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Los Angeles

Naming L.A.:

Ethnic Diversity and the Politics of Urban Development

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in Sociology

by

Anup Arvind Sheth

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Naming L.A.:

Ethnic Diversity and the Politics of

Urban Development

by

Anup Arvind Sheth

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Jack Katz, Chair

My dissertation explains why local governments in Los Angeles have given certain neighborhoods ethnic place names which are publicly manifested in street and freeways signs. Over the past decade in Los Angeles, as in many cities across the United States, ethnic activists and businesses have lobbied local governments for official designations that publicly acknowledge their presence in a neighborhood. Yet ethnic place names have been adopted predominantly in neighborhoods where Latinos represent a majority. Street and freeway signs throughout the city promote the public identity of places such as Thai Town, Little Ethiopia, and Little Armenia, neighborhoods in which the 'official' immigrant community is in the minority.

Employing comparative historical and ethnographic methods, I find that demographic changes initiated by immigration reform and the social movements of the 1960's have established a new 'collective act' responsible for shaping the public identity of ethnic spaces in Los Angeles. With new immigrant populations arriving to Los Angeles and the increasing demands by community-based organizations for ethnic place names, local politicians have come to support these requests as an opportunity to appeal to ethnic constituencies. Unlike the Chicago School's ecological model, which deemphasizes politics, and the growth machine framework, which prioritizes the interests of the business elite, the public recognition of urban areas can best be explained by the role of local politicians engaged in symbolic politics during a historical period when demographic changes are transforming American cities and university-trained activists are making demands for a place name as a means of enhancing their political authority.

I examine every successful and unsuccessful case of ethnic place naming in Los Angeles. Local governments in L.A. County have publically recognized 12 ethnic places while rejecting five. For each case, I interview local politicians and their aides, ethnic entrepreneurs, and ethnic activists involved in ethnic place naming. I also draw on newspaper articles, Internet resources such as YouTube, and official government documents kept with the City and State archives. I also use voting data and Census information to construct voter turnout rates in East Hollywood – the geographic center for ethnic place naming in Los Angeles.

This study makes two significant contributions to the study of urban social life. First, L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago shows how sociological theories of urban change no longer provide a full account of changes to the twenty-first century city. Existing theories of urban change were developed during earlier periods in the development of the city, and in part, reflect social processes that were dominant during those eras. Rather than relying on earlier theories to

explain contemporary social phenomena, urban sociologists should identify new social processes responsible for urban change. Second, L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago exposes a problem with the residence-based voting system in the central city. With highly mobile populations that live in one area of the city but work in other areas and a decline in voter turnout, non-residential – or 'use populations' – have emerged as significant interest groups in the central city. Given that use populations do not have an official mechanism to shape policy, this dissertation argues that ethnic place naming is a critical means by which they gain local control over an urban area. This problem may only be rectified by giving use populations official decision-making authority in the neighborhood council system.

The dissertation of Anup Arvind Sheth is approved.

Lorrie Frasure-Yokley

Edward Walker

Andreas Wimmer

Jack Katz, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Every dissertation is the product of collective activity. I am greatly indebted to the faculty, graduate students, and various institutions and programs at UCLA.

The Department of Sociology has been supportive and stimulating academic environment. The Department of Sociology graciously awarded me three academic years of fellowship that provided much needed support to research and write my dissertation. In my final year, UCLA Graduate Division awarded me a Dissertation Year Fellowship, which was invaluable in helping me complete this project.

My fondest memories at UCLA Sociology were spent sharing my research with fellow graduate students. In particular, I am thankful for the friendship and intellectual support of Brandon Berry, Christina Chin, Michael Deland, Philippe Duhart, Noriko Milman, Corey O'Malley, Isaac Speer, and Iddo Tavory. Jooyoung Lee read several chapters and various articles based on my research findings. I feel honored to know these scholars and lucky to consider them my good friends.

The diverse theoretical and methodological approaches of UCLA faculty were a constant source of inspiration. I am appreciative of the advice I received from Rogers Brubaker, David Halle, and Roger Waldinger. The late Melvin Pollner shaped my formative development as a sociologist. Mel's class on Ethnomethodology remains one of the most intellectually rewarding classes I ever took at UCLA.

My dissertation committee also provided invaluable support during this process. Andreas Wimmer has been a constant source of support and encouragement. Even when I sometimes felt disenchanted with my own work, his excitement for my research always reinspired me. Ed Walker helped me carefully think through my research from a social movements perspective.

And Laurie Frasure-Yokely always asked incisive questions, forcing me to make my arguments with greater clarity.

I owe a great debt to the evolution of this dissertation and my development as a sociologist to my mentor, Jack Katz. From the introductory courses I took in qualitative research, to my Master's research, to spending summers teaching undergraduate students in LA@Play, I have learned a great deal about urban ethnography from Jack. Specifically, I have learned how to document, analyze – and perhaps most importantly – marvel at the richness and variety of urban social life.

I would also like to thank all the people involved in ethnic place naming who gave time out of their very busy schedules to speak with me. Michael Holland of the Los Angeles City Archives deserves special acknowledgement. The voter turnout data I present in Chapter 2 would not have been possible were it not for Michael digging around dozens of unlabeled boxes in the Archive warehouse.

And lastly, I would like to thank my parents, who gave me enormous emotional support throughout my years in graduate school. My father always encouraged me to pursue to my intellectual interests, and the many books my Mom read to me as a child instilled the fountain of curiosity that gave birth to this project. Although she is no longer with us, she lives on through me and this work.

VITA

1999	B.A., History Boston University Boston, Massachusetts
2000	M.A., History University of Chicago Chicago, Illinois
2008	M.A., Sociology University of California, Los Angeles Los Angeles, California

PUBLICATIONS

Sheth, Anup. 2010. “Little India, Next Exit: Ethnic Destinations in the City.” *Ethnography* 11(1): 69-88.

Introduction

Over the past several decades, the City of Los Angeles and several other incorporated municipalities in Los Angeles County have officially defined urban spaces as ethnic areas. Freeway signs identify ethnic areas such as Koreatown and Little Armenia as destination places to passing motorists. Street signs acknowledge several areas, such as Little Ethiopia in Los Angeles City and Cambodia Town in Long Beach. And certain ethnically identified places, such as Thai Town and Chinatown, not only have freeway and street signage, but also have been selected by the City of Los Angeles as redevelopment zones for the purpose of attracting federal money. The City of Los Angeles' tourism agency highlights several of these ethnically identified areas on its webpage as urban destinations.

This new cultural landscape represents the layering on of a new archipelago of publically recognized ethnic spaces. Carey McWilliams, the journalist and author who wrote about Southern California, referred to Los Angeles as "an archipelago of ethnic, cultural, racial, and socio-economic islands." (1946: 328). During the first half of the twentieth century, Los Angeles's ethnic areas consisted of an archipelago located in the downtown area and associated with dense concentrations of minorities. L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago, however, varies from its predecessor in one striking respect: in most of these ethnically branded areas only a minority of the ethnic group is highlighted by the designation. Thai residents, according to the 2012 American Community Survey, only account for 4.5% of the overall population of the census tracts surrounding Thai Town, which is located in Hollywood. Non-Hispanic Whites and Latinos account for 63.5% and 16%, respectively. And Ethiopian residents barely register at 1% of all the people living in the census tracts surrounding Little Ethiopia, found in Los Angeles' Carthay District. While these official ethnic places populate the city's landscape, Mexican residents, who

represent the majority ethnic group in most areas of the city, have no comparably recognized public space. How is it that public symbols have come to highlight a minority ethnic group in certain urban areas in contemporary Los Angeles?

The prevailing explanation by both scholars and policy makers is that these new ethnic places are a product of cultural tourism. Immigrant entrepreneurs have relocated to North American and European cities to establish commercial districts where city-dwellers and tourists can visit specialty shops, eat at a local restaurant, or shop at a clothing store (Lin 2011; Rath 2007). According to these scholars, ethnic tourism in the contemporary city is consistent with broader economic changes that make ethnic commercial districts integral to the economic development of the city. The tourism industry has replaced manufacturing as the major source of employment in the city. The tourism industry in the three most populous cities in the United States – New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago – employs more people than the manufacturing sector (Sassen 2001, 2006).

The elevation of the tourism and hospitality industry as a significant source of employment has also directed the business and political elite to focus on 'branding' urban places. In a global economic system where cities complete for mobile capital and information workers, place branding has become a critical avenue by which the urban elite compete with other cities for highly educated workers (Glaeser 2011; Greenberg 2008; Florida 2005). Within this new global economy, ethnic commercial districts are viewed by the city elite as a means to present an ethnically diverse, attractive metropolis that both capital and highly-educated workers would find appealing to live in.

Yet this tourism framework ignores an empirical reality that this dissertation is meant to reveal. A close examination of the social processes responsible for L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago

reveals social processes ignored by the cultural tourism perspective. Identifying these social processes is sociologically significant because it provides a greater theoretical understanding of the social forces shaping urban development in the American city. The theories of urban change developed by sociologists reflect particular moments in the historical development of the American city. The ecological framework of the early Chicago School explained ethnic places as a product of land values and the desire of immigrants to be closer to others like them. During the early-twentieth century, when Chicago saw an influx of immigrants, these 'slum-like' neighborhoods surrounded the downtown business district. The Urban Fortunes framework, on the other hand, prioritizes the role of entrepreneurs in shaping the public culture of urban areas. This perspective is rooted in the movement against urban renewal during the 1950's and 1960's.

An empirically accurate explanation of L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago requires both the ecological and urban fortunes framework, but also the consideration of new historical forces, rooted in the 1960's, that are shaping the development of the contemporary city. These historically new social forces – in particular, demographic changes brought about by immigration reform and the emergence of university-trained activists who have advocated for a multicultural vision of urban society – have established conditions where politicians support ethnic place naming in order to win public office. These conditions also provide local politicians with an opportunity to identify with ethnic constituencies that they hope will allow them win elections to higher office. In short, historical forces rooted in the 1960's have changed how local politicians in Los Angeles mobilize constituencies to win elected office.

The emergence of ethnic place naming corresponds to the proliferation of new place identities throughout the Los Angeles region over the past several decades. Urban scholars have noted the broad levels disinvestment from the central city over the course of the twentieth

century. The introduction of the car into American society during the 1920's initiated disinvestment as businesses and residents sought cheaper land further away from the central city (Katz 2010). The movement of resources away from the central city accelerated during the post-World War II era, particularly as municipalities desegregated and Whites fled to suburban enclaves (Wilson 1987).

As disinvestment from the central city accelerated, so did the authority of the federal government to indiscriminately interfere in the affairs of urban development. As Katz's points out, the twin crises of war and depression legitimized the growth of federal power and its intervention in urban development (2010). The social movements of the 1960's, however, challenged this unrestrained federal power as several highway and urban renewal projects were successfully opposed by local activists. The withdraw of federal power left a vacuum that in the past several decades has been filled by local activists in urban areas throughout Los Angeles and other American cities.

Katz (2010) has identified six different types of new place identities in Los Angeles that serve as a means for various residential communities to exert social control over urban areas. For example, the emergence of local areas sanctioned as historic districts gives homeowners greater control to restrict development and make demands on the city budget. Kusenbach's study (2003) of Spaulding Square is instructive. A group of homeowners in the Hollywood area advocated for a historic designation in order to combat local area crime and blight. Other local place areas identified by Katz include art districts, bohemian areas, and homeless districts, among others.

The emergence of ethnic place naming has been concurrent with the formation of a new series of cultural archipelagos in Los Angeles. As a result, a full casual treatment of ethnic place naming should also take into account the common processes this phenomenon shares with the

development of other local area place identities. Ethnic place naming, however, is unique in that it is not the residents who have made a request for a new place identity, and it is this aspect that warrants a closer examination of the social processes behind ethnic place naming. Many of the advocates for ethnic place names are leaders of local institutions who reside elsewhere: social welfare agencies, churches, and immigrant-owned small businesses. This dissertation argues that this non-residential population's advocacy for ethnic place naming reveals the inadequacies of our resident-based voting system for populations in the central city.

Our representative democracy is based on the principle of one person/one vote and tied to our place of residence. Yet the social meanings of the city extend beyond the neighborhood where one lives: immigrants do not always operate their small businesses in the neighborhoods where they reside, church goers may travel on the weekends to other areas of the city, and college students occupy temporary residences at university campuses far from where they may be registered to vote. As a result, it is analytically useful to distinguish between residential populations and 'use populations,' people who don't live in an urban area but for whom the area is still socially meaningful. Urban dwellers have a stake in many different urban neighborhoods, yet our representative democracy limits political participation to only residential populations.

Much of the public discourse surrounding contemporary politics decries the influence of special interest groups, which are usually conceived of as influential developers or other downtown business interests. Yet these use populations can also be thought of as special interest groups – outside groups that have a stake in an urban area. While our representative democracy does not allow these use populations from having any official decision-making authority, this dissertation argues that ethnic place naming in Los Angeles has emerged as a way for use populations to establish an official presence in politics. Ethnic place naming allows use

populations to acquire some form of local control over a particular urban area, giving them the ability to make demands on the city budget, shape the character of a local area, and have a say in a proposed development.

These use populations' demands for official recognition are politically significant, given Los Angeles's recent establishment of the neighborhood council system in the early 2000's. Introduced through Charter Reform in 1999, neighborhood councils allow both residents and various use populations the ability to participate in the political process. Allowing use populations to participate in neighborhood councils was a recognition by public officials that urban residents have a stake in many different neighborhoods, yet Charter Reform only gave neighborhood councils an advisory role in decision making. In the East Hollywood and surrounding areas, which is the geographic center for ethnic place naming in the Los Angeles region, use populations have advocated for ethnic places names where less than half of the voting-age population is eligible to vote. In areas with large numbers of non-citizen residents, why shouldn't certain types of use populations, such as social welfare agencies or churches, have an official means through which they can influence the development of public policy. A sociological explanation of ethnic place naming offers scholars and policy-makers insight into how the project of including use populations into political participatory mechanisms in Los Angeles is still outstanding and in need of further policy deliberations.

The same historical forces resulting in L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago are also changing other cities in the United States. Cities such as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco are also encountering large-scale immigration, decentralized funding sources, and a decline in voter turnout. Hence, the challenge of incorporating use populations into political decision-making is not just an issue for Los Angeles, but for every major American city.

Methodology

As this dissertation is concerned with ethnic place naming in contemporary Los Angeles, the focus of research and analysis is on each individual case of ethnic place name in Los Angeles from the early 1980's to 2010. The first analytical distinction made is between positive and negative cases. Much of the sociological literature regarding urban development – particularly by Urban Fortunes proponents – avoids the examination of negative cases. Yet scholars (Katz 2001; Emigh 1997) have noted the contribution of negative – or failed – cases to sociological analysis by highlighting the causal conditions or processes absent in positive – or successful – cases.

I define a positive case of ethnic-claim making as a successful attempt to erect some public marker, such as street or freeway signage, to convey the official sanction of an urban area as ethnic. Of course, there are several ways an urban area is institutionalized as ethnic by city agencies, but in the case of publicly recognized ethnic areas, the erection of a street or freeway sign is the marker investigated. The erection of street or freeway signs is shared by every publically recognized ethnic area and either precedes or is coterminous with a broader engagement by political officials and the city bureaucracy in promoting the area to locals and outsiders. Defining the case in these specific terms allows me to compare and contrast the various types of relationships among ethnic actors, local political authorities, and public institutions. Defining my positive cases with this sort of specificity does not mean that I ignore examining the origins of how ethnic actors came to populate these urban areas, but the focus of my research examines the ethnic and political mobilization required for public recognition.

Three types of negative cases can be conceptualized. Table 1 lists all positive cases and provides examples of the three types of negative cases. We can think about the first type of

negative case in terms of the failure of mobilization to erect public markers and the other two negative cases as two types of publically identified ethnic areas where mobilization did not occur. Given the type of outcome I am examining – the erection of ethnic street or freeway signs – three types of negative cases emerge: (1) where social and/or political processes working themselves towards official recognition fail, (2) where an urban area is informally labeled by insiders and outsiders as ethnic but no claims are made by social actors to achieve official status, and (3) where no claims are made for public recognition but the urban area is ethnically homogenous.

This dissertation investigates every single first type of negative case. The cases marked by stars in Figure 1 reflect only positive cases and the first type of negative cases. Analyzing positive cases with the first type of negative case provides an explanation for why certain attempts at mobilization fail why others succeed.

The second type of negative case allows me to ask why some ethnic areas of the city become officially recognized as ethnic while others do not. In a diverse city such as Los Angeles, there are countless number of ethnic districts or areas that have not been publically recognized. In this project, I only examine the case of Little Osaka/Japantown to better understand why some districts do not mobilize for political recognition.

The third set of negative cases identifies ethnically homogenous neighborhoods where there is no claim to designate the area publically as an ethnic area. For the purposes of Table 1, I have only mentioned two neighborhoods: Leimert Park and Boyle Heights. Leimert Park is publically viewed as a historic black neighborhood with a whole host of ethnic institutions. Boyle Heights, which was historically a Jewish ethnic enclave and a destination for Russian immigrants, is predominantly Latino. I do not explore these negative cases in detail but, instead,

use these cases as a heuristic device to better understand why only social actors who claim to represent a minority ethnic identity are the only ones to mobilize for an ethnic place name.

This dissertation does not examine these individual cases – either positive or negative – in isolation, but instead as interrelated. Figure 2 displays the cumulative requests by social actors for an ethnic place name in the Los Angeles region since 1980, and Table 2 lists all officially recognized ethnic areas by their date of recognition by public authorities. While there are a few requests that are approved by political authorities during the 1980's, it is only after 1999 that ethnic place naming claims become commonplace. The post-1999 acceleration of approvals for an ethnic place name is investigated by examining the interconnections between cases and the broader historical and institutional environment within which these official designations occur.

Most of the stories regarding both positive and negative cases were uncovered by interviews with ethnic activists, entrepreneurs, residents, and local politicians and their aides. In total, this dissertation relies on interviews with 49 individuals. As put forward by Katz's analysis of analytic induction (2001), research into early cases focused on identifying common social processes. As a result, certain early cases – such as Little India, Historic Filipintown, Little Ethiopia, and Thai Town – received the majority of my analytical attention, with each case involving 6 to 8 interviews each. Analysis for later cases, on the other hand, was based on fewer interviews (2 or 3 each) as I sought confirmation of my analysis by comparison with earlier cases. Included in Appendix A is a list which detail the names and role of each of my interviewees. I have protected the identity of all the people who agreed to talk to me by employing pseudonyms, except for publicly elected or appointed city or state officials, for whom I use their actual names.

Each positive or negative case of ethnic place naming is also supplemented by a through survey of newspaper articles and examination of historical Census data. I also examined official government documents for every case. In the City of Los Angeles and surrounding municipalities, social actors seeking an official designation must first file certain documents with the local government. These documents are publically available online. In the Cities of Los Angeles and Long Beach, municipal websites allowed me to access these documents, track the success or failure of such motions, and identify key political players, such as claim-makers, opponents, and local politicians. In certain cases – such as Historic Filipinotown and Little India – I was able to access additional documents through city and state archives. These documents include emails and letters between critical social actors, petitions filed with the government, and letters in support of or in opposition to a particular request for an official designation.

In addition to examining each individual positive and negative case, and their interrelations, this project also examines the historical conditions that provide a context for understanding the emergence of ethnic place naming in Los Angeles. Specifically, I examine the political, social, and cultural changes to the East Hollywood area since the 1960's as representative of changes occurring in the region more broadly. In order to build a historical narrative of this urban area, I examined the *Los Angeles Times* and conducted interviews with former Councilmembers and several political aides. The City of Los Angeles Archives also provided an invaluable resource to construct this narrative. The Archives hold the official documents of Council Members Michael Woo and Jackie Goldberg. It also holds voter turnout data for certain precincts in the Hollywood area. Precincts and census tracts used to construct and analyze voter turnout data is listed in Appendix B.

Chapter Outline

This dissertation begins with a critique of the existing sociological theories of urban change. The two prevalent theories – the Chicago School ecological model and the Urban Fortunes thesis – were formulated by scholars at different moments in the development of the city. Both are monocausal perspectives of urban change that are also related to a particular cultural conception of the ethnic place. For the Chicago School, the ethnic neighborhood was a 'slum,' but for Urban Fortunes proponents, it was also an opportunity to market a retail district. Chapter 1 argues that neither of these theories entirely explain ethnic place naming in Los Angeles. A full explanation must not only take into account ecological and business interests, but also other social processes, several of which stem from social and cultural changes that began in the 1960's. These historically new social processes reveal how the resident-based democratic system is ill-equipped to handle the high levels of mobility that are endemic to social life in the contemporary city.

Chapter 2 identifies these historical changes by examining the East Hollywood area of Los Angeles. Near the center of L.A's new ethnic archipelago, the social and cultural changes in East Hollywood since the 1960's reflect a critical component of the 'collective act' behind ethnic place naming. The large influx of Latino and Asian immigration to Los Angeles and the civil rights movement have provided opportunities for more liberal candidates to get elected to the L.A. City Council. Yet the growth of the non-citizen population in East Hollywood has reduced the number of eligible voters, allowing elections to be swayed by a small minority of the voting-age population. It is in this context that, coupled with the decentralization of funding sources, neighborhood organizations and businesses – often headed by people who do not live in an area – have emerged as agents of urban change.

The next two chapters identify social processes and political conditions often ignored by the Chicago School and Urban Fortunes proponents. These chapters provide new insights into urban change in the contemporary city. Chapter 3 shows how ethnic place naming took off after the late-1990's. I show that early cases of ethnic place naming, particularly Koreatown, inspired many activists and neighborhood organizations to lobby local politicians for their own ethnic place names. But it was not until 1999, when Thai Town became officially recognized by the City of Los Angeles, that local politicians began to approve these requests. While early cases were exclusively focused on gaining local control over certain aspects of urban development, later cases show a copy-cat process, where other activists and organizations make claims in order to receive the same status and respect as others in the city. This ecological process had led to institutionalization, where various laws, funding programs, and organizations have emerged to assist those who want to name an urban area with an ethnic place name.

Chapter 4 examines negative cases to identify the specific political conditions required for an urban area to officially receive an ethnic place name. Several of the conditions required for official recognition bear a resemblance to the requirements for a successful social movement. For example, having a leader or advocate is critical for an ethnic place name. Also, any conflict between activists or entrepreneurs will dissuade politicians from supporting a request, lest they want to antagonize anyone. If opposition emerges to a request for an ethnic place name, it can only be resolved if local politicians are willing to compromise. Little India represents an exceptional case where the intransigence of a local politician to compromise scuttled an official designation. The story behind the failed Little India proposal is partially reprinted from a published article: Sheth, Anup. 2010. "Little India, Next Exit: Ethnic Destinations in the City." *Ethnography* 11(1): 69-88.

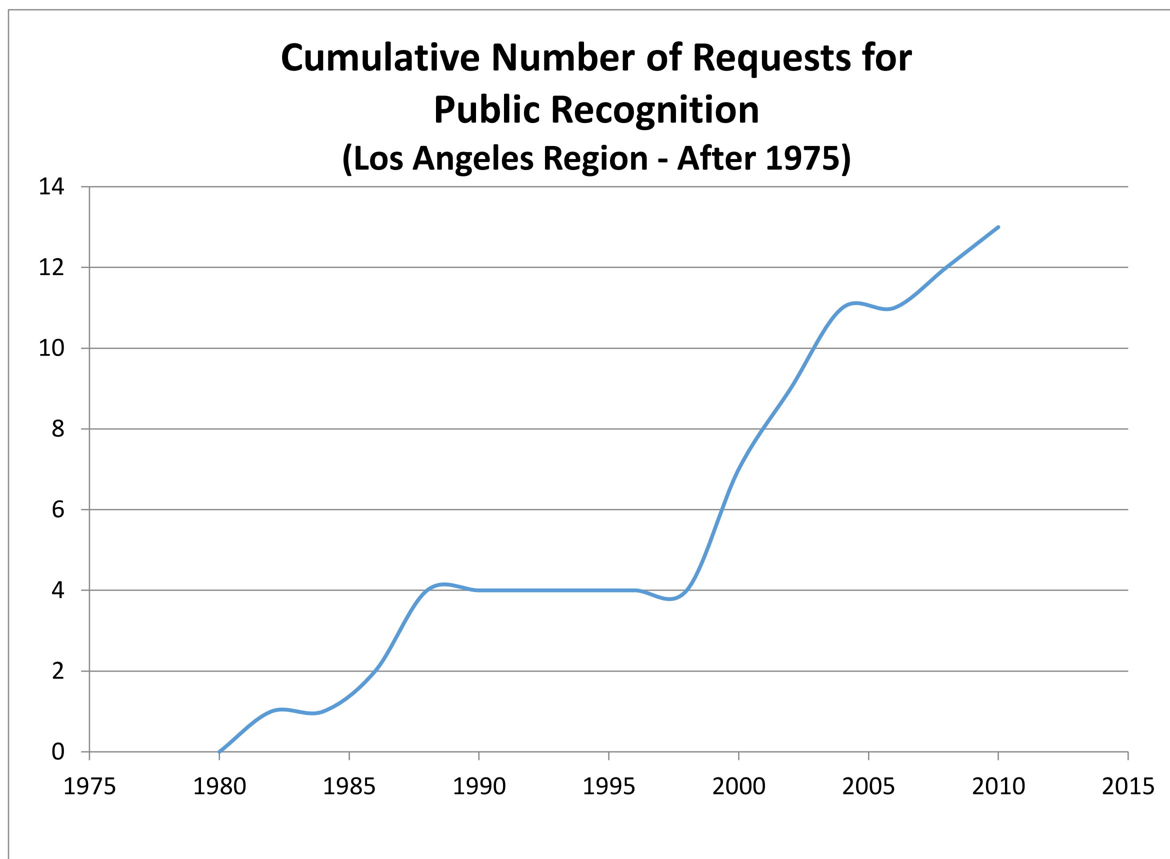
Ultimately, the examination of ethnic place naming illuminates urban sociology's understanding of the social forces at work in the twenty-first century city. The Conclusion addresses how ethnic place naming over the past decade is distinctive from previous naming efforts such as Koreatown. While Koreatown was specifically created by Urban Fortune actors to promote tourism, more recent attempts were promoted by local activists to increase local control and supported by politicians to mobilize support for current and future elections. The explication of this social phenomenon also reveals a fundamental problem with representative democracy in the City of Los Angeles. Ethnic place naming reveals one way in which use populations have come to exert some social control over their urban neighborhoods in a political context in which they have no other means for political participation. The Conclusion addresses the implications of this for urban democracy in the twenty-first century.

Figure 1

Geographic Distribution of Official Ethnic Places in the L.A. Region

Blue Stars: Positive Cases
Red Stars: Negative Case (First Type)

Figure 2



Note: Does not include Chinatown and Little Tokyo

Table 1

Positive and Negative Cases

Positive Cases	Negative Case (1)	Negative Case (2)	Negative Case (3)
Byzantine-Latino Quarter	Little India (Artesia)	Palms/Culver City (Little Brazil)	Leimert Park
Cambodia Town	Historic Central America Town (Pico-Union)	Carson (Little Manila)	Boyle Heights
Chinatown	Little Taipei (Monterrey Park)		
Koreatown	Little Arabia (Anaheim)		
Historic Filipinotown	Sawtelle (Japantown)		
Little Armenia			
Little Bangladesh			
Little Ethiopia			
Little Saigon			
Little Tokyo			
Thai Town			
Via Italia			

Table 2

Positive Cases by Date of Recognition

Positive Cases	Date of Recognition
Chinatown	Pre-1975
Little Tokyo	Pre-1975
Koreatown	1981
Little Saigon	1988
Byzantine-Latino Quarter	6/1997
Thai Town	10/27/1999
Little Armenia	10/6/2000
Historic Filipinotown	7/30/2002
Little Ethiopia	8/7/2002
Via Italia	11/12/2004
Cambodia Town	7/3/2007
Little Bangladesh	11/1/2009

Chapter 1: Ethnic Places and Theories of Urban Change

Theories of urban change emerged at particular moments in the twentieth century. These theories identify unique social processes responsible for urban change but also reflect demographic and social changes occurring at distinctive moments in the development of the American City. Park and Burgess developed the Chicago School's ecological model during the first third of the twentieth century, when large-scale immigration transformed Chicago. Urban Fortunes, on the other hand, was a response to the post-World War II policy of urban renewal. These theories have contributed a great deal to understanding the American city, but do not offer a complete explanation of ethnic place naming in Los Angeles, partly because the processes they identify as causally relevant do not fully reflect recent changes to the late twentieth and early twenty-first century city.

