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Los Angeles

Different Shades of Change: Historic Districts in Los Angeles and their Impact on
Gentrification and Neighborhood Trends.

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Urban Planning

by

Karolina Maria Gorska

2015

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Different Shades of Change: Historic Districts in Los Angeles and their Impact on
Gentrification and Neighborhood Trends.

by

Karolina Maria Gorska

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning

University of California, Los Angeles 2015

Professor Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Chair

Historic district designation is used as a tool in the management of neighborhood preservation, community economic development, and revitalization. However, criticism has arisen that designation can accelerate property values and rents, which can lead to gentrification and displacement. Although there are assertions that benefits accompany historic designation, they come from different socio-demographic and cultural contexts than Los Angeles. Up until now, no study examined the impacts and socioeconomic changes that occur within Los Angeles' historic districts subsequent to their designation. Thus, studying the impacts of Historic Preservation Overlay Zones (HPOZs) provides an interesting comparison to the current literature that mostly examines the effect of such districts and gentrification in strongly centered urban regions, like New York.

The dissertation examined the effect of HPOZs on neighborhood change and focused on three questions: (1) What physical and social changes can be attributed to historic designation? (2) Do residents experience gentrification? And (3) What were the underlying motivations for designation? The work employed a mixed-methods approach, which included three research stages: 1) principal component and cluster analysis of socioeconomic trends before and after designation (1970-2010), 2) development of neighborhood typologies, and 3) selection of case studies from different typologies.

The findings reveal that the benefits and disadvantages of designation differ by HPOZ based on socioeconomic differences. Although the case studies ranged from low, middle, to upper income areas (Black, White, and Latino), they all experienced varying degrees of gentrification or ascension—from super-gentrification (Lees 2003) to an influx of urban pioneers into low-income communities (Mollenkopf 1983). While one cannot say that HPOZs cause gentrification per se, they can intensify gentrification trends. Also, for lower and middle-class areas preservation was seen as an agent of change, while in wealthier areas preservation reinforced the status quo. HPOZs have empowered those with the loudest voices and strongest political connections, at the expense of the silent majority, leading to a less socially just and economically secure city (less affordable housing). The work concludes with recommendations for affordable preservation policies, such as flexible design standards, and greater community outreach requirements in relation to design and initial preservation decisions.

The dissertation of Karolina Maria Gorska is approved.

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2015

To my father, for always being understanding, patient, and supportive. And above all, for always believing in me.

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1. Introduction

This dissertation examines the impact of Historic Preservation Overlay Zones (HPOZs) on neighborhoods in the city of Los Angeles. An HPOZ is an area of the city, which is designated for its architectural, cultural, or aesthetic significance. Currently, there are 29 HPOZs, which range in size, as well as architectural and social diversity. Up until now, no study has examined the impacts and socioeconomic changes that occur within these neighborhoods after their designation.¹

The designation of a historic district by a municipality protects a neighborhood's historic urban form. But while aesthetic improvements are the outcome of required design guidelines, assertions of community and economic benefits also seem to create a strong incentive for municipalities and property owners to embrace historic designation (The Getty Conservation Institute 2001). Additional benefits include insulation from extreme market fluctuations, stable homeownership, and an increased sense of community and greater involvement, which are brought about by a common source of pride for the neighborhood's history and architectural character (Rypkema 1994; Gale 1991).

Although many studies show that historic districts raise property values and the quality of life in neighborhoods (Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2012; Diaz, Cypher, and Haynga 2008; New York Independent Budget Office 2002; Clark and Herrin 1997), they come from different socio-demographic and cultural contexts compared to Los Angeles, such as New York City, Baton Rouge, LA, or Sacramento, CA. Even though designation offers benefits, there are also criticisms that it may result in gentrification (Smith 1998) and lead to a reduction in housing supply, higher prices, and increasingly elite residents (Glaeser 2012).

¹ For the purpose of this work neighborhood changes encompass social, physical, and economic changes. 1) Do residents perceive gentrification? 2) Is there new investment?; and 4) Is there a change in neighborhood character?;

Indeed, researchers have found that significant socioeconomic changes have occurred in certain revitalized historic neighborhoods around the country (Freeman 2011; Schill, Nathan, and Persaud 1983). Nevertheless, the relationship between historic designation and gentrification is inconclusive (Leimenstoll 1998; Gale 1991). Studies have shown that rather than spurring displacement, revitalization and reinvestment in certain historic neighborhoods has maintained economic and racial diversity; these neighborhoods include: Rogers Park, Edgewater, Uptown, and Chicago Lawn (Chicago); South-east Seattle; Houston Heights; Jackson Heights and Fort Greene (New York City); and San Antonio and Fruitvale (Oakland) (Freeman 2011; Rypkema 2004; Nyden et al. 1998).

This dissertation examines the impacts of Los Angeles' HPOZs using a mixed-methods approach. The three stages of the research include: 1) Analysis of socioeconomic trends before and after designation (1970-2010); 2) development of typologies for the different Los Angeles neighborhoods that are designated HPOZs; and 3) a detailed analysis of one case study from each different neighborhood typology.²

1.1 Significance and Contribution to Field

In light of the fact that real estate market trends are shifting toward redevelopment in central cities and older suburbs, as opposed to continued urban sprawl (EPA 2010), preservation and adaptive reuse will continue to be a popular neighborhood renewal strategy in these usually historic areas. A report by the Brookings Institute singled out historic preservation as a “vital competitive asset” to be leveraged for revitalization; it suggested that the number of National Register-listed historic properties in a city was a positive indicator of its potential for economic recovery (Vey 2007).

² The measures and indicators of socioeconomic changes that will be used for the purpose of this research are outlined in the *Research Methods* section.

Therefore, as the number of historic districts in Los Angeles grows it is crucial to continue to explore and fully understand the effects of historic preservation in the redevelopment of inner-city neighborhoods and promotion of urban economic growth. Furthermore, it is important to understand the effect of historic districts on housing prices. Due to historic circumstances central cities and older suburbs have often provided affordable housing options for low and moderate-income minority and immigrant populations for decades. Rypkema (2002) provides statistics for how significant older and historic neighborhoods are in providing affordable housing. For instance,

- 32% of households below the poverty line live in older and historic homes
- 31% of homeowners whose household income is less than \$20,000 per year live in older and historic homes
- 31% of black homeowners and 24 percent of Hispanic homeowners live in older and historic homes
- 29% of elderly homeowners live in older and historic homes

On the other hand, Ed Glaeser argues that historic preservation leads to the protection of too many buildings, especially in historic districts, and gives too much power to neighbors to prevent new high rise development, which could offer affordable housing (2011: 150).

Thus, if successful revitalization is desired within neighborhoods that provide affordable housing options due to incumbent upgrading (Clay 1979) or increased market interest, the question of how preservation relates to displacement and gentrification is fundamental.

1.2 Why Study HPOZs in Los Angeles?

So far no study has examined if socioeconomic changes have occurred in these neighborhoods subsequent to their designation. Currently there are 29 designated HPOZs (Figure 1.1), the first of which was designated in 1983 and more districts are planned for the

future.³ The Getty Conservancy states that,

[N]eighborhoods are clamoring to achieve the community, economic, and marketing benefits that accompany the designation 'historic district' and that "there are intangible benefits that come with living in an HPOZ, such as the friendships and the sense of community that arise from a shared interest in preserving and improving their historic neighborhood (2001: 8).

The desire to continue to preserve the city's neighborhoods was strongly articulated in two *Los Angeles Times* articles in May 2014. However, the appeal of preservation was summarized as being more closely related to halting new development rather than any possible intangible benefits. One article titled "Return of 'mansionization' has some L.A. homeowners grumbling," outlines a continuing frustration of residents with builders who are buying up smaller, older homes, razing them and replacing them with bigger dwellings (Reyes 2014). Even though initial budget proposals for fiscal year 2014-2015 would have halted the process of creating new historic districts (*LA Times Editorial Board* 2014) there was enough public opposition that the City Council's Budget and Finance Committee voted on a revised budget that added funding for new neighborhood conservation positions in the Planning Department in order not to halt the designation process (Los Angeles Conservancy n.d., "Funding for Neighborhood Preservation").

Additionally, given the size and importance of Los Angeles as a global city, it is strange that it has been mostly overlooked by the gentrification literature. With the exception of Davis (1992) and Keil (1998), and most recently Florida (2013), most researchers have little to say about gentrification dynamics in Los Angeles. Perhaps this is because in Los Angeles these dynamics differ from places like New York and Chicago (E. W. Soja 2000), and gentrification appears to be a weaker trend when compared to pervasive suburbanization (Hannigan 2005).

³ As of mid-2014 there are two new HPOZ areas that are in the plan adoption phase ("East 52nd Place Tract" and 27th and "28th Street"), three additional areas are listed as "Pending HPOZs" and 11 other "Proposed HPOZs" under consideration (OHR n.d., "*Proposed HPOZs*").

Nevertheless, as Florida points out, Los Angeles is divided and segmented by class similar to other cities. However, L.A.'s class geography does not conform to a typical urban-suburban pattern, with lower-wage workers concentrated in the urban core and the more affluent at the suburban fringe. In L.A., Florida (2013) finds that affluent, creative class pockets can be found: throughout the city (near universities like UCLA or USC), in parts of the downtown, as well as coastal suburbs, such as Santa Monica. Additionally, the city's service class tends to reside on the periphery of the major creative class clusters, while the manufacturing/working class areas have largely disappeared, and the few that remain are also scattered throughout the city near affluent areas, such as downtown or parts of South Central Los Angeles (Florida 2013).

The city's HPOZs are spread throughout the city and fall into different class clusters with over half located in either service or working class areas. For these reasons, studying the impacts of HPOZs in Los Angeles should provide an important comparison and possible counterpoint to the current literature that mostly examines the effect of such districts and gentrification in strongly centered urban regions.

Overall, a range of diverse neighborhoods are designated HPOZs in Los Angeles and provide an interesting look at (1) the impacts of preservation policies and (2) how the impacts vary when applied to neighborhoods that differ architecturally, as well socioeconomically. This offers relevant information for planners, preservationists, and policy makers both locally and in other cities.

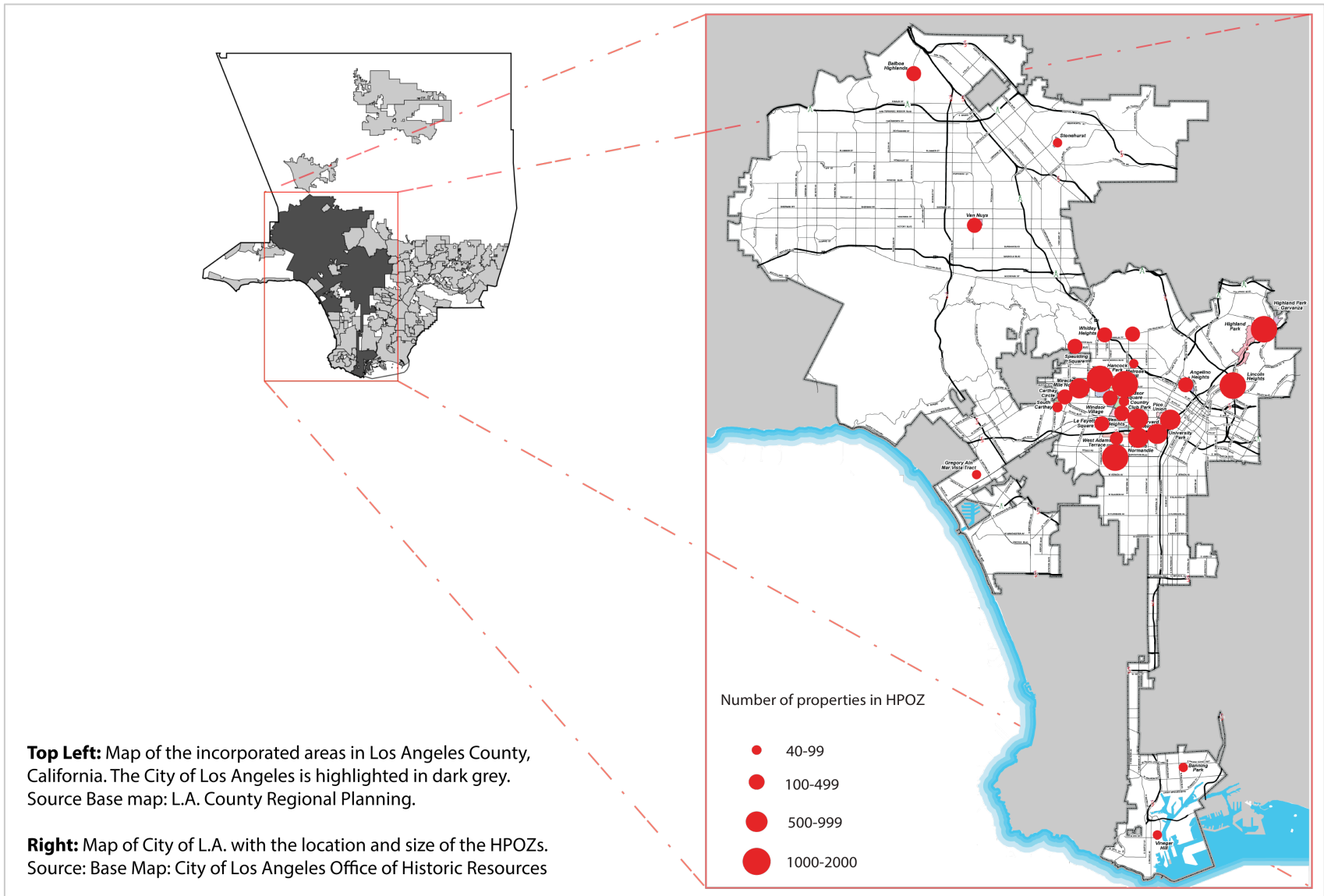


Figure 1.1: Map of Los Angeles' 29 HPOZs. Map made by Author.

2. Research Approach

2.1 Research Questions

The overarching question of the dissertation is the relationship, if any, between historic designation and neighborhood gentrification by comparing selected economic and population indicators in historic districts before and after their designation. To answer that, I investigate the following research questions:

1. Have the 29 HPOZs experienced similar socioeconomic changes/trends compared to city/county-wide trends?
2. What are the types of social and physical changes within HPOZs that can be attributed to historic designation?
3. Do residents of HPOZs experience gentrification?
4. What were the motivations for HPOZ designations? And who has a voice in how the district is maintained?

2.2 Research Methods

The following section will outline the research methods, with a focus on the gentrification indicators used, data collection, how HPOZ neighborhoods were created, and the case study selection and analysis.

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the impacts of historic district designation on the socioeconomic changes and gentrification trends of urban neighborhoods in Los Angeles. The leading indicators of gentrification trends will be collected from the census and are discussed and presented below (Tables 1-3). However, the intention of this work is not to study detailed price implications of historic designation, as done in several prior studies (for example, Asabere, Huffman, and Mehdiian 1994; Leichenko, Coulson, and Listokin 2001; Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2012). A primary concern of this research is to discern and understand the socioeconomic trends and neighborhood changes that may be present in designated

districts. For example, were forces such as gentrification present before the district designation or do they appear as byproducts (see Gale 1991)? To do this requires an understanding of the use of historic preservation in the United States in general and Los Angeles in particular, an understanding of the complexities of neighborhood change, and how those dynamics work together in historic districts, and an understanding of how positive effects may be encouraged while negative ones may be mitigated.

Methods

Before specific tasks are outlined it is important to outline the context of the historic districts and the leading indicators and factors of gentrification that will be used.

The Context: Currently 29 HPOZs exist throughout Los Angeles (Figure 1.1), most of which are concentrated in the core of the city—west of downtown, east of Beverly Hills and between the 10 and 101 freeways. The districts represent a variety of historical styles, from the Victorian- and Craftsman-style homes of Angelino Heights to the Spanish Colonial Revival structures in Carthay Circle, to the modest post-World War II modernist houses in the Gregory Ain Mar Vista Tract (Figures 2.1 – 2.4). Angelino Heights was the first HPOZ to be designated in 1983, while the last two, Hollywood Grove and Jefferson Park HPOZs, were established in 2011. Although, the City Council adopted the ordinance enabling the creation of HPOZs in 1979, 17 out of 29 of the districts were designated post-2000 (Table 2.1). HPOZs also range widely in size. The smallest, San Pedro’s Vinegar Hill, has just twenty-six contributing properties; the largest, Highland Park contains about two thousand contributing structures.⁴

⁴ A contributing structure is a building that was constructed during the predominant period of development in the neighborhood and that has retained most of its historic features. A non-contributing structure is one

Table 2.1: Los Angeles HPOZs, years established, and contributing vs. non-contributing numbers.

HPOZ	Year Established⁵	LA Region	Total Contributing	Total Non-Contributing⁶	Sum	Percent Contributing
Adams-Normandie	2000	South	526	200	726	72%
Angelino Heights	1983/2008	East	250	50	300	83%
Balboa Highlands	2010	North Valley	75	34	109	69%
Banning Park	2001	Harbor	68	11	79	86%
Carthay Circle	1998	Central	383	53	436	88%
Country Club Park	2010	South	512	156	668	77%
Gregory Ain Mar Vista Tract	2003	West	49	3	52	94%
Hancock Park	2008	Central	1087	144	1231	88%
Harvard Heights	2000	South	573	233	806	71%
Highland Park-Garvanza	1994/2010	East	2000	500	2500	80%
Hollywood Grove	2011	Central	108	30	138	78%
Jefferson Park	2011	South	1359	650	2009	68%
Lafayette Square	2000	South	204	22	226	90%
Lincoln Heights	2004	East	753	338	1091	69%
Melrose Hill	1988	Central	44	2	46	96%
Miracle Mile North	1990	Central	547	51	598	91%
Pico-Union	2004	Central	528	270	798	66%
South Carthay	1985	Central	331	38	369	90%
Spaulding Square	1993	Central	145	15	160	91%
Stonehurst	2008	North Valley	61	10	71	86%
University Park	2000	South	436	183	619	70%
Van Nuys	2006	South	188	52	240	78%
Vinegar Hill	2001	Harbor	26	17	43	60%
West Adams Terrace	2004	South	436	183	619	70%
Western Heights	2001	South	127	48	175	73%
Whitley Heights	1992	Central	166	25	191	87%
Wilshire Park	2008	Central	396	130	526	75%
Windsor Square	2004	Central	979	121	1100	89%
Windsor Village	2010	Central	219	90	309	71%

that was either constructed after the major period of the neighborhood’s development, or has been so significantly altered that it no longer conveys its historic character (LA 175891, Section 12.20.3.B.).

⁵ Two years indicate when an HPOZ was first established and the year the HPOZ was expanded.

⁶ Includes vacant lots



Figure 2.1: Example of Craftsman Architecture in the Pico Union HPOZ. Photo courtesy of the Office of Historic Resources.



Figure 2.2: Example of Victorian architecture in the Angelino Heights HPOZ. Photo courtesy of the Office of Historic Resources.



Figure 2.3: Example of Victorian architecture in the South Carthay HPOZ.
Photo courtesy of the Office of Historic Resources.



Figure 2.4: Example of Modern architecture in the Balboa Highlands Heights HPOZ.
Photo courtesy of the Office of Historic Resources.

2.3 Gentrification Indicators and Factors

In approaching the research questions listed in the previous section, I first study the socioeconomic trends of the HPOZ neighborhoods before and after designation. Several indicators serve to guide the empirical work and compilation of data that establish the social, physical, and economic composition of the neighborhoods studied. As described later gentrification is a loose term that describes not a static state, but a process of change. Therefore the literature review also incorporates aspects of sociological models of neighborhood change, which suggest alternative processes of ascent. For example, incumbent upgrading may not lead to changes in housing conditions; working-class residents may replace very poor residents, so a wealthy neighborhood is not the result; or changes to the built environment may or may not co-occur with neighborhood ascent. In addition, neighborhood ascent can occur through public or private investment rather than just population changes. Thus, this work documents the types of ascension that HPOZ neighborhoods undergo. Table 2.1 lists the variables that will be utilized for this study, while Tables 2.2 - 2.4 outline the concepts and correlation and influence of the variables on the susceptibility of gentrification, as explained in the literature. All data is from the Decennial Census.

Overall, the gentrification literature focuses on the concepts of people and property. These two concepts will be utilized in the initial analysis—typology creation and neighborhood ascent analysis. The third concept used in this study, access to amenities, is directly related to consumptive and productive demands, which are theorized to motivate gentrifiers (Bradway Laska, Seaman, and McSeveney 1982, 157). These factors are examined closer through case study analysis. As a result, the primary

concepts discussed are people, property and access to amenities.

Table 2.1: Variables Used for Typology Development

POPULATION, RACE, & HH COMPOSITION

Total Population
% Black
% White
% Asian
% Other
% Hispanic
% Foreign Born
% Residents under 5
% Residents under 18
% Residents over 65
% Fem-headed HH

LOCATION

Central City?

POVERTY & INCOME

Below Poverty Level
Ave HH Income

EDUCATION

% Education Attainment, BA

EMPLOYMENT

% High Status Job

HOUSING

Housing Units
New Housing
Vacant Units
% Owner Occupied
% Renter Occupied
Average Value Owner HH
Median Rent
Housing, Median Year Built

TABLE 2.2: Concept – People

DIMENSION	INDICATOR	CORRELATION AND INFLUENCE ON THE SUSCEPTIBILITY OF GENTRIFICATION	DATA SOURCE
Income & Poverty	Average Income ⁷	This variable proxies for the socioeconomic status and low rents; it can be directed toward an indicator of wealth or poverty (Heidkamp and Lucas 2006; Bradway Laska, Seaman, & McSeveney 1982). (-) As the percentage of the Average Household Income increases, the neighborhood tends to be leaning toward upper incomes and becomes less susceptible to gentrification (the area may be already experienced gentrification to some degree).	Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB) Percentage of Area Average Household Income
	Below Poverty	This variable indicates the level of poverty in an area. (+) As the percentage increases the potential for gentrification increases.	Geolytics NCDB % of Total Households
Education	Educational Attainment Percent of Population with a Bachelor Degree or higher.	This variable is used as a fundamental measurement for the potential for gentrification susceptibility and can proxy for income as used in the Galster and Peacock (1986) study. (-) As the percentage of those that have obtained a Bachelor Degree increase the potential for the area to gentrify decreases (and in fact may already be experiencing gentrification).	Geolytics NCDB Percentage of Total Population
Employment	High-Status Job	The proportion of workers over 16 years old working in a managerial, technical, or professional (high-status) job. This variable is used as a fundamental measurement for the potential for gentrification susceptibility and can proxy for income (Owens, 2012). (-) As the percentage of those that have obtained a Bachelor Degree increase the potential for the area to gentrify decreases (and in fact may already be experiencing gentrification).	Geolytics NCDB Percentage of Total Population
Race & Ethnicity	Racial Composition	The designation of race/ethnicity may provide insight into neighborhoods that have already gentrified (gentrifiers are typically associated with white households). This variable can be viewed from a variety of perspectives. It may provide a cultural aspect via "ethnic flavor/identity" of a neighborhood, or a "tightly-knit ethnic enclave," which suggests low mobility rates and an obstacle to entrance by gentrifiers (Beauregard 1986; Helms 2003). (-) Primarily white neighborhoods signify little "ethnic flavor/identity" and tend to be associated with already gentrified neighborhoods. (+) A Hispanic presence in the neighborhood may signify "ethnic flavor/identity" that provides a cultural attraction to some in-movers.	Geolytics NCDB Non-Hispanic White, and Hispanic Percentage of Total Population
Household Compositions	Concentration of Female-Headed HH	This variable proxy for income level could be representative of disadvantaged or vulnerable populations, i.e., single parent households. Traditionally seen to have a negative connotation to the neighborhood (Bradway Laska, Seaman, and McSeveney 1982: 156; Heidkamp and Lucas 2006: 102; Chapple 2009: 6). (+) As the percentage increase so does the susceptibility to gentrification.	Geolytics NCDB Percentage of Total Households

⁷ Average household income is used instead of median income because the US Census did not begin measuring median income until the 1990 census.

TABLE 2.3: Concept - Housing

DIMENSION	INDICATOR	CORRELATION AND INFLUENCE ON THE SUSCEPTIBILITY OF GENTRIFICATION	DATA SOURCE
Occupancy	Concentration of Rental Units	<p>The owner to renter rate of turnover may indicate social change however mobility and the motivation behind the turnover can often be unclear. This measure can be used for both residents and retail establishments (Freeman and Braconi 2004; Chapple 2009: 6)</p> <p>(+) As the percentage increases so does the susceptibility to gentrification.</p>	<p>Geolytics NCDB</p> <p>Percentage of Total Housing Units</p>
	Concentration of Vacancies	<p>Tend to decrease property values and lower capitalized rents (Helms 2003). However, more vacancy means less possibility of displacement (Hurley 2010).</p> <p>(-) As the percentage increases the potential for gentrification decreases.</p>	<p>Geolytics NCDB</p> <p>Percentage of Total Housing Units</p>
Cost	Housing Costs	<p>Housing values and rent costs suggest the cost of living in a particular area. These variables can indicate low capitalized rents and/or the existence of overvalued homes that is consistent with trends in gentrified neighborhoods (Bradway Laska, Seaman, and McSeveney 1982: 158; Smith 1986: 24; Chapple 2009: 6).</p> <p>(-) As the percentage of area median owner occupied housing value increases, the potential for gentrification susceptibility decreases (the area may be already experienced gentrification to some degree).</p> <p>(-) As the percentage of area gross median rent increases, the potential for gentrification susceptibility decreases (the area may be already experienced gentrification to some degree).</p>	<p>Geolytics NCDB</p> <p>Percentage of Area</p> <p>Median Owner Occupied Housing Value</p> <p>Percentage of Area Gross Median Rent</p>

TABLE 2.4: Concept – Access to Amenities

Access to amenities and their potential effect on gentrification will be studied in the case study part of the research.

DIMENSION	INDICATOR	CORRELATION AND INFLUENCE ON THE SUSCEPTIBILITY OF GENTRIFICATION	DATA SOURCE
Proximity ⁸	Proximity to Universities and/or Colleges	Proximity to an asset like a university can raise property values (Galster and Peacock 1986: 325). In Los Angeles, the presence of UCLA and USC, among other colleges will make this an important factor to look at. (-) As the Euclidian distance from a point to a college or university decreases the potential for susceptibility to gentrification in adjacent declining neighborhoods increases.	GIS Data
	Proximity to a Central Business District (CBD)	It has been noted that gentrifiers have expressed preference to living near the employment, cultural, entertainment, and recreational opportunities typically found in the CBD, suggesting the potential for higher rents (Beauregard 1986: 49; Helms 2003; Schill and Nathan 1983: 28). (-) As the Euclidian distance from a point to the CBD decreases the potential for susceptibility to gentrification in adjacent declining neighborhoods increases.	GIS Data

⁸ It is important to note that the proximity to a CBD or a University is something that pre-existed the designation of all of the HPOZ designations, so neighborhoods may have gentrified because they were close to the CBD and not because they were designated HPOZs. If I choose such a neighborhood as a case study (as described in the case study section below), I will examine a control neighborhood that is also close to the CBD or the same College/University but is not a HPOZ.

2.4 Data Collection

Due to the fact that the districts were designated at various time periods (three in the 1980s, five in the 1990s, and 22 post-2000), data are drawn from different Census years. In order to understand the socioeconomic makeup before and after designation, data from 1970 to 2010 are analyzed to measure any changes that may have occurred. For the HPOZs that were designated after 2010 data may not reflect changes after designation, but can still give us insight into how these neighborhoods change and the socioeconomic trends in these areas from 1970 to 2010. This can also help answer the question about whether the HPOZ areas experience similar socioeconomic changes to one another.

The categories of Census data that will be used can be found in the General Characteristics of Persons and Financial Characteristics of Housing Units. This data can also be gathered and analyzed using Social Explorer or Geolytics, both of which are programs that map demographic census data. Social Explorer provides easy access to recent US Census (2000 and 2010) data and demographic information at the census tract and block group level. The Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database (NCDB) gives access to US Census data from 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 at the census tract level, with details such as: population, household, and housing characteristics, income, employment, housing costs, and other variables.

With the Geolytics Neighborhood Change Database, one can access data for all four decades normalized to 2000 census tract boundaries.⁹ This displays data as if the 2000 tracts existed and all the data is weighted to these areas. Thus one can compare 1980 data with 1970, 1990, 2000, or 2010 data since they are all in the same boundaries.

⁹ This is important because comparing census demographics from different census years can be a difficult task due to changing geographic boundaries.

2.5 Creation of HPOZ Typologies

The emphasis and importance of neighborhood-level research, along with understanding neighborhoods in the larger city context, has been reemphasized by Sampson (2012) as a means of understanding a wide variety of social phenomena, including crime, leadership networks, or immigration. Thus, the initial part of the dissertation focuses on categorizing what types of places or neighborhoods become historic districts in the first place, in order to understand how historic district function within a diversity of areas. I follow the method of Morenoff and Tienda (1997) and use the variables outlined above to create neighborhood typologies for each HPOZ area. Through the use of principal component and cluster analysis, typologies will be created for each decade from 1970 to 2010.¹⁰ The creation of typologies will provide an analysis of the HPOZ neighborhoods and help understand how these neighborhoods are changing. For example, do neighborhoods remain within the same typologies or do they ascend?

Morenoff and Tienda (1997) provide a comprehensive picture of neighborhood change by using cluster analysis to develop a “typology of urban neighborhood change” by social class among Chicago neighborhoods. They identify transitions among these types over time; for example, their typology identifies “gentrifying yuppie neighborhoods,” and they argue that white neighborhoods tend to follow this path while black neighborhoods are more likely to ascend from working to middle-class neighborhoods.

¹⁰ Principal Component Analysis is a statistical method used to reduce the number of variables in a data set to a number of main factors and determine the relationships between the variables used in the reduction technique. Cluster Analysis groups a set of variables in such a way that objects in the same group are more similar to each other than to those in other groups.

