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"AFRICAN AMERICAN AND LATINO RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF

PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBORHOODS"

A Thesis

Submitted to McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

By

Yasmeen Davis

December 2008

Yasmeen Davis

"AFRICAN AMERICAN AND LATINO RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF

PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBORHOODS"

Master of Arts

Thesis

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ABSTRACT

"AFRICAN AMERICAN AND LATINO RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF

PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBORHOODS"

By

Yasmeen Davis

December 2008

Thesis Supervised by Dr. Joseph Yenerall and Dr. Ann Marie Popp

This study examines African American and Latino relations using Philadelphia as a case study. It analyzes how factors such as the urban landscape's rising Latino population, socioeconomic status, media depictions of African Americans and Latinos, language barriers, and residential segregation affect inter-group relations. The study used interviews to assess the current relationship of African Americans and Latinos in Philadelphia. Seven interviews were conducted with community leaders and government representatives who worked in African American and Latino communities. The study hypothesized that incidences of African American and Latino conflict will rise as the Latino population increases in formerly African American neighborhoods. Both the interviews and secondary data found that the hypothesis could not be supported. African Americans and Latinos in Philadelphia have a relationship that varies from cooperation, conflict, and independent relations, depending on contextual factors.

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother who without being here pushed me to endure and believe in myself. She exuded enduring love and kindness, and I am undoubtedly blessed for having known her.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Introduction

The present study explains African American and Latino relations in urban areas using Philadelphia as a case study. Specifically, it seeks to determine the effect new Latino immigration (1980-2000) has on African American and Latino relations. Good relations are essential for the livelihood of African Americans and Latinos and the city's overall well-being. Immigration, economic restructuring, white flight, and other factors have influenced the urban landscape. Inter-group conflicts between groups living in the inner city have increased during these changes, most notably in cities like Los Angeles which has had spikes in African American and Latino violence. (Aubry 2007) In Los Angeles where the African American population (9.6%) is smaller than the Latino population, (48.9%) Latinos orchestrated 71% of the African American hate crimes that occurred. (Economist 2007) However, there are also instances of cooperation that helped strengthen the community and improve inter-group conflict. For instance, both groups banded together to defend a proposition that allowed Latino children to be taught bilingually. (Aubry 2007) Los Angeles is important because it demonstrates what occurred between African Americas and Latino when a city with a sizeable Latino population moves into formerly African American neighborhoods at a high rate. (Mock 2006) Will this be echoed in other cities as Latinos arrive at higher rates?

Historically, researchers and the general public did not discuss minority inter-group conflict because minority groups were believed to be unified against a common oppressor. The outward appearance of unification between groups helped leaders solidify connections between and within groups. (Rodriguez 1996) Coalition-building leaders had greater access to more resources with inter-group cooperation. As the

dynamics of inner city group relations changed, fractures surfaced that erased the minority inter-group "rainbow coalition" façade. (Rodriguez 1996) Inter-group coalition-building saw a decline, especially when African Americans opposed or ignored Latino-centric interests, such as bilingual education and immigrant rights and as segregation made limited resources more limited. (Vaca 2004)

Currently, African Americans and Latinos comprise the largest groups (minority or otherwise) in the inner city. Cities are now shifting to a majority-minority population. (Davis 2001) According to census data, economic depression, violence and substandard living plague the inner city. (U.S Census Bureau 2000) Inter-group coalitions could effectively address these issues. Latinos, although comprising a smaller proportion in the inner city are arriving in the inner city in increasing numbers, especially since the 1980s. (Vaca 2004) While African Americans and Latinos have had a generally amicable relationship in the past, a growing Latino presence in communities that were exclusively African American are experiencing inter-group tension in some neighborhoods. (Aubry 2007)

Positive relations between these groups are vital to revitalizing deteriorating communities. If both groups focus more expanding the pie and less on competing over limited sources, they may be able to build coalitions that will stabilize the community. Growing positive African American and Latino relations in inner city communities may become a powerful tool for neighborhood change. This study examines African American and Latino relations and makes predictions on how a growing Latino presence may affect relations.

Philadelphia was chosen because of its ordinariness. Although it has a sizeable Latino and African American population, its economic and migratory patterns are not extraordinary and its population is comparable to urban landscape trends. Philadelphia is witnessing the same phenomena occurring in other Northeastern cities, especially crime and job loss. There has been increased Latino immigration, especially from Mexico and Central America. (Vaca 2004)

This study may help deteriorating inner city communities with burgeoning numbers of minorities suggest methods and examples of building political and educational coalitions. Positive group relations could affect local, state and federal change as both groups collectively fight for more resources. Census reports show that Latinos are the largest minority population in the United States. (U.S. Census Bureau 2000) Latinos are a formidable group whose needs must be addressed. (Vaca 2004) Latinos are arriving in metropolitan cities at a high rate. Failure by African American leaders to acknowledge Latinos may result in disastrous outcomes politically, economically, and socially. Ignoring the inner city's current state may have drastic consequences as once hollowed cities begin to revitalize.

This study seeks to find methods that ease intra-group tensions between new Latino immigrants and the older Latino population in Philadelphia. Because 70% of Philadelphia's Latinos are Puerto Rican, a 6% decrease in 16 years, (U.S. Census Bureau 1990, 2000) and Puerto Ricans are the Latino group that closely resembles African Americans with regard to social and economic disenfranchisement, (Hutchinson 2007) they may perceive the newer Latinos population as a threat encroaching on already limited resources. (Blalock 1967)

Based on the aforementioned material, the study's general research question is twofold (1) What is the current relationship between African Americans and Latinos in the urban landscape? (2) As Latino rates in the urban landscape rise, what effect (if any) may the new Latino populations have on African American and Latino relations?

Literature Review

Sixty years ago, the city was a thriving, bustling center filled with diversity and economic prosperity but after the Second World War many factors intertwined to change the urban atmosphere. A second great migration of African Americans from the south to northern cities occurred. (Wilson 1987) Deindustrialization aided in suburbanization and white flight, while contributing to African Americans' hypersegregation. (Massey and Denton 1989) Alone these events would have changed the city, but collectively they combined to dramatically alter urban dynamics.

The second great migration changed the urban landscape because large African American populations arrived. There was a prominent African American population in the urban landscape already but in some cities the population substantially increased. (Wilson 1987) The migrants' characteristics contributed to limited economic opportunity. The African Americans that arrived were younger. Age has a strong correlation to economic development. Groups with a higher average age have higher incomes while groups with a lower average age have a higher likelihood of committing violent crimes, having out-of wedlock children, and higher rates of unemployment. (Wilson 1987:142) The African Americans arriving from the south were younger and more likely to suffer economic hardship. They arrived when cities were experiencing major economic shifts. (Wilson 1987)

Deindustrialization refers to decreases in manufacturing jobs. (Rowthorn and

Ramaswamy 1997) Deindustrialization left cities hollow with large poverty

concentrations. These changes had profound effects on minorities in the urban

landscape; as researcher William Julius Wilson (1987) states:

> "Urban minorities have been particularly vulnerable to the structural
> economic changes of the past two decades: the shift from goods-producing
> to service producing industries, the increasing polarization of the labor
> market into low-wage and high-wage sectors, innovations in technology, and
> the relocation of manufacturing industries out of the central cities." (Wilson
> 1987:142)

These problems have not changed in the two decades following Wilson's (1987) study.

As jobs began to move from the city to the periphery, those that could move closer to

jobs did and in great numbers. These jobs were often replaced with lower paying labor-

intensive service industry jobs. (Wilson 1987) As a result, high levels of disadvantaged

and highly segregated residents remained while the middle class and upper class fled

the cities or moved to affluent neighborhoods—a phenomenon called suburbanization.

Suburbanization, a move from cities to suburbs affected the city's population as

well as its economic structure. As a result, the city went from being highly centralized

to decentralized and scattered. (Denton and Massey 1988) Schools suffered as middle

class and white families moved their children to suburban, or if they stayed in the city,

private schools. (Wilson 1987) Another effect of suburbanization was a decrease in

urban housing costs. As the population moved to the suburbs, city housing values could

not compete with suburban home values. (Wilson 1987) Suburbanization occurred

before the Second World War, but is primarily regarded as a post-war occurrence.

(Denton and Massey 1988) Although most that moved to the suburbs were white, in

Philadelphia African Americans had suburban communities as early as 1920, although

they were scattered in small communities. (Adams, Bartelt, Elesh, Goldstein, Kleniewski, and Yancey 1991) Historically, middle class white families had the resources needed to push toward the suburbs. This occurred simultaneous to African American in-migration, usually called white flight.

White flight is a term referring to middle class whites moving to the suburbs when there was a big in-migration of African Americans in the north that began moving into formerly white neighborhoods. White flight generally occurred after the Second World War and was accompanied by The Second Great Migration, deindustrialization, and suburbanization. (Frey 1979) Some scholars use white flight and white suburbanization interchangeably. Researcher William Frey (1979:427) states: "both market and nonmarket discriminatory practices effectively guaranteed movers all-white neighborhoods in the suburbs." In short, whites had higher residential mobility than minorities and used that mobility to move closer to other whites and away from minorities. As white flight occurred, residential segregation increased in the urban landscape.

Segregation Indices

Segregation indices measure exposure to other racial groups by neighborhood composition. In this study there are seven indices being used to understand African American and Latino experiences in the urban landscape: (1) exposure indices (2) dissimilarity indices (3) relative centralization indices (4) relative clustering indices (5) relative concentration indices (6) isolation indices, and (7) interaction indices. They are important in analyzing African American and Latino relations because segregation may be an indicator of the inter-group relationship. If the groups are segregated, there is a

greater tendency towards independent or contentious relations. Usually as the groups become integrated, there is a higher propensity towards a cooperative relationship.

Segregation indices have been used since 1928 to measure residential segregation. (Weinberg, Iceland, and Steinmetz 1) Many indices have been used to study residential segregation, but the measurement used by the census and this study is the method employed by researchers Nancy Denton and Douglas Massey (1988). Instead of viewing residential segregation unilaterally, they saw it as multifaceted. The researchers": "argued that segregation…encompasses five distinct dimensions spatial variation. The five dimensions they identified are: evenness, exposure, clustering, concentration, and centralization." (Massey and Denton 1988)

The first dimension, evenness, "refers to the unequal distribution of social groups across aerial units in an urban area." (Iceland et al. 2004:1) A metropolis with large ethnic enclaves would be categorized as being uneven. With the first dimension "A minority group is segregated if it is unevenly spread across neighborhoods." (Iceland et al. 2004) According to evenness, Philadelphia has an uneven Latino population since they are represented in heavy clusters in some areas and dispersed in others. This study used the dissimilarity index to measure evenness.

Dissimilarity indices measure:

"segregation between two groups, reflecting their relative distributions across neighborhoods within a city or metropolitan area. It can range in value from 0, indicating complete integration, to 100, indicating complete segregation." (Social Science Data Analysis Network, 2001)

The index measures the percentage a group would have to move in order to have to have even distribution throughout a city. The dissimilarity index uses one of Denton and Massey's (1989) five characteristics of residential segregation (evenness). Among

the dissimilarity index's features are: (1) the index is inflated by random numbers when the number of minority members is small relative to the number of areal units (2) It is insensitive to the redistribution of minority members among areal units with minority porportions above or below the city's minority proportions. (Iceland et al. 2004) The index compares minorities to whites and is incapable of computing multiple groups. Another drawback to using the dissimilarity index is that if the city has a small group population (1,000 or fewer) the numbers in the index will be high, regardless of that group's proportionality throughout the city. (Social Science Data Analysis Network, 2001) Nevertheless, the index is the most common measure of evenness, and these criticisms do not apply to the present study since neither population has fewer than 1,000 people nor it is necessary to compute multiple groups.

African Americans have one of the highest dissimilarity ratings of any minority in the city. (See Table 2) The dissimilarity index indicates that the African American to white dissimilarity index in 2000 is 72.2. This means that 72.2% of white people would need to move to another neighborhood to make African Americans and whites evenly distributed throughout the metropolitan area. This is a slight improvement over previous years where in 1990 76.9% of whites would have to move and 1980 where 78.2% of whites would have had to move to make African Americans and whites evenly segregated throughout the Philadelphia metropolitan area. (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) In comparison, Latinos have a dissimilarity rating of 60.1, meaning that 60.1% of Philadelphia's white population would have to move to another neighborhood to have even distribution of whites and Latinos in the city. (Social Science Data Analysis Network 2001) This is a slight improvement over previous years where in 1990 62.3%

of whites would have to move and 1980 where 62.8% of whites would have had to

move to make African Americans and whites evenly distributed throughout the

Philadelphia metropolitan area. (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) Both groups have high

dissimilarity ratings based on 2000, 1990 and 1980 Census population totals. Denton

and Massey (1989) caution against a high level of residential segregation in any

dimension since higher levels of residential segregation may lead to diminished access

to resources, which may lead to conflict. (Blalock 1967; Rodriguez 1996; McClain et

al. 2004) Based on African Americans' and Latinos' dissimilarity indicies, social

programs that focus on giving each group more resources may have a significant

impact on improving inter-group relations.

