

The London School of Economics and Political Science

*Segregation in Search of Ideology? Hegemony and Contestation
in the Spatial and Racial Configuration of Los Angeles*

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A thesis submitted to the Department of Geography and
Environment of the London School of Economics for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London, September
2014

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ABSTRACT

Segregation is a constant in all US cities yet is peripheral to key work on spatial political economy, such as David Harvey (2007) and Neil Smith (1982, 1996). This thesis builds on their theorisations of the circuits of capital in relation to rent and uneven development by drawing on theorisations of white privilege (primarily Pulido, 2000) and the critical race theory of Stuart Hall (1980). Hall's work on hegemony and articulation enables a better understanding of how the dialectics of land's use value and rent connect to ideologies of race and neoliberalism, to city politics, and to the shifting geography of Los Angeles. The ongoing and primarily African-American struggle to occupy residential space reveals the ways in which racism and contestation have been central to the formation of Los Angeles, to the increasing privatisation of space, and to the changing flows of capital through its built environment. These issues are explored through the principal three chapters, each dedicated to an historical moment when a civil rights victory succeeded in achieving concrete shifts in the politics of race and space: the long term campaign that overturned racially restrictive covenants in 1948; the mass civil rights struggle to integrate the city's suburbs in 1963-64; and the preservation of thousands of private residential hotel units in a gentrifying downtown in 2006. Despite their success in forcing new articulations of rationalising ideologies, politics, and capitalism's search for a 'spatial fix', these struggles demonstrate that the unchanging elements in the emerging hegemony have been the prominence of force over the manufacture of consent, and the maintenance of a privileged white spatiality. I argue that a large part of neoliberalism's power ultimately lies in its

ability to rationalise and legitimate this spatiality with a colourblind discourse, masking racial inequalities and the continuing racism at the heart of US society.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Through this long hard journey to try and bring academic theory together with years of work and experience, I have to thank above all the patience and support of my advisors Sharad Chari and Gareth Jones. Without their insight, help and belief that I could manage this with ever more depth and clarity, I could never have come so far. Murray Low was always there to lend support and have a chat over coffee, and to my fellow students, I would never have survived without you! Those who proved it could be done and gave me so much help: Jenny Mbaye, Sabine Uffer, Antonis Vradis, and Jayaraj Sundaresen. Equally those who are still fighting to finish, and who brought light and laughter, discussion and support to room 505: Taneesha Mohan, Tucker Jordan, Meredith Whitten, Chris Suckling and Ulises Moreno. I have learned more than I can say from all of you! To Revel Sims, without whose help I never would have made it to LSE in the first place, Bob Caterrall for his encouragement and giving me the experience of being on the board of *City*, to there discover what engaged and committed intellectual activism can look like, Michael Edwards and Barbara Lipietz for their warmth and wisdom, and Anna Richter for believing in me from the beginning and for the inspiration of her rigorous scholarship and tales of studying Adorno.

I owe as much and more to the many people who were willing to give me their time and their hard-won wisdom from the LA Community Action Network, particularly Becky Dennison who helped me organise things. I hope this thesis can

contribute to their struggle and I hold them in my heart every time I read the latest news from skid row. Chapter Four could also never have taken the shape it did without Gary Blasi's advice and help in accessing the thousands of documents and emails reviewed, I can only aspire to the breadth and length of his commitment to justice and the usefulness of his work and teaching practice. To him also I owe the help of Jackie DeCamara at Jones Day in moving through our California Public Record Act request. I owe tremendous thanks as well to the many others from the city, the BIDs and the activist community who shared their knowledge and allowed me to interview them, as well as to the various archivists and librarians who helped me so much with the historical research: Michelle Welsing from the Southern California Library, Brooke Black from the Huntington Library, Lee Grady of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Michael George of the Torrance Public Library, and Gabriel Botsford for his help accessing the archives at the California State University Northridge.

While conducting research in L.A. I am also indebted to the invaluable support of Gilda Haas and Gary Phillips, Beverley Keefe and Jose Zamarippa, Monica Uriarte and her wonderful family, Jackie Cornejo, Maria Osorio and Christopher Lamb, and Gloria Serrano and Reyna Monterrosa for opening up their homes to me. More than a bed or a couch, they have offered so much love and support that I have felt utterly humbled and happy to know that such people exist in the world. The years I have spent in this research have been the most difficult I have ever faced in terms of personal tragedy, and were it not for these people I don't know that I could have faced them. This is also true of the friendships I have made in London. Above all, Helen Shaw and Sean Geoghegan have gotten me through the dark times, China Miéville who both inspired me and helped me understand my grief, Ruth Cashman

and Ali Crabtree who give the best hugs, Rosanne Rabinowitz with her unflagging hope and love of writing, and Teresa and Andy, Jim, Tony, Paul, Chris, Stuart, Mandy, Bridget, and Andy, who have all made London a better place. I also owe a special debt to everyone throughout my childhood who called me school girl and smarty pants with love and approval rather than derision, and the crazy forces of luck and circumstance that have brought me here.

Above all I owe thanks to my family, my dad who would have been so proud right now and mom, who I believe is perhaps proud enough for both of them. They are the reason I have come so far, along with my three little brothers, but particularly Mike and his wife Sandy whose unflagging and impossibly generous support of the Gibbons clan made it possible for me to even think about giving up work for the luxury of obtaining a PhD. Thanks to my Aunt Ruth, who was so kind in those long ago days, and who has helped paved the way forward for women everywhere. And finally, thanks to Julie St John who has given nothing but kindness and joy and done so much for us, and my brilliant partner Mark Bould, who has got me through these hardest years and been wonderful throughout.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	3
Acknowledgments	5
List of Figures and Maps.....	10
Acronyms Used	12
Chapter 1 : Introduction.....	14
Theorising Los Angeles.....	14
Segregation: Situating Los Angeles	20
Critical Theories of Space and Race	47
Articulation as Methodology	59
Argument and Structure	63
Chapter Outline.....	67
Chapter 2 : The Long Road to 1948: Ending de jure segregation	72
Introduction	72
Foundations of White Property Rights.....	75
African American Expansion - 1926	82
Institutional Organising: The equation of Race with Exchange Value	101
The final push: post WWII struggle	114
The HPA.....	125
White Reaction	138
Conclusions	152
Chapter 3 : 1960s: Bringing Down the Hate Wall	155
Introduction	155
CORE	157
Early Housing Campaigns	163
From Monterey Park to Wilmington.....	167
Don Wilson and the Battle for the South Bay	174
Dominguez Hills & Compton	176
Torrance.....	184
CORE Raises the Stakes	190
Policy Change in Sacramento.....	195
The conflict escalates.....	198

Radicalising Residents; Privatising the Streets.....	202
Obstinate to the End.....	213
The Aftermath.....	220
Conclusions.....	233
Chapter 4 : Back to the Centre: The Racial Cleansing of Skid Row	236
Introduction	236
Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN).....	240
The polarisation of skid row.....	243
Los Angeles’s Business Improvement Districts – Cleaning up and moving out	253
The emptying of Downtown’s Residential Hotels.....	262
‘Cleaning up’ Downtown.....	272
The Safer Cities Initiative	283
‘Cleaning out’ skid row redux	310
Conclusions	315
Chapter 5 : Conclusions: Ideology Found?	318
Appendix A: Racial Boundaries and Sources	331
Appendix B: List of Incidents and Sources	332
Appendix C: Archives and Abbreviations	357
References.....	359

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS

Figure 1-1 Map of the greater L.A. area.....	16
Figure 1-2 L.A.'s African American population from 1890-2010, mapped against points of contestation and showing shifting racial faultlines	23
Figure 1-3 Graph of median Income in 2007 by race and ethnicity.....	25
Figure 1-4 Graph showing percent of homeless public assistance recipients in South L.A. .	28
Figure 2-1 Graphic from Miller & Sheil's 1946 pamphlet on racial covenants	76
Figure 2-2 Map showing 'disciplinary' actions against African American families outside the black belt, 1902-1926	85
Figure 2-3 Map of known KKK areas and industrial areas in 1920s L.A. and Orange County	90
Figure 2-4 Map of African American Homeowner Associations, homes of prominent white realtors and early spaces of contestation through 1927	97
Figure 2-5 HOLC Area Description for L.A.'s Central District.....	106
Figure 2-6 Leaflet passed out during Fremont High School race riot, 1941.....	110
Figure 2-7 1937 HOLC Map with position of Fremont High School and racial faultlines	113
Figure 2-8 Map of white organising efforts through 1948.....	125
Figure 2-9 Scare Graphic from the <i>Mirror-News</i> Showing 'Negro' Migration.....	142
Figure 2-10 Incident map showing the worst violence in relation to the 1939 L.A. HOLC map	143
Figure 2-11 Map of Leimert Park and contestation of space in relation to the 1939 L.A. HOLC map	145
Figure 2-12 Sign posted in Sunkist Gardens, Southeast LA 1950.....	151
Figure 3-1 Cover of CORE Pamphlet.....	155
Figure 3-2 1965 CORE Organisational Chart showing relationship of LA Branch to the national organisation (2010)	159
Figure 3-3 CORE Leaflet, February 1962.	166
Figure 3-4 Map of CORE's Monterey Park campaign	169
Figure 3-5 Map of Developer Don Wilson's tracts and advertising campaigns	175
Figure 3-6 Map of racial incidents in Compton.....	181
Figure 3-7 Dominguez Land Corporation advert, <i>Torrance Enterprise</i> 26 Nov, 1920	185
Figure 3-8 Dominguez Land Corporation advert, <i>Torrance Enterprise</i> 10 Dec, 1920.....	186
Figure 3-9 Undated CORE leaflet from the Campaign against Developer Don Wilson	193
Figure 3-10 Front page illustration showing contrast between 'beatnik' protestors and residents (<i>Press</i> 26 June 1963).....	204
Figure 3-11 Torrance reacts to the big march (<i>Press</i> 3 July 1963)	207
Figure 3-12 Undated CORE Leaflet on the Alameda Wall in relation to school districts	222
Figure 3-13 Undated leaflet from the Committee for Yes on Proposition #14.....	224
Figure 4-1 Advertising for the Met Lofts, 2007	238
Figure 4-2 Map showing major plants and industrial areas through the early 1970s	247
Figure 4-3 Map showing 'Technopoles' of the 1990s	247
Figure 4-4 Downtown Property Value Increase 1997-2011.....	249
Figure 4-5 Condo Sales Per Square Foot 1997-2011	250

Figure 4-6 *DTLA Life* views of loft living 252
Figure 4-7 Map of Downtown L.A. BIDs with Skid Row Boundaries from 1976 Plan 260
Figure 4-8 Map of skid row in relation to Residential Development in Central L.A. (Dahmann 2010) 265
Figure 4-9 Chart showing holdings of Danpour Brothers, Owners of the Morrison Hotel 2005 267

ACRONYMS USED

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
BID	Business Improvement District
CC&Rs	Covenants, Conditions, and Restrictions
CCA	Central City Association
CCEA	Central City East Association
CCSCLA	Concerned Citizens of South Central Los Angeles
CHP	California Highway Patrol
CID	Common Interest Development
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
CPAB	Community Police Advisory Board
CRA	Community Redevelopment Agency
CREA	California Real Estate Association
DA	District Attorney
DCBID	Downtown Center BID
FHA	Federal Housing Authority
FOR	Fellowship of Reconciliation
HA	Homeowner Association
HPA/HOPA	Home Protective Association
HOLC	Home Owners Loan Corporation
LA CAN	Los Angeles Community Action Network
LADWP	Los Angeles Department of Water and Power

LAHD	Los Angeles Housing Department
LAPD	Los Angeles Police Department
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAREB	National Association of Real Estate Boards
NVC	Negro Victory Committee
NNC	National Negro Committee
SAJE	Strategic Actions for a Just Economy
SCI	Safer Cities Initiative
SET	Special Enforcement Team
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
SRA	Service Resistant Addict
SRO	Single Resident Occupancy Hotel
UCRC	United Civil Rights Committee

Chapter 1 : INTRODUCTION

THEORISING LOS ANGELES

'It All Comes Together in Los Angeles.'
--Ed Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (1989)

In celebration of what he called the all new 'edge cities', journalist Joel Garreau wrote: 'Americans are creating the biggest change in a hundred years in how we build cities. Every single American city that is growing, is growing in the fashion of Los Angeles, with multiple urban cores' (1988, 3). This is just one of a number of superlative claims made for Los Angeles as emblematic of the 'new' and the 'postmodern' city – Stuart Elden does not name names, but notes a 'heavy-handed' use of Lefebvre's work 'in the examination of the postmodernization of ... the Los Angeles cityscape' (2004, 193). While Edward Soja insisted in *Postmetropolis* (2000) that Los Angeles had been one of the least studied major cities in the US, 14 years later this hardly seems true. Possibly it has been the claims around the self-titled L.A. School and the resulting controversy that generated more study by positing Los Angeles as the future of the postmodern, post-industrial city.¹ Possibly

¹ Dear and Flusty claimed the existence of the L.A. School in a 1998 article, later supported by Dear and Dahmann (2008), a body of work emerging primarily from UCLA that challenged more conventional and empirical traditions. That such a school exists has been quite controversial, for a collection of arguments both pro and con see *Urban Geography*, 1999, 20(5), and for one of the best summaries of the

it has also been the enormous popular success of *City of Quartz* (2006), representing more of a political economy approach from Mike Davis (though he has been claimed by the L.A. School as well). The past 15 years have also seen a number of books celebrating the new ‘latinization’ of the US city led by Los Angeles, and focusing on its ‘tropical’ future where whites have now become a minority. Prime examples are Davis’s own *Magical Urbanism* (2001), Diaz and Torres on *Latino Urbanism* (2012), and Valle and Torres on the *Latino Metropolis* (2000). Michael Dear with Gustavo Leclerc edited a collection on art and place focussed on the frontier between of Southern California/Northern Baja called *Postborder City* (2003), which followed up an earlier collection edited by Dear and Leclerc with Raul Villa combining academic prose, poetry, photography and memoir celebrating *Latino* (though it feels overwhelmingly Mexican/Chicano at times) cultures in *Urban Latino Cultures: La Vida Latina en L.A.* (1999). While rightfully celebrating the cultural richness of the city’s neighbourhoods (occasionally referred to in this genre as ‘barrios’), these books tend to leave out much of the diversity of *Latino* experience, far less give a rounded sense of the many other rich ethnic cultures flourishing in Los Angeles, or the relationships being built among different groups and the emerging cultural hybridities to be found there.

Also missing is how this fragmentation maps onto the political and economic fragmentation of L.A., and the challenges this causes for achieving any kind of regional cooperation or equity. A sense of the size of the city, and some of the locations discussed throughout this thesis can be seen in Figure 1-1, as well as the fragmentation of municipal authorities (cities are in white, I have removed some city

claims of the L.A. School in relation to other literatures on globalisation see Steven Erie’s (2004) *Globalizing L.A.: Trade, Infrastructure, and Regional Development*.

names for clarity) and the overlapping of city and county authority (in green) where whole areas are entirely under county authority as they never incorporated.



FIGURE 1-1 MAP OF THE GREATER L.A. AREA²

Celebrating this fragmentation in a slightly different way, Soja’s work reflects a vision of the city caught up in the newness and flexibility of the present, using a mosaic approach to examine the city. He writes:

I depart then from the urban Marxism advocated by such scholars as David Harvey primarily in stressing the importance of the here and now, what is new and different in the contemporary world, and in using this understanding to rethink and revise all established epistemologies... (2003, 271)

Part of this critique lies in the ways Marxism leans towards privileging a class perspective over a nuanced understanding of its intersectionality with race (among

² Data comes from the Southern California Association of Governments GIS library, <http://gisdata.scag.ca.gov/Pages/GIS-Library.aspx>, accessed June 12, 2014.

other forces), yet Soja's work has more the feel of overview rather than social and structural critique. Fordist patterns of work yield to post-fordism while globalisation as economic restructuring defines the shape of the city. People are pulled one direction and then another. He celebrates the way that L.A. suburbs encompass blue-collar workers and ethnic clusters (the ethnoburb), how they are forming around their own centres (the exopolis), and how this diversity challenges traditional understandings of suburbs as voluntary creations of elites and white-collar workers. At the same time he writes of atomistically constructed far-flung networks of contacts, the lack of public space and civil society, and the growth of gated communities and sprawl (2000). There is no real sense of what is driving these dynamics of 'mass suburbanization and other centrifugal forces' (2000, 137), or why well-off Angelenos should be making such choices, the end results of such spatial stratification and privatisation, or how to shift these injustices. In this broad-brushed description of everything that is happening in Los Angeles, the deeper organising motives and structures of power are obscured (Beauregard 1999). Soja certainly inserts racial differences into his narrative of the city more than many, but the role of racism remains peripheral to a story of economic restructuring, as do people themselves. *Postmetropolis* is a book looking away from the 'modernist' past to a very different postmodern future made possible by globalisation, arguing that a 'threshold has been reached where the interpretive power of studying the "intensified" new forms and functions outweighs a revisioning of the continuities that link the present to the past' (2000, 241).

Michael Dear is as insistent on the new, the different: 'Los Angeles is a city without a past. It has constantly erased the physical traces of previous urbanisms and failed to produce a flow of historical studies that match and typify other national

metropolises' (Dear 1996, 76). In *The Postmodern Urban Condition* (2000) he claims exemplary status for L.A.'s 'multicentered, dispersed patterns of low-density growth' to be a new prototype demanding a complete break from our former understanding of cities based on the Chicago School's concentric circle model. Dear and Flusty (1998), in their seminal article positing both the existence of the school itself and a new postmodern urbanism, describe Los Angeles as a heteropolis, and celebrate the cultural differences of what Soja (2000) describes as the fractal city. While there is acknowledgment of the dual nature of Los Angeles in its intense polarisations along lines of class and race, its spatiality is removed from a long history of discrimination and struggle. Because of this, Dear and Flusty's (1998) vision of 'Keno Capitalism' can ignore the spatial sedimentation of power relations to theorise how ethnoburbs, prisons, and corporate citadels, among other urban phenomena such as malls, can be easily placed and re-placed.

It is hard, if not impossible, to imagine such theories of development liberated from history emerging from Watts, which exploded both in 1965 and 1992, and continues to simmer. Yet while critical, this thesis does not necessarily seek to overturn accounts of all that is different about Los Angeles, nor the ways in which it could be considered broadly representative of the sprawling, decentred reality and the increasingly diverse populations of a growing number of US cities. Instead it calls attention to what connects Los Angeles to almost all US cities *despite* any differences and potentialities: shared though broad patterns of capital flows and (de)industrialisation (see Janet Abu-Lughod's (1999) work comparing New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles), and a shared history of white discrimination and violence to preserve white privilege through keeping non-whites, and above all

African Americans, ‘in their place’.³ Over the last century, this has resulted in the raising of multiple barriers to mobility and the resource stripping of inner city neighbourhoods across North America until they have become confined ghetto spaces, conflated in the public mind with African Americans and poverty, violence and despair (Gilmore 2007, West 2001, W. J. Wilson 1987).

It is this universality (although everywhere played out with variation according to local conditions) that inspires a return to a political economy account, reinvigorated with critical theories of race and hegemony. For Gramsci, hegemony is achieved both through consent and coercion (Gramsci 1971, Hall 1996a), a historical view of civil and human rights struggles in the US, however, shows that African Americans and other peoples of colour have always been subject to the operations of coercion. Hegemony has been achieved through the development of what I call a ‘community of consent’ set above dominated populations, a commonly shared sense of who is considered part of the citizenry, most deserving of its resources and protection. Initially composed only of whites through the periods of slavery and Jim Crow, the struggle of peoples of colour have made the boundaries of this community of consent a constantly negotiated and contested ground, thereby putting the maintenance of white privilege at stake. Through this thesis I will examine the constructions of this hegemony and how it articulates with space, looking in detail at three different historical points where the struggle to break down segregation has

³ For the most part I use the word African Americans interchangeably with Black throughout this thesis, and Black is capitalised in the spirit, if not the exact footsteps, of W.E.B. Du Bois, who in 1899 wrote: ‘I shall throughout this study use the term “Negro,” to designate all persons of Negro descent, although the appellation is to some extent illogical. I shall, moreover, capitalize the word, because I believe that eight million Americans are entitled to a capital letter’ (1996, 1, footnote 1). The term ‘people’ or ‘peoples of colour’ is also used rather than ‘minorities’, both a more accurate term given the current population of Los Angeles, but also as a preferred term among the activists taking part in this study.

challenged the boundaries of this community of consent and forced the rearticulation of white space, its ideological and political supports, and the broader flows of capital. In the tradition of critical race work, this research also remains partially centred in the social justice and civil rights movements so that agency is not lost, the experiences of those most decimated by the articulations of racism and real estate remain central to their theorisation, and hope can be maintained in face of the widespread nihilism and despair that these articulations have brought into being (Collins 1991, hooks 2000, West 2001).⁴

SEGREGATION: SITUATING LOS ANGELES

In 1965, Karl and Alma Tauber were confident after extensive statistical analysis in writing that:

A high degree of racial residential segregation is universal in American cities. Whether a city is a metropolitan center or a suburb; whether it is in the North or South; whether the Negro population is large or small in every case, white and Negro households are highly segregated from each other... In fact, Negroes are by far the most residentially segregated urban minority group in recent American history (Tauber and Tauber 1965, 2).

Later studies by Massey and Denton (1993) showed that segregation levels actually increased after the turbulence of the 1960s, supported by findings from Yinger (1995), South and Crowder (1997), and Meyer (2000) among others. Los Angeles has always been distinguished by high levels of Latino and Asian immigration, thus

⁴ Throughout this thesis I have worked to be aware of, and to try and overcome as much as possible the limitations and potential blindnesses that come with my own privilege and skin colour. Through centring my research around struggle I hope to have gained the ability to expose the outlines of white privilege and hegemony, despite limitations in full comprehension of the lived experiences of such discrimination. I also build on ten years of legal service work and community organising in communities of colour. See Pulido (2002) for some thoughtful discussion of positionality within Geography.

never experiencing the same kind of Black-white binary as many Central and East Coast cities (see Almaguer (1994) and Pulido (2006), among others), yet African Americans have remained as highly segregated there as almost anywhere (Massey and Denton 1993). Analysis of census data reveals the all too familiar and near universal truths of North American urbanisation underlying L.A.'s growing and 'new' diversity: both a rising inequality of income and high levels of segregation between ethnic and racial groups (Allen and Turner 1997, Ethington 2000, Ethington, Frey and Myers 2001). Soja writes of this as a 'Cosmopolis', claiming a 'derigidifying of the social boundaries of class, race and income grouping' (1996a, 445). In rebuttal, however, Ethington et al write in summary of their findings:

1. Whites have retreated to a periphery and the other principal ethnic groups are less and less likely to have them as neighbors.
2. Blacks are the most isolated racial group; other racial groups have remained highly unlikely to have them as neighbors.
3. Hispanics and Asians are becoming more isolated even as they cause the county as a whole to be more diverse (Ethington, Frey and Myers 2001, 1)

The study notes that whites alone 'had the freedom to settle wherever their wealth enables them to purchase a home. They have used that freedom to flee the growing diversity of the metropolis, either by moving out of the county completely or by retreating to its edges' (2001, 2). An earlier mapping of L.A. through 1994 by Ethington (2000) shows how home values have corresponded almost exactly with this retreat, with peoples of colour consistently hemmed into the 'slow-growth, low opportunity core' (2000, 39). Thus, even homeowners are constantly losing economic ground by virtue of living in these areas, though the tragedy of the core has also been its exploitation by a high percentage of absentee landlords.⁵ Far from simply being a feature of the city, Ethington's brief written summation of findings

⁵ See Clark's *Dark Ghetto* (1965) and the report of the McCone Commission, *Violence in the City* (1965).

from his GIS mapping signified that the process of city-building itself has been intensely racialised. Drawing on Lipsitz (1998), he characterises it as an ‘investment in whiteness’, as whites insulated themselves behind a ‘wall of wealth’ even as civil rights brought other walls down (2000, 39).

Figure 1-2 helps to better understand the connections between historical struggle and current patterns of occupation. The colour blocks show concentrations of the African American population from 1890 to 2010. Through my research I have developed an extensive (though by no means complete) database of addresses where racial incidents centred on property disputes took place, which I have titled ‘contested spaces’. Each light blue circle represents a family who encountered resistance to living in their homes, ranging from lawsuits to threats, and from burning crosses to bomb attacks. Each blue line represents what I call a ‘racial faultline’, or recognized boundary between white and black neighbourhoods as these have changed over time.⁶ This series of maps shows in simplified form how African Americans have remained highly concentrated in Los Angeles, and adjacent to or occupying many of the same areas that they have fought for historically. While this kind of shared experience can undoubtedly serve as a source of community strength,

⁶ These addresses are drawn from multiple sources, the principal being news stories from *The California Eagle* and *The Sentinel*. They range from cases over restrictive covenants to bombings, with a range of burning crosses, mob action, harassment and vandalism in between the two. They represent a fairly exhaustive representation of what was reported in these two Black-owned papers between 1914 through the mid 1960s, based on a review of all the *California Eagle* issues available and exhaustive word searches of the *Sentinel* archive. Undoubtedly I have missed some stories—and I believe far more went unreported than reported given how many stories here represent the culmination of months, if not longer, of harassing incidents—but these 132 incidents give a clear sense of the shape this struggle took. Although the *Eagle* reports on a handful cases against other ethnic groups included here, much more work remains in studying their stories through their own papers. The racial faultlines are mapped as described from newspapers, memoirs, oral histories, and testimony to the Governor’s Commission on the Watts riots as further explored in Chapter 2. A full list of addresses, incidents and sources are included in Appendix B.

many have noted the tragedy that the struggle to escape the ghetto drove people south and west, which simply expanded the ghetto's walls. The highest concentration, and emblematic of how incarceration has increasingly been used to control the African American population, lies just north of downtown in a major prison complex.

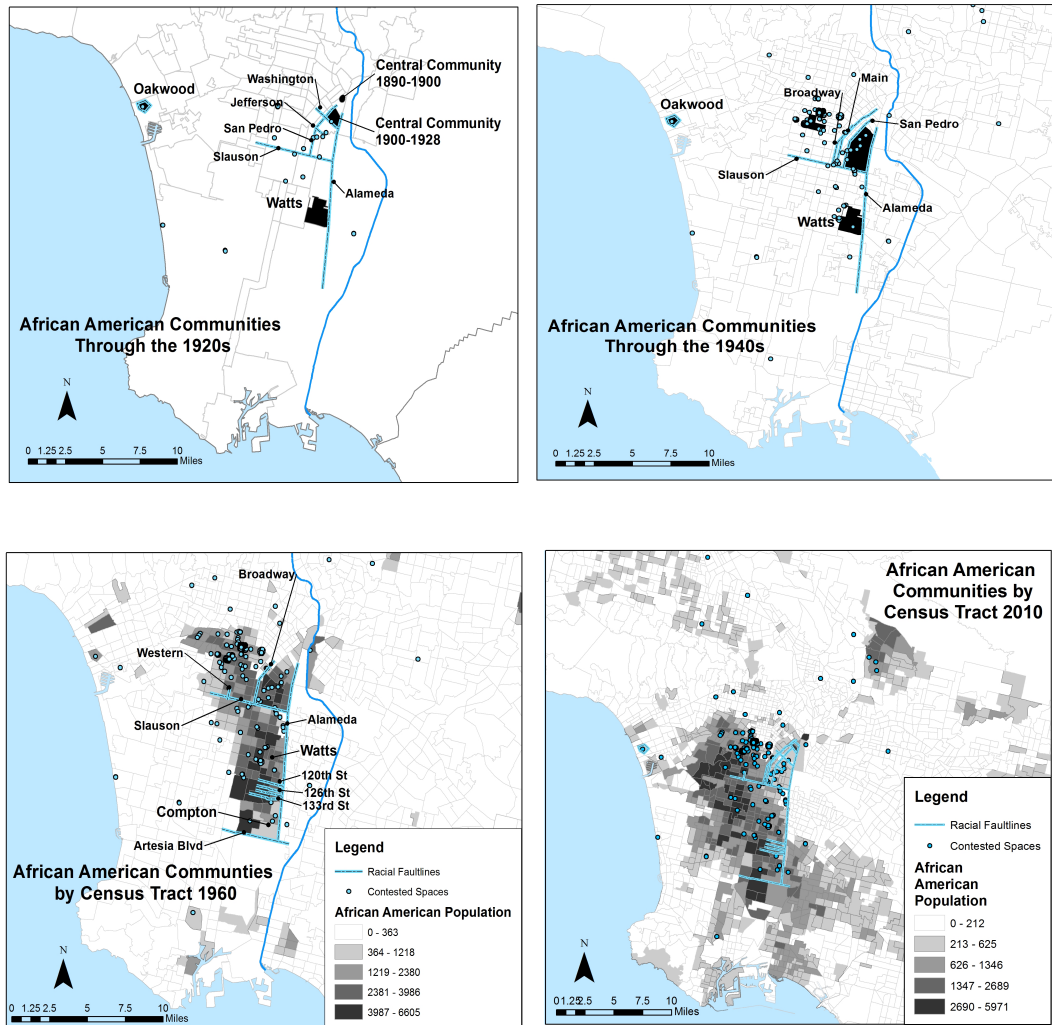


FIGURE 1-2 L.A.'S AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION FROM 1890-2010, MAPPED AGAINST POINTS OF CONTESTATION AND SHOWING SHIFTING RACIAL FAULTLINES⁷

⁷ 1960 and 2010 census data and tract shapefiles used courtesy of NHIS, sources for racial faultlines and 1890-1940 community boundaries can be found in Appendix A, and those for Contested Spaces in Appendix B. Given the archival record, I have sadly left the smaller communities found in Pasadena and Pacoima for later study.

I argue that this concentration of population is both rooted in, and a driver of, the process of L.A.'s formation – key to understanding the production of space, which is above all historical (Lefebvre 1991). This focus parallels other rewritings of history, where it is understood that ‘the past does not exist independently from the present’, where power is inscribed both into the processes of creating history and in what is silenced, left out (Trouillot 1997, 15). Similarly a more spatial understanding of such complexities of materiality and silencing in the present are found in the edited collection by Ann Stoler on ruins ‘as sites that condense alternative senses of history, and with ruination as an ongoing corrosive process that weighs on the future’ (2013, 9). These devastated landscapes and communities, like Haiti's ruins described by Trouillot, remain materially present to force our memories. They require a critical viewpoint, a recasting of accepted histories to understand, and hopefully take power over, how they shape our present and our future.⁸ This is vital work in a country attempting to deny the existence of racism, even as the ghetto lives on and the gaps between whites and peoples of colour continue to grow (Alexander 2012, West 2001).

Much empirical work has been done to highlight the continuing importance of race, showing how discrimination continues to work against even middle-class African Americans who have the income to live elsewhere.⁹ South and Crowder

⁸ Trouillot (1997) gives the classic example of this silencing as the disappearance of the Haitian Revolution from world history, while the connections between Detroit and the Amazon through Ford's factor ownership as described by Greg Gandin (2013) is one example of many from the collection edited by Stoler (2013).

⁹ See Oliver and Shapiro (1995) for a discussion of the difference between simple income and ‘wealth’ as the sum total of assets saved over a lifetime as well as inherited wealth, and the ways in which the indicator of wealth shows much deeper inequality along racial lines in America. Statistical analyses of residential segregation of middle class African Americans consistently have found that ‘race powerfully shapes their residential options’ (Alba, Logan and Stults 2000, 544). See

(1997) note that not only do wealthier African Americans tend to live in suburbs closer to the inner city, where the population is generally at least 50 percent Black and poverty is much higher than typical white suburbs, but that they are far more likely to move back to the inner city than whites. Most, however, never leave.

Patrick Sharkey writes:

The primary consequence of persistent neighborhood stratification is that racial inequalities that exist in one generation typically linger on to the next. For instance, more than 70% of black children who are raised in the poorest quarter of American neighborhoods will continue to live in the poorest quarter of neighborhoods as adults. Since the 1970s, more than half of black families have lived in the poorest quarter of neighborhoods *in consecutive generations*, compared to just 7% of white families (2008, 933).

He argues that this is due to the ways in which ‘various forms of inequality are organized or clustered in space, and neighbourhoods are often the *site* of inequality’ (2008, 933).¹⁰

Part of this story is the continuing massive differential in median income by race in Los Angeles, as seen in Figure 1-3:

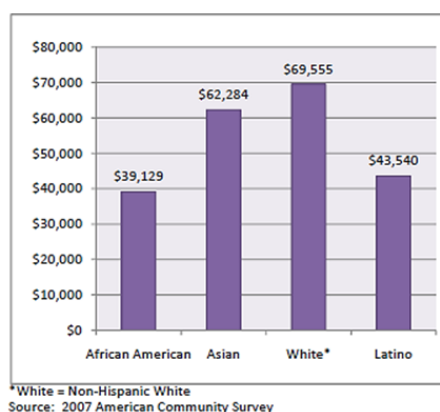


FIGURE 1-3 GRAPH OF MEDIAN INCOME IN 2007 BY RACE AND ETHNICITY¹¹

also Charles (2003), Logan, Alba and Leung (1996), Meyer (2000), South and Crowder (1997), Wiese (2004).

¹⁰ See also Sharkey (2013) for updated figures and a much extended discussion of neighbourhood effects on equality.

These wage differences have been widely argued as a combination of economic restructuring, spatial mismatch between suburban jobs and inner city residents, low education levels, the criminalization of African-American youth, and poor job preparation (Alexander 2012, Stoll 2000, W. J. Wilson 1987). Allen J. Scott has studied the connections between industry and urban form extensively, describing the ways that unionised factories steadily moved further and further into the suburban areas (and thus away from communities of colour) up through and after WWII, and the ways that they were replaced during the 1970s and 1980s by service jobs and post-fordist manufacturing (1988, 1996). This process of economic restructuring with its massive layoffs and unemployment hit non-white communities hardest.¹²

Multiple studies have looked at the presence of dangerous environmental conditions concentrated in these areas along with a lack of green spaces,¹³ a lack in both quantity and quality of education,¹⁴ a lack of hospitals and access to healthcare,¹⁵ a lack of access to healthy food,¹⁶ and a lack of banks and other

¹¹ LAANE (2008) Poverty, Jobs and the Los Angeles Economy.

¹² See also Marable (1993), and for L.A. specifically: Rocco (1996), Soja (2000, 1996), and Wolch (1996) among others. For studies on actual employment patterns in L.A. see also Stoll, who found that ‘low-skilled blacks, particularly those living in minority areas, search significantly greater distances for work than comparable Latinos and whites’, hypothesized as a combination of spatial mismatch, perceptions of hostility, and racial discrimination in suburban areas (2000, 445), and Press (2000) who found race to be more important a factor than gender for Black women in seeking work.

¹³ See Brodtkin (2009), Pulido (1996, 2000), Winton (2010).

¹⁴ See Ong et al, (2008) and Rickles, Ong, & Houston (2004)

¹⁵ See Bowden & Lee (2005), ‘L.A.’s Hidden Health Crisis’ (2010) and ‘Shame of the City’ (2007)

¹⁶ See, for example, Alkon & Agyeman (2011). A report by Ashman et al (1993) revealed the lack of fresh quality produce, that 27percent of residents in one South Central neighbourhood went hungry an average of five days a month, and that due to higher food prices they spent an average of \$275 more a year than residents in the suburban group.

services.¹⁷ These, combined with the absence of meaningful work and an influx of drugs (the infamous crack epidemic of the 1980s), along with the cultural productions of Hollywood, have resulted in South Central becoming best known for desperate poverty and crime (M. Davis 2006). South Central L.A., birthplace of the Crips and the Bloods and gangsta rap, has become one of the more famous ghetto spaces in popular culture, fiercely and contestedly stereotyped to become ‘one of the entertainment industry’s favourite and most frequently portrayed spatial characters’ in movies such as *Boyz n the Hood* (1991), *Menace II Society* (1993), and *Straight Out of Compton* (1999), among others (Alonso 2010, Bennett 2010, 218, Sides 2004). The reality is both more and less than the hype, but a driving force in creating South Central’s devastated landscape has been the skyrocketing numbers of people forced onto the streets through the 1980s due to economic restructuring and massive cuts in welfare, and the mass shut down of both outpatient health clinics and mental health clinics in the early 1980s, particularly in South Central (Wolch 1996). This confluence explains why homelessness is also highest in South L.A., as well as why such a high percentage of those who find themselves homeless are African American as seen in Figure 4-4.

¹⁷ See ‘Making Change’ (2002) and Richman & Pitkin (2003)

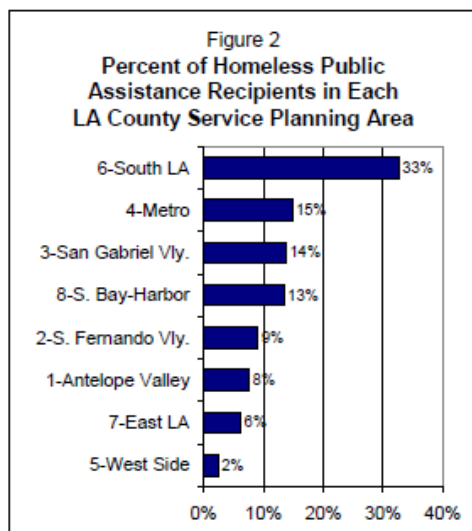


FIGURE 1-4 GRAPH SHOWING PERCENT OF HOMELESS PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS IN EACH L.A. COUNTY PLANNING AREA¹⁸

Mike Davis's *City of Quartz* begins to address some of these dynamics through its analysis of power, development and economic restructuring (2006). In its look at the rise of the slow-growth movement in the L.A. suburbs and the growing fortress mentality, it touches on both race and its spatialisation:

fact one: Los Angeles homeowners, like the Sicilians in Prizzi's Honor, love their children, but they love their property values more.

fact two: 'Community' in Los Angeles means homogeneity of race, class and, especially, home values....

fact three: The most powerful 'social movement' in contemporary Southern California is that of affluent homeowners, organized by notional community designations or tract names, engaged in the defense of home values and neighborhood exclusivity (2006, 153).

A formative book in the study of Los Angeles, *City of Quartz* brings together both an historical and structural understanding of the city to great effect – critiquing Soja's concept of L.A.'s 'depthless present' as Davis does so (2006, 376). Through his

¹⁸ (Flaming and Tepper 2004)

clustering of analyses around film and literary myth making, power and grassroots politics, police repression, and a restructuring economy, he opens up many views into the political economy of the city, its making and its unmaking. This is a key first examination of homeowner associations and their politics, a revealing look at the rush to build the suburbs and then defend them at all costs from unwanted people, unwanted development, and unwanted wealth distribution. He opens the door here to look at some of the ways that race is mobilised in terms of property values and the selling of security, as well as the heightened negative effects of globalization and the changing economy on communities of colour. He doesn't quite go through it, however, to examine the constitutive role of race in a developing capitalism or the geography of L.A. Davis's focus on the forces of exploitation and oppression can tend to make them feel inexorable and far removed from social justice grassroots struggles in ways similar to work by the L.A. School. The chapters more explicitly about race also tend to marginalize race further – the chapter dealing with African Americans in a significant way is not fully connected with the city as a whole, but focuses on gangs, the crack epidemic, police brutality and the community's efforts to save their youth. The chapter on *Latinos* deals with the Catholic church.¹⁹ The church has undoubtedly played a very influential role in city politics, yet these narratives of gangs and religion tend to contain the role of peoples of colour in the city to well-worn and studied grooves, although described with nuance, and fails to fully interrogate their broader role alongside that of white racism in forming the city.

For most Marxists, race continues to play a secondary role to class as part of a 'divide and conquer' strategy to maintain class power. In arguing against such

¹⁹ For further discussion see Jones (2006).

interpretations and for making race central to labour studies, historian Herbert Hill writes:

The study of race in labor history obliges us to recognize the historical development of a culture of white supremacy that directly affected economic development and political struggles, and was the decisive factor in shaping the consciousness of a white working class that defined itself and its world in racial terms (Hill 1995, 317).

In geography, neither Marxists such as David Harvey (1973, 2007, 2012), Neil Smith (1996, 1982), Mike Davis (2006, 2001), nor the more postmodern L.A. School have attempted to fully engage with the ways in which the desire to preserve white supremacy has impacted the urban form. Instead, their treatment of ‘minority’ experience is primarily as a growing exotic diversity driven by globalisation, a complicating but ultimately marginal factor to the city’s development with ghettoisation as an unfortunate side effect.²⁰ This causes an interesting disjuncture between more general works on the ‘urban’, and those whose focus is on the history and experience of peoples of colour in L.A. In these studies, the obvious and damaging centrality of segregation to all non-white experience (as opposed to its normalised and taken-for-granted benefits to whites) has ensured a strong spatial awareness and critical view from scholars across multiple disciplines. Kobayashi and Peake write ‘...the entire US landscape is deeply racialized, even as its "whiteness" serves as a counterpart to the entrenched differences that mark more highly charged places of racialized conflict’ (2000, 392). At the same time, they note the ways in

²⁰ HoSang et al (2013), Roberts and Mahtani (2010) and Omi and Winant (1994) also discuss this lack. Some discussing race and racism still tend to see neoliberalism as a top-down project that impacts people differently according to race (Theodore 2007), while others have begun to investigate how neoliberalism has mobilised ideas of race itself as justification for these unequal impacts (D. Wilson 2004). Two works that do bring the insight of critical race scholars that race is in fact core to neoliberalism’s development to bear on neoliberalism itself are both written in the context of South Africa, Gillian Hart’s piece ‘The Provocations of Neoliberalism’ (2008) and Tony Samara’s study of Central Business Districts in South Africa (2010).

which this fact goes ignored within geography. Laura Pulido calls attention to the ways in which ‘the whiteness of our discipline skews our intellectual production’, similar to arguments made around the absence of gender (2002, 51, Rose 1993). She writes:

This brings us to another reason for the marginalization of the study of race within geography: the overwhelming white composition of the discipline and its limited links to ethnic studies...While I must tread carefully here if I wish to avoid essentialist arguments, I believe there is no escaping the fact that in a discipline that is over 90% white (Association of American Geographers 1999), many individuals feel no need or desire to investigate race, as the current racial hierarchy serves them well. Simply put, race is not a problem for most geographers in their daily lives (2002, 50).²¹

Writing from a position within the community of consent can explain why, even for post-modern revisions of Marxism, racism has not been seen as a crucial component in explaining the structural ways in which Los Angeles has developed, far less the ways that a developing Los Angeles has impacted constructions of race despite massive segregation. Over 100 years ago, Du Bois wrote of ‘two worlds within and without the Veil’, the barrier of segregation that protects whites from the struggle and suffering of Blacks (1990, 3). It seems that the problem of the colour line remains the problem of our new century.

Lawyer Loren Miller estimated that between 1934 and 1950, 98% of all new suburban tracts were for whites only; through 1948 this segregation was imposed

²¹ She continues in a footnote: ‘There are, in fact, many ways in which we all suffer from racial inequality. However, geography, for the most part, is still trying to understand how racially-subordinated populations differ from that of the white majority. Hopefully, we can have a conversation on the collective material, social, emotional, and spiritual costs of racism one day’ (2002, 50). This thesis hopes to contribute to such a discussion. For a longer discussion of issues in race and geography see *The Professional Geographer* (54) 1 on ‘Race, Racism and Geography’, particularly the introduction by Richard Schein (Schein 2002), also Sanders (1990), Sibley (1995), Kobayashi and Peake (2000), and Price (2010) among others.

through restrictive race covenants attached to property deeds (Miller 1955). There is a surprisingly small amount of research that has focused specifically on such restrictions, particularly non-legal sources. Many early histories of African American experience actually describe an early period from about 1890 to the early 1900s where the ghetto boundaries were not firmly drawn, but all agree on their rapid closure in the following years, despite considerable argument about just when and how it happened.²² In these racial faultlines, L.A.'s history bears a striking resemblance to that detailed in other definitive studies of the ghetto's rise in East Coast and Mid-West cities. Du Bois (1996) gives a clear picture of the violence and economic forces hemming African Americans into the poorest and most dilapidated sections of Philadelphia. Chicago is the source for two fundamental texts on the subject, the pioneering sociological work by Cayton and Drake (with an introduction from Richard Wright) (1946), and Arnold Hirsh (1983). Of St. Louis, Gordon compares its specific story to the universal:

This is a story that can be retold, with local twists and variations, for virtually any American metropolis in the modern era. Local, state, and national policies encouraged economic and demographic flight from increasingly poor, and black, central cities. Sprawl and political fragmentation made these cities – and the larger urban areas they anchored – increasingly difficult to govern or finance. The modern urban crisis was a direct consequence of public policy, not an unfortunate social ill... (2008, 35-36)

²² J. Max Bond (1972) and Lawrence de Graff (1970, 1962) both lean more to the idea of a 'golden age', and this is supported by the high percentage of homeownership in the Black community as noted by W.E.B. Du Bois in the NAACP paper *The Crisis* describing a his visit there (1913). Douglas Flamming's history *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (2005) is the most comprehensive history to date of this early period of history in Black L.A. Questioning the idea of a 'golden age', he argues that it was only relative to other African Americans that those in Los Angeles could be considered well off, though he argues that through the great migration of WWII they were almost entirely middle-class in aspiration and outlook. Paul Robinson (2010) and Susan Anderson (1996) both give good short histories of this period, and another interesting source is E. Frederick Anderson (1980), a dissertation on early Black organisation in Los Angeles based on interviews with some of the pioneers of the community done in the 1970s.

In understanding the formation of Detroit's ghetto, Thomas Sugrue writes:

Detroit's postwar urban crisis emerged as the consequence of two of the most important, interrelated, and unresolved problems in American history: that capitalism generates economic inequality and that African Americans have disproportionately borne the impact of that inequality (1996, 5).

Kenneth B. Clark says of Harlem 'The dark ghetto's invisible walls have been erected by the white society, by those who have power, both to confine those who have *no* power and to perpetuate their powerlessness' (1965, 11). These findings are echoed by Robert O. Self (2003) in his study of Oakland in California. Scholars of the ghetto have long seen the similarities between all US cities and sought to explain why and how such a pattern has been created in community after community, acknowledging the centrality of racism to urban development.

Unlike many of these cities, L.A. has always been multiracial, rather than predominantly white and Black. In this sense, the L.A. School is borne out in seeing the city as a possible model for the future, as the establishment of racial hierarchies under a white hegemony – and the possibility of building of counter-hegemonic solidarity across racial boundaries – has long been present. White racism itself, while creating conflict over limited resources, has also created some of the impetus for multiracial organising as peoples of colour have traditionally shared neighbourhoods where they have confronted similar white racism and their own racialisation on what Leland Saito (1998) notes as 'common ground'. Scott Kurashige (2008), for example, looks at how African-American and Japanese communities emerged from a shared early history of segregation and struggle, which ensures a strong spatial sensibility in his account.²³ He masterfully describes the material and ideological

²³ This is a fascinating historical work of critical race theory charting the period beginning before World War II through the rebellions of the 1960s, trying to answer

triangulations between Black, Japanese and white Americans as they sometimes came together and sometimes played one off the other for material gains.

In this, it builds on Tomás Almaguer's *Racial Faultlines* (1994), a key text both in understanding Los Angeles, as well as for theorising beyond the racial binary of Black and white. Almaguer argues that California's early diversity, where populations of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and Mexican migrants lived alongside Native, Mexican/Spanish- and African-American ones demands that understandings of race dynamics require a conception of racial hierarchies. The flexibility of these hierarchies and the promise held out of each ethnic group being able to supersede others in privilege and power allowed whites to take over land and control immigrant labour populations while maintaining their position at the top of the pyramid.²⁴ Solidarity across race, ethnicity and immigration status have all been consistently undermined by the varying degrees to which different communities of colour have been able to partially enter into the community of consent, defining group access to jobs, land, legal rights, housing, and other basic structures of opportunity within a system preserving European-American domination.

The early consolidation of white domination and hierarchy was followed by the federal involvement in building and sustaining a market for mortgages during the Great Depression, which institutionalised racial criteria in the appraisal and

how African Americans became linked to ideas of the 'urban crisis', while the Japanese came to be seen as a model minority and signifier of the multicultural city.

²⁴ For more on racial hierarchies see David Gutierrez (1995), Laura Pulido (2006, 2000), Lisa Ramos (2012), George Sanchez (1993), and Henry Yu (2001). Los Angeles has also contained the largest number of Native Americans outside of Arizona's Navajo reservation since 1970. While this number is low in concrete numbers given North America's genocidal policies, Rosenthal (2012) takes an interesting look at the ways in which Native Americans in L.A. have moved between whiteness, romanticised 'other' and struggle to survive in the city.

financing of property.²⁵ This official promotion of segregation only began to unravel after the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial covenants, and long after that openly practiced discrimination continued to flourish in property markets. Saito (1998) carries out a nuanced modern case study of politics in an L.A. suburb and the changing racialisation of Latino and Asian residents where these hierarchies continue to play out through coalition against a still-violent white supremacy and competition for scarce resources.²⁶ The focus here remains on African-American experience as the group most consistently relegated to control through domination and force, but these hierarchies – and multi-racial challenges to them – have been explored where they have arisen.

The segregation of African Americans remains the deepest, the most visible and the most entrenched over time.²⁷ As Charles writes of the results of her intensive study of attitudes on housing in Los Angeles:

...active, present-day racial prejudice and concerns among racial minorities about white hostility play important roles in driving neighborhood racial preferences...[with] whites, the group at the top of the status hierarchy and, arguably, the group with the most to lose. Maintaining their status advantages and privilege requires a certain amount of social distance from nonwhites – particularly blacks and *Latinos*, the groups at the bottom of the racial queue –

²⁵ The best study of just how fundamental government was to the early formation and stabilisation of the real estate market, the ways this was shaped by private real estate interests and how everything was structured around race is Freund's (2007) book *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America*. This is also treated in some depth by Meyer (2000), by Jackson (1985) in his study of suburbanisation, and Massey and Denton's (1993) work on segregation.

²⁶ These studies of how racial identity is continually constructed stand in strong contrast to recent books celebrating the '*latinization*' of Los Angeles and other North American cities, see Diaz and Torres (2012), Valle and Torres (2000) and Davis (2001). While doing important work in calling for better understanding of a growing cultural majority and for culturally sensitive planning, much of the discussion is based on what seems to be an essentialising idea of what '*Latino*' means independent of nationality, immigration status, or hierarchical relationships to both dominant white populations or other socially constructed and racialized groups such as Asian and African Americans.

²⁷ See Charles (2003) and Ethington (2000).

since more than token integration would signal an unwelcome change in status relations. Indeed, this racial hierarchy – in which whites occupy the top position and blacks the bottom – is so pervasive that immigrant adaptation includes the internalization and even exaggeration of it among *Latinos* and Asians, as seen in the pattern of preferences for both groups (2003, 159).

These studies by historians and sociologists among others explore the racialised spatialities of privilege with a depth that few works among the vast literature looking at the urbanisation and suburbanisation of the city have managed. This contrast to so much of urban studies highlights the absence of such narratives within our field, and perhaps echoes another finding of Charles: ‘While whites thought of themselves as easy to get along with, no other group agreed with that self-assessment ... whites still seemed to hold negative racial attitudes’ (2003, 159). Thus Robert Fishman (1987) sees a desire for class segregation as one of the primary drivers for the earliest suburbanisation in Manchester, yet cannot see the impact of racism in L.A. as he describes the move of ‘Americans’ of all classes (not realising perhaps the limitations of race) to live their suburban ideal. This despite citing Kenneth Jackson’s *Crabgrass Frontier*, which argues that the rise of suburbia was dependent not on ideology, but primarily on economics and new technology, and that ‘there were two necessary conditions for American residential deconcentration – the suburban ideal and population growth – and two fundamental causes – racial prejudice and cheap housing’ (1985, 287).

Jackson does not delve too deeply into the nature of race nor of that prejudice, yet he is certainly more thorough in this regard than *The Rise of the Community Builders* (1987), Marc Weiss’s exhaustive study of the corporate role and influence on city planning and development. This work is key, however, in documenting how most Los Angeles communities from the 1930s onwards – along with their parks, schools, churches, shopping centres and homeowner associations –

were created by private developers who widely used race and building covenants to increase the value of their developments. Gregory Hise (1997) offers another detailed look at the early suburbs of L.A., their connections to industry and roots in agricultural housing construction and wartime defence housing. His findings raise interesting questions that he doesn't really explore about the intersections of race and class, and the privileges of whiteness:

Although stridently opposed to mixed-race neighborhoods, Burns and other developers chose to build housing that families from different occupational, income, and social strata could afford. Burns believed his projects would counter a stratification that he viewed as "un-American" (1997, 159).

This underlines the ways in which 'American' was once defined exclusively through skin colour. This openness around class did not last, however, MacKenzie writes:

Before and during the post-World War II housing boom, large-scale developers used homeowner associations and restrictive covenants in middle-class housing to market exclusion rather than exclusivity. As millions of African Americans and other minorities relocated in Northern and Western cities, community builders and the Federal Housing Administration responded by promoting the creation of one-race, one-class neighborhoods in cities and newly constructed suburbs. In essence, the black American was treated as a threat to property values, like a soap factory or a slaughterhouse" (1994, 84-85).

The failure to engage with the racism and violence of suburban residents themselves was drawn attention to in Stephen Meyer's *As Long As They Don't Move Next Door* (2000), a study of white suburbanisation and exclusivity in cities across America's north.²⁸ A handful of key works follow in this line to look at the twinned rise of conservatism and racial exclusion in the suburbs, such as Becky Nicoloides's

²⁸ Other important sources on suburbanisation and its connections to the growth and problems of the ghetto around the country are Thomas J. Sugrue's work on Detroit (1996); Arnold Hirsch on Chicago (1983), Andrew Wiese on African-American suburbanisation (2004), and Lisa McGirr (2001) on politics and voting patterns.

(2002) study of South Gate, and Edsall and Edsall's (1991) study of white suburban 'backlash' in transforming democratic politics, updated by Lisa McGirr's (2001) work. This 'backlash' is given form in Daniel Hosang's work *Racial Propositions* (2012), which puts grassroots struggle and constructions of race to the fore in his study of the ways in which right-wing groups succeeded in advancing a racist, segregationist and anti-immigrant agenda through the use of balloted propositions and voter mobilisation. The California Real Estate Association introduced Proposition 14 to nullify a Fair Housing Act passed by the California legislature in 1964, and in his chapter on it, Hosang provides model analysis of white reaction and strategising to prevent desegregation.²⁹

The 1960s were a pivotal moment in defining the nature of US cities, witnessing a flurry of mass activism directed at breaking down housing and neighbourhood barriers, a momentary political openness and idealism and federal anti-poverty funding that could have led to real integration. Very little has been written about L.A.'s rights struggles of the 1950s and early 1960s fighting such de facto segregation – considered as much Jim Crow as the host of regulations in the South, though of a different kind. The fight to integrate the suburbs undertaken by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) that I look at in depth has not previously been studied, just as CORE on a national level seems not to have attracted the same level of academic attention as King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) or Carmichael and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating

²⁹ From the angle of cultural studies, two additional views on L.A.'s suburbanisation are Eric Avila's (2004) look at how whiteness was formed through the period of mass suburbanization and Josh Sides' (2003) work around the multiplicity of Black urban experience that highlights the importance of space to racial consciousness.

Committee (SNCC).³⁰ Clearly, however, the series of uprisings between 1965 and 1968, including that of Watts, gave added impetus to white flight from the cities to the suburbs, while also marking a sea-change from a non-violent movement struggling for integration to a Black Power movement more focused on building its own power bases in Black communities.³¹ It is here, then, that much of the literature fully bifurcates into studies of suburbanisation, with a focus on privatisation and new neighbourhood forms such as gated communities, and studies of the ghetto.

While the case studies presented in this thesis do not deal with the extreme growth of suburban privatised and exclusive communities beyond their early beginnings, their development forms a crucial connecting piece to understand how a widespread white retreat to increasingly fortified suburbs connects to the redevelopment of inner-city areas and displacement of communities of colour. It is hardly coincidental that the same decade which saw the successes of the civil rights movement against discrimination also ushered in the explosive birth of a new kind of suburb known as the Common Interest Development, or CID. In CIDs individuals own their own homes and hold in common the streets, amenities and public spaces of the development, which allows them exclusive control over who enters their community and what they do there through extensive covenants and deed restrictions known as ‘Covenants, Conditions, and Restrictions’, or CC&Rs. The United States

³⁰ The L.A. Chapter of CORE was the subject of a 1965 dissertation later self-published by Bartling (2010), whose main focus is on the organisational challenges of CORE. While informative, it is disappointing in the amount of detail it captures, with few direct quotes or documents. While much has been written on the Freedom Rides and CORE’s work in the South, Meier and Rudwick (1973), Rudwick (1972) and CORE’s director James Farmer’s autobiography (1986) *Lay Bare the Heart* are the main sources on CORE as a national organisation.

³¹ Gerald Horne (1995) has written most cogently on the impact of Watts on African American movement, driving it away from a focus on integration and coalitional organising to a focus on building a power base and organising within the ghetto. This is echoed in West (2001).

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations reported that the new phenomenon of CIDs ‘probably accounts for the most significant privatization of US local government responsibilities this century’ (1989, 18).

The development of ever more exclusive suburbs entailed a simultaneous abandonment of the city and a substantive change in the nature of the ghetto. In the 1960s this relationship was viewed as a colonial one among many Black scholars, with communities of colour forming a reserve army of low-skilled and manual labour. Kenneth B. Clark writes that ghettos are ‘social, political, educational and – above all – economic colonies. Their inhabitants are subject peoples...’ (1965, 19). This is developed theoretically in *The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto* (1970) by William K. Tabb, as well as in its connection to social struggle by activist scholars like Carmichael and Hamilton (1968).³² It’s also supported by the later work of Loïc Wacquant on advanced marginality, who sweeps aside then mainstream theories of the ‘underclass’ to search for structural causes.³³ He

³² Wacquant (2008). See also Robert Blauner’s *Racial Oppression in America* (1972) and Julius Lester’s *Look Out Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama!* (1969).

³³ The idea of the underclass is primarily found in conservative works on the pathologies of the ghetto, such as Ricketts and Sawhill’s ‘Defining and Measuring the Underclass’ (1988) and Mead’s ‘The Logic of Workfare: The Underclass and Work Policy’ (1986). Their work is exemplary of the ways race has been used to gut welfare in the US and form policies forcing communities of colour into working poverty, and there has been widespread critique of the use of such a term at all (see Michael B. Katz’s (1993) edited volume for just one collection of the voluminous debates around this word). The term was also extensively used in responses to such work, perhaps most famously by William Julius Wilson who argued that liberals needed to use the term to engage with conservative thinkers constructing the existence of the underclass as simply a problem of the individual, whereas it needed to be reframed as reflective of problems belonging to the wider society. *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987) followed up on a more controversial *The Declining Significance of Race* (1980), both of which acknowledged the past (and continuing) importance of racism, but argued forcefully that the absence of jobs was the primary factor in the social pathologies of the ghetto rather than discrimination. Although Wilson moved away from use of the term ‘underclass’ to ‘ghetto poor’, he still defended its usefulness to denote ‘a disadvantaged position in the labor market and a social environment of concentrated poverty and social isolation’ (1987, 253). His

describes the ghetto as ‘an *institutional form*, that is, a distinctive, spatially based concatenation of mechanisms of *ethnoracial closure and control*’ (2008, 49).

Importantly, in describing the new forms of ‘advanced marginality’ he emphasises that they are not ‘*behind* us and being progressively reabsorbed...but rather that they stand *ahead of us*’ (1996, 123). His view is structural and focused on the role of the state, however, and he sees the ghetto as a space only of exclusion. Resident agency, contestation, and any kind of spaces of community and hope are absent from his accounts of the collapse of all sense of place in the new ghetto as ‘vector of intracommunal division and an instrument for the virtual imprisonment of the urban subproletariat of color, a dreaded and hated territory’ (1996, 126). This concept of marginality also misses the centrality of racism in driving the development of North American cities. His work remains an important intervention in understanding today’s ‘hyperghettoisation’ of African Americans with the advent of post-fordist economic structures in which their labour is no longer needed and the ghetto is allowed to fully implode.³⁴

It is this insight that Alexander (2012) picks up on to describe the growing criminalisation of African Americans through the war on drugs and the startling

arguments are founded in the spatiality of the ghetto, with its isolation from wider society and spatial mismatch between the poor and good jobs, and his work is a main source for Soja’s (2000) discussion of the urban poor. Use of the term ‘underclass’ can also be found in important and sympathetic quantitative studies of segregation from the 80s and 90s such as Massey and Denton’s *American Apartheid* (1993), which do not fail to examine white racism and structural factors.

³⁴ A number of economic studies have studied the mechanics of this shift from industrial to post-industrial economy, the rise in light manufacturing, and business agglomeration, Scott (1988, 1996), Storper and Scott (eds) (1992), and Storper and Walker’s (1986) works are key. Highly economic and focused, their valuable work on industry and location remains generally untroubled by larger questions of racial impacts or questions of social and spatial justice, though this economic transformation has had a tremendous effect on peoples of colour in central areas, and has been cited extensively in other works.

growth of prisons as a caste system of control to replace those of slavery and Jim Crow.³⁵ She writes:

Slavery defined what it meant to be black (a slave), and Jim Crow defined what it meant to be black (a second-class citizen). Today mass incarceration defines the meaning of blackness in America: black people, especially black men, are criminals. That is what it means to be black (2012, 197).

In the development trajectory studied here, this policy and discourse developed over several decades of complete abandonment of inner city areas, with policing developed as a strategy of control to replace employment and social services. Like slavery and Jim Crow, criminalisation thus works to force a wide proportion of African Americans outside the pale of the community of consent, facilitating their further criminalisation and marginalisation.

With the shift of capital and the return of development to downtown areas, these policies and discourses are now being mobilised to accomplish racial cleansing rather than containment. While academic debates have raged around the term gentrification, communities of colour adjacent to downtown areas have found it a traumatic and damaging process of displacement.³⁶ In central city areas where those

³⁵ See also the work of Ruth Gilmore (2002; 2007).

³⁶ I don't attempt a full review of the extensive literature on gentrification here, but influential on my own views are Smith (1996) and Peter Marcuse's critical political economy on the subject (1985), both seeing gentrification as a fundamentally unjust process of displacement. For an overview of the current debates on the issue, see the debates in journal *City* volume 13, issues 2-4, and volume 14, issues 1-2 between Tom Slater (2009) arguing for a continued critical view in the face a growing move in gentrification studies from critique to celebration and Chris Hamnett (2009), whose own work represents such a change. For a good study of gentrification viewed through a critical race lens, see Hetzler, Medina and Overfelt's (2006) 'Gentrification, Displacement and New Urbanism: The Next Racial Project'. For the psychological impact see Fullilove's (2004) *Root Shock: How Tearing up City Neighborhoods Hurt America and What We Can Do About It*. A fascinating look at the impact of wealthier African Americans themselves serving as the first wave of gentrification of neighbourhoods can be found in Mary Patillo's (2007) *Black on the*

who are homeless have traditionally gathered to access services, cities have embarked upon remarkably similar tactics to ‘clean up’ neighbourhoods as flagship projects along with condos, lofts and boutique hotels have been developed. Two key mechanisms of this displacement in downtown Los Angeles, as elsewhere, have been the introduction of ‘broken windows’ policing strategies, and control over public space through the use of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs).³⁷

Principal among new theories of policing is the ‘broken windows’ theory first expressed by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling (1982). Developed through a series of interviews and extensive time spent on the beat with local police, it argues that what is most important in reducing crime in a neighbourhood is reducing signs of disorder. Such signs range from the proverbial broken window, to panhandlers, to vandalism and graffiti. Wilson and Kelling argue that these things signal a permissive community and police unable to control what happens in their public spaces, creating a permissive atmosphere for more serious crime. The blame for urban decay and decline is placed firmly on the shoulders of unsocial individuals when Kelling and Coles describe why it is so important to restrict and regulate quality of life offences as ‘disorder, fear, crime, and urban decay seriously threaten urban life and commerce in American cities today’ (1997, 16).

New York police chief Bratton and mayor Giuliani put these theories into practice, and worked closely with George Kelling in developing quality-of-life policing in ‘cleaning up’ Times Square and other renewal areas in New York City

Block, an ethnographic study of how this process shapes understandings of race and class.

³⁷ Some of the best general discussions of this can be found in McArdle and Erzen (2001) and Mitchell (2003), for details see the report from the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty & National Coalition for the Homeless looking at the criminalisation of homelessness in 273 cities in the United States (2009).

(Bratton and Knobler 1998, Giuliani 2012, New York City Police Department 1994). After the falling out between Bratton and Giuliani, the city of Los Angeles hired Bratton as its new chief of police expressly to carry out the same transformation of policing, which many have argued is entirely geared to the dispossession of the poor and people of colour from gentrifying areas.³⁸ Those defending such policies tie the danger and disorder they are purportedly fighting to the ‘lawlessness’ of the civil rights struggles of the 60s, probably unintentionally creating a direct connection between crime, white fear of losing privilege, and control over public space. Siegel (1992) writes of ‘. . . the great wave of moral deregulation that began in the mid-1960s, the poor and the insane were freed from the fetters of middle-class mores’. Teir (1993-1994) believes the Civil Rights and other struggles of the 1960s have gone against community interests in elevating desires into rights: the desire to sleep in parks, eat wherever one wants, and beg however one wants. Recent ethnographies of youth and adults finding themselves homeless, however, describe not only the convergence of structural and social factors contributing to such ‘desires’, but also the devastation of human lives, the withdrawal of many vital services, and the disruption of those services remaining caused by quality-of-life regulations pushed for by commercial interests in redevelopment (Bourgois and Schonberg 2009, Gibson 2011, Gowan 2010).

³⁸ See Blasi et al (2007) for Bratton’s arrival in L.A., McArdle and Erzen (2001) and Smith (1998) for a critique of Bratton’s (and mayor Giuliani’s) policies in New York; larger debates and empirical studies of the effectiveness of ‘broken windows’ policies are summarised by Eck and Maguire (2000), and Novak, et al (1999). Within the context of neoliberalism, these policies have been described as ‘part of a revanchist urban vernacular,’ an attempt to contain and discipline the poor rather than achieve a more socially just society (Garland 2001, Herbert 2001, Mitchell, 2003, Smith 1996). Studies of LAPD itself have been done by Steve Herbert (1996, 1997), and both their tactics and community strategies of fighting back through recording police and security activity has been studied by Stuart Forrest (2011).

It is no surprise then, that in Los Angeles, the key players in both demanding the government implement this kind of policing, as well as themselves privately implementing similar controls over public space, have been BIDs. Created by wealthy business and landowners in downtown areas, their motivation has been to halt and even reverse the flight of investment and upscale consumption to suburbs and malls through the creation and marketing of safe, sanitised, and beautified spaces (Briffault 1999, Goss 1999, Gottdiener 1997, Hoyt 2006, Sorkin 1992). Lorlene Hoyt, who has written extensively on BIDs for the past decade, admirably summarises their basic structure and motivations:

BIDs are publicly sanctioned but privately directed organisations that pay for services to improve shared, geographically defined, outdoor public spaces. They are self-help organisations which govern a majority-voted self-taxing mechanism that generates multi-year revenue. The property and business owners who initiate and oversee BID organisations are motivated by self interest, not principally by civic commitment. They work to revitalise urban commercial areas for the purpose of protecting or increasing the returns on their investments (2005, 25).

Her definition lends support to the critical argument that such organisations dove-tail perfectly into the neoliberalising agenda of the privatisation and commodification of public services and public space (Brenner and Theodore 2002, Harvey 2005, Zukin 1995).³⁹ The first BID in Los Angeles began operations in 1996 with heavy support from the city; there are now seven operating in downtown alone.

³⁹ Apart from a minority writing from a critical tradition, the vast majority of the literature on BIDs is essentially positive. Any critique is limited to evaluating BIDs based on their efficiency in fulfilling the purpose for which they were founded, the criteria being: how they reduce crime (Brooks 2007, Brooks 2008, Hoyt 2005); how they raise property values (Ellen, Schwartz and Voicu 2007), and how they provide more attractive and safer environments that are successful in attracting consumers and tourists (Houstoun 2003). All of them deal with BID's impacts on public space, though very few problematise what it means for businesses to have the power to regulate public space to forward their own interests. A number of these academics have also raised questions about the relationship between BIDs and democracy; all

In their exclusionary control of space, partial replacement of municipal functions, and blurring of the lines between public and private to increase property values, there seems to be a clear connection between homeowner associations and BIDs. Many have drawn links between them, but there is very little agreement over what the connection is or should be. Most commentators of all theoretical persuasions do recognise the basic similarity in that both are groups of property owners who carry out some functions traditionally reserved to government, thus forming some level of private, or sublocal, governance (Blakely and Snyder 1997, Ellickson 1998, Lavery 1995). Some track these links through efforts, whether covert or not, to bring increased resources to certain areas while maintaining or increasing the exclusion of the poor and particularly people of colour (Blakely and Snyder 1997, McFarlane 2007). Some have worried that the success of BIDs will help spread private government to residential areas in the suburbs through a rise in Residential Community Associations, while others promote tweaks to the BID model so it can be applied to older urban neighbourhoods to create what developers have made standard in new builds (Ellickson 1998, Nelson, McKenzie and Norcross 2008, Pack 1992). It seems clear for both the suburban Homeowner Associations and the city's BIDs that any convergence has much to do with the success of the method in achieving one particular goal – the control of private and public space to build and protect privilege.

A critical political economy of space brought together with critical theories of race and hegemony can explain this convergence through the socio-spatial trajectory that Los Angeles has followed from its successive stages of

of them conclude that they are democratic within the liberal tradition, though an interesting variety of rationalisations are given stretching liberal democracy to its limits (Briffault 1999, Hochleutner 2003, Hoyt 2005, MacDonald 1996, Meek and Hubler 2006, Morçöl and Patrick 2006)

suburbanisation through to the present return of capital and development to the centre.⁴⁰ The impressive body of work on Los Angeles has not failed to note either the importance of segregation or sprawl, or globalisation and deindustrialisation, and recent works all describe the prevalence of gates, security, and privatised controls over public space. In spite of this, theorisation of their relationships in a way that connects past with present remains inadequate, because the centrality of racism and the protection of white privilege to these dynamics has not been seen. Understanding this centrality is vital both for understanding the structure and dynamics of US cities, as well as for developing theory that can support today's movements in developing counterhegemonic struggle for spatial and racial justice.

CRITICAL THEORIES OF SPACE AND RACE

In developing my own theoretical framework, I have relied primarily on the spatial political economy of David Harvey ([1982] 2007), Neil Smith (1982, 1996), and Logan and Molotch (1987) integrated with the critical race work of Stuart Hall (1980, 1985). I also draw from Henri Lefebvre's work, which has been pivotal in transforming understanding of space from simple background or stage to something that is both socially produced and socially productive (1991). In *The Right to the City*, Lefebvre argues that one definition of the city is 'as a projection of society on the ground'; it is a way to see society itself mapped into the urban, but it is much more than a projection (1996, 109). The geographical sedimentation of economic, political, and ideological structures itself becomes constitutive of policies and

⁴⁰ This term is drawn from Gillian Hart's work in *Disabling Globalisation* (2002).

ideologies (1991, 1996), it is itself a part of the complex structure that has created Los Angeles's segregated landscape (Pulido 2006, Soja 2010).

This conception of space allows a new dimension to be added to Stuart Hall's concept of articulation.⁴¹ Bringing together aspects of both Althusser and Gramsci's theories, Hall theorises hegemony as a series of conjunctures, particular articulations of the political, economic and ideological that are born of a 'process of social reproduction as continuous and contradictory – the very opposite of a functional achievement' (1988, 54). I use the concept of articulation as both theory and methodological framework (Slack 2005), as further developed in the next section. Integrating Lefebvre, it allows for the links between economic structures, politics, ideologies, and space to be drawn and redrawn over time with final determinism granted to none, charting changing hegemonies and identifying strategic points of weakness for concrete and strategic oppositional action. This focus on process, change, and resistance in the creation of a complex hegemonic structure is key to a more profound understanding of how strategies maintaining white domination and privilege through segregation have grown in relation to struggle and material spatial change, and how they have articulated with the demands of capital and the ideologies and the practices of privatisation that have also developed through this process.

