate approach is not enacted by community leaders to build a peaceful coexistence through mediation and mutual agreement, a win/lose power struggle will continue to persist in Southeast San Diego.

A Latino elder, Luis Natividad, voices an opposing perspective to the Jacob Center, he states:

I have been following the developments of Market Creek Plaza. The people in the community do not have the trust of the businesses in place. I worked for Jacobs for two years. It was run by two people there, they were non-Black and of white background. They tried to portray themselves as loving minorities, but deep inside they love money more. They were getting paid a lot of money and they promised all, but deep inside they were not sincere and our people could read (behaviors). Then they started buying land banking, you know what land banking is? They start buying properties at low prices and they don't do anything to improve the properties, they just sit there, and pretty soon they start buying everything.

Scenario 3. Although there is conflict, agreement is possible

Elders from both the Black and Brown communities emphasized that an honest effort to dialogue about deeper issues that affect both communities is imperative. What is also suggested from the community elders is that in order to reach a *Win/Win* situation of peaceful coexistence, part of this dialogue needs to include a socio-historical and cultural competency of the history of the African Americans, Latinos, and Asian communities in San Diego. This can be accomplished through an interactive steering committee of elders/stakeholders and community leaders, forums, meetings, and conferences that should be ongoing, and it should also include representation from all stakeholders in the community, be they political leaders, parents,

teachers, students and other stakeholders. Furthermore, the community elders interviewed suggested that during the civil rights era of high stakes there was more of a scenario of *splitting the difference* in the form of compromise and bargaining, as was the case of the BOMB Convention in 1968. This act would have easily moved towards a peaceful coexistence if this type of convention had been part of an ongoing culture in District 4. African elder Dr. Waymon suggested that as the demographics continue to shift and African Americans become an increasingly minority population, this type of coalition is imperative.

Leon Williams and David Valladolid respectively commented on Black and Brown communities working together,

“But as I mentioned before, there is room to create trust and collaboration. Both communities need to interact with one another and work together for the improvements of the District 4. That means that both communities have to create the image in people’s minds that they can live closer together, among each other as respectful human beings, and have more viable and more satisfactory communities” (Williams).

“For the most part, I think that it’s based on a lack of understanding and interaction with one another and the lack of being open to our differences and/or expressing acceptance of one another. Given my history of working close to African-American on social issues, I find that I can easily bond with the struggles of Blacks or poor people in general” (Valladolid).

Brett (1984) recommends that a necessary condition to this third scenario is capacity building, which is essential to conflict resolution and transformation. It is important to bring community leaders and organizations closer together to create the necessary commitment to find win/win solutions to existing problems. One vehicle to accomplish this is through conflict resolution, to learn how to discuss problems and conflicting situations in a safe and respectful manner.

Limitations

This research study was designed to contribute to the research on intercultural studies, analyses and outcomes of community shifts pertaining to ethnic demographics, and socio-cultural conflict and tensions that arise from such changes over time. Thus, this study has the following limitations:

1. This study is exploratory in its examination of demographics shifts in Southeast San Diego over a period of over 45 years (late 1964 to 2014).
2. Twelve stakeholders were interviewed, six African American and six Latino, who are respected community leaders, and who have worked or directly interacted with the San Diego City Council District 4 for over 45 years. It is acknowledge that many more elders with similar characteristic could have presented similar or different perspectives.
3. The small number of stakeholders (N=12) consisted of elders, mostly retired yet socially and politically active, yet the voice of the current generation living in Southeast San Diego and its youth were not included.
4. This study did not control for gender, given that the stakeholders selected were chosen by an expert panel of community leaders and were also chosen also based on their availability and willingness to sign a consent form.
5. The study is qualitative in nature, using mixed methods to both document the voices of the 12 selected stakeholders and to identify salient themes that contribute to the understanding of the demographic shifts that have occurred in SDCC District 4, as well as the intercultural relations (conflict and tensions) between the African American and Latino communities in the selected San Diego political district.
6. This study acknowledges the presence of Asians in SDCC District 4 as being a significant ethnic group, which even exceeds the African American community at present

time. Yet, the study was limited to African American and Latino intercultural relations over the period of 1964 to 2014.

7. The study chose elders with 45 years of interactive experiences based on their past and present engagement in SDCC District 4. Telles (2011) points to how coalition leaders between ethnic communities, such as in Compton, California, have used historical interviews of Brown and Black struggles in order to invoke a process that can lead to natural unity and development of pride and identity among the communities and specifically the youth of such communities.