The second dimension, exposure, measures "the exposure a given race group

experiences with members of their own and each other race in an average neighborhood

of the city being examined" (Social Science Data Analysis Network 2001). Although

African Americans and Latinos live in close proximity, they may have diminished

exposure to each other. Exposure:

> "refers to the degree of potential contact between groups within neighborhoods of a city. Exposure indices measure the extent to which groups must physically confront one another by virtue of sharing a common residential area." (Iceland et al. 2002:1)

In a neighborhood with limited interaction between groups, there will be low exposure

both between minorities and between minorities and the majority.

This study used exposure indices to analyze African American and Latino

Relations in Philadelphia. The indices are based on data from the 2000 U.S. Census,

during a time when Philadelphia was experiencing a spike in Latino immigration

particularly from Guatemala, Mexico and other Central American countries differing

from its prominent Latino population (Puerto Ricans composed 76% of Philadelphia's Latino population before the rise in immigration). Because exposure indices show the level of exposure between and within groups, it is a viable tool to examine possibilities for inter-group and intra-group cooperation.

There are two indices that measure exposure: interaction indices and isolation indices. The interaction index measured "the exposure of minority group members to members of the majority group," while the isolation index measured "the extent to which minority members are exposed only to each other." (U.S. Census Bureau 1:2001) The 2000 interaction index for African Americans was 31.4%. This is a slight improvement over past interaction indices. In 1990, the interaction index was 28.2% while in 1980 the index was 27.8%. That marks a 3.4% increase in a twenty year span. According to researchers any percentage change over 5% would delineate a significant change in segregation indices. Latinos had higher interaction percentages as their 2000 interaction index was 57.1% with their 1990 and 1980 index percentages at 57.4% and 64.9%, respectively. This is a 7.4% decrease in twenty years. Although Latinos have a higher interaction percentage than African Americans, Latinos have witnessed a significant decline in interaction. African Americans, who historically have low interaction percentages, gained a slight increase in twenty years. Limited interaction to the majority group is correlated with limited access to resources, and (Massey and Denton 1989) limited resources may increase inter-group conflict. (Rodriguez 1996)

The isolation index measures "the extent to which minority members are exposed only to one another." (U.S Census Bureau 2005:1) Higher isolation index percentages means the group has higher exposure to other minority groups and

diminished exposure to the socioeconomic dominant group (whites). Diminished

exposure to whites may diminish access to resources, and cause inter-group tension as

groups vie for limited resources. (Rodriguez 1996) African Americans have high

isolation percentages—68.6% in 2000, 71.8% in 1990, and 72.2% in 1980. (U.S.

Census Bureau 2001) There has been little improvement for African Americans. There

was a 3.6% decrease over twenty years. When compared with African Americans,

Latinos have low isolation percentages. In 2000 the Latino isolation index percentage

was 42.9%, while in 1990 and 1980 the percentages were 42.6% and 35.1%. (U.S.

Census Bureau 2001) Similar to the interaction index, African Americans have

experienced slight improvements since 1980 while Latinos have experienced slight

declines.

Information from the table showed increased stratification between inner-city

residents and other areas in the city, except in some gentrified areas where concentrated

pockets of wealth have emerged. (Adams et al.1991) Although African Americans and

Latinos live in the same neighborhood, the exposure indices indicate that Latinos have

higher exposure rates with whites than with their own group or each other. (See Table

1) Latinos have a more dispersed exposure index (25% Black, 30% Latino, and 40%

White) than African Americans (24% White, 65% Black, and 6% Latino) (see Table 1).

According to the exposure indices African Americans are the most segregated

group with the majority of exposure (65%) to other African Americans. The indicators

for residential segregation suggest that discrimination affects residential segregation.

Researchers Massey and Denton (1989) studied residential segregation and found that:

"Compared with Hispanics, not only are blacks more segregated on any single
dimension of residential segregation, they are also likely to be segregated on any single

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dimension of residential segregation all five dimensions simultaneously, which never occurs with Hispanics." (Denton and Massey 1989:373)

This may have serious effects on inter-group relations. Because African Americans are

what Massey and Denton (1989:373) calls "hypersegregated" across all metropolitan

areas, there is a heightened possibility of group conflict. This hypersegregation is

unique to African Americans and according to the study:

"a high level of segregation on any one of these dimensions is problematic because it isolates a minority group from amenities, opportunities, and resources that affect social and economic well-being." (Denton and Massey 1989:373)

A higher isolation rate affects how groups relate to each other. If African Americans

believe that another group is encroaching on their limited resources, they may perceive

the group as a threat, which may lead to conflict. (Blalock 1967) While exposure

indices do a great deal in explaining African American segregation, it does not explain

the effect segregation has on Latino populations—especially Puerto Ricans. It does not

explain why although Puerto Ricans are generally of a lower economic status than

Blacks, they are not as spatially segregated from Whites. (Galster and Santiago 1995)

Table 1: Exposure Indices for African Americans (Non-Latino) and Latinos for the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area 2000

	White	Black	Latino	Other	Mixed
White	86.1%	6.6%	2.9%	0.1%	1.1%
Black/African American	23.5%	65.5%	6.3%	0.2%	1.7%
Latino	40.6%	24.5%	28.9%	0.2%	1.6%

Source: William H. Frey and Dowell Myers' analysis of Census 2000; and the Social Science Data Analysis Network (SSDAN)

Clustering, the third dimension of residential segregation measures:

"the extent to which areas inhabited by minority members adjoin in space. A high degree of clustering implies a residential structure where minorities are arranged contiguously, creating one large enclave." (Iceland et al.2004:3)

Typically with immigration, small enclaves create clustering in the urban atmosphere.

(Davis 2001) The Relative Clustering Index (RCL) was used to measure clustering.

This index "compares the average distance between minority members with the average distance between majority members." (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) When compared with whites, African Americans and Latinos have high levels of clustering. In 2000, African Americans had a clustering index percentage of 42.6% while Latinos had a 59.5% clustering percentage. This is an improvement over previous years where in 1990 and 1980 African Americans had a clustering index of 48.4% and 47.7% while Latinos had a 69.9% and 64.7% clustering percentage. (U.S. Census Bureau 2001)

The fourth dimension of residential segregation, centralization, focuses on the degree to which a group is located near the center of an urban area." (Iceland et al.2004:4) The measure of centralization employed by this study is relative centralization, which "compares the areal profile of the majority and minority population." (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) This study used the Relative Centralization Index (RCE) to measure concentration. The RCE "compares areal profile of the majority and minority populations," (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) During the 1950s, after the second great migration and government grants that gave work permits to Puerto Ricans to work in Philadelphia, African Americans and Latinos had high centralization rates. It was during this time that many whites were moving to the suburbs. This combination left the poor and minorities highly centralized and segregated. During the 1980s and 1990s, the relative centralization percentages for African Americans were 56.8% and 56.5% and for Latinos the RCE was 46% and 44.9%. The RCE according to Census 2000 information was 56.5% for African Americans and 44.1% for Latinos.

Concentration, the final dimension of residential segregation, is:

 "the relative amount of physical space occupied by a minority group in the urban environment. Concentration is a relevant dimension of segregation because

discrimination restricts minorities to a small set of neighborhoods that together comprise a small share of the urban environment." (Iceland et al. 2002: 4)
The Relative Concentration Index (RCO) was used to measure concentration. In 2000, African Americans had a concentration index percentage of 77.3% while Latinos had a 56.5% concentration percentage. This is a downgrade over previous years where in 1990 and 1980 African Americans had a relative concentration index of 70.7% and 69.6% while Latinos had a 52.3% and 46.9% relative concentration percentage. (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) A higher concentration percentage is related to a higher level of segregation. While both groups have high concentration percentages, African Americans have exceptionally high percentages that have dramatically increased between 1990 and 2000. (U.S. Census Bureau 2001) Because minorities in the urban environment are segregated from other groups and are cramped in row-homes, concentration is a viable and useful measurement of residential segregation.

Table 2: Segregation Indices for African Americans (Non-Latino) and Latinos in Philadelphia Metropolitan Area (1980-2000)

Year	Race/ Ethnicity	Dissimilarity Index	Interaction Index	Isolation Index	Relative Centralization Index (RCE)	Relative Clustering Index (RCL)	Relative Concentration Index (RCO)
2000	Black or African American	0.722	0.314	0.686	0.565	4.263	0.773
	Latino	0.601	0.571	0.429	0.441	5.952	0.565
1990	Black or African American	0.769	0.282	0.718	0.568	4.841	0.707
	Latino	0.623	0.574	0.426	0.460	6.995	0.523
1980	Black or African American	0.782	0.278	0.722	0.565	4.770	0.696
	Latino	0.628	0.649	0.351	0.449	6.475	0.469

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division 2001

African American's Philadelphia Experience

African American's hypersegregation (Massey and Denton 1989) based on all five dimensions speaks to the African American's urban experience. African Americans reside in every metropolitan area. Poverty, high unemployment rates, violence, high dropout rates, and high instances of female head of households are the primary fixtures of African American urban life. (Wilson 1987) Although there has been a rise of African Americans to the suburbs, the majority of inner-city residents are African American.

African Americans have always been prominent figures in Philadelphia. Many came to Philadelphia as slaves. After the American Revolution, some slaves were freed by masters enchanted by revolutionary ideals, while others were freed because they bought their independence while fighting during the war. By the late 18th century, slavery was becoming outlawed, and Philadelphia became the center for free slaves. (WGBH Educational Foundation 1998) Former and fugitive slaves came to Philadelphia in search of jobs and to live among other freed African Americans. Freed African Americans sold goods at the marketplace and formed churches and abolitionist movements. (WGBH Educational Foundation 1998) Although there was an affluent African American community that represented hope, there was a larger African American community living in poverty. The early 1900s brought a great migration of southern African Americans that hoped for a better life in the northern city. (WGBH Educational Foundation 1998) Unfortunately, they found a different form of hardship. Unemployment, discrimination, poverty and substandard living were the conditions for most African Americans in Philadelphia, as well as other northern cities. (WHYY 2008)

During the mid 1900s, a second migration occurred. During this time another influx of southern African Americans came to the north in search of a better economic opportunity. African Americans performed labor-intensive jobs. In every era, except 1910 and 1920, African Americans were more segregated than any other group—a pattern which continues to this day. (Adams et al.1991) They were also more likely to be employed as servants, or laborers. (Adams et al. 1991) African Americans typically lived in areas that were "rejected or abandoned by other ethnic groups." (Adams et al.1991:11) As deindustrialization occurred, African Americans were highly stratified and most lived at or below the poverty level, despite gains in the labor market. A pattern of occupational segregation exists in Philadelphia with African Americans. African Americans have been grossly underrepresented in high paying jobs and were historically excluded from manufacturing jobs. (Adams et al. 1991) Despite a declining trend in the population, African Americans now consist of 43% of the city, and have prominent communities in every section of Philadelphia. (U.S. Census Bureau 2006)

As the city was experiencing an influx of southern African Americans, it was also welcoming Latinos to work as labor migrants. Deindustrialization erased factory jobs and moved African Americans and Latinos into low paying service sector jobs. (Wilson 1987) The groups lived in the inner city, which was losing whites and the middle class to the suburbs. (Wilson 1987) A highly segregated inner-city formed with African Americans and Latinos, its largest residents competing for limited resources. (Rodriguez 1996)

Latino's Philadelphia Experience

Latino immigration is changing the American urban structure. Latinos and Asians have the largest population increases. Without the Latino population increase, metropolitan populations (especially in older cities) would be decreasing as white flight and Black out-migration increase. (Davis 2001) The world's second and third largest metropolitan economies (New York and Los Angeles) have a "majority-minority society." (Davis 2001:2) There are now as many Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in New York City as there are in San Jose and San Domingo, and as many El Salvadorans in Los Angeles as there are in San Salvador. (Davis 2001:8) Latinos account for 63% of America's population growth, and around 2050, whites (non-Hispanic) will become a numerical minority in the United States. (Davis 2001:8)

Latino is used to refer to a group of people that share a common language and culture, but some critics believe the monolithic category devalues the vast diversity of culture and language within the Latino category (Hutchinson 2007) In fact the Census Bureau struggled for fifty years to succinctly define the characteristics that encompass the Latino category. As researcher Mike Davis (2001:11, 12) points out:

> "After early vacillations over whether Mexicans were a "race" (yes in 1930; no in 1940), several alternate statistical universes, including the category of "Persons of Spanish Mother Tongue" (1950) and "Spanish Surname" (1960) were tried and abandoned because of heavy numerical leakage…In California and Texas for example, "Latino is generally preferred to "Hispanic," while in South Florida it is considered bad etiquette; on the East Coast both labels are common currency."