This chapter argues that historically new social processes shaping urban social and political life expose a flaw with the system of resident-based voting that is basis for urban democracy. The neighborhood were one resides is privileged over various local areas that also hold social meaning for urban dwellers. A highly mobile city where use populations can outnumber voters exposes a flaw to the current system of urban democracy. Existing theories of urban change rooted in previous historical developments of the city miss out on revealing this challenge to urban social and political life.

In the first two sections of this chapter, I describe the Chicago School's ecological framework and the Urban Fortunes business-oriented model. I argue that each theory identifies a single processes responsible for urban change, yet misses the multiplicity of social processes responsible for social change the contemporary city. In the third section, I identify the social

processes most responsible for producing L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago: symbolic politics, contemporary immigration, and the rise of community-based organizations beginning in the 1960's. And the last section addresses the deficiencies of the resident-based voting system for urban life in the contemporary city. In particular, the growth of the non-citizen population in certain neighborhoods empowers smaller voting blocs and 'use populations,' people who do not live in the neighborhood but for whom the area is still socially meaningful.

The Chicago School and the Ecological Model of Urban Development

The Chicago School's conception of urban change is rooted in an ecological conception of the city. The concept of the "natural area" represents one of the key contributions of the Chicago School to urban sociology and represents a fundamental social unit in their analysis of urban life. Park and Burgess conceptualized the metropolis as a living organism where changes in one area of the system inevitably produced changes in other areas. Each "natural area" consists of a socially and culturally distinguishable population with its own system of rules and norms (Zorbaugh 1926).

Chicago School sociologists explained how these natural areas formed with an "invasion-succession" model, a mono-casual process that identified population movement as pivotal to urban change. Park and Burgess developed a concentric zonal model to describe the encroachment of the central business district into new or adjacent areas. As the central business district expanded into new urban spaces, displaced residents moved into new areas, where they came into conflict with the social world of local residents. Competition for housing spilled out into conflicts with the local population over public symbols and retail businesses. If an accommodation could not be worked out, one of the two groups would withdraw. If the new

arrivals succeed in populating the neighborhood, their own social system of rules, norms, and accompanying public symbols would replace the preexisting residential community's as the distinguishing feature of the area (Park & Burgess 1925; Park 1952).

Members of the Chicago school paid particular attention to the second ring in their concentric model of the city which they termed the Zone of Transition. Most of the seminal urban studies of the Chicago School involve neighborhoods in this zone, such as Gerald Suttles' study (1968) of an ethnic area in Chicago in *Social Order of the Slum* and Herbert Gans' ethnography (1962) of an Italian-American neighborhood in *Urban Villagers*. This zone lay right outside the central business district and held natural areas such as the black ghetto, ethnic "slums," like Chinatown or Little Italy, and neighborhoods for transient populations. Park and Burgess point to this zone as an area where most of the cities' new immigrants arrived. High levels of social disorganization characterized these areas, where residents went through an acculturation process before which they moved to zones further away from the business center.

Proponents of the Chicago School's ecological model promoted the notion of ethnic places as disorganized, crime-ridden areas of the city spontaneously reacting to changes in other areas, most notably the growth of the central business district. Urban scholars have noted that the Chicago School's understanding of ethnic areas as unplanned, primarily defined by demographic characteristics, ignored broader political and economic processes that were also responsible for the formation of ethnic places and their corresponding public culture. Zorbaugh equated the 'black belt' with other ethnic neighborhoods such as Little Italy in Chicago and Russia-Town in Los Angeles. While many immigrants were allowed to leave these areas and move to residential rings further away from the business district, political and economic elites supported and maintained *de jure* segregation to prevent blacks from the same residential choices as immigrant

newcomers (Wilson 1987; Venkatesh 2001). And other than a few notable exceptions, the community studies that came out of the first half of the twentieth century did not give sufficient attention to the influence of the ward boss system on the social life of slum areas. Park and Burgess's ecological conception of the city left little room for a clear understanding of political processes.

Moreover, Light's (1974) study of Chinatown suggests that entrepreneurs also played a role in shaping the public character of ethnic spaces during the first half of the twentieth century in Chicago and other American cities. Chinese merchants actively sought to clean up Chinatown's public image as a place of gang activity that housed brothels and opium dens in favor of one that promoted the merchants' interest in attracting outsiders for tourism. Over the course of the 1930's and 1940's, the Chinese entrepreneurial class worked with political elites to change the public identity of Chinatowns throughout the United States from a 'slum' to a tourist destination for middle-class Whites. Yet it is only with the emergence of the Urban Fortunes framework in the late-1970's does the public identity of an ethnic area as a destination place emerge in urban sociological thought.

Urban Fortunes

The Urban Fortunes framework, as developed by John Logan and Harvey Molotch, has dominated discussion of urban development for the past twenty-five years. Their framework is fully outlined in *Urban Fortunes* (2000 [1987]), which sought to explain the character of urban social processes by emphasizing the city's landed elite, or those with a stake in the value of real estate. The landed elite employ the support of government to enact growth related policies that increase the value of their real estate holdings. Logan and Molotch intended their framework be

used to explain the actions of large-scale urban developments – such as sports stadiums, office parks, and luxury condominiums – but it has also been employed by a variety of sociologists and urban scholars to study areas as diverse as ethnic neighborhoods (Light 2006, Lin 1995, Zukin 1995), the blues scene (Grazian 2003), and heritage tourism (Chang 1996, Boyd 2000).

Logan and Molotch (2007 [1987]) distinguish the urban fortunes framework from two approaches to understanding the city: the Chicago School and Structural Marxism. They critiqued the human ecological paradigm of Park and Burgess as a free market orientation that neglected the role of business and political actors. Unlike the Chicago School, which focused on demographic changes to explain urban processes, the growth machine framework was to put business interests front and center. Yet they found Structural Marxism's conceptualization of the city as occupied by a capitalist class and proletariat too simple and deterministic to explain anything. While they agreed with Structural Marxists that conflict lay at the center of urban development, they argued that the root of the conflict lay within an entirely different dynamic.

Logan and Molotch argued that a conflict between business and political coalitions, on one end, and community residents, on the other, lay at the heart of urban change. They characterize the interests of the business and political elite as based on exchange-value, an interest in making money off patterns of development and to intensify the use of land for monetary benefit. Opposing them at every turn were the forces of use-value, characterized by Logan and Molotch as," ways to utilize land, buildings, and communities as part of [people's] daily life." (2000 [1987]: viii). Thus, "[t]he city is the setting for the achievement of both exchange value and use values; and the neighborhood is the meeting place of the two forces." (99).

A broad and powerful coalition constitutes the forces of exchange value. The *rentier* class, real estate developers with a direct interest in the development of land, constitute the essential component in the drive towards exchange value. But they don't act alone. Other locally based corporate institutions have something to gain by the growth of the city. Population growth also serves the interests of media organizations that benefit from the increases in viewership or subscribership, utility companies that get to service additional customers, and educational institutions that can increase their student body. A variety of economic interests ally themselves with the *rentier* class for the purposes of urban development and together they seek to achieve consensus with the urban political elite.

Logan and Molotch conceptualize urban politicians as corrupted by the city's business elite. The authors state that "…real estate interests push government levers" (x) in order to generate growth. The business elite need the permissions, subsidies, and the right kinds of public infrastructure to support their development projects, while politicians benefit from the patronage and increase in tax revenues generated by growth. In response to criticism that urban politicians are not as subservient as Urban Fortunes proponents makes them to be, Molotch has responded that although politicians matter, "…at least at the local level, it is the growth machine system that determines how they matter." (Molotch 1988: 38). And he asserted again soon after, "that virtually every city (and state) government is a growth machine and long has been." (Molotch 1999: 249).

The business and political elite both have their own stake in the further development of the city, and, in this sense, they all constitute a "machine" always primed for urban growth. But growth machines do not always get what they want. Neighborhood organizations, however, may fight to oppose this unrestrained urban growth. Generally organizing themselves around

environmental issues, aesthetic considerations, or opposition to population growth, they attempt to halt the growth machine's intensification of land use. Historical differences between urban areas govern the strength of anti-growth coalitions and their ability to curb growth. Urban development, according to Logan and Molotch, is a socially contingent process that varies from locality to locality based on the dynamic between a growth machine and its opposition.

Scholars have employed the Urban Fortunes perspective to understand ethnic areas as destination places. Lin (1995) provides an analysis of ethnic places that highlights ethnic and political stakeholders. He suggests that ethnic place entrepreneurs work with municipal growth machines to market their business districts to locals and tourists. One of the cases in his study includes the redevelopment of Houston's Chinatown. In the 1990's, The Houston Chinatown Council, a merchant association, sought to redevelop the city's Chinatown by building a mixed-use development covering a six-square block area. Among other things, this development would include a variety of restaurants, a community center, and a theater with Chinese opera performances. The Council coordinated with the city's business and political elite to get public money funded through a bond issuance to help finance their development project (1995: 639). The city's growth machine actors touted Houston as a 'world city' to local conventioneers at the 1990 World Economic Summit due to Chinatown's close proximity to downtown.

Light has employed a growth machine framework to understand the source of migration flows from Korea to Los Angeles over the past several decades (Light, 2006). Seeking to counter the social networks approach to understanding residential segregation among ethnic groups, Light argues that ethnic place entrepreneurs play a key role in purchasing and developing property and subsequently market their holdings to potential immigrants in host countries. Koreatown serves as an example of this approach. American-based Korean entrepreneurs relied

on foreign capital to purchase land in an area of Los Angeles originally referred to as Mid-City. Marketing it as a destination place to people in Korea, these ethnic place entrepreneurs worked with the City of Los Angeles to have their property holdings designated as 'Koreatown' by placing an official designation sign on the 101 freeway and local streets. The Korean population in the Mid-City area was only 7% in the early 1980's when the City designated it as 'Koreatown'.

Building upon the Urban Fortunes framework, but not always explicitly, is the growing literature on cultural tourism in the contemporary city. Mostly found in journals dedicated to scholars researching tourism, anthropologists and geographers have examined ethnic destinations in non-American cities, particularly as tourism has replaced manufacturing as the largest provider of jobs to unskilled workers. Singapore represents one of the more interesting cases in this literature. Chang (2000), for example, points out that during the 1970's, the government of Singapore designated many of its ethnic and historical areas as redevelopment zones for the purpose of increasing tourism revenue. The city-state christened "The Little India Historical District" and marketed it and other ethnic neighborhoods, such as Chinatown and Kampong Glam, regionally and internationally. In another paper, Chang et al. (1996) compares and contrasts tourism development in Singapore and Montreal to argue that tourism requires businesses and politicians in various cities to adapt in unique ways. While Singapore actively relied on its ethnic neighborhoods to respond to the touristic global force, Montreal relied upon its historic and cultural areas in response.

Urban Fortunes Revisited

While the Urban Fortunes framework has helped bring to light the important role of entrepreneurs to urban development, it fails to provide the conceptual tools necessary to explain the emergence of ethnic place naming in Los Angeles. One of the critical deficiencies of this approach is how urban fortune proponents orient themselves to their object of study. Urban Fortune proponents take the growth machine as the thing to be explained, rather than as an independent variable to explain outcomes in urban development. In a twenty year assessment of the growth machine theory and its cases, Logan argues that “we are still unsure whether growth machines make a difference to urban development.” (Logan, et al. 1997: 92) In other words, urban fortunes proponents have yet to systematically investigate whether growth machines are successful in enacting change at the local level.

Very few have specifically attempted to explain under what conditions growth machines are successful in shaping patterns of urban development. That would require a case-based methodology that does more than just describe the character of growth or anti-growth machines, but more specifically compares a series of diverse cases and is geared toward explaining the contours of urban change. Important in this type of methodological and theoretical orientation is the pursuit of negative cases, or failed cases, to determine the socially contingent mechanisms responsible for outcomes in urban development. Scholars should not only examine cases when growth machines succeed in affecting urban development, but also seek out cases of when they fail to enact change.

The literature, however, does include a negative case that is instructive in identifying critical deficiencies to the urban fortunes theory. This case not only suggests that the role of business interests in urban processes is overstated, but also that the entire exchange value/use value paradigm is problematic. This case involves Bennett et al.’s study (1998) of efforts in the

1970's to redevelop portions of Chicago's downtown area, referred to as the North Loop Redevelopment Project. The authors point out that business interests formed a commission with the support of Mayor Daley to redevelop a large portion of Chicago's downtown. Despite the coordination by Chicago's local elite, fragmentation by business and political interests hindered the execution of the project. The structure of Chicago's Democratic political machine, which relied heavily on support from local ward politicians and neighborhood organizations, had leverage against the city's business interests. They could, and often did, spurn recommendations by businesses to pursue particular projects in the redevelopment area. And the city's business elite often did not see eye-to-eye on particular projects, even though they may have agreed on a long term growth strategy of redevelopment. For example, business interests, as well as neighborhood organizations, coalesced to oppose Hilton Hotel's tax abatement deal with the city to develop a large convention center in the Loop. Although the authors do not get deep enough into the case to understand why several developers opposed the Hilton deal, we can surmise that, at the very least, business interests are not always a monolith.

The above case illustrates two important challenges to the theory. First, the exchange value/use value dichotomy put forward by Logan and Molotch does not explain all the interests involved in this particular case. Perhaps divergent economic interests explain the conflicts within the business elite in the North Loop Redevelopment project, but those are social processes that have to be investigated rather than coordinated actions assumed to originate from economic self-interest. Urban fortunes proponents, unfortunately, have always been conceptually vague about how much their theory claims to explain. While the 1987 book claims that "conflicts over growth are central to the organization of cities," (xxvii) it leaves unclear whether there are other processes influencing urban development. And as mentioned above, Logan et al. (1999) have

clarified this issue by indicating that growth machine activity is not the only urban process operating in the city. But left unanswered are the dynamics of those other processes and how they work together to influence urban change.

This conceptual vagueness underscores the need to broaden our notion of urban change to include multiple social processes. In a capitalist society, growth machine activity may constitute a necessary component of urban change, but it is not sufficient. Broader social or cultural movements that entrepreneurs pick up on may play a key role in the explanation of any urban change. Katz (2010), for example, identifies eight different mechanisms to explain how neighborhoods acquire a public identity as recognized by both insiders and outsiders. This list includes not only growth machine-like activity, but also broader social and cultural movements, ecological processes, and institutional forces that serve as a resource to replicate neighborhood identities.

And the second challenge to the Urban Fortunes theory is that the structure of local politics matters for urban development. The Urban Fortunes framework proposes that politicians are corrupted by business interests. Although they are not as naive as to think that growth is always directing the actions of local and state politicians (Logan, et al. 1999: 89), they do fail to clearly conceptualize autonomous political entrepreneurs who may be willing to play different interest groups off each other for their own ends. Mollenkopf (1992) critiques the growth machine approach by arguing that the political realm should be treated as autonomous from economic activity. He suggests that urban scholars view politics not as subservient to economic interests but as an autonomous sphere of activity where members try to build governing coalitions by not only reaching out to growth machine interests but also to neighborhood-based organizations.

Ferman (1996) issues a similar critique of the growth machine framework by arguing that this approach encourages scholars to focus on the linkages between political and economic interests rather than the broader political and institutional context in which politicians make decisions about their relationships with growth machine interests and neighborhood organizations. In her examination of neighborhood organizations' challenge to growth machine activities, she points to institutional context and political culture as key variables to understand the claims neighborhood organizations make and their relationship to business and political interests. Ferman's critique is particularly relevant to this study since the public recognition of ethnic areas in Los Angeles cannot exclusively be explained by reference to the claims of ethnic entrepreneurs, but also neighborhood organizations. The institutional approach proposed by Ferman provides a more complete framework for conceptualizing the social processes responsible for ethnic place naming because it also takes into account local area organizations in addition to ethnic entrepreneurs. This approach provides an analytical framework that centers on examining the relationships between local politicians, the city's public institutions, entrepreneurs and community based organizations to explain outcomes in urban development.

Ultimately, the Urban Fortunes view of developer corruption takes the analytical emphasis away from a thorough examination of urban political processes, how these processes have changed over time, and how they have impacted urban development. Urban sociologists should consider growth machine activity as part of much broader set of urban processes. Multiple social processes occur within any given time and place. Growth machine activity should be viewed as one among a number of social mechanisms shaping the nature of place, with researchers open to demographic changes, macro social and cultural movements, and institutional change. Only with this type of orientation to urban change can we hope to

understand not only how cities develop, but within the context of this project, better understand how local politics shapes urban social life. The next section illustrates the numerous social processes critical to understanding the development of L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago and what they reveal about contemporary challenges to urban democracy.

Symbolic Politics, Contemporary Immigration, and the Rise of Community-Based Organizations

The growth machine explanation, and its current incorporation within the scholarship on tourism, has expanded our understanding of the public recognition of ethnic places. Ethnic entrepreneurs, rather than demographics, play a critical role in shaping the public character of an ethnic area. Yet devotion to the Chicago School's ecological model and Urban Fortunes paradigm ignores contemporary social processes that are also responsible for changing the public identity of urban areas. This section will cover three processes critical to understanding the emergence of L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago: symbolic politics, contemporary immigration, and the rise of community-based organizations.

Several scholars have written about how symbols can be employed by politicians to mobilize voters and win elections. Gusfield (1963) provides a valuable analysis of politics that helps explain how local politicians view ethnic place naming. Gusfield identifies status politics as a realm of politics that involves conflicts by individuals or organizations over the allocation of 'prestige,' which is defined as 'the approval, respect, admiration, or deference a person or group is able to command by virtue of his or its imputed qualities or performances.' Paul Brass (1985) has written that as politicians rely on symbols to mobilize constituencies, they shape processes of ethnic group formation. In this sense, we can speak of local politicians as 'ethno-political entrepreneurs' who play a critical role in defining the boundaries of ethnic groups by employing

symbols for the purposes of political mobilization. By wielding or supporting a symbol of importance to an ethnic constituency, they show respect and deference to that group.

It is clear that symbolic politics has played an important role in mobilizing individuals along the basis of ethnicity in cities throughout America's history. In urban settings, Erie (1988) points out that the Irish-dominated political machines that ruled urban politics during the late nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth century could not rely solely on patronage jobs to curry favors among ethnic voters. As patronage jobs continued to become scarcer over the course of the twentieth century, urban politicians came to increasingly rely on symbolic politics to mobilize immigrant voters. Events such as Saint Patrick's Day parades, conducted annually throughout American cities, serve as an opportunity for local politicians to identify with and show respect to Irish-American urban dwellers.

The role of symbolic or status politics takes on new importance in contemporary urban settings given the reforms to immigration during the 1960's. The Hart Cellar Act of 1965 reformed immigration policy and has allowed into American cities immigrants from around the world. Immigrant populations from Latin America, Asia, and from other regions of the world now represent a significant population in major American cities. In Los Angeles, for example, Non-Hispanic Whites represented 80% of Los Angeles County's population in the 1960's. Contemporary immigration, however, has transformed the Los Angeles region to a multicultural metropolis where Latino and Asian immigration have now made Non-Hispanic Whites a minority (Sabagh and Bozorgmehr 1996).

Moreover, large waves of new immigrants began entering the country at a time when the civil rights movement transformed American politics and society. Civil rights leaders during the 1950's and 1960's rejected the treatment of individuals on the basis of racial or ethnic categories.

The struggle for blacks to gain equality initially centered on promoting anti-discrimination legislation that established equality of opportunity in education, housing, and employment. The demands of the social movement, however, shifted in the 1970's to an emphasis on preferential group treatment for minorities in employment, public programs, and education. Government-mandated affirmative action programs resulted in the recognition and categorization of ethnic minorities by public authorities (Wilson 1987). This resulted in various minority communities mobilizing on the basis of ethnicity in order to take advantage of these programs. Scholars have highlighted how affirmative action led to the creation and expansion of ethnic boundaries in the United States, from the development of a pan-Asian identity (Espiritu, Y. 1992) and Latino pan-ethnicity based on Spanish as a shared language (Padilla 1985), to the increasing identification of certain people as Native American (Nagel 1996).

The university during the 1960's served as a base of activism that supported and promoted the ideals of the civil rights movement. The civil rights movement, and anti-imperialist wars in Africa and Asia, inspired ethnic minorities on American college campuses to demand greater minority representation among students and faculty and advocated for the creation of ethnic studies departments. Student activism and protest activity, which started off at Bay Area campuses in the early 1960's, soon swept college campuses across the nation, including UCLA, which established ethnic studies departments in 1970 (Umemoto 2000). The civil right movement and the ethnic identity politics of student activists has inspired, and continues to inspire, many second generation, college-educated ethnic minorities to actively work in immigrant neighborhoods to advocate on behalf of impoverished immigrants (Wei 1993).

Since the 1960's, community-based organizations (CBO's), led by university-based ethnic activists, have emerged as important local area social actors engaged in urban

development. Lin (2011) and Hydra (2008) have recently written on the role of CBO's in the development of urban spaces in American cities. CBO's have become more instrumental in urban development since the 1960's, when federal funds were directed to non-profits through programs such as the Community Development Block Grant, the HOPE IV program, and the EZ Initiative.

Various CBO's have emerged in inner-cities throughout American cities to build affordable housing for the poor and employ commercial retail strips as an anchor to revitalize urban neighborhoods. Many CBO's have also engaged in employing symbols as a key component of economic development. The use of symbols appears to have been a strategy by various CBO's over the past few decades. Albert Hunter, in his book *Symbolic Communities* (1974), identifies neighborhoods and community areas of Chicago during the 1960's as defined by residents themselves, and points out that community-based organizations were aware that symbols – like a man-made landmark or a natural feature of the urban landscape – can be employed to create a sense of community or place for the residents of a particular urban area. Suttles (1990), in his examination of land development in Chicago during the 1980's, observes ethnic places names and concludes that these symbols serve a means of enhancing the local control these organizations have over urban areas.

In Lin's comparative study of urban ethnic places in Los Angeles, Miami, New York, and Houston, community-based organizations in inner-city areas, led by first or second generation immigrants, play an instrumental role in historical preservation, street-scaping, and ethnic naming for the purposes of not only creating a sense of place for residents, but also using it as a resource to attract locals and city dwellers to local area businesses.

Community-based organizations add another dimension to our understanding of the institutions and organizations responsible for neighborhood change in the contemporary city. Ethnic entrepreneurs are not the only social actors responsible for promoting an area as ethnic. CBO's have increased their local control over urban areas through ethnic place naming and have used their new authority to support strategies for cultural tourism by working with local politicians and drawing up public and private funds. The promotion of cultural tourism by CBO's as the basis of economic development provides a perspective that is not addressed by the growth machine explanation.

With new immigrant populations arriving to Los Angeles and other metropolitan areas and the increasing demand by CBO's for ethnic place names, local politicians have come to support requests for ethnic place names as an opportunity to appeal to ethnic constituencies. Unlike the Chicago School's ecological model, which deemphasized politics, and the growth machine framework, which prioritizes the interests of the business elite, the public recognition of urban areas can best be explained by the role of local politicians engaged in symbolic politics during a historical period when demographic changes are transforming American cities and community-based organizations are making demands for a place name as a means of enhancing their political authority.

Resident-Based Democracy in the American City

The demographic and social changes to American cities over the last several decades highlights an important challenge to the resident-based democratic system that has been ignored by the Urban Fortunes focus on developer corruption. The American political system is organized around the principle of one person/one vote, where voting is based on where a person

resides (Briffault 1993). In other words, only people who live within a political district can vote for public officials who then represent their interests within administrative, legislative, and executive bodies. In recent decades, however, legal scholars and political scientists have criticized the resident-based democratic system as a form of urban democracy, instead advocating for a form of civic-republicanism where not just residents but other 'stakeholders' come together to achieve political consensus. From this perspective, stakeholders include not only residents but also other participants for whom a local area is socially meaningful, such as community-based organizations, churches, students, employees, and others who use a local area during the day but spend their nights in other neighborhoods.

The normative debate between legal scholars and political scientists is relevant for urban sociologists because of the important consequences of resident-based democracy on urban social life. For legal scholars, the major criticism of the resident-based democratic system is that it does not take into account the decisions of one political district on others within a city. For example, the decisions of white homeowners in a city also affects black neighborhoods. These externalities have led some scholars to argue for some form of cross-political district voting, where people have an opportunity to vote in elections outside of their home political district (Ford 1994; Frug 1993). Alternatively, scholars have also argued for a neighborhood council system that incorporates outsiders who have a stake in a local area (Parlow 2008).

Urban sociology's analytical interest in understanding 'community' brings another critical dimension to the debate among legal scholars and political scientists. The resident-based democratic system supports a conception of community that is rooted in a geographic place. This form of urban democracy presumes that only the people who reside in a particular neighborhood are members of this community. The realities of urban life, however, contradict this conception

of community. According to the 2010 Census, over 50% of residents in Los Angeles reported that they lived in another residence five years earlier. These high mobility rates represent a challenge to urban democracy in that it is increasingly becoming likely that public officials represent residents who did not have an opportunity to vote for them.

The challenge to resident-based democracy also stems from the diverse social meanings that urban dwellers have of various local areas in the city. The one person/one vote model assumes that the residential neighborhood holds the only legitimate social meaning for urban dwellers. This perspective does not acknowledge that other areas of the city can also hold a great deal of meaning and sentiment for residents. For example, an immigrant can reside in one neighborhood but operate a small business in another. While their urban residence is emotionally and financially important to them, the source of their financial well-being stems from their business. The same logic can be applied to other types of professionals as well, from social workers and hospital workers to church goers and teachers.

As a result, it's analytically useful to distinguish between residential populations and 'use populations' in the way that scholars conceptualize the various meanings of urban areas. This not only includes populations that spend their day in a particular urban area, but also transient populations, such as students or undocumented immigrants. UCLA, for example, is located in Westwood, where approximately 70,000 faculty, staff members, and students arrive to campus during the academic year. There is also a significant student population that lives in Westwood but hardly votes. That provides greater authority to the less numerous residential population that regularly votes in local elections. More relevant for this study, however, is the increasing number of undocumented immigrants and general non-citizen population that has migrated to American cities since the 1960's. In neighborhoods where the non-citizen population is the majority, the

residential population that does vote has a relatively greater influence in electing local politicians and shaping public policy.

Cities around the country have recognized the inequities of the resident-based democratic system and have created neighborhood councils to provide use populations with formal mechanisms of political participation. Los Angeles instituted neighborhood councils with a broader reform of the City Charter in 1999. With the possibility of succession by the San Fernando Valley, neighborhood councils were in part meant to forestall succession by providing Angelinos with an additional mechanism to participate in the affairs of local government (Sonnenshein 2004). The Charter includes use populations in their definition of stakeholders. Charter Reform, however, denied neighborhood councils with any formal decision-making authority, reaffirming that ultimate political authority rests with the resident-based democratic system.

The one person/one vote model of democracy represents a challenge to urban governments given the high degree of mobility among residential populations and the presence of use populations. This is especially true in the central city, where large numbers of non-citizens reside. The majority non-citizen population provides the relatively smaller voting population and use populations with a disproportionately greater influence in public policy. This is particularly true in the East Hollywood and surrounding areas of Los Angeles, where community-based organizations have come to establish a political presence despite any official avenue of political participation.

Conclusion

The Chicago School and Urban Fortunes models describe causal processes that are still relevant for understanding urban change in the contemporary city. But adhering to these mono-causal models blinds urban scholars from understanding how other social processes are shaping the city and the implications of these processes on urban social and political life. Identifying the changing demographic populations of the central city and tracking the decline in voter turnout highlights the narrow view of urban politics perpetuated by the Urban Fortunes paradigm. Not only should large-scale urban developers or entrepreneurs be considered special interest groups shaping urban development, but also various use populations, such as churches, community-based organizations, and public (or private) schools. These various use populations also have an interest in shaping urban development. Even though the resident-based democratic system does not officially recognize their capacity for political participation, they have still managed to find ways to create a public platform for themselves. As I will argue in the next chapter, ethnic place naming is one way in which certain use populations have created a political platform in which they are able to shape urban development.

Chapter 2: The Social and Political Transformation of East Hollywood

Ethnic place naming is only possible given social, cultural, and political changes to the Los Angeles region since the 1960's. This chapter will identify three historical changes to the region by examining the East Hollywood and surrounding urban areas. East Hollywood is representative of broader demographic, social, and political changes occurring throughout the region and is the geographic center of the social phenomenon of ethnic place naming. Within East Hollywood and the surrounding areas lies Thai Town, Little Armenia, Koreatown, Little Bangladesh, and Historic Filipinotown. Understanding the historical changes to this area of the city provides insights into conditions that make ethnic place naming possible throughout the Los Angeles region.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section highlights the social and demographic changes to East Hollywood by examining the political history of its local Council District. The civil rights movement of the 1960's and the opening up of American cities to immigration have provided opportunities for more liberal candidates to run for office and have given rise to a new form of symbolic politics. The second section of this chapter highlights the decline of residence-based voting in the East Hollywood area. The increase in the non-citizen immigrant population throughout the region has dramatically reduced the number of eligible voters. But voter turnout data from the East Hollywood area shows that eligible voters turn out in higher rates that in the Hollywood Hills, an upper-class, elite area of the city. The final section identifies a historically new collective act in urban development that has resulted from the decentralization of funding sources and the population of local organizations in poor neighborhoods throughout the region. These new funding sources have allowed local

organizations an opportunity to shape urban development in ways that were not available to local activists decades ago.