2.6 Case Study Selections and Analysis

Following an analysis of the HPOZ socioeconomic trends, neighborhoods from each typology were chosen to study in more detail through comparative analysis. Since I am asking *how* and *why* questions and focusing on contemporary events, a case study was the appropriate method to use (Yin 2003). Additionally, since I am searching for a pattern among several neighborhoods, the multiple-case study approach was most appropriate.

Research for case studies draws upon the following sources of information:

1. *Semi-structured phone and in-person interviews* with stakeholders (Appendix B). In some cases interviewees preferred to answer questions through email. For a list of interviews conducted see Appendix C.

- HPOZ Board Members
- HPOZ residents
- Preservation planners from the Office of Historic Resources

b. Interview subjects were identified using the snowball sampling method with help from staff at the Office of Historic Resources, as well as through contacting the HPOZ boards. As each HPOZ community is fairly small and interconnected, snowball sampling can be relied upon.¹¹ The intent was to gather information from residents who live within the HPOZ currently. An effort was made to find residents who had lived in the neighborhoods prior to HPOZ designation in order to gauge their perception of any significant changes that may have occurred.

c. Semi-structured interviews are flexible and allow new questions to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says. The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored and coded (Appendix B). Interviews can ask or try to uncover whether there were conflicts between old and new residents. Additionally, community involvement and any changes in neighborhood leadership positions can be examined.

¹¹ Snowball sampling is a method of identifying subjects who belong to the same network (Neuman 2000). Neuman describes snowball sampling as particularly useful when “the crucial feature is that each person or unit is connected with another through a direct or indirect linkage” (2000: 199).

d. All interviews will be taped and transcribed. The transcriptions will be analyzed and coded in order to discern recurring themes.

2. *Online Surveys* were utilized as a means of reaching out to more HPOZ residents. I used the free online software service, Survey Crest. The online surveys included the same questions as the in-person and phone interviews (Appendix B). The online link to the survey was sent to neighborhood or community listserves, neighborhood Facebook groups, and Yahoo groups. A total of 20 surveys were collected for four of the HPOZs: Angelino Heights (4), South Carthay (3), Miracle Mile (4), and Harvard Heights (9). None were collected for University Park due to the lack of community and neighborhood groups and listserves.
3. *Other Sources of Resident Opinions*. Due to the difficulty of finding willing interviewees and a low response rate on the surveys, I also sought to find alternative sources of resident's opinions. This type of information was collected through various means, which are outlined in Appendix C. The Angelino Heights and Harvard Heights communities had a very active online presence. South Carthay, Miracle Mile, and University Park were less active.
4. *Observation of HPOZ Board meetings*. I attended ten HPOZ board meetings in order to gauge the type of work residents apply for, the way the board makes decisions, and how the planners are involved in the process.
5. *Review of HPOZ Board meeting agendas* from 2004 to 2014. I reviewed HPOZ Board meeting agendas for each case study to gauge the types of issues that come before the board. The review of the agendas helped reveal whether similar home

improvement or development work was being done in the five case study areas. There is no requirement that the HPOZ Boards keep minutes, so the meeting agendas provide a glimpse at the issues discussed and the work going on in the neighborhoods. The meeting agendas are publically available through the Los Angeles Planning Department website. The agendas provide information on who was in attendance (board members and applicants), the address of the applicant's property, whether a property is a contributing or non-contributing property, and a short description of the work proposed.

6. A review of the *Preservation Plan* and *Historic Resource Survey* for each HPOZ. The Preservation Plans are publically available, while the Historic Resource Documents are filed at the Office of Historic Resources. A Preservation Plan guides the Boards in their decision-making process. The Planning Department works with the HPOZ Boards, and sometimes residents, to create a Preservation Plan for the individual neighborhood. The Preservation Plan outlines design guidelines for the HPOZ. The Historic Resource Survey for the HPOZ is a required survey that is conducted prior to designation; it provides a history of the neighborhood, as well as details about its historic and architectural significance (OHR How to Establish an HPOZ, 2013).
7. A *Review of Literature* includes past and present newspaper articles, neighborhood newsletters, magazines, and blogs (such as la.curbed.com). The University Park HPOZ was part of a CRA Redevelopment Area, thus documents relating to that period were also used. The literature provides a history of the HPOZ, as well as shedding light on the developments and issues in the neighborhood. Additionally,

public opinion about the neighborhoods can be revealed. The review incorporates press/media coverage from before and after designation.

8. *An analysis of physical revitalization and change* was also observed through photos available through the above mentioned media/press coverage; Google Street View (2007 to present); the HPOZ preservation plans; as well as by visiting the neighborhoods. A recent study by Hwang & Sampson (2014) utilized Google Street View as means of observing qualitative visual indicators and changes to the built environment that were able to measure quality of life in neighborhoods (Hwang & Sampson, 2014). The use of Google Street View was predominantly used for Angelino Heights, Harvard Heights, and University Park, since they are neighborhoods in transition. South Carthay and Miracle Mile North were high-income areas at designation and have not experienced change, but have maintained the status quo in terms of the physical environment.

The methodology used in this study was designed to answer the overarching question of the relationship, if any, between historic designation and neighborhood ascent and/or gentrification by comparing selected economic and population indicators in historic districts. This study, therefore, seeks to answer and present the implications of what, on the surface, seems to be a simple question—one to which many people working from assumptions or anecdotal evidence believe they already know the answer. It does not go beyond that question in terms of research except to discuss the implications and possible public policy implementations. It answers that question, at least in so far as a representative sample of Los Angeles' HPOZ districts.

3. Background Information and Literature Framework

3.1 The State of Historic Preservation Today

Historic preservation is a loaded term. Questions as to whose history should be preserved, in what ways, and why, have troubled planners and policy makers. Scholars have identified the use of historic preservation as an element of the postmodern (Harvey 1989) or symbolic (Zukin 1995) economy in which cultural strategies drive the production of commercialized urban spaces geared toward entertainment and tourism. More recent scholarship has also acknowledged historic preservation's ability to evoke a sense of place or identity. Additionally, scholars have advocated for social as well as physical preservation, and have supported the notion of preserving cultural capital, which denotes "society's stock of traditions, lifeways, beliefs, and modes of thought and expression" (Kaufman 2009, 44). Some have also emphasized that historic preservation can strive to acknowledge diverse histories (Hayden 1997).

Overall historic preservation is object-oriented (focused on structures or neighborhoods) and also tends to be past-oriented. Preservationists see their profession as "fundamentally historical" (Jabbour 2003, 443). Diligent research and documentation of the past uses and users of a property are an integral component of preservation practice. Preservationists do not, however, typically aim to understand or preserve the functions of historic properties in the *present*—for instance, to keep the function of a structure as rental housing or a specific use such as a hotel.¹² This orientation is woven into the

¹² For example, when preparing an historic structures report, the National Park Service recommends that practitioners provide a "description of original construction, modifications, and uses, based on historical documentation and physical evidence;" observation of current users is not a recommended technique for understanding historical significance (Slayton 2005).

administrative structure of preservation laws, which generally state that a property can only be considered “historic” if it is associated with *past* people, events, or architectural styles. A minimum number of years are required to pass—generally, fifty—between the occurrence of an event or the construction of a building before determination of its significance can be made.¹³ Some scholars have noted that contemporary residents or users of historic properties are typically not seen as participants in an ongoing historic use; rather, “the citizens of the present are viewed almost as bystanders for whom the past is explicated, or as an educative context for which the history is interpreted” (Jabbour 2003, 443).

The preservation movement is developing an increasingly precise vocabulary to describe historic architectural features and styles (Figure 3.1). These words and definitions secure the nuances of history and bypass more meaningful discussions of architectural purpose, values, and social context (Kaufman 2009, 323). Overall, there is yet no satisfactory lexicon available to express more experiential motivations for preservation activity, which could be standardized and utilized for purposes of policy or planning. Existing regulatory guidelines and historic preservation standards (which often influence historic district establishment) place a greater importance on physical preservation—such as architectural standards, window regulations, etc. The three initial preservation laws in the United States at the federal level—the Antiquities Act of 1906, the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966—all emphasized preservation of the physical qualities of historic resources. The 1966 Act, in part, required federal agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on

¹³ Some jurisdictions, such as Seattle, have updated their codes such that a building, object, or structure may be eligible to be listed as a historic landmark if it is more than 25 years old (http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/preservation/landmarks_faq_basic.htm).

historic properties. The determinations of effect are made using the *Secretary Of The Interior Standards For The Treatment Of Historic Properties* (Appendix A). Standard One begins by stating that properties should be utilized for the same purpose as they were historically, but continues by stating that new uses will be appropriate provided they maximize “the retention of distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.” Historic physical attributes are thus seen as more important than historic functional uses.

Figure 3.1: Example of the Residential Design Guidelines for the Miracle Mile North HPOZ, p. 51.

- Guidelines**
1. Historic porches, especially on the front and side facades, should be preserved in place. The removal of historic porches is inappropriate.
 2. Decorative details that help to define an historic porch should be preserved. These include balusters, balustrades, columns, and brackets. The State Historic Building Code allows balustrades and railings that do not meet current building code heights to remain if they do not pose a safety hazard.
 3. If elements of the porch, such as decorative brackets or columns, must be replaced, replacement materials should exactly match the originals in design, profile and materials.
 4. If porch elements are damaged, they should be repaired in place wherever possible, instead of being removed and replaced.
 5. When original details have been lost and must be replaced, designs should be based on historic photographic evidence. If no such evidence exists, the design of replacement details should be based on a combination of physical evidence (indications in the structure of the house itself) and evidence of similar elements on houses of the same architectural style in the neighborhood.
 6. Additional porch elements should not be added if they did not exist historically. For instance, the addition of decorative “gingerbread” brackets to a Colonial-style porch is inappropriate, as is the addition of a ballustrade unless there is evidence that a balustrade existed on a porch historically.
 7. The addition of a porch which would not have existed on a house historically, such as an elaborate, highly detailed porch to the rear of an historic structure, is strongly discouraged.

And yet, there is growing acknowledgment within the preservation community of the need for new tools and theories. According to Robert Stipe,

[D]uring the last two decades there has been a significant redirection of American preservation to an emerging emphasis on both physical and social

community building, and on more inclusive and diverse aspects of history, culture, and heritage (2003, 452).

He notes that the 1966 Act and the publication that inspired, *With Heritage So Rich*, formed the cornerstones of what was then thought of as the “new preservation.” Both documents envisioned preservation going “beyond saving bricks and mortars.” Historic resources were thought to be more than inanimate artifacts that somehow reflect our past; the goal was for them to become a “living part of the present.” The work of Dolores Hayden, opened the door to many other cultural or functional preservation studies in the post-2000 years, such as Antoinette Lee’s *The Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Historic Preservation* (2003); Andrew Hurley’s *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities* (2010); and Ned Kaufman’s *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (2009).

A number of scholars have also alluded to functional preservation as an elusive goal of the historic preservation movement. The eminent preservation practitioner and educator James Marston Fitch noted that in certain historic districts, it was desirable to preserve the “physical fabric” as well as the function and indigenous population. He described the challenge as an “obligation to intervene to preserve both, the container and the contained” (1982, 76). Fitch praised preservation projects that had the ability to realize this obligation, singling out as examples the “regeneration” of Split by the Socialist regime of Yugoslavia, and the rehabilitation of Bologna, Italy’s historic city center carried out under the direction of the communist-controlled municipal government (1982, 65-66). Urban preservation projects in the United States like Charleston and Savannah were, he thought, less successful with respect to social policy. Fitch’s observations raise important questions about the feasibility of functional preservation in

the free-market economy of the United States, a country with strong individual property rights.

The growing movement to make historic preservation more inclusive with respect to race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation also raises issues that resonate with functional preservation. Properties are now regularly listed on the National Register of Historic Places for the historical association with various racial, ethnic, gay and lesbian constituencies (Lee 2003; Dubrow 2003). The significance of these sites may not be readily reflected in their architecture; rather, it stems in part from how they are used, and by whom.

According to Robert Stipe, “as time passes and presently obvious ethnic identities are shadowed by the passage of time, the question becomes one of whether the places they inhabit have lost their significance when all that remains is a street pattern and a few old buildings long ago identified as ethnically significant.” One early textbook on historic preservation suggested methods for the “cultural preservation” of “ethnic ambience,” but their effectiveness has never been seriously evaluated (Weinberg 1979, 142–47). Other scholars claim that such tactics preserved only the “symbols of ethnic community,” not their “vitality” (Allen 1984; Conforti 1996). They see preservation as exploitation and economically motivated manipulation—“Ghettos as Tourism Attractions” (Conforti 1996). Cultural geographer David Lowenthal agrees, noting that preservation turns some buildings into “treasured relics but seldom extends their living virtues,” because “what we save is property and artifacts rather than ideas or culture” (Lowenthal 1985, 406).

Although functional preservation is more ambiguous it merits further examination since it has become an increasingly well-respected and widely utilized economic

development tool for municipalities of all sizes. Thus, even nascent trends have the potential for far-reaching impacts.

3.2 Historic Preservation as an Economic Redevelopment Strategy

By the late 1960s and 70s, in order to successfully continue with urban redevelopment, political and planning powers understood that they had to promote plans that focused on rehabilitation rather than complete demolition and clearance. They also had to concentrate on building neighborhood constituencies for their plans (Mollenkopf 1983, 174). Neighborhood and civil rights activists, among others, continued to target urban renewal sites through protests and legal tactics and began to alter the city's approach to redevelopment. As a result of this pressure from urban political movements, development strategies throughout the country began to change (Fainstein 1990), and preservation-based redevelopment became an important revitalization strategy. This phenomenon was happening throughout the country. As Mollenkopf noted, "Many of these riots occurred in or near urban renewal areas, and they constituted a kind of revolt against the heritage of New Deal urban programs" (1983, 84). Fainstein(1990) identified these urban rebellions as the primary reason for a change in development strategies throughout the country (see Reichl 1997, 516).

Zukin states that during the 1960s, post-urban renewal, preservation "satisfied both elite protests against mass demolition of landmark buildings and populist demand for slowing change" (Zukin 1995, 82). Thus, in the 1960s, cities began to focus on preservation-based development in response to the opposition from low-income, minority and middle-class communities that stood in the path of demolition plans. However, as she emphasized, the choice of historic preservation was also influenced by middle-class

professionals who were drawn back into the city through urban renewal and who strove to protect their new homes and neighborhoods. These urban pioneers used their political resources and influence and joined forces with the low-income communities fighting renewal (Mollenkopf 1983, 181).

The opposition that many cities faced from residents and activists created an environment in which renewal practices were increasingly untenable. This quickly became the status quo in many U.S. cities and, thus, new development processes were shortly created on both the federal and local level that “began to shape new approaches to urban development based on the value of historic preservation that was taking hold among higher income groups” (Reichl 1997, 518). The National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966. This allowed communities to list historic landmarks, utilize grants-in-aid for preservation projects, and establish a review process for all federally sponsored projects that might have had a detrimental impact on designated historic landmarks. State and local historic preservation acts soon followed. For instance, California enacted the Marks Landmarks Historic Rehabilitation Act in 1976, which allows local agencies to issue tax-exempt revenue bonds to finance purchase and rehabilitate historic properties with low interest, long-term loans (California State Parks Historic Preservation Office, ohp.parks.ca.gov).

Cities had fully embraced preservation as a new mode of development by the 1970s, which was inspired by both an “incremental view of economic development and a reverential view of older landscapes” (see Zukin 1995, 82). By this time, many government studies had justified this type of development as an economic strategy for local officials by providing evidence of increased property values and tax revenues in

revitalized historic districts, and by emphasizing potential for reducing local political conflict (Reichl 1997; Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 1979; Real Estate Research Corporation. 1981). At the same time, federal urban development programs continued to support local preservation. Two important programs that provided resources for preservation-based projects were the new Community Development Block Grant and Urban Development Action Grant Programs (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 1978). Additionally, a bigger boost to preservation came from the Tax Reform Act of 1976, which reversed the previous bias in the tax code that had rewarded demolition and new construction instead of rehabilitation (Reichl 1997, 518; Weber 1979).

Where preservation had previously been an anti-market, anti-growth activity, Briann Greenfield writes that the federal tax incentives helped pro-market preservation become the dominant preservation philosophy in the 1970s and 1980s (2004, 166). Scholars have pointed out that the introduction of federal tax incentives and the growing popularity of heritage tourism began to transform preservation from an expensive activity to a profitable investment (Greenfield 2004; Reichl 1997). This shift opened preservation up to the educated middle class who had the financial resources to preserve neighborhoods, as an economic investment (Greenfield 2004, 166).

Christopher Wojno's article *Historic Preservation and Economic Development* (1991) provides a comprehensive look at the tools and benefits available for the use of preservation for economic development. For instance, the popularity and success of adaptive reuse as a means of revitalization (Austin et al. 1988) is discussed in the context of Boston's Faneuil Hall or Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco (Weinberg 1979; Ziegler Jr 1979). Similarly, historic preservation is said to have contributed to: the "back to the

city movement” by urban pioneers (Galbreath 1975; Reed 1979); growth in tourism (Falk 1986; Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 1979); increased property values and decrease in crime; and the NTHP’s Main Streets Program (Wojno 1991).¹⁴ Designation of historic districts is also discussed in relation to economic development policies (Wojno 1991).

From a legal and regulatory perspective, historic preservation is a special subset of land use regulation, which applies aesthetic judgments to real property (Costonis 1989; *Penn Central Transportation Company v. New York City* 1978). The designation of historic districts has been employed in the US since the 1960s. This followed the legal decisions that upheld the ability to designate a landmark, as well the passage in 1966 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) (D. Listokin 1985). The Act gave the Secretary of the Interior the authority to maintain a National Register of Historic Places, comprising districts, sites, buildings and objects of local, state or national historic significance (Wojno 1991, 297). In addition, many municipalities have established local historic registers that allow local governments to establish historic districts and to designate properties as historically significant. Although establishment of many local historic districts preceded NHPA—for example, Charleston, South Carolina, established in 1931 (Lockard and Hinds 1983)—the rate of establishment of local registers dramatically accelerated after 1966 (post-urban renewal) (D. Listokin 1985). In 1966 there were approximately 100 local historic district commissions, while in the late 1990s there were more than 2000 (D. Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998).

¹⁴ The Main Street program is a preservation-based economic development tool that enables communities to revitalize downtown and neighborhood business districts by leveraging local assets - from historic, cultural, and architectural resources to local enterprises and community pride (NTHP, What is Main Street, <http://www.preservationnation.org/main-street/about-main-street>).

One of the main justifications for designation of a historic district within a city is that it provides a means to protect a historic neighborhood from demolition or physical deterioration. With regard to property values, however, designation of a historic district may enhance them (New York Independent Budget Office 2002; Leichenko, Coulson, and Listokin 2001; Asabere, Huffman, and Mehdian 1994) or may not—due to aesthetic restrictions and demands that can exert a “downward pressure on prices” (see discussion in Coulson and Leichenko 2001).

Some argue that historic districts that are designated for a variety of economic and social advantages may have little to do with genuine preservation, but rather are related to economic or political forces (Schmickle 2007, 9). Therefore, the issue of regulatory status is especially important to this research. It is important to note that National Register designation confers little regulatory protection or restriction on a neighborhood save for some limitations on the use of Federal Government funds to alter or demolish buildings within the district. National Register designation is primarily honorary in nature.¹⁵ On the other hand, local district designation often confers substantial benefits or restrictions. These may include tax relief, availability of grants and loans, and design review of proposed additions or alterations.

Overall, as outlined by Wojno (1991) and later supported by Listokin et al., historic preservation is seen as a popular engine or catalyst for urban redevelopment. Certain advantages associated with historic preservation mentioned by the authors are:

¹⁵ Local ordinances can block demolition and inappropriate changes, while National Register designation solely requires federal agencies to “consider the impacts of their activity on historic places”. In some cases, it can be impossible to build the public will needed for local districting even for the most vulnerable and significant places. The National Register triggers a review and consultation process in limited circumstances, and “doesn’t serve as an outright bar on demolition or changes.” Both designations require considerable time from the start of the protection effort to designation. And while it is extremely unusual, both kinds of protection can be stripped or repealed in certain circumstances (NTHP, “Local and National Register Historic Districts” 2015).

having a catalyzing effect, encouraging the rehabilitation industry, and fostering rehabilitation incentives. Rehabilitation represents a significant portion of the construction industry and is thus significant to economic growth and housing development. At the beginning of 2000, it was estimated that 5 to 10 percent of all rehabilitation was being done on historic buildings (Listokin and Listokin 2001).

This is known as a catalyst effect when historic district improvements have a spillover effect, which promotes rehabilitation/renovation in neighboring areas. This process, which is observed more anecdotally than statistically is described by Rypkema:

Property renovation is a catalytic activity; one renovation supports another. This pattern of reinvestment has a multiplier effect . . . As more properties are rehabilitated, lenders are more interested in making loans. As more lenders compete for these loans, their rates and terms become more attractive. As financing becomes more readily available, appraisers adjust property values upward. As property appraisals increase, lenders are willing to extend further credit. The renovation of properties begins a cycle that improves the economic attractiveness of the neighborhood (1994, 68–69).

Supporters often cite historic preservation as a trigger for redevelopment in towns with an abundance of older housing stock, or in downtowns, where unused historic buildings, such as warehouses, are being converted to lofts. The historic designation of Brooklyn Heights is given as an example of a positive catalytic effect because it encouraged the rehabilitation of nearby Park Slope (Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998, 443). Nevertheless, the cause and effect in this situation are not clear. Rather than suggesting that historic preservation acted as a trigger for improvements, it may be that, in fact, the overall economy and the increase in residential construction within New York generated the momentum for rehabilitation and revitalization, which in turn led to historic preservation.

In a 1994 survey of the development approaches pursued in 300 cities, historic preservation was ranked seventh (out of 45) in a list of the most often used revitalization strategies (Douthat 1994). Five years later, a national study of 57 small cities reported that historic preservation was the most widely employed economic development strategy, used by 88% of the cities surveyed; it was more popular than pedestrian improvements (72%), construction of parking facilities (37%), and the development of sports venues (11.5%) (Robertson 1999). Policy experts are now recommending preservation for aging cities in need of an economic boost. A report on America's older industrial cities published by the Brookings Institute singled out historic preservation as "vital competitive assets" to be leveraged for revitalization; it suggested that the number of National Register-listed historic properties in a city was a positive indicator of its potential for economic recovery (Vey 2007).

Finally, as argued by Listokin et al. (1998) the housing policy community should pay attention to historic preservation because it plays an important role in their field. Of the \$44 billion invested in permitted rehabilitation nationally in 1994, \$14 billion was residential, and a share of that consisted of historic preservation residential projects. The literature is rife with examples of historic preservation producing housing (Delvac, Escherich, and Hartman 1996; Escherich, Farneth, and Judd 2004; D. Listokin 1995; D. Listokin and Listokin 1993). Most of this housing stock is market rate; while some, where subsidies are available, is targeted to lower-income households (Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998). In the last most comprehensive report related to the contributions of historic preservation to housing, Listokin et al. (1998) state that out of the total housing units completed under federal historic preservation tax incentive auspices since the late

1970s, almost one-fifth, were affordable to low- and/or moderate income families (Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998, 449). The most significant program involving historic preservation and housing production (including affordable units), and the one for which the most comprehensive data are available, is the historic rehabilitation tax credit (HRTC) (Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998, 431).

However, Rypkema (2002, 5) asserts that the preservation of older and historic neighborhoods is an essential component of retaining and providing affordable housing options. Below are some of the statistics Rypkema utilizes to support his point.

- 32% of households below the poverty line live in older and historic homes
- 31% of homeowners whose household income is less than \$20,000 per year live in older and historic homes
- 34% of renters whose household income is less than \$20,000 per year live in older and historic homes
- 31% of black homeowners and 24 percent of Hispanic homeowners live in older and historic homes
- 29% of elderly homeowners live in older and historic homes
- 53% of all owner-occupied older and historic homes have monthly housing costs less than \$500
- 48% of tenant occupied older and historic homes rent for less \$500 per month

Thus, if preservation policies are desired as a means to provide affordable housing options, the question of how preservation relates to possible displacement and gentrification is fundamental. As preservation's role in revitalization becomes more clear, governments at all levels are expanding their preservation infrastructure nominating more buildings for formal designation of historic resources. Growth at the local level, where preservation protections are strongest, has been dramatic. By 1998 there were more than 2000 local historic preservation commissions, up from 250 in 1976 and over one million properties were listed on the National Register of Historic Places and a significant number of new listings are added every year (Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998). In

addition to providing various degrees of protection, historic designation often also confers eligibility for economic incentives. Federal tax incentives for historic preservation first became available in 1976 and had generated more than \$40 billion in preservation activity by the late 1990s (Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998). Thirty-four states and an unknown number of local governments currently offer additional subsidies. In small towns, the Main Street Program has proved an effective model for economic development, the creation of jobs, and public-private initiatives (Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998; Wojno 1991). According to Allison Isenberg's history of downtown marketing, "preservation is no longer seen as an alternative to market-driven development; in fact it now appears to be the enabler of, even the catalyst for, development profits" (2005, 259).

Research by Listokin (1997) has shown that preservation activities produce significant quantitative benefits, which they measured using an Input/Output (I/O) model developed specifically for this task.¹⁶ The model measures the direct and indirect economic impacts of historic preservation that stem from four activities; historic rehabilitation, heritage tourism, the operations of historic sites and organizations, and construction activities associated with the National Trust's Main Street program.

Preservation's economic benefits are quantified with respect to four data fields: jobs, income, wealth, and taxes. Preservation is shown to create more jobs, generate more wealth, and yield greater state and local taxes than other non-preservation investments like, new building construction, highway construction, and book publishing. Moreover,

¹⁶ The Preservation Economic Impact Model (PEIM) was developed by Rutgers Center for Urban Policy Research (CUPR) for the National Park Service; an extended discussion of its creation and a comparison of it against other available models are contained in Listokin, *Economic Impacts of Historic Preservation* (D. Listokin 1997).

the model indicates that, at the national level, the greatest economic benefits of historic preservation arise from heritage tourism (Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998, 431). However, the model only measures the impacts of construction activities, not the economic contributions stemming from the operations of businesses.

Additional research that studies the benefits of historic preservation focuses on the economic impact of historic district designation on property values. The vast majority of this work focuses on single-family residential property; most studies indicate the historic designation raises residential property values (Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee 2012; Diaz, Cypher, and Haynga 2008; New York Independent Budget Office 2002; Clark and Herrin 1997); and the preservation community generally interprets this as a benefit.¹⁷

These benefits have been challenged. Urban geographers and sociologists often call for greater attention to how preservation's impacts are distributed. They propose that preservation is responsible for gentrification, which promotes the displacement of low and moderate-income residents and the businesses that serve them (Smith 1998; Werwath 1998). Additionally, they argue that preservation is too profit-oriented and the negative side effects outweigh the positive.¹⁸ Logan and Molotch (1987) point to preservation tax incentives, transfer of development rights, and restrictions imposed by historic districts designation as important ways that governments redistribute wealth in favor of property

¹⁷ A synopsis of research and methods is given in Robin M. Leichenko et al. "Historic Preservation and Residential Property Values: An Analysis of Texas Cities," *Urban Studies* 38, no. 11 (2001): 1973.

¹⁸ There are a number of studies that attempt to measure this phenomenon; unfortunately the literature is disjointed—scholars do not cite prior studies and there is no comprehensive literature review; the negative side effects of historic preservation are discussed in Werwath, "Comment on David Listokin..." and Neil Smith, "Comment on David Listokin, Barbara Listokin, and Michael Lahr's 'The Contributions of Historic Preservation to Housing and Economic Development': Historic Preservation in a Neoliberal Age," *Housing Policy Debate* 9, no. 3 (1998): 479-485.

owners who, in turn, extract rents from those who are financially less secure (1987, 175-77). Studies examining the potential links between historic preservation and gentrification also tend to focus primarily on residential displacement.¹⁹ Gentrification scholars who specifically mention historic preservation programs like historic property designation and financial incentives for rehabilitation contend that the preservation movement lacks commitment to “social responsibility” (Smith 1998). However, it is worth mentioning that there is an endogeneity problem with these criticisms. In the case of the New York City historic districts that Neil Smith discusses there are clear indicators of gentrification, however to link historic districts to gentrification in general is systematically unclear.

3.3 Gentrification & Neighborhood Ascent

Since the intent of this research is to understand neighborhood gentrification trends in relation to the historic district designation, it is important to outline gentrification and neighborhood ascension research as it has evolved over time. This includes the definition of gentrification, the theory of gentrification, its causes and effects, and the issue of displacement. The findings, analyses, and frameworks developed during the 1970s and 1980s are reviewed in detail, since the fundamental research is grounded in these decades. Newer research stemming from both the 1980s and the 1990s is also briefly reviewed. The review then outlines past and present gentrification theory to better understand the impact of gentrification on residents, specifically the potential for

¹⁹ Examples include Eric Allison, “Gentrification and Historic Districts: Public Policy Considerations in the Designation of Historic Districts in New York City,” PhD. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2005; Edward N Coulson and Robin N. Leichenko, “Historic Preservation and Neighborhood Change” *Urban Studies* 41, no. 8 (July 2004): 1587-1600; and R. Bures, “Historic Preservation, Gentrification, and Tourism: The Transformation of Charleston, South Carolina” in *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment*. New York: Elsevier Press, 2001: 195-210.

displacement. This section will conclude by describing neighborhood ascension and how it differs from gentrification.

It has been over 50 years since the British sociologist Ruth Glass (1964) coined the term gentrification in her description of the urban change that was occurring in 1960s inner city London.²⁰ The changes that Glass originally described are now considered “classical gentrification” (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008, 4). Gentrification continues and so does the evolution of the definition. A few examples are as follows:

Simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon, gentrification commonly involves the invasion by middle-class or higher-income groups of previously working-class neighborhoods or multi-occupied 'twilight areas' and the replacement or displacement of many of the original occupants (Hamnett 1984, 284).