8. The twelve elders were interviewed separately, using a semi-structured interview process, the interviews were transcribed and returned to each of the elders for corrections, deletions, or additions, and their statements were then aligned to the five research questions in the study.

Discussion

The researcher of this study is an immigrant who moved from El Salvador to the United States at the age of 12, and he brought with him perceptions of African Americans and other non-Latino ethnicities that were based on perceived stereotypes that I had learned early in my social development, mostly from the media and from other immigrants that moved from Latin America to this country. Telles (2011) and Gates Jr. (2014) assert that common perceptions of Latino immigrants towards African Americans have been shaped in the immigrants' native societies, especially in countries composed of African-Caribbean populations, and are heavily influenced by popular media that often portrays African Americans in a negative fashion.

Upon arriving in this country, I entered 7th grade and right away I realized that people socialized and congregated predominantly amongst those of their own race or ethnicity and

rarely interacted or had extensive association with others. Although I found this somewhat peculiar, I learned that this was just the way it was, whether it was a way for survival or for safety. I did not have any African American friends, and going through college this was also the culture that I found present on my college campus. As an adult, such patterns continued with most of my friends or acquaintances being Latino. These behavioral patterns have made me asked the question: Is it a natural human behavior to gravitate to our own, or is it a result of a divide and conquer institutionalized practice?

Stakeholder and elder, Dr. Carroll Waymon, who in the 1960's headed the first *Citizens Interracial Committee* (CIC) in San Diego, names this type of behavior as *differential perception*. Dr. Waymon further elaborates and describes that,

“Differential perception is what we base our perception on, something that is different from the others. Not just different, but different in meaning in how we view different behaviors. So I look at you and you are Brown, so that becomes the basis of treating you differently. Or we are both the same color, but you are from this country and I am from somewhere else, now nationality becomes the basis for treating you differently. Or we are both from the same country, but you are one religion and I have another religion that becomes the difference. It is crazy”.

Furthermore, elder Luis Natividad calls this type of behavior the unwritten law of “live and let live.” He further elaborated on this unwritten intercultural relation law when he stated the following,

“It’s been an unwritten law that Browns and Blacks who live next to each other, might say hi to each other and even bring over some food to each others homes, it happens occasionally and I’m sure that happens, but 99% of the time they stay within their own comfort zone. Even in the community, they might work next to each other, but afterwards they go on their own way. *Casi no se meten*, (they don’t meddle” they do not socialize with each other. And it’s the law of “live and let live.”

After having conducted research on the intercultural relations between African Americans and Latinos for this study, I have come to the conclusion that our historical roots run deep, in that Latinos are natives to the Americas, but are often perceived as illegal aliens in the

United States. On the other hand, African Americans' ancestors were violently kidnapped from their land, Africa, and forced to travel to the Americas as slaves, subsequently placing them in a trajectory of mental and social inferiority as whiteness that regulates the preferred superior values (Delgado, 1997). Both Black and Brown identities have been generally treated as inferior human beings, regardless of the legal policies have been passed or implemented in an effort to counteract past discriminatory practices (Grant-Thomas & Orfield, 2009).

Furthermore, our institutionalized public educational system has and continues to play an important role in indoctrinating generations of African Americans and Latino youth into assimilating into a white middle class culture and the pursue of meritocracy, forcing them to leave their cultures or any ethnic identity behind in lieu of incorporating Euro-American dominant values. As participant community elder, Agin Shaheed, eloquently asserted, there are a lot of unhidden truths in our public school curriculum that creates amnesia of real facts. Our African American and Latino communities are physically, morally, and psychology misrepresented in American history. It is unacceptable, yet not surprising, that African Americans and Latinos are on top of the nationwide statistics when it comes to poverty, school push-outs, low enrollment in higher education institutions, and high incarceration rates, just to name a few. All of these factors perpetuate stereotypes and ignorance that contribute to the tensions and lack of trust that exists among communities populated by both ethnicities.