This work also follows in the footsteps of the environmental justice studies carried out in L.A. by Laura Pulido, who brings together critical race and geography studies, connecting a strong spatial understanding with theories of white privilege and investment. She writes:

⁴¹ In its use of both Lefebvre and Hall, my work is also informed by the work of Gillian Hart (2002, 2007) whose studies of globalisation and neoliberalism in South Africa brings these thinkers together with great effect.

White privilege, as a form of racism, is spatially expressed, indeed it is partially contingent upon a particular set of spatial arrangements. Take the case of neighborhoods. The full exploitation of white privilege requires the production of places with a very high proportion of white people (Pulido 2000, 16).

I build on the connections she makes here (though not explicitly) amongst use value and exchange value, spatial privilege and racial hierarchy in the city. However, while she draws on Oliver & Shapiro who argue ‘landscapes are artefacts of past and present racisms...the "sedimentation of racial inequality"’ (1995, 5), my own case studies focus more on process, how these sedimentations are made and remade.⁴² Bringing theories of white privilege together with theories of uneven development and the rent gap bring both processes of suburbanisation and inner city gentrification into relation with each other in the ways that these processes connect to larger circuits of capital even as they also carry out the ‘work’ of racial and class domination.

One of the key texts in developing the political economy of space has been David Harvey’s *Limits of Capital* (2007), which develops a comprehensive theory of property and rent from the fragments of thoughts and theories in Marx and Engels’ writings. Marx saw land and labour as the source of all wealth, not a product of labour but a necessary condition of it (1976). Bought and sold as a commodity, its exchange value emerges through the rent its owner is able to collect. Thus on the market it becomes a purely financial asset whose exchange value is set by

⁴² This is not to say, however, that even as gentrification rages in areas closer to downtown and radically rewrites the face of the city in certain areas, large parts of the L.A. 'ghetto' have remained abandoned by capital and desperate for resources. Here the sedimentation of racial inequality may continue to grow ever deeper for some time to come. I see this thesis as complementary to work focusing solely on the dynamics within the American ghetto itself, whether as colony (Clark 1965, Tabb 1970) or warehouse (Wacquant 2008).

speculation on its future revenues, a speculative investment often more dependent on perceived market trends, location, and its potential ‘highest and best use’ rather than its current use.⁴³ Both Harvey and Lefebvre describe the way that land as commodity has been drawn into the market, Lefebvre writing:

The city, or what remains of it or what it will become, is better suited than it has ever been before for the accumulation of capital; that is, the accumulation, realization, and distribution of surplus value (2003, 35).

Harvey (2007) brings this flash of insight into a fully argued framework, describing the ways that constant expansion requires further investment but the overaccumulation of commodities and labour power channel it away from direct production and into a secondary circuit of capital – the built environment. Converted into a purely financial instrument, rents become an asset available to be traded on the worldwide market and subject to global investment demands rather than local needs.

Rent does not simply serve as an important siphon for excess money capital and generator of expanding profits, it also serves as the mechanism regulating land use (differentiating between residential, industrial, retail, etc) while also creating the conditions for continuous development through another key concept developed by Harvey – uneven development. While investment in the built environment is a prerequisite for production and the development of value, it becomes a barrier to future development as the initial investment is recouped and the most profitable use of the land changes. The variegated landscapes of investment and disinvestment create a constantly shifting map offering ever new investment possibilities where disinvestment has proceeded to a point where it becomes profitable to overcome the

⁴³ Some useful discussion of use and exchange value can of course also be found in Harvey’s *Social Justice & the City* (1973).

barriers of the already existing land uses through redeveloping and rebuilding – part of the ‘spatial fix’ to overaccumulation.

Neil Smith’s work on gentrification in New York and Philadelphia (1982, 1992, 1996) situates Harvey’s theories in concrete space, theorising that uneven development and the resulting differentiation of ground rent is the primary mover both of suburbanisation and the return of capital to the inner cities in processes of gentrification. He further develops the concept of ground rent as the force allocating different land uses, both in terms of land use, and of class and race (Smith 1982). Here Smith opens up the possibility of a theory that begins to integrate the role of ideologies of race into constructions of value but does not pursue it. Instead, he theorises the process of devalorisation of inner city areas essentially as a function simply of time, ‘an obvious sequence of transitions in the tenure arrangements, occupancy, and physical condition of properties in a neighborhood’, a ‘downward sequence’ (Smith 1982, 147). The movement of capital to the suburbs entails its abandonment of the inner city, where neighbourhoods decay to the point where the ground rent dependent on the use of the land is far less than the ground rent that could be collected if that land use were to change. This is the origin of the rent gap: ‘When, and only when, this rent gap between actual and potential ground rent becomes sufficiently large, redevelopment and rehabilitation into new land uses becomes a profitable prospect, and capital begins to flow back into the inner city market’ (1982, 149).

Though the process becomes more specific when anchored into actual places, the forces at work often remain vague and impersonal in this account. Capital has clearly flooded into real estate given the falling rates of profit in other sectors, creating a succession of housing booms (and busts). Smith writes with insight ‘the

question of where this capital flooding into the built environment will locate has no automatic answer' (1982, 150). It is here that issues of race and class come to the fore drawing once again from Lefebvre:

More recently, space itself has begun to be bought and sold. Not the earth, the soil, but *social space*, produced as such, with this purpose, this finality (so to speak). Space is no longer only an indifferent medium, the sum of places where surplus value is created, realized, and distributed (2003, 154).

The intersections of race, class, and gender thus become vital in understanding how value is assigned to *social space*, from selling the security of the suburbs to the still-secure urban grit of a luxury downtown condo.

Traditionally within Marxism these intersections have been ignored, everything beyond class seen as subordinate to the larger needs of capital. It is through grappling with applying theory to actual neighbourhoods and events that Smith begins to approach the role that race, class, and gender have played in US cities. In his study of the mobilisation of the frontier myth on the gentrifying *Loisaida* or New York's Lower East Side, he begins to expose how race has been mobilised to justify gentrification (1992). His work on the revanchist city develops some of the deeper forces behind this further:

This revanchist antiurbanism represents a reaction against the supposed 'theft' of the city, a desperate defense of a challenged phalanx of privileges, cloaked in the populist language of civic morality, family values and neighbourhood security. More than anything the revanchist city expresses a race/class/gender terror felt by middle- and ruling-class whites who are suddenly stuck in place by a ravaged property market, the threat and reality of unemployment, the decimation of social services, and the emergence of minority and immigrant groups... (1996, 211)

The connections between place and white privilege are here brought forward through recognition of the fear of loss of privilege, but Smith does not fully explore what this means for white privilege. Also remaining unexplored are the ways in which racism

has always directed the preferences of whites, and how a long history of racism alongside discriminatory appraisal and lending policies has meant that occupancy by peoples of colour alone has historically been enough to create a rent gap. This underlines the need to integrate a political economy capable of connecting urban development to larger circuits of capital and crisis, with critical race theories that explore the social reproduction of white privilege and how value is assigned to social space to explain why capital investment has taken the form and the place that it has.

It is in the dialectic between the use value and exchange value of land that the nexus lies between ideology, economics, and politics that articulate with the physical city. Building on the early work of Harvey and Smith along with the field of human ecology, sociologists John H. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch also point to the centrality of the contradictions between use and exchange values in *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Space* (1987). They enumerate numerous ways in which use values determine land as a most idiosyncratic commodity in the ways in which it provides access to school, work, friends and shops. Thus 'place is not a discreet element, like a toy or even food; the precise conditions of its use determines how other elements, including other commodities will be used' (1987, 18). People forge material, spiritual, and psychological connections with them, as well as with the people and locations surrounding them through common experience created by a shared geography. Building on Giddens (1973) and Peet (1975), they note the ways in which neighbourhoods 'organize life chances in the same sense as do the more familiar dimensions of caste and class' (1987, 19). And of course, homeownership ensures that residents consider exchange value as well as use value.

From this important beginning, Logan and Molotch work along the same macro lines as Harvey and Smith. The drive behind constant urban expansion and

development is due to the nature of place as ‘a market commodity that can produce wealth and power for its owners’, the more development, the more wealth is generated. Thus for elites, the city becomes a ‘growth machine. One that can increase aggregate rents and trap related wealth’ (1987, 50).⁴⁴ The generation of profit through the urban form becomes paramount in local politics, often trumping use values of homeowners. The sprawl of Los Angeles makes it a perfect case study for this larger expansionary dynamic outwards from the centre, but again Logan and Molotch face the question raised by Smith (1982) of where and how this capital flooding into the development of the built environment will locate.

Part of the answer lies in their understanding of use value, for them it involves aspects of daily life, support networks, security and trust, identity, the agglomeration benefits accruing from similar people living together such as shared ethnic shops, and ethnicity. This definition raises some flags for critical race analysis, particularly as racism and the role it plays in dynamics such as white flight are casually enough mentioned that they become a minor, perhaps exceptional, phenomenon. Thus, while recognising the uniqueness of land as a commodity and that its exchange value is at least in some part socially constructed, they miss two important processes. First: the ways in which racial ideologies construct value. Second: how a racialised property market has produced inequalities of wealth and power through its facilitation of the social reproduction of white privilege, as well as the wealth and power it generates through market exchange. In defending and further explaining the growth machine concept, Molotch later writes: ‘I avoid social problems, like race and violent crime, which although often euphemistically termed

⁴⁴ Molotch’s first theorisation of the growth machine describes Los Angeles in ‘The City as Growth Machine’ (1976). Fulton’s *Reluctant Metropolis* (2001) also uses this theory to build on Molotch’s previous work in describing L.A.’s early development.

“urban,” lack central theoretic relation to place’ (1993, 31). Seeing race as simply a ‘social problem’ makes it impossible to see the ways in which constructions of race have organised space and been fundamental to constructions of both its use and exchange values.

Bringing critical race theory to bear on this social construction of value extends the explanatory power of both in understanding the articulation of the urban form and constructions of race.⁴⁵ That race is socially constructed is fundamental. In the words of Philomena Essed and Theo Goldberg: ‘race is formed and fashioned and racism operates in relation and through other systems of exclusion, marginalization, abuse and repression’ (2001, 3). Thus, while race has no essence, racism does, and as Ruth Gilmore states so eloquently, it is a violent one: ‘Racism is a practice of abstraction, a death-dealing displacement of difference within hierarchies...’ (2002, 16). A handful of critical geographers have long been arguing that this abstraction is not only socially, but also spatially, constructed and this construction in turn is constitutive of space (Gilmore 2002, Hart 2002, Kobayashi and Peake 2000, Peake and Kobayashi 2002, Price 2010, Pulido 2000, 2006).

Following in their footsteps, I draw most on Hall in thinking through the connections between race and class, bringing together critical race theory and Marxist theory. He writes:

⁴⁵ Critical theories on race and geography have developed in isolation from each other. While key thinkers such as Stuart Hall (1980, 1985), Ruth Gilmore (2002, 2007), Cedric Robinson (1983) and others would argue that critical race theory and Marxism are both necessary for liberatory praxis, all would argue that for the most part the Marxist and neo-Marxist traditions – along with the liberal and neoliberal traditions – have not engaged with the way that theories of race have been fundamental in the development of both capitalism and all forms of liberalism (HoSang et al 2013, Omi and Winant 1994, C. Robinson 1983, Roediger 2008).

the structures through which black labour is reproduced – structures which may be general to capital at a certain stage of development, whatever the racial composition of labour – are not simply ‘coloured’ by race: they work through race. The relations of capitalism can be thought of as articulating classes in distinct ways at each of the levels or instances of the social formation – economic, political, ideological (1980, 340).

Capitalism has been born and grown through the creation and exploitation of racial divisions,⁴⁶ they are intrinsic to it rather than accidental. Thus ‘Capital reproduces the class, including its internal contradictions, as a whole – structured by race’, and these divisions remain ‘the site of capital’s continuing hegemony over it’ (1980, 341). The ways in which gender also forms part of this articulation is given concrete expression in works such as *Women, Race and Class* (1984) by Angela Davis, and *Black Feminist Thought* (1991) by Patricia Hill Collins, both of whom start with Black women’s words and experience to illuminate the complex workings of oppression.⁴⁷

Situating these insights into space gives more explanatory breadth to how such divisions have been reproduced and exploited. The work of Clark (1965), Tabb (1970), and Wacquant (2008) among others shows how the abandonment of the ghetto emerges from the need to control African Americans first as a reserve and then, under post-fordist restructuring, an unnecessary, labour force. While this can partially explain the form that capital’s uneven development of Los Angeles has

⁴⁶ See Roediger (2008) and Cedric Robinson (1983) for detailed early histories

⁴⁷ See Charlotte Brundsen (1996) and Angela McRobbie (1996) on some of the difficulties they faced as women and feminists in the early days of cultural theory. While my readings of Davis, Collins and the work of bell hooks (2000, 1989) has influenced my feminism and my thinking on intersectionality and methodology, a deeper integration of their work has proved difficult in a primarily historical study conducted without the archival sources necessary to really drill down to properly uncover the role of gender and get at the lived experience beneath these larger forces, though I have tried to do so where possible.

taken, it folds in to the ways in which space has been protected and shaped to preserve white privilege.

Lipsitz's (1998) *The Possessive Investment In Whiteness* gives a broad overview of the different ways that whiteness has what he calls 'a cash value', elsewhere he defines it as 'a structured advantage subsidised by segregation' (2011, 37). This comes through wealth developed through property holdings, as well as such benefits as schooling, social contacts and healthy environment (Almaguer 1994, Ignatiev 1995, Roediger 1991). Roediger through drawing on Fanon (1967) has further developed an additional psychological dimension to whiteness as property, where through a history of colonialism, slavery and genocide whiteness has come to be worth something in itself, something that distinguishes an individual and puts them above others. It thus becomes something to be invested in and protected, a guarantee of improved life chances and opportunities. For most of American history white supremacy has been openly, vigorously, and often violently defended. Rights struggles forced a broadening of this initial and narrow community of consent, ensuring that while white supremacist attitudes continued among a few, the mainstream gave at least lip service to equality and universal provision of certain civil rights (Fredrickson 1981, Omi and Winant 1994), yet have refused to be 'inconvenienced in order to achieve full equality' (Pulido 2000, 15).⁴⁸

Thus the spatiality of the investment in whiteness and domination has worked in three principal ways through both use and exchange value of land: to build a greater store of wealth through access to properties of higher value; to aid in social reproduction of class and race power through improved life chances and opportunities; and to insulate whites from the knowledge of the ghetto and any

⁴⁸ See also Edall and Edsall (1991), Lipsitz (1998), Quadagno (1994).

disturbing views into poverty as well as their own complicity in its continued existence through their support of the status quo. Laura Pulido writes ‘Because most white people do not see themselves as having malicious intentions, and because racism is associated with malicious intent, whites can exonerate themselves of all racist tendencies, all the while ignoring their investment in white privilege (2000, 15). As these aspects of privilege have grown to be taken for granted in the suburbs, it is hardly surprising that business interests seeking to spark a downtown renaissance are working to recreate them as much as possible in downtowns across the country. Returning to Lefebvre, they are selling ‘*social space*’. A new and exciting downtown space, with every effort made to ensure that no suburban amenities are lost while the same kind of property value increases are maintained.

Unlike the original builders of the suburbs, however, downtown interests need to avoid being seen as racist – this much, civil rights struggles might claim to have won. While many authors distinguish between new right, neoconservative, and neoliberal forces, all of them share this tendency to avoid openly racist discourse through the marginalisation of race all together, and their attempt to make hegemonic a rhetoric of a colourblind society (HoSang et al 2013, HoSang 2012, Omi and Winant 1994, Roediger 2008).⁴⁹ Bonilla-Silva theorises colorblind racism as an ideology that rose in the late 1960s, and has been utilised to explain racial inequality not as a function of racism, but rather ‘as the product of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and blacks’ imputed cultural limitations’ (2006, 2). His work explores the psychological aspects of the ways in most whites perceive themselves to be colourblind and thus non-racist, without recognising that the ways

⁴⁹ Writing in the middle of the civil rights struggle to end Jim Crow, Milton Friedman states in *Capitalism and Freedom* that ‘It is hard to see that discrimination can have any meaning other than a “taste” of others that one does not share’ (1982, 110).

in which most of their lives are lived entirely around other whites contradicts this easy assumption, and allows for the growth of racist sentiments in blaming other groups for their own problems.⁵⁰ Alexander's (2012) discussion of the discourse surrounding the criminalisation of African Americans is just one illustration of how colourblindness has been wielded against communities of colour like downtown Los Angeles. Hosang describes what it has meant for practice and policy:

'Colorblindness means that race is not going to be taken into explicit account in making political, legal, economic decisions. I focus on it as a disavowal, a denial, and a refusal to come to terms with the profound ways that race structures opportunity and life possibility' (Camp 2013, 94).⁵¹

ARTICULATION AS METHODOLOGY

The dialectical relationship between use value and exchange value of land is clear, together the two form a unity in the ways that people think of and manage real estate, whether as renters, homeowners, or realtors. The need for theory is to demystify the everyday use of the word 'value', separate its components for analysis and uncover how they act upon each other as they represent two different forms of value

⁵⁰ Interestingly, his research shows that white racism has been most successfully overcome not by educated and middle class whites as if often perceived to be the case, but working class white women who are most likely to share aspects of their lives in work or neighbourhood with peoples of colour, and have a more developed ability to empathise with them.

⁵¹ Many other authors have explored the rise and impact of 'colourblind' discourse, see Marable (2001), Omi and Winant (1994), and Roediger (2008) among others. This concept is also developed in the host of work on critical race theory that I have not mentioned directly here but which remains formative, such as Harris' (1993). 'Whiteness as Property' and the collections edited by Crenshaw et al (1995) and Essed and Goldberg (2000).

constructed through the mechanisms of personal needs and desires on the one hand, and a market tied into larger circuits of capital on the other.

Traditional political economy, however, offers few tools to understand the connections between this dialectic pairing of use and exchange value and how they relate to social forces such as gender or race as explored above. The logic of capitalism contains no intrinsic reason why either should necessarily play any role at all in efforts to generate surplus value, nor why in the US context, a determinant of land value should ever have to come to be the race of its occupants.⁵² The concept of articulation gives a framework for understanding how such various social and economic forces come together in history, a way to see the flexible and changing interactions between the material and the ideological that are knitted together and act upon each other through a social process. Hall writes that any social ‘unity’ is actually the ‘articulation of different distinct elements which can be rearticulated in different ways because they have no necessary ‘belongingness’ (1986, 53).⁵³ Thus the examination of how such elements have come together in a structure of domination opens up the revolutionary possibility to intervene, and the potential for a liberatory rearticulation.

⁵² Following this logic, the dominant stream of Marxism has seen race as marginal to understanding the mechanism of capital. Cedric Robinson (1983) outlines the ways in which orthodox Marxist theories of capitalist development postulated that by its own internal logics, capitalism itself would destroy not only racial distinctions, but all differentiating characteristics of the proletariat. To focus on race therefore, was to work counter to progress and actually hinder the movement to unite the working classes. This is by no means an argument that has disappeared, particularly amongst activists still working strong in orthodox Marxist traditions, which makes this particularly important in thinking about how praxis should work.

⁵³ In this particular passage Hall is discussing discourse, but his concept of articulation is different from that of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) in that he does not reduce everything to discourse, but maintains that a material reality exists. See Slack (2005) for further discussion.

The insight that our society is a ‘complex totality structured in dominance’, comes from Althusser’s work in theorising the connections between the material and the ideological in Marxism. The theories of articulation emerging in the 1970s and 80s out of the movement to reclaim Marx from the idea that everything in society could be reduced to the mode of production or class belonging drew upon his work as well as upon that of Gramsci (Hall 1980, Laclau 1977, Slack 2005). Gramsci’s theories of hegemony have influenced Lefebvre’s work and that of Hall, both directly and through his influence on Althusser’s theorising. Hall writes:

Hegemony is that state of ‘total social authority’ which, at certain specific conjunctures, a specific class alliance wins, by a combination of ‘coercion’ and ‘consent’, over the whole social formation and its dominated classes: not only at the economic level, but also at the level of political and ideological leadership, in civil, intellectual and moral life as well as at the material level: and over the terrain of civil society as well as in and through the condensed relations of the State (1980, 331-332).

Hall continues:

The important point, for Gramsci, is that, under hegemonic conditions, the organization of consent (by the dominated classes to the ‘leadership’ of the dominant class alliance) takes precedence (though it does not obliterate) the exercise of domination through coercion. In such conditions, the class struggle tends to assume the form, not of ‘frontal assault’ on the bastions of the State (‘war of manoeuvre’) but of a more protracted, strategic and tactical struggle, exploiting and working on a number of different contradictions (Gramsci’s ‘war of position’) (1980, 332).

This thesis argues that the racial divisions in the US have created a limited community of consent, a common-sense equation of American with white skin among a majority of whites that transcends class alliances to maintain the hegemony of white privilege. This has proved capable of expanding under the pressure of struggle, including dominated peoples of colour to a greater or lesser extent depending on their place within racial hierarchies and their class aspirations. This explains the overpowering role of coercion and domination made visible by the

prominent role that violence has played in maintaining the boundaries of race and space subject to a long war of position. This violence has sometimes been spectacular in the form of a bomb or mob or seven police officers tackling a single person on a skid row sidewalk. Less visible is what Rob Nixon (2009, 444) terms ‘slow violence’, a violence which is ‘slow-paced but open-ended, eluding the tidy closure, the narrative containment’ inflicted through the damaging environment of the ghetto itself, pervasive discrimination and the familiar incidents of injury and insult that still accrue to those who are perceived to be outside of their boundaries. Arnold Hirsch (1983) calls it a hidden violence, a violence invisible to the eyes of most whites, contained within a small section of the city and ignored by mainstream news even when it does reach more spectacular heights. This coercion has been systematic: Michelle Alexander (2012) describes a series of legal systems designed to preserve white supremacy in which both slavery and Jim Crow are clearly founded on a violent coercion of an entire population, whereas today’s mass incarceration of African Americans has narrowed the reach to a certain extent but to devastating effect. For communities of colour, consent wears thin over domination.

To better understand this process, particularly in its spatial aspects, I look at three different points where collective struggle was able to shift both the hegemonic articulations maintaining segregation and to some extent the boundaries of the community of consent. In looking at how different campaigns were built and won in tandem with the resulting reaction and strategic shifts over time, we can get a clearer picture of how struggle and reaction together have built (and over time been built through) the geographies of Los Angeles. I would argue that the limits that a hegemonic formation imposes on a subordinated group become clearest when they are challenged: a focus on struggle not only brings such formations into high relief,

but also allows us to learn from the ways in which they were forced to change.⁵⁴ Perhaps most importantly for today's struggles, however, is that the results of this longitudinal study has highlighted what we have not succeeded in changing: a continued mass exclusion of people of colour from the 'community of consent', the equation of property value to the race of its occupant, and the maintenance of white privilege through white space. These, then, seem to be the prizes which every new hegemonic formation has worked to protect and reinforce: the social reproduction of power and sense of community that works through a particular privileged geography, and around which protective politics and ideologies and wealth-creating flows of capital have been articulated in various formations.

ARGUMENT AND STRUCTURE

Slack writes 'Articulation is, then, not just a thing (not just a connection) but a process of creating connections...' (2005, 115). This thesis works to chart these changing connections in space and across three periods in time where victories for human and civil rights struggle highlighted these processes of (re)creation. The initial question for my research was: How have the material and discursive struggles over the occupation and use of space helped destabilise and rearticulate hegemonies

⁵⁴ Hall et al (1978, 154-155) state: 'But ruling ideas tend to form the outer limit and horizon of thought in a society. This is never simply a matter of *mental* subordination alone. Ruling ideas are embodied in the dominant institutional order: subordinate class's are bounded by these dominant relations. Hence, in *action* as well as in thought, they are constantly disciplined by them... What the subordinate culture 'owes' to the hegemonic order is not a positive and grateful identification, but rather a reluctant confirmation of its hegemony - what has come to be called "pragmatic acceptance". For Gramsci (1971) it was key to discover whether, and how, subaltern groups developed thought and action without limits, autonomous of hegemonic formations and such pragmatism'.

of class, race, and space with changing discourses and practices of privatisation? The periods I examine are:

1. The movement against de jure segregation through race restrictive covenants, which was won in 1948 through grassroots campaigns in which newspaperwoman Charlotta Bass played a central role, and a legal fight partially led by Loren Miller with the NAACP.
2. The 1960s campaigns by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) attempting to integrate the outer suburbs, which also helped pass California's first fair housing legislation.
3. The passage in 2006 of a Residential Hotel Preservation Ordinance through efforts led by the Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN), which saved thousands of units from a process of racial cleansing occurring through the redevelopment of downtown.

These not only represent the most comparable collective movements against segregation in Los Angeles in terms of strength and achievement, but also allow for an examination of hegemony's changing articulations across the two major movements of capital in our time – its suburbanisation and its return to the central city. Most studies – with a notable exception of Smith (1982) – have analysed the dynamics of one period or the other.

The historical nature of the first two movements have required extensive use of archival resources, of which the African-American newspaper the *California Eagle* has been primary. Charlotta Bass served as its editor and publisher from 1912 to 1951, and her own central role in organising against segregation ensured that the

struggle featured centrally in its pages during those years.⁵⁵ The paper continued to give active coverage to social issues through to its demise in 1964. In an ironic twist, most of local white news sheets in L.A., along with a number of racist leaflets and announcements, have been preserved through reproduction in the *Eagle*. Additional sources to supplement and corroborate the paper's accounts have been the archives of another African-American paper, the *Los Angeles Sentinel*,⁵⁶ the *Los Angeles Times*, Bass's 1960 autobiography along with her archived papers and those of other activists such as Loren Miller and Debbie Louis, organisations such the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and the papers of public figures such as governor Earl Warren and County Supervisor John Anson Ford.⁵⁷ The work on CORE uses many of the same sources, supplemented by papers from the national organisation's files archived in Wisconsin, archived issues of national CORE's newsletter, and testimony before the Governor's Commission on the 1965 Watts Riots. A handful of short interviews were conducted with people who had been involved, but these proved of very limited use 50 years after the events described.

The work of LA CAN proved a very different kind of study given that it is looking at a victory in 2006 and the changes that has provoked up through the present. Having worked in Los Angeles for over ten years, six of those years with a

⁵⁵ Charlotta Bass is quite an extraordinary figure, and the racism she faced both as an African American and as a woman makes her achievements even more impressive. Born in 1880 in South Carolina, Charlotta Bass moved to L.A. in 1910 for her health. Working as a reporter on John Neimore's paper the *California Eagle*, she took it over after his death in 1912 and ran it until 1951. For part of this period she worked closely with fellow reporter and husband Joe Bass, but always remained proprietor and main editor. Upon her retirement she became the first Black woman to run for national office in 1952, on the Progressive Party ticket as candidate for vice president (see Freer (2005) and Bass's own autobiography (1960)).

⁵⁶ For a brief history of Los Angeles's many Black newspapers, see Flamming (2005)

⁵⁷ A full list of archives and newspapers consulted with the acronyms used in sourcing can be found in Appendix C.

sister organisation to LA CAN, my baseline of knowledge and ability to access people and resources was certainly part of my decision to focus on the city. I conducted a number of interviews with LA CAN organisers and a focus group with six of their members (five men and one woman), along with five additional interviews of allies who had supported their work downtown. I also carried out a thematic analysis of their paper *Community Connection*, press releases and training manuals as I had the materials from the historical archives.

An unexpected opportunity to study the business associations and the BIDs they managed emerged after interviewing activist lawyer Gary Blasi, who gave me almost a thousand pages of minutes, reports, and emails that he had obtained through a Public Records Act request in 2006. In 2012, we filed another request, which resulted in thousands more documents. The incredible richness of this primary source was only slightly enhanced by the five interviews I was able to obtain from BID and city officials. The extremely polarised nature of the debate between LA CAN and the business community, and the existence of a lawsuit filed against an LA CAN member by the CCEA director, seemed to limit open communication and led to a greater reliance on the written record.

My previous work in Los Angeles grounded this case study in a substantive knowledge of both the issues and the players, and some knowledge of the early history. To try to ensure that this experience did not limit or overly direct my explorations of the actual archival and textual records I uncovered, I developed a broad set of codes developed from my research questions and literature review around race, class, gender, privatisation and neoliberalism. The semi-structured interviews were run as broadly and openly as possible. Every piece of text, from newspaper articles to emails to archived letters to transcribed interviews, was entered

into a very simple software (Notational Velocity), which allowed them to be tagged by theme, but also made it easy to conduct word or phrase searches across the entire corpus as new patterns or ideas emerged, and for each event described. The coding developed through a constant review of the material following an iterative process as described by Flick (2002) and Miles and Huberman (1994), and my analysis was based on the entirety of the evidence I had uncovered. The theory used and developed out of this process was thus always deeply grounded in the material itself.

Brought together, these sources have allowed me to develop detailed analyses of struggle over space through time, what has been won, and what lost in the changing configurations of class, race, and space forced by struggle's material victories. While privatisation was an early and increasingly important strategy in maintaining white space and privilege, I struggled in finding any direct references to my second question: How do these changing discourses and practices articulate with those commonly understood as neoliberalism? While privatisation of both space and municipal power are considered integral parts of the neoliberalisation of the city, my research unexpectedly uncovered very different roots for them in the ways that racism and space have articulated to create a particular urban form potentially rationalised through neoliberalism. Thus, neoliberalism is mentioned in the main text only on the few occasions it emerges naturally through my research findings and is discussed further in the conclusion.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The chapters are divided according to the three key moments in the struggle over space where peoples of colour won a clear victory over whites trying to impose segregation.

Chapter two opens with the foundations of white property ownership and a white community of consent in Los Angeles, when the preservation of white space and privilege rested on de jure segregation enforced through racial covenants supported by real estate theory and practice, along with federal mandates and homeowner associations supported by and supporting an openly voiced and often violent racism. My research shows that constant struggle of African Americans and other groups to escape the over-crowded ghetto forced the ghetto walls back in two ways: through an unorganised and constant pressure by individuals buying and occupying property against great odds; and through local attempts to organise wider campaigns against covenants, which in the 1940s combined with a national legal campaign led by the NAACP. In the context of WWII's fight against fascism and against a backdrop of growing militancy, these campaigns won enough visibility and moral high ground to gain the political support necessary to overturn the legality of covenants and force the federal government to change its official policies. They failed to win any kind of broad support among whites for integration into either neighbourhoods or community, however, and gaining the moral high ground simply forced a change in segregationists' rhetoric towards increasingly 'race-neutral' arguments that emphasised segregation as simply a natural outcome of economics and market forces. At the same time, three of the four California Real Estate Association's stated new strategies to replace the work of racial covenants and preserve white neighbourhoods involved expansive new building and increasing privatisation.

Chapter three looks at the 1960s, civil rights, the struggle over discrimination, and the suburbs through a study of CORE. My research shows how they targeted individual developers in wealthy L.A. suburbs who refused to sell to African Americans and mobilised thousands to picket lines where hundreds were arrested, gaining mainstream press coverage of their actions for the first time. This forced a grudging acceptance even from the developers of their moral rights, and helped create political will for the passage of California's Fair Housing Act to prohibit discrimination. This signalled a broader positive shift in the common sense boundaries between consent and coercion. Yet neither resulted in any meaningful integration of neighbourhood; CORE's principal campaign was lost when the city of Torrance passed legislation which privatised the streets to prevent protest and allow police and resident control. Instead of integration, this period saw the acceleration both of white flight and the efforts to preserve white space that had begun after the victory over restrictive covenants, such as an increased reliance on privatisation of new communities instituted by developers and echoing what Torrance had implemented through legislation. This search for racial homogeneity and defensible space helped drive the expansionary and racially exclusive development of the suburbs, giving shape to capital's need for a 'spatial fix' (Harvey 2007).

Chapter four looks at how this drive for exclusionary space was replicated in Central L.A. after the limits of the city's expansion were reached. I argue that capital returned to certain areas of downtown, but maintained the same hegemonic pattern of development – creating white space for white privilege. This was only possible through the wholesale displacement of the existing population of poor communities of colour, increasingly relegated once more beyond the boundaries of consent. During the mid-90s the increasingly privatised controls over public streets and

community access of the suburbs was mirrored in BIDs working to regenerate central areas. These were wielded by the Central City Association and Central City East Association to organise developer and business interests to take as much physical control of downtown spaces as possible, to lobby for city policies to promote their own interests, and to cease all protections for tenants and the poor. Through vigorous campaigns by the LA Community Action Network (LA CAN), their work was blocked and the right of thousands of extremely poor peoples of colour to remain in downtown LA was guaranteed in 2006 through the preservation of residential hotels. This forced the associations to re-strategise, and they began to take an increasingly active role in the daily work of local government, leveraging government resources, and essentially coordinating county and city health and safety responses to homelessness and poverty at some points. The current thrust of their work has been the mass incarceration of the homeless, arguably part of what Alexander (2012) describes as a new Jim Crow system maintaining white privilege and managing communities of colour through prisons. While preventing displacement and mass incarceration to some extent, LA CAN has still been unable to break the hegemonic equation of space and racial privilege or win support for a view of the necessity of an L.A. community that can include people of all races and income levels.

The conclusion draws together and restates my three main arguments around the continued hegemony of white privilege and its spatiality rooted in white supremacy, the nature of this hegemony, where the division between a white community of consent set above a community of coercion is both ideological and spatial, and finally, the centrality of race in the current articulation of neoliberalism and space in support of this hegemony. I take a final look at how bringing together a

political economy of space with Hall's theories of race and articulation improves the analytical power of both, and the ways in which this thesis builds upon their foundations and expands upon them. In contrasting my own findings with the most prevalent theorisations of neoliberalism, I return to the continuing need to lift the veil, to paraphrase Du Bois, of race, and work towards the dismantling of hegemonic white privilege.

Chapter 2 : THE LONG ROAD TO 1948: ENDING DE JURE SEGREGATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers a period beginning with the caste system of Jim Crow at full strength in the early 20th century, through to the beginning of its decline in the 40s and 50s. The early history of California consisted of decades of openly expressed white supremacy; this is the foundation of the city's geography. Whites produced and maintained the physical segregation between the races in spite of struggle over land ownership, thus the need to defend white communities both caused and promoted the increasingly institutionalised hegemonic understanding that the use and exchange value of space was defined by whiteness. This institutionalisation of racial criteria – and Jim Crow – in the appraisal of properties for federal government subsidies and mortgage finance through the 1930s has already been well documented, a process which enshrined race as perhaps *the* primary factor in official evaluations of land's exchange value. I present the ways in which this national institutionalisation took place in Los Angeles in some depth, primarily to show the development of the key political and economic aspects of the equation between land value and whiteness. This is hardly the whole story, however. The primary focus of the chapter is on the struggle of African Americans to break down institutional and

legal barriers to living in the homes of their choice. While this initially had little impact on national housing and mortgage policies, at a local level it was fundamental in shaping both white and Black strategies in acquiring and defending homes, and their attitudes towards the meaning of home, citizenship and community. At the same time this contest inscribed a pattern of segregation into the urban fabric that still exists today, even as it geographically delineated the white privileges at risk – privileges once taken for granted through California’s history of conquest and white supremacy. These rights and privileges African Americans fought to enjoy, sometimes alongside and sometimes at the cost of other peoples of colour in the city.

Until 1948, the preservation of white space rested primarily on de jure segregation enforced through racial covenants written into property deeds, white hegemony enshrined in both custom and law with little need of consent from those whom the forces of the state constrained. Yet the story of this African-American struggle highlights the reality that the pressures caused by desperate overcrowding were strong enough in challenging these covenants that some choices had to be made about where and how the ‘Black Belt’ would expand.⁵⁸ Such decisions were made on behalf of whites through a combination of individual judges deciding cases, organised realtor groups and individuals dealing in real estate, banks and other lenders, the Federal Housing Authority, organised homeowner groups, and individual homeowners. On the other hand, African Americans and other groups forced the ghetto walls back in two ways: through an unorganised but constant pressure by individuals buying and occupying property against great odds; and through local attempts to organise wider campaigns against covenants. The first of

⁵⁸ This is a widely used historical term prevalent in works such as *Black Metropolis* (1946), and Loren Miller’s writings (1946, 1966) usually attributed to the Chicago School.

these organising attempts occurred in the late 1920s and paralleled the homeowner associations of discriminatory whites, but fell apart in the face of continued hostility and defeat in the courts. Then in the context of WWII's fight against fascism and against a backdrop of growing militancy, renewed local organising combined with a national legal campaign to successfully outlaw racial covenants and force major policy changes around the use of race in appraisals onto the federal government.

Those who fought believed that this victory would destroy segregation in Los Angeles. If segregation had been maintained simply through institutional and legal methods, it would have. This chapter shows first the ways in which the value of property became firmly linked to the race of its occupants, and then how the legal, and to some extent moral, victory against racial covenants forced a rearticulation of strategies and rationalisations for the maintenance of a hegemonic white and privileged spatiality during the decline of Jim Crow. While violence in defence of white neighbourhoods had always existed, the increase following efforts to move into previously covenanted areas underlined that African-American struggle had failed to win any kind of support among whites for integration. Even as bombs exploded and homes burned, segregationists' rhetoric turned towards increasingly 'race-neutral' arguments that emphasised segregation as simply a natural outcome of economics and market forces. The chapter ends with a look at how these white responses would feed into capital's development of the suburbs and an increasing privatisation of space.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ What I argue is a key period of history in the definition of land value is hardly, if at all, discussed by either Harvey or Smith in their work. Harvey tends to see racial segregation as a means of fragmenting class-consciousness, which shapes his detailed studies of Baltimore around the redlining of the ghetto (1973) or residential differentiation by ethnicity, class and race (1985), but post WWII. Likewise Smith's

FOUNDATIONS OF WHITE PROPERTY RIGHTS

Although the most violent American racism is almost always associated with the deep South, California was founded on a policy of Native-American genocide to be a white, Anglo-Saxon state. At the time of the American conquest the indigenous population was around 72,000, by 1880 it had fallen to 15,000 (McWilliams 1946). The great Spanish landowners, known as *Californios*, were initially respected as white unlike many of the Mexicans working for them with indigenous blood and dark faces. This did not save the majority of them from losing most of their lands, despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which incorporated California and much of the Southwest into the United States in 1848. McWilliams (1946) estimates that the *Californios* were forced to sell at least 40 percent of their land just to pay the costs required to be in compliance with the Land Act of 1851. Over the next few decades, holdings of thousands of acres were forfeited for lack of cash to pay taxes. The steady despoiling of Mexican-owned land proceeded alongside a white-supremacist and pro-confederate stance during the Civil War, and bills were pushed in the State Legislature to ban African Americans from the state entirely. A small Chinese population had been imported as menial labour and allowed to work on sufferance. Barred from citizenship, and with their immigration halted by the national government at the height of rhetoric around the 'yellow peril', they were targeted by white Angelenos who lynched 19 people in a single night in 1871 in the nation's worst race-riot known at the time (Almaguer 1994, McWilliams 1946). California proved a dangerous place for anyone who wasn't white.

detailed studies also focus on more current processes of capital flow and gentrification beginning in the 1970s (1982, 1992, 1996).

Violence supported by an unquestioned ideology of white supremacy also articulated very early with actions to ensure whites-only spaces – California pioneered protective zoning, although its attempt to thus limit Chinese residence was struck down by state courts in 1892 (Jones-Correa 2000-2001, Miller and Sheil 1946). Unable to enforce racial restrictions on their land through zoning, property owners turned to private agreements – the desire for segregated white space stronger than a court ruling. Prominent race attorney Willis O. Tyler believed the first covenant to date from 1900; it restricted property against ‘sales or transfers to Negroes or Mongolians or persons of Asiatic blood’ (1945). Restrictions became increasingly common between 1905 and 1910 – years before the population pressures and growing racial tensions brought by the larger migrations of the First World War most commonly attributed as their main cause (Jones-Correa 2000-2001).⁶⁰ This is the dawning of the century whose greatest problem was that of the colour line (Du Bois 1990), and where the establishment and protection of ‘whiteness’ was already a growing international concern across Britain’s former colonies (Lake and Reynolds 2008).

This is the historical context for the battle taking place in the first half of the 20th Century over the right to own and to occupy land, and foundational to understanding the changing articulations between racial ideology, policy and the

⁶⁰ In thinking about racism and distinguishing discrimination against peoples of colour in the US from that against European immigrants (Slavs, Italians, Irish etc) I have been indebted to Albert Memmi’s work. He states that ‘racism is not simply of the order of reason; its real meaning does not reside in its apparent coherence. It is a discourse, at once both functional and naïve, that is called forth and maintained, in its essence and its goals, by something other than itself... Whatever its little detours may be, ultimately, the goal of racism is dominance’ (1999, 55). Given the racialised nature of American history (which this thesis helps explore), 2nd and 3rd generation European immigrants have been able to assimilate and become ‘white’ in ways that other groups have not, joining the privileged group in maintaining that privilege through the oppression of others (see Ignatiev (1995) and Roediger (1991) among others for detailed studies of this).

urban form and the forging of links between race, property, and value. As McWilliams writes in 1946, ‘the brutal treatment of Indians in Southern California in large part explains the persistence of an ugly racial arrogance in the mores of the region of which, alas, more than a vestige remains’ (1946, 23).⁶¹ In his study of white-collar culture in early Los Angeles, Clark Davis (2000) notes the pervasive and firm belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority, both in terms of hiring policies as well as the vision for the city itself. He quotes an L.A. Chamber of Commerce article titled ‘The Los Angeles of Tomorrow’, which encapsulates their vision: ‘For centuries, the Anglo-Saxon race has been marching westward. It is now on the shores of the Pacific. It can go no farther. The apex of this movement is Los Angeles County’ (C. Davis 2000, 73-74).



FIGURE 2-1 GRAPHIC FROM MILLER & SHEIL'S 1946 PAMPHLET ON RACIAL COVENANTS

Such fealty to a white ideal of Los Angeles was also observed by Loren Miller, noted NAACP attorney, who writes ‘we were well on our way toward the creation of little islands of super-paradise in that Paradise of the Pacific; communities in which none

could dwell but blond-haired, blue-eyed Aryans, certified 99.44 % pure for at least seven generations, all of them five feet 10 7/8 inches tall, addicts of Little Orphan Annie and life-time subscribers to, perhaps, *The Cross and The Flag*’ (Miller and

⁶¹ Martin Luther King writes: ‘Our nation was born in genocide when it embraced the doctrine that the original American, the Indian, was an inferior race. Even before there were large numbers of Negroes on our shores, the scar of racial hatred had already disfigured colonial society.... It was upon this massive base of racism that the prejudice toward the nonwhite was readily built, and found rapid growth’ (1964, 120).

Sheil 1946, 6).⁶² Lawsuits show that several influential early subdividers were using restrictive covenants, though it is impossible to tell how many without an exhaustive review of individual deeds.⁶³ By a 1914 issue of the *California Eagle*, a real estate man's advertisement states that on his arrival in Glendale there was only one other African American who owned property there. Initially informed that all properties were already covered by restrictive covenants, he proceeded to scour the deeds and goes on to list as for sale the handful that he has been able to uncover that were not race restricted (*CE* 16 May 1914).

Efforts to widely implement the use of racially restrictive covenants for the preservation of white space grew as part of the early efforts to professionalise the real estate industry. The first formal association of white real-estate men came as early as 1905 with the California State Realty Federation (Abu-Lughod 1999, Weiss 1987). Weiss (1987) has shown the leading role that these men would play in innovation and the standardisation of real-estate practices nationally, in both the private and public sphere. A number of California real-estate men both sat on the board and held office in the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), founded in 1909. Restrictive covenants were promoted at the opening convention, as well as in the 1910 National Conference on City Planning (Freund 2007). NAREB was, of course, restricted to whites, and from its beginnings equated patriotism with expanding land-ownership among all classes of whites. The preamble to the 1924

⁶² *The Cross and Flag* was a newspaper founded by white supremacist and Nazi sympathizer Gerald L.K. Smith, published from 1942 to 1976 (Jeansonne 2000). His speaking appearances in L.A. were attended by widespread protest, such as a mass rally against fascism held in the Olympic Auditorium (*CE* 19 July 1945).

⁶³ Some idea of their widespread use comes from lawsuits to protect restrictive covenants brought by both the Los Angeles Investment Co. (developer of several hundred acres by 1913) and the Janss Investment Co (responsible for subdivision of 100,000 acres by 1925), to prevent African-American occupancy on land they had developed in order to protect its value (*LAT* 25 April 1925).

code of ethics connects definitions of land's 'highest use' to both patriotic duty and the growth of civilization:

Under all is the land. Upon its wise utilization and widely allocated ownership depend the survival and growth of free institutions and of our civilization. The Realtor is the instrumentality through which the land resource of the nation reaches its highest use and through which land ownership attains its widest distribution. He is a creator of homes, a builder of cities, a developer of industries and productive farms. Such functions impose obligations beyond those of ordinary commerce; they impose grave social responsibility and a patriotic duty to which the Realtor should dedicate himself, and for which he should be diligent in preparing himself. The Realtor, therefore, is zealous to maintain and to improve the standards of his calling and shares with his fellow-Realtors a common responsibility for its integrity and honor (as quoted in Helper, 1969: 191).

This moral emphasis on the realtor's social responsibilities continues down through the years, exemplifying the way that a business structured to maximise land exchange values mobilised a rhetoric, whether cynically or not, connecting this to the highest of social values.

Early documents show defence of white communities to be intrinsic to this morality, with white occupation and use of land being established as this 'highest value'. The defence of whiteness as a patriotic duty thus became mobilised spatially, rigidly segregated spaces becoming co-constitutive with understandings of community and an ignorance of those outside of that community. This articulation of race and class prejudice with the social value of space led to a heavy emphasis among practitioners, policy-makers, and academics on the ideal of creating neighbourhoods homogenous by class and race as they sought to provide a sound foundation for a scientific and professional approach to real estate. NAREB's 1924 code of ethics states: 'A Realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property

values in that neighborhood' (quoted in Helper 1969, 201). This article continued unchanged until 1950, two years after restrictive covenants were struck down by the Supreme Court.⁶⁴ Through this professionalisation and standardisation of real estate practices, these prejudices formed the basis of exchange value. NAREB founded the American Institute of Real Estate Appraisers (Freund 2007), building a framework for property appraisals that found 'destruction of value' to occur where a neighbourhood's white homogeneity was lost (quoted in Helper 1969, 201, footnote 25). Thus, the value of homogenous whiteness was enshrined not just among realtors and appraisers, but also among lenders.⁶⁵ NAREB also established a new Home Builders and Subdividers Division in 1923, and began consulting with planners to further promote responsible development through the adoption of deed restrictions and the creation of homeowners association able to maintain them (Freund 2007).

At state level in the 1920s, the California State Realty Federation consolidated and renamed itself the California Real Estate Association (CREA). The very first issue of its new bulletin pushed the transformation of anti-Chinese prejudice into law, underlining forcefully to its members the connection between being an American citizen and the right to property ownership:

The organization is now reincorporated under the name of 'California Real Estate Association' ... It's for the protection and advancement of the property

⁶⁴ Laurenti found that even after the official change in 1950, most realtors 'appear to understand the article in the same sense as before, and to continue to act accordingly', while local real estate boards continued to use this language in their own codes of ethics (1960, 17).

⁶⁵ Jensen et al., (1955) found that brokers in the San Francisco area believed that non-whites depreciated property values and that they would be at risk for introducing a non-white into a white neighbourhood. All had encountered white's unwillingness to sell to non-whites, neighbourhood opposition and difficulties in obtaining financing as being the principal barriers. Their interviews with banks and mortgage lenders revealed similar beliefs about property values, and reluctance to lend to peoples of colour in white areas believing it depressed the values of surrounding areas.

interests of California. At the last District Conference of Directors, held at Los Angeles, recommendations regarding the proposed amendments to the Constitution, to be voted on at the November election, were made as follows: No. 1 Alien Land Law - Vote 'Yes'...The ownership of our soil must not pass to an alien race (California Real Estate Association 1920).⁶⁶

A 1927 CREA survey sent to all member boards gives a snapshot of industry practices and racial geographies. The headlines revealed that the 'color question' was a big issue in Southern California. Below is a selection of quotes from various locations in the greater Los Angeles metropolitan area:

The Los Angeles Realty Board recommends that Realtors should not sell property to other than Caucasian in territories occupied by them. Deed and Covenant Restrictions probably are the only way that the matter can be controlled; and Realty Boards should be interested. This is the general opinion of all boards in the state.

Practically all subdivisions are provided with restrictions to protect them from future depreciation as far as possible through encroachment of a foreign race ... Attention is called to the fact that court records show that most of the crime in this country is committed by members of these races.

Pasadena has a large number of negroes who are recently trying to move into desirable sections of the city. Through subdivision restrictions and owners agreements it is attempting to hold them in check...

Santa Monica reports that it is "fortunate with deed-restricted property."

The only people of foreign races in Beverly Hills are servants.

At Bell, the color problem is governed by a "Gentlemen's Agreement" not to sell to objectional people (California Real Estate Association 1927, 35).

⁶⁶ I was unable to access a full archive of the California Real Estate Association magazine. Apart from a few photocopied articles or full issues found in other archive searches, all quotes are drawn from two sources which reviewed all issues up through the mid-1960s to collect any passages having to do with race in preparation for the campaign against CREA's attempt to overturn the Rumford Fair Housing Act through Proposition 14. Both were found in the Max Mumford Archive, Box 2, Folder 16. The first set are inserted in a longer document compiled by Leonard D. Cain Jr., titled 'Absolute Discretion: Selected Documents on "Property Rights" and "Equal Protection of the Laws"' (1964). My guess is that the second document is the full list of quotations as prepared for Cain by Dr. Paul F.C. Mueller as noted in Cain's acknowledgments, however, without an author or date listed I have simply cited it under its title 'The CREA: A History of Opposition to Open Occupancy'.

Glendale made explicit that only whites were considered as citizens and Americans in their report: 'Glendale, too, considers itself an all-American city'. CREA's analysis further distinguished between races, stating that:

Mexicans do not wish to force themselves into better districts and when improvements are made they usually leave for a poorer district. They do not try to force themselves where they are not wanted; but negroes, it is held, seem anxious to get... into a white district to command a big price to leave (California Real Estate Association 1927, 35).

It is not simply the remaining quiescent within approved ghettos that white realtors desired, but also a voluntary removal from land if it should become desirable for development to benefit white 'Americans'. Cities further inland, such as Monrovia, made explicit suggestions around creating a segregated area for people of colour, while Riverside highlighted the important work that homeowner associations provided assisting realtors to 'control the foreign population' (California Real Estate Association 1927, 35).

AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPANSION - 1926

For communities of colour, desperately over-crowded into ghettos containing both the poor and the emerging middle classes, the goal became simply to break down the walls being erected against them. A review of the *California Eagle* and *Sentinel* shows that any real estate transaction was a race matter worthy of front-page headlines, and any development or home purchase outside of the 'Black district' represented a race victory. The unspoken subtext of these stories is both the physical hardship of restriction to the worst housing, but also an implicit understanding that these walls separated African Americans both physically from white space with all

of its amenities, but also symbolically from the community created through this shared social space. An early example of the ways in which whites fought to maintain both is the case of Mary Johnson, who in 1914 bought a house on an all-white street:

When Mrs. Johnson had left the premises for a few hours one day they entered her home, and when she returned she found her furniture, bedding, kitchen utensils, and other belongings spread out on the front lawn. A crudely hand-painted sign across the nailed-up door read: Nigger if you value your hide don't let night catch you here again (Bass 1960, 95).

Johnson called the *California Eagle*, and Charlotta Bass led 100 women down to the house. The windows and doors had been nailed shut so tightly they couldn't get in. They camped out on the lawn. The sheriff delayed but under pressure he arrived by midnight. With his help the house was opened, the belongings moved inside, and Mrs. Johnson remained in her home (Bass 1960). Like the celebration of real estate men, such a powerful response on the part of women demonstrates an implicit understanding of how this kind of violent construction and maintenance of a white-only community needed to be confronted collectively by African Americans.

In an early racial covenant case, *Letteau v Ellis*, Superior Court Judge Parker summarises the process of neighbourhood change that was then taking place:

when the tract was originally laid out, the territory embraced therein and the adjacent territory was sparsely settled and close to the then city limits, and occupied by Caucasians only; that at that time the comparatively few Negroes in Los Angeles lived in what was then known as the "Negro District", about five miles from this tract; that in 1909 persons of Negro descent commenced buying, owning, controlling and occupying land all around the tract ... that Negroes do now, and for over ten years last past, have been used to congregate, walk, drive, pass and appear at all hours of the day and night, openly, publicly, continuously, notoriously, constantly and extremely noticeable, on the sidewalks, roads, streets, in the houses and all about said lot, tract and locality in usual, ordinary activities of a residential district, where it was and is now commonly known by the public generally that the Negroes reside and live; that as results thereof, nearly all persons not of Negroes descent have moved out of said tract and locality and have been

replaced by Negroes; that most of the real estate in said tract and locality is now offered for sale and occupancy to Negroes, who are the only ones easily available; that said tract and locality are included within the "Negro District" and occupied almost exclusively by Negroes; that public authorities and the public generally have taken cognizance of and have submitted to this enlargement of the said Negro district and for the past ten years have, by common usage and consent, included in the so-called "Negro District" all of the land of this tract, and included nearby tracts located further from the original Negro district than the Entwistle tract (*Letteau v Ellis* 1932).

Alongside the violence faced by Johnson, early attempts to move out of the recognised 'Negro District' also faced legal challenge. An early case, *Title Guarantee and Trust Co v Garrott*, established in 1919 that restrictive covenants could not restrict the right to 'sell or transfer' property (Title Guarantee and Trust Co v Garrott 1919, Tyler 1945). Whites only fought harder to maintain the legal supports for segregated and privileged space, rewriting their racial restrictions to focus on occupancy rather than ownership.

These were upheld only a few months after Garrott's case in *Los Angeles Investment Co v Gary*, when the California Supreme Court ruled in favour of a large and influential developer that people of colour had the right to buy property, but not reside in it where restrictive covenants were in force (Los Angeles Investment Co v Gary 1919). This defeat was followed by another lawsuit brought by Janss Investment Corporation against a white man named Walden in 1922, accused of breaking the restrictive covenant on his property by re-selling it to an African American (Janss Investment Co v Walden 1922). By 1925, when the case was decided in favour of Janss Investment Co., the company had already subdivided, and undoubtedly for the most part covenanted, 100,000 acres in the greater Los Angeles and Orange County area (*LAT* 24 April 1925). Subdividers and developers themselves, or their heirs, brought forward these initial lawsuits to protect the value

of their product by proving they could ensure their promised exclusivity. Figure 2-2 maps these early incidents in relation to 1948's African-American community boundaries, showing how whites were disciplining outlying African American families into ever-hardening ghetto boundaries, preserving privileged and segregated spaces that whites would fight to maintain for decades.

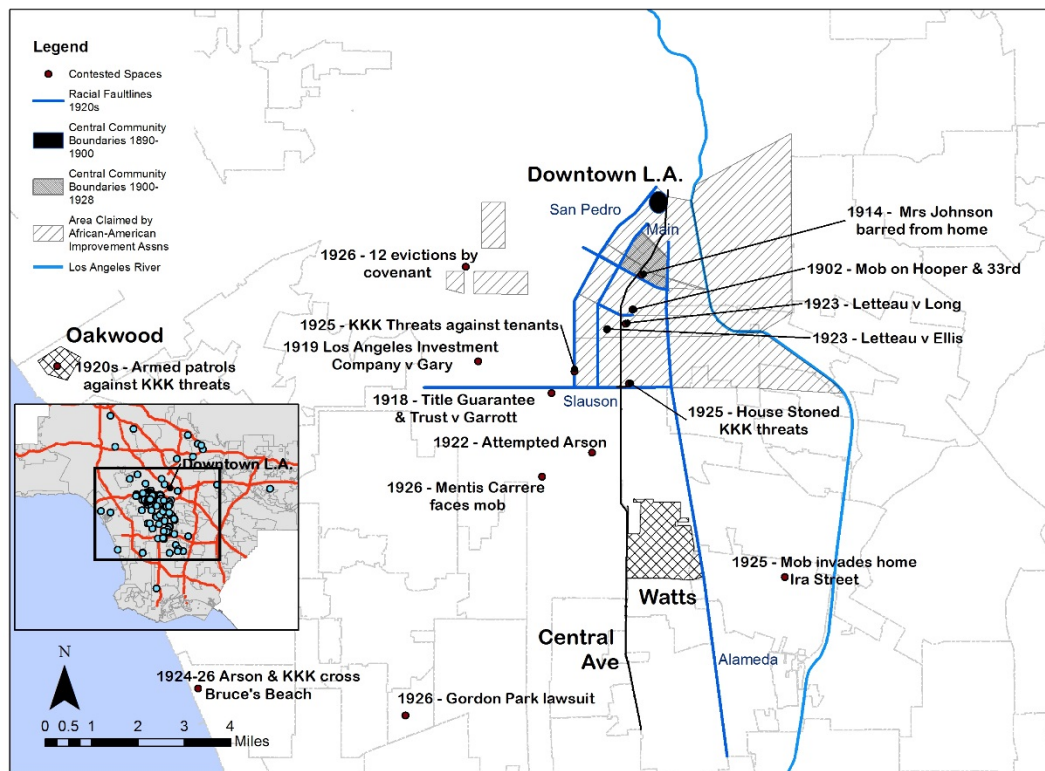


FIGURE 2-2 MAP SHOWING 'DISCIPLINARY' ACTIONS AGAINST AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES OUTSIDE THE BLACK BELT, 1902-1926

Thus individual African Americans were forced to expand on a safer block by block basis outward from the already consolidated African American neighbourhoods as they sought adequate housing, either searching out properties where the restrictions had expired, or where they hoped they would no longer be enforced. Some covenant cases, though not all, could be won on technical issues

with the covenant itself.⁶⁷ The case of *Letteau v Ellis* (1932) quoted so extensively above, however, established a new defence that held at its heart the duality of race's impact on the use and exchange value of properties. The decision was in favour of the African-American defendants, as 'the conditions of the locality of said lot and tract have, since the original deed, changed so fundamentally and radically that neither said lot nor said tract is any longer suitable for use with restrictions against occupancy by persons of Negro descent, or for the purposes which the original grantor sought to establish or maintain by said conditions...' In other words, the lot has been ruined for any higher, white use. To protect what little exchange value was left for those white property owners invested in such areas and unable to sell their property to other whites as required by covenant, the court allowed racial restrictions to lapse.

This represented a bittersweet legal victory with the court ungallantly bowing to a hard-won reality. It underlines the common sense of white hegemony at the time: a process actually driven by racism is seen only as the nature of things where 'nearly all persons not of Negro descent have moved out' as a direct result of the new residents simply living in the neighbourhood 'openly, publicly, continuously, notoriously, constantly and extremely noticeable'. Returning to hegemony as a specific conjuncture of the political, economic and ideological (Hall 1980), this passage emphasises the need to include the articulation of the spatial. It is in defence of white space that ideology, policy and land value are here being articulated and defined. Words like 'continuously and notoriously' and 'extremely noticeable' emphasise white preferences that African Americans should be neither seen nor heard. Also clear is the way that African Americans were completely excluded from

⁶⁷ A judge ruled against the defendant in *Wayt v. Patee* for example, despite acknowledging the technical fault with the covenant (Green 1946).

any definition of ‘the public’, with the judge writing ‘that public authorities and the public generally have taken cognizance of and have submitted to this enlargement of the said Negro district’. The boundaries of the ‘community of consent’ are clear, both politically and geographically as African-American presence makes neighbourhoods unsuitable for white use. Resistance to covenants had forced the acknowledgment that the most perfect of covenants could not always protect an investment, and that more was needed to fully protect the exclusivity of a new development.

Race restrictions existed to preserve the value of property. Where the presence of peoples of colour had diminished the use value of property to a great enough extent in the eyes of the white public, the court was forced to rule that such restrictions were unfairly punitive to sellers in the realm of exchange value. A legal expert highly sympathetic to the struggle to end restrictive covenants notes that more than one such court decision was handed down in areas across the country where restrictions were prevalent and African-American communities expanding. He writes:

Because of infiltration of members of the unwanted race into the restricted area or into areas closely adjacent to it a judicial discretion has been exercised to relieve the parties to the agreement of a bad bargain, where enforcement would curtail the market for the restricted property without protecting the benefited property from a shrinkage in value that has already occurred. The discriminatory covenants are relieved from a white elephant (McGovney 1945).

This exposes the contradictions of a liberal free market ideology emerging from and rationalising a market operating by the rules of a white supremacy demanding segregation. The sanctity of contracts forms a cornerstone of US law, yet here this sanctity is trumped by the logics equating market value with race, the courts yielding

a small area to the ghetto with the goal of preserving white space and privilege on a larger scale. African Americans pushed on these contradictions without being able to fully destabilise them, but by paying exorbitant prices in areas where whites had become so desperate to leave they were selling to speculators at a loss, the racial boundaries were steadily pushed back (Miller 1966).

Covenants, court cases, and realtor regulations codified white supremacy through laws and civil society, but daily enforcement keeping communities of colour in their place was also a very grassroots affair. Many families faced threats and violence from new neighbours. The Ku Klux Klan also flared up in communities throughout L.A. and Orange counties in the 1920s as part of a national revival.⁶⁸

Kenneth Jackson describes the impetus for its growth:

Immediately after World War I, the impression was common among white people, both North and South, that a "new Negro", anxious for social and economic equality, was coming home from France. The widespread uneasiness was reflected in savage race riots in Chicago and Tulsa and in a rapid rise in the number of lynchings in 1919 (1967, 22).⁶⁹

The horror of these lynchings were covered extensively in African American papers through the 1940s, and the failure of long running national campaigns for anti-lynching laws emphasised the political power of white supremacists nationally

⁶⁸ The groundbreaking silent film *Birth of a Nation* (Griffiths 1915), regularly shown and regularly protested for decades, celebrated the KKK's initial formation and served as inspiration for its reinstitution (Jackson 1967). Charles Alexander (1965) describes the rise of the Klan both in terms of the simmering racism brought to life by a series of articles in the liberal New York *World* that sought to destroy an early and localised Klan through its coverage and instead helped it grow through the publicity, and through the amount of money being generated through membership fees, divvied up through various promoters and local and regional Klan officials pocketing the money.

⁶⁹ This was in spite of the fact that the military continued to be completely segregated and most African Americans were only allowed to serve as drivers or stevedores until the first steps were taken to begin desegregation during WWII (C. Anderson 2003).

(C. Anderson 2003). Jackson estimates that between 1915 and 1944 there were about 18,000 Klan members in Los Angeles and Long Beach, and numerous incidents are recorded in the *California Eagle* as well as the *Los Angeles Times*. In 1922, police recovered Klan membership lists revealing about 10 percent of public officials and policemen in California to be Klan members. In L.A. alone, the 1,500 names included the Chief of Police and the Sherriff. The city had three chapters, and the Klan was active in many suburbs including Santa Monica, Huntington Park, Glendale, San Pedro, Santa Ana, South Gate, Torrance, and Anaheim (Cocoltchos 1992, Jackson 1967, Nicolaides 2002).

Many of these areas were also centres of industry and oil production of the time, attracting Southern whites who worked the rigs, some of whom brought Klan affiliations with them (see Nicolaides (2002)). This wasn't the whole story, however, nor was membership concentrated amongst stereotypical poor whites. Cocoltchos writes of a typical member of the Anaheim branch:

Contrary to any notion that the typical Klansman was left behind in the race for economic success, he possessed almost the same exact amount of real and personal property as the average non-Klansman in Anaheim. The high proportion of property-owning Klansmen also reflects their relative prosperity and substantial stake in the community (1992, 105).

The Klan has been described as an outlet for violent white supremacist thinking and action, a secret society providing meaning and belonging along with business and social contacts, an income generator of immense proportions through its fees. Based on Cocoltchos's (1992) findings and the distribution of Klan activity and industry as seen in Figure 2-3, it can also be argued it was used to protect the wealth of natural resources and jobs for Anglo-Saxon males. Building on a reputation of lynchings and open violence of the South while organising itself more as a business looking for

economic and political control of territory, the California Klan insinuated itself and its open white supremacist ideologies into more than a semblance of legitimacy, going after elected office to take control of the government briefly in Anaheim, its members also holding high ranking positions in other city governments and bureaucracies (Cocolthos 1992, Sowers 2002).

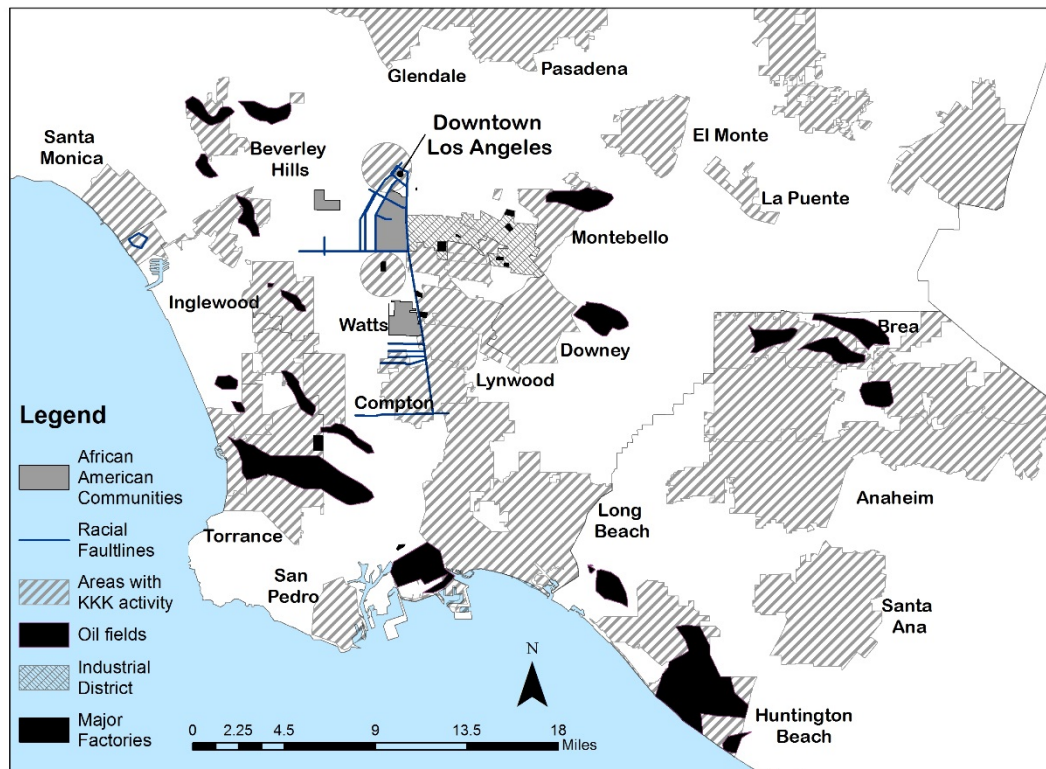


FIGURE 2-3 MAP OF KNOWN KKK AREAS AND INDUSTRIAL AREAS IN 1920s L.A. AND ORANGE COUNTY⁷⁰

Given this context, the launch of what seems to be the Black community's first concerted and strategic effort to break down residential prejudices in the mid-1920s is essentially conciliatory, seeking not to trouble hegemony but to prove the community's worth in upholding it and thus deserving of inclusion. It consisted primarily of an effort to professionalise African-American real-estate structures

⁷⁰ Information on KKK activity comes from Cady (2006), Cocolthos (1992), Jackson (1967), Nicolaidis (2002), Shults (1991), Sowers (2012), *The Torrance Herald*, and the *California Eagle*.

along the same lines as the whites, while out-boosting the city's white boosters and out-homeowning its white homeowners to prove their class position and desirability as neighbours, and win acceptance in the greater Los Angeles community.

Self-defining as a movement of homeowners certainly raised issues of class and privilege within the Black community itself, an issue not fully grappled with for decades. Augustus Hawkins notes how a common Southern background and an inability to socialise in most public places meant that social activity generally took place through informal clubs among better off members of the African American community, hosting barbecues in their backyards or drinks in their homes, an 'activity that brought them together and made them somewhat clannish' (Hawkins 1988, 20). This is one of the central places that Hawkins obtained the support he needed to become the first African American elected to Congress in California in 1935, and probably where most of the conversation leading to this effort forming homeowner associations took place. It entailed an acceptance of white standards, challenging only the labelling of African Americans as detracting from property values rather than the 'science' of real estate and its valuation itself. Thus, its primary goal seems to have been proving through example that African Americans could increase property values through their hard work both on their own homes and in the community. Their efforts embodied a view of exchange values closely tied to use values, the concrete and measurable qualities of well-maintained homes and gardens along with active homeowner associations involved in neighbourhood improvements.

With African Americans excluded from both CREA and NAREB (who copyrighted the term 'realtor' for their members only), the *California Eagle*

announced with pride the formation of an African-American professional real estate group in 1922 (Freund 2007; *CE* 15 April 1922). Two years later, the entrance of two African-American realty men into night school at USC merits a front page story (*CE* 7 March 1924). In December's front page news a group calling themselves the California Realty Board put forward a call for increased African-American immigration to L.A. Their counsel Hugh McBeth, another key figure in the legal battles over covenants, stated to the *Eagle* that its purpose was:

...to broadcast to colored Americans everywhere, the opportunities, the welcome, the hope and cheer, which free California, its hills and valleys, its industries and commerce, its fruits and always shine, offer to the American Negro.

This is the first time, it is explained that a definite invitation by a responsible body has been extended to our group to come to the western borders in numbers. The great campaign of advertising for settlers carried on by the California Boosters' Club has in the main been directed at white settlers. The colored California Legal Society however, supplements the bid to easterners and southerners by proposing to use its influence to see that the arm of protection is thrown around every Negro resident and newcomer, that opportunities for employment be opened up and that the rights now vouchsafed by the statutes of the state to every citizen be never abridged. The latter clause is added because, just as colored people have migrated chiefly from Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma seeking freedom from oppression and congenial surroundings, so whites from these states have come in large number and no sooner do they arrive than they try to make their presence felt (*CE* 26 December 1924).

It is telling that the narrative shifts from a traditional boosting discourse to something of a plea for balance between the African-American community and the white Southerners arriving in L.A., if only for protection.

The *California Eagle* formally announced the launch of the West Side Homeowner's Association in its 24 March, 1923 headlines. What follows is essentially a show of strength and an attempt to measure the value of its residents through their property:

The West Side district is without question, the largest colored residential district west of the Mississippi river, comprising 483 property owners who own and control \$1,683,000 worth of valuable residential property. About 20 square blocks are completed, covered with modern California bungalows costing on an average of \$4000 each (*CE* 24 March 1923).

Here is an attempt to prove themselves worthy by white class-based standards of wealth and property, arguing that class solidarity should be stronger than that of race. This is emphasised by an article describing a covenant lawsuit against approximately fifteen families that states: ‘The action is considered the boldest attempt of its kind yet instituted in California for reason of the exceedingly high character of those of our race group who own property in that vicinity...’ (20 November 1925). Thus, this proactive movement to prove class worthiness was also always intertwined with the need for defence along racial lines.

In February 1926, the *Eagle* published an article with the headline ‘Are You Sleeping?’ It claimed the existence of 81 ‘White Home Improvement and Home Protective Associations’ in Los Angeles:

The white Home Protective League raising their funds for this fight from the white property owners thru their Neighborhood Improvement Associations, because they know that this is the most effective way to wage a home protection fight and because of the undisputable fact that the property owner is the one most vitally interested in such a fight. This same fact is true of our own people. Any question involving property rights will be of most vital interest to the property owner and the property owners’ associations (*CE* 12 February 1926).