Gentrification is the process...by which poor and working-class neighborhoods in the inner city are refurbished by an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters... a dramatic yet unpredicted reversal of what most twentieth-century urban theories had been predicting as the fate of the central and inner-city (Smith 1996, 30).

Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2013): Gentrification – the process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces poorer residents.

As social, cultural and economic changes occur over time, it is necessary for the definition of gentrification to do the same. What is apparent in all the definitions of gentrification is the concept of class. Class encompasses social, cultural and economic components that often help to define it. However, the economic structure of the city, county, and the neighborhood also play a role in the evolution of the definition and theory of gentrification. By the early 1980s, gentrification began to be defined on more than just residential change. For instance, cities were dealing with the redevelopment of former warehouse waterfront districts as a result of deindustrialization. These redevelopment

²⁰ Glass (1964) coined the term gentrification mean the influx of wealthier individuals into cities or neighborhoods who replace working or lower classes already living there. “Gentrification” derives from “gentry,” meaning the people of gentle birth, good breeding, or high social position, as in the landed-gentry.

efforts inspired an increase in retail in service areas that were once uninhabitable (Smith 1996). These changes required a look at gentrification through both “temporal and spatial changes to the process” (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008, 129).

Gentrification was initially understood as the rehabilitation of decaying and low-income housing by middle-class outsiders in central cities. In the late 1970s a broader conceptualization of the process began to emerge, and by the early 1980s new scholarship had developed a far broader meaning of gentrification, linking it with processes of spatial, economic, and social restructuring (Sassen 2001, 255).

These evolutions stimulate ongoing debates about what should or should not be included in the definition of gentrification. This being said, Slater, Curran and Lees (2004, 1144) argue that the emphasis should remain on the class transformation that occurs regardless of the location or specifics of the development process. Neil Smith (1986, 3) suggests that instead of spending time defining a constantly changing process that does not lend itself to restrictive covenants, scholars should move their focus to the “broad range of processes that contribute to this restructuring” (Smith 1986, 3).

Gentrification Theory

Similar to the problem of defining gentrification, an explanation of gentrification theory and its evolution is difficult. The themes that emerge in the theories include: production-side versus consumption-side explanations of the process, the question of the emergence and impact of the “post-industrial” city, the relative importance of “social structure vis-à-vis individual agency” in the process, the arrival of a “new middle-class” and its role in gentrification, and finally, the costs of displacement (Smith 1986, 4).

- Theory through the 1980s - Production-Side Theory

Gentrification was viewed by Neil Smith as an issue defined by the process of “uneven development” particularly in cities and heavily defined by the capitalist mode of

production. In arguing the point of production-side gentrification, Smith proposed the *rent-gap* theory, which he defined as “the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use” (1996, 67). He claimed that gentrification occurs when:

The gap is sufficiently wide that developers can purchase structures cheaply, can pay the builder’s costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer. The entire ground rent, or a large portion of it, is now capitalized, the neighborhood is thereby “recycled” and begins a new cycle of use (Smith 1996, 67).

Smith asserted that it is the movement of capital, not people, that causes gentrification, and that as a city’s periphery expands, “the outward movement of capital to develop suburban, industrial, residential, commercial, and recreational activity results in a reciprocal change in suburban and inner city ground rent levels” (1986, 23).

Smith’s theory however faced many critiques. In general it was thought that rent gap theory did not explain the importance of people, the gentrifiers, and it was argued that, “although the gentrification process does involve capital flows, it also involves people, and this is the Achilles heel of Smith’s supply side thesis” (Hamnett 1984, 180). Critics argued that Smith ignored individual preference in his theory. Additionally, it was suggested that gentrification was more than the refurbishment of abandoned housing in central cities for instance; it was also present with new developments. Because the rent gap failed to explain gentrification in some cities where it was clearly occurring, David Ley, a consumption-side theorist argued that “almost ten years after its first presentation it has still not been made empirically accountable” (Ley 1987, 466).

- Consumption-Side Theory

Ley’s consumption-side explanations of gentrification are fundamentally opposed to Smith’s production-side arguments. Consumption-side gentrification places more

emphasis on people as the primary impetus for change, rather than capital. David Ley's theories stress the emergence of a new middle class and their "cultural and consumption requirements" as the key to gentrification (Hamnett 1984, 178). People choose to gentrify, as opposed to having the choice made for them. The consumption-side theory claims that variables such as education and occupation have more to do with gentrification than matters such as rent and income (Ley 1987, 465).

Smith's research did touch on the growth of "white-collar" sector jobs being a push for central city clustering (1986, 28), however Ley and others focused on this as a main factor that explained the demand for inner-city properties. Occupational and economic changes may be factors associated with the gentrifiers when choosing places to live and to work. As Hamnett suggests, "explanation for gentrification must begin with the processes responsible for the production and concentration of key factions of the service class" (1991, 186).

The concept that these two theories were not competitive but complimentary became the focus of later research. Loretta Lees (1994, 137) was one of several that began to set the stage. As she noted, "The principle of complementarity attempts to overcome duality not by looking for a new universal theory, but by comparing and informing one set of ideas with another" (Lees 1994, 139). Much of the post-1980 gentrification literature began to move away from the debate and embrace the complementary nature of both production and consumption.

- Gentrification Post-Recession

However, it is important to highlight that in the early 1990s, as is true with current times the United States was hit with an economic recession. The recession was fraught by

real estate speculation and the exaggeration of housing costs. These changes played heavily against the demographics that fueled the consumption-side theorist's arguments. Lees suggests that the academic writings had changed post-recession and moved to two main theories: the emancipatory city and the revanchist city (2000, 392).

Neil Smith's work on the *revanchist city* is the foundation for its connection to gentrification. Smith implies that the intent of the middle-class is to take revenge (revanche) on the working-class that had taken the city from them (Smith 1996). Smith focused on the similarity between gentrification that occurred post-recession in US central cities and that of the French uprising by the middle class. He describes the city as a dark and threatening place and uses the notion of revenge via gentrification and its foundation in capital investment and disinvestment, to understand the class struggle post-recession (Smith 1996).

On the other hand, Lees (2000, 389) discusses the *emancipatory city* and its contradiction to the revanchist city. "The emancipatory city thesis is implicit in much of the gentrification literature that focuses on the gentrifiers themselves and their forms of agency" (Lees 2000, 393). Lees then goes on to cite Caulfield's work as an explanation of what is meant by an emancipatory city.

By resettling old inner-city neighborhoods, Caulfield argues that gentrifiers subvert the dominance of hegemonic culture and create new conditions for social activities leading the way for the developers that follow. He shows how the contradictions of capitalist space contain the seeds (possibilities arising from the specific use-values city dwellers find in old inner-city neighborhoods) for a new kind of space. Gentrification creates tolerance (Lees 2000, 393).

Lees does, however, highlight the issue of anti-gentrification groups and the notion that they do not necessarily share the same views or wants as gentrifiers, that tolerance and equality are not born from gentrification, and as a result may not make the warm and accepting place so described in Caulfield's thesis. Caulfield's examples focus on a

specific location and a particular urban context, which may not be replicable in other city frameworks (Lees 2000, 393). More recent gentrification theory delves deeper into the discussion of gentrification post-1990s recession.

Stages of Gentrification

Models of the different stages of gentrification were created in the 1970s and 1980s in order to explain gentrification process and to predict the possibility for gentrification in the future. Clay (1979) and Gale (1979) both produced what are considered classic gentrification models. Gale focused on class and status distinctions between original residents and residents gentrifying the neighborhood. His models emphasized the displacement felt by the original working-class residents. Clay (1979) broke gentrification into four stages, which are summarized by Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008, 30–33) as follows:

Stage 1 is identified by “a small group of risk-oblivious people” that move in and renovate. This does not draw much attention as it corresponds with the typical housing market cycle and little capital is available for private investment.

Stage 2 sees more of the same “risk-oblivious” moving in, but in stage 2 some small-scale promotion and speculation may begin. At this point some displacement begins to occur, as vacant and abandon properties are taken over. However, in stage 2 a small amount of private capital may become available for investment.

Stage 3 opens up the area for significant interest by the gentrifiers and may trigger urban renewal and development. Physical improvement and prices escalate and displacement continues. Much tension can be accounted for in this stage. The demands for public resources are exposed, internal demands are exerted between the new middle-class arriving in the neighborhood and the working-class and the subsidies and lifestyles required by them.

In stage 4 a significant portion of the area is gentrified, buildings held for speculation are sold and some mixed use and commercial areas begin to fill them. Prices continue to spiral and displacement becomes an issue for both renters and homeowners

Clay (1979) suggests that gentrification may have ties to the influx of components

resulting from both class and sexuality.²¹ His models are based on data from multiple cities (Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Washington, D.C.). However, Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008) point out that his model is much more accurate for the beginning waves of gentrification and not as useful in describing gentrification as it occurred in the 1980s and 1990s.

- Gentrification Stage Models and Waves of Gentrification

In the early 2000's Hackworth and Smith (2001) created a new stage model of gentrification based on their research in New York. Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008) suggest that this model is the best of recent attempts, but only explains gentrification through the 1990s and a fourth wave of gentrification should be also discussed. Below is Hackworth and Smith's diagram of the waves of gentrification with a summary of these waves (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008, 175–79; Hackworth and Smith 2001, 466–68).

²¹ In the cities that Clay (1979) studied—Boston, San Francisco and others—respondents suggested it was the homosexual community who made up the incumbent/newcomer population in gentrifying neighborhoods (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008, 31). Manuel Castells' also documented the association of gay men and gentrification in inner-city neighborhoods in his seminal work on gays as "gentrifiers" in San Francisco. Castells' research revealed that, "many [gentrifiers] were single men, [who] did not have to sustain a family, were young, and connected to a relatively prosperous service economy" (1983, 160). Gay men tend to choose inner-city neighborhoods as places to live because of the lower cost of housing in these areas, their accessibility to jobs in the downtown core, and their proximity to gay social networks, which are typically found within the city (Clay 1979; Castells 1983). However, perhaps most importantly, their larger disposable incomes allow them to rehabilitate historic homes.

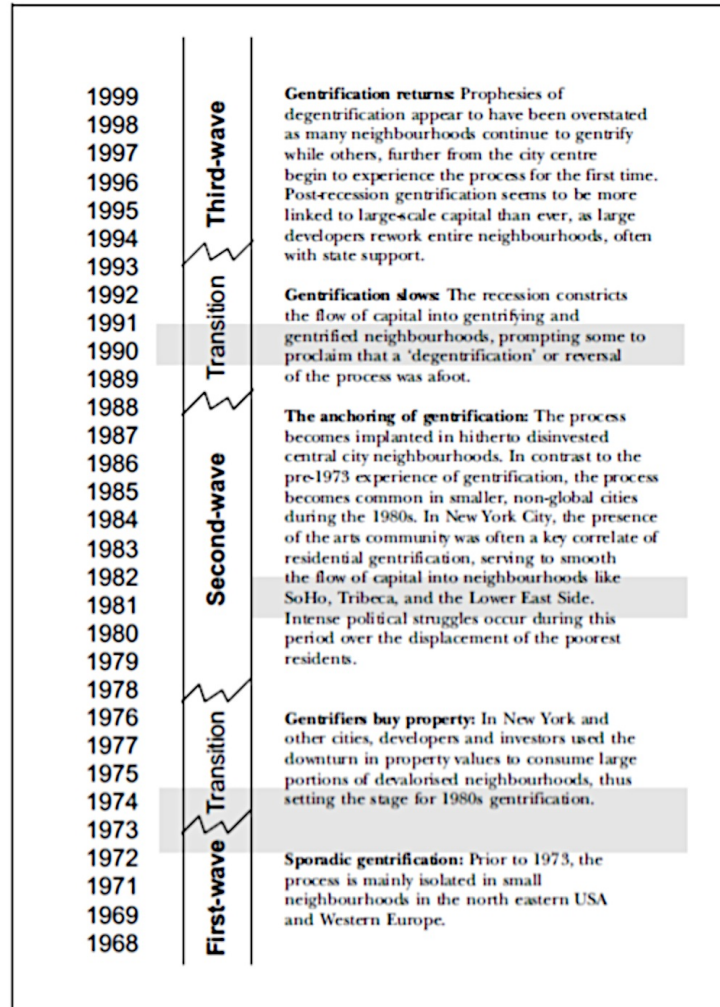


Figure 3.2 Stage Model of Gentrification (Hackworth and Smith 2001, 467)

First-Wave Gentrification started in the 1950s and lasted until the 1973 recession; it was “sporadic” and “state-led.” Abandoned inner city properties were the primary target for investment by the pioneering gentrifiers. Public monies were typically used and the public sector was aggressive at the time in assisting to clean up urban decay, i.e. urban renewal.

Second-Wave Gentrification started in the post-recession 1970s and 1980s and was described as “expansion and resistance.” The process of gentrification became more stabilized and emphasized more entrepreneurial endeavors socially and culturally as well as nationally and globally. The use of historic preservation as a revitalization strategy fit into these types of endeavors.

Third-Wave of Gentrification began in the 1990s and is considered post-recession gentrification described as “recessional pause and subsequent expansion.” This wave is marked by corporate and government investment facilitating gentrification, a lack of focus on those displaced or effected by gentrification, and its movement into more remote neighborhoods.

A discussion of the Fourth-Wave of gentrification hinges on the increased opportunity for

mortgage availability and its connection to local neighborhoods via the relationship to national and global housing markets (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008). Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008) suggest that this makes the investment and rent gap theory much more complicated—“Disinvestment, reinvestment, and rent gap dynamics are now playing out in more geographically complex patterns, inscribing fine-grained inequalities of class and race in city neighborhoods” (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008, 181). They go on to attribute political interest making a shift toward the wealthy and the dismantling of the social programs of the 1960s as additional factors that are creating this Fourth-Wave of gentrification (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008, 185).

Impacts of Gentrification

- Incumbent Upgrading

Upgrading defines the improvements that occur to housing stock by current residents. Such improvements are typically not associated with an increase in property transactions, the price of housing, or the in-migration of higher income households (DeGiovanni 1984, 84). Replacement suggests that the current residents, typically working-class, are able to take advantage of upgraded housing stock and the rising housing prices in order to sell and move elsewhere (Slater, Curran, and Lees 2004, 1144). On the other hand, gentrification implies that current residents do not make these improvements, but rather that they are undertaken by the new residents who are moving in. Ultimately, this pushes out the working-class residents. The newcomers’ in-migration and revitalization tends to inspire increases in the upgrading of housing stock, the volume of property transactions, and the price of the housing stock in these neighborhoods (DeGiovanni 1984, 84). Clay’s (1979) study of various American cities provides the basis for most of the debate that has

occurred over incumbent upgrading.

Clay (1979) found evidence of change in 105 neighborhoods of the cities he studied. He said that 48 of these were changing as a result of the incumbent upgrading and 57 were from gentrification (Clay 1979, 17). Clay suggests that neighborhoods, which are typically working-class and have long-time residents, show promise for upgrading. Once this upgrading occurs, neighborhood composition changes. Palen and London go on to discuss these findings as a pattern for “urban reinvasion,” which is, the invasion of new residents resulting in a change in population composition (1984, 8).

However, research suggests that working-class neighborhoods continually undergo residential fluctuation both in and out of the neighborhood (Palen and Nachimias 1984, 130). What is important to understand though is not so much the residential turnover, but whether the “characteristics of the entering newcomers are not sharply different from those who are leaving” (Palen and Nachimias 1984, 130). Palen and London also discuss the use of terms like “urban revitalization” which take the edge off the concept of gentrification by implying positive connotations of the population change and redevelopment (1984, 10). DeGiovanni adds that any positive or negative impacts of revitalization that are imparted on a neighborhood depend on the stakeholder perspective (1984, 68). This research is in agreement with Clay, that in-migration may inspire current residents to maintain or improve their housing stock (DeGiovanni 1984, 73). This suggests that there is overlap when distinguishing incumbent upgrading from displacement; this along with the issue of some normal fluctuation of residents in neighborhoods that are upgrading cause some researchers to question the underlying assumptions of displacement. This results in the suggestion that substantial revitalization

can be attributed to incumbent upgrading and neighborhood revitalization (Lee and Hodge 1984: 145).

- Displacement

Until recently displacement was a core issue discussed by gentrification scholars (Slater 2006; Smith and Williams 1986; Palen and London 1984; Schill, Nathan, and Persaud 1983; Laska and Spain 1980;). Despite the emphasis of earlier research on displacement, up to the early 2000s there had been little literature produced that measured and quantified gentrification outcomes. Lance Freeman and Frank Braconi (2004) research changed this. Their work suggests that gentrification is positive and the benefits reaped are many, assuming it proceeds without widespread displacement (Freeman and Braconi 2004, 39) Freeman and Barconi (2004) learned that poor households in New York neighborhoods are 19 percent less likely to move than those of non-gentrifying neighborhoods. Furthermore, disadvantaged households, determined as those whose head does not hold a college degree, are 15 percent less likely to move out of the neighborhood than their counterparts in non-gentrifying areas. Vigdor et al. (2002) discovered similar results in Boston. He noticed that if the cost of moving was significantly more than the cost of residing in the changing neighborhood, then poor households would stay and absorb increases in rent. Similar to the study in New York City, Vigdor discovered that less educated households were also more likely to remain in the neighborhood than those living in non-gentrifying areas. The Freeman-Barconi and Vigdor studies conclude that, “demographic transitions associated with gentrification can possibly occur entirely through voluntary housing turnover” (Vigdor, Massey, and Rivlin 2002, 149).

Both studies present the possibility that low-income households remain in gentrifying neighborhoods because they prefer the improvements that accompany gentrification. In *There Goes the 'Hood*, Freeman (2011) discusses this phenomenon.²² He focuses on black residents, and discovers that they do not necessarily react to gentrification according to some of the preconceived notions. Interestingly enough, he discovers that their reactions are both more receptive and optimistic than the literature on gentrification might lead us to believe. Freeman outlines positive effects of gentrification that long-term residents find desirable, such as better public services, job creation, reduction of concentrated poverty, and the desegregation of urban areas. He finds that rather than spurring massive displacement of low-income families, revitalization and reinvestment retain existing residents because these households prefer the improvements and see the possibility of achieving upward mobility without having to escape to the suburbs, or predominantly white neighborhoods. These are benefits of gentrification that had been typically not recognized in the scholarly literature.

Neighborhood Ascension

Sociological models of neighborhood change look beyond gentrification and suggest alternative processes of neighborhood ascent. The classic invasion–succession model of urban change explains how residents sort themselves by socioeconomic status (SES), and neighborhoods decline as lower-socioeconomic status residents “invade and

²² Kathe Newman and Elvin Wyly (2006) offer two important critiques of Freeman’s work: the first is that displacement is a long-term process and cannot be effectively measured with short time frames and the second was a critique of the methods used. More specifically, they make the claim that Freeman underestimated the problem of displacement because the control groups used in the studies were based on moves from non-gentrifying neighborhoods. They state that “We might expect that these residents (of non-gentrifying neighborhoods] move more frequently than those in other areas of the city, producing an artificially high standard to use as the comparison for displacement rates from gentrifying neighborhoods.”

succeed” higher-socioeconomic status neighborhoods (Park and Burgess 1925). While this model is typically used to explain neighborhood decline, residential change can result in ascending districts if higher -SES “invaders” cluster together, pricing out lower-SES residents and creating higher-SES areas (McKenzie 1925). Fundamental to this theory of neighborhood change are the residential decisions made by individuals, which lead to evolving change at the neighborhood level (Bruch and Mare 2006). Sampson and Sharkey (2008) provide evidence that individual-level mobility can lead to stability as well as change. They find that many individuals choose to move to the same racial-economic neighborhood type as their original neighborhood. Thus, this suggests that there is persistent neighborhood inequality, and neighborhood ascent might more commonly result from moderate changes as slightly higher-SES residents move to neighborhoods where similar individuals already live, rather than the drastic population change depicted by some gentrification scholars.

Other models of neighborhood change consider cities’ and neighborhoods’ political, economic, and social structures. One of these models is the neighborhood life-cycle, which suggests that public redevelopment and regulation may explain neighborhood renewal (Schwirian 1983). Additionally, Logan and Molotch (1987) provide a political economy model of change in which neighborhoods compete for locational advantages and one way that neighborhoods can experience SES ascent is through government and private investments. Federal place-based policies like Community Development Block Grants, subsidized housing policies like HOPE VI, the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program, and local initiatives like community development corporations or zoning laws have led to neighborhood ascent since the

1970s (Rothwell and Massey 2010).

What is important to highlight, is that sociological research describes several cases of neighborhood ascent that may fall outside the gentrification framework. First, black middle-class neighborhoods were created as educated and married blacks and those who were homeowners moved out of poor inner-city neighborhoods into higher-SES areas in the 1970s and 1980s (Quillian 1999; Massey and Eggers 1989). Later research showed that black middle-class residents worked to keep lower-class residents out, indirectly displacing them, to maintain higher-SES neighborhoods (Pattillo 2005). Therefore, as black middle-class neighborhoods are created, they may represent several types of neighborhood ascent that would not be all captured by gentrification if, for example, they do not result in upper-class neighborhoods, do not lead to changes in the built environment, or are outside disinvested urban areas. Also some neighborhoods may experience “marginal gentrification,” (Rose 1984) since they do not become wealthy neighborhoods, but instead working class or lower-middle-class residents, rather than highly educated residents, are moving in, and improvements to the built environment.

3.4 Historic Preservation and Gentrification

Several studies have pointed to the often significant and rapid socioeconomic changes in historic neighborhoods undergoing revitalization (Freeman 2011; Schill, Nathan, and Persaud 1983). Schill, Nathan, and Persaud (1983) studied several historic neighborhoods, such as Society Hill in Philadelphia and Georgetown in Washington, DC, among others, and in both cases, the neighborhoods’ racial composition changed from significantly non-white to almost entirely white; while the median housing values showed a significant appreciation. Newsom (1971) dubbed this the “Georgetown syndrome.” Up

through the 1930s, over forty percent of Georgetown's residents were black, but when developers began rehabilitating the area, existing residents could not turn down the prices offered, and thus by 1950 most black residents of Georgetown had moved elsewhere (Newsom 1971, 423). Newsom argues that the "Georgetown syndrome" exemplifies a situation in which whites decided what was best for black residents, and explains that when minority residents move, there is no place for them to go (Newsom 1971, 423). Additionally, because of the way historic designation was approached, the true integrated history of what Georgetown used to be was distorted.

As a response to these findings several studies have investigated whether a definitive causal link exists between historic designation and gentrification, but the results have been inconclusive. Jo Leimenstoll (1998) showed that in smaller cities, such as Greensboro, NC, designated neighborhoods experienced an increase in property values after designation. However, compared with non-historic neighborhoods of the same city, property values did not increase dramatically; and in the case of the one designated district, the historic area was actually catching up to its non-designated neighbor in property value. Similarly, Gale studied designated and non-designated historic neighborhoods in Washington D.C., and analyzed the socio-economic changes to gauge whether historic designation is the cause or a result of gentrification (Gale 1991). Essentially, Gale finds that designating a district after it has already become sufficiently middle class is not itself a factor in gentrification, but rather follows upon gentrification. Gale states that, "there is little support here for the belief that designation, per se, significantly affects the economic value of real estate" (Gale 1991, 337). Nevertheless, doubts persist about whether the act of designation should lead or follow reinvestment

trends in older neighborhoods possessing historic attributes. In many cases the initiation of early designation is considered very appealing as a means to "jump start" private reinvestment in deteriorating areas.

Interestingly, in the studies described earlier in the *Gentrification* displacement sections, a number of the analyzed gentrifying neighborhoods were designated historic districts, such as Harlem's Clinton Hill or Boston's Back Bay (Freeman 2011; Vigdor, Massey, and Rivlin 2002). Additionally, when a study by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) searched for neighborhoods throughout the country that had maintained economic and racial diversity over a number of years, they found that several and nearly all of these communities were designated historic districts (Rypkema 2004, 3). These studies do not necessarily negate the fears of low-income residents. Historic district designation can lead to increases in property value, but this is dependent upon other reinvestment and revitalization projects occurring in the district. Coulson and Leichenko (2004) state that there is clearly an element of choice involved in the process of historic district designation in order to achieve certain goals—"The phrase 'historical preservation' is so elastic that any sort of project can be justified" (Rose 1981 in Listokin, Listokin, and Lahr 1998, 460). However, Listokin et al. are quick to add that most preservation efforts are "judicious, so that historic designations reflect legitimate concerns to protect a community's historical resources" (1998, 461). Yet, if historical designation is indeed used in order to stimulate revitalization and to promote or slow down development, then it is presumably aimed at locations that would receive more benefit from place-based development (Coulson and Leichenko 2004).

Although there has not been much research geared toward the connections between displacement due to gentrification and historic preservation, scholars have claimed preservation is both a sign of gentrification and a cause of displacement (Smith 1998; Werwath 1998). Scholars, such as Smith (1998) and Beauregard (1986) suggest not only that preservation leads to gentrification, but also that those who are inclined toward preservation actively try to cause gentrification because it creates the types of physical, social, and cultural amenities that they desire. Robert Beauregard implies that preservationists are among the “potential gentrifiers,” that are “the necessary agents and the beneficiaries of the gentrification process” (Beauregard 1986, 41). He adds that governments help to facilitate this process by “labeling” neighborhoods (for example designating historical districts), which provides preservationists with coveted status symbols. Gentrifiers tend to be attracted toward conspicuous consumption (Beauregard 1986; Ley 1987), meaning that they are an “up-scale class of consumers who frequent restaurants and bars, and generally treat shopping as a social event” (Beauregard 1986, 44). This type of commercial gentrification can fuel more residential gentrification—“the two are mutually supportive” (Beauregard 1986) Sharon Zukin (1990) also links architectural and retail preferences and writes that, “gentrifiers know enough to appreciate historic architectural style and imported cheese”. They seek shopping experiences that offer “sensory delights,” especially those enhanced by the “stone and mortar cachet of central urban areas” (Zukin 1990, 41).

Japonica Brown-Saracino (2004) proposed a radically different perspective about gentrification that has significant implications for “functional” or “social” preservation. She theorizes that there are people who, rather than seeking to displace long-time

residents of historic neighborhoods, they actively try to preserve their tenure. “Social preservation,” in her words, “is the culturally motivated choice certain people, who tend to be highly educated and residentially mobile, to live in a central city or small town in order to live an authentic social space, embodied by the sustained presence of old-timers” (2004, 135). Because long-time residents, or “old-timers,” are viewed as the “arbiters of authentic community” social preservationists engage in various efforts to “preserve” their place in the neighborhood (Brown-Saracino 2004). The “practices of social preservation” may share similarities with the actions of those who pursue functional preservation. For instance, social preservationists will engage in political organizing or oppose the construction of housing and retail venues for the upper classes. Both residential and retail developments have the potential to be pro-gentrification, as is made apparent from a chant used at a Chicago rally: “We don’t want Starbucks or the Gap, low-cost housing is where it’s at!” To help keep their proprietors in the community, social preservationists may go out of their way to patronize businesses that are owned by old-timers. One may, for example, take one’s car to the local “townie garage,” rather than the dealership (Brown-Saracino 2004, 149-50).

4. Los Angeles

4.1 Preservation and Historic Preservation Overlay Zones

The previous section outlined the discussions of historic preservation and its relationship to economic development. This, along with theories of gentrification and its correlation with historic preservation provide an overview of current literature. The intent of the following sections is to help place historic preservation and gentrification in Los Angeles within a larger theoretical and academic framework.

For most of the 20th century, Los Angeles has been identified as an aggressively pro-growth city. Seeking to create a corporate downtown, attract regional and national headquarters and compete with its more famous rival to the North, the city did not hesitate to completely bulldoze off the entire historic Bunker Hill neighborhood in the 1960s and replace it with office towers, hotels, and commercial/retail mega-complexes (Loukaitou-Sideris and Sansbury 1995). Lower high-rises also sprung up in the region's secondary centers such as Glendale, Studio City, and Burbank.

However, the public sentiment towards growth started changing in the 1990s as a result of a weakening office market and the worsening of traffic congestion in the region. At the same time, a durable opposition to growth emerged, promoted by a combination of diverse interests, from homeowner associations to environmentalists (Purcell 1997). As Purcell argued, the attitude that “growth is a self-evident good” significantly diminished by the 1990s (Purcell 2000, 87).²³

²³ Purcell (2000) identifies five factors that led to the weakening of LA's growth machine: 1) The fall of a pro-growth mayoral regime; 2) the globalization of land-based interests; 3) the geographical fragmentation of land-based interests; 4) the emergence of groups opposed to growth; and 5) the city's diminished ability to act as a partner for growth.

According to California historian Kevin Starr, by the 1990s preservation had attained great force in both Los Angeles and San Francisco, not only because much of the urban fabric had already been lost, but also because a new generation of residents had “discovered the complexity and value of California as a cultural legacy and continuing force” (Starr 2011, 459). Architecture emerged as one of the key means through which Californians defined the value and meaning of their surroundings. And although historic preservation has a reputation as a pro-growth tool in major commercial and downtown redevelopments (Donofrio 2012; Isenberg 2004; Reichl 1997) in Southern California more recent preservation has arisen from slow or anti-growth sentiments (Starr 2011; Purcell 2000). For instance, in 2000, the Getty Trust launched a grant program to support the planning and implementation of preservation in Los Angeles, and in 2006 the city of Los Angeles established the Office of Historic Resources (OHR).

Although the city’s Office of Historic Resources was established in 2006, the ability to designate historic districts (HPOZs) was adopted by the City Council in 1979. HPOZs provide an additional layer of regulations for a particular area, since they are laid atop the base zoning regulations of a jurisdiction. The base zoning guidelines, which relate to use and density, continue to be administered by the planning department. A design review board or historic preservation commission administers the regulations contained in the historic overlay zone. This includes all exterior work, such as building an addition, repairing or replacing windows and doors, or installing a fence. However, interior remodeling does not require HPOZ approval. The board of each HPOZ is required to hold five members, who normally serve four-year terms that are staggered. At

least three members are required to be renters or owners of property in the Preservation Zone (OHR *About the HPOZ Program*, 2013).

