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Putting Ethnicity on the Map: The Making, Contesting, and Assessing of Claims for the Formal Recognition of Ethnic Places

DISSERTATION

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by

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CURRICULUM VITAE

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Putting Ethnicity on the Map: The Making, Contesting, and Assessing of Claims for the Formal Recognition of Ethnic Places

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This study is about efforts to formally recognize ethnic places, or areas of noted ethnic spatial concentration. What we now see with efforts to formally recognize ethnic places is a sense of voluntary spatial concentration that is also actively claimed and asserted – i.e., voluntary concentration in its perhaps most heightened form. Formally named and demarcated ethnic places may be commonly seen, but this is not to say they arise without contention and conflict, nor that such efforts for recognition are always successful. If what we now see are not just ethnic spatial concentrations but formally recognized ones, this probes the question of how and why these come to be so. Studying formal recognitions necessitates a discussion regarding claims. How and why are claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places made, contested, and assessed? What key factors influence these processes? Why is official recognition sought? Why is it opposed? Why do some bids for formal recognition succeed while others fail?

I first conduct an in-depth study of the City of Los Angeles, which houses the majority of formally recognized ethnic places in southern California. I then conduct case studies of four ethnic places, in three southern California city contexts: Koreatown and Little Bangladesh in Los

Angeles, Cambodia Town in Long Beach, and "Little India" in Artesia. In analyzing how and why claims for the formal recognition of these places are made, contested, and assessed, I examine the influence of the legislative and bureaucratic context, issues relating to legitimacy, and the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents.

Ethnic places tend to be commercially oriented. They tend to be racially/ethnically diverse, especially with respect to their residential base, but often also with respect to the business community. Claims to formally recognize ethnic places tend to be most opposed in contexts where there is a competing history and claim to that place – i.e., when there is a strong sense of "investedness" by others in the community. In this, the policy context matters, in terms of whether precedents exist, as does whether sufficient outreach to the surrounding community has been conducted.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The spatial concentration of ethnic groups, particularly those of immigrant ethnic minorities, is by no means new to the American urban landscape. Ethnic spatial concentration has been and continues to be an important and telling part of American cities. Given the racial/ethnic diversity that is characteristic of the United States, race/ethnic relations and group identities are important political concerns whose salience take on new dimensions when thought of in connection to place. In a context such as southern California, characterized by its racial/ethnic diversity and large immigrant population, ethnic places are quite common sights. Moreover, these places are often named and marked so via road signage – i.e., street or freeway signs – signifying formal recognition by local governments. In this motorist-centered setting it is therefore common to encounter particular signs dotting the urban landscape. Such signs might point to places such as Little Saigon, Historic Filipinotown, or Little Tokyo.

In defining "place," John Agnew (1987) explains that "Interwoven in the concept of place…are three major elements: *locale*, the settings in which social relations are constituted (these can be informal or institutional); *location*, the geographical area encompassing the settings for social interaction as defined by social and economic processes operating at a wider scale; and *sense of place*, the local 'structure of feeling'" (28). The significance of this lies in the understanding that "A key tenet is that the local social worlds of place (locale) *cannot* be understood apart from the *objective* macro-order of location and the *subjective* territorial identity of sense of place" (Agnew 1987, 28). Places are then sites and spaces of meaning:

> Place, we must emphasize, is a notion different from that of space with which it is sometimes conflated. Space is a medium independent of our existence in which

> there exist objects (including other human beings), objects that behave according to the basic laws of nature. Place is a unique and special location in that space notable for the fact that the regular activities of human beings occur there. Moreover, because it is a site of such activities, and all which they entail, it may furnish the basis for our sense of identity, as human beings, as well as for our sense of connection to other human beings, in other words, our sense of community. Place, in other words, is that special site, or sites, in space where people live and work, and where, therefore, they are likely to form intimate and enduring connections. (Orum and Chen 2003, 15)

The stakes to formally recognizing place are then high.

Formally named and demarcated ethnic places may be commonly seen, but this is not to say they arise without contention and conflict. Each case, even if eventually successful in outcome with respect to a group's efforts for recognition, faces a certain level of opposition and often requires much negotiation. There are also, of course, the unsuccessful cases where proposals for recognition get rejected. Efforts to formally recognize ethnic communities are commonly seen, and not just in the southern California context, or just in the United States. The Jamaica Plain neighborhood of Boston, for example, is said to be known as "the city's unofficial 'Latin Quarter,'" wherein a "push for cultural recognition" involved a proposal to rename a portion of one of its streets and where residents also expressed interest in renaming a neighborhood park (Szep 2007). Banglatown exists in London's Brick Lane; efforts were made to develop and market this place, efforts which were often met with resistance (Shaw, Bagwell, and Karmowska 2004). In San Jose, California, there were different opinions regarding the exact name to adopt to officially name the Vietnamese neighborhood there, with some wanting "Little Saigon" but others wanting what felt to be "…the more neutral Vietnam Business District or Vietnamtown…" and a Vietnamese American member of the City Council having voted "…for a compromise, Saigon Business District" (Ustinova 2008). Signage, for Little Saigon, was unveiled in San Jose several years later, in 2011. And in the City of Santa Clara, California, a

proposal to name a portion of one of the City's streets as "Koreatown" was rejected, with opponents in the community seeing storefronts with signs only in Korean as exclusive, and as being "…the most visible symbol of what they saw as a larger effort to carve out a separate ethnic enclave within Santa Clara" (Swift 2007). Thus, formally recognized ethnic communities may be commonly seen, but this is not to say these come without contention and conflict, nor that such efforts for recognition are always successful. And again, these narratives are not constrained to the southern California context. Despite the vast contextual differences across such cases with respect to size, location, and the particular ethnic groups involved, a common story tends to emerge.

If what we now see are not just ethnic spatial concentrations but formally recognized ones, this probes the question of how and why this comes to be so. That is, with officially recognized ethnic places, arguably the first question to be asked is how and why these places come to be formally recognized by governing bodies. What is the process by which this comes to be done? Why is official recognition sought? Why is it opposed? Also, what are the political implications and significance of formally designating ethnic places? Ethnic places refer to areas of ethnic spatial concentration, noted for the significant presence of an ethnic group; these may then become formally recognized by local governments in relation to a given ethnic group. Recognition can involve elements such as official naming, designation, delineation of boundaries, and installation of road signage, with emphasis varying depending on the local municipal context in which it takes place.

A study of the processes by which ethnic places come to be formally recognized calls for an analysis of the context or structure of legislating, as well as the positions of and interactions between the key players involved – i.e., very broadly captured, the structure and agency of

policymaking. Formal recognitions of ethnic places speak of the outcome of a process. This implicates that an explanation of the end result necessitates an examination of its preceding conditions. Studying formal recognitions necessitate a discussion regarding claims; we need to study how and why proponents argue for recognition, how and why opponents counter these claims, and how and why legislators then make decisions – i.e., the making, contesting, and assessing of claims. How and why are claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places made, contested, and assessed? What key factors influence these processes? When claims for recognition are made, what influences whether such claims are supported or dismissed? What influences the decision-making process in response? Why do some bids for formal recognition succeed while others fail? If the vast majority of efforts for recognition result in success, why and how is this so, especially when considering that this does not mean there was an absence of opposition? The extent of opposition may vary, but some opposition and contention almost always exist. If the vast majority of cases result in success, however, how is this contention reconciled?

Looking at claims-making in quests for the formal recognition of ethnic places thus implies the involvement of local governments; these are the bodies being appealed to who hold decision-making power over such requests. Both proponents and opponents of recognition must appeal to public officials in advocating their respective positions. This means legislative politics comes front and center in these analyses of ethnic places. Claims to place are politically salient matters in that they deal with the distribution and allocation of limited resources, power dynamics, legislative politics and representation, race/ethnic relations, and group interests and preferences. The negotiations and interactions regarding the official recognition of ethnic places, in efforts to secure such place-related resources, are essentially political processes.

As much as ethnicity is the central element to these places, it is also the "sticky" point, especially in the context of governmental action. These places are specific to particular ethnic groups. Ethnic groups vying for recognition tend to be ethnic *minorities*, however, in number and often in political clout. Additionally, since these spatial concentrations tend to be commercially-oriented, many of the ethnic group members do not necessarily live in the area or within the jurisdictional bounds of the cities in which they propose recognition; the places where people live and work are not necessarily the same, and this becomes a critical point in the context of local politics, this being a matter concerning the local government, wherein jurisdictional boundaries tend to be narrowly drawn. This study examines the connections between ethnicity and place, paying particular attention to their political dimensions and processes as well as social and economic influences and consequences.

The Spatial Concentration of Race and Ethnic Groups

What I refer to as ethnic places are areas of noted ethnic spatial concentration, marked by a significant ethnic group presence. These are areas widely known for their spatial concentration particular to a given group, as referenced in the media or by the general public. These places may then become formally recognized by governmental bodies, but ethnic places denote a general reference to areas demonstrating the significant presence and concentration of a particular group, whether officially recognized – or having proposed recognition – or not. This study examines attempts to formally recognize ethnic places, and thus focuses on cases wherein proposals for official recognition have been made. Chapter 2, given its particular focus on predicting for where we are likely to see officially recognized places, examines successfully recognized ethnic places in Los Angeles City, but the case study chapters, and the study at large, focuses on places having proposed formal recognition, whether successful in outcome or not.

The ethnic places included in this study are, primarily speaking, commercially-oriented places. That is, the basis for concentration is primarily in terms of commerce, so these tend to be characterized mainly as ethnic commercial and business districts. In this vein, given the economic emphasis of these places, these areas may fit into the conceptual description of ethnic enclaves. However, "ethnic place" is taken to be a more general and neutral term to employ in referencing these areas of ethnic spatial concentration as the scholarship on enclaves is particular on conceptual terminology (see, for example, Portes and Jensen 1987; 1989; 1992), emphasizing the economic orientation of enclaves, in particular, the enclave economy. Some ethnic places have intricate enclave economies, but this may not be the case for all places, even if commercially-oriented. Moreover, analyses regarding the ethnic residential population in ethnic place areas are also argued to be important in understanding recognition efforts for ethnic places. Additionally, though the ethnic places studied here relate more to commercially-oriented places, not all such recognition will necessarily be based on concentration related to commerce – historical and cultural significance, for example, may be included under the purview of formally recognized ethnic places, and are often emphasized in arguing for recognition. As a result, the more general and neutral terminology of "ethnic place," in giving a description of place, is used.[1]

The scholarship regarding spatial concentration and racial/ethnic spatial forms, however, tends to focus on racial ghettos and ethnic enclaves. Ghettos are understood to be spatial mechanisms by which to confine and thereby control a given group. In more contemporary terms, ghettos are problematized and discussed with respect to the policy challenges and problems that persist in the large urban cores in which they are typically found (Bickford and

[1] It should also be noted that the use of "community" is in reference to the spatial concept of a neighborhood as well as the idea of a group. The specific reference, it is hoped, is evident in the context in which the term is used.

Massey 1991; Logan et al. 1996; Marcuse 1997; Massey and Denton 1993). Ghettos are associated with residential segregation (Bickford and Massey 1991), and are understood to denote racialized and involuntary concentrations of minority groups; the ghetto becomes a mechanism of spatial confinement to regulate, marginalize, and control. There is a power dimension to the formation and characterization of ghettos in that groups relegated to ghettos lack agency, with these spatial and social arrangements being imposed by more powerful, external forces.

The concept of the ghetto continues to be relevant. It tends to be understood today more as the "American Ghetto," the "Minority Ghetto," the "black ghetto," the "Outcast Ghetto," and so forth (Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002; Marcuse 1997; Massey and Denton 1993). In the past, as well as now, negative images predominate in that ghettos are associated with segregation, congestion, poverty, and the like (Massey and Denton 1993; Ward 1982). In its more contemporary American associations, ghettos tend to connote black residential segregation and urban poverty, the reality of which Massey and Denton (1993) describe as *American Apartheid*. The ghetto thus continues to be a racialized term and space. Although the particular targets of the ghetto may change, the terminology and the ideas relating to this spatial form continue to relate to the concepts of power and racialization.

If ghettos denote involuntary, enforced concentrations of minorities and carry negative connotations, ethnic enclaves signify more voluntarily constituted spatial forms with more benign, if not positive, undertones. Ethnic spatial concentrations are most widely known and referenced as taking the form of ethnic enclaves. Enclaves are understood to be of positive value for their occupants. There is also a sense of apartness to enclaves, but it is quite different from

the apartness espoused in reference to ghettos, wherein Massey and Denton (1993) spoke of an Apartheid.

Although enclaves are not strictly residential or strictly economic in function, and although residential and economic ethnic enclaves are not mutually exclusive, the literature distinguishes between different primary purposes for spatial concentration. Some scholars are more sensitive to this issue and adopt more stringent standards regarding the use of the term "enclave." Scholars warn against conflating an ethnic residential concentration with an ethnic economic concentration; those focusing on economic aspects are especially vocal on this matter and contend that the "enclave" terminology be reserved as such (Portes and Jensen 1987). In this regard, central to an economically based ethnic enclave is the enclave economy, and in this vein, it is argued that residential concentrations should instead be more broadly referenced as, for example, the "immigrant neighborhood" or "ethnic neighborhood" (Portes 1981; Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Jensen 1987), or "ethnic community" (Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002). Different enclaves can, in a sense, be understood to fall within a gradient or spectrum of an economic focus on one end versus a residential focus on the other – these would constitute ideal types. In reality, most actual enclaves would fall somewhere in the middle to encompass a variety of functions; ideal or pure types in general rarely exist (Marcuse 1997).

Ethnic enclaves are understood as being constituted by a voluntary concentration of group members, whether by pragmatic motivations based on needs and constraints, or more so by volition. That is, concentrating in enclaves may in large part be motivated by pragmatic concerns in terms of language facilitation and the availability of social and economic networks, especially for more recent immigrants concerned about mobility and incorporation (Alba and Nee 1997; Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002), as well as in response to discrimination (Zhou 1992).

However, this may also be driven by preference, in spite of other available options and non-extenuating circumstances, for the socio-cultural value and comfort of being around more familiar sights and sounds (Logan et al. 1996; Logan, Zhang, and Alba 2002; Nee and Sanders 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Zhou 1993).

Ethnic spatial concentrations continue to "evolve" in type and form. Scholars have studied, for example, ethnic communities that take root in the suburbs (Fong 1994; Li 1998; Lin 1998; Saito 1998). Scholarship also examines ethnic spatial concentrations in terms of their relevance to urban tourism; the "marketing" of these places can be seen, whereby consumption and promotion are emphasized, especially in targeting a broad consumer base that is inclusive of non-co-ethnic populations. In this, the ethnic place itself becomes the "product" and the attraction (Rath 2007; Shaw, Bagwell, and Karmowska 2004; Urry 1990). As cities increasingly struggle to secure revenue sources, tapping into diversity is often theorized to be an attractive strategy by which to revitalize local economies and neighborhoods; such cultural capital then becomes fungible capital with economic, political, and social potential to shape the vitality and livability of cities (Rath 2007; Shaw, Bagwell, and Karmowska 2004). There is a growing importance noted of urban "symbolic economies" and opportunities for cities, through a "commodification" of culture, to gain a "comparative advantage in the 'symbolic economy'" (Zukin 1998, 837). Emphasis is placed on consumption and distinction, and in this, the economic potential in marketing diversity (Rath 2007; Shaw, Bagwell, and Karmowska 2004; Zukin 1995; Zukin 1998).

This implicates an important expansion of the research agenda in that ethnic spatial concentrations are not only thought of as being oriented towards serving co-ethnic members of a given group, but as also catering to a wider, broader base of visitors, consumers, and clientele.

There is a larger conceptual turn being signaled, however, in that many ethnic groups are now seeking formal, official recognition by governing bodies to name, delineate, designate, mark, and promote their communities. If ghettos are largely involuntary concentrations and enclaves are voluntary ones (albeit largely based on needs and constraints), what we now see developing regarding ethnic spatial concentrations is a sense of voluntary concentration that is also actively claimed and asserted – i.e., voluntary concentration in its perhaps most heightened form. These are also becoming increasingly common sights and sites. By mid- 2012, there were 20 cases (by cumulative count of cases over time, not just cases in 2012) in southern California alone whereby groups sought recognition of some kind. In this vein, emerging matters with ethnic spatial concentrations relate to issues such as naming rights and boundary/area specifications – i.e., claims-making with respect to the formal recognition of such communities. This is the contemporary landscape – literally and figuratively – regarding ethnic spatial concentrations. These developments signal a topic in need of exploration and analysis in the trajectory of research not only on racial/ethnic spatial concentrations, but also on race/ethnic politics, race/ethnic relations, identity politics, local/sub-national legislative politics, and immigrant incorporation. The political processes and implications relating to these ethnically concentrated spaces, especially with the current context of ethnic groups now making formal claims regarding place, have not been fully examined. There is a need to expand the scholarship in this respect.

The Perceived Benefits of Formal Recognition

The primary benefit of formally recognizing ethnic places is argued to be economic in nature. Formally recognizing an ethnic place is argued to attract more consumers into the area, thereby increasing overall sales – and not just of co-ethnic businesses – which will result in spillover benefits to the residents and community at large by way of increased sales tax revenue

to the city. The ethnic place is said to be a unique economic asset. The product is said to already "organically" exist – it is just a matter of marketing and promoting the place to function as an economic development tool for the community. The economic benefit to be seen from formal recognition is thus framed as being beneficial for all, creating a win-win situation for everyone in the community. The benefits of formal recognition are not just economic in nature, however. Other benefits which proponents emphasize pertain more to a sense of affirmation for the ethnic group making claims. Place identity and group identity are seen to be intricately tied, and a formal recognition of an ethnic place is also interpreted as a recognition of the group. Additionally, making claims for formal recognition, and receiving formal recognition, is also held to be important in putting a group on the political radar, in increasing a group's political clout. For immigrant ethnic minority groups this is held to be important in marking the early steps of increased political influence in the community. There are also quite practical, functional issues mentioned as perceived benefits of recognition. Ethnic groups believe that formal recognition will help in the securing of funding to enact programs and improve the built environment of ethnic places. In essence, the benefits perceived to be attained via the formal recognition of an ethnic place are varied for ethnic groups making claims. Ranging from the highly functional to the more symbolic perspectives, ethnic group members believe that formal recognition will put them on the map, literally and figuratively.

Data and Methods

The first part of this study involves an in-depth analysis of the City of Los Angeles. Given that the vast majority of ethnic places lies within the bounds of the City of Los Angeles, a multivariate analysis is undertaken to examine factors associated with the likelihood of a given area having within it a formally recognized ethnic place. This gives us some predictive value and

highlights particular factors deemed important in understanding where we may be likely to see ethnic places, more so than in other areas, and to see with what factors they may be associated. (See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of the data and methods involved in this analysis.)

The study regarding the characteristics of areas where we are likely to see recognized ethnic places raises questions regarding process, in terms of how places come to be recognized (or not), as well as why. These additional questions also point to factors which cannot be easily captured or operationalized numerically for study in a multivariate analysis, such as the interactions that take place between the various actors involved. The bulk of the study then rests on comparative case studies of four ethnic places, but as constituted by three case studies: (1) Koreatown and Little Bangladesh in the City of Los Angeles, (2) Cambodia Town in the City of Long Beach, and (3) "Little India" in the City of Artesia, all located in Los Angeles County in southern California. Koreatown and Little Bangladesh are two separate places but are discussed jointly as the formal recognition of each implicated the involvement of the other (and as is discussed in the study, the Latino community in the area also). These cases were selected largely based on a variation in their outcomes, and by the variation in the opposition that was launched in response to recognition efforts. Koreatown and Little Bangladesh were successful in their efforts, but present an interesting case in necessitating a joint discussion. Claims for the recognition of Little Bangladesh launched an opposition and, under a new City policy on naming communities, efforts for the recognition of Koreatown, which then spurred an opposition by the Latino community in response. This was thus a situation in which specific alternatives were delineated, in terms of opposition in reaction to claims made (i.e., specific amendments were requested by opponents, such as the modification of proposed boundaries and inclusion in discussion and negotiation proceedings, rather than a more "general" blanket opposition to

recognition). Cambodia Town is also a successful case in terms of outcome, but is a case where economic/business issues came to be emphasized. It is also a case where there was, relatively and comparatively speaking, less opposition. "Little India" is a case in which formal recognition efforts were attempted but were unsuccessful in outcome (hence the quotation marks in referencing this place (e.g., Harris 1992). It is one where there was a great amount of general opposition from varied members of the community, in that while varied opinions may have existed regarding more detailed aspects of the proposal for official recognition, the common argument presented was one of opposition to the specific signs being proposed.

Since there is no known, maintained inventory of ethnic places/communities (whether formally recognized or not), one had to be compiled. This was done by searching through local news media, online search engines, and various state and local agency sources. It must be noted that this is not assured to be an exhaustive inventory of cases in the southern California region. By July 2012 there were assessed to be 20 known cases in southern California (defined for this study as the Los Angeles County and Orange County region) of ethnic places that "sought" formal recognition.[2] It should be noted that not all actively sought recognition. While the more recent cases are illustrative of these more proactive endeavors, there are ethnic places, such as Chinatown and Little Tokyo, that have long-standing histories and are formally recognized, but not via a process such as submitting an application.

I rely on a variety of data sources for the case studies. I use data from semi-structured, in-depth interviews of key players in the claims- making, contesting, and assessing processes

[2] See Table 2.2 in Chapter 2 for the list of cases pertaining to the City of Los Angeles. The vast majority of cases exist in Los Angeles City. Other ethnic places not included in the listing in Table 2.2 are Little Saigon (in the City of Westminster (and also stretching into neighboring cities), Orange County), the Korean Business District (in the City of Garden Grove, Orange County), Cambodia Town (in the City of Long Beach, Los Angeles County), and "Little India" (in the City of Artesia, Los Angeles County).

regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places. These interviews are thus of legislators, city officials, public officials, and community leaders and members. They are of key proponents, opponents, legislators, and local public officials who were involved in and/or are knowledgeable about these efforts. To the extent that what is of concern is understanding the decisions and strategies which shaped the varied processes involved in formal naming, this study is more concerned with the representatives, leaders, and core members who were involved in the various proceedings for recognition, more than supporters and opponents from the general community. Also important is archival research and document analysis of public records/publically available information. These pertain mainly to city- or state-level legislative documents regarding naming/designation/signage proceedings. For example, city council meeting agendas and minutes, city- and state-level resolutions, state-level bill analyses, and city- and state-level policies are important. Video and/or audio files were also available of most city-level meetings for the City of Los Angeles and the City of Long Beach. Archival research and document analysis was also conducted of news media accounts of recognition efforts. Decennial census data (for years 2000 and 2010) are also used to conduct analyses of the population in study areas. A variation in data sources is helpful in that it allows for a "triangulation" (Yin 2009) of information.

With the varied sources of data, textual sources (such as transcribed interview data; city council meeting agendas and minutes; transcribed city-level meeting proceedings; city- and/or state-level resolutions, bills, bill analyses, and policies; and newspaper articles) were analyzed via content analysis and coding. Corbin and Strauss (2008) describe coding as the research methodology of "deriving and developing concepts from data" (65). This then involves the highlighting of concepts found in the data. Grouping these points leads to the identification of

three key factors which can be seen to influence how and why claims are made, contested, and assessed regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places. These are (1) the legislative and bureaucratic context in which these processes take place, (2) the legitimacy of claims, and (3) the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents.

Three Key Factors Influencing How and Why Claims are Made, Contested, and Assessed

I. The Legislative and Bureaucratic Context

Formal recognitions of ethnic places are the result, in the end, of legislative decisions. The legislative and bureaucratic structure and context critically shape processes regarding claims. Many officially recognized ethnic places exist in southern California. In this respect, whether a policy/procedure for recognition and/or precedents exist are important. A policy and precedents existing are presumed not only to expedite the process, but also to facilitate it in the sense that what would be proposed to local legislators and to members of the surrounding community would be something with which they are already familiar. This is not to say the existence of a procedure and precedents eliminate opposition to claims. The opportunity structure for making claims is argued to be such, however, that the chance for success in proposing recognition in a context in which these are familiar occurrences is higher than the chance for success when this is not the case. Like other policies, there is path dependence (Pierson 2000) to officially recognizing ethnic places in these contexts.

The existence of a policy and/or precedents is also important in that the proceedings regarding claims are shaped by the real provisions of these measures, if they exist. A policy and/or precedents then shape and contour the debate regarding recognition. For example, the importance of outreach as a part of claims-making is seen in how these aspects are incorporated into an established procedure.

The legislative structure is important in shaping processes related to claims. There is a real opportunity and regulatory structure in which these processes occur. The making, contesting, and assessing of claims almost always implicate the most local level of government, usually city councils. The scope of politics in terms of the legislative district is an important dimension to the legislative and bureaucratic context of action. The idea of constituents becomes that much more significant in this regard, especially in the sense of considering which constituents are seen to be influential over decision-makers, as decision-shapers. This is of heightened importance in contexts where local residents (and, perhaps to a lesser extent, other (i.e., non-co-ethnic) business owners in the area) are markedly opposed to claims for recognition. Taking from the perspective that electoral concerns motivate legislative behavior (Arnold 1990; Fenno 1978; Mayhew 1974), the influence of "traditional" constituents is examined. Adding to this, the role of "non-traditional" constituents is also examined, to see how they affect legislative behavior and choice. In considering cost-benefit analyses regarding policy choices (Arnold 1990; Wilson, Dilulio, and Bose 2013), the distribution and magnitude of costs and benefits with respect to different groups is examined. In also considering Arnold's (1990) explications of the causal chain and traceable effects linking policy choices to policy effects, cost-benefit analyses are also considered in a temporal sense, in thinking about what are calculated to be current costs and benefits and conceptualizing whether this may be thought of differently temporally, in terms of latent costs and benefits.

The curious case regarding ethnic places is that though there is almost always some level of contention, these cases almost always succeed. What happens then, to get from contention to approval? And if these cases almost always succeed, why do some fail to get formally recognized?

Since the formal recognition of ethnic places involves claims being made, contested, and decided upon, the legislative and representative context needs to be considered. In essence, there are contextual influences that structure these processes related to claims. The policymaking venue/structure is important, and it is consequential for all involved – proponents, opponents, and legislators alike. Formal recognition takes place predominantly at the local level – usually, at the city level.[3] Since ethnic places seeking signage constitute but parts of cities, the most immediate, local level of government tends to be sought first. Other sub-national – i.e., state-level – governing bodies can also be involved, but local city governments tend to be most consulted, and tend to hold determinative authority. The structural significance of local politics is that where ethnic places are located vis-à-vis city boundaries (and/or individual city council district boundaries in the case of large cities such as Los Angeles or Long Beach) is consequential to policymaking since decision-makers – i.e., local legislators – are primarily accountable to the narrowly-defined constituent base living within its borders. In legislative studies, electoral goals and thus electoral constraints are said to critically shape legislators' actions and decisions (Arnold 1990; Fenno 1978; Mayhew 1974). Legislative studies in American politics tend to be dominated by studies of Congress. It may be argued that electoral constraints are that much more consequential in local politics given the absence of other key structural or institutional influences which are seen at the national level. In this context, what motivates legislative behavior most, it can be argued, is the electorate in the city/district.

One way of conceptualizing legislative politics is to see it as entailing a relationship between constituents and representatives within the context of geographically defined districts.

[3] Presumably, if ethnic places are located in unincorporated areas of a county, then the governing body at the county level would be sought, as the most local level of government. Existing cases of ethnic places in southern California that sought formal recognition were parts of cities, however. Throughout this study, the most local level of government is then taken to be the city government.

In terms of rationale and motivation for legislative behavior, the predominant view has focused on legislators' reelection goals. David Mayhew's (1974) work on Congress focuses heavily on legislators' prioritization of reelection to "…see what kinds of activity that goal implies, and then speculate about how congressmen so motivated are likely to go about building and sustaining legislative institutions and making policy" (5-6). Other scholars echo this view, arguing that reelection is the dominant goal of legislators insofar as policy decisions, in position and effect, influence a representative's reelection prospects (Arnold 1990; Fenno 1978). Legislative behavior as driven by reelection goals then implies particular attention paid by legislators to the policy preferences of those who may be referred to as "traditional constituents" within districts – that is, residents, with voting power. This would be markedly so if there are constituents who are (or who may potentially become) attentive to a given issue and are vocal in their position and preference regarding it (Arnold 1990). The predominance of theories relating to reelection implies that in this context, the policy preferences of those without voting power, that is, those living outside of the district as traditionally and strictly defined (those who may be called "non-traditional constituents"), such as members of a business community (who are not, of course, also residents in the district), are non-critical in affecting the legislative process with respect to district interests. In being responsive to residents' concerns, however, it can be argued that legislators must also take into account matters that affect the viability of their district, such as its economic livelihood. In this sense, commercial interests within the district can also influence legislative behavior. The problem arises when there is a conflict between what residents and the business community within a district prefer, with each having strong incentives to urge legislators to adopt what are then opposing policy choices.

The primacy of electoral incentives in shaping local politics suggests a potentially difficult context for the representation of minority interests. For ethnic groups appealing for recognition, the influence of the policymaking context affects them in two ways. First, these ethnic groups tend to be numerical minorities/non-pluralities in their neighborhoods, and secondly, many ethnic group members arguing for recognition tend to live outside of the jurisdictional bounds of the city/district in question. Claims for recognition will be ethnically specific in nature. In this, active proponents of signage will overwhelmingly be constituted by ethnic group members – on the outset, theoretically, there are not enough incentives (benefits) for non-co-ethnic group members to get involved. Additionally, where people live and work comes to be of great importance. People may be invested in their communities if they work there, even if they do not live there. In essence, they may be conceptualized as "non-traditional constituents" or "economic constituents" in that they are members of the business community, but not necessarily a part of the residential base. In the context of a strong local (residential) opposition, however, legislators' loyalties will lie with their electorate. In this respect, the local arena of policymaking stacks the cards in favor of opponents if they are residents who are attentive to the issue and vocal in expressing their preferences (Arnold 1990). This would be so in the context of ethnic places tending to primarily be commercial spaces and many of the proponents and co-ethnic group members being non-city residents.

If the structural and contextual characteristics of the policymaking venue prove to be constraining, one way to mitigate this might be to change or "expand" the arena. In expanding the scope of conflict by including different players with different incentives, the outcome may potentially be altered (Schattschneider 1975 [1960]). As Baumgartner and Jones (1991) also argue, "When the venue of a public policy changes, as often occurs over time, those who

previously dominated the policy process may find themselves in the minority, and erstwhile losers may be transformed into winners. The image of a policy and its venue are closely related. As venues change, images may change as well; as the image of a policy changes, venue changes become more likely" (1047). If proponents are able to find support for and representation of their interests at the state level, where electoral districts are larger and encompass more than just a city or council district alone, and where a larger proportion of the ethnic group lives (i.e., those excluded as "economic constituents" may be captured in a state-level district, for example, which includes neighboring cities in which many of the ethnic group members may live), then the structural constraints of legislating at the local level may be mitigated. The real limitations to this, however, are that procedurally, it is difficult (and now impossible – see Chapter 5 on "Little India" for more) to escape the authority of city councils in these matters of local importance. As a result, if proponents cannot win the support or stifle the opposition of others in the city, the contextual and structural influence of politics at the local level may prove detrimental to proponents' abilities to successfully make demands upon government.

In further considering the interplay between proponents, opponents, and legislators in terms of the processes regarding claims, proponents and opponents are decision-shapers, and legislators are decision-makers. In addition to the structural and contextual influences regarding policymaking, a consideration of costs and benefits is also important. Perceptions of costs and benefits and the resulting cost-benefit analyses are critical guides to political activity. Costs matter more than benefits in this regard (Arnold 1990). As Arnold (1990) explains, the "Intensity [of preferences] is greater for a given measure of costs than it is for the same measure of benefits. Depriving someone of one thousand dollars produces a reaction far more intense (and politically dangerous) than delivering one thousand dollars in the first place" (32). Arnold (1990)

notes that "Psychologists refer to this property as *loss aversion*, which implies that 'a loss of $X is more aversive than a gain of $X is attractive'" (32), and cites works by Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman (Tversky and Kahneman 1981; Kahneman and Tversky 1984; see also, amongst others, Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler (1991) and Tversky and Kahneman (1991) for more), two leading scholars in this field of study.

However, the calculation of costs may not just be about the aversion of loss, but also the absence of gain. That is, costs can also matter insofar as they are incurred as a result of benefits being given to somebody else – i.e., "your gain at my expense." There may be no loss in the sense of something being taken away, but there is a loss in the sense of incurring costs to support someone else's gain. This relates to the argument that framing (Tversky and Kahneman 1986), perception (Wilson, Dilulio, and Bose 2013), and policy image/image definition (Baumgartner and Jones 1991) are key. That is, the actual breakdown of costs and benefits might be different from how they are perceived, whether in magnitude, degree of concentration/dispersion, or incurring parties. Wilson, Dilulio, and Bose (2013) explain that "…it is the *perception* of costs and benefits that affects politics" (475). Arnold (1990) also highlights that the order of effects is important – e.g., whether perceived costs or benefits are "early-order effects" that are seen immediately or "later-order effects" seen far in the future or not at all, in the sense of being traceable as effects of specific decisions (Arnold 1990).

Given the argument that costs matter more intensely with respect to citizens' policy preferences than benefits (Arnold 1990), and considering this in relation to the different positions regarding claims for recognition and the assessments of temporal effects, can the picture be "flipped around?" That is, what are considered current costs may be thought of as "latent benefits" (and conversely, what are considered current benefits may be thought of as latent

costs). A policy choice that currently seems costly may actually yield benefits in the future, and what currently seems to yield benefits may lead to costs in the future. In this vein, opposing something based on, for example, what is currently assessed to be gains for a select group (and thus what currently seems costly) may translate into larger costs later. In essence, the rejected policy position regarding what are currently considered to be exclusive benefits might later become incurred costs, in which case citizens' policy preferences are likely to change. The "real" effects may thus be seen later. Legislators' abilities to abide by such notions may, however, be limited by the short-term realities of reelection. That is, immediate payoffs are more significant, and similarly, immediate costs are quite harmful. For voters (whom are purported to have short-term memories) and legislators (who face the real potential of being replaced in the next election), considerations of latent benefits or future-incurred costs may in reality be non-feasible.

Legislators' calculations of the distribution of costs and benefits (i.e., to residents or businesses, to co-ethnic group members or non-co-ethnic group members of the group seeking recognition) are likely to affect policy decisions. This indicates a complex matrix (once costs and benefits have been defined) involving the relative magnitude of costs and benefits, how dispersed or concentrated they are, and who reaps the benefits and who bears the costs. In following the theory that costs matter more than benefits (Arnold 1990), if a legislator sees the costs as dispersed (e.g., borne by residents and non-co-ethnic business owners in a community) while benefits are reaped by a concentrated few (e.g., co-ethnic businesses), then they are more likely to oppose recognition for ethnic places. Conversely, if a legislator sees benefits to be dispersed (e.g., borne by co-ethnic businesses as well as residents at large) while costs are incurred by a concentrated few (e.g., non-co-ethnic businesses), then they are more likely to support claims for recognition. If the costs in foregoing recognition are estimated to outweigh the benefits (i.e., of

foregoing it), then legislators may approve recognition even if residents disagree. These assessments then also apply to legislators' perceptions regarding who supports and opposes claims for recognition, as well as how strongly supporters and opponents feel that way, and how actively they are lobbying for those preferences. This relates not only to those currently cued-in, but also to those who can potentially become cued-in, of how likely it is that people can become attentive of a situation (Arnold 1990). In this respect, the composition of those in support and opposition can also significantly shape assessments of claims for recognition.

II. The Legitimacy of Claims

In discussing costs and benefits in an introductory text to American Government, Wilson, Dilulio, and Bose (2013) explain that "…people take into account not only who benefits but also whether it is *legitimate* for that group to benefit" (475). Discussions regarding claims also pertain to the idea of legitimacy, with proponents seeking to establish it and opponents seeking to challenge it. The legitimacy of what is being proposed, who is proposing it, as well as legitimacy in terms of how claims were made, are important points to examine in understanding attempts to formally recognize ethnic places. That is, legitimacy is centrally concerned with the content of claims, but it can also relate to the process of how (e.g., whether outreach was conducted, whether it was an inclusive or exclusive process, etc.) these claims are made. Legitimacy concerns the substantiating, validating, and justifying of claims. In this, legitimacy is also concerned with challenging arguments made to substantiate, validate, and justify claims. Establishing and challenging legitimacy thus apply both to arguments made for recognition as well as arguments made in contestation of claims for recognition. Legitimacy, given claims being made to specific places, concerns groups' ties to place, of the groups making claims as well as of the groups contesting them. Legitimacy also relates in large part to significance – the

significance of an area to a group and the significance of a group (i.e., in presence and concentration) to an area.

Questions pertaining to the legitimacy of claims arise in part because ethnic places are in shared spaces between different groups. The same space is a place of meaning, a different place of meaning, for different groups. This means there will be competing identities, visions, and histories regarding the area of concern. There is then the question of on whose "behalf" (if any) place should be recognized. For one, there are competing claims to place given multiple groups' histories in and to that place. Ethnic succession or transitions of areas have been long theorized and observed (Burgess [1926] 1968; Park, Burgess, and McKenzie [1925] 1967), as has the observation of the growing racial/ethnic diversity of urban regions (Allen and Turner 1996). This means that there are competing claims and that there will be "old-timers" mixed in with "newer" groups in a given area. Thus formal recognition is understood to be connected to acts of defining the community and sanctifying certain groups, in a sense, over others. Claims to formally recognize ethnic places tend to be most opposed in contexts where there is a strong, competing history, claim, and characterization to that place – i.e., when it is argued that there already exists a well-established identity to that place.

An ethnic place area will also be diversely constituted in terms of peoples' affiliations, the given place being a place of residence for some, a place of work for others, both for some people, and something else entirely for still others. An ethnic place area will also be diversely constituted in terms of race/ethnicity. In terms of claims, this becomes significant in the sense that what is made is an ethnic group-specific claim for the formal recognition of a place in what is a multiethnic, diverse area context. This racial/ethnic diversity applies to the business community as well as the residential base. Insofar as formal recognition is understood to deal

with how a place is to be characterized and what it is to be known as, the diversity of a place can be a critical issue challenging the legitimacy of what are ethnic group-specific claims regarding that place.

The diversity rationale/argument is also significant in thinking more generally about the relationship between ethnicity and place – i.e., the relationship that ethnic identities should bear on place identities. A 2x2 matrix can be constructed representing different views regarding this relationship (see Figure 1.1). One dimension to think about is whether formal recognitions should be given, and another is whether recognitions should be group-specific. The first quadrant is thought to relate to the view held by proponents of ethnic place recognition. The case studies are expected to show whether there are perspectives that reflect views in these other quadrants, and what specific arguments are reflective of those views.

[Insert Figure 1.1 about here]

Since ethnic places are not made up exclusively by co-ethnic members, the population profile of given areas is an important facet to explore regarding arguments relating to legitimacy. A criticism often drawn of ethnic group members is that they are not the majority in the areas of concern, nor are they the only group present. Claims for group-specific recognition can therefore be contested given an argument of diversity in the area of concern, both with respect to its residential as well as business community. Arguments can also be made in contestation regarding how claims are made given this diversity, of whether sufficient outreach has been conducted and other groups have been included in the claims-making process. There is said to be diversity to the business community in an ethnic place, even if the area is characterized by a noted concentration of co-ethnic businesses. However, the argument regarding population profiles, diversity, concentration, and significance is perhaps more importantly made in regards to the

residents in the area of concern. Though ethnic places tend to be commercially-oriented, the co-ethnic residential composition in the area is also considered. If there is a significant concentration also of co-ethnic group members living in an ethnic place, then that may confer greater legitimacy to claims regarding place, while at the same time challenging the legitimacy of other competing claims and perhaps also of contestations to claims. In the face of contestation based on the argument that a group making claims for recognition is not the majority (living) in the area, and that there are many others groups both living and working in the area of concern, the implication may be that a larger group presence, especially as residents (since most ethnic places seeking formal recognition have an ethnic commercial base in that place), would make claims to place more legitimate. However, the argument remains that other groups are present in the area, both as residents and as members of the commercial sector, even if the ethnic group of concern was to be present as a plurality or even numerical majority. This then points to questions of legitimacy related to how claims are made, as to whether sufficient outreach has been conducted and the process been made an inclusive one, even if, or rather, precisely because, an ethnic group-specific recognition is being sought.

In this, what should be considered are alternative ways of thinking about the population in given areas, to form a comprehensive profile. For one, demographic analyses in terms of race/ethnicity are often conducted in terms of race or panethnic groups – e.g., of White, Black, Asian, and Latino communities, for example. However, a more detailed analysis, given ethnic group-specific claims being made regarding place and recognition, would involve an examination of the different ethnic or national origin groups within the larger race or panethnic categories. With respect to immigrant ethnic minority groups who tend to be implicated in

claims-making activities regarding ethnic places, this involves an examination of the "composite" groupings pertaining to the Asian as well as Hispanic or Latino populations.

Additionally, when speaking of the population make-up of areas, numbers are traditionally discussed in terms of the population in that area – what can be thought of as a "within-geography" frame of reference, in analyzing the composite percentages of groups in, for example, a city. An alternate perspective to this is a "within-group" frame of reference, wherein the reference point for analyzing the population of a group in a given area is the population of that group in different geographic areas. This perspective would then look at, for example, a group's population in an ethnic place area as a percentage of the group's population in the city. This draws attention to the concentration of a group in a given area, and consequently, the significance of that area for the group. Since ethnic places tend to pertain to immigrant ethnic minority groups, groups' population percentages will be small in number in given areas when considered from a within-geography point of view. However, when considered alternatively from a within-group frame of reference, these small numbers often translate into a significant and notable presence of that group, when considered for that group.

These different ways of considering the population in given areas have also been considered by other scholars. Min Zhou (1992), for example, considers not just the Chinese population (i.e., percent Chinese) in Chinatown and in New York City, but also the Chinese population in New York City that is in Chinatown and other nearby "Chinese neighborhoods." Most notable is Thomas Philpott's (1978) study, wherein he discusses the Black ghettos in Chicago and the segregation of Blacks in terms of "Ghettoization." Philpott (1978) analyzes "the percentage of each ethnic group 'ghettoized,' and each group's percentage of its own 'ghetto's' population" (141) – i.e., what I discuss as a within-group calculation for a group in an ethnic

place area with respect to the group's population in, for example, the city, and a within-geography calculation for the co-ethnic group in an ethnic place area, respectively. In Philpott's (1978) analysis, for the Black ghetto, the overwhelming majority of the group was "ghettoized" (i.e., most of the city's Black population lived in the Black ghetto), and the overwhelming majority of the "ghetto" population was of the group (i.e., most of the people in the Black ghetto were Black) (141). In this, Philpott (1978) argues that ethnic enclaves should be differentiated from Black ghettos. Indeed, as discussed earlier with respect to (racial) ghettos and (ethnic) enclaves, there is a difference to note between these different types of spatial concentration. Related to this, the implication of a significant presence of a group in a given area, seen "both ways," is different when comparing between Philpott's (1978) analysis and what is argued in this study. While the concentration of a group vis-à-vis a given place in the sense of what Philpott (1978) discusses is demonstrative of power dynamics and an extreme segregation of a group in a way that is debilitating for that group, the argument being made in this study is that a notable proportion of an ethnic group's population in the city living in the ethnic place, coupled with a notable proportion of the population of an ethnic place being constituted by co-ethnic members, may help in terms of legitimating a group's claims to place by painting a more compelling picture as regards significance – i.e., the significance of an area to a group and the significance of a group to an area. Claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places concern the voluntary spatial concentrations of groups, wherein group members seek to highlight that concentration, and wherein this highlighting is perceived to be of further benefit to the group.

Additionally, what is important to the analysis here is a *comparative* element with respect to different groups in a given area, whether considered from a within-geography or within-group frame of reference, given the central tenet of claims for formal recognition being ethnic group-

specific claims (i.e., and thus to see whether those claims to place are legitimate, when analyzing – in different ways – the profile of the population in that area). Given a group's specific claims, then, *relative* distributions of the population, considered in different ways for the different groups in a given area, are important elements in analyzing perceptions regarding the legitimacy of claims.

With respect to claims-making, a group being significantly concentrated in terms of both a within-geography and within-group frame of reference may help legitimate their claims to place in terms of considering the population in given areas in diverse ways. However, while on the one hand this may further legitimate a group's claim to place, criticisms may also be drawn in terms of these places constituting exclusive, segregated "islands" for groups.

III. The Composition and Actions/Strategies of Proponents and Opponents

Important to how and why claims are made, contested, and assessed is the composition as well as actions and strategies of proponents and opponents. The composition of groups is important when considering rationales commonly espoused in support of formally recognizing ethnic places. This relates in part to perceptions regarding the degree of concentration and dispersion of costs and benefits. Proponents make the economic argument that recognition is to serve a primarily economic function, in that formal recognition will lead to an increased volume of consumers coming into the area (i.e., signage can provide directional guides and can effectively serve as billboards to market the place), which will result in increased sales not just for co-ethnic businesses, but also other businesses in the area, by virtue of this absolute increase in consumer traffic. The increase in sales for local businesses is then said to translate into benefits for residents in the form of spillover benefits, with cities being able to more readily fund services for the community. In this regard, benefits to be reaped from formal recognition are said

to be inclusive and dispersed. Those countering these views state that benefits will be concentrated and selective, for co-ethnic businesses alone, while the costs will have to be borne by the many other groups in the community.

In this, the message bearers can become the message itself. A diverse and broad-based group is effective in this regard, as it can be strategically oriented in arguing for or against a claim for recognition. That is, coalitions or umbrella groups are argued to be more convincing in arguing for or against a claim than are narrowly construed groups; in this vein, many different groups of people arguing for or against a claim is more compelling than there being many people of the same group arguing for or against it. Coalition politics has been long observed in race/ethnic politics (Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 1984; 2002), as has panethnicity (Espiritu 1992; Lopez and Espiritu 1990). This context of claims-making also speaks of inter-group alliances (Saito 1998) and the need for cooperative action. A diverse, broad-based group of opponents and a comparatively speaking, narrowly-based group of proponents may lead to the assessment that costs are dispersed and benefits are concentrated. For legislators, this may be seen to be electorally costly, especially when factoring in how "traditional" and "non-traditional" constituents fare in terms of those garnering benefits and those bearing the costs. The composition of a group can then itself be strategic, to further that group's cause.

Since costs matter more than benefits, it can be argued that if other members of the community do become politically active regarding recognition efforts, it is more likely to be in opposition than in support; a corollary to the statement that costs matter more than benefits is that costs mobilize more than do benefits. In addition to the effects of being an ethnic minority group making an ethnic group-specific claim with much of the group being non-residents of the city, proponents may also be narrowly construed in being benefits-based; the opposition, in

contrast, may attract diverse sectors of the community in being costs-based. With legislators being motivated by electoral goals, and for whom also (electoral) costs matter more than benefits, in cases where proponents and opponents are tensely divided, the odds may be in favor of the opposition. In essence, theoretical conditions regarding political motivations suggest that there can be significant roadblocks for proponents in their appeals for road signs. The key may then lie in the negotiations and interactions that take place regarding the claims that are made.

In addition, the exact position of proponents and opponents is important. To this end, the pursuit of "instrumental" or "intermediate" ends is argued to be more strategic and effective than an orientation towards "complete" ends. Instrumental/intermediate ends deal with strategic compromises amongst either proponents or opponents, of finding a common denominator to the various complete ends that may exist. Intermediate/instrumental ends can then be characterized as vital ends, being that on which the group will not compromise. Complete ends, in contrast, are the detailed policy goals, what people would want if unopposed. In this regard, complete ends can vary greatly, even for members within a group.

As stated earlier, the key to success in recognition efforts seems to lie in the negotiations and interactions that take place between groups, and between proponents and opponents. Claims for recognition are specific to an ethnic group, and tend to relate to the business community of an ethnic group. This suggests a different political context from what tends to be the predominant focus in discussions regarding race and ethnicity – race/ethnic politics tends to be discussed mainly in terms of race or panethnic groups, wherein politics relating to the Latino community or Asian American community, for example, tends to take center stage. The potential and actual participatory power of these two groups, especially with respect to electoral politics, is an important area of research for scholars of race/ethnic politics, immigrant incorporation, and

American politics more generally (DeSipio 1996; Lien 2001). In his study of a suburban multiethnic and multiracial community in southern California, Leland T. Saito (1998) notes, as a factor influencing the formation of racial/ethnic identities and political alliances, the organizational scale of politics, and how a panethnic grouping can be important in countering the constraints posed by small numbers and limited resources to being effective politically. Since the claims being studied in this project concern ethnic-specific claims, of the ethnic-specific naming and designation of a place in what tend to be multiethnic, multiracial settings, this topic raises the question of whether this points to limits in panethnic organization and action. This is especially so when considering the fact that much of the opposition to claims for recognition often comes from other minority groups, and often from other groups with whom a panethnic alliance could be established in other contexts.

Another point to discuss regarding the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents concerns the unforeseen by-products of civic and political participation. Organizations often form, and though born out of and for the specific movement for formal recognition, communities often see a well-organized and acknowledged ethnic organization being sustained long after the specific actions regarding formal recognition. Moreover, previously inactive group members become activated in civic and political affairs, developing civic capital through participation (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). Thus, participation and experience regarding the processes concerning claims produce civic and political education and activation, as well as sustained ethnic organizations in many cases, as unforeseen by-products of claims-making.

The Politics of Formally Recognizing Ethnic Places

As illustrated in the discussion regarding factors influencing the making, contesting, and assessing of claims, efforts to formally recognize ethnic places are essentially political processes. Critical to an analysis of these efforts is an analysis of legislative and representative politics in that appeals are made to and have to be approved by local governing bodies. Questions regarding electoral motivations for legislative behavior and ideas regarding constituency thus come to the fore. Moreover, these processes concern political incorporation in the sense of political participation, but also with respect to the representation of interests. In involving ethnic group-specific claims, this also presents an interesting context for ethnic politics in considering the need to garner the support of others in the community, yet in doing so while pursuing a group-specific interest; the implications regarding panethnicity is something to consider. Additionally, in relation to claims being concerned with the political representation of interests, recognition efforts point to the civic and political activation and mobilization of immigrant ethnic communities, implicating the development of social and civic capital for groups that may not have been previously active in the civic and political realm.

An Overview of the Study

There is something to note of ethnic communities in that places like Chinatown, Little Saigon, and Little Ethiopia are now not just informally known as such, in the "vernacular"; what we now see is the seeking of formal recognition of these ethnic places. This is a form of ethnic spatial concentration that is starkly different from those seen in the past. While these places can be described, like ethnic enclaves, as voluntarily constituted ethnic spatial concentrations, with active claims being made to place, this can be characterized as voluntary concentration in its perhaps most heightened form. Formal recognitions of ethnic places involve claims.

Understanding how and why these come about involves an analysis of the making, contesting, and assessing of claims for formal recognition. In asking how and why claims are made, contested, and assessed in this regard, the research leads to three key factors being identified in understanding these processes: the legislative and bureaucratic context of claims, the legitimacy of claims, and the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents.

The project starts with Chapter 2, an in-depth study of the City of Los Angeles, where the vast majority of ethnic places in the southern California region are located. The intent is to examine where we are likely to see formally recognized ethnic places, in terms of factors which are characteristic of these places. The three factors identified with respect to the making, contesting, and assessing of claims is not employed in the analysis in Chapter 2, as it deals with a different focus regarding the topic of formally recognized ethnic places. This chapter on Los Angeles City gives us some insight into "where" we are likely to see formally recognized ethnic places, and factors associated with their presence, while the case study chapters address the details and processes of how and why these might or might not come to be formally recognized.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are case study chapters of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh in Los Angeles, Cambodia Town in Long Beach, and "Little India" in Artesia, respectively. Figure 1.2 shows where in Los Angeles County these cities are located. The analyses in these chapters is structured by and address the three factors identified of the legislative and bureaucratic context, the legitimacy of claims, and the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents in understanding how and why claims are made, contested, and assessed regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places.

Chapter 5 is a discussion across cases and Chapter 6 leads to some remarks regarding the implications of the findings and directions for future research.

Group-specific? \ Recognition?	Yes	No
Yes	I. Formal recognitions should be given and they should be group-specific recognitions	II. Formal recognitions should not be given but some type of a group-specific development should be made in that place
No	III. Formal recognitions should be given but they should not be specific to a group	IV. Formal recognitions should not be given and no group-specific recognitions or developments should be made

Figure 1.1. Possible views regarding formal and group-specific recognitions

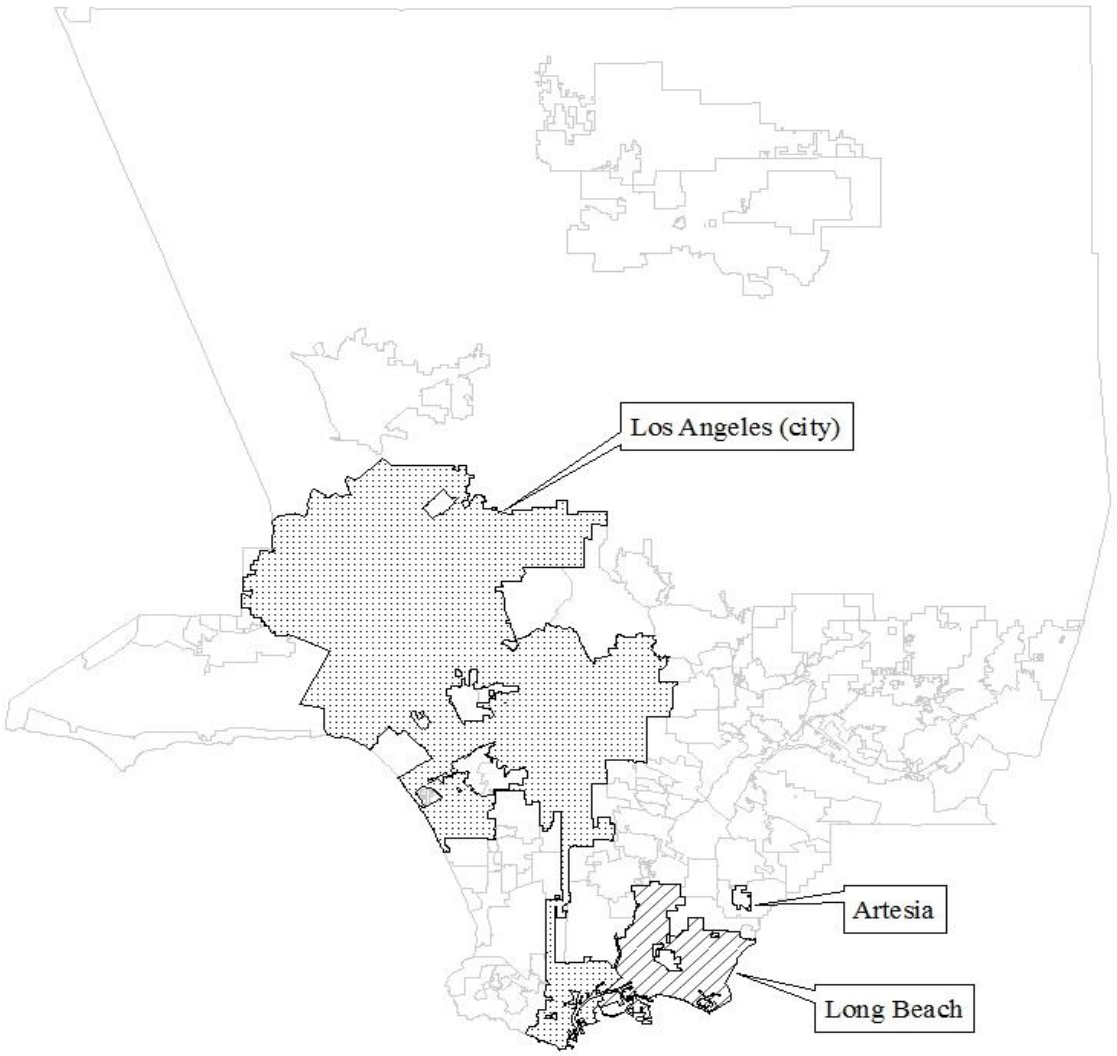


Figure 1.2. Case study cities and their location in Los Angeles County

Chapter 2

Predictive Characteristics for Where Formally Recognized Ethnic Places May be Found: A Study of the City of Los Angeles

Introduction

Los Angeles is a racially/ethnically diverse city and is home to a large foreign-born, immigrant population. For many national origin groups the southern California region more generally is often home to the largest population of that group outside of the sending country; this is where their largest diasporas can be found. In this context, spatial concentrations of ethnic groups are quite common. These places are often not just informally known as such, but come to be formally acknowledged and recognized by local governing officials. Ethnic places become officially recognized entities by way of formally recognizing their names and by demarcating them as such via road signage. By mid-2012, the City of Los Angeles in particular was the setting for 16 of the 20 known cases in southern California of ethnic places that sought formal recognition.

In studying the formal recognition of ethnic places, where are we likely to find these places? Can we tell what factors influence the likelihood that these places will exist in a given area? What elements tend to be characteristic of areas where we can expect to see these places? What factors influence the odds, the likelihood, of a given area having within it a formally recognized ethnic place?[1]

[1] The focus in this chapter is on examining factors characteristic of and associated with areas in which formally recognized ethnic places are likely to be found. The three factors presented in Chapter 1 thus do not relate directly to this chapter in that those factors deal with the process of seeking recognition, relating to questions of how and why claims are made, contested, and assessed. The three factors pertain more directly to the case study chapters which follow this chapter.

It is useful to think about *types* of influences in discerning the predictive, defining characteristics of areas where there are likely to be formally recognized ethnic places. Race/ethnicity is important in that these are spatial concentrations of specific race/ethnic groups. In this respect, rather than analyzing the many different ethnicities and national origin groups that can be examined, I consider these more specific identities under broader race group categories. While different "types" of people constitute these ethnic places – i.e., in their association as residents, members of the business community, etc. – there is naturally a base co-racial/co-ethnic population expected in these areas, given that these race/ethnic group members constitute and/or are served by these places. In addition to specific race groups, it is also important to consider a more general racial distribution of the population as this may be associated with policy preferences and outcomes (Tolbert and Hero 1996). To be sure, when opposition is expressed against proposals for naming and signage, an oft cited rationale is that a recognition of one group comes at the expense of the many other race/ethnic groups present in the area. Resistance in this vein follows the logic that one group being singled out negates the chance for some other group to be recognized, and by another strand, that one group being singled out negates not just some other specific group, but the multiracial, multiethnic, multicultural, diverse character of given areas (Artesia City Council 2003c; Hennessy 2004; Labossiere 2004). Since a significant co-racial/co-ethnic population (and more generally, a more significant presence of minority groups) is expected in areas with a named place, such areas are expected to then be less diverse (i.e., more homogeneously composed) than others.

Since these places tend to originate with and largely cater to not only racial/ethnic minority populations, but more specifically immigrant minority populations, the foreign born/immigrant population of given areas should also be considered. Ethnic places are more

likely to be seen in areas with larger foreign born populations; having a base foreign born population is, after all, arguably a characteristic of these places. A significant foreign born/immigrant population and (co-)racial/ethnic minority group presence are expected in the areas in which these places exist, and these factors are predicted to be positively associated with the likelihood of seeing named ethnic places in given areas.

The political beliefs and ideologies of the people in particular areas may also be potentially predictive characteristics of where it would be more likely to see a named ethnic place. Political beliefs and ideologies shape policy preferences and may therefore be telling of attitudes toward policies relating to immigrant populations, although sharp divides are not always necessarily seen (Hood and Morris 1997; Neiman, Johnson, and Bowler 2006). Since ethnic places are related to immigrant minority populations, political beliefs and ideologies regarding issues of immigrant incorporation and racial/ethnic group interests may be associated with the context – i.e., a more "supportive" or a more "resistant" environment – in which these places take root to begin with, as well as the chances of later seeking recognition.

Another factor to consider is the make-up of the community in terms of the length of residence of its members. Resistance to the influx of new populations and the development of new communities often comes from "old-timers" who feel more of a "claim" to these areas, how they develop, and how they get defined (Cho 2005; Foner 1987; Labossiere 2004). The more so that an area is populated by "old-timers," the less likely it would be for a more recent immigrant minority population to be able to take root there as these would be vicinities less "susceptible" to demographic change; this would diminish the odds of seeing a named ethnic place in such areas. Immigrant minority populations – and thus the ethnic places to which they give rise – are more likely to be found in areas that are more dynamic in terms of population change.

We can also examine the effects of where people live with respect to where they work (and vice versa). Ethnic places tend to be commercially-oriented, though there is hypothesized to be a co-racial/co-ethnic residential base to where they are situated. However, people do not necessarily live and work in the same place. There are thus people who live in areas where there are ethnic places who do not necessarily work there, and vice versa; these populations will also differ in terms of co-ethnics and non-co-ethnics of the particular ethnic group implicated in the ethnic places in those areas. Place of residence vis-à-vis place of work (and vice versa) is therefore an important factor to consider. When much of the population lives and works in different places, we may expect more resistance and opposition to the development and recognition of these ethnic places, when considered with respect to how naming is achieved. This is exemplified in other cases, illustrative in their failure, where the people who worked in these ethnic places tended to live in different areas, and where this issue came to be of marked importance with respect to policymaking and representation at the local (city) level (Harris 1992; Hennessy 2004; Labossiere 2004). Ethnic places are expected to be more common in areas where there is less of a disparity between the population who lives there and the population that works there. When there is increased consistency between where people live and work, this implies that the population base of the areas in which ethnic places exist will be more reflective of the groups that constitute such places.

Economic indicators can also be important. There is economic value and potential in ethnic places – i.e., in "marketing" racial/ethnic diversity (Hall and Rath 2007; Shaw, Bagwell, and Karmowska 2004; Zukin 1995), and in their tending to be commercially-oriented spaces. Proponents and applicants for recognition emphasize the widespread economic benefits of formally recognizing these places – it is argued that naming, signage, and recognition will attract

more people to the area, increasing the absolute volume of traffic (consumers) into the vicinity. This is said to be beneficial for all involved – co-ethnic merchants certainly, but non-co-ethnic enterprises too, as well as the general residential population – in that there will be increased sales by virtue of this recognition and therefore greater tax revenue, which will also provide spillover benefits, for example in providing additional funding for vital city services (Labossiere 2004). Moreover, as highlighted earlier, there is an important economic component to the creation of these ethnic concentrations in the first place, in terms of the pragmatic purposes served by these places for immigrant minorities. But the economic relevance extends to where they take root, in that the common story seems to be that immigrant minorities develop these places in blighted districts of town, making significant positive contributions to the local community in revitalizing these areas (Churm 1986; Hamilton 1997; Tran 2009). It is also likely to be easier to gain entry into areas marked by economic "need" since barriers to entry and establishment will be comparatively low. So while these places are argued to have made positive economic contributions to the community, ethnic places are more likely to be found in areas marked by greater economic "need." Other economic measures can also be considered that are different from economic status indicators. These pertain to the dominant types of work/enterprise with which people in those areas are associated. Many of the establishments in ethnic places are thought of as being related to specialty retail, service, and food-related occupations and industries (Lin 1998; Rath 2007; Zhou 1992). The presence and influence of workers in these fields is another dimension to economic factors to examine in this analysis.

Other basic area characteristics can also be considered. Namely, the size of an area as well as population density are aspects of the area profile that may also have an impact on how likely we are to see ethnic places in given areas. Smaller areas may be more adverse to the

development and recognition of ethnic places in that labeling is argued to take on a larger meaning of re-naming and re-defining entire communities, not just segments of them (Artesia City Council 2003c; Labossiere 2004). That is, naming is argued to be more consequential for smaller areas. Ethnic places are also projected to be seen in more densely populated locations. In a sense, these areas are more analogous to urban cores where ethnic places are more likely to be found.

To predict for the factors that influence the likelihood of seeing formally recognized ethnic places in given areas, these various types/sets of hypothesized influences are more specifically operationalized and examined through regression analyses. Before doing so, however, I examine in the City of Los Angeles the context in which formal recognitions of ethnic places are made.

Data and Methods

The individual units in this analysis are Community Plan Areas (CPAs) of the City of Los Angeles. Most of the known formally recognized ethnic places in southern California fall within the bounds of Los Angeles City. It is therefore fruitful to consider predictive factors of areas that are likely to have/house ethnic places in Los Angeles. There needs to be a means by which to carve up the City into internal units for analysis; Community Plan Areas are one such means by which to do this. There are 37 CPAs in Los Angeles and these are overseen by the City's Planning Department (see Figure 2.1).[2] CPAs primarily relate to the development of urban plans and decisions over land use. Relevant/"affected" CPAs are one of the items often noted in the City's administrative records when applications for the formal naming of communities are received.