Post-1960's Rise of Identity Politics

The geographic area known as Hollywood, and in particular the flatlands, has become progressively liberal over the course of the second-half of the twentieth century. Fifteen political districts currently make up the City Council of the City of Los Angeles. The 1925 Charter Reform, which established the 15 district system, did away with the previous 'at-large' nine-person Council (Sonenshein 1993). The City Council members that sat on the Council reflected the residents they represented – White Midwestern or Southerners, most of whom were self-identified Republicans or conservative Democrats. This was particularly the case in the Hollywood area, which after the 1960's became part of Council District 13. The demographic and social changes that occurred in the Hollywood flats over the second half of the twentieth century mirror the broader transformation of Los Angeles from a conservative, majority White city to a liberal, multicultural metropolis. This section shows how these dramatic changes provided opportunities for more liberal candidates for run for office, and provided new resources for those seeking to burnish their liberal credentials while also strongly supporting the investment decisions of the landed elite.

The early conservatism of the Hollywood area is best exemplified by Paul Lamport, who represented Hollywood as Council Member for District 13 from 1965 to 1969. When James Harvey Brown, who represented District 13 on the City Council, resigned to become a Municipal Court Judge, Sam Yorty selected his friend Paul Lamport as a replacement. A commercial and residential property owner, Paul Lamport, who was born and brought up in Missouri, served as

President of the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce and Chair of the Hollywood Property Owners Association during the 1950's (Seiler 1984). He also sat on the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Bank of America, a prominent Hollywood Bank.

The 1960's were an inhospitable time for liberal candidates in the Thirteenth District. In 1965, Paul Lamport ran for the City Council against Mary Tingloff, a former president of L.A.'s Board of Education and a liberal. Despite revelations that he fabricated his personal biography – he lied about his educational credentials and his record of military service, among several other campaign misstatements – Lamport easily won election to the Council seat (Bergholz 1965).

As Council Member, Lamport's policy positions reveal a pro-business, social conservative attitude toward governance. He submitted a Council resolution to prevent city agencies from coordinating a response to student protests on Hollywood Boulevard. Responding to the dissatisfaction of Hollywood business owners and local merchants, he argued to his Council colleagues that the government's preparation amounted to a tacit endorsement of the 'Hippie Invasion.' The resolution was defeated by the Council Member's more liberal colleagues (L.A. Times 1967).

Lamport was also an unabashed supporter of development projects in his district, particularly as it related to the entertainment industry. In 1968, while serving on the Development Board of the City of Los Angeles, he proposed redeveloping an 85 acre portion of Hollywood – south of Santa Monica Boulevard between Cahuenga Boulevard and Gower Street. Lamport conceived of the redevelopment as a means to attract and keep movie and television industry facilities in Hollywood. In order to qualify for federal assistance, however, the City would have to designate the redevelopment area as 'blighted'. The approximately 1,500 people who live in the affected area, however, disagreed. Lamport supported the project until it became

politically unfeasible; he withdrew the proposal after a *Los Angeles Times* reporter observed Hollywood residents booing the Council Member during a public meeting on the proposed redevelopment (Herbert 1968).

Paul Lamport made himself vulnerable to challengers, as he took overseas trips during his time in office that were questioned by the public and drew a city investigation. Robert Stevenson ran against Lamport in 1969, and won by painting Lamport as a corrupt politician. Robert Stevenson used to be an actor and a former news reporter for CBS. He later served as a political aide to Council Member James Potter of District 2 (L.A. Times 1975). Robert Stevenson's election to the City Council represented the beginning of a leftward shift in the politics of Hollywood and Council District 13.

He took political advantage of the aging White population that moved into Hollywood during the 1920's and 1930's and the increasing number of renters. According to the 1940 Census, only 9.5% of the population was over the age of 65 in East Hollywood. By the 1960 Census, however, it had risen to 18.1%. Paul Lamport also made efforts to reach out to the increasing senior population, particularly with symbolic appeals in the form of service awards to senior citizens (L.A. Times 1969). Robert Stevenson, however, provided more tangible resources, such as city funds to establish housing and multipurpose centers for senior citizens. Robert, and his wife, Peggy Stevenson, who was elected to the position in 1975 after Robert died of a cardiac arrest, featured their support for senior citizens in their newsletters and campaign materials[1]. The Stevensons also took advantage of the increasingly larger population of renters in East Hollywood by supporting various forms of rent control and tenant rights legislation. Over a

[1] Stevenson Campaign Mailer 1981; 1979 Stevenson Newsletter

40 year period, from 1940 to 1980, the number of renters increased by 9% in East Hollywood, rising from approximately 77.4% to 86.5%.[2]

In the late-1960's, Robert and Peggy also came out in support of gay and lesbian rights after several more conservative members of the Council continued to oppose same-sex equality (Michaelson 1984). Gay and lesbian actors working in the entertainment industry, living in Hollywood and Silverlake, were potential sources of mobilization after the social movements of the 1960's. Supporting gay rights helped Robert and Peggy Stevenson build a relationship with newly mobilized urban voters. For example, Robert attended Metropolitan Community Church, one of the major gay churches in Los Angeles. A 1978 *Los Angeles Times* article notes the emergence of the gay rights movement as a significant force in L.A. politics. Troy Perry, the Metropolitan Church minister, told the *Los Angeles Times* reporter that Robert Stevenson was the first Council Member to attend church services in 1969 (Shuit 1978).

Robert and Peggy Stevenson's support for developer's interests, however, were consistent with their predecessors. Peggy Stevenson supported the creation of a Hollywood Revitalization Committee that would have directed federal funds to subsidize private investment to redevelop portions of Hollywood into shopping malls and office spaces (Ryan 1980). Over the course of her career as Council Member of District 13, she had been perceived as friendly to real estate interests not only in Hollywood, but throughout the city, and supported private developers as they sought to create residential and commercial projects. Her unabashed support for developer interests would come back to haunt Peggy Stevenson during her 1985 reelection campaign.

[2] 1940 Census Tracts: 85, 86; 1980 Census: Tracts 1911, 1912.01, 1912.02.

Since the 1940's, the aging population and larger presence of renters afforded opportunities for less conservative candidates to occupy the Office of Council District 13. But a second set of changes occurred in the 1960's that provided even more liberal candidates with a shot at the City Council. The civil rights movement inspired ethnic minorities, women, and gays and lesbians to make similar demands for equal treatment. While Robert and Peggy Stevenson were quick to take advantage of newly mobilize gay voters, they were slow reaching out to new minority voters brought to their district through immigration. The 1965 Hart-Cellar Act opened the country up to immigration from Latin America and Asia. In the East Hollywood area, as throughout much of the city, immigration has transformed the existing residential population. According to the 1970 Census, Whites were the majority in the East Hollywood Flats at 88.2%. Latinos (families where a family member spoke Spanish) were 19.5% of the population. By the 2000 Census, however, the two groups had switched positions: Latinos were now the majority at 46.2% while Whites were the minority at 31.9%. Asians also had become a significant minority, representing 11.3% of the population of the Hollywood Flats.[3]

Peggy Stevenson, however, failed to reach out to these new constituencies, providing other candidates with an opportunity to mobilize an opposition to her candidacy. Michael Woo, who in the late 1970's was a young political aide to State Assembly member David Roberti, saw Peggy Stevenson as a candidate vulnerable to the mobilization of minorities, gays, and anti-developer sentiment among homeowners (Woo Interview 2013). Moreover, a new ethnic politics of recognition was sweeping Los Angeles that would benefit Woo's candidacy.

Beginning in the 1960's, ethnic minorities were elected to the City Council in increasing numbers. The Black migration to Los Angeles resulted in the election of three black

[3] 1970 Census: Tracts 1911, 1912.01, 1912.02; 2000 Census: Tracts 1911.10, 1911.20, 1912.01, 1912.03, 1912.04. .

representatives to the City Council in the 1960's. And in 1973, Tom Bradley, Council Member from District 10, successfully formed a coalition between middle-class blacks and Westside Jewish residents to become the City's first black mayor (Sonenshein 1993). Ed Roybal had been the City's first Latino Council member, elected to office in 1949 and serving on the Council until 1962. But since the beginning of contemporary immigration, another Latino did not serve on the City Council until Richard Altorre was elected to District 14 in 1985. And a year later, in 1986, the Justice Department sued the City of Los Angeles under authority provided by the Voting Rights Act. The Justice Department accused the City of Los Angeles of drawing Council District boundaries to deprive Latinos of adequate representation. As a result, the City of Los Angeles redistricted its Council boundaries to allow for more Latino representation.

It is within this context of increasing Black and Latino representation on the City Council that Michael Woo ran against Peggy Stevenson. As the first significant Asian-American challenger to a City Council incumbent, Woo's candidacy publicly represented the political coming-of-age of Asian immigrants to Los Angeles. Woo's biography also represented a departure from previous City Council incumbents. Michael Woo received a degree in Urban Planning and graduated from UC Santa Cruz and Berkeley, both schools associated with the social movements of the 1960's. Woo's candidacy explicitly rejected the more conservative ideology that Paul Lamport had embraced 15 years earlier.

Woo's political campaigns in 1981 and 1985 took advantage of Peggy Stevenson's lack of outreach to new immigrants. For example, Woo actively courted Armenians residents, a new immigrant population to the Hollywood area that felt slighted by Stevenson's lack of attention. The Armenian population in the East Hollywood area exploded from 10,000 to 25,000 between 1970 and 1980 (Kaplan 1979). Conflict in the Middle East and the Soviet Union inspired many

Armenians to emigrate. Armenians were funneled through Catholic Charity organizations to Los Angeles, where many came to East Hollywood. During both political campaigns, Woo attended Armenian community events and even recorded a television commercial by reading a script in Armenian.

Michael Woo's ethnic identity and personal biography contributed to mobilizing Asian-Americans in Council District 13 and throughout Los Angeles. Woo's grandfather founded the Bank of Cathay during the 1920's. It became the preeminent financial institution in Chinatown. Woo's father, Wilber, was a senior executive at the Bank when Woo ran for office, and helped his son raise funds from many of L.A.'s wealthy Asian-American community. In fact, Woo received over 50% of his campaign contributions from Asian-American donors in Council District 13 and throughout the City of Los Angeles, and in his 1985 campaign, became the first challenger to outspend an incumbent in a Council election (Clifford 1985).

During the 1981 campaign, Stevenson successfully used Woo's campaign connections to his father to mobilize anti-Asian sentiment. The Stevenson campaign sent mailers and made automated phone calls to residents warning of Woo's father, 'a wealthy Chinatown banker and absentee landlord'[4]. The *Los Angeles Times* and several politicians denounced the campaign tactic. The *Los Angeles Times* and Woo both agreed that these efforts by the Stevenson campaign served to mobilize moderate to conservative White voters against Woo, resulting in his defeat (Woo Interview 2013; McGrath 1981; Michaelson 1981).

But redistricting in 1982 gave Woo an opportunity to take advantage of anti-developer sentiment in the Hollywood Hills. Council District 13 was redistricted to include a large section of the Hollywood Hills that included a large group of upper-income homeowners that lived west

[4] Peggy Stevenson Campaign Mailer, 1981.

of Griffith Park. The redistricting occurred at a time when an emerging ‘slow-growth’ movement came to dominant politics in upper-income neighborhoods. Since the 1970’s, L.A. residents in upper-income neighborhoods had increasingly organized to oppose various development projects throughout the city (Purcell 2000), and this was also true in the Hollywood Hills. Stevenson came to be viewed as friendly to developers in the Hills, and Woo exploited this sentiment. Woo’s attacks on her record of supporting private developers forced Stevenson to submit a Council Resolution during the campaign to limit high-rise apartments south of the Hollywood Hills (Braun and Citron 1985).

Anti-developer sentiment in Los Angeles also allowed many L.A. politicians the freedom to endorse Michael Woo in 1985. In particular, federal politicians on the Westside – such as Henry Waxman and Howard Berman – opposed candidates that unequivocally supported the interests of private developers (Purcell 2000). Peggy Stevenson drew the ire of these federal politicians, as well as Westside L.A. City Council Members, by supporting private development projects in their political districts. For the first time in several election cycles, L.A. City Council members, such as Marvin Braude and Zev Yaroslavsky, endorsed a challenger to a sitting Council member (Clifford 1985).

The election of Michael Woo to the L.A. City Council was viewed by the *Los Angeles Times* and the broader public as the emergence of a new type of politician. While Paul Lamont decried the ‘hippie invasion’ twenty years earlier, changes in the class structure and ethnic composition of District 13 made possible the election of a liberal candidate that, in many respects, represented the social and cultural changes of the 1960’s. The increase in renters and seniors first allowed politicians to mobilize constituents on the basis of rent controls and the provision of social services, moving local area politics to the left. Immigration reform, along

with the social movements of the 1960's, provided an even greater opening for more liberal politicians to portray themselves as representing a multicultural Los Angeles where various minority populations are represented in political office.

Symbolic Politics and Hollywood Developer Interests

The election of a liberal candidate whose victory was owed partially to anti-development sentiment in the Hollywood Hills constrained Michael Woo during his time on the City Council. The endorsement of Michael Woo by Marvin Braude, Zev Yaroslavsky, and the recent election of liberal politician, Ruth Galanter, who also rode to power on anti-development sentiment, resulted in an anti-development faction on the L.A. City Council. Woo's anti-development stance was ironic given his family connections to the financial services industry, but in several instances he voted along with other 'slow growth' politicians to oppose development projects in their respective districts. For example, Michael Woo opposed Occidental Petroleum's desire to drill for oil in the Pacific Palisades, which Westside politicians opposed but Peggy Stevenson had supported. With Woo's election, Westside politicians had a new ally they could count on for support (L.A. Times 1985).

Within Council District 13, Woo faced a tricky balancing act: maintaining his slow growth commitment to Hollywood Hills homeowners while also appearing friendly to Hollywood business interests. Unfortunately, Woo's attempts to placate the demands of both constituencies were unsuccessful. Woo failed to create a consensus around a Hollywood redevelopment plan and get it passed by the City Planning Commission and City Council. One the one hand, Woo alienated developers who sought to enact projects with higher levels of density. For example, a dispute broke out between developers and residents over the inclusion of

multi-apartment units along Franklin Avenue. Woo, who initially supported the initiative, had to withdraw his stance after residents along Franklin Avenue vociferously articulated their opposition (Braun 1985). A few weeks later, Woo submitted a motion to the City Council that would have limited the density of new housing projects in the Hollywood and Los Feliz area. Woo's support of lower density irked many developers and the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce (Ferrell 1986).

Yet his attempts to reach out to Hollywood businesses alienated residents and local merchants, while never fully placating developers. The redevelopment plan provided the Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) with eminent domain powers within the redevelopment area. The inclusion of this authority in the final plan angered many residents in the Hollywood Flats who claimed that the eminent domain provisions were not adequately disseminated to the public (Halper 1987). After the $922 million redevelopment plan was approved, Michael Woo supported the development of 'Hollywood Center,' a $160 million project that would have brought an office building, hotel, and a motion picture museum to the property surrounding the Mann's Chinese Theater. This project was opposed by residents in the Hollywood Flats, who were concerned about increased traffic, and by homeowners in the Hills, who objected to a project that would hinder their view of the city. Over the course of Woo's first term in office, Hollywood residents opposed to Woo formed 'Save Hollywood Our Town,' an organization committed to stopping high density development projects in Hollywood (Ferrell 1986).

His inability to balance the concerns of anti-development residents with the interests of Hollywood developers came back to haunt him during his run for Mayor in 1993 against Republican Richard Riordan. In 1993, Riordan visited Hollywood Boulevard and spoke with

Hollywood business owners, residents, and activists. The *Los Angeles Times* article that covered Riordan's visit quoted people who accused Woo of ignoring their concerns regarding development (Kang 1993). Riordan used visits such as this to create a public perception that Woo had failed to revitalize Hollywood.

While Woo was attempting to balance the opposing interests of residents and developers, he was also negotiating his public image as an ethnic politician. On the one hand, he engaged in several public activities and filed legislation that would help him identify and build relationships with various new immigrant communities in Los Angeles. Woo, for example, built on his outreach to Armenian immigrants in Hollywood by securing $6,200 in city funds to sponsor the first Armenian Cultural Festival (California Courier 1987). He also secured city funds to support the development of the Armenian Community Health Center in Hollywood (Armenian Observer 1986), and hired a recent graduate of UCLA, who happened to be a second-generation Armenian. Woo also attended ceremonies to commemorate the Armenian Genocide not just in Hollywood but throughout the Los Angeles area (Armenian Observer 1986), suggesting that he was interested in building relationships with Armenians not just in his district, but throughout the region. He also actively supported efforts by Asian-led non-profits to increase the number of Asian registered voters, and filed symbolic legislation to make the City of Los Angeles a 'sanctuary city' for undocumented immigrants (Merina 1986).

Despite the support he sought from ethnic communities in Hollywood and the broader Los Angeles area, he was concerned about being publicly perceived as an ethnic politician. The anti-Asian rhetoric that the Stevenson campaign employed to defeat him in 1981 made Woo concerned about appearing 'too ethnic.' This concerned Woo since he had set his sights on higher office and understood that he had to appeal to a broader electorate, which would include

greater numbers of White voters who might be turned off by his public appeals to ethnic voters. As a result, on a few occasions, he denied requests from certain ethnic constituencies. For example, by the late 1980's, a part of East Hollywood became unofficially known as 'Little Armenia' among the local Armenians. That place name was promoted by the *Los Angeles Times* in a front page cover story about Armenian immigrants in Hollywood (Arax and Schrader 1988). When Armenian business owners approached Woo about a 'Little Armenia' designation for parts of the East Hollywood area, he declined. Woo also declined a request by Chanhira Murphy, Executive Director of the Thai Community Development Corporation (Thai CDC), in 1992 to redefine a small Thai-business district along Hollywood Boulevard as 'Thai Town' (Murphy Interview 2011).

In 1992, Woo gave up his seat on the City Council to run for Mayor of Los Angeles against Richard Riordan. Woo established himself as the successor to Tom Bradley, who had served the City as its Mayor for twenty years. He attempted to replicate the Bradley coalition of Westside Jewish residents, African-Americans, and a rapidly expanding Latino population in order to win office. He publicly criticized the L.A.P.D during the 1992 Civil Unrest, which endeared him to many African Americans. However, voter turnout during the 1993 Mayoral election was high in moderate and conservative White neighborhoods, which turned out in large numbers to support Richard Riordan. The rejection of Woo by Los Angeles voters represented a public dissatisfied with high crime rates, a recession, increased racial tensions, and the multicultural coalition that elected Bradley to four terms and to which Woo appeared as heir (Sonnenshein 1993).

Woo's campaign for Mayor left the Council District 13 seat open for the first time since a special election in 1975 elected Peggy Stevenson to the City Council. In 1993, gay activists and

organizations mobilized to elect a gay or lesbian to the City Council seat. Since the early 1980's, many gay and lesbian residents in District 13 began advocating for their own representative on the Council. While many activists appreciated Stevenson's efforts to support gay rights, it was just not enough to have a supportive politician. The 1981 and 1985 Council elections both saw openly gay politicians run for the District 13 seat, but none of them made it to the runoff. In 1993, however, three openly gay politicians ran for the open Council seat and for the first time it appeared likely that one of them could win.

One of those individuals was Jackie Goldberg, a former teacher and the President of the Los Angeles School Board, who had the most name recognition of all the openly gay candidates. Yet she came under criticism within the gay community for not being open enough about her sexuality. During her time on the School Board in the 1980's, she kept her sexual orientation hidden from public view, although it was known by her colleagues on the Board. In a 1983 *Los Angeles Times* biography, her partner, Sharon, was referred to as Goldberg's 'best friend' (Horowitz 1983). During the 1993 campaign for City Council, other gay candidates attacked her for not being forthcoming about her sexual orientation (Boxall 1993).

Despite this criticism, her name recognition within the District allowed Goldberg and Tom LaBonge, an aide to Councilmember John Ferraro, to win a run-off election. Even with Riordon successfully mobilizing moderate to conservative White voters, LaBonge, the more conservative candidate, faced an uphill battle, as redistricting removed the Hollywood Hills out of District 13. In 1993, Jackie Goldberg became the first openly gay or lesbian person to serve on the Los Angeles City Council.

During her time on the Council, Goldberg developed a profile as a liberal candidate when it came to social issues. Highlighting her identity as the only gay Council member, she

introduced a motion requiring the City of Los Angeles to provide health and dental benefits to the domestic partners of city employees. She supported legislation to provide a living wage to all employees of development projects that accept public funds from the City. She also provided increased federal funds to non-profit organizations that provide social services to the homeless in Hollywood (Collins 1995). And acknowledging the large number of renters in her district, Goldberg supported attempts to crack down on slumlords who provide substandard housing[5].

Goldberg also reached out to various ethnic organizations and residents in Hollywood and throughout her District. Like Woo before her, Goldberg engaged in heavy outreach to the Armenian community. During her tenure on the Council, she took a trip to Armenia with several Armenians, including the editor of the *Armenian Observer*, the most prominent local newspaper within the immigrant community. In addition to sponsoring cultural events, like the Armenian Genocide memorial parade, and attending various other community events, she administered public money to various Armenian community organizations and specifically provided enhanced police protection to certain local area Armenian institutions. Redistricting in 1993 added to Goldberg's district urban areas east of Hoover Avenue and south of Beverly Boulevard, where a large minority of Filipino's residents live and a large concentration of Filipino-led community organizations are located. During her time on the City Council, she provided various federal and local monies to these Filipino institutions to expand their social welfare services.

Yet her liberal profile disguised a commitment to providing developers with the public money and the proper incentives to invest in Hollywood and other local areas in her district. The

[5] Goldberg, Jackie. 1997. "Talking Points: Notes for Thursday Night."; Goldberg, Jackie. 1997. "Press Release: Councilmember Jackie Goldberg Joins Tenants who Files Suit Over Slum Conditions." June 24.; Goldberg, Jackie. 1993. "Press Release: Jackie Goldberg Introduces Landmark Domestic Partner Legislation?" November 16.; Goldberg, Jackie. 1997. "Press Release: Living Wage Ordinance Is Official At Last As Regulations Go Into Effect On Wednesday: Will Improve Accountability On the Contract Process." September 9.

$922 million Hollywood redevelopment plan that Woo supported became mired in litigation as homeowner groups and activists challenged the plan in court. Even though the courts eventually struck down the challenges, the recession of the early 1990's convinced many developers to abandon their projects along Hollywood Boulevard (Clifford and Schwada 1993). By the mid-1990's, however, an expanding economy and a booming real estate market enticed developers again to take an interest in Hollywood.

Despite Goldberg's profile as a Berkeley activist and an advocate for the poor, developers soon found a staunch supporter for their projects in the Councilmember. She streamlined the process for obtaining variances and various other permits required to build (Helfand 1996). She also supported dispersing public funds to entice developers to invest in Hollywood. The development of a commercial retail complex at Hollywood and Highland highlights Goldberg's approach to urban development in Hollywood. Several attempts to build a commercial project along that intersection had failed during the late 1980's and early 1990's, but with solid support from Council Member Jackie Goldberg and Mayor Richard Riordon, TrizecHahn successfully developed a commercial retail center at this intersection. The project was imagined by David Malmuth, who had worked for Disney on the renovation of the New Amsterdam Theater in Times Square. He tried to convince his bosses at Disney to invest in Hollywood, but they refused. When he found himself working for the Toronto-based real estate company, he was able to put his project into action. Goldberg became an advocate for the project and was instrumental in having the Community Redevelopment Agency provide TrizecHahn with $60 million to build a parking garage for the new facility (Shuster 1998).

As low real estate prices relative to other urban areas and a growing economy drew developers back into Hollywood during the mid-1990, Jackie Goldberg made a decision to

leverage public resources and the city bureaucracy to promote new projects. With the benefit of hindsight, however, some of these projects were not good investments for the city. The TrizecHahn project was designed to appeal to foreign tourists visiting Los Angeles who wanted to encounter an urban experience designed to evoke the glamour of Hollywood. Unfortunately, when the Hollywood and Highland entertainment complex opened in 2001, shortly after the September 11th attacks on New York and Washington, D.C., the complex received very few visitor and over several years failed to meet the financial expectations of TrizecHahn or the city. In 2008, TrizecHahn sold the Hollywood and Highland complex to CIM Group, which owns several properties along Hollywood Boulevard, for $250 million, half the price of the initial value of the complex (Vincent 2007).

When compared to Woo's relationship with Hollywood businesses, Goldberg was an even stauncher advocate for the interest of developers. One reason for this is the 1993 redistricting of Council District 13. The Hollywood Hills were removed from District 13 and added to District 4. This provided Goldberg with the flexibility to support high-rise projects in the Hollywood Flats without having to respond to Hills residents concerned about developments increasing traffic or ruining their view of the city. And unlike Peggy Stevenson, who was a reliable supporter of Hollywood developers but ran into political trouble by ignoring the new immigrant communities moving into her district, Goldberg's status as a lesbian and her active relationship with Armenians and other ethnic minorities allowed her to burnish her credentials as a liberal while still maintaining a pro-business stance.

Goldberg's successor as Councilmember of District 13, Eric Garcetti, also engaged in a similar balancing act: establishing a pro-business record while also burnishing a liberal profile in a multicultural city. Goldberg left her seat on the Council to run for the State Assembly in 2000,

since new term limits established in 1996 would have required she leave office at the end of her second term. The candidates for the 2001 election were two individuals with name recognition: former Councilmember Michael Woo and Eric Garcetti, son of then L.A. County's District Attorney, Gil Garcetti. Despite Woo having already represented District 13, Garcetti won the 2001 election by a razor thin margin of 300 votes. Garcetti's victory was possible partly due to the highly mobile residential population. According to the 2000 Census, only 50% of residents lived in the district five years earlier. This became a problem for Woo as he discovered that the leadership of many of the community organizations that supported him in the past had turned over and that he no longer had the automatic support he thought he would have had with these organizations (Woo Interview 2013). Garcetti, on the other hand, campaigned hard in lower-income Latino and Asian neighborhoods and made specific campaign promises to ethnic constituencies in order to build political support and offset any sympathy they may have towards Woo (Salazar Interview 2009).

During his time as Councilmember, which included a political campaign for Mayor in 2013, Garcetti sought to identify himself with various immigrant communities in his district and beyond Los Angeles. As did his predecessors before him, he built a close relationship with the Armenian community in East Hollywood by attending community events and the annual commemorations of the Armenian Genocide. He also developed a close relationship with Filipino-led institutions in the Temple Beverly area (Guinto-Rosenfeld Interview 2009). During his early years on the Council, he fulfilled a series of campaign promises he made to these Filipino institutions: designating a portion of the Temple-Beverly area as 'Historic Filipinotown,' hire a Filipino staffer, and build a memorial to commemorate Filipino veterans of World War II. His outreach to minorities in his district became critical to his run for Mayor in 2013. He

successfully established a profile as a liberal, multicultural candidate that allowed him to transcend his social identity as a White male running for Mayor in a Latino majority city. While he could claim a Latino identity due to his grandfather's Mexican origin, he also attended cultural events throughout the city, publicly displaying his acceptance of ethnic diversity by publically speaking Spanish or Hindi to constituents (Finnegan 2013).

While his outreach to ethnic minorities allowed him to establish a multicultural political identity, he continued Goldberg's pro-development policies, although he publicly promoted 'smart growth,' a new urban planning ideology, in his dealings with Hollywood developers. As Garcetti stated to the *Los Angeles Times* when he was running for Mayor: Hollywood is "a template for a new Los Angeles." It's "a blueprint for a city where you can live near where you work, near where you play ... where the hours you don't have to spend in your car, you can spend with your family." (Linthicum May 2013). The need developers have for building permits gave Garcetti the leverage to promote his vision for Los Angeles. For example, when a developer wanted to build a residential complex on Sunset Avenue, Garcetti was able to convince the developer to build more units. Certain building permits in Los Angeles have to be renewed every 8 years, but Garcetti allowed the developer to renew their permits every 22 years in exchange for more residential units (Linthicum March 2013). For several projects around the Hollywood area, Garcetti used his control over building permits as leverage for higher density development.