The debate rages on while each side claims that category misusage ignores Latino history and heritage. Neither category takes into account the fusion of African and Indian influence on the Latino culture. Although many Latinos have African and Indian

ancestry, many Latinos have applied the same negative stereotypes that have historically been used to describe African Americans and indigenous groups. (Hutchinson 2007)

Encouraging positive relations between African Americans and Latinos may require a cultural shift for Latinos. In most Latin American countries, those with darker skin and African ancestry are socioeconomically disadvantaged. As researcher Earl Ofari Hutchinson (2007) states:

> "Though far too many government officials in Latin American countries still downplay or deny that color discrimination exists in their countries, the harsh fact is that those of African ancestry in Latin American countries wallow at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. This is a strong indictment of the color prejudice against blacks and dark-skinned Indians in Mexico and Latin America." (Hutchinson 2007:16)

It may take systemic change, prolonged exposure, and communications with African Americans to change this cultural bias. Although there is a strong prejudice toward lighter skin in Latin American countries, there is also strong Black culture in Latin American countries. (Hernandez 2003) As white supremacy ideologies came to the forefront of Latino culture and history, "internalized racism of Latino/as caused their perception that Afro-Latino/as are foreign to Latino/a identity." (Hernandez 2003:154) Immigrants often see Afro-Latinos and African Americans as identical and often transfer these negative perceptions to the American urban setting. (Vaca 2004)

When discussing Philadelphia Latino migration, it is important to discuss the Latino groups involved. Historically, there had been a Latino presence in Philadelphia since the 17th century. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003:1) Currently, the largest Latino group in Philadelphia is Puerto Ricans. Many Latino enclaves are located in

North Philadelphia, but as the population expands and gentrification rises, there is a greater Latino presence in South and Northeast Philadelphia as well. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003)

When the first wave of Latinos arrived, they were courted by government subsidies. (Whalen 2001) These Latinos came in the 1950s and were largely Puerto Rican. Puerto Ricans had a different circumstance than other Latinos. Unlike other Latino groups, the Puerto Rican Philadelphia presence was seen as migration and not immigration. Also, Puerto Ricans usually migrate to and from Philadelphia and Puerto Rico in a practice called circular migration. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003) There was neither a problem with improper documentation nor a fear of deportation. When Puerto Ricans arrived in increasing numbers after WWII they worked lower-wage industrial jobs, similar to African Americans. As deindustrialization occurred Puerto Ricans performed service-sector jobs—a pattern that persists today. Since arriving in Philadelphia, Puerto Ricans have experienced substandard living, high unemployment rates, and large high school drop-out rates. (Whalen 2001) When Puerto Ricans first arrived, they were concentrated in the North Philadelphia neighborhood of Spring Garden. (Whalen 2001) Presently, Puerto Ricans live in large neighborhoods in North Philadelphia and the Lower Northeast. (Whalen 2001)

Puerto Rican Philadelphians, often called "Philaricans," (Davis 2001) are 70.1% of Philadelphia's Latino population. (U.S. Census Bureau 2006) The Puerto Rican population in Philadelphia has low socioeconomic status and a report on

"the state of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia showed that they were worse off than either African Americans or whites on almost all social indicators (housing, employment, schooling, and health)." (Goode and Schneider 1994:57)

Puerto Ricans usually have lowered socioeconomic status and experience greater economic disparities. (Tapia 1998) Philadelphia's Puerto Rican population also have high segregation rates—"over half of them living in only 15 of the city's 364 census tracts." (Adams et al.1991:138)

Similar to Philadelphia's Puerto Rican population, the second largest Latino group worked as laborers around the Second World War. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003) Philadelphia's Mexican population grew exponentially during the 1990s. The population is expected to exceed 12,000 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003) Mexicans live in enclaves in North Philadelphia, Northeast Philadelphia, West Philadelphia, Southwest Philadelphia, and South Philadelphia where a prominent Mexican community exists. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003) Many Mexicans live in neighborhoods with an existing Puerto Rican community.

The third and fourth largest Latino populations, Dominicans and Cubans, have large communities among the Puerto Rican community in North Philadelphia neighborhoods. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003) According to the 2000 Census Bureau, there are 4,337 Dominicans living in Philadelphia. (U.S. Census Bureau 2000) After 1990 there was rapid growth within the Dominican community as Dominicans moved to Philadelphia from New York. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003) There is a large Dominican community in the Feltonville section of Philadelphia and smaller communities in Northeast and West Philadelphia. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003) Cubans have a slower growing population. As of 2000, Philadelphia has the 50th largest Cuban population in America—2,730 Cubans live in Philadelphia. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003; U.S. Census Bureau 2000)

Cuban exiles arrived in Philadelphia as early as the 18th century. More Cubans arrived

between 1959 and 1965. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2003) Many Cubans

settled in the North Philadelphia neighborhood of Olney but have since dispersed into

the suburbs and other Philadelphia neighborhoods. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania

2003)

Unlike previous Latino groups that settled in Philadelphia, the new Latinos may

have little exposure to African Americans or Black people. Their exposure may come

from the media, which is usually negatively skewed. As researchers Mindola, Niemann

and Rodriguez (2002) noted after conducting surveys with Houston African American

and Latinos:

> "If Hispanic immigrants have little information about African Americans and if
> they have very few occasions to interact with them, the only behaviors they know
> about are those that attract media attention…Contact level may therefore result in a
> different picture of African Americans for foreign-born than for U.S.-born
> Hispanics." (Mindola; Niemann; Rodriguez 2002:38)

Because immigrants are usually isolated in enclaves and have little contact with other

residents, negative stereotypes are likely to persist, which can cause tension between the

groups when they interact. (Vaca 2004)

Theories for Inter-group Relations

Many inter-group relations theories emerged in the 1960s as groups united or

divided over lack of socioeconomic and political representation. Literature was chosen

based on satisfying the following questions: (1) What are the current indicators of

African Americans and Latino relations in the urban landscape? (2) What effect (if any)

will the new Latino populations have on African American and Latino relations?

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Most theories show a direct relation between population size and conflict. For instance as the group's population grows, conflict will grow as Latinos and African Americans vie for political and socioeconomic representation. (Blalock 1967; Rodriguez 1996) The theories reviewed predict what will occur between African Americans and Latinos when larger percentages of Latinos appear in communities that have high percentages of African Americans. These theories offer clues for predicting how larger Latino populations will influence African American and Latino relations.

When finding current indicators of African American and Latino relations as they vie for more socioeconomic and political representation, it is important to examine theories that study why relations would be contentious. The theories below are relevant because they explain the current indicators of contention or cooperation between African Americans and Latinos and explore the effects new Latino immigrants will have on indicators.

Conflict Theories

Conflict theories are the most researched theories in inter-group relations. There is an inherent assumption that minority relations are contentious, because most researchers believe stereotyping and competition will overshadow the need for coalition building. Conflict theories seek to answer why African American and Latino relations would lean towards contention instead of cooperation. Because African Americans and Latinos would compete for more political and socioeconomic representation, the urban landscape would be characterized by two groups that have differing agendas. Larger Latino populations would cause more conflict between African Americans and Latinos.

Current conflict indicators between African Americans and Latinos are: (1) Competing political interests (2) Economic competition, such as job competition (3) Separate social organizations with competing interests (4) Differing agendas (perceived or realized) (5) population size. (Piatt 2004; Blalock 1967; McClain, Meier, Polinard, and Wrinkle 2004) Competing political interests may include: African Americans lobbying against bilingual education in schools, or immigration. (McClain et al. 2004; Rodriguez 1996) Different agendas cause conflict because Latinos may believe African Americans would only cooperate to further their own agendas. As Aubry (2007) states:

> "Blacks and Latinos continue to face similar obstacles…improving relations would strengthen both groups' ability to correct prevailing inequities… collaboration has real potential for furthering their agendas." (Aubry 2007:1)

Population size is a conflict indicator because most conflict theorists believe that a larger Latino presence in formerly African American dominated areas would cause more conflict, since it would create economic competition. (Blalock 1967)

The power threat hypothesis, originally used to explain black and white relations, grew from 1960s inter-group relations theories. The power threat hypothesis is interesting in interpreting inner-city inter-group relations because it demonstrates what could occur when new minorities arrive in an inner city where African Americans are the largest minority group. The African Americans may perceive new Latino immigrants as threat. The power threat hypothesis states that when more minorities arrive in a place dominated by the majority, the dominant group undergoes "a power threat based on the fear that the minority might gain political dominance." (Blalock 1967:29) According to this hypothesis, when there is a greater minority presence, there

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will be a heightened fear of competition coinciding with a greater fear of a power threat, which may lead to a greater motivation to discriminate (Blalock 1967) and a stronger possibility of inter-group contention. The power threat hypothesis also assumes that both groups have limited resources and a rise in the other group would threaten power (political or socioeconomic) for the other. This demonstrates a zero sum scenario where relations between African Americans and Latinos will always have strained relations because every interaction will involve a power struggle. Because both groups have limited sources (lesser political representation, lower socioeconomic status), the zero sum perspective states both groups would fight for those resources.

The limited resources would cause inter-group contention since an economic or political gain for one group would be counted as a loss for the other. Because the urban landscape is fraught with poverty, and high unemployment rates (Wilson 1987) and African Americans and Latinos are the major groups in the urban landscape, inter-group contention between these groups may cause inner city instability and violence. In terms of economic competition: "Granting new ethnic groups a share of public jobs…means that existing jobs…must be redistributed away from others." (Jones-Correa 2004:186) African Americans would see new immigrant Latino populations (usually from Central America and Mexico) as a threat, causing heightened economic competition. Any Latinos would see African American gains (political-more representation; social-more programs and community services; economic- more jobs) as their loss, and vice versa. This view would make inter-group coalitions that serve both groups to improve community conditions challenging.

Economic Restructuring Theory

The economic restructuring theory explores how new industrial pressures and a shrinking world have changed the relationship between African Americans and Latinos. Economic restructuring theory is important in explaining how the new Latino immigrants change relations between African Americans and Latinos. Because Latino immigrants faced push/pull factors that made them immigrate to service sector jobs in deindustrialized inner cities (Rodriguez 1996), African Americans may feel threatened as the growing Latino population competes for jobs and political representation (Julius Wilson 1987).

Past theories cannot appropriately measure current African American and Latino relations because a new phenomenon has changed the way researchers should study inter-group relations. As Nestor Rodriguez (1996:1) states:

> "Global economic restructuring and international migration are dramatically altering socio-cultural and demographic landscapes in the urban United States…large-scale and demographic change has produced new interrelational matrices in U.S. urban areas…urban inter-group relations have been substantially affected by underlying structural processes whose reach transcends not only specific urban settings, but also the very nation-state."

Job outsourcing forced companies to move from northern cities to southern cities or industrial jobs were replaced by service sector jobs. As deindustrialization occurred, most cities were experiencing Latino growth. All of these factors changed African American and Latino inter-group dynamics. Before economic restructuring, Latinos were a smaller presence of the urban landscape. The urban landscape shifted from majority-minority (largely white and black) to minority-minority relations (usually African American, Latino and Asian). During this time, African Americans and Latinos became the prominent residents in the urban landscape. Latino growth during

deindustrialization meant both groups were competing over lower paying jobs with fewer benefits. As more Latinos move into the inner city and African Americans become further segregated from the larger society, group contention is more likely. (Jones-Correa 2001)

Theorists such as William Julius Wilson (1987) and Nestor Rodriguez (1996) believe restructuring theory helps to explain how economic restructuring has changed inter-group dynamics, making older theories explaining African American and Latino relations outdated. Although Latinos have had prominent populations in some cities before economic restructuring, (Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles) Latinos became more prominent and had higher visibility in the urban landscape as global and national economic restructuring occurred. Although global economic restructuring theory is effective in explaining why the relationship between African Americans and Latinos has fundamentally changed, it does not explain why previous theories (power threat hypothesis) remain effective in examining current relations.