By April 1926, eight different associations were announcing their meetings, all of them working together through the newly formed Progressive Federation of Improvement and Protective Associations. Charlotta Bass was active in the movement, and the *California Eagle* served as the mouthpiece of its efforts to

combat the racism emerging from the real-estate profession, white supremacist groups, local homeowner groups, and their local newspapers.

One major effort lay in attempts to reclaim and redefine definitions of ‘American’, and establish a basis both for a moral appeal to white consciences as fellow Americans and an economic appeal as worthy homeowners:

An organized effort to restrict the use and occupation of land in Los Angeles County to persons of a particular race, and prohibiting the use and occupation of such land by persons of Afro-American descent, is gaining support from a few of the one hundred per cent type of American citizens, the type who believe that the color of a person’s skin is the standard by which his rights and privileges should be determined.

In order to successfully exterminate this un-American idea of segregation, we must get together. Clean up our Homes, beautify our front and back yard, make our surroundings and environment equal in cleanliness and beauty to the homes of any other group in the city and county: and then we will be in a position to appeal to the Christian conscience of the American people who believe as the immortal Lincoln believed – in justice and charity towards all men regardless of race, creed, or color (19 February 1926).

The Federation formed a propaganda committee whose first goal was the creation of a mailing of 1,000 letters to be sent to prominent white individuals and organizations in the city on ‘the injustice and un-Americanism of Residential Segregation, and the hardship of the increasing difficulty of colored men and women to find employment, in Los Angeles’ (*CE* 23 April 1926). It also planned to raise money to insert a weekly notice highlighting an accomplishment of the race, in order, in the words of committee president George Beavers, Jr.:

to KEEP the GOOD things, the WORTHY things, the WORTHWHILE things that our race is doing, before the public, in short to educate the white man to the fact that all Negroes, are not the “Sambos,” thieves, and villains, that they are represented as being in the papers, on the stage and in fiction at the present time (capitalisation in the original).

Again, it is hard to ignore the nature of such appeals to fellowship based on class, the clear desire here among the homeowners to separate themselves from those of their race who might fit such stereotypes.

In addition to the propaganda committee, a Home Beautification and Improvement Committee was hard at work getting ready for June, the 'Home Beautification Month', and the Business and Industries Committee was preparing for 'Negro Trade Week', calling for a week of patronage of nothing but Black business. Always there is a sense that they are somehow implicated in the racism directed at them, having been somehow backward in their civic duties:

A committee was appointed to arrange the program for the groundbreaking of the school tunnel. Doubtless it will surprise the white population of the West Jefferson district, to discover that the colored citizens are taking the lead in the arrangement of this civic matter. They are not used to colored people being citizens (*CE* 4 June 1926).

Their goal is to prove themselves worthy of both citizenship and integration into the white home-owning community.

Part of each association's role was also to monitor the actions of their counterparts, which is what has preserved some record of white homeowner efforts and their very different set of goals. The map in Figure 2-4 shows the ways that the African-American community extended southwards from a small area based in downtown L.A., moving both by necessity given the development of downtown, and by choice to escape slum housing (Flamming 2005). The extent of territories claimed by the African-American Associations (in grey) is shown as tracked in the pages of the *California Eagle*. These, optimistically perhaps, expand far beyond the realities of dense African-American settlement through the 1920s as described by the National Register of Historic Places (U.S. Department of the Interior 2009),

corroborated by research carried out by Bond (1972). While the *California Eagle* does not give locations for all 81 white homeowner associations, it does for those most active in maintaining racial boundaries. These can be seen massed along faultlines recognised by the African American community, while to the west, the overlap represents the tangle of claims emerging from the wealthier residents of both races, for the most part resolved through lawsuits. The incidents of violence and legal action show both how efforts were made to check African American towards the South, as well as discipline outlying families back within confined boundaries. Mapping also makes clear how this strongly class-based homeowner initiative did not involve the community of Watts at all, poorer and distant from both Central Ave where the *Eagle* was based, and the more affluent West side community that was home to the Besses.

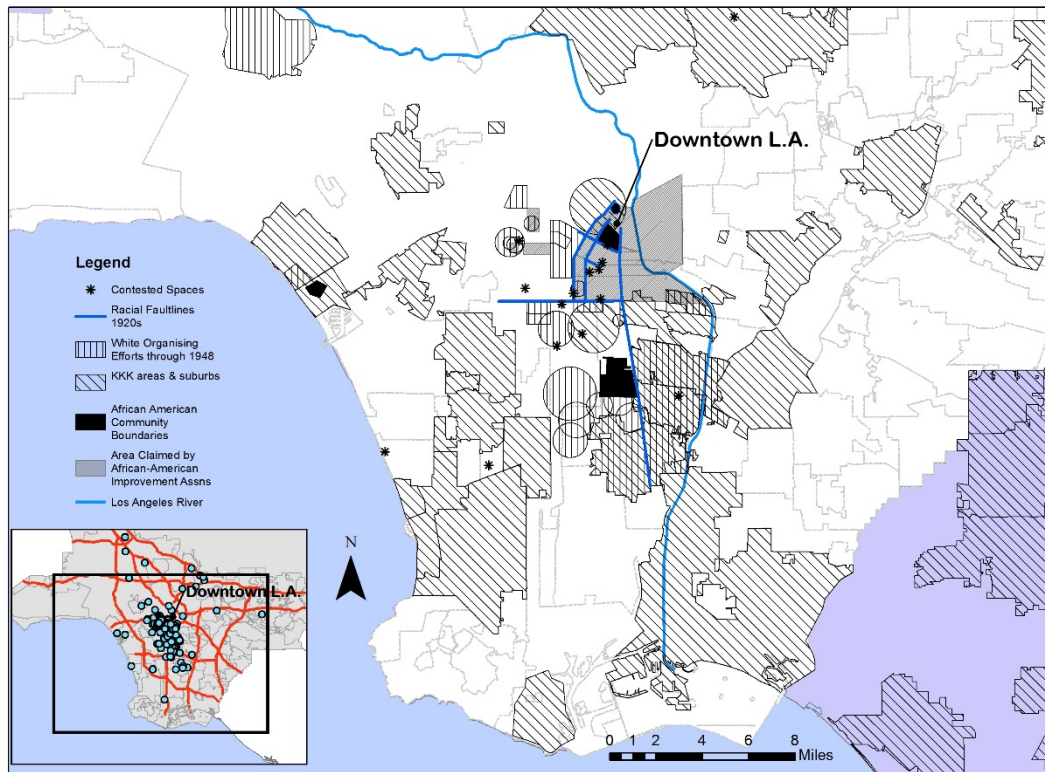


FIGURE 2-4 MAP OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HOMEOWNER ASSOCIATIONS, HOMES OF PROMINENT WHITE REALTORS AND EARLY SPACES OF CONTESTATION THROUGH 1927⁷¹

Local news sheets such as the *South Park Bulletin* and the *West Jefferson Press*, neither of which have been archived, tended to give the same voice to white homeowner groups as the *California Eagle* did for African Americans during this period. Ironically some of their content has been preserved in the African-American press – the *Eagle* quotes extensively an open avowal of white supremacy from the *West Jefferson Press*:

⁷¹ Small clusters of African Americans could also be found in Pacoima in the San Fernando Valley (Langguth 1953) and in Pasadena from an early period (see Robinson 2010). Little information is available on these areas as they were not covered in the same way by the *California Eagle*. Where information is available I have recorded incidents across these areas, but focus my study on the main centre of African American organising in South Central. The homeowner association boundaries are as described in the *California Eagle*.

The Southern states being under the same constitutional laws as any other state in the Union, insist upon segregation of Negroes, regardless of their so-called "equal rights," because in those states each white man co-operates with his own color, and, demands white supremacy, socially, politically and otherwise. If the southern states can enforce segregation so can the Northern states, providing there is proper cooperation (*CE* 30 April 1926).

This is recorded from the Fremont Improvement Association:

Since time began and people found it necessary to associate or live together, organization for political and economic convenience has been necessary if community progress and stability are to be maintained.

The Fremont Improvement Association is organized for the general welfare of the district radiating from the wonderful Fremont High School, particularly south of Slauson from Hooper to Main Street. Much has been accomplished, but much must yet be accomplished.

The integrity of our homes is endangered. We must preserve the schools and district for our own race. The safe guarding of all property against the encroachment of the Negro and Mongolian races into the district is our most urgent work. Your co-operation and membership in the Association is necessary – it is your Association – you owe it to yourself and the community in which you are a vital part to join and give all possible assistance in keeping your district WHITE" (*CE* 10 December 1926).

Here the conflation of racial purity and economic advantage is seen in the safeguarding of property alongside the preservation of resources like Fremont High School for whites. From the President of the Community Welfare Association:

Why is it that so many blacks want to be called Caucasians? Why are they so relentless in their efforts to associate and be "equal" to the whites? It is envy, it is pride, it is ignorance.

Envy is responsible for their organized attempts to break into our white communities. This envy is bound to prove a boomerang unless we miss our guess. The white people all over the country are beginning to realize that the Negro is a real menace to white institutions. And this realization will surely strengthen their desire to segregate the races (*CE* 10 December 1926).

These are the sentiments that the *California Eagle* and the homeowner associations are in debate with, both through their words and their civic actions. Such publications alongside increasing KKK activities – including beatings, mob attacks

on several homes, and cross burnings – fanned local fears of attempts to spread the conditions prevailing in the South. The Basses were themselves threatened by the Klan, and sued by them for libel (Bass, 1960). Mass meetings were held in both 1925 and 1926 to discuss the problems of racial covenants, KKK intimidation and the rise of the white supremacist Home Protective League, with their goal of complete segregation (*CE* 15 October 1925; 7 May 1926).

The community meetings, homeowner associations, and propaganda committees, the hard work to carry out community improvements, and the best legal counsel available proved to be insufficient to keep aspiring middle-class African Americans in their homes.

On Sunday, June 20th, the entire race throughout the city is requested to observe a real day of FASTING and PRAYER for real divine intervention in the case of the twelve families in the Crestmore district, which have been ordered from their homes. This case is so serious, because it is stated by the whites back of the attempt to drive these families from their homes, that the Crestmore District is only the beginning and that as soon as the Negroes, are out of there they expect to clean them out of every desirable neighborhood in the city.... On Sunday every minister in Los Angeles of our race will speak from his desk on this subject, urging his people to give their support financially to the fund which the Federation is attempting to raise in order to be able to give help to the twelve families that without assistance will find themselves out of doors (*CE* 18 June 1926).

This was a loss indeed.⁷² It cannot be doubted that the possibility of being turned into the street at any time, with prayer as an ineffective last resort, must have had a very dampening effect on civic pride and organising for community improvements.

⁷² The legal battles taking place in the Crestmore District (alternatively described as the Crestmoor District), would continue until *Shelley v Kraemer* was decided by the Supreme Court in 1948, with multiple lawsuits being filed and defended, and a renewed effort of white homeowners in 1941 to ensure that all properties were covered by restrictive covenants (Green 1946).

The director of the white Crestmore Improvement Association had no hesitation in rubbing salt into the wounds caused by the eviction of the twelve families:

We are not trying to crush or humiliate the black race, which is much younger than our own; we are only following a law of nature which has ben [sic] obeyed, respected, and fought for ever since time began – the right of living among our own KIND. The Negro, in his attempt for the uplifting of his own race, is dragging the Caucasian race down to his own level, which is Wholly a selfish and unnatural effort at self advancement and we are thoroughly justified in protecting our families and our homes against this injustice (*CE* 10 December 1926).

The desire for racial homogeneity as a law of nature along with individual rights to fight for such homogeneity are being mobilised here, both fundamental to real estate ethics as well as white homeowner struggles. Whites in South Los Angeles, organising themselves neighbourhood by neighbourhood to restrict their properties, saw themselves as engaged in a war. An announcement from the president of the Citizens and Taxpayers Protective League, Inc. of the West Jefferson District makes this very clear:

Prominent citizens have contributed their time and money towards this cause, which has been the most difficult problem of the West Jefferson district....

At this time the battle between members of the Caucasian race and the Ethiopians residing in the district waged subtly but nevertheless furiously. Strange marks and crosses appeared on the doors and on sidewalks in front of residences occupied by whites. Both races were guilty of making threats to the other in a desperate effort to make the neighbourhood a one race community (*CE* 2 September 1927).

It would no longer be a war between organised groups. The African-American homeowner association movement seemed to fall apart within a few months of the

major legal defeat, leaving a fragmented and individual opposition once more.⁷³ The Great Depression, as all economic downturns, hit communities of colour hardest and survival became the highest priority (Flamming 2005). While the *Eagle* continued to give voice to the many individual struggles over racial boundaries, no collective action to end segregation would be seen again until World War II.

INSTITUTIONAL ORGANISING: THE EQUATION OF RACE WITH EXCHANGE VALUE

Yet it is the period running up to WWII, particularly through the Great Depression, that really saw the full and officially sanctioned equation of racial occupancy with exchange value by real estate professionals, academics, and government agencies alike. This both formalised and legitimated the racist beliefs espoused by white news sheets, helping to transcribe brutal racist ideologies into the legalistic language of academia and policy-making. As much in the service of preserving the sanctity of white space for social reproduction as creating a foundation for real estate profit, the articulation of a science of property valuation, legitimating government policies, and white supremacist ideals made very visible the forging of the ‘unity between economic, political and ideological objectives such that it can place “all the questions around which the struggle rages on a ‘universal’ not a corporative level, thereby creating a hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups”’ (Hall 1980, 332 with quote from Gramsci 1971). Clearly spatial objectives belong in this list, articulated in service of a hegemonic white

⁷³ Occasional notices in the *Eagle* show the continued existence in some form of at least the East Adams Association in 1930 and the Westside Improvement Association (led by another leader among African American women, Betty Hill), which won open access to a local swimming pool for African Americans in 1931 (E. F. Anderson 1980, *CE* 13 June 1930, *CE* 2 June 1931).

supremacy where race, not class, defined the fundamental group, and in which white space was established as a key stake. Returning to Lefebvre, he notes that ‘Space is at once result and cause, product and producer; it is also a stake, the locus of projects and actions...’ (1991, 142).

The crisis of the 1930s made such a national restructuring of real estate practices and government policies possible, creating the opportunity and political will to federally fund and implement this new era of real estate economics that would define the shape of Los Angeles (and cities across the US) as we know it today. The efforts of the federal government to respond to economic crisis led to both the transformation of real-estate financing and the institutionalisation of segregation, driven by private-sector members and academic affiliates of NAREB as has been well documented by Weiss (1987) and Freund (2007) among others. Abrams notes how a new era of corporate welfare emerged, and the repercussions of open federal support of segregation:

In the transition from a private to a welfare economy, private housing operations were now being implemented by public power, public credit, and public subsidy...From 1935 to 1950, in fact, prejudice and public power were already well advanced toward an alliance which was challenging the fundamental values of the American system (Abrams 1955, 258).

Civil rights attorney Loren Miller counted the federal government’s promotion of segregation as one of the most important and fundamental forces to be fought by the African-American community.⁷⁴

The federal government’s first attempt to deal with the immensity of the crisis in foreclosures and loan defaults was the Home Owners Loan Corporation, or HOLC. It formed in 1933 to purchase delinquent loans from a variety of lenders and

⁷⁴ See Miller & Sheil, (1946) as well as testimony to the Governor’s Commission on the L.A. Riots, and multiple addresses such as to the Urban League in 1955 and the ACLU in 1960 among many others (see *LMP*, Box 5, Folder 6).

refinance them with new long-term and low-interest loans (Freund 2007). As Freund persuasively argues in *Colored Property*, HOLC fundamentally changed the housing market in three ways: ‘it demonstrated the potential of the long-term, low-interest mortgage not only to shore up but also to expand the market for privately owned homes’; it ‘set a crucial precedent for further state involvement in the private credit system, suggesting that a federal regulatory and financial presence might create and sustain expanded consumer spending, and it ‘set in motion both a new means of achieving the racial segregation of neighbourhoods and a new rationale for defending it’ (2007, 113).

Phillip Kniskern, the head of the NAREB-founded American Institute of Real Estate Appraisers (he would later head NAREB itself), designed the appraisal guidelines HOLC used in refinancing loans (Freund 2007). These enshrined the link between race and property value at the federal level, creating a series of colour-coded maps showing four different levels of lender security in insuring home loans – I have italicised where they deal specifically with race.

Red areas represent those neighborhoods in which the things that are now taking place in the Yellow neighbourhoods, have already happened. *They are characterized by detrimental influences in a pronounced degree, undesirable population or infiltration of it.* Low percentage of home ownership, very poor maintenance and often vandalism prevail. Unstable incomes of the people and difficult collections are usually prevalent. The areas are broader than the so-called slum districts. Some mortgage lenders may refuse to make loans in these neighborhoods and other will lend only on a conservative basis.

Yellow areas are characterized by age, obsolescence, and change of style; expiring restrictions or lack of them; *infiltration of a lower grade population*; the presence of influences which increase sales resistance such as inadequate transportation, insufficient utilities, perhaps heavy tax burdens, poor maintenance of homes, etc. “Jerry” built areas are included, as well as neighborhoods lacking homogeneity. Generally, these areas have reached the transition period. Good mortgage lenders are more conservative in the Yellow areas and hold loan commitments under the lending ratio for the Green and Blue areas.

Blue areas, as a rule, are completely developed. They are like a 1935 automobile still good, but not what the people are buying today who can afford a new one. They are the neighborhoods where good mortgage lenders will have a tendency to hold loan commitments 10-15% under the limit.

Green areas are "hot spots"; they are not yet fully built up. In nearly all instances they are the new well planned sections of the city, and almost synonymous with the areas where good mortgage lenders with available funds are willing to make their maximum loans to be amortized over a 10-15-year period – perhaps up to 75-80% of the appraisal. *They are homogeneous; in demand as residential locations in "good time" or "bad"; hence on the upgrade"* (Testbed for the Redlining Archives of California's Exclusionary Spaces n.d.).

The two clearest indicators of value under this system are the race of the inhabitants and the newness of the development. More telling are the actual sheets rating each district, which give the race and class of the population, with a special boxes for the percentages of 'foreign' and 'negro', before the condition of the built environment as seen in Figure 2-5. From this time forward, lenders would officially and systematically use both HOLC maps and definitions to decide lending policies in the practice known as red-lining. Banks not only refused to lend to individuals living within or building in red areas, but insisted on the insertion of racial covenants into all deeds. Clauses advocating racial restrictions were even automatically inserted where financing was obtained for homes in African-American developments (*CE* 31 January 1946).

Freund argues persuasively that federal policy's influence went even deeper than this, however. He writes:

Beginning with the HOLC, federal intervention created a market for privately owned homes that simultaneously changed two things: how most people bought their homes (and how wealth was created in housing), and the means of determining who could participate...the HOLC initiated the creation of a new kind of discriminatory marketplace, one that functioned very differently and that achieved and justified discrimination in a wholly new manner (Freund 2007, 115).

In this way it created a housing market that channelled real estate wealth almost exclusively to whites. I would argue that the clear racial criteria used in appraisals makes it harder to sustain as Freund does that it provided 'a state-sanctioned platform for housing experts to argue that racial discrimination was simply a by-product of impersonal economic processes' (2007, 115). It did set the foundation for such future arguments, however, by ensuring that home appraisals became the exclusive realm of experts rather than informal and personal things carried out between a home-buyer based upon their own needs and the local bank's guidelines. Rather the HOLC both implemented a racist national standard of exchange value to be created and applied by private-sector professionals, as well as itself describing and delineating racial boundaries in ways that continued to decimate communities long after its demise.

AREA DESCRIPTION

Security Map of LOS ANGELES COUNTY

1. POPULATION: a. Increasing - Decreasing - Static Yes

b. Class and Occupation WPA workers, laborers, low scale clericals, factory workers, etc
Income \$700 to \$1500

c. Foreign Families 40 % Nationalities Mexicans, Japanese and low class d. Negro 50 %
Italians

e. Shifting or Infiltration Encroachment of industry a threat.

2. BUILDINGS: PREDOMINATING 85% OTHER TYPE %

a. Type and Size 5 rooms

b. Construction Frame

c. Average Age 35 years

d. Repair Very poor

e. Occupancy 97%

f. Owner-occupied 20%

g. 1935 Price Bracket \$2000-2750 % change \$ % change \$

h. 1937 Price Bracket \$2500-3500 20 % \$ %

i. 1939 Price Bracket \$2500-3500 - % \$ %

j. Sales Demand Fair

k. Predicted Price Trend (next 6-12 months) Slowly down

l. 1935 Rent Bracket \$25.00-30.00 % change \$ % change \$

m. 1937 Rent Bracket \$27.50-35.00 13 % \$ %

n. 1939 Rent Bracket \$27.50-35.00 - % \$ %

o. Rental Demand Fair

p. Predicted Rent Trend (next 6-12 months) Static

3. NEW CONSTRUCTION (past yr.) No. 3 Type & Price ms. \$4000 How Selling Slowly

4. OVERHANG OF HOME PROPERTIES: a. HOLC 9 b. Institutions Few

5. SALE OF HOME PROPERTIES (3 yr.) a. HOLC 74 b. Institutions Few

6. MORTGAGE FUNDS: None 7. TOTAL TAX RATE PER \$1000 (1937-8) \$ 52.80

8. DESCRIPTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF AREA:

Terrain: Level. No flood or construction hazards. Land improved 90%. Zoning is mixed, but improvements are largely single family dwellings. Conveniences are all readily available. This is the "melting pot" area of Los Angeles, and has long been thoroughly blighted. The Negro concentration is largely in the eastern two thirds of the area. Original construction was evidently of fair quality but lack of proper maintenance is notable. Population is uniformly of poor quality and many improvements are in a state of dilapidation. This area is a fit location for a slum clearance project. The area is accorded a "low red" grade.

9. LOCATION Central Ave. Dist. SECURITY GRADE 4th - AREA NO. D-52 DATE 3-3-39
400



FIGURE 2-5 HOLC AREA DESCRIPTION FOR L.A.'S CENTRAL DISTRICT⁷⁵

⁷⁵ 3 March 1939 (Testbed for the Redlining Archives of California's Exclusionary Spaces n.d.).

The Federal Housing Authority formed in 1934 as part of the National Housing Act. In contrast to the HOLC, which purchased and refinanced existing mortgages, the FHA insured new mortgages, thus ‘fostering new lending activity, creating a national market for mortgages, and, by doing so, expanding the market for home finance’ (Freund 2007, 120). To create its own underwriting criteria it hired Frederick Babcock, an appraiser of long association with NAREB (Weiss 1987). The April 1936 edition of its underwriting manual promoted the use of both zoning and racial restrictive covenants to protect neighbourhoods from ‘Adverse Influences’. It states:

The Valuator should investigate areas surrounding the location to determine whether or not incompatible racial and social groups are present, to the end that an intelligent prediction may be made regarding the possibility or probability of the location being invaded by such groups. If a neighborhood is to retain stability it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes. A change in social or racial occupancy generally leads to instability and a reduction in values. The protection offered against adverse changes should be found adequate before a high rating is given to this feature. Once the character of a neighborhood has been established it is usually impossible to induce a higher social class than those already in the neighborhood to purchase and occupy properties in its various locations (United States Federal Housing Administration April, 1936, 233).

Unlike the HOLC which did in fact refinance loans in all four areas, FHA agents insured only investments in HOLC’s blue or green areas (Freund 2007). By providing lenders with risk-free investments, it opened a floodgate of new credit to white first-time home buyers while categorically denying people of colour the same opportunities, defining them as a ‘permanent, calculable risk to stable property values’ (Freund 2007, 130). While HOLC maps were never meant for public use (Freund 2007), they were accessible to lenders, appraisers, and government officials, and most real estate professionals would most likely have known their contents. This

could explain why so many realtors were in the forefront of efforts to organise protective associations, blanket neighbourhoods with covenants, initiate law suits, and protect their own neighbourhoods' homogeneity at all costs.

By 1939, Charlotta Bass is writing in her regular column that 'the breach between white and black Americans was widening as the years go by, and this is not as it should be' (*CE* 19 October 1939). She links this widening distance to white mobilisations for the spatial segregation of the races as she goes on to quote extensively from the Pasadena Independent dated October 14:

Opening gun in a city-wide campaign to end racial conflict in Pasadena was fired yesterday when the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce endorsed 100 per cent the race Restriction program of the Pasadena Improvement Association.

The Chamber's action follows on the heels of similar moves by virtually every area community in the west end of the San Gabriel Valley...

After listening to members of the Improvement Association explain their plan to restrict the city's various neighborhoods the chamber directors votes to create a committee of [unreadable] to raise funds to carry out the plan.

The chamber recently endorsed the aims of the association, but yesterday's action marked its first step to actively support the association's long-range program to put a period to racial conflict within the Crown city.

Settlement of the controversy was described as Pasadena's No. 1 Problem by City Director A.L. Stewart and E.R. Horner and F.A. Lockett. The trio, representing the improvement Association, told the chamber directors the association feels that definite restrictions in neighborhoods is the only "sensible solution" of the problem.

Signalling how pervasive the drive to blanket the L.A. region with restrictive covenants was even through the depths of the depression, this is a rhetoric of civilised efforts to end racial conflict, a call for civic action and a new partnership between business and homeowners for the protection of property and white privilege fully in line with the federal government's own recommendations.

This civic-minded and civilising discourse of peace and harmony through segregation was growing alongside the FHA's economic discourse of 'adverse influences', while older and more openly racist praxis also continued strong. It was only a few months later that the Klan marched through downtown Los Angeles (*CE* 4 April 1940). In February of the following year a bonfire and symbolic lynching was carried out at Fremont High School – the first of several such incidents there (Bass, 1960). The following handbills were passed out as seen in Figure 2-6:

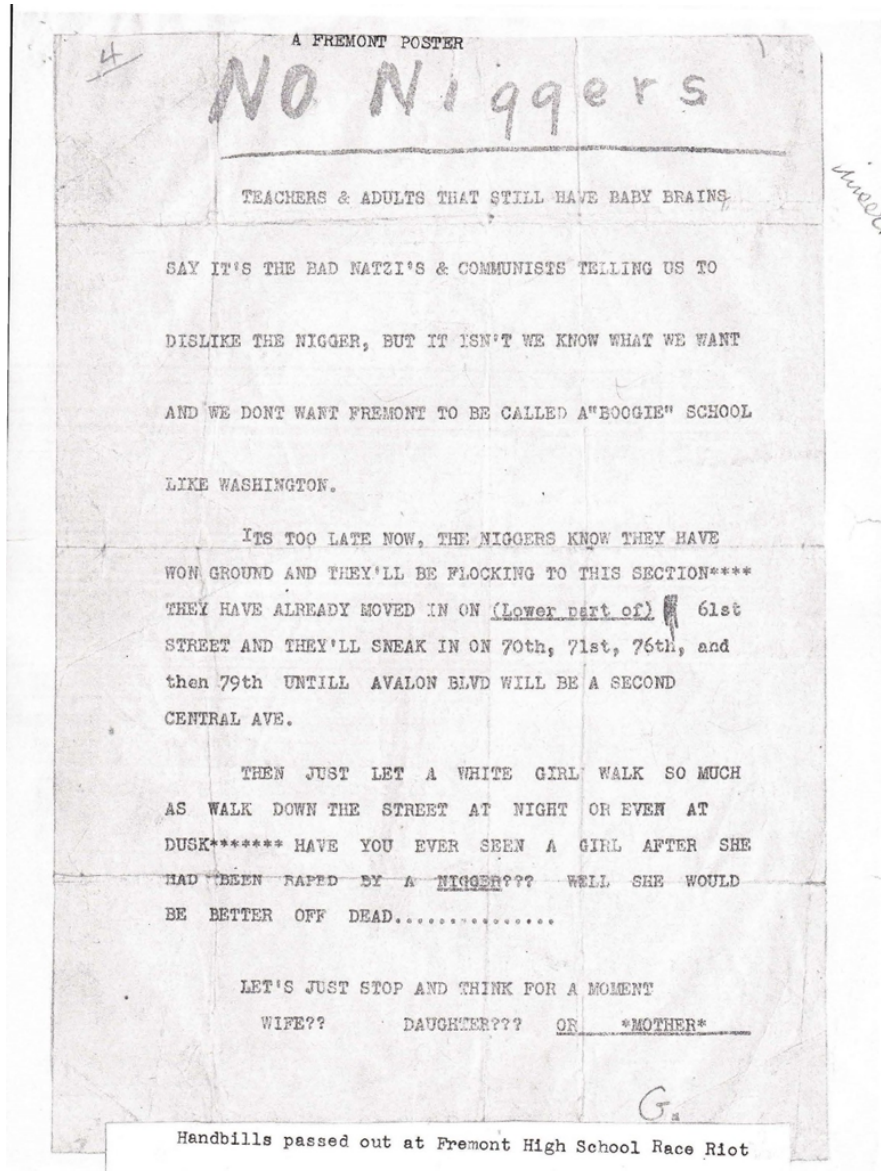


FIGURE 2-6 LEAFLET PASSED OUT DURING FREMONT HIGH SCHOOL RACE RIOT, 1941.⁷⁶

It brings together all the elements of white fear: loss of status (being known as a "boogie" school), loss of neighbourhood and way of life (they have 'won ground', underlining the view of a war between the races over land, and that there exists a common assumption that a few black families will lead to more until they have taken

⁷⁶ Charlotta Bass Addns 1, Race Relations & Black History, Southern California Library

over completely), and of course social mixing of the races inevitably leading to miscegenation. The everyday experience of this animosity as something to be constantly navigated spatially, and fearfully, by African Americans is illustrated by a conversation on musician Johnny Otis's radio programme:

Dootsie Williams: "We jumped over the white enclaves to get to our homes if we were in Watts and were coming from the downtown area. Drove right through them, actually."

Johnny Otis: "Yeah, and fast, too, sometimes." [laughs]

D.W.: "...with that streetcar that would go from way up from L.A. City College and run all the way down to Manchester and Central Avenue. Then, you had to get off and walk.... And you were walking through the white district until you came to 95th Street."

Buddy Collette: "I used to have dreams about that, about walking through no-man's-land, and late at night too."

D.W.: "Social conditions were terrible at that time." (Otis 1993, 20-21)

The role of white-inflicted violence in maintaining racial lines is all too apparent in this almost off-hand conversation between friends on nightmares about traversing white neighbourhoods, described in the same words as the death-dealing space between entrenched armies.

Also part of a little-known history is the origin of several African American gangs in organising through the 1940s to defend African-American youth from incursions by white gangs originating in Huntington Park, South Gate, Bell, Inglewood, Gardena, and the West side.⁷⁷ Gangs such as the Spook Hunters in

⁷⁷ There are recognisable gangs forming from the 1920s onwards, often around activities such as theft and prostitution, but they had none of the prominence that gangs now play in the community or the media, see Alonso (2010, 1999) and Davis (2006) for further discussion, though very little has been written about African American apart from work by Alex Alonso (1999, 2010), Brown, Vigil and Taylor (2012), Karen Umemoto (2006), and the autobiography of CRIP founder Tookie Williams (2007). This is in contrast to a spate of recent literature on Latin American gangs see for example L. Rodriguez (2005), Vigil (1988), Ward (2013), and Zilberg (2011).

South East L.A. formed around explicitly white supremacist objectives made as clear by their use of the racial epithet ‘Spook’ as by the distorted black face with its neck in a noose that they wore as an emblem on the back of their jackets (Alonso 1999, Brown, Vigil and Taylor 2012). Not only did they use violence to discipline any Black youth on the wrong side of the ghetto’s racial boundaries – from Alameda to Slauson to Main – but also crossed Alameda into the ghetto itself to attack Black youths (Brown, Vigil and Taylor 2012). In addition to the lynching in effigy and hate leaflets distributed around Fremont High School as mentioned above, racial gang wars took place at Manual Arts, Adams, and Canoga Park High Schools. This corresponded with a rise in KKK activity twenty years after its last growth spurt in the 1920s (Alonso 1999).

This illustrates the interplay between the local and national levels in the formation of a hegemonic segregation in the United States: the grassroots racist fears and violence in defence of space and resources for a community defined by whiteness, articulated with professional policies emerging from real estate professionals, and the government’s own views as formalised by the Home Owner Loan Corporation. In rating this particular area (shown in Figure 2-7) the HOLC notes successful white resistance to ‘infiltration’, but also resignation that ultimately it will fail, indicating that the future will almost certainly see it dropping its classification two grades and essentially stripping working class white residents of privilege granted them by their skin colour and their location:

The area is predominantly a workingman’s district and there are numerous duplexes, four family flats and bungalow courts scattered throughout. There is a threat of subversive racial infiltration (Negroes largely) in the southeast portion of area. An attempt was made to break the area down but it is in a transition period present, and it was not feasible. However, it is believed that in the course of time it will be necessary that this be done and will result in a number of areas grading from "low blue" to 4th grade (HOLC 1939).

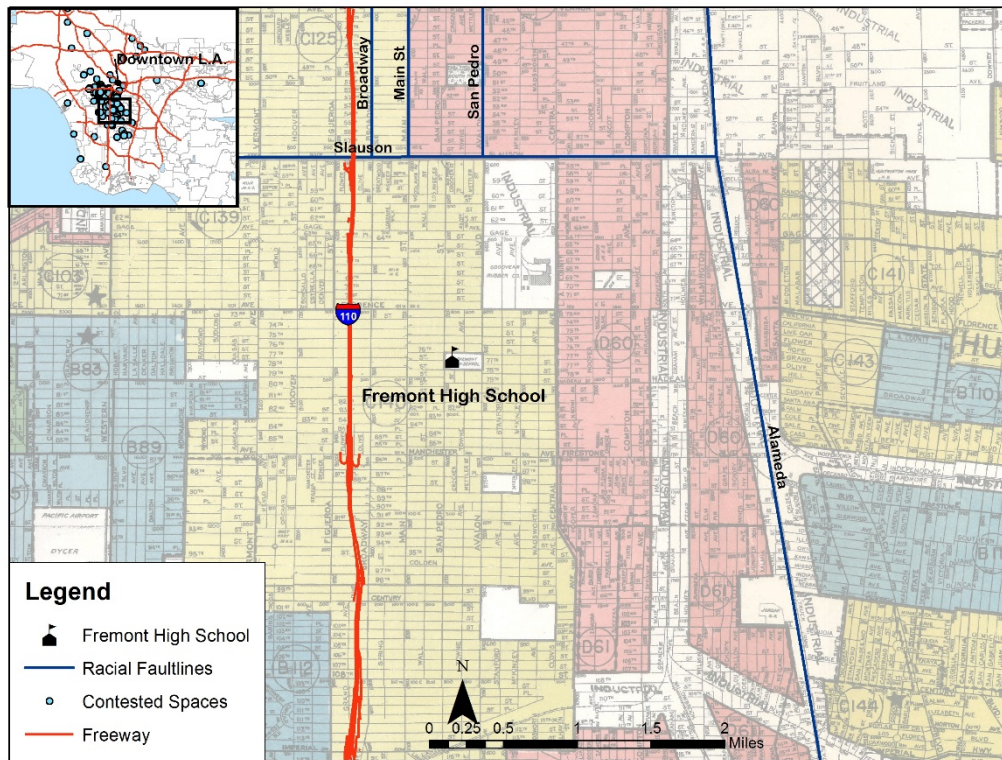


FIGURE 2-7 1937 HOLC MAP WITH POSITION OF FREMONT HIGH SCHOOL AND RACIAL FAULTLINES⁷⁸

These bald appraisals and racial judgments controlling access to insurance and investment ensured that white communities in places such as South Central would fight like hell to hold the boundaries, and if that failed, flee to new-built areas still graded green and blue. Real estate men worked along the edge of this dialectic between use value and exchange value, selling a home to be cherished but whose equity would be protected:

And this is the atmosphere that the broker and salesman must absorb. It is the air he must breathe. He is not selling bricks and mortar or shingles and siding, but "Home." He is not a salesman taking orders, but a missionary, a pioneer with a vision ... leading on to new fields and frontiers (Abrams (1955, 147) quoting Professor Nelson North (1938, 139)).

⁷⁸ HOLC map courtesy of LaDale Winling, downloaded from Urban Oasis, accessed 14 December 2013.
<http://www.urbanoasis.org/projects/holc-fha/digital-holc-maps/>

This brings us back to Lefebvre's argument about the commodification and development of social space (2003). He writes '...planning becomes an exchange value. The project of developers presents itself as opportunity and place of privilege: the place of happiness in a daily life miraculously and marvellously transformed...Here is the context, the setting, the means of your happiness' (Lefebvre 2003, 84). The logics of white supremacy dictated that this context be a white one, thus homes as the 'place of privilege: the place of happiness' needed to be preserved as much as homes as investments and defences against their 'infiltration' were necessary:

The National Association of Home Builders urged forming "homes associations" with "enforcement functions, developing prestige for the builder." The homeowner was assured of "enhancing and protecting his investment, enforcing protective covenants, promoting community activities, insuring stable and attractive neighborhoods" (Abrams (1955, 147) quoting National Association of Home Builders Bulletin No. 3 (1947)).

The weight of white opinion, institutional controls and government support seemed to be tightening the white noose around Black districts.

THE FINAL PUSH: POST WWII STRUGGLE

Instead, the upheaval of World War II would bring the final push to end *de jure* residential segregation. The legal and national struggle coordinated by the NAACP was supported by multiple local grass-roots efforts across the country such as that of the Home Protective Association (HPA) in Los Angeles, which helped support and publicise individual cases and build the political will necessary to achieve such a radical change. Like the Homeowner Associations of the 1920s, and led by some of the same people, the HPA was primarily a movement of homeowners. Yet it drew

from the experiences of its members politicised through the increasingly radical and broad-based organising work that had developed through the 1930s and early 1940s, joining the fight against covenants to a much broader discourse of rights and notions of citizenship than the narrow class solidarity attempted by the homeowner associations in 1926. In doing so they staked their counterhegemonic ideological claims to a right to own land and to a position of respect within an American community still imagined as belonging only to whites. Strategically they would attack restrictive covenants, the principal legal underpinning of segregation, and thereby bring down the government regulations promoting their use.

Two key organisations that set the stage for the final struggle against restrictive covenants were the National Negro Congress (NNC) and the National Victory Committee (NVC). Founded in 1936 at a convention of ‘more than five thousand men and women-secretaries and social workers, labour leaders and preachers, politicians and doctors’, the NNC was partially formed in response to a perceived weakness of the NAACP, and attempted to bring the various strands of Black struggle together, from the communist party to organised labour (long resistant to integration) and traditional Black organisations (Bates 1997, 360, Flamming 2005, Gellman 2012). In the words of A. Phillip Randolph, elected its president:

Its intention was to "mobilize and rally power" in the community around "a militant program" all black Americans could endorse. The "all" included the 99 percent of the "Negro peoples" who "win their bread by selling their labor power (as quoted in Bates 1997, 360).

By 1939, the L.A. chapter had started a campaign to improve slum housing conditions that along with the campaigns around jobs, particularly domestic work, attempted to galvanise the masses of African Americans trapped in the ‘Black Belt’

(Bass 1960, Flamming 2005, Wittner 1970). Although it fell apart in 1940 under the pressures of red-baiting – indeed, for decades it was mischaracterised by multiple sources as a communist front organisation⁷⁹ – the NNC was a broad-based national organisation that for the first time had managed to build bridges between African-American activists and labour, as well as challenge the strategic primacy of older civil rights organisations such as the NAACP and Urban League (Bates 1997, Wittner 1970).

While marginally involved in the NNC (and often critical of what she called its ‘rabble-rousing policies’ (*CE* 2 May 1940)), Charlotta Bass would go on to master such tactics after founding the L.A. Negro Victory Committee (NVC) with Reverend Clayton Russell in 1941 (Freer 2005). Kurashige (2008) notes the NVC’s focus on the Black worker’s position in the war effort, and efforts to elicit struggle from a broader class position that gave it the ability to mobilise far larger demonstrations. One of the key campaigns led by Bass was to organise the community against job discrimination, particularly women. She and hundreds of other women flooded the government’s employment office, forcing them to lift the ban against African-American women in the war industries (Bass 1960, Freer 2005). Above all in such campaigns, the NVC pushed a variant of the ‘Double V’ slogan first coined by the Black newspaper, *The Pittsburgh Courier*, victory over racism at home and abroad (Kurashige 2008). The record of the NVC in the *California Eagle*

⁷⁹ Wittner (1970) describes various Cold War studies on communism that make this claim. His research, however, showed that in reality the CP played a minor role, and in fact the NNC enjoyed a broad base of support from the Left. He writes: ‘Among the prominent non-Communists who spoke at or sent messages of greeting to its meetings were Franklin Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt, Fiorello LaGuardia, John L. Lewis, Norman Thomas, Walter Reuther, Philip Murray, Walter White, Ralph Bunche and A. Philip Randolph’ (1970, 884). Bates (1997) notes the pivotal nature of this early study in transforming our historical understanding of the NNC’s relationship to the CP, as well as the nature of its work. Carol Anderson (2003) gives more details of the relationship between the two.

shall be treated in some detail as Bass ensured covenants always remained as part of the struggle, even as she hammered on the contradictions of a war abroad against the fascism of the Nazis while white supremacy and Jim Crow continued unchallenged at home.

The war changed the face of Los Angeles, bringing a new wave of internal migrants to Los Angeles seeking work in the wartime industries (although people of colour would face uphill battles to be hired, even in the lowest positions). Between 1940 and 1944, the African American population increased from 75,000 to 134,000 – 78.2 percent – while by 1 January, 1945, the Los Angeles Housing Authority had approximately 100,000 unfilled housing applications pending (Holtzendorff 1945). Although the *California Eagle* did not join the drum beat against the Japanese, its pages were silent through their removal to concentration camps. African Americans moved into the homes they left behind, yet even the rechristening of Little Tokyo as Bronzeville did not provide enough housing for the thousands seeking a home (Bass 1960).

Relief for the poor and working class from the desperate over-crowding and slum conditions became a priority for the NVC, and they focused their energies on ending racial quotas in the new public housing being constructed.⁸⁰ In laying out a plan around which to organise community action, the goals could not be more distinct from the homeowner efforts of the 1920s to lay claims to integration based on the worth of their property:

⁸⁰ Los Angeles was extremely reluctant to build social housing, and the housing authority continually faced charges of communism for its activities (Lynell 1995). Struggles over public housing never took on the scale or resonance that they did in East Coast cities as in the end, only 21 projects of 8,000 apartments were built (Research Group on the Los Angeles Economy 1989).

Emergency construction of additional Federal Housing projects on the Eastside.

Conversion of all large buildings on the Eastside as small apartment units or dormitories.

Immediate occupancy by Negroes and other minority groups of houses vacant by the score across the "Main Street" ghetto borderline.

Removal of all housing project "Quota systems" and removal of property race restrictions from all Los Angeles property (*CE* 22 July 1943).

This was sent to the city housing authority, the mayor and the Board of Supervisors.

Radical in most ways apart from its geography, it most likely reflects

African-American fears of a hostile white community in confining its first three demands to housing in areas within and alongside race boundaries. The fight to end all racial covenants remained a key but small component of this broad-based struggle for housing. After Bass's convening of a roundtable of the NNC, the NAACP, the Negro Victory Committee, the *California Eagle*, and the *Sentinel* on the subject of both housing conditions and workplace discrimination, the *Eagle* re-appropriates war terminology and connects African-American struggle to that being fought in Europe: 'Big guns of Eastside mass pressure will be directed against Housing restrictions which bottle up Negro workers into an area which is the center of slum housing and bum sanitation.... Such a move is declared to be vital war necessity' (*CE* 11 December 1942).

Through the lifetime of the NVC, it was the job and public housing campaigns that would introduce ever more confrontational tactics, and win very real concessions. Based at the People's Independent Church of Christ headed by the charismatic Clayton Russell, their mobilisation tactics would prefigure the better-known civil rights movements. A member describes their operations:

You had the outline of an organization and the framework, but the actual operation of the organization was done by four people. And it would be our job to outline the strategy for a given campaign and take it before the people. This is because the organization as a whole cannot be the administrator. You have to create the program for the people to follow. So you have to say, 'this is what we're going to do' and then go out and sell it to the people and then make it a reality. So, for example, we would call a mass meeting for a Monday because we had a base, and we could send the people home from church on Sunday morning and they could pass the word and have a lot of people at Independent for a night mass meeting (Interview with Welford Wilson, conducted by E. F. Anderson (1980, 114).

In 1943, the NVC, the NAACP and organised labour, 'stormed the City Council chambers' to demand the approval of the new public housing project in Watts without race restrictions, and an investigation of the white groups working to prevent it. As Bass remembers:

In the midst of the heated discussion some twenty or more Negro youths entered the City Council chambers, marched up front, surrounded the City Council members, marched back again up and down the aisles. They were very orderly. There was no shouting, no haranguing. But there was something about them that made everyone understand they meant business. They carried banners with such slogans as: "Fight Hitler, Not Each Other"; "The Four Freedoms, Not Race Restrictions"; "Homes For All War Workers"; "Let's Restrict Restrictions"; "Freedom For All"; and the like.

These marchers were members of the NAACP Youth Council, and they staged their parade under the leadership of John Kinloch, their president. This was the first time the City Hall was ever picketed from within. It marked the beginning of a long battle for that particular area (Bass 1960, 108).

This was on the heels of a 500-strong meeting the night before following the call of NVC leader Reverend Russell, prompting Bass to write an article in the same issue of the *Eagle* with the headline 'Mass Meet – People's Weapon'. It is clearly in response to an ongoing argument over tactics:

I have heard some protests against the practice of "calling mass meetings." It is alleged in certain cantankerous quarters that nothing is done through the vulgarly public process of the mass meeting. It is further complained that the same people always speak and always say the same things.

I suppose the continued insistence upon every democratic right can become monotonous to those really uninterested in their attainment (*CE* 4 November 1943).

The campaign, led by the NVC and NAACP, would succeed in forcing the Los Angeles Housing Authority to apologise for the limited housing and liberalise (though not entirely dismantle) their racial quota system. Mass meetings, pickets, and confrontation proved to be effective in certain situations.

For the first time, the *Eagle* begins regularly reporting on how covenants – and police brutality – are affecting other communities of colour and building solidarity with them.⁸¹ This perhaps reflects a growing broad understanding of white supremacy's nature as Bass and others continued to pound on the parallels between Nazi white supremacism and that of Los Angeles homeowners:

Negroes must make it hot for all those fascist minded forces which would bottle up American citizens into an over-congested slum area just to placate a Hitlerite theory of race superiority.

Pointing out that the health of war workers is seriously endangered by the housing restrictions which render fully 95 per cent of Los Angeles "verboten" to Negroes... (*CE* 29 July 1943).

In a later issue, Bass writes:

On the one hand, there is the Ku Klux Klan, the National Rifle Association, and the scores of race property restriction organizations...

⁸¹ Police brutality was an ongoing problem seen in the pages of the *Eagle*, and exploded against the Mexican-American community in this period when a group of youths were railroaded into a conviction of murder in the infamous Sleepy Lagoon case, and again when white sailors rioted in the Mexican-American community beating up any youth found in a zoot suit – best known as the 'zoot-suit riots' as they were titled in the white press. For more on these incidents see Acuña (1972), Griffith (1960), and Sanchez (1993). Charlotta Bass worked with the Mexican American community to hold several public forums and protests around these events (Bass 1960).

On the other hand, there is the labor movement, both CIO and AFL, the Negro people, the Jewish and Mexican minorities. These forces compose the basic win-the-war element of our city. These are the workers who build the ships, guns, planes of victory. These are the legions of patriots who will fight for the reality of the Four Freedoms, and understand within their own lives, the menace of fascism.

In the middle, there is a bulk of Americans dangerously open to the fascist incitement of the racists (*CE* 11 November 1943).

From among the African-American community, the war brought a great surge of support for organizations fighting for civil rights. Nationally, for example, the NAACP went from 50,000 members in 1940 to 500,000 members in 1945 (Verney 2006). Much as the NAACP, NNC, NVC, and the *California Eagle* attempted to frame the issues of jobs and housing in terms of the anti-fascist war effort, however, they foundered against a commonly shared bedrock of belief in the white community about white Americanism and peace through segregation.

On 28 October, 1943, the *Eagle* reprinted a letter from the South L.A.

Homeowner's Association:

AMERICAN LEGION HALL
IMPERIAL BLVD. BETWEEN MAIN AND
BROADWAY

Protect Your Home--Emergency Action Necessary. Protect Your Home Against the Encroachment of Non-Caucasian People. The Area Between 98th and 104th Street and Avalon and Clovis Aves. Has Been Designated by the National Housing Administration as a Non-Restricted Area with 465 United to be Erected Immediately.

MASS MEETING. October 26th, 8 p.m.

American Legion Hall – Imperial Blvd. – Between Main and Broadway.
Attend This Meeting and Help the War Effort by Keeping Peace at Home.

SOUTH LOS ANGELES HOME
OWNERS ASSOCIATION.

George M. Blakesley, President.

Ward Printer

10202 S. Main Street.

The *Eagle* had uncovered the Association's leadership, which included a real estate broker, and called on the city council to investigate the group for libel, sedition, and the sowing of race hatred when such could endanger the war effort (*CE* 28 October 1943). Such letters and leaflets underline the explicitly spatial form that racial struggle took along the clearly demarcated boundaries of streets, neighbourhoods, and cities – white communities defining themselves by the racial faultlines separating them from all others.

The Great Depression had not slowed the push to insert or renew race restrictions across the city, nor did the war. In 1941 major effort to renew covenants across the disputed West Jefferson district took place (Green 1946). In March 1942, the *Maywood-Bell Southeast Herald* published the leading headline 'Keep Maywood White'. Bass quotes extensively from the editorial, which exemplifies the lived experience of property value's dual nature – their exchange value as investment and their use value in social reproduction:

Within the next few weeks one section of the community will be definitely threatened with the moving in of undesirables since race restrictions run out in this section, and we understand that there are people just waiting to move in.

After they are in, it will take the moving of heaven and earth to remove them.

Race restrictions concern each and every one of us. If you are interested in saving your investment, if you are interested in preserving that for which you have labored many years; if you are interested in keeping Maywood Caucasian and the type of community that you can be proud of raising your children in, then you will get on the band wagon and help win the fight which immediately confronts us.

Contact the Maywood Chamber of Commerce, or the chairman of the Race Restriction Program, and I am sure your help will be appreciated (Bass 1960, 103).

A letter from the University Center Cultural Committee shows the ways that the professional language of ‘infiltration’ and ‘absorption’, race, and property values found in the HOLC maps has been picked up and re-used:

The colored population of Los Angeles is increasing by leaps and bounds, an illustration of which increase can be found at Jefferson Street and [4-B] Grand Avenue at any hour of any day, and the problem of housing them has indeed become acute.

The above area is extremely vulnerable to infiltration and absorption as an additional colored residential district. Unless the property owners immediately take steps to prevent it such an absorption can occur and it can be depended that property and income values will immediately drop 50 to 75 per cent.

A group of your neighbors have agreed to re-restrict and attempt to protect their property values providing you will do likewise.

A strictly confidential conference on the subject has been arranged to be attended by property owners or their authorized representatives only (*CE* 29 July 1943).

In November, a meeting occurred in Culver City ‘Under the banner "God Bless America with Life, Liberty and Justice for All"' with the purpose of ‘restricting Negroes from living in Culver City, and using the air raid wardens of that city to distribute petitions to the people in the areas where the tract restrictions had expired or were about to expire’ (*CE* 18 November 1943). African Americans were clearly not included in the banners ‘for All’. Another ‘anti-Negro’ mass meeting was held in Watts the next week hosted by the Boilermaker’s Union (*CE* 24 November 1943).

Legal actions continued through the war – a mimeographed white homeowner association letter to its members highlights the white position in opposition to all others: ‘The property on the North West corner of 21st and La Sale owned by the Burtons, who have betrayed their neighbors by selling to Chinese, is

now being occupied by the new owners'.⁸² It is a calling out, a reminder of the race covenants and their importance to property values, and a notice of legal action. A memo from Loren Miller from the mid-40s shows 43 pending covenant cases from Los Angeles, involving 93 parcels.⁸³ Sometime after this list was drawn up, the white West Adams Improvement Association filed suit against a number of Black families for violation of covenants – it included some of the wealthiest and most famous African Americans in the nation. Hattie MacDaniel had already won an Oscar for her role as the mammy in *Gone With the Wind* (1939) when neighbours filed lawsuit to force her, along with fellow African American actresses Ethel Waters, Louise Beavers and a number of other Hollywood figures and professionals out of their homes (*CE* 24 March 1943). In December, a crowd of almost 500 met at the call of the NAACP to raise money and decide on other means of support for a family who had just lost their homes after losing another race restriction battle in court (*CE* 9 December 1943). The *Eagle* reports from notes taken from the white Property Owners Association's meeting:

Chairman Dye appealed Friday evening for a fund of \$2500.00 to keep Negroes out of "white areas." One member, Mrs. Lucille Haber, told how she' had sent all the way to Washington, D. C, to establish information that two women living at 5879 Crocker St. were Negroes; She could not tell for sure by the color of their skin. Three Negro families in Belvedere Gardens were evicted, another member reported. Law suits are being filed against all former owners of property south of Slauson Ave., between Central and Hooper Aves., who have sold to Negroes. Some of the property involved was first sold to Negroes more than fifteen years ago (*CE* 24 August 1944).

⁸² WWII-era letter from Adams to Washington Association to members, *LMP* Box 5, Folder 6.

⁸³ Memo on Pending Restrictive Covenant Cases, undated, *LMP* Box 42, Folder 3.

The hysteria at the prospect of ‘invasion’ is very clear. Drawing from the *Eagle’s* reporting, and far from complete, Figure 2-8 is still able to show how whites were organising to protect the boundaries of their communities in Central and South L.A.:

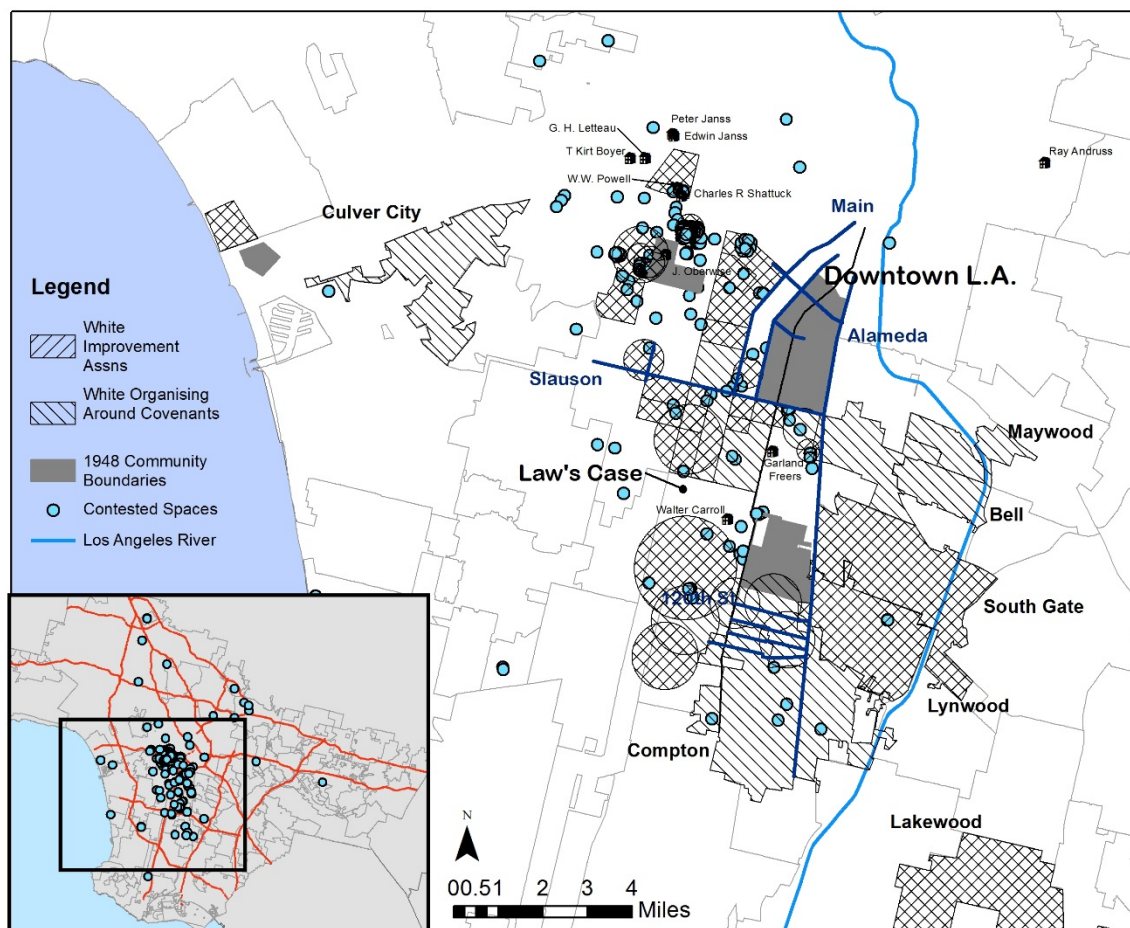


FIGURE 2-8 MAP OF WHITE ORGANISING EFFORTS THROUGH 1948

The HPA⁸⁴

Signalling a feeling that the NVC was not sufficient in confronting restrictive covenants, a joint meeting was held in the *Eagle* building between Black activists, labour unions and welfare organisations in August of 1944 (*CE* 2 August 1944). This was the beginning of the Home Protective Association (HPA/HOPA), an

⁸⁴ The Home Protective Association is also at times referred to as the HOPA by the *California Eagle*.

organisation that would meet regularly on Fridays in the *Eagle* offices until restrictive covenants were struck down just under four years later (Bass 1960). It signals in some ways a considered return to the organising of homeowners who it saw as its base, while still remaining committed to, and in active solidarity with, a broader struggle.

Bass served as the president, the secretary and treasurer were both women, as were four of the five members of the executive committee. They decided to focus on one particular case, that of Anna and Henry Laws. The couple had built their own home on a lot they had owned for nine years. Two realtors with no direct interest in the property brought them to court, able to show that in 1923 the Bank of Italy had included race restrictions in the tract's original plans (Bass 1960; *CE* 3 September 1942). The Laws had bought the land believing it to be restriction free, but were willing to fight their whole way (Bass 1960). At the time that the HPA formed, the Laws were living in their car under a court order to vacate their home. The NAACP had been involved to some extent in their case but had advised them to move. Bass quotes a portion of the unnamed lawyer's letter (though almost certainly from Thomas L. Griffiths, head of the local NAACP branch) to the Laws:

I have been seriously considering just whether or not it wouldn't be for the best interest of all of us, that you endeavor to locate elsewhere ... I am suggesting, therefore, that you avoid contempt proceedings, and move instead ... You may desire to dispose of your property, and if so, Mr. Boyer or Mr. Freers could be of some assistance in finding you buyers (Bass 1960, 109).

A remarkable letter considering that Mr. Boyer and Mr. Freers were the realtors who had brought suit against the Laws in the first place. But Bass and others believed this was a case they could fight all the way to the Supreme Court and win (Bass 1960, 105).

In terms of strategy, the committee was politically connected enough to draw one of L.A.'s council members to an early meeting to discuss what role the city council could play in the fight to end racial restrictions. The *Eagle* announced his answer in a front page headline: 'NO POWER' (CE 14 September 1944). After this setback, they seem to have returned to a less overtly political plan of action, gathering community support in preparation for the progress of the Laws case through the courts:

The committee voted to refer the case to the churches, the NAACP, which took action on the case on a previous occasion, and the Urban League. The committee will raise funds to assist in the expense of carrying this and other cases to the highest courts (CE 21 September 1944).

Yet it quickly moved to other forms of protest, and Bass remembers it from its beginnings as 'a group especially militant, Negro and white, organized under the name of The Home Protective Association' (Bass 1960, 110).

With the promise of support from the HPA, the Laws family moved back into their home even knowing that it would be considered contempt of court and they would almost certainly go to jail (Bass 1960). Another round of appeals commenced. Other homeowners suffering harassment and legal action found support from the HPA, and their weekly meetings were advertised on the front page of the *Eagle*. More covenant cases continued to be lost than won, but lawyers had begun moving beyond legal arguments to call witnesses on overcrowding and conditions in the Black belt, such as Allen C. Woodard III, a local real estate broker who testified that all properties not covered by restrictive covenants in the area were already inhabited by African-American families (CE 16 November 1944).

In November 1944 the HPA and NVC co-sponsored a rally with the theme of "Restrictive Covenants Are Sabotage" (*CE* 23 November 1944). Speakers included attorneys, radio personalities, and a member of the California Assembly, and present were CIO reps and Loren Miller, who would go on to argue the test cases before the US Supreme Court for the NAACP. In December 1944, the HPA laid out its fight on two fronts. The first was educational:

The 'people must be taught through education that this country is a democracy, a real democracy.

To promote this educational propaganda the HOPA plans to hold meetings in every section of the city – in halls, auditoriums, churches, school buildings, homes – everywhere a meeting can be held. We propose to have speakers, white and black, from every minority group give heart-to-heart talks on the absurdity of fostering this horrible Fascism at home, while hypocritically- supporting our boys fighting Fascism in Europe and Japan (*CE* 7 December 1944).

The second was in the courts and in an interesting aside, 'The HOPA does not advocate violence of any kind. We shall vigorously oppose anything of the kind. But we do plan to unite all the legal forces of the city, of the state, and of the country, if necessary, on our side' (*CE* 7 December 1944).

A conference in February 1945 revealed the number of organisations that felt housing was a primary issue: the sponsors included the HPA along with the National Lawyers Guild, Council for Civic Unity, Catholic Interracial Council, NAACP, Urban League, Los Angeles Industrial Union Council-C.I.O., ACLU, and American Veterans Committee among others.⁸⁵ The panels focused on legal, legislative, political, and educational strategies whose findings fell into two basic categories, that of support for concrete policies and bills that ended de jure segregation through

⁸⁵ 'Proceedings of the Conference on Housing and Racial Discrimination' Saturday, 24 February 1945, 1st Congregational Church of Los Angeles. *LMP* Box 5 Folder 6.

covenants and appraisals, new laws that outlawed discrimination, and the creation of more housing to relieve the desperate problem of overcrowding, such as the following recommendations:

- That the National Housing Authority immediately program 40,000 public housing units and 14,000 private homes, all of which shall be made available to all races.
- That FHA policies and procedures be clearly formulated so that the agency will cease:
 - the extension of racial restrictive covenants in new areas.
 - basing the guaranteeing of loans on the use of such covenants;
 - referring to race in any form in the Underwriting Manual as relates to considering applicants for FHA mortgage loans.
- educating the people to the shocking discrimination, and unfair rationing of homes which exists for a group of our population ('Proceedings of the Conference on Housing and Racial Discrimination' 1945).

Another interesting tactic to convince the whites of an entire tract to voluntarily opt out of their racial covenants showed a desire to win support among whites for integration that was never achieved. Another group of recommendations sought to both deconstruct and problematize the idea of race itself, while also educating whites on the bases of their own prejudices:

- That, as a means of confronting the fallacy of race ideology, in litigation, the question of race of each party be put to the test.
- The second aspect is that of helping the people of the community build a broad base of facts and ethical principles which will serve to govern their relationships to individuals and groups. We must throw out the myths of racial superiority. The facts of anthropology and biology regarding race need to become the active possession of everyone in the Los Angeles community. It is a long-time educational program which should be implemented immediately.

We cannot afford, nor do we really want, to continue to act on emotional, unexamined prejudices. Los Angeles does not need to repeat the patterns of older cities. Los Angeles can eliminate undemocratic and unfair residential segregation now ('Proceedings of the Conference on Housing and Racial Discrimination' 1945).

This early knowledge of L.A.'s new and different form to that of traditional East Coast cities shows both spatial awareness as well as the hope that the severest

segregation can be avoided, even as intellectual arguments are mobilised against crude biological determinism.

In line with the growing alliance-building that is here seen to be taking place, the HPA took seriously the need to reach out to other minority groups who also suffered under covenants. On 1 January 1945 they published a resolution in the *California Eagle* regarding the return of Japanese citizens interned during the war. Acknowledging that Japanese homes had primarily been occupied by African Americans during their absence, the HPA firmly supported their absolute right of return and called upon all levels of government to provide adequate housing both for those returning and those who would be evicted and unable to find new homes. They also actively invited Mexican, Chinese and all other minority groups to join them in another mass meeting to be held on the housing question (*CE* 1 January 1945). More and more, the *Eagle* also began covering to some extent covenant cases filed against Native Americans, Filipinos, and Koreans (see for example *CE* 28 August 1947).

An electoral strategy was also being brought to bear, as Bass decided to run for the city council seat of District 7 to bring visibility to their issues. She proceeded to make restrictions one of the principal topics of her campaign, pledging to end Jim Crow housing (*CE* 8 January, 1 March 1945). The other planks reflected what were viewed as the most pressing issues of the time:

1. Fight for postwar security
2. A building program for homes for all who need them, regardless of race, creed, or colour
3. Adequate health and recreational facilities
4. Adequate wages, and the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively
5. Reduce water, power, and light rates to the consumer
6. Clean the streets

7. A rehabilitation program for veterans (Bass 1960, 132).

Bass lost her bid for the council seat by a close margin (Bass 1960), even as conditions for African Americans and other minorities continued to worsen. NAACP President Griffith listed the conditions in yet another mass meeting:

racial and religious bigotry is increasing at an alarming rate ... Racial tensions are mounting, thousands of Negroes are being laid off without regard to seniority of war needs, returning Negro war veterans are being discriminated against, police brutality is increasing, many Negro families are being evicted from their homes because of restrictive covenants (*CE* 9 August 1945).

The struggle was coming to a boil on all fronts as conferences took place on rent hikes, housing covenants and jobs – African Americans were being laid off in massive numbers. By August 1945, 4,000 African Americans had reportedly been let go from central war work (*CE* 30 August 1945):

According to the Urban League survey, North American reported 16,789 white and 1349 colored workers were employed there at its highest peak in 1943. Personnel directors cite that 10,883 whites and 1307 Negroes have been laid off to date. Only 87 Negroes are employed at present, mostly semi-skilled classifications (*CE* 8 November 1945).

Despite demands for city action and the packing of city hall, the city failed to implement any kind of action around discrimination (*CE* 15 November 1945; Kurashige 2008). The HPA held regular ‘mass meetings’ and packed the courtroom for each appearance of the Laws family. As the end of 1945 drew near, the *Eagle* notes that the city itself labelled the housing crisis ‘a disaster’. Tensions almost reached the level of riot when police officers killed an African-American soldier just returned from the front (*CE* 29 November 1945).

Meanwhile the Laws’ case was also reaching the end of the appeals process. On 30 November 1945, the judge ruled that the Laws would have to vacate their

home or go to jail. The work of the HPA in building a labour-community alliance in their support bore fruit in an impressive show of solidarity when the CIO staging a ‘mammoth parade’ of up to 1,000 people who marched from their offices to the Laws’ home, stopping at the judge’s quarters and the county jail on the way. Pickets were also held in front of the offices of the two real estate agents suing the Laws (*CE* 20 December 1945). Yet in the end, Henry Laws and his daughter Pauletta, both workers in the defence industry, were arrested for contempt. Pauletta’s brother and husband were serving in the armed forces, and came home after the war to find their family still imprisoned (Bass 1960). Upon Henry and Pauletta’s release, they continued the struggle to live in their home. Their willingness to be jailed and the mass marches in their support marshalled by the HPA working with labour seemed to be much closer to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s than anything that had come before.

The Sugar Hill cases also came to trial in December, and 250 people packed the courtroom to support some of the most famous members of their community – and to see and be seen (Watts 2007, *California: Victory on Sugar Hill 1945*). The case was won in December 1945 but immediately appealed by the homeowners’ group. In their defence brief to the State Supreme Court, Loren Miller on behalf of Hattie McDaniel, Louise Beavers, and Ethel Waters, appealed to the recently ratified United Nations Charter of Human Rights. Their claim that the UN treaty guaranteed them freedom from discrimination made the *New York Times*, though the handful of paragraphs were surely fewer than any other story covering a major law case involving an Oscar winner (3 October 1946).

Whites continued organising. The San Fernando Valley Council on Race Relations revealed that groups had begun soliciting signatures on restrictive

covenants in a coordinated effort to blanket the entire San Fernando Valley with restrictions (*CE* 5 June 1946). Meetings were called by homeowner associations in Lynwood, Ocean Park, and Huntington Park to start drives for the re-covenanting of properties, though the Lynwood and Ocean Park meetings at least were disrupted by activists and veterans who ‘made it clear that they had not fought to destroy fascism abroad only to have it camping on their doorsteps at home’ (*CE* 22 August, 19 September 1946). A clipping from the *Southwest Wave* preserved by Loren Miller shows how groups like the Property Owners Protective Association were trying to expand the protections of their property even beyond covenants:

With individual property owners now forced to institute expensive lawsuits to enforce property restrictions, proponents are seeking a more effective way of enforcing restrictions, possibly through governmental channels’.⁸⁶

Others were not leaving it to ‘expensive lawsuits’, a case of arson claimed a home and the lives of a family of four in Fontana (Bass 1960, M. Davis 2006), and numerous cross burnings and hate crimes took place (*CE* 11 April, 16 and 23 May, 15 August, 12 December 1946). A handful of letters from homeowners to Governor Earl Warren, all that have been saved as a representative sample, reveal the widespread feelings of a community under attack. Several discuss it as a war, one family writes asking Warren to please stop the invasion of Negroes as ‘the Mexican situation is bad enough, but to add negroes!!! Please don’t let California be ruined’.⁸⁷ This echoes the anger of those who feel they have been trapped in areas where all whites have fled in the face of the Black ‘invasion’, all of them mentioning the ruin

⁸⁶ *Southwest Wave*, 22 February 1945. *LMP* Box 43, Folder 3.

⁸⁷ *EWP*, Negroes, dated 31 August 1943; 9 November 1943; 9 December 1944; 27 February 1946;

of property values associated with the visibility and stereotyped behaviour of African Americans.

Meanwhile, African Americans continued organising. The housing committee of a renewed National Negro Congress⁸⁸ began meeting in the Eagle offices jointly with the HPA in August 1946, and together they were once more organising protection for homeowners in the face of mobs as Bass had done in 1914.⁸⁹ Working with an ally in the City Housing Commission, they discovered that the city of L.A. had lost 40 percent of the federal appropriation for slum clearance by declaring that L.A. had no slums. In the words of their source: ‘They refused to let us make a survey of the city’s districts ... They said there were only dirty N----, Mexicans, Chinks, and Japs in those poor districts and they ought to be made to get along the best they could’. He continued that only 1 percent of the privately built housing was available for African Americans, and that real estate people ‘said that they wanted to make everything as unpleasant for Negroes in L.A. as possible so they would go back to Louisiana and Georgia’ (CE 28 November 1946).

Strategic research carried out by reporters and HPA members brought additional insight into the mechanisms, and profitability, of renewing restrictive covenants in bulk across entire areas. In 1947, a Compton City Council member had come up with a scheme to use unemployed vets to solicit restrictive covenants. They were to ask each white homeowner for a fee of \$10 fee to set up the covenants, part of the money was to go to the building of a war memorial, and the vet himself was to

⁸⁸ See Carol Anderson (2003) for discussion of the complicated internal politics of the National Negro Congress and its relationship to the Communist Party and to other civil rights organisations like the NAACP.

⁸⁹ In November 1946, a group of men organised to stay with the Williams family, a mother and daughter who had been terrorised since their move into a white neighbourhood (CE 28 November 1946).

receive \$1 from each transaction. When popular pressure forced the withdrawal of this scheme, the vets were referred to M.C. Friel and Associates for work, an outfit whose unsuspecting secretary gave a great deal of interesting information to the *Eagle* reporter who called her. She stated that Friel and Associates was based in Hayward, but had been brought to Compton by the Junior and Senior Chambers of Commerce – and that they were working in several other towns. She revealed that the FHA had promised that a new housing development in the area would be restricted to whites only if the rest of the area could be ‘sewed up tight’ with blanket restrictions.