His campaign for Mayor relied on a two-prong strategy. On the one hand, he portrayed himself as a multicultural candidate who could represent the ethnically diverse city. And on the other hand, he took credit for the redevelopment of Hollywood, arguing that it was proof he was capable to creating jobs and revitalizing the city. Unlike his predecessor on the Council, Garcetti won his campaign for Mayor.

Several factors played a critical role in Garcetti's victory. First, Woo ran after the 1992 Civil Unrest, which mobilized many White moderates and conservatives to vote against the minority candidate. By 2013, however, the electorate was not as polarized and the proportion of White moderates and conservatives in the electorate had declined. Second, as a White politician, Garcetti faced more political flexibility than Woo. Garcetti could make appeals to minority voters without having to be overly concerned about alienating White voters, while Woo was always concerned that his minority outreach would drive White voters away. Finally, Garcetti benefited from serving in office at a time when land developers were investing money in Hollywood and he could claim responsibility for Hollywood's 'comeback.' Woo, on the other hand, ran for Mayor during an economic recession and within a historical context in which anti-development organizing was a larger force in Hollywood politics.

The demographic transformation of East Hollywood and its surrounding urban areas, as well as broader cultural transformations that emanated from the civil rights movements of the 1960's, provided opportunities for more liberal candidates to win elections in Council District 13. These social and cultural changes required candidates to identify with and build relationships with new ethnic constituencies in their districts. It also provided opportunities for candidates who symbolically represented these newly mobilized constituencies. Michael Woo represented the political coming-of-age of Asian immigrants in Los Angeles, while the gay and lesbian electorate saw Jackie Goldberg as their symbolic representative on the Council. Being viewed as representatives of these constituencies allowed them to mobilize constituencies in ways that their opponents could not match.

In the case of Jackie Goldberg and Eric Garcetti, giving in to the symbolic demands of ethnic constituents allowed them to burnish their liberal credentials while also supporting

Hollywood development projects. In fact, with the exception of Michael Woo, District 13 has been historically represented by Council members who have unabashedly supported developer interests. What has changed, however, is the new demographic and social reality of a multicultural Los Angeles, where politicians must play symbolic politics in order to mobilize the voting constituencies needed to win office. Eric Garcetti, when running for Mayor in 2013, could claim that he could represent the multicultural diversity of Los Angeles, while also being a staunch supporter of developer interests.

The rise of symbolic politics in Los Angeles since the 1960's has been coterminous with a broader decentralization of funding available for urban development and an increase in social welfare institutions in poor neighborhoods throughout the city. These changes have made possible a new collective act where local area institutions can participate in urban development in ways not possible several decades ago. For these community-based organizations, ethnic place naming reflects an attempt to shape urban development in ways that do not necessarily oppose business interests.

Voter Turnout Rates in East Hollywood

Council District 13 has been demographically and socially transformed as a result of contemporary immigration and the civil rights movement. These changes have occurred concurrently with a decline in voter turnout. In this section, I examine voter turnout rates in the East and South Hollywood area (the Flats) and compare it to an area in the Hollywood Hills (the Hills).[6] The decline in voter-turnout is across the board in both the Flats and the Hills since the 1970's, despite the fact that the Hills and the Flats have diverged ethnically and socio-

[6] All Precincts and Census Tracts used in this section are found in Appendix B.

economically since the 1940 Census. Yet in the Flats, I discover a large class of foreign born non-citizens who constitute the majority demographic group. Yet this doesn't mean that the Flats are politically irrelevant. The percentage of citizens who are of voting age vote in greater numbers in the Flats than in the Hills. As a result, the great majority of residents in the Hollywood Flats have no impact on the political process while a small groups of residents have the greatest power. This creates conditions in which smaller voting blocs and use populations can have a disproportionate influence on the political process.

The Hollywood Flats refer to an area between Hollywood Boulevard to the north, Santa Monica Boulevard to the south, Vermont Avenue to the east, and Western Avenue to the west. According to the 1940 U.S. Census, this area contained a population of 11,024 residents. This area almost doubled in population over the course of twentieth century, as the 2000 Census shows that the population grew to 19,187. I use these particular boundaries for the Flats for both specific and practical reasons. In the case of the Flats, I choose this particular area because it is geographically at the nexus of the largest concentration of official ethnic designations in the city. Thai Town and Little Armenia are located within the East Hollywood area. Further south of this area is Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, while to the southeast lie the boundaries of Historic Filipinotown. And to the immediate west, Peruvian entrepreneurs have filed a petition requesting a 'Peruvian Village.'

The Hills refer to an area north of Franklin Avenue, south of the Hollywood sign, east of the Hollywood Reservoir, and west of Griffith Park. Unlike the Flats, which have grown in population over the course of the twentieth century, the population of the Hills has remained stable. In 1940, the residential population of the Hills was 14,391 while in 2000 it was 14,952. I compare voter turnout in the Flats with the Hills in order to contrast voting behavior of a poor,

majority non-White area with an upper-income, majority White area. While I would have preferred to have isolated the voting behavior and demographic characteristics of this socio-economically elite area, the practical difficulties of finding comparable census tracts to make a historical comparison required that I also include an urban area at the base of the Hills with a more diverse, socio-economically lower residential population. As a result, I use Census Tract 1893, which includes the most elite areas of the Hollywood Hills, on certain occasions to provide a better contrast with the Flats.

For both the Flats and the Hills, I compare the average of three elections held during three particular time periods: the late 1930's, the late 1960's, and the 2000's. I chose these three time periods due to the practical limitations of locating precinct maps and identifying precinct numbers. The Los Angeles City Clerk's Office holds all the election returns in the City's history. However, it does not have a systematic compilation of precinct maps that date before 1965. I would have preferred to have identified elections during the late 1950's, but the only precinct maps available before 1960 were for three elections in the late 1930's: primaries for two city council elections in 1937 and 1939 and a special mayoral recall election in 1938. I would have also preferred to calculate voter turnout rates for elections in the 1980's, but a new system of using County (not City) precinct numbers in voter turnout records required a "Rosetta" list that would translate County precincts into the City precinct numbers used on official maps. Unfortunately, the City Archives no longer hold these translation lists (officially referred to as "AK Lists").

In order to track changes in voter turnout without having elections records that would have been the most useful, I identified three comparable elections during the 1930's, 1960's, and the 2000's to create time periods distanced by 30 years. Since the 1960's, odd and even

numbered City Council districts vote in separate election cycles, and the Flats became located in District 13 while the Hills became located in District 4. As a result, I compare how the Flats voted in two City Council primary elections (1965 and 1967; 2001 and 2005) with how the Hills voted (1969 and 1973; 2003 and 2007). As the third election, I selected the 1973 and 2009 Mayoral primary.

The average voter turnout rates for the selected elections in the Hills and Flats show a general decline in voter turnout after the 1970's that matches the overall decline in Mayoral elections. In Table 3, voter turnout rates are expressed as a percentage of the voting age population. In 1971, Congress and a supermajority of U.S. States approved changing the voting age from 18 to 21. As a result, all percentages for elections before 1971 were calculated with the total population over 21 years of age. For elections after 1971, I calculated voter turnout as a percentage of the total population over the age of 18. As we can see in Table 3, voter turnout rates in the Hills first increase from the 1930's to the 1970's from 20.6% to 31.7%. In the Flats, voter turnout also increases from the 1930's to the 1970's from 23.7% to 28.9%. From the 1970's to the 2000 elections, however, voter turnout has declined in both the Hills and the Flats. In the Hills, turnout declined from 31.7% to 10.2% while the decline in the Flats was from 28.9% to 6.16%. Moreover, for all three time periods, the average voter turnout rates in both the Hills and the Flats are lower than the general turnout rate for Mayoral elections during the same time period.

Table 3 **Average Voter Turnout for Selected Council Elections in the Hills and Flats during the 1930's, 1970's and 2000's: Expressed as a Percentage of the Voting Age Population (VAP)**			
	1930's	**1970's**	**2000's**
Hills	20.6	31.7	10.2
Flats	23.7	28.9	6.16
City of LA – Mayoral	28.6	37.3	14.9

Tables 4, 5, and 6 provide the voter turnout rates for each of the selected elections in the Hills and the Flats for the three time periods under comparison. The voter turnout rates for the 1930 elections tend to match the average. In other words, the Flats consistently vote at a higher rate than the Hills. By 1970, however, the Hills vote at a higher rate only during the Mayoral election. The high turnout in the Hills in the 1973 Mayoral election may be due to the highly polarized contest between incumbent Sam Yorty and Tom Bradley, the first credible African-American candidate. The 53.6% turnout rate pushes the average for the elections in the Hills during the 1970's much higher than the Flat's average. The selected elections during the 2000's shows that voter turnout declined dramatically after the late 1960's and 1970's. While the Hills vote at higher rates during the 2009 Mayoral primary, during two Council elections the Flats voted at higher rates during the 2001/2003 primaries while the Hills voted at slightly higher rates during the 2005/2007 primaries.

Table 4 **Voter Turnout as a Percentage of Voting Age Population: For Selected Council Elections in the Hills and the Flats during the 1930's**				
	1937 Council Primary	**1938 Mayoral Recall**	**1939 Council Primary**	**Average**
Hills	18.4	26.4	16.6	20.6
Flats	21.4	31.2	18.5	23.7

Table 5 **Voter Turnout as a Percentage of Voting Age Population: For Selected Council Elections in the Hills and the Flats during the 1970's**				
	1965/67 Council Primary	**1969/71 Council Primary**	**1973 Mayoral Primary**	**Average**
Hills	28	29.7	53.6	37.1
Flats	31	33.9	22	28.9

Table 6 **Voter Turnout as a Percentage of Voting Age Population: For Selected Council Elections in the Hills and the Flats during the 2000's**				
	2001/03 Council Primary	**2005/07 Council Primary**	**2009 Mayoral Primary**	**Average**
Hills	6.6	7.6	16.6	10.2
Flats	9.5	4.6	4.4	6.16

A comparison of the average voter turnout rates, and an examination of turnout rates of the selected elections, suggests that voter turnout has declined in the Flats by a greater proportion than in the Hills – but not by much. During the selected 2000 City Council elections, there isn't much of a difference in voter turnout between the Hills and the Flats. This is unexpected since political science research shows that voter turnout rates in urban areas with a relatively higher number of renters and immigrants tend to vote at much lower rates than upper-income, White urban areas with homeowners (DiPasquale and Glaeser, 1999; Manturuk, et al., 2009).

Table 7 shows demographic and economic data from the Hills and Flats during the Census years 1940, 1970, and 2000. I used 1940 Census data to calculate voter turnout rates for selected elections during the 1930's, as the 1940 Census best approximates the voting age population for elections in the late 1930's. I also use the 1970 Census to calculate voter turnout rates for elections in the late 1960's. The Census data shows that the major demographic transformation of the East Hollywood area occurred between the 1970 Census and the 2000 Census. The 1940 and 1970 Census' indicate that both the Hills and Flats are majority White. In 1940, 99.1% of the total population in the Flats is White, while 98.5% in the Hills are White. The

White majority remains in both the Flats and the Hills by the 1970 Census, with an 88.2% majority in the Flats and 95.5% majority in the Hills. By the 2000 Census though, the population of the Flats changes dramatically in relation to the Hills. The White population has declined to 31.9% in the Flats while the Hills remain majority White (73.8%). Latinos are the demographic plurality in the Flats at 46.2%. Asians also represent a significant minority at 11.3% of the population.

Table 7
Historical and Contemporary Demographic Data for Voting Areas: 1940, 1970, and 2000 Census Data for the Hills and Flats (Expressed as Percentages, Unless Otherwise Noted)

	Non-Hispanic White	Latino	Asian	Other Races	Foreign Born	Avg. Median HH	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	Citizens 18+	Same Residence in 1995
2000 Hills	73.8	9.7	7.8	N/A	31.2	53280	41.7	53.6	88.3	50.3
2000 Flats	31.9	46.2	11.3	N/A	67.6	19121	6.6	89.5	50.6	49.7
1970 Hills	95.5	6.5	N/A	N/A	15.8	15251	40.4	54.1	N/A	46.9
1970 Flats	88.2	19.5	N/A	N/A	36.3	8142	8.8	86.5	N/A	27.6
1940 Hills	98.5	N/A	N/A	0.6	16.3*	N/A	21.6	65.6	79	N/A
1940 Flats	99.1	N/A	N/A	0.2	14.8*	N/A	13.7	77.4	94.5	N/A

*Refers to Foreign-Born Whites only

As the Flats have undergone a massive demographic transformation between the 1970 and 2000 Census years, the socio-economic status of its population has steadily declined relative to the Hills since the 1940 Census. Median household income would allow us to compare the economic status of the Hills and the Flats, but I could only locate them at the tract level for the 1970 and 2000 Census. Instead, comparing the difference in owner and renter-occupied housing between the Flats and the Hills can make this point. During the 1940's, the majority of housing

in the Hills and the Flats are renter-occupied. In the Flats, the percentage of renter-occupied housing is 77.4%. An accurate comparison with the Hills requires that we exclude the base of the Hills and focus on the most exclusive area, tract 52, which corresponds with tract 1893 in the 1970 and 2000 Census. In tract 52, 55.6% of housing units are renter-occupied. But by the 1970 Census, a large difference in renter and owner-occupied housing emerges. In tract 1893, renter-occupied housing has dramatically declined to 18.17%; 79.4% of the housing units in the Hills are owner-occupied. In the Hills (comparing tracts 52 with 1893), renter-occupied housing units decline from 55.6% to 18.17% from 1940 to 1970. In the Flats, on the other hand, renter-occupied housing units increased from 77.4% to 86.5%.

While the Hills become majority owner-occupied and the Flats remain majority renter-occupied by the 1970 Census, socio-economic differences continue to diverge between these two areas between 1970 and 2000. Median household (or family) income from 1970 and 2000 would allow us to compare the continuing socio-economic changes between the Hills and the Flats. During the 1970 Census, the average median family income in the Flats is 8,142.6 while in the Hills it is 15,251.8. In Census Tract 1893, which includes the most exclusive portion of the Hills, the median family income is 22,832. As a result, the median family income in the Hills (Tract 1893) is a bit under 3 time greater than the Flats. During the 2000 Census, the average median household income for the Flats is 19,121.4 while it is 53,280.2 in the Hills. In Census Tract 1893, however, the median household income is 96,716. The median household income in the Hills (Tract 1893) is greater than the Flats by about a factor of 5.

The most unique, and relevant, demographic transformation that has occurred in the Flats is the change in the citizen-voting age population (percentage of the voting age population that are citizens). In the Hills, the citizen-voting age population (Citizen-VAP) has increased from

79% to 88.3% from 1940 to 2000. But in the Flats, the Citizen-VAP has declined dramatically from 94.5% to 50.6%. According to the 2000 Census, approximately 50% of the voting age population in the Flats are citizens and able to vote in elections. The demographic transformation of the Flats from majority White to Latino has altered the landscape of the Citizen-VAP, as the documented and undocumented foreign-born population has left a slight majority of the Flats able to vote in elections.

Table 8 shows that even though the turnout as a percentage of the VAP is lower in the Flats, citizens over the age of 18 voted at a greater proportion in the Flats than in the Hills. In the 1930's, voter turnout as a percentage of the Citizen-VAP was higher in the Flats than in the Hills: 25.1% and 22.2%, respectively. The average of the selected 2000 elections show that citizens over the age of 18 still vote in greater numbers in the Flats. In the Flats, voter turnout as a percentage of Citizen-VAP is 12.3% while in the Hills it is only 11.7%. Despite a majority, mostly Latino, foreign-born population that is ineligible to vote in elections, there is a minority voting block that votes at a slightly higher rate than the citizens eligible to vote in the Hills.

Table 8
Average Voter Turnout for Selected Council Elections in the Hills and the Flats during the 1930's and 2000's: Expressed as a Percentage of the Citizen-Voting Age Population (Citizen-VAP)

	1930's	1970's	2000's
Hills	22.2	N/A	11.7
Flats	25.1	N/A	12.3

Voter turnout for urban areas further south of East Hollywood shows an even greater number of residents ineligible to vote yet a greater proportion of citizens who do vote. Table 7 includes voter turnout during the 2000's according to Citizen-VAP for an area that I refer to as 'South Hollywood.' South Hollywood refers to an area between Santa Monica Boulevard to the north, Beverly Boulevard to the south, Hoover Street to the east, and Normandie Avenue to the

west. According to the 2000 Census, which I use to calculate voter turnout rates, this area contained a population of 25,000 residents. In the South Hollywood area, Citizens-VAP during local elections is 18.4%, which is significantly greater than in the Hills.

Table 9
Average Voter Turnout for the Hills and the East and South Hollywood Flats during the 2000's: Expressed as a Percentage of the Citizen-Voting Age Population (Citizen-VAP)

	2000's
Hills	11.7
East Hollywood (Flats)	12.3
South Hollywood (Flats)	18.4

According to Table 10, only 38.6% of residents in South Hollywood are citizens over the age of 18 who are eligible to vote. This is much lower than in the East Hollywood area, where 50.6% of residents over the age of 18 are citizens. The percentage of the population that is renter occupied and foreign born is comparable to East Hollywood. Yet in South Hollywood, there is a clear Latino majority at 69.8% while Whites only represent 8.8% of the residential population. Asians, at 16.2%, are represented in greater numbers than Whites. In the Flats, as the residential population becomes less White and more Latino and Asian, the percentage of citizens who vote increases.

Table 10
Historical and Contemporary Demographic Data for Voting Areas: 2000 Census Data for the Hills and the East and South Hollywood Flats (Expressed as Percentages, Unless Otherwise Noted)

	NH White	Latino	Asian	Foreign Born	Average Median HH	Owner Occupied	Renter Occupied	Citizens 18+	Same Residence in 1995
2000 Hills	73.8	9.7	7.8	31.2	53280.2	41.7	53.6	88.3	50.3
2000 East H	31.9	46.2	11.3	67.6	19121.4	6.6	89.5	50.6	49.7
2000 So. H	8.8	69.8	16.2	65.9	23157.8	8	88.5	38.6	45.6

In the East Hollywood area of Council District 13, voter turnout as a percentage of the voting age population has declined, but this decline is not significantly lower when compared to voter turnout in the Hills or citywide during Mayoral elections. What is unique about turnout rates in the Flats is when it is calculated according to the Citizen-VAP. The demographic transformation of the Flats from majority White to majority Latino has given the authority to decide local elections to a small group of residents who vote at rates higher than in upper-income neighborhoods such as the Hollywood Hills. The great majority of residents have no impact on the political process. This creates conditions in which smaller voting blocs and use populations can have a disproportionate influence on the political process. The next section identifies new use populations that have emerged in the East Hollywood and surrounding areas since the 1970's that have come to shape the politics of urban development.

The New Collective Act of Urban Development

The demographic and social transformations initiated in the 1960's are not the only politically relevant changes that occurred in the City of Los Angeles. A new collective act of urban development also emerged after the 1960's, fueled by the decentralization of funding programs and the establishment of organizations in poor neighborhoods throughout the City. Katz (2010) has pointed out that the emergence of new funding sources has provided local politicians, neighborhood activists, and local area organizations with opportunities to create new types of cultural areas, such as historical neighborhoods and art districts. In the case of ethnic place naming, a diverse set of funding sources have allowed new organizations in the Hollywood and surrounding areas the opportunity to shape the ethnic character of urban spaces.

During the 1960's and 1970's, local Councilmembers controlled public resources, which were primarily received from the federal government. For example, during the late 1970's, Peggy Stevenson funded several different types of projects in her district through federal resources. She funded a large-scale historic and architectural survey of buildings in the Hollywood area with federal money distributed to her Office through the California State of Historic Preservation. She also employed this money to preserve and revitalize several historic buildings in and around Hollywood during her tenure on the City Council (L.A. Times 11/10/1978). In addition to historic preservation, Stevenson used federal funds to also create parks throughout her district. She had access to a pot of funds she received from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) that she used to create a pocket park in Highland Park (L.A. Times 2/5/1978).

Stevenson's successors on the City Council also had access to the same federal funds from HUD and other federal agencies, but they eventually came to have access to new state and local resources that they could use to stitch together funding for new projects. During the 1990's and 2000's, for example, state and local voter-approved bond measures passed to fund new park projects. In 1992, state voters approved Proposition A to fund park projects all across the state, with Los Angeles County set to receive approximately $50 million (Pyle 1992). In 1996, voters in the City of Los Angeles approved Measure K, which would raise $776 million over 30 years to refurbish parks all across the city, including inner-city neighborhoods (Belgum 1996). And in 2000, state voters approved Proposition 12, which would provide about $2 billion in park projects all across the state (L.A. Times 2000). These programs have given Council Members new sources of funding for projects all across the city.

The decentralization of funding sources over the past several decades has been matched by the emergence of community-based organizations (CBO) in poor neighborhood throughout the city. Many CBO's were formed by first or second generation immigrants with urban planning or ethnic studies degrees from the University of California, Los Angeles. In some cases, they were even formed by UCLA faculty. For example, The Search to Involve Philipino Americans (SIPA) – the oldest, most well-funded CBO in Historic Filipinotown – was formed by an Asian-American Studies Professor during the early 1970's. With an annual budget of $1.3 million (Salazar Interview 2009), the organization provides various types of social services to the Filipino and Latino populations that live in the Temple/Beverly area. They provide small business training for new entrepreneurs, afterschool programs for local youth, and Tagalog language classes for Filipinos. Like many other CBO's in Los Angeles and around the country, SIPA is funded by a variety of public and private funding resources. Public funding includes money from the federal Community Development Block Grant Program, which is administered through their Council Member's Office, as well as numerous city agencies. SIPA has also received private funding from Bank of American, Verizon, and Walmart, among many others (http://www.sipa-online.org/).

Several of the CBO's in these neighborhoods continue to have ongoing relationships with UCLA. In the early 1990's, Chanhira Murphy, another UCLA urban planning graduate, established the Thai Community Development Corporation (Thai CDC) in East Hollywood in order to provide similar services to the Thai and Latino populations living in the area. In addition to staffing most of her agency with former UCLA urban planning graduates, she has brought her former mentor at UCLA, Professor Paul Ong, to consult on several projects. Ethnic studies departments at UCLA provide these organizations with personnel and ideological resources. For

example, the current director of SIPA, Joey Salazar, received his undergraduate degree from UCLA during the 1980's and replaced Stacy Wellington, who then took a position at the Asian-American Studies Department at UCLA. And every year, the Asian-American Studies Department hosts a conference where faculty, students, and CBO staff participate in workshops to discuss how CBO's can employ cultural tourism as a means to promote economic development in L.A's poor neighborhoods.

The decentralization of funding, the emergence of CBO's in urban neighborhoods, and the involvement of UCLA in urban development have provided opportunities for neighborhood organizations to shape urban development in new ways. Chanhira Murphy, for example, was the brains behind the official designation of Thai Town in 1999. She lobbied Jackie Goldberg for the designation and worked with several L.A.-based non-profit organizations to economically revitalize the local area. In 2009, she worked with Asian-American activists, officials at the Community Redevelopment Authority, and the Mayor's office to bring public resources to the neighborhood for the purposes of promoting cultural tourism.

As a result, a new ecology of urban development has emerged where neighborhood organizations, in addition to local politicians, can take advantage of new funding sources to shape urban development.

Conclusion

The various historical changes that have occurred in the East Hollywood and surrounding urban areas have produced a new political ecology within which smaller voting blocs and use populations have a greater influence over the political process than the majority residential population. Local politicians in contemporary Los Angeles must appeal to immigrant

constituencies through symbolic politics in order to not only get elected to office but also to advance to higher public positions within government. Yet with the decentralization of funding sources and the imperative that local politicians appeal to use populations and minority voting blocs, these constituencies can shape urban development and the public character of urban spaces in ways that are historically new.

Chapter 3: The New Ethnic Archipelago of Los Angeles, 1999 to 2010

Growth machine advocates envision urban development as directed by political and business elites from their perch in City Hall or downtown skyscrapers. The literature on ethnic tourism builds off this perspective by envisioning tourism as the primarily motivation behind ethnic place naming in the city. This perspective, however, ignores the multiplicity of social processes occurring in the city to shape and direct urban change. The causal processes behind L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago provide an alternative vision of urban change in the metropolis. This chapter show that L.A.'s ethnic archipelago formed through a series of uncoordinated, socially contingent actions taken by a diverse array of social actors. Business institutions are not just the only local areas actors making claims for an ethnic place name; other local area organizations also play a critical role.

This chapter is divided into three sections. These three sections together challenge the centrally coordinated, top-down paradigm of urban change and instead advocate for a more nuanced perspective that shows how ethnic place naming is the product of an uncoordinated, socially contingent 'collective act.' The first section discusses the official designations of Thai Town and the Byzantine-Latino Quarter in the late 1990's. These two cases show that local area activists lobbied politicians for ethnic place names in order to increase their social control over an urban area and, in turn, make demands on the city budget to draw more public and private resources into their respective areas. The success of these early advocates legitimized the claims of subsequent claim-makers for an ethnic name. Many of the later claim-makers were less motivated by increasing local control and more concerned with acquiring honor (or respect) for their respective immigrant community. The second section covers three cases of ethnic naming during the early 2000's: Little Armenia, Little Ethiopia, and Historic Filipinotown. In these later

cases, social actors made a request for an ethnic place name in order to have their immigrant group honored by the city, and politicians supported these designations as a means to mobilize ethnic voters and enhance their sources of fundraising.

The third section of this chapter shows how the advocacy for and policies regarding ethnic naming have become institutionalized. Political and business elites did not direct this formalization. Instead, it was the product of an uncoordinated process facilitated by the professional networks of urban planners and public officials and legislation designed to prevent jurisdictional conflicts between local politicians. First, I discuss the passage of an official naming policy by the City of Los Angeles and the State of California. In both of these examples, local area naming conflicts resulted in politicians approving naming policies that added administrative hurdles to the process of naming a local area. Second, I profile the activities of an early advocate of ethnic place naming, who becomes a consultant to later claim-makers as they need advice on how to lobby politicians and the public for their own official designation. And lastly, a mid-level bureaucrat at a city agency serves as an intermediary between elected officials and community advocates to establish a new program that diverts federal funds to officially designated areas for the purpose of cultural tourism.

Early Cases of Ethnic Place Naming (Late-1990's): Increasing Local Control

While the City of Los Angeles had designated Koreatown in the early 1980's, it did not publically recognize another ethnic area again until twenty years later. Since 1999, however, the City has designated ethnic places with increasing frequency. This section discusses the earliest two cases of ethnic place naming: Thai Town and the Byzantine-Latino Quarter. These cases show an effort by local area stakeholders to enhance their political status through ethnic place

naming. By being viewed as the symbolic representatives of new ethnically named areas, activists in both cases hoped to draw public and private resources into their local areas to promote economic development through cultural tourism.

Thai Town

As I conducted interviews in L.A.'s City Hall with political aides to various Council Members, whenever Thai Town came up in a conversation I was always asked, "Have you talked to Chanhira yet?" Chanhira Murphy is the Executive Director of the Thai Community Development Corporation (Thai CDC). From the perspective of public officials and the broader public, she has become the symbolic representative of Thai Town. In a newspaper article on the federal designation, her photo was taken in front of a replica of the Thai Town street sign that hangs in the Thai CDC's headquarters (Figure 1). And in August of 2012 she traveled to Thailand with Mayor Villaraigosa to help him persuade Thai businesses to invest in Los Angeles.

Chanhira's rise in stature as the political and symbolic representative of Thai Town is inextricably connected to her lobbying efforts to officially designate Thai Town. In 1999, the City of Los Angeles approved the designation of Thai Town, a three block restaurant district along Hollywood Boulevard, a few miles east of the famed Hollywood Walk of Fame. Chanhira had always been involved in Los Angeles politics since she was a teenager. When she was seventeen, her local Councilmember sponsored her enrollment in the Los Angeles Youth Council, a program designed to introduce high school students to Los Angeles's political system. She first interned with Michael Woo during his first term on the City Council and later worked in the Sacramento office of a state Assembly member who represented the local area that would

later become Thai Town. In 1992, she attended a graduate program in Urban Planning at UCLA and hoped to start a new career promoting economic growth in the developing world (Murphy Interview 2011).

But all that changed after the 1992 Civil Unrest. With many Korean and Thai businesses burned down after the unrest, Chanhira lobbied the City for funds that would be specifically targeted to the Thai restaurants in the East Hollywood area that were damaged. Her experience in East Hollywood after the unrest inspired her to continue advocating for the businesses and residents in the area. After graduating from UCLA, she established the Thai CDC, which provides various social welfare services to poor Latinos and Thais that live in the East Hollywood area (Murphy Interview 2012). Her organization is funded through a variety of funding streams: the Community Block Grant Program, a federal grant program administered by the city; private funding agencies, such as the United Way; and corporations, such as Bank of America.

