action pending an appeal of the desegregation order. Judge Gitelson was defeated for reelection, but the state supreme court in 1976 upheld his ruling and ordered the board to prepare a desegregation plan. The following year the board designed a plan that included several voluntary programs and the mandatory busing of some 40,000 students in the fourth through eighth grades. The plan went into effect in the fall of 1978 with considerable confusion, but few disruptive incidents.

In ordering the desegregation of Los Angeles schools, the state supreme court went beyond existing federal desegregation decisions. The federal courts had held that mandatory busing was required only in cases of *de jure* (by law) segregation, where it could be shown that a school district had deliberately segregated its schools in the past. The state court, however, ruled that busing was also a proper remedy for de facto segregation, where segregated schools were the result of established residential patterns.

The greatest threat to the success of school desegregation in Los Angeles, as in cities around the country, was the decline of white enrollment. In the first year of court-ordered busing, one-third of the white students assigned to new schools under the desegregation plan left the Los Angeles school district. Although the rate of *white flight* slowed the following year, the proportion of white students in the district declined from 56 percent in 1966 to 24 percent by 1980. The decline of white enrollment was part of a nationwide population shift from the central cities to the suburbs, a movement caused only partly by the controversy over desegregation. Nevertheless, the prospects for effective desegregation were considerably dimmed by the abandonment of the city schools by white students. As one school integration specialist commented, "There are simply not enough white children to go around."

At least as important as the political and social resistance to black penetration of white neighborhoods and schools was the economic discrimination that kept African Americans in menial jobs, or kept them from getting any jobs at all. In California, as in most other states, nearly all labor unions in fields involving skilled workers had excluded blacks entirely until World War II. As the number of blacks in the California workforce increased dramatically during the war, many unions established all-black *auxiliaries.* Black workers in the auxiliaries were required to pay full union dues but were barred from voting in union elections and received unequal union benefits. In January 1945 the California Supreme Court ruled, in *James v. Marinship,* that the auxiliary practice was "contrary to public policy." This ruling produced important changes in union membership practices, but few blacks actually benefited from the decision. As the war ended, the number of blacks in the skilled workforce began to decline rapidly. In San Francisco, 75 percent of black heads of households had been skilled industrial workers during the war; by 1948, only 25 percent still held skilled jobs, and the black unemployment rate was nearly three times that for all other persons combined.

Thirty years after the end of World War II, the unemployment rate for African Americans in the state was about twice that for the general population, and unemployment among black youths averaged nearly 40 percent. Almost a quarter of all black families in California lived in poverty in 1975, compared with less than 8 percent of whites. By 1980 the income of the typical black family was still less than 60 percent that of the average white family.

In spite of such continuing problems, a substantial black middle class was also emerging in the state. California in the 1980s led the nation in the number of businesses owned by black entrepreneurs. For every 1000 blacks in the state, there were 25 black-owned firms, almost double the national average. By 1985 California had more than 44,000 black-owned businesses, with a total payroll of $217 million.

The number of blacks elected to political office also increased steadily. In 1970 Wilson Riles was elected superintendent of public instruction over the archconservative Max Rafferty, becoming the first African American to win statewide office. Three years later former police officer and city councilman Thomas Bradley was elected mayor of Los Angeles, receiving the largest white vote for a black candidate in any American city. Also, by 1973 California had three black representatives in Congress—Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, Ronald V. Dellums, and Augustus Hawkins—and the following year black state senator Mervyn Dymally was elected lieutenant governor. Dymally and Maxine Waters of Los Angeles later joined Dellums as members of California's congressional delegation. By 1992 two black senators and six black assembly members, including Assembly Speaker Willie L. Brown, Jr., of San Francisco, were serving in the state legislature. Probably the most popular black official holding partisan office was Los Angeles Mayor Bradley. He served an unprecedented five terms as chief executive of the state's largest city, and in both 1982 and 1986 he won the Democratic nomination for governor.

Latinos

By far the largest ethnic minority in California in the late twentieth century was the group that the census once listed as of "Spanish origin," most of whom, in California, were Mexican Americans.

In 1910, the census had enumerated only 51,000 persons of Mexican ancestry in California, but the Mexican Revolution of 1910–20 combined with World War I to begin a long process of mass immigration from Mexico to the American southwest. By 1930, only Mexico City had a larger Mexican population than Los Angeles. The result, however, was what George I. Sánchez has called "cultural indigestion." Most of the immigrants were laborers. Barriers of prejudice and of language blocked their economic advancement and their social assimilation. In Los Angeles, they were concentrated in the eastern part of the city almost to the degree that blacks were concentrated in the southern part of it. East Los Angeles, the collective name for the eastside *barrios,* or neighborhoods, was marred by dilapidated housing and deficient sanitation. But it also was a place where a vibrant community life flourished. As Ricardo Romo, author of *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (1983), has concluded, "the majority of Mexican immigrants, for reasons of language, kinship, and folk customs, chose to live together in barrios. These barrios provided a sense of identity with the homeland and a transition into American society."

Latinas took an active role in community organizing during the 1930s. In 1938 Luisa Moreno, vice president of a newly formed cannery and agricultural workers union, organized El Congreso del Pueblo de Habla Española (The Congress of