six miles by thirteen miles, you have a corridor of humanity—actually a corridor of minority neighborhoods stretching from 94 to the border. Although there are a few Anglo communities interspersed within it, the corridor contains half, if not most, of the County's two largest minority populations. Half of all San Diego County Mexican families live here and nearly 50% of the County's Black households call it home.

This is segregation San Diego-style.

The government census in 1980 counted 104,452 Black people in San Diego County, with three-quarters of them residing in the City of San Diego, roughly 77,700. Officially this represented nearly 9% of the city's total population of 875,000 five years ago. Since then the state has made new estimations of the city and county totals putting the Black total for the county closer to 123,000 and 86,000 for the city.

South East San Diego today, as it has been for decades, is the main African American urban homeland, being the center of a contiguous series of neighborhoods running from South East to East San Diego and Encanto where two out of three Black people in the city live. Even though the center of the Black community has shifted eastward over the last quarter of century, as our study shows, it still remains very concentrated. And many neighborhoods across the city still remain "off-limits" to even small numbers of Black families. New racial boundary lines have been drawn, replacing the old ones that once were formidable.

"In 1956 when I first came here," the Rev. George Smith once said, "Blacks had to live south of Market Street." As a former school board president, Smith has been a leader of the Black community's efforts to desegregate San Diego schools. Today freeways have taken on the role that Market Street once played. According to the official 1980 count, four of five Blacks in the city lived inland from Interstate 5 and south of Interstate 8. African families also have difficulty, for example, in finding housing in neighborhoods that are west of Highway 805 and north of Highway 94.

"Black folks live in one place," DeeDee McClure told me recently, "and that's here in South East San Diego. And it's been that way for the last thirty years," she said. A long time South East community activist, McClure has recently joined the anti-apartheid movement. "We are concentrated in one area," she continued, "and we have not moved out for a number of reasons; folks won't rent to you, folks won't sell to you housing that you can afford—even with the laws."

A somewhat different emphasis was voiced by Greg Akili, another very visible activist in the anti-apartheid movement. "South East," he explained to me, "is connected to the core of the city. With the new trolley and with the new development promoted by Supervisor Williams and Councilman Jones," he said, "South East will become a showcase." The relatively small Afro-American community in San Diego would lose, he feels, what impact it has if it dispersed across the city. Akili advocates that Blacks stay in South East and even move back if they've migrated out.

Robert Tambuzi, an aid to Rev. Robert Ard of the Ministerial Alliance, added another view. He analyzed that those who have moved out of South East were those entering the Black middle class. "Not only are we entitled to live in our respective communities," he added, "we're entitled to live everywhere."

The largest and fastest growing minority in San Diego County, of course, is the Mexican and Latino community, curiously labeled "Hispanics" by the government. Officially in 1980 they represented 14.7% of the total County population or 275,176 people—double the size of the Black community. Nearly half of the County's Mexican families live in the City of San Diego, approximately 130,600 people.

Due to the inaccuracies of census taking and racial categories utilized, Mexicans and Latinos are traditionally undercounted. Local Chicano leaders have argued that their total is closer to 16% of the County figure. The census also failed to count undocumented people from Mexico, conservatively estimated to be another 48,000 people. By using new 1985 numbers that the California Department of Finance came up with, the size of the Mexican-Latino population in the region would stand at over 306,000; and then adding the uncounted produces a total closer to a third of a million.

Of those Mexican and Chicano families living within the City of San Diego's legal boundaries, two-thirds live south of Mission Valley and Interstate 8. Contrasted with the smaller Black population, Latinos are in general more dispersed and integrated throughout San Diego, and only a handful of neighborhoods in 1980 were "off-limits" to fair numbers of their families. Despite this relative dispersal, Mexicans and other Latinos are concentrated into two main centers across the County: the corridor connecting Barrio Logan, South East and National City, and further south the Nestor-San Ysidro area.

In the official statistics, Anglos make up 81% of the County total but only three-quarters of the City of San Diego population. This proportion is even smaller when those who were counted as "Hispanic Whites" in the 1980 census are subtracted from the Anglo total. At that time, a good number of census tracts were listed as being 85% or more White, situated mainly in the newly developed northern sections of the city, the coastal and beach communities, and along the northern and southern rims of Mission Valley. These include Rancho Bernardo, Rancho Penasquitos, Scripps Ranch, La Jolla, University City, most of Clairemont, the beach areas, Mission Hills, Hillcrest, Point Loma, much of North Park, Normal Heights, Kensington, the SDSU area, Del Cerro, the Lake Murray area, and San Carlos.

Segregation in San Diego

Going over San Diego census tract by census tract confirms the view that it is a segregated city. Most of its White people live in predominently Anglo communities; most of the minority families live in a few predominently minority neighborhoods. This is segregation San Diego-style.