[2] Depending on how some areas – e.g., the Los Angeles International Airport – are classified, this number may be reduced.

There are several advantages to considering internal City units by way of CPAs. For one, these are areas that are similar to how internal City neighborhoods are known and spoken of in the vernacular. That is, Los Angeles City is an extremely large, expansive entity, and in popular terms, areas within its bounds are more familiarly recognized in terms of their local neighborhood and community names than the technical, overarching, sole label of the City. Secondly, CPAs are attractive internal division schemes since boundaries and Area names have been largely consistent for the past 40 years or so. For future studies of other time periods or for comparative studies, this provides a desired sense of consistency and therefore comparative value.

[Insert Figure 2.1 about here]

Data from the 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing (Summary Files 1 and 3)[3] were used to construct most of the independent variables considered for this analysis. Political/ideology variables came from data for the 2000 General Elections, as retrieved from the Statewide Database for California.[4] Data at the census tract level from these sources[5] was then aggregated to form composite data for each of the 37 Community Plan Areas. This was done by joining/matching and then applying the tract share/proportion information for each of the tracts falling under the bounds of a given CPA in using selected census and Statewide Database data for that tract. That is, since CPA boundaries do not necessarily follow census tract lines (and vice

[3] Summary File 1 is 100% count data, whereas Summary File 3 is sample data.

[4] Data from the year 2000 was used for both the census and the General Election. Not all, but definitely most of the applications for naming/recognition in Los Angeles City were received in the 2000s. While there were a few cases that were processed in the late 1990s as well as in the 2010s, the decision was made that these were close enough in point to the Spring 2000–Spring 2010 decennial period covered by the 2000 decennial census to use data from 2000. Comparative studies over different time periods would be something of interest in future research that overcomes the limitations posed by a small sample size.

[5] Data are often available at the census tract level not by city, but only by county. In such cases, tracts for just Los Angeles City were extracted from all tracts in the County.

versa), CPAs sometimes cut through tracts; some tracts thus fall within more than one CPA or only partially fall within one CPA. In these cases, to accurately aggregate the data into composites for each CPA, we need to see the proportion of the tract that belongs to each intersecting CPA.[6] Aggregating the proportioned data for all member tracts in each CPA for each variable in this way then allowed for an accurate construction of proportion data for each of the 37 Areas. Independent variables related to the six types/sets of influences addressed earlier.

The dependent variable in this analysis is whether or not there is a formally recognized ethnic place within a given CPA. To construct this, a search through the City's Council File Management System was undertaken to identify ethnic places that were officially named, also noting ones that had at least applied for such recognition. That is, a readily available, comprehensive/exhaustive list of known named ethnic places (or at least as applied for such), and the street boundaries of such communities, did not exist; one had to be built. Compiling this inventory was the first step in constructing the dependent variable. While some of the paperwork in naming applications contains street boundary information and identification of relevant CPAs, this information was not available for all such places; GIS mapping methods were thus implemented to identify CPA memberships for each ethnic place. For mapping purposes, street boundaries of ethnic places were obtained through comprehensive research, consulting the Council File Management System as well as ethnic community sources online. That is, most boundaries could be amassed through Council Files, but some places (e.g., Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and Olvera Street) were not traceable through this System in terms of explicitly seeking formal recognition, though they do show up in searches regarding naming communities;

[6] This tract proportion data, as well as tract-CPA "membership" data (i.e., the CPA(s) associated with each tract and thus the list of tracts that fall within each CPA), were obtained from the City's Planning Department. Relevant shapefiles (i.e., for boundaries specific to the City) used for mapping with GIS were also obtained from the City's Planning Department.

identified street boundaries were thus "missing" for these places. These places tended to be older ones, with longer histories not only concerning the ethnic place of interest, but also regarding the group's presence in the region. In these cases the difficulty in constructing the dependent variable is that street boundaries can be hard to identify. When this information was not readily available, points of reference were used. For example, with Chinatown and Little Tokyo, the street boundaries upon which the mapped places were based were roughly speaking the boundaries given for their Business Improvement Districts (BIDs). For the Byzantine-Latino Quarter, information from the Los Angeles Neighborhood Initiative (LANI) was used. For places where boundaries are not clearly delineated, divergent views would be expected regarding the point/areas to which that ethnic place extends.

The dependent variable was thus constructed by first mapping known named ethnic places (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3). This was then laid over mapped CPAs. It was then possible to identify whether a given CPA had within its bounds an ethnic place, whole or part, and in this, within which CPAs a given place fell. A binary dependent variable was thereby constructed, coded for whether a CPA had within it an ethnic place (whole or part) or not. Nine of the 37 CPAs had within it an ethnic place (whole or part); 28 did not. Table 2.1 shows the nine CPAs that have within its bounds an ethnic place, and the corresponding identification of those places. Logistic regression analyses were then conducted to examine the factors that predict for the likelihood of an Area having within it an ethnic place.

[Insert Figure 2.2 about here]

[Insert Figure 2.3 about here]

[Insert Table 2.1 about here]

An Overview of Los Angeles City's Community Naming Policy and its Named/Formally Recognized Ethnic Places

Formally named, officially recognized ethnic neighborhoods are common in Los Angeles; by July 2012, the City housed 14 such places. More specifically, 16 of the 20 known cases in southern California (taken as the Los Angeles County and Orange County region) that applied for recognition and 14 of the 17 that successfully received it exist in Los Angeles. Since these places are fairly common in the City, unsurprisingly Los Angeles has an official policy by which to name or re-name neighborhoods/communities. What may be surprising is that this policy was not enacted until quite recently, the initial motion to establish a standardized naming process being made in 2002, and the resultant policy being adopted in 2006, long after several ethnic places had already become officially recognized entities by the City. In this study, the official naming of communities, and signage to label them as such, are understood to denote formal recognition of these places by the City.

In January 2002, the Los Angeles City Council heard a motion to initiate the process of "…outlining a consistent City policy on the re-naming of communities" (City of Los Angeles 2002). Los Angeles is better known and referenced by the individual neighborhoods encompassed within the larger City expanse. The naming policy was with respect to these places, and is not restricted to ethnic communities. In its original form, the emphasis was placed on *re-*naming, most probably because "The [initiating] motion came on the heels of the controversy stemming from the efforts of a portion of the Van Nuys community to rename their area 'Lake Balboa'" (Neighborhood Mapping Task Force 2005). As also explained in the original motion, "As neighborhoods and communities change, there is an occasional movement to create new community names for areas, distancing themselves from long identified community boundaries" (City of Los Angeles 2002). The idea is that "new" communities arise from pre-existing places.

Though these places become newly named, they do not develop from a vacuum; hence, the emphasis on *re*-naming as well as naming. More importantly, these practices of naming and re-naming needed to be addressed because "This process can prove controversial, especially since there are no formalized boundary lines for communities with existing names" (City of Los Angeles 2002). That is, places that were being newly named or renamed were arising out of and located within the context of existing neighborhoods, which were themselves known by a certain name with rough geographic bounds, but not necessarily formally delineated as such. Efforts to name and bound a place could then be contentious if the contexts from which they arose had themselves only vernacularly been referenced as such.

The specific need to develop a policy also came from the fact that though naming practices existed, they were not standardized; requests were simply made from respective Council members' offices to the Department of Transportation in charge of signage to demarcate these places (City of Los Angeles 2002). Council members could also submit proposals "delineating the boundaries of a neighborhood or a community" to the entire Council, who would then direct the Department of Transportation to install signage if the motion was passed (City of Los Angeles 2003). The Council recognized, however, that different Council members adopted different practices, and uniformity was needed. In addition, it was recognized that "The City should develop clear and consistent standard procedures and policies for community name changes, that, among other measurers, incorporate both the desires of the area wishing to change the name and the views of the remaining members of that community" (City of Los Angeles 2002). In short, a uniform procedure was needed, and one which made sure local input would be sought and incorporated, not just the viewpoints of those making the naming request. In addition to the individual motives and rationales espoused by group(s) making claims for recognition and

responding to such constituents' requests, the City's interest in allowing and adopting a naming policy also lay in the idea that "The practice of marking communities with individual names frequently results in high property values and a greater sense of community pride" (City of Los Angeles 2003). Most parties believed that something could be gained from such naming practices.

What eventually emerged was the *Policy for Naming or Renaming a Community*, adopted by the Council on January 31, 2006.[7] This was said to be the result of a concerted effort involving various actors: "The naming process that has been developed is based on input from a working group which included the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment (DONE), the City Clerk, City Attorney, City Planning, Community Redevelopment Agency, Department of Transportation, the Board of Public Works/Bureau of Engineering as well as interested Council staff and members of the general public" (City of Los Angeles 2006b). The policy first calls for two or more people to be designated as "applicants for the name change." An application also calls for a petition of 500 signatures (or 20% of the population if the area concerned is made up of less than 2,500 people) where "The signatures must be from individuals who either reside in and/or have businesses, both profit and nonprofit, in the neighborhood being named or renamed" (City of Los Angeles 2006a).

[7] Getting to this policy first involved an effort to create a "baseline" reference point of existing "City identified community and neighborhood names" (City of Los Angeles 2003; Neighborhood Mapping Task Force 2005). This was to be a mapping project involving various City agencies – a Task Force constituted by the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment (DONE), the Planning Department, Department of Transportation, the City Clerk, and the Mapping Division of the Bureau of Engineering. The idea was to pull the resources and knowledge bases of these different agencies to create a comprehensive reference of the named/identified landscape as is, to be a resource that could be consulted in devising a naming/re-naming policy (Neighborhood Mapping Task Force 2005), and when making decisions over such applications (City of Los Angeles 2003) once a policy was put in place. This proved to be a daunting task; maps of existing neighborhoods and communities were often incongruent between different sources, "…and in some cases [had] overlapping boundaries (exs. Thai Town and Little Armenia, Wilshire Center and Koreatown)" (Neighborhood Mapping Task Force 2005). Additionally, the sheer scope of the project, "Given the size of the City," eventually led to a restricted focus on the San Fernando Valley (Neighborhood Mapping Task Force 2005).

The naming/renaming application also asks for specific street boundaries for the area to be named as well as "the reason and justification for the name change, including the rationale, any historical precedent or other relevant reason for the request" (City of Los Angeles 2006a). It also specifies that "Any previously recognized name should be given consideration if the neighborhood is looking to name or rename itself" (City of Los Angeles 2006a). Exemptions are made for "Requests for historical, cultural and commemorative designations for an area no longer than one linear block," as well as "Requests where community names that have been established are incidental to another City Council action which has had public input and a hearing process, such as the establishment of a Historic Preservation Overlay Zone, or other special district" (City of Los Angeles 2006a).

The application, once received and checked, is forwarded to the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment, Department of Transportation, Planning Department, Community Redevelopment Agency (when it was still active), and the Bureau of Engineering. The latter three, along with the City Clerk's Records Management Division, are asked to "review the application and comment on whether the proposed name reflects the historical and cultural significance of the community" (City of Los Angeles 2006a). There are three avenues for public comment in response to submitted applications. Two come in the form of public hearings, and one by way of a complaint/appeal process. Public hearings are held by affected Neighborhood Councils (from which "findings" and a "community impact statement" are to be sent to the City Clerk)[8] as well as by a City Council Committee. The application and all supporting documents are then submitted to be considered by the City Council.

[8] Neighborhood Councils are asked to consider specific issues:

> Whether the name duplicates that of another community or neighborhood in the city; Whether the residents and business property owners, including profit and nonprofit groups have been

Since its adoption in 2006, several ethnic neighborhoods have become formally recognized entities under the City's naming policy. Officially recognized ethnic places of course existed prior to the inception of this standardized process. These included those that went through the Council system in some fashion or another as well as ones that had been historically recognized through their long-standing origins and the respective groups' deep historical roots in the city.[9] Searching through the Council File Management System, there are 14 such known places in the City of Los Angeles (by mid-2012 standards).[10] If we consider all cases that applied, whether or not they successfully received formal recognition, this number increases to 16. Table 2.2 lists these cases, showing their filing and recognition year, and for the purposes of

> appropriately identified; Whether significant objections have been raised in areas adjacent to the proposed community boundaries; Whether there is a consensus for a naming or name change among the residential and business property owners and including the profit and nonprofit groups within the proposed boundaries and outside of the community; and Whether the affected certified Neighborhood Councils support the naming or name change. (City of Los Angeles 2006b)

[9] The ethnic places that have had a historic presence include those such as Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and Olvera Street. These existed even in the early parts of the 20th century, and are referenced in other City Council Files by these names. They did not necessarily go through a formal naming or recognition process per se in the sense of being considered by the Council, as was the case with more recently established ethnic places. Nevertheless, they were still recognized as such by the City and demarcated via road signage. It should also be noted that these places have been officially established as Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), which requires City approval. Koreatown is an interesting case in that it too fell under the category of historically-based places, yet came to be "re-recognized" through the naming process in more recent years – see Chapter 3 for more.

[10] Of these 14, aside from the cases discussed in footnote 9, the Byzantine-Latino Quarter and the El Salvador Community Corridor warrant some specific remarks. The Byzantine-Latino Quarter was first recognized in 1997 by the Los Angeles Neighborhood Initiative (LANI), a non-profit organization that aims to serve as a "'City Partner' to expedite public improvement projects and serve as a liaison between communities and local governments" (LANI website). LANI engages primarily in community revitalization and advocates the active involvement of community members – i.e., "stakeholder empowerment" – in this process: "The Mission of Los Angeles Neighborhood Initiative (LANI) is to stimulate community-driven neighborhood revitalization and decision-making, and promotes public/private partnerships that result in catalytic community improvement projects" (LANI website). While this is somewhat of a different process than that of going through the Council alone, LANI proposals are still put forth to that body, making Council action a component for formal recognition; LANI recognized entities thus also qualify as being officially recognized by the City. Additionally, the Byzantine-Latino Quarter was also recognized as such through State Assembly Bill 516 in 2002, and the El Salvador Community Corridor through the State's Assembly Concurrent Resolution 126 in 2010; both were approved by the City. For the El Salvador Community Corridor, following communication regarding ACR 126, the Salvadorian community submitted an application in 2011 in accordance with the established City naming procedure; this naming was approved in 2012.

this research, the Community Plan Area(s) (CPA) under which each falls. As illustrated earlier in Table 2.1, there are nine CPAs which have within them ethnic places.

[Insert Table 2.2 about here]

In Table 2.2 we see that many places are reflective of Asian national origin groups, but that not all are so. There is also great divergence in the size of these ethnic places, as seen in Figures 2.2 and 2.3 (and approximated in Table 2.9); some stretch over several city blocks (e.g., Little Armenia, Chinatown, etc.), many are small stretches along one main street (e.g., Little Ethiopia, El Salvador Community Corridor, etc.), and one is just a single intersection (i.e., Persian Square). However, even the biggest among these does not encompass an area as large as an entire CPA or intra-City neighborhood; it comprises a concentrated section of it. Applications to name and recognize such places can nevertheless be met with marked resistance by local residents, members of the business community, and local organizations, perhaps because irrespective of size, actions pursued for recognition represent in some part the "contribution" and involvement of such places in the defining of local communities.

For the most part, these places tend to be concentrated amongst CPAs towards the center of the City. Because these ethnic spatial concentrations tend to be concentrated rather than dispersed through the expanse of the City (i.e., with respect to each other), relative boundaries matter, especially when places overlap with each other. The initial contention regarding the formal recognition of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh reflected this point; negotiations resulted in modified street boundaries that created two distinct entities.

In painting a more detailed picture of the City's CPAs, several variables were explored. Table 2.3 includes race variables, a standardized diversity score, and area size. Table 2.4 includes variables pertaining to the foreign born population, language spoken at home, and as

will be discussed in the following section, variables included in the models. The tables include data for each individual CPA, as well as summary data pertaining to CPAs with and without ethnic places, and the difference (in percentage points) between the two.

[Insert Table 2.3 about here]

[Insert Table 2.4 about here]

With respect to race, the difference between CPAs with and without ethnic places seem to pertain more to the non-Hispanic or Latino White, Black, and Asian populations; the Hispanic or Latino population did not show a notable difference between these two classifications. CPAs with ethnic places seem to have larger non-Hispanic or Latino Black and Asian populations and a smaller non-Hispanic or Latino White population (see Table 2.3). With other variables shown in Table 2.4, CPAs with ethnic places have a larger foreign-born population as well as those speaking a language other than English at home, suggesting a larger immigrant base in these areas. CPAs without ethnic places have larger populations of "old-timer" residents (those who moved into their units in 1979 or earlier), and in terms of political affiliation, a larger base of registered Republicans.

Detailed analyses were also conducted of the ethnic places in Los Angeles City that had sought formal recognition. Data on ethnic places was built through census variables, noting relevant census tracts based on the street boundaries previously identified. Since some ethnic place areas lie along a single street, and since census tracts do not neatly align with street boundaries even if ethnic place areas encompass city blocks, in most cases the area being analyzed for each ethnic place will likely be an overestimate of the actual area. Table 2.5 explores overall race variables as well as diversity, Table 2.6 explores several Asian national origin group percentages, Table 2.7 explores several Hispanic or Latino population percentages,

Table 2.8 explores variables pertaining to the foreign born population as well as language spoken at home and model variables, and Table 2.9 shows data for the co-ethnic population of the group associated with naming (whether as a race/ethnicity variable or as an ancestry variable) and an approximation of the size of the ethnic place (in square-miles or miles, depending on whether the area encompassed city blocks or a single street; this is an approximation but an approximation of the actual ethnic place area according to its boundary specifications, and not an approximation of the area constructed through census tracts). The tables include data for each individual ethnic place in Los Angeles City, as well as summary data pertaining to tracts relating to and not relating to ethnic place areas, and the difference (in percentage points) between the two.

[Insert Table 2.5 about here]

[Insert Table 2.6 about here]

[Insert Table 2.7 about here]

[Insert Table 2.8 about here]

[Insert Table 2.9 about here]

With respect to race, ethnic place-related areas tend to have a larger non-Hispanic or Latino Asian population as well as a larger Hispanic or Latino population. Areas not related to ethnic places seem to have a larger non-Hispanic or Latino White population, as well as a larger non-Hispanic or Latino Black population (see Table 2.5). Interestingly, the standardized diversity score shows that areas not related to ethnic places are more diverse than ethnic place-related areas, though ethnic place-related areas also seem to be quite diverse. Ethnic place-related areas also seem to have a larger immigrant population as they have a larger foreign born population as well as those who speak a language other than English at home (see Table 2.8).

Analysis and Results

Trying to predict for the likelihood of a given Area housing/having within it a named ethnic place is driven by assessments regarding the theoretical and statistical significance of predictors. One of the limitations to this study is that the sample size is small (N=37). Given this constraint, bivariate regressions are first conducted of the dependent variable (having/housing a named ethnic place) against independent variables determined to be of theoretical significance, the intent being to broadly assess the predictive power of each. These predictors were constructed from Summary Files 1 and 3 from the 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing and the 2000 General Election data from the Statewide Database for California.[11] Variables were divided into sets/types of predictors – race, political/ideology, foreign born/immigrant population, place of residence/work, economic, basic area characteristics/profile – based on the theoretical relevance of considering independent variables in terms of the different types of influences that impact the odds of seeing a named ethnic place.[12]

For race variables (*Not Hispanic or Latino*, *Not Hispanic or Latino (NHL) White*, *NHL Black*, *NHL Asian*, and *Hispanic or Latino*), non-Hispanic or Latino groups and the Hispanic or Latino population were differentiated so as to prevent "double-counting" for any major race group.[13] A diversity variable (*Diversity*) was constructed based on the Herfindahl/Hirschman

[11] There were many potential variables which could qualify as measures – operationalizations – of these different types/sets of influences; several were considered. Part of the decision was theoretical in terms of which variables were to be selected under each type of influence for this initial analysis. There were also statistically guided decisions pertaining to significance and collinearity with variables deemed to be of greater theoretical relevance.

[12] Some of the variables included in bivariate regressions are those that are the "complement" of another variable (e.g., *Work in Place of Residence* and *Work outside Place of Residence*); the purpose is not to consider or include both in a given model, but to get a first reading for each of relative significance, the direction of the relationship, and magnitude of effect.

[13] In the census, "Hispanic or Latino" is counted as heritage/origin/ethnicity; race is different from this and in 2000 included the categories of White; Black or African American; American Indian and Alaska Native; Asian; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander; some other race; and two or more races. Capturing race through these

statistic, which is rooted in the concept of evenness – i.e., the idea that there is greatest diversity when there is a perfectly even/equal distribution of the population amongst the possible number of groups/categories of a certain variable (Allen and Turner 1996; Campbell 2007; Gibbs and Martin 1962).[14] *Diversity* is standardized into a probability with a possible minimum of 0 and a possible maximum of 1. An absolutely homogeneous population would thus have a diversity score of 0; an absolutely heterogeneous population with equal numbers represented in each of the groups/categories available would have a diversity score of 1.

Political/ideology variables were measured by looking at party registration (for the 2000 General Election) and vote outcome (for the 2000 presidential race) as proxies. Though not ideal, given the limitations in available data for relevant geographic units, Republican party registration (*Registered Republican*) and voting for the Republican candidate (*Voted for Republican Candidate*) were taken as measures of a more conservative political ideology; Democratic party registration (*Registered Democrat*) and voting for the Democratic candidate (*Voted for Democratic Candidate*) were taken as measures of a more liberal political ideology.

Measures related to the foreign born/immigrant population were important predictors to examine in this analysis. Of particular interest was the foreign born population itself (*Foreign Born*), this group being understood to represent the immigrant population. In addition, the recent immigrant population was also of interest; the foreign born population was thus also considered in terms of period of entry, looking at the periods of 1980-2000 (*Foreign Born Entered 1980-*

eight categories (i.e., with race differentiated for non-Hispanic or Latino origin) then adds up to 100% of the population.

[14] This statistic is in essence the probability that two people chosen at random would be members of two different (race) groups. Diversity = $1 - \sum (Pn)^2$ where Pn represents the proportion of the population composed by a given group, summed for all possible groups, N. This number can be standardized by dividing each calculated diversity score by [1-1/N] (i.e., the computed diversity statistic being divided by the maximum diversity score possible, given the number of (race) categories "available"). It is also discussed as a measure of "entropy."

2000), and this further broken down into 1980-1989 (*Foreign Born Entered 1980-1989*) and 1990-2000 (*Foreign Born Entered 1990-2000*). The region of birth of the foreign born population was also considered, paying particular attention to immigrants from Asia (*Region of Birth of Foreign Born: Asia*) and Latin America (*Region of Birth of Foreign Born: Latin America*); these groups arguably represent the most sizeable, recent flows of migration. In addition to looking at the immigrant population (by way of the foreign born population), I also examined acculturation variables, operationalized by household language/language spoken at home. In this respect, speaking a language other than English was of interest (*Household Language Spoken Not English*), as well as the level of English language attainment/English language ability (*Language Spoken at Home Not English and Speak English Less than Very Well*).

Measures regarding length of residence were also examined to parse out the proportion of "old-timers" versus "newcomers" to the neighborhood. Length of residence can first be examined in terms of mobility (or rather, immobility) by looking at the proportion of residents who lived in the same house five years prior to the Census being taken (*Lived in Same House in 1995*). It can also be looked at in terms of the period in which the householder moved in; two variables were constructed, one which measured the proportion of householders who moved into their current place of residence sometime between 1980 and the time that the census was taken (*Householder Moved into Unit 1980-2000*), and another which looked at the proportion of residents who moved in at any time prior to that (*Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier*). Those who established residence in 1979 or earlier were taken to be "old-timers." Those who came in 1980 or any subsequent year are argued to be relative "newcomers" who became residents and members of their communities during times of more dynamic demographic shifts,

especially with respect to the racial and immigrant population compositions of the City and of communities within it.

Next, looking at where people work with respect to where they live, we can examine the proportion of residents who work (in the city) where they live (*Work in Place of Residence*) as well as those who work elsewhere (*Work outside Place of Residence*).[15] What I attempt to address in examining this variable is a sense of how strictly a person's place of residence may be conceptualized as "home," rather than as a place of both work and home, as well as how reflective an area will be of the ethnic place(s) to be found within it. Another way to look at this is by examining the time spent traveling to work. The limitation to this is that commute times are likely to be influenced by the mode of transportation (which is likely to be influenced by economic factors). Keeping these points in mind, variables were constructed of commute times of 19 minutes or less (*Time Traveled to Work 19 Minutes or Less*) and 29 minutes or less (*Time Traveled to Work 29 Minutes or Less*). The 19-minute time frame was taken to represent a short commute, or working relatively close to where one lives; the 29-minute time frame represents a slightly longer commute, and one that is more reflective of the mean time spent traveling to work.[16]

For economic predictors, the proportion unemployed (*Unemployed (out of civilian labor force)*) as well as the proportion of individuals with income below the poverty level (*Below Poverty*) can be examined. Other economic indicators to consider were with respect to the proportion of people in specific industries and occupations. Given that many of the businesses in a named ethnic place tend to be food-related, a corresponding industry (*Industry – Arts,*

[15] Census terminology uses "place" to represent city.

[16] The census reports a mean time spent traveling to work variable.

Entertainment, Recreation, Accommodation, and Food) and occupational field (*Service Occupations – Food preparation and serving related occupations)* were examined.

The last type of predictor pertained to basic area characteristics. Population density in terms of the number of people per square mile (*Population Density*) was considered to see whether more densely populated Areas tended to increase the likelihood of having/housing an ethnic neighborhood. The size of the Area (in square miles) (*Area Size)* was also examined to see whether the size of given units mattered in influencing the odds of a named ethnic place existing within them.

The dependent variable was whether or not a Community Plan Area had within it a formally recognized ethnic place. This was a binary variable of "yes" (DV = 1) or "no" (DV = 0). The variable was constructed by overlaying the mapped named ethnic places against CPA boundaries to see whether an Area had at least one named place (whole or part) falling within it.[17]

[Insert Table 2.10 about here]

Given the limitations of a small sample size, this study takes the more liberal threshold of $p<.10$ in determining significance. With bivariate regressions (see Table 2.10), of the race variables, only proportion *Asian* and the *Diversity* variable were significant, with both showing a positive relationship and relatively large odds ratio values. For political/ideology variables, all but the *Registered Democrat* variable were significant. Both of the Republican variables showed a negative relationship regarding an Area housing an ethnic place while *Voted for Democratic Candidate* (and *Registered Democrat*, though not statistically significant) showed a positive

[17] As a result, consideration was not given in this analysis to the number of named ethnic places falling within a particular Area (i.e., some Areas house a greater number of named places than others – see Table 2.1, as previously discussed), nor to whether a CPA housed a whole or only part of a named place; these could be issues to consider in a future project.

relationship. The *Voted Democratic* variable showed a large odds ratio value; both *Republican* variables showed odds ratios of about zero. For foreign born/immigrant population variables, proportion *Foreign Born*, *Foreign Born Entered 1990-2000*, and *Foreign Born Entered 1980-2000* were significant, showing positive relationships and large odds ratio values. Acculturation/language measures were both close to, but not quite significant at $p<.10$, showing positive relationships and moderately large odds ratio impacts. All three length of residence variables were significant; *Lived in Same House in 1995* and *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* both showed negative relationships and odds ratios of about zero, whereas *Householder Moved into Unit 1980-2000* showed a positive relationship and a large odds ratio impact. None of the place of residence/work variables, however, were significant. Interestingly, all of the economic variables were significant (*Unemployed*, *Below Poverty*, food-related *Industry*, and food-related *Occupation*), with positive relationships and relatively large odds ratio impacts. The *Density* variable was also significant; the odds ratio was 1, however. The *Size* of Area units was not significant.

Keeping bivariate regression results as a reference, variables were selected based on theoretical and/or statistical significance, as well as statistical checks for collinearity. Regarding significance, what took precedence was theoretical reasoning, over statistical significance. That is, variables were considered even if they were not statistically significant in bivariate regressions. Of such variables, however, predictors were eliminated if they showed high collinearity levels ($r>.60$) with other variables held to be of greater theoretical significance. Variables chosen by these combined selection methods constitute Model 1, as presented in Table 2.13. Variables from each of the six main types of variables were included (i.e., race, political/ideology, foreign born/immigrant population, length of residence, place of

residence/work, and economic, with basic area characteristics eliminated). Basic descriptive statistics are presented in Table 2.11 and a comparison of means for each independent variable by the binary properties of the dependent variable (i.e., by DV=1and DV=0) is presented in Table 2.12.

[Insert Table 2.11 about here]

[Insert Table 2.12 about here]

For Model 1, the non-Hispanic or Latino *Asian* population was selected amongst the race variables since many of the known named ethnic places not only in Los Angeles City, but also in the southern California region at large, are reflective of Asian national origin groups. *Diversity* was also selected as a general measure of racial distribution characteristics, beyond the effects of a specific proportion of the population constituted by a given group. Of political/ideology variables, *Registered Republican* was included.[18] Registration was chosen over a vote outcome variable in that voting for a party candidate may be influenced by affinity (or disdain) for a particular candidate, clouding a variable construct attempting to capture political or ideological beliefs. Out of foreign born/immigrant population variables, *Foreign Born* was selected given collinearity problems of other variables in this category; it also seems to be the most "general" or comprehensive measure for this set of variables. Regarding length of residence, *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* was selected, mostly for its perceived (greater) theoretical relevance. The idea is that establishing residence in that period reasonably certifies that householder as an "old-timer" resident. *Lived in Same House in 1995* was abandoned given the

[18] Republican was selected over Democrat based on statistical significance from bivariate regressions. There are hypotheses regarding both, and the two are thought of as being "complementary" to each other. In terms of the expected direction of the relationship, *Registered Democrat* can be expected to show a positive relationship and *Registered Republican* a negative relationship. Since hypotheses can be constructed regarding both, one is the complement of the other, and both can be held to be theoretically important, given high collinearity between the two (i.e., r>.60) and issues of statistical significance for *Registered Democrat*, *Registered Republican* was selected for inclusion in the model.

challenges to its interpretability; this variable could capture, for example, people who moved in in 1994 as well as people who moved in in 1965. Although place of residence vis-à-vis place of work variables were not statistically significant in bivariate regressions, based on arguments of theoretical significance, *Work outside Place of Residence* was included.[19] Of the economic variables, the proportion unemployed was included,[20] as well as the proportion of people in a food-related Industry.[21] The basic area characteristics of population *Density* and *Area* size were excluded. *Density* is not statistically significant and the problems posed by its odds ratio values are great. *Area* size is excluded because it is not statistically significant in bivariate regressions and because CPAs are intra-City units and not whole entities in and of themselves. As expected, however, it does show a negative relationship in bivariate regressions.

[Insert Table 2.13 about here]

[Insert Table 2.14 about here]

[19] *Work in Place of Residence* can be difficult to interpret; because census terminology uses "place" to represent city, this variable signifies people who live and work in the City of Los Angeles. Since the City is extremely large in size, however, this variable does not serve the purposes of this study very well – i.e., included would be people who work quite close to where they live (and, in terms of Community Plan Areas, perhaps in the same CPA), as well as people who, for example, live and work in opposite "sides" of the City. For the latter, they could effectively be thought of in the same way as those who *Work outside Place of Residence*, the interpretation being that where they live is truly where they live, where the primary significance of that area can be thought of as "home," or residential neighborhood. The *Time Traveled to Work* variables were excluded not only because they were statistically not significant in bivariate regressions, but also because they could be difficult to interpret; these variables were constructed by aggregating certain work commute time brackets, but there is nothing inherently significant about the aggregated times chosen. Interpretation difficulties and theoretical relevance questions thereby guided the decisions to exclude these place of residence vis-à-vis place of work variables.

[20] *Unemployed* is out of the civil labor force, which is how this statistic is calculated by public agencies such as, for example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It should also be noted that *Below Poverty* is also representative of lower economic status, but it correlates at high levels (i.e., r>.60) with many of the other variables of interest. There was greater theoretical interest in excluding *Below Poverty* and in including these other variables; combining variables did not hold much theoretical appeal.

[21] *Industry* was chosen over *Occupation*, taking *Industry* as a "more encompassive" measure of employment sector.

In Model 1, even at the more liberal p<.10 level, none of the predictors were statistically significant.[22] However, *Asian* (p=.121), *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* (p=.115), and *Unemployed* (p=.136) were comparatively "more significant" than the other variables. Of these, *Asian* showed a positive relationship with the dependent variable, as did *Unemployed*; *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* showed a negative relationship. While *Asian* and *Unemployed* showed relatively large odds ratio values, the *Householder* variable showed a value of about zero.

In focusing on the direction of the relationship, expected and observed directions are presented in Table 2.15 for the variables included in Model 1, as well as what was observed in bivariate regressions and in Models 2 and 3. It is important to note, however, that statistical significance plays a great hand in the importance attributed to expected and observed directions. The magnitude of odds ratio values should also be considered. For example, a variable may increase the odds of an Area housing a named ethnic place, but may do so only minimally. Despite these points, it is still informative to examine directions of relationships in that they address hypothesized effects of the predictors.

[Insert Table 2.15 about here]

Asian, *Foreign Born*, *Unemployed*, and *Industry* are expected to show positive relationships. *Diversity*, *Registered Republican*, *Work outside Place of Residence*, and *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* are expected to show negative relationships. Of the four variables that are expected to show positive effects, we expect proportion *Asian* to be positively related since many of the observed named places reflect Asian group identities and thus are expected to be rooted in areas with significant co-racial/co-ethnic populations. (In this,

[22] This is most likely attributable to the number of included predictors set against the limitations of a small sample size.

the successful garnering of recognition for ethnic places may "need" a significant co-racial/co-ethnic population base.) Proportion *Foreign Born* is expected to exert a positive effect since ethnic places tend to cater to immigrant minority populations. Since arguments presented in seeking recognition for named spaces tend to emphasize "setting up shop" in and revitalizing blighted areas of town, proportion *Unemployed* is expected to show a positive impact; although ethnic places are expected to improve the economic lot of such areas, they are expected to be seen in vicinities characterized by greater economic "need," which are also likely to be areas where barriers to entry are lower. *Industry – Arts, Entertainment, Recreation, Accommodation, and Food Services* is reflective of some of the types of businesses that tend to be dominant in ethnic places.

Other variables are expected to exert a negative impact on the likelihood of an Area having within it a named ethnic place. Following the logic that named places tend to be seen in areas with a significant co-racial/co-ethnic base, ethnic places are expected to be seen more so in less racially/ethnically diverse (i.e., more homogeneous, with a less evenly distributed population) Areas. *Diversity* is therefore expected to show a negative impact on the odds of an Area having within it a named ethnic place. With *Registered Republican* serving as a political variable as well as a proxy for ideology, we would be less likely to expect a named ethnic place in more Republican/conservative Areas, given ideological links to conceptions of (and policies related to) immigrant incorporation. *Work outside Place of Residence* is also expected to be negatively related to the dependent variable in that Areas where a significant proportion of the population works outside of the City of Los Angeles altogether implicates a significant proportion of the CPA population that are truly residents of the community, where the people of the Area are less likely to reflect the people who constitute the ethnic places within it. A

significant disparity between the population who lives and works in an area is unlikely to be characteristic of areas where we would expect to see these named places. Areas with a significant "old-timer" population – *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* – would lead us to expect that named ethnic places are less likely to be seen in these Areas, which tend to be less susceptible to demographic change. Ethnic places also tend to be characteristic of immigrant minority groups who are more recent migrants (and thus also more recent members of local communities/CPAs, not "old-timers").

Table 2.15 presents expected and observed directions for modeled variables. All predictors except *Diversity* and *Foreign Born* consistently show observed directions that match expected ones. Of the two "non-matching" predictors, *Diversity* is expected to show a negative relationship but consistently shows a positive relationship. *Foreign Born* is expected to show a positive relationship and does so in bivariate regressions but shows negative relationships in Models 1 and 2. Since neither variable is statistically significant in Models 1 and 2, however, the importance of these differences in expected and observed directions is "lessened." With bivariate regressions, *Diversity* is statistically significant at $p<.10$, however, and exhibits a positive effect in contrast to its expected negative relationship. At least with bivariate regressions, we see that increased diversity (i.e., increased evenness of the distribution of the population), increases the odds of an Area having within it a named ethnic place, challenging to some extent the expectation that named places are more likely to be seen in areas displaying a more "uneven" racial distribution (i.e., a more homogeneous area).

Following Model 1, a more parsimonious model is built as guided by theoretical and statistical reasoning, given the limitations of a small sample size. Model 2 includes *Asian,*

Diversity, *Registered Republican*, *Foreign Born*, *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier*, and *Unemployed* as predictive variables.[23]

[Insert Table 2.16 about here]

[Insert Table 2.17 about here]

Table 2.16 shows that at p<.10, *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* was the only variable that was statistically significant in Model 2. However, *Asian* and *Unemployed* showed comparatively lower p-values than the other remaining predictors in the model, and were relatively close to the p<.10 threshold. Consistent with Model 1 and as expected, *Asian* and *Unemployed* exhibited positive relationships and *Householder* a negative one. Consistent with Model 1, *Asian* and *Unemployed* showed large odds ratio values while *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* showed a value of about zero.

[Insert Table 2.18 about here]

[Insert Table 2.19 about here]

In continuing to develop a more parsimonious model, Model 3 was built with the three variables that were consistently significant or close to significant at p<.10 in Models 1 and 2 – i.e., *Asian*, *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier*, and *Unemployed* (see Table 2.18). (All three are reasoned to be theoretically relevant and significant.) That is, although Model 2 is

[23] *Work outside Place of Residence* and *Industry* were excluded in Model 2. With *Work outside Place of Residence*, the City of Los Angeles is too big to effectively capture what was intended to be captured through this variable. That is, this variable was attempting to address peoples' place of residence vis-à-vis their place of work. Yet given that "place" refers to city in the census, the expansive nature of Los Angeles City makes it so that someone who technically works in their place of residence could bear more resemblance to someone who works outside their place of residence if there is considerable distance between home and work. In terms of conceptual relevance for the purposes of this research, this variable could then be underestimating what is being intended to be measured, which gets at conceptualizations of home and residential neighborhood. The *Industry* variable was excluded based on similar reasons as to whether this was sufficiently addressing what was being intended to be captured. The proportion of people engaged in these industries, which, though most reflective of the types of businesses seen in the named ethnic places of interest, may not be clear in its direct connection/relevance to the predictability of whether an Area will have an ethnic place within it. Additionally, these two variables were the two most non-significant variables statistically; *Work outside Place of Residence* was statistically not significant even with bivariate regressions.

a more theoretically encompassive model, predictors were further filtered based on statistical significance. In Model 3, *Asian* and *Householder Moved into Unit 1979 or Earlier* were statistically significant at p<.10, and *Unemployed* was significant at p<.05. All three variables showed similar outcomes in relationship directions and magnitudes of odds ratio values as under previous models – *Asian* and *Unemployed* showed positive relationships and large odds ratio values while *Householder* showed a negative relationship and an odds ratio value of about zero.

[Insert Table 2.20 about here]

Under the three models we are able to see "misclassified" CPAs in terms of their categorization on the binary properties of the dependent variable (see Table 2.20). The Community Plan Area that consistently showed up under all three models, and for both of the ways in which SPSS can report these misclassified cases,[24] is San Pedro. Depending on how misclassifications are reported, South Los Angeles, which houses parts of the Byzantine-Latino Quarter and the El Salvador Community Corridor, is also a CPA that has within it ethnic places, though based on Models 2 and 3, it is predicted not to house any ethnic places. Under the most parsimonious model, Model 3, Southeast Los Angeles shows up as an Area which is predicted to have within it an ethnic place though it does not empirically.

Discussion

In predicting for variables that influence the likelihood of an Area having within it a formally recognized ethnic place, the proportion of the population that is non-Hispanic/Latino *Asian*, the proportion that is *Unemployed*, and the proportion of *Householders who Moved into their Units in 1979 or Earlier* are consistently significant or close to being significant. The first two variables were expected to have, and were observed to consistently have, a positive impact

[24] SPSS can report this by listing all cases or by listing cases with studentized residuals greater than 2.

on the odds of an Area having within it an ethnic place. These two variables also consistently showed extremely large odds ratio values. The last of these three variables, *Householders who Moved into their Units in 1979 or Earlier* – i.e., indicating "old-timer," long-term residents – was negatively related to the dependent variable, as expected and as consistently observed. This variable also consistently showed an odds ratio value of about zero.

In conducting regression analyses, types or sets of variables that were hypothesized to be influential were included – race, political/ideology, foreign born/immigrant population, length of residence, place of residence vis-à-vis place of work, and economic status variables. With respect to the three variables discussed above, race, length of residence, and economic status significantly impact the likelihood of there being a named ethnic place in a particular Area. Specifically, ethnic places are more likely to be found in areas with significant Asian and unemployed populations and are less likely to be found in areas with a significant "old-timer" residential base.

There are constraints to note of this study in that there are limitations posed by a small sample size. For one, this presents challenges to building a model with multiple variables. More liberal p-value thresholds were thus considered and a series of (increasingly parsimonious) models were built through theoretical as well as statistical "filtering." Bivariate regressions were first conducted with independent variables of interest. These are informative and address the limitations of considering multiple variables given the small size of the sample. However, the limitation is also precisely that – i.e., bivariate regressions do not allow us to control for the effects of other variables that are likely to impact the relationship. Despite these limitations, the analyses conducted here do provide some insight into the factors that play a role in the likelihood of there being named ethnic places, and in what kinds of areas they are more likely to be found.

However, there are other aspects to consider beyond the population characteristics of the areas in which ethnic places are to be found, and beyond what we can do (i.e., that we cannot capture) through aggregate statistical analyses alone. The forces that influence whether or not, as well as where, we are likely to see these places may relate to, for example, public officials and their decision-making, policy-making processes. Community and group relations, especially racial/ethnic relations, seems important in understanding how and why specific groups develop these ethnic spatial cores and then appeal for their formal recognition, and in turn, how members of the surrounding community respond. Legislative contexts and inter- and intra-group dynamics are thus some of the elements that are likely to constitute important aspects of processes regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places; factors such as these are not easily measured or captured through numerical data and aggregate statistical analyses. These factors also lead us to consider additional questions of not just where ethnic places are likely to be found and what influences this, but also how and why ethnic places form and official recognition is sought. In-depth case studies pertaining to the southern California region should therefore be conducted to form a holistic analysis regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places.

Conclusion

In studying ethnic spatial concentrations and the formal recognition that is sought, the Los Angeles context is particularly relevant – most of the known named ethnic places (as well as the attempted but unsuccessful cases) in southern California are within the technical/official bounds of this City. Interestingly so, in 2006 the City established a standardized policy by which communities – including, but not limited to, ethnic communities – are to be formally named and officially recognized. Given the prevalence and relevance of ethnic places to Los Angeles, what was of interest was analyzing the factors that are characteristic and predictive of areas where we

are likely to see such places. Aggregate statistical analyses were conducted regarding intra-City units which showed different types of variables which were predicted to influence the odds of an Area having within it an ethnic place. However, given the statistical and conceptual constraints to this analysis, a more holistic analysis in which in-depth case studies, which are thought to complement the analysis in this chapter, are needed.

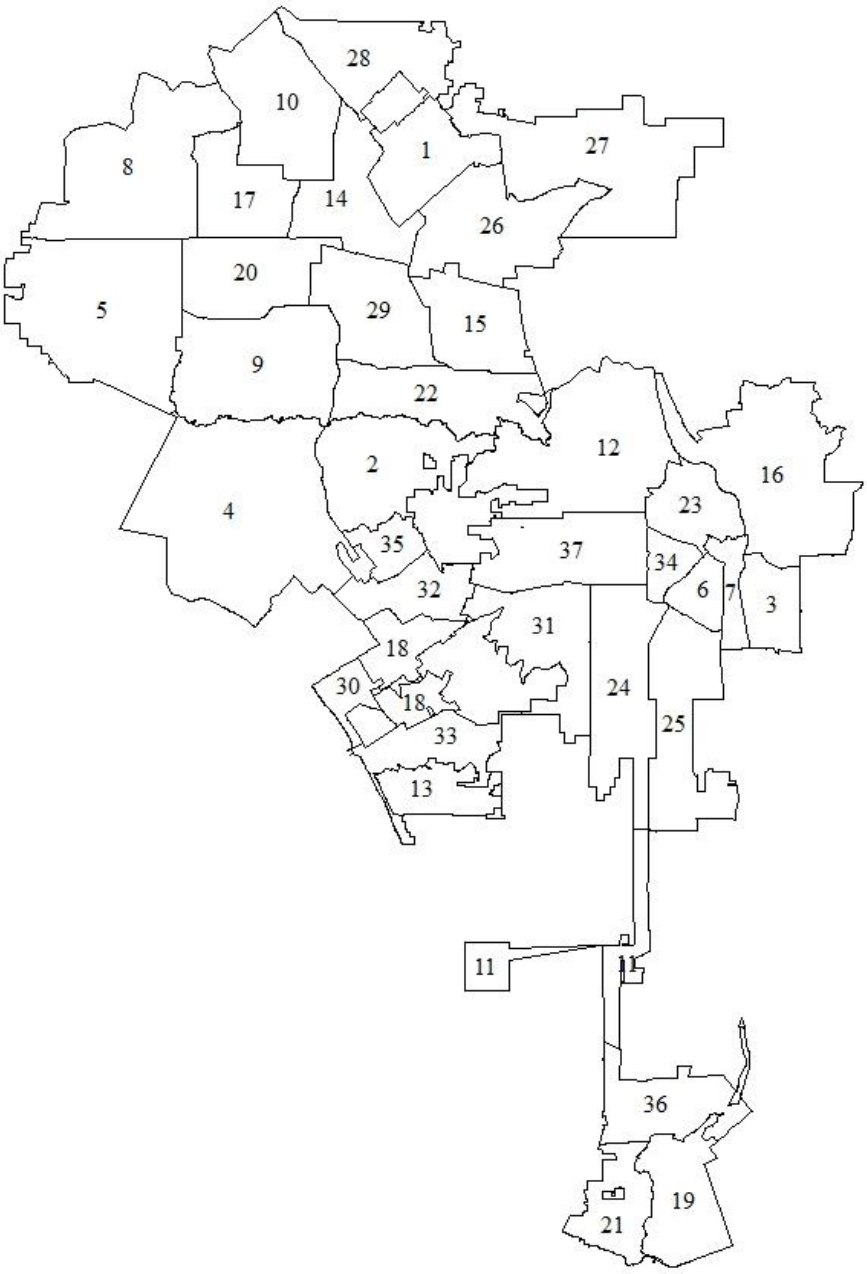


Figure 2.1. City of Los Angeles Community Plan Areas (CPAs)

1 Arleta – Pacoima
2 Bel Air - Beverly Crest
3 Boyle Heights
4 Brentwood – Pacific Palisades
5 Canoga Park - Winnetka - Woodland Hills - West Hills
6 Central City
7 Central City North
8 Chatsworth - Porter Ranch
9 Encino – Tarzana
10 Granada Hills – Knollwood
11 Harbor Gateway
12 Hollywood
13 Los Angeles International Airport
14 Mission Hills - Panorama City - North Hills
15 North Hollywood - Valley Village
16 Northeast Los Angeles
17 Northridge
18 Palms - Mar Vista - Del Rey
19 Port of Los Angeles
20 Reseda – West Van Nuys
21 San Pedro
22 Sherman Oaks - Studio City - Toluca Lake – Cahuenga Pass
23 Silver Lake - Echo Park - Elysian Valley
24 South Los Angeles
25 Southeast Los Angeles
26 Sun Valley – La Tuna Canyon
27 Sunland - Tujunga – Lake View Terrace - Shadow Hills - East La Tuna Canyon
28 Sylmar
29 Van Nuys - North Sherman Oaks
30 Venice
31 West Adams - Baldwin Hills - Leimert
32 West Los Angeles
33 Westchester - Playa del Rey
34 Westlake
35 Westwood
36 Wilmington - Harbor City
37 Wilshire

Figure 2.1 continued

Source: GIS shapefiles from City of Los Angeles Department of Planning

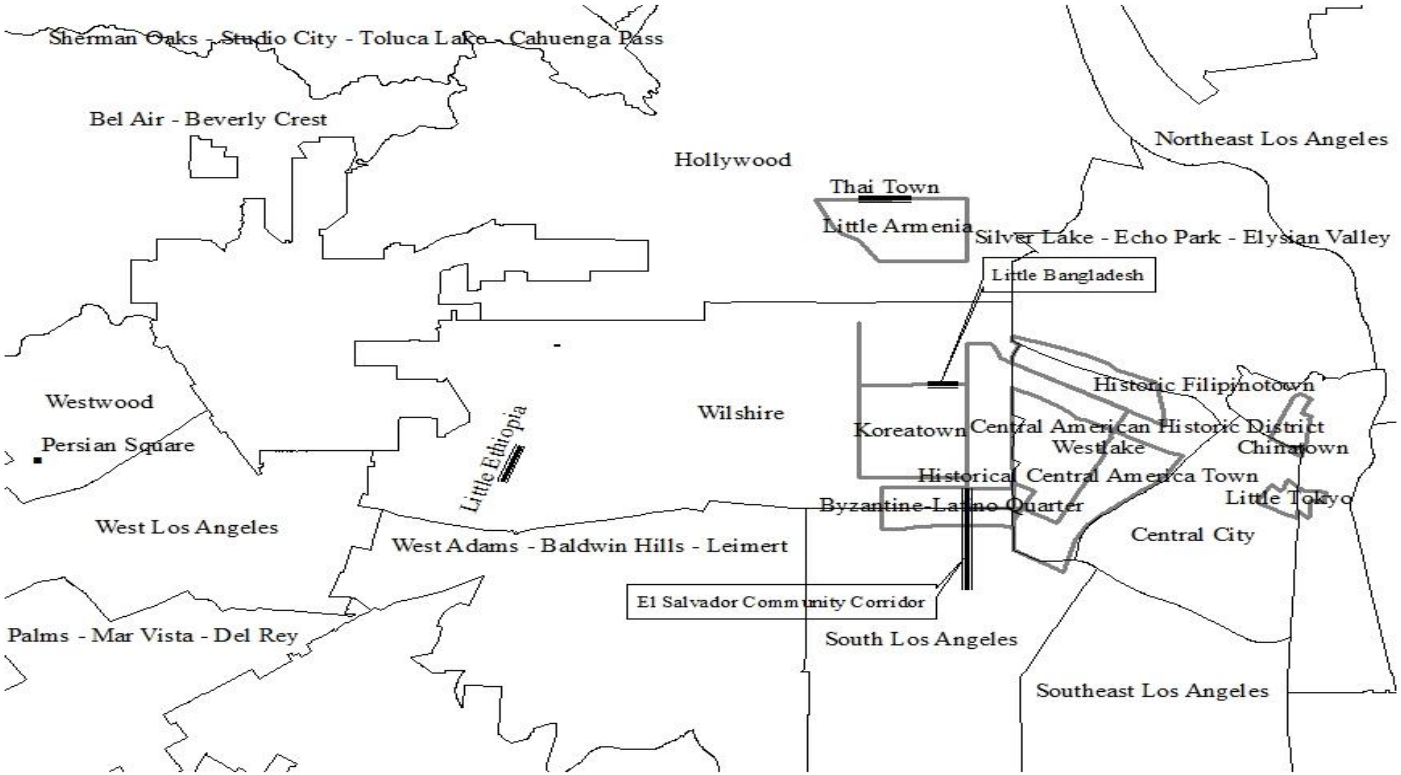


Figure 2.2. Formally recognized ethnic places in Los Angeles City (without Croatian Place and Via Italia)

Source: Data from City of Los Angeles Council File Management System; Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and Olvera Street websites; GIS shapefiles from City of Los Angeles Department of Planning

Note: "Historical Central America Town" and "Central American Historic District" are included, but since their applications expired, these are not, with the boundaries outlined above, (successfully) formally recognized places.

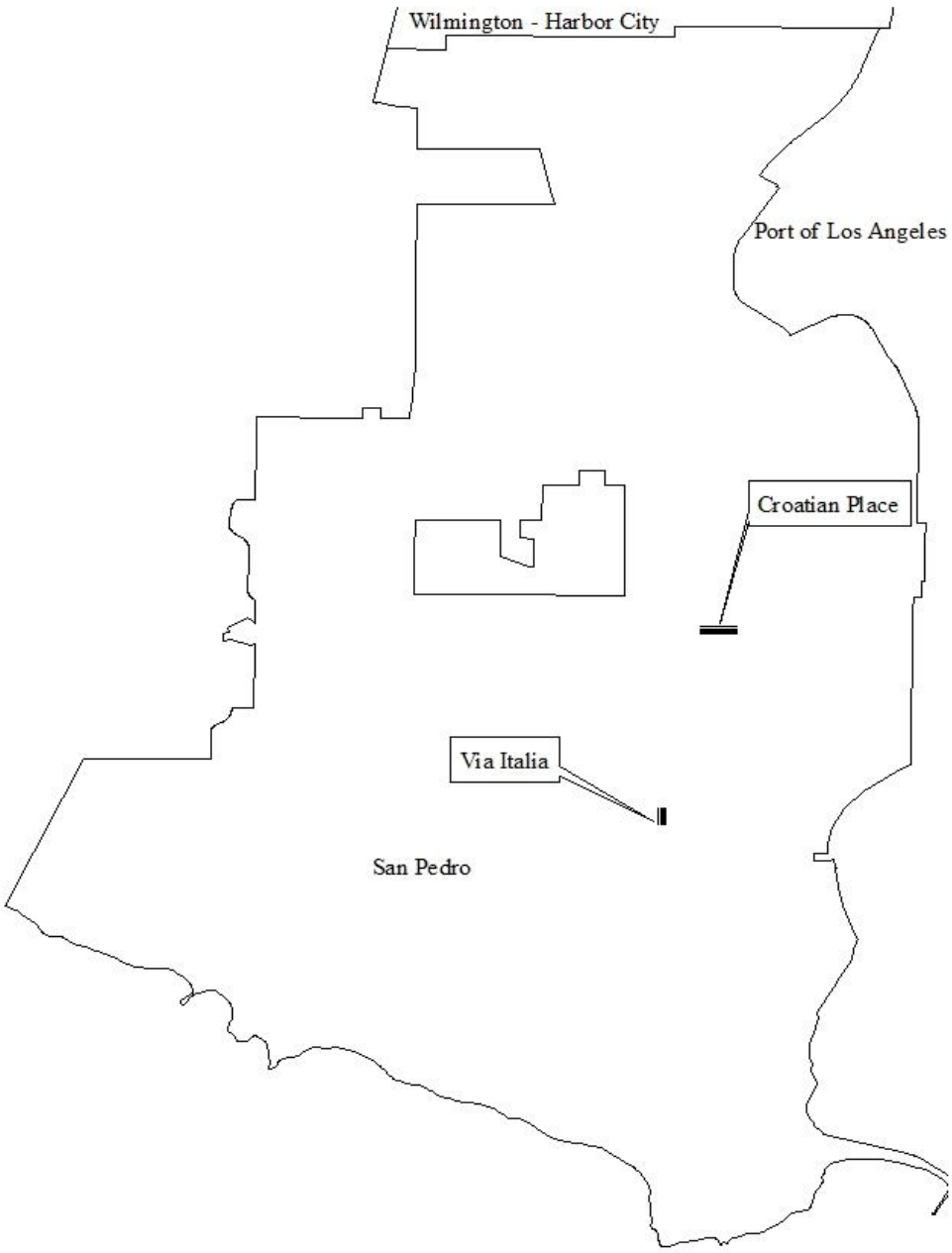


Figure 2.3. Formally recognized ethnic places in Los Angeles City – Croatian Place and Via Italia

Source: Data from City of Los Angeles Council File Management System; GIS shapefiles from City of Los Angeles Department of Planning

Table 2.1. Community Plan Areas with ethnic places

Community Plan Area	Ethnic places falling within Community Plan Area (CPA) (whole or part)
Central City	Little Tokyo; Olvera Street
Central City North	Chinatown; Little Tokyo
Hollywood	Little Armenia; Thai Town
San Pedro	Croatian Place; Via Italia
Silverlake-Echo Park-Elysian Valley	Historic Filipinotown
South L.A.	Byzantine-Latino Quarter; El Salvador Community Corridor; (a small part of Historical Central America Town - application expired)
Westlake	Byzantine-Latino Quarter; Historic Filipinotown; (Central American Historic District; Historical Central America Town - applications expired)
Westwood	Persian Square
Wilshire	Byzantine-Latino Quarter; El Salvador Community Corridor; Koreatown; Little Bangladesh; Little Ethiopia; (Central American Historic District; Historical Central America Town - applications expired)

Source: Data from City of Los Angeles Council File Management System; Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and Olvera Street websites; GIS shapefiles from City of Los Angeles Department of Planning

Table 2.2. Ethnic places in Los Angeles City - Name, year applied/recognition received, and Community Plan Area membership

Ethnic place	Year applied	Year received	Community Plan Area membership
Byzantine-Latino Quarter	1997 (LANI); 2002 (AB 516)	1997 (LANI); 2002 (AB 516)	Wilshire; South L.A.; Westlake
(Central American Historic District)	2007	Expired 2011	Wilshire; Westlake
Chinatown	N/A	N/A (BID approved in 2000)	Central City North
Croatian Place	2003	2003	San Pedro
El Salvador Community Corridor	2010 (ACR 126); 2011 (City naming)	2010 (ACR 126); 2012 (City naming)	Wilshire; South L.A.
Historic Filipinotown	2002	2002	Westlake; Silverlake-Echo Park-Elysian Valley
(Historical Central America Town)	2007	Expired 2011	Westlake; (small parts also in Wilshire, South L.A.)
Koreatown	2009	2010	Wilshire
Little Armenia	2000	2000	Hollywood
Little Bangladesh	2008	2010	Wilshire
Little Ethiopia	2002	2002	Wilshire
Little Tokyo	N/A	N/A (BID Approved in 2003)	Central City; Central City North
Olvera Street	N/A	N/A	Central City
Persian Square	2010	2010	Westwood
Thai Town	1999	1999	Hollywood
Via Italia	2004	2004	San Pedro

Source: Data from City of Los Angeles Council File Management System; Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and Olvera Street websites; GIS shapefiles from City of Los Angeles Department of Planning

Note: “Historical Central America Town” and “Central American Historic District” are included, but since their applications expired, these are not (successfully) formally recognized places.

Table 2.3. Characteristics of CPAs: Race, diversity, and area (2000) (%, except for diversity and area variables)

Community Plan Area	Has named ethnic place	Not Hispanic or Latino (NHL)	NHL White	NHL Black	NHL Asian	Hispanic or Latino	Diversity (standardized)	Total area	Total land area
Arleta	No	16.92	6.70	5.54	3.49	83.08	0.34	11.92	11.71
Bel Air	No	95.44	85.70	1.44	5.31	4.56	0.30	17.58	17.37
Boyle Heights	No	6.28	2.18	0.91	2.44	93.72	0.14	6.67	6.59
Brentwood	No	95.86	86.55	0.89	5.76	4.14	0.28	45.46	37.85
Central City North	Yes	65.95	11.16	18.15	35.26	34.05	0.82	2.56	2.50
Central City	Yes	66.37	16.82	23.50	22.88	33.63	0.86	3.03	3.03
Chatsworth	No	79.96	56.36	3.55	16.40	20.04	0.70	25.67	24.72
Canoga Park	No	74.67	57.80	3.14	10.17	25.33	0.67	34.95	34.89
Encino	No	90.13	77.65	2.76	5.04	9.87	0.44	20.51	20.27
Granada Hills	No	78.37	54.41	3.72	16.22	21.63	0.72	18.07	17.41
Harbor Gateway	No	50.29	11.43	17.12	18.33	49.71	0.77	7.47	7.46
Hollywood	Yes	65.65	47.23	3.91	9.35	34.35	0.74	26.07	25.86
Los Angeles International Airport (LAX)	No	80.16	60.12	6.46	8.64	19.84	0.67	11.47	7.30
Mission Hills	No	36.50	18.07	4.39	11.85	63.50	0.63	11.67	11.67

Table 2.3. continued

Community Plan Area	Has named ethnic place	Not Hispanic or Latino (NHL)	NHL White	NHL Black	NHL Asian	Hispanic or Latino	Diversity (standardized)	Total area	Total land area
North Hollywood	No	52.75	37.43	5.23	5.79	47.25	0.72	10.64	10.64
North East L.A.	No	32.75	12.82	1.90	15.93	67.25	0.58	24.20	24.06
Northridge	No	75.64	51.60	5.16	15.01	24.36	0.74	10.13	10.13
Palms	No	69.33	42.29	6.69	16.00	30.67	0.80	9.01	8.92
Port of Los Angeles	No	60.98	34.67	19.21	3.08	39.02	0.79	8.64	3.07
Reseda	No	58.98	41.45	3.94	9.81	41.02	0.74	12.08	12.08
South Central L.A.	Yes	46.41	4.09	37.60	2.83	53.59	0.65	15.41	15.41
South East L.A.	No	27.45	0.98	25.20	0.42	72.55	0.47	15.72	15.72
Sherman Oaks	No	91.47	78.63	3.80	5.31	8.53	0.42	14.08	14.07
Sunland	No	69.52	54.07	5.46	6.03	30.48	0.69	21.92	21.81
Silverlake	Yes	45.03	20.59	2.10	19.69	54.97	0.70	7.28	7.00
San Pedro	Yes	59.04	44.66	5.96	4.58	40.96	0.72	28.26	10.05
Sun Valley	No	34.08	21.48	1.90	7.88	65.92	0.59	20.09	20.09
Sylmar	No	31.47	22.66	3.72	3.22	68.53	0.54	18.48	18.48

Table 2.3. continued

Community Plan Area	Has named ethnic place	Not Hispanic or Latino (NHL)	NHL White	NHL Black	NHL Asian	Hispanic or Latino	Diversity (standardized)	Total area	Total land area
Venice	No	78.04	64.06	5.95	4.08	21.96	0.61	12.59	3.12
Van Nuys	No	51.36	35.81	5.50	6.05	48.64	0.72	12.89	12.89
West Adams	No	62.78	3.72	53.04	3.21	37.22	0.66	13.98	13.96
Westchester	No	84.77	56.24	15.14	8.83	15.23	0.72	11.75	6.41
Wilshire	Yes	59.25	24.67	8.69	22.97	40.75	0.81	14.50	14.50
West L.A.	No	86.30	65.14	2.92	13.94	13.70	0.61	7.06	7.06
Westlake	Yes	22.44	4.18	4.02	12.82	77.56	0.43	3.16	3.15
Wilmington	No	26.35	12.86	5.38	5.52	73.65	0.50	11.40	10.63
Westwood	Yes	92.88	62.85	2.57	22.19	7.12	0.63	4.87	4.87
CPAs without ethnic places		53.31	32.33	9.72	8.31	46.69	0.75	446.12	410.40
CPAs with ethnic places		54.87	24.64	13.59	13.55	45.13	0.80	105.14	86.38
Difference		1.56	7.69	3.87	5.24	1.56	0.04	340.98	324.02

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census

Note: Data are percent data, except for the diversity variable (which is a diversity score ranging from a possible minimum of 0 and a possible maximum of 1), and area variables (which are in square-miles).