In the spring of 2014, U.S. President Obama announced a national initiative to support educational and social programs that have helped Latino and African young men stay in school, find good jobs, and stay away from crime. This initiative, called My Brother's Keeper, came two years after the fatal shooting of Trayvon Martin, a Black youth assassinated by a Latino, George Zimmerman, an unfortunately common incident that brought the issue of race relations to the

forefront, as well as the danger of being Black or Brown in America. Although, the program is promising and necessary, the President failed to be more inclusive in announcing the agenda, meaning it did not include Latino leadership in the press conference or in the launching of My Brother's Keeper initiative. The President only mentioned Colin Powell and basketball legend Magic Johnson, who both happened to be African American, as spokespersons and ambassadors of his initiative (Los Angeles Times, 2014). Why would the president fail to present a coalition of Latinos and African Americans while launching the My Brother's Keeper, program? Did he forget that Latinos are now the largest ethnic in the U.S. or did he fail to acknowledge that both Latinos and African Americans are both victims of institutionalized racism in America? Is it possible that there are not real coalitions between these two groups, or better yet, as Vaca (2004) argues, that a coalition of Brown and Black is just a presumed alliance?

Based on this study, it is apparent that we can define the problem and agree that both Black and Brown communities need to work together, but it appears that locally or nationally, no one is taking on the initiative of coalition building, or those that do cannot stay long enough to continue the fight (Cazares, 2014). Furthermore, Bonilla-Silva (2010) asserts, "Researchers have shown that Latinos are less segregated from and are more exposed to Whites than Blacks" (193). As the Latino population is on the rise, leaders of the Latino community must not forget their African brothers and sisters, and not simply seek to be accepted by the white dominant society. Latinos will likely soon realize that their numbers would put them in a position that they do not need to form alliances, as they could easily stand on their own. This approach will be detrimental to the African American community. Therefore, it's vital that a true coalition be formed in those urban areas, such as is the case of SDCC District 4.

Most of the elders in this study accept the unwritten rule that socially committed and transformative Latinos and African Americans should not run against each other. As Ken Msemaji points out, the new generation has to learn and respect this unwritten law. How do we transfer that knowledge and how do we assure that it is safeguarded by the new generation? Would the new generation make the mistake of not respecting each other's political spaces? On the other hand, Dr. Waymon and Reverend Smith recommend that we need to sit down together again at the table, African and Latinos, and we need to not only revisit, learn, and teach about our past history, but we need to strategize the political future for Africans and Latinos in San Diego.

Also, I think that the relations between Latinos and African Americans are also heavily tensed based on social classes. I'm sure that upper class Latinos and African Americans don't have any problems with each other. The upper classes might not even feel threatened, but lower class residents are competing for the scraps from the table. Many of the participants shared that it was in the 1960's and 1970's, due to the civil rights movement, that it made it natural for African Americans and Latinos to unite and work collaboratively. Eventually, though, just like a good idea left untouched, it fizzled out.

On the other hand, based on the work by Telles (2011), data shows that tensions and conflicts exist among Latinos and African Americans, yet we need to realize that we have more commonalities than differences. A strong identity can be a double-edge sword when dealing with intercultural relations. For one, a strong sense of identity helps build a political and social consciousness, but if you press too far it can become an issue, in particular if the sole purposes of self identify is to view one race a superior. Orfield (2009) reflects on the critical assessment of one's identity,

“I argue that one cannot really expect diverse groups to fruitfully come together without first having had the chance to adequately engage in the first two processes, of affirmation of their own cultural identity and critical assessment of it, on their own terms” (Orfield and Thomas-Grant, 226).

Furthermore, Orfield and Thomas-Grant (2009) argue that once a group has affirmed and reflected on its identity, individuals will be able to offer a more conceptual collaboration to any group with whom they join forces. A strong identity additionally enhances the understanding and acceptance of others. Based on their research, arts and culture are also highlighted as an arena that can potentially enhance collaboration among Latinos and Africans.

In order to avoid a solitary identity, psychologist Wing-Sue (2003) argues that a way to transcend differences between cultures is to name specific problems as social conflicts instead of race conflicts so as to unite and ignite collaboration among different ethnic communities.

In addition, Agin Shaheed (2014), director of the Human Relations Department for the San Diego Unified School District, argues that it takes a deep understanding of one’s history and cultural roots to fully understand groups’ commonalities, which can serve to bridge Latinos and African Americans’ communities. As it pertains to *educational instrumentality*, Booker T. Washington’s famous quote provides insight as to the importance of a culturally responsive education, “it is easier to raise good men than to repair broken man”, a quote that resonates with the possibilities offered through education. Educators in urban centers, where the occurrence of ethnic demographic shifts are taking place at a higher rate, must look at educational institutions critically. If we implement a culturally relevant curriculum in which “real facts” are taught at an early age, Latinos and African Americans, for instance, would understand elements of their

common ancestry and be able to understand the importance of collaboration in creating win/win conditions of social and socio-political development.