Angelino Heights became Los Angeles' first HPOZ in 1983. Today, there are 29 designated HPOZs, with 16 more under consideration (OHR 2015, "*Proposed HPOZs*"). HPOZ areas range in size and are primarily residential, many have a mix of single-family and multi-family housing, and some include commercial and institutional properties. HPOZs are established and administered by the Los Angeles City Planning Department, along with the City Council. As stated by the Office of Historic Resources, individual buildings in an HPOZ need not be of landmark quality on their own: it is a group of "cohesive, unique, and intact" historic resources that qualifies a neighborhood for HPOZ status (OHR, 2013).

The Office of Historic Resources outlines in detail how the process of establishing an HPOZ takes place. The process typically begins "informally, at a grass-roots level, with a local neighborhood group organizing community meetings to explain to residents how the HPOZ process works" and to gauge possible interest in creating an HPOZ (OHR 2013, "*How to Establish an HPOZ*"). The guide to establishing an HPOZ, provided by the OHR states that community members often ask their City Council members for assistance, and that most HPOZs are formally initiated by the City Council through a motion by the Councilmember of the district. The HPOZ Ordinance also states that the Director of the Planning, the Cultural Heritage Commission, or the City Planning Commission can initiate an HPOZ. Finally, it is also possible that owners or renters within the district can initiate an HPOZ through a formal application only; in this case the ordinance requires that signatures of at least 75% of owners or lessees be obtained.

However, before an HPOZ may move into the formal adoption process, an historic resources survey of the proposed district must be prepared (LA 175891, Section 12.20.3). The survey outlines the historic and architectural significance of the neighborhood and identifies structures and features as either “contributing” or “non-contributing” to the district.²⁴ Once the historic resources survey is completed, the Department of City Planning staff (planners within the Office of Historic Resources) reviews it for “completeness and accuracy” (OHR *How to Establish an HPOZ*, 2013). Planners also hold public workshops and hearings in the community before taking the HPOZ through the adoption process. An HPOZ is officially created only after the Cultural Heritage Commission certifies the reviewed Historic Resources Survey. Additionally, since the historic district imposes changes to the zoning code, the City Planning Commission, along with the City Council, must adopt the HPOZ as an ordinance, following full public hearings (LA 175891, Section 12.20.3).

Overall, the establishment of an HPOZ may have several advantages and disadvantages for residents and property owners. The benefits of designation are presumed to lie in the maintenance of the physical and aesthetic character of the neighborhood. Additionally, as outlined by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Office of Historic Resources in Los Angeles, other advantages include an enhanced sense of community, protection of property investments, and the prevention of deterioration through the control of inappropriate alterations (NTHP 2015, *10 Benefits of Establishing a Local Historic District*). On the other hand, as Edward Glaeser

²⁴ A contributing structure is a building that was constructed during the predominant period of development in the neighborhood and that has retained most of its historic features. A non-contributing structure is one that was either constructed after the major period of the neighborhood’s development, or has been so significantly altered that it no longer conveys its historic character (LA 175891, Section 12.20.3.B.).

emphasizes, designations can hurt cities and neighborhoods because old building stock cannot be replaced by new development and real estate prices are restrained since property can no longer be valued according to a presumed “highest and best use” (Glaeser 2012). Finally, scholars such as Neil Smith (1998) and Peter Werwath (1998) claim that historic preservation results in the gentrification of a neighborhood. Again, there is little empirical evidence to support these claims that would apply specifically to historic districts. The question, then, is the degree to which historic district designation affects the processes of stabilization, deterioration, gentrification, or displacement within urban neighborhoods.

4.2 Los Angeles and Gentrification

Los Angeles’ urban development patterns have been described as distinct from other cities in the U.S. (Dear 2002). Michael Dear envisions the Southern California urban process as “proto-postmodern,” in which change is driven by:

a global restructuring that is permeated and balkanized by a series of interdictory networks; whose populations are socially and culturally heterogeneous but politically and economically polarized; whose residents are educated and persuaded to the consumption of dreamscapes even as the poorest are consigned to carceral cities; whose built environment, reflective of these processes, consists of edge cities, privatopias, and the like; and whose natural environment is being erased to the point of unlivability while at the same time providing a focus for political action (2002, 22-23).

Los Angeles has also been described as a prototypical Edge City, which is a city with multiple urban cores (Garreau 1991). Garreau describes the new types of urban centers:

I have come to call these new urban centers Edge Cities. Cities, because they contain all the functions a city ever has, albeit in a spread-out form that few have come to recognize for what it is. Edge, because they are a vigorous world of pioneers and immigrants, rising far from the old downtowns, where little save villages or farmland lay only thirty years before (Garreau 1991, 4).

Given the size, importance, and unique development patterns of Los Angeles as a global city, it is unexpected that the city has been mostly overlooked by the gentrification literature.

Gentrification is often associated as a byproduct of Los Angeles' *urban restructuring*, which began in the late 1960s (Davis 1992; Keil 1998; Soja, Morales, and Wolff 1983).²⁵ The social and economic changes that molded the region are explained as a result of a combination of centralized industrial activity, financial control, and corporate wealth. Thus, what "initially may appear as paradoxical or unique within the Los Angeles region can be more appropriately understood as a particular concatenation of several different patterns of social and spatial re-structuring identifiable within the larger economic system" and is really an amalgamation of "Houston, a Detroit, a Lower Manhattan, and a Singapore in one region" (Soja, Morales, and Wolff 1983, 195-6). This unique mixture has produced a dramatic transformation of the city. For example, downtown Los Angeles and the corridor running along Wilshire Boulevard to the Pacific, has become a major focus for international capital headquarters, financial, accounting, and insurance firms, and a full range of supportive business, entertainment, hotel, and restaurant services.

On the other hand, Los Angeles also has a reputation for being a sprawling, low-density fragmented metropolis (Fogelson 1993) with a pervasively privatized urban environment having a reputation for fenced or walled-in residences, and more

²⁵ *Urban restructuring* affects where people work and live, as well as where industries operate, and the "organization of the working class and the patterns of class conflict" (Soja, Morales, and Wolff 1983, 195). This phenomenon has far reaching consequences related to "substantial aggregate economic growth and expanding concentrations of affluence against extensive job layoffs and plant closures, deepening poverty and unemployment, the re-emergence of industrial sweatshops reminiscent of the nineteenth century, the intensification of ethnic and racial segregation, and increasing rates of urban violence and homelessness" (Soja, Morales, and Wolff 1983, 195).

conspicuously consumption-oriented households than any other American city (Davis 1992; Soja, Morales, and Wolff 1983). Davis discusses the obsession with privacy and security, which manifests itself “with the architectural policing of social boundaries” that has become the “zeitgeist of urban restructuring, a master narrative in the emerging built environment of the 1990s” (1990: 223). In *City of Quartz*, Mike Davis (1992) analyzed the workings of power in Los Angeles through mechanisms of privatization and surveillance, coining the now well-known idea of the *fortress city*. Davis (1992) mirrors Soja et al. (1983) by documenting how beginning in the 1970s a land rush of investment capital did much to signify the ascendance of Los Angeles in the global economy. Saskia Sassen agrees by describing Los Angeles as a “global city,” an advanced financial services and corporate management center for transnational capitalism (1988).

Although Los Angeles is described as a global city, it has experienced a “weak-center” gentrification process (Reese, Deverteuil, and Thach 2010), contrary to the gentrifying experience of strong-center urban regions like New York, San Francisco, Washington, Chicago and Boston (Hackworth 2005).²⁶ Nevertheless, as revealed in Florida’s recent work (2013), gentrification has clearly emerged in various pockets throughout Los Angeles, such as Santa Monica, Los Feliz, or in between Koreatown and Downtown LA. When looking at the Los Angeles metro area as a whole, the *creative class* stretches out along the coast from Santa Monica, to Malibu on the north; and, Manhattan Beach to Palos Verdes; south from Huntington Beach and Newport Beach to Irvine; as well Pasadena (Florida 2013).²⁷

²⁶ Weak-center gentrification occurs within cities that lack strong or high-amenity downtowns to act as centers of gravity for anchoring gentrification (Reese, Deverteuil, and Thach 2010, 311).

²⁷ The creative class includes people who work in science and technology, business and management, arts, culture, media and entertainment, law, and healthcare professions. This group makes up 34.1% of the metro

What is interesting in Florida's recent work is that L.A.'s once considerable manufacturing and working class areas have largely disappeared. He defines the *service class* as entailing workers in low-wage, low-skill, routine service jobs such as food service and preparation, retail sales, clerical and administrative positions, and the like. And the *working class* includes workers who work in factory jobs as well as those in transportation and construction.²⁸

When one observes the locations of the HPOZs in comparison to the different class areas (Figure 4.1 – 4.4), one can see that 12 of the 29 districts are located in service class zones (red), 10 in the creative class zones (purple), and one in the working class zones (blue). There are three, which are located both in service and creative class areas and another two HPOZs exist in service and working class areas (Table 4.1).

area's workers, just slightly higher than the national average. They are high-skilled, highly educated workers who average \$80,859 per year in wages in salaries, significantly more than the national average for these workers (Florida 2013).

²⁸ According to Florida (2013), the service class is the largest class of workers, making up 46.3% of the region's workers, just slightly beneath the national average. Service workers in the metro average \$32,367 per year in wages and salaries. While this is considerably above the national average for these workers, it is just 40 percent of the wages of the metro's creative class workers. There are 859 (30.1%) tracts where the class makes up more than half of the residents, 25 (0.9%) where it is more than two-thirds, and four (0.1 %) where it is more than three-quarters.

On the other hand, the working class includes workers who work in factory jobs as well as those in transportation and construction. It comprises 19.5% of the region's workers (below the national average of 21%), who average \$37,066 in wages and salaries, just slightly more than the national average, but less than half that of the region's creative class workers.

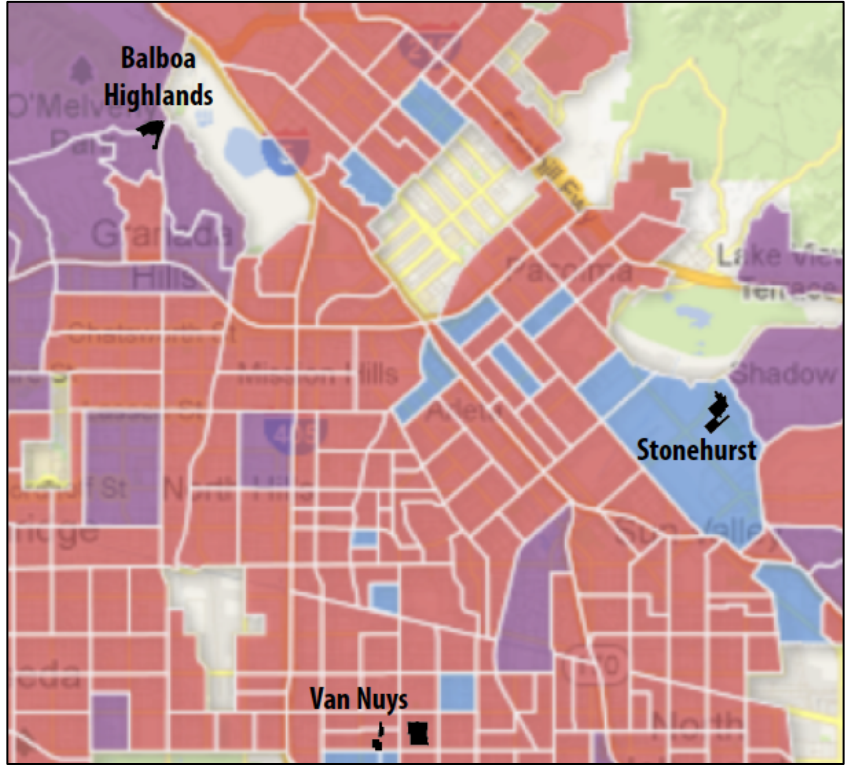


Figure 4.1: Balboa Highlands HPOZ within a purple “creative class” area, Stonehurst HPOZ located in a blue “working class” area, and Van Nuys HPOZ located in a red “service zone.”
 Map Source: (Florida 2013)

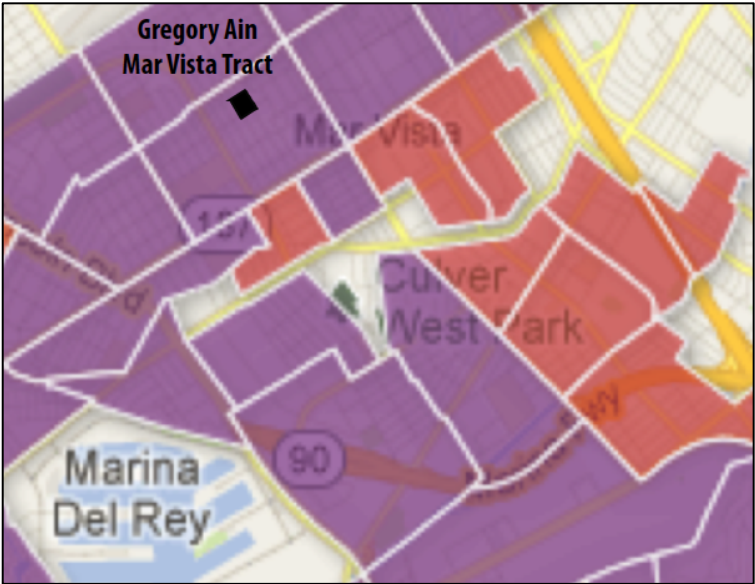


Figure 4.2: Gregory Ain Mar Vista Tract located within a purple “creative class” area.
 Map Source: (Florida 2013)

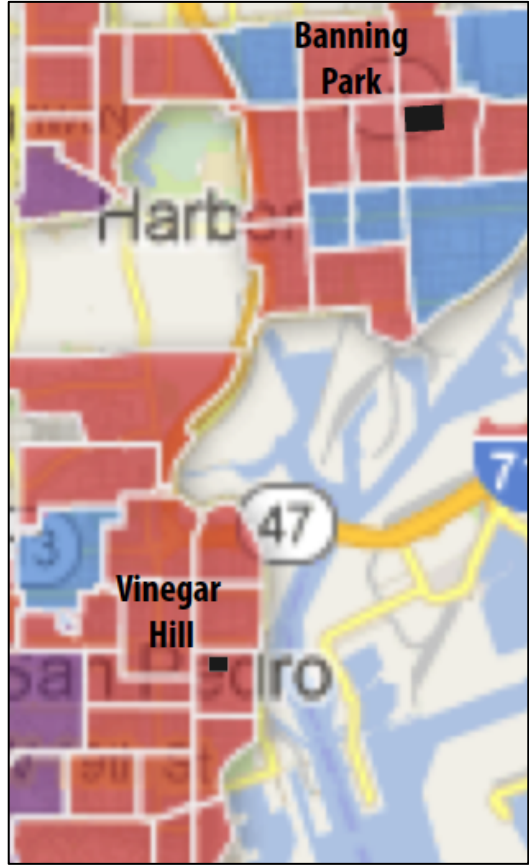


Figure 4.3: Banning Park and Vinegar Hill HPOZs located in primarily service areas (red). Purple areas are creative class zones and Blue areas working class zones. Map Source: (Florida 2013)

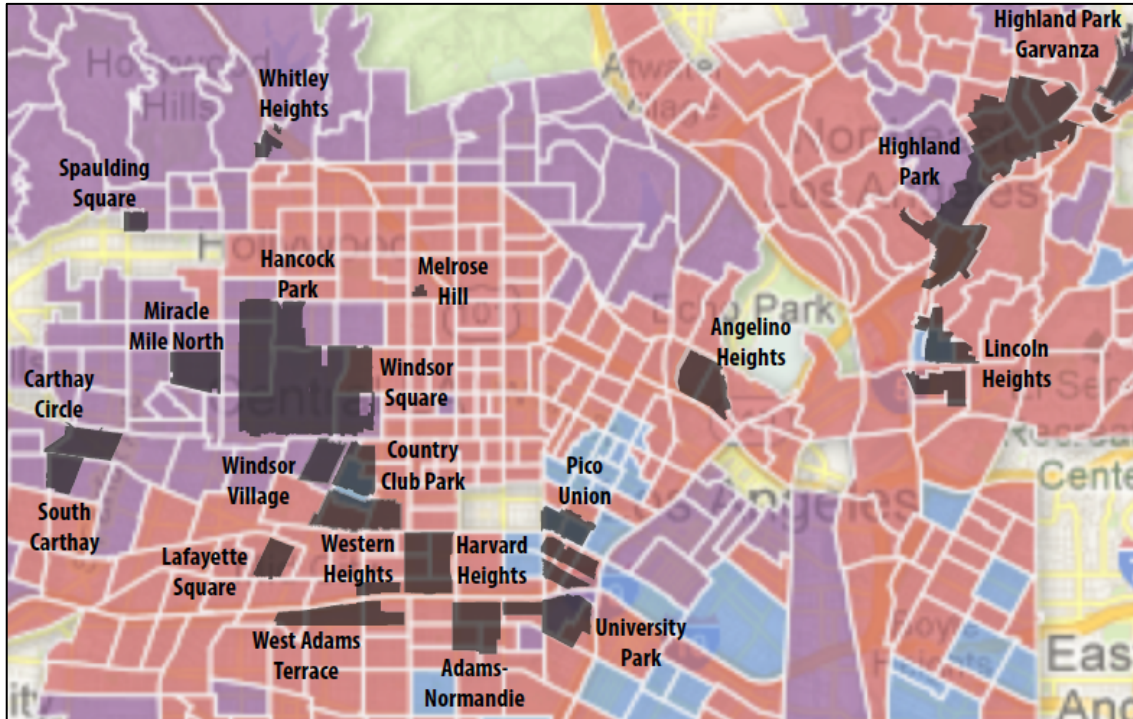


Figure 4.4: Central Los Angeles HPOZs location relative to Creative Class zones. See table below for location of HPOZs within different class areas.

Table 4.1: HPOZ locations within different class zones, as defined by Florida.

Red <i>Service Class</i>	Blue <i>Working Class</i>	Purple <i>Creative Class</i>	Red & Purple <i>Service & Creative Class</i>	Red & Blue <i>Service & Working Class</i>
Adams-Normandie	Stonehurst	Carthay Circle	South Carthay	Pico Union
Angelino Heights		Hancock Park	Highland Park	Wilshire Park
Harvard Heights		Miracle Mile North	University Park	
Lincoln Heights		Spaulding Square		
Highland Park-Garvanza		Whitley Heights		
Melrose Hill		Windsor Square		
West Adam Terrace		Gregory Ain Mar Vista Tract		
Lafayette Square		Balboa Highlands		
Van Nuys		Windsor Village		
Banning Park		Hollywood Grove		
Vinegar Hill				
Country Club Park				
Western Heights				
Jefferson Park				

The fact that Los Angeles' HPOZs are currently located in a range of socioeconomic neighborhoods makes studying gentrification trends in these areas an important counterpoint to the currently dominant evidence from historic districts located in strongly-centered urban regions. Were the HPOZs that are now within *creative class* zones once *working* or *service class* areas? Have the past *service class* areas maintained similar demographics after historic district designation?

5. Creation of Neighborhood Typologies and Analysis

The 29 HPOZs in LA vary in size and their location within the city. All are predominantly residential areas and consist of single and multi-family homes. Their size varies; 12 of the 29 HPOZs are smaller than a block group; 4 are smaller than a Census tract, but encompass at least one block group; and the other 13 encompass either two to eight Census tracts (Table 5.1). I define the 29 HPOZ neighborhoods as the Census tracts they are located in, following most quantitative research on neighborhoods.

Table 5.1 Sizes of HPOZs by Census Tract or Block

HPOZs smaller than a block group	HPOZ	of Census Tracts
Balboa Highlands	Adams-Normandie	3
Banning Park	Angelino Heights	2
Gregory Ain Mar Vista Tract	Country Club Park	2
Hollywood Grove	Hancock Park	4
Melrose Hill	Harvard Heights	3
Spaulding Square	Highland Park-Garvanza	8
Stonehurst	Jefferson Park	4
Van Nuys	Lincoln Heights	3
Vinegar Hill	Pico-Union	3
Western Heights	University Park	2
Whitely Heights	West Adams Terrace	3
Windsor Village	Wilshire Park	2
	Windsor Square	3
HPOZs smaller than a Census tract		
Carthay Circle		
Lafayette Square		
Miracle Mile North		
South Carthay		

5.1 Data Selection & Variables

Because the historic districts in Los Angeles were designated at various time periods (Table 2.1), data are drawn from different Census years — 1970 to 2010. In order to understand the socioeconomic trends before and after designation, data from different decades will be analyzed to understand neighborhood changes that have occurred before and after designation. Moreover, for those HPOZs between 1980 and 2000 I exclude shorter periods to allow for the likelihood that the designation’s effects unfold slowly over many years, rather than immediately after historic district status is conferred. For the HPOZs designated in the late 2000s and post-2010, the examination will focus on any socioeconomic trends that occurred prior to designation in order to gauge whether similar patterns occurred.

Table 5.2 Variables used to develop typologies

POPULATION, RACE, & HH COMPOSITION	HOUSING
Total Population	# Housing Units
% Black	# New Housing
% White	# Vacant Units
% Asian	% Owner Occupied
% Other ²⁹	% Renter Occupied
% Hispanic	Average Value Owner HH
% Foreign Born	Median Rent
% Residents under 5	Housing, Median Year Built
% Residents under 18	
% Residents over 65	
% Fem-headed HH	
LOCATION	
In Urban Core?	
POVERTY & INCOME	
Below Poverty Level	
Ave HH Income	
EDUCATION	
% Education Attainment, BA	
EMPLOYMENT	
% High Status Job	

²⁹ The “Other” category includes the total number of people not included in the “White,” “Black,” and “Asian” race categories for 1980-2010. This may include American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander and multiracial, multiethnic, mixed, interracial, or a Spanish/Hispanic origin group (such as Mexican, Cuban, or Puerto Rican). The “Other” category includes Asians in 1970.

5.2 Creation of HPOZ Typologies:

I create typologies of HPOZs with a set of variables (Table 5.2) capturing characteristics of both residents and the built environment: racial/ethnic and immigrant composition, population, number of households, proportion of housing built in the last decade, age distribution, family structure, poverty rate, and location in the central core of the city or not. To capture the age distribution, I include the proportion of young children (under 5 years old), all children (under 18 years old), and elderly residents (over 65 years old). I also report the proportion of female-headed households with children.

Following Hanlon (2009) and Owens (2012), I use principal component analysis (PCA) and cluster analysis to identify a typology of neighborhoods. PCA, a form of factor analysis, is a statistical method used to reduce the number of variables in a data set to a number of main factors and determine the relationships between the variables used in the reduction technique. In other words, it is a way to combine many correlated variables into one indicator by assessing the similarities and differences among the variance of each variable. PCA has been an important technique used to unravel the sociospatial organization of cities (Wyly 1999). Recent work has used this technique in market research to classify residential neighborhoods (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). PCA reveals if there is one or more underlying “dimensions” that summarize the many original variables.

I conduct PCA on the 24 population and housing variables described in the previous section, which include five socioeconomic status variables – mean income, mean house value, mean rent, proportion of residents with a BA, and the proportion of residents with high status jobs. I perform PCA separately for each year, retaining factors

with eigenvalues of 1 or greater.³⁰ The variables were summarized into four factors, or dimensions, in 1970; five in 1980 and 1990; and six in 2000 and 2010. I estimated factor scores in each year for every tract.

Then I cluster these factor scores using k-means clustering to classify neighborhoods into a typology of neighborhoods in each year. This clustering approach uses an iterative process to group observations according to similarities in the factor scores' mean values (note that the use of "cluster" refers to a grouping based on similarity of neighborhood characteristics rather than spatial clustering). It allows the analyst to specify the number of clusters, and I use the number of factors retained in the PCA to determine how many neighborhood types to specify. I chose four, five, six, seven, and eight in different runs of the clustering technique. I was able to identify the primary characteristics of each of the different cluster formations by examining the mean of different socioeconomic and demographic variables (Table 5.6). I performed a sensitivity analysis specifying different numbers of clusters in each decade.

For 1970, I ran four through eight clusters. The clusters with fewer numbers (four and five) resulted in all the Low-Income neighborhoods being placed into one group, regardless of racial makeup. When I ran more clusters (six through eight) the Low-Income neighborhoods were only separated into two groups; the differences between the two groups stemmed from household values, education, and high-status jobs, rather than racial composition. Similarly, when running four clusters all Middle-Class neighborhoods were grouped together. However, when I ran more clusters, the Middle-Class neighborhoods were divided into two groups only. The two most affluent neighborhoods

³⁰ Eigenvalues of two or more generally indicate that the component has twice or more the explanatory power of the original set of variables (Kline 1994). Eigenvalues less than one have less power than the original variables. Therefore, using components with an eigenvalue less than one is ineffective.

(Hollywood Grove and Miracle Mile North) were placed together within a group of their own, but when I ran seven and eight clusters these two HPOZs were placed into separate groups by themselves.

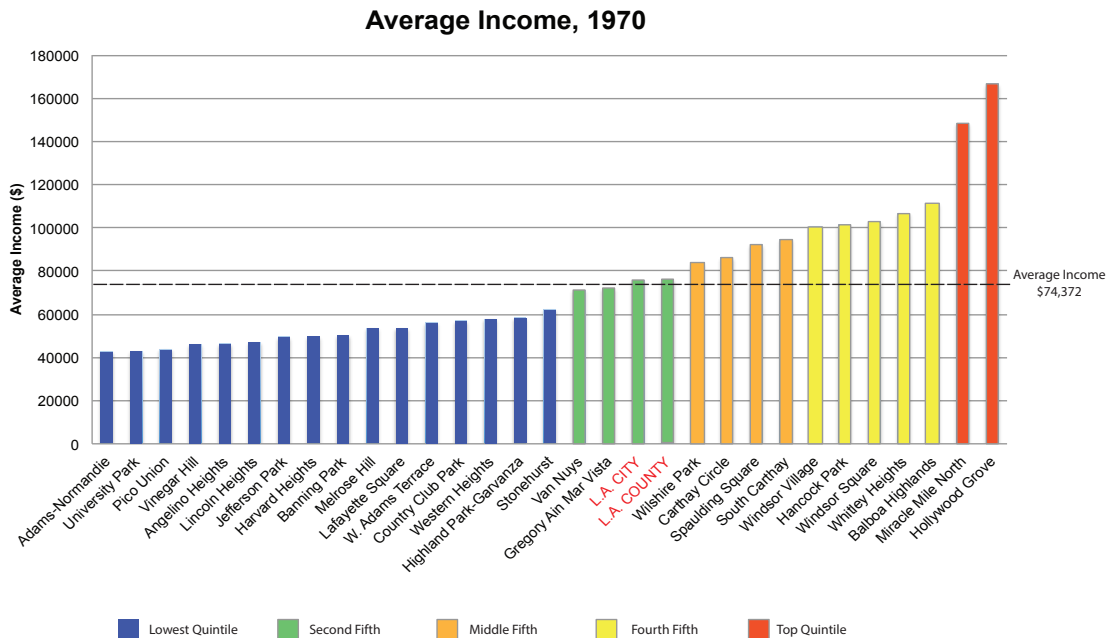
Finally, regardless of how many clusters were run for 1970, Country Club Park, Lafayette Square, and Melrose Hill were always grouped together as outliers. Lafayette Square, which is a predominantly African-American (79%), low-income neighborhood (~\$53,000), has an average housing value of around \$174,000, while other neighborhoods with a similar socioeconomic makeup have a lower average housing values of around \$125,000. The Country Club Park area was placed in the outlier group because it is a multi-ethnic area (48% Black, 35% White, 17% Other, and 10% Hispanic), with low-incomes (~ \$57,000), and a high percent of residents with college degrees (32.6%). For 1970 no other HPOZ had similar traits. Melrose Hill is also different from low-income, working class neighborhoods with similar traits, although it is over 90% White, the average household income in the area for 1970 was ~\$54,000, but had home values of ~\$174,000, and a homeownership rate of ~25%. Similar neighborhoods had higher average incomes (~\$68,000), lower home values (~\$146,000), and higher homeownership rates (~60%).

In order to create neighborhood groups, which highlight the racial and socioeconomic distinctions more accurately than the initial cluster analysis, I began by using the six-cluster output (Table 5.3), and then proceeded to modify the clusters based on an analysis comparing a variety of factor to city/county averages. Additionally, I grouped the average household incomes by quintiles in order to create distinctions between higher and lower income HPOZ neighborhoods (Figure 5.1).

Table 5.3: Six-Cluster Neighborhood Output

Low-Income	Low-Income, Lower-Middle Class	High-Income, Upper Middle Class	High-Income, Upper Middle Class	Outliers	Affluent
Adams- Normandie	Angelino Heights	Balboa Highlands	Carthay Circle	Country Club Park	Hollywood Grove
Banning Park	Gregory Ain	Spaulding Square	Hancock Park	Lafayette Square	Miracle Mile North
Harvard Heights	Stonehurst	Whitley Heights	South Carthay	Melrose Hill	
Highland Park	University Park	Wilshire Park	Windsor Square		
Jefferson Park	Van Nuys	Windsor Village			
Lincoln Heights	W. Adams Terrace				
Pico Union	Western Heights				
Vinegar Hill					

Figure 5.1: Average Household Income Quintiles (1970)



As can be seen from Figure 5.1 the average income for all the HPOZ neighborhoods in 1970 is close to city and county averages. I categorized neighborhoods with above city and county averages (middle, fourth, and top quintile) as Upper-Middle Class, High-Income or Affluent. Those below or close to city/county averages (lowest and second

quintile) were categorized as Low-Income or Middle-Income, respectively.