Scape-goating Theory

Another theory for inter-group conflict, which is particularly dangerous when considering Latino immigration, is scapegoat theory. Scape-goating theory is usually committed by disenfranchised groups against disenfranchised groups and occurs when one group blames another for its hardships. This has been a pattern for new immigrants since the country's inception. Historically the Irish, Italians, African Americans, Asians and Latinos have all been scapegoats to explain economic downturns and social upheavals. (Piatt 2004) As Latino immigration rises, there has been some scape-goating, as some African Americans see Latino immigrants as a threat to their economic well-

being. Some African Americans and poor whites see immigrants as a threat, taking jobs and harming economic prosperity.

The perception of immigrants taking jobs away from African Americans is stronger than reality. (Hutchinson 2007) There is little evidence of African Americans losing jobs, but:

> When the perception becomes a widely-held public belief and is continually repeated as a fact, it soon takes hold in public opinion. In a Pew survey taken in April 2006…more blacks than whites said that they or a family member lost or didn't get a job because the employer hired an immigrant worker. This was pure perception. (Hutchinson 121:2007)

This perception may be based off of negative media depictions of immigrants. (Piatt 2004) Fear of Latino immigrants taking jobs may explain why some African Americans have not supported Latino interests in the past, such as immigration rights. (Piatt 2004)

Theorists like McClain and Karnig (1992) and Blalock (1967) believe that a larger Latino presence in the urban landscape would cause African Americans to perceive Latinos as a greater threat. African Americans would see the new Latino populations as a group threatening to take away jobs and political representation from an urban landscape with limited resources. This threat would create tension, which may lead to conflict. On the political level, African Americans in Philadelphia have fared better than Latinos. (Adams et al.1991) African American representatives may see politics as a zero sum game, where a Latino gain would mean an African American loss.

Cooperation Theories

Cooperation theories, although introduced in the 1960s, gained popularity during in the 1990s as the inner cities changed. Instead of viewing interactions as a power struggle, cooperation theories suggest interactions between African Americans and Latinos can be a powerful tool for change. Both groups can overcome tension and conflict by collectively fighting for representation and more resources. Historically, indicators for cooperation have been (1) shared coalitions (2) joint community centers and events (3) joint political and social organizations and institutions (4) outreach programs (5) population size. (McClain et al. 2004; Jones-Correa 2004)

In contrast to a zero sum scenario where both groups fight over limited resources, the positive sum theory states that African Americans and Latinos are more likely to cooperate via coalitions to gain political and socioeconomic resources. Instead of resources being limited between the groups, resources are unlimited. Because groups have similar goals and interests, inter-group cohesion is logical and mutually beneficial. Instead of African Americans and Latinos fighting over scarce resources:

"Minority–minority relationships may…extend to a positive sum game, where resources and/or policy outcomes are not finite…they share common interests and therefore attempt to cooperate and reap benefits from joint political action. Such cooperation may or may not be at the expense of other groups, such as Anglos." (McClain et al. 2004:399)

Positive sum theorists believe resources are infinite and there is a larger incentive for minority groups to cooperate. Positive sum theorists, such as Meier, McClain, Polinard, and Wrinkle (2004) believe that larger Latino presence in the urban landscape would cause group cohesion as both groups fight against the white majority for improved political and socioeconomic resources. In the urban landscape, examples of positive

sum include outreach programs, bilingual education, or African American support on

important Latino issues, like immigration. (Betancur 2001)

The middleman theory, an extension of the zero sum perspective and power

threat theory, explains how an intermediary third minority could help mediate tensions

between two minorities. In the inner city, the middleman minority between Latinos and

African Americans historically have been Asians, who have set physical buffers

between the groups. (Nazli 1995)

According to the middle man theory Asians in the inner city would:

"represent a barrier between the other two groups, serving as a buffer which can
often absorb any major strains the system may undergo short of complete rebellion
by the subordinate group…the middleman minority actually mediates interaction
between the other two groups, being the subordinate group's primary source of
contact with the elite." (Blalock 81)

Although African Americans are hardly elite, middle man minorities may act as

mediators in a contentious area. The middleman minorities would act as buffers

between the two groups, corroborating with both groups by forming coalitions.

Using Asians as the middleman minority is problematic, however, when using

Philadelphia as a case study. Demographically, most inner city Asians are concentrated

in areas where African Americans and Latinos are least likely to interact. A majority of

Philadelphia's Asian inner city population resides in South Philadelphia, where there

are fewer Latinos. In areas where African Americans, Latinos, and Asians interact,

Asians have minimal numbers. There has also been African American and Asian

conflict in the inner city. Some African Americans believe Asians that own stores in

their communities denigrate African American communities. (Adams et al.1991) It is

unclear whether Asians can act as mediators between African Americans and Latinos in

Philadelphia, but Asians may act as intermediaries in other urban cities such as New York.

Another middleman scenario in the inner city is African Americans acting as middlemen for Latinos, and vice versa. Using African Americans and Latinos as mutual middlemen is problematic, because historically middlemen minorities have an economic advantage over the minority. Inner city residents have higher poverty rates; using Latinos and African Americans as mutual middlemen would not apply to the current urban landscape. (Rodriguez 1996)

A final middleman scenario, which is an extension of using African Americans and Latinos as mutual middlemen, is especially useful in Philadelphia and other northeastern cities—using Puerto Ricans as middlemen between African Americans and new Latino immigrants. Puerto Ricans are a more plausible middleman group than any other Latino group because they are socioeconomically similar to African Americans while sharing a similar language and culture to other Latino cultures. In some areas, African Americans and Puerto Ricans have a history of cooperation. Both groups

> "have had a long, close and personal history of working and living together in neighborhoods and barrios. Puerto Rican and black elected officials, educators and community activists in both cities have cooperated to get more blacks and Puerto Ricans elected in city elections, in the battles for school improvement, and increased neighborhood services." (Hutchinson 2007:19)

While African Americans and Latinos have historically worked together, they have also competed, especially for economic and political opportunities. (Hutchinson 2007) Puerto Ricans may also be competing for economic opportunity with new Latino immigrants, which may cause conflict between Puerto Ricans and newer Latino immigrants.

Historically, the middleman theory was applicable to inter-group relations, but because the urban landscape is more segregated than it was in the 1950s and 1960s, (Wilson 1987) the middleman theory does not apply to the current urban landscape in Philadelphia, but may apply in other cities.

Theories for Independent Relations

Modern researchers claim inter-group relations are not as simple as complete conflict or complete cooperation. They allege that although African Americans and Latinos occupy the same space in the urban landscape, their activities are segregated. "The actions and outcomes of one group have no impact on or relationship to the other." (McClain et al. 2004:399) Their relations are neither antagonistic nor cooperative—the groups have no relations.

In an experiment done in Houston, Nestor Rodriguez (1996) studied a group of African Americans and Latinos and found that although African Americans and Latinos were residing in the same area, they had limited interaction. Their lives were completely independent of the other. Cultural and language barriers helped maintain the separation. Another study done by John Betancur (1996) chronicles the settlement experience of Chicago's Latino immigrants. Betancur found that the Latino immigrants, who were largely Mexican, were segregated from the African Americans in their community fifty years after they immigrated. (Betancur 1310)

While it is true that African Americans and Latinos do not necessarily interact even when sharing the same space, it seems suspicious that these groups have absolutely no interaction. In the urban landscape, where high segregation from the mainstream population exists, (Aubry 2007) it is difficult to separate both groups, and

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although there may be some element of segregation; (job, churches, and social organizations) some areas (schools) make complete segregation unlikely.

The idea that both groups being independent of each other is useful in explaining why there may be limited interaction between African Americans and Latinos—especially when cultural and language barriers are taken into account. According to the independence theory, as the Latino population in the inner city grows, both groups will become increasingly segregated. This theory has limited utility—it may explain why groups have limited interaction but does not explain why both groups have similar agendas such as voting rights, housing, employment, and economic prosperity. (Aubry 2007)

While many theories were written to describe African American and white relations, they are applicable to African American and Latino relations. This is because the urban atmosphere has characteristics (poverty, housing, employment) that apply to any group residing in it. White flight and economic restructuring caused dramatic shifts in the urban landscape's composition. (Wilson 1987) While the inner city's population changed from white and black (majority-minority) to black and Latino with Asian enclaves, (minority-minority) the residents in the urban landscape were becoming increasingly segregated from the larger population. (Jones-Correa 2001)

The biggest effect new Latino populations would have on current indicators is directly correlated to the population size. Conflict and cooperation theories believe that a higher population would either exacerbate conflict or become a tool for cooperation. In a city like Los Angeles, which has more Latinos than African Americans and Latinos

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are residing in formerly African American communities, high Latino populations have

caused conflict. (Economist 2007)

> "Los Angeles has tallied more than 400 racial hate crimes last year-the most, as a proportion of all hate crimes, for at least a decade. Blacks fared worst: they comprise just 9% of the population of Los Angeles County but were the victims of 59% of all hate crimes. Seven times out of ten, their persecutors were Latino." (Economist 2007:1)

Will this become a pattern in other cities that have Latinos moving into neighborhoods

that were predominately African American? In cities similar to Philadelphia with a

higher African American population than Latino population, an increased Latino

population can become a catalyst for African American and Latino cooperation.

Increasing numbers may make African Americans aware of Latino interests, thus

forming coalitions.

Theories for group cooperation are either antiquated or not applicable to the

current Philadelphian urban landscape. Examples of positive sum or other cooperation

theories are scattered and limited. This may be due to the fact that inter-group

contention is more researched than cooperation.

Many researchers view inter-group relations as a continuum—varying between

contention, cooperation and independence. This makes predicting inter-group relations

challenging, since some situations would warrant cooperation in some cities, but may

yield contention in others. Lack of African American and Latino political representation

caused conflict in Houston, but built coalitions in Los Angeles. (Rodriguez 1996) This

variance is largely the result of population size. Where there is a higher preexisting

Latino population (Los Angeles) and a smaller African American population, there is a

higher tendency for group cooperation, but a smaller preexisting Latino population and a larger African American population may yield group contention. (Jones-Correa 2001)

Using these theories to explain how the landscape has changed and how indicators for inter-group cohesion or contention changed will gain more insight into what changes have occurred, and how new Latino populations affected this change. Speaking to city officials and community leaders to see what steps the community and city government are taking to reach out to new populations and bolster community cooperation.

Conceptual Framework

This research analyzes African American and Latino relations in the urban landscape and how immigrants affect these relations by reviewing theory on minority-minority relations, analyzing demographic trends, and interviewing community leaders. Specifically, it seeks to use Philadelphia as a case study for examining the effect new Latino immigration may have on the American urban landscape. Although there are abundant resources available that study majority-minority relations, there is less regarding minority-minority relations and even a smaller percentage regarding how the new Latino immigration affects African American and Latino relations. (Rodriguez 1996)

The research questions in this study are: What are the indicators of political and socioeconomic conflict and cooperation in the urban landscape between African Americans and Latinos? As Latino rates in the urban landscape rise, what effect (if any) will the new Latino populations have on the indicators of African American and Latino relations? Because urban neighborhoods are hyper-segregated, the current surge in

Latino immigration may cause considerable antagonism with the African American population. Unlike earlier waves of Latino immigration into the urban landscape, the newer Latino immigrants face an urban landscape that is more economically segregated. (Frey and Farley 1996) They are also arriving in a changing urban landscape as whites and young professionals are reclaiming centralized areas through gentrification. (Adams et al.1991) This segregation, both between groups in the urban landscape and between the urban neighborhoods and the suburban communities, may cause both groups to become antagonistic towards each other, especially when the Latino population rapidly increases. (Blalock 1967; Wilson 1988; Massey and Denton 1989) The segregation may cause intra-group antagonism among the new and existing Latino populations. Segregation is related to conflict because minority groups that have higher segregation levels are cut off from the majority's resources. (Rodriguez 1996) Consequently, groups that have limited resources have tension with other minority groups, and see them as economic and political competitors. (McClain et al. 2004) Segregation can also cause conflict because if groups remain segregated with limited interaction when they do interact there is a higher probability of tension. (Mindola et al. 2002)

When studying African American and Latino relations, there are four scenarios that explain the basic nature of relations in the urban landscape. Relations are antagonistic, cooperative, independent, or a range of these scenarios. When assessing the current relations and the effect new Latino populations will have in the urban landscape, it is important to define the terms (antagonism, cooperative, independent) that help explain relations.