Starting point for the covenants she reported, is 126th street -- "that's where we hold the line. We're not going to let them (non-Caucasians) get beyond that point"

Among the surrounding areas to be covered are Willowbrook, Lugo, what is known as the Sativa areas, and Gardens (*CE* 10 July 1947).

It was officially denied by the FHA, a denial clearly not believed by the *Eagle's* editors. The city of Compton was not alone in its efforts to maintain restrictions – Pasadena was also sued in October 1947 for inserting racial restrictive covenants in the deeds of properties acquired through tax defaults (*CE* 16 October 1947).

The *Eagle* uncovered another set of connections between homeowner associations, the real estate industry, and finance in analysing another restriction drive:

Actively directing the drive as secretary of the Southwestern Wilshire Protective Association is real estate man Charles R. Shattuck, a brother of Edward S. Shattuck, vice chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. President of the racist outfit is W. W. Powell,⁹⁰ Vice president

⁹⁰ The homes of both Shattuck—who would go on to lead CREA and play a prominent role on the Los Angeles Real Estate Board—and Powell can be seen in the map in Figure 2-8. Both are very close to the flurry of lawsuits in the Crestmoor Tract and Sugar Hill.

of the Title Insurance & Trust Co. advertised as the "largest and oldest trust company pony in Southern California – assets \$31,000,000."

It has been estimated that this title company handles 90 percent of all restrictive covenant procedures in Los Angeles (*CE* 25 September 1947).

A report directly from the meeting showed that white property owners were continuing to call on a discourse of white patriotism in the defence of white neighbourhoods:

Shattuck urged his listeners on Wednesday night to fight these non-Caucasian residents, as a civic duty. "I could sell out", said he, with a fine show of patriotic martyrdom, "and buy a home somewhere else. That would be easy to do. But I wouldn't be doing my duty as a patriotic citizen if I did that' (*CE* 25 September 1947).

On a national level (spurred no doubt by the many member branches such as that in Los Angeles fighting tooth and nail against such covenants and the pressure of papers like the *Eagle*), the NAACP had been preparing for a final showdown on covenants for several years. In July 1945 they called a national two-day legal conference to plan and coordinate a strategy for bringing a strong enough case before the Supreme Court to win a decision finding racial covenants unconstitutional. Thirty-three people attended, including Loren Miller of Los Angeles, with Thurgood Marshall serving as special counsel.

The NAACP and the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination sponsored a second conference on 'The Elimination of Restrictive Covenants' in Chicago in May 1946, supported 'by more than forty labour, civic, religious, housing, and veterans groups' (Vose 1959, 73). In January 1947, another meeting of key lawyers took place, where it was agreed to carefully select the case which would be submitted to the Supreme Court to ensure that it had the best chance of winning. Rather than waiting, however, the defence lawyers in *Shelley v Kraemer*

submitted their covenant case for certiorari, prompting the NAACP to do the same with the most promising case of their own. The two teams were friendly, but worked separately. In September 1947, another one-day conference with 44 in attendance was held to plan the best strategy for the Supreme Court argument. Many of the arguments and supportive briefs were sociological, establishing the claim that covenants were not a private but a public issue (Vose 1959).

With test cases on the constitutionality of restrictive covenants pending before the Supreme Court, it finally felt that the tide was turning. A local progressive judge, Stanley Mosk, threw out a total of ten restrictive covenant cases (*CE* 30 October, 6 November 1947). More good news came when US Attorney General filed a plea with the Supreme Court in support of the NAACP position (*CE* 13 November 1947). The *Eagle* notes the national and international pressure required to bring such an action about:

It condemned such agreements as violative of the constitution and the Civil Rights Act, and contrary to the public policy of the United States.

The first instance of government intervention in a court case involving racial discrimination, the action followed on the heels of the publication of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

Several weeks ago Clark stated he was "embarrassed" by the action of the NAACP in filing an appeal with the United Nations to act on Jimcrow oppression in this country.

In the aftermath of WWII fought against fascism and a Cold War politics in which the Soviet Union could point to unarguable human rights abuses against African Americans in their condemnations of American capitalism, pressure was on the government to provide some showing of movement (C. Anderson 2003, Horne 1995). These international forces had little effect on its citizens, however. Even as the legal battle played out in the Supreme Court, a mob of more than 100 people

formed on the lawn of Mr and Mrs King with the following message: ‘We don’t want n---- here. This time we are giving a peaceful warning. The next time it won’t be so peaceful’ (CE 4 December 1947). The drives to blanket neighbourhoods with restrictions continued, in February of 1948 the *Eagle* highlighted such an attempt by the West Pacoima Park Property Owners Association, meeting in the Pacoima Chamber of Commerce building (CE 19 February 1948).

In spite of widespread grassroots opposition, and horror, the Supreme Court ruled restrictive covenants unconstitutional on 5 May, 1948 in the landmark case *Shelley v Kraemer*.

WHITE REACTION

The battle was won both in the courts, through pointing out the contradictions between restrictive covenants and constitutionally guaranteed rights, and through political and social pressure around covenants’ discriminatory and dangerous social impact. Gramsci says of legal struggle that:

It is to be noted how lapses in the administration of justice make an especially disastrous impression on the public: the hegemonic apparatus is more sensitive in this sector, to which arbitrary actions on the part of the police and political administration may also be referred (Gramsci 1971, 246).

In this case, the public was to a limited extent the American people, but more importantly the international community working to form a broadly envisioned United Nations to stand against fascism and work towards world peace. In this conjuncture, African-American struggle proved visible and strong enough in their legal challenges to provoke a reversal by the US government in both policy and law

around race and property to maintain a semblance of legitimacy as a champion of democracy abroad. The feeling among African Americans was jubilation. In June 1948, the Eagle reported on the move-in day of an African-American family into a restricted tract as front page news. White feeling, however, was so strong that Mr. Kelley used a police escort to take the family in (*CE* 10 June 1948). Singer Nat King Cole also made front-page news as he moved into his own new home in the exclusive Hancock Park in the teeth of vocal protest from the Hancock Park Property Owners Association (*CE* 5 August 1948).

Thus, this shift in government policy did not correspond to an economic or ideological shift, even though it undercut the legitimacy of openly white supremacist viewpoints and the state-sanctioned ability to maintain exclusively white areas. White neighbourhood organisations continued to fight the legal battle to save racial covenants. In *Barrows v Jackson* they brought a lawsuit against the white seller for damages rather than the minority buyer. It lost before the California Supreme Court in January of 1951 (*CE* 18 January 1950). Eleven homeowner associations from Los Angeles filed official briefs in support of the plaintiffs when the case reached the Supreme Court. When it lost once more, a petition for a rehearing was filed by the L.A.-based attorneys that betrayed the level of desperation felt by their clients. It stated that the covenants were not due to simple ‘wilfulness’ but based upon ‘facts of life’. It quoted statistics, showing that murder and crime rates were higher in non-white areas, and to end it called upon the ultimate racist stand-by:

Every national Negro magazine known to petitioners on the news stands this month, June, contains one or more articles, either featuring or displaying intermarriage between Negroes and whites and in other ways illustrating the example being set for Negroes. There is no room in the philosophy being taught to Negroes for the white man’s personal freedom of choice of associates. This attitude among Negroes who move into white neighborhoods adds to the other factors which, equally understandably, make them

unwelcome neighbors (Petition for rehearing, *Barrows v Jackson* 9346 US 249 (1953), as quoted in (Vose 1959, 246).

Most white response to the loss of *Shelley v Kraemer* was not faced in the courts, however. The HPA also continued in operation into the 1950s, working to protect African Americans from violence after moving into their new homes along with other organisations such as the South Interracial Council (*CE* 9 September 1949, 16 March 1950). Following the May decision, 75 whites watched a 12-foot-high cross burn in Eagle Rock, while others made threatening phone calls and committed acts of vandalism (*CE* 16 September, 21 October, 18 November 1948). They hurled milk bottles from fast-moving cars, burned more crosses, joined mobs of 150 people to repeatedly threaten another family (*CE* 10 February, 18 August, 9 September 1949). In the last instance, police refused to disperse the mob, but confiscated the homeowner's gun instead. The *Eagle* reported the leaders of the group to be a C. C. Collins, white realtor, and Ben Fisher, apartment owner, and described how the police harassed those present to help protect the family:

Six members of the Southeast Interracial Council were present Saturday night. Whenever they tried to speak they were denounced as Communists. When two of them left the mob scene, they were followed and stopped by deputy sheriffs. The deputies, who had made no move to search any of the mobsters, frisked the council members, examined their identification data, and ordered them out of the neighborhood with the warning, "Don't come back, We know you guys just want to stir up trouble" (*CE* 9 September 1949).

In September of the following year, six people stood in front of the house while flames licked at the back and a family slept inside – the house had earlier been peppered with buckshot and the windows broken. They had started the fire next to the gas main, the only reason it did not explode was that the gas was not due to be turned on until the next day. The police and arson squad did not arrive until hours

after they had been called, and only after the *Eagle* had been called and several carloads of men had arrived to protect the home (*CE* 8 September 1950). More cases of threats, intimidation, mob activity, and arson were reported in the *Eagle* (19 October, 9 November, 23 November 1951, 23 September 1950).

In March 1952 a home on Dunsmuir Street was bombed, destroying the front of the house while the family slept in back, and part of the home across the street. Police stated the work was professional, and was the third bomb to have been exploded on the street. Residents had also received dozens of crude warnings, which they had turned over to the police. No arrests were made (*CE* 20 March 1952). The attacks, threats, invocation of the KKK, use of broken bottles, and tacks in lawns and on driveways continued through the 1950s. While the state could no longer openly maintain the spatial boundaries of the community of consent, it maintained neutrality as white communities took coercion into their own hands even as they blamed African Americans themselves for all violence: the hegemonic priority given the preservation of white space survived the shifts in moral consciousness brought by anti-fascist struggle and the removal of its legal supports. Police seemed to agree with the sentiments expressed by one of the leaflets being distributed en masse by one of the many white protection groups: 'It is true that Negroes have brought upon themselves criticism, hatred and distrust by forcing their way into neighbourhoods restricted against them' (*CE* 7 December 1950). Local papers helped fan fears with headlines like 'Migration Causes Big Jump in L.A.'s Negro Population', and graphics (such as that in Figure 2-9) showed how definitively African Americans were maintained as other, their arrival in 'a mounting tide' needing both quantification and action (Weeks 1956).

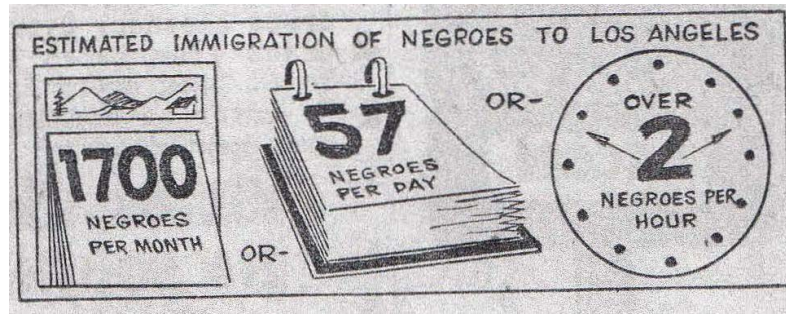


FIGURE 2-9 SCARE GRAPHIC FROM THE *MIRROR-NEWS* SHOWING 'NEGRO' MIGRATION⁹¹

The housing crisis deepened, with increasing violence against those moving into white neighbourhoods. Figure 2-10 maps the worst incidents against recognised racial faultlines and the HOLC map as an indicator of homogeneity of race and class, showing that only a few of them occurred along the fiercely held boundaries as could be expected. Instead, some of the most destructive anger is found in wealthier neighbourhoods, where owners had more to lose. Most also seemed directed against families moving into the middle of recognised white areas. The one recorded case of a family of four being burned to death occurred far to the east in the suburb of Fontana, after two of the town's deputies visited issuing warnings that they were 'out of bounds' and needed to leave the town.⁹² These incidents show exactly why movement out of the ghetto would still hug its boundaries, where the support and protection of other African Americans could be the difference between a fighting chance at keeping a new home, or being forced out through isolation, more extreme violence, and possibly death. This in turn ensured that rather than achieving integration, the ghetto simply spread, the spatialities of struggle further entrenching white fears of 'invasion' and their desperate search for possible ways to rebuild the political, legal and ideological supports for preserving white privileged space.

⁹¹ Weeks (1956)

⁹² *UCLA ACLU* Box 30, Folder 3.

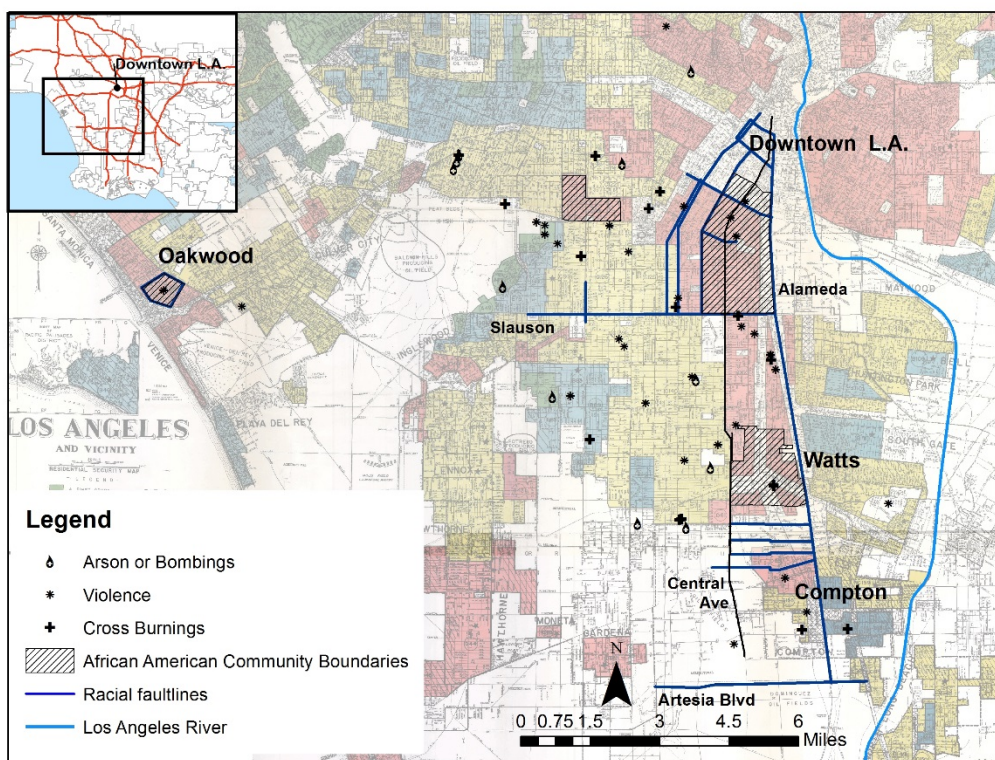


FIGURE 2-10 INCIDENT MAP SHOWING THE WORST VIOLENCE IN RELATION TO THE 1939 L.A. HOLC MAP⁹³

A series of interviews carried out by a Chicago sociologist Rose Helper in the mid-60s about this period give some sense of how the white community and the real estate professionals who served them experienced racial turnover in the neighbourhoods where such a wave was about to occur:

As the Negro movement comes closer, as rumors circulate about their having bought or being about to buy in the area, and as Negroes walk or drive up and down the streets, the people of the area become "concerned," "excited," "jittery," "disturbed," "troubled," "worried," "apprehensive," and "up in the air." Some owners and tenants leave. White people who ordinarily would buy in the area begin to hesitate. The broker's sales decrease or stop. This is the "doldrums," "twilight zone," "stagnation period," "stalemate period" - when white people will not buy and Negroes are not yet buying. Speculators begin to buy. Then a house or property is sold to a Negro, and the block is

⁹³ HOLC map courtesy of LaDale Winling, downloaded from Urban Oasis, accessed 14 December 2013.

<http://www.urban oasis.org/projects/holc-fha/digital-holc-maps/>

"broken." The exodus begins. Negroes may now occupy only two or three properties in the block, but, since probably a larger number of families are living there than before, there seem to be many Negroes in the area. White people become alarmed, put properties up for sale, and vacate housing. Some people cannot leave. Some remain on principle-those who will not sell their properties to Negroes, and those who see social good in an interracial community. Others who remain believe that they can "manage" the area so it will not go Negro or hope that some quota can be maintained (Helper 1969, 35).

CORE member Bruce Hartford belonged to one such family of activists. His memories of growing up in Leimert Park – a blue area on the HOLC maps as seen in Figure 2-11, and once a model of how to maintain a segregated high-value neighbourhood through covenants, deed restrictions, and a neighbourhood association – corroborates this story (Hise 1997).

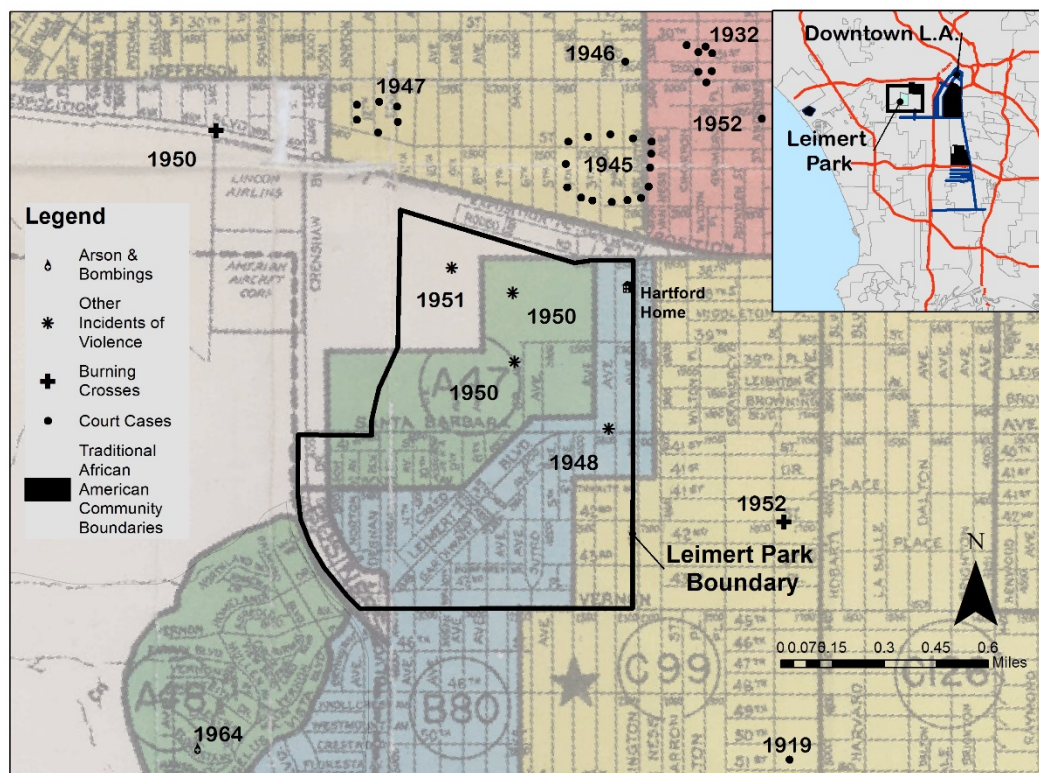


FIGURE 2-11 MAP OF LEIMERT PARK AND CONTESTATION OF SPACE IN RELATION TO THE 1939 L.A. HOLC MAP⁹⁴

Just under ten years after *Shelley v Kraemer* the ‘ghetto’ had moved from Main to the borders of Leimert Park, and his story shows just how quickly a whole block could change:

So when we moved in, the South Central ghetto was about seven blocks away. And over the course of time, each year it moved a block or two closer to us. So then one year, I remember one spring, I think it was ‘56 or ‘57, they "busted" our block. Meaning they sold a home to a Black family. And then every weekend over that summer, I’d be mowing the lawn and I’d see these real estate people come up and say, "Oh, Mr. Hartford (to my father of course) I am sure you know what’s happening here to the neighborhood. I know you have concerns. I see you have children, and you know what’s going to happen to the schools. And we really want to help you. We will buy your house, right now, today, write out a check for --" I guess it was around \$30,000. Now the house was worth \$40,000, probably. These are ballpark figures from a kid’s memory so probably not accurate.

⁹⁴ HOLC map courtesy of LaDale Winling, downloaded from Urban Oasis, accessed 14 December 2013.
<http://www.urban oasis.org/projects/holc-fha/digital-holc-maps/>

...over that one summer, just three months, they turned over every house on that block except ours and this Swedish family next door who refused to move. Now during that time, the white kids who were moving out, and the Black kids who were moving in, there was enormous tension, because the white families were losing the most valuable thing they ever had in their lives. They're white working class people. They're being driven out – as they see it – of their homes and losing a quarter of its value. Meanwhile, the Black families coming in, trying to get rid of the ghetto, and the ghetto is coming (Hartford 2002).

He describes a process of panic and loss and anger, in which fear of the ghetto and economic investment are inseparable but where speculators are really the bad guys. Hartford's vantage point as a committed civil rights activist allows him to see the tragedy of the inexorable expansion of the ghetto given white fear and the immense profits to be made buying from owners willing to sell at a loss then selling to buyers willing to pay a premium. This only became possible in a market where there existed the dually reinforcing belief that the race of a neighbourhood defined its value and whites' fear of all non-whites, alongside a population still trapped in overcrowded, unsafe and dangerous housing willing to pay more than they could afford to get out. Racial boundaries certainly meant big money to speculators, but it was more complicated, not least because most realtors and community builders distanced themselves as men of ethics from speculators and block busters (Helper 1969).

At least in some cases, the initial process of neighbourhood change seems to have been motivated by homeowner profit rather than panic. This was explained in 1950 by a representative from Neighborly Endeavours, Inc. of Leimert Park to a meeting of the Normandie Avenue Protective Association – so crowded that it had to be split and held in two sessions of about 150 people. It was chaired by a realtor named Ted Roko.

The trouble is not with the Negroes for wanting to live in a good neighbourhood. The trouble is with your selfish neighbors who want to sell

for an abnormally high price... That is why you must talk to your neighbors. Don't assume that they are going to do the right thing. Make it clear to them that you wouldn't hurt them by selling your property to a non-Caucasian and you expect them to play fair with you ... We're going to have to be good neighbors in this...

This experience has drawn us much closer together in Leimert Park. We had to buy up one piece of property and we're going to sue the person who sold it to a Negro. There are a lot of constructive things that we can do now that we are organized... We chose the name Neighborly Endeavors, Inc. because we realize that it is only through loving our neighbors that we are going to be able to protect our community. ... You will have to buy up this first piece of property which has been sold to a Negro. You may have to buy a few more.⁹⁵

There is not yet talk of speculators, rather of greedy neighbours. But it is the neighbourliness of it that disturbs most, because it is so clearly a matter of loving your white neighbours, protecting your white community – the boundaries of the community of consent could not be more clear. The threat from outside has brought its members closer together. It is not simply their property values that they are protecting, but their whiteness. They are not alone in cloaking their racism in such Christian language of brotherhood.⁹⁶

Tracking the operations of such groups through their experience of the backhand of such 'loving' organisations, the *Eagle* gives the following list:

The Neighborly Neighbors. The Neighborly Endeavor. The Ministers Association, the Margaret Hess Association and several others. The single purpose of all these groups is to prevent Negroes from moving into certain areas considered restricted by the leaders of the organization, or to force Negroes out by fair means or foul (*CE* 7 December 1950).

Nor had the organising activities of Neighbourly Endeavours Inc. to prevent sales to non-whites gone unnoticed (*CE* 5 June 1950). When an African-American family did move into the neighbourhood, the friendly people of Leimert Park responded by

⁹⁵ *JAF* Box 76.

⁹⁶ This dynamic is described by multiple studies of whiteness such as Ignatiev (1995) and Lipsitz (1998), see also Avila (2004) for cultural constructions of whiteness in the suburbs.

running a hose through a window one day while they were away, flooding the kitchen and cellar. Through the intercession of Bass, a 24-hour guard was mounted over the home (*CE* 30 June 1950). Perhaps this was the same family cited above who allowed their good neighbours to buy them out.

The responses of white homeowners that remained roughly within the law were remarkably parallel to that of the real estate profession, even down to language – not entirely surprising given the number of groups documented by the *California Eagle* where realtors held leading positions. The response of the California Real Estate Association was, on the one hand, to emphasise that the Supreme Court had not invalidated the restrictions themselves as owners were free to discriminate as they chose, the state simply could not enforce such covenants (*CREA Magazine* 10 August 1948). On the other hand, they launched a short-lived campaign to obtain a constitutional amendment to secure race restrictions. President Alfred Rea's address on the subject, mailed in a letter to every NAREB member board, is worth quoting at length:

For many decades prior to this recent decision the principle of law was well established that such restrictions, under proper conditions, were valid, and enforceable by the Court. Acting upon this long-established principle of law, millions of home owners of the Caucasian race have constructed or acquired homes in areas restricted against occupancy by Negroes. The practice of surrounding homes in such area with the security of such restrictions has become a traditional element of value in home ownership throughout this country.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court abovementioned have destroyed the values thus secured. The threat of occupancy by Negroes of property in such areas depreciates the value of all home properties and constitutes a direct deterrent to investment in the construction or acquisition of homes of superior quality whether large or small.

The unfortunate feature of the situation is that those who suffer most are the owners of comparatively modest homes.

The magnitude of the economic and social loss with which we are confronted is appalling. The widespread depreciation in value of homes, the

instability of home ownership, and the discouragement of construction and acquisition of homes are conditions that menace the family life of the nation as we have enjoyed it in the past. Additionally, the insistence of some Negroes upon moving into areas previously restricted exclusively to the occupancy of Caucasians will necessarily create racial tensions and antagonisms and do much harm to our nation's social structure. (*California Real Estate Magazine* September 1948).

While the constitutional amendment proved unworkable, the California Real Estate Board did not change its beliefs or practices. In 1950, a legal opinion was asked on whether a board could discipline a member for selling property in contradiction to its racial restrictions, the answer was a resounding yes (California Real Estate Association 1950).⁹⁷

They were also beautifully open in the August 1948 issue about how they could continue to restrict areas by race (and class) without using covenants:

Several proposals have been made for securing restrictions on ownership or occupancy which will not run afoul of the Supreme Court decisions.

1. Vesting title to an entire tract in a corporation owned by the residents of the tract
2. Putting up a cash bond with a homes association which would be subject to forfeiture in the event of occupancy of any home site by a person or persons not approved by the homes association...
3. Forming a homes association, the members of which are the owners of building sites within the residential tract, and prohibiting occupancy except to those persons or families who hold an occupancy permit issued by the homes association....

The advantage of the last alternative is that it will permit exclusion of undesirable whites. If fairly administered so as to exclude undesirable persons irrespective of race or color, no difficulty should be encountered in its enforcement (California Real Estate Association 1948, 10).⁹⁸

The white families like those remembered by Bruce Hartford (and members of Neighbourly Endeavours Inc.), did not move to the suburbs through a happy process

⁹⁷ Quoted in Cain Jr. (1964).

⁹⁸ Quoted in Cain Jr. (1964).

of choice and social upgrading. They felt they had been invaded and robbed by African Americans, pushed out of a community they had believed was protected by legal contract and worked hard to defend. It seems natural that most would approve of all of the above measures suggested by CREA as they would undoubtedly be seeking out new homes even more defensible than the old. Block by block struggle to maintain the racial boundaries 'scientifically' supported both by professional appraisal practices and a white nationalist-Christian rhetoric of patriotism and community caused a traumatic hardening of the lines between 'us' and 'them'. Capitalising on the fight against fascism in Germany, African-American struggle had forced varying levels of retreat from open white supremacy at home and neutrality from the law regarding segregation, a breach in the legal definitions of white community rights, but did not remove the economic foundation of such common sense nor the desire for separation. It must have made it easy to accept, even welcome, increasing privatisation and the reduction of personal freedom to try and maintain the white neighbourhoods of an earlier status quo: the protection both of use value and exchange value, white wealth and privilege along with its social reproduction.



FIGURE 2-12 SIGN POSTED IN SUNKIST GARDENS, SOUTHEAST LA 1950⁹⁹

Capital rolled into the building of exclusive and restricted suburbs, such as Sunkist Gardens seen in Figure 2-12. Charlotta Bass had always recognised residential segregation as one of the key issues facing the African American community, and this spatial awareness of the struggle only increased through her growing radicalisation over the decades. She also noted the commitment of whites to maintaining this segregation as the next frontier of struggle, writing in 1960:

And it also became apparent that some way of dealing with the tract developers of suburban communities had to be found. One after another of these large new suburban areas was built and the developers were at great pains to make them all-white. Restrictive covenants were not even needed... (Bass 1960, 113).

⁹⁹ CE 28 September 1950, from the Charlotta Bass / California Eagle Photograph Collection, 1880-1986, <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll102/id/889>

CONCLUSIONS

Won through conquest in 1848, the early vision of California as the highpoint of Anglo-Saxon civilization developed spatially as a white aversion to living or sharing space with peoples of colour. This desire for segregation was first converted into policy through the country's first attempt at racial zoning, and when the courts struck that down, became inscribed through property deeds in the form of racial restrictive covenants. Ensuring the widest possible coverage and enforcement of these covenants required the cooperation not just of property developers, realtors and lawyers, but also of homeowners themselves, organised into associations. This in itself helped create a tightly knit professional infrastructure as well as a strong understanding of community, of 'us' vs 'them' based around the protection of residential spaces exclusively for whites using both legal instruments and violence. This was further consolidated and legitimated through the 1930s, as the federal government essentially founded and subsidised the mortgage market in response to the Great Depression. It incorporated wholesale the ideals of homogenous white suburban space as the highest and best value for land, as the private real estate industry dictated federal appraisal guidelines and the heavy subsidising of a white mortgage market and racially-covenanted single family homes. Thus white supremacist ideologies, legal contracts, federal regulations and policies, grassroots white violence, and the legal and professional understanding of real estate values articulated to make hegemonic the preservation of white space and privilege through segregation.

In spite of the forces pushing for their containment, large migrations of African Americans from the South created immense population pressures that led to ongoing uncoordinated individual attempts to escape the overcrowding and poor conditions of the ghetto. These efforts slowly expanded the ghetto's borders street by street to the west and south in the face of both lawsuits and violence, but without achieving integration. White communities came to define themselves through the struggle to defend both physical spatial boundaries – making certain streets such as Alameda and Slauson infamous among African Americans as the racial faultlines that could not be crossed – and ideological boundaries. Open violence, institutional discrimination and white supremacist rhetoric clearly delineated peoples of colour as outside of white definitions of citizenship and the 'community of consent'.

Wealthier African-Americans first attempted entry to this community of consent both physically and ideologically, buying more expensive homes in or near white neighbourhoods, creating their own homeowner associations, and claiming class solidarity over that of race. These moves, however, failed to win over whites to the idea that African Americans could be good neighbours and raise home values, and had no impact on the legal, political and ideological articulations holding segregation in place. When court action succeeded in evicting 12 families at once, organised struggle was momentarily abandoned.

Beginning in the 1930s, new efforts arose to end racial covenants and segregation as part of a broader struggle to end racial discrimination and Jim Crow in all of its forms. In the post-WWII climate, these marches, demonstrations, and carefully fought legal cases would pick up enough social and moral force to end the legal enforceability of housing covenants as well as usher in the final period of decline for Jim Crow (Alexander 2012, Woodward 2002). Instead of ending

segregation, however, the new neutrality of the government and the removal of the legally enforceable props of housing segregation, along with WWII's challenges to fascist ideologies, would bring about a new articulation of strategies and racial ideologies to maintain white space that in turn articulated with the investment of capital and materials freed by the end of the war into the construction of immense suburban housing developments. In so doing, whiteness remained the key factor recognised by developers in the creation of commodified social space, the building and selling of a 'place of privilege' and 'place of happiness' (Lefebvre 1996, 84). To preserve and defend white residential space, CREA looked to the privatisation of neighbourhood developments and the creation of mechanisms allowing developers and neighbourhoods to discriminate against peoples of colour without openly declaring race as the basis for discrimination. The results, and a further development of the potentialities of privatisation and covertly discriminatory practices, are further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 : 1960s: Bringing Down the Hate Wall

INTRODUCTION

The African-American community took advantage of this crack in the walls of white hegemony to expand beyond its earlier racial boundaries after the Supreme Court victories of 1948 and 1953 – this destabilisation had shaken the ideological, legal and political articulations of segregation, while the racialised economics of land values remained intact. Through this period of uncertainty, an upswing in grassroots white violence emerged to maintain the spatial articulations of privileged white space, succeeding for the most part in maintaining the earlier pattern of individuals buying property around the edges of already established communities. Loren Miller describes a process of the central three African-American areas slowly growing together through this process to create a single large ‘Black Belt’ (1965). White homeowner associations, and professional realtors and developers worked to connect and build new spatial, ideological, legal and political supports for segregation to protect white space and privilege, but a new kind of justice movement was rising that would try and end this hegemony once and for all by striking out into the newly expanding suburbs – with all of the militancy and direct action associated with the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and 60s.

In some ways the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) represented a clear break with the past. Led by a new generation of activists – many of them white –

CORE members adhered to a national intellectual and spiritual organisational vision, one which determined both goals and strategy guidelines for achieving widespread integration. In the belief that racism was primarily a moral issue, CORE targeted and put pressure on individual developers in wealthy suburbs who refused to sell to African Americans. They mobilised picket lines where hundreds were arrested demonstrating their belief in the justice of their cause, gaining considerable mainstream press coverage of the fight for integration for the first time. This forced a grudging acceptance even from the developers of their moral rights, a slight opening in the understandings of the community of consent, and helped create political will for the passage of California's Fair Housing Act to prohibit discrimination. Yet despite these victories in further shifting political and legal structures along with the popular ideologies and discourses that articulated in support of hegemonic white privilege, they still fell short in achieving any meaningful spatial integration or a shift in the economics equating race with land value. This chapter shows some of the ways in which the commitment to segregated white communities and the maintenance of privilege was renewed and strengthened in the face of this determined struggle. White supremacist beliefs were ideologically reframed to counter and reincorporate key aspects of the moral arguments posed against them. This withdrawal into a coded language of racism, insulated by a discourse of individual property rights, articulated with a like desire for withdrawal into a more insulated suburban spatiality. Their articulation cemented the need for defensible whiteness ever more deeply within the dialectic of residential use and exchange values and the urban fabric itself, the need for a 'racial fix' preserving white privilege giving spatial impetus, and an increasingly controlled and privatised form, to capital's need for a 'spatial fix' through urban expansion.

The case is illustrated particularly well through examination of CORE’s campaign against community builder and developer Don Wilson, whose business practice of creating different developments for different races exploited to the full the spatialisation of the city’s racial hierarchies. While his policy was to sell homes to Asians, Mexicans, and whites in Dominguez Hills, and he completed a development for African Americans near Compton to deflect CORE’s criticisms, he succeeded in withstanding a campaign to maintain his Torrance development for whites only through an alliance with the local homeowners, the police, and city government. The Torrance City Council ultimately passed a city resolution closing the entire neighbourhood to strangers – essentially gating the community. This action forced CORE to discontinue direct action in favour of what would prove a fruitless effort through the courts. Through examination of the history and geography of the area and the campaign itself, this chapter examines why and how the colour line yielded in places like suburban Compton but was maintained in Torrance against

all odds. The pivotal conflict shaped both future civil rights struggles and efforts to preserve the hegemonic equation between white space and privilege as communities defined themselves through walls.

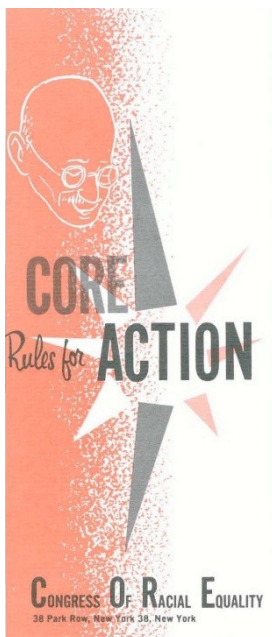


FIGURE 3-0 COVER OF CORE PAMPHLET

CORE

CORE was established in 1942 in Chicago as a small tight-knit organisation. It served as a way of life for most of its early members, who devoted considerable time to debating philosophy and strategy while carrying out almost all decision

making through collective membership meetings (Meier and Rudwick 1973). Formed around a detailed memo about organising a Gandhian-style ‘confrontation with American racism’ from James Farmer (who would become CORE’s future director) to his then boss at the pacifist and anti-war Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), it was taken up by a group of student members of FOR at the University of Chicago and made a reality (Farmer 1986, 89). From this beginning CORE had a clearly articulated vision for achieving its goal of racial equality: ‘CORE has one method – interracial, non-violent direct action’ (as quoted in Meier and Rudwick (1973, 10)). This strong identification with Gandhi’s teachings continued to be central to CORE’s practice, as his image on the cover of one of their key pamphlets demonstrates in Figure 3-2¹⁰⁰.

CORE grew steadily under the auspices of FOR, organising itself through small chapters around the country and forming a national board in 1943. Activities focused primarily on direct actions to desegregate commercial establishments such as restaurants, theatres and skating rinks. A branch formed in Los Angeles, with a small group operating on a small but consistent scale until 1948 brought red-baiting and charges of communism from the loyalty board. A group of about ten revived L.A. CORE in 1955, but after two years of limited campaigning around employment discrimination, it almost folded. Organising work started up again in 1958, still on a shoestring budget with some paid organising time from an employee of the CORE national office, but no office space (Bartling 2010, Meier and Rudwick 1973).

Thus when CORE came to national prominence in 1960 it had already been in existence for almost two decades. The Freedom Rides, courageous actions in

¹⁰⁰ Downloaded from the Civil Rights Movement website, <http://www.crmvet.org/copyrite.htm>, accessed 10 January 2014.

which African-American and white activists were beaten and jailed for refusing to recognise segregated facilities in the deep South, sparked the national imagination and catapulted CORE into the civil rights spotlight (Bartling 2010, Meier and Rudwick 1973).¹⁰¹ Newly invigorated both by members who had participated in the freedom rides themselves and a large influx of new members inspired by them, CORE had its own L.A. office by 1961. When studied by a young graduate student in 1965, it had expanded far beyond its earlier core of 20-25 members to encompass officers and ten committees staffed by its membership, though this was falling from the heights reached in 1962-1963. Bartling's chart in Figure 3-1 shows both the structure of the L.A. chapter, as well as its relationship to CORE as a national organisation through representation at the district, regional, and national levels.

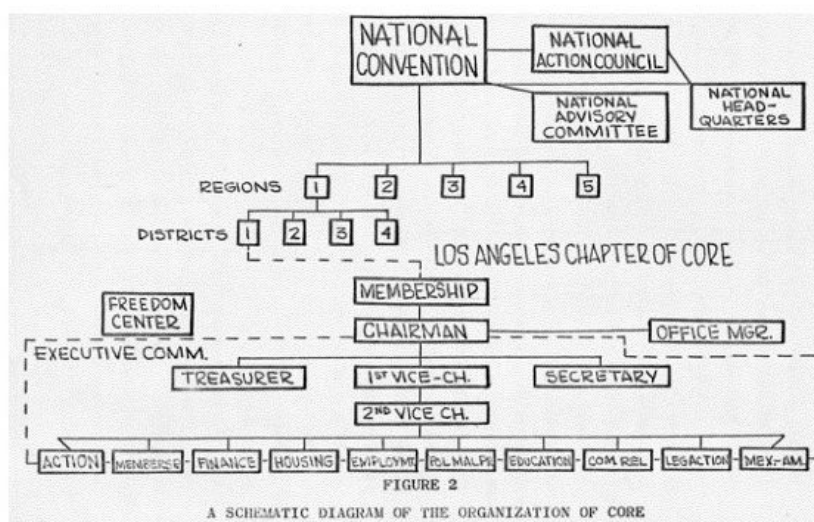


FIGURE 3-1 1965 CORE ORGANISATIONAL CHART SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF LA BRANCH TO THE NATIONAL ORGANISATION (2010)

¹⁰¹ The Freedom Rides became one of the most iconic actions of the fight against Jim Crow in the South, receiving widespread media attention and interventions to support the freedom riders from President Kennedy himself. The goal was to call attention to segregated travelling facilities and as integrated buses travelled south, freedom riders were severely beaten by the white mobs that greeted them in every city as well as jailed (Farmer 1986).

Above all else, CORE worked on an ideological level to challenge and transform racism, although they did this in a very embodied way when discussion and negotiation failed. Drawing on Gandhi's works on non-violence and Thoreau's writing on civil disobedience, its principal tactics became direct and non-violent actions such as sit-ins and pickets (Farmer 1986). They believed this to be a clear break from earlier race campaigns, a 1960's CORE pamphlet states: 'A dramatic change in American society was plainly in the making, and it was the result of a dramatic change in anti-discrimination tactics' (All About CORE n.d.).

Some of these direct and confrontational tactics had clearly been used by other organisations before. CORE, however, brought a philosophical foundation, organisational resources, and a historical memory to the struggle far more focused and collective than could be recorded in the pages of a newspaper or the memories of a handful of activists. Over time a refined and clearly articulated organisational way of thinking, doing things, and running campaigns developed. CORE believed in direct democracy and its goal was always to be driven and directed by its membership. Ideally, chapters distinguished between active members who were allowed to vote, using a register to track presence at committee and membership meetings, and supporting members who simply paid dues. At the same time each maintained its identity and mission by requiring that individuals attend an orientation on the organisation, and support the mission and rules for non-violent action before they were allowed to become members (Bartling 2010, Farmer 1986). These ideals, of course, often fell through. A summary of an internal report dated 7 September, 1961, states:

LA CORE meets 2 monthly, 30-50 people attend 3/4 regularly, they are keeping no membership records and have no formal process of 'training, indoctrination, or trial period' precedes granting of a card, but they are

planning on setting up an orientation. About 30 reg members, committees publicity, action, membership, finance (to be set up). No conscious effort made to integrate potential new members though in the month he was there 20 expressed interest. Many came to meetings not to return (Wisconsin MSS 14, 1961).

This critique did prove useful, leading at the least to L.A.'s institution of orientation meetings (Dimmick 1963).

To ensure fidelity to their central vision, the national organisation raised money and put together pamphlets outlining their goals, strategies, and principles of action worked through during a period of almost twenty years. They held a long range goal of complete integration, and believed that ultimately to achieve this goal it was opinions and emotions that needed to change more than concrete political and economic structures.

CORE seeks understanding, not physical victory. It seeks to win the friendship, respect and even support of those whose racial policies it opposes. People cannot be bludgeoned into a feeling of equality. Integration, if it is not to be tense and artificial, must, in CORE's view, be more than an armed truce. Real racial equality can be attained only through cooperation; not the grudging co-operation one exacts from a beaten opponent, but the voluntary interaction of two parties working toward a solution of a mutual problem.

CORE sees discrimination as a problem for all Americans. Not just Negroes suffer from it and not just Negroes will profit when it is eliminated. Furthermore. Negroes alone cannot eliminate it. Equality cannot be seized any more than it can be given. It must be a shared experience (All About CORE n.d.).

They shared this approach with other civil rights leaders. Martin Luther King Jr. wrote as part of a forward to a 32-page CORE pamphlet published in 1961:

We can and must win the mind of the prejudiced person. Force doesn't change minds. Anger reinforces fears. And that is why it is so terribly urgent to work out the techniques of changing people's minds, of allaying their fears about integration. CORE puts before people's eyes a new way of acting. You say and you show that feelings about segregation are silly, that customs can change without disaster following, and that this is the time to change them.

And you proceed to demonstrate. Here is a method of achieving social change which we all may use (CORE, *Cracking the Color Line* 1961).

This is not to deny the concrete changes that they fought for – desegregated jobs, cafes, schools, public spaces, neighbourhoods – nor that they used both political and economic leverage to achieve these things through legislation and legal action alongside boycotts, pickets, and shop-ins to stop business-as-usual. Their central principles of non-violent interracial action, however, were geared to changing hearts and minds through the winning of the moral high ground, and would become increasingly contested within the organisation as frustrations rose around limited successes (Farmer 1986, Meier and Rudwick 1973).

This moral focus was also cause of (and caused by) their active antagonism towards communism – an animosity which during the McCarthy era and the cold war spread to include all avowed socialists. Where the great depression and WWII had brought working relationships between the radical left and civil rights movements through the NNC and labour struggles, 1960s movement leaders felt it important to distance themselves for very practical reasons. Most often mentioned was the experience of party members giving their first allegiance to the party and using their influence to control civil rights organisations according to party dictates (Farmer 1986). Undoubtedly a second, and even more practical, reason, was the efficacy of the state in using red-baiting to destroy organisations as exemplified by McCarthy and HUAC among others. It is hard to tell how much this distancing was seen as a practical yielding to an American political reality, how much was the result of differences in practice and ideology. After the loyalty board's investigation of L.A. CORE for their work in coalition with communists, the 1948 National Convention unanimously approved a Statement on Communism that both 'deplored

the Red Scare' and found communism 'destructive' to their principles (Meier and Rudwick 1973, 64). CORE made their distance very clear and public, as in this pamphlet from the 1960s:

The only people not welcome in CORE are "those Americans whose loyalty is primarily to a foreign power and those whose tactics and beliefs are contrary to democracy and human values." CORE has only one enemy: discrimination, and only one function: to fight that enemy. It has no desire to complicate its task by acquiring a subversive taint, and it avoids partisan politics of any kind (All About CORE n.d., 5).

Along with partisan taint, CORE as an organisation appeared to have also jettisoned all analysis of racism as connected to structural economic roots.

EARLY HOUSING CAMPAIGNS

In L.A., early CORE actions focused primarily around discrimination in hotels. Chairman Earl Walter claimed that after testing 70 hotels and taking a dozen to court, they were able to ensure that by 1963, more than 65 percent of hotels would accept African-American patronage as opposed to the 70 percent who would not accept it only seven years before (Weeks 24 June 1963). They also formed an emergency committee to support African-American families moving into white areas as a number of other groups had done before them (though this appears to have been relatively short-lived):

When the first Negro family moves into a previously all white neighborhood, there may be threats of violence. CORE action can help stop such threats from being carried out. Los Angeles CORE in 1958 had an emergency committee, prepared to stand nonviolent guard duty. This committee established an all-night vigil when violence was threatened against a Negro teacher and his family who had bought a home in a formerly white area. There was no violence (CORE 1961).

It wasn't until 1961 that they formalised a new housing campaign for integration, and the Los Angeles chapter started meeting with sister organisations to inform them of their new campaign to 'initiate integration in previously segregated areas' (Centinela-Bay Human Relations Commission 1961). Breaking the earlier patterns of expansion, this strategy targeted the large suburbs distant from established 'safe' African-American areas, striking into the heart of white space and privilege though a primarily white local chapter may well not have realised that this is what they were in fact attempting. The Commission agreed to help CORE by asking members to provide housing listings as they appeared, and their real estate members agreed to create 'a simple checklist of the things a buyer should do to facilitate the orderly transfer of property, so that at no point in the transaction could a technicality frustrate the efforts to conclude a purchase' (Centinela-Bay Human Relations Commission 1961).

The CORE 'Rules for Action', a thirteen-point list to guide members' actions, opens with '1. A CORE member will investigate the facts carefully before determining whether or not racial injustice exists in a given situation' (All About CORE n.d.). A key part of CORE's housing strategy was developing testing procedures to prove the existence of discrimination. They put together a three page instruction guide for volunteers who agreed to be checkers, in which peoples of colour looking to buy or rent would partner with whites to establish if discrimination were present. A non-white applicant would first approach a landlord, agent or broker, to be followed closely by a white applicant in the case of their being turned away, giving a very similar family and income profile. The confidential instructions

opened with a strong statement about standards of behaviour and dress, as each volunteer would be ‘representing yourself, a technique, and the ethics of CORE’.¹⁰²

By early 1962, CORE had tested 33 apartments, and was involved in litigation and campaigning around several, among them an apartment building in Venice, and a family called Kennedy refused a home in an FHA financed tract in Rolling Hills (CORE April, 1962, Centinela-Bay Human Relations Commission 1962). This was in spite of ongoing internal issues. Another internal report describes the chapter as a ‘chaotic mess’ due to ‘their rapid and uncontrolled expansion from a cosy little in group prior to the Freedom Rides to a large, disorganized, amorphous group just after...’ National organiser Genevieve Hughes goes on to say that:

A source of continuing tension and a reason why my constructive work to resolve these problems is difficult is that the housing program has been plunged without previous planning into high gear. There is no time to find a breathing space to sit down calmly and plan and organize. The committee is simply not up to the demands placed upon it. Members lack time, training and transportation – at the same time they have six cases requiring some kind of action and new ones come in all the time. They cannot seem to get together to plan what to do to take care of these cases in an orderly fashion. As the pressure mounts and the cases are not taken care of tension and animosity reach the breaking point. The meeting I attended broke down into charges and countercharges when the crying necessity was for planning for the future.¹⁰³

In spite of this, the CORE housing campaign continued to grow through a series of pickets. The leaflet in Figure 3-3 was distributed on behalf of a nurse unable to rent an apartment on Venice Blvd. When CORE opened negotiations with management, the reply was that if they rented to an African American, the other tenants ‘might not like’ it (*CE* 11 January 1962).

¹⁰² *DLP*, Box 12 Folder 14.

¹⁰³ Field Report of Genevieve Hughes 1-12 November 1961, 8 January 1962. *WISC* MSS14, Box 51, Folder 2.

FEBRUARY, 1962

DEAR NEIGHBOR:

THE PERSONS PARTICIPATING IN THIS DEMONSTRATION ARE MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY. (CORE) WE OF CORE ARE HERE TO PROTEST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING.

THERE IS DISCRIMINATION HERE.

A NEGRO NURSE IS ATTEMPTING TO SECURE AN APARTMENT AT 4069 W. VENICE BLVD., AND HAS BEEN REFUSED. IT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED, AND VERIFIED, THAT THIS REFUSAL WAS BECAUSE OF HER RACE. KNOWING THE ROLE CORE HAS PLAYED IN SEEKING EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS, SHE ENLISTED OUR AID IN SUPPORT OF HER QUEST FOR HOUSING.

WHO IS DISCRIMINATING?

CORE WISHES TO MAKE IT KNOWN THAT MR. DAVID L. EISNER (OF PACIFIC PALISADES), THE OWNER OF THIS APARTMENT, IS GUILTY OF PERPETRATING INDIGNITIES ON OUR FELLOW CITIZENS, BY EXCLUDING THEM FROM THIS APARTMENT DEVELOPMENT.

WHAT CORE IS DOING.

IN ITS BROADER SCOPE, CORE WISHES TO ACHIEVE A HIGH STANDARD OF HUMAN DIGNITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS AIM IS SOUGHT, NOT ONLY IN THE FIELD OF HOUSING, BUT ALSO IN SUCH AREAS AS EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION, PUBLIC FACILITIES, AND IN ALL AREAS OF CIVIL RIGHTS.

CORE'S METHODS ARE DESIGNED TO BRING ATTENTION TO THE UNFAVORABLE CONDITION THAT EXISTS HERE. WE INTEND TO APPLY ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PRESSURES ON THE GUILTY PARTY UNTIL THERE IS SOME ATTEMPT TO CORRECT THE SITUATION.

WHAT YOU CAN DO.

CORE NOW INVITES EACH INTERESTED CITIZEN TO PLAY HIS ROLE IN SUPPORT OF THIS PROTEST.

SUGGESTED COURSES OF ACTION.

- WRITE LETTERS OF PROTEST TO THE OWNER, DAVID L. EISNER, 1172 NAPOLI DR., PACIFIC PALISADES.
- WRITE PROTEST LETTERS TO YOUR NEWSPAPERS.
- AIR YOUR VIEWS IN CONVERSATION AND ON RADIO PROGRAMS ETC.
- INTEREST YOUR NEIGHBORS IN THE PROTEST AGAINST DISCRIMINATION.
- JOIN OUR PICKET LINES.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
1115 W. VENICE BLVD.,
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
DU 9-4444 or DU 7-0213

LABOR DONATED.

FIGURE 3-2 CORE LEAFLET, FEBRUARY 1962.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ DLP Box 12, Folder 14.

FROM MONTEREY PARK TO WILMINGTON

CORE's testing strategy established discrimination in the case of developer Montgomery Ross Fisher, after Bobby Liley and his family inquired about buying a home in the Monterey Park tract and 'the salesman was quite frank in telling them that their race would be a hindrance to the development' (CE 22 February 1962). The *L.A. Times* quoted the developer as stating that 'he supposed the company could be "forced to sell to a Negro", but prophesied that such a sale would cause "perhaps a hundred persons to move out. I hope that bridge never has to be crossed"' (23 February 1962). When picketing achieved no result, a sit-down strike of ten to twelve men and women was initiated in the tract sales office the first weekend of March. That Monday, the Monterey Park City Council passed a resolution that in the words of the *L.A. Times* 'deplored' such discrimination (7 March 1962). The *California Eagle* reports the whole resolution, which actually 'unanimously condemned discriminatory housing and called upon all citizens to conform to an open-housing policy' (8 March 1962).¹⁰⁵

The City Council's support of CORE and the Liley family was to at least some extent due to the residents of the housing tract also joining in support of the campaign against the developer.¹⁰⁶ A Dr Henry Burton and Luis Lopez circulated a petition pledging to accept 'neighbors of good character ... without regard to race, creed or country of origin' and that they would not sell if an African-American

¹⁰⁵ For a history of the ways in which Monterey Park continued on to become a majority Chinese suburb, see Horton (1995). Saito's work demonstrates how racism and racial violence continued through the 1990s, as anti-Asian feeling led to numerous hate incidents (1998).

¹⁰⁶ Saito's study of Monterey Park politics in the 1990s revealed a large Asian population with strong memories of discrimination in the city throughout the 1950s, where they or their parents had been unable to buy new tract homes except through white intermediaries (1998).

entered the neighbourhood (*Sentinel* 8 March 1962). It certainly seemed to be a period of hope, as the *California Eagle* made room on the front page for both the Monterey Park City Council's statement in favour of open housing and the visit of Robert C. Weaver, head of the Federal Housing Agency, stating that it was only a matter of time before President Kennedy signed an executive order banning discrimination in housing with federal financing (8 March 1962).¹⁰⁷

In spite of the political pressure, the developer refused to budge. On the tenth day of the sit-in, management workers entered the office to lock the protesters out of the bathroom, and shut off the water and power. A series of pictures on the front page of the *Eagle* captures the moment, and shows some of the sit-in participants, African American and white, including Mrs Liley and three Freedom Riders. To overcome the problems posed by a locked bathroom, neighbouring households as well as a local filling station offered the use of their facilities, allowing the sit-in to continue (Farrell 1962). Farrell notes that this is the first 'prolonged overnight demonstration in CORE's history and is reminiscent of sit-down strikes in factories during the 1930s'. While the story is only covered extensively by the *Eagle* as front-page news, even the *L.A. Times* carries a note to the effect that the sit-in continued, though buried on page 29 (*LAT* 13 March 1962).

On the 35th day, the Lileys finally went into escrow to buy their new home – a deal made by a new seller who had acquired the property through a foreclosure sale (*LAT* 6 April 1962). Fisher had chosen to go bust on the development rather than sell to an African-American family. There is nothing on the reasons behind the foreclosure, but in piecing together what happened it seems possible that his own

¹⁰⁷ Kennedy would sign the order, to be effective immediately, on 20 November, 1962 (*CE* 22 November 1962).

home much closer to the consolidation of the African American community in South L.A. might explain such obduracy (see Figure 3-4), and economically the month-long occupation of the sales office must have played a significant role.

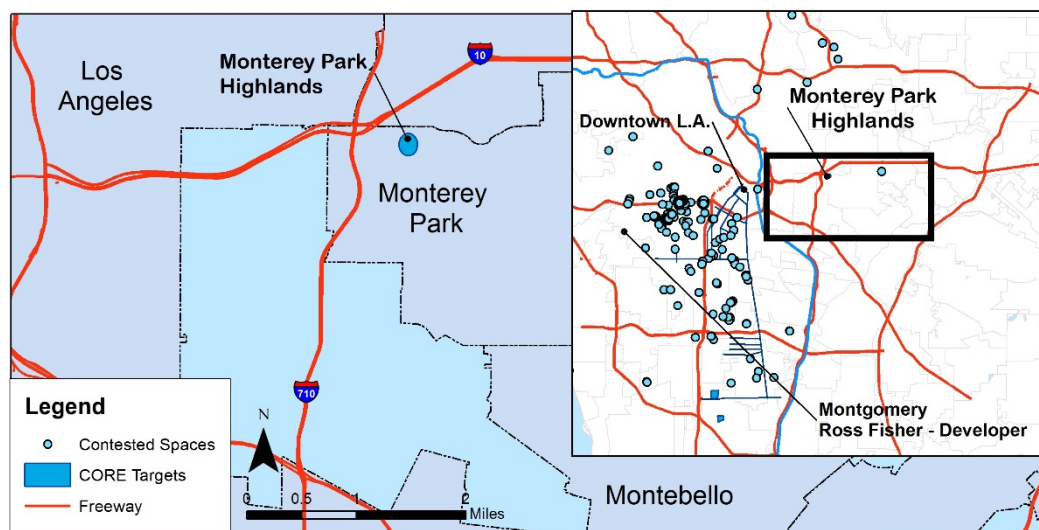


FIGURE 3-3 MAP OF CORE'S MONTEREY PARK CAMPAIGN

The *L.A. Times* attempts to cast it as much as possible as an isolated victory of the individual. Their follow-up to the briefest of articles on 7 April emphasises that the Lileys viewed their purchase more as a personal victory than a victory for integration, quoting Bobby Liley as saying 'I would not put myself in the position of being a crusader, CORE ... is the crusader'. It noticeably fails to quote his wife Helen, who joined the sit-in every day. It does, however, give some space for Earl Walter, head of CORE to contextualise the Lileys as one family among many: 'At the moment, however, we must remind ourselves that only one Negro family, at the cost of great effort and sacrifice, has acquired a new home...' (7 April 1962). The African-American papers on the other hand, treat it as a victory of the race and a blow to segregation, though much remains to be won. In the *Sentinel*, Walters juxtaposes what had been won with the full problem: only two percent of new

building was then available to African Americans, and clarifies the difference between a token victory and full, meaningful integration. ‘The Lileys have purchased a home. This fact is a token. But token integration is only disguised segregation unless it is recognized to be the first small step toward the final goal of complete equality of opportunity in all phases of community life, regardless of race, color, religion or national origin’ (*Sentinel* 12 April 1962).

Organisationally, CORE frames it as a victory of collective human spirit and energy and a privileging of human and civil rights over other rights. CORE’s newsletter, celebrating the victory and raising much-needed funds, outlines just how much work went into maintaining a 35-day picket:

Such a simple occurrence [the Lileys moving into their new home], but how much effort has gone into making it a reality. How many hours of picketing, how many dinners and lunches and snacks and hot drinks for ten prepared and delivered, how many phone calls, how many blankets and sleeping bags and flashlights cheerfully loaned, how many personal services (transportation, baby sitting, sign painting) willingly donated, how many good people working together to demonstrate that we do live in a world where human values must outweigh all other values.¹⁰⁸

It underlines the larger organisational goals behind the Monterey Park campaign (obviously with what they hoped would be maximum fundraising appeal), and the larger victory in securing a home for the Lileys:

But through the wide publicity this action received, CORE achieved its primary purpose, to throw light upon an incident of injustice in order to stir the moral conscience of a community or perhaps of the nation so that eventually the law or prejudice or institution from which the injustice arises may be eliminated. And as an immediate, tangible reward, we expect that here in the Los Angeles area other minority families are already assured a smoother path when they seek to buy homes in previously segregated areas.... Already calls have come in from people who have suffered discrimination in other areas of the city, and already we have started the work of careful investigation which will be followed by attempts to negotiate. We

¹⁰⁸ Undated letter, *DLP* Box 12, Folder 14.

feel that now, in many cases, negotiations will succeed, but we know that we will have some stubborn cases which will demand direct action such as picket lines, boycotts, sit-ins.

The impact of the sit-in and victory in Monterey Park seemed to have the effect that CORE hoped for. The *Eagle* of 19 April, 1962 reports that an apartment block in West Los Angeles agreed to rent to a Black technician after negotiations and threat of a picket line. A report from the Centinela-Bay Human Relations Commission states that a developer in Rolling Hills sold a home to a family of colour, while another in the South Bay agreed to cease all discriminatory restrictions after CORE convened meetings between them and civil rights organisations including local chapters of the NAACP and ACLU. The report states ‘The Sit-In focused attention & was essential to knock a large enough hole in the barrier thru which the mainstream of amicable mediation can now flow. Both are necessary to eliminate the barrier’ (Progress Report May, 1962).

Walter had noted the need to avoid tokenism and make the Liley’s case simply a step in an ever-expanding campaign to achieve full integration. To maintain the momentum and increase the scale of both people involved (clearly trying to increase African American participation and expand beyond it to other peoples of colour as well) and communities put on notice about their lack of integration, L.A. CORE initiated a program called ‘Operation Windowshop’. A small article on the second page of the *Eagle* on 31 May, 1962 announced the project for a weekend in late June which would ‘find members of all minority groups demonstrating their legal right to live anywhere in the city. They will seek to buy or rent houses or apartments in areas where discrimination has been widespread’. A CORE manual

highlights their belief that part of the solution to segregation was helping convince African Americans be bold in their housing choices and demand integration:

A. Discrimination is widely practiced, and members of minority groups are often reluctant to face rebuff and discouragement in seeking housing.
"Operation Window Shop"

- 1) may be directed at urging people to move out of ghettos and familiarize themselves with housing market.
- 2) may be aimed at securing applicants
- 3) requires considerable publicity, leafleting (See Appendix IV)
- 4) urge large numbers of people to get out on same day or same weekend and look at housing whether they plan to rent or buy immediately or not.

B. Purpose of "Operation Window Shop" in Los Angeles area of California was to help overcome this reluctance and accelerate housing integration.

It also acquainted people of minority groups with the types of housing available in other areas, so that by the hundreds and thousands, we would get the habit of exercising our right of free choice.¹⁰⁹

The last sentence seems to imply that initially organisers believed it was simply the absence of such a 'habit of free choice' rather than violence and structural and institutional constraints that served as the greatest barrier to integration. The *Eagle* urged people to come along, whether or not they planned to move, to 'demonstrate their determination that discrimination in housing must come to an end...' (21 June 1962). That African Americans still feared to go to the outlying white suburbs – and they, therefore, formed the principal targets for CORE – is made clear in the array of support they brought together: The Centinela-Bay Human Relations Commission, the San Fernando Valley Fair Housing Council, the San Gabriel Valley Council on Discrimination, and the Orange County Fair Housing Practices Committee.

¹⁰⁹ Undated CORE manual, *DLP* Box 12 Folder 14. The manual itself was put together for a national housing workshop by an Ohio CORE branch drawing from chapter experiences around the country. L.A. CORE was undoubtedly the lead on the issue of housing in Southern California, see the report on California's CORE conference proceedings, dated 20 July, 1963 (*WISC* MSS14 Series 6 Box 66, Folder 1).

CORE continued to support the Lileys through an overly drawn-out home-buying process – the tactic of a developer appearing to accede in a sale only to back out through the dragging out of paperwork and rejections for small technical faults would become increasingly familiar. Another major campaign began after CORE pressured the developer of Sun Ray estates in Wilmington to sell to an African-American couple after its initial refusal. They accepted the application but submitted it to the Veterans Administration without noting the large down payment, where it was eventually turned down after months of delay. The couple was told the house was no longer for sale, while white testers were immediately thereafter offered a chance to buy it. CORE's press release dated 14 October, 1962 announces a 'new form of non-violent direct action – the 'dwell-in', to prevent the house being sold to anyone else before a lawsuit could be filed'.¹¹⁰ The press release on the dwell-in was not picked up by any media at all until the *Eagle* reported the arrest of all seven 'dwell-inners' on 25 October. The arrests ended the dwell-in and CORE turned it into a 'dwell-out', camping on the lawn in front of the house (CORE-alator February, 1963). Police arrested five more the following week. Unlike Monterey Park, the campers in the South Bay faced violent harassment from the community:

Yells, curses and taunts were shouted at the "campers" by white persons driving slowly by. Clods of dirt and rocks were thrown at them. Firecrackers were tossed into their midst and, on occasion, a lighted flare was hurled in their direction (*CE* 1 November 1962).

The arrests escalated. On 3 November the *L.A. Times* reported on the arrest of ten protesters (page 12), and the following day seventeen more were held under citizens' arrest by two neighbours complaining that their playing the guitar through the night was waking their children (4 November 1962). By 8 November, the tally stood at

¹¹⁰ *DLP*, Box 12, Folder 14.

forty arrests as CORE sent a call for support from the freedom riders in their housing campaign (*CE* 8 November 1962). While an injunction was granted against the developers to keep them from selling the home on Baypoint and to prevent discrimination against the McLennans, the loitering charges brought against over a dozen protesters were not dropped (*CE* 15, 22 November 1962). Apart from the immense organisational costs of dealing with bail and legal support for so many, the continuing case of the Lileys showed just how much work remained after any initial victory. The 35-day sit-in at Monterey Park which had ended in April with ‘victory’ continued to drag on, and the sale did not fully close until early December, allowing the Lileys to move in just before Christmas (*LAT* 4 December 1962). For the McLennans in Wilmington, it would be nine months before an agreement was reached, dropping the discrimination lawsuit and the developer’s counter lawsuit against the CORE sit-inners, as the house entered escrow (*Sentinel* 15 August 1963).

DON WILSON AND THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUTH BAY

Thus CORE’s major housing campaign of the period against Don Wilson was only ever one of multiple cases, even as CORE expanded their pickets to include all three of Wilson’s tracts that together embody many aspects of the articulation of space, race, and development in Los Angeles. Their campaign started in July 1962 in Dominguez Hills, where Wilson’s policy was to sell to whites, Asians, or *Latinos*, but not to African Americans. CORE expanded their pickets to include the Southwood Riviera Royale in Torrance, a strictly whites-only development, and Centerview Estates near Compton, which would sell to anyone of any race (*CE* 26 July 1962; CORE leaflet, *DLP* Box 12 Folder 14).

The map in Figure 3.5 shows the three Wilson developments in relation to each other, the other sizable CORE campaign in the area at Sun Ray Estates, and their

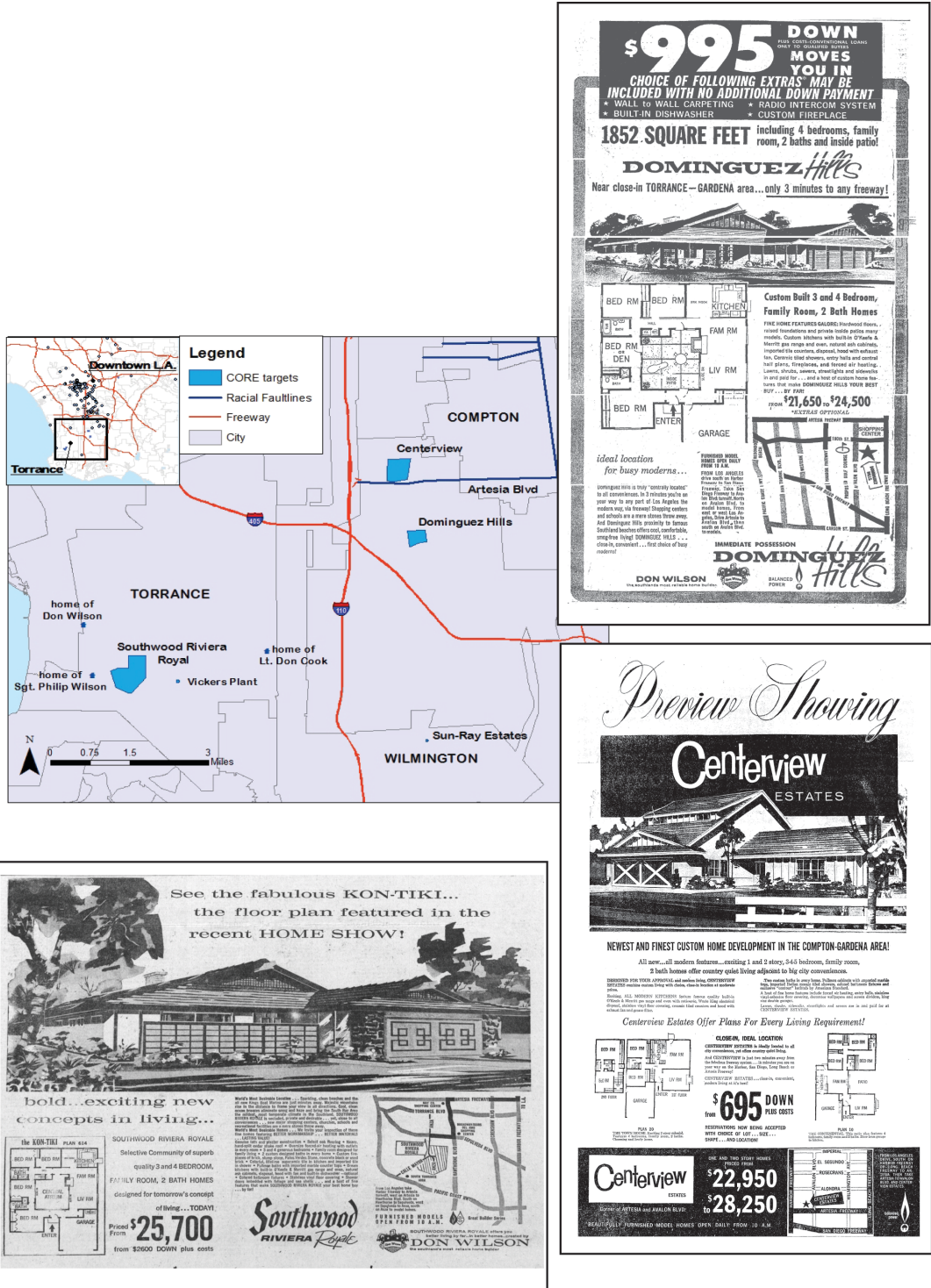


FIGURE 3-4 MAP OF DEVELOPER DON WILSON'S TRACTS AND ADVERTISING CAMPAIGNS

distance from previously reported attempts to break the colour line. Most revealing are the differences in the three advertisements for the tracts. They fall more or less within the same price range, with Dominguez Hills as the cheapest from \$21,650 to \$24,500, the Centerview homes running from \$22,950 to \$28,250, and Southwood starting from \$25,700. The plans for Dominguez Hills and Torrance developments are almost the same, with only slight differences in amenities and similar square footage for both houses and lots. The primary difference lies in the requirement for money down. Compton's Centerview starts at \$695, Gardena's Dominguez Hills from \$995, and Torrance's Southwood Riviera Royale from two to three times these amounts at \$2,500. As the down payment is negotiable between builder and seller, the differences in the levels of upfront cash required arguably served to both increase the prestige of the Torrance neighbourhood as an expensive and exclusive district, while also acting as a flexible barrier to both Torrance and Gardena that could be lowered for the right kind of family if needed, but remained to justify refusing applications by families of the wrong race or class.

DOMINGUEZ HILLS & COMPTON

The whole area was originally known as the South Bay, a series of suburban small towns and agricultural and oil-rich land about fifteen miles southeast of downtown Los Angeles. For the first half of the century, its agricultural potential drew early Japanese and Filipino migration, as well as Mexican agricultural workers. While the Alien Land Act prevented Japanese families from owning property, their children signed short-term leases for land to grow vegetables and flowers. Families were

regularly moved on from their farms lands every three years, and the Alien Land Law ensured that they could be moved off of productive land for development subdivision or oil drilling at any time. Dominguez Hills was part of a large swathe of then-unincorporated land central to Japanese flower and vegetable cultivation for market, with the Japanese commuting to their farms from residential clusters closer to Compton or Gardena, where there were fewer restrictions (Sato 2009). Some Japanese moved back after being interned in concentration camps during World War II, despite irreparable losses suffered, such as the razing of the Japanese community centre in Gardena to the ground, along with the possessions of the many families being stored inside (Sato 2009). The Filipino community remained in place, along with small Mexican barrios that had survived the deportations of the 1930s on unincorporated and unrestricted lands (Ibañez and Ibañez 2009). When Don Wilson among others began developing the area into housing subdivisions in the early 1960s, it already contained a somewhat diverse population that Wilson, at least, continued to cater to.