Table 2.4. Characteristics of CPAs: Foreign born, language spoken at home, and model variables (2000) (%)

Community Plan Area	Has named ethnic place	Foreign born	Region of birth of foreign born - Asia	Region of birth of foreign born - Latin America	Language spoken at home not English	Work outside place of residence	Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	Unemployed (out of civil labor force)	Industry - food-related	Registered Republican
Arleta	No	46.62	5.90	92.99	80.39	34.68	23.55	9.80	6.18	13.58
Bel Air	No	27.63	49.58	11.47	30.80	37.45	34.18	3.76	8.42	31.69
Boyle Heights	No	52.90	2.92	96.66	88.35	47.22	18.93	13.02	9.61	9.09
Brentwood	No	18.68	46.92	11.02	20.59	34.46	24.49	3.65	7.81	32.62
Central City North	Yes	45.82	62.13	35.09	63.04	36.10	11.72	11.14	23.22	18.16
Central City	Yes	40.73	44.16	51.37	51.57	26.50	3.64	30.01	11.65	15.89
Chatsworth	No	31.45	54.16	31.14	41.70	28.26	17.63	5.13	6.33	39.91
Canoga Park	No	31.93	39.41	44.72	41.81	32.59	19.13	6.33	7.60	35.08
Encino	No	33.24	52.15	17.94	39.65	28.56	20.75	4.84	7.73	29.00
Granada Hills	No	29.75	54.84	29.36	42.42	31.87	24.16	4.72	6.33	38.17
Harbor Gateway	No	40.35	25.19	72.06	59.57	75.29	18.64	8.75	9.94	21.36
Hollywood	Yes	50.12	34.27	45.39	61.46	35.25	10.59	9.58	15.68	18.65
Los Angeles International Airport (LAX)	No	20.65	39.28	44.69	31.20	52.95	27.06	3.48	8.29	36.63
Mission Hills	No	49.44	21.73	74.65	72.89	30.58	14.11	8.70	8.17	25.79
North Hollywood	No	43.26	22.82	65.97	59.98	34.08	11.30	9.17	11.56	21.89

Table 2.4. continued

Community Plan Area	Has named ethnic place	Foreign born	Region of birth of foreign born - Asia	Region of birth of foreign born - Latin America	Language spoken at home not English	Work outside place of residence	Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	Unemployed (out of civil labor force)	Industry - food-related	Registered Republican
North East L.A.	No	45.68	26.43	70.56	75.04	43.80	18.69	9.22	8.22	18.76
Northridge	No	30.97	44.84	39.01	40.90	26.16	21.55	11.21	8.20	36.46
Palms	No	37.21	33.96	47.97	47.83	42.58	16.17	6.42	11.64	20.86
Port of Los Angeles	No	27.05	6.69	87.02	38.39	70.45	13.79	9.39	5.01	29.22
Reseda	No	40.45	33.28	57.75	57.33	27.88	17.47	7.63	8.69	29.14
South Central L.A.	Yes	37.52	5.83	91.72	54.88	39.16	19.43	15.12	8.53	7.07
South East L.A.	No	44.21	0.93	98.74	68.73	43.73	15.96	15.94	6.47	6.11
Sherman Oaks	No	22.44	40.38	19.56	25.93	32.55	14.98	6.56	12.43	24.55
Sunland	No	27.24	36.40	51.51	41.16	46.13	19.37	7.08	6.80	39.54
Silverlake	Yes	48.05	30.67	63.78	70.16	34.14	16.02	10.17	11.53	15.91
San Pedro	Yes	24.66	14.18	63.66	40.28	60.64	17.48	6.87	6.79	29.00
Sun Valley	No	49.41	19.12	76.40	74.25	37.27	21.88	10.75	7.01	27.43
Sylmar	No	36.19	7.54	88.72	63.03	43.38	16.41	7.97	6.55	27.09
Venice	No	22.32	15.25	50.76	29.18	42.48	11.39	6.78	14.10	14.80
Van Nuys	No	45.48	23.31	66.49	61.69	29.27	11.32	8.40	10.25	23.50

Table 2.4. continued

Community Plan Area	Has named ethnic place	Foreign born	Region of birth of foreign born - Asia	Region of birth of foreign born - Latin America	Language spoken at home not English	Work outside place of residence	Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	Unemployed (out of civil labor force)	Industry - food-related	Registered Republican
West Adams	No	28.00	7.18	87.14	40.46	41.62	21.54	11.61	8.45	6.36
Westchester	No	19.87	35.29	33.13	25.66	45.56	20.03	7.04	7.61	32.81
Wilshire	Yes	53.56	38.74	52.80	66.56	34.00	10.44	9.15	13.27	16.08
West L.A.	No	32.01	49.15	25.30	37.13	37.21	15.43	4.54	9.13	21.52
Westlake	Yes	66.74	16.79	82.10	86.49	28.56	6.25	11.83	10.43	15.85
Wilmington	No	41.70	9.20	88.49	69.85	64.14	16.77	9.56	9.07	22.39
Westwood	Yes	30.73	66.44	7.49	40.36	27.93	12.02	9.13	8.33	24.83
CPAs without ethnic places		38.28	23.19	67.64	55.90	38.03	17.74	8.48	8.66	23.92
CPAs with ethnic places		46.69	28.76	61.83	61.60	36.26	12.53	10.95	11.93	16.40
Difference		8.41	5.57	5.82	5.71	1.77	5.21	2.47	3.27	7.52

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census; Statewide Database 2000 General Election data

Table 2.5. Characteristics of ethnic places in Los Angeles City: Race and diversity (2000) (%)

Named ethnic place	Not Hispanic or Latino (NHL)	NHL White	NHL Black or African American	NHL American Indian and Alaska Native	NHL Asian	NHL Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	NHL Some other race	NHL Two or more races	Hispanic or Latino	Diversity (standardized)
Byzantine-Latino Quarter	20.76	3.08	3.48	0.13	13.02	0.02	0.12	0.90	79.24	0.40
(Central American Historic District)	30.19	4.71	4.07	0.26	19.77	0.03	0.14	1.21	69.81	0.54
Chinatown	85.35	1.37	1.79	0.14	80.76	0.03	0.02	1.23	14.65	0.37
Croatian Place	34.08	20.71	7.02	0.31	3.48	0.42	0.10	2.04	65.92	0.59
El Salvador Community Corridor	16.51	3.05	4.43	0.20	7.96	0.01	0.13	0.73	83.49	0.34
Historic Filipinotown	31.06	4.57	2.98	0.29	21.50	0.06	0.17	1.50	68.94	0.54
(Historical Central America Town)	18.94	4.41	4.24	0.34	9.09	0.03	0.09	0.73	81.06	0.38
Koreatown	45.09	6.08	5.05	0.14	32.03	0.05	0.18	1.55	54.91	0.67
Little Armenia	49.95	29.84	3.26	0.15	10.26	0.07	0.22	6.14	50.05	0.74
Little Bangladesh	36.07	6.88	5.87	0.16	21.18	0.07	0.21	1.70	63.93	0.61
Little Ethiopia	83.26	38.84	35.26	0.16	5.30	0.19	0.31	3.19	16.74	0.79
Little Tokyo	75.75	10.12	32.82	0.58	29.57	0.17	0.09	2.42	24.25	0.84
Olvera Street	85.35	1.37	1.79	0.14	80.76	0.03	0.02	1.23	14.65	0.37
Persian Square	94.66	56.29	1.93	0.05	30.52	0.23	0.54	5.11	5.34	0.67
Thai Town	64.75	41.42	4.81	0.13	10.92	0.10	0.24	7.14	35.25	0.78
Via Italia	63.05	48.30	5.31	0.34	4.47	0.36	0.10	4.18	36.95	0.71
Non-ethnic place tracts	55.73	32.13	11.27	0.24	9.26	0.13	0.25	2.43	44.27	0.78
Ethnic place-related tracts	37.26	11.23	5.39	0.23	18.14	0.07	0.16	2.05	62.74	0.64
Difference	18.46	20.91	5.89	0.01	8.88	0.07	0.09	0.39	18.46	0.14

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census

Note: Data are percent data, except for the diversity variable, which is a diversity score ranging from a possible minimum of 0 and a possible maximum of 1. "Historical Central America Town" and "Central American Historic District" are included, but since their applications expired, these are not (successfully) formally recognized places.

Table 2.6. Characteristics of ethnic places in Los Angeles City: Asian (one race) ethnic/national origin groups (2000) (%)

Named ethnic place	Asian (one race)	Asian Indian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	Vietnamese	Other Asian
Byzantine-Latino Quarter	13.13	0.15	0.44	1.31	1.12	9.54	0.25	0.39
(Central American Historic District)	19.68	0.42	0.52	6.43	0.48	10.85	0.28	0.91
Chinatown	78.52	0.30	68.76	0.33	0.30	0.28	5.86	5.16
Croatian Place	3.92	0.27	0.21	2.40	0.50	0.38	0.13	0.06
El Salvador Community Corridor	8.10	0.17	0.55	0.63	0.51	5.85	0.19	0.22
Historic Filipinotown	21.35	0.29	0.86	14.74	0.47	3.51	0.33	1.44
(Historical Central America Town)	9.14	0.19	0.34	1.75	0.32	6.11	0.15	0.35
Koreatown	31.93	0.92	0.70	3.83	0.86	24.11	0.37	1.43
Little Armenia	10.09	0.48	0.32	6.39	0.23	1.23	0.09	1.58
Little Bangladesh	20.91	1.58	0.44	3.33	0.56	12.83	0.11	2.52
Little Ethiopia	5.28	1.31	0.85	1.26	0.65	0.83	0.10	0.38
Little Tokyo	29.05	0.09	2.65	0.60	18.90	5.41	0.14	1.87
Olvera Street	78.52	0.30	68.76	0.33	0.30	0.28	5.86	5.16
Persian Square	30.03	2.49	10.78	2.41	5.31	6.57	1.23	1.90
Thai Town	10.57	0.61	0.43	3.51	0.43	2.49	0.16	3.38
Via Italia	4.76	0.26	0.89	1.82	0.86	0.42	0.22	0.37
Non-ethnic place tracts	9.17	0.69	1.72	2.63	1.10	1.85	0.55	0.85
Ethnic place-related tracts	18.05	0.50	1.92	4.36	0.77	9.30	0.35	1.09
Difference	8.88	0.19	0.19	1.74	0.33	7.45	0.20	0.24

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census

Note: “Historical Central America Town” and “Central American Historic District” are included, but since their applications expired, these are not (successfully) formally recognized places.

Table 2.7. Characteristics of ethnic places in Los Angeles City: Hispanic or Latino groups (2000) (%)

Named ethnic place	Hispanic or Latino	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Central American	South American	Other Hispanic or Latino
Byzantine-Latino Quarter	79.24	33.76	0.24	0.32	21.02	0.75	23.13
(Central American Historic District)	69.81	30.42	0.29	0.33	19.92	0.71	18.13
Chinatown	14.65	10.93	0.09	0.14	1.60	0.19	1.70
Croatian Place	65.92	50.98	0.98	0.19	3.44	1.42	8.90
El Salvador Community Corridor	83.49	38.39	0.17	0.27	20.53	0.68	23.45
Historic Filipinotown	68.94	30.55	0.28	0.66	18.47	0.99	17.96
(Historical Central America Town)	81.06	41.63	0.28	0.27	20.22	0.56	18.10
Koreatown	54.91	23.76	0.26	0.15	14.56	0.74	15.43
Little Armenia	50.05	19.00	0.30	0.25	13.80	1.12	15.56
Little Bangladesh	63.93	22.78	0.39	0.27	19.23	0.84	20.42
Little Ethiopia	16.74	10.30	0.44	0.37	2.02	0.66	2.89
Little Tokyo	24.25	17.60	0.81	0.60	2.44	0.20	2.59
Olvera Street	14.65	10.93	0.09	0.14	1.60	0.19	1.70
Persian Square	5.34	2.41	0.13	0.15	0.56	1.13	0.95
Thai Town	35.25	14.70	0.38	0.22	7.92	0.99	11.02
Via Italia	36.95	26.50	0.82	0.14	1.81	1.21	6.47
Non-ethnic place tracts	44.27	29.16	0.37	0.34	5.41	0.86	8.10
Ethnic place-related tracts	62.74	29.18	0.30	0.31	15.89	0.78	16.26
Difference	18.46	0.02	0.07	0.04	10.48	0.08	8.16

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census

Note: “Historical Central America Town” and “Central American Historic District” are included, but since their applications expired, these are not (successfully) formally recognized places.

Table 2.8. Characteristics of ethnic places in L.A. City: Foreign born, language spoken at home, and model variables (2000) (%)

Named ethnic place	Foreign born	Region of birth of foreign born - Asia	Region of birth of foreign born - Latin America	Language spoken at home - not English	Work outside place of residence	Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	Unemployed (of civil labor force)	Industry - food-related	Registered Republican
Byzantine-Latino Quarter	65.43	16.51	82.85	88.47	34.04	7.97	13.19	14.92	14.05
(Central American Historic District)	67.89	25.21	73.14	85.71	29.70	4.86	11.81	12.03	17.28
Chinatown	79.11	88.97	10.64	89.40	36.21	11.83	11.74	25.25	18.19
Croatian Place	29.79	12.20	80.50	53.14	55.45	14.27	11.07	11.68	16.16
El Salvador Community Corridor	62.35	11.46	87.96	88.60	35.49	13.09	13.91	12.24	13.05
Historic Filipinotown	64.95	28.36	70.36	85.92	31.31	9.40	13.80	10.19	19.04
(Historical Central America Town)	67.56	12.04	86.87	86.45	27.17	4.99	11.43	10.41	14.68
Koreatown	69.69	40.50	56.80	86.36	30.76	5.28	10.96	17.36	16.79
Little Armenia	67.83	41.94	50.48	84.98	34.17	6.79	12.89	15.36	23.45
Little Bangladesh	67.87	28.81	67.86	85.25	34.12	5.53	13.81	15.24	16.12
Little Ethiopia	20.38	24.64	51.20	26.44	38.17	21.20	8.60	11.06	7.92
Little Tokyo	32.97	55.64	41.99	44.34	20.99	4.68	52.25	18.43	12.52
Olvera Street	79.11	88.97	10.64	89.40	36.21	11.83	11.74	25.25	18.19
Persian Square	42.99	61.97	4.96	48.79	27.16	4.70	2.72	3.91	26.34
Thai Town	66.56	53.69	35.83	81.19	35.90	5.17	10.94	18.91	19.76
Via Italia	24.55	15.25	48.81	37.74	60.53	16.99	6.53	6.77	25.43
Non-ethnic place tracts	38.51	24.94	64.86	55.11	38.60	16.89	8.90	9.29	22.38
Ethnic place-related tracts	63.68	28.73	67.88	81.63	32.38	7.50	12.08	13.14	17.30
Difference	25.17	3.79	3.02	26.52	6.22	9.39	3.18	3.84	5.08

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census; Statewide Database 2000 General Election data

Note: “Historical Central America Town” and “Central American Historic District” are included, but since their applications expired, these are not (successfully) formally recognized places.

Table 2.9. Characteristics of ethnic places in L.A. City: Co-ethnic population of group implicated in naming, and approximate size of area (2000)

Named ethnic place	Co-ethnic population (%)	Approximate area
Byzantine-Latino Quarter	0.14 (Greek ancestry); 79.24 (Hispanic or Latino)	0.61 miles²
(Central American Historic District)	19.92 (Central American)	2.11 miles²
Chinatown	68.76 (Chinese)	0.15 miles²
Croatian Place	1.46 (Croatian ancestry)	0.13 miles
El Salvador Community Corridor	11.63 (Salvadoran)	1.25 miles
Historic Filipinotown	14.74 (Filipino)	0.60 miles²
(Historical Central America Town)	20.22 (Central American)	1.88 miles²
Koreatown	24.11 (Korean)	1.13 miles²
Little Armenia	21.20 (Armenian ancestry)	0.86 miles²
Little Bangladesh	0.80 (Bangladeshi)	0.30 miles
Little Ethiopia	0.81 (Ethiopian ancestry)	0.48 miles
Little Tokyo	18.90 (Japanese)	0.18 miles²
Olvera Street	10.93 (Mexican)	0.01 miles²
Persian Square	6.75 (Iranian ancestry)	(one intersection)
Thai Town	2.11 (Thai)	0.53 miles
Via Italia	10.54 (Italian ancestry)	0.06 miles

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census

Note: “Historical Central America Town” and “Central American Historic District” are included, but since their applications expired, these are not (successfully) formally recognized places.

Table 2.10. Bivariate regressions against selected predictive variables (Dependent variable: CPA housing a named ethnic place)

					95% C.I. for Exp(B)		90% C.I. for Exp(B)				
Predictive variable	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagel-kerke R^2
Race											
Not Hispanic or Latino (NHL)	-.450	1.604	.779	.638	.028	14.782	.046	8.918	40.976	.002	.003
Constant	-.868	1.017	.394	.420							
NHL White	-2.541	1.712	.138	.079	.003	2.261	.005	1.318	38.583	.065	.096
Constant	-.286	.641	.655	.751							
NHL Black	2.960	3.209	.356	19.302	.036	1.040E+04	.098	3784.032	40.227	.022	.033
Constant	-1.419	.507	.005	.242							
NHL Asian	16.486	6.594	0.012**	1.445E+07	35.267	5.922E+12	281.651	7.415E+11	32.291	.211	.315
Constant	-3.123	.967	.001	.044							
Hispanic or Latino	.450	1.604	.779	1.568	.068	36.357	.112	21.934	40.976	.002	.003
Constant	-1.318	.765	.085	.268							
Diversity (standardized)	6.233	3.700	0.092*	509.158	.361	7.181E+05	1.158	2.238E+05	36.935	.105	.157
Constant	-5.239	2.583	.043	.005							
Political/ideology											
Registered Democrat	3.765	3.852	.328	43.150	.023	8.200E+04	.076	2.436E+04	40.103	.025	.038
Constant	-3.288	2.267	.147	.037							

Table 2.10 continued

Predictive variable	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B) Lower	95% C.I. for Exp(B) Upper	90% C.I. for Exp(B) Lower	90% C.I. for Exp(B) Upper	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagel-kerke R^2
Registered Republican	-9.860	4.917	0.045**	.000	.000	.800	.000	.170	36.24	.122	.182
Constant	1.005	1.066	.346	2.731							
Voted for Democratic candidate	7.367	4.121	0.074*	1583.319	.492	5.093E+06	1.803	1.390E+06	37.426	.093	.139
Constant	-6.246	2.949	.034	.002							
Voted for Republican candidate	-8.784	4.333	0.043**	.000	.000	.747	.000	.191	36.096	.125	.187
Constant	.869	.996	.383	2.386							
Foreign born/immigrant population											
Foreign born	8.347	4.135	0.044**	4219.113	1.275	1.397E+07	4.691	3.795E+06	36.052	.126	.189
Constant	-4.429	1.759	.012	.012							
Foreign born entered 1990-2000	16.781	7.462	0.025**	1.940E+07	8.635	4.360E+13	90.661	4.152E+12	33.516	.184	.275
Constant	-7.147	2.818	.011	.001							
Foreign born entered 1980-1989	3.782	9.605	.694	43.902	.000	6.586E+09	.000	3.192E+08	40.897	.004	.006
Constant	-2.419	3.299	.463	.089							
Foreign born entered 1980-2000	12.411	6.053	0.040**	2.455E+05	1.728	3.489E+10	11.637	5.180E+09	35.087	.149	.222
Constant	-9.832	4.379	.025	.000							

Table 2.10 continued

Predictive variable	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B) Lower	95% C.I. for Exp(B) Upper	90% C.I. for Exp(B) Lower	90% C.I. for Exp(B) Upper	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagel-kerke R^2
Region of birth of foreign born: Asia	1.956	2.209	.376	7.070	.093	536.485	.187	267.475	40.249	.022	.032
Constant	-1.756	.831	.035	.173							
Region of birth of foreign born: Latin America	-.238	1.455	.870	.788	.045	13.657	.072	8.633	41.028	.001	.001
Constant	-1.002	.890	.260	.367							
Household language spoken not English	3.407	2.157	.114	30.182	.440	2070.330	.868	1049.087	38.424	.069	.102
Constant	-2.979	1.283	.020	.051							
Language spoken at home not English and speak English less than very well	4.649	2.869	.105	104.524	.378	2.894E+04	.932	1.172E+04	38.169	.075	.112
Constant	-2.542	1.010	.012	.079							
Length of residence											
Lived in same house in 1995	-18.029	7.721	0.020**	.000	.000	.055	.000	.005	33.447	.186	.277
Constant	7.531	3.676	.041	1864.677							
Householder moved into unit 1980-2000	33.308	12.569	0.008***	2.921E+14	5850.714	1.459E+25	3.071E+05	2.779E+23	28.743	.283	.422
Constant	-29.343	10.774	.006	.000							

Table 2.10 continued

Predictive variable	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B) Lower	95% C.I. for Exp(B) Upper	90% C.I. for Exp(B) Lower	90% C.I. for Exp(B) Upper	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagel-kerke R^2
Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	-33.308	12.569	0.008***	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	28.743	.283	.422
Constant	3.965	1.865	.034	52.707							
Place of residence/work											
Work in place of residence	4.811	4.397	.274	122.800	.022	6.787E+05	.089	1.698E+05	39.545	.040	.060
Constant	-4.114	2.814	.144	.016							
Work outside place of residence	-4.548	4.285	.289	.011	.000	47.033	.000	12.189	39.656	.037	.055
Constant	.593	1.614	.713	1.809							
Time traveled to work 19 minutes or less	-2.478	6.524	.704	.084	.000	3.001E+04	.000	3840.401	40.909	.004	.006
Constant	-.198	2.483	.937	.821							
Time traveled to work 29 minutes or less	-3.387	6.679	.612	.034	.000	1.639E+04	.000	1997.939	40.79	.007	.011
Constant	.823	3.860	.831	2.277							
Economic											
Unemployed (out of civilian labor force)	29.786	14.988	0.047**	8.632E+12	1.506	4.946E+25	169.473	4.396E+23	33.838	.177	.264
Constant	-3.962	1.504	.008	.019							

Table 2.10 continued

Predictive variable	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B) Lower	95% C.I. for Exp(B) Upper	90% C.I. for Exp(B) Lower	90% C.I. for Exp(B) Upper	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagel-kerke R^2
Below poverty	15.294	5.594	0.006***	4.384E+06	75.965	2.530E+11	442.689	4.342E+10	29.139	.275	.411
Constant	-4.545	1.406	.001	.011							
Industry - Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation, and food services	39.696	17.514	0.023**	1.736E+17	214.617	1.405E+32	5.352E+04	5.634E+29	32.767	.201	.299
Constant	-5.032	1.797	.005	.007							
Service occupations - Food preparation and serving related occupations	82.140	38.198	0.032**	4.709E+35	1440.706	1.539E+68	2.432E+08	9.116E+62	32.214	.213	.317
Constant	-5.167	1.986	.009	.006							
Basic area profile											
Population density	.000	.000	0.033**	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	33.883	.176	.263
Constant	-2.856	.942	.002	.058							
Area size (square miles)	-.069	.057	.226	.933	.834	1.044	.849	1.025	39.244	.048	.071
Constant	-.196	.810	.809	.822							

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census; Statewide Database 2000 General Election data

Note: * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.01

Table 2.11. Descriptives of variables: Minimum, maximum, and range

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Range
Named Ethnic Place (dependent variable)	0	1	1
NHL Asian	.0042	.3526	.3484
Diversity (standardized)	.1376	.8577	.7201
Registered Republican	.0611	.3991	.3379
Foreign born	.1868	.6674	.4806
Work outside place of residence	.2616	.7529	.4913
Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	.0364	.3418	.3055
Unemployed (out of civil labor force)	.0348	.3001	.2653
Industry (Food, etc.-related)	.0501	.2322	.1821

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census; Statewide Database 2000 General Election data

Table 2.12. Comparison of means for predictors: Having (dependent variable = 1) and not having (dependent variable = 0) a named ethnic place

Predictors		Named ethnic place		
		0	1	Total
NHL Asian	Mean	0.0835	0.1695	0.1044
	N	28	9	37
	Standard deviation	0.0516	0.1042	0.0762
	Std. error of mean	0.0097	0.0347	0.0125
Diversity (standardized)	Mean	0.5991	0.7061	0.6190
	N	28	9	37
	Standard deviation	0.1714	0.1286	0.1680
	Std. error of mean	0.0324	0.0429	0.0276
Registered Republican	Mean	0.2555	0.1794	0.2370
	N	28	9	37
	Standard deviation	0.0959	0.0617	0.0940
	Std. error of mean	0.0181	0.0206	0.0155
Foreign born	Mean	0.3486	0.4421	0.3714
	N	28	9	37
	Standard deviation	0.0997	0.1259	0.1124
	Std. error of mean	0.0188	0.0420	0.0185
Work outside place of residence	Mean	0.4079	0.3581	0.3958
	N	28	9	37
	Standard deviation	0.1245	0.1022	0.1201
	Std. error of mean	0.0235	0.0341	0.0197
Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	Mean	0.1881	0.1195	0.1714
	N	28	9	37
	Standard deviation	0.0504	0.0511	0.0581
	Std. error of mean	0.0095	0.017	0.0096
Unemployed (out of civil labor force)	Mean	0.0791	0.1256	0.0904
	N	28	9	37
	Standard deviation	0.0207	0.0693	0.0463
	Std. error of mean	0.0056	0.0231	0.0076
Industry (food, etc.-related)	Mean	0.0849	0.1216	0.0938
	N	28	9	37
	Standard deviation	0.0207	0.0496	0.0335
	Std. error of mean	0.0039	0.0165	0.0055

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census; Statewide Database 2000 General Election data

Table 2.13. Model 1

Predictive variable	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)		90% C.I. for Exp(B)		-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagelke-rke R^2	% Predicted correctly
					Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper				
NHL Asian	20.203	13.040	.121	5.944E+08	.005	7.477E+19	.288	1.228E+18				
Diversity (standardized)	6.865	8.794	.435	958.168	.000	2.929E+10	.001	1.834E+09				
Registered Republican	-5.675	12.999	.662	.003	.000	3.981E+08	.000	6.623E+06				
Foreign born	-6.694	9.224	.468	.001	.000	8.797E+04	.000	4808.573				
Work outside place of residence	-.073	5.301	.989	.930	.000	3.026E+04	.000	5692.786				
Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	-38.861	24.684	.115	.000	.000	1.362E+04	.000	5.704	17.942	.465	.693	97.3% (from 75.7%)
Unemployed (out of civil labor force)	65.132	43.708	.136	1.934E+28	.000	3.094E+65	.001	3.229E+59				
Industry - Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation, and food services	6.949	37.543	.853	1042.614	.000	9.436E+34	.000	6.870E+29				
Constant	-4.970	9.672	.607	.007								

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census; Statewide Database 2000 General Election data

Table 2.14. Predicted and observed classification of cases: Model 1

Observed	Predicted Dependent variable		
Dependent variable	0	1	% Correct
0	28	0	100.0
1	1	8	88.9
Overall %			97.3

Table 2.15. Predicted and observed directions of relationships between predictors and the dependent variable

		Observed			
Predictor	Predicted	Bivariate regressions	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
NHL Asian	+	+	+	+	+
Diversity (standardized)	-	+	+	+	N/A
Registered Republican	-	-	-	-	N/A
Foreign born	+	+	-	-	N/A
Work outside place of residence	-	-	-	N/A	N/A
Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed	+	+	+	+	+
Industry (food, etc.-related)	+	+	+	N/A	N/A

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census; Statewide Database 2000 General Election data

Table 2.16. Model 2

Predictive variable	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)		90% C.I. for Exp(B)		-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagelkerke R^2	% Predicted correctly
					Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper				
NHL Asian	20.595	13.118	.116	8.80E+08	.006	1.29E+20	.375	2.07E+18				
Diversity (standardized)	7.527	7.598	.322	1857.211	.001	5.45E+09	.007	4.97E+08				
Registered Republican	-7.125	10.175	.484	.001	.000	3.69E+05	.000	1.495E+04				
Foreign born	-6.342	9.272	.494	.002	.000	1.37E+05	.000	7397.416				
Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	-40.623	23.460	0.083*	.000	.000	212.386	.000	.131	17.989	.464	.692	94.6% (from 75.7%)
Unemployed (out of civil labor force)	61.737	39.063	.114	6.48E+26	.000	1.16E+60	.081	5.21E+54				
Constant	-4.050	7.767	.602	.017								

Source: Data from 2000 U.S. Census; Statewide Database 2000 General Election data

Note: * p<.10

Table 2.17. Predicted and observed classification of cases: Model 2

Observed	Predicted Dependent variable		
Dependent variable	0	1	% Correct
0	28	0	100.0
1	2	7	77.8
Overall %			94.6

Table 2.18. Model 3

Predictive variable	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)		90% C.I. for Exp(B)		-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R^2	Nagelkerke R^2	% Predicted correctly
					Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper				
NHL Asian	17.711	9.504	0.062*	4.917E+07	.400	6.044E+15	7.993	3.025E+14				
Householder moved into unit 1979 or earlier	-30.693	16.451	0.062*	.000	.000	4.708	.000	.026				
									20.237	.430	.642	91.9% (from 75.7%)
Unemployed (out of civil labor force)	48.801	24.656	0.048**	1.562E+21	1.608	1.518E+42	3806.655	6.413E+38				
Constant	-2.944	3.429	0.391	.053								

Source: Data from2000 U.S. Census

Note: * p<.10, ** p<.05

Table 2.19. Predicted and observed classification of cases: Model 3

Observed	Predicted Dependent variable		
Dependent variable	0	1	% Correct
0	27	1	96.4
1	2	7	77.8
Overall %			91.9

Table 2.20. “Misclassified” CPAs regarding the dependent variable under modeling

	List all cases	List cases with studentized residuals greater than 2
Model 1	San Pedro	San Pedro
Model 2	South Los Angeles; San Pedro	San Pedro
Model 3	South Los Angeles; Southeast Los Angeles; San Pedro	San Pedro

Chapter 3

Koreatown and Little Bangladesh

Introduction

Los Angeles is among the nation's most diverse cities in terms of racial/ethnic composition, and immigrants constitute a large (and growing) proportion of its residents. The 2010 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate shows that roughly 40% (39.63%) of the City's population is of foreign-born status (compared to 35.64% for Los Angeles County, 27.19% for California State, and 12.72% for the U.S.), giving us an estimate of the immigrant population in the City. It also estimates that roughly 60% (59.75%) of City residents age five and over speak a language other than English at home (compared to 56.41% for Los Angeles County, 43.01% for California State, and 20.12% for the U.S.). The City is also one of the most populous in the United States, reporting a population of 3,792,621 in the 2010 Census, and one of the largest in terms of geography. In this expansive urban context, areas within City bounds tend to be referenced by specific neighborhood names – San Pedro, East L.A., Downtown L.A., Hollywood, for example. There are also areas within areas, one of the most recognizable and common being ethnic places.

In July 2008, an application was submitted by members of the Bangladeshi community to name an area in Los Angeles as Little Bangladesh.[1] This came at the heels, so to speak, of a community naming/renaming policy formally adopted by the City in January 2006. Stating on the application form the "Reason for Name Change" as, "We have lot of people of our

[1] In terms of a timeline, the application was first submitted in July 2008 but was considered "Incomplete" when processed by the City Clerk's office, as "additional signatures" (in accordance with the requirements for petition signatures that were to accompany applications, as specified in the naming/renaming policy) were found to be needed (Little Bangladesh application 2008, 3). The application was then re-submitted and filed in October 2008.

Bangladesh community living within that boundary" (Little Bangladesh application 2008, 2), for "Street boundaries of the community to be named / renamed," Little Bangladesh was proposed as the "AREA SURROUNDED BY WILSHIRE BLVD [to the south], WESTERN AVENUE [to the west], 3RD STREET [to the north] AND VERMONT AVENUE [to the east]" (Little Bangladesh application 2008, 3, capitalization in original). These boundaries became an issue, as the area proposed to be named and designated was argued by many to be the "center of Koreatown…the cream of the crop," "the *heart* of Koreatown" (interview with a Koreatown proponent, October 2012). An application for the naming of Koreatown was submitted soon thereafter in February 2009. Koreatown's boundaries were proposed to be "the region generally bounded by Melrose Ave. and Beverly Blvd to the north; Vermont Ave. and Hoover St. to the east; Pico Blvd. and Olympic Blvd. to the south; and Wilton Place and Crenshaw Blvd. to the west" (Koreatown application 2009, 3). The boundaries proposed for Little Bangladesh and Koreatown overlapped considerably (see Figure 3.1). While Koreatown was recognized by the City, even marked so with official blue City street signage as well as freeway signs, boundaries had not previously been specified or recorded. As was the case for many of the communities that the City recognized in the years predating the development of a standardized policy, namings and designations would often simply be executed through a City Council member's directive, wherein records and collective authorizations of these actions (as well as place-related specificities) may not have previously been kept or sought.

[Insert Figure 3.1 about here]

There are many communities and neighborhoods – generally speaking, and not just ethnic-specific – within the City of Los Angeles. These areas tend to vary in the degree to which their names are "incorporated" within names of entities recognized by the City (e.g., in

Community Plan Area names, in Neighborhood Council names, and with names on City road signs, such as is the case with many ethnic communities) and, in this sense, the degree to which their names are said to be formally known, versus being known as such more so in the vernacular. The introduction of a City policy on the naming/renaming of communities creates an interesting context in there being existing, recognized (to varying degrees of formality) communities alongside ones now applying for recognition under this newly enacted policy. While the City's policy is with respect to communities in general, whether ethnic-specific or not, this study focuses on the formal recognition of ethnic places. In addition to the complex dynamics that can be involved across cases, whether general or ethnic-specific, proposals to recognize ethnic-specific communities are argued to be more politically charged in that there are multiple issues involved relating to the making, contesting, and assessing of such claims. Not only is there the component of different affiliations to place, in involving people who work in a given place as well as people who live there (and this being made more significant since ethnic communities tend to be more commercially-focused), but there is also the dynamic of ethnic-specific claims being made in a multiethnic, diverse place. With respect to the two cases being studied in this chapter, signage currently exists denoting Koreatown and Little Bangladesh (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3).

[Insert Figure 3.2 about here]

[Insert Figure 3.3 about here]

How and why do proponents make claims for formal recognition, how and why do opponents contest these claims, and how do legislators assess and make decisions regarding them? What are the key factors that influence the making, contesting, and assessing of claims for formal recognition? Three main factors are identified as being influential over these processes:

the legislative and bureaucratic context in which they take place, the legitimacy of claims, and the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents.

Analysis

I. The Legislative and Bureaucratic Context of Claims- Making, Contesting, and Assessing

The governing structure for the City of Los Angeles consists of a Mayor and a City Council, the latter being constituted by 15 Council members, each representing one of the 15 Council districts. The City of Los Angeles has within it several ethnic places which it formally recognizes. Though no complete and exhaustive inventory exists, an examination of City files leads to several being identified. Recognition has been via varying means, however. For example, Thai Town was recognized through a motion put before the City Council. The El Salvador Community Corridor was recognized through the City's community naming/renaming policy. Other places such as Chinatown and Little Tokyo have had a long-established, historical presence. Alongside the recognition given by the City, some places are oftentimes also Business Improvement Districts (BIDs),[2] in which these ethnic community names are incorporated into the name/title of the BID. And then there are places like Koreatown, where recognition had been given by more informal, ad-hoc means; City legislators are said to have simply gone to a street intersection to install City signs to mark the area. As a Council member recounted, legislators

[2] A BID is an entity wherein members self-assess funds in order to provide for certain services for the area. The City explains BIDS to be the following:

> A business improvement district is a geographically defined area within the City of Los Angeles, in which services, activities and programs are paid for through a special assessment which is charged to all members within the district in order to equitably distribute the benefits received and the costs incurred to provide the agreed-upon services, activities and programs. The assessment money is collected by the City or by the County through a special contractual arrangement with the City. Because the assessment funds collected in a given district cannot legally be spent outside of that BID, the City creates a trust fund for each BID, with funds periodically released to support operations. (City Clerk's website)

BIDs are also seen in other city contexts; one example, to be discussed further in the following chapter, is that of the City of Long Beach. In Los Angeles, there currently seem to be 38 BIDS, as listed on the City Clerk's website.

"…just went out and placed the signs where they thought they should be. Since that time, there's a procedure. And so in that procedure they're trying to catch up on the procedure…" (Council committee meeting 2010a). Assessed later in the context of an established procedure for naming, this was a quasi-/semi- official recognition of sorts; the community was recognized, since action was taken by city legislators via (what was at the time) a common means by which this was done, but strictly speaking, and judged against the requisites of the naming policy now in place, this recognition was not entirely official either. In context of the current naming policy, the different ways in which ethnic places were recognized by the City in earlier times also point to variations in the degree to which those recognitions would later be deemed formal. For the cases of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, how and why claims for formal recognition were made, contested, and assessed were shaped by the newly enacted City policy and its consequences and implications for ethnic places already thought to be formally recognized.

The establishment of Koreatown, and the City's recognition of it, are said to have preceded the naming policy in terms of a timeline of events. In processing the application for Koreatown, the Records Management Division of the Office of the City Clerk (2009c) reports that "References can be found in the City Clerk's on line Council File Management System to Koreatown dating back to the early 1980's." In addition to street signage, there seemed to be Council action in reference to "Koreatown" prior to the naming policy. In this, there appears to be the potential for ambiguity with the policy being relatively recently established, but with communities having been named and recognized prior to its enactment, and often through quite informal means. However, communities recognized prior to the establishment of the policy (however it was that they were recognized) would not necessarily be expected to go through the application process. As a City official explained,

> They don't have to. Koreatown is a great example. I mean, Little Bangladesh was trying to carve out a little niche within Koreatown and, Koreatown didn't need to, go through the process, they just recognized that they had never officially gone through a process because the process didn't exist back then. But, it wasn't as if Koreatown was being ignored or wasn't being recognized by the respective Council offices, in fact, the Council offices heard loud and clear that Koreatown didn't want Little Bangladesh to have, you know, their proposed boundaries. And, the Council offices didn't say, well we'll only listen to you if you put in an application, but Koreatown decided to be, I don't know if the word is proactive in this case, but, decided to go ahead and make it official....Really, I think, Koreatown is the only previously existing community that we've had go through the official process. So none of them, the others, felt compelled to rush to the table and get recognized. I think they have what they want, they feel that they're recognized to the extent that they always wanted to be recognized, but, I think Koreatown felt maybe, I don't know if the right word is threatened, or, you know, just, okay, someone's trying to claim our turf, we want to make sure that this is official, and, go down a more official route, so that's how they chose to do it, but we haven't had Filipinotown or Thai Town come in with an application. It's not to say we won't, but, I don't think they feel the need. I think they're getting their needs met with what they already have. (interview, October 2012)

Indeed, in the absence of an external "threat," the status quo appears satisfactory for these communities. For Koreatown proponents, submitting an application for community naming under the new City policy seems to have been undertaken largely in response to the Little Bangladesh proposal. Regarding whether there would have otherwise been an incentive to pursue naming under the new policy, a Koreatown proponent remarked,

> Probably not. Unless, you know, now I think we can, uh, yeah, probably not. Because, you know, there's a Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council, map is there, so you know, when we're asking the specific plan and things like that, you know, we would have used Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council and, everybody kind of, know and recognize this being Koreatown, although, you know, you ask ten different people, ask about exact boundaries, you know, probably ten people will come up with different boundaries. It does not mean there is no Koreatown, it could be that, you know, the boundaries that differ a little bit but then everyone recognize this being Koreatown….there probably isn't a whole lot to, anything to trigger this… (interview, October 2012)

In the absence of an external impetus to do so, ethnic places already recognized by the City do not seem to otherwise feel the pressing need to submit an application under this newly developed policy. This may relate to the provisions of formal recognition, both perceived and real.

To apply for the naming/renaming of a community/neighborhood, applicants must submit an application form and a petition. The "Filing Requirement" for the application explains that

> Pursuant to council action of January 31, 2006…an application, including a petition, must be submitted to either change a neighborhood name or create one where none previously existed. The petition must contain a minimum of 500 signatures of individuals who either reside in and/or have businesses, both profit and nonprofit, in the neighborhood being named or re-named. If the population of the neighborhood is under 2,500 people, then 20% of the population of the area being named or renamed is required.

The specific requirements regarding the petition allude to ensuring a certain degree of local support, from the people who live and/or work in the area being implicated by naming. A City official explains that the policy seeks to ensure that both the applicants and the City include the "Business community, residents…everybody in that area that would be affected. They want to see them play a part, in, they want to get their input and feedback. That's the reason why we ask for the 500 signatures, um, because they're going to be impacted" (interview, November 2012). Neighborhood Councils are another forum in which input may be gathered, and the Neighborhood Councils to be included in this process are not limited to those within the area being named; Councils in surrounding areas "can also give input. Because they *are* going to be impacted" (interview with a City official, November 2012).[3] Local support, or at least the absence of significant local opposition, is thus sought and held to be important to applications for, and decisions regarding, naming.

[3] Further discussion regarding the involvement of Neighborhood Councils follows, later in this chapter.

The application form consists of several components; it is the section regarding "COMMUNITY INFORMATION" where applicants state details such as the "Proposed Name of Community," "Current Name of Community (if applicable)," "Reason for Name Change" (in which they are also asked to "state historical precedent or other reason"), and "Street boundaries of the community to be named / renamed." The policy is not exclusively for the naming of ethnic communities – it is for naming in general. A complete application is then assigned a Council File number, and copies of the packet sent to several City departments and agencies for information-gathering and relevant input.[4] Within six months of the original submission date, a City Council committee is to then hold a hearing. Based on the proceedings of that meeting, more work may be deemed necessary, or a recommendation may be made to the Council for action. The City Council would then vote on the application, where a majority vote would be needed for the motion to pass.

The inclusion of City departments and agencies in the application process allows for the comprehensive gathering of information from a variety of sources regarding a proposed naming. It also ensures that city bureaucracy also "…have a way that [they] could all account for it," "…for everyone to be on the same page" (interview with a City official, October 2012). These departments and agencies are said to play a logistical, technical role in these proceedings. However, in terms of the specific fields in which they are engaged, they are in a position to

[4] As stated in a letter sent to applicants by the City Clerk's office, once an application has been successfully submitted,

> All Community Naming/Renaming applications are referred to [a] Committee of the City Council and a public hearing scheduled before the Committee in approximately six months. Copies of the filed application will be transmitted to the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment, Department of Transportation, City Planning Department, Community Redevelopment Agency, Bureau of Engineering and the City Clerk-Records Management Division, for their review, input, and written comment. This information will be made available for both the affected Neighborhood Council(s) and the…Committee in advance of their respective consideration of this matter. (Office of the City Clerk 2008)

provide specialized insight given their areas of expertise. During the first committee meeting held regarding the Koreatown and Little Bangladesh proposals (during which not all of the designated departments and agencies had submitted the requested review/response regarding the applications), a Council member of the committee explained that

> …there are complexities involved in this that require a number of procedural steps by various City departments in order to assess the impacts of these changes. And in this case, I will say at the outset that not all of the city departments that need to comment on this and provide us with input have yet done so. And so we're gonna be eager as a committee to hear from all of those departments to ensure that we've taken everyone's concerns into account, that we've taken all impacts into account, uh, that we've had the full benefit of the, weigh-in of our city departments and the professionals who are involved in the varied processes that [the Council member] described. (Council committee meeting 2010a)

Specifying the involvement of various city agencies allows for the pooling of diverse sources of information in assessing a naming application.

In terms of the impact that a community naming has on how city bureaucracies operate, the effect is described to be minimal: "…logistically, it, for, for a department-side… various departments go through and, you know, fulfill their roles…. What it does in the end, I don't know that any of us really know what it does, for the community-side…. but, from a very strictly bureaucratic side, it doesn't do anything – from a very bureaucratic side. I mean, and that's where, we're very disconnected…" (interview with a City official, October 2012). More specifically, "… none of us internally feel like, oh, another community is, you know, it, it doesn't make us do our business differently…" (interview with a City official, October 2012). A budget or city funds are not separately reserved for these named communities. And in terms of boundaries, there already are numerous schemes by which the city is internally "arranged." There are, for example, City Council Districts, Neighborhood Council areas, and Area Planning Commissions (and within those, Community Plan Areas) (interview with a City official, October

2012). As a City official remarked, "…we have so many different overlays for boundaries that that's, this created yet another one" (interview, October 2012). This was thus another set of boundaries amongst many already existing in the city; pragmatically, it was understood to not mean much for city operations.

Why then was the policy created? The policy is said to have been developed mainly to establish a standardized, formal process by which to carry out namings.[5] As a City official explained,

> …when they went to look to see how, how communities were being named, there was no consistency. A Council member could introduce a motion, and if it were approved by Council, um, a community would be designated. A Council member could make a phone call to the Department of Transportation and say put up signs. And a community would be designated….motion, phone call, or letter. And, as a result of this, there was no consistency in terms of identifying communities. (interview, November 2012)

It is important to note that the policy did not create the idea of named communities; formally recognized places already existed in the City. The policy "merely" established a uniform process by which this was to be done.

As part of the standardized procedure for naming, the policy provided for the inclusion of people living and/or working in the space in which naming would take place. Whereas in the past, formal recognition could be achieved simply through actions between a petitioning group and the appropriate Council member(s), the procedures established under the policy called for a greater degree of transparency, and the purposeful incorporation of people in the area to be designated. As a Council member explained, "Well, I think it was a policy to put some check into it. So it wasn't just, wherever they said they wanted it. So there's some reality, make sure

[5] The policy developed out of a call for a study into named communities in the City. The chapter on named communities in Los Angeles provides a detailed review regarding the background to the policy.

you have community support, not just political support, you know, I got political support, if I support it, but maybe there needs to be some historic support or, a reality of that" (interview, October 2012). It was important to ensure that the naming reflected the area being designated, and that there was support – or at least, the absence of significant opposition – regarding the designation. The naming process provided the opportunity for comment regarding a proposal:

> …all you're hearing is from the people that want this. You know, but now at least there's a process that, that requires some due diligence and some type of mechanism for people to come forward and say whether they're in support or, you know, or opposed to it. Whereas before, there was nothing like that. You know, a Council member would maybe get a few calls, but there was no arena for them to have a public hearing on the item. Now this affords people notice through the agendas, through the application process, you know, a time to be heard if, if they want. (interview with a City official, October 2012)

City officials and legislators explained that it was important to address the various concerns expressed by people in the community regarding a proposed naming. There is much emphasis placed on engaging the surrounding community, and establishing consensus:

> …so the City knew that they needed to have some order to this process, and have some type of outreach, and at least public input on the process. Because one day people would wake up and there would be signs and some of them were thrilled to death, some of them said, well, what do you mean? I never agreed to this. So, this process at least requires some level of outreach. It requires them to, you know, let the Council members know, or at least if they think they're, they wanna get support for it, you know, do, do the outreach. Get the signatures, and then, present it to Council. (interview with a City official, October 2012)

An application for naming requires the submission of a petition, and in being signed by people living and/or having businesses in the area, necessitates a certain degree of outreach to people in the community. In addition to the petition, community members could also be included via Neighborhood Councils and the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment (DONE), in terms of hearings and discussions regarding a proposal.[6] Several bureaucracies are to be involved

[6] As explained regarding their "Mission/Vision," "The mission of the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment is to promote increased citizen participation in government and make government more responsive to

in helping to process and assess a naming application; DONE is one such agency, and Neighborhood Councils, whom DONE aids, are also said to have a role, particularly in terms of gathering opinions and gauging a community's level of support or opposition towards a proposal. Reports given by various City departments and agencies in reviewing a naming application are to be

> …made available for both the affected Neighborhood Council(s) and the [Council] Committee in advance of their respective consideration of this matter. The Department of Neighborhood Empowerment will also facilitate outreach and communication with the Neighborhood Council(s) in order to assist them in holding their own public hearings and, subsequently, submitting their findings to the [Council] Committee for consideration. (Office of the City Clerk 2008)

This is more specifically explained in a letter sent to the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment from the Council and Public Services Division of the Office of the City Clerk (2008). In what seems to be standard correspondence regarding submitted naming applications (i.e., the same (but separate) letter is sent regarding Little Bangladesh as well as Koreatown), the "SUBJECT" being "NAMING / RENAMING OF A COMMUNITY, NEIGHBHORHOOD COUNCIL(S) PARTICIPATION," it is outlined that

> …a copy of [the naming/renaming application and petition] will be forward [*sic*] to the Department of Neighborhood Empowerment (DONE) for their review, and to assist the applicant group in their outreach efforts with the affected Neighborhood Council(s). It will be DONE's responsibility, with the assistance of the City Clerk, to forward a cover letter and naming application(s) to the affected certified Neighborhood Council(s) and any adjacent Neighborhood Council(s) to hold a public hearing, if they so desire, to consider the matter. The Department of Neighborhood Empowerment will also be responsible for providing assistance, as needed, to the Neighborhood Council(s), in performing the following: Reviewing the contents of the application, Advertising the proposal in affected community and abutting neighborhoods, Scheduling and conducting a public hearing on the

local needs through the creation of a citywide system of Neighborhood Councils" (DONE/EmpowerLA website). Specifically, "Neighborhood Councils are city-certified local groups made up of people who live, work, own property or have some other connection to a neighborhood" (DONE/EmpowerLA website). The new City Charter approved in 1999, via Article IX, Section 900, "…created a citywide system of advisory councils for local neighborhoods. Because Los Angeles is a geographically large city with a diverse population, it was important that the new system of Neighborhood Councils evolve organically from the grass roots" (DONE/EmpowerLA website).

> matter within six months of receipt of the application, After the public hearing, submitting the findings and Community Impact Statement to the City Clerk to schedule the matter for Council consideration.

The letter goes on to say (in this case, regarding the Little Bangladesh application),

> Attached are the naming/renaming policy, application and related documentation for Little Bangladesh, and the template cover letter to the Neighborhood Council(s) for your review and distribution to the affected Neighborhood Council(s)….If the Neighborhood Council(s) choose not to conduct a hearing on the matter, the City Clerk's Office will need to be notified immediately so that the City Council can proceed with their hearing process. (Office of the City Clerk 2008)[7]

There is much emphasis placed on gathering community input regarding a proposal, and the policy calls for various city entities to be involved in facilitating this. Established procedures seem to call for DONE to forward a copy of the naming application to Neighborhood Councils (both the immediate as well as surrounding ones), as well as itself submitting relevant information regarding an application. The Neighborhood Councils also seem to receive the reviews submitted by City bureaucracies in response to the request for information, and it seems DONE is to also help the Neighborhood Councils in holding community hearings and in conveying their findings and positions. In terms of outreach, DONE and Neighborhood Councils, along with applicants, then appear to each play a role in gauging how the community feels about a proposal and, for Neighborhood Councils, then conveying that to those involved in assessing and deciding upon an application.

It is this element regarding notification, outreach, and inclusion that brought another concerned group into the discussion in this case: the Latino community. Negotiations had been undertaken and an agreement reached between the Korean and Bangladeshi communities, as facilitated and mediated by a Council member and his staff. Modified boundaries were then

[7] Included in the "cc" to this letter are the applicant(s) and relevant Council District offices.

presented for approval during a Council committee meeting on April 13, 2010. These agreements were explained to be the result of numerous meetings wherein negotiations and compromises had been made to modify the proposed boundaries. Given the issue of overlapping boundaries (as they were originally proposed) in the applications for Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, it would be difficult to consider the two proposals separately; coming to a resolution required a cooperative effort. During committee meetings on the proposals, the two applications would come to be heard jointly since, as a Council member serving on the committee noted, "they are interrelated" (Council committee meeting 2010a). The Korean and Bangladeshi communities, along with a Council member and his staff, worked together to come to a mutual agreement regarding boundaries, to determine what would be recognized as Koreatown and what would be recognized as Little Bangladesh. The Latino community remarked, however, that they were not consulted or included in these discussions. A community member stated that "…there was zero outreach initially to the Latino community and to its leadership," and when asked how the community came to find out about the issue, it was explained that the Brown Act required a "72-hour notice" and that relevant parties would be notified ahead of a scheduled meeting (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012). When asked if it was the leadership that was then notified, a member of the Latino community replied, "You know what? It, we got it from like an 8th party, like someone just in the neighborhood, 'hey did you guys know that this is going on?'" (interview, October 2012). During the April 2010 committee meeting, members of the Latino community expressed opposition to the Koreatown proposal and asked that a decision be postponed and more time granted for dialogue, emphasizing that they needed to be included in the process and in discussions regarding matters that would affect the area of concern, of which they were also a part.

Outreach and inclusion – the incorporation of the immediate and surrounding communities – are explained to be important facets to the City's naming policy and to legislators making decisions regarding proposals. Repeatedly, City officials and Council members mentioned the significance of different groups resolving issues and reaching a consensus regarding a naming application. Elements such as outreach to, inclusion of, negotiation with, and reaching an agreement with the local community and other groups in it are, for Council members, important to how claims are assessed and decided upon. This was emphasized during the April 2010 Council committee meeting, when opposition was voiced against the Koreatown proposal. A Council member on the committee commented to a Council member who had been working on the two cases, "[I'd] like to invite you to make any other comments you'd like to make, but specifically, if you could address the issue that some of the speakers talked about in terms of outreach. I know that there has been a significant amount of outreach to Neighborhood Councils and so on…can you talk a little bit to that?" (Council Committee meeting 2010a). The Council member replied,

> Well, there's never a good enough outreach if anyone feels they haven't been reached out to. So, some people feel they haven't been reached out to. I think this has been a great hearing, I think there's a spirit of cooperation here to define what should be…I'll be happy to work with the community, uh, leadership, to uh, to, what we need to do is say, do we feel this is acceptable, whatever is proposed…for, uh, all the areas, and then work from that… (Council Committee meeting 2010a)

And with the postponement of discussion on the issue, the Council member on the committee remarked that "…that will be uh, for the purpose of getting comment back from our city departments and, to allow additional opportunity for public interaction among the communities to, to try to develop a consensus view which I'm hopeful that with [the Council member's] continuing assistance, you'll be able to achieve" (Council Committee meeting 2010a). An

agreement was subsequently reached between the Korean, Bangladeshi, and Latino communities, and these points were again emphasized during the committee meeting in August 2010.

However, there seems to be much potential for confusion regarding proponent groups' responsibilities, whether communities are sufficiently included in the process, and whether opponents' views have been adequately registered. Applicants are strongly encouraged (but not required) to engage in outreach, and to advocate for their proposals. However, when considering the policy and bureaucratic context of applications, the onus for this does not seem to be placed entirely on applicants alone. By virtue of the application process, it appears that DONE and impacted Neighborhood Councils are to be provided with copies of the application packet; DONE would then have been given instructions on facilitating meetings, and Neighborhood Councils would have been given directions on how to proceed should they choose to hold hearings and submit Community Impact Statements. (Neighborhood Councils are not required to hold hearings and submit Statements regarding a naming application.) Community members in the area would thus have been incorporated in discussions via the petition process as well as through Neighborhood Councils.[8] Applicants are not otherwise required to consult with individual groups as regards an application.[9] In terms of Community Impact Statements by

[8] A City official commented that the naming process provides for varied opportunities in which community members can voice their opinions regarding an application – i.e., when advocates have their hearings, when Neighborhood Councils hold their meetings, when the Council committee holds its hearings, and even on the Council floor during a City Council meeting (interview, November 2012).

[9] Even if applicants were to speak with individual groups, it could be difficult to determine which groups to speak with, and with whom in terms of leadership; there could be great uncertainty as to whether they fairly covered the canvas of people who should be included in the process. This could be particularly true when consulting ethnic groups/communities as there may be many ethnic organizations and leaders, but it could be difficult to pinpoint an agreed upon or authorized spokesperson or a representative group – a "spokesgroup," so to speak – for that community. In contrast, a spatially/geographically based group can be more easily identified in terms of a widely accepted, acknowledged, and authorized representative group. In the City of Los Angeles, Neighborhood Councils constitute a City-related local governance structure. There may be other institutions such as homeowners' associations or Neighborhood Watch organizations, but these may be on a smaller scale when compared to a Neighborhood Council district.

Neighborhood Councils regarding these two cases, the Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council had submitted a Statement in March 2009 in opposition to the Little Bangladesh application. No Community Impact Statements had been submitted regarding the Koreatown application.

Regardless of whether a Community Impact Statement had been submitted, City legislators and officials at the April 2010 committee meeting were able to see that there was opposition from community members in the immediate and surrounding areas. With much emphasis placed on coming to a consensus, and with repeated requests from opponents for postponement and dialogue, the issue was given a continuance of 60 days. What then resulted were a series of meetings regarding the Koreatown proposal (the proposed boundaries for Little Bangladesh having been greatly reduced by the time of the April 2010 meeting, wherein the modified area was perhaps not large enough to warrant opposition), wherein an agreement was reached between the three groups.[10] As a City official explained during the subsequent committee meeting held in August 2010, Council members' offices

> …assisted the advocates of the Koreatown naming application to conduct five meetings, and to receive input from the Koreatown boundary committee, [the

[10] In the resulting "COMMUNICATION" from the Council committee to the City Council regarding Little Bangladesh, "Recommendations for Council action" were "1. APPROVE the application relative to naming a community Little Bangladesh, roughly located in Koreatown along West Third Street between South New Hampshire Avenue and South Alexandria Avenue" and "2. INSTRUCT all relevant departments to perform the necessary requirements to effectuate the naming of this community, including, but not limited to, the installation of signs" (Council Committee 2010c). The "COMMUNICATION" from the committee to the City Council regarding Koreatown was, for "Recommendations for Council action,"

> 1. APPROVE the application relative to naming a community Koreatown, bounded roughly by Olympic Boulevard from Western Avenue to Vermont Avenue on the south, Vermont Avenue from Olympic Boulevard to Third Street on the east, Third Street from Vermont Avenue to Western Avenue on the north, Western Avenue from Third street to Olympic Boulevard, including a business corridor along Western Avenue from Third Street to Rosewood Avenue situated inside the East Hollywood area on the west. The proposed boundaries include both sides of the street (Council Committee 2010c)

The second point was "2. INSTRUCT all relevant departments to perform the necessary requirements to effectuate the naming of this community, including, but not limited to, the installation of signs" (Council Committee 2010c).

> Latino community], Little Bangladesh community, Greater Wilshire Neighborhood Council, Pico Union Neighborhood Council, Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council, Council in Beverly Kingsley Homeowners' Association, concerning the identification of Koreatown's boundaries. So it appears that, not appears, the applications do meet the, um, City's community renaming policy. (Council Committee meeting 2010b)

Since it was important that the naming policy not only standardized procedures for recognition, but also placed greater emphasis on incorporating local input, the registering of support and opposition towards an application and resolving issues of concern held by opponents seemed important to Council members and Council committees when assessing a naming proposal. As a City official explained, it was important to legislators that naming be a grassroots effort with "grassroots support" (interview, November 2012).

Although great efforts seem to be made to resolve issues in contention, differences in opinion are likely to remain, to varying extents. During the second committee meeting held in August 2010, conducted after an agreement had been reached between the Korean, Bangladeshi, and Latino communities, a Koreatown proponent remarked, "…we're happy that people were able to listen and hear each other's concerns and come to an agreement that made the most sense for the vast majority of us. Of course we'd love to say it was a hundred percent, but there's probably never a hundred percent, but, more than ninety-nine percent of the people agreed" (Council committee meeting 2010b). A City official explained that of importance was that the local community was able to voice their opinions, even if their preferences were not reflected "as is" in the outcome:

> The policy is written such that everyone has a voice, in the policymaking process. And the majority wins. Sometimes there's some people, there may be, a group, who disagrees, but, the majority agrees, and that instance, that still, that group that disagrees, their voice is gonna be heard. But still it doesn't stop it from moving forward, it's the majority that moves forward. But they encourage that everybody participates in the process. And that's the reason why, when the application comes in they wanna know what the outreach process is. (interview, November 2012)

The policy creates a context in which the emphasis is on participation and the serious consideration of the opinions of the local community, and as much as possible, for relevant parties to negotiate and reach a consensus regarding an application. These seem to be of the essence for Council members assessing claims for formal recognition, whether as district representatives or as members of committees and, ultimately, as members of the voting Council body.

If this is understood more in terms of what is beneficial electorally (or, what will not be costly electorally), each Council member may be elected by their district constituents – i.e., by residents in their district who are eligible to vote – but the commercial population is also important when considering district interests. Therefore, even though community members may not live in a particular district and consequently are not constituents in the traditional sense of the word, there are important commercial constituents whose interests a legislator must also consider and whose preferences a legislator must oftentimes represent. Moreover, in terms of electoral mobilization, ethnic groups cut across district lines. That is, ethnic groups are not based geographically in accordance with district boundaries. Therefore, if an issue is held to be problematic by people outside of a district, it is not necessarily a matter from which that legislator is immune if a group can mobilize members across district lines; this can translate into potential problems down the line, electorally speaking. As a safeguard against electoral consequences, it can be argued that it is in the interest of elected representatives to insist on negotiation, to invest in groups with conflicting views reaching a mutually acceptable decision on a matter, rather than deciding on such a matter outright.

How are decisions then made regarding an application for formal naming? As discussed, outreach, inclusion, negotiation, and consensus are important to how legislators assess claims for

formal recognition. Additionally, the legislator must also be "on board" with an application: "…you gotta have political support. If you don't have political support it doesn't happen" (interview with a Council member, October 2012). ("Political support" meaning the support of "the elected official" (interview with a Council member, October 2012).) Once an issue eventually gets placed to be voted on by the entire Council, the other Council members "…look to the Councilman in the district and they follow suit. And especially if it's non-controversial" (interview with a Council member, October 2012). Even if it is an issue placed before the entire Council, the interests and preferences of the particular district(s) are held to be most important. As a City official further explains,

> I think out of respect, as a protocol, Council members look to the Council member whose district it's in, it's like, okay, do you want this or not? You know, I mean, that's what they do. They're gonna vote if the Council member supports it. It's their district. And they want the same respect, for theirs. They don't want to be told, they can't put up signs in their district if they feel passionately about it. So, they all seem to follow suit, you know, so, and really it's they, you know, main Council member whose district it's in who, who's gonna get all the calls. You know, the community doesn't really count on the vote from the rest of the Council offices, you know, unless maybe they came as a whole and said that the, overall the policy is divisive and not a good idea…. (interview, October 2012)

Given the expansive nature of the City, internal Council districts come to be important in relaying the more immediate interests of specific areas.

In Los Angeles, the legislative and bureaucratic context in which claims for the formal naming and designation of ethnic communities were made, contested, and legislatively assessed was one marked by the development of a standardized policy for the naming/renaming of communities within the City. The specificities of this policy, in outlining the processes for naming, shaped what was done, how it was done, and by whom. Additionally, the existence of a policy for naming, alongside the existence of numerous ethnic places already recognized by the City, made the context of claims- making, contesting, and assessing one where the central point

for discussion was not whether there should be named communities or not, but rather, how this was to be done.

II. The Legitimacy of Claims

With respect to official recognitions of ethnic places, issues relating to the legitimacy of claims are important in understanding how and why claims are made, contested, and assessed/decided upon. Proponents sought to establish the legitimate "right" to make claims for recognition and that their arguments were valid ones to be made, while opponents sought to contest this legitimacy. The issue of legitimacy largely relates to groups' ties to place.

In seeking formal naming, and during committee hearings regarding the application, the Bangladeshi community explained and described the group's presence in the area to be designated.[11] Members noted the varied types of businesses run by and serving the Bangladeshi community, and spoke of the magnitude of the group's presence in the immediate and surrounding areas:

> So within this area we have about 6 ethnic eateries, 10 specialty and grocery stores, market, hardware store, cultural center, weekend schools, place of worship, community doctors, lawyers, consultants on tax, travel, insurance, and other services right there on 3rd Street and immediate surrounding areas, and a huge number of Bangladeshi concentration in that area. There are a few surveys or records which says about 50,000 Bangladeshis live in the Greater Los Angeles. And the most concentrated area, if anybody drives from the 3rd Street, you will see always the dresses of Bangladeshi people moving from here and there. And as regards, there are some, it's not exactly, the character, is not like the Thai Town that it is all concentrated in one area. It started from Vermont, to Serrano. And the non-Bangladeshi vendors, or, shop owners, they're very sensitive to the needs of our uh, uh, people, so, you will see in every single store, they're selling the cards that the Bangladeshis buy, calling card. And, many of them they will ask you when they see you, "*Kemon Acho*?" which actually means, "how are you?" So, this is a place we all live together, and we do our cultural and religious things together….we are, we have a distinct, I mean, feature, here in this city. (a Bangladesh community leader, Council Committee meeting 2010a)

[11] By the time of the committee meetings, the area being proposed to be designated "Little Bangladesh" had been modified and significantly reduced from the area specified in the original application. The area in the original application and the area being spoken of during, for example, committee hearings, are thus different.

This description of presence alludes to a legitimating of the Bangladeshi community's claims. While the community may be relatively small in group size and, perhaps related to this, more geographically dispersed than others, and not necessarily as well known, the group's claims for recognition are with respect to an existing and significant presence and concentration, for their group.

Within the City of Los Angeles and the region in which the naming was sought, there is argued to be a significant concentration of members of the Bangladeshi community, with the area sought for naming being an important geographic focal point for the community. Implementing a within-group frame of reference regarding the numbers concentrated in an area may help in seeing this as establishing the legitimacy of claims for formal recognition. A "within-geography" frame of reference may be understood to involve analyzing the population distribution of groups (e.g., ethnic groups) within a given geographic level (e.g., a census tract, a city, a county, a state, etc.) – i.e., population percentages as they are "traditionally" assessed. A "within-group" frame of reference instead examines the population distribution of a particular group (e.g., an ethnic group) across different geographic levels. It thus looks at the degree of concentration of a group within a particular area. In this sense, a group may be relatively small in terms of a traditional within-geography frame of reference, vis-à-vis other groups. However, that group's presence in that particular locale may constitute a large and notable concentration for that group when considered from a within-group frame of reference, analyzing for a particular group, as a proportion of that group's population across different geographies.

However, the argument that though relatively small, there is a significant concentration in an area of a group, when considered with respect to that group, is questioned by the presence of other groups with a significant concentration, in terms of both a within-geography and within-

group frame of reference, and on larger scales, comparatively speaking. While the Bangladeshi community claimed that there was a significant concentration of group members in the area being sought for naming, there was a significant concentration – both within-geography and within-group – of members of the Korean community there also: "In the last 30 years or so, a six-square-mile area west of downtown Los Angeles has become an enclave of some 50,000 Korean-Americans, the largest concentration of Koreans in the country. The district is now commonly known as Koreatown" (Jang 2009).