So what can the future hold for Southeast San Diego if stakeholders (such as educators, politicians, community, and religious leaders) move beyond the usual politeness, while ignoring the deeper social and socio-political issues that exist? Would it become an entirely Latino community that would eventually push all African Americans away to other neighborhoods? Would it break the nucleus of a once strong African American community, as can be seen in the present dilemma in Compton, California and many other cities throughout our nation? As Norma Cazares (2014) predicts, or would it be as Agin Shaheed (2014) foresees, the Southeast region of San Diego is succumbing to gentrification and the upper white middle classes are moving back to Southeast San Diego, largely due to its close proximity to the booming neighborhood of downtown San Diego. If so, this will push away low socioeconomic residents, thus losing the possible fabric of a progressive African Americans and Latino alliance.

Lastly, a pluralistic vision is needed in which both Latinos and Blacks look beyond their commonalities and different ethnicities. Thomas and Orfield (2009) and Vaca (2006) warn us that we must be aware not to fall for a perceived commonality. We must stray away from a colorblind theory in which we perceive that since we share the same values or are living in the same oppressive conditions, that we as African and Latinos are natural allies. For collaboration purposes, we must concentrate on values that are not race specific, but class specific. This is utterly important because Latinos might have immigrant values and Blacks might have social values that differ from each another. These must be discussed, but not dwelled upon, until non-race specific goals are achieved. More recently, an example that united both communities in District 4 was the building of the King Chavez medical clinic by the San Ysidro Health Center.

By focusing on the lack of quality health services in the community, the San Ysidro Health Center board and administration was able to unite the community to support the construction of this state of the art medical facility. The clinic is a shining example of what Wing Sue (1998) calls a *super ordinate goal*. Furthermore, it has made it its mission to employ African Americans and Latinos in order to represent the diversity of the community.

Stokely Carmichael, a Trinidadian-American political activist, in his book titled *Black Power*, addresses four conditions that must be met in order for Blacks, and other ethnic groups, to form coalitions with other groups, as is documented by Vaca (2004, p. 51):

1. Each group must recognize that they have different interests that pertain to their particular ethnic group.
2. Each group must believe that forming coalitions is beneficial.
3. Each group must have its own powerbase for decision-making.
4. Each coalition must be formed with a specific goal in mind, whether it be a short or long-term goal, and to ensure its clarity.

Without a doubt, a true coalition between the African American and Latino communities that coexist in Southeast San Diego is needed in order to decrease the perceived and real tensions that exist today, and to create a win-win situation as is highlighted by Sue's (1998) emphasis on a "Super Ordinate Goal".

Recommendations

Based on this study, four recommendations are offered for further research in SDCC District 4. The recommendations include: historical-structural issue of inequality, impact of demographic shifts, addressing institutionalized cultural competence, working towards a Super

Ordinate Goal, and lastly, use of a critical ethnic studies pedagogy in our public schools, and using the historical content of the SDCC District 4.

1. **Historical-structural inequality.** Of importance is the need to document the historical and structural conditions of the political SDCC District 4, the city of San Diego, and San Diego County at-large with respect to socio-political-economic and educational inequality that has remain constant in the last 50 years. This can be done pursuing historical interviews of community stakeholders/leaders. For example, in this study elders spoke on many issues: how the eight largest school district in the nation has consistently ignored Black and Brown community educational needs; institutional racism in the form of housing covenants, political representation, white power structure of city hall, racial profiling, language discrimination, and viewing undocumented persons as criminals. Critical Race Theory (CRT) offers an important interdisciplinary approach that originated in legal studies to document race, racism and inequality through counter narratives. Delgado et al. (2001, p.4), Dixson et al. (2006, p. 4), Ladson-Billings (1995, p. 97), and Solorzano (1998) speak to the focus of CRT.

CRT identifies that these power structures are based on white privilege and white supremacy, which perpetuates the marginalization of people of color. CRT also rejects the traditions of liberalism and meritocracy. Legal discourse says that the law is neutral and colorblind, however, CRT challenges this legal “truth” by examining liberalism and meritocracy as a vehicle for self-interest, power, and privilege. CRT also recognizes that liberalism and meritocracy are often stories heard from those with wealth, power, and privilege. These stories paint a false picture of meritocracy; everyone who works hard can attain wealth, power, and privilege while ignoring the systemic inequalities that institutional racism provides.