To the North and East lay Compton, on land bought from a Spanish landowner to build a small farming and dairy community in 1866. It incorporated in 1888 (Straus 2006). As Los Angeles's population boomed between the 1920s and 1950s, Compton steadily grew into a working-class suburb of affordable homes close to manufacturing and industry. A large earthquake that destroyed much of the town in the early years of the Great Depression had saddled the small town with a crippling debt, but also built a tight-knit community invested in protecting its own. This investment included immense efforts to maintain Compton white, blanketing the entire town with race restrictive covenants in 1921 (Sides 2004, Straus 2006). In conjunction with realtors, developers, and residents, the City Council came together

to oppose public housing developments from being built outside the city limits but near enough to them for residents to grow nervous. In 1947, the Compton Chamber of Commerce started a new drive to update the race restrictions for another 99 years in what the *Sentinel* termed a ‘Ghetto Plan’ (10 April 1947). Both the *Eagle* and the *Sentinel* covered the drama arising from this and a proposed mixed-race federal housing development in Sativa which elicited large meetings in opposition, grassroots covenant campaigns, and rumoured back room deals between Compton politicians, brokers, and FHA representatives (*CE* 10 July 1947, *Sentinel* 27 April 1947, Straus 2006).

The census paid for by the town showed how successful they were. In 1940, out of a total population of 16,198, only 72 were classified non-white (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1955). By October 1947, and post WWII’s concentration camps, this had dropped to 15 out of 32,254. Mexicans – still classified as white by the census at that time – were confined to what was known as the ‘barrio’ in Compton’s northern tip next to a more diverse Watts and Willowbrook (Sides 2004). The transformation of Compton from a white town into a majority African American town over two decades is above all a story of fiercely and often violently contested geographies, a street by street battle for territory that created a series of racial faultlines (see Figure 3-6). An African-American realtor testified before the Governor’s Commission on the L.A. Riots that 120th Street was once the northern border that whites attempted to hold, in 1947 the *Eagle* reports it as 126th St (Warren 1965, *CE* 10 July 1947). The overturning of racial restrictions in 1948 proved an immense blow to resident and development interests, but hardly the immediate death knell. A few years saw the boundary move only a few more blocks, as the *California Eagle* reported Compton realtors rallying behind the slogan of

‘Keep the Negroes North of 134th St!’ (7 May 1953). Loren Miller recalled in testimony before the Governor’s Commission on the L.A. Riots that the slogan became ‘Keep the Negroes North of 130th St!’ (1965). This continual movement south represents the hard-won push-back by peoples of colour, forcing the continuous redefinition of exclusionary space – by 1952 the non-white population had climbed to 5,807, an increase of 2,592 percent, making them about 9% of the total population (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1955).¹¹¹

This expansion occurred house by house, street by street. In 1948, the *Sentinel* reported the smashing of windows and the use of paint bombs against newly-purchased African-American homes, as well as against those of whites believed to be selling out their neighbours. More than ten incidents were reported in September and October alone, including three to four cross burnings (*Sentinel* 7 and 28 October 1948). Five years later, angry mobs met others like Alfred Jackson, a WWII veteran who faced down the angry members of the Compton Crest Improvement Association with two colt .45s. His wife, Luquella, kept firearms handy at all times, often in the pocket of her housecoat (*CE* 14 May 1953). In 1956, a cross was burned into the grass at Compton High School after a fight between two students (*Sentinel* 4 October 1956). As they had in Leimert Park, Compton whites fought every inch of the way. Yet much of Compton lay west of Alameda – possibly the longest and most fiercely held racial boundary in Los Angeles, such that even today almost no African Americans live in the communities to the East of it even though they are now predominantly *Latino*. At the time it was commonly referred to as the Berlin Wall, and it divided South L.A.’s neighbourhoods of colour, and the

¹¹¹ Sides (2003) also makes note of these shifting lines of exclusion.

small incorporated towns to the East such as South Gate, Maywood, and Lynwood – the early centre of L.A.'s major manufacturing and the stomping grounds of both the KKK and white gangs like the Spook Hunters (Alonso 1999, Brown, Vigil and Taylor 2012, Warren 1965). The area of Compton lying east of this boundary was the last to experience racial change-over (Camarillo 2007).

As important as a flawed straddling of this key racial boundary in assessing its defensibility – and thereby both the use and exchange value of its property – Compton also shared a school district with residents of Watts and Willowbrook. As a result, white children attended schools that were increasingly integrated, and for many of their parents this was a primary factor in their leaving (Straus 2006). As Nicolaides (2002) demonstrates so clearly in her study of South Gate, whites were as concerned about their children attending schools with those of other races as they were about living next door to them. They fought to ensure these intimately connected spaces of social reproduction remained white, and when this failed they fled. Neighbourhoods became prey to familiar blockbusting tactics and panic selling, as African Americans moved into a neighbourhood and whites became willing to take whatever they could get for their homes (Sides 2004, Straus 2006). By 1960, 40 percent of Compton's population was non-white though whites continued the battle to maintain their neighbourhoods – like the two men in a car who put 13 bullets through the Compton NAACP's branch windows in December of 1961 (*Sentinel* 14 December 1961).

By 1962, Compton and areas immediately adjoining it were already recognised by developers as suitable for African Americans. In the conflict over the Lileys moving into their new home in Monterey Park, the *Sentinel* reported 'Fisher admitted he had sold to "other minorities," Orientals and a Mexican family. He said

he felt it would be better for him to build a project "in the Compton area for Negroes" (8 March 1962). The larger and more established developer Don Wilson's response to CORE's picketing of Dominguez Hills was in fact to build the project in the Compton area in what seems to have been a bid to deflect the pressure of civil rights demands by

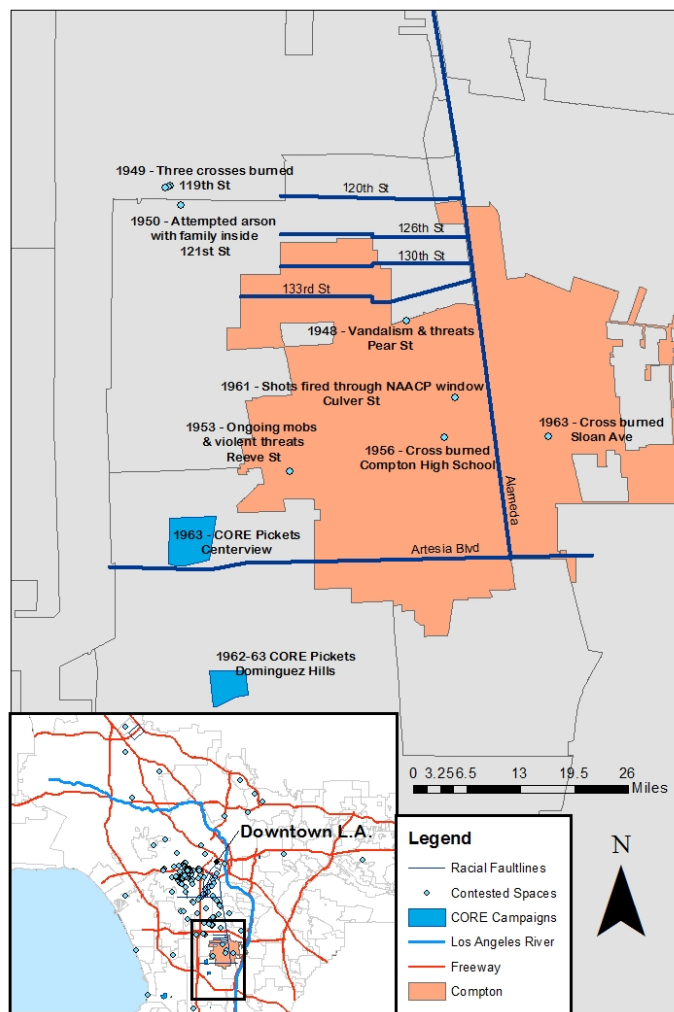


FIGURE 3-5 MAP OF RACIAL INCIDENTS IN COMPTON¹¹²

offering proof that he was selling homes to African Americans. He was quoted in the *L.A. Times* as calling it an ‘experimental interracial tract’ and he invested heavily in

¹¹² City map of from SCAG’s GIS library, racial incidents drawn by myself.

a marketing campaign of the Centerview development through advertising in Black newspapers (29 September 1962). CORE members claimed ‘that salesman at Dominguez Hills either flee from Negro customers, locking themselves in the sales office to avoid showing houses, or rudely direct Negroes to go to Centerview which they openly refer to as "a tract for you people"' (*Sentinel* 14 February 1963). The new racial faultline between the African-American ghetto to the North and the wealthier and whiter areas to the South had become the Artesia Boulevard Freeway (*Sentinel* 10 January 1963).

Civil rights gains had momentarily destabilised some of the legal structures, policies, geographies, and ideologies articulated to support a white supremacist hegemony, which allowed African Americans and other peoples of colour to force a large spatial reorganisation of L.A. and its suburbs. Additional urban space had to be yielded to peoples of colour along with a minimal show of service, even as the scramble began to reforge a new structure in support of white privilege and space. To prevent full integration in this period of upswelling radical change choices had to be made: the holding of certain race walls became paramount to protect communities with more privileged history, location and class background, even as others were allowed to fall. Compton, a working-class town crippled by debt, unable to maintain a segregated school system, and straddling a long-held and recognised racial faultline was essentially abandoned as real estate interests and developers began actively funnelling people of colour there as a way of keeping them out of more exclusive tracts with more prestige and amenities. In face of this decision, and the repercussions of redlining¹¹³ and falling property values that followed it, white

¹¹³ The term redlining grew directly from the use of HOLC maps to deny loans to those living in areas designated as red, and came to refer to widespread banking practices of refusing to lend to people living in poor areas with high concentrations

residents abandoned the city to African Americans, although only after years of bitter struggle. As Derrick Bell, a father of critical race theory notes:

The plight of black mayors reminds us that we, as black people, gain access to political positions the way we gain access to all white neighbourhoods – when the housing stock is run down, maintenance is expensive, and there is every likelihood that past abuse and mismanagement by whites will make effective governance impossible for blacks who, of course, will be blamed for the failure, which is made even more inevitable by the past practices over which black people had no control (1992, 83).

By 1970 Compton was 71 percent African American, and while it has grown more diverse since that time, this has been caused by an influx of *Latino* residents, many of them immigrants. The inner suburban city of Compton is as representative of the disinvestment, poverty, and violence of any inner-city neighbourhood (Camarillo 2007, Sides 2004). The brutal economic and political reasons behind this shift were concealed behind a rhetoric of simple human nature. Eighteen years after the end of de jure discrimination, National Association of Real Estate Boards and the California Real Estate Association President Charles Shattuck¹¹⁴ stated in sworn testimony before an Assembly Committee in Los Angeles that ‘if they [African Americans] move in, the white people just move out. That’s all. They move out. They just don’t care to stay there’. It is only as he continues to state how his colleagues refused to be part of ‘the salt and peppering of the whole community’ that he acknowledges some of the institutional agency involved.¹¹⁵ Hall states: ‘Appeals to “human nature” are not explanations, they are an alibi’. The next sections examine the ‘concrete,

of peoples of colour through to the present – long after the HOLC maps have ceased to be of relevance (Pulido 2000). This corresponded to widespread withdrawals of all banking services from ghettos areas across the country (SAJE 2002).

¹¹⁴ See Chapter 2 for Shattuck’s own role in organising a protective association.

¹¹⁵ Testimony of Charles Shattuck before the Assembly Interim Committee on Governmental Efficiency and Economy at its public hearings in Los Angeles on September 28- 29, 1961, *SCL L.A. Subject Files, Pamphlets, Fair Housing III*.

historical “work” that underlies the shifting lines defining L.A. segregated spaces (Hall 1980, 338).

TORRANCE

Torrance, on the other hand, represented a still-developing and more exclusive area that real estate interests seemed determined to keep white – its history exemplifies the shift in this period from the defence of racial boundaries that confined people of colour within compact areas to a defence of defined white neighbourhoods with mechanisms to keep unwanted people out. It began as a ‘completely new kind of company town’, planned by Llewellyn Iron, the Union Tool Company, and the Pacific Electric Railway (Crawford 1995). Clothed in the language of industrial location, the decision to build the town most likely had more to do with the recent labour strife in Los Angeles, which had resulted in the bombing of the *L.A. Times* building and the Llewellyn Iron Works in 1910. An early article listed the benefits of moving to Torrance: ‘the absence of paternalism or welfare work, the availability of jobs from different employers, and the benefits of homeownership’ (Crawford 1995, 18). Yet from the beginning it was also restricted, not simply in terms of race as almost all similar industrial suburbs were, but also in terms of class (Crawford 1995, Nicolaidis 2002). The companies were open in their beliefs that ‘there are some classes of workers of better character than others. Therefore it is desirable to attract the one and discourage the other’ (Bartlett 1913, 314).

To this end, they hired garden city architect Frederick Law Olmstead Jr. to draw town plans for the 2,000 acres that had originally formed a part of the Dominguez Land Grant from the Spanish Crown (Crawford 1995). Zoning separated

land uses, confining industry down-wind and on the opposite side of the tracts, while restrictions ensured that non-whites lived 'in a 'foreign quarter' outside of the city limits' (Crawford 1995, 91). By 1912, Olmstead had withdrawn from the project given the difficulties of supervising from Boston, and growing complaints about curvilinear streets and irregular lot shapes. His prestige remained with the project however, 1920s booster advertising highlights residences and gardens in close proximity to good jobs promised by modern industry as seen in Figures 3-7 and 3-8:

*The
Modern
Industrial
City Of
California*

THE DEVELOPMENT OF

Torrance

*The
Modern
Industrial
City Of
California*

—The remarkable development of Torrance since its inception in 1912 will not be surprising to those who study the question of city expansion. Its location between Los Angeles and its harbor at San Pedro has brought Torrance within the direct line of development. —Modern in its scope and planned by the World's Foremost City Builder and landscape artist, Frederick Law Olmstead, Torrance has always shown a steady growth and is assured of a great future development.

THE BETTER CITY

—Dana Bartlett in "The Better City," says: "Torrance is America's first industrial city, where the newest of the new and the best of the old unite to form an ideal City."
—"One views this model industrial city with its great plants, employing their thousands of workmen, with wonder."—L. A. Times.
—No modern city has had its foundation laid under more favorable circumstances than this fortunately planned city of Torrance. The comforts and convenience of homeseekers, expressed in modern homes set in the midst of the most attractive surroundings, was the provision made for the upbuilding of Torrance.

Home Sites For Employers and Homeseekers at Less Than Rent Prices. Large lots, Quarter, Halves and Acres

The New Sales Manager is on The Job—M. L. MAY

Formerly Sales Manager for T. M. Miller Company of Los Angeles, will be glad to extend courtesies to anyone interested in Torrance either as a home seeker or Investor.

Added Advantages
Lesser Taxation
Less Acreage Cost

Dominguez Land Corporation

PHONE 5
TORRANCE OFFICE

FIGURE 3-6 DOMINGUEZ LAND CORPORATION ADVERT, *TORRANCE ENTERPRISE* 26 NOVEMBER, 1920

RESIDENCE LOTS FINE HOMES

Save Time Save Money
SAVE HEALTH
 —OWN YOUR OWN HOME IN TORRANCE—



Why travel on crowded cars long distances to and from work when you may reach your home here in Torrance a few minutes after you leave your plant? You consume lots of valuable time traveling. It costs you considerable money. It is a drain on your health. Think it over and see us about a home in this growing city.

Home sites for employes and homeseekers, lots, acres, half acres, as low as \$10 down and \$10 per month. Small houses on large lots, (garden spots) the one solution for those who desire a home and pay rent to themselves.

See—M. L. MAY, The New Sales Manager for the

Dominguez Land Corporation

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING PHONE 5 TORRANCE, CALIF.

FIGURE 3-7 DOMINGUEZ LAND CORPORATION ADVERT, *TORRANCE ENTERPRISE* 10 DECEMBER, 1920

The opening issue of *The Torrance Enterprise* on 5 November, 1920 reflects well the initial corporate and anti-union idealism of the enterprise:

The basic reasons for the establishing of Torrance were to provide practical, spacious, moderately-priced locations for the ever increasing number of industries of the growing city of Los Angeles; and also to create and develop a manufacturing idealistic along idealistic lines, or in other words to establish an environment that would produce maximum efficiency in the men as well as in the factories (Neill 5 November 1920).

The nature of such efficient men and their community is further established on the same front page, where an article headlined 'Japs Licked in Torrance' states that the vote for the Alien Land Act represents 'the most complete repudiation of the Japanese invasion of California, even to renting them land...' (5 November 1920).

By December 1920, the *Torrance Enterprise* is boosting the city as the home of the Union Tool Co., The Llewellyn Iron Works, the Pacific Electric Shops,

Torrance Window Glass Co., American System of Re-enforcing (sic), California Carbon Co., Salm Manufacturing Co., and Alummit Viterous Facing Co. There are clearly no shortage of jobs but rather of workers, and four front-page news items in the same paper deal with new housing, one of which lists the buyers of new lots and announces the building of eleven new homes, six by Pacific Electric for its own employees. There is no need to openly discuss race; the Dominguez Land Company from early on inserted racial restrictions into its deeds to ensure that their new city remained white.¹¹⁶ In 1924, the front pages of the *Torrance Herald* are still regularly announcing the arrivals of new families by name and address, and the building of new homes. It is a newspaper belonging to a small town proud of its growth, industry, and the wealth of the new oil fields that have been discovered.

Torrance played its own role in the 1920s rise of the KKK, as covered by the *Torrance Herald* from 24 August, 1924:

Several thousand persons witnessed a "naturalization" ceremony of the Ku Klux Klan east of Western Avenue in Torrance Saturday night. The ceremony was conducted by Torrance Klansman under the light of a large electric cross. About 100 candidates were "naturalized."

During the ceremony an aeroplane with four lighted "K's" circled over the field.

The ritual of the Klan was distinctly heard by the thousands who stood outside the ropes. The Klansmen used loud speakers.

All of the Klansmen were unmasked.

Before the ceremony proper started a Klan speaker delivered an address on Klansmanship.

Klansmen clearly had little fear of trouble with the local authorities or the disapproval of their neighbours as they borrowed the discourse of citizenship –

¹¹⁶ These can be seen in copies of early deed transfers, such as those found in *CSDH*, Box 14, Folder 2.

reinforcing the idea that ‘true’ Americans are white – to celebrate their induction of new members into white supremacy on a mass scale.

Throughout decades of struggle against restrictive covenants and discriminatory housing, Torrance remained untouched and primarily white, though it had grown to include the small residential area for Asians and Mexicans working in agriculture. In 1940, a special census reported the non-white population as 1209, dropping by 57.4 percent to 515 after the internments of WWII, even as the white population increased by 93.7 percent to 17,450 (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1955). By 1952, the white population had almost doubled, reaching 31,252 while only 582 non-whites lived within its borders (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1955). An illustrative incident occurred in 1951, when a group of 15 picketed a minstrel show at Torrance High School. A *Press* article claims no discrimination was intended, then goes on to quote a local resident who states: ‘I think the picketing was disgraceful, particularly when there are no Negroes living in Torrance’ (*Press* 1 October 1951). Part of the privilege of exclusionary white space is the insulation from its own exclusionary nature, the feeling that discrimination only occurs when there is someone immediately and physically present to experience the discrimination. In 1963 at the height of CORE’s campaign, Torrance’s mayor when interviewed reputedly stated that ‘Torrance has no Negro problem. We only have three Negroes in the city’, though he later denied this (*Press* 7 July 1963). Alongside the town’s stated desire to continue growing, was always the addendum more often understood than stated as it had been in the 1920s, that to continue to be successful it had to be the right kind of people.

While no longer printing the full names and addresses of newcomers to Torrance by the 1940s and 50s, the local papers continued to show the city's vital interest in expansion and the building of additional homes. The sale of a large piece of land to developers Wilson and Kauffman for the building of the new 1,900 tract home community of Southwood made front page news of the *Press* on 12 May, 1955. A two column article on the second page of 17 January, 1960's *Press* is headlined 'Don Wilson Builders Dedicate Spanking New Office Structure', a measure of the prominent social positions held by the larger housing developers such as Don Wilson, certainly one of the 'community builders' studied by Marc Weiss (1987) and others. A single office building housed 'all divisions of the corporation: Southwood Construction Co., Escrow Division, General Accounting and corporate offices'. As much an advertisement piece as anything else, it quotes extensively from Wilson who states

Our new facilities will enable us to continue to lead the building industry by building better quality homes more efficiently. Every phase of a development, from acquisition of land to finished homes ready for sale, is handled under one roof by our integrated operation. This assures buyers of our homes high quality standards, excellent construction, a fine land value, all at the lowest cost possible.

Despite the emphasis of value for money the article does not skimp on descriptions of dated luxury in the offices themselves, giving extremely detailed descriptions down to the walnut panelling, alternating stripes of deep blue, white and orange carpeting in Wilson's office and the 6,000 square feet of paved private parking. It works to boost both Torrance and its development, giving a sense of civic pride in both the building and the business, noting that the 465-unit development at Southwood Estates is 92 percent sold out, and a 335-unit development at Southwood Del Amo is about to begin construction.

By October 16, 1960, the *Torrance Press* is advertising the 192 units of Southwood Riviera Royale with a half page ad for a ‘bold...exciting new concept in living...’ in a ‘selective community’ that is ‘secluded, private and desirable’. No longer is proximity to work, the presence of factories or Torrance as modern industrial city the highlight of the sales pitch. Rather it is proximity to conveniences such as the marina, major shopping centres, churches, schools and recreational facilities. Even so, Torrance had always been (and would continue to be through the present), close to high paying manufacturing jobs closely guarded for the white community (Hise 1997). CORE briefly picketed the Vickers Corporation – just down the road in Torrance from their pickets at Southwood Riviera Royale – after the unjust firing of an African-American lathe operator in 1963. The man fired was one of only six or seven African Americans of 600 employed at the plant (*Sentinel* 20 June 1963).

On 25 March, 1962 *The Press* wrote up a full profile of Don Wilson and his importance to the city of Torrance. Since its beginning in 1950, Wilson’s firm had grown to 100 employees and constructed over 50,000 homes in 50 complete communities. Of these, the firm built over 5000 homes in Torrance alone, providing housing to 35 percent of its then population. The picketing of Wilson’s developments as part of the growing national civil rights must have come as quite a shock to Torrance’s white citizens.

CORE RAISES THE STAKES

By August 1962, the *Sentinel* was reporting ‘Pastor to Pray on Gardena Picket Line’ (2 August 1962), but the blessings of a number of pastors from Compton and other

communities had been unavailing. By autumn, CORE's campaign strategy of steady escalation of direct action resulted in the initiation of a sit-in of the Dominguez Hills sales offices (*CE* 27 September 1962). In an impressive display of membership strength, CORE was able to maintain three separate picket lines and a sit-in at the Wilson properties, even as they began the dwell-in in Wilmington and continued working with the Lileys and on other cases of discrimination coming to their attention (*CE* 4 October, 1 November 1962).

CORE was working on refining their public argument around segregation, both its reasons for existence and what would bring about change. In a press conference held at the end of 1962, CORE passed out a closely type-written statement of the housing problem which read:

We now have concrete knowledge that this is a segregated city as we have always known from the statistics put out by the County Commission on Human Relations and other agencies... We have a growing conviction that there is a definite plan to this. The lines of the Ghetto are drawn. There must be a secret illegal agreement between the builders, realtors, developers and money lenders to attempt to hold these lines.

It seems to CORE that the newspapers and other media have failed to convey the extent of discrimination in Los Angeles County. It may be that the press is subject to pressures from advertisers. On the other hand, it may be that CORE, and other civil rights groups are failing to get the facts across, and that is why we have called this News Conference.¹¹⁷

This is as close as CORE gets to a public analysis of how discrimination works.

Through analysis of their experiences in trying to achieve integration they arrive at the same conclusions presented throughout these chapters – segregation was a goal consciously and collectively pursued by banking and real estate professionals who worked to maintain these racial faultlines. In an undated leaflet from late 1962 or early 1963, CORE begins calling them the 'Hate Wall', still seen as a wall to keep

¹¹⁷ CORE statement on Housing Discrimination, 1962, *DLP* Box 12, Folder 14.

undesirables in rather than to keep them out as seen in Figure 3-9. The flyer's language shows how aware they are that this wall does not simply separate Blacks from whites in space, but also ideologically – it exists to wall them out of a shared sense of community, to make of them 'second-class citizens'. To rephrase this slightly in terms of the arguments presented here around hegemony, these walls are the manifestations both of a social and spatial exclusion from the community of consent maintained primarily by real estate professionals (presumably for their own profit though this is not explicitly stated), but CORE argues that they are walls in which all whites are culpable. Through breaking down these walls, CORE clearly understood its goals as both spatial and social integration across the city. The leaflet manages to be both more narrow in limiting segregation to a few bad actors, and yet more sweeping in its indictment of those forming the 'hate wall' than the statement to the press. It is clearly a call for residents in segregated tracts to choose sides and support those fighting against segregation, but one that the residents of both Torrance and Dominguez Hills would decide to ignore.

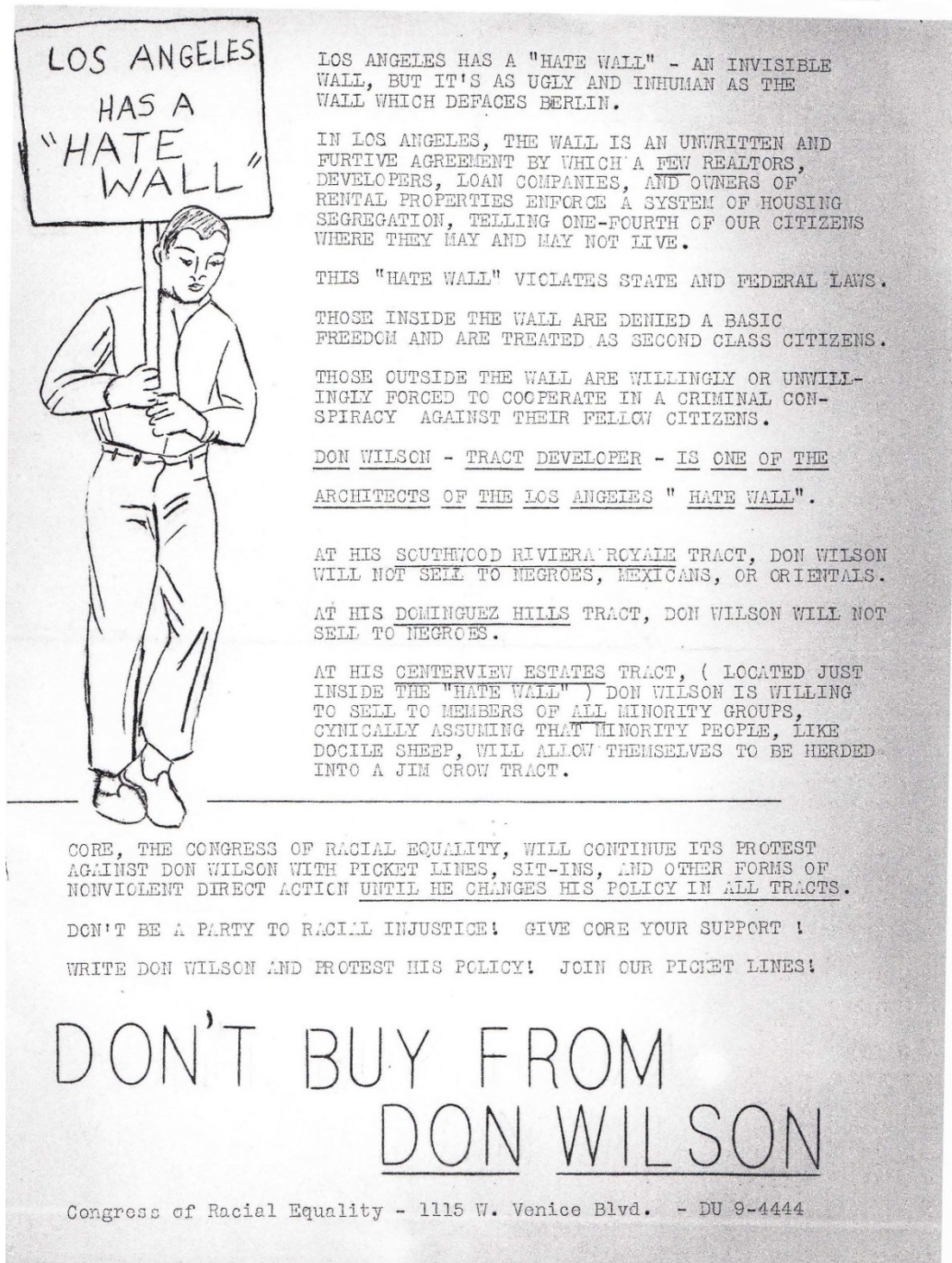


FIGURE 3-8 UNDATED CORE LEAFLET FROM THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEVELOPER DON WILSON¹¹⁸

Leaflets used to rally the African-American and Compton community also highlight the complicity in discrimination of those who choose to buy in racially

¹¹⁸ DLP, Box 12, Folder 14.

segregated tracts. More than simply a call to conscience, these leaflets were also a call to dignity and economic interest:

SEGREGATION IS DEGRADING

If you let Don Wilson tell you where you may or may not live, you are accepting second class citizenship for yourself and your children. Housing which is not segregated is available...

SEGREGATION IS EXPENSIVE

When Negroes are denied the right to shop around for the best buy, they can be forced to pay higher prices. Don Wilson's salesmen are quoting prices on houses at Centerview \$1000 to \$2000 higher than are being asked for identical models at Dominguez Hills.

SEGREGATION CAN BE STOPPED

Make Segregation unprofitable. Refuse to buy from those who engage in racial discrimination. Don't cooperate with racial injustice!! Don't look at housing here. Go to Dominguez Hills or Southwood Riviera Royale.¹¹⁹

Such leaflets, backed up by the pickets and sit-ins that showed individual and organisational determination to fight Wilson's practices until he changed them, aimed to galvanise a larger moral outrage and movement to win full integration.

In January 1963, Don Wilson contacted CORE via the state attorney general stating that he wished to negotiate a settlement. Underlining the direct democracy with which they tried to run their campaigns, CORE's representatives attended the meeting between Wilson and two negotiators with the power only to bring a proposed settlement back to a larger meeting to which was invited the whole of the active membership.¹²⁰ They also decided to continue picketing throughout the negotiations – which the *Sentinel* blamed when the negotiations faltered (7 February 1962). Yet Attorney General Mosk clearly felt that Wilson had not been negotiating

¹¹⁹ Undated CORE leaflet c 1962-63, *DLP*, Box 12, Folder 14.

¹²⁰ CORE letter dated January 28, 1963, *DLP* Box 12, Folder 14.

in good faith, as he filed discrimination charges against Wilson in March and obtained a temporary restraining order forbidding further discrimination.¹²¹

Despite the order, Wilson did not sell any homes to African Americans outside of Centerview. An injunction against discrimination lacked the power to force a developer to sell a home.

POLICY CHANGE IN SACRAMENTO

While CORE's main focus was on direct action, they did work concurrently to support the legal and political strategies led by other organisations for institutional change – as the earlier campaigns had done, they worked simultaneously on policy change along with direct actions aimed at concrete victories and ideological change. The local chapter of the NAACP had drafted a fair housing ordinance to bring before the city council that would 'ban discrimination by real estate brokers, banks, lending institutions and individuals in the sale or rental of private housing' (*CE* 14 June 1962). The ordinance was sponsored by Councilmember Ed Roybal, and brought to the health and welfare committee on 21 June, 1962. Speakers from CORE, the NAACP, the West L.A. Fair Housing Committee and the San Fernando Valley Fair Housing testified to a packed room about specific cases of discrimination, along with a Black real estate agent describing his experience trying and failing to become a member of the L.A. Realty Board (*CE* 28 June 1962).

On a state level, the California Committee for Fair Practices held a conference in Fresno in December 1962. The 148 people present representing more

¹²¹ American Friends Service Committee Newsletter, May 1963 – *ACLU* Box 30, Folder 1.

than 100 civil rights groups made legislation barring discrimination in all rentals and sales of housing their number one priority for the 1963 legislative session (*CE* 13 December 1962). This would be sponsored by Assembly Member Rumford as Assembly Bill 1240, essentially the same as a fair housing bill that had failed to get through committee in 1961. It barred discrimination in all privately or publicly funded housing, gave enforcement powers to the Fair Employment Practices Commission, and banned discrimination among lending institutions, mortgage brokers, and realtors (Friends Committee on Legislation, 1963).

CORE would take up the struggle to pass A.B. 1240 with all of their customary vigour – this in spite of internal opposition from more moderate groups who wanted to distance themselves as much as possible from CORE’s confrontational tactics (Hosang, 2012). After ten CORE members established themselves in a sit-in of the capitol’s rotunda on 29 May, 1963, Rumford himself is quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* stating that the demonstration was ‘well-intentioned but misdirected’, continuing that ‘it certainly won’t encourage the enactment of legislation. I don’t want the senators to think we’re trying to pressure them’ (*LAT* 30 May 1963). Three days after the sit-in began and a call was sent out for a ‘freedom-ride’ to the capitol, the number had swelled from ten to fifty (*LAT* 1 June 1963). The *Sentinel* clearly shared in mainstream disapproval of CORE’s actions. It waited until 6 June to cover the action with three short paragraphs, and even the visits of Marlon Brando and Paul Newman to join the sit-ins resulted in the story expanding to only four (13 June 1963). An *L.A. Times* article gives it more coverage but with a negative slant. Headlined ‘Sit-ins fill Capitol Foyer with Litter’, the reporter notes the ‘flag-draped area looking more like a campground than a legislative hallway’ (14 June 1963).

The sit-in would last over three weeks before the bill's dramatic passage at the very end of the legislative session. Blocked by two powerful senators, Democrats Gibson (originally from Alabama) and Burns who were both strongly opposed to fair housing legislation, the bill sat in the Committee for Governmental Efficiency as the two worked to stop or water down the bill in negotiations. Support from Rumford and the Governor ensured the bill's passage, but the senators still achieved the exclusion of owner-occupied dwellings of four units or less and the removal of specific references to minimum fines or jail time for violation (American Friends Service Committee Newsletter, May 1963 – *ACLU* Box 30, Folder 1; *Sentinel* 27 June 1963). Over the weeks they held it up in committee, more than 300 people and 16 CORE chapters from around California participated in sit-in in relays (*LAT* 20 June 1963). Escalating from the sit-in, CORE had launched both a hunger strike, as well as what they called a lie-in, in which twenty-five members lay down blocking both sides of the door upon the adjournment of the session. The bill passed in the last dramatic few hours before the session's close. Burns, one of the senators working to block the bill in committee, used the firecrackers traditionally lighted in celebration at the end of session to throw at the protestors (*Sentinel* 27 June 1963).

The American Friends Committee in their published report on the bill and its passage through the Senate noted that external factors had played a role in its passage, the first was CORE's sit-in to protest to ensure that the vote was taken:

The quiet group sitting around the rotunda railing for three weeks did seem to serve this purpose: It was a daily reminder to all passing by that the fair housing issue had not been settled, and the resultant publicity in the press reminded the voters that the Senate was stalling.

In the meantime, daily reports of violence in racial conflicts in the South, and especially news of the use of fire hoses and police dogs against the Negro people of Birmingham, gave legislators a new sense of the urgency of AB 1240 (The American Friends Committee 1963).

Passing the Rumford Act certainly marked a milestone in fair housing legislation, giving some concrete means of enforcement to anti-discrimination provisions and expanding this enforcement to lenders and realtors. Before 1948, the State and Federal governments had actively supported segregation through policy and regulation, post-48 they had been required to remain neutral. The passage of the Rumford Act, along with other civil rights legislation, meant that the government now had to take sides *against* segregation. While it proved too weak to have a real effect on CORE's ongoing disputes with Wilson, the Rumford Act still signified not just the removal of a previous pillar of a segregated society but a potentially active force against segregation. An easy articulation of government force and policy in service of maintaining the hegemony of white space and privilege would no longer be possible without the act's repeal (a vigorous campaign led by CREA did spring up and is discussed at the end of the chapter), but the twists in CORE's Torrance campaign would point to alternative strategies of side-lining government interference, or articulating it in very new kinds of ways.

THE CONFLICT ESCALATES

CORE was making no headway against the united forces marshalled in support of Wilson's policies of segregation. One of the part-time salesmen working for his company was Torrance Police Sergeant Philip Wilson, and CORE filed complaints against him with the Torrance Police Department, mayor, city attorney and city council for both threats and harassment, particularly of interracial groups (*Sentinel* 7 March 1963). In May, CORE accused Sgt. Wilson of knocking two CORE members to the ground while they were attempting to sit-in at the Centerview tract escrow

office, and kicking them repeatedly. Five colleagues from the Firestone Police Department responding to the call refused to arrest him or call for an ambulance, and the Compton District Attorney refused to file charges (*Sentinel* 2 May 1963). This connection between Wilson and the Torrance Police was cemented when he hired an additional off-duty police officer, Lt. Don Cook, as a security guard during demonstrations (*Sentinel* 29 June 1963). Like Wilson himself, both policemen (and undoubtedly most in the department) lived near the disputed area, thus all had their own personal stake in the conflict through work and home (see Figure 3.5). Trouble between CORE and the police would only escalate as the arrests mounted.

Even as the Rumford bill lay blocked in committee and colleagues were conducting the sit-in in Sacramento, sixteen demonstrators were arrested in two groups on 16 June during their attempt to sit-in at Wilson's Torrance sales office (*LAT* 17 June 1963). This is the first time that the local papers covered the story in real depth, with a story in *The Press* illustrated by a number of photos of the demonstrators being arrested. It opens with an acknowledgment of national unrest suddenly become local: 'Torrance today was facing a role as target in the nationwide demonstrations for integration' (*Press* 19 June 1963). Direct actions both in L.A. and Sacramento brought CORE both a large increase in members as well as a higher profile in mainstream press. The *L.A. Times* covered CORE's next training in 'picket-line conduct', followed by a demonstration of about 125 people to 'confront the public with the fact there is a racial problem in Torrance' (*LAT* 23 June 1963). While in some ways this did actually begin to present CORE to the mainstream white public in a meaningful way, the caption underneath the large accompanying photo stated: 'Sit-in ignored – Couple talk with Southwood Homes salesmen in tract

sales office as CORE sit-in demonstrators sit side-by-side on the floor before desk' (*LAT* 23 June 1963).

At around 1:30 am Sunday morning, Wilson made twenty-three more citizen's arrests of CORE members attempting to continue a sit-in at the sales office. The *Sentinel* reports charges of brutal handling of those arrested, with the women 'subjected to indignities', and one pulled by the hair and thrown head-first into the paddy-wagon before being tipped over (27 June 1963). The arrests, without any report of police brutality, made it all the way to page two of the *L.A. Times* (24 June 1963). This had partly been spurred by a press conference held two weeks earlier, where 'Negroes to Press Civil Rights Here' had made front-page news. Dr Taylor, head of the L.A. branch of the NAACP, was joined by other civil rights organisations including CORE to announce demands and deadlines for actions towards 'total integration' in the area, 'holding in reserve Birmingham-type demonstrations if their goals are not met' (*LAT* 5 June 1963). CORE was no longer alone in the militance of their demands for total integration.

African-American struggle around segregation in Los Angeles was finally obtaining prominent, and somewhat favourable coverage in the mainstream press from reporter Paul Weeks with sub-headlines such as: 'Not a Gift but a Right' (Weeks 23 June 1963). The next day he wrote:

In the total community, the gradual elimination of racial barriers (a pace with which the Negro is impatient) nevertheless reflects Los Angeles' general acceptance of change.

Why don't "we" – white of Negro – know "them" better?

Housing discrimination, says Wendell Green, head of the housing section of the United Civil Rights Committee, has sealed off the Negro from the rest of the population (Weeks 24 June 1963).

Space and segregation are here recognised – as Bass had recognised years before – as principal forces in maintaining racial barriers. Wilson and the campaign for full residential integration would be taken on as a principal campaign of the new united front against discrimination, with L.A.’s other civil rights organisations in L.A. joining their efforts to CORE’s. In preparation, the United Civil Rights Committee (UCRC) conducted three civil rights trainings in non-violent tactics for more than 300 people with the help of CORE. In spite of this, the NAACP’s Dr Taylor remained much more willing to cater to white sensibilities. He was reported as ‘inclined to blame both Negro and white communities for the burgeoning of the Negro housing situation in the past ten years. “We were both asleep” he said. “We weren’t aware of the population explosion to come”’ (Weeks 24 June 1963).

Throwing their weight behind CORE, the NAACP and UCRC also joined them in direct negotiations with Wilson, demanding acceptance of the following conditions:

1. Accept deposit from Odis B Jackson (An African American who had volunteered to buy a home in the tract)
2. Hire a Negro salesman in Southwood office
3. Move for a dismissal of the trespassing charges against 40 CORE demonstrators
4. Issue public statement saying selling houses on non-discriminatory basis, place in advertising and post in sales offices
5. Advertise the Centerview development in L.A. Times and the Southwood tract in *Eagle* and *Sentinel* (*Sentinel* 29 June 1963)

The set of conditions were discussed during a long and contentious meeting and decided upon in the late afternoon of the same day as a meeting scheduled with Wilson – the NAACP/UCRC turned up over an hour and a half late (*Sentinel* 14 July 1963). When the conditions were not met, an announcement from Dr Taylor implied

they were starting anew, saying ‘We will strike our first blow at housing bias with a strong demonstration at this project Saturday’. Wendell Green, chairman of the joint NAACP-UCRC housing committee stated hopefully ‘We know that a major breakthrough on the housing tract is a certainty if we show we mean business by a large demonstration’ (*Sentinel* 27 June 1963). A large motor cavalcade was planned between the four main civil rights organisations.

RADICALISING RESIDENTS; PRIVATISING THE STREETS

After one march of 125 people and the promise of an even larger one to come, Torrance residents were as up in arms as the newly united African-American civil rights organisations. Since April the pickets in Torrance (and only in Torrance, highlighting its broader importance to the white community) had been attracting counter-protestors, including over a dozen Nazi party members complete with armbands and placards such as ‘RACE-MIXING IS JEWISH, ZIONISM IS TREASON, COMMUNISM IS JEWISH’.¹²² While not picked-up by the press, Nazi counter-protests had become part of CORE’s recruitment talks at colleges as member Bruce Hartford recalls from watching films of actions shown at a coffee shop near UCLA:

In his movie there were more fully-uniformed members of the American Nazi Party counter-demonstrating than there were CORE pickets. Jack boots, tan uniforms, swastika armbands, stiff-arm salutes, the whole megilla [sic].

So when I saw those Nazis – “Holy shit! When is your next picket? I’ll be there.” And I went. And again there were more damn Nazis there than there were of us. They had about 50, we had about 20. And these were scary Nazis. These were not your three little Nazis surrounded by a mob of anti-racist protestors. This was a band of racist thugs surrounding a little CORE picket line. Way different from today. Way, way, different from

¹²² CORE press release 7 April 1963 – *DLP* Box 12, Folder 14.

today. And they were throwing shit at us, and you know, the whole bit (Hartford 2002).

Not only were Nazis turning up in the neighbourhood, but they were purportedly taking the side of the white residents there, causing no small discomfort. In a City Council meeting held on the Tuesday evening before the threatened mass march, over 250 ‘angry and disturbed home owners’ demanded something be done about the ‘racial picketing’ (*Press*, 26 June 1963). In the words of one resident representative reported in the same article:

We live in the Southwood tract. The demonstrations by CORE and the publicity have brought us to a dangerous and precarious point. We are sitting on a powder keg with a short wick. We don’t know who’s going to ignite it.

We want to protect our property and secure safety for our children and ourselves. We want to take all steps to prevent a riot.

The language as reported in the paper is almost entirely race neutral and tries not to take sides in the conflict, instead the focus is on the disruption caused by CORE’s search for civil rights. A similarly neutral petition, reportedly signed by 100 residents in less than two hours, refers to the safety of their children and that they ‘have been unable to secure for themselves the full use and benefit of their individual property rights, peace and quiet’. Yet when the representative of the Centinela-Bay Human Relations Commission attempted to speak, asking for the council to use its influence to ensure all qualified buyers were allowed to buy into the tract and to investigate charges of ‘overzealousness’ on the part of the police, the crowd booed and shouted him down. Instead the homeowners urged for ‘every available police support to break up people congregating in the area’ and for the area to essentially be closed to outside traffic evenings and weekends – thus the proposal to close off the community first came from the residents themselves (*Press* 26 June 1963; *Sentinel*

28 June 1963). Accompanying the article was a picture (Figure 3.10) contrasting the ‘Beatnik type’ marching with CORE to the upstanding Torrance citizens attending the council meeting:



FIGURE 3-9 FRONT PAGE ILLUSTRATION SHOWING CONTRAST BETWEEN ‘BEATNIK’ PROTESTORS AND RESIDENTS (PRESS 26 JUNE 1963).

There seems to be an equation with outsiders, ‘beatniks’ and counterculture, and Negroes – all things unwanted. Another article on the upcoming march notes that only one of the pickets is from the South Bay, and she is a divorcee (Press 26 June 1963).

In the *Torrance Herald*, an editorial on the front page sums up local opinion – that there is no discrimination and that CORE is unreasonably stirring up trouble:

With respect to the controversy which now threatens the peace and perhaps the welfare of a large segment of our city, the charges of racial discrimination are not backed by the facts, leading to the conclusion that the rightful demands of American Negroes for equal treatment, not only in law and civil rights but in social contacts and opportunities, are not involved.

Mr. Wilson states as fact that no Negro has sought to purchase a home in the Torrance tract. As late as last Saturday, he personally offered to sell one or more of the homes to any of those on the scene as protestants [sic] (27 June 1963).

As in *The Press*, much is made of the majority of picketers being young college students who are not there to actually buy homes. Mayor Isen ‘characterized as “ridiculous” CORE’s attempts to “crack the community in our highest-priced neighbourhood.” He said there were homes of more modest price “they could have sought” (Weeks 13 July 1963). The continuing unquestioned common-sense connection between whiteness, exclusivity and exchange value could not be more clear. Meanwhile, providing lip service to a new equality without accepting it in practice, Don Wilson insisted on his willingness to sell a home, but stated no African Americans were able to qualify as buyers. The UCRC, NAACP, Urban League and CORE failed to get anything more than a repetition of this statement in negotiations with Wilson, even while pressuring him through a meeting between the developer, four civil rights groups, three clergymen, and Torrance city officials (*Sentinel* 28 June 1963).

On the Friday before the big march, Mr. Jackson – African-American buyer – drove to the sales office to put a deposit on a home. The manager stated that his cheque was rejected because his wife was not present, ‘it is not a case of discriminating’ (*TH* 30 June 1963). On a visit to the tract with the city manager and a councilman that same afternoon to plan the emergency blockading of the streets to

cars, forcing protesters to park and walk the final mile to the picket lines, the

Sentinel quotes the Mayor:

“The demonstrators aren’t barred,’ Isen said, ‘This is a free country.’”

Isen said Torrance has grown from a city of 20,000 in 1950 to 120,000 today. And “so far as I know,” he said, “the only Negro residents are two persons whose spouses are colored.

“I think the area would accept a colored (house) buyer,” said Isen. “If these people, through their white advocates, would calm down, take off the force and pressure, they could go a long way” (*Sentinel* 29 June 1963).

He is in generic support of civil rights, while essentially denying the existence of discrimination in Torrance. He also implies that any impasse is the fault of the protestors and that African Americans are little more than the pawns of white outside agitators. These would become familiar themes.

While the organisers of the march had expected 200-300 people, at least 200 cars met up for the cavalcade that first drove to Centerview Estates and Dominguez Hills before reaching Torrance, where about 700 marched in total (*TH* 30 June 1963). They paraded before a sales office closed at the request of city authorities to prevent another sit-in (*Sentinel* 30 June 1963). Of an estimated 250 spectators not from the actual development, the American Nazi Party – carrying a large banner stating ‘White Men Unite’ – and about 50 people from the Committee Against Integration and Intermarriage appeared among the curious and hostile (*Press* 3 July 1963, *Sentinel* 4 July 1963). From the residents themselves there was a scattering of American flags on front lawns, as though to say protest was un-American. Barbara Dimmick of CORE writes of Torrance residents lined up at the intersection of Sepulveda and Anza Blvd. While occasional encouragement was heard, no one joined them and most of the remarks remained ‘censored’ in her account (Dimmick 4 July 1963). A *Sentinel* article written as a first-person narrative of the event notes:

Across the street, on the corners ahead, unsympathetic white crowds waited...Half-naked white youth sent up a chorus of boos. "Don't you get the message? We don't want you here," shouted a man. The corner was overcrowded with white people. They spilled into the streets (4 July 1963).

Another article notes a group of neighbourhood youth reciting the Pledge of Allegiance to the marchers, and signs saying 'Without property rights there are no human rights' and 'We have civil rights too' (*Sentinel* 30 June 1963). Photos from *The Press* in Figure 3-11 show just how heavy the police presence was:



FIGURE 3-10 TORRANCE REACTS TO THE BIG MARCH (*PRESS* 3 JULY 1963)

In the aftermath of the protest, a family returned to their car to find all of the windows smashed, and that evening a sniper shot three bullets through the plate glass window at CORE headquarters while people were still inside. No one was hurt (Dimmick 4 July 1963). The following day, CORE resumed its normal picket, the 20

people on the 'freedom lines' far outnumbered by the 50 police present to keep order (*Sentinel* 1 July 1963).

Tensions increased. A CORE photographer had his camera smashed when he was assaulted and knocked down by a Torrance resident (Dimmick 11 July 1963). Two students, one black and one white, reported a white Cadillac making three attempts to run them over in an alley. The assault was witnessed by a resident, who called the police with the license plate number (*LAT* 11 July 1963). Although the police initially stated they would arrest the driver with a charge of assault with a deadly weapon, no arrest was made, even after CORE members attempted to conduct a citizen's arrest themselves (*LAT* 11 July 1963). The two police officers in charge of the investigation were reportedly Sgt Phillips and Lt Cook, both of whom worked for Don Wilson (*Sentinel* 12 July 1963). The body of a black man shot in the back of the head three times was found in an empty lot nearby, provoking even more fears. Four CORE representatives visited the hospital where he was taken (*TH* 11 July 1963, Weeks 11 July 1963). While the murdered man was ultimately proved not to have been known to the protestors or have participated in the march, given the openly white supremacist presence there along with the terrorism being faced by civil rights protests in the South, this must have proved both traumatic and worrying to CORE members.

In spite of this, CORE had such an influx of new volunteers they were fighting to ensure that all were trained in non-violence and searching for larger meeting places to hold meetings (Dimmick 11 July 1963). On the other side, homeowners protested at another packed emergency meeting held by the city council, with president William Uerkewitz of the homeowner's association arguing strongly for a city injunction securing their community from strangers. 'Many moral

implications are brought up' the *Torrance Herald* quotes him as saying, explaining that men and women are sleeping in the office in view of the neighbouring houses. He did not need to underline that not only was it men and women, but men and women of mixed race. The council rushed through an emergency injunction closing Southwood Riviera streets down to all but residents and their guests on evenings and weekends (*TH* 11 July 1963).

A CORE press conference announced that they planned to defy what the *L.A. Times* called Torrance's 'sit-in law', noting that the fine was higher than similar ordinances in the deep South. They planned both to challenge its constitutionality, and to continue with plans for the largest protest yet on 28 July to mark an entire year of picketing against Wilson's policies of discrimination (Weeks 11 July 1963). The Los Angeles Superior Court granted an injunction against the Torrance ordinance, even as *The Press* reported that the City Council was contemplating repealing the ordinance only a week after it had been passed. This came on the heels of an announcement that an agreement had been reached between Wilson and the NAACP and UCRC, and charges against the 39 people arrested by Wilson during the sit-ins were dropped. The agreement reached detailed that: 1. Wilson had received the deposit of an African American and would work 'diligently to complete the sale'; 2. The African-American salesman employed by Wilson at Centerview would be 'utilized' in all of his tracts; 3. No discriminatory advertising would be used (*Press* 14 July 1963).

An editorial in the *Torrance Herald* under the title of 'A Welcome Agreement' plays the NAACP and UCRC off unfavourably against CORE, implying that calm negotiation would have solved everything from the beginning:

The HERALD thinks the understanding reached between the developer and the integration leaders Friday is one which a large majority of Torrance's residents will support. It could well have been reached sooner in the calm atmosphere displayed Friday by Wilson, Dr. Christopher Taylor of the NAACP and others (14 July 1963).

It notes that CORE did hail the announcement, but insisted on maintaining minimal and token pickets present at the tract, and at Centerview, until the sale had actually been completed. With only placard and a handful of picketers they passed out a statement which included the following:

...CORE has discontinued its sit-in demonstrations...However, CORE will maintain a token picket line until all steps of the agreement are put into effect and until the Negro buyer is assured ownership of the home. CORE hopes that this interim vigil will be brief so that we can turn all our energies toward ending discrimination in other areas of Los Angeles County (*LAT* 14 July 1963).

The NAACP and UCRC were fairly public with their feelings that the months of pickets and weeks of sit-ins conducted by CORE did not carry the force of the joint effort they had launched. Dr Taylor played into the role of the moderate saving the day, stating 'I think this thing might have been settled if I hadn't had to leave town for a week to attend the NAACP convention in Chicago' (Weeks 12 July 1963). The *L.A. Times* continued to support claims by John A. Buggs, executive director of the County Commission on Human Relations that 'While demonstrations are more spectacular, real progress has been made in quiet negotiation' (quoted in Weeks 14 July 1963).

Maintaining a picket in spite of criticism from other civil rights organisations, CORE also sent in white testers to attempt to buy homes from Wilson when he failed to contact Jackson about the sale within a week as promised. They found that the deposits on the remaining homes were from other Southwood

residents and friends of Wilson, and white families were told they were still available (*Press* 26 July 1963). Reporting this to a meeting with the NAACP and UCRC resulted in all three jointly accusing Wilson of renegeing on his deal, followed by an announcement of a mass public meeting to decide on next steps (*Weeks* 26 July 1963). Wilson then claimed that Jackson's check had not gone through and that he was rejecting his offer on 'ground that Jackson was not financially qualified'. CORE announced the sit-ins would continue (*Press* 26 July 1963).

The following weekend more than 150 people picketed Torrance, including Marlon Brando and Pernell Roberts from the popular TV Western *Bonanza*. Ninety-five policemen were waiting for them, working in 12-hour shifts (*Weeks* 28 July 1963). Although still unable to enforce the emergency ordinance passed by the council closing streets down to non-residents, 69 people were arrested over the weekend in what *The Press* titled 'Arrests by the Busload'. The police department obviously looked to up the ante, charging picket captains not just with trespassing but with counselling others to break the law and contributing to the delinquency of a minor (*Press* 31 July 1963). The City Attorney, Homeowner's Association and Wilson worked together to each file a separate lawsuit against CORE requesting essentially the same thing: increased legal restraints on those picketing in Torrance (*TH* 1 August 1963).

In the leaflet distributed by homeowners, they clearly viewed themselves as mere innocent bystanders in a drama that was not about civil rights but publicity, and unfairly targeted at their neighbourhood. They distance themselves as much from right wing white supremacy groups as from civil rights groups, categorizing both as 'attention-seekers'.

It is painfully obvious that CORE does not in fact stand for what they say they stand for. They certainly don't seem to be genuinely interested in either civil or human rights. They agitate, demonstrate and disrupt for the sole purpose of keeping a normally quiet residential area in a constant state of turmoil. Many of our neighbors are in a state of near panic.

Baby sitters refuse to accept jobs in the area where all night lie-ins take place.

Expectant mothers are nervous, upset and distraught. Our wives and mothers are afraid to go out after dark, not only because of the demonstrators, but for fear of the trash they attract as well ... Nazis, gangs of teenage bums spoiling for trouble, sneak thieves and others of that ilk. Our children are being taught that disobedience and disorder is the way to attain goals and that law officers represent evil. If these are the aims of CORE, then they have certainly been successful.

The homeowners of this area have been plagued by these demonstrations and the publicity seekers they attract for a full year. We are fed up with them and with their tactics. We want for ourselves the same civil rights they claim to be demonstrating for. We want to be left alone to enjoy our homes and our families. Is that too much to ask?

We are not wealthy people. To many of us, our homes represent most of what we own and hold dear. Many in the area have made substantial sacrifices to purchase homes in this neighborhood. Now we want to live in them in peace. We respect the civil and human right of every individual, whatever his race, creed or color and we ask that our own rights be respected as well.

After a long paragraph explaining why they believed that Jackson was not a serious buyer and never intended to purchase the home, the statement continues:

All of these factors have convinced the 600 homeowners in the Southwood Riviera section that it is not Don Wilson being demonstrated against, but the individual residents themselves." (*Press* 31 July 1963)

Here the residents have recast themselves as beleaguered minority, their own rights under attack, without making any attempt to try and answer the question of why this might be. This letter shows them working to overcome the destabilisation of the old ideological certainties of white supremacy that Torrance was founded upon to find new forms of discourse to justify their untroubled enjoyment of its exclusive (and expensive) space. They take up a similar discourse of civil rights as the protestors, but privilege those of property (being already in possession of it) and security rather

than those of justice or equality – thereby helping to forge the new ideological supports of white privilege strong enough to survive in this new historical moment.

An *L.A. Times* article gives a more revealing view into what lies behind this new discourse. It opens with the reactions of tract residents describing children playing a new game: picketing. An angry mother blames the mass protests for ‘disturbing our children, upsetting our lives and changes our way of thinking about Negroes.’ Residents believe that protesters are being used in some way by Communists, relate rumours that they are being paid, question their motives as being self-glorifying or driven by personal grudges, and they worry about the safety of their children. One described his wife as ‘a nervous wreck’. Another woman states ‘I’m very liberal minded and I couldn’t care less if a Negro lived next to me. But, I don’t like to be pushed around like we have been in past months’. A third: ‘We’re tired of people saying we have to put up with everything just because someone is mad at Don Wilson. We have rights too’. All of them seemed sure that Don Wilson did his best to sell a home to an African American, and that it was not the developer’s fault the deal fell through (Neff 4 August 1963).

OBSTINATE TO THE END

In a follow-up article from the point of view of protestors, the *L.A. Times* quotes picketer Reverend Samuels: ‘It’s monotonous, hot, tiring work to spend hours every Saturday or Sunday trudging up and down a sidewalk under the eyes of police and the disdainful glare of homeowners’. He was one of a total of 152 who had by then been arrested in protest at the tract. In response to the charge of communism levelled at them by homeowners, another CORE member responded: ‘CORE is totally

non-political. We have only one aim and that is eliminating racial discrimination. Any member whose allegiance is to a foreign power is automatically expelled'. According to CORE, Jackson did indeed wish to buy the home, and eight other African-American couples had attempted to purchase in the tract. While members were sympathetic towards the homeowners' complaints, they felt that human and civil rights were more important than property rights. The article highlights that through the entire year of picketing CORE had encouraged residents to join them in asking Don Wilson to stop discriminating. Only in the past week had one homeowner out of the tract's 650 joined the pickets in support (Neff 5 August 1963).

And still the picketing continued, even as CORE, the NAACP, and UCRC sought additional leverage against Don Wilson. In terms of coming to grips with the economics of Wilson's business practices, the closest the groups come is in the analysis of where leverage might lie that could force him to sell a home. The NAACP/UCRC had already announced their request that the governor take the steps necessary to revoke Wilson's building licence (Weeks 26 July 1963). CORE announced in a press conference that they would begin an around-the-clock sit-in of the Torrance sales office, defying further arrests. At the same time they requested the Home Savings & Loan Association issue a statement that they would cease to support Wilson until he acceded to CORE's integration demands. As CORE explained: 'Since 1960, Wilson has never found a Negro who 'qualifies financially' for homes in his all-white tracts, but he has sold equally expensive homes to Negroes in his Centerview tract' (Weeks 28 July 1963). CORE then expanded their pickets to include the Home Savings & Loan Association's Beverley Hills and L.A. offices (*Sentinel* 10 August 1963). The Southwood pickets continued, with 60 demonstrators appearing the following weekend and another 25 arrests. A *Sentinel* reporter

describes Wilson being visibly affected by the site of so many white people: ‘To one group of sit-ins with only one Negro, he said: "One black. Look, only one black!"’ (4 August 1963).

In the first week of August, the court upheld the city’s curfew law and lifted the injunction. On the weekend following, Torrance police made 72 arrests, 31 of them for violations of the new law as CORE members conducted a ‘walk-in’ to test the ordinance (*Sentinel* 8 August 1963). The sheer volume of trials was proving difficult for Torrance to handle, with the single city prosecutor’s request for help refused by the district attorney, even as the trials themselves were being scheduled in batches of 25 in the Redondo Beach Council Chamber to accommodate the size (*TH* 8 August 1963). Barbara Dimmick of CORE wrote:

The time is now...1963. The place is a quiet, residential street in Torrance, California. Which is in America. The land of the free, the home of the brave. It’s 7 pm on a Sunday evening. Marring the quiet scene are road blocks and the armed policemen and a crowd of curious onlookers. What’s happening...why, nothing much, just some people. About thirty, walking single file toward the roadblocks and the police. They go through the roadblocks. Now the police leap onto their motorcycles and follow them. They stop the walkers. A huge bus rumbles over. The walkers are arrested. The police put them in the bus. The charge? It’s against the law to walk down that street after 7 p.m. on weekends if you are not a resident of Torrance. This happened last Sunday in America...land of the free...home of the brave! (8 August 1963).

Even as this massive effort was happening in Torrance, CORE was mobilising for a mass march on the Board of Education with the NAACP and UCRC, to be followed by a fund-raising concert starring Nat King Cole. At the same time the employment committee was concluding negotiations with Disneyland to hire on a non-discriminatory basis (Dimmick, 8 August 1963). The organisational resources must have been stretched to their limits.

The following weekend National Director of CORE James Farmer walked the picket lines both at the Torrance tract and in front of the Home Savings and Loan Association, and a new student group affiliated with CORE picketed the Torrance police station itself in protest of the more than 200 arrests made over the past year (*Sentinel* 11 August 1963). The police reported the weekend's total as twenty-six arrested at the tract, and five more at the Torrance police station (*TH* 15 August 1963). In what appears to have been retaliation, the twenty protestors arrested on the Saturday were transferred to Los Angeles County Jail with its longer processing times, though the bondsmen believed them to be in Torrance (*Sentinel* 12 August 1963).

In the week following the judge ruled on the first of the three lawsuits filed to restrict picketing, issuing an injunction against sitting, standing, lying, or squatting on the property. It placed no limits on the number of pickets, but insisted that they continue moving and remain at least 10 feet apart and on one side of the sidewalk (*TH* 15 August 1963). That same week the same judge ruled on the 'public nuisance' lawsuit of the homeowner's association, and ordered an even more severe injunction, stating that protesters could only picket for 10 minutes of every hour, and not before 8 am or after 7 pm. Meanwhile, ACLU attorneys had completely tied up the courts – not one CORE picketer had yet come to trial after days of jury selection with only 12 of 125 peremptory strikes used by the defence (*TH* 18 August 1963). They also filed affidavits for 73 protesters requesting a change of location as they could not obtain a fair trial in Redondo Beach or Torrance (*Sentinel* 15 August 1963). The number of cases put immense pressure on the entire South Bay legal system, a new division was added to the South Bay legal district to help deal with the cases and Torrance was forced to hire additional help for the prosecution (*TH* 22 August 1963).

Three days of negotiations had begun amongst the attorneys, the city of Torrance, and CORE. These resulted in an agreement in which the city of Torrance agreed to drop charges against the 234 persons arrested who were still facing trial, while CORE agreed to limit pickets to two one day a week, with no sit-ins or mass demonstrations unless a court found Wilson guilty of refusing to sell a home to anyone based on race, creed, or colour, and the home in question had not then gone into escrow within 30 days (*Press* 28 August 1963). The city emphasised that it had only been working ‘to protect the peace of the neighbourhood and to uphold law and order’, and not engaging in the actual dispute (*TH* 29 August 1963). The city’s ‘non-engagement’ cost an estimated additional \$8,000 a day to cope with the added legal costs of prosecuting protestors (*Sentinel* 29 August 1963), and it continued to pursue a permanent injunction against pickets (*Press* 28 August 1963). While CORE continued small pickets at Centerview, this was essentially the end of the direct action campaign though the discrimination lawsuits against Wilson continued to move through the courts.

An article in the *Sentinel* gives CORE’s tabulations of the cost of their 13-month campaign against Wilson. They estimated:

...over 11,700 manhours volunteered by 3,500 persons.

... the demonstrators walked 5,600 miles at tract and drove more than 80,000 miles to get there and home.

They also consumed 230 gal. of coffee; 1500 soft drinks; 600 loaves of bread; 250 lb. of cold cuts; 300 lb. of hamburger; 12 cases of tuna fish; 16 crates of lettuce; 270 lbs of cookies, and 1354 candy bars.

During the demonstrations, 62,600 leaflets were distributed and 249 arrests made.

... bail totalled nearly \$100,000, however that expense was largely erased when all charges against demonstrators were dropped as a result of an agreement reached by CORE and the City of Torrance.

The article notes that the Torrance tract ‘still has no Negro residents’ (*Sentinel* 8 September 1963).

Homeowners were clearly angry, not just about the picketing and the sit-ins, but that their position on racism was being questioned at all. A forum on Civil Rights put together by the Centinela-Bay Human Relations Commission at Torrance High School was shut down by police who declared it an unlawful assembly and ordered the crowd to disperse, as they believed ‘the temper of the crowd created a possibly riotous situation’. Panelists blamed members of the John Birch Society,¹²³ who heckled, booed, and all coughed at once when the panel moderator attempted to start the discussion. They also led the entire audience in ‘The Star Spangled Banner’, though the reporter states that the crowd did not go along with the ‘Battle Hymn of the Republic’. Yet the depth of bad feeling was clear when Torrance councilmember Sciarotta blamed the incident on CORE, stating that it was ‘fixed to make this city look bad’ (*TH* 22 August 1963). This when a Torrance resident writing in an editorial notes that ‘the forum turned into a Neo-fascist demonstration of Pro-Birchers and Radical Rightists’:

This demonstration in Torrance, the "All American City" was a most frightening experience... Members of the Torrance Police Department were present at the meeting and they did NOTHING. While the Radicals hooted and leered the speakers, they just watched. Couldn't they have removed the undesirables and thereby set an example for the rest? (Mrs Donald Salk, *TH* 29 August 1963)

The week during the council deliberations to approve the extra support for the legal department, Council member Drale asked the council to ‘study the possibility of

¹²³ The John Birch Society was founded in 1958, named after a missionary killed by Communists in China in 1945, and maintaining a virulent anti-communism which believed that President Eisenhower, the federal government, unions, most of the education system, and others were part of a communist conspiracy (Moore 2001).

adopting a resolution on Civil Rights'. Councilmember Miller violently opposed the idea as he believed that the issue did not exist. The *Torrance Herald* reports his statement as 'everything the city has done has shown that everyone receives equal rights in Torrance'. The president of the Southwood Homeowners Association protested 'that the council would even think about a resolution', fully backing Miller's statement that the action's spoke for themselves (22 August 1963). It is hard to see just what these actions were. After the signing of the agreement with CORE, an editorial claims the city's accolades rest rather on its lack of action:

A situation which was distasteful to both sides has been resolved and the civil rights of both demonstrators and residents of the Southwood tract have been protected by provisions of the agreement. The city does not belong to the dispute between CORE, and builder Don Wilson, and it should be noted again that the city has never attempted to decide – or in any way inject itself into that dispute.

The agreement is a product of reasonable men discussing common problems in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust. The tension is gone and the neighborhood is again quiet (*TH* 29 August 1963).

28 August saw L.A.'s largest civil rights march, held in conjunction with the mass march on Washington (*Sentinel* 29 August 1963). CORE had shifted its focus to the Los Angeles education board, where members held a hunger strike for integration (*Sentinel* 24 and 25 September 1963). In December, the state filed charges against Wilson under the Rumford Act for discrimination (*Sentinel* 6 December 1963). There is no report of any African Americans moving into the Dominguez Hills tract, while the Centerview tract continued to sell. It was not until July 1964, that the *L.A. Times* reported that an African-American family had moved into the Southwood Riviera Royale estate. Not through the open purchase CORE and the state had pushed for, but through the subterfuge of purchasing their home through a white intermediary with the help of the Centinela-Bay Human Relations Commission

(Weeks 16 July 1964). This period saw tremendous moral gains won by the civil rights movement and new laws and support of the state and federal government for integration, yet ultimately CORE's campaign failed in its efforts to integrate Torrance – a failure which surely reverberated throughout the Los Angeles area.

THE AFTERMATH

The ultimate failure of the Torrance campaign highlighted the limitations of a moral movement. As Julius Lester writes, 'It was thought then that segregation was a moral issue, therefore a moral weapon – nonviolence, love, satyagraha – would bring the walls of the prison tumbling down' (1968, 4). But it became obvious that the walls of segregation weren't tumbling despite their victories, which brought about huge divisions within civil rights groups like CORE. National director James Farmer writes of his limited success after being brought in to try and deal with the growing splits in terms of both race and philosophy: 'CORE in California, like CORE in other states, continued to simmer over the fire of a widening racial clash and a strengthening of the spirit of black nationalism' (Farmer 1986, 266).

The December 1963 active-member newsletter from Earl Walter, chairman emeritus of CORE, highlights the split while reaffirming the organisation's dedication to its original values:

In addition, the revolution itself has had its effect on the group...The high points and the low points, the stresses and the strains challenge the stability of individuals...the hazards of destruction are necessarily there also. Not every one of us in the movement has outgrown that conditioning which makes heroes out of the real villain in terms of human behaviour. If we are not fully committed to nonviolence, in a period of tension it is quite easy for us to become perpetrators of hostility rather than victims, and thus to lose the

advantage that the philosophy offers.¹²⁴

He is clearly writing to the growing number of advocates of 'Black Power', and he does not seem sorry to lose the 'some 20 or 30' people splitting from the organisation. For those who stayed within CORE, the emphasis shifted more and more to community organising within the African-American community, neighbourhood by neighbourhood. In November 1963 they launched the new project 'Operation Jericho', aimed to bring the 'Alameda wall' tumbling down (*Sentinel* 21 November 1963). Like Torrance, the Alameda wall was also able to hold throughout the revolutionary turmoil of the 1960s. CORE's campaign around integrating schools showed Alameda's importance as a school district boundary as well as a residential one, as seen in Figure 3-12. The battle to keep neighbourhoods white was always also about control over key institutions and wealth – maintaining white dominance over social space because it 'underpins the reproduction of production relations and property relations (i.e. ownership of land, of space; hierarchical ordering of locations; organization of networks as a function of capitalism; class structures...)' (Lefebvre 1991, 349).

¹²⁴ *DLP*, Box 12 Folder 7.