To examine the population distributions of these groups, areas were constructed of an overestimated Koreatown area, an underestimated Koreatown area, and an overestimated Little Bangladesh area. These constructions were based on the street boundaries approved with formal naming and were built via the identification and aggregation of relevant census tracts for 2000 and 2010. Population data were drawn from the decennial census for 2000 and 2010. Census tract boundaries do not neatly align with the boundaries designated for the areas, however. For Koreatown, the problem pertained to the area's southern border. Census tracts pertaining to the southern boundary of the officially recognized Koreatown area include within them Olympic Boulevard, the southern borders for those census tracts then extending further south from that street (i.e., census tracts for that area do not end/start from Olympic Boulevard, the southern boundary for the officially recognized Koreatown area; rather, this street lies within the census tracts for that area). As a result, both an underestimated and overestimated Koreatown area were built for analysis. The former is a more conservative measure which excludes the census tracts that contain in them the Olympic Boulevard area. The underestimated Koreatown construction is then smaller than the area formally designated through the naming policy. In contrast, the overestimated Koreatown area is a larger, more liberal construction of Koreatown than was

designated via the naming policy since it includes in the southern border census tracts which extend beyond Koreatown's Olympic Boulevard boundary. For both constructed Koreatown areas, the Rosewood corridor on the northern end of the officially recognized Koreatown area was excluded.[12] In terms of implications for calculations of the distribution of the population, the difference between the two Koreatown estimates, in considering population percentages, is small. For the Korean population in 2000, for example, the overestimated construction showed Koreans at 24.11% of the area population while the underestimated construction showed Koreans at 24.23% of the area population.[13] For Little Bangladesh, the formally recognized area concerned a few blocks along a single street, an area much smaller than that which census tracts represent. To construct Little Bangladesh, the census tracts to the north and south of 3rd Street were used, creating an overestimated area. Since Little Bangladesh is a small stretch along 3rd Street, what was constructed via census tracts is then a quite liberal take on the area.[14]

Table 3.1 presents data for census race categories (one race groups, and distinguished for Hispanic or Latino origin) for Los Angeles City, the overestimated and underestimated Koreatown areas, and the Little Bangladesh area, for 2000 and 2010. The groups considered are

[12] The Rosewood corridor was excluded from these constructed areas for analysis as it seems to have been included in the adopted boundaries for Koreatown mainly in recognition/inclusion of a church held to be of historical importance to the community and its immigrant history in the area, not so much because the corridor area itself represents a focal point of concentration for the Koreatown community, as in the "main" Koreatown area that was named and designated. Also, construction via census tracts that then includes the corridor area would lead to an overestimate that does not paint an accurate picture concerning the area of concern.

[13] The largest difference between calculations for the Koreatown overestimated and underestimated areas seems to be for the Hispanic or Latino population (as well as then the non-Hispanic or Latino population) in 2010, showing a difference of 2.22 percentage points between the calculation as pertaining to the overestimated area versus the underestimated area. For some groups, there was no difference between calculations for the two areas. There does not seem to be too great of a difference then in terms of calculations of population percentages in the two constructions for Koreatown. As a result, it should not make a significant difference which of the two Koreatown areas is considered for population data analyses.

[14] Using census geographies smaller than a census tract poses the problem of limitations in available data. Data for the Bangladeshi population is included with a data table of extended Asian group categories, and this data is not available at, for example, the block group or block level. The same is true of extended group categories for the Hispanic or Latino population.

thus the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) White, non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) Black or African American, non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) American Indian and Alaska Native, non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) Asian, non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) some other race, non-Hispanic or Latino two or more races, and Hispanic or Latino (of any race) populations. Across the board, for all of the geographies examined, in both 2000 as well as 2010, the Hispanic or Latino population was the largest of these different groups, being at times the numerical majority.

[Insert Table 3.1 about here]

We see in Table 3.1 that there is a notable difference between assessments at the City level as compared to the constructed geographies representing the named ethnic places. In Los Angeles City in 2000, following the Hispanic or Latino population in terms of relative population size were, in order, the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) White, Black or African American, and Asian populations. In the constructed ethnic place areas in 2000, however, following the Hispanic or Latino population as the largest group were, in order, the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) Asian, White, and Black or African American populations. As compared to their populations in the City, there was a marked increase in the percentages for the Hispanic or Latino and the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian (one race) populations when examined for the Koreatown as well as Little Bangladesh areas in 2000, and a decrease in the percentages for the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) White and Black or African American populations. There was a slight difference in 2010 with respect to relative group sizes in Los Angeles City: following the Hispanic or Latino population were, in order, the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) White, Asian, and Black or African American populations. When compared to their percentages at the City level in 2000, there was a slight decrease in 2010 for the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race)

White and Black or African American populations and a slight increase for the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) Asian and the Hispanic or Latino populations. The relative ordering of groups based on their population size in the constructed ethnic places was the same in 2010 as it was in 2000. With respect to comparisons between the City and the ethnic place areas, however, there are similarities as well as differences to note for the groups in 2010 as compared to 2000. As was the case in 2000, in 2010, the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) White and Black or African American populations in the ethnic place areas were smaller when compared to their proportions at the City level. As was the case in 2000, in 2010 the non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) Asian population in the ethnic place areas was larger than when considering their proportions at the City level. However, with an increase in the Asian population in the ethnic place areas in 2010, there was a more marked difference between the group's population in the ethnic place areas as compared to in the City. For the Hispanic or Latino population in 2010, there was not much of a difference between the group's percentages at the City level as compared to the Koreatown areas, though a marked difference exists when compared between the City and the Little Bangladesh area. Though there is only a small difference between 2000 and 2010 for the group's percentage at the City level and in the Little Bangladesh area, there is a drop to note in the Hispanic or Latino population in the Koreatown area (whether examined as the overestimated or underestimated area) in 2010 as compared to 2000. There was a difference of 6.25 percentage points in the group's population in the overestimated Koreatown area in 2010 as compared to 2000, and 6.76 percentage points when looked at in the underestimated Koreatown area. Thus in 2010, there was not much of a difference for the group when looking at their percentages for the City level as compared to the Koreatown areas.

Table 3.2 is similar to Table 3.1, but presents a more detailed profile of the population. Race group data in Table 3.2 are of one race categories, but not distinguished for non-Hispanic or Latino one race groups, as was the case in Table 3.1, for the White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, some other race, and two or more races populations. In particular, Table 3.2 includes data regarding national origin groups for the Asian as well as Hispanic or Latino populations. (Asian national origin group data are for the population of that group alone, and not in combination with any other groups.[15]) We see in Table 3.2 some reflection of ethnic places being areas of (residential) concentration for co-ethnic group members, at least in the sense that the group percentages in these places are larger than as reported at the City level. It should be noted that Los Angeles City is a large and populous entity, and percentages for groups like the Korean and Bangladeshi communities will thus be quite small when considered for such large geographic units. Even in context of this observation, we nevertheless see that there is a large difference for Koreans in their population at the City level (2.48% in 2000, 2.86% in 2010) as compared to the Koreatown area (24.11% in 2000 and 27.83% in 2010 in the overestimated area; 24.23% in 2000 and 27.47% in 2010 in the underestimated area) and the Little Bangladesh area also (12.83% in 2000, 14.34% in 2010). Most significantly, when comparing between the Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups, the Korean population constitutes the largest group – the plurality of the national origin groups being compared – in the Koreatown area for both 2000 and 2010 (in both the overestimated and underestimated areas), and the second largest group in the Little Bangladesh area for both years. Thus, the Korean population is small at the

[15] These group data are also not distinguished for non-Hispanic or Latino origin, but we see in comparing percentages for the Asian and non-Hispanic or Latino Asian groups that there is not much of a difference between the two categories. That is, those who identify as Asian of Hispanic or Latino origin seem to be small in number.

City level (though they were the fourth largest in 2000 and fifth largest in 2010 of the Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups), but they constitute a notable presence both in the Koreatown as well as Little Bangladesh areas in 2000 as well as 2010.

The percentages for the Bangladeshi community are comparatively much smaller (see Table 3.2). However, compared to what we see at the City level (0.03% in 2000, 0.08% in 2010), we see a larger group presence in the Koreatown area (0.41% in 2000 and 0.99% in 2010 in the overestimated area; 0.48% in 2000 and 1.19% in 2010 in the underestimated area) and in the Little Bangladesh area especially (0.80% in 2000, 2.11% in 2010). They still, however, only constitute a small proportion of the population in these places.

[Insert Table 3.2 about here]

Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 show within-group analyses of population data, which yield a different picture than with the more traditional scheme of considering the population of different groups within a given geographical unit, as in Table 3.1 and Table 3.2, i.e., a within-geography analysis of the population distribution of different groups. This can highlight what is suggested when comparing the within-geography percentages for given groups for their percentages in different areas – e.g., what we see suggested with the Korean and Bangladeshi populations that the ethnic place areas are areas of significance for these communities, their percentages in these areas being larger than when compared to their percentages at the City level. This is especially stark for the Bangladeshi community. The Bangladeshi population constituted only a small proportion of the different areas being studied, whether considered for the City, the Koreatown area (for both estimates), or the Little Bangladesh area, both in 2000 and 2010 (see Table 3.2). When considered through a within-group point of view, however, Table 3.3 shows that in 2000, the Bangladeshi population in the Koreatown area (overestimated and underestimated)

constituted 22.04% of Los Angeles City's Bangladeshi population. In the Little Bangladesh area in 2000, the Bangladeshi population constituted 12.77% of the Bangladeshi population in Los Angeles City. This suggests that these ethnic place areas are places of significant residential concentration for the Bangladeshi community A similar pattern of notable concentration for the group is seen in 2010 (see Table 3.4), though there are slight decreases in these within-group percentages when compared to data from 2000 (the Bangladeshi population in the Koreatown area constituted 19.04% of the group's population in the City in 2010, while the group's population in the Little Bangladesh area constituted 11.94% of the group's population in the City). The group's population in the ethnic place areas are also notable concentrations for the group when considered with respect to their population at the County and State levels, both for 2000 and 2010. This seems to be slightly less so the case when considered with respect to their population at the national level, though understandably, percentages are expected to be comparatively smaller with respect to "higher-up" geographic levels.

[Insert Table 3.3 about here]

[Insert Table 3.4 about here]

With respect to the Korean population, in 2000 their population in the overestimated Koreatown area constituted 17.12% of their population in the City and their population in the underestimated area constituted 14.52% of their population in the City (see Table 3.3). They have a comparatively smaller within-group concentration in the Little Bangladesh area, their population in this area constituting 2.69% of the group's City population. Similar patterns can also be seen in 2010 (see Table 3.4), but the group showed slight decreases in these within-group percentages when compared to the data from 2000 (in 2010 the Korean population in the overestimated Koreatown area constituted 15.34% of the group's City population and the

population in the underestimated area constituted 12.56% of their City population, while their population in the Little Bangladesh area constituted 2.32% of the group's City population). The Korean population in these ethnic places also seems to comprise a significant within-group concentration when considered with respect to the group's population at the County and State levels both in 2000 and 2010, though more so for the Koreatown area than for the Little Bangladesh area.

What is significant when comparing the within-group percentages amongst the different groups is that for their population in the ethnic place areas, considered with respect to groups' populations at the City, County, and State levels, and for both 2000 and 2010, the Bangladeshi population showed the largest within-group percentages of all of the Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups being compared (see Table 3.3 and Table 3.4). When considered with respect to their population at the national level, in 2000 their population in the overestimated Koreatown area was the fourth largest of the national origin groups being compared, while their population in the underestimated Koreatown area was the third largest, and their population in the Little Bangladesh area the second largest. In 2010, the group's population in these areas with respect to their total population in the U.S. became "more" significant when comparing between the Asian and Hispanic or Latino origin national origin groups, with the group's population in the overestimated and underestimated Koreatown areas being the second largest and their population in the Little Bangladesh area being the largest of the national origin groups being compared. The ethnic place areas – Koreatown and Little Bangladesh – are then significant places of group concentration for the Bangladeshi community. Though they may comprise a small percentage of the population in these different places (i.e., when considered from the traditional within-geography point of view), their group presence in

these places reflect significant concentrations when considered for that group (i.e., when analyzed from the alternative within-group point of view). In terms of claims regarding place, then, analyses of the residential population show that these ethnic place areas are significant locations for the Bangladeshi community.

The Korean population's within-group concentration in the Koreatown area is also significant in that it is the second largest of the groups being compared with respect to the group's population at the City, County, and State levels in 2000 as well as 2010, and the largest of the groups being compared with respect to their population at the national level, both in 2000 as well as 2010, and for both the overestimated and underestimated areas (see Table 3.3 and Table 3.4). Their within-group percentages in the Little Bangladesh area are comparatively less significant, though notable nonetheless, being the third or fourth largest of the groups being compared (and second largest in one instance in 2010 in consideration of the group's population in the County). The Koreatown area is then a significant place for the Korean community, reflecting a significant group concentration with respect to the group's population at the City, County, State, and national levels. Coupled with the within-geography analysis seen in Table 3.2, wherein they were the plurality in the Koreatown area out of the Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups being compared, the Koreatown area is then an especially significant place for the Korean community whether considered from a within-geography or from a within-group point of view.

The significance of these analyses with respect to the legitimacy of claims regarding formal recognition is that they show that these ethnic place areas are significant places for the groups seeking recognition. They are also significant places for the group contesting these claims. It is therefore not wrong/it is correct to say that the ethnic place areas being studied are

places of significance and of notable concentration for the Korean community, the Bangladeshi community, and the Hispanic or Latino community alike. That is, there are different ways to analyze the population in given areas, and with respect to claims for recognition and the idea of legitimacy, different statements can be made regarding different groups in these places, based on these different analyses and views. In this, differing statements may be made regarding the significant presence of different groups within given areas, which may all be different but at the same time all be true.

Ethnic places tend to be commercially-oriented. That there is an ethnic commercial concentration may be quite evident. However, these analyses of the population demonstrate that even with respect to the residential population, a significant concentration of co-ethnic group members exists in these ethnic place areas. The residential population in these areas is said to be important with respect to rendering or challenging the legitimacy of claims regarding place. Assessing the degree of group concentration and relative group size is then informative in examining the significance of these places for particular groups.

Legitimating the Korean community's claims also rested to a large extent on the point that the area being sought for naming was by and large already known as Koreatown, and that in effect, naming would be to formally recognize and designate what already exists and what is already informally known as such (and, to formalize what many had already thought to be a formally recognized community, given legislative actions taken by City officials in the past regarding the designation of Koreatown). That the vicinity of the Koreatown area was already known as Koreatown was not restricted to abstract references and popular parlance; many stressed that this name and spatial identity was also used administratively, and in that respect, in a more formal capacity. This point is discussed in the Koreatown naming application:

> The neighborhood generally known as "Koreatown" to many southern Californians is not officially recognized by the City of Los Angeles, albeit various City agencies – Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council, Community Redevelopment Agency, Los Angeles Police Department, Los Angeles Fire Department, Los Angeles Unified School District, United States Census Bureau – all recognize the existence of Koreatown and mark it on their departmental maps. However, none of these boundaries coincide with one another. (Koreatown application 2009, 3-4)

The Community Impact Statement filed by the Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council (WCKNC) explains the significance of this point: "Though Koreatown may not have the City of L.A.'s *de jure* designation, the *de facto* designation is recognized by the LAPD, LAFD, LAUSD, L.A. County, U.S. Census Bureau, DONE, WCKNC, and the millions of citizens of City of L.A." (WCKNC Community Impact Statement 2009). Additionally, the WCKNC's Statement (2009) argues that print and broadcast media, online search engines, and online sources all provide coverage of Koreatown in Los Angeles, alluding to the fact that the Koreatown area is already known as such by varied sources. Moreover, as a speaker mentioned during the April 2010 Council committee meeting, Koreatown was recognized in 2009 as a "Preserve America" community.[16] Therefore, whether for administrative, informatory, or celebratory purposes, proponents for Koreatown argued that this ethnic place is already known as such, even if not formally recognized so by the City, given the haphazard designation practices of the past. City Council members, during the Council meeting in which the Little Bangladesh and Koreatown proposals were to be voted on by the Council, observed that it could be surprising to many people that formal naming was being sought for Koreatown. A Council

[16] "Preserve America" is described to be "…a federal initiative that encourages and supports community efforts to preserve and enjoy our priceless cultural and natural heritage" (Preserve America website). Other ethnic communities (though the program is with respect to communities in a general sense, and not restricted to ethnic communities) given this recognition include, in California: Chinatown (Los Angeles), Historic Filipinotown (Los Angeles), Japantown (San Francisco), Little Italy (San Diego), Little Tokyo (Los Angeles), and Thai Town (Los Angeles) (Preserve America website). Of the 38 Preserve America communities located in California, seven thus pertain to ethnic communities.

member remarked during the August 20, 2010 City Council meeting, "I think it will shock people to know that we're making something official that everybody has assumed has been official for many years, so, it's good to make history right here today, doubly so." Another Council member echoed this point: "I just wanted to rise and say, I always thought it *was*, uh, official, but, uh, it's great to hear how much work you've done, bringing people together, uh, and that's what's important, that's what makes Los Angeles great" (Los Angeles City Council meeting 2010).

That Koreatown was already known and referenced as such also links to the bureaucratic information-gathering done as part of the naming application review process. Various City departments found references to Koreatown in their reviews. A letter sent from the Council and Public Services Division of the Office of the City Clerk (2008) to the Records Management Division of the Office of the City Clerk in regards to naming applications notes that "Part of [the City's community naming/renaming policy] requires various City departments to review and evaluate on whether the proposed name reflects the historical and cultural significance of the community….The evaluation will be considered, together with findings from other Departments, prior to the public hearing(s)."[17] In response to this request for a "review for Historical Precedent," the Records Management Division notes in regard to the Little Bangladesh application that "The proposed area is within the current community of Koreatown. As a proposed new community there are no records in the City Archives referring to this area as the

[17] This seems to be a standard letter sent as part of the application review process. It was also sent to the City's Department of Transportation, Public Works/Bureau of Engineering, the Planning Department, and the Community Redevelopment Agency. Additionally noted in the letter to the Department of Transportation is the point that "In the past, the Department of Transportation may have been instructed by a Council Office, or other entity, to install signs in these 'unofficial' communities. If such a prior request was made, include a copy of the request along with the actual location of the sign placement with your evaluation" (October 29, 2008).

community of Little Bangladesh" (Office of the City Clerk 2009a).[18] Similarly, the Mapping Group of the Bureau of Engineering notes that "This area is currently considered part of Koreatown and Wilshire Center and is in the Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council area" (Bureau of Engineering 2009a). In the application review process for Koreatown, the Mapping Group of the Bureau of Engineering noted that the "community areas" of which "The proposed Koreatown area is currently considered part of" include "Country Club Park, Koreatown, Pico Union, Wilshire Center, Hancock Park and Melrose community areas" (Bureau of Engineering 2009b). Additionally, the Records Management Division of the Office of the City Clerk reports that

> [The] office has reviewed the indexes to the City Council Records and the City Archives Inventory Data Base for references to the community of Koreatown. The numerous references found to the community of Koreatown, though not always with consistently defined boundaries, constitute considerable historical precedent for recognizing the community. References can be found in the City Clerk's on line Council File Management System to Koreatown dating back to the early 1980's. The proposed community area would overlap the previously proposed community of Little Bangladesh… (Office of the City Clerk 2009c) [19]

[18] However, the notation that "The proposed area is within the current community of Koreatown" no longer appears in a second letter sent on February 23, 2009 from the Records Management Division to the Council and Public Services Division, both of the Office of the City Clerk.

[19] However, to what extent these findings from various City records matter, and how "historical precedent" is to be taken into account, are not always altogether clear. In light of the findings relayed by various City departments and agencies, this matter was discussed during one of the committee meetings in which the two naming applications were being considered. A City official noted the following:

> For Koreatown, the Bureau of Engineering notes that um, there has been reference to Koreatown in their, in their records but the boundaries have differed. In terms of Bangladesh, the records indicate there has not, there has not been a Bangladesh in our prior Council files, which don't really make a big, big difference during this process. But when the application, when the policy was being developed, they wanted to make sure if there was any historical significance when, when you looked at renaming it, that was taken into consideration. So that's not an issue. (Council Committee meeting 2010b)

It may be that this was not an issue when this was being discussed because the boundaries proposed for the two communities had been modified prior to this August 2010 meeting, such that they did not significantly overlap with each other. More specifically, with the modified boundaries, Little Bangladesh no longer significantly ran into areas said to be more commonly known as Koreatown.

The bureaucratic evidence for Koreatown may, for proponents of Koreatown and opponents of Little Bangladesh, bolster the legitimacy of claims for recognition made by the Korean community while simultaneously challenging the claims made for Little Bangladesh, under its originally proposed boundaries. The Community Impact Statement of the Wilshire Center-Koreatown Neighborhood Council, submitted in opposition to the (original) Little Bangladesh application (i.e., with its originally proposed boundaries), for example, alludes to this point:

> The Koreatown neighborhood designation is ingrained in the minds of the residents of the Area as well as amongst the general population of the City of L.A. and the rest of the world. As per the official City of L.A. Policy for Naming or Renaming a Community, "any previously recognized name should be given consideration" prior to a neighborhood naming or renaming itself. In accordance with the findings above [presented in the Statement], we believe that the "Koreatown" designation takes precedence over a "Little Bangladesh" designation. Therefore, we urge the City of L.A. to oppose this petition to designate the Area as "Little Bangladesh." (WCKNC Community Impact Statement 2009)

Because the two communities overlapped significantly under the originally proposed boundaries, the bureaucratic evidence and prior references to Koreatown were then additional layers for Koreatown proponents in legitimating and substantiating claims to formally recognize this ethnic place in the area proposed, and in which it is said to exist. Because the two communities were being proposed in overlapping areas, the claims became competing ones, and by extension, mutually exclusive ones. Explaining the claims that were being made linked to establishing their legitimacy – that they were valid, substantiated, justified claims – and in this context, establishing the legitimacy of one then translated into challenging the legitimacy of the other.

Determining the boundaries became a central issue in formally naming and recognizing Koreatown and Little Bangladesh. For one, the naming application and policy calls for the specification of boundaries. In the case of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, and with opposition

from the Latino community against the Koreatown application, the issue to a large extent became one of contested boundaries, of determining what would be the acceptable and legitimate whereabouts – and limits – of each community. Whether, or to what extent, they really mattered in terms of the making and developing of these communities was a different issue; given the need to state them as per the naming policy, and given that they were to a large extent what much of the contestation was about, boundaries came to centrally shape the claims that were made and contested regarding formal recognition, and how they were assessed.

The application for Little Bangladesh was submitted first, and the Koreatown proposal submitted soon thereafter, largely in reaction to the Little Bangladesh application. Of concern were the boundaries proposed for Little Bangladesh, since they were for a large area that many claimed to be "the heart of Koreatown" (interview with a Koreatown proponent, October 2012). Bangladeshi community members recognized this also: "The moment we filed, uh, Korean community, they got nervous. Cuz, the area we ask for was basically the center point of the Wilshire Center-Koreatown. So, they reacted…" (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012). Proponents for Little Bangladesh explained that the boundaries that were proposed were selected in reflection of areas in which community members lived:

> Initial boundary, when we have decided, we tried to figure out which areas our people live. So even though, some of the-, we knew that, in the process of negotiation it will come shorter. But any place we foreseeably see some Bangladeshi people was living, we tried to bring it inside their box. That's how we figured out, from where to where we take. It was, was it, does it have lot of merit? Perhaps not. Cuz there'll be blocks in, in, which blocks, whole blocks maybe we can have five people. But there may be 70 Korean people or 90 Latino people. But we included that too. So, in the process, wherever our people were there, that helped us in a sense to make those black dot of 500, you know. (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012)

(The 500 black dots seem to be in reference to the required number and location of petition signers, wherein the addresses are plotted onto a map to ensure that they are from the area – i.e.,

within the boundaries – being proposed for naming.) In the end, the goal for the Bangladeshi community was to have signage reading "Little Bangladesh"; the exact boundaries of the area to be named was not of primary importance. As a Little Bangladesh proponent remarked, "What our concern was, we just wanted a sign. That was our bottom line. We did not see that, this area from this area. We don't need the area. What do we do with the area" (interview, October 2012).

Much of the discussion between the communities was about acceptable and legitimate boundaries – acceptable to each community, and having a legitimate (i.e. relevant) basis for "claiming" that boundary, in terms of a significant and notable community presence in that area. In terms of the co-ethnic population in the originally proposed area for Koreans in Koreatown and Bangladeshis in Little Bangladesh, the difference in terms of within-geography comparisons between the originally proposed and adopted areas is not great for both groups. Table 3.5 show within-geography and within-group co-ethnic percentages for the originally proposed ethnic place areas. Comparing the data for the Korean and Bangladeshi populations, as presented in Tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 to the data in Table 3.5, the difference pertains more to within-group calculations, in that the originally proposed areas seem to be more significant for both groups.

[Insert Table 3.5 about here]

In terms of acceptable boundaries for Little Bangladesh, it seemed that the community knew that the original boundaries that were proposed would eventually be modified, because they may not have "merit" or, legitimacy. These originally proposed boundaries were also not acceptable to the Korean community as they were in what was claimed to already be widely known as Koreatown. Relating to the idea of pursuing instrumental/intermediate ends, in "lieu" of complete ends (discussed further in section III), the Bangladeshi community received formal recognition, and signage was installed. However, for some group members, the modified and

reduced area and boundaries that came to be listed as Little Bangladesh were not unacceptable, but were still less than what they had envisioned: "…a few of the Bangladeshis confided that they were disappointed by how the district got scaled back. Don't worry, said [a person from the Consulate's office]. This is a start, and a symbol, and as the community grows and makes a greater contribution 'to this great melting pot,' maybe the boundaries will expand" (Lopez 2009). The final boundaries for Little Bangladesh are said to have been something that they could live with, and accept (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012). A Bangladeshi community leader said in a statement before the City Council, "The recommended area of designation is less than one hundredth of what our community had originally asked for the naming of Little Bangladesh. And, we accepted such reduction gracefully. Around this area is the highest concentration of our community members. Naturally, cultural, religious, social, economic and academic activities of our community occur here" (City Council meeting 2010).

Questions were raised internally, however, with respect to how relevant the resulting area was to the Bangladeshi community – whether there is a legitimate basis for having that area designated so, in terms of there being a significant group presence. When discussions were taking place to modify boundaries, it was first suggested that the Bangladeshi community go east of the area that had been proposed, since there was a relevant institution to the community located in that vicinity. The Bangladeshi community claimed that they would not be able to do so, since they would not be able to collect the required number of signatures for a naming petition; while a relevant place, there were few Bangladeshi community members living and/or working in that area. Proponents for Little Bangladesh feared that agreeing to this suggestion could lead to a negating of their community's naming and designation in the future, on the basis of questions regarding its legitimacy:

> My worry was, if somebody will appeal, or make a lawsuit. It will not have any foundation to stick. Anybody from that side, says what is this Little Bangladesh, explain me what it is, Mr. Judge, I want to know. What is the basis?....if for instance, we agreed for that one, maybe today we don't have Little Bangladesh. If anybody from that area they make a, appeal, or make a, civil litigation, it's, we don't want this naming. (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012)

Questions regarding the relevance of the designated area linger: "From my understanding of what was going on, it didn't appear that that those new boundaries really gave them the same community that they set out to encompass. You know, but maybe that was enough for them, that they just got acknowledged, and, that was really all that they were looking for, but, what good is it if they all have to come to that place for community if that's not where the community is" (interview with a City official, October 2012). This then also becomes an illustrative case where the spatial concentration of community is important. It is "easier" to identify and define the boundaries of a geographically/spatially clustered community, and those boundaries will more clearly signify the community. The character of the Bangladeshi presence, for example, in terms of where Bangladeshi businesses are located, is such that a continuous, identifiable focal point may be difficult to locate, given their geographic dispersion.

The area to be named, as specified by city street boundaries, relates to the legitimate whereabouts of that community – there has to be some basis for being there, and for claiming those boundaries. Although proponents of Little Bangladesh explained that what was of essence was signage and that exact boundaries did not matter, they still had to be in an area that was relevant to, and legitimate for, the community. A modified, reduced area was acceptable, even if not celebrated. Where that modified, reduced area would be, however, had to be legitimate, relevant, and with "merit," at least so it would be able to stand up to scrutiny.

Acceptable boundaries for Koreatown were also determined in the context of negotiations with other communities. The group had to modify the boundaries that had been originally proposed, and the boundaries which eventually came to be approved were set through negotiations with different parties – i.e., the Council member's office, immediate and surrounding Neighborhood Councils, the Bangladeshi community, and the Latino community. In this process, there were acceptable and unacceptable suggestions for the Korean community. While the group was willing to compromise and reduce the boundaries to a certain extent, a drastic reduction was deemed unacceptable. What seemed to matter greatly was legitimacy – for the Korean community, to include certain key areas, and for other communities, that the boundaries did not reach into key areas for these other groups.

In this regard, with a proposal for boundaries which extended beyond the area that eventually came to be designated, the group was seen to be "overreaching" (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012). Part of this was due to the fact that there are existing communities known by certain names in the areas surrounding what was to be designated Koreatown, whether or not those communities are formally named and designated so. In this sense, just as Koreatown proponents claimed the (original) proposal for Little Bangladesh was venturing into an area where another community exists, others were saying that the proposal for Koreatown was also venturing into areas where other communities existed. In the initial stages of opposition, what seemed most problematic was the southern boundary – people of surrounding communities argued that it extended into another known community, that of Pico Union. From the boundaries initially included in the application, the proposed area had been modified and

reduced by the time of the April 2010 committee meeting.[20] During that meeting, a member of the Pico Union Neighborhood Council relayed that

> For the record, the new boundaries that were proposed today which actually go south of Olympic, and it goes into the neighborhood, uh, boundary…it encompasses part of Pico Union. So, I know that, within Council districts, we're not necessarily involved, but part of the process is to go to the immediate Neighborhood Council and the surrounding Neighborhood Councils to get their input. They, the community, this organization when they came to our neighborhood? Once. And, with the old presentation. And we just feel that we have an open dialogue, and more community input including all the boundaries that it's gonna affect. (Council Committee meeting 2010a)

With repeated requests for more dialogue, and with the mention of not all of the designated City bureaucracies having reported back regarding the application, the issue was given a "continuance" of 60 days. Extending into these areas was seen to be a claiming of boundaries that were not relevant to Koreatown. The community implicated in these surrounding areas were not only members of certain ethnic groups, but were also members of other neighborhoods and communities. As it was explained, "…the original proposal tried to go from South L.A. through Pico Union through Koreatown, through Westlake, and through the East Hollywood area. So here, in Los Angeles you have five different now communities, right? And, you know, regionally, they all have different opinions" (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012). There were also other neighborhoods, represented through Neighborhood Councils, who weighed in on the setting of boundaries for Koreatown. Unless initiated on their part, those in existing communities are not keen to be incorporated into other communities, for their neighborhoods to be referenced by a different name (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012).

[20] It was at this meeting that opponents to the Koreatown proposal – the Little Bangladesh area having been significantly reduced by this time – were in attendance, as it was shared, in large numbers. Opponents were members of the nearby Pico Union community, as well as members of the Latino community (though the two are not mutually exclusive groups.

Regarding legitimacy, some in opposition to the boundaries proposed by the Korean community understood them as being about "expanding the borders of Koreatown" (a Latino community member, Council Committee meeting 2010a). This relates to the point raised in opposition regarding boundaries extending into other existing community areas. Related to these points were also views regarding the size of the area to be designated as Koreatown. A member from a surrounding community remarked during one of the Council committee meetings, "…hearing the brothers from Bangladesh, speak, that they also want to be, to have their culture shared with the rest of us. There is a big difference however, when someone says they want four, six blocks, but when someone wants a territory that is so *large*, I mean, like the Koreatown, for instance, proposal. I mean, they're talking about a really large, large area" (Council Committee meeting 2010a). Another community member commented, "We know we have Little Armenia, Chinatown, all those places. Those are great places, but also, I mean, they're little, it's like little places, not like Koreatown, trying to get such a large section. That's, I mean, that's, something that I have never heard of in the 28 years that I've lived in this area" (Council Committee meeting 2010a). The boundaries which were originally proposed for Koreatown, contended because they extended into areas said to be not relevant to the Korean community but very relevant to other known, existing communities, related to questions of legitimacy. The specification of boundaries, as a component to the City's community naming policy, centrally shaped the making and contesting of claims for the formal recognition of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh. Essential to this issue of boundaries are questions related to what an area is to be known as, and whether those determinations are deemed legitimate.

If popular parlance as well as media and online references and bureaucratic records are taken as legitimating claims for Koreatown, then discussions regarding the history of Koreatown

and its continued growth over time could further legitimate and bolster these claims for formal recognition. The first set of Korean stores are said to have taken root in the City in the late 1960s, to the south of the area now commonly recognized as Koreatown (Ma 2009, 61). From there the community grew, both in number and in the size of the area in which their establishments were located, and "…began transforming the city's core in the 1970s from a depressed neighborhood into what is today a business and social hub" (Jang 2009). As it is explained,

> In 1965, after the Watts riots in South Los Angeles, Jewish business owners abandoned the area. "That's when the Koreans came….They saw an opportunity." These Koreans provided an economic foundation, opening the door for the South Koreans who arrived in the 1970s to open mom-and-pop businesses that offered custodial services, or sold garments and wigs. Olympic Boulevard would quickly emerge as a major hub of commercial activity, and several Korean community organizations and Korean-language newspapers sprouted, helping to nurture a sense of community. By 1982, a "Koreatown" sign was installed on the Normandie and Western entrance to the 10 Freeway. During this decade, major institutions like Getty Oil, IBM and Union Bank abandoned their large office buildings along Wilshire Boulevard, paving the way for Korean entrepreneurs to set up a variety of businesses and relocating the neighborhood's commercial center from Olympic to Wilshire. (Ma 2009, 61)

A Council member made similar remarks during the committee meeting in August 2010, explaining that: "…as they all worked hard, to see the American dream, they rose to prominence in the Olympic corridor, then the Wilshire Center corridor, and throughout the Greater Wilshire area. The Wilshire Center area, Koreatown area" (Council Committee meeting 2010b). The Korean community thus not only had a historical presence in the area, but also experienced growth and expansion over time.

The history of Koreatown is also one marked by the continuous contributions made to it and within it. The community is said to have "invested, and re-invested" (WCKNC Statement

2009), built and re-built the place, and especially so when considering the area with respect to the 1992 L.A. riots. As the WCKNC explained in their Community Impact Statement (2009),

> The Korean-American community has invested, and re-invested in the aftermath of the L.A. Riots, millions of dollars into the development of Koreatown. Korean-Americans continue to invest in their businesses in Koreatown. Koreatown serves as a nexus for Korean-American business and it continues to attract investment from investors who reside outside of the City of L.A. Koreatown's high concentration of Korean-American businesses and it's [*sic*] vibrant nightlife continue to attract high-level revenue streams from outside of the City of L.A.

The ongoing activities of place-making imply that many in the community have a sense of stake in affairs concerning Koreatown. Additionally, this history to place links to the idea that there is a greater significance to Koreatown beyond its commercial importance. A sense of identity in common history and common experience is fostered through a place held central to the ethnic community (Bonus 2000). As a leader of a Korean community organization explained,

> "There's no longer this sense that all the recent immigrants should come here to live and raise their families…It's no longer that place." But he adds, "There are emotional and psychological ties with Koreatown, different associations related to work and friends, and then there were the riots, too, so there was that pain. Combine everything, and that's the real Koreatown….It's the place where we gained our identity. It allowed us to become Korean American." (cited in Ma 2009, 61-62)

Also, as a proponent for the Koreatown application discussed, recognition for recognition's sake and the designation of boundaries was not to be the "end all" for the community:

> …it goes back to the ownership. We all need to take ownership. You know, we have the boundary now, we take the ownership. We're resilient people. We're community of resilience, because, you know, only twenty years ago, *sa-ee-gu* [i.e., 4-2-9, in reference to April 29th and the L.A. riots], this place was all, all burned down…. I think we're people of resilient, you know, people, that we, you know, we learn to cope with the situation, but then we go beyond, and we become the community. (interview, September 2012)

The centrality of Koreatown to the Korean community is not restricted to those in the Los Angeles area. In the aftermath of the riots, the Korean community at large in the United States is

said to have sent in monetary aid (Ma 2009). Funds are also said to come in from Korea to invest in and develop Koreatown and its built environment (Ma 2009), something common in other ethnic places/communities also (Lin 1998; Zhou 1992). There is thus a complex history associated with Koreatown in terms of its presence in the City, its growth and expansion over time, and its building and re-building as well as the investing and re-investing into it; these were all part of the discussion regarding the claims made for formal recognition. The presence and history of an ethnic group in terms of their concentration in a particular area, and the degree to which they are invested in it, may either legitimate, or by the same token, challenge, claims for formal recognition of that place. This seems to be heightened in contexts where competing claims are being made.

The element of being invested in the community – both literally and figuratively – seems to be important in terms of making claims regarding that place. In this respect, the "investedness" of the Korean community in the area of concern also meant conversely that the Bangladeshi community's ties to place were being questioned, as regards the application that had been submitted. Some proponents of Little Bangladesh were of the understanding that a key Council member initially objected to the Little Bangladesh application. This is seen during earlier discussions concerning this matter:

> …prospects for an official Koreatown appear brighter than those for Little Bangladesh, which is opposed by [the Council member] who represents much of the area. "Koreatown has been around for so long that it predates any regulation," [the Council member] said in an interview. "It's just as formal, and justified. It is Koreatown." [The Council member] has recommended that the Little Bangladesh Project instead erect a monument at a local park as a starting point for a possible future name designation, perhaps of a nearby area. "I want to see that they are invested in the area," he said, "and that they're here to stay." (Jang 2009)

Related to this point is the questioning of the legitimacy of the Bangladeshi community's claims for recognition on the basis of whether the name would fit the reality of the place, of whether

there is a group presence there as is claimed. This was a concern even with the modified (i.e., reduced) boundaries. Commenting on the office location of a Bangladeshi community organization, a *Los Angeles Times* article conveys that it "…was above a Oaxacan restaurant and a Salvadoran furniture shop, and next door to a Guatemalan mail service. Also nearby, in the same building, was a Peruvian smoke shop and a Korean American cellphone shop owned by a Korean national who speaks Spanish, but not Bengali" (Lopez 2009). The article further notes that "…an indisputable reality became all the more obvious: Little Bangladesh will be dominated by Latino- and Korean-owned businesses…" (Lopez 2009). The absence of a prominent, felt Bangladeshi concentration then also alludes to the diverse presence of others in the area. Indeed, the Council member for the district is said to have suggested at first a moniker of "International Mile" instead. With the naming application approved by the City Council and the sign in place, the area is said to still lack a distinct Bangladeshi community character:

> Just behind [the Little Bangladesh sign] is a small shopping plaza with a Salvadoran restaurant, a pizza joint, a former Korean cigarette shop and a restaurant that serves teriyaki chicken, burritos and boba drinks. Across the street are more Korean- and Mexican-themed businesses. The nearest store with a clear connection to Bangladesh…is a block away. All told, there are fewer than a dozen shops owned by or catering to Bangladeshis along this working-class commercial strip flanked by apartment buildings….a leader of the local Bangladeshi community, said that although the sign is significant, the community must work to make the idea behind it a reality. "The sign is the symbol"… (Abdulrahim 2010)

While other Bangladeshi merchants and service providers are trying to relocate to the area, steep rent prices are said to make this a challenging feat (Abdulrahim 2010). Place-making to more prominently "match" the name is thus ongoing for the Bangladeshi community.

The many ways in which claims to recognize Koreatown were being legitimated is not to imply that these claims were not contested. The Koreatown naming application also faced opposition, much of this relating to a contestation of legitimacy of the claims that were being

made. One of the largest factors to consider in this respect relates to the idea that a given space is shared space between different groups. The diversity in the population of a given space relates to race/ethnicity, but is also with respect to how people are affiliated to place. That is, a given space is a place of residence for some and a place of work for others (and both for some people), as well as other things for other people. Additionally, even if it is a known ethnic neighborhood, the people occupying that space will be racially/ethnically diverse. This idea of diversity (both in terms of race/ethnicity as well as affiliation to place) needs to be taken into consideration, especially when it comes to including the local community in discussions and actions which shape local affairs.

Ethnic places tend to primarily be commercially-oriented in character. This tendency is not unique to Koreatown. As a *Los Angeles Times* article discusses,

> Look closely and you'll find that many ethnic "neighborhoods" are more shopping districts than residential enclaves. There may be a noticeable concentration of, say, Thais living in one part of the city, or perhaps there was at one time, but that's not strictly necessary to qualify for the blue sign. In fact, only 2% of residents of Thai Town are Thai. Little Ethiopia is less than 1% Ethiopian. Indians make up less than 5% of the part of Artesia known as Little India, though it has never gotten an official title and sign. And really, how many Greeks do you think actually live in the Byzantine-Latino Quarter? Way back in 1980, when Korean businessmen first lobbied the city for a sign on the Hollywood freeway designating Koreatown, only 7% of the area's residents were Korean. Today, Koreans are still not the majority of the population in the area between Melrose and Pico, Hoover to Crenshaw (more or less). (Rodriguez 2009)[21]

The majority of the people who live in these areas are therefore argued to be of a different race/ethnicity than the group reflected in the name. Additionally, the group reflected in the name is seen to be present more in terms of commerce than as residents. That people tend to live and work in different places can become a significant issue when it comes to determining local

[21] This article was written shortly after the application for naming was submitted. It thereby reflects boundaries that are different from what came to be recognized for Koreatown, and thus from the boundaries that were used to build estimates of the Koreatown area for population analyses.

affairs. This can be further heightened when formal naming and designation is involved, on an ethnic-specific basis.

The issue raised regarding the Korean community is, as a Latino community leader explained, that they are there mostly as a business community, while most of the people who live there are of a different race/ethnicity (interview, October 1, 2012). This is not to say the Korean community is present in the area solely as a commercial population. Of the residents in Koreatown, however, Koreans are understood to be a minority. As a Latino community leader remarked, "…it's difficult because the Korean community is only the 26%, of an area that, you know, they've, that's been dominated by businesses. And skyscrapers. That's all fine and dandy but the folks that are shopping? The folks that are using the parks? The people that are attending these schools? Even named after [a Korean figure]? All those kids are Latinos" (interview, October 2012).

If, however, we refer back to Table 3.2 with its constructions for Koreatown (overestimated and underestimated) and Little Bangladesh, as well as Los Angeles City intact as is, and with extended categories included of national origin groups for the Asian and Hispanic or Latino populations, we see a different picture. When a comparison is conducted just between the national origin groups for the Asian and Hispanic or Latino populations, an interesting observation can be made. When these two groups are "dissected" into these smaller sub-groups, for both 2000 and 2010, for Koreatown liberally or conservatively constructed, Koreans constitute the largest group, the plurality, out of these Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups. The next largest group is the Mexican population (the difference between the population percentages for the Korean and Mexican populations in both constructions of Koreatown was extremely small for 2000, and in 2010, still small, but larger than was the case in

2000). Considered this way, then, the Korean population is not the minority, but rather, is the plurality in the Koreatown area. Both statements, that the Korean population comprises the plurality in the Koreatown area, and that the Hispanic or Latino population comprises the plurality in the Koreatown area, are therefore true – it depends which groups are being compared in assessing the population profile of a given area. That is, depending on which groups are being compared, different analyses result regarding the group that constitutes the plurality of the residents in Koreatown, and in this, whether Koreans are indeed the minority in that area. An important point then seems to be the extent to which an overarching pan-ethnic identity is claimed by the Latino community. The predominant group out of the Hispanic or Latino population is the Mexican population. Whether members of the Latino community identify more strongly with their individual national origin groups or with an overarching Latino identity is then important when relative group sizes in given areas are concerned. These different analyses are important in how they pertain to the idea of legitimacy. As regards contesting the legitimacy of claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places, that people do not necessarily live where they work, that ethnic places tend to be commercially-oriented places, and that the people who live in these places tend to be of different groups than the group reflected in the formal name being sought for that place are points that are often made. The relative size of the residential population of the ethnic group seeking recognition then seems important in its implications regarding this idea of establishing as well as contesting the legitimacy of claims. If a group seeking recognition is understood to comprise the predominant business community in the area, their plurality "status" also in terms of the residential population there may then implicate a greater sense of legitimacy regarding their claims. By the same token, if a group is present in a given area mostly as a business community but not significantly so in terms of its residential

population, ethnic group-specific claims regarding place recognition may then be challenged, especially by other groups residing in the area of concern.

Although the analyses presented in Tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 demonstrate the varying assessments that can be made regarding the population in given areas and the complex picture that can be drawn regarding these points, the popular understanding was that the Korean community in Koreatown is present mostly as a commercial population and are minorities in terms of the people who live there. One of the demands made by those contesting the Koreatown proposal was then for greater inclusion of others in the community, especially those who were understood to constitute the majority of the people who live in the area, the Latino community. Opposition given this exclusion was argued during the April 2010 Council committee meeting in which the Little Bangladesh and Koreatown proposals were being considered. A Latino community leader explained that

> Now whether it's in the Bangladesh community or Koreatown, the majority of the residency which then equals the buying power, the dollar power for the small business owners, the Bangladesh, Korean, Mexican, Central American or whatever, is the Latino community. So the fact that we're the constituency that, we are the residents, that we're the taxpayers, we felt that we needed to be included in the dialogue, especially our leadership. Now there was absolutely, there was zero outreach initially to the Latino community and to its leadership. So, it was concerning, it was disturbing, it was, it just it was very disappointing. (interview, October 2012)

With an issue like naming which would impact the area, the surrounding community is arguing that applicants need to include in the discussion other groups who are present, and more so if another group is understood to constitute the (residential) majority. There was a certain level of support for the proposal from the local community; for example, as part of the application process, a petition had to be signed by people who live and/or own businesses in the area to be named. However, from the viewpoint of others in the community, a more significant outreach

effort, for example, beyond that needed as part of the naming policy, was needed and was lacking. The naming policy calls for community support from people who have a stake in the area, though "stake" is more narrowly defined here when compared to how it is used in Neighborhood Councils. Local determination of local affairs is honored (to a certain extent, since Council members are the ones who ultimately vote on an application). This also means, however, that there should be an absence of significant opposition. In this sense, outreach seems to be emphasized not only to garner the support of the local community, but also to address any major issues of opposition towards a proposal.

In Los Angeles, the idea of inclusivity, of a broad conceptualization of who can be involved in local affairs (even if often debated) is a more familiar one than may be the case in other cities. To illustrate, the Neighborhood Council system in the City, through which people are to have a more direct say in how their neighborhoods are run, employs a concept of "stakeholders" regarding who can participate. Here, "stakeholder" broadly captures who can be involved and who qualifies as a constituent. Anyone who has a "stake" in the affairs of the local neighborhood – residents, people who work in the area, property owners, and even "factually-based" persons (meaning people who attend or frequent neighborhood businesses, organizations, places of worship, etc. on a regular basis) – qualifies as a "stakeholder" (DONE/EmpowerLA website).[22] With respect to the naming policy, Neighborhood Councils, both those directly in the area to be named, as well as those in adjacent/surrounding areas, are specified as bodies that can

[22] This broad conceptualization of stakeholder is not without criticism. As a City official explained, "…that's been a *big* bone of contention with Neighborhood Councils. What defines, you know…a stakeholder. You know, is it live, work, own property? Who is it. And it's been, a battle since the start of Neighborhood Councils" (interview, October 2012). That is, these different affiliations to the neighborhood are placed on equal footing in terms of having a stake in decisions which shape the locality. A City official relayed the example that was given in arguing against this broad definition: "…it was, you mean to tell me that someone that lives in Arizona can come back here and determine, you know, it's like voters on any level. You know, it becomes an issue" (interview, October 2012).

hold hearings if they wish, and who can submit a Community Impact Statement relaying their perspectives and position regarding an application. What is implied through these procedural elements to the policy is importance placed on outreach on the part of applicants and proponents (and as a result, inclusion of the local community), and of honoring local input when making assessments and decisions regarding a proposal.

As previously discussed, an area that is to be named tends to constitute shared space in terms of the different ways in which people are affiliated to place. Some live there, some work there, and some belong to both camps. The area is also shared space in terms of the diverse race/ethnic groups that are present. Formal recognition then concerns an ethnic-specific naming and designation proposal within a multi-ethnic context of place. While naming tends to be done with respect to commercially-oriented, spatially concentrated ethnic places, since the area is shared space also in terms of the different "types" of affiliations to place, the residential population, and the diversity of that population, must also be considered when understanding how and why claims for formal recognition are made, contested, and ultimately decided upon. Given the context of diversity, the ethnic-specific designation of an area renders a definition and identity to place with which not all in that space, however affiliated, will identify. And, though diversity tends to be more pronounced for the residential population in an area, this is not to say that the commercial population of these ethnic communities is composed of a single ethnic group either; though reflecting a heavy business concentration of a particular group, there are certainly other businesses operating in such areas, "general," as well as particular to another ethnic group.

The question then arises as to how the recognizing of one from amongst the many is to be understood in the context of diversity. The diversity argument can apply to what is thought to be the appropriate link between ethnicity and place in various ways, but perhaps because Los

Angeles is so racially/ethnically diverse, and because there are many ethnic places within the City (i.e., there are many precedents), these views did not relate as much to arguments against the formal recognition of ethnic places, as grounded in a diversity rationale, as they did to arguments made in support. In the Koreatown and Little Bangladesh cases, the diversity argument applied in two ways. On the one hand, it is said that given this diversity, no groups should be "singled out"; if anything, the diverse, multicultural whole should be celebrated. In contesting the Koreatown application, a community member remarked, "All we're asking here today is that you recognize the diversity in this community that has been targeted as a multicultural community, not solely an exclusive community that represents one. Rather, that represents many, including the Mexican, Guatemalan, and other Central and Southern American ethnic groups" (a Mayan community member, speaking through a translator, Council Committee meeting 2010a). On the other hand, it is also said that given this diversity, individual groups can and should be celebrated, in this case, via recognition. Speaking in response to opposition towards the Koreatown proposal, a Korean community member suggested, "…we are all trying to show our different color, to make the City of Los Angeles a beautiful, in all, and this is a, when somebody's expressing his color, it doesn't should be taken as taking away, the color of others. So, by expressing the town, the intention is not to take away that memory and that cultural root of the other community" (Council Committee meeting 2010a). And in speaking during the Council committee meeting in which the modified Little Bangladesh and Koreatown proposals were discussed, a committee Council member commented on the diversity of Los Angeles, and how this relates to the recognizing of specific communities: "…we are the most diverse population of any major city in the world, we have the largest population of more diasporan communities than any place else in the world. And, to have us come together and

celebrate our diversity, while still recognizing our differences, I think is one of the things that makes this a very special place" (Council Committee meeting 2010b). Perceptions regarding how a place is to be defined and designated, when ethnic group-specific claims are being made for recognition in a diverse, multi-ethnic context, thus also reflect questions regarding the legitimacy of claims.

In terms of understanding how and why claims for the formal recognition of an ethnic community are made, contested, and assessed/decided upon, prominent issues seemed to relate to the idea of legitimacy – the legitimacy of claims being made for recognition as well as the contesting of the legitimacy of the claims being made. Issues pertaining to legitimacy related to concerns regarding both the process and content of claims and centered on issues pertaining to groups' ties to place and significance – of a group to a place and a place to a group – and these factors considered in relation to the diverse area context. Whether the claims that were being made, and how they were being made, were legitimate or not were issues faced by both the Korean and Bangladeshi communities.

III. The Composition and Actions/Strategies of Proponents and Opponents

Critical elements to understanding how claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places are made, contested, and assessed/decided upon are the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents. Important here is the political/civic knowledge and experience (Rosenstone and Hansen 2003; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995) of group leaders and members. Regarding the Koreatown and Little Bangladesh naming applications, there are three main groups involved in support or opposition: the Korean community, the Bangladeshi community, and the Latino community. Key issues which shaped how claims were made, contested, and assessed related to establishing leadership, as well as the making of strategic

compromises (and in this sense, pursuing "intermediate/instrumental ends") in the context of negotiations with different groups.

The Korean Community

Proponents for Koreatown were represented by a coalition of several Korean community organizations. Many Korean community organizations exist, but they tend to vary in emphases and foci; for organizations, their purpose tends to be well-defined. Some are primarily concerned with social issues, some with business issues, some with political issues, and so forth. There are also, of course, groups that are more generally focused, thereby being concerned with a combination of these factors. An issue like formal naming, however, bridges these different types of concerns. Likewise, an issue which concerns a varied, broad array of community interests can also indicate that it is not an isolated, special interest issue. This "umbrella group" of organizations may have been narrowly-based in the sense that it consisted only of Korean community organizations, but it was broad-based in the sense that it included varied types of organizations that catered to different issues. The organizations in the coalition had worked together before, and thus had already established networks and ties (interview with a Koreatown proponent, October 2012). They were "like a steering committee" (interview with a Koreatown proponent, September 2012), and a Koreatown proponent explained that these were the groups "…spearheading on community issues….And, these are the guys who always show up at community issues when, you know, when we talk about other projects in Koreatown" (interview, October 2012). Existing social capital then facilitates the pursuing of a group's policy interests when a coalition of proponents needs to be formed.

However, though there was a coalition of community organizations behind the Koreatown naming effort, there were also identifiable leaders and point-persons representing this

representative group. As it was explained, "…if you don't have that type of leadership, you go in every other direction" (interview with a Koreatown proponent, September 2012). Many of these leaders worked as "volunteers," community work being done outside of their full-time jobs elsewhere; few community organizations are staffed with paid, full-time personnel. For those at the forefront, this position of leadership also meant making decisions at their own discretion, often to criticism and opposition from not only others in the coalition, but also from the group and community at large.

The Korean community was first focused on making claims for Koreatown and contesting the claims for Little Bangladesh (or, at least asking that the boundaries being proposed for Little Bangladesh be adjusted). It appeared to be at first an obstinate position. However, the Bangladeshi community also made claims to having a population in the area (interview with a Koreatown proponent, September 2012). Leadership within the coalition nevertheless moved towards the adjusting of boundaries. There was an understanding between leadership from both the Korean and Bangladeshi communities of the need for strategic compromise. The complete ends envisioned by members of the community are likely to have varied, and especially so since what was being discussed was not just the application for Koreatown, but also the application for Little Bangladesh, vis-à-vis Koreatown. The instrumental/intermediate end, as pursued by leadership within the coalition, seemed to be the formal recognition of Koreatown and its boundaries (i.e., of an acceptable set of boundaries), and a modification of the boundaries proposed for Little Bangladesh.

Negotiations then proceeded, and there were interactions between the two communities. A Korean community leader explained, "I started attending their [the Bangladeshi community's]

festivals, just to understand their culture. I never believed that this was a territorial war, I thought that we could all live together, function together" (interview, September 2012). Moreover,

> [The media] wanted to hype this up, to, escalate this into a racial war, or a conflict, but…the Bangladesh community, our community, you know, we share, you know, participated in many of our cultural activities, I still get invited, I still speak at their… I'm still their friend, so I'm always attending their Independence Day celebration, car parades, and their, you know, celebration at the…park. So we have a good relationship. (interview with a Koreatown proponent, September 2012)

Leaders from both communities remarked that though the media tried to portray the issue as one of racial/ethnic tensions, in actuality, both groups were committed to negotiations and working together to reach an agreement (interview with a Koreatown proponent, September 2012; interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012).

Boundaries were eventually modified and presented during the April 2010 Council committee hearing on the matter. There was, however, opposition from members of the Latino community and the neighboring Pico Union community. The Korean leadership faced criticism from the Latino community and Pico Union community members for the extensive and expansive boundaries that were proposed. The Korean community had speakers from several community organizations discussing various projects being undertaken in the proposed area, and in doing so, trying to establish the group's interest in the area being proposed for designation (Council Committee meeting 2010a). Group members also emphasized how the modified boundaries being presented during that meeting were the result of discussions involving the Korean community, the Bangladeshi community, and the Council member's office, and thus that they were not determined by the group alone. With a continuance of the matter being decided upon by the Council committee, the Korean, Bangladeshi, and Latino communities, along with the Council member's office, entered into further talks, and another set of modified boundaries

were eventually drawn. The Korean leadership faced criticism from within the Korean community for the liberties taken in negotiating boundaries. A Latino community member later remarked during the August 2010 Council committee hearing wherein the new set of agreed upon boundaries were presented, "…I also want to applaud [the Korean community leader]. I believe he deserves a big round of applause from everybody. [He] had to be very flexible in this process. Uh, he was getting it from all different angles, from his community, from our community, the Bangladesh community, and all others" (Council Committee meeting 2010b). Strategic compromises and the pursuit of instrumental/intermediate ends were deemed necessary in pursuing formal recognition.

A knowledge of the political and civic system was important in guiding the actions of the Korean leadership. A Korean community leader explained, "I've been involved with the political process, I understand the political process, I think. And it's not always, you don't always get what you want by just, you know, trying all the time. Sometimes you need to learn to work together, and that's, you know, that's the avenue that I took" (interview, September 2012). While criticized by some for making compromises, for "selling out," the leadership explained that knowing what constituted necessary action was important. Having political knowledge and the political savvy regarding actions to take was based on accumulated political/civic capital, of experience gained while working on other community projects. That is, the relentless pursuit of complete end types of policy goals may not necessarily be the best strategy; concessions are often needed in order to gain that on which groups will not compromise. Additionally, it was necessary to engage with other communities. A Koreatown proponent remarked that

> Our community has to learn, and start to think to work with other community. You know, with, work with the [Latino and Bangladeshi communities], by force, because we had to. But next time, when we are doing something like this, I think we should reach out to other community and ask their input. You know, ask what

> they think. And I asked how they think about this process, and how to go about this process, and you know, just be inclusive. (interview, September 2012)

Likewise, "Had the Bangladesh community contacted our community first, instead of just petitioning at the City of L.A., I mean, our community did not even know, [that] there was such a process, you know, we did that [around] 1980" (interview with a Koreatown proponent, September 2012). That is, if communities had first engaged each other in discussions, the suggestion is that it may have alleviated some of the contention raised in reaction.

The Latino Community

Members of the Latino community, especially those who were based in the area of concern, also organized as a collective group in responding to the Koreatown naming application. This was not necessarily foreseen, but the circumstances united the group: "What happened was, a sleeping giant was awakened" (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012). Different community activists and organization leaders were said to have come together regarding the issue. As it was explained,

> …we started negotiating, so that forced us to organize ourselves. Co-chairs, it was some different positions, create a board, to become an official entity because, this was serious business. Once we got through that part, that piece, and we worked with the Council offices as well and everybody, we went through different revisions, that experience allowed us to, once we got done with this project, look at ourselves and say, okay, how did we get here? What was, where was there a loophole? And it's because there wasn't a political body representing our folks and these communities of interest – South L.A., Koreatown, Pico Union, Westlake, and Mid-City. So we decided to form the [group]. (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012)

What formed in response to a particular situation led to the growth of an organized, sustained coalition of community members. Responding to the Koreatown naming proposal "...was what, that's what got us together"; since then, the group has worked on other political issues such as redistricting and with electoral campaigns (interview with a Latino community member, October

2012). As a community member remarked, "So, this just kind of, out of a real sensitive and maybe at that time what we thought was a bad situation going on, a great thing happened. And here we are now… and, you know, we've been very, we've been the active body, the folks that people go to, in this neck of the woods" (interview, October 2012).

In terms of its composition, a Latino community member explained that

> Well, we're not shy about the fact that we're very top-heavy when it comes to the Central American membership, leadership, or even issues that attract us. But we are, we were very conscious about the word "Latino," because we definitely wanted to bring a real definition to it. Right now it's only used as a political tool…. we looked at zeroing in where there's, there's a need, you know? And that's where, we'll come in, there's a lot of resources and a lot of organizations that step up and speak up for our Mexican American and Chicano brothers and sisters, but we wanted to stay sensitive and inclusive with the word "Latino," we're very conscious about that, but we are not shy about our roots, a lot of our members and a lot of our leaders being from Central American backgrounds. (interview, October 2012)

However, the coalition is said to not be exclusively Latino: "We are also looking for diversity. We've made sure that we have in our leadership, uh, uh, gender equality, and even in the word 'Latino' is part of our coalition, we have non-Latino members. You know, and voting members, that are part of our [group]" (interview, October 2012). When asked how they became involved, a group member explained that they were looking at

> …different sectors that affect the Latino community. Education, public safety, political, community partnerships, that, you look at folks just for their good. And you say, yeah. And their talent. We need help. Also I think it's very powerful when you walk into a room, and there's this diversity. Cuz, what are you gonna, what card are you gonna try to play with us, it's not gonna work. And then the great thing is that that gives us access also to work and partner with other groups… (interview, October 2012)

Diversity was then purposively incorporated, to a certain extent. That is, "it's a two-fold. Both. You know, it's based off of your talents, but, you know, we've consciously and unconsciously

brought in folks that are not Latinos" (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012). This was explained further:

> …there's specific, defined, named organizations and I've looked at the successful ones. And almost none of them only have the one particular group that they identify with themselves. Because, it won't work. It just, I don't see it working because just, one group only, only fighting for themselves. How are you building coalitions then? How are you building alliances? How are you really dealing with real-life day to day stuff, right? The name more is symbolically in the sense that this is who we are, this is what we're about, right? So in that aspect, it is a conscious effort to be inclusive to all. (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012)

In this sense, what was also relayed was that often times, the issues most pertinent to the community are not necessarily race/ethnic-specific, but are concerns common to groups of other race/ethnicity affiliations, related more to socioeconomic issues which bridge across these different groups (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012).

In terms of the actions and strategies of the Latino community shown in response to the Koreatown application, the first course of action was to relay their opposition and concerns during the April 2010 Council committee meeting on the matter. Complete ends may have differed amongst members of the community, with different issues likely to matter in different ways. Their more specific demands were for a postponement until more discussions, inclusive of the Latino community, had taken place. This request for postponement was granted – as a Korean community leader remarked, requests for extension are not denied: "…when you ask for a postponement, you know, you grant that" (interview, September 2012). The intermediate or instrumental ends which were pursued then related to a modification of boundaries.

The Latino community is said to have heard about the matter only shortly before the first committee meeting was to be held, but nevertheless, successfully "…organized in three days and mobilized over 200 stakeholders, to say hey, there needs to be more dialogue" (interview with a

Latino community member, October 2012). It may be said that they showed up and spoke through numbers as well – many were in attendance during these meetings, filling even the overflow room that was prepared for the committee hearings (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012). Numbers then also relayed a message, in being affirmation of a widely held position. Once the 60-day continuance was established, representatives from the three communities – Korean, Bangladeshi, and Latino – came together, along with the Council member's office, and worked on what would be a mutually acceptable drafting of boundaries for Koreatown and Little Bangladesh. Several meetings were held, behind closed doors between respective leaders and the Council member's office as well as more open town hall sessions. In addition to the modification of proposed boundaries, the Latino community

> …asked that an MOU, or an agreement that, any further considerations of expansion that we would be included in. We asked for an annual event that would bring our Korean and Latino communities together. That really hasn't happened. I blame both sides of the leadership….and, there were supporting documents that once we would support this project, they signed a document that [they're in] support of the Salvadorian and the cultural district. I thought that was very key. (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012)

That is, there was an "exchange" of support for naming projects, and these discussions and "…compromises gave room for growth of two projects in the Central American community" (interview with a Latino community member, October 2012).

The Bangladeshi Community

With the Bangladeshi community, a group of community members came together, but it seemed more loosely based than was the case with the other two communities. The Bangladesh Consul General's office in Los Angeles appears to have been actively involved in the process, facilitating the gathering of community members. Several "leadership committees" are said to have formed during this stage. However, like the Korean community, in order to facilitate

claims-making, the issue arose of identifying a point-person to represent the group. A Little Bangladesh proponent illustrated this concern:

> …eventually we are, on the issue of Little Bangladesh, we were together. But who will handle it, there was an issue. Sometimes somebody says, yeah, I want to go there. But in general, you see, when you are in the game, soccer game, everybody's playing, but at some point, somebody will carry the ball forward. That work could have happened, but we all played in the same game. Sometimes maybe another player thought he could take it little longer, like I gave a pass at the end of making a goal. So, there was teamwork, but at the same time, there was always an issue, who should lead. Who should lead. (interview, October 2012)

In order to establish the legitimacy of leadership, signatures were gathered in support, "nominating" leadership to represent members of the community. As a Bangladesh proponent explained,

> So to make sure that I can lead the community, I, in addition to that Consul General meeting mandate, townhall mandate, I was made the coordinator at that time, in the meeting. So, I took the signature of about 870 people of the neighborhood. To give me the authority to act as the attorney-in-fact. So that gave me legal strength to fight, even though some people were trying to talk here and there, but I didn't, just…Said, let it happen and then whatever people say, says, we're in the game, let's finish it. (interview, October 2012)

The signatures were "for who will speak on behalf of this community" (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012). Even with signatures authorizing representative power, there were likely to be differences in opinion not only about leadership, but about how to proceed in pursuing naming.