Narratives or counter-stories, as mentioned before, contribute to the centrality of the

experiences of people of color. These stories challenge the story of white supremacy and continue to give a voice to those that have been silenced by white supremacy. Counterstories take their cue from larger cultural traditions of oral histories, *cuentos*, family histories and parables. This is very important in preserving the history of marginalized groups whose experiences have never been legitimized within the master narrative. It challenges the notion of liberalism and meritocracy as colorblind or “value-neutral” within society while exposing racism as a main thread in the fabric of the American foundation.

2. Demographic shifts. It is imperative for local government, education and social institutions to deeply document the phenomena of demographic shifts and its consequences on the social, political, economic, and educational sectors. The San Diego City Council, the San Diego Unified School District, and other social and governmental agencies need to identify, act and implement proactive policies, practices, and resources that will assist in reducing the tensions that demographic shifts bring to communities, and work to create coalitions that pursue win/win social, educational, political, and economic conditions. It’s extremely important that political and community leaders begin the process of addressing and accepting the social dynamics and tensions in the process of community demographic shifts.

3. Intercultural competence. There is a need for political leaders, such as SDCC District 4 council members Myrtle Cole and David Alvarez, as ethnic political leaders in the community, to examine how intercultural competence can build ethnic coalitions. This includes building cultural competence through community forums, as suggested by elders Waymon and Cazares, in order to go beyond superficial relations and to address the real tensions that exist in SDCC District 4. Community forums can create dialogues that can move the agenda of collaboration and trust building into action plans. Social dialogue can also begin the process of healing and the

process of decimating stereotypes, ignorance and established open collaborative communication spaces. These processes must be serious efforts and instill a culture of ongoing institutionalized practice that includes all stakeholders of the community.

4. Super Ordinate Goal. Once an ethos of cultural competence and community forums has been established, it is important to initiate a win/win compromise, even though differences will exist, to ultimately create a common goal that is non-race specific and will benefit the community as a whole. Such “Super Ordinate Goals” include such goals as: democratic schools, culturally responsive health programs, access to higher education, and wages based on the true cost of living. Among the areas of immediate collaboration to pursue Super Ordinate Goals, are education inequality, accessible health services, and social conscious transformative political representation.

5. Narrative Medicine for Healing Wounds. Undertake the examination of approaches that create dialogue centered on building coalitions between the Black and Brown communities, such as the SDCCD District 4. The use of the indigenous practice of narrative medicine, developed by Lewis Mehl-Madrona (2007) is one such approach that can be applied and that is oriented towards healing wounds sustained by misconceptions of both Black and Brown communities over the years regarding the changing socio-political conditions of their community. Narrative medicine promotes healthy dialogue that is oriented towards healing psychological anger sentiments that might have been sustained by residents in the community over the years due to the changing socio-political conditions of their communities. African American and Latino community leaders can lead discussions of perceived community relations over the years, that also provided conceptual space, to uncover any misconceptions and find a

course of action of not only healing, but also identifying areas of tension and engage in an action plan to unite the Black and Brown communities.

6. Critical Ethnic Studies Pedagogy. Our educational system and popular media has done a good job of creating the illusion that Latino and African American youth, and youth of other ethnic communities, can have the best education through a Euro-centric curriculum or “one model fits all”. This type of curriculum leaves youth in total confusion, in that it views their ethnic identity as having deficits. Ethnic diverse youth are pushed early in their schooling into total assimilation or risk marginalization by mainstream society if they maintain their identity. Thus, there is a need to develop and actualize critical ethnic studies pedagogy, based on democratic social justice principles, and critical race theory. A critical ethnic studies pedagogy in the K-12 curriculum can provide a multicultural and multi-ethnic interdisciplinary lens that promotes intercultural relations, collaborate, and skills to solve common problems facing one’s communities.

7. SDCC District 4 Historical Perspectives. This study conceptualized five historical periods in the examination of San Diego City Council District 4 (1964 to 2014) that can serve as chronological periods that can be taught through diverse perspectives (African American, Latino, Asian, white, and International) about SDCC District 4 in any social studies course or critical social justice curriculum. Historical perspectives serve to recognize the contributions of diverse communities, while bringing consciousness of the struggles to achieve equal access to opportunity in our society.