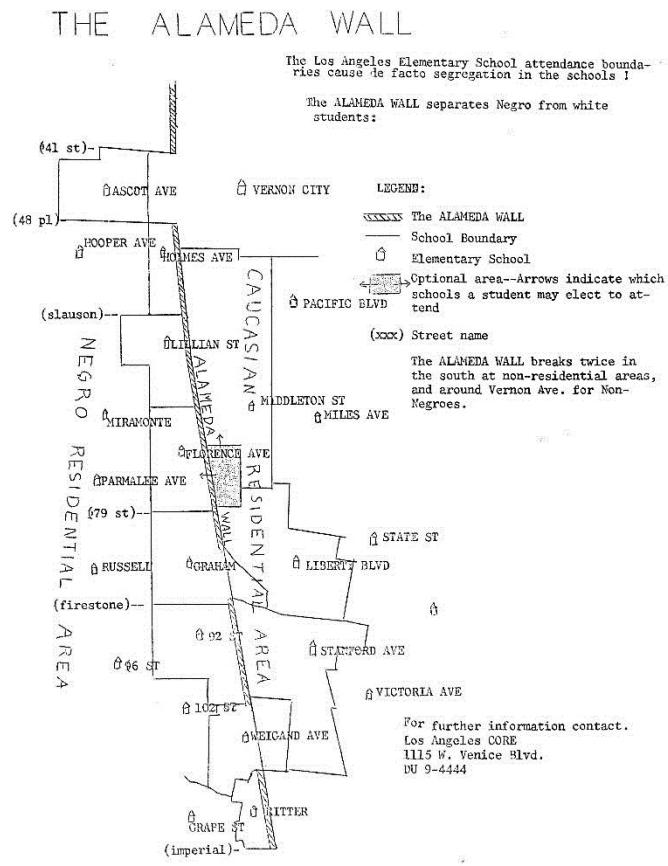


FIGURE 3-11 UNDATED CORE LEAFLET ON THE ALAMEDA WALL IN RELATION TO SCHOOL DISTRICTS¹²⁵

This chapter shows the ways in which the spatiality of these relations cannot be understood without understanding their articulations with race, but at the same time that space is key to understanding the ways in which ‘Race is thus, also, the modality in which class is “lived”, the medium through which class relations are experienced...’ (Hall 1980, 341). The desperate importance of overcoming the segregation of both space and institutions was intuitively understood as necessary for society’s transformation by CORE’s organisers and members. The intractable and

¹²⁵ WISC MSS14 Box 24, Folder 2.

united front presented by Torrance overshadowed their other victories, however. Despite the brief revival brought by a new campaign involving mass sit-ins at meetings of the School Board, the organisation was losing steam.

Immediately after the Rumford Act had passed making housing discrimination illegal in 1963, the California Real Estate Association formed the Committee for Home Protection and began a campaign not just to overturn the law, but to amend the state constitution through Proposition 14 on the 1964 election ballot. Such was its perceived popularity, Republican candidates distributed supportive propaganda stamped with their names, such as William McDill running for Assembly member in the 61st District (Figure 3-13). The themes of property rights, patriotism and freedom so predominant in the rhetoric of earlier homeowner organising continue, with a nod to their economic importance. The other side of the leaflet states a ‘Yes Vote: Will restore rights basic to our freedom – rights that permit all persons to decide for themselves what to do with their own property’. This is emblematic of the ways that CREA and their supporters attempting to mobilise the idea of freedom to reclaim and redefine the concept of rights to white neighbourhoods as civil rights equal to those claimed by groups like CORE. CREA’s is a discourse of privilege that has been lost, of American rights that have been taken away by an interfering government in service to minority groups. As proof of the resonance of such a recasting of whites as victims needing protection, Proposition 14 won in a landslide.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ For an impressive in-depth look at this campaign and what it meant for progressive forces in California, see HoSang’s *Racial Propositions* (2012).

READ THE AMENDMENT ☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

Neither the State nor any subdivision or agency thereof shall deny, limit or abridge, directly or indirectly, the right of any person, who is willing or desires to sell, lease or rent any part or all of his real property, to decline to sell, lease or rent such property to such person or persons as he, in his absolute discretion, chooses.

'Person' includes individuals, partnerships, corporations and other legal entities and their agents or representatives but does not include the State or any subdivision thereof with respect to the sale, lease or rental of property owned by it.

'Real property' consists of any interest in real property of any kind or quality, present or future, irrespective of how obtained or financed, which is used, designed, constructed, zoned or otherwise devoted to or limited for residential purposes whether as a single family dwelling or as a dwelling for two or more persons or families living together or independently of each other.

This Article shall not apply to the obtaining of property by eminent domain pursuant to Article I, Sections 14 and 14½ of this Constitution, nor to the renting or providing of any accommodations for lodging purposes by a hotel, motel or other similar public place engaged in furnishing lodging to transient guests.

If any part or provision of this Article, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of the Article, including the application of such part or provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby and shall continue in full force and effect. To this end the provisions of this Article are severable.

NOW YOU KNOW IT RESTORES YOUR FREEDOM—VOTE 'YES' #14 NOV. 3

Your 'YES' Vote on Proposition #14 will

- ☆ Restore your Freedom to Sell or Rent your Property to Anyone You Choose
- ☆ Stop Police State Practices
- ☆ Promote Friendly Community Relations
- ☆ Restore Constitutional Protection to Homeowners
- ☆ Eliminate Tyranny of a Bureaucratic Commission
- ☆ Remove Risk of Heavy Economic Losses

COMMITTEE FOR YES ON PROPOSITION #14
TO ABOLISH RUMFORD FORCED HOUSING ACT

609 SOUTH GRAND AVENUE LOS ANGELES 17	703 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 5
--	--------------------------------------

HOWARD L. BYRAM, STATE CHAIRMAN

CALIFORNIANS SHOULD HAVE FREEDOM OF CHOICE ☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

presented By
WILLIAM R. McDILL
Candidate For Assembly






FIGURE 3-12 UNDATED LEAFLET FROM THE COMMITTEE FOR YES ON PROPOSITION #14¹²⁷

The effect of such a major defeat for liberals and all communities of colour cannot be underestimated. Meier and Rudwick found great disillusionment with CORE's tactics given the power of white racism, quoting a member after the Watts riots they write:

¹²⁷ L.A. Subject Files, Pamphlets, Fair Housing 1, Southern California Library.

non-violence might well have been adopted by Los Angeles Negroes had they received convincing evidence of its effectiveness. Likely they saw, as we in CORE have learned, that the most persistent nonviolent campaign ... can yield at best a puny gradualism. The laws we have won are grudgingly written, passed, and enforced (Meier and Rudwick 1973, 401).

Dr Cobb, staff member of the L.A. County Human Relations Commission and UCRC member, stated in an interview with the Governor's Commission on the L.A. Riots that in the field of housing 'the CORE housing chairman had expressed the feeling that there was nothing that could be done...Dr. Cobb remarked when the civil rights leaders take that attitude, this reflects a serious problem' (Cobb 1965).

The Watts riots followed hard on the heels of Prop 14 – indeed, the Governor's Commission noted its passage several times in the hearings as a principal cause of discontent along with police brutality – and graphically illustrated the loss of hope in peaceful protest and political process. Sears and McConahay conducted a study of opinions after the riots, and their findings showed this clearly:

The racial polarization of local black and white leaders was duplicated almost immediately in the responses of the black and white publics, These descriptions of and feelings about the riot were as different as night and day....Most blacks perceived the riot as (1) a purposeful symbolic protest (2) against legitimate grievances, (3) designed to call attention to Blacks' problems...When asked directly, a majority felt the riot did have a purpose or a goal, felt that the targets deserved attack, and agreed that the riot constituted a black protest. Also, when given a free choice of descriptive terms, a surprisingly large minority [38%] chose to talk about it in revolutionary or insurrectional terms... (1973, 159).

They also found of Black respondents that 'most thought Whites had become more "aware of Negroes' problems" and more sympathetic to them as a consequence of the riot' (1973, 161). This stands in tragic contrast to whites and Mexicans interviewed:

52 per cent reported feeling a "great deal" of fear. Fear among whites was greatest in Baldwin Hills and Leimert Park, two integrated communities on the edge of the Curfew Zone (35 per cent reported a "great deal") but, even in affluent Pacific Palisades 20 miles from the riot, 12 per cent reported "a great

deal" of fear (1973, 164).

Horne describes the way that Watts and its aftermath radicalised the community, writing that it 'helped to set in motion a nationalism that filled an ideological void in Black L.A.' (1995, 132). He argues that this was caused by the red scare of the 1950s, and its destruction of viable organisation joining community with labour, class with race to create a void that CORE only partially filled even before it fell apart. The Black Panthers briefly created a revolutionary moment beginning in 1967, as panther Elaine Brown explains:

They were a new generation of black men, divorced completely now from the old, the civil-rights movement of the NAACP and the Urban League and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. They were young black men no longer concerned with the business of segregation or integration. They were young black men who were calling for an end, not only to discrimination, and end not only to the denial of civil rights, but to all forms of oppression of blacks – social, political *and* economic – on all fronts (E. Brown 1992, 126-127).

They were able to politicise and channel a widespread collective understanding of how far African Americans remained socially and ideologically outside of the community of consent, just as they were contained physically outside that community's borders. They spoke to almost universal anger and alienation revealed through the riots, particularly among the youth and gangs, who felt this (particularly through constant police harassment) most keenly. For a moment they seemed poised on the brink of revolution (see Brown, Vigil and Taylor (2012) and Tookie Williams (2007) on politics and gangs, and the autobiographies of Angela Davis (1976), Huey P. Newton (1974), and Bobby Seale (1970) for a sense of how close those in this movement believed they were to achieving radical change). As Gramsci writes:

[the abolition of legal terrain] is a symptom (and prediction) of intensification of struggles and not vice versa. When a struggle can be resolved legally, it is certainly not dangerous; it becomes so precisely when the legal equilibrium is

recognised to be impossible (1971, 256-257).

The Civil Rights movement had pushed legal equilibrium to its limits without achieving full equality, the explosions of riot after riot across the country seemed to show how well African Americans understood this, particularly after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr in 1968. It is hardly surprising then, that the FBI carried out an intensive, and successful, program to destroy the Black Panthers with their articulation of a revolutionary programme. This left the field open for Black Nationalists such as the Muslims calling for separatism. As Horne writes:

LA elites recognized that the nationalists could be accommodated in a way that their militant predecessors of the left could not. As long as separatism was decoupled from reparations, the NOI [Nation of Islam]-influenced nationalism not only did not present a threat to private property, it could even be helpful – along with racism – in keeping apart those who might want to unite jointly against the LAPD and the elites it was sworn to protect (1995, 132-133).

Nor did Black Nationalism achieve much breadth or staying power, in South Central at least. Sonya Winton quotes South Central activist Robin Cannon as saying:

When the Panther's died, black political activism in my community died. CCCLA [Concerned Citizens of South Central Los Angeles] is awakening the old and new guard in our community to confront the same issues that plagued our neighbourhoods in the 1960s and 1970s. But this time, no matter how hard the dominant system tries to get rid of us, we're [CCCLA] not going anywhere! (Winton 2010, 354).

This quote both shows the rise of vibrant African-American organising in the past few decades, but also the absence of it in the aftermath of the 1960s.

The white community reacted very differently, feeling itself a victim while in fact emerging a victor. While the passage of Proposition 14 shows that the period of 'white backlash' was well under way in 1964, the fear caused by the Watts riots certainly deepened it. But as Julius Lester writes:

The 'white backlash' was nothing new to the black community. They knew all about the backlash, the frontlash, the sidelash and all them other lashes...it simply meant that white folks were a little tired of picking up the papers and seeing niggers all over the front page... The average white person didn't know what niggers wanted and didn't much care. By now they should have gotten whatever the hell it was they said they didn't have, and if they hadn't gotten it, they either didn't deserve it or didn't need it (1968, p 16).

The homeowners of Torrance would not frame their feelings in such a way, but their angry patriotism along with their demands for their own security and the ability to just be left alone to enjoy their own rights, property rights in particular, expressed the same sentiments. Developers and realtors helped take a lead on the development of this discourse. Even before the Rumford Act passed, Earl Anderson, executive secretary of the Los Angeles Realty Board, was quoted in the *Times* with the consistent line of discrimination in reverse, that forcing a landlord to take someone in was in fact discrimination 'against the majority' and that realty board members are 'only agents of the public. We do what they tell us to do' (Weeks 24 June 1963). The slight opening of the community of consent to give active political and legal protections to certain civil rights of peoples of colour was enough to make most whites feel threatened in their privilege as well as victimised. Civil rights gains eroded even further their existing abilities to protect the use and exchange value of white neighbourhoods (activists never broke the link between property values and race of occupant), while anti-discrimination legislation made segregation seem a natural way to maintain white institutions for social reproduction.

The conflict in Torrance also held many lessons for other cities and for other builders trying to sell the social space of 'home'. When CORE threatened to picket the Home Savings & Loan Association to ask them to pressure Wilson, top executive Ken Childs convened a meeting of the largest home builders in Los Angeles,

ostensibly to try and convince them to end discrimination in unison. The effort failed (Abrahamson 2013). Clearly, however, other builders were keenly aware of the pressure being brought to bear against their discriminatory policies, were discussing it amongst themselves and were watching the conflict extremely closely. A few lessons could certainly be drawn from Wilson's defeat of CORE: the lack of the government's ability/will in enforcing anti-discrimination legislation; the ways in which a verbal desire to sell to African Americans could then be neutralised in the complications of the home-buying process; and perhaps most of all when compared to CORE's victory in Monterey Park, the importance of local government's support of white developments and use of their power to control access and levels of protest within such developments. Through their ordinance, the Torrance City Council effectively privatised the entire neighbourhood, creating policed walls to protect Southwood's white population from protest. When this was upheld by the courts CORE yielded, presumably drained from supporting the more than 200 people already arrested. Privatised, gated communities accomplished the same goal from their very inception, ensuring that any future picketing would only be able to occur at the neighbourhood gates or in City Hall. CORE had been fighting the 'ghetto wall', remnants of the covenant fight built to contain African Americans inside a small area. Soon activists would be facing walls that completely enclosed a neighbourhood here, a city there, erected to keep them out.

The movements of the 1940s forced concrete changes in law and policy, thereby removing ideological and financial support for de facto segregation from the US government. The civil rights struggles of the 1960s solidified earlier gains in transforming unchallenged expressions of white supremacy, winning laws against discrimination enforced by the government, and creating a fairly widespread

consensus that Jim Crow racism was wrong. These victories required a shift in the balance of white domination towards the construction of consent and away from coercion. While this increased a token representation in business, civil society, and politics, it left essentially untouched any real political power and economic dominance (Marable 1983). As Derrick Bell writes:

The symbols change and the society even accepts those symbols we civil rights advocates have urged on it, but our status remains fixed. Society's stability is enhanced rather than undermined by the movement up through the class ranks of the precious few who too quickly are deemed to have "made it" (1992, 80).

Spatially, these changes allowed African Americans and other peoples of colour to escape agonizingly tight ghetto boundaries imposed on them by whites, the fractal landscape described by Soja (2000) a testament to the new freedom to buy homes, and the shifting racial hierarchies that opened up different areas to different populations. This new spatial reality, along with the need to conform to a basic ideal of racial equality, forced a changing articulation with a new ideology and spatial practice to preserve the hegemony of white privilege and white space.

The seeds of these new spatial practices can be found in the lessons learned through the victory of developer Don Wilson. The clearest long-term strategy has been putting control of streets and public spaces into resident hands – in any Common Interest Development, or CID, a homeowner association could shut down their streets in the same way that Torrance did, without requiring a city ordinance and police. In CIDs individuals own their own homes (though their use is incredibly restricted by covenants placed to preserve the character of the neighbourhood and property values) and hold in common and control the development's streets, amenities, and public spaces. Membership in the self-taxing homeowners'

association, usually known as a Resident Community Association (RCA), is mandatory, and it both enforces covenants and carries out many services which would traditionally belong to a municipality, including street paving and lighting, security, and rubbish removal among other services (McKenzie 1994, 2003). The United States Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations reported that the new phenomenon of CIDs ‘probably accounts for the most significant privatization of US local government responsibilities this century’ (1989, 18).

In 1964, there were fewer than 500 of these associations. 1965 saw the explosion of the Watts riots. 1968 brought the passage of the National Fair Housing Act making housing discrimination illegal for the first time, only made possible in the immediate shock that followed King’s assassination. By 1970, there were 10,000 Community Resident Associations. By 1992, 150,000 associations governed an estimated 32 million Americans, and homes within CIDs composed 11 percent of the housing stock (McKenzie 1994). These numbers reflect both the fact that enormous amounts of surplus capital were being channelled into real estate development through this period (see Harvey (2007) and Smith (1982, 1996)). Returning to Lefebvre, ‘Capitalism has taken possession of the land, and *mobilized* it to the point where this sector is fast becoming *central*... Capitalism has thus rushed into the production of space’ (1991, 335) – of social space, which in the United States meant protected and homogenous white space to achieve highest value. The most profitable real estate development still followed the model laid down by HOLC in the 1930s – new tracts of homogenous housing protected to the greatest extent possible from ‘adverse influences’. Some, like lawyer Sheryll Cashin, argue that while ‘... homogeneity is not intrinsic to the CID concept, in practice CIDs tend to be highly homogeneous by income and race’ (2001, 1681), but other authors explicitly tie the

rise of new, homogenous suburbs to the desire of whites to live only among their own (Blakely and Snyder, 1999; McKenzie, 1994 and 2003; Meyer, 2000). Along with other civil rights won in the 1960s, advocates argue that through such mechanisms, the protections available under fair housing laws have been consistently whittled away (Bell 1991-1992, Hartman and Squires 2010).

Along the same principles as neighbourhood CIDs, more and more suburban areas were protecting their tax bases and ensuring control over their public spaces in another way – through municipal incorporation. A host of small cities sprang up beginning in the late 1950s in a process documented thoroughly in Miller's *Cities By Contract* (1981). Using an innovative approach labelled the 'Lakewood Plan', they contracted with the county for vital services such as police and fire protection. This allowed them to reduce their city taxes to a fraction of what L.A. was forced to impose, often charging absolutely nothing in the early years on the strength of sales taxes. This was followed in 1977 by the passage of Proposition 13, another part of what is termed the 'property owner's revolt' which froze property taxes at their 1975-76 levels, with only two percent increases allowed per year unless the property changed owners at which point the new tax assessment would become the new base level. An ex-City Council member described this as *the* principal issue for the city of Los Angeles, debt and bankruptcy the concrete facts preventing L.A. from acting as a city, and its repeal absolutely necessary for the city to competently provide the level of services it should (Woo 2012). Thus Los Angeles settled into a new articulation of space and privilege labelled as the 'succession of the successful' by Robert Reich (1991).

CONCLUSIONS

The victories of the post-WWII period partially destabilised the articulations supporting the hegemony of white space and privilege, removing its legal and policy supports, and challenging widespread acceptance of white supremacist ideologies. The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s against Jim Crow brought this destabilisation to a head, and for a moment, wholesale structural change seemed possible and revolution was in the air. Instead, a set of limited, however real, concessions were won. Openly expressed sentiments of white supremacy and biological racism have continued on into the present, but the 60s achieved their marginalisation along with widespread acceptance of at least a generic political and social equality of all. The government legitimated this movement and further brought peoples of colour into the community of consent through abandoning its neutral stance on segregation to actively (though with widely varying levels of willingness and effectiveness) support integration, taking measures to improve the position of its oppressed 'minorities' and prosecuting against discrimination and hate crimes. Yet the economics of real estate continued to link race to both use and exchange values through sale of social space, happiness, and privilege (Lefebvre 1991). Segregation intensified with white flight, reflecting a dissonance between lipservice to a theoretical community of consent, and a physical community lived and understood in spatial and racial terms.

Thus, despite these civil rights gains, this period witnessed the new articulation of 'post-racial' ideologies and politics with the old racialised economic understandings of land values, materially cemented into place through the ever increasing levels of segregation driven by a new period of capital development

centred on land speculation and real estate (Harvey 2006, Lefebvre 1991, Smith 1985). Large developers made decisions about where the new racial faultlines would fall as they expanded into the suburbs. Older areas that were not seen as defensible (or worth defending), such as Compton with its heavy tax burden, integrated schools, and compromised position straddling the Alameda wall, were abandoned to peoples of colour – sales office staff and targeted advertising campaigns channelled them there and away from white areas. White homeowners on the other hand, invested financially and emotionally in these neighbourhoods, fought a tenacious and often violent rear-guard action that ultimately – and most traumatically for families unwilling to live in integrated neighbourhoods – failed to preserve their segregated nature. Resentment and a feeling of victimisation became widespread – even among those successful in defending the whiteness and privilege of their neighbourhoods. The Torrance campaign showed homeowners themselves reaching for the rhetoric of civil rights and patriotism to defend their security and property values, prioritising property rights over all else. CREA, too, consistently mobilised ideologies of the sanctity of property rights and a rhetoric of privatisation and freedom, now opposed to a government that had betrayed it to support, even if only nominally, the same peoples of colour CREA worked to protect neighbourhoods from.

In the end, capital, resources and most whites moved further into the suburbs to newer, more defensible CIDs and gated communities, preferring the newly incorporated smaller cities with their well-protected tax bases. Thus the connection between whiteness and land's use and exchange values were further cemented into place, both materially and ideologically, rather than challenged. Segregated space remained unconsciously normalised for new generations, forming a buffer between them and the realities of poverty in resource-deprived central cities – a spatial fix not

only for capital but also for racial privilege that allowed overt forms of racism to recede into the background, their purpose achieved materially through new urban forms. This new articulation is further explored in the next chapter, which describes what has happened since the physical limits of expansion have been reached and development of the city centre has promised the highest profits for developers, applying these suburban understandings of white community and logics of use and exchange value to already existing poor communities of colour.

Chapter 4 : BACK TO THE CENTRE: THE RACIAL CLEANSING OF SKID ROW

INTRODUCTION

Even Los Angeles had to hit some kind of limit in terms of just how far it could spread out into agricultural land and desert; the limits of infrastructure, commuting distances and land itself have for the most part been reached. Investment in real estate has not ceased to play a central role in California's economy, however. As Harvey (2007) and Smith (1982) describe, the process of uneven development has made the failing infrastructure of the centre city a fertile ground for redevelopment, where the rent gap has been steadily growing.¹²⁸ Despite this spatial change in the direction of capital flows from suburb to centre, the product has remained essentially the same – developers are still producing and selling social space, privilege, and happiness (Lefebvre 1991, 2003), which means that for the most part they are trying to sell white space.

This unbroken link between race and value has ensured the existence of a 'rent gap' in communities of colour as much as redlining practices, the withdrawal of

¹²⁸ Without being able to provide empirical evidence covering a wide area, both the detailed case history of the Morrison Hotel discussed further in the chapter, as well as the transformation of skid row from a neighbourhood where non-profit development corporations were able to purchase and rehabilitate large hotels as SROs and halfway houses to a centre of luxury loft building where property values have risen 200 percent since 1999 bears out the rent gap theory (Downtown Central Business Improvement District 2013).

resources, the practices of absentee landlords and the like. This is missing from the accounts of Harvey, Smith and others who have theorised gentrification without grounding these theories in the contested histories of the US's urban spaces or acknowledging the central role that race has played in definitions of value and community. While some of the marketing discourse has changed to focus on selling points such as 'live where you work' and the excitement of the big city, in both discourse and practice it has retained key features developed through decades of struggle over residential space: defensible exclusivity; homogeneity; security; narrow definitions of community and responsibility; and increasingly privatised controls over public areas. Above all, it has tried to replicate the white spaces so necessary to the social reproduction of white privilege. Unlike the development of the suburbs, however, the creation of such exclusive spaces has entailed the mass displacement of the poor, primarily poor communities of colour. Those fighting displacement from downtown have not failed to recognise the racialised nature of this struggle, and this chapter details the ways in which their successful resistance has made this displacement very different from simply discriminating against new occupants or building gates around new-built developments. Their success has provoked new articulations of ideologies, policies and violence with the same dialectic of race and land value in a strategic search for something that works on behalf of space and white privilege, highlighting the contested boundaries between the two visions of community downtown, and those between consent and coercion.

Some of the principal forces behind downtown L.A.'s development have been the Central City Association (CCA) and Central City East Association (CCEA). They have worked to take as much physical control of space as possible through Business Improvement Districts, to lobby for favourable city and state policies, and

to make downtown a destination for the ‘right kind’ of people once again. The pictures of young well-groomed models plastered across downtown in advertising campaigns leaves little doubt of the right kind, and loft advertising highlights their security provisions, as seen in Figure 4-1:

FIGURE 4-1 ADVERTISING FOR THE MET LOFTS, 2007¹²⁹

An initial displacement of the poor was achieved through the emptying of low-cost rental housing to be redeveloped, and by the BID’s private security forces attempting to push those without homes out of public spaces. Vigorous campaigns by the Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN) slowed the process down, and then partially stopped it. In a notable victory, the right of thousands of extremely poor people of colour to remain in downtown L.A. was guaranteed in 2006 through the

¹²⁹ *Downtown News*, n.d. SAJE files.

preservation of residential hotels, while safeguards for those living on the streets were also ensured.

This did not stop the construction and rehabilitation of luxury condos or the growing population of a young, mostly white, and extremely wealthy new group of residents or the skyrocketing costs per square foot of their housing – in spite of the economic crisis in 2008 and its slow-down effects. The two business associations have continually re-strategised and consistently worked to change what is now a now mixed-race and mixed-income community into one that is homogenous in its whiteness and wealth to increase both exchange and use value. To this end they have been working through various articulations of practice and ideology – BIDs in particular have been seen as emblematic of neoliberalism, and where neoliberal theories have served them they have wielded them to advantage (Ward 2006). Yet where private action has been limited due to resistance, and proved ineffective, the business associations running them have also begun to take an increasingly active role in the daily work of local government, leveraging government resources, and at times essentially coordinating county and city health and safety responses to homelessness and poverty. The eruption of violence is also prominent, no longer that of white mobs or white supremacist groups, but institutionalised through police action, private security forces, and clean-up crews. This has both benefitted from, and contributed to, a systematic criminalisation of communities of colour as examined by Ruth Gilmore (2007, 2002) and Michelle Alexander (2012), pushing the poor and the homeless once more outside of the pale of consent and into the realm of coercion.

LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY ACTION NETWORK (LA CAN)

The Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN) started in 1999, growing out of the community organising work of the Los Angeles Coalition to End Hunger and Homelessness and the desire of a group of downtown residents to form their own organisation. Their current mission and goals are:

The mission of the Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN) is to help people dealing with poverty create & discover opportunities, while serving as a vehicle to ensure we have voice, power & opinion in the decisions that are directly affecting us.

Our overarching social change goals are to:

- **Organize and empower** community residents to work collectively to change the relationships of power that affect our community.
- **Create an organization and organizing model** that eradicate the race, class, gender barriers that are used to prevent communities from building true power.
- **Eliminate the multiple forms of violence** used against and within our community to maintain status quo (Los Angeles Community Action Network n.d.).

They draw on social struggles from previous decades, particularly the decisions of CORE members and other Black Power organisations to root themselves deeply and organise in the community, to combine a sophisticated analysis of race, gender, and class with community organising for concrete social change through a range of strategies from advocacy and coalition building to direct action and protest. Some members and staff have direct relationships with former Black Panthers or have themselves been former members, brought together with strong feminist voices this has ensured both a structural and historical analysis of how race, class and gender intertwine with capitalist development and the resulting displacement downtown.

Direct democracy is both their goal and process, in which they see residents participating in all levels of decision-making on issues that impact the community. It is constantly built over the long term:

Community organizing is the process of building collective “people power” that includes impacted residents defining problems, solutions, and methods to accomplish these solutions. In the process, people (members) will build a democratically-controlled community organization that can take on future issues/problems and embody the will and power of their community over time (Los Angeles Community Action Network n.d.).

Although a membership organisation like CORE, they are a very different organisation both in their focus on building structures of democracy, and in the ways that they do this through ensuring that their work is led by membership from amongst the community they work in: the extremely low-income and homeless people of Downtown and South Central Los Angeles.

General membership in LA CAN is established by meeting two criteria: Being low-income and making a commitment to advancing LA CAN’s mission and campaigns. Members fall into three categories at any given time: *general, active, and core*. LA CAN, by design, is led and fueled by members and other community residents.

Core members comprise the majority of each decision-making body at LA CAN, and staff, interns and Board members are recruited from the core membership. Organizational decisions are made by Project Committees, Residential Organizing Committee (General Membership), Staff and Interns, and the Board of Directors (Los Angeles Community Action Network n.d.).

Thus unlike CORE, which constantly struggled with the recruitment of Black members and an image of being middle-class,¹³⁰ LA CAN is firmly grounded in the needs of the community and has created a structure which gives that community a level of power and control over it.

¹³⁰ See Hartford (2002) and Meier & Rudwick (1973).

This has caused them to take a very different approach from many other organisations on skid row, as they work to reframe debates in ways that actually grapple with the real dynamics causing homelessness downtown. Reporter Anat Rubin noted the importance of this:

I feel like we have to undo some of our beliefs about property and addiction and criminal justice, and those are much much bigger hurdles, but I think that groups like LACAN have done a really good job ... on that and they've never, they've never apologised for the actual community that exists here. They've never tried to paint it as a community that people would find more sympathetic according to their ass-backwards beliefs (Rubin 2012).

In her opinion, this create the debate for positive change that is actually needed, starting with where people are and 'continuing to focus on the civil and human rights of people that maybe the mainstream has stereotyped as something undeserving, I think that that is, I think that that's the only way to go forward. And there aren't a lot of organizations like LA CAN, there aren't a lot of other organizations who are fearless like that'.

This fearlessness is echoed in the statements of LA CAN's members:

These developers was planning on making millions upon millions of dollars and we messed all of that up, you know, we screwed up a whole lot of their plans, we gave them guys nightmares. We won the largest housing preservation in the history of Los Angeles. And we fighting against the largest police occupation in the history of Los Angeles and we winning (Focus Group 2012).

These words were modified slightly by another group member, but give a real sense of how members and organisers view the struggle they are engaged in:

I would say we're winning in an aspect but we haven't won - inequalities, social and economic inequities, we haven't won against that. That battle is still continued, there's still oppression, there's still repression, there's still a capitalist social-economic order that gives rise to these things ... as long as you have capitalism you're going to have police abuse, police brutality. You're not going to get rid of that as long as you got a capitalist structure

because that's what the police serve is the capitalist structure. ... Winning for me is bringing the people in, winning the hearts and minds of the people that are in need and mostly affected by what's going on. LACAN is just one organization, one organization does not change everything, we need the masses of the people. We're talking about real change, LACAN is a guide and can show, can give the people the models and examples that they will need, and the tools they will need to carry on the fight (Focus Group 2012).

THE POLARISATION OF SKID ROW

Like many cities, L.A. has faced capital restructuring, where real estate and development rather than heavy manufacturing have become the key to the urban economy (Goetz 1992, Harvey 1985). Through the post-war years real estate development expanded steadily outwards into the suburbs, but cities fought to attract it back to the centre. In 1975, the city council passed the largest central city redevelopment plan in the US at that time; the 255-block Central Business Redevelopment District was an effort to save the city from the decline being faced across the nation as globalisation and deindustrialisation hit (Sonenshein 1993). The plan delimited areas for different kinds of development, and was highly specific regarding skid row, located in the area also known as Central City East (See Figure 4.6).

Don Spivack of the Community Redevelopment Agency in charge of the district summarises the city's formal policy this way:

The decision was made with the adoption of the redevelopment plan in 1975 that the program in Central City East would be to try to stabilize it, create and maintain a base of low-income housing and the delivery of social services following a policy that was subsequently referred to as a "Policy of Containment." The containment idea was not so much that you put a fence around Skid Row to keep people in, but you designate an area in which facilities and services will be encouraged to centralize and exist because you have a population in the area that needs the facilities and needs the services (Spivack 1988).

Despite the focus on services, there is no getting away from the use of the title ‘policy of containment’ found in the documents.¹³¹ This city policy emerged from the 19-member Citizen’s Advisory Committee to the Central Business Redevelopment District, chaired by Harold L. Katz, founding member of the Century City Chamber of Commerce, one-time director of the Los Angeles Business Council, and specialist reserve police officer for the Los Angeles Police Department (Harold L. Katz Obituary 2010, H. L. Katz 1987). The plan notes that ‘Rehabilitation of this area is dependent first upon the achievement of a solution to the social and medical problems of the Skid Row population’ (Community Redevelopment Agency 1975, 18). The decision was clearly to quarantine these ‘social and medical problems’ in a small area while pouring development funds into its surroundings. Its impact on downtown’s quality of life, however, was duly noted:

The Project area living environment will also be improved by the implementation of measures to resolve the various social, medical and economic problems of the Skid Row population, which currently detract from the quality of the living environment for the many residents of adjacent areas (Community Redevelopment Agency 1975, 14).

Not noted by Spivack or Katz is that the policy of containment was also one fought for by homeless advocates. They believed it to be the only way to save skid row, if only temporarily, from wholesale destruction through redevelopment as called for in the original study produced by downtown business interests, especially after they watched the neighbouring Bunker Hill community razed to the ground (Goetz 1992, Haas and Heskin 1981, Schultz 2011). They advocated for preserving skid row

¹³¹ See, e.g., Los Angeles Community Design Center, *Skid Row: Recommendations to Citizens Advisory Committee on the Central Business District Plan for the City of Los Angeles, Part 4: Physical Containment* (1976).

through a combination of reasoning, protest, and the skilful (if Machiavellian) use of the threat of skid row residents and agencies resettling in other council districts (Haas and Heskin 1981). As individuals and academics who were part of this resistance effort, Haas and Heskin give their own view of what this policy physically consisted of:

The basic concept of the Skid Row plan was the ‘containment strategy’ that characterized the Produce Market, Little Tokyo, and the river as physical walls around the area combined with a human wall of ‘selective police enforcement’ to discourage indigent people from entering the commercial portion of downtown. ... The police and the planner – the cops and the ‘soft’ cops – would assure that the Skid Row population and creeping blight would be contained in one specific area of downtown (1981, 556).

At the same time, through the late 1970s and into the 80s, the size and racial makeup of skid row’s residents changed remarkably from a small, mixed but mostly white male population to what Haas describes as the ‘mass homelessness’ of primarily Black men (Haas 2012). By 2012, almost half of those homeless in Los Angeles – by conservative estimates over 50,000 people – were African American, forming a majority in skid row (Wagner and White 2012). A recorded transcript of a tour given to rapper Chuck D by Pete White and General Dogon of LA CAN emphasises how viscerally this concentration is felt while actually on skid row streets, as well as how invisible it has been to most people:

Chuck D: I mean, am I crazy? All I see here for miles is nothing but Black folks. How can you not tell this story? Quote me on that because I am seeing Black folks until the eye goes dim. How can you be a person in the media and not tell this story? (Chuck D., White and General Dogon 2012).

The primary reason for this lies in L.A.’s massive deindustrialisation – the widespread closure of factories and industry through the processes of globalisation, deinstitutionalisation and the dismantling of North America’s limited welfare state,

and the ways in which this hit the African-American community the hardest.¹³² Hired on in places like Boeing and GM only after years of struggle against discrimination, African Americans were lowest on the list of seniority and the first fired, causing a massive wave of unemployment in the African-American Community as plants closed in the late 70s and early 80s. While new industries replaced the old, the new plants required either highly skilled labour and located themselves even further into the suburbs (see Figure 4.2), or were industries based around sweated labour such as the garment industry, hiring primarily immigrants (Scott, 1996; Wolch, 1996). The uprising after the Rodney King verdict in 1992 showed how little the anger over discrimination and bleak prospects had shifted since 1965.¹³³ Such restructuring combined with poor educational opportunities and lack of transportation, alongside interrelated factors emerging from concentrated geographical poverty such as substance abuse and mental illness, together formed the kind of community that is still visible today within these same skid row boundaries set as the boundaries of containment so many years ago. Skid Row's community is now formed by those living on the streets, those living in for-profit residential hotels, and those living in non-profit run Single Resident Occupancy (SROs) hotels, most of which provide supportive services. Depending on money and life circumstances, many cycle through all three (see e.g. *Jones v City of Los Angeles* (2006)). A 2005

¹³² See Dear and Wolch specifically around deinstitutionalisation and a move to 'community care' for the mentally ill, physically handicapped, addicts and parolees that began in the 60s but accelerated through the 70s and early 80s resulting in what they called at the time 'service-dependant population ghettos' (1987, i). They build on this work to include a larger view of other factors creating the growing upsurge of homelessness through the 80s in their book *Malign Neglect* (Wolch and Dear 1993), a distillation of the main findings can be found in Wolch (1996), and an updated look specifically at race and homelessness in L.A. in Wagner & White (2012).

¹³³ For more on the 1992 uprisings see Abelmann and Lie (1995), Gooding-Williams (1993), Hunt (1997), and Valle and Torres (2000).

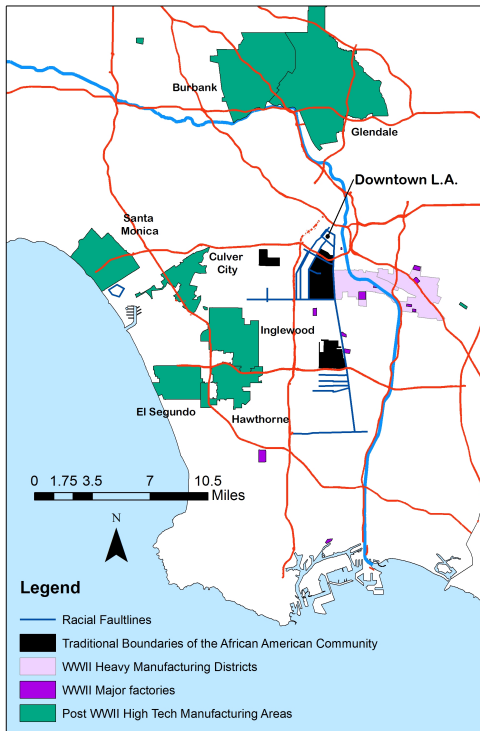


Figure 4-2 Map showing major plants and industrial areas through the early 1970s¹³⁴

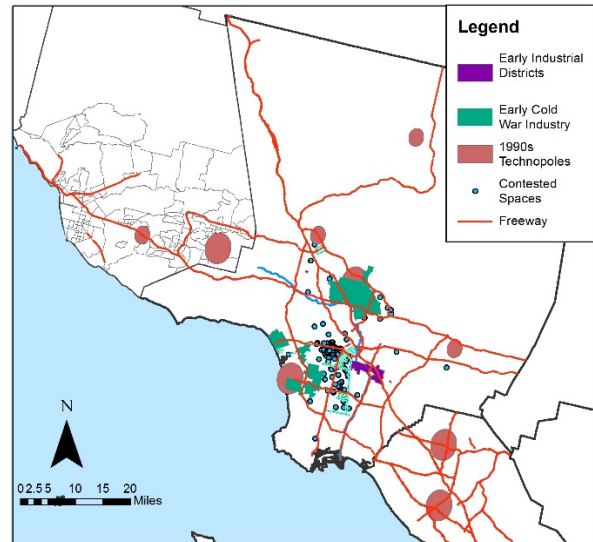


Figure 4-3 Map showing 'Technopoles' of the 1990s¹³⁵

report from the Los Angeles Housing Department analyses the population inhabiting skid row’s residential and SRO hotels as being:

predominantly male (78%), African American (72%) and Supplemental Social Security (SSI) recipients, with a monthly income of \$221. The average SRO ‘household’ income is approximately 10% of area median income (AMI), or \$4,588/year (based on current 100% AMI of \$45,875, for an individual). Only 10% of SRO residents are employed. Among SRO residents there is a high incidence of substance abuse (70%), mental illness (45%) and other disabilities. Many SRO residents have chronic illnesses, including contagious diseases but lack proper medical care (Los Angeles Housing Department 2005).

This is fairly representative of the larger community, though reports from the Downtown Women’s Coalition (2001, 2004) have shown more and more women and children on skid row. The homeless counts conducted by the Los Angeles

¹³⁴ Drawn from Scott (1996), Strohl (2009), the Goodyear website, the Historic American Engineering Record, and the Pacific Coast Architecture Database.

¹³⁵ Technopoles based on Scott (1996).

Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA) reported more than 4,000 people sleeping on the streets in 2011 (Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority 2011).

A demographic survey of the new loft dwellers moving into downtown done for the Downtown Central Business Improvement District (DCBID) at the end of 2004 represents the other end of the spectrum. The majority were between the ages of 23 and 29, and heavily 'young professionals'. Of these, 57.9 percent were Caucasian, with the next highest ethnicity Asian/Pacific Islander at 17.1 percent. A presentation of the report presented to Downtown Central BID board the notes the low rates of Africa Americans (5.2 percent) and Hispanics (8.3 percent). This is followed by a note to dig deeper (though there is no mention of what they found). The median income of these new residents was close to \$90,000, almost 20 times that of the average SRO resident. Close to 8 percent earned over \$200,000. A second study commissioned by the CCA and the Downtown Central BID in 2008 found Caucasians at 54 percent, and an average income of \$92,200 (Downtown Center Business Improvement District 2011).

The amount of profit at stake in the development of housing and businesses geared towards downtown's new residents is startling, even after the recession. The charts in Figures 4-3 and 4-4 are from the Downtown Center BID's 2011 annual report:

DCBID PROPERTY VALUE INCREASE		
<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Assessed DCBID Value</i>	<i>Percent + / -</i>
1997	\$4,211,364,587	
1998	\$4,480,598,392	6.39%
1999	\$4,838,421,305	7.99%
2000	\$5,025,431,988	3.87%
2001	\$5,260,525,694	4.68%
2002	\$5,544,496,087	5.40%
2003	\$5,688,391,189	2.60%
2004	\$6,045,596,904	6.28%
2005	\$7,002,900,943	15.83%
2006	\$7,853,144,506	12.14%
2007	\$8,695,487,916	10.73%
2008	\$9,301,781,581	6.97%
2009	\$9,326,410,136	0.26%
2010	\$8,851,402,207	-5.09%
2011	\$9,030,845,311	2.03%
2012	\$9,213,781,118	2.03%

FIGURE 4-4 DOWNTOWN PROPERTY VALUE INCREASE 1997-2012¹³⁶

The data on enormous jumps in the price per square foot for condos is perhaps even more telling – showing the need for developers to go the extra mile to keep prices falling any further. These prices also make these thousands of new units coming onto the market out of reach for most Angelenos, far less the population that has

¹³⁶ Numbers are from the Downtown Central Business Improvement District Annual Report 2012.

historically lived in downtown whose entire monthly income could not buy even one square foot.

1 BR Condo Sales 2000-2013		
Year	Avg Price per square foot	Percent + / -
2000	\$168.81	
2001	\$191.44	13.5%
2002	\$219.78	14.8%
2003	\$275.59	25.4%
2004	\$389.29	41.3%
2005	\$462.51	18.8%
2006	\$559.09	20.9%
2007	\$527.54	-5.6%
2008	\$475.49	-9.9%
2009	\$340.31	-28.4%
2010	\$329.58	-3.2%
2011	\$320.39	-2.8%
2012	\$373.78	16.7%
2013	\$487.89	30.5%

FIGURE 4-5 CONDO SALES PER SQUARE FOOT 1997-2013¹³⁷

Ft² The Marketing Director and Vice President of the Downtown Central BID considers the massive developments of luxury housing and the influx of new residents one of his principal achievements in his time at the BID, and is now working on bringing two new schools – one public and one private – to downtown

¹³⁷ Numbers are from the Downtown Central Business Improvement District Annual Report 2012 and 2013

(Bastian 2012). The amenities of the suburbs, principal among them quality schools and what is widely considered to be a 'safe' environment for raising children are being recreated downtown, the push for a public school helping to neutralise any opposition for the private one. The greatest single percentage jump in the price of condos, in 2004, gives some indication of the growing demand, making the BID even more sensitive to catering to the needs of the new tenants. In the Downtown Central BID minutes from 6 October 2004, it is noted 'we need purple presence [the colour of Historic District Security] everywhere, especially with the residents moving in.'

Examination of *DTLA Life*, a glossy magazine geared to downtown's new residents and published by L.A. Lofts Realty, reveals the importance of exclusivity and luxury as the primary themes. A shop/gallery space opening on the top floor of a downtown skyscraper and calling itself 'Please Do Not Enter' is described as 'A new kind of *private* space Please Do Not Enter invites a particular community to discover an eclectic array of exclusive, carefully selected and timeless goods' (*DTLA Life* 2014). Lofts are pictured as fully self-contained with pool, spa, and gym, the other skyscrapers of downtown their only background.

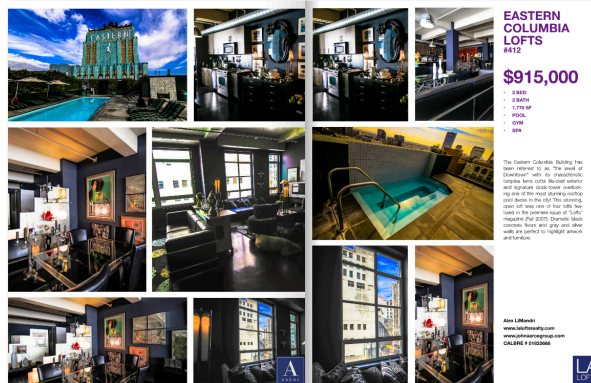


FIGURE 4-6 DTLA LIFE VIEWS OF LOFT LIVING¹³⁸

Articles on downtown property buying geared to both singles and young families, art collecting, interior and ‘curated’ design, shopping, and pets are clear indicators of the clientele the magazine aims to attract and the amenities that it is highlighting.

The CEO of both the CCA and the DCBID notes another key aspect of downtown’s development tied into the macro-circuits of capital:

We also have a community that basically supports growth. People don’t live Downtown unless they can handle commercial activity, noise, and all the

¹³⁸ *DTLA Life* May 2014, cover; *DTLA Life* February 2014, 36-37.

things you find in the center of a big city. That all portends very well for development because we're not seeing the kind of no-growth behavior that you see in other markets in Los Angeles (CCA's Carol Schatz On LA's Downtown Development Boom 2012).

To have wealthy people not just willing to live in high-density environments but be supportive of further development has been a dream come true after decades of fighting the rise of the slow-to-no-growth movement among suburban homeowners looking to protect their home values as documented by Mike Davis (2006). It is significant that business identified the only check to expansionary growth in the downtown area as the poor and the people of colour.

LOS ANGELES'S BUSINESS IMPROVEMENT DISTRICTS – CLEANING UP AND MOVING OUT

The desire to clean up skid row is nothing new. The *Los Angeles Mirror News* reports in 1955 that boosters found skid row as limiting the creation of a revitalised downtown – a campaign initiated by the Downtown Business Men's Association, resulted in closed bars and arrests, and urban renewal and redevelopment claimed 1000 buildings, which included 20 percent of the housing stock yet skid row remained (Haas and Heskin 1981).

For many years, however, downtown business interests were split (Goetz 1992). Those represented by the Central City Association (a name change from Downtown Business Men's Association to represent growing corporate interests) were initially well served by containment, though sweeps and encampment clean-ups were carried out around the 1984 Olympics and 1987 visit of the Pope (Ruddick 1996). Their support for containment in skid row was in contrast to smaller businesses who had located there and in the neighbouring fashion district for the

lower rents. The Central City East Association (CCEA), located in the heart of skid row, officially formed in 1986 to try and deal with some of the issues of doing business within the containment area (Goetz, 1992). In line with city policy, the LAPD thus walked the tightrope between keeping the poor out of the Central Business District, while at the same time responding to calls and concerns from skid row businesses (Goetz 1992). From the time of its incorporation, the Central City East Association conducted a hard push to clean up the area, lobbying the city, and working with the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and other city agencies to conduct sweeps of the area targeting homeless encampments (Clifford and McMillan 1987).

Through conferences held by the International Downtown Association, the CCA had identified Business Improvement Districts as a potential piece of their efforts to revitalise downtown. As Carol Schatz remembers:

I learned that every real downtown that had been successful in revitalizing itself had a business improvement district as a funding mechanism. So the first step in creating the BID was to get our then state assembly member, Louis Caldera, to author legislation that allowed for a property-based BID, because California had no authorizing legislation at the time. This was 1994. But 1995 was in the middle of this terrible recession, and the property owners in the central part of Downtown just were not interested at that moment (Regardie 2010).

Thus, the first BID in Los Angeles was formed not by the more powerful CCA or CCEA (the DCBID would start in January 1998), but rather by a small group of business owners come together for the purpose in the fashion district south of downtown and skid row.¹³⁹ The letter below was discussed at the 22 February, 1995 meeting of the new Downtown Property Owner's Association (DPOA):

¹³⁹ Formation of the BID in 1996 led to the branding of an official 'Fashion District'.

Dear Downtown Property Owner;

For a long time, property owners in downtown Los Angeles have been concerned about the continuing physical deterioration of the area accompanied by a general decline in the value of their property

Some of the factors contributing to this deterioration and decline are:

- A continuing increase in criminal activity, including armed robbery, theft, vandalism;
- An increase in number of homeless and unemployed which helps contribute to the feeling of general deterioration;
- Litter in the streets and alleys and graffiti covered walls.

Encampments were included in the long list of non-violent misdemeanour crimes that the DPOA wanted targeted. In the same letter, the DPOA proposed the provision of maintenance services to ‘break down encampments and collect confiscated vendor goods in cooperation with security and LAPD’ while these security services would be ‘supplemented by an armed vehicular night patrol which will aggressively patrol and protect the area from transient activities, relocate sidewalk and alley encampments...’ A 1994 press release from the DPOA seeking additional BID start-up funds based on the success of their pilot project titled ‘Clean and Safe’ states they had been funded through their first two quarters by \$210,000 of voluntary donations raised by local business, complemented by an additional \$100,000 of public money. The BID launched in 1996.

The idea behind the BID is simple: through the self-taxing of business and property owners, they provide a level of services such as trash collection, street cleaning, and security that cash-strapped cities are unable to provide. In Los Angeles this occupation of the public realm by private interests has been greatly facilitated by the city’s financial straits caused by the success of a white homeowner movement in passing Proposition 13 in 1975, which preserved their own assets by freezing

homeowner taxes at the time of purchase. This decimated municipal tax bases available for public services (M. Davis 2006, HoSang 2012). While BID activities certainly represent at least the partial privatisation of municipal services, this characterises only part of their actual role and minimises the size of their considerable impact on local politics and policy. Study of the inner workings of the BIDs in downtown Los Angeles challenges much of the literature celebrating privatisation by revealing how the line between public and private is murky at best, and more practical than ideological. BIDs often receive sizable public funding, although the bulk of the downtown BIDs' multi-million-dollar budgets is undoubtedly raised through self-taxation. One of the reasons stated for the formation of the first BID in the Fashion District was the ability of such an organisation to leverage additional government funds (Downtown Property Owners Association 1995), and scattered through BID minutes there are notes of additional pots of municipal funding accessed which are not broken down in the budgets. Examples of this are the CCEA receiving \$300,000 once spent on public toilets to run their 'Check-in Center' where individuals could store their belongings (Downtown Industrial BID minutes, 21 December 2004), or trash bags from City Public Works that the CCEA estimated to be worth approximately \$35,000-\$40,000 annually (Toy/Downtown Industrial BID minutes, 20 December 2005), or the CCA being offered \$5,000 from the Community Redevelopment Agency to improve their kiosks (DCBID minutes 7 September 2005). More importantly, however, the formation of the downtown BIDs in Los Angeles has given a very practical and visible, some would argue intimidating, presence to business interests at street level.

This is mediated somewhat by different organisational structures. The DPOA, for example, hired an outside Executive Director to manage the Fashion

District BID. With a Masters degree in Environmental Design, previous experience working for the Canadian cities of Vancouver and Calgary, and a strong commitment to his position on the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce/United Way's County wide Task Force on Homelessness, director Kent Smith has the ability to serve as something of a moderator between the demands of the business interests he represents and other stakeholders in the area.¹⁴⁰ This is in contrast to the other downtown BIDs, where Estela Lopez, Executive Director of the CCEA, serves as Executive Director of the Toy and Industrial BIDs, and Carol Schatz, CEO of the CCA, is also president of the Downtown BID. Thus, these BIDs exist as separate and professional service-providing organisations in name only. They function under the immediate and day-to-day direction of the heads of the CCA and CCEA, whose only responsibility is for collectivising and representing business interests.

The CCEA had formed its own two Business Improvement Districts by 1999: the new Toy District and Downtown Industrial District BIDs. The response from organisations working with skid row's low-income community was immediate. In April, only a month after their red-shirted guards started patrolling, activists were blocking traffic to protest the actions of BID security guards (Dickerson 1999). Their banner read 'Private Security Guards = Homeless Harassment'. No arrests were made, although a BID red-shirted guard was fired for cursing and threatening a protestor. Reverend Alice Callaghan, director of local community organisation Las Familias Del Pueblo, organised the protest, telling the *L.A. Times* that 'A private

¹⁴⁰ Kent Smith bio dated February 2012, accessed June 2012 from <http://fashiondistrict.org/la-fashion-district-bid/us/bid-staff/>. This more independent and professional role has made a better working relationship with homeless organisations and LA CAN possible as described by Smith (2012) and Dennison (2011), demonstrating the positive role some individuals can play in mitigating (though ultimately not preventing) some of the harsher results of the practices, discourses and larger structural forces described in this thesis.

police force should not be in control of public space' (Dickerson 1999). Legal advocates agreed. That same year, the ACLU filed a lawsuit, *Cervantes v International Services, Inc.*, on behalf of several homeless individuals for relief from private security guards hired by the BIDs. In summary: the 'suit, the first of its kind in the nation, alleges that downtown property owners, through their support of the business improvement districts, bankrolled a "systematic, concerted campaign" to chase homeless people off public property in violation of their civil liberties' and that 'guards intimidated and harassed homeless individuals through illegal searches, seizures, detentions, and threats in an effort to coerce the individuals into leaving the BID' (Dickerson 2001, National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty & National Coalition for the Homeless 2009).

Los Angeles Community Action Network, or LA CAN, also formed in 1999, a group emerging from the Los Angeles Coalition to End Hunger and Homelessness (LACEHH) dedicated to organising the low-income community on skid row to improve conditions. One of their first campaigns was around the new BIDs and the ways in which they were impacting local residents. Their first report summarised the results of extensive surveys: 42 percent of 166 residents interviewed had witnessed harassment of other homeless by BID security, and 12 percent had been personally detained (White 2000). Author Pete White explains the ways in which BIDs were able to occupy and control space:

Prior to the formation of the BIDs residents could move about as they pleased if the activity was lawful. Now such basic social interactions as resting for a spell on a street corner, eating lunch on a curb, or just standing on the street having a conversation with a friend result in hassle from Business Improvement Districts' (2000, 96).

The violence being used to remove the poor and the homeless from the area was highlighted by a second suit filed shortly after the first by a security guard in the Historic Core BID who claimed that he was fired and then beaten by co-workers after complaining that co-workers were unnecessarily violent with people they encountered on the street. Guard Wilford Johnson was awarded a \$595,000 settlement (Wan and Ailworth 2004). The Central City Association proceeded to take over security operations, thereby further centralising their control of downtown L.A.'s public spaces through their own operation of two BIDs – the Downtown Central BID and Historic Core.

While LA CAN was not involved in the initial ACLU lawsuit in 1999, they joined it shortly thereafter, and helped to shape the final settlement out of court. The settlements included promises by the BIDs to establish guidelines for their security guards, train them to comply with the settlement, and provide money to a local non-profit to monitor their conduct. They agreed that the guards would not 'search, photograph, request identification from or order homeless people to "move along" from public streets' (Dickerson 2001). The ACLU also obtained a preliminary injunction to prevent security from confiscating personal property left on the sidewalks (National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty & National Coalition for the Homeless 2009). LA CAN created a community-based training programme for BID security. It involved both training around what guards could and could not do under the settlement, but also 'breaking down some of the myths' about the community (Dennison 2011).

This began a two-year relationship between LA CAN, the Central City East Association and the Historic Core BID. Their position in relation to it and the other downtown BIDs, along with some of the key residential hotels mentioned in the text

(which demonstrate the somewhat arbitrary boundaries of skid row as delineated by the city given that residential hotels are scattered throughout the downtown area, although with a higher concentration in skid row), can be seen in Figure 4-7.

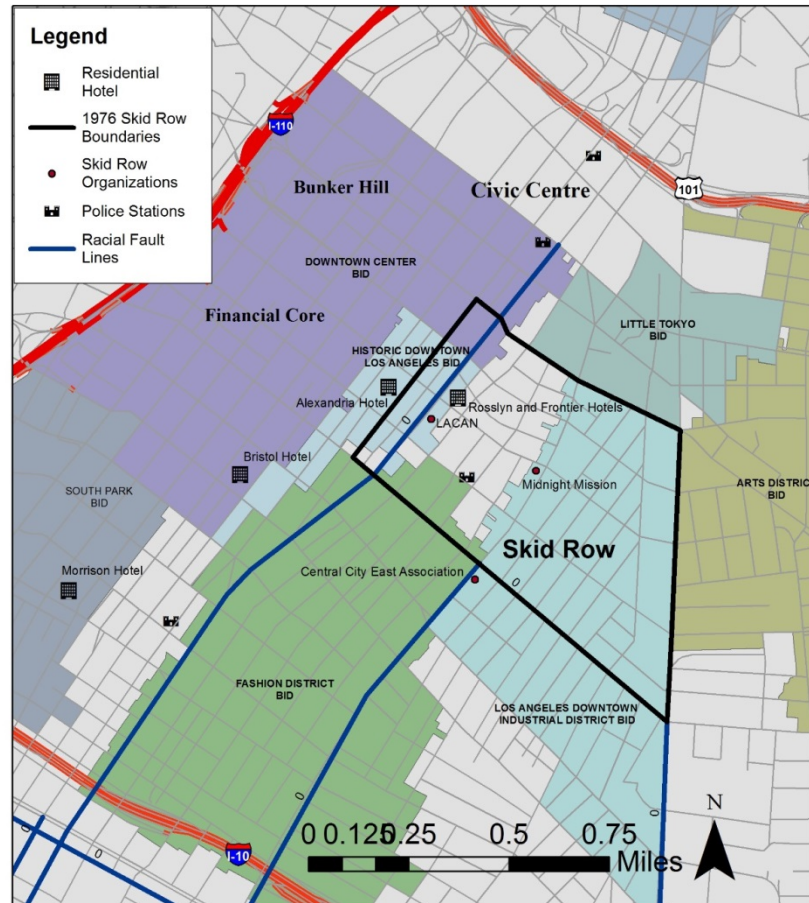


FIGURE 4-7 MAP OF DOWNTOWN L.A. BIDs WITH SKID ROW BOUNDARIES FROM 1976 PLAN¹⁴¹

Not only did LA CAN do trainings for new guards, but a complaint committee existed to solve any problems as they arose. Dennison states that there were substantial improvements in behaviour. The lawsuit had ordered that the security guards stop carrying guns. The BIDs also made efforts to diversify their security teams to include women and people of colour, whereas before they had been

¹⁴¹ Haas and Heskin (1981). BID boundaries as a GIS data file are from the L.A. Department of City Planning, accessed 23 August 2013. <http://planning.lacity.org/>

primarily white men. But after two or three years, Dennison states, this all changed again. She says:

Then when the redevelopment and gentrification push started happening, almost all of the BIDs over a 2 year period changed leadership because it was clear that the folks who had been working in skid row for a long time and who wanted to be good neighbours were no longer welcome in the business community, because the shift was yeah, we're not being friends with you folks, and pushed them all out. From that time, BID security became more and more adversarial towards the local community, as did the relationship between LA CAN and the BIDs (Dennison 2011).

2002 is when the real push to transform skid row came to facilitate property development, and the first point at which it became clear that Central Business District interests had aligned with those of Central City East in favour of 'dispersal' from all of downtown. This is the year that the CCA reported 'downtown Los Angeles is on the cusp of an urban renaissance', born out by the steadily rising land values and price per square foot in condo sales (Central City Association 2002). What follows explains the three principal prongs of the mass offensive to facilitate this 'renaissance' through the removal of poor people of colour, the intensity and cost of the efforts showing how firm the belief remained in the necessity of a new homogeneity, and the links between race and land values. In addition to increasing security activities they could directly control through increased numbers of officers, clean-up crews and more aggressive patrols by the BIDs they directed, the CCA and CCEA also helped create political will and drove coordinated political action in the following areas: the private and public transformation of existing buildings into lofts and boutique hotels to displace more long-term and stable low-income tenants in housing, aided by a new downtown redevelopment plan; the promotion of a newly enforced rhetoric of public safety and health demanding the eradication of any homeless presence with the attempted introduction of new public health ordinances

effectively making homelessness illegal; and fighting for LAPD's Safer Cities Initiative and drug enforcement policies. These concentrated more than 50 police within skid row to focus on 'quality of life' issues, with additional massive sweeps by narcotics and parole officers. Similar to the growing wave of violence that followed the overturning of racial covenants, it was not until close to 10,000 low-income residential hotel units were saved by community members and advocates in 2006 through passage of the Residential Housing Ordinance that the full power of public safety enforcement and policing were visibly unleashed. To create a new, privileged, homogenous white space the CCEA and CCA would mobilise a number of different policies and ideologies around homelessness, criminality and health, seeking a new articulation strong enough to overcome resistance and recreate downtown as a preserve of spatial and racial privilege.

THE EMPTYING OF DOWNTOWN'S RESIDENTIAL HOTELS

In 2002, 27 years after the first Central Business District redevelopment plan and coinciding with the CCA's shift to promoting 'dispersal' rather than 'containment', the city pushed through two new and expedited redevelopment plans for downtown – the Industrial District and Central City Redevelopment plans were created and passed within nine months rather than the more usual eighteen or more, and many advocates found out about it in the newspaper (Mehta 2002). The business community had been involved in its creation and was clearly in favour (BIDlines, 2002); Victor Franco Jr of the CCA testified before the City Council and the CRA that 'In order to successfully eliminate blight, we believe public intervention through the redevelopment project is necessary' (L.A. Fashion District Business

Improvement District 2002, Stewart 2002). Community advocates, however, sued the city shortly thereafter, charging a time frame and lack of notice that did not allow full participation. Barbara Schultz of Legal Aid argued that the plan as structured was ‘actually going to exacerbate blight rather than alleviate it. ... What’s going to happen to those thousands of people? If they’re not getting relocation [assistance] and there’s no replacement housing? They’re going to be out on the street’ (Stewart 2002). Alice Callaghan in a commentary piece for the *Los Angeles Times* brought history to bear on the new redevelopment plans:

Yet, in its new plan, the city seems not to think of skid row’s human dimension. Indeed, it does not even mention skid row. Instead, as though struck by a collective short-term memory loss, the city divides Main Street in half and no longer regards three major hotels there as SROs. Instead, the three hotels can be turned into mixed-income housing (Callaghan 2002).

Clearly, like the CCA, the city’s policy of containment and the concentration of services, had come to an end. According to a policy paper prepared by advocates, it was in fact four residential hotels cited as adaptive reuse projects: the Alexandria, Hayward, Barclay, and Cecil Hotels. This represented 1,785 units of privately owned housing affordable to the very poor to be lost to the community with the support of local government (Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice and Los Angeles Coalition to End Hunger & Homelessness 2002). The passage of the plan spurred an even greater effort on the part of the private landlords of residential properties to cash in on downtown redevelopment.

Residential Hotels, or Single Resident Occupancy hotels known as SROs, are for the most part expensive hotels of yesteryear, now rundown and providing housing of last resort. Traditionally home to older, single men, over the past few decades they have increasingly become home to couples and families. For many,

they are the last stop before the street, and given L.A.'s ongoing housing crisis, residential hotels have become sources of permanent housing rather than of the mythical transients so often invoked by business, landlords, and public officials (Schultz 2011). With the gentrification of downtown, landlords who had made their profits off of a variety of rent-collecting schemes, but who universally failed to invest the minimum into the upkeep or maintenance of their buildings, suddenly found it much more lucrative to develop their properties into luxury units, or sell them to someone who could.

Both demolition and rehabilitation required empty buildings for maximum profit, thus avoiding the possibility of tenant struggle and costly relocation benefits required under law. A rash of evictions, primarily illegal, began. The Los Angeles Housing Department estimated that between 1995 and 2003, ten SRO hotels were lost, with a net loss of 1,087 units (Los Angeles Housing Department 2005). While this had clearly been occurring over a number of years, the implementation of a new redevelopment plan saw a larger number of hotels put at risk than ever before. Nick Dahmann has mapped the number of for-profit SRO hotels and their precarious position on the edge of skid row amidst the massive rehabilitation and construction of new luxury units as seen in Figure 4-8 (Dahmann 2010).

One example will be explored to establish the pattern of land holdings, primarily speculative and exploitative, prevalent on the cusp of the 'urban renaissance' and what that meant for the low-income tenants residing in the buildings and the permanent loss of affordable units. The Morrison Hotel just south of downtown might have been made famous from its presence on the Doors album of the same name, but by the 1980s it had lost even that faded grandeur and had

become a relatively cheap residential hotel of 110 units. In 1989, it was bought and placed under

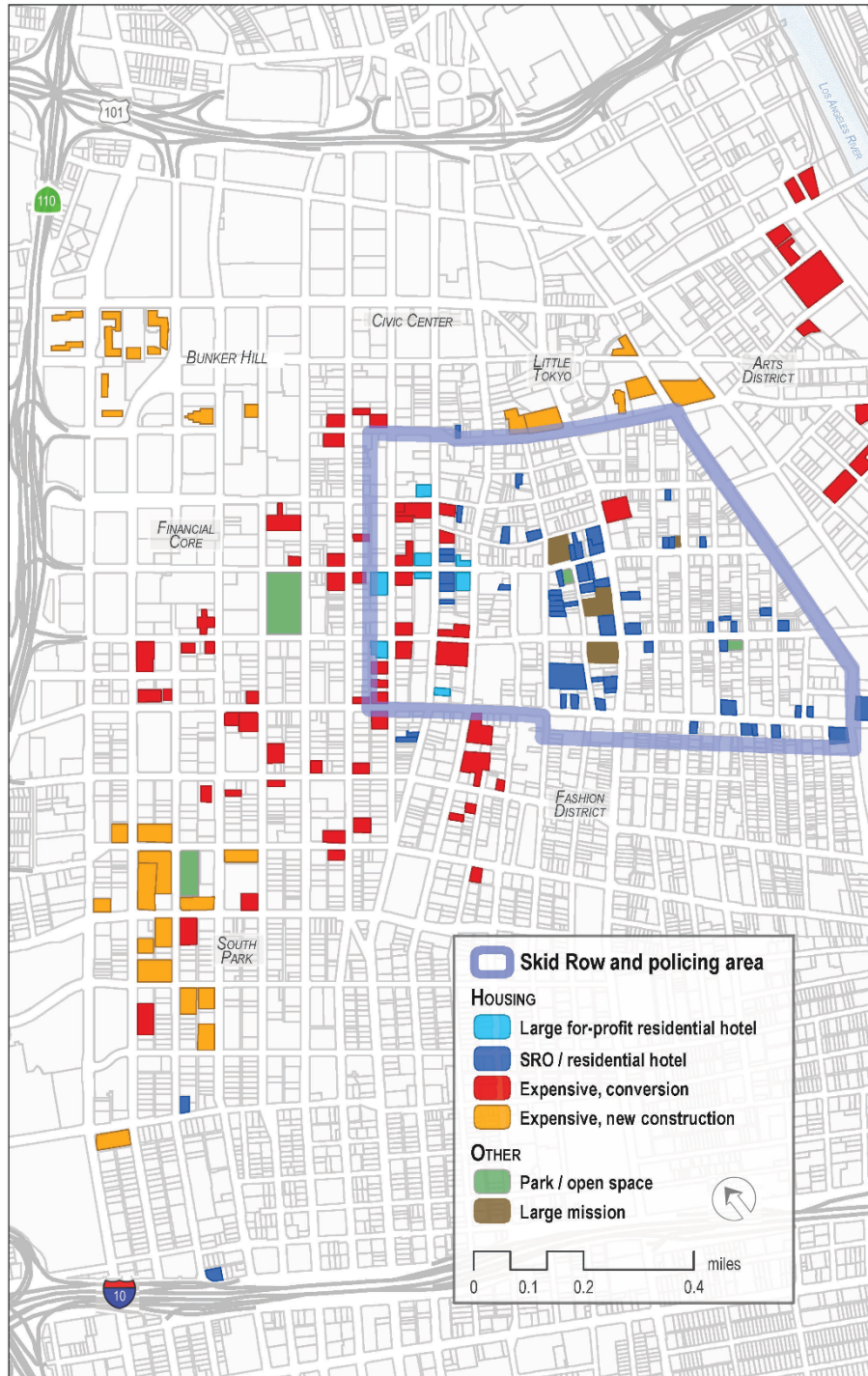


FIGURE 4-8 MAP OF SKID ROW IN RELATION TO RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL L.A. (DAHMANN 2010)

the name of a holding company – 1246 Hope STR – for \$1,043,942. Rents were collected regularly and an additional \$2 million loan was leveraged out of the property. When the owners walked away from the building after four Building and Safety inspections and owing more than \$267,000 to the Department of Water and Power, it was put up for auction.

Bought for only \$750,000 by the new owners through a newly formed limited liability company called Hope Pico LLC in 1997, they initially continued in the same pattern. Tenant complaints were registered with the city, but no action was taken. In 2001, two African-American children were found with severe lead poisoning – L.A. County Health Department ordered the remediation of that single unit without informing other tenants or ordering the rehabilitation of the entire building. Further tenant complaints were recorded, while the owners leveraged more than \$6 million in loans placed against the building. None of those funds were invested in the major repairs needed. The chart below visualises research carried out into the owners' business practices.¹⁴² It shows how Hope Pico LLC was, in fact, part of a much

¹⁴² Research was carried out by the author while an employee of SAJE between 2004 and 2006. Strategic Actions for a Just Economy (SAJE) is a popular education and community organising centre working around issues of development and environmental justice in South Central Los Angeles (see www.saje.net). I worked there between 2000 and 2006 as both lead community organiser and researcher. We collaborated closely with L.A. CAN, particularly in passing the Residential Hotel Ordinance, though most of the liason work was done by my colleagues Davin Corona and Gilda Haas. This allowed me to conduct my research from a position of trust within the organisation, while the many years passed since I was actively working with SAJE or L.A. CAN helped give a needed distance. As an organiser, I was very rarely in the spotlight, so was able to interview other downtown actors as simply an LSE student, neither hiding nor offering up my previous experience in Los Angeles. All information on holdings given in this section comes from recorded property deeds and transfers obtained through searches of lexis-nexis and Dataquick databases. Records of violations are from lacity.gov. The cases I was familiar with through direct work as well as regular meetings with policy advocates and lawyers all involved developers ranging from large and complex international corporations

larger set of holdings belonging to two brothers, Sauli and Henry Danpour, who had a very varied portfolio of real estate that included high-end rentals in Beverley Hills, multiple slum buildings with long histories of city code enforcement, restaurants, Laundromats, and their own hardware store which was used in later city hearings to provide receipts attempting to prove that building repairs had been made (see Figure 4-9).