During the early 1990's, she worked first with undergraduates at UCLA and later with staff members at the Thai CDC to conduct surveys of the local population to gauge their response to a Thai Town designation. She presented their findings, which were supportive of the designation, to Council Member Jackie Goldberg and argued that an official designation highlighting the Thai businesses would provide a means to economically revitalize the area through creating neighborhood pride and promoting cultural heritage and tourism. Her proposal was rooted in an urban planning philosophy that links cultural tourism to alleviating poverty. In 1999, the L.A. City Council approved a motion to designate Hollywood Boulevard from Normandie to Western Avenues as Thai Town.

The official designation provided a platform for Chanhira to represent the local area to politicians and the public and draw upon resources provided by the government to shape neighborhood development. The increased local control allowed her to acquire public funds to erect Thai-inspired statues on the sidewalks of Hollywood Boulevard and enact various types of Thai-inspired streetscaping projects. As will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, she also successfully collaborated with officials from the City of Los Angeles to obtain a federal designation that would allow the Thai CDC to draw from a pool of federal money. Moreover, her organization has worked to convince real estate developers to invest in the Thai Town area and Thai entrepreneurs to open up businesses along Hollywood Boulevard.

Byzantine-Latino Quarter

The increase in local control for the purposes of economic revitalization can also been observed in the official designation of the Byzantine-Latino Quarter (BLQ), located along Pico Boulevard between Normandie and Western Avenue. The inspiration for this designation can be traced to the formation in 1996 of 'Genesis Plus,' a coalition of community organizations that came together to fight their neighborhood's stigma. Father Jeff Ballas organized this coalition when he was assigned as Dean of the Greek Orthodox Saint Sophias Church in 1995. At the time, gangs, crime, and graffiti were visible to residents and outsiders. Several members of his new congregation, most of whom travel from other parts of Los Angeles to Pico-Union, complained to him that they worried about their personal safety when they visited. Father Jeff also noticed that his congregation was dwindling rapidly. He felt that if he did not take action to change the public perception of outsiders to the local area, his congregation would continue to diminish, threatening the very existence of the Church (Ballas Interview 2010).

The coalition he assembled lobbied local politicians, the police, and the fire department to pay more attention to their concerns. He reached out to a nearby magnet school, Loyola High School, which enrolls students from all over the city, and gained the cooperation of Saint Thomas Catholic Church, whose predominantly Mexican congregation resides near the Orthodox Church. Father Ballas also included several near-by businesses in the coalition. Led by Father Ballas, the community and business organizations had a great deal of success lobbying public officials. They successfully lobbied the LAPD to add a police-substation nearby to monitor the local area and provide quicker police response times to residents. The L.A. Fire Department also built a new fire station a few blocks away. Father Ballas also asked his local Council Member, Mike Hernandez, if there was anything the city could do to help them clean up graffiti and street trash and make the local area more inviting through erecting street banners or building a pocket park (Ballas Interview 2010).

Their lobbying of Mike Hernandez provided two important benefits. First, they were put in touch with the City's Department of Cultural Affairs, which relies on public funds to promote the arts and culture for the purpose of increasing tourism revenue. The Cultural Affairs Department suggested to Father Ballas and other community members that a new name could help them promote tourism to the area. The area surrounding the Church was once called Pico Heights in the early twentieth century, when it was an upper-income neighborhood lying on the outskirts of a rapidly expanding downtown area. As the city grew around it and immigrants displaced upper-income residents, the Pico Heights moniker receded and the area eventually became known as part of the geographically larger Pico-Union, which the Los Angeles's Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) designated in the late 1970's as a redevelopment zone.

Father Ballas hoped that by renaming the area, they could entice motorists to hop out of their cars and shop along Pico Boulevard. In order to make the place more attractive for commercial retail, they would first need to invest money in neighborhood facade improvements. They lobbied Hernandez at a fortunate time: the Los Angeles Neighborhood Initiatives (LANI), started by Richard Riordan in 1997 with $12 million in federal grants from the U.S. Transportation Department, was currently allocating funds to poor, blighted neighborhoods around Los Angeles for facade improvement. LANI was in the initial process of identifying neighborhoods to direct their funds, and asked local Council members to recommend urban areas for consideration. Upon Mike Hernandez's recommendation, LANI identified the Genesis Plus coalition for funding (Rodriquez Interview 2010).

LANI, however, would only release funds to the coalition if they hired a Project Manager and team that would design the facade improvements. That was when Father Ballas contacted Michael Dukakis, who is a Visiting Professor at the UCLA School of Public Policy. Dukakis is a close friend of the Father and a member of his congregation. Father Ballas asked him if he could have UCLA students design the improvements. Michael put him in touch with Anastasia Loukaitou-Sederis, a Professor of Urban Planning at UCLA. Anastasia became the Project Manager and in 1997, she held a two-quarter class project where undergraduate students in Urban Planning would collaborate with community members and residents to improve the neighborhood's facade. Over two quarters, the students developed several recommendations, such as adding banners on street lights, repainting dilapidated store-fronts, building a pocket park with benches, and streetscaping (Loukaitu-Sideris Interview 2010).

Critical to the revitalization effort, however, would be determining a new place name. The new name – the Byzantine-Latino Quarter – emerged from public meetings the UCLA

undergraduates held with local residents, community organizations, and businesses. Community members chose the designation to honor the immigrants of both its past and present. The 'Byzantine' is meant to acknowledge the historic presence of Greek and Eastern European immigrants who lived near this commercial district during the mid-twentieth century. The presence of Saint Sophias Church and a Greek restaurant on the intersection of Pico and Normandie represents the legacy of Greek immigrants, many of whom have now moved to other parts of Los Angeles. The addition of 'Latino' is meant to honor the presence of the residents who currently live in the area. Latinos represent the majority immigrant group in the surrounding area at 63.4%

Father Ballas also lobbied then State Assembly member Gil Cedillo for a freeway sign. In 1997, Mr. Cedilla supported a state resolution that would instruct the California Department of Transportation to erect a BLQ freeway sign near the Vermont Avenue exit of the I-10 identifying the area to motorists. And with the cooperation of the owner of a nearby public storage facility, they used LANI funds to replace a commercial billboard with a neon sign publically identifying the area's new place name. The official designation of BLQ represented an attempt by Father Bakas to enhance his social status within local politics. And in doing so, they successfully brought more public resources into the local area to change the public perception of the neighborhood and promote economic development.

Later Cases of Ethnic Place Naming (early 2000's): "Respect Politics"

Thai Town and the BLQ represent the earliest instances of ethnic place naming before it proliferated throughout the City of Los Angeles and nearby municipalities in the early years of the 2000's. While the both Chanhira and Father Ballas were motivated by increasing local

control over an urban area, subsequent claims for an official designation were mostly inspired by the demand for 'respect' (or 'honor'). In the early 2000's, ethnic place naming became a legitimate demand given previous public recognitions. Since the public recognition of Thai Town, social actors throughout the City of Los Angeles argued that their ethnic group too should be publicly recognized by the City. Local politicians and their aides supported these claims as a means to mobilize ethnic residents for the purpose of votes and fundraising.

Little Armenia

The recognition of Thai Town in 1999 produced an immediate outcry from Armenian residents and business owners in the East Hollywood area. Several business owners, primarily restaurant owners, complained to Jackie Goldberg's office that several of their Armenian restaurants were now located in Thai Town. Many residents wondered why a few Thai restaurants merited a designation in the Hollywood area, while Armenians, who had lived in the area for decades, did not have one. The anger caused by the Thai Town designation spurred Goldberg to support a 'Little Armenia' designation. It seemed only appropriate given her support of 'Thai Town,' but Goldberg was also running for a State Assembly seat the following year and hoped to not alienate an important voting bloc.

The East Hollywood area serves as the first site of arrival for many Armenians in the Los Angeles area. According to the 2010 American Community Survey, Armenians represent 3.6 percent of the population. This figure, however, is most likely an undercount given that many respondents do not answer the ancestry or ethnic origin question. According to my conversations with Badysar Thomasian, an aide to Council Member Jackie Goldberg during the late 1990's, Armenian residents called Jackie Goldberg's office *en mass* the day after the Thai Town signs

had been erected. Baydsar, who was Goldberg's liaison to the Armenian residents and businesses in East Hollywood, had a sense that Armenian residents would be outraged at the Thai Town designation.

Badysar had worked as a field representative for Goldberg ever since she was elected to office in 1993. Having studied political science at Cal State Northridge, Badysar found a position as an intern in the office of Michael Woo, who was then the Councilmember from District 13 during the late 1980's and early 1990's. Having grown up in the San Fernando Valley to Armenian parents, she learned Armenian and became an important liaison between Woo and the Armenian business owners and residents in East Hollywood. She took a full time job with Jackie Goldberg, who replaced Woo after his failed campaign for Mayor in 1992 and later worked for Eric Garcetti, who replaced Goldberg in 2001.

At the time the Thai Town signs were erected, Baydsar had served as an intermediary between the Armenian business owners and residents and the Council Office to District 13 for nearly a decade. When Armenians expressed their anger to Baydsar, Goldberg responded that they could have their own 'Little Armenia' sign provided they collect the same number of signatures that the Thai CDC collected in its proposal. Several of the residents then went door to door and business to business collecting signatures for the proposal.

There was also negotiations between the Thai CDC and Jackie Goldberg's office over the exact boundaries of what was to become Little Armenia. The Armenians wanted their boundaries to cover not only most of the Armenia residents who live in the area, but also all of the Armenians institutions as well. The proposed boundaries covered a large amount of space and encapsulated the three block Thai Town district. Chanhira, however, told Goldberg that she did

not want the boundaries of Little Armenia to overlap with the boundaries of Thai Town (Murphy Interview 2012).

One year later, in November of 2000, the City of Los Angeles officially designated Little Armenia. To the dismay of Chanhira, the final boundaries of Little Armenia overlapped with Thai Town. Thai Town lies along the northern border of Little Armenia, which runs along Hollywood Boulevard. Today, Thai Town and Little Armenia streets signs both hang at the intersection of Hollywood and Western, with Thai Town signs facing motorists traveling east and Little Armenia signs facing north.

Baydsar employed the Little Armenia designation as a basis to mobilize the Armenian businesses in the area. Along with one of the business owners, Sam, Baydsar has formed the Little Armenia Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber of Commerce was intended to bring more Armenia businesses into the area, in the same way that the Thai CDC actively recruits Thai businesses into Thai Town. Armenian businesses in the area have tended to move to Glendale, given that there is a larger population of Armenians there. But Baydsar has also used this organization as a resource to raise money for local politicians. She has organized fundraisers for Eric Garcetti and Paul Krekorian, who is Council Member of the 5th District and also an Armenian.

Little Ethiopia

The story behind the official recognition of Little Ethiopia, like the previous case, also shows the importance of 'respect politics' to ethnic naming in Los Angeles. The explanation behind the official designation of Little Ethiopia begins at a fundraiser held for former Congressman Mervyn Dymally in April of 2002. Dymally, whose Congressional district covered

areas of Los Angeles as diverse as South Los Angeles and Hollywood, was coming out of retirement to run for a State Assembly seat. Dymally had developed a relationship with Ethiopians in his district by supporting legislation in the 1980's to grant amnesty to Ethiopians, many of whom were fleeing political repression in Ethiopia. Dymally reached out to Tisrit Asrat, a former staffer of his who happened to be Ethiopian herself, to organize a fundraiser with members of the Ethiopian community in Los Angeles (Tekle Interview 2009).

The fundraiser was held at Rosalinds, an Ethiopian restaurant on Fairfax Avenue in the Carthay District of Los Angeles. According to my conversations with people who attended this event, the turnout did not meet the expectations of the organizers. Only 15 people showed up out of over a hundred invitations sent. Expressing disappointment with the turnout, several women decided that they would organize another fundraiser for Mervyn Dymally and attempt to organize a higher turnout (Asfaw Interview 2009).

These women created a state registered business entity, The Ethiopian-American Advocacy Group, and met weekly to discuss the next fundraiser. The Advocacy group was composed of five women, two of whom gave me the opportunity to conduct in-depth interviews. All these women were first generation Ethiopians with professional jobs who were politically active in their spare time. Abeba Tekle, who works as the Assistant Director of the African American Studies Department at UCLA, came to Los Angeles as a teenager and attended UCLA as an undergrad, where she majored in History. As an undergrad, she joined the Ethiopian student organization on campus and became involved in student activism. Another member of the advocacy group was Makeda Asfaw, who fled Ethiopia with her family to escape political persecution. Her father, a former Ambassador for the Ethiopian government, fell out of the favor

with the regime and fled the country after a period of imprisonment. Martha Nagash, another first generation Ethiopian, was at the time an investment banker with Fidelity Investments.

On nights and weekends, these women met to discuss the issues that they wanted to bring up at the fundraiser. They decided that they wanted to not only raise money for Dymally, but also invite other local politicians and make a presentation where they would talk about issues of concern to the Ethiopian community not only in Los Angeles, but nationwide. They would reach into their own personal networks within the Ethiopian community and try to get a high turnout for the event (Asfaw Interview 2009; Tekle Interview 2009).

They decided that Makeda would make a presentation to the politicians and guests at the fundraiser, stressing certain issues. They would talk about the long term importance of making immigration policy supportive of Ethiopians migrating to the United States and encouraging the United States to put pressure on the Ethiopian government to curb its human rights abuses. But in the short-term, Makeda said that one thing politicians could do is support the public recognition of a cluster of Ethiopian restaurants in Los Angeles as Little Ethiopia.

In Los Angeles, several Ethiopian-owned restaurants line Fairfax Avenue, between Olympic Boulevards and Whiteworth Avenue. This restaurant corridor is split between two City Council Districts. The western side of the street lies at the eastern boundary of the 5th City Council District, historically the 'Jewish District', while the eastern side falls on the western boundary of the 10th Council District, which has had a black representative since the 1960's. The clustering of about 11 restaurants on Fairfax misrepresents the demographic character of this area. Ethiopians represent less than 1% of the residents in the census tracts surrounding the restaurant district. Whites represent the dominant residents in the area at 40% of the population, with Blacks not far behind at 33% and Asians and Latinos at 7.4% and 15%, respectively.

Ethiopians immigrants arrived in Los Angeles during the 1980's as a result of political instability in Ethiopia. While Ethiopian residents in Los Angeles occupy many occupations across various class lines, from cab drivers to middle class professionals, and are dispersed throughout the Los Angeles region, several Ethiopian restaurants opened up on Fairfax Avenue during the 1980's. The restaurants on Fairfax are the only public representation of Ethiopian immigrants in Los Angeles.

Ethiopian started to rent property in this area during the early 1990's, when property values were low and many of the store fronts were boarded up. As Ethiopian restaurants began to cluster in this area over time, it altered the public identity of an area previously identified as Jewish. Both Abeba and Makeda told me that Ethiopian had colloquially begin to refer to it as Little Ethiopia or Little Addis, a reference to Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. Little Ethiopia was certainly the preference of Makeda, who promoted this term in her public activities. In early 2002, she gave Huell Howser, a media personality who produced documentaries on California travel destinations for public television, a tour of the restaurant district and referred to the area as 'Little Ethiopia.'

In my conversations with both Abeba and Makeda, they stated that they made the request for a Little Ethiopia sign for principally two reasons. First, they hoped that the public recognition of the commercial strip would inspire Ethiopians residents in Los Angeles to become more politically active. A Little Ethiopia designation could hopefully provide a rallying point and help mobilize Ethiopians as a force in local politics. Second, the designation would serve to recognize an immigrant population that has made a contribution to Los Angeles.

The fundraiser was held in June of 2002 at the Beverly Hills home of Martha Nagash. Several local politicians showed up. In addition to former Congressman Dylmally, The Speaker

of the State Assembly Herb Wesson was in attendance. The Ethiopian restaurants on Fairfax are located in Wesson's state district. Nate Holden, the LA Councilmember for the 10th District, was in attendance as well. Abeba said that attendance among the Ethiopians that were invited was lower than they had hoped, but they were still content with the overall turn out. Out of about 130 people that were invited, 60-70 members of the Ethiopians community turned out.

Makeda was tasked with making the presentation to the people gathered at the fundraiser. She told me that she made the pitch for the 'Little Ethiopia' designation by talking about the contributions Ethiopians have made to the social life of Los Angeles. She stressed that they were a population with a presence of at least 50,000 immigrants from various professional classes. They have also revitalized the business corridor on Fairfax Avenue and made the place safe for pedestrian traffic. She told them that "the contributions that we have made; it needs to be noted. It needs to be recognized." She also told them that "We're here. We're here to stay."

According to Makeda and Abeba, Nate Holden immediately jumped up while Makeda gave her presentation and said he would do it. Several weeks after the fundraiser, Council Member Holden filed a motion in the City Council designating Fairfax Avenue, between Olympic and Pico Boulevards as 'Little Ethiopia.' The motion passed unanimously in the City Council.

The case of Little Ethiopia demonstrates how certain actors are motivated by a sense that their 'community' deserved to be honored for contributing to the social and economic life of Los Angeles. Activists also hoped that a Little Ethiopia designation would also serve to politically mobilize Ethiopians in terms of increasing voter turnout and fundraising. While this particular goal seems more aspirational, the designation of Historic Filipinotown is directly related to an effort to politically mobilize Filipinos.

Historic Filipinotown

Historic Filipinotown (or 'Hi-Fi', as it is increasingly becoming known among locals) gained recognition by a motion adopted by the Los Angeles City Council in September of 2002. This motion established the boundaries of this designation and instructed the Department of Public Works and Transportation to design and erect street signs labeling the area as such. The motion indicates that "there are several Filipino businesses, restaurants, churches, community organizations, social services, and health clinics" within the Temple-Beverly corridor. Several of these institutions and community organizations "have requested the City to officially designate a specific area as 'Historic Filipinotown.'" The Motion establishes the boundaries of Historic Filipinotown on the east at Glendale Boulevard, on the west at Hoover Street, on the north at the 101 freeway, and on the south at Beverly Boulevard.

The Motion further justifies the designation by acknowledging that within Council District Thirteen lies a "significant population of persons of Filipino ancestry and Filipino-Americans who call their district home." While Hi-Fi does lies within District Thirteen, the motion does not establish how many Filipinos residents live within the designated boundaries. Within the census tracts surrounding Historic Filipinotown, Filipinos account for 14.74% of the population, while Latinos account for the overwhelming majority at 68.9%. An examination of the distribution of Filipinos in the region shows that they are concentrated in several specific parts of the County. Unlike the Ethiopian population, we have more accurate figures on the number and distribution of Filipinos in Los Angeles.

According to the 2010 Census, the downtown and nearby areas hold Filipino concentrations between 10%-30% and represent the original area of residence for many Filipinos

in the 1920's through the 1940's. Many migratory workers lived around the downtown area when they were not working in nearby or Central Valley farms. In fact, during this period an urban space publically referred to as "Little Manila" existed near Bunker Hill. This area, however, became replaced by an expanding Little Tokyo and downtown redevelopment projects that took place after World War II. After the 1960's, a second wave of Filipino immigrants arrived, consisting of mostly middle-class professionals who settled in areas that became developed outside of the downtown area after the war. The densest concentration of Filipinos resides in Carson, near Long Beach, which contains six adjacent census tracts that are 30%-43% Filipino. Filipino World War II veterans relocated to Carson to be near a naval base that no longer exists. Most of the Filipinos who live in the downtown area are primarily lower income workers, while middle-class Filipinos tend to reside outside the central city, in areas such as Eaglerock or Walnut Groove.

How was it that an area adjacent to Echo Park became officially defined as Historic Filipinotown? As the Council Motion indicates, this can partially be explained by the prominence of certain Filipino organizations in the area in between Temple Avenue and Beverly Boulevard. Examining the work of these institutions is important for answering this question since they played an active role in fighting for the official designation.

The Filipino American Library (FAL) is one of the oldest and most important institutions in Historic Filipinotown. This library emerged from the personal activities of Hillary White, a Filipino-American who worked as a teacher at the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) in the downtown area. White played a key role in constituting a Filipino-American identity and trying to root it within the Temple/Beverly area. She inherited her father's collection of historical materials pertaining to Filipino migration and began to expand his collection. She

moved the collection from her home in Hermosa Beach to a church on Temple Street in the 1980's. In the late 1990's, she then moved her collection to a house near Beverly Boulevard which was bought with the help of a wealthy donor. White also attempted to educate students about the history of Filipinos in Los Angeles. As a teacher with the LAUSD, White was actively engaged in educating Filipino and Latino students at local schools about the history of Filipino migration (White Interview 2009).

The Temple Gateway Youth & Community Association is also an important institution in Historic Filipinotown. The youth center is operated by the Search for Filipino-Americans (SIPA). SIPA opened its doors in the early 1970's with the mission of providing key social services to poor and lower class Filipino and Latino residents. Founded by a Professor who taught at the Asian-American Studies Department at UCLA, this non-profit organization also played a key role in fighting for the historical designation of this area. Since the 1980's, SIPA has worked on a range of activities designed to serve residents of the area. Over the past 10 years, SIPA has built three low-income affordable housing units in the area. The first two housing projects they built each have 45 family housing units, while their most recent project is a 76 unit complex with afterschool and community programs. SIPA also offers small business consulting to local area residents and provides services similar to a public social agency (Salazar Interview 2009). SIPA continues to have a close relationship with UCLA, as its former Executive Director, Stacy Wellington, works as a staff member in the Asian American Studies Department.

The organizations I have described here played an important role in requesting political support for a designation honoring the Filipino population in the Temple/Beverly area. A MA thesis, written by Augusto Espiritu, provides the story behind an attempt for recognition in the

1980's. Inspired by the street signs erected in 1981 to highlight Koreatown to passing motorists, many Filipinos living and working in the Temple/Beverly area took note that it was Korean entrepreneurship that was the foundation for the area's new ethnic place name (Espiritu, A. 1992).

As a result, several Filipinos took it upon themselves to purchase strip malls and open up Filipino businesses. Espiritu's thesis suggests that this endeavor was less than successful. Though some institutions were successful at rooting themselves in the area, like the FAL and the Filipino-American Service Group, Inc. (FASGI), many others faced financial difficulties, which were exacerbated by the early 1980's recession. Moreover, Espiritu explains that John Ferraro, the President of the City Council, was reluctant to support the Filipino campaign for recognition.

With the failure to gain recognition during the 1980's, (which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter) the issue lay dormant until 2001, when Eric Garcetti ran for Council District Thirteen's seat on the Los Angeles City Council. Polls indicated that he faced a tight race with Mike Woo, an Asian-American Democrat who had held the seat in the late-1980's. According to my interview with Joey Salazar, the Executive Director of SIPA, Garcetti called him up during the campaign and asked him what the important issues were for Filipino's living in Council District 13. Joey told him that there were three issues that concerned Filipinos: 1) A memorial for Filipino veterans of World War II, 2) a requirement that Garcetti hire a Filipino staff member to serve as a liaison with community organizations, and 3) a designation of the Temple/Beverly area as 'Filipinotown.'

In my interview with Joey, he acknowledged that Filipino's were the minority in the Temple/Beverly area, but he pointed out that the area held the largest concentration of community-based institutions that serve or represent Filipinos, from social welfare agencies, the

FAL, to the oldest Filipino Church in Los Angeles. "It was never about just saying that it's 'our town,' he told me. "We realize that we're the minority," he added. But "we're the most significant…it's our port of entry [into Los Angeles]." He added that "this is one of the first places that our families came to and all our community based assets are here."

Garcetti campaigned hard in the Temple/Beverly area, reaching out to Filipino residents. According to my conversations with former staff members to Garcetti and community leaders, he went door to door and spoke with Filipino and Latino residents. And on election day, according to Joey, Filipinos came out in large numbers to support Garcetti, who narrowly defeated Mike Woo to become the next Councilmember for Council District 13.

Since Garcetti won the Council District seat, he has fulfilled all the promises he made to Joey and the other community leaders he spoke with. In 2006, he commemorated the unveiling of a memorial to Filipinos that served in World War II, which was placed in the Temple/Beverly area. A few months after he took office, he hired Harry Mercado, a second-generation Filipino, as his liaison to the Filipino community leaders. But one of his first actions as Council member would be to begin considering the designation of the Temple/Beverly area as 'Filipinotown.' He formed a Steering Committee that involved Harry, Joey, and several other Filipino members of the community (Mercado Interview 2009). The Steering Committee held public meetings at SIPA and at other community-based institutions to gauge the reaction of the local residents to a Filipinotown designation. After some concern from Latino residents, who pointed out that Filipinos were in the minority in the Temple/Beverly area, Catherine Guinto-Rosenfeld, who also served on the Steering Committee, suggested that they alter the proposed designation to 'Historic Filipinotown.'

A year after Garcetti was elected to the L.A. City Council, the Council passed a resolution designating the Temple/Beverly area as 'Historic Filipinotown'. Before the motion passed, Garcetti, before other members of the City Council, the Steering Committee and other Filipino leaders, recounted the long history of Filipinos in the United States and California. Garcetti also pointed out that Filipinos are the largest Asian immigrant group in the country, "but when you go to different cities and you see how many Chinatowns there are and Little Tokyo's, there is a dearth of recognition of his cultural heritage."[7]

Since the election of Garcetti to the City Council, he has not only been fulfilling the promises he made to the Filipino community in his district, he has also been proactively organizing them and continuing to devote public resources to the area. A close aid of his during his first few years in office, Chito Tenza, a first generation Filipino, worked closely with the businesses in the Temple/Beverly area to form the Historic Filipinotown Chamber of Commerce (Mercado Interview 2009). His office also assisted in the creation of a Historic Filipinotown Neighborhood Council. While this organization is not recognized by the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment as an officially recognized neighborhood council, Garcetti continues to send his Filipino staffer to their monthly meetings to gauge the concerns of the Filipino leaders that attend this event (Carpio Interview 2009). He has also devoted public funds to create streetscaping and bus tours that are run out of the Filipino American Library (Ocampo Interview 2009).

The media dissemination and public signage created by the Thai Town and Byzantine-Latino Quarter designations created a 'copycat process,' where local activists came to make their own requests. Previous recognitions established that ethnic place naming was now a legitimate

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[7] Garcetti, Eric. City Council Speech on Historic Filipinotown Recognition: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GT4W_nfcnsg.

policy request. Their claims were motivated by a sense that their community should be respected or honored for their presence in Los Angeles. And local politicians and activists advocated and supported these requests as a means to mobilize potential voters and donors. While the motivations of the later cases are different than earlier ones, it does not mean that the social meaning of the ethnic place naming remained stable to advocates and policy makers. The next section shows that claim-makers could still learn to re-frame their claims in terms of economic development and cultural tourism.

Wholesale Institutionalization of Ethnic Place Naming (mid-to-late 2000's)

Since the recognition of Thai Town and the Byzantine-Latino Quarter in 1999, a "wholesale machinery" (Katz 2010) has emerged to facilitate the official designation of ethnic areas. This machinery provides advice to activists and entrepreneurs who are considering making a claim, plugs activists into existing funding structures, and allows for the public dissemination of a local area's identity. This section specifically discusses elements of this new machinery: the establishment of naming policies at the city and state levels, the emergence of consultants who provides advice on the nuts-and-bolts of lobbying and grass-roots mobilization, and the incorporation of claim-makers into public revenue streams. These examples show that an elaborate, socially contingent collective act, rather than a consciously coordinated implementation by elites, shapes the institutionalization of ethnic place naming.

Naming Policies at the City and State Levels

The formalizing of naming policies in the City of Los Angeles and at the state government of California represents the initial formation of this wholesale machinery. Up until

2002, a phone call from a politician or an aide to the L.A. City Department of Transportation was all that was needed to erect a street sign and give a local urban area a new place identity, such as Thai Town or Historic Filipinotown. This informal process, however, resulted in several political disputes in the San Fernando Valley that compelled the City to create a formal process for naming a local area.

The LA City Council began consideration of an official naming policy for the city in January of 2002. The catalyst for policy discussions regarding an official naming policy was a dispute in the San Fernando Valley over the 'succession' – of more accurately, a renaming – of an upper-income, Van Nuys neighborhood to 'Lake Balboa' in the late-1990's. Van Nuys refers to a large swath of land in the Central Valley and receives its name from an eponymous developer. Over the past several decades, as lower income Mexicans replaced middle-class Whites in Van Nuys, homeowners, primarily in the southern portion of the Valley, began to 'secede' and lobby for distinctively named local areas. Several upper-income areas succeeded from Van Nuys, such as a residential area that decided to rename itself after nearby Sherman Oaks. Other areas in the Southern Valley have 'seceded' as well, such as upper-income areas that seceded from North Hollywood and renamed themselves Valley Village and Toluca Lake. In many of these cases, homeowners mobilized to rename their urban areas in the hopes that it would allow them to increase local control and raise property values.