Table References

Social-Political Period I	U.S. and State Policies	Historical Events Impacting SDCC District 4	Intercultural Tensions and/or Collaboration:
1964-1973	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>1964 Civil Rights Act</i> • <i>1968 Fair Housing Act</i> • <i>1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act</i> • <i>HEW May 25m 1970 Memorandum</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founding of the CIC (1964) • BOMB Intercultural Conference (1968) • Leon Williams elected to District 4, first African American to SD City Council (1969) • Student Walkouts (1969) • Demolition of 286 houses mostly owned by African Americans in order to build Highway 252 (the corridor) which never took place.* • Reverend George Walker Smith, from Southeast San Diego becomes the first African American to be elected to the SDUSD (1963). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interest Convergence (+ Collaboration) • Political Alliance (+ collaboration) • Interest Convergence – Advocacy for Latino and African Americans communities. (+collaboration) • Black and Latino students’ political coalition (+collaboration). • Displaced many African Americans who moved to the South Bay and caused conflicts with the already established Latino community. (-Tension created when direct competition and realistic threats exist) • Interest Convergence as Advocacy for Latino and African Americans communities. (+Collaboration)

Table 13. Period 1: Covering events from 1964-1973 and relating to SDCC District 4

* **“Highway 252 (never built):** California Highway 252 was a planned 1.2-mile, 6 lane connector road between I-5 and I-805 that was scheduled to run along what was once Alpha Street, just north of the National City border. In the late 1960s, the California Department of Transportation bought the land and demolished 280 houses along the 33-acre corridor to make way for the freeway, which was never built. In the early 1990s, the corridor was developed with single-family homes, a senior citizens’ complex, and commercial space.” (Page and Turnbull, 2013).

Social-Political Period 2	U.S. and State Policies	Historical Events Impacting SDCC District 4	Intercultural Tensions and/or Collaboration:
1974-1983	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equal Educational Opportunity Act (1974) • Lau v. Nichols (1974) • <i>Public Law 94-142 (1975)</i> • <i>Carlin Case (1976)</i> • <i>Castañeda v. Pickard (1978)</i> • <i>Plyler v. Doe (1982)</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal enforcement of social and educational access rights. • Undo racial segregation through integration. • In 1982, William Jones is appointed to serve in District 4. Becoming the second African American to serve on the council. • Superintendent Goodman and Payzant required to develop educational plans for linguistically diverse students under the Lau and Castañeda federal decisions. • Undocumented students have the right to attend public schools. • Latinos and Indochinese immigrants moving into SDCC District 4 	<p>Tensions are created where:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional justifications for ethnocentrism practices are challenged and resisted. • Application of legal decisions are debated from an assimilation vs. a cultural pluralism perspectives. • Intercultural tension arise as driven by ignorance and barriers to communication.

Table 14. Period 2: Covering events from 1974-1983 and relating to SDCC District 4

Social-Political Period 3	U.S. and State Policies	Historical Events Impacting SDCC District 4	Intercultural Tensions and/or Collaboration:
1984-1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>1993 NAFTA</i> • <i>1986 California Proposition 63</i> • <i>1987 Federal government decentralizes federal policies</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NAFTA push and pull socio-political dynamics increases immigration to the U.S. by undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans increases. • The Southeastern San Diego Community Plan is adopted by the city.(1987). • In 1987, Wes Pratt is elected to the District 4 City Council. • In 1991, George Stevens is elected to the District 4 city council. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tensions are created over economic, social and educational resources. • Where rapid social change is in progress • Where the size of Latinos increases and becomes larger than African Americans, while Latinos feel unrepresented. • Where direct competition and realistic threats exist.

Table 15. Period 3: Covering events from 1984-1993 and relating to SDCC District 4