In order to create more distinction between the HPOZ neighborhoods I also look at racial composition (Figure 5.2 – 5.5). At first glance, the majority of neighborhoods appear to be over 80% White in 1970 (Figure 5.2), however when looking at the percent of Hispanic residents (a separate category in the Census) one can see that 11 of these neighborhoods have above average numbers of Hispanic residents as well (Figure 5.3). Additionally, Figure 5.4 reveals eight HPOZ neighborhoods that have near or above city and county average numbers of Black residents. Finally, in Figure 5.5 one can see that Country Club Park HPOZ has the highest percent of resident listed as “Other,” above the city and county averages. This neighborhood also has a below average number of White and Hispanic residents, and above 50% Black residents. Because it has below average numbers of White residents and above average numbers for both Black and Other residents it was categorized as Multi-Ethnic. Table 5.4 outlines the six typologies created for 1970.

Table 5.4: 1970 HPOZ neighborhood typologies.

Affluent/High-Income White	Upper Middle-Class White	Middle-Class White	Low-Income Black	Low-Income Hispanic	Low-Income Multi-Ethnic
Balboa Highlands	Carthay Circle	Gregory Ain	Adams-Normandie	Angelino Heights	Country Club Park
Hancock Park	South Carthay	Melrose Hill	Harvard Heights	Banning Park	
Hollywood Grove	Spaulding Square	Stonehurst	Jefferson Park	Highland Park	
Miracle Mile North	Wilshire Park	Van Nuys	Lafayette Square	Lincoln Heights	
Whitley Heights			W. Adams Terrace	Pico Union	
Windsor Square			Western Heights	University Park	
Windsor Village				Vinegar Hill	

Figure 5.2: Percent of White Residents (1970)

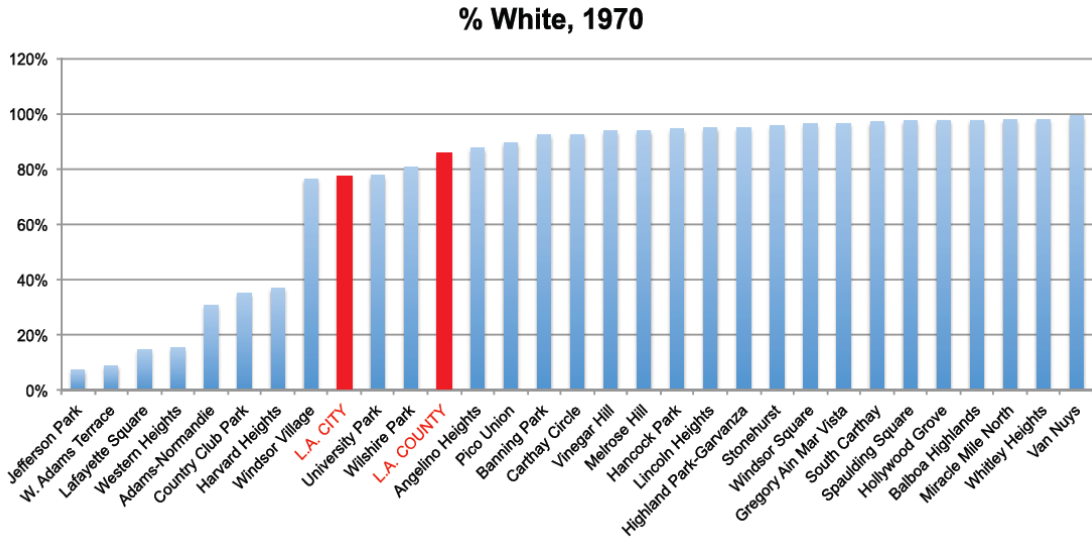


Figure 5.3: Percent of Hispanic Residents (1970)

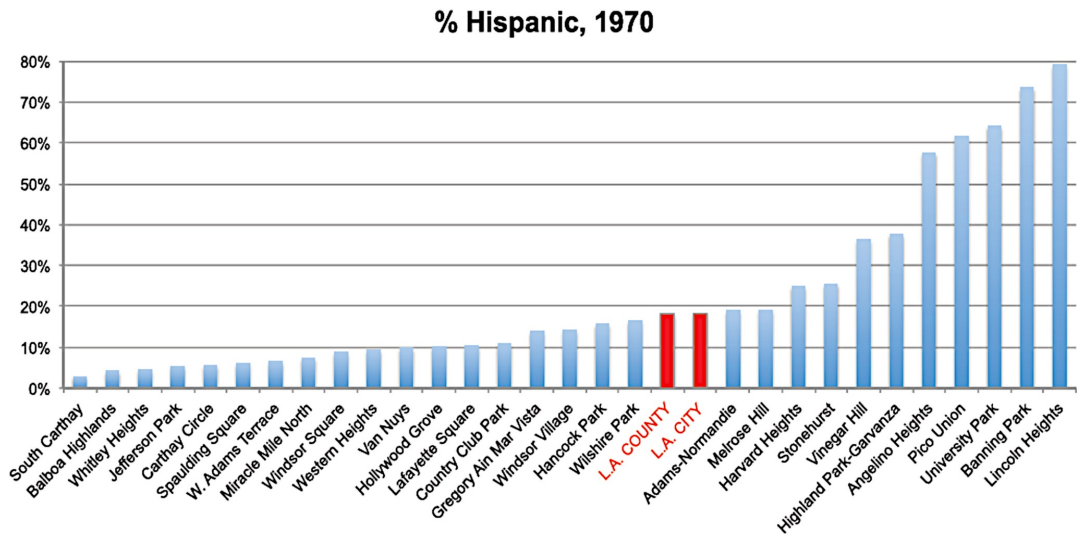


Figure 5.4: Percent of Black Residents (1970)

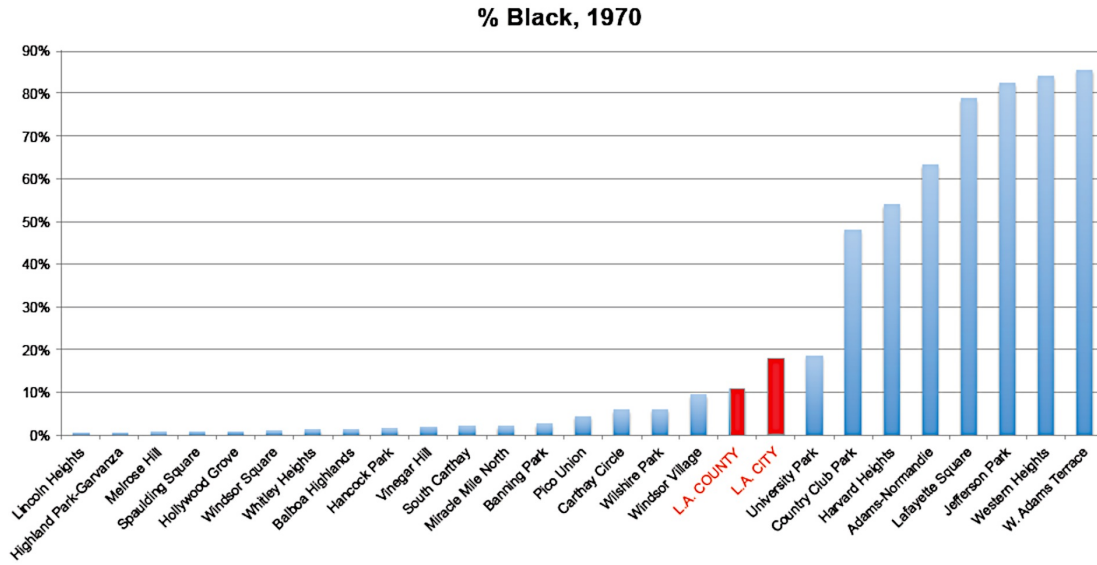
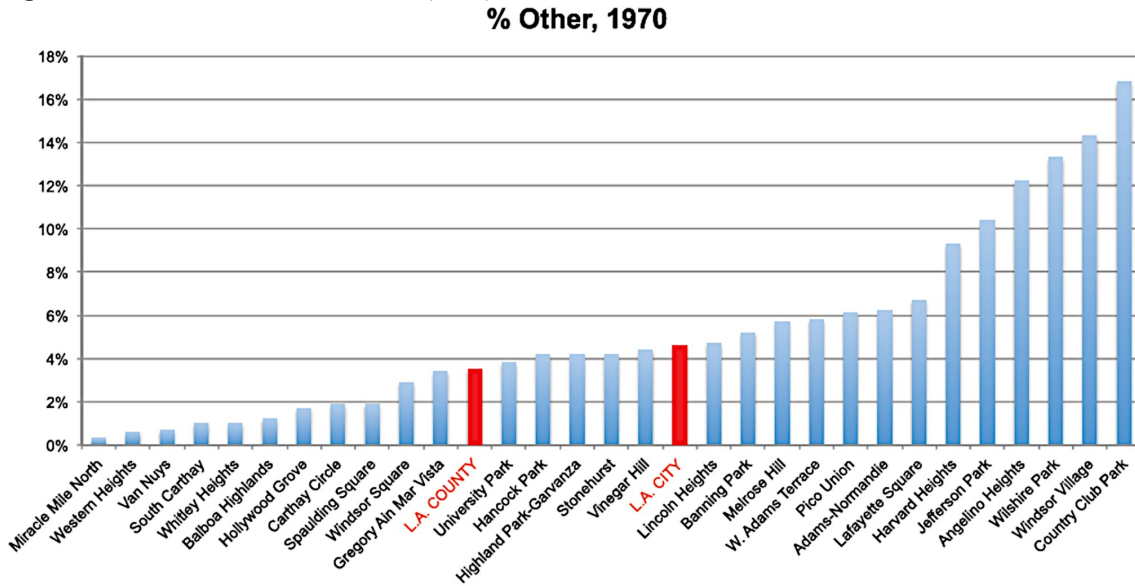


Figure 5.5: Percent of Other Residents (1970)



The typologies for 1980 through 2010 were created with the same method and are presented in Table 5.5. While 1970 generated six typologies, overall nine typologies are created and not all of them are present in each decade. In 1980 the *High-Income Multi-*

Ethnic group is created. In 1980, Windsor Village HPOZ, remains a high-income neighborhood, however the racial composition changes from a majority White neighborhood to a majority Minority neighborhood (28% Asian, ~16% Black, ~11% Other, and ~15% Hispanic). In 1990, the *Low-Income Black/Hispanic* typology is created. The two HPOZ neighborhoods that fall into this category in 1990, Adams-Normandie and Harvard Heights HPOZs, transitioned into this group from the *Low-Income Black* typology. These HPOZ areas still had above average numbers of Black residents compared to the city and county averages, however they had a higher proportion of Hispanic residents (above city and county averages of Hispanic residents).

Finally, in 2000 and 2010 the *Middle-Income White* typology does not appear anymore. The HPOZs that are initially within this group either transition into higher income groups (ex. Gregory Ain Mar Vista) or remain middle-income, but see their racial composition change to majority Hispanic (ex. Van Nuys). The last two decades, 2000 and 2010, also see the *Middle-Income Hispanic* typology, which include areas that were either previously *Low-Income Hispanic* or *Middle-Income White*.

Table 5.5: HPOZ Typologies, 1970-2010. Green HPOZs have remained within the same group and bold indicates what decade the HPOZ was designated in.

	Affluent/High-Income White	Upper Middle-Class White	Middle-Class White	Low-Income Black	Low-Income Black/Hispanic	Low-Income Hispanic	Middle-Class Hispanic	Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic	High-Income Multi-Ethnic
1970	Balboa Highlands Hancock Park Hollywood Grove Miracle Mile North Whitley Heights Windsor Square Windsor Village	Carthay Circle South Carthay Spaulding Sq. Wilshire Park	Gregory Ain Melrose Hill Stonehurst Van Nuys	Adams-Normandie Harvard Heights Jefferson Park Lafayette Sq. W. Adams Terrace Western Heights		Angelino Heights Banning Park Highland Park-Garvanza Lincoln Heights Pico Union University Park Vinegar Hill		Country Club Park	
1980	Balboa Highlands Hancock Park Hollywood Grove Miracle Mile North Windsor Square	Carthay Circle Gregory Ain South Carthay Spaulding Sq. Whitley Heights	Melrose Hill Stonehurst Van Nuys	Adams-Normandie Harvard Heights Jefferson Park Lafayette Sq. W. Adams Terrace Western Heights		Angelino Heights Banning Park Highland Park-Garvanza Lincoln Heights Pico Union University Park Vinegar Hill		Country Club Park Wilshire Park	Windsor Village
1990	Balboa Highlands Hancock Park Hollywood Grove Miracle Mile North	Carthay Circle Gregory Ain Spaulding Sq. South Carthay Whitley Heights	Van Nuys Stonehurst	Jefferson Park Lafayette Sq. W. Adams Terrace Western Heights	Adams-Normandie Harvard Heights	Angelino Heights Banning Park Highland Park-Garvanza Lincoln Heights Melrose Hill Pico Union University Park Vinegar Hill		Country Club Park Wilshire Park	Windsor Square Windsor Village
2000	Balboa Highlands Gregory Ain Hancock Park Hollywood Grove Miracle Mile North	Carthay Circle South Carthay Spaulding Sq. Whitley Heights		Jefferson Park Lafayette Sq. W. Adams Terrace Western Heights	Adams-Normandie Harvard Heights	Angelino Heights Highland Park-Garvanza Banning Park Lincoln Heights Melrose Hill Pico Union University Park Van Nuys Vinegar Hill	Stonehurst	Country Club Park Wilshire Park	Windsor Square Windsor Village
2010	Balboa Highlands Gregory Ain Hancock Park Hollywood Grove Miracle Mile North South Carthay	Carthay Circle Spaulding Sq. Whitley Heights		Jefferson Park Lafayette Sq. W. Adams Terrace Western Heights	Adams-Normandie Harvard Heights	Banning Park Lincoln Heights Melrose Hill Pico Union University Park Van Nuys Vinegar Hill	Angelino Heights Highland Park-Garvanza Stonehurst	Country Club Park Wilshire Park	Windsor Square Windsor Village

While similar neighborhoods are grouped together through cluster analysis, there is still some diversity within each type. A further analysis was therefore required to create the final neighborhood typologies. Overall, cluster analysis is an established and appropriate approach to identify the most substantial distinctions among a large number of diverse neighborhoods (Morenoff and Tienda 1997; Sucoff and Upchurch 1998; Hanlon 2009, 2011; Wyly and DeFilippis 2010). Individual tracts can be considered different neighborhood types over time, either reflecting real changes in their characteristics or closer similarity to different types over time.

Table 5.6 and 5.7 present the mean of each variable for all the individual HPOZ neighborhood typologies, all the HPOZs combined, as well as Los Angeles City and County, averaged over all years. I label each neighborhood typology/group based on the traits that predominantly differentiate it from other neighborhood types. Table 5.8 summarizes the key characteristics of each type that define its character.

Table 5.6: Average of 1970 to 2010 Characteristics for HPOZ Typologies³¹

	Affluent/High-Income White	Upper Middle-Class White	Lower Middle & Middle-Class White	Low-Income Black	Low-Income Black/Hispanic	Low-Income Hispanic	Middle-Class Hispanic	Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic	High-Income Multi-Ethnic
Years	1970-2010	1970-2010	1970-1990	1970-2010	1990-2010	1970-2010	2000-2010	1970-2010	1980-2010
Total Population (thousands)	7.4	3.9	5.8	11.0	14.2	13.3	11.9	9.3	6.3
% Black	3.3	8.2	1.9	55.8	22.2	3.4	1.9	22.4	9.6
% White	81.8	79.7	76.8	18.6	27.0	52.7	51.5	26.4	38.2
% Asian	10.7	6.7	7.7	4.6	7.1	10.1	9.3	35.0	39.2
% Other	6.4	6.8	16.1	22.0	40.9	35.7	37.2	23.2	13.0
% Hispanic	10.7	11.2	29.0	33.5	65.7	70.1	62.2	30.8	19.5
% Foreign Born	29.2	30.4	37.2	36.3	49.8	53.1	42.2	55.3	45.8
% Residents under 5	5.2	4.1	7.9	8.2	8.7	9.5	6.9	6.8	5.9
% Residents under 18	14.4	8.9	18.4	19.1	18.9	20.8	19.1	14.4	13.7
% Residents over 65	14.6	16.1	11.6	12.6	8.3	8.9	8.9	12.9	16.0
% Fem-headed HH	11.1	15.1	15.8	26.2	22.2	18.9	14.2	19.1	18.5
% Below Poverty Level	6.8	9.5	13.0	24.6	31.7	25.9	20.5	20.2	11.8
In Urban Core (%)	0	0	0	100	100	34.8	0.0	60.0	0.0
Ave. HH Income (thousands)	137.0	88.3	63.6	46.8	43.4	46.4	70.4	56.4	95.9
% Educ. Attainment, BA	53.2	47.7	24.7	18.7	11.7	13.4	16.6	28.9	37.9
% High-Status Job	54.1	48.9	25.1	19.2	15.3	13.9	21.1	27.2	35.9
# Housing Units	3347	2063	2499	4067	4417	4341	3917	3682	2535
# New Housing	187	185	43	355	248	215	110	187	-9
# Vacant Units	174	116	118	273	265	242	223	187	144
% Owner Occupied	61.2	35.9	46.3	23.7	17.7	22.3	54.8	20.1	39.2
% Renter Occupied	38.8	64.1	53.8	76.3	82.3	77.7	45.2	80.0	60.8
Ave. Value HH (thousands)	626	572	241	290	364	260	393	444	605
Median Rent	1238	1012	883	704	732	677	901	761	982
Housing, Median Year Built	1945	1946	1951	1945	1946	1947	1953	1947	1945

³¹ All dollar amounts have been adjusted to 2010 dollars using the Consumer Price Index Research Series.

Table 5.7: Average of 1970 to 2010 Characteristics for all HPOZ Typologies, L.A. City and County.

	All HPOZs	LA City	LA County
Years	1970-2010	1970-2010	1970-2010
Total Population	9242	3365039	8578106
% Black	14.3	13.9	10.6
% White	50.3	57.6	61.9
% Asian	14.5	9.5	10.6
% Other	22.4	19.8	17.9
% Hispanic	37.0	36.2	35.2
% Foreign Born	42.1	32.2	27.8
% Residents under 5	7.0	7.8	7.9
% Residents under 18	16.4	18.1	19.6
% Residents over 65	12.2	10.2	10.0
% Fem-headed HH	17.9	15.5	14.4
Below Poverty Level	18.2	17.4	14.1
In Urban Core	32.8	n/a	n/a
Average HH Income (thousands)	72.0	74.6	77.4
% Educ. Attainment, BA	28.1	29.6	28.8
% High-Status Job	29.1	27.5	26.3
# Housing Units	3430	1263598	3054112
# New Housing	169	84140	226875
# Vacant Units	194	68861	148948
% Owner Occupied	35.7	39.7	48.4
% Renter Occupied	64.3	60.3	51.6
Average Value HH (thousands)	421.7	340.7	314.7
Median Rent	877	859	895
Housing, Median Year Built	1947	1956	1958

The abovementioned analysis resulted in the creation of nine neighborhood groups from 1970 to 2010. Six out of the nine groups were present during all of five decades studied. When comparing how the averages of all the HPOZ neighborhood Census tracts from 1970 to 2010 compare to Los Angeles City and County averages there are a few differences that stand out. In terms of demographics, HPOZ neighborhoods have a higher percentage of Asian, Black, Other, and Hispanic residents than the City or County (Table 5.7). The average percentage of White residents from 1970 to 2010 is 50.3%, which is lower than the City and County averages (57.6% and 61.9%).

The average population of the HPOZs also has a higher percentage of foreign-born residents (42.1%), compared to the City and County (32.2% and 27.8%). The HPOZs also have more residents over 65 (12.2%) and fewer residents under 18 (16.4%) compared to the City and County. The average income for the HPOZs is lower than the City and County, \$71,995 compared to \$74,591 and \$77,410. And while the average percentage of residents with a BA is lower than the City and County (28.1% compared to 29.6% and 28.8% respectively), the HPOZ neighborhoods have a higher percentage of residents with high-status jobs (29.1% compared to 27.5% and 26.3% respectively).

In terms of housing, the average percent of homeowners (35.7%) is lower than the City (39.7%) or the County (48.4%). As expected, the housing is older in the HPOZ neighborhoods and the home values are higher than City and County averages; \$421,684 compared to \$340,694 and \$314,710 respectively. Finally, the average rents in the HPOZ neighborhoods (\$877) are slightly higher than the City (\$859), but lower than the County (\$895).

A comparison of the HPOZs averages with the City and County averages provides a useful initial understanding of these designated neighborhoods. However, a closer examination of each HPOZ typology reveals that these neighborhoods are quite different in terms of their socioeconomic makeup.

The *Affluent/High Income White* typology is over 80% White, which is well above the City and County averages, 58% and 62% respectively. From 1970 to 2010, the average household income in this typology is over \$130,000 and over half the residents have BA degrees and high-status jobs. This neighborhood group differs from all the other HPOZs, as well as the City and County, with regards to the percentage of owner occupied

housing, which is 61.2%. The City and County averages are 39.7% and 48.4% respectively. Compared to the other HPOZ neighborhood typologies, the *Affluent/High Income White* group also has the highest average home values (\$625,565). Depending on the decade (1970-2010), this group varies from four to seven HPOZ neighborhoods. However, four HPOZ neighborhoods—Balboa Highlands, Hancock Park, Hollywood Grove, and Miracle Mile North—are present within this group in every decade.

The *Upper Middle-Class White* typology, as with the previous typology, has an above average percentage of White residents (79.7%) compared to all HPOZs, the City, and the County. Similarly, this neighborhood group also has above average: 1) household incomes (\$88,292); 2) household values (\$571,595); and 3) a higher percentage of residents with a BA (47.7%) and high-status jobs (49.9%) compared to the City and County. However, the average homeownership rate is 35.9%, which is lower than the City and County average (39.7% and 48.4%). As with the previous typology, the median rents are high at above \$1,000. Depending on the decade (1970-2010), this group varies from three to five HPOZ neighborhoods. However, two HPOZ neighborhoods—Carthay Circle and Spaulding Square—are present within this group in every decade.

The *Lower Middle & Middle-Class White* typology is present from 1970 to 1990. The number of HPOZ neighborhoods within this group range from two to four. As with the previous two typologies, the percentage of White residents (76.8%) is higher than the City and County. The percentage of Hispanics for this typology increases from 17.1% in 1970 to 40.9% in 1990. After 1990, most HPOZ neighborhoods within this category transition into either the *Low-Income* or *Middle Class Hispanic* typologies, which are discussed below. The average household income (\$63,563) is lower than the average of

all HPOZs, the City, and the County. Finally, the average percentage of foreign-born residents (37.2%) is higher than the City (32.3%) and County (27.8%).

The *Low-Income Black* typology is present from 1970 to 2010 and has an average of 55.8% of Black residents, which is significantly higher than City (13.9%) and County averages (10.6%). The second highest percentage of residents is Hispanic (33.5%). This neighborhood typology has above average foreign-born residents (36.3%) compared to the City and County. The percent of female-headed households (26.2%) is the highest of all HPOZ typologies, and significantly higher than the City (15.5%) and County (14.4%). The percent of resident below poverty is not the highest of all HPOZ typologies, but is higher (24.6%) than the City (17.4%) and County (14.1%). Also, percentage of residents with a BA (18.7%) and high-status job (19.2%) is not the lowest of the HPOZ neighborhood typologies, but is lower than City and County averages. Most residents are renters, and there is a below average percentage of housing that is owner occupied (23.7%). The average home values are low (\$290,249), as are the rents (\$704).

The fifth typology is the *Low-Income Black/Hispanic* typology is present from 1990 to 2010. This neighborhood group distinguishes itself from the other typologies with an above average percentage of Black residents (~22%), as well as an above average percentage of Hispanics (~66%). As with the *Low-Income Black* typology over 20% are female-headed households, which is high compared the City or County. The percentage of residents below poverty (31.7%) and with a BA (11.7%) is the lowest of all HPOZ typologies and is significantly lower than the City (17.4% below poverty, 29.6% with BA) and County (14.1% below poverty, 28.8% with BA). From 1970 to 2010 the average household income in this typology is the lowest of all HPOZ areas at around \$43,414. In

terms of housing, the majority of residents are renters (82.3%).

The *Low-Income Hispanic* typology is present from 1970 to 2010 and has the highest proportion of Hispanics (over 70.1%) compared to the other typologies, as well as City (36.2%) and County (35.2%) averages. Over 50% of the residents in this typology are foreign born. From 1970 to 2010, the average number of residents below poverty is around 25.9% and the average household income in this typology is low, around \$46,409. Around 13% the residents have BA degrees and high-status jobs, which is low compared to the City and County. In terms of housing, the majority of residents are renters (77.7%) and the area has the low housing values (\$260,426) and median rents (\$677).

The *Middle Class Hispanic* typology is present from 2000 to 2010. As with the previous neighborhood group, the percentage of Hispanic residents is high (~62%). From 2000 to 2010, the average number of residents below poverty is around 20.5% and the average household income in this typology is around ~\$70,000. Although the percentage of residents with a BA is higher than the previous typology, it is still low compared to City and County averages (16.6%). The percentage of residents with high-status jobs is ~21%, lower than the City and County averages. In terms of housing, the majority of residents are homeowners (54.8%) and the area has housing values (\$392,580) that are higher than the City and County averages.

The *Lower Middle & Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic* typology is present from 1970 to 2010. This typology has an average of 35% Asian residents, ~22% Black, ~23% fall within the “Other” category, all of which are higher than City and County Averages. About 26% of residents are White and 30% are Hispanic. Over 55% of the residents are foreign-born, which is higher than any other HPOZ typology, as well as the City and

County averages. About 20% percent of residents live below poverty and the average household income is around \$56,000. The percentage of residents with BA degrees (28.9%) and high-status jobs (27.2%) is similar to the City and County averages. This typology has the second highest percent of renters (80%), but maintains rents (\$761) below City and County averages. The average home value (\$444,234) in this area is higher than the average of all HPOZs, as well as the City and County.

The final typology is the *Upper Middle-Class/High-Income Multi-Ethnic* is present from 1980 to 2010. This typology has an average of 39.2% Asian residents, 9.6% Black, 38.2 White, and 13% fall within the “Other” category. The Hispanic population is around ~20%. This area a high average incomes (\$95,948) and a high percentage of residents with BA degrees (37.9%) and high-status jobs (35.9%) Most residents are renters (60.8%), close to the City average, but rents are slightly higher than the City and County at ~\$982. Finally, the average home value (1980-2010) is the second highest after the *Affluent/High Income White* typology at around \$605,000.

Table 5.8: Key Characteristics of HPOZ Typologies

Type	Key Distinguishing Characteristics
Affluent/High Income White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over 80% White • Over 50% with BA or higher • Over 50% with high-status jobs • Highest Average Income • Lowest poverty rate • Highest home values • Not in central city
Upper Middle-Class White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ~80% White • High rents & home values • High percent of residents with BA • High percent of high-status jobs
Lower Middle & Middle-Class White	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ~80% White • Percentage of residents with a BA and high-status job equivalent to City and County averages. • Average income below City and County averages. • Low home values
Low-Income Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over 50% Black • High poverty rate • Low % of residents with BA
Low-Income Black/Hispanic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present 1990-2010 • Over 20% Black • ~40% Other • Over 65% Hispanic • High poverty rate • Low % of residents with BA • Over 80% renters • In urban core
Low-Income Hispanic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 70% Hispanic • Over 50% foreign born • Over 25% below poverty • Low % of residents with BA • ~80% renters & low rents
Middle-Class Hispanic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present from 2000 - present • Not in Central City • ~ 20% below poverty • Average HH Income lower than City & County • Average Home Values higher than City & County
Lower Middle & Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racially mixed cluster • 35% Asian, 30% Hispanic, 22% Black, 26% White. • 55% Foreign Born • 80% Renter occupied units • Mostly in urban core
Upper Middle-Class/High-Income Multi-Ethnic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 39% Asian, 38% White, ~20% Hispanic • High Average incomes • High % of residents with BA and high-status jobs. • Mostly renters

Overall, 16 out of the 29 HPOZs remained within the same typology groups between 1970 and 2010 (Table 5.9), while the other 13 HPOZs transition from one typology to another.

Table 5.9: HPOZs that remain in same group from 1970-2010

Affluent/High Income White	Upper Middle-Class White	Low-Income Black	Low-Income Hispanic	Lower Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic
Balboa Highland	Carthay Circle	Jefferson Park	Banning Park	Country Club Park
Hancock Park	Spaulding Square	Lafayette Square	Lincoln Heights	
Hollywood Grove		W. Adams Terrace	Pico Union	
Miracle Mile North		Western Heights	University Park	
			Vinegar Hill	

The shifts that occur for the 13 HPOZ neighborhoods can be categorized as either shifts in economic class or racial composition. Tables 5.10 through 5.12 list the transition types that each of the HPOZ neighborhoods falls within.

Table 5.10: HPOZs that remain in the same economic class, but change in racial composition

Affluent/High-Income White to High-Income Multi-Ethnic	Low-Income Black to Low-Income Black/Hispanic	Middle-Class White to Middle Class Hispanic
Windsor Square	Adams-Normandie	Stonehurst
Windsor Village	Harvard Heights	

Table 5.11: HPOZ neighborhood economic class transitions

Upper Middle-Class to High-Income	Upper Middle-Class to Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic	High-Income to Upper Middle Class White	Low-Income Hispanic to Middle-Class Hispanic
South Carthay Circle	Wilshire Park	Whitley Heights	Angelino Heights
Gregory Ain Mar Vista			Highland Park-Garvanza

Table 5.12: HPOZ neighborhoods the experience racial and economic class transitions

Lower Middle-Class White → Low-Income Hispanic
Melrose Hill
Van Nuys

5.3 Measuring Neighborhood Change

Although at first glance one can begin to see if/how the HPOZ neighborhoods transition from 1970 to 2010 it is beneficial to study neighborhood ascent more closely. Following Owens (2012), I have defined neighborhood ascent as neighborhoods in which, at the aggregate level, residents' income, housing costs, and educational and occupational attainment increased. Including housing costs ensures that ascent captures real changes to neighborhoods as places as well as changes to residents' socioeconomic status. To examine ascent beyond gentrification, I do not only examine low-income neighborhoods, nor do I require that high-income neighborhoods be the end product. Changes in the type of housing stock, amenities, and infrastructure may also occur, but this will be information collected during the case study portion of the research. In the initial analysis stage I will focus on residents' socioeconomic status and housing costs.