Inter-group antagonism is defined by researcher Edna Bonacich (1972) as a term:

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"intended to encompass all levels of inter-group conflict, including ideologies and beliefs (such as racism and prejudice), behaviors (such as discrimination, lynching, riots), and institutions (such as laws perpetrating segregation). Exclusion movements and caste systems may be seen as the culmination of many pronouncements, actions, and enactments, and are continuously supported by more of the same." (Bonacich 1972:549)

These ideologies, beliefs, and behaviors can be imagined or perceived. Bonacich's

definition of antagonism, although useful in majority-minority inter-group relations,

needs to be expanded when discussing minority-minority relations. Inter-group

antagonism in this study is defined as:

"a process of opposition and confrontation; when one group obstructs the progress of another. This process may be physical (assault), emotional, or psychological. It may be apparent or latent (tension may manifest itself as conflict). Furthermore, one party's opposition to the proposals or action of a second party may also result in conflict." (Ratzburg 1999:1)

Examples of inter-group conflict include but are not limited to violence, racism, and

prejudice. In Philadelphia, inter-group antagonism was visible during Wilson Goode's,

the first African American mayor, administration. African American and Puerto Rican

political coalitions worked together to get Goode elected, but his administration did

little to benefit Puerto Ricans. Puerto Ricans felt Goode's administration hoarded

minority benefits for African Americans. (Goode and Schneider 1994) This created

antagonism between the groups as:

"The failure of the Goode administration and the African American power structure to be responsive to the community has diminished the African American- Puerto Rican coalition at the level of public collective action. Many Puerto Rican leaders feel that African Americans have reaped all the advantages of civil rights and affirmative action and are no longer in the same boat as they." (Goode and Schneider 1994:57, 58)

Theories for inter-group antagonism pinpoint economic and political competition and a

perceived power threat as potential causes for inter-group antagonism. (Blalock 1967)

Interviews helped to measure the level of inter-group antagonism in Philadelphia, and

the factors that are associated with African American and Latino antagonism in Philadelphia.

Inter-group cooperation, by contrast, is defined as both groups working together for mutual benefit. (Karnig and McClain 1990) This cooperation may be to the detriment of a third group. This was exemplified in the sixties as minority groups cooperated against the dominant group. In cities like Chicago and New York:

"Blacks and Puerto Ricans…have had a long, close and personal history of working and living together in neighborhoods and barrios. Puerto Rican and black elected officials, educators, and community activists in both cities have cooperated to get more blacks and Puerto Ricans elected in city elections, in the battles for school improvement, and increased neighborhood services…the Young Lords, a radical Puerto Rican activist group, and the Black Panther Party conducted joint marches and protest against police and landlord abuses during the late 1960s." (Hutchinson 2007:19)

Theories for inter-group cooperation include both groups working together against a common oppressor for more resources (positive sum). An "emphasis on economic development opportunities that improve job prospects for all citizens could expand the overall size of the economic pie." (McClain et al. 2004:399) Examples of inter-group cooperation include joint community centers and joint political coalitions. Interviews helped to examine when African Americans and Latinos cooperated and the context of that cooperation.

Independent relations are defined in this study as both groups having no interaction in the urban atmosphere and therefore, no relations. (Karnig and McClain 1990) Independent relation theories operate on the notion that although African Americans and Latinos share the same space, they do not necessarily interact. (Betancur 1996) Independent relations assume that: "the actions and outcomes of one group have no impact or relationship to the other." (McClain et al. 2004:399) Theories for inter-

group independent relations pinpoint cultural and language barriers as potential causes for no inter-group relations between African Americans and Latinos in the urban landscape. Interviews helped examine the role language and cultural barriers have on African American and Latino relations in Philadelphia.

When I use the term "new Latino immigration," it refers to the Latinos that immigrated to the United States after 1990. (Rodriguez 1996:6) These Latinos are generally from Mexico and Central America, while the older and more prominent Latino populations on the east coast were from Spanish-speaking Caribbean nations. (Davis 2001)

African Americans will be used to define people that are descended from an African nation; many were former slaves in America. This category includes Black Americans—people descended from the Caribbean, South America, and Central America since Census population statistics do not differentiate between the two, unless otherwise noted. It is important to understand the differences between the groups, since there is a risk of assuming group cohesion. When looking at U.S. Census Bureau (2001) residential segregation statistics, care was taken to include African Americans and blacks without Latino ethnicity. Both African Americans and Black Americans have African origins and are members of the Black Diaspora. (Dzidzienyo and Oboler 2005)

Limitations

There are three specific limitations to this research study: interview structure, researcher bias, and the ability to generalize the findings to other cities. The interview used snowball sampling to conduct interviews. While the study was enriched by people that worked with African Americans and Latinos, non-random sampling gave an

inherent bias to the study. Another limitation involving the interview structure is the interviewer effect. My personal characteristics may have inadvertently affected the interviewee's answers. When talking about African American and Latino relations, my appearance may have affected interviewees' responses. The number of interviews may have taken away objectivity, since all the interviewees worked in similar communities for similar goals. Interviewees were chosen based on the organizations or communities they serve and efforts were made have diverse interviews. For instance, locally popular organizations had at least one representative in the interviews, and both groups had equal representation.

Philadelphia was chosen because of its ordinariness, meaning there is no extensive reporting of inter-group cooperation or antagonism, and both populations are integrated in Philadelphia neighborhoods and have been for more than 50 years, (Goode and Schneider1994) but the primary reason Philadelphia was chosen was because of my personal connections in the neighborhood. As a former resident of a neighborhood experiencing the effects of new Latino immigration, there is an inherent bias to the study. Some interviewees were chosen based on personal knowledge of organizations or agencies. Recognizing this bias was essential in trying to maintain objectivity throughout the study.

The research study has a generalizability limitation because some suggested models for inter-group cooperation may not be applicable to all cities. For instance, the middleman minority theory may be applicable to inter-group relations in New York, but less applicable in Philadelphia. Looking at the indicators of African American and

Latino relations (competing political interests, economic competition, such as job competition, separate social organizations with competing interests, differing agendas either perceived or realized, population size and so on) helped to safeguard this limitation.

Data and Methodology

The research focused on the effects new Latino immigration may have on African American and Latino relations in the urban atmosphere. Examining what factors affect African American and Latino relations may lead to a better understanding of how newer Latino immigrants may affect the African American and Latino urban relationship. Examples of the current indicators include: competing political interests, economic competition, such as job competition, separate social organizations with competing interests, differing agendas either perceived or realized, separate social institutions, shared political coalitions joint community centers and events, and joint political and social organizations and institutions. (McClain et al. 2004; Betancur 2005; Stewart 1999; Piatt 2004) The study focused on how factors such as population, which includes the current Latino population and the incoming population in relation to the African American population, education levels, labor opportunities, economic resources and political representation may affect African American and Latino relations. The study uses two data sources—secondary data and interviews. The data sources were United States Census and Philadelphia government data. The Census data used include segregation indices, as well as census population data; Philadelphia government data focused on reports on African American and Latino conflict in Philadelphia.

The interviews were the primary source of information about the state of African American and Latino relations in Philadelphia as a new wave of Latinos arrive. They were used to examine African American and Latino relations. The interviewees were community leaders (church leaders, leaders in community centers, government leaders) that have firsthand experience with inter-group relations. Because the interviews have a dual purpose: (1) To gather information about African American and Latino relations in Philadelphia (2) To test current theories of African American and Latino relations as they apply in Philadelphia, the interviews can be seen as reflective instrument and as a measurement instruments.

Interviews with community and civic leaders focused on their firsthand accounts of African American and Latino Relations. The interviews took place face to face and did not exceed one and one half hours. The participants were solicited by email and phone. Phone solicitation only took place in the event email solicitation was ineffective. Interviewees were church leaders, community center leaders, block captains, as well as government officials. The subjects were recruited via email or phone and were chosen based on their position in a community-serving organization. Snowball sampling was employed for some interviewees. There were seven interviews. Some of the interview questions asked was:

1. How would you describe relations between African Americans and Latinos?
2. What outreach efforts have your organization established to work within the Latino community?
3. How have relations changed over time?
5. Comment on past inter-group coalitions. What are ways they can improve? How have these coalitions helped both communities?
6. What has your organization done to outreach to new immigrants?

A complete list of interview questions is included in the appendix of this study. Before

the interview, the interviewee received an informed consent form. The form was

completed before the interview began. The form had a section that focused on the use of

recorded media (videotapes or recorders) and confidentiality measures. Interviewees

were asked for permission before recorded media was used. If recorded media was

used, information was transcribed solely by the interviewer. To ensure confidentiality,

answers were coded numerically and the interviewer was the only person with access to

the transcribed material. Neither the interview process nor the solicitation required

letters of permission from organizations or agencies.

Data sets were used to measure the African American and Latino Relations in

Philadelphia. These charts compared the reported incidences of inter-group antagonism

from Philadelphia's Office of Human Resources. The office reports on inter-group

violence with specific accounts and how the matter was resolved. Another item useful

in measuring African American and Latino relations in the urban landscape are

segregation indices from the census. These indices measure each group's exposure to

other races. The indices are from the 1980, 1990 before and during the new Latino

immigration, and 2000 during and immediately following the rise in the Latino

population, census polls. These indices were used to determine how factors

(neighborhood segregation, neighborhood racial composition, and neighborhood

isolation, inter-group reported incidences) affect African American and Latino relations.

The studied population was African Americans and Latinos in Philadelphia.

They largely resided in North Philadelphian neighborhoods, because according to

Philadelphia's Planning office and census information, the majority or Philadelphia's

Latino population resides in North Philadelphia. There are North Philadelphia

neighborhoods with high levels of both groups. The research study aims to analyze

whether the new Latino population has affected these neighborhoods, and whether these

changes affected African American and Latino relations in these North Philadelphia

neighborhoods.

The primary measurement instrument used in this study was interviews.

Statistics were used, but were not manipulated in any way. The statistics were used to

augment the interviews, are secondary to the interviews, and are from the 1980 1990

and 2000 census. Census data will help determine surges or declinations in the Latino

population and provide a better understanding of the countries the population

immigrated. Data also derived from the 2006 American Community Survey. The survey

is the latest census report and showed where the new Latino immigrants originated.

Using data from reports on inter-group antagonism and citywide outreach initiatives

may reveal how the city responds to inter-group antagonism and see Philadelphia's

outreach efforts when used with information from the interviews.

Findings

Interviews were an important aspect of the study because it allowed the study to

move beyond theories and indices and into the application and examples of inter-group

relations as they currently exist in Philadelphia. There were seven interviews, and all

interviewees were government or community leaders. Questions were based around the

following themes: (1) Past relations (2) current relations and (3) the impact of

immigration on future relations. Other questions gave information about relations in

other cities and how Philadelphia can either mimic or prevent other cities' African

American and Latino relations. Contingency questions were also asked based on the

interviewees' responses, and are unique to each interview.

The salient characteristic that all interviewees had to encompass was working

with the groups on a community-level. They had to have some contact with community

members that represented their mission. It was important for the study because these

organizations needed to have an impact in the community, and their practices had to

affect African Americans and Latinos at a community level. The study had no

prerequisite for community leaders. They could either collaborate with city government

agencies or other organizations. Four of the seven interviewees were from government

agencies and three were community leaders. The interviewees had a history of

community service, (especially in communities with African American and Latinos)

and most were veterans in their organizations.

The questions that centered on past relations focused on finding out how both

groups related to each other in the past and how past relations have an effect on present

relations. When asked their opinion of past relations between African American and

Latinos, one third of the interviewees agreed that relations are better now than previous

points in time. One interviewee attributed this to increased mutual exposure. This view

is contradictory to the "rainbow coalition" (Rodriguez 1996:4) mentality that some

researchers state occurred during the 1960s and 1970s. As the integration and civil

rights movement waned, a countermovement came into the forefront, which emphasized

improving the group and focused on intra-group cohesion. This intra-group cohesion

may have come at the expense of inter-group harmony. (McClain et al. 2004) Most

interviewees, however, held a different view. More than half of the interviewees

believed that African American and Latino relations in Philadelphia were always cooperative, with a few extraneous cases of conflict. They believed that the isolated incidences had no effect on relations and had no association with underlying tension between the groups.