Social-Political Period 4	U.S. and State Policies	Historical Events Impacting SDCC District 4	Intercultural Tensions and/or Collaboration:
1994 - 2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>California Proposition 187 (1994)</i> • <i>California Propositions 2009 (1996)</i> • <i>Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA)</i> • <i>1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (Welfare)</i> • <i>California Proposition 227 (1998)</i> • <i>Patriot Act (2001)</i> • <i>2001 NCLB Education Act</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the mid-nineties Latinos become the majority population in District 4. • Anti-Latino campaigns are enacted in California • <i>Operation Gatekeeper</i> is enacted • 9/11 bombings lace aside immigrant rights and reform • In 2002, Charles Lewis is elected to The District 4 city council. He dies two years later. • Mexican –U.S. Border enforcement increases with intercultural tensions increasing as per 9/11 foreign suspicion of terrorism. • Federal educational policy creates a “one size fits all” approach to quality education diminishing access to a comprehensible to English language learners – negatively impacting Latinos. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Propositions 187 focuses on undocumented people, Latinos specifically, with border patrol entering SDCC District 4 on a regular basis. • Latinos in California and specifically near the international border are targets of perpetrating ills. This creates divisions among African Americans and Latinos in SDCC District 4 and beyond. • 9/11 enforcement induces bigotry and regulatory aggression towards people who are viewed as undocumented. • Size of Latinos in SDCC District 4 creates concerns of representation. • Conflict and tensions is present in SDCC District 4 due to rapid demographic social change apperceptions of Latinos unwilling to assimilate to American society.

Table 16. Period 4: Covering events from 1994-2003 and relating to SDCC District 4

Social-Political Period 5	U.S. and State Policies	Historical Events Impacting SDCC District 4	Intercultural Tensions and/or Collaboration:
2004-2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2004, <i>American with Disabilities Act</i> • 2004, <i>Williams Case in California</i> • <i>Horne v. Flores (2009)</i> • 2005 H.R. 4437 (<i>proposed Illegal immigration Control Act</i>) • 2005 CAFTA <i>Central American Free Trade Act (economics)</i> • 2006 <i>Voting rights Act (civil rights)</i> • 2010 <i>Affordable Health Care Act</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accessibility guidelines for the construction and alteration of facilities (ADA). Williams case calls for schools to report the overall condition of their facilities, the number of teacher mis-assignments and vacant teacher positions, and the availability of textbooks or instructional materials. • Requirements for comprehensible instruction to English language learners rejects funding sources and leaves school district to determine outcomes. • In 2004 Tony Young is elected to the city Council. • Immigration Civil Marches (2006) • Lincoln High School in SDCC District 4 reopens (2007) • Myrtle Cole becomes the first Black woman to be elected to the District 4 Council (2013.) • The opening of the King-Chavez Health Clinic in SDCC District 4 • David Alvarez runs for Mayor of SD (2014) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minimal support from the African American towards immigration reform because of where the size of a minority group is large or increasing. • Quality of educational resources at all schools in SDCC District 4. • Effects of direct competition for resources and realistic threats exist. • Tension of representation of one ethnic group over the other. • Health becomes a <i>super ordinate goal</i> for collaboration for African Americans and Latino leaders. • Collaboration by Black and Latino coalition in support of David Alvarez.

Table 17. Period 5: Covering events from 2004-2014 and relating to SDCC District 4

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Appendix A

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

1. The following questions are to document your leadership in the selected community:
 - a. *Who are you?*
 - b. *Where did you come from?*
 - c. *What have been your roles/responsibilities?*
 - d. *What do you want your legacy to be with respect to your community?*
2. How long have you been involved in the District 4 community? In what capacities?
3. How would you describe the demographic characteristics in the District 4 community over the last 50 years?
4. How would you describe the socio-cultural characteristics in the District 4 community over the last 50 years?
5. What are your perceptions of the social political climate that have hindered race relations and development in the District 4 community?
6. What are your perceptions of the social political climate that have promoted race relations and development in the District 4 community?
7. What federal policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the District 4 community as perceived by you? (e.g., Brown Supreme Court decision of 1954, or the Lau v. Nichols Supreme Court decision of 1974)
8. What state or local policies and practices have hindered or promoted race relations and development in the District 4 community as perceived by you (e.g. the Lemon Grove Incident, Proposition 187, Proposition 227, etc.?)
9. Over the last 30 years, what have been the areas of intercultural conflicts/tensions in the District 4 community as perceived by you?
10. Over the last 30 years, what have been the areas of intercultural collaboration in the District 4 community as perceived by you?
11. What are the scenarios of intercultural conflicts/tensions that can divide the Latino and African American residents of the District 4 community in the next 10 years?
12. What are the scenarios of intercultural collaboration that can unite Latino and African American residents in the District 4 community in the next 10 years?

13. Is there anything you would like to add to your thoughts on the past, present and future conditions of the District 4 community?