Proponents for Little Bangladesh were narrowly based in that they were composed mostly of members from the Bangladeshi community (though there is likely to have been variation regarding how they were affiliated to place – i.e., whether they were residents in the area, merchants in the area, both, or none). There were, however, some non-Bangladeshi supporters also: "There were, there are few other races, like South Asian community. They're, they're Asians, but not Bengalis. We have also mobilized a few whites, those who has good

connection with [the Council member], to impose upon him about the need and necessity of his working with the Bangladeshi community, in naming" (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012). Having non-Bangladeshi supporters may portray the application as something that was not of interest exclusively to members within the Bangladeshi community. There was pragmatic value in this also since people from outside of the community would have new network ties whereas staying exclusively within the group would be exhausting the resources that are available; this would be especially so if a group felt they needed additional ways by which to pursue their interests.

In terms of the actions and strategies of the Bangladeshi community, leadership is said to have seen the need for compromise. Many in the community were disgruntled about this, however. What was emphasized by the leadership was that "…one has to be very practical and, and understand the bottom line. Why you need it" (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012). Understanding this need to compromise is said to have come from civic knowledge gained from experience in doing community work. As a Little Bangladesh proponent explained, "So from inside and out, I saw the Korean community, I saw the city process…" and,

> So I exactly know how the City Hall works. I exactly know….I had that background, so, I could at least smell how things went down. Sometimes a Councilman will say…don't worry, I'll vote for you. He will vote for you, actually, he *will* vote for you. But he will take out two of your votes. He will tell [other Council members], he says, hey, three people, I'm, I have to give one vote, but please give, no, don't, three votes. That's how they work. This is politics. That, that's how they do politics there. (interview, October 2012)

Akin to the Korean leadership, there was an understanding of a need to be strategic, to make strategic compromises in order to get that on which they would not compromise: formal naming and signage. This can be characterized as the intermediate/instrumental goal for the Bangladeshi community, in that they wanted a sign, and they wanted formal recognition; the exact boundaries

were said to be not as important (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012). Though some in the community may have been disgruntled, the group therefore accepted the reduced area. Complete ends, in contrast, are likely to have been to have formal recognition, and with varying versions of the area to be designated – some might have wanted a large area, some might have wanted the area as originally included in the group's naming application, some might have wanted an area that is more meaningful to the community in the sense of representing key Bangladeshi places, and so forth.

In getting to the point of compromise, however, there was the challenge of a comparatively weak level of political clout. As a community member explained, "…in the City Hall, the way City Hall operates, if it is a new district, whatever you decide, that's final. I saw it, and I know it, for facts. Doesn't matter, how brilliant is your project, how demanding is your project, what kind of equity your project has, convincing or, whatever adjective you can use. Councilman doesn't want it, it's done" (interview, October 2012). This perception of weak political clout was heightened when considered comparatively, in that they were apprehensive of weakened political leverage when compared to the Korean community. A Little Bangladesh proponent remarked, "…because Korean community is very strong, we have to show our muscle as well" (interview, October 2012). This meant thinking strategically, and included being prepared to stage "demonstrations" to argue their point, if necessary, and being prepared to work with the Latino community, jointly against the Korean community, should the need arise. A Little Bangladesh proponent explained that the Latino community "…tried to come closer to us, but, because I told you why I didn't want to bring them and, make a big noise, as long as we can finish it peacefully. So, we didn't work out with them at all. But, they were, as a buffer force, when an, a coalition needed to be organized against Korean American community, we had those

resources ready. But we didn't go that route. We didn't have to go that route" (interview, October 2012). The Bangladeshi community also tried to demonstrate their "deservedness": "…we have to persist and work with [the Council member's] office. And to give them the belief that we are good citizens. We are concerned about the city, we are concerned about the district…" (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012). In the end, the boundaries that were agreed to were explained to be ones that were accepted, not necessarily chosen, in considering the primacy placed on the Korean community. That is, "…[the Council member's] primary goal was to please Korean Americans. See, if he could please Korean Americans at the same time Bangladeshi people, why, why the hell we will not take it?....It's better for me, to take it" (interview with a Little Bangladesh proponent, October 2012). The issue at hand for the Bangladeshi community was two-fold: they were a group with not much political clout, and they were dealing with a group with political clout. These circumstances meant acting strategically to successfully pursue and realize their intermediate/instrumental end of recognition.

With Little Bangladesh being recognized, there is ongoing work for the community. In addition to merchants trying to relocate to the area, community members are trying to more fully develop a unique character and presence to its built environment, as well as developing the community in a more general sense. A Little Bangladesh proponent explains that they are looking at

> How we can revitalize this area. In its look, if we can bring some cultural artifacts, or, if we can bring some, business hubs, or, kind of, trade information center type of place, or, export promotion bureau or, whatever, or, a combination from, Department of Commerce and export promotion bureau from Bangladesh, Department of Commerce from here, we don't know. To bring some kind of a, movement there so it looks beautiful and it is developed, the blight is not there, good furnitures, street furnitures and, decent lighting and, poles with different

> color, expansion of the walkways, to make it kind of a, promenade type of look, if it is possible. (interview, October 2012)

There is thus continued engagement for the Bangladeshi community in the developing and making of place.

In examining how claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places are made, contested, and assessed, the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents are important factors to consider. For the Korean and Latino communities, a coalition formed for the purposes of making and contesting claims. The group that formed for Koreatown proponents was a more temporary entity; though it is common for community organizations to work together, a separate, lasting coalition based on the Koreatown naming issue was not created. For the Latino community, in contrast, an organization serving the Latino population and especially as focused on the region around Koreatown and its neighboring areas, was formed, as a result of the group's efforts regarding the recognition of Koreatown. A group was also formed for the Bangladeshi community, with a focus on developing Little Bangladesh as a marked, defined ethnic place. A central issue for the Korean and Bangladeshi communities was establishing leadership, in having identifiable point-persons amongst community proponents. Additionally, both communities saw the need for strategic compromises to be made in pursuing recognition. The Korean and Bangladeshi communities saw the need to pursue instrumental/intermediate ends, in that strategic action was necessary. In all this, political knowledge and experience mattered, sometimes significantly, in directing (and thereby understanding) these processes.

Conclusion

Understanding how claims for the formal recognition of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh were made, contested, and assessed can be informed by considering the legislative and bureaucratic context in which these process take place, the legitimacy of claims, and the

composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents. The Los Angeles context is particular in that numerous ethnic places, recognized by the City (in some capacity or another), have been in existence, readily identifiable and widely known, far before a formal City policy for community naming was established in 2006. This leads to a context where known, recognized ethnic places exist alongside ones being newly proposed under this new policy. In this, boundary specifications, a central component of the City's naming policy, can be of great significance, especially if these places overlap. The legitimacy of claims then becomes an important component to making claims for formal recognition. Establishing and contesting this legitimacy related to groups' ties to place as well as the significance of a place for a group and the significance of a group to that place. What was interesting in the Koreatown and Little Bangladesh cases was that in terms of analyzing this with respect to the (residential) population in these areas, we could see that different ways of analyzing the population can lead to different statements being made about the different groups sharing a given space. In this, the composition as well as strategic actions taken by the different groups was examined, wherein compromises and the pursuit of intermediate/instrumental ends was seen to be important.

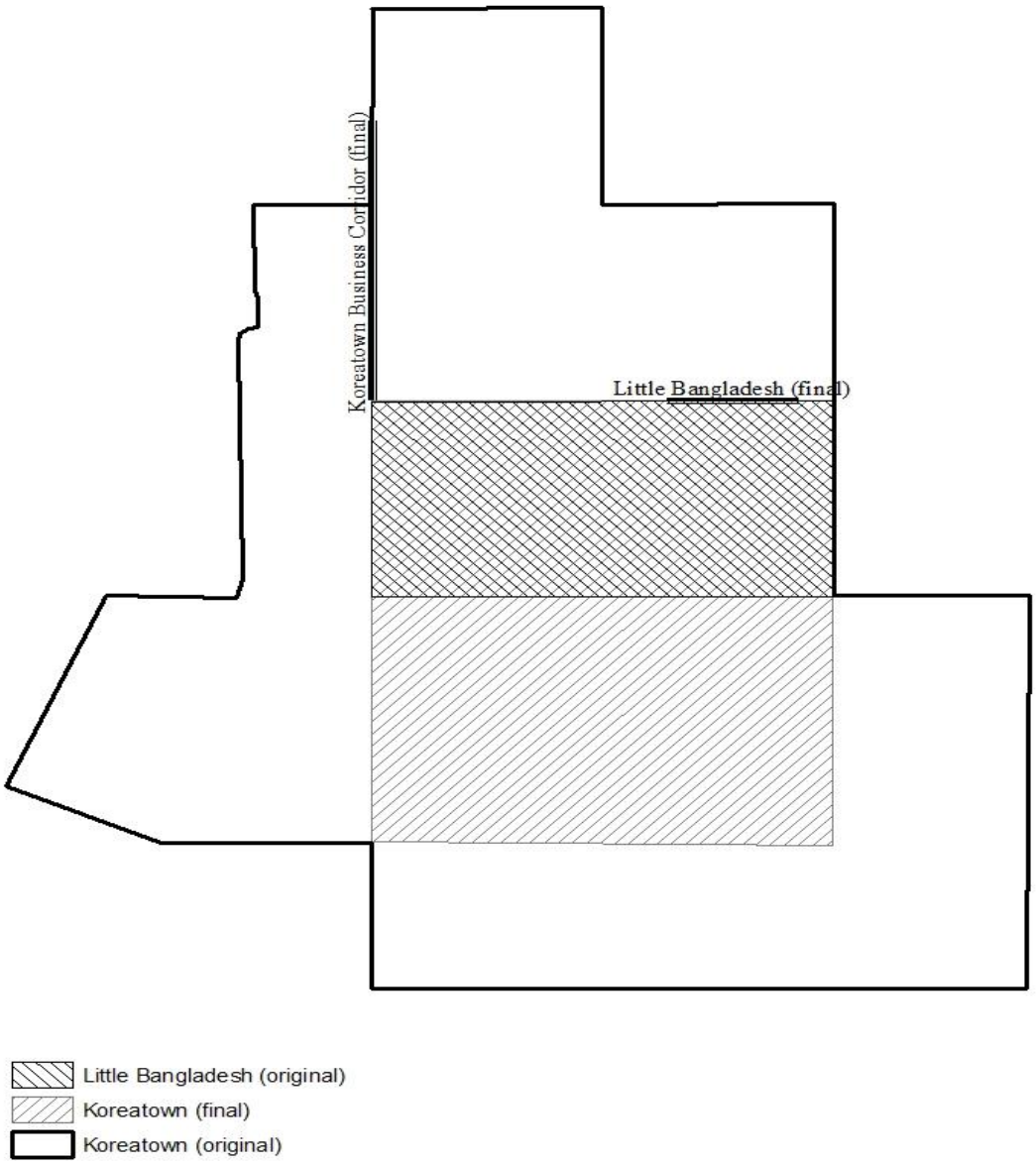


Figure 3.1. Original and final boundaries for Koreatown and Little Bangladesh



Figure 3.2. Signage denoting Koreatown in Los Angeles, California



Figure 3.3. Signage denoting Little Bangladesh in Los Angeles, California

Table 3.1. Within-geography comparisons of race, distinguished by Hispanic or Latino origin (%)

	2000				2010			
	L.A. City	Koreatown (over-estimate)	Koreatown (under-estimate)	Little Bangladesh (over-estimate)	L.A. City	Koreatown (over-estimate)	Koreatown (under-estimate)	Little Bangladesh (over-estimate)
Non-Hispanic or Latino	53.47	45.09	46.8	36.07	51.52	51.34	53.56	39.82
One race	51.11	43.54	45.2	34.37	49.5	50.11	52.2	38.83
White	29.75	6.08	6.78	6.88	28.66	6.32	7.19	6.62
Black or African American	10.88	5.05	5.53	5.87	9.16	4.61	5.07	4.72
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.24	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.17	0.1	0.11	0.14
Asian	9.87	32.03	32.5	21.18	11.08	38.74	39.5	26.83
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.12	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.11	0.06	0.04	0.05
Some other race	0.25	0.18	0.19	0.21	0.32	0.28	0.28	0.47
Two or more races	2.36	1.55	1.6	1.7	2.01	1.23	1.36	0.99
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	46.53	54.91	53.2	63.93	48.48	48.66	46.44	60.18

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 3.2. Within-geography comparisons of race, and Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups (%)

	2000				2010			
	L.A. City	Koreatown (over-estimate)	Koreatown (under-estimate)	Little Bangladesh (over-estimate)	L.A. City	Koreatown (over-estimate)	Koreatown (under-estimate)	Little Bangladesh (over-estimate)
One race	94.82	94.9	94.99	93.65	95.37	96.02	96	95.49
White	46.93	25.49	26.3	31.41	49.79	25.34	25.25	31.25
Black or African American	11.24	5.45	5.92	6.38	9.63	5.04	5.52	5.23
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.8	1.01	1	1.09	0.74	0.8	0.83	0.99
Asian	9.99	32.22	32.69	21.38	11.26	38.99	39.75	26.96
Asian Indian	0.67	0.92	1.06	1.58	0.87	0.84	0.98	1.5
Bangladeshi	0.03	0.41	0.48	0.8	0.08	0.99	1.19	2.11
Bhutanese (2010)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0	0	0	0
Burmese (2010)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Cambodian	0.09	0.04	0.04	0	0.09	0.06	0.04	0.03
Chinese, except Taiwanese	1.61	0.65	0.6	0.4	1.63	1.19	1.18	0.7
Filipino	2.74	3..83	4.2	3.33	3.24	5.12	5.74	5.16
Hmong	0	0	0	0.01	0	0.01	0.01	0.01
Indonesian	0.06	0.19	0.19	0.22	0.07	0.28	0.3	0.42
Japanese	1	0.86	0.59	0.56	0.86	0.64	0.56	0.46
Korean	2.48	24.11	24.23	12.83	2.86	27.83	27.47	14.34
Laotian	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0
Malaysian	0	0.01	0.01	0	0.01	0.01	0.01	0
Nepalese (2010)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.01	0.01	0.02	0
Pakistani	0.05	0.11	0.13	0.29	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.15
Sri Lankan	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.09	0.1	0.06
Taiwanese	0.09	0.05	0.05	0.04	0.12	0.07	0.08	0.09
Thai	0.26	0.22	0.25	0.5	0.33	0.34	0.4	0.44
Vietnamese	0.53	0.37	0.36	0.11	0.53	0.21	0.2	0.08
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.16	0.1	0.1	0.14	0.15	0.1	0.08	0.08
Some other race	25.7	30.63	28.97	33.24	23.81	25.76	24.57	30.99
Two or more races	5.18	5.1	5.01	6.35	4.63	3.98	4	4.51
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	46.53	54.91	53.2	63.93	48.48	48.66	46.44	60.18
Mexican	29.55	23.76	23.38	22.78	31.89	24.33	23.27	25.74

Table 3.2 continued

	2000				2010			
	L.A. City	Koreatown (over-estimate)	Koreatown (under-estimate)	Little Bangladesh (over-estimate)	L.A. City	Koreatown (over-estimate)	Koreatown (under-estimate)	Little Bangladesh (over-estimate)
Puerto Rican	0.36	0.26	0.26	0.39	0.41	0.24	0.24	0.25
Cuban	0.34	0.15	0.14	0.27	0.36	0.13	0.14	0.23
Other Hispanic or Latino	16.28	30.75	29.41	40.5	15.83	23.96	22.8	33.95
Dominican	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.06
Central American (excludes Mexican)	6.45	14.56	14	19.23	10.97	18.27	17.18	25.95
Costa Rican	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.08	0.03	0.02	0.05
Guatemalan	1.78	5.07	5.23	7.399	3.64	7.51	7.58	12.32
Honduran	0.33	0.97	1.01	1.5	0.63	1.38	1.3	1.69
Nicaraguan	0.24	0.41	0.31	0.33	0.41	0.48	0.4	0.51
Panamanian	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.08
Salvadoran	3.42	6.9	6.27	8.5	6.04	8.7	7.7	11.09
Other Central American	0.59	1.16	1.14	1.48	0.1	0.1	0.11	0.21
South American	0.85	0.74	0.73	0.84	1.3	0.91	0.89	1.23
Argentinian	0.14	0.06	0.06	0.05	0.23	0.08	0.09	0.08
Bolivian	0.04	0.03	0.03	0	0.07	0.03	0.03	0.02
Chilean	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.11	0.03	0.03	0.01
Colombian	0.16	0.12	0.13	0.15	0.26	0.16	0.18	0.3
Ecuadoran	0.13	0.24	0.21	0.24	0.19	0.27	0.25	0.32
Paraguayan	0	0	0	0	0	0.01	0.01	0.01
Peruvian	0.2	0.23	0.21	0.25	0.37	0.28	0.25	0.44
Uruguayan	0.01	0	0	0.01	0.02	0	0	0.03
Venezuelan	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.01
Other South American	0.08	0.05	0.06	0.09	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01
All other Hispanic or Latino	8.96	15.43	14.66	20.42	3.52	4.71	4.67	6.72

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 3.3. Within-group comparisons (2000) (%)

	2000											
	Koreatown (overestimate)				Koreatown (underestimate)				Little Bangladesh (overestimate)			
	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City
One race	0.02	0.19	0.68	1.76	0.02	0.16	0.58	1.49	0.01	0.06	0.20	0.51
White	0.01	0.08	0.36	0.96	0.01	0.07	0.31	0.83	0.00	0.03	0.13	0.35
Black or African American	0.01	0.16	0.38	0.85	0.01	0.14	0.35	0.78	0.00	0.05	0.13	0.29
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.03	0.20	0.85	2.23	0.02	0.16	0.71	1.87	0.01	0.06	0.27	0.71
Asian	0.20	0.57	1.84	5.67	0.18	0.49	1.58	4.86	0.04	0.11	0.36	1.11
Asian Indian	0.04	0.19	1.00	2.43	0.03	0.19	0.97	2.36	0.02	0.10	0.50	1.23
Bangladeshi	0.64	8.67	15.63	22.04	0.64	8.67	15.63	22.04	0.37	5.03	9.06	12.77
Cambodian	0.02	0.04	0.10	0.85	0.01	0.03	0.08	0.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Chinese, except Taiwanese	0.02	0.05	0.14	0.71	0.01	0.04	0.11	0.56	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.13
Filipino	0.13	0.27	0.96	2.47	0.12	0.25	0.89	2.28	0.03	0.07	0.25	0.63
Hmong	0.00	0.00	0.31	2.53	0.00	0.00	0.31	2.53	0.00	0.00	0.31	2.53
Indonesian	0.31	0.69	1.84	5.78	0.26	0.59	1.58	4.97	0.11	0.24	0.63	1.99
Japanese	0.07	0.19	0.50	1.51	0.04	0.11	0.29	0.88	0.01	0.04	0.10	0.29
Korean	1.46	4.53	8.41	17.12	1.23	3.84	7.14	14.52	0.23	0.71	1.32	2.69
Laotian	0.00	0.01	0.25	1.07	0.00	0.01	0.22	0.91	0.00	0.01	0.14	0.61
Malaysian	0.04	0.21	0.61	2.25	0.04	0.21	0.61	2.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pakistani	0.05	0.35	1.43	4.03	0.05	0.35	1.43	4.03	0.04	0.27	1.10	3.13
Sri Lankan	0.07	0.26	0.50	1.03	0.07	0.26	0.50	1.03	0.02	0.07	0.13	0.27
Taiwanese	0.03	0.05	0.09	0.92	0.02	0.04	0.07	0.75	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.23
Thai	0.13	0.39	0.71	1.49	0.12	0.38	0.69	1.44	0.08	0.26	0.47	0.99
Vietnamese	0.02	0.05	0.31	1.22	0.02	0.04	0.26	1.01	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.11
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.02	0.06	0.25	1.15	0.01	0.05	0.20	0.93	0.01	0.02	0.10	0.46
Some other race	0.13	0.35	0.89	2.10	0.10	0.28	0.71	1.67	0.04	0.11	0.28	0.67
Two or more races	0.05	0.21	0.71	1.73	0.04	0.17	0.59	1.44	0.02	0.08	0.26	0.64
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	0.10	0.33	0.84	2.08	0.08	0.27	0.69	1.70	0.03	0.11	0.29	0.71
Mexican	0.07	0.18	0.51	1.42	0.06	0.15	0.42	1.18	0.02	0.05	0.14	0.40
Puerto Rican	0.00	0.12	0.44	1.24	0.00	0.10	0.38	1.07	0.00	0.05	0.20	0.55
Cuban	0.01	0.14	0.26	0.80	0.01	0.11	0.20	0.63	0.00	0.07	0.13	0.41

Table 3.3 continued

	2000											
	Koreatown (overestimate)				Koreatown (underestimate)				Little Bangladesh (overestimate)			
	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City
Other Hispanic or Latino	0.20	0.87	1.78	3.32	0.16	0.70	1.44	2.68	0.08	0.34	0.69	1.29
Dominican	0.00	0.18	0.52	1.27	0.00	0.18	0.52	1.27	0.00	0.04	0.12	0.28
Central American (excludes Mexican)	0.56	1.64	2.54	3.97	0.46	1.33	2.06	3.23	0.22	0.64	0.99	1.55
Costa Rican	0.03	0.14	0.29	0.85	0.02	0.11	0.24	0.71	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.09
Guatemalan	0.89	2.30	3.29	5.00	0.77	2.00	2.86	4.35	0.38	0.99	1.41	2.15
Honduran	0.29	2.07	3.15	5.24	0.25	1.82	2.76	4.60	0.13	0.94	1.43	2.39
Nicaraguan	0.15	0.51	1.27	3.00	0.10	0.33	0.82	1.93	0.04	0.12	0.31	0.73
Panamanian	0.01	0.11	0.35	0.85	0.01	0.10	0.32	0.78	0.00	0.04	0.12	0.28
Salvadoran	0.69	1.64	2.40	3.56	0.53	1.26	1.84	2.73	0.25	0.60	0.87	1.29
Other Central American	0.73	1.40	2.18	3.49	0.60	1.16	1.80	2.89	0.27	0.52	0.81	1.30
South American	0.04	0.30	0.65	1.53	0.03	0.25	0.54	1.27	0.01	0.10	0.22	0.51
Argentinian	0.04	0.16	0.31	0.70	0.03	0.14	0.28	0.64	0.01	0.04	0.09	0.20
Bolivian	0.04	0.27	0.74	1.38	0.04	0.23	0.62	1.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Chilean	0.02	0.08	0.20	0.40	0.01	0.07	0.16	0.33	0.01	0.04	0.09	0.18
Colombian	0.02	0.23	0.50	1.31	0.02	0.22	0.49	1.27	0.01	0.09	0.19	0.50
Ecuadorian	0.06	0.85	1.35	3.28	0.04	0.64	1.01	2.47	0.02	0.26	0.41	1.00
Paraguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Peruvian	0.06	0.33	0.79	1.94	0.05	0.26	0.62	1.53	0.02	0.11	0.26	0.63
Uruguayan	0.01	0.06	0.14	0.31	0.01	0.06	0.14	0.31	0.01	0.06	0.14	0.31
Venezuelan	0.01	0.09	0.28	0.63	0.01	0.09	0.28	0.63	0.00	0.07	0.22	0.51
Other South American	0.06	0.23	0.50	1.14	0.06	0.21	0.46	1.04	0.03	0.11	0.24	0.55
All other Hispanic or Latino	0.16	0.65	1.49	3.03	0.13	0.52	1.19	2.43	0.06	0.25	0.58	1.18
Not Hispanic or Latino	0.01	0.13	0.56	1.48	0.01	0.11	0.49	1.30	0.00	0.03	0.13	0.35

Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 3.4. Within-group comparisons (2010) (%)

	2010											
	Koreatown (overestimate)				Koreatown (underestimate)				Little Bangladesh (overestimate)			
	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City
One race	0.02	0.16	0.61	1.58	0.02	0.13	0.51	1.31	0.01	0.05	0.18	0.46
White	0.01	0.07	0.31	0.80	0.01	0.06	0.25	0.66	0.00	0.03	0.11	0.29
Black or African American	0.01	0.13	0.35	0.82	0.01	0.12	0.32	0.75	0.00	0.04	0.11	0.25
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.02	0.13	0.65	1.69	0.01	0.11	0.57	1.46	0.01	0.05	0.24	0.61
Asian	0.16	0.48	1.73	5.45	0.13	0.40	1.46	4.61	0.03	0.10	0.35	1.11
Asian Indian	0.02	0.10	0.64	1.52	0.02	0.09	0.61	1.47	0.01	0.05	0.33	0.80
Bangladeshi	0.46	6.37	12.97	19.04	0.46	6.37	12.97	19.04	0.29	3.99	8.13	11.94
Bhutanese	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Burmese	0.01	0.04	0.14	0.89	0.01	0.04	0.14	0.89	0.00	0.02	0.07	0.45
Cambodian	0.02	0.04	0.11	1.04	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.64	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.15
Chinese, except Taiwanese	0.02	0.06	0.20	1.15	0.02	0.05	0.17	0.94	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.20
Filipino	0.12	0.26	0.95	2.49	0.11	0.24	0.88	2.32	0.04	0.08	0.28	0.74
Hmong	0.00	0.00	0.45	2.29	0.00	0.00	0.45	2.29	0.00	0.00	0.15	0.76
Indonesian	0.26	0.66	1.90	6.56	0.23	0.58	1.68	5.82	0.12	0.29	0.84	2.91
Japanese	0.05	0.14	0.37	1.17	0.04	0.10	0.27	0.86	0.01	0.03	0.08	0.25
Korean	1.17	3.68	7.67	15.34	0.96	3.01	6.28	12.56	0.18	0.56	1.16	2.32
Laotian	0.01	0.03	0.60	2.68	0.01	0.03	0.56	2.52	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Malaysian	0.02	0.13	0.45	2.11	0.02	0.13	0.45	2.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Nepalese	0.02	0.14	0.72	2.31	0.02	0.14	0.72	2.31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pakistani	0.01	0.10	0.50	1.41	0.01	0.10	0.49	1.38	0.01	0.06	0.28	0.79
Sri Lankan	0.13	0.50	1.09	2.48	0.13	0.50	1.09	2.48	0.03	0.10	0.21	0.49
Taiwanese	0.02	0.04	0.10	0.90	0.02	0.04	0.10	0.88	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.35
Thai	0.12	0.39	0.81	1.64	0.12	0.38	0.78	1.59	0.05	0.15	0.31	0.63
Vietnamese	0.01	0.02	0.15	0.64	0.01	0.02	0.12	0.51	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.07
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.01	0.04	0.22	1.02	0.01	0.03	0.16	0.74	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.25
Some other race	0.08	0.24	0.72	1.70	0.06	0.19	0.57	1.35	0.03	0.09	0.25	0.60
Two or more races	0.03	0.13	0.54	1.35	0.02	0.11	0.45	1.13	0.01	0.04	0.18	0.45
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	0.06	0.21	0.62	1.58	0.05	0.16	0.49	1.25	0.02	0.08	0.23	0.57

Table 3.4 continued

	2010											
	Koreatown (overestimate)				Koreatown (underestimate)				Little Bangladesh (overestimate)			
	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City	of U.S.	of CA State	of L.A. County	of L.A. City
Mexican	0.05	0.13	0.41	1.20	0.04	0.10	0.33	0.95	0.01	0.04	0.13	0.37
Puerto Rican	0.00	0.08	0.32	0.92	0.00	0.06	0.26	0.75	0.00	0.02	0.10	0.28
Cuban	0.00	0.08	0.18	0.56	0.00	0.08	0.16	0.50	0.00	0.05	0.10	0.30
Other Hispanic or Latino	0.12	0.62	1.31	2.38	0.09	0.49	1.03	1.88	0.05	0.26	0.55	0.99
Dominican	0.00	0.28	0.89	2.00	0.00	0.26	0.83	1.87	0.00	0.09	0.28	0.62
Central American (excludes Mexican)	0.27	0.96	1.61	2.62	0.21	0.75	1.26	2.05	0.11	0.40	0.67	1.09
Costa Rican	0.01	0.07	0.17	0.50	0.01	0.05	0.12	0.35	0.01	0.04	0.10	0.28
Guatemalan	0.43	1.35	2.09	3.24	0.36	1.13	1.75	2.72	0.21	0.65	1.01	1.57
Honduran	0.13	1.13	1.92	3.44	0.10	0.88	1.50	2.68	0.05	0.41	0.69	1.24
Nicaraguan	0.08	0.29	0.78	1.86	0.06	0.20	0.53	1.27	0.03	0.09	0.24	0.58
Panamanian	0.02	0.23	0.76	1.92	0.02	0.17	0.57	1.45	0.01	0.08	0.26	0.66
Salvadoran	0.31	0.90	1.45	2.27	0.23	0.66	1.06	1.67	0.12	0.34	0.54	0.85
Other Central American	0.20	0.52	0.86	1.56	0.18	0.47	0.78	1.41	0.11	0.30	0.50	0.90
South American	0.02	0.19	0.46	1.11	0.02	0.15	0.37	0.90	0.01	0.07	0.18	0.44
Argentinian	0.02	0.11	0.26	0.58	0.02	0.10	0.22	0.50	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.16
Bolivian	0.02	0.14	0.39	0.74	0.01	0.10	0.27	0.51	0.00	0.02	0.06	0.12
Chilean	0.01	0.06	0.17	0.36	0.01	0.05	0.15	0.32	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02
Colombian	0.01	0.15	0.39	1.00	0.01	0.14	0.35	0.90	0.01	0.08	0.21	0.54
Ecuadorian	0.03	0.45	0.82	2.20	0.02	0.35	0.64	1.71	0.01	0.16	0.29	0.77
Paraguayan	0.03	0.49	1.45	3.33	0.03	0.49	1.45	3.33	0.00	0.08	0.24	0.56
Peruvian	0.03	0.18	0.48	1.18	0.02	0.14	0.37	0.89	0.01	0.09	0.23	0.56
Uruguayan	0.00	0.02	0.06	0.14	0.00	0.02	0.06	0.14	0.01	0.12	0.31	0.72
Venezuelan	0.01	0.17	0.58	1.28	0.01	0.15	0.52	1.14	0.00	0.02	0.06	0.13
Other South American	0.06	0.30	0.80	1.91	0.05	0.28	0.74	1.75	0.01	0.05	0.13	0.32
All other Hispanic or Latino	0.07	0.32	0.96	2.11	0.06	0.26	0.79	1.73	0.03	0.13	0.40	0.88
Not Hispanic or Latino	0.01	0.13	0.60	1.57	0.01	0.11	0.52	1.36	0.00	0.03	0.14	0.36

Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 3.5. Co-ethnic population in originally proposed Koreatown and Little Bangladesh areas

Co-ethnic population	Korean population in Koreatown (originally proposed)		Bangladeshi population in Little Bangladesh (originally proposed)	
	2000	2010	2000	2010
Within-geography	21.13	24.63	0.90	2.21
Within-group (of L.A. City co-ethnic population)	35.26	31.05	21.37	18.85
Within-group (of L.A. County co-ethnic population)	17.33	15.53	15.16	12.84
Within-group (of CA State co-ethnic population)	9.34	7.44	8.41	6.30
Within-group (of U.S. co-ethnic population)	3.00	2.36	0.62	0.45

Chapter 4

Cambodia Town

Introduction

Long Beach is a city in Los Angeles County in southern California, a large and populous urban center with an area of 51.44 square-miles and a population in 2010 of 462,257. In estimating for the immigrant population, the foreign-born population, at approximately 27% (27.37%) of City residents based on the 2010 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate, is comparable to the percentage for California (27.19%), but less so than is the case for Los Angeles County (35.64%) and the other two cities in this study. A similar picture can be seen regarding the percentage of people (age five and over) speaking a language other than English at home. The 2010 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate shows this figure as roughly 46% (45.95%) for Long Beach, which is comparable to the percentage for California (43.01%), but less so than for Los Angeles County (56.41%) and the other two cities in this study. Regarding its racial/ethnic make-up, city officials and residents remark that Long Beach is one of the nation's most diverse cities.

In Long Beach is found a concentration of members of the Cambodian community. In July 2007, proponents received an official designation of "Cambodia Town" from the City. The designated area spans an approximately 1.25 mile-long stretch along Anaheim Street, a commercial street in town (see Figure 4.1). This is said to be a significant area for the Cambodian community in being a place of marked concentration for Cambodian businesses and a focal gathering point for the group. This area is also one of historical importance for the Cambodian community: "Most were refugees who escaped the Khmer Rouge regime in the

1970s that claimed the lives of nearly 2 million Cambodians. Many settled around Anaheim Street, lured by its cheap housing and growing Cambodian American community" (Tran 2009). The City of Long Beach itself is also a significant place for the group: "Long Beach is known as the Cambodian capital of the United States. The port city is believed to have the largest concentration of Cambodians outside the home country" (Tran 2009). Signage currently exists denoting Cambodia Town (see Figure 4.2).

[Insert Figure 4.1 about here]

[Insert Figure 4.2 about here]

In 2001, street banners were temporarily installed along Anaheim Street in reference to "Little Phnom Penh." This sparked the idea for several Cambodian community members to seek a permanent name and marker for the area. Efforts were subsequently made, though they were unsuccessful in outcome. In October 2006, however, a proposal for the designation of Cambodia Town was heard by the City Council. Being referred to a committee for further study, it was in July 2007 that a cultural designation was approved, with the added requirement of the community establishing a Business Improvement District (BID). There are currently street and freeway signs marking Cambodia Town, but a BID is yet to be established.

Destinations, such as tourist spots, are common in Long Beach. So are neighborhoods, which are often known by their individual names. Like Los Angeles, this large, sprawling city has within it many internal areas. Indeed, the city is said to be "Many unique neighborhoods, one great city," as displayed on the opening page of the City website. Receiving a formal designation for Cambodia Town, as a potential tourist spot and as an internal area to the City, was, however, not a simple task. Though destinations and place-making are common in Long Beach, a culturally specific, ethnic group-based designation of place was not. Additionally, making claims

for a designation of this type presented a number of issues in being sought in a city which prided itself for its racial/ethnic diversity.

How and why are claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places made, contested, and assessed? What factors influence these processes? Issues pertaining to the legislative and bureaucratic context, the legitimacy of claims, and the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents are considered in examining the Cambodia Town case.

Analysis

I. The Legislative and Bureaucratic Context of Claims- Making, Contesting, and Assessing

The governing structure for the City of Long Beach consists of a Mayor and a City Council, the latter being constituted by nine Council members, each representing one of nine Council districts. The area to be designated as "Cambodia Town" ran through three different Council districts when discussions for recognition were taking place, thus suggesting the direct implication not only of three different City legislators, but of – at least – three different constituencies also.

For the Cambodian community in Long Beach, the idea for formal designation and signage started to seriously take shape in 2001, following the display of banners on street lampposts that summer (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013). These temporary banners had been co-sponsored by the City and a Cambodian community agency, the intent being to promote "…the cultural district and the business in the area" (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013). This then sparked the idea for a permanent marker:

> That's where the idea and, on the banner, you know, the little title say Little Phnom Penh, was it welcome, Little Phnom Penh. And, Phnom Penh is, being the capital of Cambodia. And even before that, the banner went up, right, people start calling them Little Phnom Penh already, the area. And so, after they saw the banner, and the people in the community, at first I thought, oh, we got the, formal name. That's why see the banner. No, we didn't, you know. The banner is just,

> temporary. And so, a group of people wanted to have a permanent name. And, that's when we started the, forming group to work on, on lobbying the City of Long Beach to formally call that district, something Cambodian. The name "Cambodia Town" came up later….That's how it started, that, that's what spurred the, you know like momentum. To lobby the City for a formal name, a permanent name. (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013)

Soon thereafter, Cambodian community members tried, with limited results, to receive formal recognition from the City. It was a few years later that the momentum started building again, with a series of legislative actions ultimately resulting in the formal designation of "Cambodia Town" in July 2007.

In the case of Cambodia Town, established places and destinations are common in Long Beach. In terms of appealing for formal designation by the City, and for Council members and City staff assessing these claims, the idea of naming an area in an official capacity and developing it as a destination was not new. However, these claims were also contested since this was being done in a way that was new, in being specific to a given ethnic group, and especially so when considering a City context said to be marked by its multiculturalism and racial/ethnic diversity.

Named places and destination points are common in the City of Long Beach. These internal City areas tend to be in the form of Business Improvement Districts, historic neighborhoods, neighborhood (i.e., residential area) designations, tourist attractions, and so forth (interview with a City official, December 2012; interview with a City Council member, January 2013). As a Council member explained, Cambodia Town being

> …based on ethnicity as a designating marker, it's unique. But, there are so many designations here by geography, by business corridor, by similarities of business…. and then there are neighborhood markers, you know, we have neighborhood, neighborhoods whose neighborhood associations get together, raise the funds, look for the City for some resources to do actual markers to designate well…here's where [this] neighborhood starts and here's where it ends and you're entering here. So we have lots of those. It's signage but it's really,

> markers. They're markers designating a community of some sort, whether it's a business community or a neighborhood. But, this one is unique in that it's designated by an ethnic group. (interview, January 2013)

In this context, making claims for the formal designation of a city area was not entirely new, and may therefore be better-received.

Since there already exist internal areas to Long Beach, the City's formal designation of Cambodia Town may on the one hand be understood to be similar to these other places, wherein highlighting these distinct areas and making them destination points is quite common. As a Council member remarked, with a designation,

> It gives you a sense of place, it's pride, it's community, it's ownership, and it's a destination. So, for instance, if you are anywhere else outside of Long Beach and you start looking up, what's there to see in Long Beach, it becomes a destination. And so, it, just that overarching, sense of building a place, building a place in the public…. And so I do think this contributes to that. This is one of those ways. And our City is such that it's going to have a myriad of ways that makes the place. Right? Myriad of ways to achieve place-making… (interview, January 2013)

In essence, Cambodia Town may be the first of its kind in being a cultural designation, but in the larger scope of City practices, it was not really new. Additionally, not only was it in line with common practice, but in the context of Long Beach being a large city, with local attractions of the Downtown area, the Queen Mary, the Aquarium, and other distinct areas such as what is known as "Retro Row," for example, becoming a destination and highlighting a place is actually something that is sought:

> Because we're a tourist city, I think a lot of areas, a lot of groups and areas desire designation of sorts. So while there was some concern that non-Cambodian businesses may get lost in the designation if they're in that corridor, I, I often find more and more groups seeking a designation of sorts so they don't get lost or left behind in the tourist circuit. So it's, so I think, because we're a tourist city, designations are more common than elsewhere. (interview with a City Council member, January 2013)

When considered with respect to destinations and recognized places not just in the City, but also in terms of the regional context, arguments are also made that formal recognitions of ethnic places are quite common. There is then also a comparative, relative component to making claims for formal recognition; references are made to the Cambodian community looking at other designated areas in the southern California region, such as, for example, Little Saigon (interview with a City official, December 2012), and being motivated to seek recognition. As a Cambodian community member explained in citing the Little Saigon example, "…the revenue, the tax to the city, is just unbelievable" (Council Committee meeting 2007a).

The argument is also made that formally designating an area, which aids in fostering it as a destination point, is of economic benefit to people in that immediate area, as well as the City at large; benefits were argued to be plentiful and dispersed. With the cultural designation of Cambodia Town, emphasizing the unique place identity that "organically" exists there (i.e., a felt Cambodian presence was not constructed for the purposes of a designation) is thus argued to be quite desirable and valuable. This alludes to what scholars describe as the opportunity for cities, through a "commodification of culture," to gain a "comparative advantage in the symbolic economy" (Zukin 1998, 837). Formally designating Cambodia Town is thus said to be beneficial for many people and not an exclusive benefit for just one group. With the added efforts regarding the BID, this is all the more so anticipated to be the case:

> …if I look at the pure economics of it, it's an economic development tool. So, if Cambodia Town is done right, and they're successful at doing their BID, and they, are organized, and they evolve the way other, like [other ethnic places have], and even better, it has, it has, it really has the potential of driving redevelopment and business development in that corridor. And so I think it's an economic development tool. (interview with a City Council member, January 2013)

In making claims for recognition, proponents argue that it will therefore further contribute to the community. Non-Cambodian community members also relayed this economic argument in support of designation efforts, remarking that "this will help us to grow economically" (City Council meeting 2006b). A non-Cambodian supporter who was affiliated with an African American business organization also stated that "Cambodia Town is yes about culture, but it's also about business." Furthermore, this community member remarked of the value of a designation in that it will "generate business," wherein businesses are argued to help raise the quality of life of the people in the area. As this community further observed, "Sure, there are other ethnic groups" in the area, but "here, like anywhere" (a community member, City Council meeting 2006b).

Cambodia Town is thus said to be an "asset" to the area, and arguments for a formal designation of this ethnic place also relate to the benefits reaped in further developing places for urban ethnic tourism, ultimately resulting in economic benefits to the community at large. What is to be utilized is the unique place identity of Cambodia Town, whereby that place can be further developed and promoted through formal designation and signage. As a Cambodia Town proponent explained,

> when you have a township, it going to, bring, you know like economic, because, when you have something like that, people would, you know, they, they want something different. And in the future that we, our dream is to have the Cambodia Town that, the business, you know, will have a façade that resemble the Cambodian architecture, you know, like style. So this is creating something from that, to have people come to visit, you know. "Oh, that's different." (interview, December 2012)

Promoting this place with its unique place identity as a destination and tourist attraction is said to increase the sales volume for merchants by virtue of attracting more "foot traffic" into the area,

and for the City, increasing the sales tax revenue accumulated as a result. A Cambodia Town proponent explained that this argument was made to opponents of the designation:

> …we just explained. I said, you know, it's a win-win situation that will help to uh, attract more, uh, tourist come to Long Beach, you know? And, make the place more, nice and cleaner, you know. Look at Los Angeles, how many tourists do they get, every year. And people will come and shop and, you know, dine, you know, in Long Beach and we can create more sales tax all of that, you know, that's what, our argument…. so far in the history, in term of a township or designation, none of them have prove it that because township and that and then, it would bring the city down. No. It has been proved that, it bring up the economy, you know, everything it brings up. (interview, December 2012)

The ethnic place itself becomes the marketable good and is thus a unique economic mechanism by which the community at large is said to benefit. This is thought to be especially true in a context where the making and developing of place based on distinct place identities is itself promoted.

At the legislative level, an important City Council meeting was held on October 24, 2006 in which a proposal for designation was considered. The Agenda item called for a

> Recommendation to request that the City Council support the "pilot" designation of a tourist-oriented commercial district on East Anaheim Street from Peterson Avenue to Gardenia Avenue provided that the financial impacts (signage, etc.) are borne by the business owners, operators and interested parties within the area; That the City Manager pursue discussions with Long Beach Transit about adding the area as a stop on their "Passport" service; and That the City Manager direct Community Development to assign [a person] to canvas the businesses in the designated area in order to educate owners about the tourist oriented area and the possibilities of establishing a Business Improvement District that could generate additional resources for public safety, code enforcement and trash pick up. (City Council Agenda 2006a)

Following discussions, a decision was made, six votes in favor to three against, to refer the matter to a Council committee for further study. The specific Motion was

> …to approve substitute motion to request City Manager pursue discussion with Long Beach Transit regarding adding an area stop on the Passport service; direct staff to canvass the businesses in the designated area in order to educate owners about the tourist-oriented area and the possibility of establishing a business

> improvement district that could generate additional resources for public safety, code enforcement, and trash pick-up; and refer the concept of establishing a Cambodia Town to [a Council] Committee, with a report back to the City Council in 90 days. (City Council Minutes 2006c)

While in committee, the City commissioned a study, conducted by a private firm, including a survey of property and business owners in the area to be designated. Surveyed was their stance towards a cultural designation as well as the establishment of a Business Improvement District (BID) for the approximately 1.25 mile-long stretch along Anaheim Street, later specified as extending from Atlantic Avenue to Junipero Avenue, in the City.[1] Surveys were mailed out to 387 property and/or business owners in the area, wherein 106 participated, yielding a response rate of 27.39% (Council Committee meeting 2007b). The results showed property and/or business owners for the most part greatly in favor of both the cultural designation and the creation of a BID. In favor of a cultural designation were 83% of property owners, 97% of business owners, and 62% of those who owned both property and businesses (Long Beach City Council committee meeting June 2007). In favor of a BID creation were 91% of property owners, 77% of business owners, and 46% of those who owned both property and businesses (Council Committee meeting 2007b).

With favorable survey responses to both items, and the committee's recommendation to the Council to approve a cultural designation and Business Improvement District (BID) being

[1] The wording in the survey was such that it specified the street area to be designated and asked about cultural designation and a "Culturally Designated Area," but was not specific to, and made no mention of, the "Area" as pertaining to "Cambodia Town" (Jang 2007). Regarding this, an explanation was given that "…the survey didn't mention Cambodia Town because that would appear biased" (Jang 2007). However, as a Cambodian community member commented, "'Our people were confused,'…. 'Half of them didn't understand it. They wondered why the words 'Cambodia Town' were not in there.' The confusion surrounding the survey raises questions about its efficacy and how Council members will use it" (Jang 2007). Regarding this last point, questions can be raised with respect to how the responses are to be interpreted: "The intention was good. Not mentioning the real goal avoided bias, for sure, but it also assured that results will be muddled. What if a shopkeeper loves the idea of a Culturally Designated Area but only if it's called, say, Diversity Town?" (*Long Beach Press-Telegram* 2007).

created for the area, the matter was discussed during a City Council meeting on July 3, 2007. What passed (eight votes to one) was

> A motion...to approve recommendation to support the designation of Cambodia Town as a cultural, tourist and commercial destination reflecting the heritage of the Cambodian community on Anaheim Street; request the City Manager to work with appropriate stakeholder groups to initiate the Business Improvement District (BID) and recommend a boundary designation for Cambodia Town to the City Council based on the BID process; and that additional resources for signage and other items to support the Cambodia Town designation will be withheld until the BID process is complete. (City Council Minutes 2007b)

What had been debated during the July 2007 meeting was the order in which the designation and the BID requirement would be placed – whether a designation could only be given after a BID had been successfully set up (a motion was made regarding this proposition, but failed with three votes in support to six opposed), or if the designation would be given and a BID subsequently required to be established. As the Mayor commented, it was a matter of how, not if, the designation would be given (City Council meeting 2007a).

Several years following the July 2007 Council meeting, the designation had been received but the BID requirement was still left outstanding, and signage did not yet exist. In the case of Cambodia Town, there were additional steps that had to be taken to enact (street and freeway) signage even though the designation itself had been approved. The conditions set forth with the approval of the designation specified the withholding of City funds until a BID had been successfully established. On a more general note, it is said that in theory, a community could receive a designation but have no signs installed. That is, it is up to the group to pursue signage once a designation is approved (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013; interview with a Council district staff member, March 2013). However, signs were a part of what the Cambodian community had wanted from the very beginning – signs to indicate this

permanent name. Indeed, the idea to pursue formal designation was sparked by the temporary display of banners on street lampposts in the area. As a Cambodia Town proponent explained,

> The street sign was very important. That was really part of the, sure thing that we said that we were gonna do. Because with the street sign, then you have these, permanent signs, you know, posted on, tho-, those are very important. And then the freeway sign, it's very important because then you post on the freeway, you know, to direct people on the freeway, and say, hey, you know, you go down here, there's Cambodia Town. Yeah. That, that was, way back from the beginning, that, our goal to have those things. (interview, February 2013)

On February 15, 2011 a draft policy was presented to the Council which sought to create a uniform policy and procedure for naming and designating neighborhoods and enacting signage pertaining to such names and designations (much akin to the naming policy in the City of Los Angeles). This policy largely resulted from the Cambodia Town case but pertained to neighborhoods more generally. There seemed a favorable response to the policy draft. As a City Council member commented, "People, when they have a stake in the neighborhood, we see the neighborhood flourish. And that's what this is really all about" (City Council meeting 2011). This "neighborhood sign marker placement policy" was later adopted by the Council. The Cambodian community was then able to erect street signage in July 2011, with signs paid for by private donations made by members of the community. A total of 16 street signs were installed along the mile-long stretch of Anaheim Street that was designated "Cambodia Town." The group subsequently moved to install freeway signage reflecting this designation, wherein a request was made on March 6, 2012 for a Resolution from the City asking for this to be approved at the state level (the process to achieve this being relatively simple if recognition had already been given by the local municipality, a provision created as a result of the "Little India" case). This Resolution was then adopted on April 3, 2012, allowing for the installment of Cambodia Town signs for the

Anaheim Street exits of the 710 Freeway in June 2012, again privately funded by members of the community. A Business Improvement District is, however, yet to be established.

When the proposal for the formal recognition of Cambodia Town was brought to the City Council in October 2006, there were mixed reactions from Council members regarding the general idea of cultural or ethnic group-specific designations as well as the specific proposal for Cambodia Town. Like Los Angeles, Long Beach can be characterized to be a large and populous city. Smaller-scale areas within the City are not uncommon. Thus, destination spots and internal neighborhoods were common in the City, but a cultural or ethnic group-based recognition of place was not.

For legislators, there were some concerns expressed regarding this designation, and some opposition too. Even for those who were in support, however, a difference can be argued between being supportive of a proposal and being a proponent of it (i.e., actively supporting it), as well as not being opposed to a proposal versus being a proponent of it. As a Council member explained,

> …my initial reaction was a positive one. My Council colleagues, I think they certainly also shared in having a very positive response to, to the request. I think um, there were a couple of Council members at the time I want to say, that raised issues that would suggest that their support might not be one hundred percent there because they had heard from other constituencies. But I wasn't, I wasn't concerned that a majority of the Council members did not support it. I got the sense that, everyone, everyone supported the idea, but then it's a different issue asking them to get behind it. So you could, you could support something and think it's a good idea, will you put your political weight behind it to get it done, that's a completely different question. And you have this in academia. There's the pure academic question, and then there is the, how to, get something done, you know? So there's that public policy question, is it in the public good, the simple answer might be yes. Should it be done, that's a different. So that, that sometimes is what Council and elected bodies get challenged with. So I think, I think there was some of that. But there wasn't-, there was a positive response to, at least the community's interest in getting it done. (interview, January 2013)

In essence, Council members are elected representatives and are accountable to their constituents. If there are opinions voiced by an attentive public (Arnold 1990), even if from a small sector of a district, representatives are likely to take these preferences into serious account when assessing and deciding upon issues brought before them. Some Council members' reactions to the proposal for designation may then be characterized as hesitation attributed to opposition from other residents or business owners in the community. Costs are said to matter more than benefits (Arnold 1990). This calculus may also apply to legislators and legislative choice – electoral costs in going against expressed opposition by constituents is likely to matter more than the prospect of electoral benefits/gains in supporting that proposal. This is heightened when those who are opposed are vote-wielding residents in a district while those advocating for a proposal may or may not be residents (i.e., given the commercially-based nature of most ethnic places), and thus voters, in that district. As a Council member explained, "Yes. I don't know that without hearing from members of the community that Council members would hesitate on this issue. So I, that's very well stated. The hesitation is a direct, was a direct result of constituents expressing their concern" (interview, January 2013).

Constituents' stated preferences can influence a representative's position, even if they are from small pockets within the district. For Council districts with opponents of the Cambodia Town designation, a proponent explained that "…they're [i.e., the opponents] not majority, but they're more active. So, the City Council [member], go with that" (interview, December 2012). Just as the question is raised regarding members of Congress, of whether they should keep district interests or national interests in mind, the question can also be raised regarding local legislators of large cities, of whether they (first) function as district or city representatives. For large cities with city councils made up of council districts, though council members are

representatives of the city, in the most immediate sense, they are first representatives of their individual districts. In the context of expressed or potential preferences regarding an issue, where electoral concerns are thought to be key, the preferences of "traditional" – i.e., residential – district constituents are argued to be most influential of legislators' actions. Even if many within the district are not aware of an issue or do not have a strong preference regarding it, legislators can also be influenced by the notion that there is a potential for subsequent activation of these constituents and voters (Arnold 1990). Constituents' preferences and the potential for electoral consequences thereby influence how legislators assess and act upon a given proposal.

Some Council members are also believed to have been cautious, especially in the early stages of discussions for designation, because there was no real precedent to reference in Long Beach regarding a cultural or ethnic designation. A Cambodia Town proponent expressed this when asked about the Council meeting held in October 2006 regarding this issue, of whether some Council members were opposed to the idea: "…most of them didn't, didn't come out that they're opposed. They, they wanna further study. Basically, you know? It's like, hey, you know I'm not exactly clear what, where this is going and, want further study, and I wanna know more, and…there's no, no procedure in the City of Long Beach, how to do this thing" (interview, February 2013). Additionally, their lack of familiarity may have also extended towards the Cambodian community in Long Beach since the group is said to be concentrated in certain areas (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013). Hence, if there is absent a significant group presence in certain areas, representatives of those districts are likely to be limited in their interactions and familiarity with the group and their interests, preferences, and demands. This alludes to a larger point. Some Council members were more directly implicated in discussions regarding Cambodia Town in that the area to be designated was situated in their

district. However, the Council context for the City seemed to be that Council members whose districts were not directly involved also had active voices on this issue as brought before the Council. As one Council member explained, their district was not directly impacted, but they were concerned as a member of the Long Beach community (City Council meeting 2006b).

This reflects a different legislative context when compared to that of the Koreatown and Little Bangladesh cases. The originally proposed areas for these places in Los Angeles did not fall within one Council district either. With the meetings that took place between different groups, however, one of the Council members headed negotiation efforts as well as the general proceedings regarding these naming proposals. The proposals in the Koreatown and Little Bangladesh cases also had to be approved by a Council vote. With the emphasis placed on contending groups reaching a consensus, the final vote was said to be more of a formality, wherein discussions and negotiations are understood to have taken place before the matter reached the Council floor. It was understood amongst impacted Council members as well as by the Council body that one of the Council members would be the designated representative regarding the matter. This difference also seems to be attributable to a naming policy and precedents regarding ethnic group-specific recognitions existing in the Los Angeles City context. In this, the general need felt in the Long Beach City context to discuss this type of proposal did not exist in Los Angeles.

The Long Beach City Council eventually approved the proposal for an official cultural designation and recognition of Cambodia Town in July 2007, the first of its kind in the City. Alongside the Council's approval of the designation was the requirement regarding the establishment of a Business Improvement District (BID). In large part, this was reasoned to be for the self-sustainment and ensured viability and vitality of the designated area. City resources

were deemed limited, and there was an interest in a designation not subsequently bearing upon the City, and certainly for it not to appear that way. The BID requirement thus served a dual purpose: one dealt with self-sustainment of the designated area, and the other was to placate opponents to the designation in reasoning that this was not an endeavor that would cost the City financially, and was not a "perk" given to a select group (interview with a City official, December 2012). It can be argued that attaching the BID requirement to the formal designation of Cambodia Town could shape how it is perceived and received, to be seen as an economic and business matter rather than what may be seen to be a more contentious ethnicity/ethnic relations issue. Arguably, emphasizing a business and economic element neutralizes the debate. There are certainly urban policies catering to the business sector that prove contentious – not all economic/business-focused measures neutralize debates, as they sometimes make issues more incendiary. For example, the setting up of enterprise zones and giving incentives for businesses to locate in certain areas, as well as the exercise of eminent domain for economic development purposes (Epstein 1985; Pritchett 2003), are often met with resistance. In this case, however, framing the formal recognition of Cambodia Town as a business/economic venture, with the culturally designated area being required to then also become a BID, is argued to appease concerns.

Business Improvement Districts are common not only in Long Beach, but in other cities as well, and not just in southern California or the United States; BIDs exist internationally. In the U.S., New York City has BIDs, for example, as does Los Angeles City (as briefly discussed in Chapter 2). Some of the BIDs in Los Angeles are specific to and named regarding the ethnic places to which they apply. There is a BID for Chinatown, for example, as well as one for Little Tokyo. The idea of BIDs is not without its critics (see Briffault (1999) and Hoyt and Gopal-Agge

(2007) for a discussion). Since a BID provides for assessments levied on business or property owners[2] to feed back into the area, this is argued to contribute to the sustainment and maintenance of a district. In the case of Cambodia Town, assessments are to be levied annually on business owners in the designated area as "…a supplement to the business license" (interview with a City official, December 2012), with amounts varying (the annual base fee ranging from $50 to $200) depending on the type and size of the business establishment. The *Cambodia Town Parking and Business Improvement Area Service Plan* (2008) specifies that "Services will focus on district guides, cleanliness and marketing activities to improve safety and attractiveness of the area, and to promote the district through business and cultural events" (3). More specifically, "Proposed services and programs for the benefit of businesses operating in the district include: Economic development activities; District Newsletter; Website; Print Advertising; Additional promotional and special events; Sidewalk cleaning; Security and safety programs, equipment and services" (*Cambodia Town Parking and Business Improvement Area Service Plan* 2008, 6). That is, the "…Service Plan provides for funding for safety, promotion and cleanliness in the District" (*Cambodia Town Parking and Business Improvement Area Service Plan* 2008, 6).

Part of the interest in seeing a BID established for the Cambodia Town area was driven by ideas of the area being self-sustained, viable, and characterized by a sense of vitality. As a Council member explained, the BID idea was suggested

> …so that they could sustain the corridor. It's one thing to get a name, but if you're, if you are just name alone, then it falls apart. All those years of work

[2] Who gets levied depends on the "type" of BID that is created. A Parking and Business Improvement Area (PBIA) assesses business owners while a Property and Business Improvement District (PBID) assesses property owners (City of Long Beach Business Improvement Districts document 2013). The Cambodia Town plan, to be precise, would be more a PBIA, assessing business owners in the designated area. As a City official explained, "It's tough getting hold of property owners and having them really understand the benefit. Um, whereas the merchants, uh, they pay into it and it's very clear what they get, the benefit. They're there every day. Property owners could live in, another country, right? And sometimes it's tough to get that established" (interview, December 2012).

> really end up being for naught. By organizing as a BID, and having every property owner contribute to the vitality, the maintenance of that corridor, everyone takes ownership of it and is responsible for it, that would at least provide some assurance that once you've been designated, it's, the upkeep is funded, everyone has responsibility and accountability, so that's important. To find some funding mechanism outside of grants or City funding, because the City has many communities and many business corridors, and, it wasn't a reality to look to us for funding, for things outside of what the City normally does for municipal services. So that's why the BID was important. (interview, January 2013)

By this logic, the BID would then ensure, to a certain extent, that a certain quality could be expected and maintained of the area. If the area was to really be developed and promoted as a tourist spot, these were important matters:

> The self-sustainment, the security, cleaning up of the street….we can do the streetscape, we can do the public right-of-way and, repave the streets and have all of that looking really swank, but the sidewalk cleanliness, the power washing and of all of that, all it takes is really neglect in, in those areas and, it wouldn't matter how great the street itself looked. And so the facades of the buildings, the cleanliness of the sidewalks, the, the, just the loose trash that is there. That, that all contributes to really the demise of a neighborhood, let alone a Business District. So the BID would be important in being able to have a plan for that street, and, and coming up with a strategy on how to fund it, and what will be funded. (interview with a City Council member, January 2013)

Indeed, these issues become more relevant when thinking about the area as a tourist destination. That is, as a commercial and social focal point for the Cambodian community, group members have been frequenting and will frequent the ethnic place regardless of whether the area exists as a BID or not as it meets unique group needs. BIDs are not permanent entities either as they can be disestablished, whether by request on the part of BID participants or if deemed appropriate by the City, conditions applying. While establishing a BID is a challenging feat, requiring a community to pursue one as part and parcel of what they were seeking from Council is an attractive deal for the City. A certain quality to that area can be ensured without having to be financially responsible for it.

As elected representatives, it is important to Council members that they please constituents, which may mean placating an opposition as much as it may mean affirmatively adopting a group's stated preferences. Though arguable, in this case it may be said that discussions regarding a BID can contribute to neutralizing a debate, especially when a designation is specific to an ethnic group. Emphasizing the benefits of having a BID, of what it adds to the area and community, as well as the message that the designated area will then not be a liability for the City (and its residents), may have been important points in placating opposition towards the Cambodia Town designation. In the July 3, 2007 City Council meeting, when the cultural designation for Cambodia Town was approved, the community was also asked to create a BID for the area, and a condition was established with respect to the availability of city funds, that this would be contingent upon the successful establishment of that BID (Long Beach City Council Minutes 2007). The reasoning regarding this was understood to be, "So it doesn't look like we're just giving you money where we wouldn't have given it to any other district" (interview with a City official, December 2012). That is, no perks and no favors were being granted. When asked about the main goals of the BID, a City official remarked,

> I'd say two things. One is to self-sustain but another thing to depend-, and again this was still a little bit controversial in 2006….So the City Council you know, it was a long hearing, and I think they did something to just, to um, appease the other groups who were concerned on allowing this to happen, that, hey, groups, we're just not gonna throw money at this, and, they can have this designation but we're still gonna require them to try to raise their own money, so it's not gonna be a drain on City resources. Those of you that *think* it's gonna be a drain, it, it, wasn't, and it never was, but the Council had to protect themselves from the groups who were the naysayers, and, at the end of the night the, the naysayers were okay with this, that they can be their designation, as long as they're gonna have to pay for everything. Cuz I don't wanna have, my taxes shouldn't be paying for that. And, I think *that's* it more than anything. It just, it was a, it was a compromise that the City Council had to do to appease the various groups in the community in the, in the City Council chambers that night, and from the groups that they were hearing about for the past couple of years. (interview, December 2012)

This is not to suggest that encouraging the set-up of a BID was purely a politically strategic move. There are benefits identified with having a BID, which proponents also seem to recognize. Though an idea suggested by the City and not originating from the Cambodian community, the group also relayed the anticipated benefits to be garnered via a BID. In addition to the services and programs dealing with "Cleaning, promoting the area, safety" (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013) and so forth, given that much of the work for Cambodia Town is currently done by a Cambodian community organization, non-profit in nature and run by volunteers with no full-time staff, it was hoped that administrative needs in serving the community might also be met (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013). In terms of the City, officials also spoke of the benefits a BID provides in terms of streamlining the processes of interacting and communicating with the City:

> …it's easier for a district or street to talk to us and City government if somebody wants to do something then okay, we, for you to do that…you need to do a public hearing, we have to reach out to like a hundred businesses or a thousand residences, but if you have a Business District, we can just talk to one person, Executive Director or, five people, the, the board. And it's so much easier for us if the board says, this is something we wanna do, we recognize it's the board's job to make sure that the neighborhood or the business group is on board and then, it's so much easier and quicker for us to just, implement it….So, things go very quickly if you have a Business District when you're communicating with the City cuz we know we can just have one meeting and, then we're on board. (interview with a City official, December 2012)

The idea would be that as a result of the BID and its provisions for an Advisory Board, issues in these areas would be addressed more efficiently and effectively.

It is difficult, however, to establish a BID, one of the main reasons being that it rests upon an agreement by property or business owners to assess themselves an annual fee. And "…for businesses, many of them mom-and-pop shops hurt by the economic downturn, the extra services would mean paying $50 to $200 in extra fees per year. 'You can't blame the small businesses

because they count every penny, and they don't necessarily feel the need' for the district, [a community member] said. 'They are asking us, 'I already pay high taxes; why should I have to pay extra?'" (Tran 2009). Many business owners may not be familiar with BIDs and what they do, even if explanations are provided. Though there are several BIDs in Long Beach, there may not be a readily identifiable and relatable example, especially with respect to its effects. The requirement is for 50 percent of the businesses in a specified area to sign on in order to create a BID. In terms of a BID for Cambodia Town, this meant "The group needed about 185 businesses of the 370 along the corridor to support the district….After several years of pounding the pavement, the group had 105 businesses on board" (Tran 2009). While there are merits said to exist in having a BID, as argued by the City as well as by Cambodia Town proponents, the requirements that the City had placed in 2007 are not said to be as pressing of an issue in the current context: "…I'm sure if the PBID never happens, no one, it's, you know, we certainly want it to and hope it does, but, that's not gonna mitigate any of the support that [the] City management team or, elected officials or City support for Cambodia Town" (interview with a City official, December 2012).

How claims are made, contested, and assessed are influenced by the legislative and bureaucratic context in which these processes take place. Long Beach is a city wherein creating destinations and tourist spots and naming internal City areas are common. However, this being done as an ethnic group-based designation was new. The lack of a policy and precedents is said to have made efforts to garner this recognition difficult. In addition, that this designation related to culture and ethnicity made it such that the feathers of opposition could be easily ruffled. It can be argued that the bureaucratic requirement of a BID to accompany a cultural designation,

wherein economic and business issues are emphasized, helps to neutralize the debate and make the proposal more palatable for opponents.