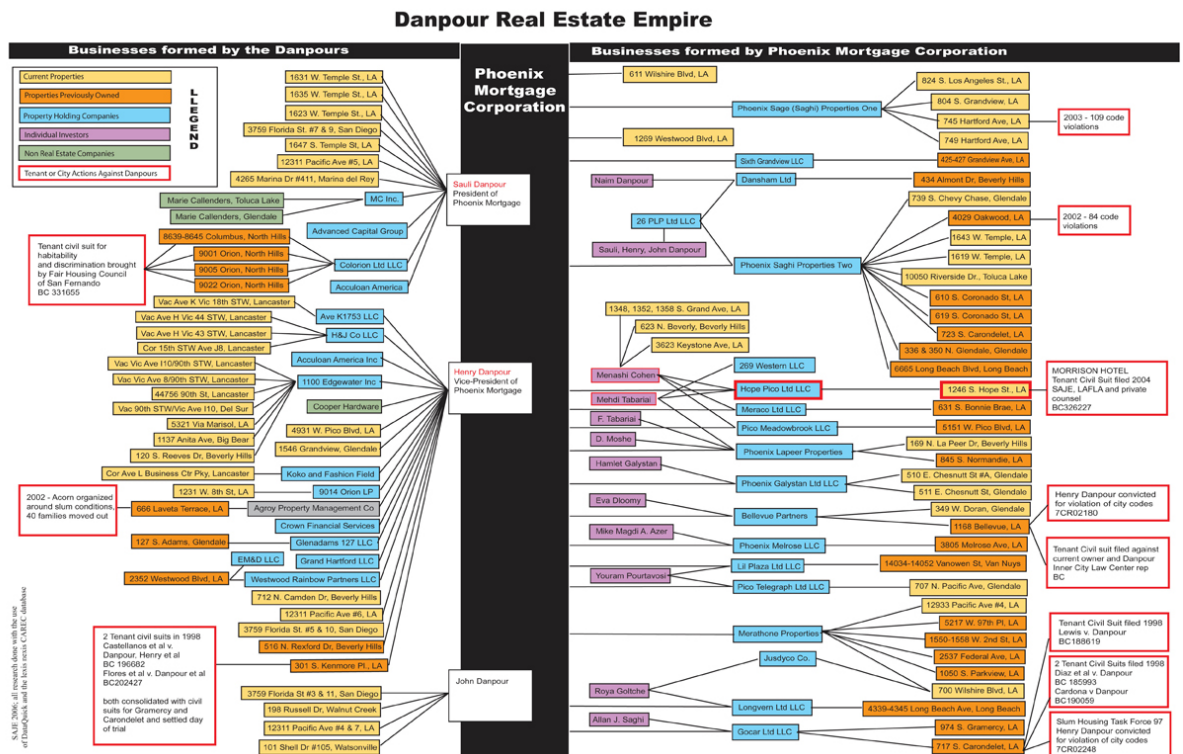


FIGURE 4-9 CHART SHOWING HOLDINGS OF DANPOUR BROTHERS, OWNERS OF THE MORRISON HOTEL 2005¹⁴³

such as those owned by Rupert Murdoch and Phillip Anschutz to those organised through similar structures as the Danpours, to those holding property directly in their own names and those of their families. The University of Southern California just south of downtown bought up a lot of property in 1980s and 90s but this has ceased since land values started their meteoric rise. More work needs to be done to distinguish between different kinds of development and pressures and looking at other forms of financial investment, particularly given the influx of foreign capital (M. Davis 2006, Keil 1998).

¹⁴³ I developed this chart in 2005 from recorded property deeds and transfers obtained through searches of lexis-nexis and Dataquick databases. Records of violations are from lacity.gov as above.

In 2004, the building was fully occupied by primarily *Latino* immigrant and African- American families and elders when managers started illegally refusing rent from tenants and telling them to leave. Within three months, over 70 units were emptied using a variety of tactics: pay-offs well below the legally required amounts; threats of immigration, child protective services, and the police; and physical force. Tenants who refused to leave had mail withheld (including notices of eviction) and electricity in their rooms turned off, a tenant in a wheelchair living on the fourth floor was regularly refused access to the elevator, others were confronted by a new armed guard at the entrance, and threatened with the manager's pit bull (*Ramirez et al v Hope Pico LLC*). The owners applied for a permit to turn the Morrison into a boutique hotel and the building was put up for sale for \$8 million as empty. When they acquired the neighbouring lot, this was increased to \$25 million.

The work of community groups and legal advocates convinced the city to act, and the remaining tenants worked closely with the City Attorney's office to obtain a conviction of both the holding companies and the actual owners on 21 criminal counts. It was Henry Danpour's third conviction by the city for similar offenses. Yet within three years of their conviction, both were on a stage with almost the entire city council, the mayor and the city and district attorneys celebrating summer in an event organised by the CCA. They had funded a large part of the festivities (Central City Association 2009).

Similar attempts by similar holding companies to empty out residential hotels were occurring across downtown. Also in 2004, the management of the 100-unit Bristol Hotel illegally emptied its units over the course of three days just

after its sale, despite an additional layer of tenant protection given by a loan of \$850,000 granted to the owners by the Community Redevelopment Agency which came with long term affordability covenants (Stewart 2004). The resulting lawsuit brought forward by the city and the tenants stated that some of these evictions were carried out at gunpoint (Community Connection 2008). In the same year the owners of the Frontier and Rosslyn Hotel began illegally emptying the top three floors of the hotel of more than 200 residents, converting the low-income units to lofts while resurrecting Jim Crow practices by putting in a separate entrance and elevator for the new residents. Under pressure from community groups headed by LACAN and tenants, the city attorney filed a lawsuit against them in March 2005 (DiMassa 2006). Two of the hotels mentioned in the redevelopment plan, the Cecil and the Alexandria, were both part of a program organised by LA CAN and Legal Aid to enlist the pro bono aid of large law firms to represent tenants facing both harassment and eviction (Rubin 2008).

The Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles filed lawsuits against the owners of a total of 7 hotels in this period, as well as suing the city for its failure to include protections of, and requirements for, affordable housing in its redevelopment plan. The settlement of this lawsuit in 2005 ensured that the plan preserved all existing residential hotel units downtown and put in place a No Net Loss policy for all residential units (Schultz 2011). Legal Aid also worked with LA CAN and other community organisations to pass what was known as the Residential Hotel Ordinance in May, 2006, putting a moratorium on all conversions of residential hotels.¹⁴⁴ As it was being debated, the Los Angeles Housing Department reported

¹⁴⁴ Initially this was an Interim Control Ordinance, a temporary ordinance to halt conversions while the full ordinance was being further studied. The full ordinance was passed by the council on 6 May 2008.

that seven hotels and 2,270 units were at immediate risk (Los Angeles Housing Department 2005). With the passage of the ordinance a moratorium took immediate effect, legally preserving more than 6,000 units of very low-income housing in Central Los Angeles, home to over 10,000 people (Community Connection 2008). Residential hotels such as the Morrison, already emptied in spite of the lawsuits and tenant organising, were left to sit empty, no longer worth a fraction of their asking price and preserved as permanent affordable housing.

This was a huge victory for LA CAN, Legal Aid, and the low income residents of downtown, although additional organising and litigation was necessary to ensure implementation. Non-profit organisations stepped in to redevelop the hotels, intentionally working to change the nature of the tenants in the buildings and supported by the city to facilitate downtown revitalisation. In 2007, for example, an additional lawsuit against the CRA and the Amerland Group, owners of the Alexandria hotel, claimed that they ‘systematically and intentionally worked to remove the long-term tenants of the Alexandria and replace them with non-elderly, non-disabled and non-African-American tenants’ (Bloomekatz 2007). In the 2009 settlement, the CRA and Amerland Group were required to pay almost \$1 million and promised housing assistance to 100 current and previous tenants who had also had gas and electricity turned off and padlocks placed on their doors (Williams 2009). The Amerland Group also became owners of the Frontier Hotel, which they renamed the Rosslyn Lofts. Just after the announcement of the lawsuit against them and the CRA in 2007 over the Alexandria, the city council awarded them an additional \$8 million of city funds to rehabilitate the hotel, bringing the total to \$20 million. This in spite of the fact that the loan did not follow the city’s own underwriting guidelines, that multiple open complaints had been filed against

Amerland for illegal evictions and discrimination on the grounds of race and disability, and that the city was in the process of suing the previous owner for illegally emptying the top three floors of the hotel.¹⁴⁵

In spite of this, the larger victory was sweet, and had ripple effects in both the low-income and the business communities. It almost immediately created a backlash.

In the words of an LA CAN activist:

every for profit hotel tried pulled some kind of scam to illegally evict tenants so they could jump into the loft-building craze, that's what they wanted to do, and when we won that housing preservation ordinance, that preserved the housing for the next 50 years, the first thing that come out they mouth again was ok, well you won your housing, but when you come out your housing, come out in the streets, we got Sergeant Crook and Lieutenant Paulson right here that's going to throw you up against the wall, you better be straight, you going to jail. It's like I say that in six months they expected to sweep this community clean, but because of the work here at LA CAN we're still here, 6 years later we're still fighting, not only are we fighting, we're teaching cultural resistance to community residents, folks learning how to fight back (Focus Group 2012).

Legal Aid staff also noted the direct connection between winning the fight to preserve residential housing for the very poor and the implementation of the Safer Cities Initiative and massively increased police presence in the community (Schultz 2011). But before looking at SCI, this chapter will first turn to increased efforts to rid downtown of its population living on the streets, something that market forces and redevelopment were unlikely to take care of as had seemed likely for those living in residential hotels before this was halted completely in 2006. The continued presence of between 2,000 and 4,000 people on the street on any given night also formed part

¹⁴⁵ Testimony of Becky Dennison and Louis Raftee in front of the L.A. City Council, 14 September 2007. http://lacity.granicus.com/MediaPlayer.php?view_id=&clip_id=2086&caption_id=3605120, accessed 15 March 2013.

of the urgency the CCA and CCEA felt in getting SCI in place, and folded into it its efforts.

'CLEANING UP' DOWNTOWN

In 2002 as the redevelopment plan for the Downtown Industrial District was being voted into place, the CCA published a report titled 'Downtown's Human Tragedy: It's Not Acceptable Anymore, A Public Health and Safety Plan'. It is a remarkable document for the ways in which it attempts to reframe the debate around housing and homelessness, separating those who were temporarily homeless and able to benefit from shelters, supportive services, and increased housing (those they term the 'real' homeless) from the 'Service Resistant Addicted (SRAs), Mentally Ill, Panhandlers, Parolees, Drug Dealers and Other Criminals' (p. 1). Such titles 'naturally' call upon and reinforce racialised stereotypes equating African Americans with 'Parolees, Drug Dealers and Other Criminals' built over the previous two decades of the 'war on drugs', thus utilising an ostensibly colourblind discourse while the racial objects of such discourse are clear (Alexander 2012). They set the tone for every communication from the CCA and CCEA to come on the subject. Remembering the goal of developers as creating and selling 'the context, the setting, the means of your happiness' (Lefebvre 1996, 84), it is not difficult to understand why business should wish to erase these embodied reminders of the existence of vast racial inequities and continuing desperate poverty.

Building on lessons learned from earlier struggles, they also adopt some of the empowerment and movement rhetoric of civil rights groups like LA CAN to use against them:

Notwithstanding our support and compassion for those who are in need, we believe it is necessary for society to "take back our streets" from those who cannot help themselves or refuse help and contribute to the deterioration of our community and their own health (Central City Association 2002, 2).

In describing what 'compassion' consists of, the report returns to a more traditional neoliberal rhetoric in which services enable rather than resolve:

SRAs choose to live in encampments ... CCA believes that by allowing people to live in encampments, the city becomes an enabler that promotes drug abuse, crime, self-destruction, disease and death.

Thus the roots of the public health crisis lie not in a lack of housing, but 'The consequences of allowing the mentally ill and SRAs to live on city streets are manifest in the public health crisis that is created when all bodily activity is left unchecked' (Central City Association 2002, 5).

Framing homelessness as caused by individual's choices makes enforcement the solution, shutting down any possible need for more structural analyses. By their own choice 'SRAs', their humanity removed by the title itself, have set themselves outside of the community of consent, and their coercion into vacating newly valuable space is legitimated by neoliberal ideologies of individual responsibility and the market's ability to determine land's highest and best use. In addition to arguing for dispersal for the first time, the CCA is also asking for a harsh new light to be shone on those providing services as potential 'enablers' and their potential negative impact on property values.¹⁴⁶ The report states:

Only by dispersing "homeless" services throughout the city can we properly manage the public health and safety. In the short-term, service providers should be held accountable for their funding and, thus, document the services

¹⁴⁶ This clearly forms part of the trend discussed by Del Casino Jr and Jocoy on the increasingly prevalent literature on the 'chronic' homeless and the need for improved 'consumer-services' with greater accountability. They describe how this new neoliberal rhetoric pushes those labelled as 'chronic' homeless outside of norms of family and productive citizenship: 'Specifying chronic as not just a length of time on the streets, but as a deficiency of ability and family... The chronically homeless subject is viewed, in the end, as hopeless. Therefore, the best policy is to target them and clear them from the streets' (2008, 1994).

that they provide, and their benefits. Moreover, service providers should be accountable for how they manage the street environment outside their facilities, including food distribution and trash clean up (Central City Association 2002, 7).

Through this mixing of neoliberal rhetoric of individual choice and financial accountability, and that of ‘taking back the streets’, the CCA also attempts to lay claim to a discourse of rights in a way that stretches back to white homeowner claims in the 60s, stating the ‘The Public Has Rights, Too’ (Central City Association 2002, 7):

However, we strongly condemn ACLU’s strategies that purport to protect the "civil rights" of individuals at the expense of the rights of the general public. As stated, we condemn these legal strategies because they are inhumane and cruel for the very populations the ACLU is claiming to protect. As well, we argue that law-abiding citizens have a right to use the public right-of-way without fear of harassment, intimidation, or endangerment of their health (Central City Association 2002, 8).

A powerful discourse of resistance has thus been reappropriated, its priorities reassigned to the protection of white space (coded as belonging to ‘citizens’ – this thesis demonstrates the longstanding equation of citizenship with whiteness) and privilege and thus rearticulated to the benefit of business interests in its support of the mass displacement of the city’s most vulnerable populations of colour. This reframing, together with their proposed solutions, lay out the framework for both the CCA and CCEA, and the respective BIDs managed by them, in the following years.

Among some of the recommendations:

- Stop policy of releasing all parolees and prisoners onto Downtown Streets.
- Enact an Anti-Encampment Ordinance.
- Enforce Aggressive Panhandling Ordinance.
- Encourage citizens to press charges against panhandlers and trespassers.
- Make public defecation and urination illegal.
- Create homeless facilities across the County.
- Create an LAPD Street Crime Patrol in Downtown.

- Strengthen laws that allow forced intervention for the mentally ill (Central City Association 2002, 10).

The CCEA and CCA, together with the LAPD, worked together in proposing the passing of a new anti-encampment ordinance along with ordinances banning public urination and defecation (even though the Community Redevelopment Agency had demolished the last public toilets some time before (M. Davis 2006)), while councilmember Jan Perry introduced motions to prevent the homeless from sleeping in business doorways, and to limit free food distribution (Rivera 2002, Stewart 2002). Such ordinances that criminalise the activities of daily life for those who find themselves homeless have been widely criticised (McCann 1999, Mitchell 1995, 2003, Mitchell and Staeheli 2008), and LA CAN and other community members organised a strong opposition to prevent their passing (Dennison 2011).

A law already existed on the books with similar intent, however, and at the end of 2002, LAPD started stepping up their enforcement of Los Angeles Municipal Code 41.18 (d), an ordinance that prohibits sitting, lying, or sleeping on any sidewalk or alley (Stewart 2003). Two massive sweeps of the skid row area were conducted in November 2002, causing many service providers in the area to respond with anger. Mark Casanova, executive director of Homeless Health Care Los Angeles, is quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* saying ‘I’m all for getting crime off the street ... but putting homeless people in jail is not the answer. It appears that [LAPD chief] Bratton is acting on behalf of businesses’ (Winton and Sauerwein 2003).

Business was certainly acting in concert with government sweeps (having helped in the push for them). November of 2002 also saw the Central City East Association launching their own campaign in the press connected to the new redevelopment plan, making of skid row has ‘a battleground, with billions of new

redevelopment dollars at stake' in the words of one reporter, as 'Developers and business people have vowed to "take back the streets"' (Barrett 2003). The head of the CCEA followed the same line laid down by the CCA's report:

"People down here feel there's not enough pressure put on this population," said Tracey Lovejoy, executive director of the Central City East Association, which oversees two business improvement districts.

"This is a huge public health tragedy. For a society to say this is OK is wrong. People die of exposure, they're sick. It's not OK."

Lovejoy said the city's failure to enforce laws has allowed what is estimated to be up to 3,000 homeless people to live on public sidewalks, while some social service providers enable them with free food, toilets and clothing.

Her group has hired International Services Inc. to provide private security to make sure the homeless obey the law (Barrett 2003).

Her words underline the assumption that the public health tragedy is caused by the homeless themselves who are choosing to defy the law and live on public sidewalks. They have voluntarily placed themselves outside of community norms, thereby endangering it, and must be policed accordingly. The article also makes plain the underlying effort behind the rhetoric to grant more power to both the LAPD and BID private security forces to forcibly remove people from the area. When asked about what a comprehensive solution to the problem might look like, Lovejoy apparently told the reporter 'We're the business community, for God's sake, we're not a social group. Come to me if (you're going to) distribute toys in China, and I'm there for you' (Barrett 2003). Barrett's interview of Assistant Police Chief immediately after a Christmas Eve police raid on an encampment is just as revealing.

It's no crime to be homeless. The spirit is not taking anyone to jail on Christmas Eve, but you're looking at Toy Town (also on Skid Row), and it's their biggest day of the year.

What do you do? Many homeless are mentally ill. You tell them, just move on, but they don't understand (Barrett 2003).

In response to the sweeps, the ACLU filed *Jones v City of Los Angeles* in February 2003 to prevent the city from enforcing the ordinance while no other options were available to the homeless. Carol Sobel, lawyer for the ACLU, connected this increased enforcement of the law against those who could not comply as directly connected to the rising property values in the area saying 'Now that skid row property has a high value, they want to sweep the homeless out of view.... Everybody agrees people shouldn't be sleeping on the street, but the answer isn't to put them in jail' (Stewart 2003). The court granted summary judgement for the city. Although this was immediately appealed, the city continued its sweeps.

Another *Los Angeles Times* article describes what these enforcement sweeps looked like:

"We do it every day, Monday through Friday," said Officer Jason Lee, a spokesman for the Los Angeles Police Department.

Shortly after dawn Thursday, officers descended on Towne Avenue between 4th and 5th streets, rousing about half a dozen people sleeping on the sidewalk and advising them to move on.

There were no arrests or citations, but the departing homeless, and those who had moved on earlier, left a mound of makeshift bedding that a city public works crew swept into a pile with a skip loader and carted off to a dump.

"These people were blocking a sidewalk," Lee said. "The officers advise them to move on. If anyone refuses, they are cited or arrested. They're advised to take their belongings with them. If they don't, the stuff goes in the trash" (Malnic 2003).

Bedding is key to survival on the streets, and personal possessions, photographs, and paperwork for supportive services were also being thrown away (*Jones v City of Los Angeles* 2006). Ethnographic work on homeless encampments by Bourgois and

Schonberg (2009) and Gowan (2010) demonstrate the ways in which these losses make precarious lives immeasurably more precarious, often causing a further spiral down into desperation and making a transition out of homelessness even more difficult. This is demonstrably not a tactic to end homelessness, however it is spun, rather an effort to move those who are homeless elsewhere.

This is supported in the ways that the public face of ‘compassion’ presented by the CCA, and attempted by the CCEA, breaks down in private communications and minutes as much as it does in face of their actual practice. In the sweeps conducted by the LAPD and other municipal agencies, BID crews often helped with the ‘clean up’. In the Downtown Central BID’s (DCBID) minutes, encampments and personal belongings kept on the sidewalks are discussed under maintenance with garbage disposal, and noted as part of their ‘trash track’. The operations reports contain sentences such as ‘With help from the CHP (California Highway Patrol) and Cal Trans, the Trash Track team was able to completely eliminate the street encampment’ (DCBID Board Minutes, 2003, July 9). Successfully avoiding any acknowledgment that the ‘trash’ collected in fact consisted of the personal possessions of the homeless, the minutes show a mutually supportive relationship between BID ‘trash track’ teams and both the LAPD and county transportation workers. The Toy and Industrial BID’s operations director reported in their 9 March, 2004 board meeting: ‘BID Security officers are working with LAPD to decrease the number of encampments in the Toy District. We have assisted the LAPD by picking up 12 carts in February’. In the 25 May, 2004 board meeting, the Toy and Downtown Industrial BID reported that encampments were down 50 percent from March, they are clearly being effective in forcing the homeless somewhere outside of their district.

On 2 June, 2004 the Downtown Center BID notes that shelters are turning away their referrals for lack of room. Yet in August, CEO Carol Schatz's argument to the board that not enough was being done has nothing to do with providing additional beds or homes:

...a package of legislation regarding sleeping on the streets, shopping carts and aggressive panhandling needs to be produced. She stated that if these issues were not approached, the problem would never change. City Council needs to be educated on these issues and everyone must attend the hearings (DCBID minutes 2 June 2004).

In terms of displacement, the BID seems to be reporting success after success. The targeting of encampments continues, and in September the minutes record the following:

Trash Track operations continue through the district. Maintenance and Safety recently targeted Weirden Place and the 8th Street underpass. "Hot spots" are identified on a weekly basis.

On Sunday, September 12th, the Maintenance Team performed a Caltrans cleanup. Although scheduled as a follow-up to the August 22nd clean up, over 100 bags of trash were picked up. Dismantled encampments generated much of the trash. Transients are relocating their encampments onto freeway access ramps and shoulders as the BID responds to encampments on 8th, 9th and 2nd Streets (DCBID minutes 4 September 2004).

Caltrans and the Downtown Central BID are clearly, and knowingly, pushing people to camp in ever riskier and more dangerous positions.¹⁴⁷ The consistent use of the term 'transients' dehumanises them even further.

Perhaps still feeling that enough was not being done, Carol Schatz encouraged property owners to contact the BID 'for any quality of life or other issues impacting them' (DCBID president's report, 2005, April). In July 2005, the

¹⁴⁷ This is echoed fairly eerily from the point of view of those living in such encampments in the accounts of Bourgois and Schonberg with tragic effect (2009).

operations committee notes ‘The Maintenance crew picked up a total of 52 bags of trash and shopping carts from an encampment at Main Street and 5th Street. The SET Team and BID officers protected the maintenance workers as they cleaned out the area’.¹⁴⁸ While BID security cannot ticket or arrest people for violations, they are no longer just clearing out behind the LAPD or California transport police, but becoming more aggressive in their own clearing of the homeless and their possessions from public sidewalks. A moving appeal from Reverend Alice Callaghan, director of Las Familias del Pueblo in skid row, describes the actions of LAPD and BID security:

For more than a year now, police have been enforcing an ordinance against sitting, sleeping or lying on public sidewalks. Security guards hired by property owners order people off public sidewalks and take the belongings of the homeless when they go inside a mission to eat. It is, the guards insist, abandoned property. The homeless must choose between losing their precious belongings and eating. Street maintenance workers, in violation of city policy, remove the belongings of the homeless, insisting that backpacks and rolled-up bedding stashed against a wall are abandoned. Shopping carts laden with belongings are dumped in the street and scooped into city trucks for disposal (Callaghan 2005).

2005 also marks the emergence of a new strategy for reducing camping and sleeping on the streets: the provision of bright street lighting. In September, the board minutes for the Toy and Downtown Industrial BIDs notes that Executive Director Estela Lopez and operations director Tara Devine (formerly of Mayor Riordan’s staff) had met with the head of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power’s (LADWP) Economic Development Group to develop a plan for lighting. By December, staff is able to report back to the board that

DWP is expediting the wiring and installation of the lighting. With the pressure from LAPD and increased visibility through media coverage,

¹⁴⁸ A specially formed and trained team of LAPD officers, further discussed below in reference to the Safer Cities Initiative.

emphasis is being placed on "Lighting up Skid Row". McCormick expressed encouragement that the lighting would diminish the issues of narcotics and encampments that are presently "comfortable" along 5th Street (Toy-DIDBID minutes 20 December 2005).

The work with LADWP would continue over the next few years. Another target was churches and groups giving food to the homeless. At a Central Community Police Advisory Board meeting, regularly attended by BID personnel, the following report appears under car updates:

Senior Lead Officer Ken Lew provided an update on the Central Area. Officer advised CPAB Members and community guest that he has had an ongoing problem with the "Queen of Angels" Church. He has received numerous complaints from community members resulting from the "Queen of Angels" staff feeding the homeless population. The church has established (2) feeding times, which have created problems for many community regarding the homeless. The homeless population often loiters in front of businesses, defecate in the surrounding area, and cause additional disruption. Officer Lew met with Father Estrada (Queen of Angels) and he advised Officer Lew that he would reduce the feeding of homeless to once a day (CPAB minutes 5 October 2005).

A month later it was announced the church would cease serving all meals to the homeless by Thanksgiving. Irony is not noted in the minutes (CPAB minutes 11 November 2005). Religious charity here yields to the power and pressure of property values and untroubled consumption.

All of this, yet the population of skid row continued to resist. And then in April 2006, almost exactly coincident with the passage of the Residential Hotel Ordinance, *Jones v The City of Los Angeles* was decided in favour of the plaintiffs, and the city was enjoined from enforcing 41.18 (d) until a settlement had been reached. From the ACLU press release:

This decision is the most significant judicial opinion involving homelessness in the history of the nation," Rosenbaum said. "The decision means in Los Angeles it is no longer a crime to be homeless. The homeless in our community, twenty percent of whom are veterans and nearly a quarter of

whom are children, can no longer be treated as criminals because of involuntary acts like sleeping and sitting where there are not available shelter beds to take them off the mean streets of the city (14 April 2006).

This began an extended period of negotiations between the ACLU, advocates and the city as to how 41.18 (d) should be enforced. After the first day of the court ordered mediation, an unsigned editorial appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* written by someone involved in or close to those negotiating from the City's position. They write:

AFTER NEARLY 12 MONTHS of platitudes from civic leaders about confronting the homeless crisis, skid row in downtown Los Angeles this summer looks worse, not better. And the people who claim to be helping the downtrodden bear a good portion of the blame.

In the last six months, the number of sidewalk tents has nearly tripled, leaving block after block of chaos and open lawlessness on skid row. The number of rapes and homicides in the area has jumped (Editorial 16 August 2006).

The correlation between allowing people to sit, lie, and sleep on the sidewalk with rape and homicide is not made entirely clear, but echoes the connections between homelessness and crime made by both the city and the CCA and CCEA. LAPD Chief Bratton and City Attorney Delgadillo vowed to fight the ruling, saying 'it would be difficult to clean up skid row otherwise' (Winton and DiMassa 22 August 2006). A later article states:

Bratton on Monday said the ACLU case has stymied the LAPD's fight against crime and blight on skid row, which the chief said is getting worse. Before April's court decision, he said an LAPD count found 1,345 homeless people living on skid row and 187 tents. A July 25 count found 1,527 homeless and 539 tents; a Sept. 18 count found 1,876 homeless and 518 tents (Winton 19 September 2006).

Yet compromise was reached in September. It allowed people to sleep on public ways in a specified area in skid row between 9 pm and 6 am without harassment

from LAPD or, as specified in the *Los Angeles Times* article, business owners. The business community was outraged. Carol Schatz of the CCA was quoted as saying ‘Any settlement that leaves people living on the street in filthy conditions and permits chaos from 9 to 6 every night in one critical area of the city is unacceptable’ (Winton 19 September 2006). The City Council appeared to agree, rejecting the compromise, though Bratton defended it:

Bratton also said critics need to understand that the injunction limits what the LAPD can do.

"If they can come up with a better idea, I'd like to hear it – other than bulldozing them all out of there. I am sorry, but the court is not going to allow that," Bratton said. "We all would like to see it gone" (Khalil and Winton 2006)

But the Safer Cities Initiative was ready to be rolled out, 50 police concentrated into the few blocks of skid row. Something of a metaphorical bulldozer, and judged effective by supporters and activists alike, however much they differed in their opinions of it. A reduced clean-up of encampments continued, along with a new phase in the effort to clear downtown of its traditional residents.

THE SAFER CITIES INITIATIVE

It is the saga of changing police activity in skid row that makes most clear the ways in which exclusionary violence has articulated with the new neoliberal and colourblind discourses to create a new way of excluding a population from both the spatial community and the community of consent. It has done so by substituting the word and idea of criminal for human beings of African-American and Latino descent. As Michelle Alexander writes:

Rather than rely on race, we use our criminal justice system to label people of color "criminals" and then engage in all the practices we supposedly left behind. Today it is perfectly legal to discriminate against criminals in nearly all the ways that it was once legal to discriminate against African Americans. Once you're labeled a felon, the old forms of discrimination – employment discrimination, housing discrimination, denial of the right to vote, denial of educational opportunity, denial of food stamps and other public benefits, and exclusion from jury service – are suddenly legal. As a criminal, you have scarcely more rights, and arguably less respect, than a black man living in Alabama at the height of Jim Crow. We have not ended racial caste in America; we have merely redesigned it (2012, 5).

What follows explores the strategic ways in which such exclusion through labelling has been put into effect in the pursuit of displacement and development, cementing partnerships between business and government and expanding the power of both to create privileged spaces from which people of colour need to be erased.

Once again we return to 2002, when Mayor Hahn hired Chief William Bratton, former head of Boston and New York police departments. In a report done for skid row's Union Rescue Mission, researchers from the Center for Religious and Civic Culture writes of Bratton that he:

has a record of ridding downtown New York of homeless street people through his zero tolerance policing and who brings that agenda with him to Los Angeles. Police Chief Bratton's implementation of "broken windows theory" has been criticized as contributing to an overly aggressive police force. Given this history, it will be imperative to track Bratton's record in Los Angeles, an important role for agencies like URM' (Dyrness, Spoto and Thompson 2003).

Chief Bratton and Mayor Giuliani have been popularly credited with the invention of 'quality of life' policing based on Wilson and Kelling's theories. While this is perhaps somewhat exaggerated, such policing methods are undoubtedly the basis for Bratton's reputation (Vitale 2005).

Bratton was brought in because of this track record implementing exactly the kind of policies that Los Angeles was already planning. The LAPD produced an

internal strategic document titled *Homeless Reduction Strategies*, produced three weeks before Bratton was sworn in. It proposed:

‘A minimum of twenty additional officers deployed, in addition to the existing eight officers currently assigned to the enforcement of homeless quality of life type issues.’ And it proposed working with the City Council offices, the Business Improvement Districts, and the City Attorney to ‘impact the problem of the criminal homeless.’ In addition to the addition of at least 20 officers, the document recommended adoption of ‘anti-camping and anti-public urination/defecation ordinances’ and ‘disbursement [sic] of Social Services providers from within Central Area’ (Blasi 2007).

In November 2002, the first police sweeps of downtown started. Meanwhile the mayor had brought in an ambitious man labelled by the *New Yorker* as the ‘CEO cop’, who aimed to be to modern policing what Lee Iacocca was to Chrysler, and whose plan to get to the top rested on the ‘scientific’ new methods promoted by Kelling and Wilson (Bratton and Knobler 1998).

As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, there has been a great deal of controversy over the effectiveness of Kelling and Wilson’s theories, and zero tolerance policing as advocated by Chief Bratton. One of the principal charges often levelled at the practice has been that it is simply a justification for policies that serve to further criminalise poor communities of colour and serve to help remove them in aid of gentrification and development. Some of the early discourse from the formation of L.A.’s first BID certainly works to sustain this argument. In the first newsletter of the new Downtown Property Owner’s Association from fall 1994, they are quite explicit about what they want in terms of policing:

Good News: LAPD statistics show that Downtown LA is one of the safest parts of the city, with fewer felonies and violent crimes than other areas such as West LA. *Bad News:* Downtown property owners and tenants may get less than their fair share of police protection compared with other parts of the city because of "underreporting" of nuisance crimes in Downtown.

Nuisance crimes - generally non-violent misdemeanors - include car break-ins, purse-snatchings, shoplifting, pick pocketing, aggressive panhandling, drug dealing, prostitution, public urinating and defecating, drunkenness and sidewalk encampments.

Key: Police allocations are based on LAPD crime statistics in each of the city's police divisions, so *underreporting of crimes in an area means that fewer police will be assigned to that area*. While many of us who work and/or live Downtown have become accustomed to nuisance crimes, we cannot be apathetic, and *we must report them* (DPOA newsletter, fall 1994 - Italics in the original).

While using all of the language of 'quality of life' and 'nuisance crimes' wielded by Wilson and Kelling, it represents a rather ironic reversal of their 'broken windows' theory that claims – as do the CCA, CCEA, BIDs, LAPD, politicians and the city attorney's office – that the police force's prioritising a concentration on this kind of misdemeanour crime is so important because it reduces violent crime. In a press release from 16 February 1995, the DPOA notes that 'BIDs are operating in Philadelphia, Houston, Phoenix, New Orleans, Baltimore, New York, and Denver, where they've dramatically improved property values and the quality of life in their downtowns'. The support for property values rather than the control of violent crime levels is clearly key, while this kind of policing is also part of a larger phenomenon of mass incarceration of communities of colour, which has soared even as crime rates have fallen (Alexander 2012). Studies conducted of crime in Los Angeles have continued to show lower rates in the downtown area than elsewhere in the city over a decade later (Blasi 2007).

Although planning for the initial sweeps in November 2002 was in place prior to Bratton's arrival, he would broaden them strategically and publicly. A *Los Angeles Times* article headlines 'LAPD Tests New Policing Strategy: Chief picks three areas as proving grounds for his 'broken windows' system to fight crime'; Skid row was, of course, one of the three areas (Winton and Sauerwein 2003).

An LAPD presentation to the Downtown Los Angeles Neighborhood Council reports that what we now know as the Safer Cities Initiative (SCI) actually officially began in July 2003 (Los Angeles Police Department 2003). Their overview states that the Safer Cities Initiative 'will seek to prevent violent crime, alleviate fear and improve the quality of life in the city's residential neighbourhoods and business districts', and that the first stage will consist of collecting crime data to develop strategic plans, after which the initiative 'will be working to forge a permanent partnership among government, law enforcement, and the community with the capacity to successfully manage community safety problems' (Los Angeles Police Department 2003). The memo lists those working to form the initiative: George Kelling and Bill Sousa of Rutgers University; the Deputy Mayor and a representative from the Mayor's Criminal Justice Planning Office; Kathy Godfrey, chief of staff for Council District 9; six members of the LAPD; three representatives from the City Attorney's Office; three representatives from different missions working in skid row; and Tracey Lovejoy, director of the Central City East Association.

Through these meetings Kelling played a crucial role in the development of the initiative. Part of Bratton's transition team, he was paid \$20,000 by the city on a three month contract, and would charge the city a total of \$556,000 for his work through 2006 (Blasi 2007). The minutes from the 19 September, 2003 meeting of the L.A. Safer City Project – Central City East show how this crafting took place

LAPD was estimating that 50 additional officers would be needed to enforce a proposed anti-camping ordinance in Skid Row, and that it would take "a couple of months of enforcement action to change the culture, and then foot beat would be needed to maintain." For his part Kelling was arguing that it would be necessary to "get the high moral ground" and that "the group should have op-ed pieces ready for submission, explaining the strategy and tactics of the group, before enforcement action begins.

In the same meeting they decided to wait until after the holidays to start up the initiative, and to bring an anti-camping ordinance before the city council.

In discussing the 6 November, 2003 meeting to develop a coordinated press strategy, Blasi highlights the PR spin they are attempting as contrasted to their focus on what they want the initiative to achieve through creating such a strategy and developing the ‘message of the effort (i.e. the problem is ‘lawlessness,’ not ‘homelessness’)’ (Blasi 2007, 88). Blasi continues to describe the meeting stating that

there was no discussion at the meeting about lawlessness other than violations that inevitably accompany homelessness in the absence of adequate shelter or other facilities: sleeping or sitting on the sidewalk, conducting biological functions in locations other than bathrooms. Rather, the focus was entirely on discouraging visible homelessness in Skid Row. For example, the second item on the agenda addressed whether the sidewalks in Skid Row could be narrowed to make sidewalk dwelling more difficult (Blasi 2007, 88).

Although it would figure prominently in the public relations effort that accompanied the Safer Cities Initiative in Skid Row, in the meetings of August, September, October, and November 2003, there was in the minutes of these meetings not a single mention of any "crime" that does not necessarily accompany homelessness when there is a lack of shelter or other facilities.

LAPD was also meeting with key people in the Downtown Center BID, as reported in the October 2003 minutes: ‘cooperative operations and management of local community oriented policing efforts. These meetings have been productive. LAPD and DCBID have agreed to a set of program sharing efforts that will expand the amount of LAPD-BID combined operations’. It was not just BID staff working with LAPD on the ground, but its president and head of the CCA who were moving to influence the process at the highest level:

Carol E. Schatz met with Chief William Bratton on Friday, July 23 to discuss increasing complaints to the DCBID due to aggressive panhandling, open drug use and other quality of life issues in the Downtown area. Chief Bratton at the meeting expressed his concern, and immediately toured the Downtown area to see first hand what the issues were. As a result of his meeting with Carol, Chief Bratton and his staff are working on an operational plan to address the quality of life issues that are impacting Downtown Los Angeles (DCBID minutes, 2004, August).

As stated in the 2004 minutes of the Downtown Central BID and Toy-Downtown Industrial BIDs, Schatz met Chief Bratton on three occasions over the next few months, and he presented to the CCA board – marks of favour apparently not given to the CCEA who worked closely with LAPD, but at a slightly lower level of political influence. However, it seems that the CCEA and CCA did not feel the process was moving fast enough, and the CCEA initiated a new tactic taken from a more activist handbook to pressure the city and to claim space in ways additional to the ubiquitous presence of their red-shirted security guards. A 5 July 2005 press release from the Central City East Association took over the traditional language of protest (echoing the CCA's report and their own statements to the press from November 2002):

Taking Back the Streets of Skid Row

What: Kickoff Neighborhood Watch Walk to demonstrate a united front in support of increased police enforcement in Skid Row.

The Neighborhood Watch Walk will demonstrate a united front in support of increased police enforcement in Skid Row. It kicks off a concerted effort to clean up the criminal element in this population, according to Captain Andrew Smith, commanding officer of LAPD's Central Area.

In a guest opinion published a few weeks later in the *Los Angeles Downtown News* written by the CCEA's new head Estela Lopez, director of the Toy and Downtown Industrial BIDs, she states:

A few weeks ago, for the first time ever, social service providers and formerly homeless individuals took to the streets alongside law enforcement, business and property owners to clean up Skid Row. One hundred strong we marched to show that drug activity and the criminal element that it attracts to the area will no longer be tolerated.

She claims that by joining the effort, downtown residents ‘will be making history’, as:

Groups usually perceived as being adversarial are now in agreement that the situation in Skid Row has reached dangerous new levels. Drug use and sales, prostitution and other crimes are taking place on sidewalks day and night. Business owners and their employees walk a gauntlet-type environment to and from work (Lopez 2005).

In October, the CCEA renewed and maximised press coverage of their continuing walks by creating a premium photo-op with their press release title: ‘Children of Para Los Niños to Cheer On Skid Row Walkers’ (CCEA press release, 3 October 2005).¹⁴⁹ The CCEA held their annual meeting the same month. Praised by councilmember Jan Perry for ‘turning the tide in the quality of life in the Central City East Area’, Captain Andy Smith also spoke in praise of Ms. Lopez for the close working relationship between the BIDs and the LAPD. The example he gave was the way in which Lopez had ‘sparked’ media coverage of skid row issues (CCEA Newsletter, Winter 2005-2006).

The CCEA continued pushing strongly for increased police action. In November, councilmember Jan Perry succeeded in ensuring the presence of six of the other fourteen members of the city council to join her at the monthly CCEA Neighbourhood Watch walk (CCEA Newsletter, Winter 2005-2006).¹⁵⁰ To assemble

¹⁴⁹ Para Los Niños, or For the Children, provides services and after-school activities to low-income children in the Pico-Union area just to the west of downtown.

¹⁵⁰ With only 15 council members representing almost 3.8 million people in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau 2010), the level of elected official’s responsiveness to

seven council members together for a local neighbourhood watch walk represented something of a coup for both Perry and downtown business interests, and signalled city-wide political support for the CCEA's claiming of skid row. In the Toy-Downtown Industrial BIDs' December meeting, Lopez reported back on a meeting with councilmember Huizar and LAPD Captain Smith around encampments, and an up-coming fact-finding trip to New York to learn how officials there had dealt with homelessness. Then more signs of success in reframing the skid debates in their terms:

Lopez showed clips from a recent CNN segment that featured skid row. The tape was submitted to all councilmembers as well as the mayor's office. Lopez acknowledged the benefits of the media attention and intends on capitalizing on this. Lopez indicated that one of the positive effects of the media attention is raising the awareness that the issue is not about housing but rather eliminating the element of crime (Toy-DIDBID minutes, 2005).

As this effort progressed, LACAN members noticed a surge in BID security activities corresponding to this series of political meetings and increasingly publicised walks. After the 1999 lawsuit and the two years of training and monitoring, BID security guards had become much more respectful of the community, though clearly not without continuing issues. However, as LA CAN writes: 'In the summer of 2005, LA CAN members again became concerned, and outraged, about the use of private security to promote gentrification and mass displacement and began to notice an increase in civil and human rights violations by guards' (Los Angeles Community Action Network 2008).

constituents is low, and tends to depend on a council member's individual priorities and re-election strategy. Throughout this time period, Council District 9 (Jan Perry's district) covered most of South Central and a large part of downtown Los Angeles, ensuring that its candidates needed the support and funding of downtown's most powerful developers, while obtaining a considerable majority of their votes from the high-turnout population of Black homeowners in South Central, primarily middle-aged and elderly women (Haas 2012).

The *L.A. Times* continued its cooperative and regular coverage of the ‘blighted’ skid row, offering a gloomy headline: ‘Defeat Plagues Efforts to Clean Up Skid Row; Previous attempts to solve homelessness have been mired in debate, political manoeuvring’ (DiMassa 2005). The 64-member board of the blue ribbon committee to solve homelessness continued to grapple with the issues without producing the plan. Their survey conducted in January 2005 revealed 91,000 homeless in Los Angeles County, 35 percent of them chronically so (DiMassa 2005). Despite the existence of only around 14,000 shelter beds in the county (Dyrness, Spoto and Thompson 2003) and no available beds in skid row itself (Blasi 2006), the CCA and CCEA continued to work to frame the issues around criminality rather than lack of housing or employment.

By early 2006, the debate on two proposals to clean up skid row became public. Of the two proposals, one is from Assistant Chief Gascon, a plan to completely rid skid row of its tent and box cities very similar to the one Bratton had wanted to put into place in 2002. Minutes from his talk as special guest at the Toy and Downtown Industrial BID board meeting are as follows:

Gascon began with acknowledging the attention currently being focused on the area and with LAPD in the forefront he wanted to give a sense of what they will be embarking on in the effort to clean it up. He outlined the details of a plan that consisted of scrutinizing encampments and putting together a strategy to once a week clean out tents, cardboard boxes, booking people/property as necessary. He acknowledged what he was saying was basically long and slow process of a gradual diminution in number because of constant aggressive pursuits. This would mean moving into a new phase. He recognized that there would be opportunities and challenges that would require having to alter the culture of the area. Issues in Skid Row have been happening for generations. Changes he has planned will cause disagreements and will be met with resistance. The process will include issuance of a warnings, photos, and directions to services. Then returning with clean up crews to remove trash/debris until it is understood the conditions are unacceptable. Intention is to create displacement. The enforcement process will target narcotics and weapons with significant sentencing beyond serving in county jail (Toy-DIDBID minutes 28 February 2006).

He is talking about far more than simply cleaning up encampments here, and the connection between ‘cleaning’ and ‘sending to jail’ is all too clear, as is the way the two efforts slotted together.

George Kelling authored the second:

‘Kelling argues that rather than removing homeless people wholesale from the streets, the LAPD should focus on criminals, including drug dealers and prostitutes, who he says create a "culture of lawlessness" in the area" ... If police can reduce the drug dealing, prostitution and petty crimes that plague skid row, "there could be more efficient dealing with the homeless in the area who are in need of social services," he said. Kelling’s plan relies on the LAPD’s ability to deploy substantially more officers into skid row, he said -- a "flood the zone" tactic that Bratton has used effectively to reduce crime in parts of South Los Angeles (DiMassa and Winton 10 March 2006).

This was the plan that was eventually officially chosen as the least divisive, however elements of Gascon’s plan are clearly visible in the ways that the various law-enforcement efforts unfolded.

The Central City East Association again took a hand to push the debate in the press, in the words of the *Los Angeles Times*: ‘The push to clean up Los Angeles’ skid row reached an unlikely milestone Tuesday morning when downtown business leaders moved in to steam-clean the sidewalks on one of the district’s filthiest streets’ (DiMassa 12 July 2006). It mentions the vow of mayor Villaraigosa and other city leaders to improve skid row, and quotes Estela Lopez claiming that the size and scope of the encampments has grown, along with health concerns, while describing how the police moved homeless people along and machines commenced the steam-cleaning. Anat Rubin, a new reporter at the *Los Angeles Daily Journal* describes the event from a very different point of view:

So they decided to hose down this one random block, and they had like 3 cops and I just remember thinking, is this how it works here? The BIDs call the LAPD and the LAPD is like yes, we shall come work this for you? You know, we will protect the reporters and the men in hazmat suits and we will

make this strong showing, we will make somehow this even about hosing down the street, we'll make it a criminal justice event, and I remember thinking that was incredible ... it was SO offensive, and so absurd. But it also was a very big showing of her power I thought. Because she was like I'm going to have a media event to remind people that skid row is a bad place so that they remember what we do, what we're about to do, that anything is better than what it was (Rubin 2012).

She states that looking back, it was clear this was part of the effort to use media to build political will to implement SCI.

The mayor officially launched the Safer Cities Initiative in September of 2006. 50 new police officers, at a cost of approximately \$6 million to the city, were brought into an area of skid row of 0.85 square miles. As one skid row resident recalls:

The very first day of the launch they just decided that 50 rookie officers in 50 shiny new uniforms with the hats wearing white rubber gloves and those little white plastic handcuffs tied on they little waistband, they walked out single file right down 6th street right down to San Pedro, they walked from 6th and Wall to San Pedro, I mean a long line, then they turned around and faced the wall and arrested everybody that was sleeping standing or sitting against that wall right there. They arrested about 70 people. From that point on, that day on, I knew that it was going to be hell to pay on skid row (Focus Group 2012).

The impact of SCI on downtown's poorer residents has been clearly documented by Professor Gary Blasi of the UCLA School of Law, working with colleagues and a team of 12 students from the UCLA School of Law Fact Investigation Clinic (Blasi 2007). In the first year of SCI 12,000 citations were issued, averaging 1,000 a month, with a majority being for pedestrian violations. This represents between 48 and 69 times the rate at which similar citations were issued in any other comparable area across Los Angeles (Blasi 2007). Such citations are not simply an annoyance for most of skid row's evidence, as the report explains:

Citations issued to indigent and mentally disabled people unable to obtain legal help or represent themselves at a hearing inevitably lead to arrest warrants. With penalties, the "bail/fine" for a pedestrian signal violation is \$159 (compared, for example, to the total \$221 monthly income of General Relief recipients) (Blasi 2007, 6).

Thousands of low-income residents found themselves with arrest warrants, newly criminalised if they had not been arrested before. SCI also averaged about 750 arrests per month on other quality-of-life violations. While acknowledging that crime declined significantly over the period, the report notes that few arrests were for serious, violent crimes, and that the most common violent crime – robbery – actually declined 45 percent outside of the initiative's boundaries, as compared to 39 percent within them (Blasi 2007).

Shortly after SCI was launched, the ACLU filed asking the court to extend a 2003 lawsuit agreement prohibiting LAPD from stopping and searching skid row residents without reasonable suspicion. The cases cited in the press release offer a revealing look at daily life for skid row residents under SCI:

Cecil Bledsoe, who helps the homeless on Skid Row find housing, was walking with a cane early this month when police pulled up and forced him and about five other people against a wall. Only after searching Bledsoe did an officer ask if he had any warrants out for his arrest or was on parole or probation. Bledsoe does not.

Paul Johnson, who is not on parole, was handcuffed and searched after he questioned the police practice of randomly asking about residents' parole status. "Everybody down here is on probation or parole," he says officers told him before driving him to a police station. Johnson was released without citation (18 December 2006).

In her follow-up op-ed in the *L.A. Times*, Ramona Ripston of the ACLU writes:

The Los Angeles Police Department has a message for skid row residents: The 4th Amendment doesn't apply here. That's the constitutional protection from arbitrary searches, and L.A. police officers have been violating it since late last year by detaining, handcuffing and going through people's pockets and possessions on the slimmest pretenses.

These aren't the hard-core criminals police promised to round up when the LAPD assigned 50 more officers to skid row last September. They're ordinary people whose only mistake was being homeless in the wrong part of town (Ripston 2007).

To skid row's inhabitants, SCI represented more than lines of cops marching down the street, it meant occupation (amongst many such references, see Community Connection, 2008, December). LA CAN member Deborah Burton testified before City Council on September 29, 2009:

I used to feel safe in my community, but since the safer city initiative was placed in 2006, I don't feel safe anymore. I don't feel safe as I walk to my home or my job. Walking in my community is like walking in a minefield. You don't know when five or six police are going to jump out at you, throw you against the wall, put you in handcuffs, search you, and then let you go. I'm angry. I see this too many times. When asked what the individual did to warrant such a treatment I'm told mind your business or just no response at all. I feel like just because we're black and live in the downtown community, I'm a criminal.

General Dogon, another LACAN member, echoed her words in the same hearing:

When I walk out of my house I see the pigs got some black man in handcuffs thrown up against the wall and for forty minutes they running his name for a warrant check like he got warrants in 15 different states and two minutes later they let him go. Every day, two or three times a day we go through this.¹⁵¹

This has been the experience of black and brown (and a fair number of white) low-income residents on the streets of skid row, it is hardly complex. But the complexities of how the political will and the legal support for such violations of human rights continue in the face of research, public outcry and powerful testimony shows both the power of business interests driving the efforts to cleanse downtown, the power of a newly articulated neoliberal ideology of market and individual

¹⁵¹ Video can be found online at http://lacity.granicus.com/MediaPlayer.php?view_id=&clip_id=6784&caption_id=9554960, accessed March 16, 2013.

responsibility, and the ways in which the skid row community is once again understood to lie outside of a public with a commonly shared set of rights. The problem for the business community continues to be the same as stated in 1932:

that Negroes do now, and for over ten years last past, have been used to congregate, walk, drive, pass and appear at all hours of the day and night, openly, publicly, continuously, notoriously, constantly and extremely noticeable, on the sidewalks, roads, streets, in the houses and all about said lot, tract and locality (*Letteau v Ellis* 1932).

As in 1932, the skid row community's class, status, and race sets them outside of social consensus and entirely into the realm of domination and force – the business community has helped reclaim this understanding to argue that those outside of the community of consent have no right to remain a part of the physical community, equating the boundaries of the social and the spatial. Thus the return of capital to the downtown area and its demand for segregated space has articulated with and deepened a process of establishing a renewed hegemonic white domination over peoples of colour, taking advantage of, and facilitating, the consensus around the mass incarceration of people of colour as described by Alexander (2012).

Gentrification and renewal is one spatial strand constructed by and constructing this new consensus, in which efforts to increase property values force ever-more people of colour into the prison systems, while it is prison itself, and the stripping of rights from convicted felons as well as the stigma that society attaches to them upon release, that is often a principal cause of individuals living in skid row or finding themselves homeless.

The dynamics of this process are evident, unlike its effectiveness, in the testimony of those who have run foul of it. Three years into SCI, we find people with multiple tickets, weeks in jail, and back in the neighbourhood.

Diamond guesses he's been in the downtown jail known as Twin Towers 25 or 30 times, just for tickets. And he says that's pretty common.

"When I go there ... I know more people there than I see on a daily basis walking around here, 'cause it's all people from downtown and it's all people there mostly on petty stuff" (Jaffe 2009).

While the mass ticketing showed that prisons were being used as one long-term solution to homelessness, the reality was that in spite of California leading role in the building of prisons and mass incarceration of its inhabitants, there was simply not enough room for skid row's population.¹⁵² Arrests for failure to pay tickets resulted in a few days in an overcrowded jail and then release back to the street. This required new strategies to achieve a more permanent solution – above and beyond clean-ups of encampments, sweeps and broad criminalisation of the population. In addition to the SCI, the CCA, CCEA and LAPD were concurrently working on additional initiatives to help take specific populations off the streets: drug addicts and parolees.

In analysing skid row, the 2002 LAPD *Homeless Reduction Strategy* cited 'reliable estimates claim[ing] some 60% of this population to be mentally impaired and 80% to be substance abusers' (Blasi 2007). What makes homelessness so visible in skid row is both its concentration, and the high percentage of what experts term the 'chronically' homeless, with severe mental issues and/or problems with

¹⁵² In 2006, an emergency proclamation from the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation acknowledged that California was the largest state correctional system in the U.S. with an all-time high of over 170,000 prisoners. It goes on to state that 'due to the record number of inmates currently housed in prison in California, all 33 CDCR prisons are now at or above maximum operational capacity, and 29 of the prisons are so overcrowded that the CDCR is required to house more than 15,000 inmates in conditions that pose substantial safety risks, namely, prison areas never designed or intended for inmate housing, including, but not limited to, common areas such as prison gymnasiums, dayrooms, and program rooms, with approximately 1,500 inmates sleeping in triple-bunks' (Schwarzengger 2006). See Gilmore (2007) and Alexander (2012) for additional discussion of this issue.

addiction.¹⁵³ Thus, targeting drugs and drug dealers has long been a justification for heavy handed policing in the area. From the CCEA's beginning pushing LAPD sweeps of encampments in 1987, the elimination of drug dealing was cited as the primary aim. The LAPD again cited drug dealers as one of the primary targets for their strategy testing in February of 2003, but Bratton betrayed a telling prejudice in his remarks to the *L.A Times*:

If the small things are left undeterred, they turn into big things. So the homeless take over a portion of the park. Drug dealers follow. Drug dealers beget violence. It then begins to affect the whole business area and businesses begin to die (Winton and Sauerwein 2003).

Get rid of the homeless you get rid of the drug dealers, and businesses can thrive again. Those who are homeless are portrayed as both the source and the victims of the drug trade.

It is precisely here, in the war on drugs and the stigmatisation of parolees, that Alexander argues the new Jim Crow system has been built. To give a national context to SCI and the concurrent targeting of addicts, I quote Alexander:

black men have been admitted to state prison on drug charges at a rate that is more than thirteen times higher than white men. The racial bias inherent in the drug war is a major reason that 1 in every 14 black men was behind bars in 2006, compared with 1 in 106 white men. For young black men, the statistics are even worse. One in 9 black men between the ages of twenty and thirty-five was behind bars in 2006, and far more were under some form of penal control-such as probation or parole. These gross racial disparities simply cannot be explained by rates of illegal drug activity among African Americans (2012, 100).

¹⁵³ For a moving account of homelessness and addiction see Bourgois and Schonberg's ethnography (2009), whose public health focus gives insight into the wide range of interventions and support, particularly housing, needed to help people overcome addiction when they are ready. This is echoed by the findings of Gowan (2010).

In some ways it is hardly surprising that the CCEA and CCA should focus on the ‘war on drugs’ with the LAPD to ‘disperse’ an entrenched, primarily African-American community suffering from high and interrelated rates of mental illness and drug addiction.

The new neighbourhood watch walks sponsored by the CCEA were very much about raising the public profile of the drug issue, an email sent to a downtown listserv in 2005 states that the walk is ‘our call for public safety – all people who live Downtown, and especially Skid Row residents, deserve a crime-free, gang-free, drug-free and empowered community to call their own’. The distance between the BIDs with their wealthy, professional and almost entirely white audience, and the low-income residents of colour living downtown is that the email expects that the presence of LAPD and BID guards will make its participants feel safer. This is perhaps one of the largest faultlines separating one population from the other.

It is not until June 2005, however, that the full actions of the CCEA and the CCA to push the LAPD into increased enforcement specifically around drug activity are made clear – as are the claim to increased powers for BID security teams. The operations report to the 28 June board meeting states the following:

Criminal Predator Enforcement

Strong reported that at a meeting last week LAPD Captain Andrew Smith reported he was working to form a team of prosecuting city attorneys and police modeled after the anti-gang "CLEAR" team (Community Law Enforcement And Recovery). The team would use its expertise against those involved in narcotics sales and use. Smith is working closely with CCEA and the Downtown Center BID on the recent increase in drug related crimes in Central City East and the Historic Core. Such efforts may take several weeks to organize and have impact. In the interim, Strong requested that CCEA security officers be allowed to make supervised drug detention and arrests. The Board gave unanimous approval.

Estela Lopez is scheduling meetings with City Attorney Rocky Delgadillo and with the District Attorney’s office to discuss the sidewalk

drug crime situation. The meetings would be led by CCEA and would include a coalition that is comprised of the Central City Association and the Midnight Mission (representing several area social service providers), as well as Skid Row residents. All are in agreement that street drug dealing threatens both the business community as well as the positive effect the social service providers are working for (Toy-DIDBID minutes 28 June 2005).

The same meeting notes that a neighbourhood watch walk will be held to 'bring attention to the drug culture in the community'. In the press release for the walk, Estela Lopez states

There is such a proliferation of narcotics that it makes it difficult for service providers to help people get cleaned up. We need to give these folks a fighting chance," said Captain Smith. He added that the drug atmosphere attracts a criminal element to the area as well. "We want them out of the entire Downtown area. (CCEA press release 5 July 2005)

Notices about a 'crackdown' on drug related offences in the Historic Core appear in the Presidents report to Downtown Central BID the same month (President's Report July 2005), and the minutes report CEO Schatz continuing to push for such a crackdown on drug and quality of life offences (DCBID minutes 7 July 2005).

The CCA and CCEA weren't just working on a local level but also on a state level. After several meetings with State Assembly member Gil Cedillo, two bills were put forward as part of a package to 'alleviate Downtown homelessness' (CCA Delivers 16 June 2006). SB 1318 provided sentence enhancements for drug crime, while SB 1320 prohibited persons on probation for drug crimes from entering skid row. These bills would clearly have a huge impact on a community with a large percent of addicts. As the bills passed through the legislature, SB 1318's penalty for drug dealing was reduced, and SB 1320 was lost entirely (Rau & DiMassa, 18 August 2006). But these bills were not forgotten, nor abandoned, simply implemented on a local level. In September, only days after the official launch of

SCI, District Attorney Steve Cooley announced that they would be making a ‘stay-away’ order a condition of probation for all those convicted of drug offences (R. Winton 27 September 2006). Such orders would be routinely given to anyone arrested on skid row, putting their name on a database which would allow the LAPD to arrest them immediately anywhere in skid row, even if they had not committed any other crime (R. Winton 27 September 2006).

In an *L.A. Times* editorial published two weeks later and clearly designed to lay the groundwork for more stringent enforcement policies, the anonymous author demanded ‘D.A., Do More Downtown’ (9 October 2006). They write:

...the city and the police department are finally starting to wrest back control of skid row. Two weeks ago, officers began arresting transients for sleeping on sidewalks during daylight hours, removed scores of homeless encampments and have made more than 800 arrests.

But if making more arrests is all the city’s law enforcement apparatus plans to do, the initiatives will be for naught. Today, far too many downtown criminals who get convicted of serious offenses serve only days of their sentences, then return to the scene of the crime. Even while the Los Angeles Police Department cracks down, the district attorney maintains a damaging revolving-door policy in which those who commit crimes on skid row serve less time than if they sold heroin or committed another felony elsewhere in the city.

Despite the state of emergency declared in California prisons, the other is pushing for longer periods of incarceration. Giving some credit to Cooley’s new ‘stay-away’ policy, they write ‘Better would be if the D.A. joined other law enforcement officials to come up with a plan to ensure that the worst skid row offenders stay locked up long enough to make their arrests worth everyone’s while.’ The District Attorney was in fact doing just that.

Reporter Anat Rubin said after her first meeting with Pete White and Becky Dennison of LA CAN, she walked away thinking that half of what they had told her

could not be true, but after digging she found things to be worse than even they thought (Rubin 2012). In her opinion the most shocking evidence of how the city was attempting to clear skid row was the new effort by the D.A. to prosecute drug offences to the full. Cases coming out of skid row were being physically marked with a red '5th Corridor' stamp and treated specially by prosecutors, who suddenly refused to plea bargain. The cases coming to public defenders suddenly weren't possession cases but sales cases, even though the amounts of drugs in question might be only \$5 dollars-worth of crack.

I had public defenders tell me on the phone, this is the worst thing, I have never felt more helpless in my life. Imagine telling a client that they're going away for ten years on nothing...on nothing. And you know, they had people with stripes [people falling under the 'three strikes rule'], and they were going to get ... they could go away for life. That to me was the craziest...it was just so...so coordinated, it was like the cops were doing one thing, and the judges and the prosecutors were doing this thing and both of those things together, you know were going to mean they were going to put people away for much longer than they had been able to put people away for before, and that...this all came from the BIDs. I mean the enforcement, safer cities initiative, those were people who championed this (Rubin 2012).

This opinion comes both from Rubin's years writing about skid row for her paper's 'poverty beat', but also from the many public defenders she was speaking to. In her article published in the *Daily Journal*, she quotes an anonymous public defender:

This is a blatant DA policy that they are going to treat these cases differently. It's not abnormal for the DA to have a policy. But this policy is about targeting the homeless in that area because the city is redeveloping that area. It's a policy to get people off the streets and into state prison, jumping right over rehab and jail (Rubin 2007).

The response from the D.A.'s office was that sentencing had been too lenient before, and that due to dissatisfaction from the public and the police they were treating the cases more seriously though there was no direction from the top not to plea-bargain.

But the evidence from the public defenders certainly make this claim seem something of a stretch. Rubin states that to publish the story she ‘talked to 12 public defenders, because my editor was like there’s no way, there’s no way this is happening’. The quotes she obtained are telling, for example public defender Rigoberto Arrechiga stated:

I completed one of these trials in December, where a guy had a miniscule amount, no money on him, no phone or pager, no individually wrapped drugs in multiple bags - Just some rock cocaine in his pocket. The guy had no prior record of sales. He got four years in state prison.

24 police officers were involved in the ‘sting’.

Rubin states that of the 1,400 arrests made by undercover narcotics officers in the approximately three months since the initiative’s start, 1,043 were labelled as ‘possession for sale’. Given the testimony of the public defenders, that means most likely hundreds of addicts prosecuted unduly harshly to remove them from skid row. The human cost of such arrests lies not only in the experience of arrest, detention, traumatic court process, and years in prison, but also in the consequences a felony conviction has on an addict’s life, leading to denial of drug treatment, services and support such as food stamps, and access to public housing.

Along with drug addicts, parolees were also singled out and targeted for special treatment, the words ‘parolee’ and ‘criminal’ in CCA and CCEA correspondence and minutes appear to be interchangeable. Again, to put this increased enforcement of parole conditions and into a national context, Alexander writes:

To put the matter more starkly: *About as many people were returned to prison for parole violations in 2000 as were admitted to prison in 1980 for all reasons.* Of all parole violators returned to prison in 2000, only one-third were returned for a new conviction; two-thirds were returned for a technical violation such as missing appointments with a parole officer, failing to

maintain employment, or failing a drug test (2012, 95, *Italics in the original*).

Parole sweeps became more common, with LA CAN documenting many of their operations:

On Friday February 1, 2008 – which also happened to be the first day of Black History Month – LAPD planned a parole raid on a hotel near 5th and Towne. There were at least 30 LAPD officers and 10 parole agents on-site. A community resident alarmed by the sheer number of officers descending on the community called the office of LA CAN to report it (Community Connection 2008).

Such documentation and publication is perhaps one of the key reasons that SCI and the special crackdown on parolees and drug offenders did not accomplish all that its founders desired of it. LA CAN created Community Watch in November 2005 in response to increasingly oppressive policing (even before the roll out of SCI) as ‘an alternative private security presence in the community - one trained to ensure that civil and human rights violations by the Los Angeles Police Department and Business Improvement District (BID) security guards and others are stopped’ (Los Angeles Community Action Network 2008). Following BID security and cops around with video cameras was effective in stopping, or at the least recording, some of the worst abuses, and LACAN have been working in conjunction with public defenders to defend those arrested. Such work has required incredible bravery, resulting in community watch members threatened and arrested on multiple occasions (Focus Group 2012). The regular presence of community watch groups on the streets has also served as a defence of public space in response to the claims staked by the BIDs and the LAPD, a visible presence of community watching the cops and the security guards and laying claim to their rights to exist in their own community.

What has ensued, particularly since the winning of the Residential Hotel Ordinance and the formation of community watch, has been an ever fiercer battle – perhaps not changed in quality but certainly changed in degree – over who exactly had a ‘right to the city’ (S. Diaz 2012). In terms of claiming public space, LA CAN’s community watch teams are out on the streets, they hold regular community events and barbecues, and have never lost a focus on building a healthier and safer community with a focus on food justice, community gardens and women’s rights. Their work was having an impact in the preservation of their community, preserving a sense of pride, humanity and right to public space in the face of ideological dehumanisation and brutal state force.

SCI was also having an impact. A 2006 *Los Angeles Times* article shows a fairly wide consensus amongst service providers both on skid row and as far away as Venice that SCI seemed to be forcing people to leave skid row for other neighbourhoods, at least during the day (R. Winton 21 October 2006). But an article in the *Economist* summarised its effects neatly in the title: ‘On the skids: The police have cleaned up Skid Row. They have not got rid of it’ (2007). In April 2008, the *Los Angeles Times* published a piece title ‘Skid row effort hits a wall: Is the well-publicized cleanup campaign slowing? The area is still safer than two years ago, but many wonder where things are headed’ (DiMassa and Winton 2008). The number of arrests had plateaued, but the LAPD pledged their continuing allocation of 50 officers to skid row, and Estela Lopez of the CCEA believed it was time to look at where to go next. Her thoughts on the subject are made clear in an email to LAPD officer Sergio Diaz, who was the LAPD representative at the Toy and Industrial BIDs’ annual meeting. She writes to him

One question in regard to the "where do we go from here." not for public discussion: I have been thinking the past week or so about the so-called anti-camping ordinance that, as I recall, was going to be revisited after the Jones settlement and subsequent vacation of the court's initial decision. My point is, are we now ready to seek legislative support to stabilize the area? I would appreciate your thoughts (Email 3 Sept 2008).

He responds that once the approximately 1,200 units of affordable housing mandated by the settlement were constructed the police would be able to enforce 41.18 (d) once again, and promises to be in touch with Perry's chief of staff Kathy Godfrey on the subject of a new ordinance.

While the BIDS were wondering what next, the second anniversary of SCI became a mobilising date for those opposing it. A march was called, and a letter circulated that was signed onto by at least 24 organizations, including multiple legal service, affordable housing developers, skid row service organisations, and community groups. It listed the reasons the community felt it so vital to oppose SCI:

- 750 arrests per month or 18,000 arrests in two years in a community that's home to 13,000 people.
- 1,000 misdemeanor citations each month for "crimes" such as crossing the street against a flashing red hand. When a poor or homeless Skid Row resident can't pay the fine, the citation turns to warrant and leads to arrest.
- Among the most appalling human and civil rights violations in the recent history of the United States. Persons who are poor, homeless, living with severe disabilities and African Americans are targeted.
- Thousands shut out of federally-funded housing and food programs. When people return from jail, their criminal record forces them to live on the street, where they cost taxpayers \$100,000 each year as they circulate through emergency rooms and jails.
- \$6 million each year for additional officers to police 50-square blocks-about equal to the amount the city invests annually in homeless services for the entire City of Los Angeles (469 square miles). Over two years, that money could have been used to get 750 people off the streets and into housing with support services. That would have reduced street-dwelling homeless in Skid Row by about 60%.

LA CAN protested by marching, feasting, listening to speeches and blocking traffic on First and Main to make their opposition to SCI clear:

For the past six months, we targeted our opposition of SCI primarily on the Police Commission because they have both the power and the responsibility to evaluate this initiative and demand changes. As a first step, one of our demands was for the Police Commission to hold a public hearing to get better informed about the devastation caused by SCI. That finally happened on November 18th (Community Connection 2008).

Another blow to SCI came in December 2008, when the city and the ACLU reached a final agreement on LAPD's stop and search policies. From ACLU's press release:

This settlement will ensure important checks on the LAPD's aggressive tactics on Skid Row. The constitution protects every Angeleno against unlawful stops and searches, from those living in Hollywood Hills to those sleeping on the streets of downtown," said Peter Bibring, an ACLU/SC staff attorney. "But abuses are bound to occur as long as the city tries to address homelessness on Skid Row as a law enforcement problem rather than a social problem" (18 December 2008).

In April 2009 under advocate and financial pressure, the mayor proposed a budget which cut funding for SCI. The BIDs immediately responded, sending out a flurry of emails amongst themselves and allies in the city, pressuring Councilmembers Perry and Parks to champion the restoration of funding, and writing a joint letter to the mayor (email 21 April 2009).¹⁵⁴ In response to their pressure, SCI continued for a third year at full funding. In April 2010, an additional layer of policing was added with the announcement of a new injunction from the city attorney's office: a ban on 80 named drug dealers from appearing on skid row. Estela Lopez of the CCEA appeared at the news conference to praise the new injunction,

¹⁵⁴ Councilman Bernard Parks of District 8, former chief of LAPD.

saying of the drug trade that ‘Our ability to bring greater economic ability to this area simply cannot be fulfilled with this kind of activity’ (Linthicum 2010).

Through this entire period the CCEA also continued with its monthly ‘Neighborhood Watch’ walks. Its goals were clearly explained in a press release issued on the third year anniversary of the walk as an institution, while also highlighting support for SCI and achievements of the BID:

"Our objective, born of frustration and rage over the public health and public safety threats to this community, was to take back the streets of Skid Row," said Lopez. "What actually happened was a complete shift from helplessness to hope, for both those sheltered and unsheltered."

The Walk takes place on the first Wednesday of every month. It continues, according to Councilwoman Jan Perry, because the job of restoring dignity to Skid Row is far from over. "The Skid Row Neighborhood Watch Walk is a reminder of the work that still needs to be done," Perry states, "and helps us highlight the incredible needs of the homeless."

There are presently between 500 and 700 people sleeping in tents and cardboard boxes, down from as many as 2,000 when the Walk began in 2005. ... A dedicated unit of fifty LAPD officers, many of whom volunteered for this assignment, enforce against criminal predators who pose a threat to the vulnerable, unsheltered and mentally ill. Two Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) financed by area property owners pay for the pick-up of between five and seven tons of trash from Skid Row sidewalks daily. Dark streets are now illuminated by dozens of new streetlights installed by the Bureau of Street Lighting and the Department of Water and Power (CCEA press release 20 June 2008).

The walks, attended by press and politicians and escorted by police and BID security, continued, increasingly becoming a point of contention in the ways they laid claim to space. In a 2011 letter from LA CAN asking the CCEA to desist in their walk, directors Pete White and Becky Dennison state clearly felt objections:

For the past two months, LA CAN and other community partners have been legally protesting the Skid Row Walk, as we believe it supports and promotes the criminalization of homelessness and poverty and is comprised only of those from outside of our community. LA CAN members, comprised primarily of Skid Row residents, urge you to end this condescending and offensive walk through our community.

... The CCEA's monthly walk is instead dominated by police officers and representatives of the business community. These are exactly the same institutions that are promoting the unprecedented levels of police presence, citations and arrests in Skid Row that have made many homeless and poor residents less safe and/or less stable. You do not represent the interests of the low-income community, nor our vision for public safety (letter to Estela Lopez 28 April 2011).

The letter signalled an increasingly personal confrontation between the CCEA and LA CAN. This would come to a head in 2011 and 2012, when Estela Lopez would claim that she had been assaulted by the use of a bullhorn too close to her. In her support the city attorney filed a lawsuit against Deborah Burton, a long time LA CAN member and one of the leaders of the Community Watch program (Vaillancourt 2012). Additional help in documenting the case came from Officer in Charge of SCI, Lt Shannon (emails from 7 and 18 November, 2011). The neighbourhood walks ceased pending the lawsuit, which came before the judge in July, 2013.