Questions about current relations centered on the current state of relations, how to improve (or maintain) relations and how Philadelphia's African American and Latino relations differs from other cities. The respondents were split when they were asked to assess current relations. About half agreed that relations could be strengthened, while the other half felt that improving relations was a non-issue. They believed that inter-group relations were cooperative and there was no need to improve African American and Latino relations. "I have lived here for ten years and really I have seen a lot of cooperation between agencies and the community for any emergent issue. I haven't seen any major conflict that is worth presenting. I heard about African American and Latino conflict through the national media." (Interviewee #4 15:27) Despite Philadelphia's exposure indices results, all the interviewees believed that both groups had a high level of interaction. As a result, the independent relations theory was not supported by the interviewees. They believed that because both groups occupied the same space and interacted in neighborhood stores, churches, community centers and schools, interaction between the groups were inevitable.

When asked how to improve (or maintain) relations, the interviewees had similar opinions. All of their solutions took a community-based approach. One respondent stated: "One of the things the city could do or really the community because it boils down to the basic community. It's about understanding what is going on

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between these groups." (Interviewee #2 22:12) They focused on building programs that strengthened communities, and educational programs that highlighted the culture and diversity of the groups while stressing inter-group harmony. All interviewees stressed the importance of cultural education through community events. As one responded stated:

"My organization is about advancing the Black agenda, and it is in our best interest to cooperate with our neighbors. We need to learn about them just as they need to learn about us." (Interviewee #6 10:36)

They also expressed a need to improve inter-group tolerance, because the interviewees believed improving tolerance builds a positive relationship that improves inter-group relations.

When comparing other cities to Philadelphia, two distinct themes emerged. One theme focused on how Philadelphia's racial composition made it incomparable to other cities and their inter-group relations while the other theme focused on how Philadelphia's racial composition made inter-group cooperation easier. Others believed that other cities can serve as a model that Philadelphia can use to improve relations. As one respondent stated: "If you look at other cities like New York City where if you live in the neighborhood there seems to be more of a seamless relationship than in Philadelphia, so it's one where we have a lot of work to do." (Interviewee #7 7:45) Those that believed Philadelphia's racial composition lent itself to inter-group cooperation focused on African American and Latino (mostly Puerto Rican) commonalities. They believed because both group are socially and economically disadvantaged and live together in most neighborhoods, periods of prolonged exposure

(more than fifty years) made African American and Latino Relations in Philadelphia

cooperative. As one respondent stated:

> "Through the years, and I have been here for 32 years, some of the adversities that
> both groups have encountered through the years have brought them together to force
> a union for the most part." (Interviewee #5 44:15)

The other prevalent theme was that African American and Latino relations are distinct.

In Philadelphia, (the 5th largest city in America) similarly to the four largest cities in

America, (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and Houston) African Americans and

Latinos comprise more than half of Philadelphia's population. (Rodriguez 1996) But

unlike the largest cities Philadelphia is predominately African American, and as one

interviewee pointed out, will always be predominately African American. They stated:

> "The city of Philadelphia, unlike other urban cities is a majority African American
> city and will always be that way. Even if you look at the increase of Latinos; we
> represented 45% of the city's increase in the last census. Even if you follow those
> trends it will always be what I call a Black city and because of that you would
> suspect there would be more natural synergy in the work that is done." (Interviewee
> #1 19:44)

Therefore African Americans are less likely to feel threatened if they are the majority.

While there are other "Black cities," the Philadelphia region's immigration population

grew to 500,000 between 1990 and 2000, more than any comparable metropolitan area.

(Baltimore; Buffalo, N.Y.; Cleveland; Detroit; Milwaukee; Pittsburgh; and St. Louis)

(Loviglio 2008) Most of this growth occurred between 2000 and 2006. But this

explanation does not account for political and economic conflict between the groups.

Despite results from other findings and nationwide results, most of the interviewees

believed that African Americans and Latinos had a cooperative relationship nationally,

and any city that contradicted that belief had extraordinary circumstances. One

interviewee stated:

"I don't think Philadelphia is different than any other city. Both communities have always cooperated in every city. The media makes it look like all relations are negative, but we have a long history of cooperation." (Interviewee 3 58:12)

When asked how the language barrier affects inter-group relations, most interviewees saw it as a non-issue among African Americans and the older Latinos and among the former and newer Latino immigrants. One respondent replied "we do not think language is a problem in Philadelphia. We are more worried about our children learning and speaking Spanish." (Interviewee #3 22:15) Because there has been a prevalent Latino presence in the inner city since the 50s, African Americans have been exposed to the Spanish language. Since African Americans were exposed to the Spanish language with the older Latino population, the interviewees largely felt the language barrier would not affect African American relations with the newer Latino immigrants. There was a greater concern among the interviewees of later generations retaining language and preserving culture.

Questions about the future of relations focused on the impact Latino immigration may have on inter-group and intra-group relations.

"One of the things we have to do is be able to start really walking the walk on both sides of the fence so we're always quick to use the data to talk about minority communities. We are both acutely aware of the statistics but we haven't discussed what is the agenda, how do we work together in these communities that are so diverse, and put together a strong education agenda." (Interviewee #1 6:27)

Most interviewees focused on the impact immigration may have on intra-group relations. There was a wariness, especially in Latino social organizations and government agencies, that the older Latino population and the new Latino immigrants will have a tense relationship. Because the majority (60%) of Latinos in Philadelphia is Puerto Rican, a 6% decrease in ten years, (U.S. Census Bureau 1990, 2000) some interviewees caution that Puerto Ricans may feel a power threat causing tensions

between Puerto Ricans and newer Latino populations. As a result, some interviewees

noticed a rise in intra-group conflict. One interviewee expressed concern by stating:

"Puerto Ricans are losing population at a higher rate…you see large populations moving to the suburbs, or places like Lancaster. Between 2000 and 2006 we saw a large increase of people from Central America and Mexico. We are seeing increases in conflict between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans."
Puerto Ricans may see the new immigrants as an economic threat, which may cause

tension between the groups. Intra-group tension also affects inter-group relations. If the

older Latinos population and the newer Latino immigrants are dissented, the older

Latino population cannot effectively mediate relations between African Americas and

newer Latino immigrants. Having the older Latino population work as middlemen

between the newer Latino immigrants and African Americans would ease inter-group

tension among the groups, and strengthen neighborhoods. (especially where the groups

are occupying the same neighborhoods)   If the older Latino population sees the new

Latino immigrants as an economic threat, it harms intra-group cohesion and a chance to

strengthen inter-group relations. Immigrants coming into this situation will be

segregated from other groups in their neighborhood and other group outside of their

neighborhood. They would face a severely segregated inner-city with the main groups

vying for what researcher Carmen Theresa Whalen (2001) calls "a plethora of limited

opportunities." (Whalen 2001:6)

Because the interviewees were civil leaders their opinions on African American

and Latino relations may have been skewed. They were more inclined to admit inter-

group cooperation and downplay inter-group contention, especially if they worked for

government agencies that emphasized inter-group cohesion. Organizations that worked

in communities yielded different answers, however. Overall, they were more candid and

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focused on improving relations. Most interviewees from community social organizations were concerned about issues that affect both groups (poverty, violence, and improving education) and discussed how improving those issues can improve relations. Instead of fighting for limited resources, improving both groups can expand resources and provide a less hostile environment. It would also be an effective tool in lifting the poorest members of both groups from disenfranchisement. Contrary to the idea that that focusing on intra-group identity and relations comes to the detriment of inter-group relations, they believe that focusing on intra-group dynamics strengthens inter-group relations. As researcher Nicholas Vaca (2004) comments after conducting a survey on inter-group relations in Houston:

> "Another major finding is that Hispanics who expressed pride in their ethnic group tended strongly to rate African Americans positively. The implications of this finding for promoting positive inter-group relations are obvious: all efforts to promote Hispanic ethnic pride also have the benefit of tending to increase Hispanic positive attitudes toward African Americans." (Vaca 117)

Organizations and agencies that work toward instilling Latino pride in groups are also beneficial in alleviating inter-group tensions.

Inter-group Conflict Reports from Philadelphia's Commission on Human Relations

Secondary data was pivotal to analyzing the current relationship between African Americans and Latinos in Philadelphia. Data from The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations (PCHR) allowed the study to utilize inter-group conflict reports to assess the current relationship between African Americans and Latinos while looking at trends for future relations. Analyzing inter-group relations reports from the PCHR had a dual purpose (1) The reports showed the number of negative inter-group relations that occurred in 2005 and 2006 and (2) they showed the city agency's outreach efforts to new Latino immigrants. Although many instances of

inter-group conflict go unreported, looking at the reports as well as the nature of the complaints may help when examining the current situation between African Americans and Latinos as well as the older Latino population and the new Latino population.

The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations (PCHR) is a local government agency that helps solve inter-group conflict. The PCHR started in 1951 and focuses on inter-group conflict at the neighborhood level. (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2006) The PCHR has different divisions that deal with complaints of job discrimination and fair housing as well as inter-group conflict. (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2006) The study will be focusing on complaints sent to the Community Relations Division of the PCHR. The division "deals with all matters of inter-group conflict and neighborhood disputes within the boundaries of Philadelphia." (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2006:4) Within the Community Relations Division (CRD) there is a program that uses mediation to solve disputes between conflicting parties, the Dispute Resolution Program. (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2007:10)

This section is devoted to analyzing the nature of complaints found in the agency's 2006 Annual report. Because this agency deals with inter-group relations, it may be an important asset in gauging the current relationship between African Americans and Latinos in Philadelphia. It may also be important in exploring the impact the agency's new initiatives may have on future relations. The agency has included initiatives that aim to help the new Latino population in their report.

Using information from the CRD to study inter-group relations (particularly African American and Latino Relations) in Philadelphia is important because the

agency works within the community to build positive relations. The CRD's core

mission is to promote inter-group and neighborhood cooperation by working with

diverse groups and educating them on the need for inter-group harmony. (The

Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2007) Because the CRD provides

training and services on the community-level, they are an important ally in increasing

positive relations. The CRD works with community leaders and other government

agencies to empower communities to build coalitions and resolve inter-group conflict.

(The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2006:10)

According to the PCHR 2006 Annual Report, of the 433 dispute resolution

cases, 38 were inter-group incidences. (The Philadelphia Commission on Human

Relations 2006) Unfortunately, the report does not specify which groups were involved.

The report also included some complaints the PCHR was called to investigate, but the

complaints included in the report are mostly instances of black/white relations. The

incidences for inter-group conflict were the only reports explored for the purpose of this

study, although the report includes racial incidences in employment and housing

because it showed black/white instances of job and housing discrimination and often

included sexual discrimination and disability discrimination. Ultimately, the 2006 report

offered little information about the nature of African American and Latino relations in

Philadelphia, but the 2007 report had more information regarding inter-group conflict—

especially African American and Latino conflict.

According to the agency's 2007 annual report, of the 295 cases the Dispute

Resolution Program reported 65 that were listed as inter-group incidences, (The

Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2007) an increase from the 2006 report

especially when many incidences go unreported. Unlike the previous report, the 2007 Annual report had incidences of inter-group conflict between African Americans and Latinos. Examples included African American and Latino students fighting in a local high school, and a Latino child using an ethnic slur against an African American family. (Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2007) The agency used alternative dispute resolution to mediate these conflicts.

The report had little to offer with regard to the present relationship between African Americans and Latinos, but may offer clues for future relations. Because the agency collaborates with the Latino Partnership Initiative, (an agency that helps the Latino community in Philadelphia) and has outreach efforts to new Latino immigrants, analyzing the agency's plans for outreach may be able to show how these plans may affect inter-group relations.

The Community Relations Division's relationship with the Latino Partnership Initiative (LPI) allows the agency to take a hands-on approach with issues concerning Latino immigrants specifically and the Philadelphia Latino community at large. The LPI, which began in 1995, focuses on prompting "coalition building, increased awareness and action." (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2007:15) The LPI is dedicated to improving the lives of Latinos in Philadelphia. Research shows that improving a group's socioeconomic status can improve inter-group relations. (Massey and Denton 1989) The LPI helps Latino immigrants by helping to "promote an environment of social services to the Spanish-speaking immigrant through advocacy and networking." (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2007:15) They include resources and services to immigrants as an attempt to stop scammers from

"creating false hope and defrauding the Mexican community." (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2007:15) Unfortunately the Annual report does not mention assisting new Latino immigrants in their communities of encouraging a cooperative atmosphere among new Latino immigrants and other groups.