II. The Legitimacy of Claims

That the Cambodian community's claims for formal recognition were legitimate ones that could be made related to arguments that the area of concern, and the City in a more general sense, were significant focal points and significant areas of concentration for the community. These were also sites of historical importance. In this, there was some basis for that group making claims to that place. First, Long Beach is said to be "…home to the largest population of Cambodians in the country" (Jang 2006), and on a broader scale, "… [containing] the largest concentration of Cambodians living outside that Southeast Asian country…" (Krasnowski 2007). The Cambodian community first started settling in the City by way of a student exchange program: "Cambodians first began arriving in Long Beach in the 1950s and 1960s as part of an exchange program between the United States and Cambodia that sent students to California State University, Long Beach. Their presence attracted many refugees who fled the Khmer Rouge's takeover in the 1970s" (Krasnowski 2007). As a City official further illuminates,

> …this goes way back, first off, to just recognize that this is an organic development. For some reason, people from Cambodia migrated, it was a landing spot to Long Beach. So, Long Beach ultimately became the spot. I think we have the highest Cambodian population outside of Cambodia. And people all gravitated toward the central city area along Anaheim, Junipero, so, that area just had a huge population of Cambodian immigrants….and then, organically, people started build-, having their own small businesses. And those businesses started to gravitate on Anaheim Street, primarily between Atlantic Boulevard and Junipero, I believe. And that just happened. So that, that's been happening over the, you know, the '70s, the '80s, the '90s. And then kind of, around 2000 or so, that's when everyone started to talk about, can we have a cultural designation for this wonderful thing that has happened organically, like, a neighborhood but more importantly the business district because if you drive by then you'll see, all the signs in Khmer… (interview, December 2012)

As a result, the City as well as the area being proposed for designation are said to both be significant places for the Cambodian community. Historically, these are sites of Cambodian commercial and residential concentration. The attention drawn to the "organic" presence of Cambodian Americans in that area signifies the importance placed on the fact that a site was not selected and then developed in order to pursue designation. This also alludes to the importance of authenticity, in that the development of place, and economic developments for the city, were based on what already exists, and not as "artificially" or purposefully designed and maintained (Pang and Rath 2007).

Related to this, the area of concern is said to already be known as a Cambodian district. The exact name may have varied (i.e., before a group came together to vote on "Cambodia Town" as the name to pursue for designation, the area was known as "Little Phnom Penh," as was also evident when the temporary street banners were on display (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013)), but there was general knowledge of a Cambodian concentration and place existing in that area. As in other cases, the legitimacy of claims related to the argument that the designation would be to formally recognize what is already informally recognized as such. This point was also used, however, in then questioning the need for formal recognition by the City. A Council member raised questions of whether a designation is necessary if there is already an "unofficial recognition" of that area and of that community, arguing that an ethnic community can thrive regardless of a local municipality's recognition of it (Long Beach City Council meeting, October 24, 2006). This question regarding the need for official recognition was again raised by a Council member during the July 2007 City Council meeting, when the proposal was discussed and eventually voted on.

Although the area was already known unofficially to be a place of Cambodian concentration, this was not to say the area was composed exclusively by the Cambodian community in terms of residents as well as commerce; other groups were also present. One of the issues raised early on during community meetings was the impact that the development of Cambodia Town would have on area residents. Estimates were given that over 70% of the residents in the area immediately to the north of the street were Hispanic or Latino (a Council member, City Council meeting 2006b). In terms of businesses too, it was explained that the area originally highlighted for designation reflected the area of highest concentration for Cambodian businesses (a Council member, City Council meeting 2006b). This was not to say, however, that other – i.e., more "general"/non- ethnic group-specific, as well as other ethnic group-specific – businesses and service providers did not exist. There was a heavy Cambodian business concentration in the area of concern, but the area was not exclusively constituted by the Cambodian community (a Council member, City Council meeting 2006b).

In essence, Cambodia Town reflects an ethnic group-specific, cultural designation that relates mainly to a commercial area. However, the area of concern is argued to be diverse. This diversity is both in terms of people holding varied associations to that place (i.e., that the area is not an exclusively commercial district, in that also present are residents), as well as in terms of race/ethnicity.

There are varied "types" of groups in terms of their affiliation or association to a place. The area designated as Cambodia Town refers to an approximately 1.25 mile-long stretch along a commercial street, with storefronts lining that "corridor." The specific area that was designated is thus primarily defined and identified in terms of commerce. However, there are areas of residence off of that main street, and some of the contestations regarding the designation of that

place as Cambodia Town concern the impact on those residential zones. The designation may be for a commercial street, but the impact of the designation, when considering the immediate area, is likely to extend to a larger area beyond that center point. For a legislator assessing such claims for designation, the importance of being mindful and actively creating a balance between the interests and preferences of the business community and the interests and preferences of residents – and, politically speaking, constituents – is emphasized, given that an area is shared space in terms of different associations held to that place. Thus, an argument is made for the inclusion of residents in decisions regarding designations.[3] This is said to be important because

> They deal with the bottles at night or the this or the that of the, what's going on in that business corridor. And so they're impacted by the negative things. But they also are impacted by the positive things too, right? I mean so, if more people, if the vision is to get more consumers to come to Anaheim, that's gonna impact parking, that's gonna impact, so, if you're trying to grow this you need to, you need to have someone at the table who's part of the residents, that can bring a perspective in that you may not have. You know? So issues of parking will come up, issues of, you know, trash, it'll be more congested. But they understand, in turn, with more people comes better businesses, more amenities. I can go to more restaurants, I can have more amenities to use as a resident that people travel to use but that I have next door to me. Right? (interview with a Council district staff member, March 2013)

However, equally important is the understanding that business owners are also stakeholders to a place: "…if you own a business even though you don't, may not go to, you may not go to sleep in Long Beach, but if you've owned a business for thirty years in Long Beach [for example], you're a stakeholder" (interview with a Council district staff member, March 2013). They are, in

[3] With respect to BIDs, however, there were also concerns expressed by residents about having to be included and thereby pay into it, in that a BID inclusion would imply an assessed fee, if they chose to participate. As a City official explained, some residents' concerns were placated by making the BID exclusive to the commercial population in the area, in being relegated to the main street with its commercial storefronts: "Well I think that night, when this got adopted, the council said, let's, let's *not* talk about the residential neighbors, let's just keep it on the Boulevard. So that, that appeased a lot of people as well, to recognize that, okay if I, if I live two blocks in on 14th Street or something, I'm not gonna be taxed, or it's not gonna include me. So, we're just talking about the *Business* District on Anaheim" (interview, December 2012).

this sense, "non-traditional," economic constituents whose interests a legislator must also take into account.

Claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places are also contested based on the diversity argument with respect to the racial/ethnic diversity in the area. There are issues raised with having an ethnic-specific cultural designation in a multiethnic, multicultural area context. Intersecting with the discussion regarding diversity in terms of the different ways in which people are associated with a given space is the argument that a cultural designation for a primarily commercial corridor that is ethnic group-specific is not a characterization of place with which everybody will identify. There also are non-Cambodian residents living in the vicinity of the designated area, and as a Council member commented, "It's about the people who live there. And the businesses are one thing but there are people that live there, that didn't ask to be designated and I think we need to be concerned, we need to be very considerate of that point" (City Council meeting 2006b). In addition to non-Cambodian residents, there are also non-Cambodian businesses located in the Cambodia Town area. While there is a heavy concentration of Cambodian businesses there, and indeed, the specific area having been selected because it reflects the heaviest concentration of such businesses (a Council member, City Council meeting 2006b), there are also non-Cambodian businesses which may either cater to a general clientele or to a specific clientele, as other ethnic-specific businesses. It was said that in early stages of conversations with community members regarding the idea for a designation of Cambodia Town, one of the primary concerns pertained to "…what would be the impact to non-Cambodian businesses" (a Council member, City Council meeting 2006b). A Council member gave the example of an "African American barber shop" that was in the area when these discussions were being held, raising the question of whether members of the African American community would

feel comfortable coming into "Cambodia Town" to frequent the establishment (City Council meeting 2006b). Cambodia Town proponents also explained that some non-Cambodian businesses were wondering if a designation would mean that they would be asked to leave:

> …there are non-Cambodian businesses in that area. Some people didn't like that. The non-Cambodians could have said, why call it Cambodia Town. It's like, are you gonna kick us out or, you know it's like, this is your territory. So we had to go in and explain that this is a cultural district. You know, we didn't have any id-, we did not even *think* about kicking anyone out, you know we accept everyone. It's just a name so that, we can benefit everyone, to attract visitor to the area. So we had to do that on, that explanation. (interview, February 2013)

The point commonly raised by non-co-ethnic business owners located in an area being proposed for recognition is also the concern regarding the perceived authenticity of their businesses, if their establishments are specific to a different ethnic group. There was a concern as to whether non-Cambodian businesses would be negatively impacted in being located in an area designated as Cambodia Town, and in this sense, whether there was the real possibility of felt costs by virtue of this designation.

There are different views regarding what the formal recognition of an ethnic place means, and the implications it is thought to have on others in the area. While proponents emphasize that a designation of this sort is about celebration and recognition and inclusive benefits, opponents argue that it is divisive, unfair, and exclusive. There are different views regarding the relationship that race/ethnicity, and more specifically racial/ethnic diversity, should bear on place. The legitimacy of recognition that is specific to a particular ethnic group can thereby be contested given these views regarding ethnicity and diversity. On the one hand, by virtue of this diversity, the argument is that a group can be recognized and celebrated:

> …you cannot make someone else feel less important by, by recognizing the importance of a [i.e., another] culture and a community, right? It would, it would, there, there is not a fair correlation. You know, we, if we value all the rich diversity, then we should celebrate and recognize and appreciate all that diversity.

> Right? So, if someone's feeling put out or left out then it's, it's up to them and their community to step forward and, and be able to do things that celebrate their culture and, and share in that culture with other people. And I think what happened as a result of what we've been able to do is exactly that. I think that even the people who were initially against it understood, well, by having Cambodia Town, it's not negating the Vietnamese there, it's not negating Latinos that live and work there, it's allowing an opportunity and vehicle for us to have them share with this culture, and we hope that that opportunity will be reciprocated. And we've seen some of that. We've seen some of that, [a community member] has put in an application for a cultural designation for, a Latino business corridor area further down on Anaheim [Street], closer to the 710 [freeway], and we've seen some genesis of that occurring. (interview with a Council district staff member, March 2013)

Additionally, a Council member reasoned,

> This is, this is a community that belongs to all of us. And, what some had described as balkanizing the City, others of us were able to say no, it's perfectly in line with the type of multicultural mosaic, where each of our individual relevance contributes to the greater significance of the City. And so to be able to articulate it in that way, that, the hyperbole of it is, it's balkanizing the City, into ethnic groups, but the reality of it is, no, it's really, a very natural, uh, outcome of the kind of community we are, which is really, the nation's most diverse city. (interview with a City Council member, January 2013)

A non-Cambodian Cambodia Town proponent remarked during the October 2006 Council meeting that "This proposal is not about divisiveness. This proposal is a celebration….We are celebrating a culture," and that the Cambodian community making claims is an inclusive group who have "tried to reach out" (City Council meeting 2006b).

Countering this view is again a diversity argument, but framed as multiculturalism and a collective banner of a multiethnic or even international character being what should be recognized and celebrated, not individual groups:

> …the arguments that were made [by some opponents] was, you know, this is a politically motivated action that the people who are on Anaheim aren't all Cambodian, that there's Latino, and it would be better to talk about a, a sort of like, I think the-, I think the discussion for me was, sort of like Disney's Epcot, we have this sort of like themed, where you're, you know, oh you can go and experience Mexican food, you can experience Cambodian food, you can experience, so it's more of an experience of inter-, intercultural and

> intercommunication and different ethnicities to, to try. That that would be a better designation than, a uniform Cambodian designation. (interview with a Council district staff member, March 2013)

Illustrating this, a community member commented during a Council meeting that if a designation were to be pursued, it should be in terms of an international reference: "It's either an international town or an international something, because we are an international city, as I recall" (City Council meeting 2006b). This sense of a diverse, international character seemed important to community members. The result of a series of meetings held by a community organization between different community leaders regarding the Cambodia Town designation proposal was that "Number one, people wanted us to always remember that Long Beach is an international city (a Council member, City Council meeting 2006b). Furthermore, it may also be argued that even if individual groups were to be recognized, which of those groups should be highlighted (space being seen as a finite resource, with an ethnic-specific designation comprising a mutually exclusive designation vis-à-vis the alternative choices that exist) is a different matter.

Still yet, there are also views that the lone recognition of a particular group is unfounded – the only fair solution if a group is to be individually recognized is for all such groups to also be – individually – recognized. This point that there are then many other districts to be recognized is more so "tongue-in-cheek," in that a problem is being raised with the lone recognition of a particular group:

> And then a lot of people felt that if we do this for the Cambodians, why shouldn't we do this for African American designation for an area, why shouldn't we do this for a Latino area for a designation. My gosh, why wouldn't we do this for a Caucasian designation. So, there's a lot of talk about that so you know, all the naysayers and there's that went all into the soup. So as you can imagine, when you had a public hearing or brought this to the attention, everybody came out of the woodwork. It was, don't do this because of crime, we're just gonna create a Cambodia Town and it's gonna be picked on by the gangs, and if you do this what happens about me, I'm white, why shouldn't I have my district, I'm black, why shouldn't I have my district. (interview with a City official, December 2012)

A community resident asked during a Council meeting, "Where is Latino Town?" The point was further made of whether there would then be a similar designation in every district. And similar to the point raised in opposition in the Koreatown case, the comment was also made that the term "'town' just scares people" (a community member, City Council meeting 2006b).

The argument is also made that no group should be highlighted based on ethnicity, especially when this concerns group identities and the identification of place, as everyone needs to assimilate into a melting pot and celebrate the identity of being "American" (Schlesinger 1992). This view is said to have been expressed by members of the Cambodian community also:

> …there definitely were, a couple folk from the Cambodian community that weren't in favor of this either. I think at that time there were some Cambodian folk that felt that a designation like this would get, it might draw, it might draw the ire of the rest of the community on them, they're just trying to, we wanna get along to get along, we came here to be Americans, we don't, we want, we wanna, you know, blend in, we don't want to be you know, stand out, like, we're not here just to be Cambodians, we're here to be Americans or, American Cambodians. So there's that audience as well….But those, there *was* that. You know, we're Cambodian what, we, we don't wanna be just Cambodian, we wanna be Americans and, so there's that cultural identity as well. (interview with a City official, December 2012)

A Cambodian community member gave the analogy of a melting pot during a City Council meeting. Giving the example of what makes for good gumbo, it was the mix of all the ingredients that was said to be key: "Do we prefer to eat as gumbo soup, with the okra, and the Cajun sausages, roux and rice, in, melting in one pot or we'd rather just eat one pot of okra here, rice there, and we still call that a good gumbo?" (City Council meeting 2006b).

As it pertains to place, some also argue that an identity based on ethnicity or any other group identity is problematic, and that the overarching city or community identity should be what defines that place. Opponents made the case of wanting to be "…one city, 50 square-miles, 500,000 people, let's be one city, do we wanna divide ourselves into um, all these pockets, of

different cultural identities and things" (interview with a City official, December 2012). Opponents of the designation spoke of "one city, one Long Beach" and that "there's only one community" (City Council meeting 2006b). Another community member also remarked, "…I just take exception to breaking the city apart into different little areas, that this is yours and this is mine," claiming that "the rest of it is more historic though…" (a community member, Long City Council meeting 2007a) regarding other named areas in the City. And as another community member stated,

> I do not believe that an area of Long Beach should be officially labeled as Cambodia Town. The creation of a business district, yes, without the name designation….There's only one community and it is made up of many beautiful people, from different races, ethnic groups, cultures. It is important for us to embrace our differences and our individuality. Yet it is greater for us to embrace our similarities. And one similarity is that we live in one community, one city, one Long Beach. (City Council meeting 2006b)

It is important to assess the diversity of the area of concern. To conduct analyses of the population in Long Beach City as well as the Cambodia Town area, decennial census data were utilized. As in the case of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, an ethnic place estimate was created by identifying and aggregating census tracts which pertained to the area designated as Cambodia Town. As was the case for Little Bangladesh, since Cambodia Town pertains to an area spanning several blocks along one commercial street, the use of census tracts created an overestimated construction for the area, since census tracts extended beyond the commercial stretch identified as Cambodia Town. The groups being compared in these population profile analyses are the same as for the Koreatown and Little Bangladesh cases.

In terms of race, Table 4.1 shows that the non-Hispanic or Latino White (one race), non-Hispanic or Latino Black or African American (one race), non-Hispanic or Latino Asian (one race), and the Hispanic or Latino (of any race) populations constitute the four largest groups in

both Long Beach and the constructed Cambodia Town area, for 2000 as well as 2010. The patterns were the same for the City in 2000 and 2010 in terms of relative group size: the Hispanic or Latino population was the largest group (35.77% in 2000, 40.76% in 2010), followed by the non-Hispanic or Latino White (one race) population (33.13% in 2000, 29.36% in 2010), the non-Hispanic or Latino Black or African American (one race) population (14.48% in 2000, 12.96% in 2010), and the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian (one race) population (11.90% in 2000, 12.61% in 2010). The relative "ordering" of groups differed when looking at the Cambodia Town area, though within that geography, the pattern held consistent between 2000 and 2010: the Hispanic or Latino population was the largest group (54.50 in 2000, 58.93% in 2010), but the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian (one race) population (21.12% in 2000, 19.48% in 2010) was now the second largest group. The non-Hispanic or Latino Black or African American (one race) population was the third largest group in the Cambodia Town area also (14.44% in 2000, 12.95% in 2010), as they were in the City, but the non-Hispanic or Latino White (one race) population was now the fourth largest group (6.37% in 2000, 5.94% in 2010).

[Insert Table 4.1 about here]

Between 2000 and 2010, there was a decrease in the population for the non-Hispanic or Latino White as well as the non-Hispanic or Latino Black or African American groups in the City. Non-Hispanic or Latino Asians increased slightly in population in the City in 2010 as compared to 2000, while the Hispanic or Latino population increased more notably in the City in 2010 as compared to 2000 (see Table 4.1). For the Cambodia Town area, of these four largest groups, all but the Hispanic or Latino population decreased in population, the Hispanic or Latino population having increased.

When looking at each of these four largest groups in the City as compared to in the Cambodia Town area, we see that the two geographies differ in terms of race group profiles (see Table 4.1). The Hispanic or Latino population and the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian population are represented much more notably in the Cambodia Town area when compared to their percentages in the City, both in 2000 as well as 2010. This effect is much more drastically evidenced with the Hispanic or Latino population; this group constitutes the numerical majority in the Cambodia Town area in both 2000 as well as 2010. In contrast, there is a marked difference between the non-Hispanic or Latino White population in the City as compared to the Cambodia Town area, in 2000 as well as 2010. As previously noted, the group constituted the second largest race group in City comparisons, but the fourth largest when looking at the Cambodia Town area. Interestingly, the non-Hispanic or Latino Black or African American population did not show much of a difference when looking at their population proportions in the City and in the Cambodia Town area. This was the case for both 2000 and 2010.

In terms of the Cambodian community, at first sight they do not appear to comprise a large proportion of the (residential) population in Long Beach. According to decennial census data, Cambodians comprised 3.77% of the City population in 2000 and 3.90% in 2010 (see Table 4.2). Amongst the Asian population, Cambodians did comprise the second largest group, the Filipino population being the largest Asian national origin group in the City at 4.03% in 2000 and 4.54% in 2010. Although these percentages are small, when comparing between Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups in the City, following the Mexican population in size was the Filipino population, with the Cambodian population being the third largest group of these national origin groups being compared, both in 2000 and in 2010.

If we look at the Cambodia Town area, however, we see that Cambodians are the largest of the Asian national origin groups at 15.00% of the area population in 2000 and 14.24% in 2010. These are also much larger than the percentages for the group population in the City. The second largest Asian sub-group was the Vietnamese population, but at 1.69% in 2000 and 1.13% in 2010, are much smaller than the percentages for the Cambodian population. They also do not signify a large concentration nor a marked presence in the Cambodia Town area when compared to their population proportions at the City level. The remaining Asian national origin groups all had a Cambodia Town area population of less than 1%, both in 2000 as well as 2010. There is thus a notable Cambodian concentration in the Cambodia Town area. If we look at the plurality for the area, however, we see that the Mexican population is the largest of the Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups being compared, at 42.88% of the area's residential population in 2000, and a near numerical majority at 49.63% in 2010.

[Insert Table 4.2 about here]

The suggestion of a notable Cambodian concentration in the Cambodia Town area becomes more apparent when we adopt a within-group frame of reference instead of the within-geography view that surveyed the population within a particular area (i.e., Table 4.1 and Table 4.2). In taking the Cambodian population in Cambodia Town as a proportion of the Cambodian population at the City, County, State, and national levels, we see from this within-group frame of reference that the Cambodia Town area seems to house a significant proportion of the Cambodian population in these various geographic levels. In 2000, the Cambodian population in the Cambodia Town area constituted 45.04% of the Cambodian population in Long Beach City, 27.76% of the Cambodian population in Los Angeles County, 11.16% of the Cambodian population in the State of California, and 4.56% of the Cambodian population in the United

States (see Table 4.3). The area continues to be a place of notable concentration for the group in 2010, though less so than was the case in 2000. In 2010, the Cambodian population in the Cambodia Town area constituted 34.88% of the Cambodian population in Long Beach City, 19.60% of the Cambodian population in Los Angeles County, 7.30% of the Cambodian population in the State of California, and 2.72% of the Cambodian population in the United States (see Table 4.4).

[Insert Table 4.3 about here]

[Insert Table 4.4 about here]

When comparing between the detailed listings of the Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups – i.e., groups' respective levels of within-group concentration in the Cambodia Town area (see Table 4.3 and Table 4.4) – with the exception of the City level, the Cambodian population had the largest within-group concentration in the ethnic place area when considered in terms of groups' populations in the County, State, and national levels, both in 2000 as well as 2010. With respect to groups' populations at the City level, the Cambodian concentration in the ethnic place area was the second largest of the groups being compared (the Laotian population being the largest, for both years), both in 2000 and 2010. The Cambodia Town area is then a significant area for the Cambodian community; even when considered with respect to the residential population, the area was one of marked concentration of that group, when considered for that group. This considered in addition to the widely observed Cambodian commercial concentration there illustrates the significance of the area for the group. With respect to discussions regarding claims for formal recognition then, these points allude to proponents' arguments regarding the significance of the area for their community, and in that sense, the legitimacy of their claims.

An important element related to legitimate claims is whether (sufficient) outreach has been conducted to engage members of the surrounding community. When this is assessed to have been neglected, or not sufficiently or satisfactorily done, the lack of outreach can be used to contest claims for recognition. In the case of Cambodia Town, issues were raised during the early stages of designation proceedings that there had been a lack of outreach to, and a lack of inclusion of, local community members and others with vested interests in the area – i.e., other stakeholders. With the initial group that formed from the Cambodian community, it is said that their lack of experience and involvement in civic affairs impeded their efforts. There was an underestimation of the need to ensure sufficient interactions with other groups in the community. As a Cambodia Town proponent explained,

> …because none of them never involved in community. So they don't know how to approach it. When they start, they start from the top. Instead starting from the bottom, they started from the top. Which mean that, immediate go to the City Council. But it's, that, it's not how it works. You have to work with the grassroot. You have to work with all the, like black community, Hispanic community, like all the minority community, you know, and including white, you know, and basically to have them *aware*, what is your plan, what is, you know, all this, basically you, you, you try to have their support, right? They didn't have all of those. They go, to the City Council. They, they just go to the top. So then, it didn't really have a positive response. (interview, December 2012)

Outreach to and inclusion of the local community are critical in placating opponents and garnering support for efforts such as formal recognitions of ethnic places which involve issues related to defining and characterizing neighborhoods, and in ways specific to a given ethnic group. A series of meetings were held between various community leaders early on, as facilitated by a community organization. However, a Council member spoke of "…phone calls from long-time community leaders, within the African American community…" and a leader of a prominent African American organization writing in opposition to the efforts. There were also concerns from other businesses, especially towards one side of the proposed area, "longstanding

businesses" who "did not feel included in this process" (a Council member, City Council meeting 2006b). Towards the end of the discussion regarding the matter during the October 2006 Council meeting, before the final motion was presented for a vote, "[A Council member] spoke requesting names of groups interested in being involved in process to provide contact information to the City Clerk" (City Council meeting 2006b). To varying degrees, an element of outreach and inclusion was incorporated in the various motions that were made regarding the Cambodia Town designation (i.e., at least as stated in the language of the motions), especially with respect to the BID issue.[4]

Several points were raised in regards to the importance of an inclusive process in efforts to formally designate Cambodia Town. For one, it was important to recognize that many different groups would be impacted by an area designation. This reflects the fact that urban areas are shared spaces between various groups, and different people will have different bases by which they are affiliated with that place. For those making claims, then, these varied affiliations and the presence of different groups in that shared space needs to be recognized. Cambodia Town proponents explained that the voicing of concerns against the proposal for designation was understandable. When asked about other groups in the community who were hesitant in the

[4] For example, a motion made early on in discussions during the October 2006 Council meeting (which was different from the motion that carried) stated: "…request City Manager to work with the Committee, appropriate staff, and community to: 1) research the appropriate groups and parties to involve in discussion; 2) do extensive outreach to the community, i.e., community leaders, businesses, and all interested stakeholders…" (City Council meeting Minutes 2006c). The motion that was voted on and carried during that October 2006 Council meeting stated: "…direct staff to canvass the businesses in the designated area in order to educate owners about the tourist-oriented area and the possibility of establishing a business improvement district…" (City Council meeting Minutes 2006c). Moreover, the motion made and carried during a Council Committee meeting in December 2006, in which a study was commissioned regarding a designation and BIDs, asked "…to include case studies of other prominent cultural California designated areas…to compare areas for…" among other things, "community input…" (Council Committee meeting Minutes 2006). The failed motion during the July 2007 Council meeting stated: "…request the City Manager and appropriate staff to work with Cambodia Town and all stakeholders toward the development of a Business Improvement District (BID)…" (City Council meeting Minutes 2007b). The motion that carried during the July 2007 Council meeting stated: "…request the City Manager to work with appropriate stakeholder groups to initiate the Business Improvement District (BID)…" (City Council meeting Minutes 2007b).

beginning about the designation that was being proposed, a Cambodia Town proponent remarked,

> …you know, why they hesitate? Because we never reach out to them. We never even talked to them. You, you have to, feel like there's, like hey, I'm here in Long Beach. You know? I born here. I work here. I involved. I'm one of, person that, in the community. How come I'm not even know? And this thing pop up in City Council? You, you have to put that in a perspective you know? And put yourself in their shoes. How do, how do they feel? They feel offended. That, you never talk to them, and suddenly you go to the City Council and, and asking for this? (interview, December 2012)

Additionally, inclusion and outreach are said to increase the chances of a policy or decision being successfully implemented and yielding positive outcomes. A Council member observed that policies "…should be crafted or developed with the input of those it impacts," as "…policies have a greater potential for success if they are formulated with the input of community that has a stake in that policy" (City Council meeting 2006b). This is said to be important because it adds "perspective and wisdom," but also because "…the people who feel they were included work all the harder to see the policy become successful" (City Council meeting 2006b). Another Council member emphasized that the input and opinions of the local community were of supreme importance, much more so than the opinions of any Council members regarding the designation (City Council meeting 2006b). However, it must be noted that engaging in outreach will not necessarily make converts of all opponents. Even with extended efforts to reach out to the local community and making discussions regarding the designation an inclusive affair, staunch opponents may not change their minds; proponents and opponents may each be hoping to win support for their cause. The aim of outreach and inclusion of other stakeholders in the area does not seem to be to ensure that all are in support of a proposed designation, but that different opinions have been given an opportunity to be heard, so that discussions and decisions regarding community matters are not unilaterally conducted.

The difficult aspect with outreach is not, it seems, knowing whether a group has engaged in it, but knowing if a group has sufficiently and comprehensively engaged in it. That is, the content and degree of outreach are of greater importance, not its mere existence. With ethnic-specific designations, engaging with other groups becomes significant in making claims and with discussions regarding these proposals. However, the question then arises as to whether there is, or whether there ever can be, a "spokesperson group" – a "spokesgroup" – to definitively and authoritatively speak for a group, such as for an ethnic group or residential or business community. Cambodia Town proponents emphasized that they had the support of community organizations in the area, including the support of other ethnic organizations (City Council meeting 2006b). However, at that same Council meeting were also members of other ethnic and business communities who expressed their concerns and who spoke in opposition to the proposal (City Council meeting 2006b). Proponents may truly believe they have engaged in sufficient outreach, and some of the groups in the area may have lent their support to the proposal. However, other groups who may not have been directly involved in these discussions may feel that outreach has not been sufficiently engaged in as it concerns their community. Or, there may be intra-group differences wherein arguments are made that a given group (with whom proponents may have spoken) does not speak for the rest of that community.

A claim regarding an area is less contested when that claim is seen to be a legitimate one that is being made, and a claim can also be seen to be more legitimate if a group is recognized as actively contributing to that area. The Cambodian community is acknowledged as having revitalized a run-down, largely avoided area of town:

> "In the past, no one wanted to walk down Anaheim Street because it was considered a red-light district," [a Cambodian community member] said. "It's a lot safer now, but we can do more. We want it to look clean and very nice to attract more people to shop"…. [Another community member] recalled that when

> he was younger, he hardly ventured onto Anaheim Street because of crime. But now he is proud that many Cambodian businesses have transformed the corridor into a safer, thriving area. (Tran 2009)

Advocates for the designation spoke in favor of the proposal during Council meetings (e.g., October 2006, July 2007), recognizing the role played by the Cambodian community in contributing to the area. Several non-Cambodian community members – not necessarily or apparently associated with the organization that was pushing for the designation – spoke in support, given these reasons. A Council member also spoke forcefully regarding this, urging the Council to act on the matter:

> I really think it's time for us to take some serious consideration into what's really going on here. With a group of individuals who've been here, who've done everything that they needed to do in order to get some recognition….How long do we have to keep putting this off before we really seriously take time to recognize what these individuals have done, you know, for the City, of, of, Long Beach. Not just Anaheim street, but for the City of Long Beach. I think it's really time for us to really seriously say, if this is the kind of recognition that they're looking for, who are we to say they can't get this? (City Council meeting 2007a)

As a Cambodia Town proponent explained, "…they want to prove that they've been here and, they contribute to the City, economically and culturally" (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013). There is a sense of deservedness being emphasized in that the claims made for designation are for an area in which a distinct group has had a notable presence and impact. The recognition of place, then, "accordingly," is argued to be a legitimate act, and the designation is seen to also be a validation of that group and the role that they have played in the City.

Additionally, during the same year in which the designation was approved, members of an organization involved in making the claims made a significant endowment pledge to the local public library, situated in the Cambodia Town area. As a Cambodia Town proponent explained, "…we feel that we need to give back to you know something to this country and to this

community, you know? So that's why we be able to, do the fundraising….we feel that's important and plus in the heart of Cambodia Town. That library. So" (interview, December 2012). And as a community member remarked, this stance was noticed by the community at large: "…[they] donated to projects within the City. So it wasn't until then that the City go and, whoa, you know this is, this is real, this is, giving back to the City. And, I think that's why the, the project came about in" (interview, February 2013). Contributions and positive changes are thus said to have been made in the area by this ethnic community. If a group is making a claim for the formal designation of a given area, the legitimacy of those arguments can be influenced by whether the group is seen to be embedded within the larger surrounding community. In this regard, being invested in the local community can help to mitigate opponents' views against a designation as it can help legitimate claims regarding that place and cast the group's ties to that place in a positive and favorable light. Perceptions regarding the legitimacy of claims can then influence the responses to them, of whether they are contested, and how they are assessed.

The issue of legitimacy, in terms of whether a claim for the formal recognition of an ethnic place is considered a legitimate, valid, substantiated one to be made, can be important in understanding, in particular, why claims are made, and why they are contested. Claims-makers strive to establish legitimacy; responses to claims, in terms of contestations regarding them, may be mitigated or sparked by whether they are seen to be valid. Legitimacy in this regard is related to groups' ties to place, and the significance of that area for that group. This applies to those making claims for recognition, but also to those contesting it in recognizing that there can be multiple claims to place given the fact that the same place can be significant to different groups in different ways. The legitimacy of claims, both made and in contestation, is then an important

factor in understanding efforts to formally recognize ethnic places as well as reactions shown in response, and in this, the decisions made regarding these appeals.

III. The Composition and Actions/Strategies of Proponents and Opponents

The composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents concern an understanding of how the constitution of the groups involved in making or contesting claims influences the stating of their positions as well as the distinct choices made to then relay their positions. For proponents, their composition was such that they were diverse and broad-based, and purposefully so. The specific work in terms of making claims was done by a Cambodian community organization. However, proponents of the designation also included people who were not members of the organization, but who actively lent their support. These proponents were often leaders of other organizations (often other ethnic organizations). Proponents of the Cambodia Town designation (whether members of the Cambodian organization or not) were not exclusively Cambodian. This diverse constitution is seen to have been important in making claims for recognition not only because of members' different networks and areas of expertise, but also because their racial/ethnic diversity helped make their claims more relevant, convincing, and compelling. Just as Cambodia Town proponents were emphasizing that a formal designation was not for the exclusive benefit of one group, but was for the good of all involved and the community at large, the diverse composition of those making these claims is said to reinforce this message in relaying that this was not exclusively for the Cambodian community, as argued for solely by the Cambodian community. As a Cambodia Town proponent explained in reference to the benefit of a designation and the Cambodian organization involved in making claims, "The most important, if you can, explain to people, what is the benefit, to the community, okay? And we not just saying only Cambodian. We talk *community*. Including everybody. You know?

Including everybody. So, why do we say that? By look at the board. It reflect itself. You know? So that's why" (interview, December 2012). A diverse board by its composition alone is believed to reflect the message that a formal designation of Cambodia Town is not for the exclusive benefit of the Cambodian community, but is believed to be for the inclusive benefit of the community at large. Non-Cambodian members who were active proponents of the designation are said to then include those who were recruited in, as well as those invited in who already had an interest in the Cambodian culture and ties to the Cambodian community, and who also identified with the group's cause.

This diverse and broad-based – and purposefully, mindfully so – composition of proponents is itself, arguably, a strategic choice made in making claims for formal recognition. A Cambodia Town proponent remarked,

> …and then, our strategy to, we're not just gonna have a Cambodian board. Sitting there. We're gonna have it diverse. Okay? Because, Cambodia Town, what we vision we have, it's not just only for the Cambodian American community. For everybody. If the area develop, you know, it's everybody that live in that area will benefit. Okay? And that and we believe in diversity. So we have African American, they have Latino, they have white, you know, they have of course Cambodian, sitting in a board. (interview, December 2012)

The value of having a diverse group of proponents is also discussed in terms of the diverse bases of knowledge, expertise, and networks that are then brought in. It was said to be important for the proponent group to have non-Cambodians involved:

> …one thing is, you know, they bring in a different perspective. And also, it give us the legitimacy to say that, you know, we're not, we're not just Cambodian who wanna kick out all the non-Cambodians. We actually embrace everyone….And also they brought in the expertise…. You know…I don't know much about politics or anything so....And [another person on our board] brought in new ideas and, the network to other organizations. Yeah, it, it's important to bring in the, non-Cambodian to help out. (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013)

The legitimating factor of non-Cambodians arguing for Cambodia Town is said to also be important in answering to some of those contesting the claims for designation. As a Council member explained,

> …the group, the [organization] board, they did a good job in expanding their base of support. Those of us who were working with the leadership in that group suggested, and they already were doing this, that a broad-base coalition would be very compelling. One that included other Asian Americans, Latinos, African Americans, um, members of those communities that might serve in leadership capacities in the community that come forward and say, we do support this. We do think that this is a community that's part of the fabric of Long Beach and, and it, it's a benefit to all of us, to celebrate them for their contributions. So, they, they did that, and I think that helped quell a lot or allay some of those concerns… (interview, January 2013)

The Council member continued to explain that expressed support for the designation from a non-Cambodian community leader will be more "convincing." Support would be

> said in a voice that might be more relevant to some of us than if it came from somebody else. And so you um, they did a good job in approaching opinion leaders from different constituencies and seeking their support and having them be the message bearers. And that, that was a really defensible process, so they did that. They, they did that, those of us who were in a role of being supportive also did that. So I think that's how they addressed it. So it wasn't just a matter of we're coming down to Council and we're gonna, uh, and the Council decides. (interview with a City Council member, January 2013)

In essence, "…when opinion leaders from communities who are not Cambodian American come out in support of it, I think it resets the tone of the discussion. It's not as incendiary as it could be" (interview with a City Council member, January 2013). For proponents then, relaying the message that the designation of Cambodia Town was for the betterment of the community at large and not just a specific group started with the diverse composition of those making this claim, to reflect this very point. In essence, the message bearers become the message itself. This is true of both proponents and opponents, whether narrowly or diversely composed.

Proponents working for the Cambodia Town designation were primarily constituted by members of a Cambodian community organization (although, as previously mentioned, those who lent their active support for the designation also included people who were not necessarily members of this organization, and the organization was not exclusively composed of a Cambodian membership). The formation of the organization was directly tied to the agenda of pursuing formal recognition. There was an informal gathering of community members following the temporary street banners displayed in 2001, meeting with the interest of seeking permanent and formal naming and recognition. Although the group made several efforts for designation, it was soon realized that a more structured, more formal organization of efforts was needed. In 2005, a non-profit organization was established, somewhat extending from this more informal initial gathering. This now current organization is structured, with a board and an elected leadership, although there are no full-time staff, being run by members volunteering their time and efforts. Seeking a formal designation of Cambodia Town was central to the organization's objectives, but it is said that its goals and mission extend beyond that specific achievement; the organization thus continues to be active in the community, beyond the cultural designation that was granted in 2007 (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, December 2012).

This point regarding the current organization being structured, with elected leaders and established leadership positions, was important to the effective functioning of the organization, and in this respect, to the efforts to receive formal designation. One of the issues pointed out with the initial, informal gathering of community members was the lack of structure and the lack of designated leaders. To effectively state goals and work towards them, it is said that a group needs established leaders:

> …you need a leader. You, I mean, if everybody the same, maybe…volunteer and nobody will lead. There's no one, take, responsible, for anything, right? I mean if

> you don't do it, they'll say, hey, I'm here just like you and, you know, I'm, do my part with what I can do. But if you have a leader, you can say, okay. We set up a target. This is what we're going to achieve. This is the plan. This is what we're going to do. How, a person will responsible, I mean leading the group, right? In this case, you don't. (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, December 2012)

Efforts to receive official designation required many meetings and negotiations with City officials, legislators, as well as other community members. Having an identifiable group of proponents, and amongst this group, having identifiable leaders acting as spokespersons for the group who are able to make decisions regarding the chosen course of action with respect to legislative and bureaucratic issues, and often swiftly so, is seen to be important in effectively arguing for a given preference. Leaders may feel the burden of being responsible for the decisions they had to make (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, December 2012), and other members of the group may disagree with the decisions made, but it is argued to be important to have an identifiable, established leadership that can make decisions for the group in order to be effective in pursuing group goals.

In the early stages of work on the Cambodia Town designation, proponents engaged in activities such as fundraising, petition signature drives (to indicate support for Cambodia Town; the group was able to collect approximately 4000 petition signatures in support), and meeting with City officials and community members (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, December 2012). As efforts progressed in seeking formal recognition, much of the work focused on interactions with Council members. Understanding how proponents made claims is informed to a large extent by their civic involvement and experience, and the strategic decisions made in light of their knowledge regarding the legislative system. Claims-making for the designation of Cambodia Town was strategically shaped prior to the item being discussed during the October 2006 Council meeting. Far before this, it is said that proponents made strategic choices regarding

upcoming elections for several Council districts. With the designation in mind, a Cambodia Town proponent explained that the group "…strategized that, who are we gonna support? Which candidate we're gonna support? Who has a chance to support or, get elected, and will support our agenda" (interview, December 2012). The candidates that the group supported were successfully elected into office. As a proponent remarked, "…two or three candidate that we support, they get all elected….then in 2006, we say, we, not gonna wait too long because all the politician get elected. The people that we support. Since they just elected, their minds, fresh. Let, let them fulfill their commitment. Right? So in 2006, we submit our proposal" (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, December 2012). It was important for community members to have in office decision-makers who would embrace their goals.

However, in accounting for the October 24, 2006 decision to refer the designation matter to a Council committee for further study, a Cambodia Town proponent remarked that the designation was not received that night because their communication with members of the Council had been limited to the few with which they were familiar (interview, February 2013). Subsequently, "…that's when we started, you know, to do a better job, particularly communicating with the, the rest of the, City Council" (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013). This meant that prior to the next scheduled Council meeting in which the matter was to be discussed, proponents engaged in strategic negotiations. Following the 2006 meeting in which the issue had been referred to committee and a decision delayed, a Cambodia Town proponent explained that ahead of the July 2007 meeting, appointments were made

> …to see all those City Council, all nine of them. Okay? Because, one thing that I have learned, whatever you see, the same things, like either City Council, either at the state level, even national level? Basically, everything, you already, uh, negotiate whatever it is, decision is kinda made, already before, during the meeting it just, form-, formality. Okay? Everything you have to do, all your homework you do, you have to do, everything before that. You're not, ready until

> that, no, it's not gonna work. You, you do it before, okay? So, I take time, I go meet all the City Council, I asking for their support, I asking for their vote. (interview, December 2012)

Proponents engaged in strategic negotiations with decision-makers, ensuring communication with Council members beyond those with whom they were familiar and who were directly implicated due to where Cambodia Town would be situated. For proponents, civic and political knowledge were resources gained along the way, by virtue of participation. Resources for civic and political activity were not prerequisites for participation. Proponents were in effect "activated" in lobbying for a particular matter.

In contrast to proponents of the designation, opponents did not seem organized into an identifiable, representative group. There were many community members who spoke against the designation during the October 2006 Council meeting, wherein the opposition seemed issue-driven. As a Council member explained, "…some of it was more fear-based. I think with any, with any change, even if it's positive there's fear of change, right? So, and the fear of the unknown….I don't know that I've seen any of these people on any other issue other than this which tells me that it meant a lot to them. There were concerns about, being lost in the shuffle meant a lot to them" (interview with a City Council member, January 2013). The opposition was not sustained, at least as publically expressed. By the time of the July 2007 meeting wherein the designation was approved, a significant presence of opponents was not felt (interview with a Council district staff member, March 2013). Comments made in opposition were certainly less acute during the July 2007 meeting when compared to, for example, the meeting in October 2006.

A marked feature regarding opponents, however, was that many were from the Cambodian community; there were intra-group differences regarding the designation proposal.

This is not to say there were no non-Cambodians speaking in opposition. A Council member remarked of receiving letters and phone calls from other community leaders who were opposed (City Council meeting 2006b). Opinions were also shared during the Council meeting in October 2006 regarding the preferences of the Latino community on this matter. As a community member recalled, "at the, first time that I participated at a City Council meeting, where Cambodia Town project was presented, before my turn to speak at the podium, Hispanics, African Americans, a lot of Cambodians, mainstream, American individuals came up to the podium and disagreed on the project. You know, they spoke against the project" (interview, February 2013).

Though opposition from members of other race/ethnic groups may not be surprising, that a notable source of opposition was from members within the Cambodian community itself might be less expected. City officials and other community leaders had a good understanding that "…the Cambodian community is divided" (interview with a City official, December 2012). As a Council district staff member explained, it would be a matter of grave oversight to think that members within an ethnic group are homogenous in their preferences regarding issues concerning the group and their group identity:

> …what I learned out of that experience early on was, that, it's a very, the, you know, within a community and even in the subsets within the community, it's very complicated…. and I think it was a lot of politics, lot of internal politics *within* that subgroup, because, although on a macro level I'm looking at it as, well, we're recognizing that community, but *within* that community, do they wanna be recognized. Right? (interview, March 2013)

And as a community member explained, "…it was not Hispanic against Cambodians, or African Americans against Cambodians, it was Cambodians against Cambodians….There were many that, Cambodians in the City that, that were against each other. So they were not united in working on a project….So the City of Long Beach Cambodian population, was really divided"

(interview, February 2013). This point that there could be intra-group differences in positions regarding designation was also raised as a matter of concern by a Council member during the October 2006 Council meeting. Political differences relating to the home country are said to carry over into the present context. Political differences in this respect are then manifested into positions of support or opposition for the designation. Some explanations were given that intra-group or co-ethnic opposition was also attributable to "jealousy," because opponents were not the ones pursuing the matter, the designation proposals not being from their group (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, December 2012; interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013). However, those opposed from within the Cambodian community are said to be but the minority, although they do exist (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, February 2013). The proof that these views are not widespread is said to be evident in the outcome regarding Cambodia Town: "You know, any community, you always having a problem, right? Yeah. And, what I see is that, those just a minority. You have to think about this. If, if, if they are majority, the designation would not happen. But because they are just, a few people. Only a small group of people. That are against" (interview with a Cambodia Town proponent, December 2012). However, in reference to co-ethnic opponents who came to the Council meetings in opposition, raising concerns against the designation, a Cambodia Town proponent remarked, "…I think, that was not good for us. You know? When you have a, your own people coming to speak against you" (interview, February 2013).

By and large, however, opposition towards the formal designation of Cambodia Town, though present, did not appear sustained, as in other cases. Several conjectures can be made regarding this. For one, it can be argued that a BID requirement, in focusing the discussion to a certain extent on economic issues, helped to neutralize the debate, where issues relating to

culture and ethnicity may raise concerns for some. Secondly, the designation was being sought in a city context in which similar feats, in developing internal neighborhoods and creating destination spots, were commonly seen. No precedent may have existed for a designation of a cultural type, but it was less removed from the limits of what was familiar than if no internal areas existed and the City was interested in having an identity primarily of a residential town. Related to this may be that these place-making is more feasible and more common in larger cities wherein mixed zones and the idea of shared space between various groups is more common.

In thinking about how claims are made, contested, and assessed regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places, one influential factor can be issues relating to proponents and opponents, in terms of how they are composed, and what strategic actions they engage in to make their case. The composition of proponents and opponents can itself influence how claims are made, contested, and assessed. Strategic decisions can be made even in this regard, to aid in the arguments for or against designations. In this view, proponents for Cambodia Town purposefully sought to diversify their leadership and membership. This was seen to help in legitimating and making more compelling the message that they were expounding, that a formal designation of Cambodia Town would be for the benefit of all involved, and not just the Cambodian community alone. Regarding opponents, that none other than members within the Cambodian community were speaking against the designation presents a provocative view in contesting these claims. There are also other strategic actions taken to make or contest claims, and in the Cambodia Town case, many related to making claims and civic lessons learned in terms of local governance. That outreach and an engagement of the local community, and thus grassroots efforts, are important, but also that communication with legislators, including those

with whom a group is not familiar, are important, for example, can be influential shapers of how claims are made, and thus contested, and assessed.

Conclusion

In studying the cultural designation of Cambodia Town, an understanding of how and why claims for formal recognition are made, contested, and assessed is informed by an understanding of the legislative and bureaucratic context in which this was done, issues relating to the legitimacy of claims, and the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents. The city context for this case was such that place-making of internal areas was common and even encouraged, but ethnic-specific schemes were new. There was no established procedure in this respect, and precedents did not fit the unique circumstances involved in a cultural designation being sought. Additionally, the creation of a Business Improvement District was made a requirement of the designation, which leads to the argument that a business/economic emphasis to claims regarding ethnic places helps to placate opponents and neutralize what can be more charged and contentious debates. Legitimacy is also an important concept to consider not only in terms of claims made, but also in terms of how and why these are contested. Claims must be perceived to be legitimate in order to be successful. This then relates to various groups' ties to place, and the significance argued of that place for that group. The composition and actions/strategies of groups making and contesting claims is also significant. What is being argued is important to consider regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places, but it is also important to consider how this is done. A purposefully broad-based, diverse composition was sought by proponents. In this regard, the message bearers become the message itself.

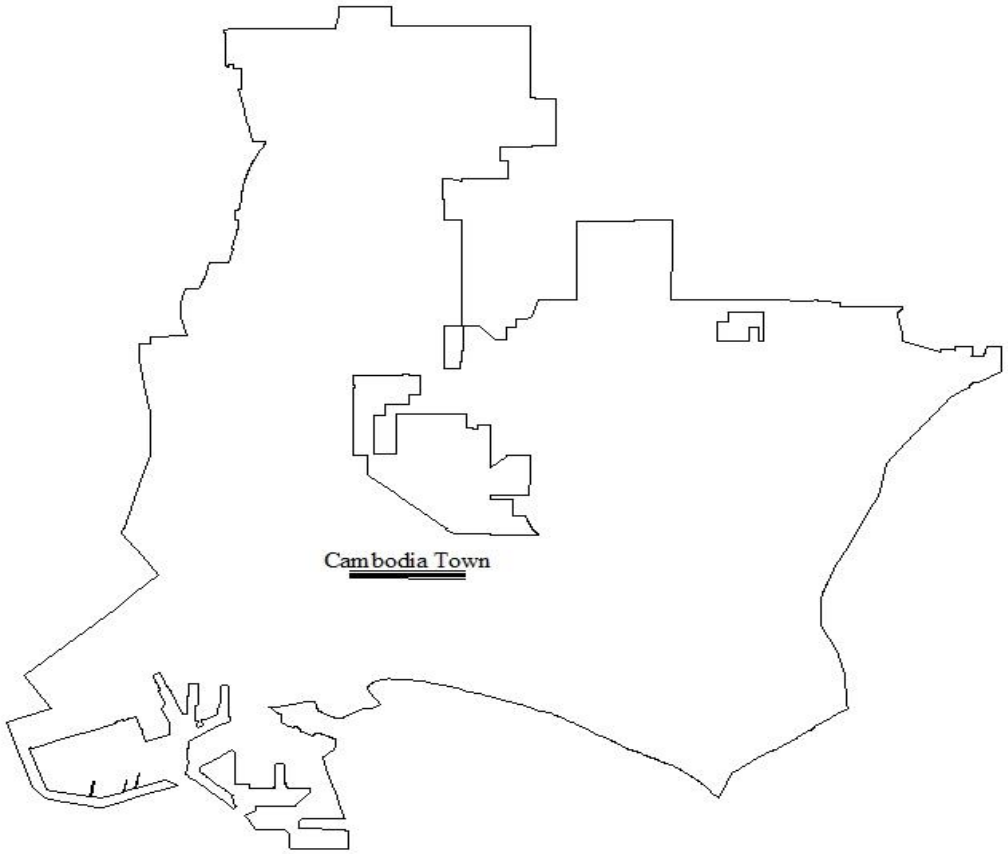


Figure 4.1. Cambodia Town, Long Beach



Figure 4.2. Signage denoting Cambodia Town in Long Beach, California

Table 4.1. Within-geography comparisons of race, distinguished by Hispanic or Latino origin (%)

	2000		2010	
	Long Beach City	Cambodia Town (overestimate)	Long Beach City	Cambodia Town (overestimate)
Not Hispanic or Latino	64.23	45.50	59.24	41.07
One race	61.29	42.92	56.52	39.33
White	33.13	6.37	29.36	5.94
Black or African American	14.48	14.44	12.96	12.95
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.38	0.31	0.29	0.25
Asian	11.90	21.12	12.61	19.48
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	1.17	0.57	1.06	0.44
Some other race	0.22	0.11	0.24	0.26
Two or more races	2.94	2.58	2.72	1.74
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	35.77	54.50	40.76	58.93

Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 4.2. Within-geography comparisons of race, and Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups (%)

	2000		2010	
	Long Beach City	Cambodia Town (overestimate)	Long Beach City	Cambodia Town (overestimate)
One race	94.73	94.21	94.71	95.36
White	45.16	22.35	46.09	27.97
Black or African American	14.87	14.87	13.54	13.69
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.84	0.93	0.75	0.87
Asian	12.05	21.22	12.87	19.82
Asian Indian	0.29	0.24	0.41	0.20
Bangladeshi	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.07
Bhutanese (2010)	n/a	n/a	0.00	0.00
Burmese (2010)	n/a	n/a	0.01	0.00
Cambodian	3.77	15.00	3.90	14.24
Chinese, except Taiwanese	0.73	0.47	0.75	0.31
Filipino	4.03	0.97	4.54	0.85
Hmong	0.08	0.25	0.06	0.12
Indonesian	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.01
Japanese	0.68	0.07	0.62	0.12
Korean	0.35	0.23	0.41	0.35
Laotian	0.14	0.70	0.12	0.48
Malaysian	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.00
Nepalese (2010)	n/a	n/a	0.01	0.00
Pakistani	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.01
Sri Lankan	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.00
Taiwanese	0.04	0.00	0.06	0.00
Thai	0.14	0.12	0.17	0.22
Vietnamese	1.1	1.69	0.91	1.13
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	1.21	0.61	1.14	0.54
Some other race	20.61	34.23	20.32	32.46
Two or more races	5.27	5.79	5.29	4.64
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	35.77	54.50	40.76	58.93
Mexican	27.55	42.88	32.88	49.63
Puerto Rican	0.51	0.44	0.65	0.58
Cuban	0.23	0.09	0.27	0.16

Table 4.2 continued

	2000		2010	
	Long Beach City	Cambodia Town (overestimate)	Long Beach City	Cambodia Town (overestimate)
Other Hispanic or Latino	7.49	11.09	6.95	8.56
Dominican	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.02
Central American (excludes Mexican)	1.93	2.90	3.57	4.69
Costa Rican	0.06	0.07	0.10	0.06
Guatemalan	0.53	0.74	1.11	1.49
Honduran	0.27	0.60	0.58	1.16
Nicaraguan	0.11	0.10	0.22	0.18
Panamanian	0.05	0.06	0.07	0.04
Salvadoran	0.74	1.05	1.44	1.72
Other Central American	0.18	0.28	0.05	0.06
South American	0.48	0.26	0.89	0.42
Argentinian	0.06	0.02	0.14	0.05
Bolivian	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.02
Chilean	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.02
Colombian	0.13	0.09	0.22	0.11
Ecuadorian	0.07	0.04	0.15	0.10
Paraguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Peruvian	0.12	0.06	0.24	0.09
Uruguayan	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Venezuelan	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.02
Other South American	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.00
All other Hispanic or Latino	5.05	7.91	2.45	3.42
Not Hispanic or Latino	64.23	45.50	59.24	41.07

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 4.3. Within-group comparisons (2000) (%)

	2000			
	Cambodia Town (overestimate)			
	of United States	of CA State	of L.A. County	of Long Beach City
One race	0.02	0.15	0.54	11.26
White	0.01	0.06	0.25	5.60
Black or African American	0.02	0.34	0.83	11.32
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.02	0.15	0.63	12.50
Asian	0.11	0.30	0.97	19.94
Asian Indian	0.01	0.04	0.21	9.49
Bangladeshi	0.01	0.10	0.18	4.92
Cambodian	4.56	11.16	27.76	45.04
Chinese, except Taiwanese	0.01	0.03	0.08	7.29
Filipino	0.03	0.06	0.19	2.72
Hmong	0.08	0.20	20.12	34.93
Indonesian	0.01	0.03	0.08	4.39
Japanese	0.00	0.01	0.03	1.11
Korean	0.01	0.03	0.06	7.34
Laotian	0.22	0.66	13.32	57.23
Malaysian	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pakistani	0.00	0.03	0.12	7.23
Sri Lankan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Taiwanese	0.00	0.00	0.01	1.05
Thai	0.06	0.18	0.32	9.91
Vietnamese	0.08	0.20	1.13	17.38
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.08	0.27	1.18	5.69
Some other race	0.12	0.31	0.80	18.80
Two or more races	0.04	0.19	0.64	12.44
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	0.08	0.26	0.67	17.24
Mexican	0.11	0.26	0.74	17.62
Puerto Rican	0.01	0.17	0.61	9.92
Cuban	0.00	0.07	0.12	4.50
Other Hispanic or Latino	0.06	0.25	0.52	16.76
Dominican	0.00	0.18	0.52	10.98
Central American (excludes Mexican)	0.09	0.26	0.41	16.97

Table 4.3 continued

	2000			
	Cambodia Town (overestimate)			
	of United States	of CA State	of L.A. County	of Long Beach City
Costa Rican	0.05	0.27	0.58	12.95
Guatemalan	0.10	0.27	0.39	15.92
Honduran	0.14	1.02	1.55	25.28
Nicaraguan	0.03	0.10	0.24	9.82
Panamanian	0.03	0.29	0.90	14.03
Salvadoran	0.08	0.20	0.29	16.12
Other Central American	0.14	0.27	0.42	17.70
South American	0.01	0.09	0.18	6.19
Argentinian	0.01	0.03	0.07	2.91
Bolivian	0.00	0.03	0.08	4.65
Chilean	0.02	0.11	0.27	8.24
Colombian	0.01	0.14	0.31	8.08
Ecuadorian	0.01	0.10	0.17	5.60
Paraguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Peruvian	0.01	0.07	0.16	5.40
Uruguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Venezuelan	0.01	0.09	0.28	8.62
Other South American	0.02	0.07	0.16	6.75
All other Hispanic or Latino	0.07	0.27	0.61	17.72
Not Hispanic or Latino	0.01	0.10	0.45	8.02

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 4.4. Within-group comparisons (2010) (%)

	2010			
	Cambodia Town (overestimate)			
	of United States	of CA State	of L.A. County	of Long Beach City
One race	0.01	0.12	0.45	9.63
White	0.01	0.06	0.25	5.81
Black or African American	0.02	0.26	0.71	9.67
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.01	0.11	0.53	11.16
Asian	0.06	0.18	0.65	14.73
Asian Indian	0.00	0.02	0.11	4.70
Bangladeshi	0.02	0.32	0.66	19.61
Bhutanese	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Burmese	0.00	0.01	0.02	1.45
Cambodian	2.72	7.30	19.60	34.88
Chinese, except Taiwanese	0.00	0.01	0.04	3.94
Filipino	0.01	0.03	0.12	1.79
Hmong	0.02	0.06	7.73	17.06
Indonesian	0.01	0.02	0.07	4.20
Japanese	0.01	0.02	0.05	1.87
Korean	0.01	0.03	0.07	8.10
Laotian	0.11	0.36	7.45	39.55
Malaysian	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Nepalese	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pakistani	0.00	0.01	0.03	2.29
Sri Lankan	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.57
Taiwanese	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.69
Thai	0.06	0.19	0.38	12.31
Vietnamese	0.03	0.09	0.57	11.85
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.04	0.17	0.92	4.55
Some other race	0.08	0.23	0.67	15.28
Two or more races	0.02	0.11	0.47	8.40
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	0.05	0.19	0.56	13.83
Mexican	0.07	0.19	0.63	14.44
Puerto Rican	0.01	0.13	0.57	8.46
Cuban	0.00	0.08	0.17	5.62

Table 4.4 continued

	2010			
	Cambodia Town (overestimate)			
	of United States	of CA State	of L.A. County	of Long Beach City
Other Hispanic or Latino	0.03	0.16	0.35	11.78
Dominican	0.00	0.08	0.25	4.64
Central American (excludes Mexican)	0.05	0.18	0.31	12.59
Costa Rican	0.02	0.11	0.27	5.35
Guatemalan	0.06	0.20	0.31	12.82
Honduran	0.08	0.70	1.19	18.99
Nicaraguan	0.02	0.08	0.21	7.75
Panamanian	0.01	0.11	0.35	6.07
Salvadoran	0.05	0.13	0.21	11.40
Other Central American	0.08	0.21	0.35	11.79
South American	0.01	0.06	0.16	4.51
Argentinian	0.01	0.05	0.12	3.54
Bolivian	0.01	0.06	0.16	6.40
Chilean	0.01	0.03	0.08	2.43
Colombian	0.01	0.07	0.19	4.53
Ecuadorian	0.01	0.13	0.23	6.77
Paraguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Peruvian	0.01	0.04	0.12	3.70
Uruguayan	0.01	0.07	0.18	5.88
Venezuelan	0.01	0.10	0.34	8.94
Other South American	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
All other Hispanic or Latino	0.04	0.17	0.52	13.35
Not Hispanic or Latino	0.01	0.08	0.35	6.63

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Chapter 5

"Little India"

Introduction

In Artesia, California, a concentration of Indian businesses exists on several blocks along Pioneer Boulevard, comprising what is informally known as "Little India." Located in Los Angeles County (on the border of Los Angeles County and Orange County), Artesia is a small, primarily residential town of 1.62 square-miles, with a population in 2010 of 16,522. Artesia has a large immigrant population. The 2010 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate shows that roughly 43% (43.26%) of the City's population is of foreign-born status (compared to 35.64% for Los Angeles County, 27.19% for California State, and 12.72% for the U.S.). Additionally, roughly 63% (63.06%) of City residents age five and over are estimated as speaking a language other than English at home (compared to 56.41% for Los Angeles County, 43.01% for California State, and 20.12% for the U.S.).

Driving off the Pioneer Boulevard exit from the 91 Freeway, one can head south to find a conglomeration of Indian stores in the City. Sari shops, jewelry stores, markets, spice shops, beauty salons (such as those specializing in henna and threading), and of course, restaurants, are some of the types of businesses that may be readily found concentrated along a few blocks on Pioneer Boulevard, between approximately 183rd Street and South Street (see Figure 5.1). There are also service-oriented Indian businesses such as travel agencies, real estate agencies, and law offices (see Figure 5.2). However, this is not to say other ethnic businesses do not exist, nor that non-ethnic businesses are not to be found on what is one of the City's main streets (see Figure 5.3). Other ethnic businesses such as Filipino, Vietnamese, Korean, and Chinese establishments,

as well as non-ethnic, "general" stores, are also found. Diversity is also characteristic of the residential population in the City. Related to this, the Indian American population comprises a small proportion of the City's residential base. Indian Americans' claims for recognition are therefore confounded by the fact that a significant number of other ethnic group members are present in the area both as residents and as business owners.

[Insert Figure 5.1 about here]

[Insert Figure 5.2 about here]

[Insert Figure 5.3 about here]

The contention and debate regarding formal recognition centered around a proposal made by the State Assembly member for the area, as supported by the Indian American community, to place "Little India, Next Exit" signs along freeway exits in the area (Fellers 2003). The Assembly member's proposal signified the most recent developments to the debate; the struggle for signage is said to have ensued since the early 1990s (Harris 1992). There was vocal opposition, however, from other residents and business owners in the community in response to the proposal. The City Council, the majority of whom were opposed to the Assembly member's proposal, suggested instead alternative text for signage that was not specific to "Little India." Currently, however, no such signs exist by the freeway exits in the area.

How and why do proponents make claims for formal recognition, how and why do opponents contest these claims, and how do legislators assess and make decisions regarding them? What are the key factors that influence these processes? Three main issues are considered: the legislative and bureaucratic context in which claims are made, contested, and assessed; perceptions regarding the legitimacy of claims; and the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents.

Analysis

I. The Legislative and Bureaucratic Context of Claims- Making, Contesting, and Assessing

In the "Little India" case, one of the most influential shapers of how and why claims for formal recognition were made, contested, and assessed was the legislative and bureaucratic context in which they took place. Here, the legislative and bureaucratic context pertains mainly to jurisdictional issues posed by a governmental structure marked by multiple levels of government with "overlapping" legislative districts, coupled with the absence of policy or precedents relating to these types of recognitions and place developments. City Council members by definition represent the City of Artesia, and thus have jurisdiction over issues relating to it. The governing structure for the City of Artesia consists of a City Council made up of five Council members, one of whom serves as Mayor; there are no separate Council districts. Artesia also falls within a State Assembly district, however, and was one of the 11 cities/communities that its Assembly member represented. This also provides the Assembly member with oversight powers concerning that area, particularly when the matter at hand involved state regulations such as (state) freeway signs. There was, therefore, a local City Council involved alongside a State Assembly member, the two legislative entities being diametrically opposed in position regarding signage, but both having some oversight over the area of concern, and it being unclear who had jurisdiction regarding this issue. Additionally, in contrast to the city context for Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, no policy or precedents existed for recognition and signage of this type in the city context for "Little India." Furthermore, no precedents or similar types of developments existed in terms of creating destination spots akin to the city context for Cambodia Town.