Appendix B

San Diego State University and Claremont Graduate University

Participant Consent Form for Interview Towards Understanding The Intercultural Relations of African Americans and Latinos

You are being asked to participate in a research study by Guillermo Gómez. Before you give your consent to volunteer, it is important that you read the following information and ask many questions as necessary to be sure you understand what is being expected of you.

Investigator

My name is Guillermo Gómez and I will be conducting this research study for my dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Alberto Ochoa, a professor in the Policy Studies Department at San Diego State University.

Purpose of the Study

I am conducting a research study to better understand the social relations, and any tensions or collaboration, between African Americans and Latinos in the District 4 community of Southeast San Diego. I will investigate how these relations can worsen as result of one group (Latinos) becoming a majority while another group (African Americans) become the minority as the community population changes.

Description of the Study

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to participate in one confidential semi-structured interview/conversation. This interview/conversation will take place at a location and a date and time that works best for you. The conversation/interview will last approximately one hour and will involve questions about your perceptions of the intercultural relations of African Americans and Latinos in the selected community. If you choose to participate in the study, you may withdraw at any time without negative consequences. You may also choose not to participate without negative ramifications.

Risks or Discomforts

There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research. You do not have to answer any questions about which you do not feel comfortable. You may discontinue participation at any time by either refusing to answer specific questions or by choosing to leave the study at any time. Also, if you prefer to not be audio recorded, you can still participate in the interview and the researcher will instead transcribe your responses.

Benefits of the Study

The potential benefits of your participation in this research include contributing to an understanding of what social, political and cultural factors hinder or promote collaboration between African American and Latino communities during a demographic shift. Based on your many years of leadership within the selected community, your voice can benefit not only the community, but also other social and educational spaces, such as public schools and community

spaces. Your insight may help to deal with possible tensions and to work towards future intercultural collaboration. You may find it rewarding to have a chance to reflect on your lived experiences, and to be able to share them so that they can be passed on to future generations. Unfortunately, I cannot guarantee that you will receive any benefits from participation in this study.

Confidentiality

You have the choice to have your name associated with this research. Should you request that your name not be associated with this research or if you wish to use a pseudonym, your anonymity will be protected by ensuring that all identifying information will be removed from the written data and the audio recordings will be confidential. You will have an opportunity to review the transcripts and findings from our conversation/interview to ensure that you are comfortable with the presentation of the material and that all identifying information, if requested, is removed from the data, this process should take approximately one hour. The transcripts will be provided to you via email within 14 days after the interview takes place. All research materials will be kept confidential and all of the transcripts will be kept in a locked file cabinet and/or passworded computer file. As the sole researcher for this study, only I and the guiding faculty supervisor will have access to the interviews captured on audio and transcripts. The data will only be used for this research. When the research is over, all paper and electronic files will be kept confidentially for three years and then will be destroyed.

Incentives to Participate/Costs

You will not be paid to participate in this study and there are no costs associated with this research.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you can always change your mind and withdraw at anytime. Your decision whether or not to participate will not influence your relationship with me, SDSU, or CGU.

Questions About the Study

If you have any questions about the research, please ask me at anytime before, during or after the research. You can contact me at guillermoago@cox.net or at (619) 322-5845.

An institutional review board (IRB) is a committee that has been formally designated to monitor, and review research involving humans, with the aim to protect the rights and welfare of the research subjects. If you have questions regarding your rights as a human subject and participant, you may contact an Institutional Review Board (IRB) representative in the Division of Research Affairs at SDSU (phone: 619-594-6622; email: irb@mail.sdsu.edu).

The San Diego State University Institutional Review Board has approved this consent form, as signified by the Board's stamp. The consent form must be reviewed annually and expires on the date indicated on the stamp.

You signature below indicates that you have read the information in this document and you have had a chance to ask questions about the study. It also indicates that you agree to be in the study and have been told that you can change your mind and withdraw consent at any time. You have been given a copy of this consent form. You have been told that by signing the consent form you are not giving up any of your legal rights.

Please check each circle to indicate you consent for the following:

- ☐ Yes, I want to be in the research study.
- ☐ No, I do not want to be in the research study.

Please check circle to indicate your consent for the following:

- ☐ Yes, I give permission to be audio recorded in the interview.

Please check circle to indicate your consent for the following:

- ☐ I give permission to use my actual name attached to the data.
- ☐ I give permission to use only a pseudonym (fake name) attached to all data.

Print your name

Your Signature

Date

Signature of Investigator

Date

*** You may keep the top paper for your records if you desire.