'CLEANING OUT' SKID ROW REDUX

Perhaps one of the clearest examples of the BIDs power to network and mobilise multiple government entities towards a single goal is seen in the renewed conflict over the city's ability to confiscate the possessions of those on the street. In April 2011, *Tony Lavan, et al v City of Los Angeles, et al* was filed, yet another class-action lawsuit against the city for the confiscation and destruction of personal property belonging to those who were homeless. The lawsuit stated that 'The only reason for this policy is to destroy the property of individuals ... who are homeless and who are regarded by the city as nothing more than garbage to be removed from city streets' (Vogel 2011). An injunction against the city's practice was granted by a federal

judge in June to replace the temporary restraining order issued in April. While the judge did not discuss the politics of gentrification and displacement in the judgement granting the injunction, he was scathing in his appraisal of the weakness of the city's case and wrongly aggressive application of precedent in violating rights to property:

The Court is troubled by the City's straight-faced misstatement of the law, especially in light of abundant authority to the contrary. ... The City offers no explanation as to why those abandoned-property cases stand for such a sweeping proposition of law. In order to prevent further reliance on inapplicable cases, the Court explains why those cases do not support the City's legal position despite the City's failure to do the same. ... How the City sincerely believes that Abel, Knight and Wider indicate lack of Fourth Amendment protections for the homeless population's property is beyond comprehension. ... The only explanation for the City's untenable position is that it assumes that all the homeless' property is abandoned. But, as discussed below, such an assumption is unwarranted, especially in light of Plaintiffs' clear showing that the City confiscated and destroyed unabandoned property in this case (*Lavan v City of Los Angeles* 2012)

Like the BIDs consideration of this destruction of personal property under problems of maintenance in the 'trash track', the LAPD consistently refer to it as the 'Sanitation' Temporary Restraining Order, and together with the city attorney and the BIDs, particularly Estela Lopez from the Central City East Association, began fighting to overturn it (SCI 2012 1st Quarter report; email Estela Lopez to CCEA board 30 April 2012). Lopez notes in an email to SCI officer Lt. Shannon Paulson that the two principal concerns for her members are 'the growing number of transients on our streets, as compared to years 2006-2009', and 'the injunction against LAPD clearing abandoned property off skid row sidewalks' (email from Estela Lopez to Shannon Paulson 8 August 2011). In February 2012, Lopez emailed the mayor, the city attorney, city council members, county officials, other downtown BIDs and skid row organisations inviting them to an emergency meeting with her board and high figures from the LAPD. The emails were personalised, showing her

connections and also her power. To the City Attorney's office she writes, for example:

I am writing to request the participation of City Attorney Trutanich and Chief Deputy Bill Carter at a meeting on Monday, February 27th at 4pm at CCEA's offices to discuss the growing violence and public health hazards on skid row sidewalks.

The main body of the text is essentially the same to everyone:

It appears that what many of us feared is coming to pass. The downturn in the economy, the release of state prisoners, and the court injunction limiting removal of property is having a cumulative affect on skid row. Many streets are tent villages once again as they were prior to the 2006 implementation of the Safer Cities Initiative. I had my staff do a quick re-cap of key indicators, comparing January 2011 to January 2012:

Abandoned property Up 158%

Encampments Up 97%

Illegal dumping Up 500%

LAFD Assistance Up 1000% (persons sick, injured or deceased)

LAPD Assistance Up 500%

I am deeply concerned that we might be at a tipping point... (email 16 February, 2012)

She called the meeting, and everyone turned up (some represented by high level staff members) except the mayor. In a further email pressuring him to meet with the new group thus formed, Lopez sent a second email stating that skid row once more resembled a third-world country (Estela Lopez to mayor's staff member Paul Hernandez 7 March 2012).

Once all the key politicians, city and county departments, and business community were on board, the CCEA started with press. The *L.A. Times* ran an

article the end of March with the headline ‘Skid row street population surges back in Los Angeles: A city initiative had helped to reduce the numbers and clean up the sidewalks, but the weak economy and other factors have reversed the trend’ (Zavis 2012). On 9 April, Carol Schatz of the Central City Association published an op-ed piece also in the *L.A. Times* stating that advocates were causing more harm than good in their misguided attempts to help people living on the streets keep their belongings:

Rather than simply establishing and refining rules under which homeless people can continue to live on city sidewalks in squalor, shouldn’t activists and the courts focus on how to help homeless people off the streets? Protecting deplorable conditions by court order is tantamount to condemning the unfortunate to a lifetime of slow, deliberate deterioration.

Meanwhile, the rights of a few to leave their possessions on public property have trumped the rights of the many who need to use the sidewalks for their intended purpose without threat to their health and safety (Schatz 2012).

Once again a discourse of rights is claimed in defence of the ‘many’, there is no doubt whose rights matter here, in spite of a veneer of compassion. Despite the press and mobilisations of support, the city’s request for a rehearing of the injunction before a larger panel at the 9th circuit lost a third time in December 2012. Yet the coalition of local government and business brought together by the CCEA still weren’t ready to quit.

In February 2013 the *Los Angeles Times* broke the story: ‘Feds try to curb outbreak of TB on skid row’ (Gorman and Blankstein 2013). They cite county officials (who had been key participants in the meetings called by Estela Lopez referenced above, and who had themselves called in the Federal Center for Disease Control and Prevention) as calling it the greatest outbreak in a decade. This in spite of the fact that their figures show 78 cases and 11 deaths since 2007, making it an

‘outbreak’ that took place over six years. The article goes on to state that ‘Tuberculosis is easily transmitted by inhaling droplets from infected patients when they sneeze, cough or laugh. When left untreated, TB can be deadly’. Though it later states that the skid row strain is one that can be treated, the operative words in that paragraph remain ‘easily transmitted’ and ‘deadly’ (Gorman and Blankstein 2013). In arguing why the LAPD and city officials should be able to remove (and destroy) people’s personal possessions from the sidewalk, Estela Lopez is quoted as saying:

“No one’s mental illness, tuberculosis or staph infection gets better lying on a public sidewalk,” Lopez said. “These are human beings who are often unable to make rational decisions for themselves and they need our help. Instead, we give them options that are self destructive like you can amass and hoard your belongings on the sidewalk” (Blankstein and Zavis 2013).

An ironic statement, considering the other option is to keep no possessions at all.

On 25 February, the *L.A. Times* blog reported that an internal LAPD memo ‘warned officers who patrol the skid row area to wear protective masks and minimize face-to-face contact with suspects or the public if there is reason to believe that they are infected with tuberculosis’. Pictures show masked LAPD officers patrolling the streets (*LAT* 25 February 2013). On 27 February, the City Attorney’s office announced that it was appealing the Lavan decision to the Supreme Court, citing the immediate public health threat of the TB ‘outbreak’.

That same day, the health department released a fact sheet on TB retreating from much of the content of the previous articles. Now found on LA CAN’s website, it states:

Should the public be concerned?

No, the general public should not be overly concerned. The public needs to know that there is no immediate danger to their health related to the current situation. TB is spread from person to person through the air, and usually requires prolonged, close contact. You cannot get TB from contact with

clothes, drinking glasses, eating utensils, handshakes, contact with surfaces, or passing someone on the street (Los Angeles County Department of Health 12 February 2012).

Within the space of only a few days a public health crisis was announced by L.A. County and so promoted into a panic by local media that it was picked up by national and international press. The LAPD and BID security started wearing face masks in skid row. The City Attorney filed an appeal of the Lavan case to the Supreme Court based on the immediate health risk. Yet after some awkward questions from advocates, L.A. County retreated and put forward a fact sheet stating that the health crisis was actually nothing the public needed to worry about.

The Supreme Court decided not to hear the case. This hardly detracts from the concerted efforts of city and county agencies to support the confiscation and destruction of homeless people's property, and support of development interests facilitating capital's return to downtown and the creation of privileged social space. It is also extraordinary how hard the City Attorney pushed the case in the courts, even after a negative decision that contained a fairly damning personal indictment of their office's legal abilities. In part the decision is a testament to LA CAN and their allies, unmoved in their resolve to fight without apologies for the skid row community. They have claimed their place in society and their human rights to respect and housing in central Los Angeles.

CONCLUSIONS

In the return of capital to downtown, we can see how deeply entrenched the connection between whiteness and property's value remains, as business interests

have felt it necessary to attempt the brutal displacement of an entire community – itself produced by the forces of racism combined with the globalised capital restructuring driving downtown’s development – to better sell a social space of privilege and happiness (Lefebvre 1996). This chapter details how the CCA and CCEA have worked to articulate various supports to effect and justify the creation of a more marketable and privileged white space in central Los Angeles: new strategies of privatising and privately policing public spaces through BIDs, the initiation of intense geographic concentrations of LAPD officers making arrests on quality-of-life issues; shifts in district attorney policy around drug prosecutions connecting to the ongoing wholesale criminalisation of communities of colour; the mobilisation of both neoliberal discourses of individual responsibilities and choice along with the need for the power of the government to secure public health and safety; and work to enlist and coordinate various government agencies and offices in the effort to push downtown’s long-term residents of colour – whether just poor or homeless – outside of the physical community and outside of the community of consent. The reactive struggle forced onto residents and groups like LA CAN has been the defence not just of existing affordable housing and the legal right to carry out the functions required for life, but of the moral recognition of their place in the community and their very humanity won during the 1960s.

LA CAN’s success in preserving residential hotels and the rights of those who are homeless has provoked ever more extreme efforts to cleanse downtown, proving the power of a belief in segregated social space (required to underpin property values) where there is no place for the poor and people of colour in a downtown to which money, resources and the white middle classes have returned. The struggle to introduce this aspect of Jim Crow into the downtown community

exposes a broader spatial aspect to the racial project of criminalisation as theorised by Alexander (2012), while also highlighting the flexibility of downtown interests in navigating between neoliberal ideologies and strategies such as those underpinning the BIDs' privatised control of public space, and the coordination and support of government agencies such as the police and public health departments in pursuit of their aims. Their efforts highlight the continuing centrality of a logic that connects race to property value – developed during California's foundation and deepened through struggle, white flight and suburbanisation – to the political economy of property development. This has made race as central to understanding the return of capital to the city centres of the US and the resulting dynamics of gentrification and displacement, as space has been in understanding current ideas of community, whether of coercion or consent, and the continuing hegemony of white privilege.

Chapter 5 : CONCLUSIONS: IDEOLOGY FOUND?

This thesis began with a formal question about how struggle over the use and occupation of land helps destabilise and rearticulate formations of class, race, and space, and the ways in which this history connects to current discourses and practices of privatisation. The theory embedded in this question sought to grapple with the spatially experienced fact of a continuing deep and death-dealing segregation – one of the most visible, universal and heartbreaking aspects of all US cities – and how it emerged through a racist past, how it still exists even after a ‘victorious’ civil rights struggle, and what it means for the present despite being treated as peripheral in so many accounts of the city. Thus this thesis has engaged in an ‘unearthing of silences’, a return to the archives and a recovering not just of the retrospective significance of the past, but its bearing on the struggles of the present (Trouillot 1997, 58). This history grounded spatially reveals the continuing centrality of race in the creation of the use and exchange values of land and how this has cemented white privilege into material place, allowing openly racist praxis to yield to the discourses of a ‘colourblind’ or ‘post-racial’ society without endangering privilege itself. Thus white privilege preserved through white space has remained hegemonic through each changing articulation of ideology, policy and racial geography forced by struggle, creating and maintaining physically segregated white communities that map onto similarly segregated white understandings of community. Peoples of colour have never been fully accepted into either despite some gains in the 1960s. With

hegemony conceived as rule through consent and coercion, those who are not white have always been, and continue to be, subject to violence and a regime more geared towards domination. Segregated space remains a physical, visible monument to this continued exclusion.

The first empirical chapter uncovers the foundations for the hegemonic link between land value and race. It explores the white supremacist logics that demanded exclusion of non-whites from both social and physical communities, as articulated and defended by homeowner associations, and the ways in which these logics were both legitimated and enshrined in professional practice, laws and public policy. The successful challenge of discourse, practice and policy by African Americans in the context of WWII's anti-fascist struggles removed the legal prop for segregation and forced a slow move away from open white supremacist ideologies. As African Americans used this opening to try and escape the ghetto in ever greater numbers, the threat to white space and privilege provoked the real estate industry to strategise around the building out of new suburbs with controls allowing the developer and/or its white residents to maintain its use and exchange values through segregation. Thus the need to develop and preserve white space became one of the drivers of suburbanisation, shaping the government subsidies and private capital that flooded into real estate development after the war. Developers and realtors, like all white homeowners, were as personally invested in this protection of space for their own families as they were for creating profits. It was never simply about the buying and selling of land as a commodity and the building of wealth and assets, but also about the social reproduction of power through controlling access to good schools, jobs, and other such amenities.

The 1960s followed hard on this period that had already begun to challenge white supremacist ideologies as they articulated with the legal and political supports for spatial segregation. Bringing serious, almost revolutionary, challenge to white control over power and space, African Americans and other peoples of colour built on these earlier struggles to demand full equality and integration. Their winning of the moral high ground and policy change at all levels of government to promote integration and make discrimination illegal required new strategies to maintain white space and privilege outside and against government intervention, and a new superficially non-racist discourse of rationalisation. The efforts to integrate Torrance and to win fair-housing laws show white homeowners, developers and CREA fighting to defend white privileged space, disclaiming racism, reappropriating some of the rhetoric being used against them, and grounding their actions in patriotism to prioritise freedom of choice, homeowner and property rights. Torrance's temporary injunction privatising the Southwood development's public spaces also proved its effectiveness in defending white privileged space despite a most determined civil rights campaign. These lessons were taken up through the channelling of capital into the widespread building of amenity-rich privatised communities with well-protected tax bases, insulating their residents from even the sight of the growing poverty and desperation within the communities of colour they had cut themselves off from, even while philosophically – if grudgingly – recognising them as equals. Early white supremacist definitions of community as white only were now firmly grounded spatially through isolation into fiercely defended and privileged tract developments, and ideologically through rhetorics of freedom and property rights, and individual responsibility that cast the blame for poverty back upon ghetto residents.

Chapter Four explores how this new articulation of the lasting connection between race and land value, a suburban and racialised understanding of what privileged residential space consists of, and a discourse of rights and responsibilities, has defined the praxis of new residential development in downtown Los Angeles. With the limits of suburban development reached, widespread suburban opposition to infill development, and a rent gap ready for exploitation in the city centre, an explosion of downtown development has occurred beginning in the mid-90s. When this failed to displace the poor and the homeless given their fierce resistance and success in preserving residential hotels, business interests represented by the CCA and CCEA carried out increasingly extreme campaigns to cleanse them from the city centre. To do so they have mobilised a number of different strategies and discourses. Initially the BIDs provided an ability to privatise and secure downtown's public spaces, moving along unwanted occupants. When resistance made this ineffective in achieving displacement, they worked with city and county governments to increase punitive municipal control over these same spaces and further criminalise their residents, while also carrying out public health and hygiene interventions. The restless search for anything that would work to create the highest value social space, erased of its poverty and colour, has to date been successfully resisted by LA CAN and their allies, who continue to put forward a discourse of human rights both to the physical and social community of downtown.

In bringing the significance of this history, and this narrative itself, into the present, this thesis makes three principal arguments. The first is that despite struggle, white privilege and its spatiality have remained central to the construction of white hegemony, and the links between race and land's use and exchange values that were forged during the period of open white supremacy have continued through to the

present. Theorising hegemony as the ‘*process* by which a historical bloc of social forces is constructed and the ascendancy of that bloc secured’ (Hall 1996b, 44), this thesis demonstrates how struggle against segregation has not yet broken the hegemony of social forces united by race for white domination. This is in spite of winning enough ground to force this bloc into the rearticulation of a racialized understanding of land values with new ideologies, practices and policies to preserve white privileged spatiality – both in terms of maintaining segregated white space for the social reproduction of power, and in the vast expansion of wealth and assets produced through real estate development in the past few decades. Thus white supremacy remains as cemented into the economics of real estate as the materiality of the segregated and unequal spaces it produces, however it may be recast and recoded into more neoliberal discourses and practices of rights and individual responsibilities. This articulation explains the massive resources that have been employed in keeping peoples of colour out of newly-built privileged neighbourhoods as much as it does their attempted erasure from those older more central neighbourhoods chosen for redevelopment as part of capitalist cycles of uneven development and global capital restructuring.

The second argument is around the nature of hegemony itself in the United States. Gramsci writes ‘The “normal” exercise of hegemony...is characterised by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority...’ (1976, 80, footnote 49). The history presented here demonstrates how racial divisions rooted in conquest and slavery have been recast, yet continue to do work in service of white privilege, sundering peoples of colour from the community of consent defined by the

white 'majority'. Their exclusion has elevated whites of all classes and made possible the consent (and participation) of the white majority in the coercion of others – both through slow and spectacular violence, and high levels of state coercion used to discipline peoples of colour into subordination. This exclusion is mapped both socially and spatially; while the physical racial boundaries have shifted, the constant material fact of segregation has maintained social and physical distance between the privilege and power of white communities and the poverty and police occupation of the ghetto. The struggles studied here have helped open up this community of consent from whites only during the Jim Crow period to a token and limited openness towards 'model minorities' and the middle and upper classes. Yet arguments that class might now trump race are undermined by the reality that whites have maintained their hegemonic position at the top of this racial and spatial hierarchy.

The material and ideological cementing of white supremacy into the fabric of the city, the valuation of space and the nature of white hegemony almost make too obvious the third argument: that race remains as central to the urban form and dominant ideologies as it always has been, even though it has been erased from so many accounts of the city. Running throughout the Black struggles studied here is the constant, though not always fully articulated, acknowledgement of the centrality of white hegemony as the driving force in the formation of both the physical city and ideological understandings of social and spatial community. The constant and powerful struggle by African Americans and other communities of colour for their place in the city has forced political and legal changes, and lip service to equality and rights for all. In practice, however, rather than fully recognising the justice of these struggles, whites have responded through new articulations of ideology and practice

labelled as neoliberal, mobilised in defence of white space and privilege. This can be seen in development, the growth of organisations like BIDs and CIDs, and other increasingly privatised residential communities able to maintain exclusivity and resources for social reproduction through gates, security, design, regulations and succession to the extent possible from the larger region. It can be seen in state repression, with ever more methods of criminalising the poor and peoples of colour, increased police brutality, and skyrocketing rates of incarceration. It can be seen in discourse, in the neoliberal rhetoric of market over government, colourblindness, individual responsibility and property rights. For intellectuals of colour as for activists, the centrality of race to the historical development of capitalism and neoliberalism as we find it at the current conjuncture is clear (see HoSang et al 2013, Alexander 2012, Marable 2001, Pulido 2000, Robinson 1983, West 2001 among others). Yet it remains peripheral to so many theorisations of both neoliberalism and struggle, indicating that the veil described so eloquently by Du Bois is as real as ever, and the problem of the 21st century remains the colour line.

This thesis thus builds on and expands current theories of race and space in several ways. Grounding Logan and Molotch's (1987) theorisation of the dialectic between land's use value and exchange value in a detailed history of struggle over segregation reveals the ways that racial homogeneity was, and has continued to be, primary in the valuation of both given their role in the accumulation of assets and in the social reproduction of race and class power. This dialectic is at the heart of Lefebvre's concept of the 'social space' being developed and sold as a circuit of capital – he writes: 'space itself has begun to be bought and sold. Not the earth, the soil, but *social space*, produced as such, with this purpose, this finality' (2003, 154). This thesis demonstrates some of the key ways that the ideal social space as

defensible and homogenous white space has been constructed over time by both real estate professionals, homeowners and the state.

These key underlying dynamics have shaped the larger globalised flows of capital –yet they remain absent from both the broad arguments of Lefebvre (2003), who is writing primarily about France and its very different history, but also the much more detailed and concrete theorisations of US cities by Harvey (1985, 2007) and Smith (1982, 1992, 1996). Vital as their work has been in grasping the larger picture of capital's uneven development of the built environment and how this pattern of accumulation helps maintain capitalism itself through crisis, I argue they have not been able to fully theorise the placing or the increasingly privatised forms such investments have taken without understanding the racial dynamics also at work. This is why I have found it so fruitful to bring their political economy of space together with Stuart Hall's arguments that society is structured through race, and his concept of the articulation of the political, ideological and economic. This allows the political economy of space to be set into a more dynamic and dialectic relationship with political formations and racial and economic ideologies, allowing us a more contextualised, historicised and nuanced view of the city while not losing sight of larger, more globalised forces at work.

In turn this combination brings a spatial awareness sorely lacking in Hall's theorisations, deepening our understanding of social and political structures. Above all this thesis works to show the importance of control over space to the maintenance of power and privilege. The array of discriminatory practices mobilised alongside both individual and state violence to maintain segregated space not only serve as reminders of its importance to maintaining the dominance of white society, but continued segregation stands as a physical marker of the corresponding segregation

of both ideological understandings and the lived experience of community. Bringing a spatial understanding to the *process* of hegemony shows how it has fractured along racial boundaries, with race as the faultline uniting white communities of consent above the communities of colour subject to coercion, just as geographical faultlines have marked the boundaries between privileged white neighbourhoods and the ghetto.

This spatial understanding also builds on and supports Alexander's theorisations of the new Jim Crow (2012). While the mass criminalization of African Americans and other peoples of colour certainly seems key to the new system of racial control, it seems likely that the 'new' Jim Crow like the 'old' should consist of a series of interlocking laws and practices not only of mass disenfranchisement but also of segregation (Woodward 2002). This thesis shows that in support of residential segregation, there is an older logic based in white supremacy that runs beneath the current neoliberal discourses and practices now used to justify it. This same logic separating and elevating the community of consent above that of coercion underlies the criminalisation of both the space of the ghetto and its inhabitants – just as the efforts to racially cleanse skid row for development through criminalising homelessness and poverty have also capitalised on these connections while driving them deeper. The current spatial configuration of Los Angeles, like other cities, supports these older logics of 'us' and 'them' and allows them to grow unchallenged. In the rhetoric of groups like today's Tea Party, it is hard to see that much has changed from that of this 1944 letter from a Los Angeles resident to California's Governor Warren to ask for his help against the 'Negroes':

I don't believe in intermarriage, of course, I don't believe in residential mixing, believing that the colored folks should live in their respective

sections and fraternize among themselves, not feel they have a right to ‘mix’ with the whites.

I believe in the unalienable rights of every man, whatever his race cred (sic) or color; but only so long as he minds his own business and does not tread on the toes of others.¹⁵⁵

These sentiments acknowledge that everyone has rights, but above them all are the rights of white Americans to retain their privilege along with their segregated neighbourhoods.

I began my research more interested in questions of privatisation and the growth of neoliberalism – the object of my second question – as key objects to be theorised for struggle, looking at how they had developed in relation to the ways in which social justice movements had forced re-articulations of racial ideologies and spatial organisation. In starting with struggle itself and examining the changes it had won and lost, however, neoliberalism emerges as something of a distraction, the result of an opportunistic search for what would best preserve white hegemony through segregation, and the spatial power and privileges it confers. Destabilising this racial hegemony, along with capitalist relations of exploitation themselves, form the real prize, the battle to be fought and won in transforming both cities and the nation into just and equitable spaces where racism is no longer ‘a death-dealing displacement of difference within hierarchies...’ (Gilmore 2002: 16).

Thinking about neoliberalism as an ‘ideology found’ recognises this opportunistic search. The overturning of covenants in 1948 and the mass protests in Torrance’s exclusive white suburbs in the 1960s both saw white American homeowners and developers alike searching for ways to better protect white privilege and neighbourhoods. Increased privatisation and securitisation proved to be

¹⁵⁵ Letter to Governor Earl Warren, dated 9 December 1944. *EWP*: ‘Negroes’ folder.

the answer. The resonances between neoliberalism and existing discourses of individual and property rights over collective social rights, a rejection of government authority in support of ‘minorities’ against discrimination, and practices of privatisation made neoliberalism’s prescriptions of small government facilitating the free market and rationalisations of inequity very useful. Neoliberalism helped rearticulate a desire and strategy to preserve spatial and racial privilege with an ideology able to justify it in non-racialised terms. In Los Angeles, increasing privatisation of space and municipal functions came first, rather than simply being part of a ‘roll-out’ of top-down neoliberal ideology as is sometimes argued in theorisations of neoliberalism, even when they allow for local adaptations (Peck and Tickell 2002, Brenner and Theodore 2002).¹⁵⁶ Los Angeles’s BIDs first started in the 1990s, but arguably are based as much on a longer history of privatisation and control of public space as they are an ‘example par excellence of the changes in how urban management is being practiced in the most industrialised economies of the world’ as part of the roll-out of neoliberalism (K. Ward 2006, 55, Reese, Deverteuil and Thach 2010). When the BIDs and the private market proved ineffective in cleansing downtown of its poor, the business associations running them had little hesitation in once more mobilising and promoting the power of the State.

The power of articulation as a theoretical framework allows an understanding of the ways that neoliberal logics might first be simply articulated with similar beliefs and practices in pursuit of larger goals but yet are able to take on a life of their own within the hegemonic formation, normalising entrepreneurial and

¹⁵⁶ My arguments on neoliberalisation are limited to the United States only here, as I believe there is a much better argument for the importance of neoliberalism as a top-down ideology imposed by lenders and powerful governments upon developing countries beginning with Chile in the 1970s (see Harvey (2005)). This also opens the potential for exploring parallels between white power and privilege as it is maintained in the US and post-colonial studies examining this on a global scale.

individualist logics in service of free markets and free trade, working to further limit and channel our imaginations of what is possible. I would argue that its importance as an object of struggle doesn't change the fact that it remains disposable if it ceases to serve white domination and spatialities. Today's social movements face the relentless privatisation of government and the sell-off of public assets, the invidious language of the market that has invaded every sphere, and the ever deeper focus on the individual over the community. Framing their work as a struggle for human rights (to housing, jobs, and food etc) in opposition to neoliberalism as LA CAN does can help connect similar efforts in a global framework to provide a basis for wider solidarity. Yet LA CAN builds this solidarity with an awareness of what is really at stake: the oppression that their members survive every day, and the ways in which race is central to this oppression. Neoliberalism is ultimately a tool for those working to support a larger hegemony of capitalist white privilege and its spatial expressions, thus it is the battle against racism and capitalism that must be theorised and fought, even if only in small steps looking towards this larger goal.

The first step must surely consist of finally piercing the veil described by Du Bois over 100 years ago, gaining widespread understanding among whites and all races of the structural role that white supremacy continues to play in the US, and their support in its dismantling. This must be in service of a true opening up of the community of consent, and what this thesis demonstrates above all is that this must not be simply an ideological opening, but also a material, spatial one. This would mark a true victory, not least because it would help bring to an end the vicious regime of coercion that daily results in brutal displacement, tragedy, and death. LA CAN's work, and that of other grassroots groups doing this kind of organising and politicisation around their rights to space, points a way forward. Knowing where we

have been, we need academics and activists to work together to cross the colour lines, imagine a new future and theorise how we can get there.

APPENDIX A: RACIAL BOUNDARIES AND SOURCES

Racial Boundary	Source
African American Community Boundaries – 1890-1900 and through 1948	US Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places (2009)
African American Community Boundaries – 1948	Miller (1965)
Pacoima Boundaries 1953	Langguth (1953)
Oakwood Boundaries	Deener (2010)
Skid Row Boundaries 1976	Haas & Heskin (1981)
Faultline: 120th St	Warren (1965)
Faultline: 126th St	<i>CE</i> 10 July 1947
Faultline: 130th St	Miller (1965)
Faultline: 133rd St	Miller (1965)
Faultline: Alameda	Miller (1965)
Faultline: Artesia	<i>Sentinel</i> 10 January 1963
Faultline: Broadway	US Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places (2009)
Faultline: Main	<i>CE</i> 22 July 1943
Faultline: San Pedro	Hawkins (1988)
Faultline: Slauson	Miller (1965)
Faultline: Washington	Flamming (2005)
Faultline: Western	<i>CE</i> 9 October 1952

Chapter 6

APPENDIX B: LIST OF INCIDENTS AND SOURCES

ADDRESS	DATE	INCIDENT	SOURCE
33rd & Hooper	1902	Neighbors asked Black man to leave, mob dispersed when he pulled a gun	Flamming (2005)
E 18th St, 4 doors S of Central	1914	Mrs. Mary Johnson buys house, she left house and returned to find all her furniture and possessions on front lawn, hand-painted sign across door 'Nigger if you value your hide don't night catch you here' Contacts Eagle and 100 women march to house	Bass (1960)
420 W 59th St	1916	Garrott case - appeal July 10, 1919, won restrictive covenant case. KKK splashed on sidewalk in front of his home in June 1946	Bass (1960); <i>Sentinel</i> June 27, 1946
51st St west of Western - Kendal's Berry tract	1919	Los Angeles Investment Company v Gary - '...it was held that although the clause against sale to a Negro was invalid, a restrictive clause against "occupancy" would be sustained by the courts'.	<i>CE</i> December 13, 1945
330 E 78th St	1922	'On last Sunday an attempt was made to burn the residence of Mr. Edward Grubbe. 330 E. 78th street at 12:30 p. m. by placing a can of coal oil under the 'back steps and setting it on fire. Fortunately the dastardly crime was averted by Mr. Grubbs, who was awakened at the crackling of the Incipient blaze, and he hurriedly extinguished the fire before it gained further headway'	<i>CE</i> January 28, 1922

1171 S. 41st	1923	<i>Letteau v Long</i> suit to evict based on residential restrictions: ‘The husband, Mr. Long is unfortunately ill in body and mind, and the burden of protecting the roof which shelters her head from the rain and the weather, rests wholly upon the wife; already breaking under the strain that the sickness of her husband and the cares of litigation and financial obligations inflict upon her’.	<i>CE</i> April 4, 1924
Manhattan Beach	1924	Fiery crosses burned, threats of arson. Bruce’s Beach face action in Supreme Court, sought to condemn property under pretext needed for public park. Case lost.	Bass (1960)
947 Ira Street	1925	‘Judgement awarded to Lula Turner (colored) against Oren Bailey and A.D. Leavett (white) for \$500 in damages. Turner charged ‘maliciously and expressly invaded the home occupied by her and her family and, by means of threats and circumstances of terror, forced them to flee from property purchased and occupied as a home by Mrs. Turner. The property is located at 947 Ira Street at Graham...the attack upon which the action was predicated is alleged to have occurred on the 1st and 7th days of March, 1925’.	<i>CE</i> April 3, 1925; January 21, 1927
Gardena	1925	Kenners harassed, children threatened, police arrest and judge threatens with KKK	<i>CE</i> April 17, 1925
Hopper & Sons Western Ave Tract -- West 30th St, west of Western	1925	15 families organize into Equal Rights Protective Association, to face lawsuit of Emma Kingel to force out of homes	<i>CE</i> November 20, 1925
721 W 85th st	1926	Mentis Carrere threatened by police deputy, KKK, Mob violence, white friend defends with rifle	<i>CE</i> June 25, 1926; August 6, 1926
793 E 42nd St	1926	Pauline Ellis, colored widow buys property, can’t find white renter so rents to negroes, sued	Bass 1960
Crestmore and Sons Tract, West of Western North of Jefferson	1926	Longstanding history of lawsuits through 1940s on basis of covenants	Green (1946) February 2 <i>Sentinel</i>

Crestmore and Sons Tract	1928	Restrictive covenant case: W.B. Wayt et al., Appellants v George Paytee et al.,	Green, (1946)
E 40th St, E Vernon Ave, McKinley Ave, Avalon Blvd	1928	Wilbur Peterson and his wife attempted to move into restricted tract, white realtors brought into court, argument that black belt had spread this far	Bass (1960)
West Adams and Western Ave Section	1929	Carey & Lillie B. Smith sued by Joseph Oberwise. Smiths win case.	Bass (1960)
249 E 45th St	1931	Mrs. Bertha Picard was found guilty of contempt of court for permitting Negroes to occupy the premises.	Bass (1960)
637 N Dillon ave	1931	Henry Elmore served notice he would be murdered if not out within a week	CE March 3, 1931
Unknown	1931	Mr & Mrs. Gray prohibited from settling on land because Mr. Gray half Native American	Bass (1960)
2210 W 30th St	1932	Mr & Mrs. Oscar Price lose covenant case to live in their home	Bass (Bass 1960)
2347 E 3rd St, Long Beach	1932	Klan attack meeting of 'communists', beat 9 members and burn cross, 4 arrested, additional 12 under suspicion	LAT November 18, 1932
Baldwin Hills	1932	Fiery Cross burned every 2 weeks, 7 to midnight on a Thursday	LAT November 19, 1932
E. 25th St	1933	75 people, men women children & babies in 12 cars visit home of police officer Louis Morris on E 25th St to warn him not to move into house he had purchased. He did.	Bass (1960)
E. 58th Pl	1935	'The Ku Klux Klan, hooded in the conventional white sheets, marched again last Saturday evening through East 58th Place bearing fiery crosses in an alleged attempt to terrorise the neighborhood. ... The hooded mob is believed to have marched In an effort to particularly frighten a colored family which recently moved into a home on 58th Place'.	CE July 26, 1935
245 E 45th St	1937	'Long-time residents of Los Angeles recall when most of the Eastside, from 32nd street south, was occupied by Jews and whites. One of the famous property cases won in a pioneer move to open the district to colored residents was that of	CE October 28, 1937

		Miss Frances Henderson, 245 East 45th street. Years of contesting and considerable expense was endured by the owner before a final favourable opinion was handed down by the court'.	
3712 Halldale	1937	'Mrs. Hattie S. Burns, 3712 Halldale, received an adverse decision from Judge Charles S. Burnell, of the Superior Court here, Monday. 'Mrs. Burns based her plea on the grounds that white blood predominated in her family'.	<i>CE</i> October 28, 1937
690 E 50th St	1939	'Seeking to uphold a residential restriction covenant in the very heart of the Eastside, 32 names of whites were signed last week to a petition against Mr. and Mrs. Sam Deedmon, 690 E. 50th St. The Deedmons are charged with violating a 13-year old restriction covenant that few persons knew existed. Several other Negro families have bought on the street within recent years and occupy residences there. The surrounding streets are populated almost solely by Negroes'.	<i>CE</i> August 3, 1939
Ocean Blvd & Cherry Ave	1939	Cross lit and KKK anti-immigrant circulars distributed	<i>LAT</i> March 15, 1939
1219 E. 92nd St	1940	'Because they bought a home on the north side of E. 92nd street where property is restricted against non-caucasians, Mr. and Mrs. Lee Lofton, 1219 E. 92nd street, have been sued by neighboring white residents of Goodyear Tract Unit No .2. On the south side of East 92nd street and across from the Lofton property, a large number of Negroes now own and occupy homes where the district is known as Central Avenue Gardens'.	<i>CE</i> August 22, 1940
Berkshire and Connwealth, La Canada	1941	2 acres offered for sale advertised as with no restrictions, whites pledged to blanket whole area with restrictions	<i>CE</i> June 5, 1941
Cimarron, Arlington and Van Ness avenues between Jefferson and Exposition	1941	evictions of 5 families including Sam McDaniels through upholding race covenants, protest called by Westside Neighborhood Club	<i>CE</i> June 26, 1941

202 E. Ash St, Fullerton	1943	'The judge ruled that restrictions against Mexicans are "unconstitutional and against public policy" that neighbors of Mr. and Mrs. Alex Bemal who were trying to evict them from their home at 202 E. Ash street in Fullerton on the grounds of deed restriction, are legally off base'.	<i>CE</i> August 12, 1943
2200 W 30 th St	1943	'Nearly five hundred citizens answered the call of NAACP President Thomas L. Griffith to an emergency meeting Sunday night at People's Independent. Church of Christ which raised over a hundred dollars to protect the home of Mr. and Mrs. Bolden Roberts, recently ordered out of their Westside residence within 90 days by Judge Myron Westover'.	<i>CE</i> November 24, 1943
98th and 104th streets and Avalon and Clovis Avenues	1943	'Tuesday night the South Los Angeles Home Owners Association met at the American Legion Hall, Imperial Blvd. between Main and Broadway, to block "the encroachment of non-Caucasian people" in the area between 98th and 104th streets and Avalon and Clovis Avenues. This section has been declared by the Nations Housing Administration as a non-restricted area with 465 units to be erected immediately'.	<i>CE</i> October 28, 1943
Aliso Village	1943	'The Los Angeles City Housing Authority now refuses to consider applications of Negro families for housing at Aliso Village, largest housing project in the city.	<i>CE</i> April 23, 1943
Normont Terrace, San Pedro	1943	'Recently two Negro families, whose breadwinners both work in the shipyards, moved into the Normont project. A small clique of Southerners immediately began to circulate petitions seeking their removal, with the evident intent of inspiring an attack similar to the one of the Ku Klux Klan on the Sojourner Truth project in Detroit'.	<i>CE</i> March 17, 1943
Venice Housing Project	1943	'the disputed Venice housing project will be open to all war workers, regardless of face, creed or color. Giulii's answer to the smoothly organized campaign of race-incitement being shoved down the throats of Venice citizens by a small, fascist-minded Chamber of Commerce	<i>CE</i> November 11, 1943

cliché.

1235 E 92nd St	1944	‘Henry Laws, 1235 E. 92nd Street, who had owned the lot at that address for twelve years. Three years ago he built a home on the lot, and he lived there until he was notified that because of the restrictions in that section, he would have to vacate. Court action sustained the notification, although no time has been set for him to vacate’.	<i>CE</i> September 21, 1944
1405 E 58th Dr	1944	‘Just this week Brandis Flowers, of 1405 East 58th Drive, called at The Eagle office and told how three women called at his home one night and one woman, in a slow Southern drawl, informed him, "You’d better move, or you’ll get into trouble."’	<i>CE</i> August 24, 1944
854 E 97th St	1944	‘...rock thrown through front window and a sign posted which read “Clear out at once ... KKK”’	<i>CE</i> June 14, 1944
C.H. Ashby Tract	1944	Eviction Cases	<i>CE</i> December 14, 1944
Charles Victor Hall Tract	1944	‘With attorney Loren Miller fighting uphill against the money and prejudices of a reactionary racist property owner in the Charles Victor Hall Tract, the cases of Hester vs. Morrison, Hester Vs. Thompson, and Hester vs. Barbe are being argued as the California Eagle goes to press. Hester is seeking to invoke the covenants on the tract which forbids residence therein by person who are not of the Caucasian race.	<i>CE</i> November 9, 1944
Granada Tract	1944	Eviction Cases	<i>CE</i> December 14, 1944
Homestead Tract	1944	Eviction Cases	<i>CE</i> December 14, 1944
Palisades Tract, Pasadena	1944	Fairchild V Raines, in 1927 when 35 property owners of the total of 69 in the tract agreed to restrict use of their	<i>CE</i> September

		property to white residents until Jan. 1, 1950. -- "The Pasadena Star- News" in reporting this all-important decision stated. "In reversing the decisions of the lower court the supreme justices took cognizance of the fact that 34 of the lots in the same tract were not restricted, and the 'character of the neighborhood had so changed since the restriction agreement of 1927 was made that any attempt to enforce such restrictive covenant would be oppressive and inequitable and would have no other result than to harass or injure the defendant without benefitting the plaintiff."	7, 1944
205 E 55th St	1945	'Efforts of Neighbors to oust Hubert Sanders, local business man, from the premises he owns and occupies at 205 East 55th street flopped last week when Judge Thurmond Clarke held that the 25 year old race restriction covenant which covers the property was inoperative because of change of character in the neighbourhood'.	<i>CE</i> September 27, 1945
2914 S. Kenwood Ave	1945	'The action was one of several instigated by Edythe G. Davis, wife of LeCompte Davis, an attorney with a flare for silver-tongued oratory, against Negro residents in the area bounded by 9th St on the north, Budlong Ave., on the east, Jefferson Blvd., on the south, and Normandie Ave., on the west, was begun in November 1944'.	<i>CE</i> August 9, 1945
3607 S. Arlington ave	1945	'Recently the Arlington Protective Association and Attorney Miller defeated a similar action brought by the Arlington-Jefferson Protective Association to oust Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Barbee from their home at 3607 S. Arlington avenue. This property adjoins Sheltering Arms," the parsonage of the Trinity Baptist Church. The church's property was not named in the present suits'.	<i>CE</i> March 16, 1945

3661 S. Arlington	1945	'On motion of Attorney Miller, the case of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Price of 3661 S. Arlington was dismissed for faulty execution. A motion is now pending which, if allowed, will dismiss eight other suits in one of the actions on technical grounds'.	<i>CE</i> March 16, 1945
Athens Housing Project 10th & Avalon	1945	A veiled threat of violence and bloodshed against proposed minority group residents in the housing project nearing completion at 10th and Avalon, made by the Athens Property Owners Association and the South Los Angeles Home Owners...	<i>CE</i> June 21, 1945
Avalon Boulevard and Alameda St	1945	'opposition that has developed to the announced plans of the Government to build a housing project for 1200 families of Negro, Chinese and Japanese extraction on a site between Avalon Boulevard and Alameda Street'.	<i>CE</i> January 11, 1945
Pepper & Randall, Fontana	1945	'O.H. Short -- After he had purchased a small home near Fontana, he was visited by two deputy sheriffs who told him he was "out of bounds" and "advised" him to move. Neighbors gave him the same warning. Sunday Night Short's house was burned under mysterious circumstance and his wife and two children were killed'.	<i>Sentinel</i> December 12, 1945; UCLA ACLU Box 30 Folder 3
Poole & Jones Tract 9th Budlong, Jefferson, Normandie	1945	'The action was one of several instigated by Edythe G. Davis, wife of LeCompte Davis, an attorney with a flare for silver-tongued oratory, against Negro residents in the area bounded by 9th St on the north, Budlong Ave., on the east, Jefferson Blvd., on the south, and Normandie Ave., on the west, was begun in November 1944'.	<i>CE</i> August 9, 1945
Trace 557 of Jefferson Park Subdivision	1945	'This is the third week of a trial which involves five race restrictive covenants directed against 15 Negro owners and occupants but affecting every Negro resident on Arlington avenue. Second avenue, Third avenue, and Fourth avenue. Action was brought by plaintiffs representing the Arlington- Jefferson Protective Association, which sued on covenants affecting lots in the Jefferson Park Tract and Trace 557 of the Jefferson	<i>CE</i> March 16, 1945

		<p>Park subdivision. The suits were filed September 7th and October 7th last year to halt the moving-in of Negroes. Negroes, however, have bought and occupy residences in this area. It is one of the finest upper middle class communities in America’.</p>	
West Adams Heights Tract: La Sallee street and Western Avenue and between Washington and Adams	1945	<p>Sugar Hill tract - The case that was decided will be known as Anderson vs. Auseth - about 30 property owners – ‘the restriction is imposed for 100 years and is not to expire until December 31, 2035. It was made in May, 1935’.</p>	<p><i>CE</i> November 1, 1945; December 13, 1945</p>
1333 E 58th Dr.	1946	<p>‘One of the fiery crosses appeared Tuesday night on the lawn of the home of Mrs. Loretta A. Aubrey, her husband and five Children, at 1333 East 58th drive, many other Negro families live along the short street’.</p>	<p><i>CE</i> May 23, 1946</p>
134 W. 56 th St	1946	<p>Cross on the front lawn of Mr & Mrs Hickerson at 134 W. 56th St. Threatened with “Ouster proceedings on the restrictive covenant plan several months before</p>	<p><i>CE</i> March 20, 1947; <i>Sentinel</i> May 16, 1946.05.16, <i>LAT</i> May 13, 1946</p>
1357 W 37th Pl	1946	<p>‘A restrictive covenant, forcing the eviction of one Negro couple and another Negro whose wife is white, was upheld in a decision filed- yesterday by Judge Pat P. Parker. The decision permanently enjoins non-caucasians from living in the property at 1357 West 37th Place. ‘Forced to move by the judge’s decision are Mr. and Mrs. Ira Thomas and Riley Butler, who own the apartment house. Butler’s white wife, Mildred, is not affected by the covenant’.</p>	<p><i>CE</i> December 5, 1946</p>
1917 W 21st St	1946	<p>‘Cole, head of the famous King Cole Trio, began purchasing the property, located at 1917 West 21st St., nearly six months ago, completed the essential steps needed to acquire ownership on May 8. At that time Herman C. Ingalls, Margaret Simpson and Robert A. Hotter obtained the restraining order to prevent occupancy of non-whites to property in that tract’.</p>	<p><i>CE</i> June 6, 1946</p>

222 W 56th St.	1946	‘A permanent injunction against Mr and Mrs. Henry C. Hutchin, prohibiting them from occupying their home at 222 W. 56th St., was granted white residents of the district’.	<i>CE</i> February 2, 1946
2333 W 31st St	1946	Dr Welles E. Forde wins case, defended by Loren Miller, wins on basis of changed occupancy	<i>LAT</i> January 8, 1946; <i>CE</i> January 24, 1946
3050 and 3060 Prospect ave	1946	‘John W. Allen and wife, who have lived in Riverside for 37 years, and their daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Edmond Bereal, have had judgment pronounced upon them by a court in Riverside to the effect that they cannot continue to own the homes they purchased last year because they are Negroes’.	<i>CE</i> January 17, 1946
3814 S. Normandie ave	1946	‘They were attacked time and again by hoodlums,’ Miss Cohen said, who moved in with the family to help in the fight. "When I first visited the place, the front part of the house was covered with eggs. They have thrown bricks into the windows, and have kept this family in a constant state of terror." ‘The mother, Mrs. Williams, is ill with heart trouble, and cannot endure this terrorism much longer, although the daughters would like to stay and fight it out’.	<i>CE</i> November 21, 1946
5047 Varna St., Van Nuys	1946	‘A courageous San Fernando Valley resident, defying KKK threats, has thrown a challenge at restrictive racial covenant supporters by refusing to sign their petitions and is being backed by an enraged neighborhood. ‘The woman is Mrs. Rose Herberg of 5047 Varna St., Van Nuys. Late last week Mrs. Herberg’s house was painted with a two foot high "KKK" insignia. This followed closely on the heels of her refusal to sign an anti-Negro petition which is frantically being circulated by real estate interests as the restrictive covenants in the district are elapsing’.	<i>CE</i> August 15, 1946

8616 Beach st	1946	;George Sharp told police he was welcomed to his new home at 8616 Beach street in this way: 1. A group of 16-year-old white boys passed the home and made insulting remarks about the "dark cloud" entering the neighborhood. 2. A milk bottle was hurled through a window 3. a note in a whisky bottle found on the front porch said 'you're not wanted. Get out or else. It was signed KKK	<i>CE</i> December 12, 1946
USC	1946	two crosses burned, one in front of the Jewish fraternity Zeta Beta Tau	<i>CE</i> May 23, 1946
127 W 56th St	1946	2 Chinese Veterans fighting eviction on restrictive covenant case, Tommy Amer is name given for one.	<i>Sentinel</i> May 16, 1946, <i>Sentinel</i> August 28, 1947
2302 West 25th St (25th & Arlington)	1946	Restrictive Covenant case filed against Thomas P. Gordon, Gordon wins case	<i>Sentinel</i> March 28, 1946; May 9, 1946.05
1531 West 22nd St	1946	Arson attempt proved at house, but Negro owner believes possibly directed at Japanese family who had just returned from concentration camp and moved in next door, as he was the only negro in the neighborhood but had lived there since 1911	<i>Sentinel</i> February 21, 1946
230 West 58th St	1946	Henry C. Hutchens & family lose covenant case, preventing them from moving in to home	<i>Sentinel</i> February 7, 1946
10513 S Central Ave	1947	Home of Silas Redd – 'The Southwestern Property Owners Protective Association, headed by Oliver De Hoog who has been trying for 20 years to keep this section "lily white", are the plaintiffs in the three cases mentioned. 'But Local 634 and the civil rights division of the Mobilization for Democracy have come to the aid of the three families. A permanent	<i>CE</i> September 11, 1947

		committee was set up by the Carpenters Local at a meeting this week to forward the fight for all three defendants’	
1155 E 107th St	1947	Home of James Allen – ‘The Southwestern Property Owners Protective Association, headed by Oliver De Hoog who has been trying for 20 years to keep this section "lily white", are the plaintiffs in the three cases mentioned.	<i>CE</i> September 11, 1947
1230 S Van Ness Ave.	1947	‘Actively directing the drive as secretary of the Southwestern Wilshire Protective Association is real estate man Charles R. Shattuck, a brother of Edward S. Shattuck, vice chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. President of the racist outfit is W. W. Powell, Vice president of the Title Insurance & Trust Co. advertised as the "largest and oldest trust company pony in Southern California – assets \$31,000,000." ‘It has been estimated that this title company handles 90 percent of all restrictive covenant procedures in Los Angeles. ‘The group approved plans at a meeting Thursday night to proceed with restrictive covenant court suits against 13 non-Caucasians within the next 30 days. Some 300 white property owners in the district attended the meeting, held in the Diana ballroom, 4067 Pico Blvd. , ‘Among court action projected was one against Dr. H. Claude Hudson, dentist and noted Civic leader and former candidate for the Board of . Education. Hudson lives at 1230 Van Ness Ave’.	<i>CE</i> September 25, 1947
1288 W. 37th pl.	1947	James Justice, restrictive covenant case thrown out by Judge Mosk	<i>CE</i> November 13, 1947
1359 East 60th St	1947	‘Mr. and Mrs. Sidney King, 1359 East 60th street, were visited at their home in the early evening of November 10, by a group of white persons who told them to leave the neighborhood. ‘"We don’t want n----- here," they were	<i>CE</i> December 12, 1947

told by the spokesman’.

2425 Sixth Ave	1947	‘An anti -restrictive ‘covenant demonstration will be held this afternoon in front of "the home of Dr. and Mrs. Alonzo Wilkins, 2425 Sixth avenue, on the eve of court proceedings to evict them from their home because they are Negroes’.	<i>CE</i> October 2, 1947
959 E 107th St	1947	Home of Teofilo Illanos - The ‘Southwestern Property Owners Protective Association, headed by Oliver De Hoog who has been trying for 20 years to keep this section "lily white", are the plaintiffs in the three cases mentioned.	<i>CE</i> September 11, 1947
Wilton place, Gramercy place and South St. Andrew place between Pico boulevard and Country Club drive	1947	‘Defendants are Dr. William A. Beck, Dr. Phillip Fernandes and Mason Driver. Plaintiffs seek a "perpetual" injunction restraining them from “forever” occupying the property which they have purchased. ‘The restrictive agreement was entered in 1941 and purported to cover Wilton place, Gramercy place and South St. Andrew place between Pico boulevard and Country Club drive. Since that time more than a dozen Negro, Chinese and Korean families, all included under the term “Non-caucasian” have purchased homes in the district’.	<i>CE</i> July 24, 1947
10513 South Central Ave	1947	‘Silas & Ophelia Redd summoned for violation of restrictive covenant for leasing home to Clem Potter, army veteran, his wife & son, suit brought against 5 families’.	<i>Sentinel</i> September 4, 1947
1201 S Gramercy Pl	1947	Restrictive covenant case filed against Korean Yin Kim	<i>CE</i> August, 28 1947
1231 S St Andrews Pl	1947	house of Dr Phillip Fernandez in suit brought against mason Driver and Dr Beck	<i>Sentinel</i> July 24, 1947
2180 W 21st St	1947	Jack and Betty Altman named as defendants in Restrictive Covenant case	<i>Sentinel</i> May 15, 1947

435 Westbourne Ave	1947	Mrs. Crocker and children evicted from husband's home because Native American	<i>Sentinel</i> February 20, 1947
688 North Raymond Ave	1947	White Couple receiving threats (Isabelle & Douglas Waggoner) after selling to Negroes -- Mr and Mrs. Horace Wilder --, who were pressured by threats to withdraw offer. Whites suing are Ter Maat and Homeowner Association	<i>Sentinel</i> October 30, 1947
Jefferson & Exposition, Crenshaw & 11th	1947	Dynamite Jackson & 5 other families, including one Nisei, win restrictive covenant suit	<i>Sentinel</i> June 19, 1947
735 East 105th St	1948	Arson attempt at home housing grandmother and two grandchildren after repeated threats	<i>Sentinel</i> January 10, 1948
1250 E 90 th St	1948	'Mrs. Beckles, who recently purchased a home at 1250 E. 90th Street was recently called upon by a Vigilante group who intimated that harm would befall her and her family if she did not move within 30 days'.	<i>CE</i> April 6, 1948
1832 East 102 nd street	1948	'The first Negro family moved into the tract of land including lots on East 127th street, this week. 'The lots in this tract are being sold by John H. Kelly, whose office is located at 1832 East 102nd street. This section had been definitely restricted to Caucasians only. But since the decision of the United States Supreme Court that restrictive covenants are unconstitutional, Negroes may move into this section as well as in every other part of the city'. The feeling, however, was so strong that Mr. Kelley used a police escort to take the family in.	<i>CE</i> June 1, 1948
E. 127th St	1948	'The first Negro family moved into the tract of land including lots on East 127th street, this week. 'The lots in this tract are being sold by John H. Kelly, whose office is located at 1832 East 102nd street. This section had been definitely restricted to Caucasians only. But since the decision of the United States Supreme Court that restrictive covenants are unconstitutional, Negroes	<i>CE</i> June 10, 1948

		<p>may move into this section as well as in every other part of the city.</p> <p>‘The feeling, however, was so strong that Mr. Kelley used a police escort to take the family in.</p>	
401 Muirfield Rd	1948	<p>‘Nat King Cole Determined to Move Into New Home...only to be the target of protests hurled at him by members of the Hancock Park Property Owners Association.</p>	<p><i>CE</i> August 5, 1948</p>
548 Pear Street, Compton	1948	<p>‘ACLU offers \$500 reward for ‘information leading to the arrest, conviction, and imprisonment, for not less than 6 months, of the first party or parties found guilty of a misdemeanour or felony against the person or property of any member of a minority race in the process of taking possession of a residence in Southern California.</p> <p>‘The offer is a result of hoodlemism at 548 Pear Street, Compton, as well as of reported attempts to prevent King Cole from exercising his constitutional rights to occupy property recently purchased...’</p>	<p><i>CE</i> September 9, 1948</p>
4488 Derby Pl	1948	<p>Last Wednesday night 75 persons in the , Eagle Rock section stood in the evening dampness and watched while a fiery cross, 12 feet high, burned in what is reported to be one of a series of demonstrations being carried on to intimidate Mrs. Betty Brunner put of the idea of selling her home in that area to "any buyer who would pay her price Mrs. Brunner is a widow, - 4488 Derby Place</p> <p>‘The cross-burning ceremony has been attributed to Ku Klux Klan forces, and despite the fact that the 75 persons who witnessed the burning are all residents of the area, no police action has been taken. The Klan is presently enjoying a nourished period of immunity...</p> <p>‘According to a report received by the California Eagle, the section in which the cross burning took place is a closed area where smoking and open fires are prohibited’.</p>	<p><i>CE</i> September 16, 1948; Boulevard Sentinel (2009)</p>

13138 S Wilmington Ave	1948	Glass full of dark liquid thrown through window - wooden cross found in front yard, not yet set on fire, hiss and jeering from white women neighbors	<i>CE</i> September 30, 1948
13223 Anzac Ave	1948	4 foot cross burned, last of 2 or 3 others	<i>Sentinel</i> September 30, 1948
13308 Anzac Ave	1948	Paint bomb thrown at house	<i>Sentinel</i> October 7, 1948
3460 Virginia Rd	1948	‘Following up their Ku Klux Klan-like burning of a, huge gasoline-drenched cross on the front lawn of her home at 3460 Virginia Road last -week-end, white supremacy forces used the telephone to attempt further intimidation of Dr. Pauline Roberts and her mother, in order to frighten them from the block, tenanted by middle class whites where they had moved only last Wednesday. ‘10 pm - The call told Dr. Roberts, "We will get even with you for moving in a white neighborhood, we’ll burn the house down next time. The rest of his conversation was so vile it is unprintable.	<i>CE</i> October 21, 1948
vicinity of Cypress and Mt. View avenues	1948	‘The property involved is located in the vicinity of Cypress and Mt. View avenues. The original owner is said to have sold it to a man who in turn sold it to a Negro. The name of the Negro could not be ascertained, but the property is now in escrow. ‘South Gate leaders are planning to fight not only this sale but also any other which may involve non-Caucasians. It has been a 25-year policy in that little city of white supremacists to permit no Negro to live within its gates. City Attorney Woodworth says that the restrictive clause in the deed for the property did not prohibit the sale Of the home to a Negro. It just prohibited him or his family living there’.	<i>CE</i> November 18, 1948
4015 S 2nd Ave	1948	Clifford Frierson receiving phone threats and house calls	<i>Sentinel</i> November 25, 1948

10220 S. Wall St	1949	<p>‘Neighborhood hoodlumism broke out viciously last week-end when Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Major moved into their recently-purchased home at 10220 S. Wall street. Their home, of ordinary appearance in an ordinary street, was bombarded with empty milk bottles by bigoted Caucasians who resented their presence.</p> <p>‘The police, who have been maintaining vigilance in the short block between 102nd and 103rd street, are reported to have told the Majors: "Maybe it’s not worth it: maybe you’d better give up.”</p>	<p><i>CE</i> February 10, 1949; <i>Sentinel</i> February 10, 1949</p>
121 East 119th St	1949	<p>‘A fiery cross was burned on the lawn of Mrs. Emma Chase, white, 121 East 119th street, evidently with the purpose of frightening her into refusing to sell her home to a Negro family. Mrs. Chase was in her bedroom when a neighbor woman burst into the room, crying out that a cross was burning out front.</p> <p>‘Seventy-seventh street division police who investigated, said the cross was crudely nailed together by someone one unfamiliar with the use of tools. It was 5 feet high and wrapped with rags And paper soaked in some inflammable Liquid. This is the third cross burning in this neighbourhood within the past two months’.</p>	<p><i>CE</i> August 18, 1949.08.18</p>
1859 and 1863 E 70th St	1949	<p>‘A mob, deliberately invited by White Supremacy real estate operators, planned the violent demonstration of some 150 white mobsters, who hurled the vilest insults at two white families in Los Angeles last Tuesday at 7 pm., because these families had sold their home to two Negro families.</p> <p>‘The two houses are located at 1859 and 1863 E. 70th street. Members of the mob and their supporters had been gathering in front of these homes for five nights last week. Tuesday night’s demonstration was another of a series of such demonstrations designed to stop the occupancy of these homes by the Negro families who are preparing to move Into them.</p> <p>‘Mr. Lonnie Williams, one of the Negro home purchasers prepared to move his</p>	<p><i>CE</i> September 8, 1949</p>

family into the premises at 1850 E. 70th street, Saturday night. A gang of the vigilantes rushed toward him. Williams prepared to defend himself and his family [3] while his wife phoned for the sheriff. The sheriff arrived and his first act was to take away from Williams, his only means of defense, a 32-20 revolver. Then the sheriff and his deputies (there were five carloads of them) stood idly by while the white supremacists raged for several hours in front of the homes’.

41st Pl 1949 Fascist Neighbors Tell Soldier’s Widow to Get out of 41st Place Home for renting room to white/negro couple *CE* August 5, 1949

1116 West 66th St 1950 ‘Mrs. Bessie Woods stated that on about February 2, 1950, she purchased a home at 1116 West 66th street, through a real estate agent by the name of Thelma Jackson. A few days after purchasing the home she and her uncle moved in. In the evening of the same day she moved into her newly purchased home, Mrs. Woods said three persons who represented [4] themselves as her neighbors came to call. They said that while they did not object, there were other neighbors nearby who did object to Negroes living in the vicinity, and they advised Mrs. Woods and her uncle to move.
 ‘When a California Eagle representative discussed the case with Mrs. Woods Monday evening, March 13, the woman stated that she had not had a moment’s peace since moving into the West 66th street property. Every evening when she returned from her job some neighbor or group of purported neighbors were waiting to tell her she would have to give up the property or take the consequences. ‘Under pressure and duress Mrs. Woods consented to release the property to Mr, Ted Rokos at 1414 West Florence avenue, who claims that it is now in escrow, waiting for a purchaser.
 ‘Monday evening the vigilante neighbors who were so solicitous of Mrs. Woods’

CE March 16, 1950

- safety and happiness, called a meeting at Legion Hall, 624 W. Florence Ave., and started a financial drive to oust the Woods' family and keep other Negroes from moving into the neighborhood. One of these neighbors who attended the Monday night meeting reported to The Eagle that he attended the meeting not knowing its nature, but that he was not in sympathy with the move'.
- 1945 E. 76th st 1950 Mrs. Proudhome purchased her home in December 1949. The day she moved in hoodlums scattered glass and rocks on the front lawn. Mrs. Proudhome called the Sherriff's office and Sheriff's deputies responded. *CE* November 23, 1950
- 240 E 121st St 1950 'As he pulled to the curb, Charles Nash said he noticed a blaze licking against the side of the West home. He parked hurriedly and went to investigate. A large piece of kerosene-soaked canvas had been stuffed in a vent under the house within inches of the gas main. Nash pulled the burning canvas out of the vent and tossed it into the street. He aroused the West family and drove them to a gas station where a call was put in, for police. *CE* September 8, 1950
- 3817 Sixth Ave 1950 'On Monday, June 19, Mrs. Hunter moved into her home at 3817 Sixth Avenue, the home she had purchased from Mr. Hecht. This move at once aroused opposition among the "lilly white" [4] residents of that vicinity. Nothing serious resulted, however, until the following Thursday when Mr. Hecht was in San Diego and Mrs. Hunter was also absent, when it is alleged some hoodlums ran a hose into the kitchen and flooded both the kitchen and the cellar. - The 63rd Assembly District I.P.P. [Independent political Party] then took up the matter mounted guards in shifts over the home, and there has been quiet on that front of the "cold war" ever since'. *CE* June 30, 1950
- 3913 Sixth Ave 1950 'The Wilsons bought a homey little place at 3913 Sixth Avenue, moved in, set up housekeeping and were very happy and secure, as they thought, when a real estate *CE* February 2, 1950

agent named Craig – heard of before in the columns of this paper – appeared on the scene, notified the Wilsons that they had better get out because their place was for sale.

After the Craig visit, some neighbors called on the couple telling them that the neighborhood was for whites only.

Last Sunday evening after returning from church, a planned quiet evening was rudely disturbed with attacks by their white neighbors who flashed spotlights in the windows, pelted the house with sticks and stones’.

6306 Mirramonte	1950	Rochelle Case – fence burned when they moved in about 5 months ago. Then nothing until Sept 29 when Mr. Rochelle received in the mail from Citizens United, Inc., which was headed: RACE restrictions violated, and went on to announce that a suit had been filed against one Oscar C Reichow for violatlng the restrictions.	<i>CE</i> November 23, 1950
2433 Dunsmuir	1951	When a Japanese dentist bought a home at 2433 Dunsmuir last July 25, the house was bombed with damage estimated at more than \$2000.	<i>CE</i> March 20, 1952
3775 Olmsted Ave	1951	Hoodlums Damage Home	<i>Sentinel</i> March 15, 1951
1207 W 64 th St	1952	Bomb Threat Hurlled At Another Family “Get out in 90 days or you’ll be bombed out!” Made to Mrs. Bertha Pitts	<i>CE</i> March 20, 1952
127 S. Westlake	1952	Small bomb thrown from car.	<i>CE</i> April 3, 1952
1749 W. 42nd St	1952	‘Latest outrage perpetrated on the Bates by some of their neighbors is a petition that is circulating in the neighborhood. Mrs. Bates said that she was informed of the petition by one of the friendly neighbors, but other than the fact it is directed against them, she has been unable to find out its contents. Bates received a threatening note and a cross was burned in his back yard June 15. June 20, the Bates family received another threatening letter	<i>CE</i> July 3, 1952; September 11, 1952

		and a card’.	
191 Sequoia St, Pasadena	1952	Newspapermen assaulted with car –‘We had driven up to the lot at 191 Sequoia street, in Pasadena, to investigate reports that neighbors were resorting to every type of harassment to interfere with the construction of the home being erected for Thomas W. Nelson. 35-year-old veteran’	<i>CE</i> October 30, 1952
2130 Dunsmuir Ave	1952	Fiery cross in 1951, mailbox bombed, home bombed 1952	<i>CE</i> September 23, 1951; March 20, 1952; April 3, 1952
2306 Dunsmuir Ave	1952	Sunday’s dynamitings were the culmination of a long and determined effort to keep Negroes and other non-Caucasians off Dunsmuir avenue. When a Japanese dentist bought a home at 2433 Dunsmuir last July 25, the house was bombed with damage estimated at more than \$2000. Another bomb was exploded at 2306 Dunsmuir avenue. Police failed to make any arrests.	<i>CE</i> March 20, 1952
3514 S. St. Andrews	1952	‘Meanwhile, some 200 people, many of them elderly, convened secretly in the back yard of the home at 5510 S. St. Andrews place. There was no haranguing and practically no Negro-baiting, but the property owners seemed determined to try to stem the "invasion’ and bring it to a halt at Western avenue. ‘Cause of the meeting was the recent purchase of an attractive house at 3514 S. St. Andrews place by Mr. and . Mrs. Albert Hammonds. The Hammonds were scheduled to move into the \$11,000 home Wednesday or Thursday. ‘There are no Negroes now living in the immediate area’.	<i>CE</i> October 19, 1952

3942 Tivoli Ave	1952	‘In Venice, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Gould, of 3942 Tivoli avenue, received a phone call about 10 o’clock Thursday morning. The male voice at the other end of the wire told Mrs. Gould: "Your home will be burned within 72 hours." ‘When Reed went to work that morning, he found both front tires of his car, which was parked on the street, punctured with roofing tacks.’ Other tacks had been thrown onto the Gould porch. Some of them were imbedded in the doormat’.	<i>CE</i> March 3, 1952; May 1, 1952
4506 ½ Saturn St	1952	‘The male voice told Miss Mary Tripp... “We’re coming over and bomb you niggers out of this neighbourhood. That was all. Then the telephone receiver clicked and the line went dead. ‘Miss Tripp, who lives by herself, has been in her apartment for about six months. There are three Negro families living in the block’.	<i>CE</i> May 29, 1952
60th St West of Figueroa	1952	Barrows v Jackson: Leola Jackson sued by various neighbors for selling her home to a Negro, case lost under appeal	<i>LAT</i> August 7, 1952
W 42nd St	1952	‘Advised by police not to publicize the threat, a Negro family, new residents of a lily-white area on W. 42nd Street, wait apprehensively for whatever may follow a "Get out if you value your saffety" letter’.	<i>CE</i> April 17, 1952
Reeve St	1953	Jacksons face down mob of Compton Crest Improvement Association.	<i>CE</i> 14 May, 1953
1600 S Grammercy	1955	‘First complaint came to the Tribune from Mrs. Octavia Bailey, who said the sidewalk in front of an apartment court, on Venice blvd. near 1600 S Gramercy, advertising For Rent, 1 Apt", bore the words painted in black "No Niggers"’	<i>The Tribune</i> December 23, 1955
NE corner 18th & Gramercy Pl	1955	‘painted in black letters approx 1 inches high "DOWN WITH NAACP"’	<i>The Tribune</i> December 23, 1955
SE corner St Andrews & Washington	1955	Painted in large black letters "Niggers, Beware"	<i>The Tribune</i> December 23, 1955

Compton High School	1956	Cross burned after school fight	<i>Sentinel</i> October 4, 1956
14039 Remington St, Pacoima	1959	Emory Holmes psychologist moved in, by March 1960 compiled a list of 71 examples of harassment, multiple visits from businesses who stated he had called them –tv repairman, vet., mortician, wrote on wall "Black cancer here. Don't Let It Spread", eggs and rocks thrown, tacks left on driveway and in lawn'.	Kurashige (2008)
9431 Harvard Blvd	1959	KKK Cross burning	<i>Sentinel</i> September 10, 1959
2077 Harvard Blvd	1960	Johnny Otis gets Klan threat	<i>Sentinel</i> March 17, 1960
105 N Culver St	1961	NAACP Offices Hit By 13 Shots	<i>Sentinel</i> December 14, 1961
1245 W Santa Barbara Ave	1962	For rent sign on lawn stating 'Deluxe Single - White Only' (Santa Barbara Ave. now known as MLK)	<i>CE</i> July 26, 1962
1571 Baypoint, Wilmington	1962	CORE initiated first 'dwell-in' to protest refusal of developer to sell home to Black Family	UCLA Debbie Louis Box 12, Folder 14, CORE press release & fact sheet
190th St & Avalon	1962	'Junior High School teacher A. W. Phillips reported that when trying to buy a home in the Dominguez tract he was told by the two salesmen that they did not 'sell to Negroes'. When CORE approached the tract developer, they were told the same thing. The Eagle reports that Phillips filed charges of discrimination with the Attorney General. CORE picketed sales office here	<i>CE</i> , 1962, July 26

309 Casuda Canyon Dr	1962	CORE picket and 35 day dwell-in of sales office, victory when Bobby and Helen Liley go into escrow	CE, 2-22, 3-1, 3-8, 3-15, 4-5-1962; LAT 2-22, 4-6, 4-7-1962
317 Casuda Canyon Dr	1962	CORE picket and 35 day dwell-in of sales office, victory when Bobby and Helen Liley go into escrow	CE 2-22, 3-1, 3-8, 3-15, 4-5-1962; LAT 2-22, 4-6, 4-7-1962
4069 W Venice Blvd	1962	CORE pickets apartment block when owner refuses to rent to Black nurse, win	CE January 11, 1962
446 E Merced St	1962	House smeared with white paint on doors, windows and walls both front and back when put up for sale with a Negro broker (named White)	CE July 26, 1962
800 W 120th St	1962	'Homeowner gets gun, routs racists' -- beer bottles thrown from car and shotgun blast breaks front windows	CE July 12, 1962
Sepulveda Park Apartments, West Los Angeles	1962	Management refuses to rent to Black technician, yields under threat of CORE picket	CE April 19, 1962
Vista del Mar Estates near Palos Verdes	1962	Jacobson family wins damages against developer who backed out of agreement to sell them a house when he discovered they were Black	CE May 3, 1962
10836 Keswick St Sun Valley	1963	Fair Housing Council says 1st Negro family to move into white center of Sun Valley - stones thrown through bedroom window, tenant told them neighbors discussed destroying the house before they moved in	Reprint of 6 Articles by Jack Languth (1963)UCL A Debbie Louis Box 12, Folder 9
620 S. Sloan St	1963	Fiery cross Greets Doctor in Compton	CE November 21, 1963
302 and 308 Harding Street, San Fernando	1964	Rent-to-Negro Order Issued, Owners Balk - apartment owners sued under Rumford Act, first time Act so used and order	CE April 9, 1964

		issued. Over 40 other cases filed but settled through reconciliation or dismissed	
3772 Crestway place, View Park	1964	Arsonist burns Pianists home, after receiving 3-4 threatening phone calls telling him 'you're not wanted here'	<i>CE</i> July 30, 1964
8326 South Byrd Ave., Inglewood	1964	Shotgun blasts through window	<i>Sentinel</i> August 27, 1964
448 E 18th St, San Bernadino	1964	House gutted by arson after sold to Black Police Officer	<i>CE</i> January 2, 1964
1736 North Sierra Bonita	1966	Hate bomb' destroys shop recently opened, KKK and swastika on walls	<i>Sentinel</i> January 13, 1966

APPENDIX C: ARCHIVES AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union archive, University of California, Los Angeles
CBP	Charlotta Bass Papers, Southern California Library
CE	<i>California Eagle</i> , archives stored at https://archive.org/details/caleagle .
DLP	Debbie Louis Papers, University of California, Los Angeles
EWP	Earl Warren Papers, State Archives of California, Sacramento
JAF	John Anson Ford Papers, Huntington Library.
LAT	<i>Los Angeles Times</i> , Los Angeles Public Library.
LMP	Loren Miller Papers, Huntington Library.
MMP	Max Montt Papers, California State University, Northridge.
NHIS	Minnesota Population Center. <i>National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0</i> . Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota 2011, http://www.nhgis.org .
Press	<i>The Press</i> , Torrance Public Library Historical Newspaper Archive http://www.torranceca.gov/libraryarchive/ .
SCAG	Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG). 2013. GIS Library. Accessed June 2013. http://gisdata.scag.ca.gov/Pages/GIS-Library.aspx .
SCL	Miscellaneous movement folders as noted, Southern California Library.
Sentinel	<i>Los Angeles Sentinel</i> , Los Angeles Public Library.
TH	<i>Torrance Herald</i> , Torrance Public Library Historical Newspaper Archive, http://www.torranceca.gov/libraryarchive/ .
WISC	Congress of Racial Equality archive, 1941-1967. Wisconsin Historical Society, Library-Archives Division. Finding aid: http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/wiarchives.uw-whs-mss00014

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