The proposal for the "Little India" exit signs came from the State Assembly member's office in the form of Assembly Concurrent Resolution (ACR) 67 in 2003. The idea for signage,

however, had existed well before the ACR (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a; Potts 2004). The Indian community had previously tried to receive official recognition, but had been unsuccessful in their efforts. What the ACR proposed was for signage to be installed on the state freeway to notify and direct motorists of the approaching exit for "Little India." As explained in the Chaptered version of the ACR, "This bill would designate specified exits on State Highway Route 91 as the route for the designation of Little India in the City of Artesia, and would request the Department of Transportation to determine the costs of appropriate plaques and markers and, upon receiving donations from nonstate sources sufficient to cover that cost, to erect these plaques and markers" (Chaptered ACR 67, 2004). The Resolution was first introduced in the California State Assembly on March 20, 2003 and went through several committee hearings in both the Assembly and the Senate. It also went through two major amendments. The final vote to pass the Resolution took place in the State Assembly on August 25, 2004, and was subsequently Chaptered by the Secretary of State into Resolution Chapter 189, *Statutes of 2004* on September 14, 2004. It is important to note that no precedents existed in the City of Artesia for signage of this kind; consequently, measures such as established proposal procedures, for example, did not exist either. Previous attempts for signage were therefore more informal in nature; trying for signage meant expressing and communicating to the City this interest. As a proponent explained, "…for example, if he knows a Council member, he will talk to a Council member, and if I know a Council member, I'll talk to the Council member. And we tell them all the time. They go, oh yeah, we have to visit that someday. Never comes" (interview, December 2012).

Signage was formally proposed through ACR 67, but there are different assessments as to how the Resolution came about. Since jurisdictional issues with signage being proposed at the (state) Assembly level rather than the local city level contributed to much of the contention

regarding this case, understanding how the ACR came about and why the Indian community and the Assembly member proceeded with the ACR method seems important. Some remark that members of the Indian community approached the Assembly member because their efforts to date, through the City, had been unsuccessful. There was now seen to be an opportunity to pursue their interests through a legislator at another level of government who might be more sympathetic to their efforts, expanding then the scope of conflict (Schattschneider [1960] 1975). City Council meeting Minutes state that a staff person for the Assembly member "…said that back in November [presumably, in 2002] some members of the Indian businesses came to [the Assembly member] stating that they wanted to pursue the sign" (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 3). Furthermore, the staff person is also said to have "…said that [the Assembly member] had contingents and contingent businesses came to him and asked him to put forth this legislation" (Artesia City Council Minutes 4/2/2003, 3). However, others recall that the Assembly member initiated the efforts, based on his interactions with members of the Indian community:

> It wasn't their idea. It was the Assemblymember's. Assemblymember said you know what? I, he's had a lot of interaction with the Indian American community…and he said, you know, I'm gonna do something for them. I would like to do this freeway sign that says Little India, Next Exit. And that, and then he went and talked to the business owners, yeah, we love it! Oh, let's do this! You know, everybody's like, wow, this will be great, something we've always wanted… (interview with a Council member, December 2012)

Since the idea of signage had existed for quite some time, the Assembly member's actions via the ACR may have been to reflect constituents' interests. A proponent recalled that "…everybody said, hey, you know, it's a good idea to have a Little India. So on his own gesture, [the Assembly member] went ahead and did something good…" (interview, December 2012).

The Assembly member also pursued the proposal not as a bill but as an ACR (i.e., as a Resolution), and as legislative action at the state level, because of technical understandings regarding signage. A Resolution, which is not necessarily as binding as a bill, is said to have been pursued because it was understood to have been sufficient in terms of the requirements of the State's Department of Transportation (also known as Caltrans or the DOT) to act on the matter, and, at the time, as being sufficiently binding. That is, as it was understood, Caltrans would be able to install signage once a Resolution had been passed by the state legislature to do so (interview with a state elected official, December 2012). Additionally, freeway signs were understood to be managed at the state level since they pertain to state freeways (interview with a state elected official, December 2012), and so the understanding was that a proposal for signage would involve government at the state level. An opponent remarked that going through the Assembly member was not the problem in and of itself – plans for signage would eventually have had to go through the state level because they concerned state freeway signs, which would eventually be installed by a state agency, Caltrans, if passed. However, it is argued that this should have been something that was "embraced" by the community and its leaders, then taken for "affirmation" by the Assembly member (interview, December 2012). This points to larger questions concerning the delineation of jurisdiction.

The fact that there exist multiple levels of government (in this case, city and state), each with their own powers and prerogatives, becomes especially significant when discretion for oversight is not clearly delineated for legislators at these different levels, but who, technically speaking, have "overlapping" district areas. This was certainly the case with "Little India." There was contention between representatives at these different levels of government regarding the proposed signage. The regulatory and opportunity structures in terms of jurisdictional issues in

how signage was pursued, who was (or was not) included or consulted regarding the proposal, as well as, ultimately, who had the rightful power and authority – jurisdiction – to propose and decide on signage were extremely influential in how and why claims for formal recognition were made, contested, and assessed in the "Little India" case.

The development of events was such that upon learning about the ACR, four of the five Artesia City Council members sent a letter to Caltrans expressing their concern, stating that the City would "…take legal action because [Caltrans] did not allow them the opportunity for input" (City Council meeting Minutes 2004c, 9-10). A Council member explained that Caltrans had, in response, requested the City hold "town hall meetings" to receive feedback regarding the signage issue (City Council meeting Minutes 2004c, 9). What then followed were several special meetings relating to the "Little India" signs, in addition to discussions during regular Council meetings. The City also took action in response to ACR 67 through the City's Resolution 1782 (2003) (i.e., at the city level, adopted during the April 22, 2003 regular City Council meeting, not to be confused with state level Resolutions (ACRs)), through State Assembly Bill (AB) 2823 (2004) (Chaptered by the California Secretary of State on August 16, 2004), and through Resolution 1888 (2005) (at the city level, adopted during the January 25, 2005 special City Council meeting). (See Table 5.1 for a summary of key legislation.)

[Insert Table 5.1 about here]

The City's Resolution 1782 (2003) did two things: (1) it expressed the City Council's demand for the inclusion of local input regarding the issue, requiring for signage both a "community consensus" as well as "official city support," and (2) it explicitly recorded the

City's opposition to ACR 67 (City Council meeting Minutes 2003b).[1] During that same meeting, a motion was passed to hire lobbying services in response to the ACR. What followed was California state Assembly Bill (AB) 2823 (2004), authored by an Assembly member from a different Assembly district. The bill was introduced on February 20, 2004, and upon final vote for passage and approval by the Governor, was Chaptered by the Secretary of State into Chapter 238, *Statues of 2004* on August 16, 2004. In terms of registered "Positions" regarding the bill, the City of Artesia and the City of Riverside are listed as those in support in bill analyses for legislative committees;[2] "None received" is written under those in opposition (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004b).[3]

AB 2823 (2004) added Section 101.12 to the California Streets and Highways Code. The bill codified the following: "This bill allows Caltrans to place signs on state highways directing motorists to culturally unique and historically significant communities within a city or county if, among other conditions, the city's or county's governing board adopts a resolution requesting these signs" (California Assembly Appropriations Committee 2004, 1). Nine conditions are listed, the last of these having three sub-components/conditions. (See Appendix 1 for the full list of conditions for signage, as outlined in Section 101.12 of the Streets and Highways Code, as written in by AB 2823 (2004).) In short, AB 2823 (2004) specifies jurisdiction of community

[1] Specifically, this was "A Resolution of the City Council of the City of Artesia opposing freeway signs for areas and destinations within the City of Artesia before community consensus and official city support for the signage is obtained, and opposing Assembly Concurrent Resolution No. 67" (City Council Resolution 1782 2003c).

[2] Earlier analyses (for Assembly committees) show just the City of Riverside for registered support (California Assembly Transportation Committee 2004a; 2004b). Since this is an Assembly bill, it was first introduced in the Assembly and discussed in Assembly committees. The listing of both the City of Riverside and the City of Artesia as supporters of the legislation came later, in bill analyses for Senate committees; the bill was sent to the Senate upon successful passage from the Assembly.

[3] A bill information/fact sheet from the office of the Assembly member who authored AB 2823 lists the City of Riverside and the City of Artesia under "Co-Sponsor." The two "Co-Sponsor" cities are also listed under "Support," while "None on file" is listed under "Opposition."

signage proposals as belonging to the local[4] – in this case, city – government, something that was not explicitly delineated prior to the passage of this bill. In practice, however, this is argued to be nothing new – bill analyses, reflecting in part information from the office of the Assembly member who authored the bill, repeatedly explain that the bill is merely codifying what is already practiced as such regarding highway signs. Guidelines regarding these signs are also said to already exist in the Department of Transportation's Traffic Manual (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004b, 3). There are repeated references to how this bill "…codifies Caltrans' current administrative practice…" (California Assembly Appropriations Committee 2004, 1), "Codifies the current policy within the Department of Transportation (Caltrans)…" (California Assembly Transportation Committee 2004b, 1), and "…would codify policies of the Department of Transportation....This bill would place in statute the department's policy and practices regarding supplemental destination signs" (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004b, 1). This explicit codification is said to be needed because there are instances – as in Artesia – when conflicts exist between different groups: "The author argues that it is necessary to codify this proposal in state law because from time to time, instances arise where the state, local, and community interests may not be 'speaking with one voice'" (California Assembly Transportation Committee 2004b, 3).

Following the passage of AB 2823, the Artesia City Council adopted Resolution 1888 (2005) during the January 25, 2005 Council meeting, the last of the three in the series of special

[4] The bill, as originally proposed, before being amended pursuant to suggestions by the Assembly Committee on Transportation, was specific to cities. As explained in a bill analysis prepared for the Transportation Committee, the "Suggested amendment" is that "The committee may wish to consider where the bill should be amended so that it would apply to the placement and maintenance of signs that lead to destinations within the unincorporated area of a county or to a city and county" (California Assembly Transportation Committee 2004a, 3). Consequently, the locality being given jurisdiction was "expanded" to include "city, county, or city and county." That is, in California, most cities are incorporated cities within a county, but there are also "unincorporated area[s] of a county." This amendment was therefore made to ensure that jurisdiction was being given to the most local governing body for the area involved.

meetings and the one where a decision was to be made regarding what the sign would read. Resolution 1888 (2005) and the general proceedings of the January 25, 2005 special meeting delineated the sign (i.e., text) that the City would support, that being "Artesia International and Cultural Shopping District" (City Council Resolution 1888 2005, 2).[5] The City was opposed to the signage being proposed (i.e., "Little India"), as well as the ACR and the Assembly member's actions. However, it seems they were not in a position to be able to argue for no signage at all (given their opposition), but had to consider alternate signage. During a special Council meeting, a Council member explained that "...the reason of the meeting…was to gather information on what the text should be on the sign. [The Council member] said it was not a [debate] if there would be a sign or not. [The Council member] said that Caltrans would like input from the City" (City Council meeting Minutes 2004b, 2-3). That is, "…these meetings are for a suggestion of names because Caltrans had requested input from the City" (City Council meeting Minutes 2004a, 3). The understanding was then that a sign was to be proposed; what it would read would be a different issue.

With respect to the text that was chosen, Council members seemed to be seeking a broad, encompassing name that would include, but was not singularly specific to, the Indian community:

> I think we were trying to show that, we're working with you, you know, we want to put something up there, and by "International," the Indian community is part of the international, so we were trying to come up with a compromise that was something that would include, you know, the Asian community, the Portuguese

[5] Other name suggestions made during Council meetings regarding signage included (as written into Council Minutes): "India Town," "India Business District," "India Bazaar," "India Shopping District," "India Market," "International Shopping District," "Artesia International Shopping District," "Little India Shopping District," and "Bazaar of India" (Minutes 11/29/2004, 1-2). Additional name suggestions included "Multi-Culture Shopping District, All American Shopping Center, All American City, Artesia International Village, Tourist Town, International Marketplace, International Market Zone, International Village, Welcome to Artesia, Artesia a Growing Community, Little India Business District, Artesia Business District, Chinese/Korean/India/Philipino Business District, Business District" (City Council meeting Minutes 2004d, 3).

> community, the, you know, so that's where the, that's where the "International" came from. And so it's a little bit helpful for the Indian community, but not, not to the point where if it said Little India, something, you know, there…. But it's, we were trying to come up with a compromise that said something about our diversity and international culture that was here… (interview, December 2012)

> I think it really enlightened us to how diverse our community was. And I think it enlightened us to maybe, okay, you know, now that we have an opportunity, and signage is being proposed, can we take advantage of that and put something broader that will help all businesses…. The City was willing to embrace something that was gonna bring more business, and I think the other ethnic businesses were excited of the opportunity to, hey, this is something, you know, special, maybe, you know, if people see something that's so internationally broad on a freeway, on the street, maybe, yeah, it would, let's go check it out. I think they embraced that. So, was the Indian community satisfied with it? Probably not. Because of course they wanted a more definitive identity… (interview, December 2012)

In terms of why an alternate sign was adopted (i.e., as opposed to simply opposing signage), it also seemed important for some City officials how the community might interpret a blatant rejection of signage. As a Council member explained, "I think that we could have said no, but that would be very harsh, and so I think we were trying to show that, we were trying to come up with a compromise" (interview, December 2012). For others, however, the alternate sign itself was interpreted to be political play:

> To try to appease the business people, to say, see, we're not against you, we're trying to work with you. Here's our idea. I think it was just a front. I don't think it was genuine. I don't think it's really. Their true intention was they didn't want it. And this was just a, an alternative that really wasn't gonna go anywhere….Nobody ever wanted it. No one's gonna pay for that. It was just the City's way of saying, *if* you're gonna put up a sign, this is what we want to read, not Little India. That was just their way of saying this is what we can live with; we can't live with that. (interview with a supporter, December 2012)

Ultimately, the end result is that no such road signs exist by the Pioneer Boulevard freeway exits. Though the City's Resolution 1888 (2005) specified that requests would be made to Caltrans to enact the alternate signs, as well as "…[authorizing] City staff to undertake the design, development, procurement, and erection of 'trailblazing' signs at appropriate locations in the

City to provide directions to motorists traveling on local city streets as to how to proceed to the community designated…" (City Council Resolution 1888 2005, 3), signage was not further pursued.[6] A Council member noted,

> The road had been so rocky, and…we were just done….And, and you know, the issue that we have at this point is that it was so bad at that point, we thought, because afterwards when some of us said you know, I don't really mind if, I mean, I think it would be good for business you know if we did have a sign. There, the nerves were too raw, and now we had to wait. You know it was like okay, now we have to wait, there's nothing we can do, because, the hackles were up. You know in other words, and people were wounded by what happened there. (interview, December 2012)

Additionally, these signs require private funding; no party seemed interested in paying for a sign reading "Artesia International and Cultural Shopping District." Though this alternate sign is argued to be a more inclusive moniker, the incentive for action seems greater when a more specific name is involved, invoking a specific group. This coupled with the tension from signage proceedings contribute to an absence of signs.

A central element of the legislative and bureaucratic context for claims regarding "Little India" was the question of jurisdiction – who had the legitimate legislative authority to act regarding signage proposals? City officials claimed that they should be given authority over matters concerning their district; in the least, they should be consulted. For opponents, the content of signage was problematic, as was the process by which it was pursued. The City was largely opposed given the Assembly member's "unilateral" actions regarding a matter which concerned and affected them. This was emphasized during a Council meeting regarding the

[6] Some Indian merchants found creative ways around the failure of the official propositions for signage. They participated in the Adopt-a-Highway program whereby they indirectly advertised their businesses and "Little India" by having such titles appear on the signs. These hardly substitute as road signs, however, as they are not conducive to being easily spotted by motorists.

signage proposal when a call was made for a City Resolution to be drafted responding to and opposing the ACR (this became Resolution 1782 (2003)). When a City official "…inquired as to what language should be contained in the resolution" (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 4), among other things, a Council member "…stated that the language needed to be strong on how [the Assembly member] acted unilaterally and did not include the City and community" (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 4). Community members, in terms of residents as well as business owners, made similar arguments in opposition. A resident said that "…for [the Assembly member] to make a decision affecting the City of Artesia without any input from the City was undemocratic" (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 2). A comment from "a businessman and resident of Artesia" was that "[the Assembly member] doesn't understand our community….He said that it insulted him to know that someone was trying to slide everything by without consulting with the City Council and residents" (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 2). A member of a local business organization "said that it was wrong of [the Assembly member] to step over the City without checking with them" (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 1). Interestingly, this argument was also identified by proponents of signage. The tension between the City and the Assembly member (and the "fight" for jurisdiction) was also understood by supporters of the ACR as driving much of the opposition towards it. As a proponent explained, "The problem, the conflict was not between Indian and the Council members. The conflict was between [the Assembly member] and the City Council" (interview, December 2012). That is, "…the Assemblyman proposing it…" (interview, December 2012) was problematic.

Deeply discontent with the "unilateral" actions taken regarding signage, opponents at the city level argued for the right to local determination and "home rule" (interview with a Council

member, December 2012) – i.e., the capacity and authority of cities to be able to make decisions regarding matters which affect them. This was an argument echoed by opponents in the community at large; a sign held in a march/protest regarding the ACR asserted, "'Let Artesia Decide'" (photo caption in Bernstein and Callard 2004). This argument was one that was also registered and addressed in bill analyses regarding the ACR. A bill analysis for the Senate Transportation Committee states that "The essential policy question for the Committee is whether the proposed designation by the Legislature and freeway signage is appropriate given the opposition within the affected community" (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004a, 2). As it was explained to the Committee, opponents "…strongly believe that the issue is a local matter and should be addressed by the City Council and local residents, not by the Legislature" (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004b, 4). Additionally, in a section entitled "Related legislation and policy consistency" in an analysis of the ACR, it is explained that "The current resolution would appear to be at odds with the proposal in AB 2823 in that the City of Artesia has passed a resolution opposing the proposed destination signs. If the Committee were to pass both this resolution and AB 2823, a contradiction would exist relative to the requirement of a local supporting request" (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004b, 2-3). Discussions regarding proposed legislation therefore could not take place without touching upon the issue of jurisdiction.

This argument regarding jurisdiction was also framed in a way where the concern extended beyond the specific signage issue at hand, beyond the specific city involved, and beyond the specific Assembly member and the specific Assembly action. The concern was explained as one regarding local autonomy more generally, in consideration of implications regarding what else this may lead to, and what else this may mean for cities and local

governance. In this sense, City officials explained that this was a matter specific to the City of Artesia, but one which also resonated with local officials elsewhere:

> Even people outside of Artesia were voicing their opinions, about it. And it was negative. It wasn't, you should put the sign up. For the most part it was, I wouldn't want that in my city, I wouldn't let them do it, I wouldn't let the legislature do that to me. You know, in another city, officials were saying, you know what? If they do that to you, what are they gonna do to us? They're gonna start passing laws up there that affect our cities, without us even knowing. I mean, the Council, the mayor didn't know, the Council didn't know, that this was even going on up there. Um, you know so what's next. So there was a real trepidation and a real concern from other elected officials, other city managers… (interview with a Council member, December 2012)

Additionally, there seemed to be a recognition of more appropriate spheres for the involvement of officials from different levels of government, of which this was not one:

> I think there were other interests that were saying, we have to stop this because, people are very interested in home rule, you know, on cities, that they decide. You know, the cities decide. As long as, you know, the health and welfare and everything is taken care of, then um, there's a lot of leeway, you know, for the cities. But then when they start, you know, encroaching upon, you know, city, especially when it's not, you know, like a safety issue or something, then I can see them getting involved. (interview with a Council member, December 2012)

Ultimately, "home rule" was granted to cities with AB 2823 (2004) giving jurisdiction regarding signage to the local governing body. As explained in the bill's fact/information sheet, "This bill is necessary because from time to time instances have arisen where the legislature, the Department of Transportation, the community seeking the recognition of the directional sign, and the local jurisdiction may not be speaking with one voice on the proposal. If adopted, this bill will assure that this will not happen in the future by virtue of the local jurisdiction's necessary involvement" (AB 2823 Fact/Information Sheet). Signage of ethnic places was thereby specified to be a matter of local determination.

Jurisdictional uncertainties for legislative action also meant bureaucratic uncertainties for agencies such as the Department of Transportation. Signage denoting ethnic places is common in

southern California; there was definitely precedence for Caltrans in terms of installing such signs. For Caltrans, "It has been a general practice to provide directional signs to communities located within the boundaries of an incorporated city, only after the city passes a resolution which formally recognizes the community as having a significant impact in the area" (Caltrans Memorandum 1993). In this, "The city's resolution must designate the community boundary limits and include a request for California Department of Transportation to place guide signs. The community must be contiguous to the state highway" (Caltrans Memorandum 1993). Information on this memo was specified to be included in the State's Traffic Manual, but these guidelines do not authoritatively restrict signage proposals to the purview of city governments (i.e., as in a statute). Rather, the memo states the responsibilities of a city in reference to signage proposals in light of the fact that the "general practice" has been to follow resolutions as passed by cities. Indeed, in response to concerns expressed by City officials regarding the proposed "Little India" signs, Caltrans relayed the Department's neutrality on these matters. Caltrans also replied that though it is generally the procedure for cities to pass resolutions recognizing ethnic communities, since this is not the case in this context, the Department's *recommendation* would be for the City to contact the Assembly member to discuss with him the City's concerns (Caltrans Letter 2003).

In City Council Minutes, it was explained by a Council member, however, that

> …a procedure to be followed was requested by CalTrans. He said one of the requests was to have town hall meetings and get some feedback….[Another Council member] said the reason we are here to [*sic*] today is because four of the councilmembers sent a letter to Caltrans and said they were going to take legal action because they did not allow them the opportunity for input. He said there was a need to continue with the meetings and finish the process. (City Council meeting Minutes 2004c, 9-10)

In essence, Caltrans is the agency that installs the signs, but strictly speaking, determinations

regarding signs (beyond technical specificities) were not in their purview. Although there were guidelines mentioned in the Traffic Manual, there was much bureaucratic uncertainty given the legislative conflict regarding jurisdiction. As a Council member explained,

> Caltrans is in the middle. You know, they were saying, we don't, they were saying, we don't need this. We don't want any problems, we've got the state fighting against the city, and you know, they're, they're in between this whole thing…And then once [another Assembly member] you know passed the, the bill [AB 2823], then, they didn't have to. I mean, in other words then we took action and they didn't, and they were, to me, it was okay, it's done, you know, Caltrans was, okay, now we know what we're doing. Um, because they were kind of dragged into it. (interview, December 2012)

Bureaucratic action in terms of the Department of Transportation was thus heavily contingent on resolving the jurisdictional matters at hand.

The legislative structure (in terms of there being multiple levels of government) coupled with questions regarding jurisdiction became significant in shaping the politics and processes that ensued regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places; there were two legislative bodies both claiming the authority to act, though each espoused different policy positions relating to the proposed signs. This produced the larger effect whereby residents and business owners, depending on where they stood on the issue, could rally their support for, and also demand representation from, the respective legislative body in agreement with their position. Jurisdictional issues relating to multiple legislative bodies and overlapping legislative districts in terms of how this relates to representation – of groups and of interests – was also characteristic of the legislative context in the "Little India" case.

Given their interest in "Little India" signage, the Indian community felt unrepresented by the City Council. That the City knew of the Indian community's interest in signage was recognized by both supporters and opponents. A proponent explained that "Everybody approached [the Council]. They don't even care. They don't care. Indian community gets zero

help" (interview, December 2012). The Assembly member is also said to have been approached because "…it was the same complaint they had, that Council was totally ineffective and, and wasn't really listening to the community," and that people were "[voicing] their frustration about their Council" (interview, December 2012). Likewise, a City official explained that signage had been something that had always been mentioned by the Indian community; since they did not feel a strong enough level of support for it by the Council, it seemed they went through the Assembly member instead (interview, December 2012).

Just as the Indian community felt unrepresented by the City Council, opponents felt unrepresented by the Assembly member given their position against signage; the Assembly member's proposal for signage was considered exclusive by those opposed. Part of this related to issues arising from jurisdictional matters and opponents' claims against the "unilateral" actions of the Assembly member. As a resident explained,

> The biggest obstacle was trying to get the city's point of view of not wanting [the ACR] dictated to us from the Assembly office down, and it was getting the Assemblyman to understand, you know, that he needed to be more of a partner to the city, versus to the Indian community. Okay? He was trying to drive, he was trying to force something to happen without giving the city the benefit of being in charge of the city, okay? He's as Assemblyman responsible for many cities, or, a handful of cities, okay? But he's not a dictator. He's there to represent. And I think he was not representing in a manner that could have made this maybe easier for the city to maybe want to maybe go along with it. (interview, December 2012)

Opponents claimed that they were also part of the Assembly member's constituency, and that their places of residence and business were also within his district. Signs held in a march/protest against the ACR read "…we want our voice heard!" and "Who do you represent?" (photo caption in Bernstein and Callard 2004). This jurisdictional issue was then also one regarding legislative districts, constituents, and representation. As implicated during a Council meeting in a discussion between a Council member and a staff person for the Assembly member, "[A Council

member] inquired if the City Council would be considered one of [the Assembly member's] contingents. [The Assembly member's staff person] replied by saying they certainly would along with the other 400,000. [A Council member] stated that he thought the newly elected assemblyman would want to reach out to the community he works for" (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 4-5). The Assembly member's legislative district and constituent base extended beyond the City of Artesia alone. While the Indian community was included amongst his constituents, the City's argument was that they also should be included amongst those whom he was to represent.

Given the diametrically opposed positions of the City Council and the Assembly member's office, what explains this great divide regarding signage, and how might matters pertaining to the legislative structure relate to the different policy preferences adopted by the respective legislative bodies? What explains why the City Council was so adamant about local input and its opposition to the "Little India" signs, even if, presumably, that isolated a concentration of businesses argued to be extremely important to the economic welfare of the City? Related to this, what explains why the Assembly member was so adamant in his push for signage and support for the interests of the Indian American community, especially in light of vocal opposition from the City Council as well as the many residents and other business owners in Artesia (who also were his constituents and of whom he also was a representative, given that the City at large was part of his Assembly district)?

If, for the Assembly member, his district and constituency encompassed several cities and communities, for City representatives, the City alone was their district. Given that many of those who were vocally opposed to signage were residents in the City, there was an interest for Council members to represent their constituents. That is, reelection concerns can be greatly

influential of city officials' actions. A proponent of signage conjectured that opposition came from the Council because of tension regarding the Assembly member's actions, and also because of a fear that "…they will never get reelected again maybe? Because if they're doing this to Indian community. But, I don't know why they would fear from it. Because if the people are, are against it, they'll come and speak" (interview, December 2012). Additionally, since the Indian community may have a notable business concentration in the City but do not live there in significant numbers, a proponent explained that "…they don't have any power. They don't have any power because they cannot vote….So, that could be a reason, because what is it Indians are gonna do anyway? You know, even, they're not gonna, they're gonna, not gonna elect me, or then they're not gonna recall me or something, so what effect do they have?" (interview, December 2012). Council members were thus identified as being motivated by the interests of those who could have an effect on them. A supporter of signage made this point clear: "Even though they will visit it some day, not today, a month from now, or two months from now or three months from now, I'm gonna tell you, and I can challenge you, there will not be a Little India. I can tell you right now, because they're scared. They're scared not of the, they're scared they may not get reelected again" (interview, December 2012). Reelection concerns as motivating legislative action was also speculated on by City officials. As a City official explained, "From a Council, point of view, there may have been some that were afraid that if they did go with this, that they wouldn't be elected again….That they are afraid they will lose their position, um, so there was a cost there. I mean, perceived from, you know, the Council…" (interview, December 2012). The legislative context for action, in terms of questions regarding jurisdiction, districts, constituency, and representation, was also linked to electoral concerns.

In specific consideration of the "Little India" debate, issues relating to the legislative

structure and context can be argued to have strongly influenced the position of both the City Council as well as the Assembly member. Critical to a discussion of reelection is the composition of one's district in terms of voters. For the Assembly member, his district was constituted by 11 cities and communities, Artesia being one of those 11 that he represented. His constituency and district "size" was much larger than that of the City Council members. Since there was a vocal and attentive (Arnold 1990) group of residents opposed to the proposed "Little India" signs, a focus on reelection concerns would lead to the conclusion that Council members were doing what any politician interested in electoral consequences would have done – please the voters that brought them to office, who are also the ones that can take them out. The district being just the city alone, upsetting a significant portion of that district could very likely mean electoral costs for legislators. In contrast, the Assembly member could afford to go against the majority of constituents in Artesia, technically speaking, as his district and thus constituent base reach well beyond Artesia's city boundaries. In accordance with views affirming the influence of electoral concerns (Arnold 1990; Fenno 1978; Mayhew 1974), the difference in legislative behavior and policy position between legislators from these different levels of government might very well be explained by the nature, characteristics, and composition of their districts and constituents.

However, the business community is also important to legislators in that they affect the economic welfare and livelihood of the district. In this sense, in considering the legislative decision-making process with respect to the formal recognition of ethnic places, whom do legislators pay attention to, especially when there are conflicts in opinion – the residential, thus traditional constituents to a district, or the commercial population within a district who provide economic benefits, but are not constituents in the traditional sense of being voters within the said

district? This conflict also points to questions regarding representation – whom, and what (i.e., interests), do legislators represent? That is, legislators represent both their district's constituents as well as district interests. When there is a disparity or dissonance between the two, the implication is that legislators must choose one over the other.

One way to estimate the conditions for legislative behavior is to consider the calculus of perceived costs and benefits fueling competing interests, of supporters and opponents of signage, of businesses and residents, and of co-ethnic and non-co-ethnic members. This relates to Arnold's (1990) theories of the distribution and calculation of costs and benefits and the "causal chain" between "policy instruments" and "policy effects." For proponents, signage is argued to be beneficial for all in that it will attract more consumers to the area. Indian businesses will profit from this, but this will also mean that the contributions made by these businesses to the City in terms of sales tax revenue will also increase, as will the sales in other (i.e., non-co-ethnic) businesses by virtue of this increase in the absolute volume of traffic and consumers into the city. This was fervently argued by the Assembly member:

> "…the Little India sign will not just benefit the Indo-American merchants located along Pioneer Boulevard, it will benefit all merchants in Artesia. China Town in Los Angeles has numerous non-Chinese businesses. The same is true of Little Tokyo, Korea Town, and Little Armenia. These businesses have thrived, benefiting from their proximity to popular ethnic hubs. The aforementioned areas also have directional signs that attract new shoppers and tourists. These new shoppers end up patronizing all of the businesses in the area, which is precisely what will happen in Artesia. By increasing business and commerce in Artesia, we will ensure that the City has the necessary revenue to provide vital services, such as police and fire protection, clean parks, recreational activities, access to public libraries, and senior services, for all Artesia residents to enjoy." (ACR 67 Bill Analysis 2004, 3-4)

However, with respect to how the issue is initially understood, non-co-ethnic members perceive benefits to be quite concentrated and costs to be widely dispersed; many bear the costs for a few to benefit.. That is, non-Indians (residents as well as business owners) in Artesia see

"Little India" signs as only benefiting Indian American businesses, a highly selective sector of beneficiaries. The costs of these signs, however, are perceived to be borne by everyone else, in the form of increased traffic and congestion (if indeed formal recognition leads to an increase in the number of people coming into the city), and as an inaccurate depiction of the racial/ethnic composition of the City's residential as well as business populations. This latter point regarding the perceived costs borne by other business owners in the area relates both to more general establishments as well as other ethnic-specific businesses, in that a fear exists that being located in an area recognized as "Little India" would hurt their operations. For other ethnic-specific businesses in particular, this relates to concerns that the "authenticity" of their establishments would be questioned in then being located in an area designated in specific reference to another group. In this sense, both proponents and opponents of "Little India" signs are influential, but most of the proponents (i.e., Indian American business owners) are understood as not being voters within the City, thus having little political weight in traditional terms.

How and why claims for formal recognition are made, contested, and assessed are influenced by issues relating to the legislative and bureaucratic context in which these processes take place. In the "Little India" case, this was marked by factors relating to the issue of jurisdiction given the unclear delineation of authority regarding the matter and the diametrically opposed positions of legislators at two different levels of government, as well as how this relates to legislative districts, constituents and representation. This was especially so given the contrasting context when compared to Los Angeles (for Koreatown and Little Bangladesh) and Long Beach (for Cambodia Town), where a policy and/or precedents existed either for recognitions of this type, or for the idea of creating destination spots within cities.

II. The Legitimacy of Claims

The context for claims in the "Little India" case was different from the other cases in that a policy or precedents did not exist regarding the formal designation of internal areas of a city. This then brings in contestations of claims for recognition in the sense of being able to make such claims in the first place, as well as who is able to make such claims. The idea of eligibility was an important dimension to legitimacy in the case of "Little India." That there is often a difference between the people who live in an area proposed for designation and the dominant business community there is not new. That is, the people who propose formal recognition do not necessarily live in that place. A similar argument is made in other cases by opponents that the majority of the people who live in the area to be designated are not co-ethnic group members of the group reflected in the place name (though, different analyses – i.e., within-group analyses "versus" within-geography analyses – illustrate how there can be varied interpretations regarding the population profile of given areas). However, the main argument in these different contexts tends to be regarding the need for an inclusion of others in the surrounding community, not so much on whether claims could be made at all. In the "Little India" case, the idea of signage, of formal recognition of an internal city area, especially with respect to a specific ethnic group, was "new." Since there was no policy regarding such claims, nor precedents, whether this group had the legitimate "right" to make those claims at all was an important aspect to opponents in contesting the proposal for signage, as well as for those assessing these claims.

To analyze the race/ethnic population distributions for the City and for the "Little India" area, a "Little India" area was constructed via census tracts, as with the other case studies. Construction via census tracts creates a "Little India" area that is an overestimate since what is "Little India," like Little Bangladesh and Cambodia Town, is said to be an area spanning a few

blocks along one main street. Census tracts, however, extend beyond that main thoroughfare. That the construction is an overestimate seems more marked in this context since the City itself is extremely small; in geography, there is only a slight difference between the constructed "Little India" area and the City.

Table 5.2 shows that when considering the population in terms of race groups (non-Hispanic or Latino (one race) groups and the Hispanic or Latino population also considered as a race group), in both 2000 and 2010, for both the City and the constructed "Little India" area, three groups stand out as noticeably larger than the rest: non-Hispanic or Latino White (one race), non-Hispanic or Latino Asian (one race), and Hispanic or Latino (of any race). These are the three main groups in both the City and in the "Little India" area. Though in geography the constructed "Little India" area differs only slightly from the City at large, there is a difference when considering the composition of the population in the two areas. In 2000 and 2010, both the non-Hispanic or Latino White and Asian populations constituted a larger proportion of the population in the "Little India" area than they did in the City. However, the Hispanic or Latino population constituted a smaller proportion of the population in the ethnic place area than they did in the City, both in 2000 and in 2010. To a certain extent this suggests that the ethnic place area is an area of significance for some groups.

[Insert Table 5.2 about here]

Comparing between groups for each area, we see in Table 5.2 that in 2000, the Hispanic or Latino population constituted the largest group in the City (38.29%). The non-Hispanic or Latino White population was second largest (27.25%) and the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian population third largest (27.23%), but there was an almost insignificant difference between the two groups (i.e., the White and Asian populations). When looking at the "Little India" area for

2000, however, the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian population was the largest group (32.75%), followed closely by the non-Hispanic or Latino White population (32.58%). There was, however, an almost insignificant difference between these two groups. The Hispanic or Latino population was the third largest group (26.55%) in the "Little India" area. In 2010, in contrast, the pattern was the same in both the City and the "Little India" area: the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian population was the largest in both areas, the Hispanic or Latino population the second largest, and the non-Hispanic or Latino White population the third largest. In the City, however, the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian (36.87%) and Hispanic or Latino (35.77%) populations were close in size, while the non-Hispanic or Latino White population (21.29%) was at a distant third. In the "Little India" area, however, the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian population (43.27%) was noticeably larger, with the Hispanic or Latino population (25.43%) and the non-Hispanic or Latino White population (24.79%) being close in size. Between 2000 and 2010, however, the non-Hispanic or Latino Asian population increased in size, while the non-Hispanic or Latino White and the Hispanic or Latino populations decreased in size (though only slightly for the Hispanic or Latino population), both in the City as well as the "Little India" area.

People do not necessarily live and work in the same place; their affiliations to different places tend to be multiple and varied. In the "Little India" case, a differentiation was made between residents and non-residents of the City, this being linked to perceptions regarding the legitimacy of claims for recognition, in terms of eligibility and the grounds on which those arguments could be made. As with the other cases, this ethnic place is also commercially-based. Signage was being sought not to mark an ethnic residential concentration, but to demarcate an ethnic business concentration. The Indian American population constitutes a noticeable business community in Artesia. This is less so the case for the residential community. Though they are a

growing population, Indian Americans ("Asian Indians" as reported in the census) make up a small percentage of the (residential) population in Artesia, at 4.60% in 2000 and 7.86% in 2010 (see Table 5.3). A similar pattern is seen when looking at the Indian American population in the "Little India" area, though they constitute a slightly larger proportion of the population there than they do in the City. Asian Indians constituted 5.72% of the ethnic place area population in 2000 and 9.45% in 2010.

[Insert Table 5.3 about here]

Disaggregating the Asian category (one race, but not distinguished for non-Hispanic or Latino) for the City (see Table 5.3) shows that when considering the Asian national origin groups (again, for these groups alone, and not differentiated for non-Hispanic or Latino) reported in the census, in 2000, the largest Asian national origin group was the Filipino community at 10.35% of the City population. Asian Indians, at 4.60% of the City population, were the second largest Asian national origin group in 2000, followed closely by Koreans at 4.50%, and the Chinese, except Taiwanese population as fourth largest at 3.86%. (These are the largest of the national origin groups for the Asian population – the other Asian national origin groups constitute very small proportions of both the City and the "Little India" area populations, both in 2000 and 2010.) The same pattern could be seen for 2010, with Filipinos again the largest of the Asian national origin groups at 12.19% of the City population. Asian Indians were the second largest at 7.86% and Koreans were again the third largest, but at 4.94% were a more distant third than was the case in 2000. The Chinese, except Taiwanese population was again the fourth largest at 4.81% of the City population. However, if we report for the single Chinese category included in the shortened list of Asian national origin groups reported with one race categories, we get 5.07% for the Chinese population in the City in 2000 and 6.16% in 2010. Assessed this way, the

Filipino population would still be the largest of the Asian national origin groups in the City both in 2000 as well as 2010, but the Chinese population would be the second largest in 2000, followed by the Asian Indian population, then the Korean population. For 2010, Asian Indians would remain the second largest Asian group, with the Chinese population being the third largest, followed by the Korean population. With the Chinese population (i.e., for the single Chinese category listed with one race categories) being 6.16% of the City population in 2010 and 7.39% of the population in the "Little India" area, the same patterns could be seen for the "Little India" area both in 2000 as well as 2010, in terms of the ordering of group sizes for the Asian national origin groups. For these four largest Asian groups, we also see that the percentages reported for each group in the "Little India" area show a slight increase when compared to considering them at the City level, both for 2000 as well as 2010.

By 2010, then, the Indian American residential population in the City had grown quite noticeably (a growth of 72.28% from 2000), such that a response could perhaps be made against the criticism that they were only, or at least mostly, present in the City as a business community, and not as residents. However, though the Indian American community is a large group amongst the Asian population, and a growing population, other groups are the plurality, constituting a larger proportion of the population. Of the national origin groups reported for the Asian and Hispanic or Latino populations, the Mexican community constituted the largest group in both the City and the "Little India" areas for both 2000 and 2010 (see Table 5.3). Other national origin groups for the Hispanic or Latino population were extremely small in size, both in the City and in the "Little India area, in 2000 as well as 2010. The order discussed for the Asian national origin groups thus follows the Mexican population in terms of comparative group size in the City and in the ethnic place area for both 2000 and 2010.

Is the Indian American population (residing) in the "Little India" area a significant concentration then of the Indian American community in the City, the County, the State, or in the United States? Within-group analyses suggest that when the Asian Indian population in the "Little India" area is considered as a proportion of the Asian Indian population in the nation (0.04% in 2000 and in 2010), the State (0.23% in 2000 and 0.24% in 2010), and the County (1.20% in 2000, 1.57% in 2010), the "Little India" area does not seem to be a place of significant (residential) concentration for that group, both in 2000 and 2010 (see Table 5.4 and Table 5.5). The story may at first appear to change when the group is considered as a proportion of the Indian American population in the City (the Asian Indian population in the "Little India" area constituting 95.76% of the Asian Indian population in the City in 2000 and 95.69% in 2010), but this has to be taken in context given the construction of the "Little India" area, and this as was done within a small city. The Asian Indian population is significantly concentrated in the "Little India" area when considered in terms of the Asian Indian population in the City, but the geography is such that the "Little India" area does not differ greatly from the City at large, given the overestimated construction of "Little India" in the context of a small city. Thus, rather than constituting a "small" area of the city, as was the case with the constructions for Koreatown and Little Bangladesh in Los Angeles, and Cambodia Town in Long Beach, the construction for "Little India" produces an area that captures much of the City at large. The total population in the "Little India" area accounts for 77.11% of the City's total population in 2000, and 79.63% in 2010. Moreover, there were also some groups who were small in count, leading to some concentrations of 100%, or the other "extreme" of lower concentration figures in the 20-, 30-, or 40- percent range, comparatively speaking.

[Insert Table 5.4 about here]

[Insert Table 5.5 about here]

Of the groups reported in Table 5.4, the Asian Indian population showed the largest concentration of group members in the "Little India" area when considered with respect to groups' populations in the County in 2000. The Taiwanese population showed the largest concentration when considered for the groups' populations in the State and the nation in 2000. If the Taiwanese population is combined with the Chinese, except Taiwanese population, then the Costa Rican population in the "Little India" area reflects the largest concentration of groups' populations in the State in 2000, while the Filipino population would be the largest when considered for groups' populations in the United States in 2000. For 2010, most notable is the analysis for the Nepalese population (who were included in 2010 amongst the Asian national origin groups reported in the census). The Nepalese population constituted the largest percentages when groups' populations in the "Little India" area are considered as proportions of groups' populations in the County (19.47%), State (3.83%), and nation (0.41%) (see Table 5.5).

In terms of the business community in Artesia, although there is a significant, visible concentration of Indian establishments in the City, estimates of the Indian business population do not necessarily mark them as the clear majority in City commerce, although accounts tend to vary. By one estimate, "Indian Americans run about 20% of Artesia's 385 retail businesses" (Fellers 2003). Another account, however is that "According to latest statement of [a City Council member] more than 30% of the businesses in Artesia belong to Indians and more than 50% of the business located on Pioneer Blvd belong to Indian merchants….There will be 50 percent or more businesses coming to Artesia this year" (Sethi 2004). In count, a 1986 estimate was that "In Artesia, nearly two dozen businesses are now owned or operated by Indians…" (Churm 1986). A 1997 estimate places the number of Indian businesses in a three-block area in

the City at 120, and 80% of the businesses on Pioneer Boulevard as being Indian establishments (Hamilton 1997). Still another estimate is that "Ethnic Indians own about 80 of the 900 businesses in the 1.6-square-mile city, including more than 50 concentrated along Pioneer" (Harris 1992). Analogous to the within-group analyses for population profiles, the concentration of Indian businesses can be considered from a within-group perspective also. That is, whatever the numbers may be in terms of the number and percentage of businesses in the area and in the City that are Indian establishments, the Indian commercial concentration in Artesia makes the area and the City a significant place for the Indian community. It is said that "The shops [in Artesia] make up the largest concentration of Indian-oriented businesses west of Chicago" (*Los Angeles Times* 1992). One account was that "Only Jackson Heights in Queens and Chicago's Devon Street have more native stores and restaurants, according to a spokesman at the Indian Embassy in Washington" (Churm 1986). By another account more than a decade later, the concentration in Artesia is said to be "…the second-largest Little India in America after Jackson Heights in New York" (Hamilton 1997). "Little India" in Artesia is said to cater not only to a local/regional customer base, but also to people from places like San Diego as well as even out-of-state consumers who purposefully make trips out to the area (Churm 1986; Hamilton 1997; Harris 1992), at least according to these accounts from the 1980s and 1990s. It is widely recognized by both supporters and opponents of signage, however, that the Indian community may run businesses in Artesia, but in terms of residence, that they tend to live elsewhere. This is acknowledged in the text of the ACR itself – that many Indian Americans live in "neighboring cities close to Little India" (ACR 67 2003, 2).

Even if a significant Indian business community existed in the City, opponents argued that Artesia is diverse not only in terms of the race/ethnic make-up of City residents, but also in

terms of its business community. A community member argued this point in a letter to the editor in a local newspaper:

> When the assemblyman says it's good that the Indian merchants have built and grown on a half-mile of Pioneer Blvd., I don't disagree. What [the Assembly member] left out is that before you get to 183rd [Street] there are 241 businesses you pass along the way. Out of these 241 business [*sic*] only 17 are Indian merchants. The others are Korean, Chinese, American, Mexican, Vietnamese, Philippine and many more. Of all the 372 businesses down Pioneer from the 91 Freeway to South Street only 105 are Indian merchants. I would think [the Assembly member] would look at these facts and say, this sign is not reflective of the city of Artesia or of Pioneer Blvd. We are a city full of diversity and are very proud of this fact. (*Los Cerritos Community News* 2004)

Diversity is thus said to be characteristic of Artesia's business community, and it is claimed that Indian Americans are not the majority amongst the business population either. In this, the claim that a sign specific to "Little India" would also benefit non-Indian businesses was contested. Fears were expressed by non-Indian, other ethnic-specific merchants that the authenticity of their businesses would be questioned and that they would be overshadowed by a sweeping identity of the area being known as "Little India." Merchants and City officials explained this concern, and how it relates to contestations of the legitimacy of claims being made for signage. When asked if there might be potential costs to signage, a Council member explained,

> For the non-Indian, um, you know, commerce, you know, again, they may think, well, they're gonna think that my Asian store isn't here because it says Little India and then they're gonna get confused, and so my business is gonna be hurt by it. True, not true? I don't know. You know, there may be some truth to that, you know, where people say, well, that can't be the off-ramp because that says Little India, so that Chinese store would not be there. You know, or that Korean store, or that, whatever, Filipino store. So there would have been a cost, you know, possibly there. (interview, December 2012)

This view was reflected by merchants also:

> "A lot of Filipinos and Asians are here, not only Indians"….[a non-Indian merchant] worries that the sign will confuse potential customers into thinking that the city is exclusively Indian, making people look elsewhere for the specialized [items] he and his wife sell. "What will happen to our business?" (Fellers 2003)

Countering arguments that signage will be beneficial for all is the view that it is exclusively for the Indian community and will disadvantage non-co-ethnics.

The diverse context of the City is then another factor pertaining to assessments regarding the legitimacy of claims. More specifically, claims for formal recognition via signage are ethnic-specific in that they pertain to a specific ethnic group; claims for ethnic-specific signage, however, were being made in a multiethnic, ethnically diverse context. This proved contentious: "the proposal has fueled debate among city residents, with many saying that they don't want multiethnic Artesia to bear one group's label" (Fellers 2003). Signage reading "Little India" is thus argued to "sell Artesia short," and "give the erroneous impression that the city is composed mostly of Indian Americans, a group that makes up less than 5% of the population" (Labossiere 2004). Not only were claims for ethnic-specific signage being made in a multiethnic context, but the group that would be reflected on the signs also constituted a minority of City residents. Opponents argue that the proposed "Little India" signs are exclusive of other, non-Indian groups, and that they are not representative of the community at large. The City and its residents project an image of Artesia as a truly multiethnic, multicultural community. As a resident explains, "'This was not an issue against the Indian community. It was an issue for a community of such diverse ethnicity that it was felt there was no need to promote one ethnic group above others'" (cited in Hennessy 2004). A more formal expression of this sentiment is found in Resolution 1782, as adopted by the City Council on April 22, 2003:

> WHEREAS, the City seeks to maintain a culturally diverse community where all cultures are welcome to live, work, develop their businesses and grow, and where the City can be a model for bringing peoples from a variety of cultures and backgrounds together to strengthen cultural understanding, economic development and American progress in a multi-cultural "melting pot;"
> WHEREAS, freeway signage that has the effect of labeling the City as a city devoted to, or inhabited by, one or two cultures to the exclusion of other cultures

> is contrary to Artesia's history of multi-cultural development and evolution and could 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. (1)

The ethnically diverse context in which ethnic-specific claims for signage were being made thereby relate to why claims were contested. Diversity thus applies not only with respect to the varied affiliations to place, but also in terms of race/ethnicity, and this not only regarding the make-up of City residents, but also in terms of the make-up of the City's business community. Diversity in all of these forms contributed to the argument that formal recognition via signage that was specific to the Indian community was an inaccurate representation of the people in Artesia and would be exclusive of other groups.

These debates regarding a proposal for an ethnic group-specific recognition then also bear on ideas relating to the relationship between ethnicity and place, or more specifically, if and how ethnic identities should relate to place identities. Proponents see this as a positive feat for the City, emphasizing the business and economic benefits to be accrued by virtue of signage (Hamilton 1997). There are views that are not opposed to the idea of formal recognition per se, but that do see the specific proposal at hand regarding the Indian community and "Little India" as problematic. In short, the view espoused is, why that group? This relates to the fact that there is a history to the City which pertains to certain ethnic groups. Alongside the current multiethnic, multicultural make-up of the City is a history pertaining to the Portuguese and Dutch communities. If a group is to be highlighted with formal recognition, it was held to be problematic that it would be the Indian community in the face of the City's history and the current diverse ethnic landscape.

There are also views that are not opposed to the idea of recognition, but which hold, in the name of diversity and multiculturalism, that if one group is to be recognized, then the only

fair approach would be to individually recognize "all" other groups also. That is, it would go against the diverse and multicultural character of the City to highlight just one of the many groups present in the area. Regarding opposition to prior signage attempts, it was explained, for example, that "'The council felt that if they recognized one group they should recognize them all, and that's just not realistic,' [a City official] says. 'Artesia is so international and diverse that they didn't see the need for it'" (Hamilton 1997). Regarding this, a proponent remarked that "…the sign could list all the ethnic groups in Artesia. He calls the council's decision 'shortsighted' and says city officials are missing the point. 'This is a pie that everyone can enjoy because our main purpose is growth and business. I don't know what they're scared of'" (Hamilton 1997).

Further relating to the contestation of claims given the diversity of Artesia's residents and business community is the argument that it is unfair to highlight one group over another, or over others – i.e., the view of, why any at all? That is, why should there be a sign at all, as well as, why should any group be highlighted in being recognized, and, over others? Opponents cite concerns that such a sign would cause division and segregation (Do 2004; City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 2), as was done with the making and contesting of claims for recognition. Proponents argue, however, that formal recognition is not mutually exclusive:

> …I would like to reiterate that by putting a sign of "LITTLE INDIA" as an exit point, we are NOT jeopardizing or denying existence of any other community. We are NOT requesting to change the name of the city, NOR does the sign give the message that Artesia is ethnically monotonous. (Sethi 2004)

> [A merchant] said she wants Artesia to know that the sign is not meant to be divisive. "Just because I say we exist, it doesn't mean that you don't." (Fellers 2003)

On the one hand, this view of "why any at all" is a perspective embracing multiculturalism in the sense that if anything, diversity in and of itself should be celebrated and recognized; it detracts

from diversity to highlight individual groups making up that diverse landscape. Another view pertaining to this argument of "why any at all" is the perspective grounded in an assimilationist view in which immigrants should shed their particular identities and embrace the identity of being American. As a letter to the editor for the *Los Angeles Times* (1992) emphasized, "The Indian shopping area is quite different from [areas like Chinatown and Little Saigon] because tiny Artesia is one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the Southland….If there were to be a sign, it should properly say 'Little United States.' Such marvelous melting pot activity should definitely be emphasized." And as a Portuguese business owner explained, "'We never dreamed of changing this to a little Portuguese city….This is the United States of America. You should be very proud of your traditions, your roots, but…'" (cited in Harris 1992, ellipses in original).

The contention regarding ethnic-specific signs being proposed in a multiethnic place also relates to the dual meaning or interpretation of signs. On the one hand, signs are said to serve purely pragmatic functions as directional placards. However, signs are also understood to be symbolically significant in serving functions of demarcation, labeling, and naming. Indian Americans and the Assembly member, as supporters of the signs, argue that the sign is merely directional, and serves the purpose of directing consumers to the area. A proponent argued that "…sign is for business. Sign is to improve business. Obviously, if you are a person going on 91 freeway, you see a sign saying Next Exit, Little India, even though you may not wanted to do shopping that day, you'll remember in your mind, saying 'oh, there's a Little India in Artesia, on 91 freeway. Let me go there to buy something,' or something you see or something you wanted to do" (interview, December 2012). The directional function is said to pertain both to people who know about Little India and who need directional specificities as well as to direct people to the place who were unaware of it. Signage could thus also serve a promotional function in

advertising this ethnic place, much like a billboard. It could aid in the further development of "Little India" as a destination, spurring urban ethnic tourism of the area. Indian merchants explain that "'This is what puts Artesia on the map,'" and that "'Much like Disneyland is a destination in Anaheim, we are a destination in the city of Artesia'" (cited in Fellers 2003).

The opposition saw it differently since formal recognition via signage was not seen to be as innocuous as it was made out to be. Signage is seen to reach beyond a directional and promotional function. For one, the City Council states that there is a technical and pragmatic challenge since there is only one freeway exit for Artesia on the 91 freeway. Implied is that the proposed signs would in effect mark the whole city as "Little India": "This one set of freeway on- and off-ramps limits the opportunity to promote the various cultural institutions, shopping areas and destinations in the City and makes the designation of one or two of those areas more significant to the overall identity of the City than would otherwise be the case if multiple freeway on- and off-ramps existed in the City that allowed for additional signs" (City Council Resolution 1782 2003). And, as one resident remarked, "'Artesia is a really small city. That's the only freeway we have…If they designate that 'Little India,' [Artesia] pretty much becomes Little India'" (cited in Labossiere 2004). In this vein, signage would not be directing people to "Little India," a distinct place within the City of Artesia, but rather, would direct them to "Little India," absent the positioning of a city context.

There were competing visions regarding place, and thus a contestation regarding the legitimacy of claims for formal recognition, in the sense of a tension between the interests/preferences of the residential community and the business community in Artesia. For residents, especially of a small town like Artesia, the preference is often to keep the community as a primarily residential place, and not to develop it as a bustling commercial center. For many

in this small bedroom community (*Long Beach Press-Telegram* 2004), the dominant identity of the place is as "home," the place where they live. Signage in recognition of an ethnic commercial place can clash with these interests. As a Council member remarked,

> 90%, 99% of the residents who live in the city, in any city, don't really get involved of how, you know, how busy the city should be with business. It's usually the opposite. They don't want to see that. They don't want to see, you know, too much traffic. Every city wants to see calm and they don't want to see a lot of action going on. As a city's perspective, of course, you want to see more action, you want to see more business growing, you want to see. So, there's those two different sides and where that, that was, probably one of the driving forces of the residents being against, you know, any major activity that was gonna cause disruption for their everyday lives. (interview, December 2012)

There was argued to be an economic need for recognition and signage, to promote the city and to attract revenue in. A study is said to have been done by a regional organization on the "economic viability" of the City, concluding that there was a need to "…accentuate its assets. And the number one asset was Little India. And to direct more travelers onto Pioneer Boulevard, more traffic, that would actually want to go…to that city, they needed to have directions off the freeways. And they needed to market their asset, Little India" (interview with a state elected official, December 2012). Most of the traffic coming into the City was said to be to use city streets as a shortcut to get to a large shopping mall nearby, in a neighboring city (interview with a state elected official, December 2012). Artesia was a city through which shoppers simply passed by, and given the economic needs of the City, there was a need to make Artesia the end destination for shoppers, to entice customers to not only come, but to stay.

A City official remarked that from a purely economic standpoint, the sign would have been helpful to the city, as "an economic driver" (interview, December 2012). The ACR argued of an economic opportunity in signage to promote and develop this ethnic commercial core, which would result in spillover benefits to the City and to its residents at large. In the language

of assets, that "Little India" was, moreover, a unique economic asset contributed even more so to its marketability. There may be other potential revenue-generating sources, but this was a unique feature and thus all the more something the City should "capitalize on" (*Long Beach Press-Telegram* 2004): "you can build a Walmart next to us and it won't matter because Walmarts won't be carrying saris or jewelry or doing threading like our city does. We should embrace that…" (interview with a Council member, December 2012). That is, "We've actually been able to compete with other cities because we have a certain niche that other cities don't. And most cities will only wish they had Little India in their city" (interview with a Council member, December 2012). The economic potential and opportunity in promoting and developing this niche economy is argued to answer to the economic needs of the City. However, the very promise of what signage will bring, in terms of turning the City into a bustling commercial center, conflicts with residents' interests in keeping Artesia a small, quiet, residential town.

For residents, the concern is the impact that signage could have on where they live. There were infrastructural concerns too, in that some worried whether the city could support an increased volume of traffic into the area said to result from signage. As a community member wrote in a letter to the editor of a local newspaper, how would parking, for instance, be handled (*Los Cerritos Community News* 2004)? These issues had long been present: "Established merchants, some of whom have operated along Pioneer Boulevard for half a century, complain that parking is now at a premium, particularly on weekends. The crowds, some local businessmen say, discourage customers from frequenting their stores" (Churm 1986). Moreover, this is a problem that the Indian business community also recognized, and by which they were also frustrated: "…the emergence of Little India has not been without its growing pains, and some Indians complain privately that Artesia has been less than accommodating. Indian

merchants want the city to create more parking, but so far Artesia hasn't come up with anything workable, although officials are considering building a structure" (Hamilton 1997). The size and scope of the City also contributed to this tension between residents and businesses in that residents would not be able to avoid the commercial activity on Pioneer Boulevard, one of the main thoroughfares in this small town. In larger cities these issues are said to be less problematic because "most of the time, these are in business areas that are in a large business area, that becomes a pocket of a business area. In our city, it was totally different because every resident becomes affected because of the one main street that we have. You have to go through there, you have to be, you're going to be impacted in one way or another…" (interview with a Council member, December 2012). For residents who want their community to stay a quiet, residential town, the increased economic activity and volume of consumer traffic by virtue of signage marking "Little India" is not an attractive offer.

In this, there were concerns regarding what signage would mean in that signs were seen to imply more than the serving of pragmatic functions – what would the city be known as, and what would it be called? What would characterize the city? Artesia is a diverse place, not only in terms of the race/ethnic make-up of the population, but also in terms of the ways in which people are affiliated with it. In this, a given area is often shared space between different groups. Interests will vary with respect to how a place should be defined and how it should be developed. Considering the fact that Artesia is an extremely small city, residents tend to want to keep their town a quiet, residential community. Even with promises of economic opportunity and economic benefits – of spillover benefits too for the community at large – as well as the existence of economic need, residents may be averse to plans to transform their neighborhood into a bustling commercial core. Residents' interests and the business sector's interests can vary greatly,

especially regarding how a place should be defined.

That a group of whom most were non-residents of the City was trying to – as it was understood – name the City, was taken with offense. For opponents, proponents' affiliation to the City as non-residents challenged the legitimate basis by which they could make claims for formal recognition. As a Council member explained,

> …the residents were saying they don't even live here. You know, they go home at night. We live here, this is our community. You know, they come, and they make their money off of us, I mean, this is what you were hearing at the time. You know? And the residents aren't saying, well, you know their, the taxes that come in are helping them, you know, in their lifestyle, and helping the city to maintain a vibrant, vibrant community. (interview, December 2012)

In the absence of precedents and policy, the basis by which these claims could be made in the first place – who would be able to make them – became an important issue in the "Little India" case. In this context, the idea of eligibility became an important dimension of the idea of legitimacy. In contrast to the other cases where contention seemed to relate more to the substance and specific actions undertaken (or not) regarding claims, in the "Little India" case, contention started with being able to make claims at all. In this, residency seemed to be a critical eligibility criterion when it came to making claims. Juxtaposed with this was the fact that many residents were opposed to signage. The people who wanted signage were therefore not considered eligible to make claims while those who were eligible did not want it. For legislators, this links back to the ideas of representation and the constituent base. It would be one thing for "ineligible" people to make claims; it is another issue for "eligible" constituents to have strong preferences against it, and to be vocal about their position. As a supporter explained,

> So they were just trying to get their friends to come on be against it cuz they could count. "Okay, we got 48 there against, out. 79, 91 businesses are for it but we understand why they are for it. But we got 48 people against it." You know? That's why they were trying to bring out the numbers. Because there was just such a large number of businesses that wanted it, but they wanted to get residents

> to be against it so you can have a reason to oppose it. "All the residents are against it, I can't vote for that." Okay, the people you brought over, okay, whatever. You know what I mean? (interview, December 2012)

This juxtaposed context of resident versus non-resident preferences made members of the business community making these claims – non-City residents – "more ineligible" to do so. Residents' opposition renders non-residents' claims more unwarranted and not legitimate.

As in other cases, the idea of being invested in the community was an important aspect of legitimizing claims for recognition. Supporters of signage explained that though the Indian community may not live in the City, they are invested in it as it is their place of livelihood; they run businesses there, and some own property as well. As it was explained, "One of the interesting things about the Indian community is that they really don't reside in that City, you know. They reside in Cerritos, in Norwalk, La Mirada…But they buy up all the homes and rent them to people in the City of Artesia….The Indians have a vested interest in that City because they own the property" (interview with a state elected official, December 2012). Even for members of the community who just run businesses in the area, there are investments made and costs incurred (and fees paid) to do so: "…they get taxed, when you look at the business taxes, you look at how the fees are on, on, permitting…it's, it's really tough" (interview with a state elected official, December 2012). In this, "If you look at 'Little India,' the business people are, are, taxed without a vote" (interview with a state elected official, December 2012). In their affiliation as property and business owners in the City, it is argued that members of the Indian community are invested in Artesia and thus that their claims seeking signage are legitimate. "Investedness" is argued to render legitimacy to claims made for recognition.

Related to the idea of being invested in the community is the argument that the Indian community has made notable economic contributions to the City, that significant economic

benefits have been accrued by the City and the community at large as a result of the Indian business concentration in Artesia. Legitimacy is thus also argued based on the role that claimants play in the community. This is especially significant in recognizing that the Indian community, through their concentration of business establishments, has played a key role in turning around a blighted area of town into a vibrant one. A local realtor and business person explained regarding the Indian community that "'They've pretty much taken over redevelopment single-handedly here, and they spend money to make the businesses look nice....They rejuvenated the commercial strip, which was starting to get pretty bad in the late 1970s and early 1980s'" (cited in Hamilton 1997). A City official also commented that the Indian business community is "…a very, very critical part of our local economy'" (cited in Hamilton 1997). This is a point also recognized by opponents. The positive role played by the Indian community is emphasized in arguing for signage: "'The vibrancy of Little India makes it easy to forget that the stretch along Pioneer Boulevard where it is located was once blighted, abandoned, and dotted with boarded-up buildings. That all changed when an influx of enterprising Indo-Americans moved into the area, revitalizing it and transforming it into a popular destination point in the greater Los Angeles region'" (ACR 67 Bill Analysis 2004, 3). The Assembly member's office also claimed that business transactions attributable to this ethnic concentration accounted for over 25% of the City's sales tax revenue (Labossiere 2004; *India Journal* 2004). This notation regarding the significance of the Indian business community to the local economy had also been made many years prior to the ACR. A 1986 *Los Angeles Times* article reports that

> In a city where roughly 42% of its $2-million general fund comes from sales tax revenues, [a City official] said Indian merchants are luring much-needed business to Artesia. "If the (Indian stores) weren't there, what would be?" [the City official asked]. "Chances are those stores might be vacant and that doesn't do anybody any good. The landlord loses money. The city loses money. And the city's reputation as a good place to invest and shop goes to seed." (Churm 1986)

Additionally, proponents of signage argued that the Indian community had played key roles regarding property values and commercial rent prices in the City. Proponents and property owners see this as a positive feat; others, of course, may disagree (Churm 1986). The ethnic spatial concentration in Artesia makes it a prime, sought-after location for Indian merchants and service providers. The Indian business community thus argues that it has positively contributed to real estate values in the City. As a proponent explained, "…what could be a negative by putting a sign? You know, if the property values are holding up, it's being held up because of the Indians. If anything comes into the market for sale, Indians are buying it, in a commercial market. Who are non-Indians are selling and making money and leaving. You know? I don't know how that's going to hurt" (interview, December 2012). Demand surpassed supply in terms of available store spaces (Hamilton 1997). Claims for recognition are thus argued to be justified, signage as being "well deserved" (Amelia M. 2004), given economic contributions made in terms of a revitalized area of town, incoming revenue, and the competitiveness of the commercial real estate market, by virtue of the Indian business community in the area. In addition to their being invested in the City in being property and business owners within it, Indian Americans also argue their legitimate right to make claims based on the positive contributions they have made to the community.