For the purpose of examining socioeconomic status (SES) ascent, as done by Morenoff and Tienda (1997), I define neighborhood clusters based on social class, excluding race, and focus on transitions among neighborhood categories. I included racial composition in my neighborhood typology clusters, since I anticipate that it will be key in differentiating neighborhoods given residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993), as well as their likelihood to ascend in each decade since 1970. To measure neighborhood ascent, I draw on past research that used discriminant analysis to identify characteristics distinguishing gentrified areas from other types of areas (Schuler, Kent, and Monroe 1992; Wyly and Hammel 1998, 1999; Heidkamp and Lucas 2006). Discriminant analysis evaluates observations classified a priori into categories and identifies variables that best distinguish between the categories.

I chose five variables that have been shown to distinguish between ascending and non-ascending tracts: household income, educational attainment, occupation type, rent, and house values. While these indicators have been used in gentrification research, they neither distinguish between population turnover and incumbent upgrading, nor do they limit analyses to a certain initial or final economic status. Therefore, these indicators apply to all types of ascending neighborhoods, not just those ascending through gentrification. I examine Census tracts' average household income, average housing value, average gross rent, proportion of residents over 25 years old with a BA, and proportion of workers over 16 years old working in a managerial, technical, or professional (high-status) job.³²

I calculate a neighborhood socioeconomic status score based on these five variables using principal components analysis (PCA) separately in 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010. In each year, PCA showed that only one underlying factor captured neighborhood SES (i.e., only one factor had an eigenvalue over 1; see Table 5.13 for factor loadings from PCA). In each year, I estimate one neighborhood SES factor score that reflects the relative strength of each of the variables according to PCA results.

Table 5.13: Rotated Factor Loadings for HPOZ Neighborhood Socioeconomic Scores

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Avg. HH Income	0.950	0.906	0.935	0.920	0.932
Avg. Rent	0.871	0.790	0.872	0.826	0.809
Avg. House Values	0.937	0.934	0.911	0.928	0.928
% with BA	0.966	0.960	0.949	0.955	0.956
% with high-status job	0.981	0.978	0.967	0.969	0.981
Eigenvalue	4.43	4.19	4.30	4.29	4.21
Proportion of Variance Explained	0.87	0.84	0.86	0.85	0.85

³² Average household income is used instead of median income because the US Census did not begin measuring median income until the 1990 census.

To measure ascent, I identify which HPOZ neighborhoods experienced socioeconomic status (SES) improvements relative to city and county trends during each decade. In each year, I assign every neighborhood a score of 1 to 100 based on the percentile distribution of neighborhood SES factor scores within that neighborhood. Then, I define ascent as a neighborhood whose neighborhood SES percentile score increased over each decade. To capture substantial and meaningful changes in neighborhood SES, I impose the condition that the percentile score must be positive and must be higher than the city and county percentile scores. Over the five decades explored, the city and county percentile score changes differ from one another and vary by decade.

From 1970 to 1980, the average change in percentile score for the City and County was 14.5, thus all the neighborhoods with higher changes were listed as ascending. From 2000 to 2010 the city and county change in percentile score equaled 25.9, thus the neighborhoods with changes higher than 25.9 were listed as ascending. In between 1980 and 2000 the city and county change in scores were negative, thus only those neighborhoods with positive percentile score changes were listed as ascending. Table 10 shows the HPOZ neighborhoods that ascend for each decade. Although almost all HPOZ neighborhoods ascend at least once from 1970 to 2010, there are two HPOZ neighborhoods that never ascend – West Adam Terrace (always *Low-Income Black*) and Wilshire Park (transitions from *Upper-Middle Class* to *Middle Class*) (Table 5.14).

Table 5.14: HPOZ Neighborhoods that Ascend, 1970- 2010.
Neighborhoods in bold were designated during that decade.

1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010
Angelino Heights	Adams-Normandie	Adams-Normandie	Angelino Heights ³³
Banning Park	Banning Park	Angelino Heights	Carthay Circle
Gregory Ain	Carthay Circle	Balboa Highlands	Harvard Heights
Jefferson Park	Gregory Ain	Country Club Park	Melrose Hill
Lincoln Heights	Hancock Park	Gregory Ain	South Carthay
South Carthay	Highland Park	Harvard Heights	Stonehurst
Stonehurst	Hollywood Grove	Highland Park ³⁴	Windsor Square
Van Nuys	Miracle Mile North	Jefferson Park	
Vinegar Hill	Pico Union	Lafayette Square	
	South Carthay	Lincoln Heights	
	Spaulding Square	Miracle Mile North	
	Vinegar Hill	University Park	
	Western Heights	Whitley Heights	
	Windsor Village		

Table 5.15 presents the mean of each neighborhood SES indicator for ascending tracts at the beginning and end of the decade in which they ascended (e.g., the first column shows the 1970 and 1980 characteristics of tracts that ascended during the 1970s). All dollar amounts are reported in 2010 dollars, adjusted for inflation using the Consumer Price Index Research Series. From 1970 to 1980, the nine ascending neighborhoods see an increase in rents, home values, the number of residents with a B.A., as well as the number of residents with high-status jobs. During the next decade, 1980-1990, the 14 ascending neighborhoods experience an increase in average incomes, rent, home values, and residents with high-status jobs.

Interestingly, from 1990 to 2000 the average rent and house value for ascending neighborhoods decreased, while all other indicators increased. This points to the importance of an influx of college-educated residents with higher status and higher-income jobs in neighborhood ascension between 1990 and 2000. During the last decade,

³³ Angelino Heights was initially designated in 1983, its HPOZ was expanded in 2008.

³⁴ Highland Park-Garvanza HPOZ was initially designated in 1994, but was expanded in 2010.

2000-2010, the ascending neighborhoods experience an increase in home values and the number of residents with a B.A.

The bottom row of Table 5.16 shows the proportion of all HPOZ neighborhoods that experienced SES ascent during each decade. The highest proportion (48.3%) of tracts ascended from 1980 to 1990, while the lowest proportion (24.1%) ascended from 2000 to 2010.

Table 5.15: HPOZ SES Indicators for Ascending Neighborhoods by Decade, 1970 to 2010.

	1970 to 1980 Ascent		1980 to 1990 Ascent		1990 to 2000 Ascent		2000 to 2010 Ascent	
	1970	1980	1980	1990	1990	2000	2000	2010
Avg. HH Income (1000s)	59.9	53.9	59.2	91.9	74.3	71.8	85.3	78.9
Avg. rent	645	754	712	1049	986	954	1053	1026
Avg. house value (1000s)	139	248	306	550	420	342	463	764
% with BA	20.6	30.3	36.1	31.8	21.2	23.8	29.7	31.2
% with high-status job	18.4	22.2	26.7	36.2	27.4	32.1	35.6	31.8
N of ascending HPOZs	9		14		13		7	
% of ascending HPOZs	31.0		48.3		44.8		24.1	

Table 5.16: Neighborhood Typologies and the Proportion of each Experiencing SES Ascent, 1970 to 2010

Proportion of HPOZ Typologies, 1970-2010

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Affluent/High-Income White	24.1%	17.2%	13.8%	17.2%	20.7%
Upper Middle-Class White	13.8%	17.2%	17.2%	13.8%	10.3%
Middle-Class White	13.8%	10.3%	6.9%	0.0%	0.0%
Low-Income Black	20.7%	20.7%	13.8%	13.8%	13.8%
Low-Income Black/Hispanic	0.0%	0.0%	6.9%	6.9%	6.9%
Low-Income Hispanic	24.1%	24.1%	27.6%	31.0%	24.1%
Middle-Class Hispanic	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	10.3%
Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic	3.4%	6.9%	6.9%	6.9%	6.9%
High-Income Multi-Ethnic	0.0%	3.4%	6.9%	6.9%	6.9%

Proportion of Each Typology that Experienced Ascent

	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010
Affluent/High-Income White	0.0%	60.0%	50.0%	0.0%
Upper Middle-Class White	25.0%	80.0%	25.0%	50.0%
Middle-Class White	75.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Low-Income Black	16.7%	33.3%	50.0%	0.0%
Low-Income Black/Hispanic	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	33.3%
Low-Income Hispanic	57.1%	57.1%	50.0%	20.0%
Middle-Class Hispanic	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%
Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%
High-Income Multi-Ethnic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	50.0%

Notes: Proportions in the lower panel do not add up to 100% either across rows or columns because they represent the proportion of neighborhoods in each type that experienced ascent. For example, in 1970, 24.1% of the 29 HPOZ neighborhoods were Low-Income Hispanic neighborhoods (see upper panel), and 57.1% of these neighborhoods ascended from 1970 to 1980.

When taking a closer look at which typologies ascend during each year one sees that the results are varied. The top portion of Table 5.16 presents the frequency distribution of the typology among all HPOZs from 1970 to 2010 and the bottom presents the proportion of tracts in each neighborhood type that experienced SES ascent in the decade following their initial type classification.

What Table 5.16 reveals is that certain neighborhood types were more likely to ascend during some decades than others, reflecting individuals' changing preferences for where they move, the changing likelihoods that existing residents of certain types of neighborhoods experience an increase in their own SES, and/or the changing involvement of government or private interests in generating ascent. In particular, minority urban neighborhoods are increasingly likely to experience SES ascent over time, suggesting that higher-SES residents have become more likely to find these neighborhoods attractive, though also suggesting the risk of displacement for poor residents. At the other end of the spectrum, upper-middle-class are also more likely to experience ascent over time, suggesting a transition of these neighborhoods to an extremely affluent status reflecting the increase in economic segregation over time (Reardon and Bischoff 2011).

5.4 Mills Act

The two previous sections outlined HPOZ typologies and the socioeconomic trends that they experienced before designation, as well as after for those designated prior to 2010. Although the typology creation and ascent trends present an analysis of the HPOZ neighborhoods in comparison with one another, it is also important to explore a policy that can directly influence property taxes and promote revitalization efforts—the Mills Act.

Enacted in 1972, the Mills Act legislation grants participating local governments authority to enter into contracts with qualified historic property owners who actively participate in the restoration and maintenance of their properties to receive property tax relief (OHR, *Mills Act Historical Property Contract Program*, 2013).³⁵ The City of Los Angeles adopted this legislation in 1996. Both single-family residences (with a property tax value assessment of not more than \$1,500,000) and income producing multi-family/commercial/industrial properties (with a property tax value assessment of not more than \$3,000,000) are eligible to apply (OHR, *Mills Act Historical Property Contract Program*, 2013).³⁶

A formal Mills Act agreement is executed between the City of Los Angeles and the property owner for a revolving ten-year term. Property owners agree to restore, maintain, and protect the property in accordance with specific preservation standards and conditions identified in the contract. Periodic inspections by City officials ensure proper maintenance of the property. The City may impose penalties for breach of contract or failure to protect the historic property. The contract is transferred to new owners if the property is sold, and is binding to all successive owners (OHR, *Mills Act Historical Property Contract Program*, 2013).

There are currently 654 Mills Act properties in the city of Los Angeles, and over half of them, 384 (59%), are in HPOZs. When the Mills Act Ordinance was first approved by the City-Council in 1996, the Council set a limit of \$500,000 in total revenue loss to the City due to all cumulatively adopted Mills Act contracts (Office of Historic Resources, January 2012 Newsletter). The Council raised this cap to \$1 million

³⁵ A qualified historic property in the City of Los Angeles is a property listed as a locally designated Historic-Cultural Monument or Contributing Property in an approved HPOZ.

³⁶ Property values in excess of these limits may apply for an exemption if they meet certain criteria.

in 1999 and to \$2 million in 2012 once the \$1 million mark was almost surpassed (OHR Website, *Questions and Answers from the 2014 Mills Act Workshop*).

Highland Park and South Carthay have the highest number of Mills Act properties, 47 and 46 respectively (Table 5.17). However when looking at the proportion of Mills Act properties in relation to those that are eligible to apply (contributing structures) in each HPOZ, then one sees that the largest proportion of Mills Act homes can be found in Melrose Hill (22.7% of contributing structures), Lafayette Square (16.7% of contributing structures), and Angelino Heights (15.6% of contributing structures). These three HPOZs fall into varying typologies. Angelino Heights transitioned from a *Low-Income Hispanic* neighborhood to a *Middle-Class Hispanic* neighborhood in 2010. Melrose Hill transitioned from a *Middle-Class White* to a *Low-Income Hispanic* neighborhood in 1990. The Lafayette Square HPOZ area has remained within a *Low-Income Black* neighborhood (Table 5.5).

Table 5.17: Mills Act Properties by HPOZ

HPOZ	# of Mills Act Contracts	% of Contributing Structures w/ Mills Act Contracts	# of Contributing Structures ³⁷	% of Contributing Structures
Adams-Normandie	10	1.9	526	72
Angelino Heights	39	15.6	250	83
Balboa Highlands	5	6.7	75	69
Banning Park	0	0.0	68	86
Carthay Circle	29	7.6	383	88
Country Club Park	5	1.0	512	77
Gregory Ain Mar Vista	4	8.2	49	94
Hancock Park	10	0.9	1087	88
Harvard Heights	21	3.7	573	71
Highland Park-Garvanza	47	2.4	2000	80
Hollywood Grove	1	0.9	108	78
Jefferson Park	1	0.1	1359	68
Lafayette Square	34	16.7	204	90
Lincoln Heights	1	0.1	753	69
Melrose Hill	10	22.7	44	96
Miracle Mile North	7	1.3	547	91
Pico Union	10	1.9	528	66
South Carthay	46	12.8	370	90
Spaulding Square	8	5.5	145	91
Stonehurst	0	0.0	61	86
University Park	18	4.1	436	70
Van Nuys	1	0.5	188	78
Vinegar Hill	0	0.0	26	60
W. Adams Terrace	17	3.9	436	70
Western Heights	12	9.4	127	73
Whitley Heights	19	11.4	166	87
Wilshire Park	6	1.5	396	75
Windsor Square	22	2.2	979	89
Windsor Village	2	0.9	219	71

Table 5.18 shows that over 50% of the Mills Act properties located in HPOZs are present in Low-Income or Low-Income/Middle-Class areas.³⁸ This could indicate that there is a greater possibility, need, or interest in renovations in these areas, several of which are ascending in terms of socioeconomic status. A possible explanation for the lower proportion of Mills Act Properties in higher income areas could be that residential or commercial property tax value assessments in these areas may exceed the amounts allowable to apply for the tax reduction. Another possible explanation for fewer Mills Act properties in certain areas, such as Hancock Park, can be the disinclination to follow

³⁷ The number of contributing structures indicates how many properties in the HPOZ would be eligible for the Mills Act contract provided that they are single-family residences (with a property tax value assessment of not more than \$1,500,000) or and income producing multi-family/commercial/industrial properties (with a property tax value assessment of not more than \$3,000,000).

³⁸ Low/Middle-Income neighborhoods refer to HPOZs, which transitioned from being low to middle-income, such as Angelino Heights.

certain specific preservation standards, which are seen as restrictive. As explained in the *Jewish Journal Online*,

The Orthodox [Jewish families] typically have large families and want to be able to make these homes useful with expansion to accommodate the families, and they are concerned that that they will be stopped from doing this," said Fred Gaines, an Encino lawyer who is representing a group of Orthodox residents opposed to HPOZ (April 13, 2006).

Table 5.18: Proportion of HPOZ Mills Act Properties (385) by Neighborhood Typology

Typology	% of HPOZ Mills Act Properties
Low Income	32
Low Income/Middle Class	25
Middle Class	1
Middle Class/Upper-Middle	2
Upper Middle Class	10
Upper Middle/High Income	18
High Income	12

As mentioned previously, the three HPOZs with the largest proportion of Mills Act properties, Angelino Heights, Lafayette Square, and Melrose Hill HPOZs, fall into *Low-Income* and *Middle-Class* typologies. Melrose Hill and Angelino Heights were both designated in the 1980s, while Lafayette Square was designated in 2000. In terms of their architectural styles and integrity they vary. Angelino Heights, the first designated HPOZ, includes properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places and contains the highest concentration of 19th century Victorian homes in Los Angeles, as well as later examples of Craftsman and Mission Revival styles (Aaroe Architectural, *Historical Areas*).³⁹ Melrose Hill HPOZ, the second smallest HPOZ after Vinegar Hill, is described as a neighborhood that illustrates why Los Angeles is known as “the bungalow capital of the world” (Aaroe Architectural “Historical Areas (HPOZS)”). Nearly half of its 45

³⁹ Aaroe Architectural, a division of the Los Angeles owned and operated real estate brokerage John Aaroe Group, formed to serve as an architectural resource for homeowners, buyers, sellers, and architecture enthusiasts. The group consists of architectural directors and agents with knowledge of specific homes and neighborhoods (Aaroe Architectural, *About Us*).

residences were designed and constructed by one developer, which accounts for its architectural consistency.

Finally, Lafayette Square was the last and greatest of banker George L. Crenshaw's ten residential developments in the city of Los Angeles (Aaroe Architectural "Historical Areas (HPOZS)"). The development was designed as an elegant residential park centered on St. Charles Place, which is a broad palm-lined avenue with a landscaped median. Unlike Angelino Heights and Melrose Hill, the houses in Lafayette Square reflect varied residential styles popular during the 1910s and 1920s such as Craftsman, Italianate, Spanish Colonial Revival, American Colonial Revival, as well as the Modern style.

As can be seen in Table 5.19 the architectural diversity of the HPOZs ranges, as do the number of districts that have residences designed by noted architects, such as Joseph Eichler in Balboa Highlands or Paul Williams in Miracle Mile North. It is also important to note that several HPOZs have residences or areas that are listed on Local or National Registers of Historic Places, such as Pico Union that has two areas listed on the National Register of Historic Places. When looking at these factors in relation to the proportion of Mills Acts properties, there does not seem to be a relationship (Table 5.19).

Table 5.19: Architectural Diversity and Other Designation Status of HPOZs

HPOZ	Architectural Diversity ⁴⁰	Design by noted Architects?	Any local or national registered places in HPOZ?	% of Contributing Structures w/ Mills Act Contracts
Adams-Normandie	3	0	1	1.9
Angelino Heights	4	0	1	15.6
Balboa Highlands	1	1	0	6.7
Banning Park	4	1	0	0.0
Carthay Circle	3	0	0	7.6
Country Club Park	5	0	1	1.0
Gregory Ain Mar Vista	1	1	0	8.2
Hancock Park	2	1	1	0.9
Harvard Heights	1	1	0	3.7
Highland Park-Garvanza	5	0	0	2.4
Hollywood Grove	4	1	0	0.9
Jefferson Park	1	0	0	0.1
Lafayette Square	5	1	1	16.7
Lincoln Heights	4	0	0	0.1
Melrose Hill	1	0	0	22.7
Miracle Mile North	2	1	1	1.3
Pico-Union	5	1	1	1.9
South Carthay	1	0	0	12.8
Spaulding Square	1	0	0	5.5
Stonehurst	1	1	0	0.0
University Park	4	0	1	4.1
Van Nuys	5	0	0	0.5
Vinegar Hill	3	0	0	0.0
West Adams Terrace	4	1	0	3.9
Western Heights	4	1	0	9.4
Whitley Heights	3	1	1	11.4
Wilshire Park	4	0	0	1.5
Windsor Square	5	0	1	2.2
Windsor Village	5	0	0	0.9

5.5 Discussion

The previous sections have: 1) presented the varying neighborhood typologies the HPOZs fit into; 2) how the HPOZ neighborhood socioeconomic trends compare to the city and county; 3) whether the HPOZ neighborhoods have remained in the same socioeconomic group or transitioned into a new one; and 3) how many HPOZs have taken advantage of the Mills Act property tax reduction policy. Following this analysis of

⁴⁰ The scale of Architectural Diversity (1-5) reflects how many architectural styles are present within an HPOZ. For instance the Balboa Highlands HPOZ has a score of 1 because it was constructed in the Mid-Century Modern residential architecture by one developer, Joseph Eichler. On the other hand Windsor Square has a score of 5 because residences there represent various periods of development and a variety of architectural styles—Craftsman, Beaux Arts or Classical Revival styles, and later residences reflect the popularity of Period Revival styles including Spanish Colonial, Mediterranean, Tudor, English, French, and American Colonial Revival styles. Contemporary and California Ranch styles are also represented in Windsor Square.

the HPOZ neighborhood socioeconomic trends, the first research questions can be answered—Do neighborhoods with similar socioeconomic traits become historic districts? And do HPOZs experience similar socioeconomic changes/trends?

The creation of neighborhood typologies reveals that a range of socioeconomic areas in Los Angeles has become designated as historic districts. Nine neighborhood typology groups were created from 1970 to 2010 – *Affluent/High-Income White, Upper-Income White, Lower Middle & Middle-Class White, Low-Income Black, Low-Income Black/Hispanic, Low-Income Hispanic, Middle-Class Hispanic, Lower Middle & Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic, and Upper Middle-Class/High-Income Multi-Ethnic*. The averages of all the HPOZ neighborhood Census tracts compared to Los Angeles City and County averages reveal that these neighborhoods are relatively diverse. They have a lower percentage of White residents, but a higher percentage of Asian, Black, Other, and Hispanic residents than the City or County (Table 5.7). On average, there are also a higher percentage of foreign-born residents (42.1%), compared to the City and County (32.3% and 27.8%). In terms of housing, the average percent of homeowners (35.7%) in HPOZs is lower than the City (39.7%) or the County (48.4%). As expected, the housing is older in the HPOZ neighborhoods. And finally, the home values and rents are higher than City and County averages.

The ways in which the HPOZ neighborhoods transition (or not) varies and does not necessarily coincide with the timing of designation (Table 5.5). When graphing the relationship between the decade when an HPOZ was designated and when the area ascended (before, after, during, or no ascension) one can see that there is a positive linear relationship between neighborhood ascension prior to designation (Figure 5.6 and 5.7).

There is a negative linear relationship between neighborhood ascension after designation. This points to an influx of residents with B.A.'s, high-status jobs, and higher incomes, or “gentrifiers,” into neighborhoods prior to designation. As revealed in Table 5.15 over the four decades analyzed, there is always an increase in the percent of residents with B.A. degrees or high-status jobs.

Figure 5.6: Relationship between the decades HPOZs were designated in and when they ascended.

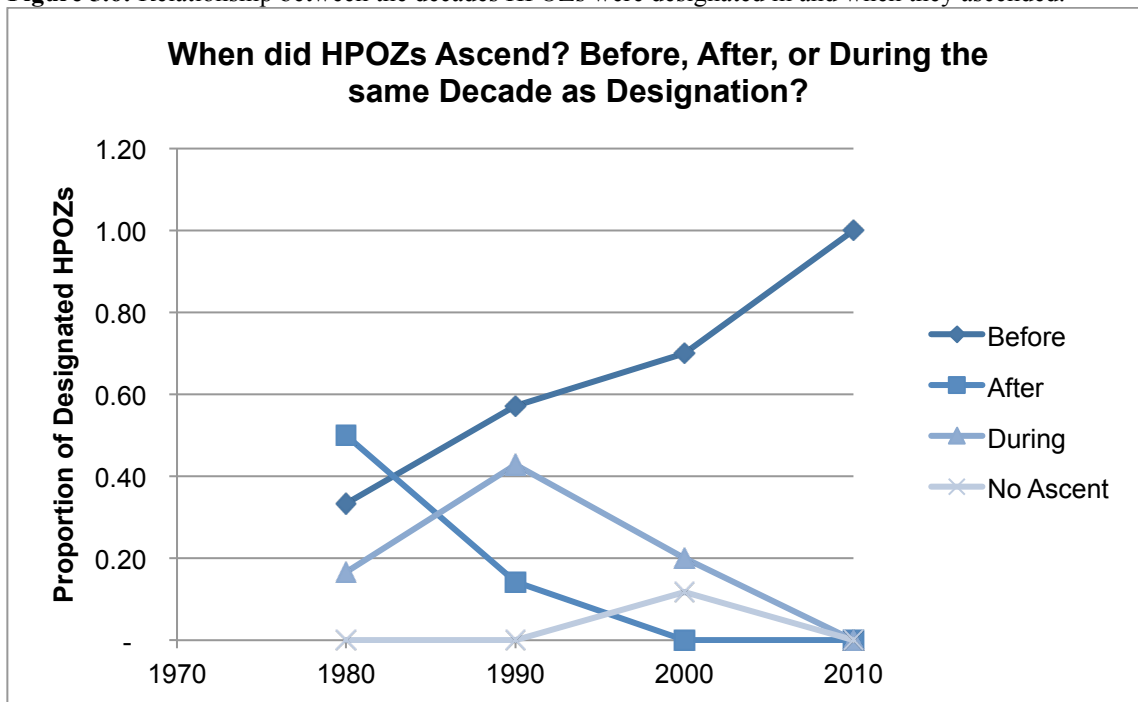
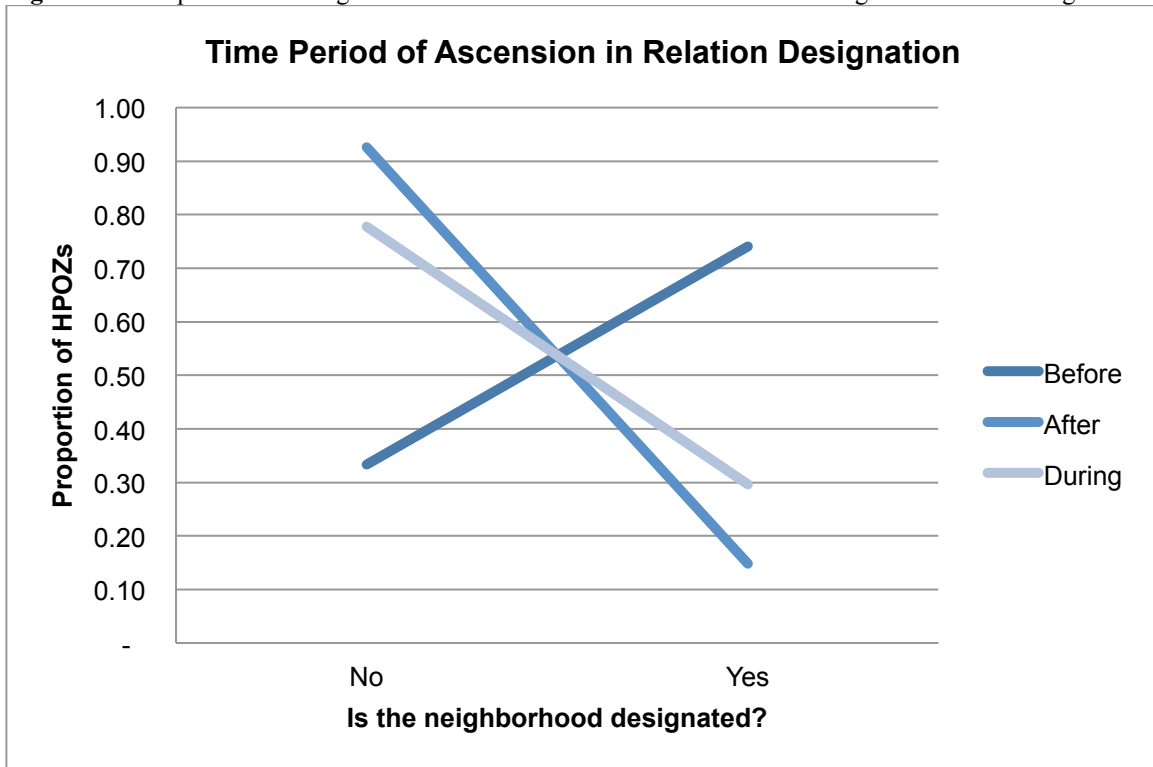


Figure 5.7: Graph of when neighborhood ascension occurred in relation to designation or non-designation.



Results also reveal that neighborhoods with different demographic and economic profiles have unequal odds of ascending (Table 5.16). Ascending *Low-Income Hispanic* neighborhoods from 1970 to 2000 experienced a large decline in white residents (there is a slight increase in 2010), perhaps evidence of invasion–succession of upwardly mobile immigrants into previously white areas. Conversely, some white neighborhood, *Middle-Class White*, that experience SES ascent from 1970 to 2000 are becoming less white over time, suggesting that some minority families experience upward neighborhood mobility by exiting central city neighborhoods (ex. Stonehurst).

The influx of white and Hispanic residents in *Low-Income Black* and *Black/Hispanic* neighborhoods might suggest gentrification and a displacement of lower-SES residents. HPOZ neighborhood ascent also occurs through exclusionary processes in

Affluent neighborhoods, such as Miracle Mile North, which has remained an *Affluent* neighborhood, but has experienced ascension from 1980 to 1990 and 1990 to 2000. Many of these processes differ from gentrification because they do not necessarily involve displacement or end up as wealthy neighborhoods.

Differentiating types and processes of ascent other than gentrification both hones the concept of gentrification and provides a fuller and more accurate depiction of neighborhood changes. Theories of gentrification account for only one specific type of neighborhood ascent in which high-income residents move into previously disinvested neighborhoods, resulting in displacement of low-income groups and a neighborhood with amenities appealing to upper-class residents.