One of the structures that maintains segregation is the "red-lining" policies of banks and lending institutions. Economically depressed minority and poor areas are "red lined" and do not receive proportionate shares of loans for new home purchases or improvements. A study of the home loans made by five banking institutions in 1975 clearly displays these discriminating policies. That year the firms (Home Federal, Central Federal, Crocker, Security Pacific and United California) altogether made a total of $875,000 in loans to an area of ten census tracts in South East and one in National City, an average under $80,000 for each tract. In contrast, the same firms made over $10 millions in loans to just six census tracts in the predominately White and very affluent La Jolla, an average of nearly $1.7 million per tract. A less extreme example is the amount of three and a third million dollars that went out in loans that year to eleven tracts in North Park, a less affluent and more racially mixed area, averaging over $300,000 in each. Even though a part of the disparity of this insidious practice is due to the higher property vaues of the richer neighborhoods, there were simply fewer loans made in the minority communities. Three of our original eleven minority tracts didn't receive any loans at all.

Segregation is a complicated issue. Unless it is forced, segregation by itself is not necessarily *the* issue. If Black and Mexican communities had control over the resources of their neighborhoods, over the schools, the government services, the police departments that patrol them, over the jobs and industries in their areas, the situation would be much different. But, of course, they don't; and much of the segregation experienced by San Diego's minorities has been forced by socio-economic factors.

Segregated housing produces segregated schools. In 1976 Superior Court Judge Louis Welsh determined that of the 166 district schools then in San Diego, 23 were "racially isolated," and ordered the school district to initiate a desegregation program that began the following year. But because the program has been a voluntary one, the vast majority of students that have been bused to schools outside their communities have been minority.

"It's one-way integration," DeeDee McClure said describing it. "That is our students go out of their communities to go to another school, and we're not getting that back into our community." She explained, "It's a one way transfer, and I don't feel good about it."

Minority parents who've sent their children to Anglo schools have complained that their kids are abused and de-humanized by the White students, teachers and administrators. And recent test scores of minority students in predominently White schools haven't been as high as the scores of students remaining in the still-predominantly minority schools. Thus the burden of desegregation has fallen primarily on Black and Mexican families and students, already carrying the burden of segregation. This pattern, not uncommon across the country, is still segregation San Diego-style.

One of the ways that segregation is enforced is through a racially-tiered job market where Black and Latino working people on the average earn less than their White counter-parts. An indicator of this is the type of occupations minorities have. In San Diego County in 1980, over 40% of all working Mexicans and over 38% of all Blacks employed were in either service occupations or blue-collar jobs, compared with just 23% of working Whites. The median income for Black families in San Diego was only 64% of the median income for Anglo families, and it was 67% for Mexican households. Less than 7% of all Anglo families in 1979 had incomes below the poverty level, whereas 19% of African families and 18% of Latino families were in that situation.

Nation-wide the statistics are even worse. The national poverty rate for Black Americans is three times the rate for White people. More than one third of the Black population and more than a quarter of the Latino population live below the poverty line. The latest government unemployment figures released this September reported that

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A Study of Census Tracts

One of the most obvious parallels between South Africa and San Diego is the segregation of the communities of the non-White peoples from those of the Whites. And a similarity between Soweto and South East San Diego and San Ysidro exists in the high proportion and density of non-White families who live in them.

To illustrate just part of this, imagine standing in the center of San Diego's Black African community and drawing a circle with a radius of four miles around you. Within the circle you would be including between 55,000 and 60,000 Black Americans, as a conservative estimate, encompassing over two-thirds of all Blacks living in the City of San Diego. This is why some people call San Diego a segregated town.

A study of the racial make-up of the city and county—census tract by census tract—substantiates the claim of segregation. By comparing Anglo totals with Black and latino figures for each of the region's census tracts, a map of racial division can be constructed that clearly outlines the borders and boundaries of segregation San Diego-style. (All figures are from the 1980 census.)

The Black Community

Since 1960 the very heart of San Diego's Black community—in terms of density and high proportion of people—has shifted east. Back then it was bounded by 28th Street to the west, National Avenue to the south, the canyon that now holds Highway 805 to the east, and in the north by Market Street which, at the time, was a very strict racial boundary. Twenty years later, the center moved as Black families migrated out of the old Logan Heights area into Golden Hill, East San Diego, Encanto, Chollas Park, Paradise Hills and sections of Spring Valley and Lemon Grove.

By 1980 the new center was located in the neighborhoods north of National City, east of Highway 805 and south of Highway 94. Surrounding the center are census tracts where Black people make up over half the population. And to the west, the Black community has crossed the old Market Street boundary north into Golden Hill, but was, as late as our census tally, buttressed by the traditional White enclaves east of Balboa Park and west of 805.

The core of the Black community, where they are over half of each census tract total, has 28th Street between Market and Commercial Street as its most western edge; it extends eastward south of 94 all the way out to Merlin Drive and Weaver Street; and in its southern portion, it includes the neighborhoods north of National City and National Avenue between Highway 15 in the west to Bonita Drive in the east. Another similar concentration of Black families lives further east just below Lemon Grove, bounded by Woodman Street in the west, Lisbon Street in the north, Meadowbrook

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