The CRD also offers support to Mexican Americans, and in collaboration with the Latino Immigrant Coalition work to "understand the needs of this fast growing community." (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, 15) According to the agency's 2006 annual report, the CRD's outreach efforts are initially research oriented, focusing on "getting to know in what neighborhoods members of this group are living, what concerns they have and the identity of the leaders." (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, 2006:15) Although the report included outreach methods for Mexican Americans, it failed to provide outreach efforts to other new Latino groups. Also, when discussing immigrant protection, the annual report only names Mexican immigrants. (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2006) This may be because Mexicans have a larger presence in Philadelphia, and the PCHR may see a greater need to provide services to Mexicans, or that the PCHR does provide services to other new Latino immigrant groups, but these efforts are not mentioned in the annual report.

Information from the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations' 2006 and 2007 annual reports provide important clues to what the Philadelphia government has done to increase positive inter-group relations. The agency has community workshops and a dispute resolution program that are aimed at resolving and reducing inter-group conflict. Although the agency has programs that attempt to dissuade inter-group conflict

on a community level, there was little mention of collaborating with community organizations, such as Congreso or Cuban Community Center. There was also little mention of African Americans' social organizations in the reports, despite the fact that many of the cases based on race in the annual reports included an African American complainant. (The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations 2007) This may be the result of African Americans' longevity in Philadelphia and an attempt to outreach to newer minority groups.

Discussion

Based on information obtained from secondary data and interviews, the current state of African American and Latino relations in Philadelphia ranges from conflict to cooperation, and changes depending on the circumstance. Historically in Philadelphia, relations were basically cooperative, but there was underlying economic and political competition between the groups. The future of relations is marred with wariness for both intra-group and inter-group relations. Important steps need to be taken to insure inter-group harmony. The hypothesis that inter-group tension will rise as new Latino immigrants increase in numbers was supported by evidence from the secondary data, literature review, and interviews. The data also showed that intra-group conflict may rise as more Latino immigrants arrive in Philadelphia.

In the political arena, African Americans and Latinos both cooperate and compete. Historically, African American and Latino led coalitions have cooperated to bring about change, but they have also competed for political representation. Because there are a limited amount of political seats, African Americans and Latinos have competed for the same positions. African Americans in Philadelphia have more

political representation than Latinos. Many Latino political figures have African American voters in their districts, but some African American political figures do not have Latino voters in their districts and do not have experience in dealing with inter-group problems that can lead to contention.

In Philadelphia, the focus seems to have shifted from African American and Latino relations to Latino intra-group relations. Latino social organizations are especially cautious of the effect newer Latino immigration may have on intra-group relations, especially because the new Latinos have a different culture than the older population. When the predominant Latino population's numbers dropped drastically, a 6% decrease in 16 years, there was a rise in intra-group contention. (U.S. Census Bureau 2000) The predominant Latino group (Puerto Ricans) has high unemployment and drop-out rates; they may view the new Latino immigrants as economic competition. There was a tendency to overlook African American and Latino contention. Because some interviewees thought African American and Latino relations were cooperative, there was a focus on intra-group contention, which may be to the detriment of inter-group relations.

African American and Latino social organizations frequently cooperate. Social groups attend and co-organize events. Historically inter-group organizations have worked together on issues that mutually affect the groups, but on issues that affect Latinos such as immigration and bilingual education, African Americans generally have not worked with Latino social organizations. Latinos also have not generally worked with African Americans on issues that strongly affect the African American community in

Philadelphia, such as gun violence since 81% of gun violence victims in Philadelphia are African American.

The study allowed a glimpse into African American and Latino relations using Philadelphia as a case study. Interviewing people involved in the policymaking process helped gain a better understanding of the city's responses to inter-group tension. Using statistics to supplement the interviews and previous studies helped gauge African American and Latino relations not only in Philadelphia, but nationally. The study could have been enriched by interviewing residents in the community about their views on inter-group relations. Interviewing more agencies and community leaders could have enhanced the study.

African American and Latino social reform is important in improving inter-group relations. An important finding from the study was from the effects residential segregation may have on inter-group relations. According to researchers Massey and Denton, (1989) if a group has a high percentage in any of the five dimensions of residential segregation (evenness, centralization, clustering, exposure, and concentration) it severely limits social and economic opportunities. (Massey and Denton 1989:373) Limited opportunities may cause inter-group contention. Focusing on ways to improve African American and Latino social conditions should have a positive impact on improving inter-group relations.

Historically African Americans and Latinos have generally had a cooperative relationship in Philadelphia. The interviewees shared some reasons why this may have occurred. One reason was the Latino population's size in relation to the African American population. According to the 2006 Census Community Survey, the African

American population in Philadelphia quadruples the Latino population's size. (U.S Census Bureau 2006) African Americans may not see the Latino population as a threat because of their size. African Americans have been exposed to Latinos for 50 years. In neighborhoods where both group reside, their children have grown up with Latino neighbors and classmates, which helps to explain cooperative relations in Philadelphia.

African Americans and the older Latino population may view newer Latino immigrants as a threat because both groups are socioeconomically disadvantaged. Improving relations may require continuous community involvement. Programs that have historically encouraged inter-group dialog and cooperation have been successful in improving inter-group relation. These programs may be successful in welcoming new Latino immigrants. Any programs or initiatives that focus on inter-group harmony need to involve the communities where these groups reside.

Policy that aims to improve both groups socioeconomic status will help to improve African American and Latino relations. Changes that emphasize economic and social betterment are important in improving African American and Latino relations. New programs or more funding for current programs that focus on social improvement by expanding job and educational opportunities for both groups are vital in improving African American and Latino relations. In past studies, Latino group dissatisfaction was linked to higher levels of inter-group tension. (Vaca 2004) Policies that build Latino cultural pride and awareness may help alleviate inter-group tension.

Although there are many programs in Philadelphia aimed at African American and Latino economic gains, some members of these groups have no knowledge of improvement programs. While many Latinos know about Congreso's social improvement

programs, they may know less about the Road to Economic Self-Sufficiency through Employment and Training (RESET) program, which aims to help residents find jobs and gain resources to improve social conditions. This may be due to lack of resources precipitated by educational disparities.

Conclusion

This study aimed to analyze African American and Latino relations using Philadelphia as a case study. It sought to examine the effect new Latino immigration may have on African American and Latino relations. The hypothesis stated that African Americans and Latinos may see growing contentions as the Latino population increases. The study showed that the hypothesis was neither substantiated nor unsubstantiated. Although tensions have risen between African Americans and Latinos, both groups have also cooperated for social and political gains. In addition, there was a stronger emphasis on social and economic cooperation and political tension.

In Philadelphia, minority groups and neighborhoods are segregated. Although African Americans live in every section of Philadelphia, they have the least exposure to other races. African Americans are segregated in all five dimensions and Latinos are segregated to a lesser extent. (Massey and Denton 1989) Puerto Ricans have suffered horrible social and economic conditions both nationally and within Philadelphia. (Tapia 1998; Davis 2001) They may see the new Latino immigration as a threat encroaching on their already limited resources. (Blalock 1967) African Americans in turn may see any minority group as a threat, which may lead to conflict. Therefore, Blalock's power threat hypothesis best explained inter-group and intra-group conflict in Philadelphia especially when describing Puerto Ricans and the new Latino immigrants.

Interviewees expressed a greater concern for intra-group relations than inter-group relations, because they assumed that African American and Latino relations were cooperative in nature. Some interviewees made this assumption because of the African American population size in relation to the Latino population size. Because Latino numbers were smaller in proportion to African Americans, some interviewees postulated that African Americans may not see Latinos as a threat.

Programs that effectively address residential segregation and its effects on poverty, education, and access to resources are an important component of improving both groups and inter-group relations. Increased interaction between groups at the community level may, especially among immigrant groups, improve relations.

Programs that seek better education for both groups can contribute to African American and Latino cooperation. Because education is a strong indicator for knowledge and availability of resources (Mindola et.al 2004) and in a Houston study Latinos with higher education levels had favorable responses when asked about African Americans, (Vaca 2004) education reform may be a critical resource in improving African American and Latino relations. A focus on improving education may improve socioeconomic status and decrease inter and intra group tension. Building a strong education agenda may not only improve relations, but may improve African American and Latino social conditions overall. Policies that aim for mutual betterment for African Americans and Latinos are beneficial since research has shown that lower socioeconomic status is an indicator for African American and Latino conflict. (Vaca 2004)

The study provided a glimpse into African American and Latinos relations as experienced in Philadelphia. A recurrent theme throughout the study was the caution against assuming group homogeneity. Understanding the ethnic, social, and cultural heterogeneity within both groups may be an important tool in improving African American and Latino relations.

Appendix A: Interview Questions

1. How would you describe relations between African Americans and Latinos?
2. What outreach efforts have your organization established to work within the Latino community?
3. How have relations changed over time?
5. Comment on past inter-group coalitions. What are ways they can improve? How have these coalitions helped both communities?
6. What has your organization done to outreach to new immigrants?
7. When and in what capacity do you work with Latino/African American organizations?
8. What can be done to improve/maintain relations?
9. Researchers state that relations between groups will become more contentious as the population grows. Have you seen growing contentions between African Americans and new immigrants? What are ways to prevent tension between the groups?
10. What outreach efforts have your organization established to work within the Latino/African American community?

* Interviews were semi structured and interview questions were malleable—interviewees were asked other questions as well as contingency questions.

Appendix B: Figures

Figure 1: Philadelphia Population Changes by Neighborhood 1990-2000
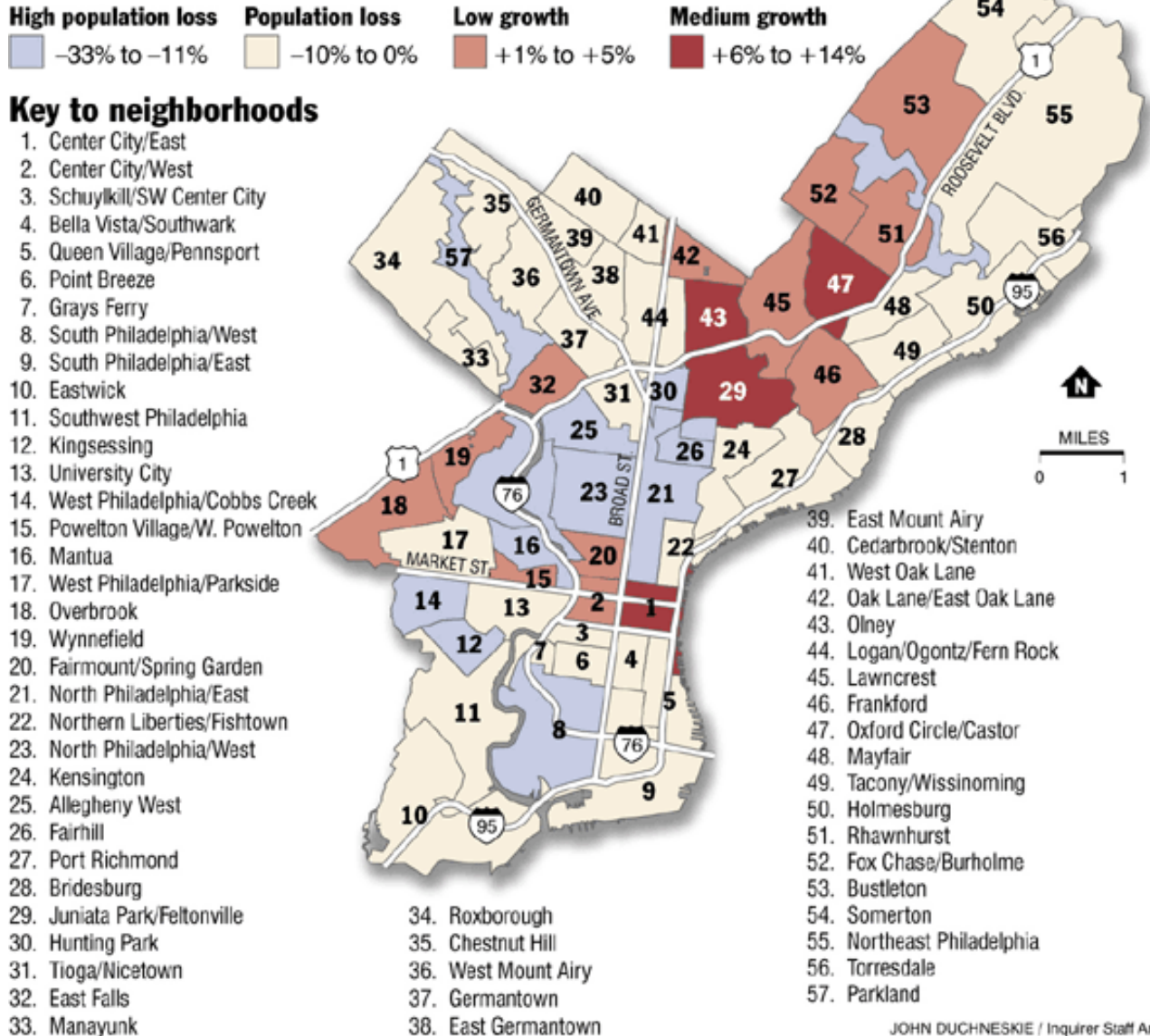