The HPOZ neighborhood typologies created present mixed results in terms of dynamic place stratification and inequality. White neighborhoods (both *Affluent* and *High-Income*) ascended mostly from 1980 to 2010 (Table 5.16). The demographic typology of all HPOZs also demonstrated that whites are more likely to be present in higher-SES neighborhoods than minority groups, so the ascent of white neighborhoods perpetuates this inequality—already high SES and white neighborhoods become even higher status. This finding suggests that higher-SES residents have advantages in the place stratification of the city both in terms of stable and changing neighborhood characteristics.

On the other hand, the trajectories of black and Hispanic HPOZ neighborhoods seem to be improving over time. Of course, what these analyses cannot tell us is whether this means that poor minority residents will be displaced from these types of neighborhoods by whites or middle-class minorities as the neighborhoods experience

ascent (ex. Angelino Heights). The *Low-Income Black* neighborhoods that experienced ascent after 1990 have gained white and Hispanic residents and lose black residents. This provides some evidence that displacement may be occurring.

Finally, a look at the proportion of Mills Act properties in the HPOZs, a policy that can have direct economic and renewal effects, shows that low-income areas take advantage of this opportunity the most. Even though the neighborhoods with Mills Act properties experience property upkeep and renovations, the data do show that these neighborhoods may experience socioeconomic status ascent, but do not necessarily transition into higher socioeconomic groups.

Although the initial analysis has helped to provide an overview of how HPOZs can be categorized broadly and how they have changed over the last few decades it is difficult to assess why historic designation was implemented and whether it has had a direct impact on the changes that occur there. To answer these questions, I do a case study analysis of a designated number of HPOZs.

6. Case Studies

6.1 Introduction

This case study introduction section presents: 1) the purpose of the case studies, 2) the case study selection process, 3) a brief description of the five case study areas, and 4) the methods used to gather information. Furthermore, this section presents a *General HPOZ Information* section, which includes a summary of the makeup and purpose of the HPOZ Boards, the type of work that they do, and the power that they hold. The last part provides a brief overview of the issues that can affect affordability and housing costs within historic districts: 1) the price of historic preservation materials and 2) housing policies that are relevant for the individual case studies.

Purpose of Case Studies

The dissertation focused on five HPOZ case studies: Angelino Heights, South Carthay, Miracle Mile North, Harvard Heights, and University Park. They are presented in order of the year they were designated as HPOZs.

The first part of the dissertation work was exploratory in that it utilized Census data to create neighborhood typologies in order to understand what types of neighborhoods have become historic districts in Los Angeles. This shed light on whether these areas are experiencing similar changes to one another, as well as relative to the City and County. The neighborhood typology creation and socioeconomic status ascent analysis helped answer the first research question—*Have the 29 HPOZs experienced similar socioeconomic changes/trends compared to city/county-wide trends?* The analysis revealed that the areas that have been designated as HPOZs vary greatly in their socioeconomic makeup, as well as in the patterns of socioeconomic ascent.

Although the previous analysis revealed what had been occurring in the HPOZ areas generally, the case studies can provide a deeper, more qualitative look at the changes that are occurring on the ground. Indeed, the case studies are designed to delve deeper into the question of the relationship, if any, between historic designation and neighborhood ascent and/or gentrification. Therefore, the case studies focus on answering the following questions:

1. *What are the types of social and physical changes within HPOZs that can be attributed to historic designation?*
2. *Do residents of HPOZs experience gentrification?*
3. *What were the underlying motivations for HPOZ designations? Who has a voice in designation and how is the district maintained?*

In terms of social changes, I explored whether there was awareness and an effort made, by preservationists and HPOZ advocates, to retain original residents without drastic displacement or gentrification, and to retain/create a mixed-income community through affordable housing options. To identify physical changes, I concentrated on visible preservation and public space improvements.

For the second question, I sought to understand how residents define gentrification; how gentrification was being perceived and if it varies among case studies. Response to the third question required exploration of the history of the designation process and preservation movements in the area in order to understand who were the actors who influenced HPOZ activities; if the same actors are present today; if they are representative of the majority populations of the neighborhood; and how many residents have the opportunity to impact decision-making regarding the form and character of their neighborhoods. This aspect of the research aims to illuminate the role of citizens in

preservation, both as individuals and as communities, highlighting social and political factors of neighborhood development.

Case Study Selection

In order to determine which HPOZs should be chosen as case studies, I used the following criteria to determine my choices:

- 1) Eliminated HPOZs designated after 2000 (17 HPOZs). I wanted to reject shorter designation periods. Historic districts with a longer history have had more time to implement preservation activities and experience change.
- 2) Eliminated HPOZs that are smaller than a block group (7 HPOZs). Areas that are smaller than a block group may not accurately reflect the socioeconomic data collected compared to larger districts.
- 3) Chose HPOZs from each typology—those that stayed within the same typologies or transitioned to new typologies.
- 4) If there was more than one HPOZ in a typology to be considered, I gave more weight to HPOZs with higher percentage (5% or more) of Mills Act properties (10 HPOZs). The desire to take advantage of property tax incentives may reveal motivation for some property owners to support historic designation in their neighborhoods.
- 5) Chose HPOZs that are not abutting and are located in different areas of the city.

The five case study neighborhoods (Figure 6.1) that resulted from this process were:

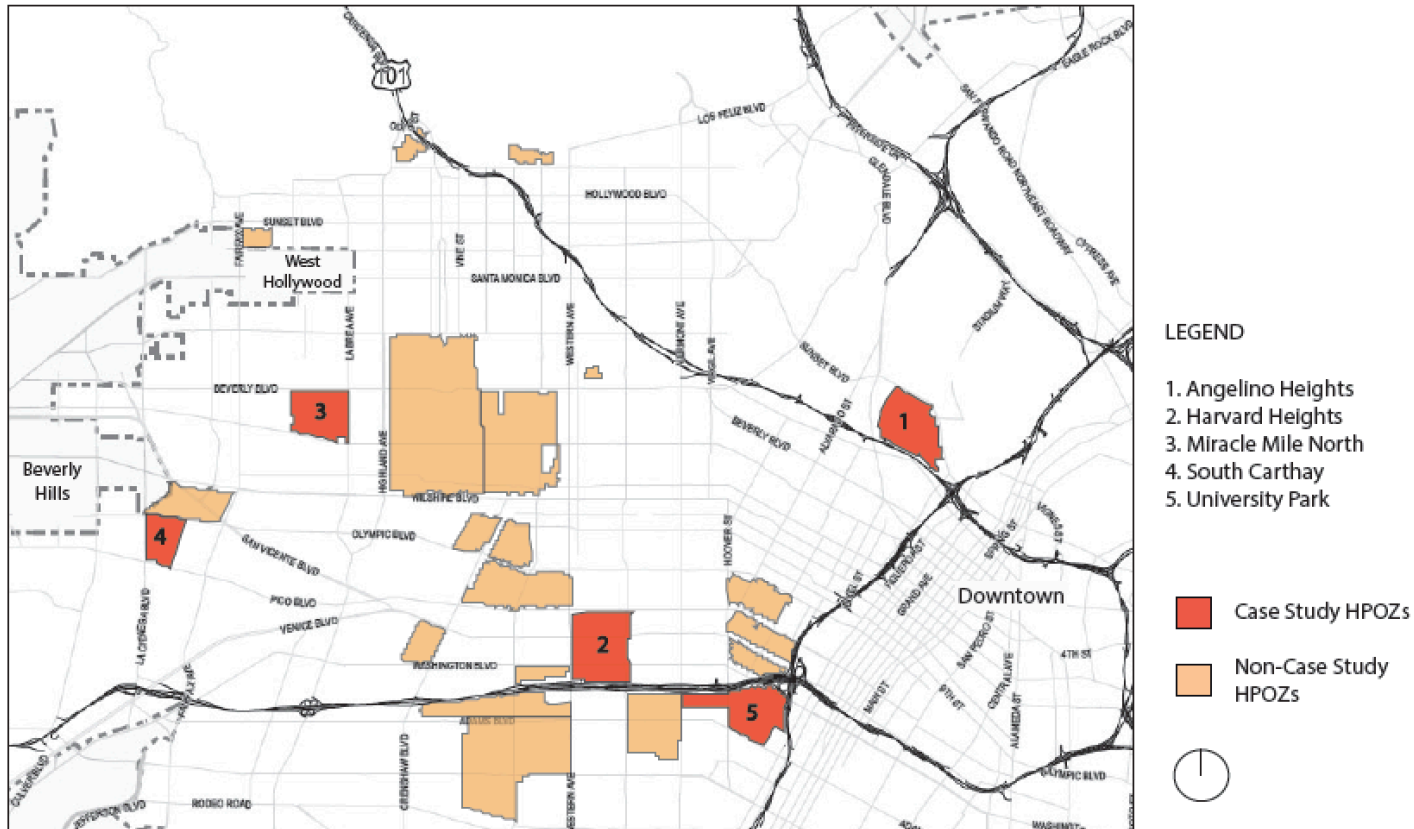
- Angelino Heights HPOZ, the oldest historic district in Los Angeles, was

designated in 1983, and expanded in 2008. This area is located within two Census tracts and has remained a predominantly Hispanic area; but transitioned from the *Low* to the *Middle-Class* typology in 2010. There are 300 structures (majority single-family and multi-unit residences) in this district, and 83% are contributing structures.

- South Carthay HPOZ, which was designated in 1985. This Census tract area has transitioned from the *Upper Middle-Class* to the *Affluent/High-Income* typology in 2010. There are 370 structures, and 90% are contributing.
- Miracle Mile North HPOZ, which was designated in 1990 and has remained in the *Affluent/High-Income White* typology since 1970. This HPOZ covers three block groups. There are 598 structures in this district, and 91% are contributing structures.
- Harvard Heights HPOZ, which was designated in 2000 and has remained in the *Low-Income Black* typology since 1970. There are approximately 800 structures (both residential and commercial), and 71% are considered contributing.
- University Park HPOZ, which was designated in 2000 and has remained in the *Low-Income Hispanic* typology since 1970. This HPOZ encompasses three Census tract areas. There are 619 structures in this district, and 70% are contributing.

Figure 6.1: Map of Case Study HPOZs

Map of Case Study Historic Preservation Overlay Zones



Data Source:
 L.A. City Boundary -DPW, Bureau of Engineering; County Roadways and County Names. © Thomas Brothers Maps Inc.

Case Study Methods

As outlined in the Research Methods section (Chapter 2.6), information for the case studies was drawn from the following sources:

1. Semi-structured phone and in-person interviews with stakeholders (Appendix B);
2. Online Surveys;
3. Online Sources of Resident Opinions, such as social media;
4. Observation of HPOZ Board meetings;
5. Review of HPOZ Board meeting agendas from 2004 to 2014;
6. A review of the Preservation Plan and Historic Resource Survey for each HPOZ;
7. A Review of Literature;
8. An analysis of physical revitalization and change was conducted using Google Street View (2007 to present).

General HPOZ Information

1. HPOZ Boards

Each HPOZ Board consists of five members. Three of the members have to be residents of the HPOZ; they can be renters or owners. In all but one HPOZ case study, (South Carthay HPOZ) there were no renters on the board. The OHR website states that all members “should have knowledge of and interest in the culture, structures, sites, history and architecture of the HPOZ area, and if possible, experience in historic preservation.” (OHR, *HPOZ Board Information*). Out of the five members:

- One member is appointed by the Mayor and must have extensive real estate or construction experience.
- One member must be an owner or renter of a property in the HPOZ and is appointed by the City Councilmember representing the area.
- Two members, one must be a licensed architect, are appointed by the City’s Cultural Heritage Commission.
- The final member is selected at large by a majority vote of the initial four members, with input from the Certified Neighborhood Council representing the neighborhood.

Board members normally serve a term of four years, and the terms are staggered to prevent a complete turnover of the Board at any one time. Appointed members may be removed or replaced by the appointing authority prior to the expiration of their term. The Board is “an advisory body to the City Planning Department” (OHR, *HPOZ Board Information*). Apart from the Board, the Director of Planning has the authority to issue determinations, building permit sign-offs, and Certificates of Appropriateness and Compatibility.

Each HPOZ has its own Preservation Plan, which guides the HPOZ Board for the area.⁴¹ The Preservation Plan is a City Planning Commission approved document, which governs a Historic Preservation Overlay Zone (HPOZ). The Planning Department along with the HPOZ Boards and interested neighborhood residents create the Preservation Plan. Board meetings occur twice monthly and can be postponed or cancelled if a quorum cannot be met or if no agenda items are pending. There should be approximately 24 meetings per year. However, the Boards can meet more than twice a month if there are too many items on the agenda or for other reasons. For instance, when drafting the Preservation Plan for the University Park HPOZ the board met four times a month—twice for regular business and twice to work on the Preservation Plan.

⁴¹ The Preservation Plan aims to create a clear and predictable set of expectations as to the design and review of proposed projects within the HPOZs. The Plans outline design guidelines for the rehabilitation and restoration of structures, natural features, landscape and the public realm including streets, parks, street trees, and other types of development within an HPOZ. The Plans also serve as an educational tool for both existing and potential property owners, residents, and investors and will be used by the general public to learn more about the HPOZ. The HPOZ Boards make recommendations and decisions based on this document. Similarly, the Department of City Planning will use this document as the basis for its determinations (OHR, “The HPOZ Review Process”).

2. HPOZ Review Process

Typically applicants within an HPOZ are informed that they must receive approval for their projects through the planning department. The first step that an applicant takes when doing work within an HPOZ is to learn if his/her property is contributing, an altered contributor, or non-contributing (these categories are based on the Historic Resource Survey). The categories are defined in the following ways:

- Contributing Structures are those structures, landscape features, natural features, or sites identified as Contributing in the Historic Resources survey for the HPOZ. Generally, Contributing structures will have been built within the historic Period of Significance of the HPOZ, and will retain elements that identify it as belonging to that period. The historic period of significance of the HPOZ is usually the time period in which the majority of construction in the area occurred. In some instances, structures that are compatible with the architecture of that period or that are historic in their own right, but were built outside of the Period of Significance of the district, will also be Contributing.
- Contributing Altered structures are structures that date from the Period of Significance, built in the same time period as Contributing structures, which have retained their historic character in spite of subsequent alterations or additions and are deemed reversible.
- Non-Contributing Structures are those structures, landscapes, natural features, or sites identified as not retaining their historic character as a result of un-reversible alterations, or as having been built outside of the HPOZ Period of Significance or because they are vacant lots.

The type of property an applicant owns determines the type of review process they have to go through. Additionally, the work the applicant plans to do will be determined to be Conforming Work, otherwise they will have to apply for a Certificate of Appropriateness.

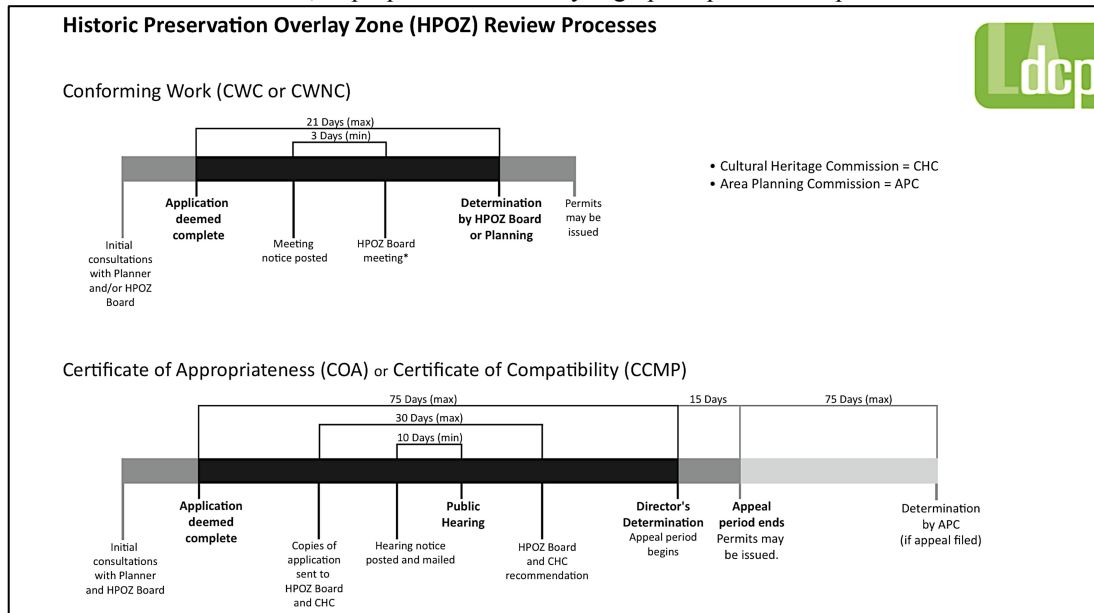
For Contributing Structures:

- Conforming Work includes less significant exterior work, like routine maintenance or changes to the exterior paint color or landscaping; it is approved by the Planning Department as Conforming Work without having to apply for a Certificate of Appropriateness and pay a fee. The Conforming Work review process usually takes 3 to 21 days.
- A Certificate of Appropriateness (COA) is required when significant work is proposed for a Contributing element in the HPOZ. A COA requires that a formal application be filed with the Department of City Planning. The HPOZ Board will conduct a public hearing and submit a recommendation to the Director of Planning, who will also consider input from the Cultural Heritage Commission regarding the project. The process requires the submission of a formal application form, detailed plans, and a fee ranging from \$708 - \$1,706 (depending the size of the new construction or addition). The permit process may take up to 75 days, or longer if the initial decision is appealed.

For Non-Contributing Structures:

- Conforming Work on Non-Contributing Elements is a review process for work on Non-Contributing properties that does not involve demolition of a structure or construction of a new building on a vacant lot. The HPOZ Board reviews exterior work or changes to a non-contributing structure, unless authority is delegated to the Director of Planning in an adopted Preservation Plan. The Conforming Work review process usually takes 3 to 21 days.
- A Certificate of Compatibility is required for the review of new construction on vacant lots or on lots where a Non-Contributor is proposed for demolition. The HPOZ Board will conduct a public hearing and submit a recommendation to the Director of Planning. As with a “Certificate of Appropriateness,” this permit requires the submission of a formal application form, detailed plans, and a fee ranging from \$708 - \$1,706 (depending the size of the new construction or addition) and may take up to 75 days, or longer if the initial decision is appealed.

Figure: 6.2: Reproduction of HPOZ Review Process. Source: Los Angeles Department of City Planning, Office of Historic Resources, <http://preservation.lacity.org/hpoz/hpoz-review-process>.



3. Overview of HPOZ Board Meeting Agendas

When reviewing the HPOZ Board Meeting Agendas I categorized the work by “Minor Work and Additions” or “New Construction,” since I was interested in the type of work that was being done in the HPOZs. *Minor Work* includes: changes to windows, doors, landscape or hardscape alterations, solar panels, re-painting of a home, and addition of solar panels. In the case of commercial uses, this would include windows or new signage. *Additions or New Construction* includes: first and second story additions to a home, new construction, and addition of second units. For commercial uses this included the addition to an existing use or new construction on an empty lot (Table 6.1). Table 6.1 shows the average number of HPOZ Board meetings per year, the average number of preservation projects per year, as well as the number and percentage of new construction and minor work from 2004 to 2014.

Table 6.1: Average number of HPOZ meetings, projects, and type of work, 2004-2014.

	Ave # of Mtgs	Ave # of Projects per year	Ave # Additions or New Construction	% Additions or New Construction	Ave # Minor Work	% Minor Work
Angelino Heights	19	57	9	16%	48	84%
University Park	15	35	8	25%	26	75%
South Carthay	11	19	4	22%	16	78%
Miracle Mile	17	38	10	25%	28	75%
Harvard Heights	14	28	8	31%	20	69%

4. Can HPOZ Board Decisions Be Appealed?

The approval or disapproval of “Certificates of Appropriateness” and “Certificates of Compatibility” may be appealed to the Area Planning Commission. The Area Planning Commission also serves as the first level of review for proposed demolition, removal or relocation of structures within HPOZs; appeals of these cases go to the City Council. All appeals must be filed within 15 days of the date of the action, and must be acted on within 75 days from the date filed. Decisions can be appealed only once. Original decisions by the Director of Planning that are appealable to the Area Planning Commission cannot be further appealed to the City Council. Conforming Work approvals, such as changes to windows or landscaping, are not appealable under the HPOZ Ordinance.

Cost of Historic Preservation

Apart from information about the structure and activities of the HPOZ boards, it is important to understand the nature of the historic preservation activities, as well as the costs associated with them, especially when studying lower-income neighborhoods.

Additionally, the high cost of historic preservation is often brought up in the cases studies. In particular applicants are displeased with the HPOZ board's insistence on the use of certain materials. Examples include the requirement to use specific paint types (but not colors), the preference of the Boards to use wood rather than vinyl windows, or the Boards preferences for the use of wood siding rather than stucco. The following examples give a sense of the cost differences between certain materials that are often at the center of tensions between applicants and HPOZ Board:

Paint

An *Eastsider* article entitled "Picky About Paint," describes the process of getting approval for the exterior of a house in Angelino Heights ("Picky about Paint" 2011). Initially, the Board did not approve the first paint choice of the resident. The disagreement was not about the color per se. The Angelino Heights' guidelines do not dictate color choices for homeowners, however the colors chosen have to be "appropriate and should be within the color range of a particular style" ("Angelino Heights HPOZ Preservation Plan" 2004, 66). Here are the color guidelines for the Angelino Heights historic district:

7. In choosing paint or stain colors, 19th and most early 20th century homes should be painted or stained in a minimum of three harmonious colors; one color for the main body of the structure, another for trim and architectural detail, and yet another color to pick out window sashes, and perhaps distinguish other detail.
8. In choosing paint or stain colors for twentieth century colonial revival type structures, homeowners should pick a palette of at least two contrasting harmonious colors, one to be used on the main body of the house and another for the trim, detail and window sashes.
9. In choosing paint or stain colors, homeowners should select paint colors appropriate to the period of the structure to be painted. The HPOZ board maintains a library of pattern books, which illustrate colors popular at the time

the HPOZ, was developed. Consult the historic paint color chips resource maintained by the board and choose harmonious color schemes from these ranges (“Angelino Heights HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2004, 66).

The applicant was pointed to a more appropriate historic color palette available at Dunn Edwards. Similar advice was given in different cases and in different HPOZs, such as Harvard Heights and University Park (Frost Interview 2014; Good et al. Interview 2014). Once an appropriate historical color palette was chosen the applicant was granted approval to paint her house. There are several companies that offer historical paint colors. Dunn Edwards has created the Then, Now & Forever collection of 300 colors. Architectural Resources Group, an architecture firm focused on historical preservation and renovation, has historically verified the colors as accurate.

Typical exterior paint costs between \$25 and \$40 per gallon, while premium paint, like Then, Now & Forever, costs twice as much \$50 to \$100. A 3,000 square foot house will require 15 or more gallons (or up to 25 percent more if you change from a dark to a light color or vice versa), so the cost of paint will be between \$375 and \$600 for regular paint and between \$750 and \$1,500 for premium. These costs do not include labor, scaffolding, and other required materials. An average one-story, three-bedroom home may range from \$1,500 to \$3,000, and multi-level homes can easily cost \$3,000 to \$5,500 (Grey 2015).

Windows

Window choice was an issue that came up several times in different HPOZ meetings and conversation with residents. The preference of all the case study HPOZ Boards was for applicants to use wood, since it is historically accurate for the types of architecture represented such as Victorian or Craftsman. Most applicants have a

preference for Vinyl windows because of their lower cost, since vinyl is about 25% cheaper. For example a Jeld-Wen 36” x 60” Vinyl Double Pane New Construction Double Hung Window currently runs \$264 (Wallender 2014). On the other hand, an example of wood window is the Pella 36-1/4” x 60-1/4” 450 Series Wood Double Pane New Construction Double Hung Window that currently costs \$329 (Wallender 2014).

Wood Siding vs. Vinyl Siding vs. Stucco

Another common issue that was raised as a concern is HPOZs residents’ preferences for stucco, rather than wood siding, especially in the lower-income areas. The HPOZ Board’s preference for wood siding is based on the fact that it is a more historically accurate choice. Stucco is not necessarily cheaper than wood, but it requires less maintenance (Leone 2015). Stucco pricing ranges from \$4 to \$9 per square foot (Leone 2015; “Comparing Costs of Siding,” n.d.). Sand and cement stucco is less expensive, latex stucco is more expensive. Wood siding can cost from \$3 to \$8 per square foot.

However, the installation of wood siding often requires a professional, which can add to the cost. Wood siding also comes with more additional maintenance costs than stucco. In warmer climates, wood siding can encourage mold growth if left untreated. Wood treatments can be quite costly. Many consumers opt to paint or stain wood siding. Wood siding should receive fresh paint every few years, and in dry climates oil finishes to keep it from prematurely deteriorating.

Although vinyl siding could be used as a replacement for wood siding HPOZs do not approve this type of material. Vinyl siding requires less maintenance and is cheaper

than wood or stucco; the cost estimate for vinyl siding runs from \$2 to \$3 per square foot (“Comparing Costs of Siding,” n.d.).

Overall, the Preservation Plans for all the HPOZ case studies are similar in their requirement to adhere to historical accuracy. None of the preservation plans discuss issues of cost or possible flexibility in terms of materials. In all the HPOZ case studies, both lower and higher-income areas, applicants were displeased with having to buy wood windows rather than cheaper options. However, for lower income areas the cost of historically accurate materials can be a greater burden. Moreover, in the lower income areas, such as University Park or Angelino Heights, the architecture is older and more diverse than in more affluent areas, like South Carthay or Miracle Mile North. In University Park, for instance, there are Victorian, Queen Anne, and Craftsmen homes. On the other hand South Carthay and Miracle Mile North are predominantly composed of Spanish Colonial homes. Victorian or Queen Anne homes are typically quite large (two or three stories) and the architectural styles are particularly ornate. Thus, they require more expertise in rehabilitation, as well as specific historic materials, which may be difficult to acquire. The Spanish Colonial homes in South Carthay and Miracle Mile North, on the other hand, are newer (1930s), have stucco facades, and are one-story.

Housing Policies that are relevant in HPOZs

An overview of certain housing policies in Los Angeles is useful in understanding what can affect affordability for renters and homeowners. Several of these policies are referred to in the case studies.

1. Rent Stabilization Ordinance (RSO) or “rent control”

The purpose of the Rent Stabilization Ordinance is to protect tenants from excessive rent increases, while at the same time allowing landlords a reasonable return on their investments (Los Angeles Municipal Code, Chapter XV). The ordinance regulates the percentage of annual rent increase, but allows rent to be reset at market-rate upon vacancy. Residential rental units covered by the RSO exclude single-family dwellings and exempt affordable housing units (ex. Section 8). RSO applies to properties built prior to October 1, 1978 (new construction). Most properties in HPOZ have been constructed prior to 1978 and are thus covered by the RSO, unless they are Section 8 housing. The Rent Stabilization Ordinance covers four broad categories:

- a. Allowable rent increases (3% annually);
- b. Registration of rental units;
- c. Legal reasons for eviction;
- d. Causes for eviction requiring relocation assistance payment to the tenant.

According to the LA Times, there are “roughly 638,000 such units left in Los Angeles,” and they are disappearing at an increasing rate; many are being cleared out to make way for more high-end units (Khouri 2014). In the case of the HPOZs the option of demolishing these rent-controlled units is more difficult because of strict development guidelines that make demolition more difficult, but not impossible.

2. Relocation Assistance

In Los Angeles County, landlords with multi-family properties, or single-family homes operating as “boarding houses” that were originally built on or before October 1, 1978, are required to provide monetary relocation assistance when evicting tenants from units covered by the Los Angeles Rent Stabilization Ordinance (RSO). In HPOZs like

Angelino Heights or University Park the conversion from boarding houses to single-family homes is frequently discussed in the case studies. Two reasons for relocation assistance that apply to the HPOZ areas include:

1. The landlord evicts for his or her personal occupancy, a resident manager, or that of the landlord’s spouse, parents, or children (LAMC 151.09.A.8) - Landlords must file a Landlord Declaration of Intent to Evict prior to giving notice to tenants;
2. The eviction is due to condominium conversion, or for commercial use of the property (LAMC 151.09.A.10) -- Landlords must file a Landlord Declaration of Intent to Evict prior to giving notice to tenants;
3. The rental unit requires permanent eviction for Primary Renovation in accordance with a Tenant Habitability Plan accepted by the Los Angeles Housing Department. (LAMC 151.09.A.9); (Ordinance No. 176,544, effective 5/2/05.).

The relocation assistance payments are based on whether a tenant is “qualified” or “eligible.” A Qualified tenant is any tenant who is: (1) 62 years of age or older; or (2) handicapped as defined under California Health and Safety Code Section 50072; or (3) residing with one or more minor dependent children. All other tenants are Eligible.

Table 6.2: Relocation Assistance Payments in the City of Los Angeles.
Source: “When Los Angeles Tenants Are Entitled to Relocation Assistance,” Marsh, 2009.

Effective July 1, 2014 through June 30, 2015			
Type of Tenant Eligible or Qualified	Resided in the Rental Less Than 3 Years	Resided in the Rental 3 Years or More	Income Below 80% AMI (\$44,400 for 1 tenant; and \$50,750 for 2 tenants)
Eligible	\$7,700	\$10,200	\$10,200
Qualified	\$16,350	\$19,300	\$19,300

If a tenant is residing on a “Mom and Pop” Property (4 or less units owned by a person who has 4 or less residential units in Los Angeles and a single family residence on a separate lot), and the landlord seeks to have an eligible relative move into your rental

unit, then the landlord is required to pay \$7,450 for “Eligible” Tenants and \$15,000 for “Qualified” Tenants.

3. Ellis Act

The Ellis Act is a provision in California Law (Government Code section 7060-7060.7) that provides landlords in California with a legal way to “go out of business” short of selling the property to another landlord. The Ellis Act allows landlords to remove from rental use all the units in a structure containing four or more units, regardless of whether there are other structures containing rental units on the same parcel; or, all the rental units in a structure containing three or fewer residential rental units if, and only if, they also remove all other rental units in all other structures on the same parcel.