During this wave of renaming in the Southern Valley, a group of upper-income homeowners – located in a residential area immediately northwest of the I-405 and I-101 interchange, between Victory and Roscoe Boulevard – began lobbying their City Council member, Laura Chick of the Third District, to rename their local area 'Lake Balboa,' after a nearby lake of the same name. Ms. Chick, who was attuned to the concerns that nearby residents

would have had to the name change, ignored their demands (Manzano 1998). But homeowners eventually found support in Dennis Zine, who in 2001 was running a political campaign to replace Ms. Chick. Shortly after his election to the City Council in 2001, Denise Zine requested that L.A. Department of Transportation workers erect street signs that would rename the residential area to 'Lake Balboa' (McNamara 2003).

The renaming angered many residents in Van Nuys who called not only Dennis Zine's Office, but also other Council Members whose political districts also included residential areas in Van Nuys. Moreover, Lake Balboa – the body of water – is located in Encino, not the new local area with the eponymous name. Residents in Encino were angered that residents in another part of the Valley were renaming themselves after a lake in their own local area. This irritated several Valley Council members who faulted Dennis Zine for instigating this dispute without first informing them of the name change (Sanjurjo Interview 2010).

The fallout from this name change included two separate yet related efforts by Valley politicians to regulate and standardize the process of name changes in the city. The first was led by Tom LaBonge, whose Fourth Council District includes not only the Hollywood Hills, but also the Southern portion of the Valley. LaBonge sits on the Education and Neighborhoods Committee where several requests for name changes were reviewed. LaBonge filed legislation that instructed city officials at various departmental agencies come up with an official map of all the local area places names in the City of Los Angeles. This map would serve as a reference for any future naming claims. Eric Sanjurjo, a senior political aide to Tom LaBonge, met with officials from the Departments of Neighborhood Empowerment and Planning, the City Clerk's Office, and staff members from Valley Council District Offices.

After requesting local area place maps from various City Departments, the 'task force' quickly acknowledged that there was no way to compile a full and complete record of all local area place names in the city. Each department had its own particular map of the City, with place names that were a product of that department's internal administrative processes. And the Department of Transportation, which was the bureaucracy assigned with erecting street signs and whose actions were the most visible sign to the public of a new local area place identity, had no detailed record of the placement of local area street signs or the dates they were erected. Forced to acknowledge that creating a single, objective map of local area place names was not possible, they simply collected various city maps to make them available to the government and public (Sanjurjo Interview 2010).

The second set of policy discussions to emerge from the Lake Balboa naming dispute was an effort by 11th District Council Member, Cindy Miscikowski, whose districts represents parts of Van Nuys, to pass legislation to create an official naming policy. As a staff member of Tom LaBonge's who sat on the Education and Neighborhoods Committee, which would first consider the place naming legislation, Eric Sanjurjo played a critical role in the formulation and development of this policy. The policy, first passed in 2004 but revised and passed again in 2006, took the authority to name an urban area away from the L.A. City Council and gave it to the Neighborhood Councils. Any individual who sought to name or rename a local area must first file an application, which must include 500 signatures from residents in the local area who support the naming or renaming, with the City Clerk's Office. The City Clerk's office then forwards the application to the Neighborhood Councils that serve the local area, as well as various city departments. According to the 2006 policy, the City Council would only consider

the application if the Neighborhood Councils, and other departments, first approve of the application.[8]

When the city first considered the naming policy in 2002, it placed a moratorium on new place names in the city. In 2006, when the city lifted its moratorium, new place names could only be approved through the city's new application process, which would allow the City Clerk's office and various departmental agencies to keep track of new local area place names, something the city neglected to do in the past. But the city's new policy inadvertently slowed down the pace of official designations as the new process now required local Neighborhood Councils to weigh in, allowing residents or use populations to oppose an application (Hoppes Interview 2010).

In the City of Los Angeles, a naming dispute sparked by upper-income homeowners inspired policy discussions that changed the rate that the city recognized ethnic designations. Thai Town sparked a number of new ethnic place name requests in the surrounding areas and legitimized the request of other social actors in other areas of the city, but the new naming policy would now draw the process out, delaying it through administrative procedures and the voices of opposing residents attending Neighborhood Council meetings. The City of L.A., however, was not the only governmental entity to adopt a naming policy.

The State of California also modified its Transportation Department's regulations regarding the erection freeway signs. As with the City of Los Angeles, the California Department of Transportation (CalTrans) approved place name signs through informal consultations with a local municipality's public officials. This informal process, however, resulted in a political conflict in the City of Artesia that forced the state to formalize the process in 2003. In the City of Artesia, conflict between Indian business owners and the City Council over a 'Little India'

[8] Policy for Naming or Renaming a Community. (Council File 02-0196) Adopted by the City of L.A. on January 31, 2006.

freeway sign resulted in the state approving an official policy for naming areas on the state's interstate freeway system.

The City of Artesia, located in southeastern Los Angeles County, holds the largest concentration of Indian businesses in Southern California, but only 5% of the residents are actually of South Asian descent. In 2001, a state politician, attempting to curry favor with Indian businesses for the purposes of fundraising and votes, supported a request for a 'Little India' freeway designation. This request set off vocal opposition from the majority of the residential population, most of whom were Whites and Latinos. In response to the opposition, the Artesia City Council hired a lobbyist – a former State legislator – who successfully inserted a provision in an appropriation bill that would require any municipality to first approve a cultural or ethnic freeway sign. The passage of this provision by the state legislature, and signed into law by the Governor, not only gave the Artesia City Council final say over the "Little India" freeway sign – which they promptly voted down – but also gave city governments throughout the State of California the final authority over any proposed cultural or ethnic freeway sign.

Local political disputes forced the City of Los Angeles and the State of California to change their policy regarding naming a local area through street and freeway signs. The regulations that emerged in both cases gave final authority to those residing in the local area being named. In the City of Los Angeles, Neighborhood Councils must first be aware of the proposal and sign off on it. At the state level, local municipalities must publically discuss the proposal and only through a City Council vote can the state government erect a freeway sign. By devolving authority, these policies slowed down the process of naming as bureaucratic procedures and opposition can now derail a proposal. But it also created a new set of regulations to navigate for local activist or business owner who want to name or rename a local area. Since

1999, an ‘expert’ has emerged who can provide advice to those who want to create a new place name.

The Consultant

The increasing claims for an official designation and the new policy changes that have occurred have increased the demand for a ‘consultant’ or ‘expert’ who can help local activists, businesses, and political aides. Chanhira Murphy, the Executive Director of the Thai CDC, has emerged as this expert. Her involvement in the designations, or attempted designations, of Little Armenia, Historic Filipinotown, Cambodia Town, Little Ethiopia, and Historic Central America Town shows how her professional and political networks have drawn her into contact with other claim-makers. She provides them with advice on how to lobby politicians, navigate city bureaucracies, and provide an argument to the public that emphasizes ethnic place naming as a means to promote broadly shared economic development.

She played a consulting role in the naming of other ethnic areas in Council District 13. While Chanhira lobbied Jackie Goldberg to ensure that the Little Armenia boundaries did not overlap with Thai Town, The Thai CDC also provided advice to several Armenian business owners who were introduced to Chanhira through Baydsar. During Chanhira’s meeting with business owners in a nearby Armenian restaurant, she gave them a presentation on the economic and political benefits of promoting urban areas area culturally, as well as the support letters and post cards she had Thai’s send Goldberg (Thomasian Interview 2010). Chanhira also spoke with Filipino activists who were attempting to designate the Temple/Beverly area with a Filipino themed marker. Harry Mercado, who was hired by Eric Garcetti to fulfill his campaign promise to hire a Filipino staffer, brought members from SIPA to meet with Chanhira. Chanhira’s advice

to Harry convinced him to form a Steering Committee composed of himself and local area stakeholders to organize public forums to engage residents (Mercado Interview 2009). It was during those meetings that Harry and other Filipino activists encountered resistance from Latino residents to the proposed designation, and decided that they would add a 'Historic' to their designation.

Chanhira has also been connected to claim-makers in other L.A. Council Districts and nearby municipalities. In 2002, she met with representatives of Cambodian business owners who wanted to rename a commercial strip in the City of Long Beach to 'Cambodia Town.' Cambodian business owners met in early 2001 to discuss an official designation for a half-mile commercial district of Cambodian businesses along Anaheim Boulevard between Atlantic and Junipero Avenue. Long Beach had been a destination for Cambodian refugees during the late-1970's, when the Khmer Rouge killed several million people in the 'killing fields' of Cambodia.

Many refugees found their way to Long Beach. For several decades, a student exchange program maintained by the governments of Cambodia and the United States directed Cambodians to Cal State Long Beach. Many of these students decided to stay in Long Beach and their presence served as a point of focus for federal authorities when deciding where to locate Cambodia refugees. Their migration to Long Beach transformed Atlantic Avenue from a dreary commercial corridor into the largest concentration of Cambodian businesses in Southern California. Cambodian refugees have rented and operated various types of establishments, from restaurants and grocery stores, to community centers and furniture stores. Yet over the past several decades, many Cambodians have left Long Beach, while many Latinos have moved into the Atlantic Avenue corridor (Seng Interview 2010).

When Cambodian business owners met in early 2001 to discuss naming the Atlantic Avenue corridor, they voted to designate the area as 'Cambodia Town.' They had also considered naming the area 'Little Phnom Penh," but several of the business owners who were not from the capital city objected. Rith Seng, and his wife Sithea, attended the early meetings of the business owners, but were not initially considered leaders of the lobbying effort. Rith came to the United States as a student to Cal State Long Beach in 1985 but went back to Cambodia after several years to attend to family obligations. During their time in Long Beach, both Rith and his wife were politically active. They were once heavily involved in Cambodian social and political life, often serving as a liaison between Cambodian residents and local politicians and helping to mobilize Cambodian get-out-the-vote operations during election time.

When he and his wife came back to Long Beach in 2000, they took a back-seat to the leadership of other business-owners who had taken the initiative to organize these initial meetings. That soon changed as the initial effort to get the City of Long Beach to recognize 'Cambodia Town' failed. The Cambodia Town Chamber of Commerce, as the business owners called themselves, knew very little about local politics: they knew nothing about how to lobby local politicians or the intricacies of the legislative process. Before approaching public officials, they neglected to speak with surrounding residential organizations and nearby business associations. When they offered the proposal to their local Council Member, opposition from the East Anaheim Business Association, a nearby merchant association located in a predominantly Anglo neighborhood, derailed the effort. After the initial failure of the proposal, the Cambodia Town Chamber of Commerce reached out to the Sengs and asked them to manage the process, given their prior political experience in Long Beach (Seng Interview 2010).

Richer first reached out to Mariko Khan, Executive Director of the Pacific Asian Council Services, located in Long Beach, which provides mental health services to immigrants and refugees from the Asian Pacific Islander population. The Cambodian population represents a large constituency for which Mariko's organization provides a great deal of services, particularly given the dire circumstances that brought many refugees to Long Beach. When Rith met with Mariko, he sought political advice on how to turn their 'Cambodia Town' proposal into a reality. Mariko suggested that they first discuss their intentions with Chanhira Murphy of the Thai CDC. Both Mariko and Chanhira have known each other as members of the Asian Pacific Policy and Planning Council, a professional association of Executive Directors from Southern California-based community-based organizations (CBO's) that target social services to lower-income Asian populations. They both got to know each other during yearly conferences and workshops, and Mariko, who then served as President of the organization, knew about Chanhira's effort to designate Thai Town in 1999 (Murphy Interview 2012).

Rith and Sithea visited the Thai CDC in 2002 to learn more about how to navigate the politics behind an official designation. During their meeting, Chanhira provided them with what she refers to as her 'tool kit': a set of documents that allows her to convey how to politically mobilize support for an ethnic designation. She provided Rith and Sithea with the form letters, postcards, and flyers that she had Thai residents send their City Council member. She provided them with all the official paperwork that she used, such as sample petitions and the Council motion, and encouraged them to speak with other residential groups to build support. She also gave them a document, 'The Manual for a Thai Town Designation,' which contained instructions on how to conduct a survey of the businesses and residents, which would allow them to quantify support for an official designation to local politicians (Murphy Interview 2012; Seng Interview

2010). But perhaps just as important, Chanhira also gave Rith and Sithea a new vocabulary to support the official designation. As an urban planner, Chanhira believed that an official designation could help 'empower communities' and promote economic development that is shared by all residents in a local area.

Rith and Sithea took Chanhira's advice and modeled their advocacy for Cambodia Town after Thai Town. After conducting a survey, building relationships with local area community organizations, providing local residents with letters of support to send to Council members, and sending advocates regularly to City Council meetings to make their support public, the Long Beach City Council approved the designation in 2006.

In the case of Little Ethiopia, Chanhira provided local activists some advice on how to start their own CDC. Chanhira was contacted to provide consultation to Negasi Benti, who had initially organized the Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce. Negasi, in 2008, contacted the Mayor's office to find ways of working with the city to promote Little Ethiopia as a business district. She spoke with Fabiola Vilchez, who was then the Mayor's liaison to community organizations in central Los Angeles. Fabiola had received her MA in Urban Planning at UCLA and was familiar with community organizations throughout the city. She found a job at the City Redevelopment Agency (CRA) after graduate school and worked closely with Chanhira and other Executive Directors of CDC's in the Hollywood area. Fabiola even once interviewed for a job with the Thai CDC. Fabiola told Negasi that she should start her own CDC as a way to leverage the public recognition of Little Ethiopia to promote economic development in the area. Fabiola then arranged a meeting between Negasi and Chanhira (Benti Interview 2012).

Chanhira provided Negasi with a primer on urban planning ideology and a practical guide to opening and operating a community-based organization. A series of meetings with Chanhira

and her staff at the Thai CDC convinced Negasi of the importance of opening a local organization to serve the needs of the Ethiopian population in Los Angeles. But Negasi didn't have the technical skills to first to conduct a Needs Assessment Study (a report that survey's the population and identifies their social needs). Chanhira and her staff accompanied Negasi to an Internship Fair at UCLA's Urban Planning Department to find a student who could talk to the business owners and survey the Ethiopian population in Los Angeles (Murphy Interview 2012). After setting up a table and interviewing a few students for the position, Chanhira introduced Negasi to Paul Ong, her former Professor at UCLA. Negasi invited Paul to speak before the Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce. During a series of conversations with the merchant organization, he stressed the importance of making sure every Ethiopian in Los Angeles was counted in the upcoming 2010 Census. He argued that an accurate Census count of the Ethiopian population would legitimize claims for more public resources. He inspired the Chamber to organize a two-year effort to make sure L.A. Ethiopians filled out their 2010 Census forms (Ong Interview 2012).

Negasi incorporated the Little Ethiopia Community Development Corporation (CDC) in 2009 and invited Chanhira and Fabiola to become members of the Board of Directors, who provide consulting advice but are also responsible for raising funds. Yet despite the Needs Assessment Survey and the inclusion of politically connected board members, Negasi has struggled to keep the organization operating daily (Murphy Interview 2012). When Negasi went to lobby Councilmember's Paul Koretz and Nate Holden, respectively of Districts 5 and 10, they both claimed that city budget cuts would prevent them from providing public resources, such as Community Block Grants, which are a major funding source for CBO's. While the Little Ethiopia CDC is poorly funded, Negasi has been able to fund a staff member from her own

personal funds and continues to seek external funding with Chanhira and Fabiola's help (Benti Interview 2012).

Since the designation of Thai Town in 1999, local activists have been introduced to Chanhira through both professional and political networks. She has played an important role in spreading advice on how to lobbying politicians, helping claim-makers build relationships with other local area stakeholders, and providing an alternative framing of ethnic place naming to claim-makers. Chanhira has also disseminated the idea to local activists and business owners of a community-based organization that can offer social services to lower income, immigrant populations.

Asian Pacific Islander Preserve America Neighborhoods Project

In addition to the emergence of official naming policies and expert advice on how to build public support for a new ethnic place, new funding sources are now available for those who want to promote economic development through cultural tourism. The following example shows how a mid-level bureaucrat worked as a liaison between elected officials and local activists to take advantage of a new federal grant program. In 2007, Sharon Mee Yung Lowe, an employee of the Community Redevelopment Authority, learned about a new federal program – the Preserve America Neighborhoods (PAN) Project – that would allow her to direct public resources to urban areas in Los Angeles where Asians reside. Sharon was born in Philadelphia's Chinatown to Chinese immigrants. Sharon's career has been marked by an involvement in liberal politics. She graduated from NYU with a degree in political science and came out to Los Angeles to attend law school at UCLA. During her time at UCLA, Sharon affiliated with Chinese-American student organizations and engaged in student protests in support of

Affirmative Action policies to increase the enrollment of ethnic minorities. After graduating from UCLA, she practiced law in Chinatown and fought against large-scale development projects in the downtown area. In 1991, she ran for City Council in the Latino majority First District, which included the downtown area and East Los Angeles. She mobilized Asian residents in the district, but lost out to better financed Mike Hernandez (Ramos 1991).

She joined the Community Redevelopment Authority (CRA) in the 1990's with the intention of advocating for lower-income residential populations from inside the city administration. In 2007, she discovered the PAN Program, which President Bush authorized through Executive Order in 2003 and became law in 2009 through Congressional approval. The program is designed to promote heritage tourism through the official recognition of rural towns or urban neighborhoods as 'Preserve American communities.' Since the federal program was enacted, it has distributed $17 million to municipalities across the country. Local areas who receive federal recognition gain access to a grant program that administers up to $250,000 in matching grants for efforts to promote cultural tourism: street-scaping, efforts to identify and designate historical assets, and workshops to educate stakeholders on ways to promote tourism. Sharon decided that she would organize the Asian-based community organizations in the downtown and central city areas of Los Angeles and obtain federal designations for each of the Asian-area place names (Takahashi Interview 2012).

She aggressively lobbied Eric Garcetti and Mayor Villaraigosa, whose support she needed to obtain the federal designation. The grant application would need to have the approval of the Mayor, but the City would also have to agree put up $250,000 of its own money. When the city agreed to only put up $250,000, Sharon decided that she would apply for one federal designation for the five Asian places names in Los Angeles. She met individually and

collectively with CBO's in Thai Town, Historic Filipinotown, Koreatown, Chinatown, and Little Tokyo. The Thai CDC and SIPA were made the lead organizations for their respective ethnic areas. The $500,000 would be split evenly between the different Asian-named places and the lead organizations would be responsible for spending the money (Murphy Interview 2012).

Since all five Asian place areas were recognized as "Preserve American communities," CBO's from Thai Town, Historic Filipinotown and other areas meet for conferences and workshops paid for by funds from the PAN Program. These workshops are designed to inform staff members on strategies to promote cultural tourism. Funds for the PAN Program have been used to create a website designed to promote the API 5 (The Asian Pacific Islander 5), which is the term they selected to brand themselves. Funds have been employed by CBO's for a variety of purposes, such as building green spaces along Hollywood Boulevard in Thai Town or erecting street lighting along Temple Boulevard in Historic Filipinotown.

Conclusion

Rather than an elite driven phenomenon, a variety of uncoordinated, social contingent events and processes came together to produce the current ethnic archipelago of Los Angeles. After the recognition of Thai Town and the Byzantine-Latino Quarter in the late 1990's, where social actors increased their social and political status in order to gain greater social control over a local area, other activists and entrepreneurs made their own claims, primarily because it was now a legitimate policy request and a designation conveyed a signal of respect or honor from political authorities. As the process became more formalized with bureaucratic requirements, official designations became harder to approve and consequently less have been publicly approved since 2006.

Most of the social actors involved in production of wholesale machinery were directly involved in ethnic place naming, such as Chanhira. But in the case of the creation of an official naming policy in the City of L.A., a non-ethnic place naming conflict had a direct bearing on the rate at which the City recognized official ethnic places. This process emphasizes how the phenomenon of ethnic place naming is situated within a broader differentiation of place areas identities in Los Angeles, as Katz (2010) has argued. But while new public identities – such as new art districts, historic districts, or bohemian areas – have emerged to shape the cultural landscape of Los Angeles over the past several decades, this chapter shows that the several of the social processes associated with ethnic place naming are in fact distinct.

Figure 3

The Symbolic Representative of Thai Town

Note: This picture was published in the *Los Angeles Times* on August 2, 2008

Chapter 4: Politics and Ethnic Conflict in the City

The analysis of the last chapter focused primarily on examining positive cases to identify the uncoordinated, socially contingent processes responsible for producing L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago. A full explanation of this phenomenon also requires an examination of negative – or failed – cases. Urban scholars, in particular Urban Fortunes proponents, tend to focus their analytical attention on positive cases (See Chapter 1). The attention to positive cases, however, diminishes the analytical focus on political processes and conditions, as local politicians are perceived as subservient to the landed interests who drive urban development. Examination of the unsuccessful cases of ethnic place naming, on the other hand, reveals that political conditions are critical to the official recognition of an ethnic places.

In fact, the types of political conditions identified in this chapter suggest that political sociology provides a more appropriate framework for understanding the phenomenon of ethnic place naming. Regardless of the advocate – whether entrepreneurs or neighborhood organizations – the constraints and interests of politicians are critical to recognition. Social movement scholars have identified certain political conditions that are relevant to the success of collective action; several of these conditions also pertain to the success of a request for an ethnic place name. In particular is the importance of certain political conditions, such as the presence of leadership among activists/entrepreneurs, the existence of a political opposition, and the openness of political leaders to compromise.

This chapter is composed of four sections. The first discusses earlier, failed attempts to designate Thai Town and Historic Filipinotown. These failed attempts were postponed until this Chapter to highlight two critical political conditions. First, unity among ethnic activists is critical to political support. Local politicians will fail to support a request for an ethnic designation if any

internal conflict divides claim-makers. Second, in L.A.'s diverse Council District 13, the presence of a White Councilmember increases the odds of an official designation. Ethnic politicians may be more hesitant to support claim-makers, particularly if they plan on running for higher office, when they have to appeal to a broader, Whiter electorate. The early attempts at designating Thai Town and Historic Filipinotown also help contribute to understanding why 1999 serves as the tipping point for official designations. This section will argue that while certain constituencies clamored for an ethnic place name soon after the designation of Koreatown in 1982, political conditions did not align again for more ethnic designations until the late-1990's.

The second section of this chapter emphasizes the importance of motivated leaders. Businesses and community organizations are not always mobilized to lobby for ethnic designations. Often, it requires one or two committed individuals who have the time and are inspired enough. The failed case of Japantown exemplifies the importance of leadership. The designation of Japantown would have honored the historical memory of a Japanese residential population along Sawtelle Boulevard in West Los Angeles. The claim-maker, however, was not as motivated as others as an early roadblock resulted in the abandonment of the claim.

The third section of this chapter describes the political conditions necessary for recognition when ethnic tensions break out over an official designation. Ethnic place naming can fragment businesses and residents, especially given that most official designations highlight a minority constituency. The fragmentation among businesses is theoretically important to note as growth machine advocates emphasize the monolithic nature of entrepreneurs. In cases where opposition emerges, ethnic tensions can break out and the institutional arrangements of various local politicians become critical to whether a claim for an official designation succeeds. This

section tells the stories behind the failed case of Little India to show how a claim can fragment stakeholders in a local area. The fourth and final section compares the failed case of Historic Central America Town with the successful case of Little Bangladesh to highlight the importance of a political broker to resolving ethnic tensions and negotiating a compromise.

Ethnic Unity and White Politicians: Why 1999?

The City of Los Angeles publicly designated Koreatown in the early 1980's, yet it was only two decades later in the late-1990's that local politicians began to recognize ethnic areas at a much faster rate. This lag is especially curious given that local activists and business owners began making claims for ethnic places names in the years immediately after the Koreatown designation. What changed in 1999 to allow the City of L.A. to begin officially recognizing more ethnic areas?

This section will discuss the failure of earlier attempts to designate Thai Town and Historic Filipinotown to show how the political context of earlier claims prevented recognition, and only when certain political conditions changed in the late-1990's did official recognition become possible. These early failures demonstrate that three political conditions are important to recognition: (1) ethnic activists presenting a unified front when lobbying public officials, (2) the importance of having a political patron, and (3) having a White politician as your Council member. The absence of these political conditions explains why a Thai and Filipino designation initially failed, and alternatively, why their presence in the late-1990's finally allowed their claims to succeed.

FilipinoTown

The effort to designate the Temple-Beverly area with a Filipino designation found the support of a political patron – Eric Garcetti – in 2001 during a tough election campaign. But the demand for a Filipino designation goes back to the early-1980's, when Koreatown received its own official designation with street and freeway signs. The earlier effort, however, failed primarily because of infighting among the activists lobbying their Councilmember for a designation.

During the early 1980's, the Temple-Beverly area had been located within L.A. Council District 4, where John Ferraro served as Councilmember since 1966. In 1982, FASGI (Filipino American Service Group, Inc.) began to lobby John Ferraro for a 'Manilatown' designation. Other Filipino organizations, however, also began to separately lobby Ferraro for a name as well. The President of FACLA (Filipino-American Committee in Los Angeles), Greg Cruz, lobbied Ferraro for a 'Filipino Town' designation. As one Filipino community organizer put it about efforts to lobby for an ethnic designation: "We tried to involve members of the community, but there was a lot of jealousy in terms of who would have the honor of representing Filipino Town." (Espiritu 41).

The competition for honor (or respect) among Filipinos did not help their request for an ethnic place name. John Ferraro made several public gestures of support for a designation. He once held a blue and white L.A. City street sign saying 'Manilatown' while speaking to a Filipino community event in the Temple/Beverly area. He even submitted a Council resolution requiring city agencies to assess the feasibility of designating the area with a Filipino marker. Despite all these public actions of support, however, he never fully delivered an ethnic place name to the Filipino activists.

According to conversations with Filipino activists and John Ferraro, conducted by Espiritu in 1995, the lack of unity dissuaded Ferraro from serving as a political patron. In 1986, the U.S. Department of Justice sued the City of Los Angeles under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to force the city to provide more Council representation to the increasing Latino population. As part of the redistricting necessary to comply with the Department of Justice, the City Council excluded the Temple/Beverly area from Council District 4's new political boundaries.

But while the new boundaries excluded the Temple/Beverly area, where most of the Filipino institutions requesting an official designation were located, District 4 still included certain Filipino residential areas that were loyal to Ferraro. Filipino activists lost their main political patron and discovered that the Filipino population that had been a basis for their political authority had been redistricted into several Council Districts. Filipino's first site of migration was the downtown area, where a Little Manila once stood before being torn down by the city to make way for an expansion of Little Tokyo in the 1950's. Prior to redistricting, Filipinos were primarily located in Ferraro's 4th and Woo's 13th Council District. But with the 1986 City Council Redistricting Plan, Filipino populations were now also redistricted into the 14th and 1st Council Districts.

The inter-activist tension that had characterized an earlier attempt at an ethnic place name continued to plague activists in the early 1990's. During the 1990's, two Filipino activists – Edgar Yap and Nena Decena Sahanaja – both lobbied Gloria Molina, who had become the new Council Member of District 1, for an ethnic place name. Yap, who had lobbied Ferraro for a designation in the 1980's, and Sahanaja, who had come from the Philippines more recently and was just getting involved in local politics, both lobbied separately for their own designation. Yet

Molina did not support either of their requests. As her aide stated, "Gloria felt that to develop any kind of town, you had to talk to the residents. She wanted them to work with each other and get residents involved…" (Espiritu 49).

Attempts at creating an ethnic designation honoring Filipinos failed during the 1980's and 1990's. Filipino activists did not not present a united, organized front before local politicians. The internal conflict over who would get the status or honor of representing Filipinotown dissuaded politicians from supporting their claims. Supporting one set of activists would agitate another set of activists, which would create political problems for the supporting politician. Moreover, the loss of their political patron – John Ferraro – and the dilution of their residential population in any one Council District, prevented Filipino activists from claiming that they represented a large voting bloc. It wasn't until 2001, when a young politician was fighting a close election campaign, did the Filipino's finally find a political patron that would provide them with the designation they sought. And by 2001, a new generation of claim-makers, let by SIPA, presented a united coalition to Garcetti, making a designation politically feasible.

Thai Town

The City of Los Angeles officially designated Thai Town in 1999, but that was not the first time Chanhira Murphy had requested an ethnic place name for the East Hollywood area. In the early 1990's, Chanhira had first approached Michael Woo, Council Member for District 13, for a Thai Town designation. Woo, however, declined Chanhira's request as a result of political constraints resulting from being an ethnic politician who was attempting to appeal to a broader electorate.