Though Indian Americans are said to be economically invested in the City and contribute positively to it, their claims for signage were also contested based on the historical significance of and contributions made by other ethnic groups in the area. The Indian American presence in Artesia is more recently based when compared to groups with histories related to settling in the area and the City's incorporation. The legitimacy of proposing signage specific to the Indian community was then contested based on the historical significance of other ethnic groups in and

to the area. Challenging the legitimacy of Indian Americans' claims for signage is the idea that there is a history to the area that precedes "Little India." There is raised a question of legitimate claims-making and a privilege given to history, the implication being that the longer one's historical roots are in a given area, the more legitimate are those claims, that one has more of a "right" regarding that place. Comments from community members shed light on this idea of "keeping tabs" on who was here first, or who was here longest (or at least, who was here longer). A newspaper columnist explains that in "…response to [his] recent column supporting the 'Little India' sign proposed for the Artesia exit of the 91 Freeway," people reacted: "'Mind your own business,' said one caller. 'You don't live here. Besides, we were here before they were.' That was the theme of several messages. 'They' presumably referred to Indian-Americans who have developed the 'Little India' shopping and cultural district on and near Pioneer Boulevard. 'We' apparently means everyone else in Artesia" (Hennessy 2004). The context in Artesia is different from cases of ethnic transition and succession in which groups may spatially concentrate but then disperse over time, that space being succeeded by a different group. In the "Little India" case, there is a continued presence of groups with ancestral heritage stemming back to the early days of the City's first settling, alongside the current diverse ethnic landscape.

Indian Americans are said to have started "settling" in Artesia "in the early 1970's" (ACR 67 2003, 1-2). However, Artesia was first established as a dairy town, being populated mainly by Dutch and Portuguese immigrants (Fellers 2003). It became incorporated in 1959. There are "…a number of second- and third-generation descendants of Portuguese and Dutch immigrants who worked in what was then known as Dairy Valley" (Harris 1992). Consequently, "Some of the strongest opposition has come from the city's powerful Portuguese community, whose dairy-farming ancestors helped found the city" (Labossiere 2004). In the 2000 census,

4.56% in the City reported a Dutch ancestry and 9.40% a Portuguese ancestry. (Other than "Other ancestries" (68.61%), these were the two largest groups in the City of the ancestries reported in the census.) Estimates from the 2006-2010 American Community Survey show 4.47% reporting a Dutch ancestry and 8.36% a Portuguese ancestry. (Again, for this estimate, of the specific ancestry groups listed, these were the two largest groups in the City.) While opponents were ethnically diverse and not limited to members of the Dutch or Portuguese communities, the historical roots of certain groups were issues to consider. City officials expressed the significance of this element of ancestry when it came to the issue of an ethnic-specific signage proposal recognizing a more recently based group:

> And so at the final, at the Council meeting when we voted no,…[I] tried to explain, you know, the history of Artesia, I went through the history, and kind of that, you know the Portuguese community is huge here, it's huge. The Dutch community was huge. We have a big Latino community here. And, you know, so at any rate, we didn't want to be just Little India. (interview, December 2012)

> …it was more about the economy, but they were looking at it as, you know, or the Dutch people, you know, the Dutch people were saying we were here from the 1800's and now all of a sudden we're Little India? No. No. So do you see where this was the, the, you know, the clash or the divide. (interview, December 2012)

> Being that we're a small city, we're a very old city where there's a lot of history and there's a lot of ethnic roots that were started many many years ago, by the Dutch, the Portuguese, and then later the Hispanics. And I think that there was a sense of losing, losing its original identity. (interview, December 2012)

The presence of, and opposition from, groups with ancestral roots reaching back to the City's founding challenges the legitimacy of claims for signage by an ethnic group with a much shorter history in the City. Thus, in addition to "Artesia's international and multi-cultural commercial business area along Pioneer Boulevard," "three historic and culturally significant institutions in

the City," that is, "the Portuguese D.E.S. Hall,[7] the Artesia Historical Museum and the historic Artesia Fire Station," wherein "Both the Artesia Historical Museum building and the Fire Station have been designated by the City as local historic landmarks" (City Council Resolution 1888 2005, 1), are mentioned in the City's Resolution approving alternate signage text and included within the area pertaining to this alternate moniker.

This tension regarding the contemporary scene "versus" a historical character to the City is relayed further in Resolution 1888 (2005), which concerned the sign that the City would support:

> As the City seeks to formally recognize the historically and culturally significant area of the City that exists along Pioneer Boulevard, the City seeks to do so in a manner that bears allegiance to the role that the City's pioneering cultures played in the development of the community as well as cultural groups that now prominently exist along Pioneer Boulevard in the City. (1-2)
>
> The City is proud of the contributions of the Portuguese and Dutch communities that played a central role in founding the community as an agricultural and dairy community in the late 19th century and early 20th century and the businesses they brought to Pioneer Boulevard. The City is also proud of the large number of Asian merchants of Chinese, Korean, Philipino, Vietnamese, Indo-American and other ancestry, along with the Latino and Anglo businesses, the improvements these businesses have made to Pioneer Boulevard, the investment they have made in the City, and the benefits they bring to the community at large. (2)

There is thus a specific historical presence to honor in the City, but also a diverse current presence to acknowledge.

What is also argued is that signage would just be formally recognizing what is already informally known as such:

> …the area had been considered Little India the last 30 years. When you go on and you look at, you know, different search engines, you type in Little India, it pops up, you know, City of Artesia. And the area on Pioneer Boulevard, it's been well-known, documented through travel magazines, travel books, as well as by the

[7] This Portuguese community Hall was also said to be mentioned in the proposal for signage, in its early stages. Accounts vary greatly, however, regarding this point. The ACR that was discussed through legislative proceedings did not include the Portuguese Hall in the sign that was being proposed.

> media itself. You'll see articles on it in the *L.A. Times*, *Orange County Register*. And they've always called that area, Little India. Same as, Huell Howser. I think he has a California television program where they go and they, they, you learn about California, he takes you up and down the state. He did a whole feature on Little India. So, it wasn't something that needed to be designated, the area was already considered that and designated that by the people of California. (interview with a state elected official, December 2012)

Signage would not be creating anything new. That is, the ethnic place already exists and is in the vernacular already referenced as "Little India." For opponents, however, this does not make formal recognition inconsequential. Considered in light of the perception that the historical presence and significance of certain groups was being threatened, and, related to this, that signage is not a mere directional instrument but rather, indicates the name of a community, the move for formal recognition can be seen as quite consequential by those opposed.

In making and contesting claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places, the legitimacy of claims comes to be important. In the absence of precedents or an established procedure regarding the recognition and destination-development of internal areas of cities, the idea of eligibility came to be an important dimension to the idea of legitimacy in the "Little India" case. Legitimacy regarding the right to make claims related to how groups are affiliated to a community, the ways in which they are invested in it, the contributions they have made to it, and that informally at least, the ethnic place already exists and is referenced by the name being proposed for signage. Legitimacy may be challenged in terms of the city-residency/constituency status of claimants, as well as the historical significance of other groups in the City.

III. The Composition and Actions/Strategies of Proponents and Opponents

In terms of proponents' actions and strategies in making claims for signage, the group (informally) approached Council members, but to no avail. In then pursuing it via the ACR and the Assembly member, they attended Council meetings regarding the signage proposal as well as

meetings/hearings in Sacramento to speak in support of the ACR (interview with a state official, December 2012). In conveying their position to the State government, they also sent letters to State senators regarding the need for signage and their support for the proposal (Amelia M. 2004). Proponents also collected petition signatures from businesses along Pioneer Boulevard (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a; interview with a Council member, December 2012).

Opponents engaged in similar actions in contesting claims. They attended Council meetings, and Council members and others attended meetings at the state level to speak in opposition to the ACR. Opponents also wrote to and called their State senator as well as the Assembly member, lobbying their position. Petition signatures were collected by opponents also. Opponents went beyond these actions, however, and held a protest/march in the City against the ACR. Since most of the City officials were also opposed to the signage proposal, there was also action taken at the city level. These efforts involved hiring a lobbyist to act in response to the ACR, issuing City Resolutions against it, sending notices (giving directions to do so in the Minutes for City Council meetings) to residents and merchants about Council meeting proceedings, and "communicating the City's position on the issue to various persons and entities" such as state level legislative committees. The City was also listed as a co-sponsor of AB 2823, a bill which was in response to the ACR.

Where proponents and opponents appeared to differ more was with respect to the composition of these two groups. If proponents were near singularly composed of members of the Indian American business community in Artesia, opponents were diversely and broadly constituted in terms of race/ethnicity as well as in their affiliation to the ethnic place area and the City. With respect to proponents of signage, the vast majority are said to have been Indian Americans. Some recalled proponents being composed almost entirely by Indian Americans and

there being a sharp "divide" in terms of co-ethnic/non-co-ethnic status with respect to positions regarding signage. As a Council member explained regarding who was in support, "It was almost, it was almost 100% Indian community members….It was almost all Indian. It was like when an Indian walked up, we knew, when they were going to speak. When a non-Indian came up, we knew how they were going to speak. And that was pretty much it. There was a divide there" (interview, December 2012). Additionally, it appeared that the Indian community, as proponents of signage, did not seek outside support for it other than from the Assembly member (interview with a Council member, December 2012). Others recall there being non-Indian Americans in support of signage, but the majority being of the Indian community. Non-Indian proponents tended to be residents in the City, with some also being business owners (interview with a state official, December 2012). These supporters are said to have seen the economic need in the city and the economic potential in signage to bring in needed revenue. However, the vast majority of proponents can be characterized as being Indian business owners in the City. This is different from what was seen in the other cases, and leads to a larger point regarding strategic actions in pursuing policy goals. A diverse composition is itself said to constitute strategic action; claims made for recognition are said to be more compelling with message bearers becoming the message. Since widespread, shared benefits are said to be the anticipated result from formal recognition and not what opponents contest as restricted, selective benefits and dispersed costs, having non-co-ethnic proponents advocating for recognition aids in making claims, in that the claims being made may be seen to be beyond an exclusive "group thing." Conversely, a narrowly construed group sends the message that the claims being made serve only the interests of the group alone, and in this respect, may be damaging to those seeking recognition.

This group of proponents was for the most part "united" (interview with a Council member, December 2012), but in terms of intra-group factors, differences also existed. For one, though they were part of the business community, some owned property in the area, such as shopping centers, while others ran businesses, renting that store space. Despite such differences the group was able to band together (interview with a state official, December 2012).[8] When the ACR was being discussed it was said that "…the debate has drawn Indian merchants closer. [An Indian business owner] said that as they work toward the exit signs, they will purchase a billboard along the Artesia Freeway to advertise Little India" (Fellers 2003). When asked if there was a head person or point person, it was said that "They were one big body, unified body. It was really nice to watch, you know. They all came together. It wasn't, this group with this group and that group, no, they just came together, they had one common interest, and the interest was to support the sign" (interview with a state official, December 2012). That is, "…what's really interesting about them was, you know, they're very fragmented, you know, they all have their business interests, and they all belong to different associations, so to speak. As the Council pushed back, against the ACR, the more they got together and, and, codified as a community, of all different business interests….So yeah I think the community codified, it's, uh, it came together" (interview with a state official, December 2012). Pursuit of the common interest of signage "unified the communities" (interview with a state official, December 2012).

Indian Americans are said to have constituted most of those in support of signage, and most of the Indian community are said to have been in support. The vast majority of people at

[8] One difference that remained was with respect to the text/name to be included on the sign; some in the Indian community were opposed to the specific sign being proposed because they were against the inclusion of the word "little" in the name "Little India." Perhaps in response to this, others commented that they were fine with any name as long as it had the word "India" in it (City Council meeting Minutes 2003a, 2; City Council meeting Minutes 2004b, 1-2).

the City Council meetings are also argued to have been in support of signage. With respect to numbers, then, proponents argue that the City should have supported the "Little India" sign; numbers were not the decisive factor for City officials, according to signage supporters. As one proponent explained, "…the main thing I don't understand is, that, if you can't, if you're not gonna do what people are gonna ask for, for example, if you're gonna have a meeting, and if a hundred people are gonna be there, 97 of them saying what they want, and, if you're not gonna give it to those people, why would you even have the meeting?" (interview, December 2012). The interpretation of numbers seems to link to the ways in which proponents or opponents were affiliated with the city, and in this, how widespread or concentrated the support and opposition were in terms of these different "types" of affiliation. That is, proponents of recognition are understood to be a concentrated group, being composed almost entirely by members of the Indian business community. The corollary to this is that it can be predicted how a member of the Indian community feels regarding signage. This can be seen in a Council member's remarks on the positions relayed during Council meetings: "and then there were Indians that spoke and they all had the same, it was kind of the same, to where…I said, you know if you have something different, you know, we're happy to hear, you know, but, you know, in other words, we didn't need to hear, you know, thirty of them say the exact same thing" (interview, December 2012). In terms of interpreting numbers, rather than many people of this concentrated group of proponents saying the same thing being read as the affirmation of a strongly held position, it can be taken as repetition of a predicted position.

In contrast to proponents, the composition of opponents was diverse in terms of ethnicity as well as affiliation (i.e., how they were affiliated with the city), and in this sense, was broad-based in being composed of people from various sectors of the community. As a Council

member remarked, “It was not, sometimes you get, one lady or one man that kind of leads the charge and then they’ve got like a group following, but their voice is loud? And so they effect change. This one was not that. This one, it came from everywhere” (interview, December 2012). In ACR 67 bill analyses for the State Senate Transportation Committee, listed amongst those “OPPOSED” regarding “POSITIONS” that are “Communicated to the Committee” were several organizations, associations, and businesses, some specific to an ethnic group, and some more generally based. Included under “OPPOSED” were also “Approximately 770 letters from individuals” and “1100 petition signatures,” as well as a listing of “Residents and Business Owners of Artesia (127 business) [*sic*]” (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004b, 5). In comparison, those listed in “SUPPORT” tended to be Indian organizations, associations, and businesses, alongside “335 petition signatures” (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004b, 5).

How might the composition of groups affect how claims for formal recognition are made, contested, and assessed, as well as the relative success or failure in conveying group preferences regarding recognition? An important factor that arguably challenged proponents was their near singular make-up by co-ethnic members of a business community. In contrast, the opposition became a coalition or “umbrella group” of sorts in that it included a diverse array of people not only in terms of race/ethnicity, but also in terms of both residents and business owners in the community, and in terms of the various “complete ends” they envisioned. That is, the opposition was a group unified to the extent that they were opposed to the signs that were proposed. Though this might seem a limited point of commonality, it proved otherwise and was effective in serving as a common denominator and unifying the group. Opposing and wanting to defeat the signage proposal as it was proposed can be argued to be an “intermediate” or “instrumental” end. Though

different opponents argued for different "complete ends" – ranging from the creation of signs also recognizing their respective ethnic group and not just the Indian community, having a more generic sign alluding to the diverse business community in Artesia, to not having any signs at all – they proved effective by pushing for their common intermediate/instrumental end of opposition to the proposed "Little India" sign. This was perhaps why community members, for example, were successful in collecting more than 1,500 petition signatures "from residents and business owners" opposing the signs (Hennessy 2004) (accounts seem to vary regarding the number of signatures collected – one account is that more than 1,500 signatures had been collected (Hennessy 2004), but another (in a bill analysis of the ACR) is of 1,100 signatures (California Senate Transportation Committee 2004b).) The purpose of the petition was just to accumulate signatures of those opposed to the "Little India" signs. Opponents may have varied in terms of what they would have liked to see at the very end, but being unified on just the disagreement to the proposed signs seemed sufficient in terms of organizing, mobilizing, and being heard, at least by the City Council.

The composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents in terms of matters relating to intragroup as well as intergroup dynamics is another key factor influencing how claims are made for the formal recognition of an ethnic place, and how those claims are contested and legislatively assessed. In essence, this element of how groups are constituted and organized, and how they interact seems to be important. How groups form, mobilize, and "lobby" for a specific position, as well as the rationale for that position, are dimensions that need to be understood in studying efforts for formal recognition. The opponents in this case were well-served by their diverse composition, both in terms of race/ethnicity, but also in terms of including varied groups of people in their affiliation to the City. A diverse composition requires

rallying around an instrumental/intermediate end, as opposed to complete ends, in order to be effective. The message consequently sent by virtue of the composition of the group, that many different groups were opposed to the signage proposal, thus becomes more compelling. In contrast, proponents were narrowly construed in being overwhelmingly composed by the Indian American business community. The message that many in this same group are strongly in support of the proposal was less well-received in that they were seen more so to represent a special interest. In this sense, "many who are different" is more compelling regarding assessments and decisions regarding claims than is "many who are the same."

Conclusion

Efforts were made for the formal recognition of "Little India," but proponents were unsuccessful in seeing freeway signage installed in the area. In understanding how and why claims for recognition were made, contested, and assessed, in terms of the key factors driving these processes, we see first that the legislative and bureaucratic context was important given jurisdictional issues that characterized much of the legislative proceedings. Issues pertaining to constituents, representation, and electoral concerns were important in shaping the debate regarding signage. Proponents argue that economic benefits from formal recognition will be accrued by all, and that this would present a real economic opportunity, an attractive offer answering to economic needs. For opponents, however, benefits are understood to be selectively accrued. Like the other cases, the idea of legitimacy was also important in this case, but a special dimension of eligibility was also influential for "Little India." Unlike the city contexts for Koreatown, Little Bangladesh, and Cambodia Town, a policy or precedents did not exist regarding formal recognitions and more generally, of destination spots and recognized internal city areas. In this, questions regarding legitimacy first pertained to whether claims could be made

at all, and more specifically, who could or could not legitimately make claims for recognition, given their affiliation to the city. Questions regarding legitimacy pertained to groups' ties to place, not only in terms of strict affiliation as residents and/or business owners, but also in terms of investedness and contributions made, and the historical significance of other groups in the area. Legitimacy questions are also raised with respect to how formal recognition would affect place. These questions were arguably more marked with a small city such as Artesia, with concerns that a proposal for "Little India" freeway signs in effect related to a re-naming or at least re-characterization of the city. Additionally, the vision of a bustling commercial center is not an attractive offer for those wanting to keep the city a small and quiet residential town. How groups were composed was also important, as well as the specific actions taken to make or contest claims. In this, proponents were for the most part narrowly-based, the vast majority being members of the Indian business community. In contrast, opponents were broad-based and diverse not only in terms of race/ethnicity, but also in terms of varied affiliations to place. This umbrella group found a common instrumental/intermediate end of opposing the signs that were proposed. As in the other cases, diversity in the composition of a group is in itself compelling and strategic in regards to the expression of policy preferences.



Figure 5.1. “Little India,” Artesia



Figure 5.2. Indian businesses in Artesia. There is a distinct concentration of Indian businesses along Pioneer Boulevard, one of Artesia's main streets.



Figure 5.3. The diverse business presence in Artesia. Though there is a felt concentration of Indian businesses along Pioneer Boulevard, there are many non-Indian businesses, often specific to other ethnic groups, also.

Table 5.1. Summary of key legislation

Legislation	Date/Year	Level of government	Author	In Response to	Key points and provisions
Assembly Concurrent Resolution 67	2003	State (California State Assembly)	Assembly member	N/A	Proposes road signs to be placed on both directions of the 91-freeway before the Pioneer Boulevard exit, reading "Little India, Next Exit"
Resolution 1782	April 22, 2003	City (Artesia City Council (regular meeting))	Artesia City Council	ACR 67	(1) Expressed the City Council's demand for local input in the issue, both in the form of a "community consensus" as well as "official city support," and (2) Recorded the City's opposition to ACR 67 *During this same meeting, a motion was passed to hire lobbying services in response to ACR 67, thereby leading to AB 2823
Assembly Bill 2823	2004	State (California State Assembly)	Assembly member	(Resulting from) Resolution 1782	Added section 101.12 to California's Streets and Highways Code, essentially giving jurisdiction over signage proposals to local city governments
Resolution 1888	January 25, 2005	City (Artesia City Council (last of three special meetings held regarding "Little India" Signage Proposal))	Artesia City Council	AB 2823	The City of Artesia would support a sign reading "Artesia International and Cultural Shopping District" (such road signs require private funding)

Table 5.2. Within-geography comparisons of race, distinguished by Hispanic or Latino origin (%)

	2000		2010	
	Artesia City	"Little India" (overestimate)	Artesia City	"Little India" (overestimate)
Not Hispanic or Latino	61.71	73.45	64.23	74.57
One race	58.84	70.21	62.35	72.60
White	27.25	32.58	21.29	24.79
Black or African American	3.36	3.86	3.29	3.49
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.38	0.36	0.22	0.25
Asian	27.23	32.75	36.87	43.27
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.43	0.41	0.22	0.28
Some other race	0.20	0.25	0.46	0.52
Two or more races	2.87	3.25	1.88	1.98
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	38.29	26.55	35.77	25.43

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 5.3. Within-geography comparisons of race, and Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups (%)

	2000		2010	
	Artesia City	"Little India" (overestimate)	Artesia City	"Little India" (overestimate)
One race	94.93	95.19	96.42	96.77
White	44.18	45.45	39.01	38.15
Black or African American	3.55	4.06	3.56	3.69
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.78	0.67	0.57	0.48
Asian	27.41	32.97	37.11	43.55
Asian Indian	4.60	5.72	7.86	9.45
Bangladeshi	0.00	0.00	0.19	0.10
Bhutanese (2010)	n/a	n/a	0.00	0.00
Burmese (2010)	n/a	n/a	0.00	0.00
Cambodian	0.44	0.54	0.93	1.00
Chinese, except Taiwanese	3.86	4.86	4.81	5.72
Filipino	10.35	12.21	12.19	14.04
Hmong	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02
Indonesian	0.15	0.16	0.30	0.32
Japanese	0.54	0.55	0.34	0.37
Korean	4.50	5.45	4.94	5.85
Laotian	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.05
Malaysian	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.02
Nepalese (2010)	n/a	n/a	1.30	1.63
Pakistani	0.06	0.08	0.41	0.52
Sri Lankan	0.03	0.01	0.07	0.07
Taiwanese	1.21	1.49	1.31	1.61
Thai	0.21	0.25	0.41	0.50
Vietnamese	0.73	0.78	0.72	0.83
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.54	0.51	0.24	0.30
Some other race	18.47	11.54	15.92	10.60
Two or more races	5.07	4.81	3.58	3.23
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	38.29	26.55	35.77	25.43
Mexican	32.40	21.53	31.13	21.33
Puerto Rican	0.21	0.18	0.27	0.27
Cuban	0.21	0.17	0.22	0.21

Table 5.3 continued

	2000		2010	
	Artesia City	"Little India" (overestimate)	Artesia City	"Little India" (overestimate)
Other Hispanic or Latino	5.48	4.66	4.15	3.63
Dominican	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Central American (excludes Mexican)	1.12	1.06	1.73	1.50
Costa Rican	0.22	0.29	0.07	0.09
Guatemalan	0.27	0.21	0.37	0.26
Honduran	0.03	0.04	0.11	0.07
Nicaraguan	0.10	0.08	0.16	0.19
Panamanian	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.03
Salvadoran	0.35	0.33	0.92	0.83
Other Central American	0.07	0.06	0.04	0.03
South American	0.56	0.55	0.84	0.78
Argentinian	0.07	0.09	0.10	0.12
Bolivian	0.02	0.02	0.10	0.08
Chilean	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.05
Colombian	0.04	0.03	0.08	0.07
Ecuadorian	0.18	0.09	0.22	0.15
Paraguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Peruvian	0.20	0.26	0.28	0.27
Uruguayan	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
Venezuelan	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.04
Other South American	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00
All other Hispanic or Latino	3.79	3.04	1.57	1.35
Not Hispanic or Latino	61.71	73.45	64.23	74.57

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 5.4. Within-group comparisons (2000) (%)

	2000			
	"Little India" (overestimate)			
	of United States	of CA State	of L.A. County	of Artesia City
One race	0.00	0.04	0.13	77.33
White	0.00	0.03	0.12	79.34
Black or African American	0.00	0.02	0.06	88.14
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.00	0.03	0.11	66.93
Asian	0.04	0.11	0.37	92.74
Asian Indian	0.04	0.23	1.20	95.76
Bangladeshi	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Cambodian	0.04	0.10	0.24	94.44
Chinese, except Taiwanese	0.03	0.07	0.21	97.00
Filipino	0.08	0.17	0.59	90.92
Hmong	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Indonesian	0.05	0.11	0.30	80.00
Japanese	0.01	0.02	0.06	77.53
Korean	0.06	0.20	0.37	93.49
Laotian	0.00	0.01	0.11	100.00
Malaysian	0.04	0.21	0.61	100.00
Pakistani	0.01	0.05	0.20	100.00
Sri Lankan	0.00	0.02	0.03	20.00
Taiwanese	0.16	0.30	0.53	94.95
Thai	0.03	0.08	0.15	91.18
Vietnamese	0.01	0.02	0.13	82.50
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.02	0.05	0.24	71.91
Some other race	0.01	0.03	0.07	48.17
Two or more races	0.01	0.04	0.13	73.04
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	0.01	0.03	0.08	53.46
Mexican	0.01	0.03	0.09	51.25
Puerto Rican	0.00	0.02	0.06	67.65
Cuban	0.00	0.03	0.06	64.71
Other Hispanic or Latino	0.01	0.03	0.05	65.55
Dominican	0.00	0.02	0.06	100.00
Central American (excludes Mexican)	0.01	0.02	0.04	72.83

Table 5.4 continued

	2000			
	"Little India" (overestimate)			
	of United States	of CA State	of L.A. County	of Artesia City
Costa Rican	0.05	0.27	0.58	100.00
Guatemalan	0.01	0.02	0.03	61.36
Honduran	0.00	0.02	0.02	100.00
Nicaraguan	0.01	0.02	0.05	58.82
Panamanian	0.01	0.06	0.17	46.15
Salvadoran	0.01	0.02	0.02	73.68
Other Central American	0.01	0.01	0.02	66.67
South American	0.01	0.04	0.09	75.82
Argentinian	0.01	0.05	0.09	100.00
Bolivian	0.01	0.05	0.12	75.00
Chilean	0.00	0.01	0.04	100.00
Colombian	0.00	0.01	0.03	66.67
Ecuadorian	0.00	0.06	0.10	36.67
Paraguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Peruvian	0.01	0.07	0.18	100.00
Uruguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Venezuelan	0.00	0.04	0.11	100.00
Other South American	0.01	0.02	0.04	100.00
All other Hispanic or Latino	0.01	0.02	0.06	61.84
Not Hispanic or Latino	0.00	0.04	0.18	91.79

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Table 5.5. Within-group comparisons (2010) (%)

	2010			
	"Little India" (overestimate)			
	of United States	of CA State	of L.A. County	of Artesia City
One race	0.00	0.04	0.14	79.92
White	0.00	0.02	0.10	77.86
Black or African American	0.00	0.02	0.06	82.51
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.00	0.02	0.09	67.02
Asian	0.04	0.12	0.43	93.44
Asian Indian	0.04	0.24	1.57	95.69
Bangladeshi	0.01	0.14	0.29	40.63
Bhutanese	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Burmese	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Cambodian	0.06	0.15	0.41	85.71
Chinese, except Taiwanese	0.02	0.07	0.22	94.84
Filipino	0.07	0.15	0.57	91.71
Hmong	0.00	0.00	0.30	100.00
Indonesian	0.07	0.17	0.48	84.00
Japanese	0.01	0.02	0.05	85.96
Korean	0.05	0.17	0.36	94.36
Laotian	0.00	0.01	0.25	100.00
Malaysian	0.02	0.10	0.34	50.00
Nepalese	0.41	3.83	19.47	100.00
Pakistani	0.02	0.15	0.71	100.00
Sri Lankan	0.02	0.09	0.19	75.00
Taiwanese	0.11	0.22	0.53	97.70
Thai	0.04	0.13	0.26	97.06
Vietnamese	0.01	0.02	0.12	91.60
Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander	0.01	0.03	0.15	100.00
Some other race	0.01	0.02	0.07	53.00
Two or more races	0.00	0.02	0.10	71.79
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	0.01	0.02	0.07	56.60
Mexican	0.01	0.02	0.08	54.55
Puerto Rican	0.00	0.02	0.08	79.55
Cuban	0.00	0.03	0.07	72.97

Table 5.5 continued

	2010			
	"Little India" (overestimate)			
	of United States	of CA State	of L.A. County	of Artesia City
Other Hispanic or Latino	0.00	0.02	0.04	69.64
Dominican	0.00	0.01	0.03	100.00
Central American (excludes Mexican)	0.00	0.02	0.03	68.88
Costa Rican	0.01	0.05	0.13	100.00
Guatemalan	0.00	0.01	0.02	55.74
Honduran	0.00	0.01	0.02	50.00
Nicaraguan	0.01	0.02	0.07	96.15
Panamanian	0.00	0.02	0.07	36.36
Salvadoran	0.01	0.02	0.03	71.71
Other Central American	0.01	0.03	0.06	66.67
South American	0.00	0.03	0.09	73.38
Argentinian	0.01	0.04	0.08	100.00
Bolivian	0.01	0.08	0.23	68.75
Chilean	0.00	0.02	0.07	100.00
Colombian	0.00	0.01	0.04	69.23
Ecuadorian	0.00	0.06	0.10	55.56
Paraguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Peruvian	0.01	0.04	0.10	76.09
Uruguayan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Venezuelan	0.00	0.05	0.15	100.00
Other South American	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
All other Hispanic or Latino	0.00	0.02	0.06	68.34
Not Hispanic or Latino	0.00	0.04	0.19	92.45

Data source: U.S. Census Bureau

Chapter 6

Discussion

With the case studies of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh (in the City of Los Angeles), Cambodia Town (in the City of Long Beach), and "Little India" (in the City of Artesia) regarding the formal recognition of ethnic places (and these following a quantitative study of formally recognized ethnic places in the City of Los Angeles), there are comparisons to be made across cases. The study of formally recognized ethnic places in the City of Los Angeles (Chapter 2) led to findings that the likelihood of an area having within it an officially recognized ethnic place is positively influenced by the size of the Asian population within it as well as the proportion of people unemployed (i.e., an economic indicator), and is negatively influenced by the proportion of the population who have been long-time residents. This gives us some preliminary suggestions as to the landscape of formally recognized ethnic places in terms of where we may expect to see such places and what factors are associated with them, but it does not lend insight into how this happens – i.e., the processes behind how these are recognized – or not. The bulk of the quantitative study was based on analyses using census data, but there are factors that are not and cannot be measured by the census, such as issues relating to legislators and their decisions. Variables based on the census can pick up only part of the picture in studying the formal recognition of ethnic places. Factors not able to be measured by such sources relate to the processes that take place in making, contesting, and assessing claims for recognition. This is what the case study chapters address.

The case studies get at questions of process. Formally recognized ethnic places represent a new tide in how we may think about the spatial concentration of ethnic groups. If ethnic

enclaves can be thought of as voluntary concentrations, albeit largely based on needs and constraints, what we see with proposals to formally recognize ethnic places is not just voluntarily constituted concentrations, but the active claiming of these places of distinct, identifiable concentrations. Whereas ethnic spatial concentrations may just be informally known as such, there is now a marked shift for some in that groups are making claims for places to be formally recognized. This reflects the voluntary spatial concentration of ethnic groups in their most heightened form. There is something also to note regarding ethnicity and place in terms of the salience of ethnic identities. What we see with ethnic places is the relevance of ethnicity that extends beyond "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans 1979), particularly when an active commercial base is involved and the basis for recognition is not solely in reference to the historical presence of a group in a given place. Ethnicity in this latter vein is to be celebrated as ancestry and heritage, as one's background, of a "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans 1979) wherein the choice exists, as in "ethnic options" (Waters 1990) as to when and how to adopt an ethnic identity. Formally recognized ethnic places tend to reflect recognitions of ethnic identities in a much more overt and constant way.

It is pertinent to ask, in examining ethnic places, how and why they come to be formally recognized, or not. What processes are involved? What are the key factors influencing these processes? The formal recognition of ethnic places involves the making, contesting, and assessing of claims. These are not pure linear processes in that these processes, following the initial claims made for recognition, can happen in tandem and interactively, as an ongoing conversation between different parties. Shaping these processes are the key factors of the legislative and bureaucratic context in which claims are made, the legitimacy of claims, and the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents. In having separately discussed

these factors for each case study, I now make comparisons across cases. Although these are three different analytical factors, there can be an observation regarding one that has implications for another. Comparisons are not exhaustive of all of the points that had been discussed for each factor in the case study analyses; they are of noteworthy similarities and differences across cases regarding some of the key points in the analyses. Table 6.1 presents a summary and comparison of select points relating to each factor.

[Insert Table 6.1 about here]

Comparisons across cases can also lead to some preliminary remarks being made regarding the factors and conditions that contribute to either successful or unsuccessful outcomes with respect to efforts for recognition. The case studies are of three successful cases (if Koreatown and Little Bangladesh are taken as two separate cases, though they were analyzed through a joint discussion) and one unsuccessful case, as far as the outcome regarding formal recognition is concerned. This is not a conclusion as to factors that lead to either success or failure in attempts for formal recognition. However, some preliminary points may be made in seeing similarities and differences across cases. Indeed, even in cases that had a successful outcome, there are some points to be noted regarding specific actions that helped to mitigate or appease the opposition so that recognition could be achieved. Again, however, these points are but a few remarks to be made in observation.

I. The Legislative and Bureaucratic Context

There is a specific legislative and bureaucratic context to each case that affects how and why claims for formal recognition are made, contested, and assessed/decided upon. There is a real opportunity and regulatory structure to be contended with regarding claims. There are similarities, but there are definite differences also. This contextual difference is seen in the

various issues that come to be emphasized in each case regarding how the discussion pertaining to formal recognition takes shape. For one, there is the matter of what "formal recognition" means exactly, as the specific elements of recognition can differ. In essence, this relates to how "formal recognition" comes to be "operationalized." In the Los Angeles City context, for the case study of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, the discussion took shape in the form of formal naming and the designation of boundaries, by virtue of the policy context given the City's community naming/re-naming policy. In Long Beach, for the Cambodia Town case, the discussion focused on cultural designations (and as attached to this, the creation of a Business Improvement District (BID)) and later, the issue of signage. In Artesia, for the "Little India" case, the emphasis was on signage – more specifically, the installation of directional freeway exit signs.

This leads to the observation that a different policy context existed for each city. In Los Angeles, not only were numerous precedents of formally recognized ethnic places present, but there existed a city policy on the formal naming of communities. The procedures set out in the policy defined much of the contours of how recognition was to be pursued, and in this, shaped much of how the debates regarding claims would play out. There was considerable work that needed to be done, however, in the form of negotiations to reach a consensus between different groups. This was especially so with respect to the delineation of area boundaries, a component of the City's naming policy and one that can be contentious between groups. That is, applicants under the naming policy may closely follow policy procedures, but fulfilling its requirements does not automatically translate into a successful naming outcome. The policy does identify the fact that opposition to an application can be expressed, and outlines several points at which this

may be done. Nevertheless, the existence of a uniform policy on formal naming specifies a process by which groups are to pursue this matter, greatly facilitating such efforts.

For the Long Beach context, the development of a uniform procedure regarding neighborhood markers developed largely as a result of the efforts to formally recognize Cambodia Town. This meant that making claims for ethnic place recognition were pursued in a legislative and bureaucratic context where there was an absence of a clear precedent or procedure to follow, a factor which proponents argued presented difficulties not only for the making of claims, but for the assessing of claims also. Destinations and designations (of a different type) were common in Long Beach, but a culturally based, ethnic-specific designation was not. Perhaps for this reason too, the City attached a requirement for the development of a Business Improvement District (BID) for Cambodia Town. In part, this relates to the naming and recognition of an internal city area via a means familiar to the City, since BIDs are said to be common in Long Beach. Emphasizing the business/economic aspect of this cultural designation could be a way to neutralize the debate.

In contrast to the Los Angeles and Long Beach city contexts, in Artesia, precedents did not exist in terms of recognized ethnic places or other recognized internal city areas, nor did a procedure exist by which an internal area might be designated and developed as a destination point. Furthermore, or perhaps what should be considered first, is that the issue of jurisdiction (in terms of the legislative body that would have authority regarding these matters of recognition) largely defined the legislative and bureaucratic context regarding claims in this case, and was something that came to be generally established regarding freeway signage of this type largely as a result of the "Little India" case.

When thinking about legislators, as those who assess and make decisions regarding claims for formal recognition, the influence of constituents on policy choices and legislative behavior should be considered. Constituents are first and foremost, and "traditionally" considered, made up by the residents in an electoral district. In this, residents' – i.e., potential voters' – preferences are assumed to take priority in a "reelection-minded" representative's electoral calculus, especially if there are expressed preferences, but also when a legislator judges that there are "potential preferences" that can be activated in (Arnold 1990; see also Fenno 1978; Kingdon 1989; Mayhew 1974). Ethnic places, however, tend to be commercially-oriented in nature. With small city entities especially, the people who work there, who are members of the ethnic business community largely constituting the ethnic place, can very easily live elsewhere, and thus not be constituents in the traditional sense of the word. When the preferences of this business community conflict with the preferences of the residential community, as is often the case with efforts to formally recognize ethnic places, this presents a dilemma for legislators. The expressed interests of their voting public are of greatest importance, but the economic interests of the district are judged to be of great concern also. In this, it is important for legislators to pay attention to their "traditional constituents" – the residents in a district – as well as their "non-traditional constituents" – the business community in a district. The key is for these two types of constituents to reach a consensus regarding efforts to formally recognize an ethnic place. The extent to which this is possible has a profound influence on legislators' assessments and ultimate decisions regarding appeals for formal recognition. However, the policy preferences of legislators' traditional constituents are argued to be the most important factor shaping the policy choices made by these decision-makers. Given the very local context of legislative politics with respect to claims for recognition, where people – proponents and opponents – live matters. If

most of the co-ethnic members working in the ethnic place are characterized as living elsewhere (i.e., outside of the city), and if there is only a small group of co-ethnic members living in the city bounds, but if the residents in the area oppose the proposal, then going against opponents, effectively translating into going against their constituents, is likely to be electorally costly for local representatives. Some of the concerns expressed in the initial proceedings of legislative action in the Cambodia Town case relate to this factor of representatives reflecting the opposition expressed by vocal and attentive constituents within their district. The importance attributed to the reflection of expressed constituent preferences was stark in the "Little India" case.

For "Little India," the conflict between residents' and business' preferences was a marked dynamic to the case. This dynamic was also present in the case of Koreatown, but to a lesser degree in terms of opposition to formal recognition, both generally, regarding such namings, and specifically, regarding Koreatown. However, emphasis was placed on outreach, negotiations, and reaching a consensus between all parties involved in the cases of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, between the Korean, Bangladeshi, and Latino communities. Additionally, the context in Los Angeles was one where a naming policy existed, formally named communities – ethnic places included – were common, and where a broad conceptualization of "stakeholder" was often used to indicate the different ways in which people can be affiliated to, and thus have a stake in, the affairs of a given place. All of these elements were missing in the "Little India" case, in the Artesia context.

II. The Legitimacy of Claims

In the "Little India" case, the idea of eligibility was a dimension to issues regarding the legitimacy of claims, which was different from the cases of Koreatown, Little Bangladesh, and Cambodia Town. This links to what was discussed regarding the legislative and bureaucratic

context in which claims-related processes take place. In the cases of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh, the establishment of a policy on naming in Los Angeles, as well as numerous precedents of formally recognized ethnic places, made it such that the eligibility to make such claims itself was not contested. For Cambodia Town in Long Beach, a policy akin to the naming policy in Los Angeles developed later, after a formal cultural designation had already been approved by the City. However, that the creation of destinations was common in Long Beach, as are BIDs, may have made it such that the eligibility to make a claim – to formally designate and recognize an internal area to the City – in and of itself was not contested. In the case of "Little India," the eligibility to make claims for formal recognition was greatly contested, and formed the bulk of the opposition regarding these appeals. Eligibility was problematized regarding the Indian community in Artesia, who was present mostly as a business community and living elsewhere, such as in neighboring cities. A policy did not exist in Artesia regarding the recognition of internal areas or the creation of destination points, and precedents did not exist either. The issue of making these claims in the first place, and in this, who could legitimately raise these points, was a significant matter of concern given this city context. Eligibility was also questioned of the Assembly member who pursued the signage matter at the state level since jurisdictional uncertainties were also of great concern.

In considering further the dynamic of there being residential and commercial populations to given places, where the two can be quite distinct from each other, and where ethnic places tend to be commercially-oriented, Table 6.2 presents a rough, approximate classification of the 20 cases in southern California that had applied for recognition, based on the relevant ethnic group's preponderant or plural presence as residents and businesses. For the business presence, classifications are roughly based on secondary accounts such as descriptions of the area found in

newspaper accounts, as well as material in city sources regarding recognition efforts and what was emphasized regarding the place (e.g., the place as characterized by an ethnic commercial presence, a historical presence, a cultural presence, a social/community focal point, etc.); classifications regarding the degree of co-ethnic business presence are thus approximate ones. Classifications regarding the residential presence is based on analyses of the population using census data, and relate to the tables in Chapter 2 (especially Table 2.9) in which a detailed profile was provided of ethnic places in Los Angeles City. The comparisons are with respect to ethnic groups, and thus look at Asian and Hispanic or Latino national origin groups as covered by the census. For some places, ancestry was examined to approximate for the group. Since this is of data corresponding to the census tracts implicated by the street boundaries of the ethnic places, in most instances the ethnic place areas approximated by census tracts are overestimates, as was the case with the demographic analyses in previous chapters.

[Insert Table 6.2 about here]

We see in Table 6.2 that the plurality of cases (nine of the 20, or 45%) relate to places where the ethnic group implicated in formal recognition were not the plurality in terms of residents in the area, but seemed to be the preponderant group in terms of businesses. As discussed, ethnic places tend to be commercially-oriented in nature. Six of the 20 places (30%) seem to demonstrate a preponderant co-ethnic residential as well as business presence (although one of these cases, the Byzantine-Latino Quarter, showed preponderance in terms of a Hispanic or Latino presence, but not when considered in terms of those with Greek ancestry), while five (25%) seem to be neither. (This latter group showing neither a preponderant co-ethnic residential nor preponderant co-ethnic business presence seemed to relate more to places that are claimed as historical or cultural places of significance, with the exception of Little Bangladesh which seems

to have a business community that is a bit more dispersed.) In this, a marked ethnic commercial presence seems to be the common denominator to these places; a marked ethnic residential presence does not seem to be a preponderant characteristic. Insofar as opposition to claims for formal recognitions of ethnic places can relate to the population make-up of the areas of concern, especially with respect to the residential base, the argument has been that a preponderant co-ethnic residential concentration can help legitimate claims made for recognition, in demonstrating an additional element of significance in terms of a group to a place and a place to a group. However, most ethnic places tend to be commercially-oriented, and the key regardless seems to be sufficient outreach to and inclusion of others in the area of concern.

That eligibility was not as questioned in the Los Angeles and Long Beach contexts is not to say that the legitimacy of the claims made by groups for the recognition of Koreatown, Little Bangladesh, and Cambodia Town were not contested. As for "Little India," in addition to questions of eligibility, other legitimacy issues were also raised. In contesting the legitimacy of claims made, one of the most noteworthy points is related to opposition based on the (insufficient) level of outreach to community members in the surrounding area, and the (non-) inclusion of these different groups; this had to be resolved in order to have a successful outcome. The lack of sufficient outreach and inclusion was a critical point for those contesting the claims to formally recognize Koreatown. While negotiations took place between the Korean and Bangladeshi communities, the Latino community, stated to constitute the majority of those living in the Koreatown area, expressed their opposition based on their exclusion from these discussions. Negotiations then took place between the Korean, Bangladeshi, and Latino communities, as facilitated by one of the Council members in whose district parts of these places were situated. With Cambodia Town, group members purposefully diversified their organization

of proponents, and, perhaps in anticipation of their opponents, secured (non-co-ethnic) leaders of other ethnic organizations to speak in support of the proposal. This relates, of course, to the composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents. Proponents in the Cambodia Town case also made it a point to invest in and become embedded in the larger community through deeds such as making a pledge to the local public library. This issue of investedness and contributions made was seen across all of the cases, and pertained both to establishing as well as contesting the legitimacy of claims. The City also worked to resolve differences between various ethnic group members early on in the process of discussions regarding a formal designation of Cambodia Town. Leaders of various organizations were convened to engage in dialogue with a third-party facilitator. For the "Little India" case, opponents felt unrepresented by the Assembly member, but compared to the other cases, a lack of outreach and inclusion was less of an issue, relative to these other examples. The "Little India" case was one in which opponents were well organized and unwavering in their opposition to the signage proposal. In this respect, outreach to members in the community may have created opportunities for dialogue, but whether it would have affected their position regarding recognition is debatable. That is, the contexts in the Los Angeles and Long Beach cases were such that those contesting claims for recognition requested inclusion in the discussions; while some were diametrically opposed to the efforts, most were discontent that decisions regarding places of which they were also a part were being made without them. In contrast, in the "Little India" case, the problem was not related to whether groups had been reached out to and included in discussions regarding signage as much as it was the signage proposal itself.

A significant aspect of legitimacy relates to groups' ties to place, and in this, establishing and contesting legitimacy can relate to the roles played by groups in these places. The common

narrative of ethnic groups asserting the legitimacy of their claims concerns being invested in an area and having made positive contributions to it in terms of developing the place. In the "Little India" case, legitimacy is asserted in that the Indian community came and revitalized a blighted area of town. For Koreatown, the narrative concerns how the area has been developed and invested in, and then re-developed and re-invested in, in the aftermath of the 1992 L.A. riots. Cambodia Town claims are also said to be legitimate in the sense that the Cambodian community revitalized a run-down area of town.

Another common narrative is that the ethnic place already exists, and the area is already said to be known as such informally; formal recognition is thus to just formalize what already informally exists. What is emphasized is that the ethnic place is not an artificial creation, or one that requires building, but is an existing, "organic" entity. When this is not clear, i.e., when efforts for recognition seem to be preceding a clear existence and identifiability of place, hurdles may be faced in making claims.

That an ethnic place already exists points to the idea that this place is a significant focal point for that group. Legitimacy then relates to the significance of a place for a group, as well as the significance of a group to a place. In analyzing the population in an area, different frames of reference can lead to different statements being made, all of which may be different, but all of which are at the same time true. When the population of a given area is analyzed differently, from a within-group point of view, we see that ethnic groups' presence in these areas – even for small groups when considered from the "traditional" within-geography point of view, and even when considered with respect to the residential community there – can be significant, at least with respect to that group. In being minority groups, it is extremely difficult for ethnic group

members to constitute the numerical plurality, let alone the majority, of the population in a given area.

With respect to the cases studied, when population proportions are considered through a within-group frame of reference, we see a different picture emerge, at least for the Korean, Bangladeshi, and Cambodian communities. For these three groups, their (residential) population in the ethnic place areas, when considered as a proportion of their population in the City, the County, the State, and even at the national level, constitutes a sizable concentration of their group in these areas. That is, when considered from a within-group point of view, the areas in which they are situated are significant places for group members. In terms of establishing legitimacy, from the group's perspective, they may be present in these areas and in the city in small numbers, but these small numbers may constitute a large and significant concentration when considered for their group. Taken in this light, claims for recognition are in regards to a sizable presence of co-ethnic group members in a significant location for the group. Additionally, when group proportions are calculated in more detail, in looking at national origin groups instead of the larger pan-ethnic or race groupings of the Asian population or the Hispanic or Latino population, we see at least in the Koreatown area that the Korean population actually constitutes the plurality of the various national origin groups present in the area.

For the Indian community, within-group calculations of the Asian Indian population in Artesia, when considered as a proportion of the Asian Indian population in the County and the State, yield small percentages of less than 2% for both 2000 and 2010, across these different geographies. However, in 2000, Asian Indians showed the largest within-group percentage when considering the population in the "Little India" area as a proportion of the group's population in the County, and the third largest percentage when considered with respect to the group's

population in the State. They had the second largest within-group percentage in 2010 when considered with respect to the group's population in the County and the State.

In further considering the population constituting ethnic place areas, another aspect to questions regarding the legitimacy of claims concerns ethnic group-specific recognitions being proposed in a diverse area context. Diversity in this respect relates to race/ethnicity, as well as the various ways in which people are affiliated to place, the main aspects being affiliation as members of the residential and/or business community. Racial/ethnic diversity also applies to the business community in areas proposed for recognition, in that though predominantly speaking, a preponderant ethnic business community exists, ethnic places are not constituted exclusively by co-ethnic businesses. (See Figure 6.1 for an illustration of what location and recognition can mean for different groups.)

[Insert Figure 6.1 about here]

In all three city contexts, there were issues raised to contest claims for formal recognition pertaining to the fact that an ethnic-specific designation was being sought in a multi-ethnic area context. This launched arguments in opposition, on the basis of this diversity. Figure 6.2 revisits the 2x2 matrix in Chapter 1, but with some specific views filled in. On the one hand, there were arguments that based on this diversity, all such groups, individually, should then also be recognized. There were also views that were not opposed to the idea of a group-specific recognition in and of itself, but that were opposed to the specific group making claims for recognition. These views are seen in contexts where there already exists a strong, historical identity to the place. Other views were that based on this diversity, no such groups should be recognized – diversity itself should be what is celebrated. A subset of this argument was that no such groups should be individually recognized, but the diverse character of the place should be

recognized, with suggestions for an internationally themed recognition of place instead. There were also arguments in opposition pertaining to views regarding ethnic identities and immigrant incorporation. Simply put, these relate to views regarding assimilation. In this view, if immigrants are to shed their ethnic identities, then organization and the demarcation of space on the basis of these identities works against the incorporation of these groups. The diversity rationale, in terms of how it applies to claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places generally and specifically, are also diverse.

[Insert Figure 6.2 about here]

Alongside the racial/ethnic diversity component to places is the idea of diversity in terms of affiliations to place. A place is likely to be shared space between people who live there, people who work there, people who shop there, people who attend school there, and so forth. The residential community and the business community are arguably the two dominant populations to a place. These two groups are likely to have different interests and preferences with respect to places. Though the economic argument is presented as a rationale for formally recognizing ethnic places (i.e., that this will further contribute to the economic development and vitality of the place and community at large), different affiliations to place, and thus, different ideas regarding place, are likely to lead to different evaluations of these economic arguments. Some residents, as in the case of Artesia, for example, may have no interest in developing their neighborhood into a bustling economic center. Competing interests thus shape assessments of whether the claims that are made are seen to be legitimate.

A claim for formal recognition has to be judged to be legitimate to be successful. In this, proponents strive to establish legitimacy, while opponents seek to contest it. Legitimacy in large

part relates to groups' ties to place, and the significance of groups to places and of places to groups.

III. The Composition and Actions/Strategies of Proponents and Opponents

How proponents and opponents are composed, and what specific actions they engage in, are important to understanding how claims are made and contested, and why, and in this, how they are then assessed. It is first important to note that there are intra-group differences within ethnic groups. These differences relate to political issues, socioeconomic status, and with respect to the specific topic at hand, support or opposition to proposals for recognition. Since many of these ethnic places tend to pertain to immigrant minority groups, politics from the home country can carry over into current contexts. This was markedly true of the Cambodia Town case. There are also socioeconomic differences between group members. As discussed in the "Little India" case, some group members are property owners and some are business owners renting store spaces from them. While official recognition would be for the same ethnic place, group members play different roles within that space. While certain differences relate to the internal diversity of co-ethnic group members, there are also intra-group differences pertaining to group members' positions regarding proposals for recognition. Not all group members can be presumed to support proposals of this kind. These differences may relate to issues such as different opinions regarding the specific name proposed, but there are other issues relating to group members' views regarding the spatial concentration of ethnic groups more generally, and with respect to ethnic identities and implications for immigrant incorporation.

There are also issues faced within ethnic groups of establishing a spokesperson for the group when making claims. Whether it relates to intra-group divisions or the coalescing of various existing community organizations into a coalition, proponents speak of the need for, and

the difficulty of, establishing a leader who is understood to have the authority to represent the group as a whole, and to speak and be able to make decisions on behalf of that group. Additionally, for Cambodians in the Cambodia Town case and the Latino population in the Koreatown case, an unforeseen by-product of engaging in efforts to make and to contest (respectively) claims for recognition was the mobilization of the community and the formation of a sustained organization. For the Cambodian community in particular, working to recognize Cambodia Town also resulted in civic education and political activation of the community.

There also seems to be value in diversifying one's base, whether as proponents or opponents. A broad-based and diverse group, composed of various groups within the community and thus diverse both in terms of ethnic make-up but also in terms of affiliation to place, creates a more "convincing" case in that the support for recognition is suggestive of not being specific to one group. Rather than intense concentration or an isolated interest specific to a certain group or sector of the community, a diffused composition can send the message to decision-makers that many different people share the same interest for or against a proposal. In this regard, the message bearers become the message itself. The composition of the group can then itself be strategic in making or contesting claims for recognition. Additionally, pursuing intermediate/instrumental ends is argued to be the more strategic course of action, rather than pursuing complete ends. This relates to the broad-based composition of a group, in finding a common denominator between various groups and sectors. It can also relate to the actions taken by groups. Strategic choices have to be made in negotiation with other groups, which means foregoing the complete ends that a group may want to see (whether in support or opposition of a claim for formal recognition) in exchange for realizing what is non-negotiable for the group.

Conclusion

There are comparisons to be made across the individual case studies conducted of Koreatown and Little Bangladesh in Los Angeles, Cambodia Town in Long Beach, and "Little India" in Artesia. Similarities and differences exist for these cases as they relate to the three identified key factors in terms of what influences the making, contesting, and assessing of claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places. Some preliminary patterns may be noticed from the findings of these case studies and from the comparisons made between them regarding factors which influence the making, contesting, and assessing of claims, though there are important limits to the conclusions that can be drawn. In the least, these case studies and a comparison of some of their findings allow for a conjecture into how and why the claims-making, contesting, and assessing processes take place, and what may be important contributors to the outcome of such efforts.

Table 6.1. Summary and comparison of important factors across cases

	I. Legislative and bureaucratic context	II. Legitimacy –group presence			III. Composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents		Result
Case study site/ethnic place	Governmental procedures/process	Within-geography group presence (national origin group comparison)	Within-group group presence (national origin group comparison)	Business concentration	Composition of proponents and opponents	Bargaining and number of groups involved	Passed or defeated?
Koreatown and Little Bangladesh	Informal recognition of Koreatown existed – City policy on naming/re-naming communities adopted – Little Bangladesh application for City naming submitted – Koreatown application for City naming submitted – negotiations held between groups – issue discussed in Council committee – amended boundaries approved by City Council	Koreans: plurality, 2000 and 2010; Bangladeshis: small percentage, 2000 and 2010	Koreans: second largest at City, County, State levels, largest at U.S. level, 2000 and 2010; Bangladeshis: largest at City, County, State levels, 2000 and 2010	Koreatown: marked co-ethnic business concentration; Little Bangladesh: absence of marked co-ethnic business concentration, business community scattered	Koreatown proponents narrowly-based (race/ethnicity); Koreatown opponents narrowly-based (race/ethnicity); Little Bangladesh proponents narrowly-based (race/ethnicity); Little Bangladesh opponents narrowly-based (race/ethnicity)	Negotiations between Korean, Bangladeshi, and Latino communities	Passed on both – amended versions on both
Cambodia Town	Request presented to City Council – sent to council committee – study commissioned – approved by City Council with BID requirement attached; general City policy on naming and signage later adopted	Second largest (largest of Asian national origin groups), 2000 and 2010	Second largest at City level, largest at County, State, U.S. levels, 2000 and 2010	Marked co-ethnic business concentration (non-co-ethnic business presence also noted)	Proponents broadly-based (race/ethnicity, affiliation); opponents not well-defined	Initial conversation held between several community groups, early on in recognition efforts	Passed

Table 6.1 continued

	I. Legislative and bureaucratic context	II. Legitimacy –group presence			III. Composition and actions/strategies of proponents and opponents		Result
Case study site/ethnic place	Governmental procedures/process	Within-geography group presence (national origin group comparison)	Within-group group presence (national origin group comparison)	Business concentration	Composition of proponents and opponents	Bargaining and number of groups involved	Passed or defeated?
"Little India"	Formal naming and signage efforts through ACR 67 – City Resolutions issued in opposition to ACR – AB 2823 passed to give jurisdiction to local municipality – alternate sign language adopted by City	Small in 2000 and 2010, but third or fourth largest in 2000, depending on how the Chinese population is counted, third largest in 2010	Small, but largest at County in 2000	Marked co-ethnic business concentration (degree of preponderant presence disputed)	Proponents narrowly-based (race/ethnicity, affiliation); opponents broadly-based (race/ethnicity and affiliation)	Bargaining not really involved	Passed – ACR 67 Passed – AB 2823 Passed – City Resolutions, adopted alternate signage text (no signage in place)

Table 6.2. Rough classification of ethnic places with respect to co-ethnic residential and business presence

Co-ethnic group as preponderance or plurality of businesses	Co-ethnic group as preponderance or plurality of residents	
	Yes	No
Yes	Byzantine-Latino Quarter Chinatown Koreatown Little Armenia Little Saigon Little Tokyo	Cambodia Town El Salvador Community Corridor Historic Filipinotown Korean Business District Little Ethiopia “Little India” Olvera Street Persian Square Thai Town
No		(Central American Historic District) Croatian Place (Historical Central America Town) Little Bangladesh Via Italia



Figure 6.1. The implications of location, and of recognition. This sign on a building in Los Angeles may be illustrative of the different sentiments of co-ethnic businesses versus non-co-ethnic (especially other ethnic-specific) businesses in regards to a formal recognition and designation of place.

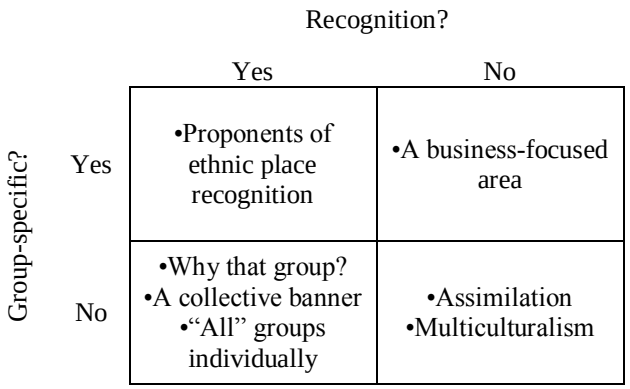


Figure 6.2. Illustration of types of views possible regarding recognitions and group-specific recognitions

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Formally recognized ethnic places are commonly seen in American urban landscapes today. In the motorist-centered context of southern California, these are made most visible via road signs – street and freeway signage – denoting these places. Here, formal recognition involves the official naming, designation, and demarcation of these communities by local legislative bodies and bureaucratic agencies. This signifies a new turn in conceptualizations of ethnic spatial concentrations, in that what we now see are not just voluntary spatial concentrations of ethnic group members, but voluntary concentration in what may be described as its most heightened form, with active claims being made to place.

This extends the idea of voluntary coalescing and signals a shift in the empirical landscape warranting further study and analysis. Issues such as ethnic relations between the various groups within a given area are highlighted. There are also conflicting interests between residents and the business community in terms of how to shape and define the local environment and local political economy. In addition, there are what are often viewed to be finite resources at stake in the sense that space is thought to be a limited and contested resource in the context of various groups' claims to it, and competing visions as to how place should and can be defined. The emphasis on claims-making for formal recognition thus marks a shift in conceptualizations of ethnic communities. A discussion of power, representation, and ethnic relations is central to analyses of these processes.

These dynamics are not restricted to the cases discussed in this study. In Los Angeles, for example, there was the case in which two groups – the Thai and Armenian communities –

compromised on their claims by agreeing to label the same stretch along Hollywood Boulevard after both groups, thus simultaneously constituting Thai Town and a part of Little Armenia. Applications submitted regarding the Central American Historic District and the Historical Central America Town in Los Angeles City – which themselves overlapped in the areas proposed though constituting two separate applications – were contested by groups in the local community, arguments being made that community members were "in Opposition to The Renaming of the Pico-Union/Westlake/MacArthur Park Communities" (Friends of Pico-Union 2007).

Names and signs and boundary designations for communities do not arise on their own; there are processes as to how they come about, or, in rarer cases, how they fail to be realized. Making claims, contesting claims, and assessing/deciding on claims for the formal recognition of ethnic places are argued to be shaped by the legislative and bureaucratic context in which this is done, the idea of legitimacy regarding claims, and how proponents and opponents are composed and the actions and strategies in which they engage.

In terms of expanding the research further, future directions for research may include issues of, under what conditions might we see claims for recognition in the first place? After all, not all such ethnically concentrated communities seek formal recognition. Furthermore, in expanding the base of cases for comparison, we may further consider the conditions under which we might expect efforts for formal recognition to succeed or fail. To be sure, the vast majority of efforts for recognition tend to succeed, even if this is eventual success after a long period of time and possibly with repeated efforts, and with a significant opposition launched in response. That is, the success rate of these efforts is not to suggest that recognition comes easily, as this study hopefully illuminated. Additionally, it is important to note that unsuccessful cases are more

difficult to identify – successful cases are more visible and identifiable. This is especially so when no comprehensive/exhaustive inventory exists not only of recognized ethnic places, but also of all such attempted cases.

Another area for future study relates to the political incorporation of immigrant ethnic minorities. Existing literature has focused on the effects of ethnic enclaves for social and economic incorporation and mobility. However, the potential effect on political incorporation has been much neglected. To be sure, one of the most notable points regarding efforts for formal recognition has been the civic learning and engagement of ethnic group members, an unforeseen by-product of their efforts. There is a civic and political "activation" in this respect, and proponents across cases spoke of lasting effects in terms of continued political and civic participation. Organizations were also formed and sustained as a result of these efforts for recognition and contestation. Group members spoke of planned efforts to continue to engage in the community and to interact with local legislators, both at the city level and beyond. There is an increased consciousness raised as political actors and an effort to better establish themselves as an electorate to whom attention should be paid. The basis for ethnic concentration in the places being spoken of here tends to primarily be commercially-oriented, though there is a co-ethnic residential population also. However, the by-product of recognition efforts has led to the political and civic activation of group members. With this civic engagement, established organizations, and a more highlighted group focal point/location, much of the bases for greater political mobilization efforts seem to be present. A neighborhood's social and racial/ethnic context is said to affect electoral turnout (Cho, Gimpel, and Dyck 2006). We can thus foray into the political and electoral effects of an ethnic spatial context. Are there efforts to mobilize these concentrated pockets of ethnic voters, especially via co-ethnic contact? Might there be some

advantage for party officials to concentrate on these geographic areas? In addition, what are the effects of being amongst a co-ethnic population spatially in the mobilization and political behavior of its members? That is, is there a distinct advantage or potential to be found in these ethnic spatial concentrations in terms of political incorporation and mobilization efforts? Does having an identified, recognized group space and identified community leaders facilitate efforts for political mobilization?

There are also economic implications to study regarding formally recognized ethnic places. The common rationale across cases in support of recognition efforts is that recognition will lead to inclusive and shared economic benefits and payoffs for all involved and all present in the area of concern. Is this the case? Are economic benefits reaped across the board by "all" present, or are they more selectively collected? Does recognition lead to greater economic benefits as compared to not having a formally recognized ethnic place, even if the ethnic place exists informally? What are the economic effects of recognition? What are the economic effects of not going through recognition?

Another question relates to the life course of these ethnic communities. Given histories of the ethnic succession of neighborhoods, are these inherently transitory spaces operating in tandem with socioeconomic and thus spatial assimilation? Do ethnic communities, in terms of spaces, face inevitable succession by other groups? A common narrative seems to be that ethnic communities come to take root in what were blighted – and vacant – areas of town, and many of these areas were once core neighborhoods for other ethnic groups. What then leads to an ethnic neighborhood's "death," and conversely, what contributes to their sustainment?

This study has been an examination into what we now see developing with ethnic spatial concentrations in that there is a rise in conflicts and politically charged contexts of ethnic groups'

formal claims to place. Ethnic communities are now taking shape in new ways with a heightened sense of self-claimed, self-adopted, spatial coalescing. This leads to important questions regarding, among other issues, racial/ethnic relations, representation, and negotiations regarding competing interests.

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Appendix 1

Assembly Bill 2823 (2004): Conditions for Community Signage

"Section 1. Section 101.12 is added to the Streets and Highways code, to read:
101.12. The department may place and maintain, or cause to be placed and maintained, signs on state highways directing motorists to communities within the geographical boundaries of a city, county, or city and county if all of the following conditions are satisfied:

(a) The name of the community is culturally unique and historically significant.
(b) The name of the community has resulted from the influence of a culture over a significant period of time.
(c) The general public and media commonly recognize the name of the community.
(d) The community is located within a city, county, or city and county.
(e) Signs are consistent with the signing requirements for the state highway system.
(f) The geographical boundary of the community is within three miles of the state highway exit.
(g) Trailblazing signs are installed on the appropriate streets or roads prior to installation of signs on the state highway.
(h) The city, county, or city and county provides funds from nonstate sources that cover all costs for the Department of Transportation to place and maintain, or cause to be placed and maintained, appropriate signs on state highways.
(i) The governing body of the city, county, or city and county in which the community is located adopts a resolution that does the following:
(A) Designates the name of the community that is to be used on directional signs.
(B) Defines the geographical boundaries of the community.
(C) Requests the department to post signs on state highways" (Chaptered AB 2823, 2004).