Source: Philadelphia National Inquirer

Figure II: African American Population 2000

Percent of Black Population,
City of Philadelphia, 2000

Less than 25%
25% to 49.9%
50% to 74.9%
75% or More
No Population

Philadelphia City Planning Commission
www.philaplanning.org
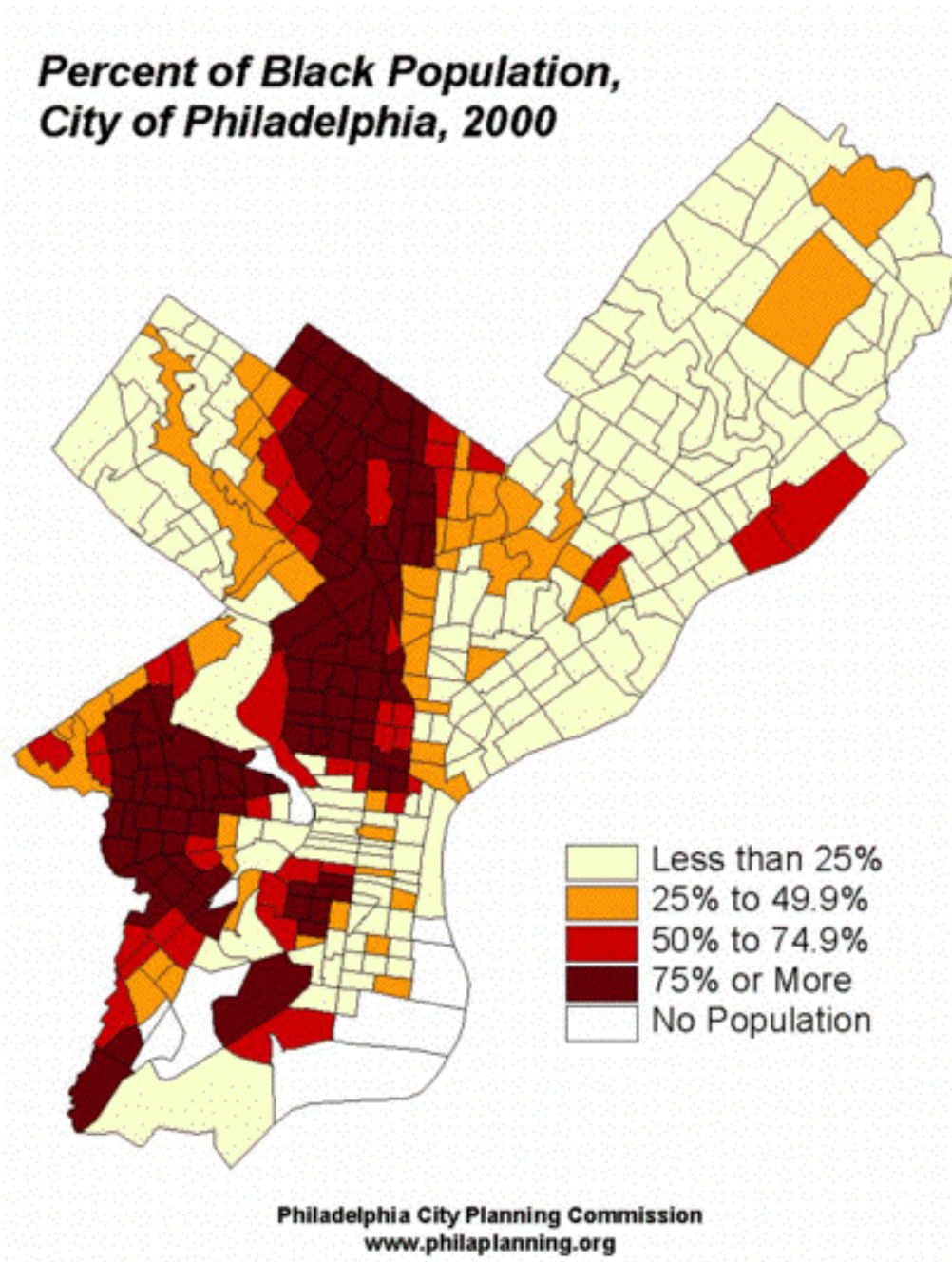
Figure III: Latino Population in Philadelphia (city) 2000

Percent of Hispanic Population,
City of Philadelphia, 2000

Less than 25%
25% to 49.9%
50% to 74.9%
75% or More
No Population

Philadelphia City Planning Commission
www.philaplanning.org
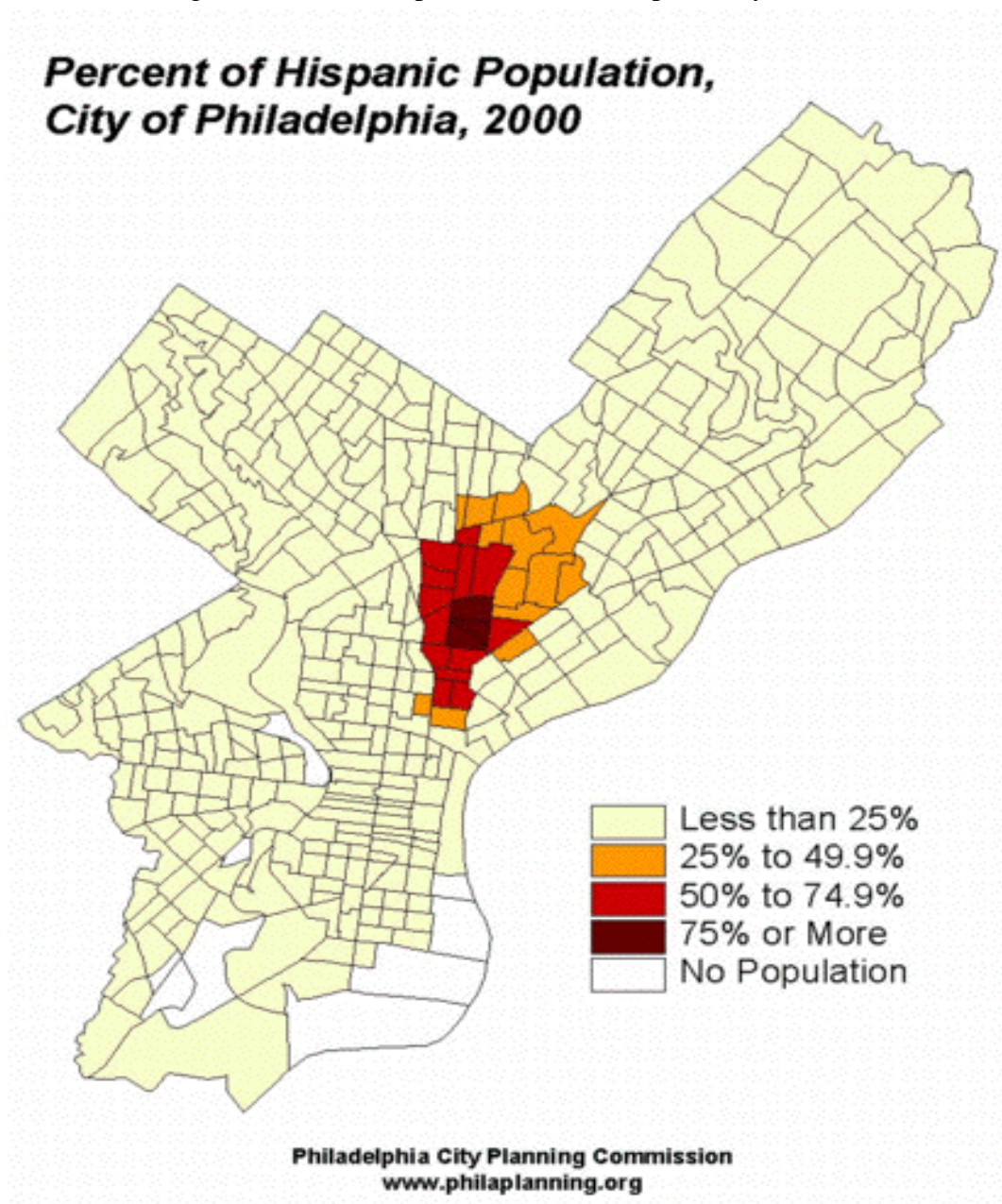
Figure IV: Philadelphia (city) Total Population/Latino Population/African American
Population 1950-2006
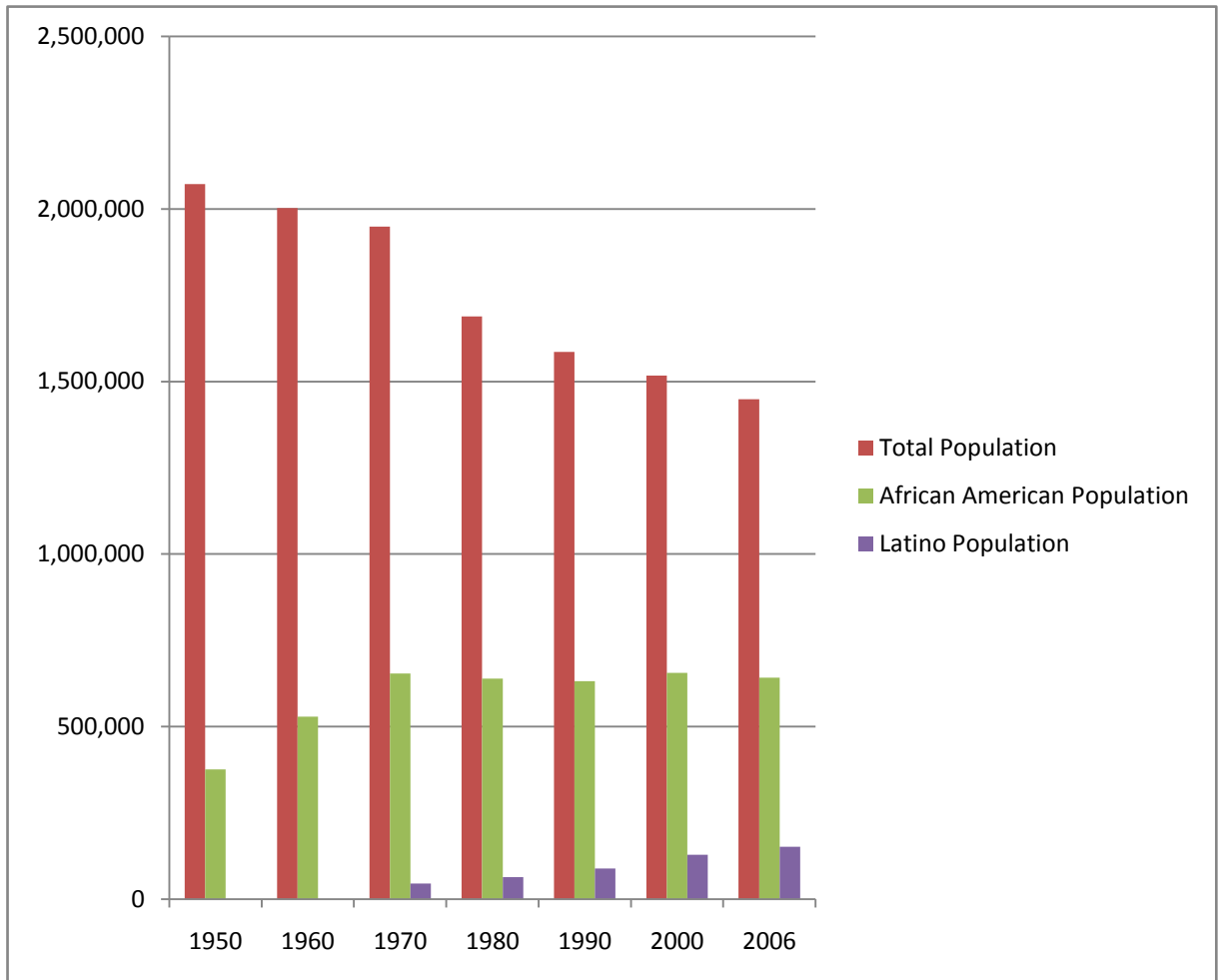
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