Woo was elected to the L.A. City Council in 1985 after twice campaigning against incumbent Peggy Stevenson. During his failed 1981 campaign, Stevenson attacked Woo for being an outsider and sent out mailers that noted his connections to 'Chinatown bankers.' The *Los Angeles Times* editorial page and several local politicians decried the mailer as racist (McGrath 1981; Michaelson 1981). According to my conversation with Woo, he perceived the mailer to have successfully mobilized conservative, mostly White voters who lived in the Hollywood Hills and Flats. Although Stevenson tried a similar tactic during the 1985 race, the allegations worked less effectively. Yet when Woo defeated Stevenson in 1985, he was careful in his public comments to suggest that he would not provide special favors to his Asian constituents. He told the *Los Angeles Times* in an interview that the Asian community should not expect any preferential treatment; Woo represented every single constituent in his district and would work equally hard for everyone (Clifford 1985).

Woo's concern with not publicly appearing to be a parochial, ethnic politician continued when he ran for Mayor in 1993. In the early 1990's, both Chanhira and Armenian business owners approached Woo for an ethnic place name. According to my conversation with Chanhira, Woo declined to support their requests since he was running for Mayor and did not want to appear to favor ethnic constituencies.

For various political reasons, requests for ethnic place names were rejected by local politicians. The lack of unity among activists, the absence of a political patron, and a minority politician appealing to a broader non-ethnic electorate established conditions that derailed earlier lobbying efforts to gain official recognitions in the East Hollywood and Temple/Beverly area.

<u>Leadership and the Case of Japantown</u>

Throughout Los Angeles there are ethnic commercial or residential areas that have not been officially recognized by the City of Los Angeles or other municipalities. For example, there is a cluster of Brazilian retail stores along Venice Boulevard in Culver City that could be named 'Little Brazil' or residential populations of various Central Americans in the central city that could also demand their own form of recognition. These can be viewed as a particular type of negative case – cases where once should expect a claim for an official designation but one is never made. This section discusses the non-designation of a commercial corridor along Sawtelle Boulevard in West Los Angeles that has been associated with a Japanese public identity for much of the twentieth century. The lackluster attempt to officially designate this area as 'Japantown' suggests the importance of local areas leaders to ethnic place naming.

The designation of Japantown was proposed by Jack Fujimoto, a local historian of the Japanese community in Los Angeles. Jack hoped an official designation would publicly acknowledge a local area that has undergone drastic residential and institutional change over several decades. Sawtelle Boulevard, between Santa Monica and Olympic Boulevards, has publicly been associated with a Japanese identity for over a century. This area was originally populated by Japanese immigrants in the early decades of the twentieth century. Excluded from other Westside neighborhoods due to housing restrictions against ethnic minorities, the *Issei*, as they referred to themselves, resided along Sawtelle Boulevard and opened up many different types of cultural and commercial institutions. Many of the *Issei* that lived along Sawtelle either worked as gardeners for homeowners living in Westwood, Bel Air, and Brentwood or as farmers in celery and barley fields south of Pico Boulevard (Fujimoto 2007).

A Japanese residential population supported various types of local institutions along Sawtelle Boulevard. Around the time of the U.S. involvement in World War II, large numbers of

Japanese gardeners supported the operation of 26 gardening or florist shops. New Japanese residents or temporary laborers resided in one of 8 boarding houses. Several churches, grocery stores, and a community center, which served as a language school for the *Nissei* – the second generation – were also found in what was publically known at the time as Japantown (Fujimoto 2007).

The Japanese that lived throughout Los Angeles and the rest of the West Coast were relocated to concentration camps during World War II. Japanese residents living along and near Sawtelle Boulevard were relocated to any one of ten camps throughout the county, with most going to Manzanar in Central California. After the War, many former residents returned, but mostly those who had purchased property in the area. Those that rented returned to find that their houses had been taken over by other occupants. Some renters returned as boarders hoping to get their lives back. After World War II, many local institutions that had populated the area before relocation reopened, along with Japanese restaurants that catered to both the residential population and outsiders.

Following civil rights legislation and Supreme Court opinions that broke down residential segregation and opened up more educational and employment opportunities to ethnic minorities, many Japanese and their children left Sawtelle to live in other neighborhoods and pursue careers in other professional occupations. This exodus resulted in a drastic change in the types of institutions that populated Sawtelle. The local institutions that once dominated Japantown left the area; the nurseries, churches, barber shops, among many others, closed down as there were less Japanese residents to frequent them.

As many Japanese left the area in the decades after World War II, new populations moved into Sawtelle. According to 2010 Census, Non-Hispanic Whites are the majority at 81%,

while Latinos and the Japanese represent 18% and 15% of the population respectively. Over the past several decades, Sawtelle Boulevard, particularly from La Grange Avenue to Olympic Boulevard, has become a commercial retail district, appealing to outsiders as a destination place where one can consume Japanese cuisine. Japanese entrepreneurs began to open up noodle houses and sushi shops during the 1970's, only to be followed by many non-Japanese entrepreneurs who opened up Vietnamese and Korean restaurants to take advantage of the area's Asian public identity. Local media and entrepreneurs began to refer to Sawtelle Boulevard as 'Little Osaka,' an identity that has effaced the area's original local identity of Japantown.

In 2007, Jack Fujimoto, a former President of the Japanese community center, was contacted by the editor of Arcadia Publishing. Arcadia publishes historical picture-based books on various urban area in cities throughout the country, and asked Jack to contribute to their book series by compiling pictures and writing a short narrative about Japantown. Jack has a Ph.D. in History, served as a local historian of the Japanese community on Sawtelle, and was the founder and President of the Japanese American Historical Society of California. Jack agreed to compile a pictorial history of Japanese Americans on Sawtelle Boulevard. While he perused among many historical pictures, he also found himself inspired to obtain some sort of historical commemoration for Sawtelle Boulevard.

Jack told me that as he was looking through the pre-1960's photographs, and realized that the Japanese institutions which defined that period were hard to find on present day Sawtelle Boulevard. Only two nurseries from that era still remained, and many of the cultural institutions along Sawtelle Boulevard were no longer owned by Japanese Americans. He contacted the Office of Historic Resources, part of L.A.'s Department of City Planning. The Office of Historic Resources coordinates the preservation of certain historic buildings within the City's overall

development policy. The office also approves and manages the preservation of over twenty-five of the city's historic districts (HPOZ). Jack had several conversations with the Office's manager, Ken Bernstein, in 2007 but gave up his effort to designate part of the area as 'Japantown' when he was informed by Ken that the city just had no money at that particular time to support the historic designation.

After his conversations with Ken, Jack stopped making any effort for a historic designation. As President of the Japanese American Historical Society, he was busy putting together videotaped forums with older Japanese Americans to recount their lives before Sawtelle became known as 'Little Osaka.' He was committed to documenting their experiences and making it available on the Society's website. While he is aware that other ethnic designations are going up all over Los Angeles, Jack did not seem particularly motivated to continue his efforts, such as calling his local Councilmember to request a street sign.

The aborted request for a Japantown designation highlights the importance of having a committed leader who is willing to engage public officials and mobilize other local stakeholders. In the case of Thai Town and the Byzantine-Latino Quarter, the key claim-makers consisted of only one activist who was responsible for mobilizing support and lobbying public officials. Not all ethnic commercial or residential areas have a committed activist or business owner who is sufficiently motivated to spend extra time outside of their busy work schedule to advocate for an official designation.

<u>Jurisdictional Conflicts between Politicians and Fragmentation of Entrepreneurs</u>

This chapter emphasizes the importance of political actors to the official designation of ethnic places. The failed attempt at designating a commercial district of Indian businesses in the

City of Artesia as ‘Little India’ highlights this point like no other case. The various interests in support of and in opposition to the ‘Little India’ designation resulted in an informative mess, one that reveals several important political conditions that are critical to ethnic place naming. First, widespread opposition can occur when ethnic businesses reflect only a minority of the population of a local area. In cases where businesses and residents fracture along ethnic lines, the institutional relationships between politicians are critical to the success of a proposed designation. Jurisdictional conflicts can emerge when politicians attempt to shape the public identity of an area that’s also represented by other elected officials. Second, the Little India case discredits the Urban Fortunes position which posits that businesses are a monolith; this case shows that entrepreneurs – as well as residents – can fracture along ethnic lines. The story behind the failed Little India proposal is partially reprinted from a published article: Sheth, Anup. 2010. “Little India, Next Exit: Ethnic Destinations in the City.” *Ethnography* 11(1): 69-88.

Little India

Indian business owners in the City of Artesia requested a freeway sign to market their businesses in early 2002. According to the 2000 US Census, the City of Artesia boasted a population of 16,380. The City hosted a diverse set of residents, even when compared to the diversity of other areas in LA County. While non-Latino whites and blacks accounted for 27.2% and 3.6% of the population respectively, Asians made up 27.2% of the population and Hispanics accounted for 38.3%. These categories still obscure the city’s amalgam of various ethnic groups. Within the Asian category, for example, Filipinos, accounted for 10.4% of the population, while Koreans accounted for 4.5% of residents. Chinese and Indians accounted for 3.9% and 4.6%,

respectively. Additionally, a Portuguese community accounted for 9.4 percent of Artesia's population.

In the late 1970's a few South Asian businessmen opened up retail stores along the main commercial street, Pioneer Boulevard, which runs through the length of Artesia. Over the next 5-10 years the number of South Asian owned stores opening up on the main commercial street in the city accelerated rapidly. Rohit Mody, who owned commercial property and operated a popular restaurant near the center of the market, recounted that when he opened up his store in 1986 he observed only a handful of retail shops whereas by the early 1990's that number had increased to about 80 or 90.

Approximately 300 South Asian retail stores currently operate along Pioneer Boulevard. While Indians may be a small percentage of the total population of Artesia, on the weekends South Asians from all over the greater Los Angeles area shop at these retail stores, creating a distinctive public scene. Like their customers, many of the South Asian merchants also do not live in the city, but drive to their stores from nearby areas. Their stores range from North and South Indian grocery stores and restaurants to music stores specializing in Bollywood music. Clothing stores sell the latest in Indian fashion, while art and handicraft shops sell an assortment of things, such as elaborate statues of Hindu gods or goddesses and varieties of incense. Near this South Asian retail area are several large strip malls which house an assortment of East Asian shops, such as restaurants, dentist offices, and herbal tea shops.

At some point in the mid-1980's mainstream newspapers started denoting the concentration of Indian-owned stores along Pioneer Boulevard as 'Little India'. A Lexis-Nexis search of the phrase 'Little India' and 'Artesia', as well as 'Little India' and 'Pioneer', reveal that the first mainstream newspaper to employ the term was the *San Diego Union-Tribune* in January

1987. A discussion of different Asian markets in San Diego and Orange County led to a reference to an Indian owned grocery story on Pioneer Boulevard, 'in what is becoming known as Little India'. The storeowners themselves have played an important role in introducing and maintaining the label. Mody, who owned a popular restaurant in Artesia, started to promote the label to his customers as well as to anyone else that would listen to him. And currently, although there is no official designation by the city or state of this business area as 'Little India', the term is represented privately on restaurant menus, signs hung over store fronts, and even through the signage of a mall named Little India Village.

While spreading 'Little India' to customers and locals from his new business, located in the center of an emerging Indian business district, in the early 1990's Mody thought it would be a good idea to place a sign on the CA-91 freeway directing people to the Indian retail stores on Pioneer Boulevard. He thought it would be good for the businesses. It would draw in more South Asian and American visitors off the freeway and raise the profits of the Indian businesses on Pioneer Boulevard and property values of landowners like him. He founded the President of the Little India Chamber of Commerce in 1994 and single-handedly attempted to get the sign approved by the City Council. The City Council, however, rejected his proposal. Indian merchants would not have an opportunity again to request a freeway sign until 2002 when Rudy Bermudez was elected to the 56th State Assembly District, which lies in southeastern county and includes the Cities of Artesia, Cerritos, and Norwalk.

Immediately after winning election to the California state assembly in 2002, Bermudez invited several members of the Indian entrepreneurs in Artesia to his district office for a series of meetings to discuss how he could assist them. According to Josif Bray-Ali, a newly hired political aide in Bermudez's district office, several Indian commercial property and retail

business owners participated in these meetings. Out of these discussions Bermudez decided to support two legislative proposals. One of the proposals was a resolution that would direct Caltrans to erect a sign on the CA-91 freeway designating the exit leading to Artesia as the location of 'Little India'. As a resolution, only the state Assembly and Senate would need to approve it.

His former political aide, Keith Malone, told me that political strategy lay behind Bermudez's decision to support this proposal. He announced his candidacy for the state Senate in 2004 during his inaugural speech in 2002 as the new state Assembly member for the 54th District. He had his eyes already set on higher office and that would require money. Indian-Americans would represent a lucrative fundraising base if Bermudez could organize them. The proposal, Bermudez hoped, would spur Indian merchants and other Indian-Americans to contribute to his campaigns for higher office. According to Indian surnames I identified in Bermudez's list of campaign contributors, this in fact has turned out to be the case. In 2002, when he first ran for state Assembly, Indian-Americans donated a total of $5320 to his campaign. In 2004, that amount increased to $22,528. While his 2002 contributions from Indian-Americans came from his friends in Norwalk, many of his contributions in 2004 came from his new friends in Artesia[9].

Bermudez introduced the bill, Assembly Concurrent Resolution 67 (ACR 67), on March 20, 2003. Artesia's City Council found out about it a week later through their lobbyist who regularly monitors legislative activity in Sacramento. After calling and emailing Bermudez's office about the bill and receiving no response, they called a special City Council Meeting in early April to discuss the issue with their community. Also attending that meeting were Keith

[9] Cal-Access (http://cal-access.ss.ca.gov/) provides campaign finance activity as reported by state candidates.

Malone, Bermudez's District Director, and Gloria Pulido, his field representative covering Artesia. City Council members expressed shock and anger that Bermudez had proposed this legislation. They wondered aloud why Bermudez would not want to work with the community and several key residents voiced strong opposition to the proposal. One of them was Paulo Menezes, then President of the *Divino Espirito Santo*, Artesia's Portuguese Community Center, who told the Council that Indian merchants were a great asset to the city but that Artesia was a diverse community and should promote all its shops equally. Lakshman Koka, whose family owns most of the commercial property on Pioneer Boulevard upon which many of the Indian businesses rent their retail space, told the Council that he had spent the afternoon collecting signatures from Indian merchants in support of the sign. Malone faced pointed questions from Council members as to why Bermudez did not come talk to them first. After hearing residents from diverse ethnic backgrounds express opposition to the bill and only a few Indian merchants in support of it, the City Council adjourned to meet in a few weeks. They agreed to have a resolution ready by then to officially oppose the sign and began preparing a notice to send to all residents and businesses in Artesia informing them of the proposal.

Recognizing the opposition within the community, Bermudez's office immediately reached out to the Portuguese, a key constituency in Artesia. The Portuguese migrated to Artesia in the 1920's and 1930's from the San Joaquin Valley. Along with Dutch migrants, the Portuguese took advantage of agricultural and farming opportunities created by the naturally flowing artesian wells. While many Portuguese left Artesia after developers converted the land to residential usage, the Portuguese, aided by a subsequent migration in the 1970's, still maintain a strong presence in the community.

Bermudez's aides went to the Portuguese Community Center a few days after the City Council meeting to speak with its President about the sign proposal. According to Bray-Ali, Menezes gave them a tour of their Community Center, built in 1927, which includes a social hall and a venue where the center holds an annual 'bloodless' bullfight. Bray-Ali suggested that they could amend the bill to include the Portuguese center on the freeway sign. He explained that including a reference to the Portuguese on the freeway sign would bring recognition to both communities. Menezes thought that was a great idea and agreed to the proposal, which Bermudez amended in Sacramento soon thereafter.

The City Council met again on April 22nd, and it soon became clear that this compromise would not dampen opposition. This meeting was an unusually long session by normal standards. After public comments, where most of the residents expressed opposition to ACR 67 and only Koka and a few other Indian business owners expressed support, the Council approved a resolution opposing ACR 67 and approved the hiring of lobbying services to represent the City's opposition to this proposal in Sacramento. The City Manager, Maria Dadian, told me that the City was not necessarily opposed to any signage, just signs that did not have the approval of the Council. They wanted to play a role in the process and would not have opposed the sign as long as they had had the opportunity to provide input. The City officially expressed opposition to acknowledging any ethnic community while ignoring others. According to the resolution, the City of Artesia has a long history of encounters with different immigrant communities and expressed pride in its diversity. To place a sign would, as the resolution states, have the 'effect of mistaking the City as the destination to merchants and cultural institutions of only the particular cultures mentioned on the sign contrary to the true composition of the city.'

While Artesia's City Council felt their powers usurped, other groups framed their opposition ethnically. Conflicting ethnic perceptions of the city appears to be a salient feature of the opposition among residents. While the Indian merchants wanted a 'Little India' sign for monetary reasons, many made their argument against the sign by referencing the small population of Indians in Artesia. By evoking demographics, they argued that the public identity of the area should not reflect a minority group. But it's also clear that the Little India sign would have challenged the conceptions of place held by other groups in the city. At the April 22, 2003 City Council meeting, one elderly white woman argued against the proposal by indicating that Artesia was just another 'small town in the U.S.A.' Marty Lopez and his family knocked on hundreds of doors to get petitions signed against the proposal. He told me that the consensus opinion among the hundreds of residents he spoke with was: 'I live in Artesia and I'm not Indian,' 'No, that's not representing me'.

The Portuguese, in particular, felt disrespected by the proposal. Many in the Portuguese community felt that if anyone deserved a freeway sign, it was them. On an NPR segment covering this dispute, David Laurenco, a Portuguese resident of Artesia, stated that most of the older Portuguese strongly opposed the proposed sign, '[b]ecause they've been here for probably over a hundred years, you know, and all of a sudden these people come in the last 15, 20 years, and they want to put a sign there'. And many members of the community criticized Paulo Menezes, Director of the Portuguese Community Center, for compromising with Bermudez's aides when he accepted their offer to include a reference to the Portuguese on the freeway sign.

On several occasions this ethnic tension became explicit. Malone often heard people in the audience of City Council meetings make comments like, 'Indians smell!' that made him wonder out loud whether Artesia was in fact located in L.A. County. Sumit Bahl, an Indian

jeweler in Artesia, told me that there were several emails sent out to residents and business owners that suggested that the 'Indians were taking over.' And it certainly did not help matters when Bermudez decided to take advantage of the ethnically charged comments and publicly accuse his opponents on Artesia's City Council of being racists. That accusation was particularly salient since both Mayor John Martins and Councilwomen Sally Zuniga-Flowers were both members of the Portuguese community. A bill analysis prepared by the Senate Republican Office of Policy recommends opposition to ACR 67 while acknowledging the content of some of the phone calls and letters they were receiving: '[w]hile the racial undercurrent in some of the opposition to this measure is reprehensible, it does not outweigh the overweening principle that the Legislature should not impose such a sign on a community that would clearly prefer that it not be erected'.

Residents were not the only people in Artesia who framed their opposition. The Non-Indian commercial property holders and retail merchants framed their opposition similarly. Real estate developer Paul Quong, whose Orange County firm was completing construction of a shopping center in Artesia, wrote in a letter to Mayor Martins that the 'Little India' freeway sign would 'limit the scope of the development [in Artesia] to Indian-only interests'. The public's perception of Artesia's population would encourage the development of more Indian related businesses, to the detriment of other business interests. Quong's shopping center, the largest development in Artesia, would house a Chinese supermarket and various East Asian related businesses. His letter made clear that the freeway sign would force him to reconsider further projects in the City. Many East Asian retail merchants also communicated similar sentiments in their letters to state lawmakers in Sacramento.

The inclusion of non-Indian entrepreneurs in the opposition reveals an important feature of this case. The Urban Fortunes model anticipates that the business elite within an urban area share the same monetary interests and act together as a class. Instead, this case shows that the ethnic labeling of an urban area can antagonize other ethnic groups and that this tension can fragment business interests. With business interests fragmented, politicians can become more than just subservient to business interests. Political actors can choose to support or oppose certain ethnic entrepreneurs and can play an active role in organizing business and residential interests toward that end.

Mayor Martins, for example, actively worked with Lopez and other residents and business groups in Artesia to oppose the proposal. According to Lopez, Mayor Martins attended monthly meetings held by opponents and played a key role in helping residents articulate their opposition in terms of the city's official position. The previous chains in emails Lopez sent to state lawmakers reveal that Mayor Martins, Lopez, and the City's new lobbyist, Bill Duplissea, coordinated letter writing and phone call campaigns to Sacramento lawmakers expressing opposition to the proposal. Moreover, Mayor Martins and Duplessia brought several residents to Sacramento to express their opposition before the Senate Transportation Committee. And on August 23rd, the group organized a protest. Through phone calls, emails, and fliers they brought together several hundred people at the Community Center, where the City Council meetings are held, to march down Pioneer Boulevard. The Mayor and two City Council members participated in the march as the crowd shouted slogans such as 'Say No to ACR 67!' and 'No to Little India!'

Bermudez countered this opposition by communicating to the media the rhetoric of cultural tourism. He emphasized Little India as a way to market the city to others by claiming, 'This is what puts Artesia on the map'. In a VOA news report, Bermudez argued that the Indian

business owners had been a huge economic boon to the city. Without the Indian merchants, he claimed, there would be a large hole in the budget of the city. He states:

> It's our hope that motorists will get off the 91 Freeway, onto Pioneer Boulevard, get out of their cars, and find wonderful restaurants, wonderful jewelry stores, fantastic spice stores, book stores, video stores and do shopping here. It will bring more motorists and patronage to Pioneer Boulevard. Everyone will prosper, every store-keeper.

Bermudez added in a *Los Angeles Times* article, 'What it merely does is create a directional sign on the exit to one of California's finest destinations'.

Bermudez's aides also attempted to organize the Indians merchants. Although Bermudez introduced this bill in consultation with certain Indian business owners, most of the Indian merchants who ran retail shops on Pioneer Boulevard did not know much about the proposal until Bray-Ali went from store to store informing them about the details of the bill. Bray-Ali indicated that the South Asian retail owners were not organized themselves. He initially tried to stage a meeting of Indian business owners back at Bermudez's office to discuss ways to support the bill, but only a handful of owners showed up. His office also attempted to revive the Little India Chamber of Commerce. Lying dormant since Mody's battle with the city over the designation sign, Bermudez's office staged their first meeting of the Little India Chamber of Commerce at the construction site of a new strip mall being developed by the Koka family.

With local and state governments organized around the freeway proposal, institutional relationships played a critical role in explaining why the freeway sign proposal failed. According to his former aides, Bermudez's unwillingness to personally engage with the opposition prevented any compromise. His former aides suggested that his relationship to Artesia City

Councilwoman Sally Zuniga-Flowers exacerbated this relationship. The Councilwoman challenged Bermudez in the primary for his 2002 district assembly seat, and Malone, who worked with Bermudez during the campaign, verified that his boss considered her entry into the race insulting. Mexican politicians engage in a patronage system of sorts. Younger Mexican politicians ally themselves with higher status ones in the expectation that when their mentors run for higher office the younger ones can replace them. When Zuniga-Flowers ran against Bermudez in 2002, he felt that he had put in his time on the Norwalk City Council and viewed Zuniga-Flowers's challenge as disrespectful.

There was also no structural incentive for Bermudez to work with the Artesia City Council. Bermudez had complete control over the political process. From a legislative standpoint, he did not need to compromise with anyone on the Artesia City Council. And Artesia did not fall within the boundaries of the Senate seat for which he intended to run in 2004. He could get this sign for the Indians, expand his fundraising base, and get all the attention without involvement from Artesia's local government.

But the City of Artesia hired a lobbyist with effective political connections in Sacramento. The City Council retained Bill Duplissea to represent Artesia for the sum of $5000 per month, a high amount to pay for a small city. According to Bermudez's aides, the 6 foot 5 garrulous man visited Bermudez's district office and had an opportunity to speak with Bermudez and his staff. Duplissea jokingly thanked Bermudez for putting his kids through college and managed to convince Bermudez that he was more interested in prolonging his monetary relationship with Artesia than finding a way to subvert the proposal.

In reality, Duplissea was busy working with Artesia's City Manager, The City of Riverside, and state Senator John Beniot's office to undercut the proposal. Senator Beniot, whose

district represents the City of Riverside, introduced legislation in the state Senate in February 2004 that would require any local municipality in California to approve the content of a sign pertaining to 'culturally unique and historically significant' communities before Caltrans could erect a designation. This provision would have effectively given Artesia's City Council control over the erection of the sign. Duplissea worked his connections in the legislature to ensure that the provision came up for a vote. Without realizing it, Bermudez voted for the provision about two weeks before he finally got the legislature to approve ACR 67. But by then it was too late, since Bermudez and the rest of the legislature already approved a bill that undercut his own legislative strategy. On August 16th Governor Schwarzenegger signed into law legislation giving every city, town, or county in the State of California final authority over the placement of freeway signs pertaining to 'culturally unique and historically significant communities.' With the city now capable of officially considering the issue, the City Council held meetings in late 2004 and early 2005 to discuss alternatives to the proposed Little India sign. In February 2005 the City officially rejected the proposed Little India sign.

The campaign to brand the ethnic retail district as Little India failed because an effective opposition formed that derailed the legislation. While success stories of ethnic place naming (Lin 1995; Light 2006) often highlight a unified business and political class, this proposal exposed a highly fragmented political, economic, and social arena. The Little India proposal fragmented the ethnic businesses in the City of Artesia, where non-Indian businesses actively lobbied local politicians against the sign because they believed it would put their businesses at a disadvantage. Ethnic constituencies – in particular, the Portuguese – opposed the signage because they viewed the 'Little India' sign as disrespectful; it would honor the presence of a minority population at the expense of theirs, who had a presence in Artesia for a much longer time period.

Disrespect also motivated the Artesia City Council to oppose Bermudez's proposal. Rudy sought to change the public identity of the City of Artesia without first informing the City Council. And once the City learned about the resolution, Bermudez neither consulted nor negotiated with them. Ultimately, the City Council opposed the resolution not only because its own residents and businesses opposed it, but also because they were never consulted by Bermudez before filing the state resolution. As Artesia's elected officials, the City Council had ultimate jurisdiction over changing the place identity of the city. This case also reveals that cooperation and coordination (or lack thereof) among key institutional actors are important to the ethnic labeling process. The nature of the relationships between key institutional actors – Bermudez with Zuniga-Flowers or Duplessia with Senator Beniot's office – helps explain why this resolution failed.

The Importance of Political Brokers

In cases where conflict breaks out between local area businesses and residents, as in the failed 'Little India' proposal, the involvement of political brokers are critical if a municipality is to approve an official designation. This section will compare the stories of two attempts at an official designation in the City of L.A.: Historic Central American District and Little Bangladesh. In the case of Little Bangladesh, a local politician decided to mediate an agreement between Bangladeshi and Korean entrepreneurs who opposed the designation. The importance of this politician's actions are highlighted by the absolute lack of a political broker in the case of the Historic Central American District. Contrasting these two cases shows that the degree of involvement from local politicians in mediating disputes determines whether a City approves an official designation.

Historic Central American District

In 2004, Alfredo Santos, Executive Director of El Rescate, a community-based organization that provides social services to Central Americans and other immigrants in the Pico-Union neighborhood of Los Angeles, filed a petition with the City Clerk's office for an official designation honoring Central Americans. He advocated calling a large portion of the Pico-Union neighborhood the 'Historic Central American District.' Alfredo received support from his local Councilmember, Ed Reyes, and Mayor Villariagosa for the official designation. But as opposition grew to Alfredo's proposal from local residents and local Central American activists, Ed Reyes backed off of his support.

Central Americans, many of whom are refugees as well as undocumented, began moving into the Pico-Union neighborhood during the early to mid-1980's as civil wars raged throughout Central America. According to the 2010 Census, Central Americans represent a significant presence in the neighborhood at 29% of the population, while Mexicans and Whites are 39% and 35% percent of the population respectively. Alfredo came to Los Angeles from El Salvador during the mid-1980's and established a social service agency in the Pico-Union area to provide social welfare and legal services to the local Latino population. As the City came to recognize Thai Town, BLQ, and other ethnic places, Alfredo decided to request an official designation for Central Americans. He was aware of the public and private resources available to those individuals and organizations that are able to successfully brand their urban areas as ethnic places, and hoped that a designation would allow him to direct more resources into the Pico-Union neighborhood (Santos Interview 2010).

The petition for an ethnic designation ran into trouble very soon after it was filed with the City Clerk's office. As Alfredo went to neighborhood council meetings to discuss his proposal with residents and entrepreneurs, he was met with fierce resistance from local area business owners and community organizers. Newspaper articles showed fierce opposition from local area businesses not identified with the Central American community. One Jewish business owner articulated opposition to the official designation because it would efface the history of Jewish residents in the neighborhood several decades earlier, many of whom have since left the area (Watanabe 2007).

