surpassed that of whites but did not quite equal the record of the Japanese. For Chinese Americans the educational picture was one of extremes: a very high proportion of them had gone to college, but many had not gone beyond the eighth grade. The wartime shortages of engineers, scientists, doctors, and nurses opened thousands of professional jobs to educated Chinese Americans; this began to occur before the end of World War II, rather than after it, as in the case of the Japanese.

As with other minorities, Chinese and Japanese Americans also increased their political activity. In 1974 March Fong Eu was elected secretary of state, becoming the first person of Asian ancestry to hold statewide office in California. She easily won reelection in four subsequent campaigns. In San Francisco, where Asian Americans made up nearly one-fourth the city's population, five Chinese Americans held elective office by 1980, whereas a decade earlier there had been none. Only about 6 percent of the population of Los Angeles was of Asian ancestry, and in 1985 Michael Woo became the first Asian American ever elected to the city council.

S. I. Hayakawa, the controversial president of San Francisco State University, became in 1976 the first Californian of Japanese ancestry to be elected to the United States Senate. He was defeated for reelection in 1982. In the 1980s Japanese Americans were elected to a host of local offices throughout the state, and Robert Matsui of Sacramento and Norman Mineta of Santa Clara were elected to the House of Representatives.

Filipino Americans in the years after World War II became one of the fastest-growing minority groups in the state. During the early decades of the twentieth century, most Filipinos drawn to California were farm laborers, but under the 1965 immigration law the majority of Filipino immigrants were accountants, nurses, and other skilled professionals. By 1980 Filipino Americans were the largest Asian group in California and were expected to outnumber second-place Chinese Americans by almost two to one in the middle of the next century. A similar upsurge was seen in the number of Korean Americans, especially in southern California. By 1980 there were some 200,000 Koreans in the Los Angeles area alone, a 500 percent increase since 1976.

Following the American withdrawal from Vietnam in the early 1970s, the escalating turmoil in Southeast Asia led to a mass exodus of refugees. In desperation tens of thousands of Vietnamese, Laotians, and Cambodians fled by sea, and eventually many of these boat people were resettled in the United States. California received about 40 percent of the nation's total Indo-Chinese refugee population, and state officials petitioned the federal government for additional aid in handling the influx. By the mid-1980s an estimated 200,000 refugees were in the state, the majority of whom were on public welfare. Volunteer agencies, including many church-related organizations, assisted in the resettlement effort by sponsoring individual refugee families.

African Americans

Of all the racial minorities, African Americans attracted the largest share of public attention in the decades after World War II. They became more active than other groups in openly protesting racial discrimination, and their protests, both peaceful and violent, received wide coverage in the national news media.

Restrictive covenants barred African Americans from purchasing homes in new housing tracts in Los Angeles in the 1940s. (*Courtesy of the Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research.*)

African Americans formed about 11 percent of the total population of the United States in 1940. Their major migration to California began in 1942 with the sudden demand for labor in the shipyards and other war industries, and thereafter the percentage of blacks in the state's population, which had been only 1.8 in 1940, rose to 4.3 in 1950 and 7.7 in 1980. But their presence was even more apparent because most of them became concentrated in all-black neighborhoods in the cities of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, and Richmond.

In the long struggle for equality, African Americans had to overcome major obstacles in three closely related areas: housing, employment, and education.

California was the first state to attempt a legal sanction promoting segregated housing when the constitution of 1879 authorized cities and towns to restrict the occupancy of Chinese and even to forbid their residence within the city limits. In 1890 the United States Supreme Court struck down this provision in the case of a San Francisco ordinance purporting to define the "boundaries" of Chinatown. In the twentieth century, real estate interests, wishing to maintain the racial integrity of all-white neighborhoods, often relied on the right of contract. Deeds for the sale of residential property included *restrictive covenants* in which the buyer promised not to sell to anyone other than Caucasians. But in 1948, in *Shelley v. Kraemer,* the Supreme Court refused to permit the continued enforcement of these contracts by the courts, on the ground that such enforcement by agencies of state government violated the Fourteenth Amendment guarantee of the equal protection of the laws. The Los Angeles Board of Realtors and the California Real Estate Association launched a campaign to reverse the Court's ruling, but this project failed.

In 1959 the heavily Democratic California legislature adopted the Unruh Civil Rights Act, named for Jesse Unruh, the speaker of the assembly. This law forbade racial discrimination by anyone engaged in business (including real estate brokers)