Another opponent of the designation, Beth Flores, the Executive Director of the Pico-Union Housing Corporation, a non-profit that provides public housing for the poor in the Pico-Union neighborhood, also expressed her opposition to the designation. A second-generation Chilean immigrant, Beth grew up in the Pico-Union neighborhood and even played a role in the City's designation of the neighborhood as 'Pico-Union' in the late 1970's. She told me that when she heard about the proposed designation, she called Ed Reyes and voiced her opposition. She told him that Pico-Union was a diverse neighborhood and that it was unfair to honor the Central Americans at the expense of other immigrant communities in the area. She was also concerned that an official designation would heighten tensions between the Mexican and Central American gangs in the neighborhood.

In addition to external opposition, Alfredo also faced opposition from other Central American activists. Carlos Rivera, the Executive Director of the Salvadorian American Leadership & Education Fund (SALEF), also filed a petition with the City Clerk's office to designate the Pico-Union neighborhood as 'Central American Historic Town,' a slight variation on Alfredo's place name. Interestingly, the official boundaries chosen by Carlos placed Alfredo's

community organization outside of the designated area. In my conversation with Alfredo, he expressed anger and outrage at Carlos's petition and argued that it fractured their unity.

Ed Reyes and Mayor Villaraigosa, both of whom initially expressed support to Alfredo for the official designation, backed off their support as calls were made to their offices by business owners and residents expressing opposition to the proposed ethnic place name. In response to local area opposition and the alternative proposals submitted by Carlos and Alfredo, Ed Reyes requested that the Community Redevelopment Association of Los Angeles (CRA-LA) fund a study on the feasibility of such as designation for the Pico-Union neighborhood. As the request made its way through the CRA bureaucracy, Dan Baron, a Public Affairs officer from the CRA's Hollywood Division, contacted Chanhira Murphy of the Thai CDC and asked that she submit a bid to work on this project. Dan and Chanhira had known each other for years working on developmental issues in the East Hollywood area. Her organization was one of three to submit a bid to conduct the study, with the Thai CDC eventually winning the contract (Murphy Interview 2012).

Chanhira and her organization began work on bringing together various businesses and residents in support of the designation. She held public meetings for business owners and residents and prepared a presentation outlining the benefits of a local area designation for economic development and cultural tourism. She sent her staff to talk to the business owners in the Pico-Union area. Her staff conducted a survey of business owners to get their perspective on the designation and what to officially name the area. The Thai CDC was expected to generate a final report that would be officially presented to Ed Reyes, with local area business owners and the heads of social service agencies, many of whom opposed the designation, in attendance (Phan Interview 2010). As of 2012, conflict between Alfredo and Carlos, as well as Gloria's

continued opposition, is holding up the final report. When I spoke to Chanhira about the disagreement between the various parties, she told me that it was ultimately up to them to work together to resolve their dispute.

Ed Reyes's stance on the external and internal opposition to Alfredo's proposal was to have a third-party organization try to bring all the local stakeholders together. This strategy has proven to be not very successful, as after a decade of negotiations, the City has still not approved an official designation honoring Central Americans in the Pico-Union neighborhood. The next set of related cases, however, shows that conflicts over an official designation can be resolved when a local politician gets directly involved in solving a dispute.

Little Bangladesh and Koreatown

In September of 2010, Council Members Tom LaBonge and Eric Garcetti and Mayor Antonio Villaragosa attended a public ceremony with Bangladeshi business owners and community members to designate West Third Street, between South Hampshire Avenue and South Alexandria Avenue, as 'Little Bangladesh.' Within this three block area is located several Bangladeshi owned businesses, such as a grocery store, two restaurants, and a liquor store, among a few other establishments. Like the Historic Central America Town proposal, the request for a Little Bangladesh designation was fraught with political controversy. But unlike the previous case, the proposal by Bangladeshi business owners succeeded where Alfredo failed. This is primarily due to the mediation efforts of Tom LaBonge.

The political opposition to the Little Bangladesh proposal primarily stems from its location inside Koreatown. As of the 2010 Census, Koreans account for 18% and Mexicans 16% of the area surrounding Little Bangladesh. And surrounding the Bangladeshi businesses are

numerous Korean, Guatemalan, and Salvadorian businesses. Yet Bangladeshi businesses began growing in the area that would become Little Bangladesh during the early-1980's. The 2012 American Community Survey estimates that 4,317 Bangladeshi's live in Los Angeles County. The Bangladeshi Consul General, however, believes that the number is as high as 10,000-15,000, with a large proportion of that number residing near the newly designated area (Jang 2009).

In October of 2008, several Bangladeshi business owners filed a petition with the City Clerk's office requesting a designation for a Little Bangladesh. The original proposed boundaries encompassed a 50-block area: 3rd Street would serve as the northern boundary, Wilshire Avenue as the southern, Vermont Avenue as the western, and Western Avenue as the eastern. The proposed boundary would have incorporated a large section of what is publicly considered Koreatown. As per the new naming policy established in 2006, the City Clerk's office forwarded the petition to the Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council (WC-KNC), whose neighborhood boundaries would include the newly proposed Little Bangladesh.

There was an immediate outcry when the WC-KNC learned of the proposed Little Bangladesh designation. Almost immediately, Koreatown business leaders, such as Chun Kim, Executive Director of the Koreatown Chamber of Commerce and Brad Lee, a Boardmember of the WC-KNC, called the Offices of Council Members Tom LaBonge and Eric Garcetti. Koreatown, and the proposed boundaries of Little Bangladesh, fall in both of the Council Members' political districts. In my conversation with Nikki Ezhari, Deputy District Director to Council Member Tom LaBonge, Chun Kim and Brad Lee communicated to Nikki and her boss that the proposed area was already designated as Koreatown and portions of it should not be renamed as Little Bangladesh (Kim Interview 2011).

This sentiment was detailed in the response written by the WC-KNC to the City Clerk's office. The written response expressed opposition to the Bangladeshi proposal. The letter detailed two lines of argument. First, while Koreatown is not the official name of the urban area, it is unofficially known as such by the broader public and the designation is employed by the city's many administrative agencies. And second, given that Koreatown serves as a destination place due its restaurants and other commercial businesses, a renaming of the area would reduce the revenue streams currently enjoyed by entrepreneurs in the area.[10]

Despite these arguments, however, the advocates against a Little Bangladesh designation faced a significant hurdle: 'Koreatown' may be the *de facto* place name for the local area, but it certainly was not the *de jure* name. During the early 1980's, the City of Los Angeles had no formal procedure for naming local urban areas. At the time, Korean property owners communicated their desire to local politicians, who accommodated their request by instructing the Department of Transportation to erect 'Koreatown' street signs. There was no paper work filed with the City Clerk's Office, no public hearings with the majority Latino population to hear their concerns, nor any official correspondences with other local area stakeholders. By 2008, however, when Bangladeshi businesses became interested in their own ethnic designation, the City of L.A. had developed a formalized set of procedures to name an urban area (See Chapter 3 for more details on the City's official naming policy). The informal nature of Koreatown's designation provided the Bangladeshis with an opportunity to name an area of their own.

With the Korean business owners at a disadvantage, Chun Kim filed a petition for an official 'Koreatown' designation in March of 2009. The proposed boundaries encompassed urban areas informally understood by the public as Koreatown, but also included local areas

[10] Community Impact Statement – Opposition to "Little Bangladeshi" Neighborhood Designation. City of Los Angeles (Council File 08-2885) March 17, 2009.

understood as belonging to the Pico-Union neighborhood. As a result, several Mexican and Central American activists organized as the 'Latino Coalition' to oppose the extension of Koreatown's official boundaries into Pico-Union.

By March 2009, Council Members in the City of Los Angeles had three ethnic constituencies to contend with as they considered two proposed ethnic designations. According to the City's official naming policy, the Education and Neighborhood Committee of the L.A. City Council, Chaired by Paul Krekorian, would consider the competing Koreatown and Little Bangladesh proposals. Council Member Tom LaBonge, who also sat on the committee, became involved as Korean and Bangladeshi business owners began to directly lobby him for their respective designations (Sanjurjo Interview 2010).

According to Nikki Ezhari, Deputy Director to Tom LaBonge, the Councilmember felt that he could not deny the Bangladeshis a designation, given that there were already other ethnic designations in the City, such as Thai Town, Little Armenia, and many others. He met with the Bangladeshi business owners several times, not just to discuss the designation but to also encourage them to participate in community events, such as neighborhood clean-ups and the monthly WC-KNC meetings. The Korean entrepreneurs – who were mostly represented by Chun Kim and Brad Lee – also met with Tom and demanded that he reject any Little Bangladesh designation.

The Korean entrepreneur's demands were taken seriously by Tom LaBonge. The Koreans are well organized and are able to turn people out to events. Tom and Nikki, for example, were both astonished when Chun Kim turned out several hundred Koreans at a neighborhood clean-up event several months earlier. The organizational power of the Korean entrepreneurs initially resulted in Tom trying to convince the Bangladeshis to accepting something less than an official

designation. Tom first proposed a monument on 3rd Street to honor the Bangladeshi presence in the area (Jang 2009). After the Bangladeshi business owners balked at the proposal for a monument, Tom then came back with an offer to designate 3rd Street as 'The International Mile.' This proposal, as well, did not placate the Bangladeshis, and Tom soon realized that he would have to grant the Bangladeshis their request, given that the City had already recognized several other urban areas as ethnic.

Tom eventually told the Koreans that they would have to accept a Little Bangladesh. Once the Koreans realized that they would have no choice but to accept a designation, they began to negotiate with Tom over the specific boundaries. According to Nikki, they wanted to contain the urban area that would be designated for the Bangladeshis. In particular, they did not want a Little Bangladesh street sign on Vermont Avenue. Korean entrepreneurs felt that Vermont Avenue represented an important commercial corridor for their businesses and strenuously lobbied Tom against a street sign there.

Eventually, both the Bangladeshi and Korean entrepreneurs reluctantly agreed to the final designation for Little Bangladesh, which would result in an ethnic designation for a three block commercial corridor, rather than the originally proposed 50 block area. On November 3rd, 2009, Tom met with Korean and Bangladeshi entrepreneurs on 3rd Street to confirm the final boundaries. Both were reluctant to sign off on the final agreed upon proposal. The Bangladeshis wanted a much larger area designated as Little Bangladesh and the Koreans would have preferred no designation at all, but Tom forced both to verbally accept the final boundaries for Little Bangladeshi with members of both constituencies on Third Street (Lopez 2009).

Before the City Council officially passed a motion approving of the negotiated agreement, Tom and Nikki had to first finalize the official boundaries of Koreatown. According

to my conversation with Chun Kim, the Korean entrepreneurs held a meeting in early 2009 to discuss their own boundaries for an official designation of Koreatown. The proposed boundaries, Chun agreed, were much larger than an area publicly understood as Koreatown. The proposed eastern borders cut into Ed Reyes First Council District. As Chun Kim attended the Pico Union Neighborhood Council to present the proposed boundaries, many Latinos voiced opposition and formalized their position in a formal statement to the City Clerk's office.

Ernie Perez, the Vice President of the Pico-Union Neighborhood Council and a political aide to Council Member Jose Huizar, partnered up with Raul Claros, a former aide to CA State Assembly Member Mike Davis. They contacted every Mexican and Central American organization located within the proposed boundaries of Koreatown that also fell within the Pico-Union Neighborhood Council. They all agreed to form a 'Latino Coalition' to be headed by Ernie and Raul. At the April 2010 meeting of the Education and Neighborhood Committee of the L.A. City Council, both Erick and Raul appeared with Chun Kim, Brad Lee and other representatives of the Korean entrepreneurs. Both Ernie and Raul strenuously objected to the proposed boundaries. Speaking before the Committee, the representatives of the Latino Coalition said that while the Korean entrepreneurs represent many of the businesses, the residents are largely Latino and historically that area has been known as Pico-Union (Perez Interview 2010).

Tom LaBonge met with the Korean representatives and members of the Latino Coalition at first separately but later together to hammer out a compromise. Chun Lee told me during our conversation that he had no choice but to scale the boundaries back, since the Latinos represent the large majority of the population. According to Nikki, Ed Reyes also voiced opposition to having Koreatown in his political district. Ed believed that an extension of Koreatown into his district would lend legitimacy to the Central American request for a designation, which had

caused much controversy. As a result, the Koreans agreed to move back their eastern boundary to Vermont Street. And in August of 2010, after Tom LaBonge hammered out a three-way compromise with the Bangladeshis, Koreans, and Latinos, the City Council approved official boundaries for both Little Bangladesh and Koreatown.

The proposal for a Little Bangladesh created a political headache for Tom LaBonge, as the designation of Historic Central America town did for Ed Reyes. But unlike Ed Reyes, Tom LaBonge decided to mediate an agreement between all the relevant stakeholders. Comparing these two cases highlights the importance of having a political broker – a local politician that is willing to hammer out an agreement between supporters and opponents of an official designation. When a local politician is not willing to enter the fray, such as Ed Reyes, an ethnic proposal can languish.

Conclusion

The negative cases in this chapter collectively show the importance of a political sociological approach to urban development. The Urban Fortunes framework has downplayed the role of politicians by suggesting that they are corrupted by urban developers. Moreover, the growth machine perspective views the business elite as a monolith. The failed Little India case, however, shows that the business elite can fragment ethnically and can align with residents in opposition to other ethnically framed business interests.

In cases where a proposal results in ethnic conflict, political context determines whether official designations succeed or fail. Local politicians play a critical role as adjudicators of conflict. Their interests, motivations, and relationships with one another can also shape the outcome of urban development projects in the city. Whether activists were unified, leaders were

present, or a local politician was willing to broker an agreement, urban politics was crucial to the formation of L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago.

Conclusion

This dissertation has shown how the demographic changes initiated by immigration reform and the social movements of the 1960's have established a new 'collective act' responsible for shaping the public identity of ethnic spaces in Los Angeles. With new immigrant populations arriving to Los Angeles and the increasing demands by community-based organizations for ethnic place names, local politicians have come to support these requests as an opportunity to appeal to ethnic constituencies. Unlike the Chicago School's ecological model, which deemphasizes politics, and the growth machine framework, which prioritizes the interests of the business elite, the public recognition of urban areas can best be explained by the role of local politicians engaged in symbolic politics during a historical period when demographic changes are transforming American cities and university-trained activists are making demands for a place name as a means of enhancing their political authority.

L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago shows how sociological theories of urban change no longer provide a full account of changes to the twenty-first century city. Existing theories of urban change were developed during earlier periods in the development of the city, and in part, reflect social processes that were dominant during those eras. The Chicago School's ecological model established the residential population as the basis of a local area's public identity. The central paradox that has animated this study, however, is that ethnically named areas in Los Angeles highlight a minority ethnic population rather than the majority.

The Urban Fortunes framework also cannot entirely explain ethnic place naming. Growth machine advocates posit that neighborhood organizations are inexorably opposed to the business and political elite. However, in cases such as Thai Town and the Byzantine-Latino Quarter,

community-based organizations are working with local area businesses to spur economic growth. The local control that is gained through ethnic place naming is designed to promote, rather than inhibit, economic development. This perspective, moreover, does not take into account ethnic populations and how residential populations and the business elite can fracture along ethnic lines. As the failed Little India proposal shows, ethnic tensions can flare up and fracture the social structure of a locality when an ethnic place name that highlights a minority ethnic population is proposed.

The cultural tourism perspective, which builds upon the Urban Fortunes framework, also does not adequately explain the creation of ethnic places in the contemporary city. Little Armenia is primarily a residential population with a whole host of community institutions. It was only after the recognition of Thai Town that Armenians demanded their own form of recognition. In the case of Historic Filipinotown, very few Filipino-owned businesses exist. Local area activists had been making claims for a 'Filipinotown' for decades and only had their claim acknowledged when Eric Garcetti courted their political support. While earlier cases of ethnic place naming, such as Koreatown and Little Saigon, more closely conform to the cultural tourism perspective, a desire for local control and respect motivate claim-making after 1999.

The processes and conditions responsible for L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago challenge urban sociology's 'top-down' conceptualization of urban change. Urban renewal projects, which inspired the development of the growth machine framework, have encouraged an elite driven perspective of urban change. The collective act responsible for ethnic place naming demonstrates a more complex understanding of how local areas of the city are developing public identities. Rather than top-down social processes, local actors are responsible for L.A.'s new archipelago. When local politicians recognized Thai Town and the Byzantine-Latino Quarter in the early

1990's, public signage and media dissemination inspired others to make their own claims. And as early cases legitimized these claims, local politicians were put into the position of supporting requests. The diffusion of ethnic place naming in the early 2000's also led to a wholesale institutionalization of ethnic place naming. City and state laws that regulated place naming emerged in response to naming conflicts in different parts of Los Angeles, and a professional network of activists and city bureaucrats have worked to facilitate ethnic place naming and creating funding sources for local area organizations in these ethnic areas.

The 'bottom-up,' or more organic, processes responsible for ethnic place naming is consistent with new research in urban sociology that describes grass-roots movements that are shaping the public character of urban spaces (Katz 2010; Lin 2011; Wherry 2011; Deener 2012). Katz has argued that the decentralization of funding sources since the 1960's has provided local activists with new opportunities to shape the public identity of urban spaces. As the federal government has withdrawn from its direct involvement in urban development and local governments have not inserted themselves into the political vacuum, local activists have responded by claiming more local control over urban areas by creating historic neighborhoods, art districts, and 'bohemian' areas, among others. Ethnic place naming, therefore, should be viewed as part of a broader grass-roots movement that is responsible for creating a series of new cultural archipelagos in Los Angeles.

While the industrial city inspired the Chicago School's ecological model and urban renewal projects during the post-World War II era animated the Urban Fortunes framework, neither of these theories entirely explains urban change in the contemporary city. Rather than relying on earlier theories of urban change to explain contemporary social phenomena, urban sociologists should be attempting to identify new social processes responsible for urban change.

This dissertation's focus on how grass-roots movements have obtained social control over an urban area highlights the unique importance of political processes and conditions to urban change. The Chicago School's analytical focus on ecological changes led generations of urban sociologists to downplay the effect of politics on urban social life. Growth machine proponents, on the other hand, sought to correct this analytical deficiency of the Chicago School but their Marxist orientation prevented them from appreciating the full complexity of urban political processes and conditions.

By examining the political processes and conditions responsible for ethnic place naming, this dissertation finds that demographic changes and the ideology of local area activists have transformed the political careers of local politicians in the central city. This is best exemplified by the changes in the political mobilization and public presentation of local politicians in the East Hollywood area, around which is found the largest concentration of officially recognized ethnic places in Los Angeles. When Robert and Peggy Stevenson were members of the City Council during the late-1960's and 1970's, Hollywood politicians could afford to ignore ethnic minorities given that Whites were the majority. But with immigration reform and the rise of respect politics during the 1980's, local politicians must now publicly embrace the multicultural diversity of the city. A politician must represent that change, as was the case for Michael Woo or Jackie Goldberg, whose ethnic and sexual identities allowed them to symbolize multicultural Los Angeles and mobilize minorities on that basis. If a local politician's social identity does not represent the city's multicultural diversity, they must find a way to identify with various ethnic constituencies, as Eric Garcetti has done by supporting requests for ethnic place names.

Supporting a request for an ethnic place name, however, is not necessarily done to mobilize an ethnic constituency for a particular election. While Garcetti supported the Historic

Filipinotown initiative in a tight race, there are other cases where politicians supported requests in the hopes of advancing future political ambitions, like Rudy Bermudez's support for the failed Little India proposal. The political gains garnered by supporting a request may be limited in a particular election given low voter turnout in the Hollywood Flatlands. Ethnic place naming, however, may be more beneficial to politicians as they pursue higher office. The advent of term limits in California incentivizes politicians to concern themselves with their next election. In the City of Los Angeles, Council Members are forced out of office after three terms and state legislators are termed out after 12 years. As a result, local politicians may be less committed to mobilizing specific constituencies to win their next election, but more interested in appealing to future voters when running for higher public office.

This type of symbolic politics only occurs within areas of the city that do not have an organized political machine as generally found in other parts of the city. In East and South Los Angeles, the ethnic homogeneity of Latinos and African-Americans has generated very established practices to winning public office. While not formal political machines as are present in Midwestern and East Coast cities, these 'machines' disincentivize politicians from supporting ethnic place naming. In South Los Angeles, for example, Sonenshein (1993) has shown that two major political machines have existed. One organized by Congresswoman Maxine Waters and the other by Mark Ridley-Thomas, who partially inherited his political support from former Mayor Tom Bradley. In order to win elected office in the South Los Angeles area, aspiring politicians must align themselves with one of the political organizations in the area. Local politics is also highly organized in East Los Angeles, as the teacher, prison, and labor unions provide organized venues through which Latino politicians are able to build support and win public office.

These well-established political machines provide a highly organized procedure for aspiring politicians to win elected office. These political organizations inhibit the type of grass-roots outreach often found in East Hollywood that tends to lead to ethnic place naming, such as Eric Garcetti's outreach to the Filipino population in the Temple/Beverly area. The deference that is paid by local politicians in the machine to politicians in higher office also inhibits the support for ethnic place naming as conflict could arise. The old adage of machine politicians to 'make no waves' applies here. The conflict over Historic Central America Town is instructive, as Ed Reyes's initial support for an ethnic designation resulted in opposition by several local area actors. In Boyle Heights and Leimert, this type of conflict would make the sort of waves that would hurt a local politicians chance to rise up through the local political organization.

The type of local political organizations present in East and South Los Angeles do not exist in the Hollywood area, providing an incentive for local politicians to reach out and respond to requests by ethnic constituents and use populations. It is this lack of a central political organization in the Hollywood Flatlands and surrounding areas that distinguishes Los Angeles politics from other cities. Midwestern and Eastern cities have long-standing political machines. While ethnic place naming has also occurred in cities like New York and Chicago, which have also experienced transformative demographic changes, the lack of a central political machine has allowed this social phenomenon to flourish more in Los Angeles.

The lack of central political organizations, particularly near the central city, distinguishes Los Angeles politics from other regions of the country, but the city's low voter turnout and high-rates of mobility is shared by other American cities. The recent claims by use populations for ethnic place names reveals a unique way in which local politics impacts social life in Los Angeles. L.A.'s new ethnic archipelago exposes a problem with the residence-based voting

system in the central city. With highly mobile populations that live in one area of the city but work in other areas and a decline in voter turnout, use populations have emerged as significant interest groups in the central city. Given that use populations do not have an official mechanism to shape policy, this dissertation has argued that ethnic place naming is a critical means by which they gain local control over an urban area.

The question of incorporating use populations into political participatory mechanisms has been extensively debated among scholars and policy makers. This has been particularly relevant in Los Angeles, which created a neighborhood council system in 1999. Policy makers and the public vigorously debated giving use populations official decision-making authority, but ultimately the final version of Charter Reform did not given them any power. Through ethnic place naming, however, use populations are able to have a say in a proposed development, place demands on the city budget, and acquire a form of respect that the political system otherwise denies them. This dissertation's ultimate contribution lies in showing how the contemporary realities of urban social life in the central city expose a weakness in our urban democracy. This weakness may only be rectified by giving use populations in Los Angeles and other American cities greater decision-making authority over urban areas.

Appendix A

List of Interviewees

Name	Role	Year	Cases/Topic
Anastas, Amy	Urban Planner	2009	Little Ethiopia
Asfaw, Makeda	Activist	2009	Little Ethiopia
Backstrom, Paul	Aide to Jack Weiss	2009	Little Ethiopia
Bahl, Sumit	Entrepreneur	2007	Little India
Ballas, Jeff	Priest	2011	BLQ
Benti, Negasi	Activist	2012	Little Ethiopia
Bray-Ali, Josif	Aide to Rudy Bermudez	2007	Little India
Carpio, Ryan	Aide to Eric Garcetti	2009	Historic Filipinotown
Dadian, Maria	City Manager, Artesia	2007	Little India
Davis, Mark	Aide to Paul Kortez	2011	Persian Square
Ezhari, Nikki	Aide to Tom LaBonge	2010	Little Bangladesh
Fischer, Greg	Local Historian	2010	Naming Policy
Flores, Beth	Community Organizer	2010	Historic Central America District
Flores, Roselyn	Activist	2009	Historic Filipinotown
Fujimoto, Jack	Historian	2011	Japantown
Garcia, Rocio	Community Organizer	2010	Historic Central America District
Guinto-Rosenfeld, C.	Activist	2009	Historic Filipinotown
Helmi, Alex	Entrepreneur	2011	Persian Square
Hoppes, Shannon	City Clerk's Office	2010	Naming Policy
Kim, Chun	Entrepreneur	2011	Koreatown
Jafarey, Naadir	Entrepreneur	2007	Little India
LaBonge, Tom	L.A. Councilmember	2010	Little Bangladesh
Lopez, Marty	Resident	2007	Little India
Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia	UCLA Professor	2010	BLQ
Mack, Karen	Founder, LA Commons	2010	None

Malone, Keith	Aide to Rudy Bermudez	2007	Little India
Mercado, Harry	Aide to Eric Garcetti	2009	Historic Filipinotown
Misry, Omar	Urban Planner	2011	Little Arabia
Mody, Rohit	Entrepreneur	2007	Little India
Murphy, Chanhira	Community Organizer	2011, 12	Thai Town
Ocampo, John	Library Employee	2009	Historic Filipinotown
Ong, Paul	UCLA Professor	2012	Little Ethiopia
Perez, Ernie	Aide to Jose Huizar	2011	Koreatown
Peterson, Beth	Founder, LA Commons	2010	None
Phan, Marla	Urban Planner	2010	Historic Central American Town
Ramos, Frank	Activist	2009	Historic Filipinotown
Rodriguez, Noreen	Urban Planner	2010	BLQ
Salazar, Joey	Community Organizer	2009	Historic Filipinotown
Sanjurjo, Erik	Aide to Tom LaBonge	2010	Naming Policy
Santos, Alfredo	Community Organizer	2010	Historic Central America Town
Seng, Rith	Entrepreneur	2010	Cambodia Town
Silva, Daniel	Resident	2007	Little India
Takahashi, Bob	Community Organizer	2012	API 5
Tekle, Abebe	Activist	2009	Little Ethiopia
Tennant, Nikki	Aide to B. Lowenthal	2010	Cambodia Town
Thomasian, Badysar	Aide to Jackie Goldberg	2010	Little Armenia
Wellington, Stacy	UCLA Asian Studies	2012	API 5
White, Jeffrey	Son of Hillary W.	2009	Historic Filipinotown
Woo, Michael	L.A. Councilmember	2013	Council District 13

Appendix B

Voting Data – Precincts and Census Tracts

Census Tracts/Block Groups:

1940 Flats: 85, 86

1940 Hills: 52, 55

1970 Flats: 1911, 1912.01, 1912.02

1970 Hills: 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896

2000 Flats: 1911.10, 1911.20, 1912.01, 1912.03, 1912.04

2000 Hills: 1892 (BG 1, 2, 3), 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896 (BG 2 and 3)

Precincts:

1936 Flats: 1250, 1251, 1252, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274

1936 Hills: 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621

1965 Flats: 1326, 1327, 1328, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1353, 1254, 1355, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1375, 1737, 4780

1967 Hills: 1065, 1068, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1810, 1811, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, 3636, 3637, 3639, 4364, 4564, 4565, 4566, 5195

1969 Flats: 728, 743, 744, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 853, 854, 857, 858, 859, 2946

1971 Hills: 683, 684, 700, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1197, 1198, 2919

1973 Flats: 728, 743, 744, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 853, 854, 857, 858, 2946

1973 Hills: 684, 700, 701, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1197, 1198, 2879, 2919, 3173

2001 Flats: 9000859A, 9005118B, 9000546A, 9000551A, 9000481A, 9000750A

2003 Hills: 9000262A, 9000263A, 9000317A, 9000684A, 9000684B, 9000700D, 9000712A, 9000715A, 9000879A, 9001191A, 9001194A, 9003981A, 9004026A, 9005117A

2005 Flats: 9000481A, 9000750A, 9000859C, 9000546A, 9000551B, 9000859A

2007 Hills: 9000262A, 9000263A, 9000317A, 9000684A, 9000712A, 9000715A, 9001191A, 9001196B, 9003981A, 9004026A, 9005117A

2009 Flats: 9000481A, 9000551C, 9000750A, 9000844C, 9000859A

2009 Hills: 9000317A, 9000684A, 9000700A, 9000712A, 9000715A, 9001191B, 9001194A, 9001824A, 9003981A, 9005117A

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