The Ellis Act was amended in 1999 to provide the following:

1. The notice of intent to withdraw the unit from residential housing use is extended from 60 to 120 days.
2. The landlord who offers a withdrawn rental unit for rent within two years of the date of withdrawal is now liable for damages, including punitive damages, extending the period from the old one of one year. This extension also applies to the requirement under the Act to offer the unit to the former tenant, in the absence of a local ordinance extending that requirement.
3. The landlord who gives a notice in connection with a unit the occupant of which is over the age of 62 or disabled, must give at least one years notice of intent to withdraw with respect to that unit.

Table 6.3 presents Ellis Act data for the HPOZ Zip Code areas, as well as the number of Ellis Acts in the HPOZs. Data was available from 2007 to mid-2014. Although there are Ellis Act properties in the zip code areas around the HPOZ, there are very few in the HPOZs (2000 to 2014).

Table 6.3: Number of Ellis Act properties in HPOZ and surrounding Zip Codes, 2007-2014.

Zip Code	# of Ellis Acts in Zip Code	Ellis Acts in HPOZ	2007 - mid-2014
90026	27	0	Angelino Heights
90036	10	0	Miracle Mile
90006 and 90018	22	1	Harvard Heights
90035 and 90048	63	1	South Carthay
90007	9	0	University Park

4. Mills Act Tax Credit

Mills Act program, implemented by local governments throughout the State, including Los Angeles, allows historic property owners to take property tax reductions. Owners of contributing structures (not non-contributors) in HPOZs can reap potentially significant tax savings (in some cases, up to 50%) through the Mills Act Historic Property Contracts Program. However, the property is only eligible if it is maintained to a historically accurate standard. This program allows qualifying owners to receive a potential property tax reduction and use the savings to help continue to rehabilitate, restore, and maintain their buildings. Out of the five case study neighborhoods Angelino Heights has the highest percentage of contributing structures with Mills Act contracts (15.6%). South Carthay follows with 12.8%. The other three HPOZs are Miracle Mile North with 1.3%, Harvard Heights with 3.7%, and University Park at 4.1%. Homes that estimated to be worth more than \$1.5 million are not eligible for the Mills Act, which may explain the low percentage in Miracle Mile North, which is an affluent neighborhood. The higher percentage of Mills Act homes in Angelino Heights and South Carthay is indicative of more renovated and historically accurate homes compared to areas like Harvard Heights or University Park.

5. Other Tax Credits

Owners of sites listed in or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places may take advantage of a Federal Rehabilitation Tax Credit that provides a 20% tax offset for the cost of rehabilitation. National Register properties are also eligible to benefit from “conservation easements”—binding legal agreements with preservation organizations such as the Los Angeles Conservancy that can allow owners to claim a charitable deduction on their Federal income taxes. There are several homes in Angelino Heights and University Park that are designated at the National Level.

6.2 Angelino Heights

Established in 1983, the Angelino Heights HPOZ was the first to be designated as a historic district in Los Angeles. The district boundaries, which were expanded in 2008, are: Sunset Boulevard on the north, Echo Park Avenue on the west, the Hollywood Freeway (101) on the south, and Boylston and Beaudry Avenue to the east. The commercially zoned properties along Sunset Boulevard and recently developed parcels around Beaudry, Bellevue, and Victor Avenues are not within the HPOZ.

Figure 6.3: HPOZ map of Angelino Heights. Source: Office of Historic Resources.

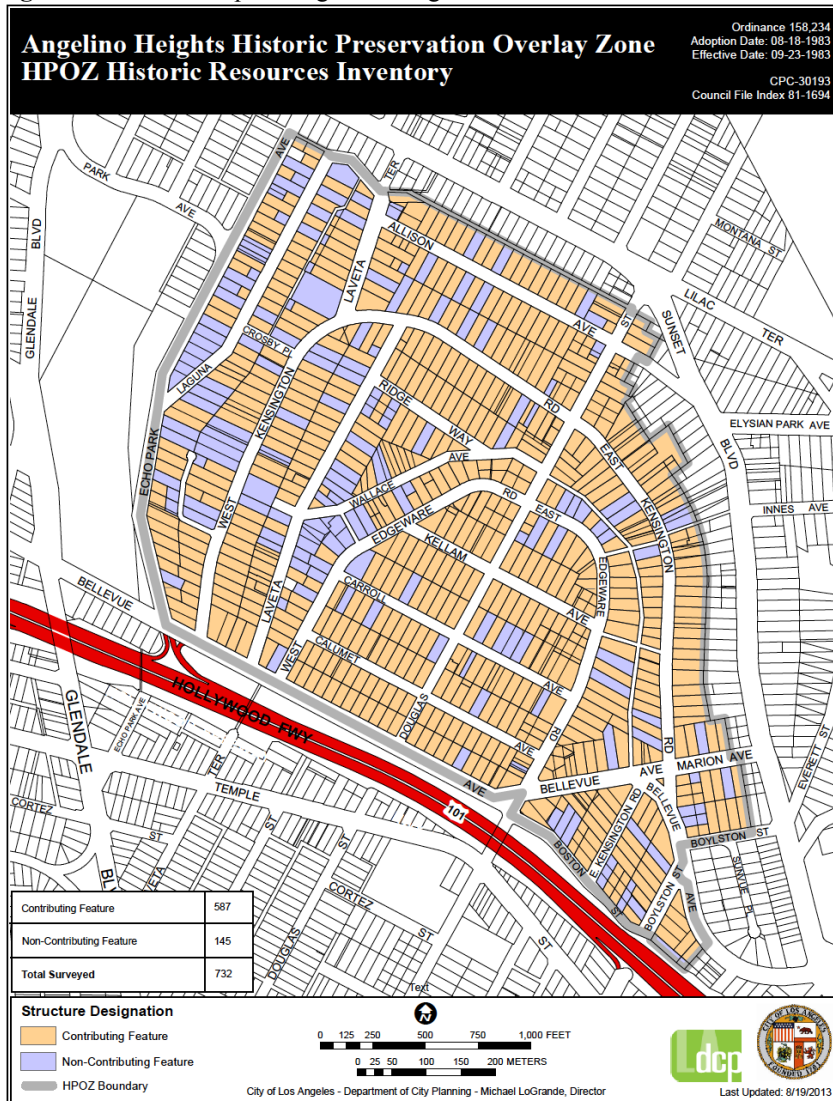
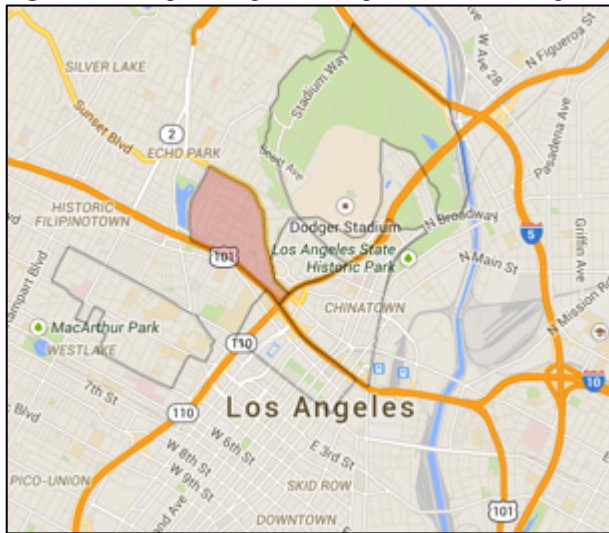


Figure 6.4: Map of Angelino Heights. Source: Google Maps (2015)



Angelino Heights is considered one of the first suburbs of Los Angeles and contains some of the best remaining examples of Victorian architecture in the city. Today more than 50 Victorian residences and carriage houses dominate the heart of the neighborhood. Located within the HPOZ, the entire 1300 block of Carroll Avenue is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and contains the highest concentration of Victorian homes in Los Angeles (Figure 6.5). Additionally, more than a dozen of the homes on Carroll Avenue have been designated (mostly in the 1970s) as local cultural historic monuments.

Figure 6.5: Carroll Avenue in Angelino Heights. Source: Google Maps (2015).

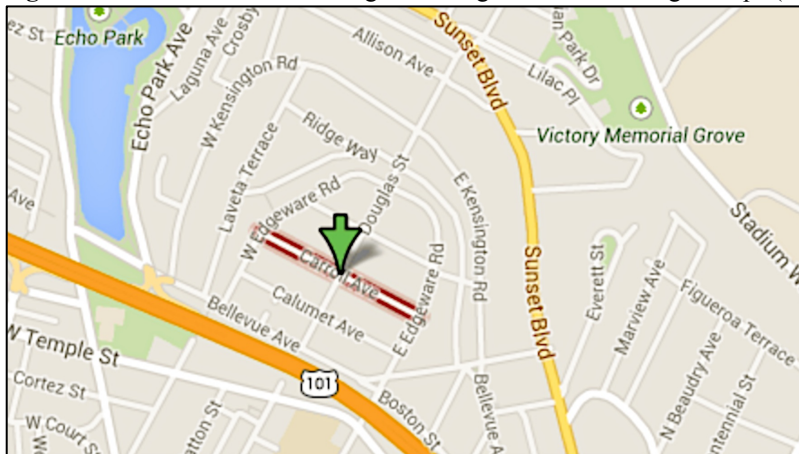




Figure 6.6: Two locally designated Victorian homes on Carroll Avenue.
Source: Office of Historic Resources.

The neighborhood also exhibits many examples of Craftsman and Mission Revival styles. Approximately 83% of the structures within the district are listed as contributing to the historic character of the neighborhood. In between the single-family homes there are several apartment buildings, thus the housing stock in the district is rather diverse (Figures 6.7 to 6.9).



Figure 6.7: 1456 Calumet Avenue. Built 1912. 4 units. Craftsman. Source: Redfin.com.



Figure 6.8: 666 Laveta Terrace. 45 units. Built 1985. Source: Loopnet.com



Figure 6.9: 1000 West Edgeware Road. 7 units. Built 1931. Streamline Moderne. Source: Redfin.com

Angelino Heights lies two miles northwest of downtown Los Angeles, near the neighborhoods of Echo Park and Silver Lake. Although Angelino Heights has a distinct history, it is often referred to as an enclave of Echo Park, which is described on the *Los Angeles Downtown News* as a “gentrifying neighborhood that mixes families and longtime locals with newly arriving hipsters. The result is taquerias next door to wine bars; cool watering holes and galleries next to family-owned businesses; murals everywhere; and most importantly, a laid back vibe” (Friedrich and Maese 2011,

"Excursions: Echo Park/Angelino Heights"). The area's centerpiece is Echo Park Lake, which is known for leisure and recreation.⁴²

There is only one commercial property located within the historic district – Bob's Market, which is a small grocery store located at 1230 Bellevue Avenue. Bob's Market was designated a local landmark in 1979 (Figure 6.10).

Figure 6.10: Bob's Market in Angelino Heights. Source: Photo by author.

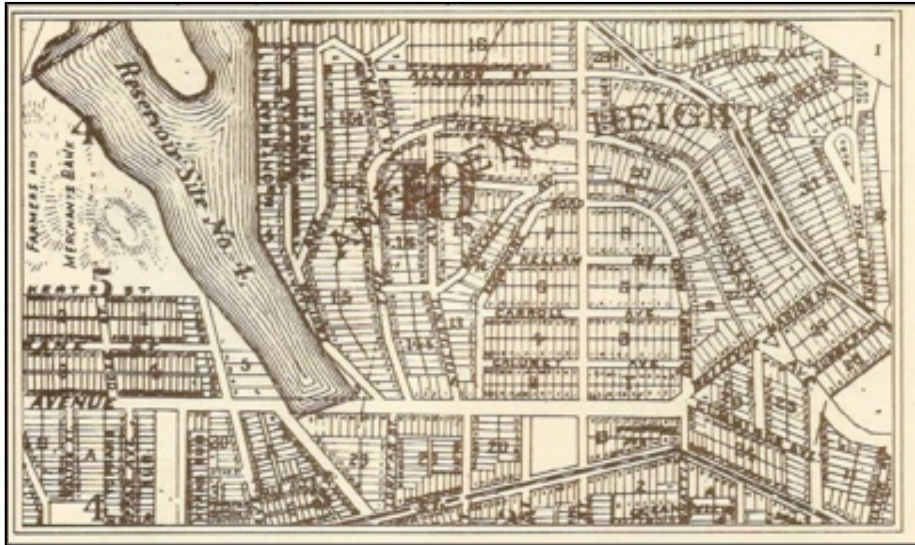


⁴²In the early 2000s the city allocated \$64.7 million dollars to fund Echo Park Lake's cleanup and revitalization. It reopened in 2013 (Kurtzman 2013).

The Early History of Angelino Heights

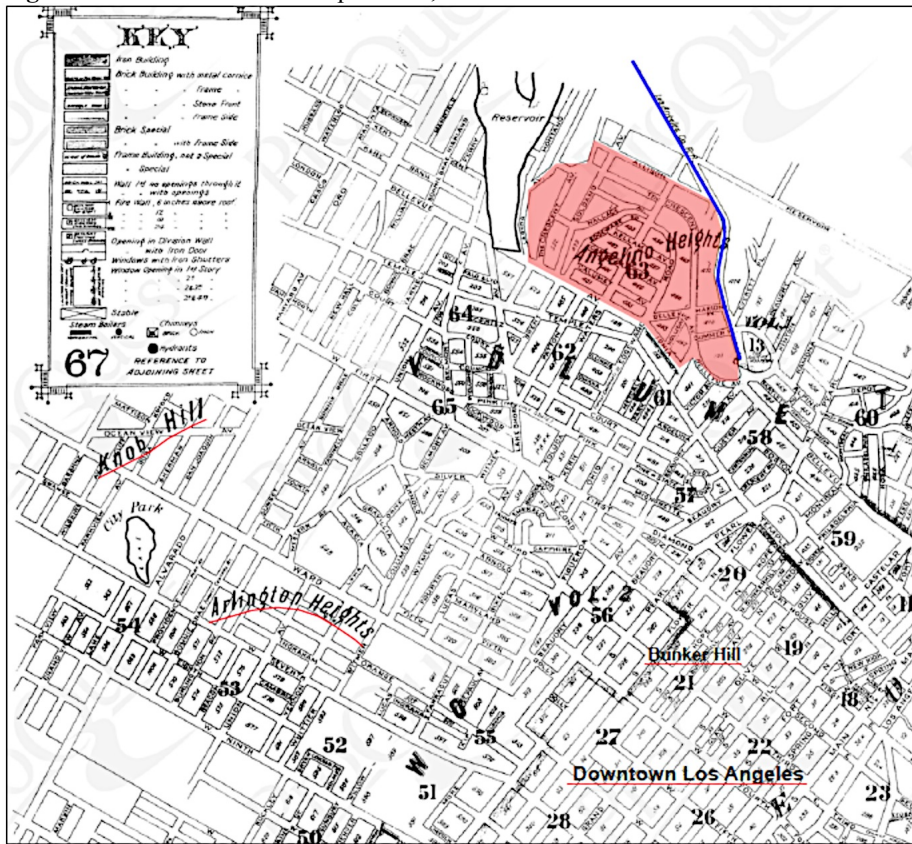
In 1886, two developers, William W. Stilson and Everett E. Hall, founded Angelino Heights as a suburb for the emerging Victorian middle class.

Figure 6.11: Angelino Heights Map, 1887. Source: Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation 1986, 9



The same year, the Temple Street Cable Railway began its operation, connecting the tract to nearby downtown Los Angeles and making this area desirable to developers and up-and-coming Angelinos. Before the creation of Angelino Heights, Bunker Hill, a now demolished residential neighborhood, was considered the best location in terms of proximity to downtown in the 1880s. As the population grew, more residents looked outbound to other “hills” or “heights,” such as Arlington Heights or Knob Hill. Angelino Heights, with its streetcar connection, represented the first expansion west from the center.

Figure 6.12: 1888 Sanborn Map extract, Volume 2. Rail line in blue.



Shortly after Angelino Heights was established in 1886, wealthy families built Victorian residences in rapid succession. The Sanborn map from 1888 reveals that over 25 homes were in existence shortly after the area was established (Figure 6.13). However, most construction on the hill ceased in 1888 because of the general banking recession, leaving a unique concentration of Victorians that remains today. When prosperity returned in the late 1890's other areas of the city had become more popular.

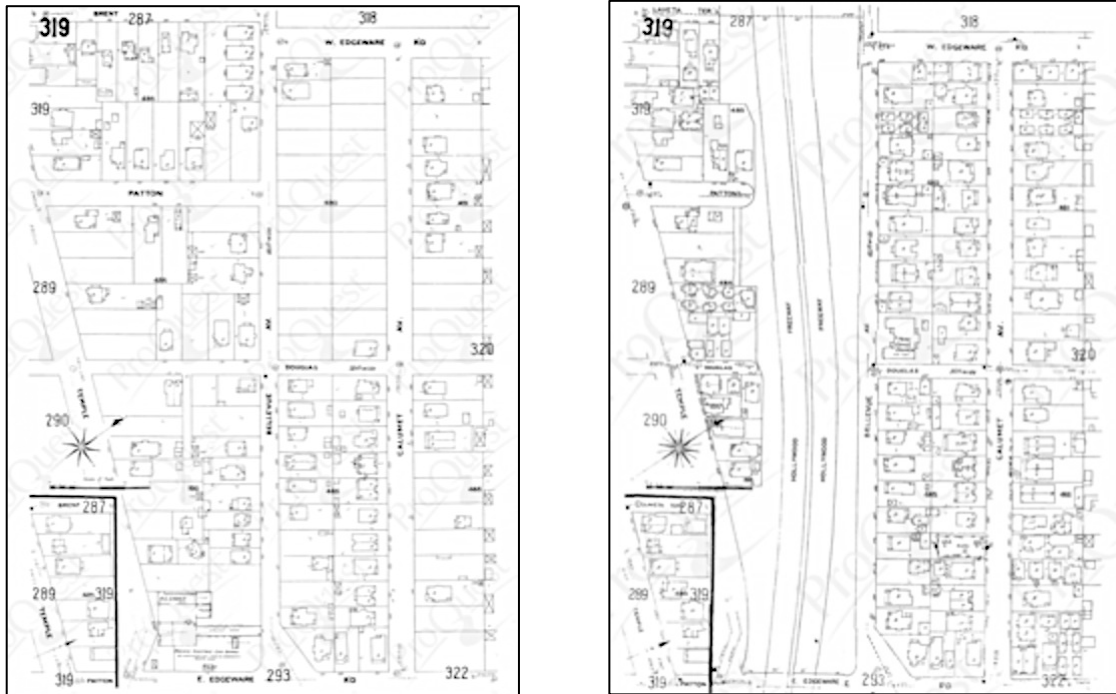
Figure 6.13: 1888 Sanborn Map extract, Volume 2, pg 63.
Detail of the first developments in Angelino Heights.



However, a second wave of development began in the early 20th century when in 1902, Henry E. Huntington converted the old Temple Street Cable Railway to an electric line. This new wave of development came around 1900 to 1915 and brought the Craftsmen/California Bungalow style to Angelino Heights. Many of these homes remain and can still be seen today on Kensington Road (Angelino Heights Preservation Plan, 2004: 11).

By the 1920s, however, the city's well-to-do families were moving westward to new residential districts, and Angelino Heights socioeconomic character began to change. From 1915 to 1940, higher-density housing was built to accommodate an influx of newcomers, predominantly middle-class merchants of many ethnic backgrounds (Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation 1986, 2). The relatively intact neighborhood began to change in the years following World War II. Additionally, the post-war housing shortage

resulted in the construction of apartments, while many of the large homes were converted into rooming houses and multifamily dwellings (Mothner 1994). Additionally, the 1954 construction of the 101 Freeway had as a consequence the destruction of parts of Angelino Heights and the effective separation of the neighborhood from downtown to the south (Figure 6.14).



Left: Sanborn Map from 1906.

Right: Sanborn Map from 1953. Source: Proquest, 2015.

Figure 6.14: The maps show the location of the Hollywood Freeway and which blocks and streets of Angelino Heights were cut off from Downtown Los Angeles.

Around the same time, most of the Victorian homes in Bunker Hill were razed, leaving Angelino Heights with the city’s largest concentration of Victorian homes. However, the Victorian style was out of fashion in the 1950s and 1960s, and many dingbats popped up, especially in the westernmost portion (Brightwell 2010).⁴³

⁴³ Dingbats are normally a two-story walk-up apartment-block developed back over the full depth of the site, built of wood and stuccoed over (Banham, 2001: 175).

Figure 6.15: Dingbat-style apartment. 1483 Ridge Way. 8 units. Built 1962. Photo: Loopnet.com



Another neighborhood change that was visible during the 1960s was an increase in crime. And a decade later prostitution and drug dealing were out in the open along Douglas, the principal street cutting north to Sunset (Klein 2008, 137). Historian Norman Klein speculates that:

This ragged enclave of Victorian and Craftsmen homes was considered too isolated by developers to be torn down, and too Mexican to be built up (2008: 137).

Nonetheless, in the late 1960s and 1970s the neighborhood experienced an influx of urban pioneers.⁴⁴ Many of the new residents, as well as a few Latino families, who had lived in the neighborhood longer, were interested in restoring and “flipping” the Victorian and Craftsmen architecture (Burns and Price 2014; Morales 2014). In some cases, the conditions they encountered shocked them. In 1978, when one owner took over a Victorian, he found 58 people living inside (Klein 2008, 138). While most dwellings did not house similar numbers of people, many current single-family units were

⁴⁴ Mollenkopf (1983) describes urban pioneers as middle-class professionals, mostly White, who were drawn back into the city through urban renewal and who strove to protect their new homes and neighborhoods.

previously subdivided into several units, as collaborated by current homeowners (HPOZ Meeting) and Sanborn maps from 1955:

Danny Munoz: Murray's house... that was a four unit and one family who lived upstairs lived in a couple of rooms.

Tom: Our house had six units...

Munoz: And ours was four...

Bob: We had 12 people living in our house. All the original rooms were subdivided into smaller rooms.

With the preservation of the Victorian and Craftsmen homes many of the former rental and rooming houses were converted back to single-family homes.

Figure 6.16: Sanborn Map from 1955. Homes in red indicate single-family homes on Carroll and Kellam Avenue that were subdivided into flats or multiple dwelling units.



Preservation Comes to Angelino Heights

The 1970s Angelino Heights' preservation movement did not occur in a vacuum. It was reflective of the zeitgeist of the time and was influenced by local and national dynamics, such as urban renewal projects like Bunker Hill, as well as rising community activism and protests (Hatheway et al. 1982, 28).

As with other cities in the U.S., Los Angeles was guided by federal programs in its response to revitalization efforts. The city's urban policies, in the 1940s and 1950s, were influenced by the federal government and emphasized income-producing, tax-paying physical construction programs as a means of revitalizing cities (Loukaitou-Sideris and Sansbury 1995/96: 400). The principal means of combating blight by the government was the federal urban renewal program, which was established during the period 1954-74 under Title I of the 1949 Housing Act. The federal government called for cities to purchase "slum" properties and then paid for between two-thirds and three quarters of the cost (Fainstein et al., 1986: 17). After the purchase the city would clear the land and sell it to a developer below the market price in order to promote new desired developments.

In Los Angeles the redevelopment of the central business district started with the drafting of the Proposed Urban Renewal Plan by the Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) in 1959. The plan established the Bunker Hill Urban Renewal Project, which in many ways resembled Angelino Heights with its high concentration of Victorians and rooming houses.



Figure 6.17: Bunker Hill Houses

Left: Bunker Hill Houses, Los Angeles, California. Photo by unknown photographer, but found at NPS Heritage Documentation Programs Facebook page. Right: Bunker Hill Redevelopment in LA, circa 1969, Courtesy of LA Conservancy

It took time for the CRA to win approval for federal funds and still longer to resolve a court case brought by activists, residents of Bunker Hill, and historical preservationists (Loukaitou-Sideris and Sansbury 1995/96: 400). By the 1970s, the Los Angeles Bunker Hill project leveled the remnants of a Victorian residential area, but for years much of the cleared land was used for parking lots, with new structures only gradually arising amid a sea of parking lots (Garvin 1996; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee 1998; Loukaitou-Sideris and Sansbury 1995/96).



Figure 6.18: “Bunker Hill to soon be developed.” Photo by: William Reagh. 1971 (printed later), Los Angeles Public Library

However, a growing opposition to urban renewal occurred throughout the country. As Mollenkopf noted, “Many [...] riots occurred in or near urban renewal areas, and they constituted a kind of revolt against the heritage of New Deal urban programs” (1983: 84). Fainstein (1990) identified urban rebellions as the primary reason for a change in development strategies throughout the country (see also Reichl, 1997: 516). However, the anti-development and pro-preservation sentiment was also influenced by middle-class professionals, like the newcomers in Angelino Heights, who were drawn back into the city, and who strove to protect their new homes and neighborhoods, (Hatheway et al. 1982, 28). These urban pioneers used their political resources and

influence by joining forces with the low-income communities to fight renewal (Mollenkopf, 1983: 181).

By the 1970s, many government studies had justified preservation-based redevelopment as an economic strategy for local officials by providing evidence of increased property values and tax revenues in revitalized historic districts, and by emphasizing the potential for reducing local political conflict (Reichl, 1997: 519; ACHP 1979; Real Estate Research Corporation 1981). This quickly became the status quo in many U.S. cities and, thus, new development processes were shortly created on both the federal and local level that “began to shape new approaches to urban development based on the value of historic preservation that was taking hold among higher income groups” (Reichl 1997, 518). On the national level, the National Historic Preservation Act was passed in 1966. This allowed communities to list historic landmarks, utilize grants-in-aid for preservation projects, and establish a review process for all federally sponsored projects that might have had a detrimental impact on designated historic landmarks. On the local level, like in other cities, the Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument ordinance was established in 1962. Additionally, the City Council adopted the ordinance enabling the creation of historic districts (HPOZs) in 1979.

The Urban Pioneers of Angelino Heights and District Designation

In Angelino Heights the move towards preservation began at the core of the district on Carroll Avenue in the late 60s/early 70s, and was in full force with the establishment of the Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation in 1975.⁴⁵ Many of the

⁴⁵ The Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation is a nonprofit, educational charity organization is and focused in Historical site, records or reenactment, land acquisition for preservation, and other cultural or historical activities.

earlier preservationists still reside in the neighborhood, such as Priscilla Morales and Planaria Price. These pioneers consisted of long-time residents, as well as newcomers (Schnapper 1982). Several arrived by chance, while others were driven by an attachment to place. Priscilla Morales, the wife of the late Tom Morales who was the first HPOZ chairperson, described the early stages of preservation and growing interest in the neighborhood:

Thomas was raised in this house. [Thomas's parents] lived in Bunker Hill. Before they knocked Bunker Hill down they bought this house here. Our house was the best one on the block at that time. [...] And we inherited the house. My father in-law had three houses on the block. We had this house, one belonged to my brother-in-law, and the third belonged to my sister-in-law. [...] So once we inherited this house we started fixing and all that. And then in... I might not have the date right... 1966 Cultural Affairs had their first tour... people could see the houses. Then my brother in law put his house up for sale and so did my sister in law. And then in 1976 the people here, on the street, who had bought the homes and moved in, and some of the residents, we started an organization called the Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation. And then we started to have tours. And people came from all over (Morales Interview, December 3, 2014).

In a 1987 interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Tom Morales, whose parents purchased the 13-room house in the early 1940s for \$3,000, spoke about what it was like during the 1970s when he and others began efforts to form a historic district to protect the blocks of old and often-neglected homes:

Back then people thought you were eccentric for living in these houses, trying to get them on the National Register of Historic Places and lobbying to create a preservation district. But it bonded the neighborhood (Kaplan 1987).

A long-time resident, Bob Good, who moved to Angelino Heights in 1980, describes the first preservationists:

I would say for the most part local [residents], not necessarily architects [...] The Morales's who a generation earlier had moved up there. Then, other people just moved in, young people. One was a schoolteacher; one was an actor who appeared in movies. Another was a corporate lawyer who was married to the UCLA Dean of the School of Law, who is now the Dean of Southwestern.

There were a group of people, mostly on Carroll Avenue, at the time they were young, ex-hippies ... Who wanted something different, a different lifestyle than what they grew up in. I think I'm overgeneralizing. But basically, they just showed up on Carroll Avenue and saw the beautiful homes and they, one by one, started fixing them up and they formed a group called the Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation (Good Interview, September 27, 2014).

One of the newcomers in 1970 was Planaria Price, a former schoolteacher, who still resides in the neighborhood. Her arrival and interest in Angelino Heights occurred by chance. She was attracted by the architecture and desire to live somewhere unique.

I'm originally from the Valley. I'd been living in Europe for a year and then I was working downtown. And I was looking for a shortcut to the Hollywood freeway and I found this street and I just couldn't believe how... what a wonderful possibility there was to save this street. [...] That was 1970. [...] It was with my first husband and we had this dream to... it looked so much like Europe... as opposed to Los Angeles. We didn't know it existed. And we had this dream to save the whole neighborhood (Price Interview, October 6, 2014).

Her husband, Murray Burns also randomly happened upon Angelino Heights:

I was riding my bike down Carroll Avenue. And I didn't know shit about architecture. The red house across the street was for sale and the seller was here. So I came here and knocked on the door and Planaria answered. And I said I'd like to buy that house across the street and she looked at me and said don't you want to see inside first? And I said "oh yeah." But all I wanted was ghost house (Burns Interview, October 6, 2014).

Planaria and Murray currently own around a dozen properties in the neighborhood and have restored over 30 structures to date (Burns and Price Interview, October 6, 2014).



Figure 6.19: Murray Burns and his wife, Planaria, in front of one of their dozen noteworthy houses. Source: *New York Times*. (Brown 2006)

The residents of Carroll Avenue, such as Tom Morales and Planaria Price, nominated their homes as Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monuments as early as 1967 and throughout the 1970s. Currently there are 12 locally designated homes and the entire 1300 block of Carroll Avenue was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976. These designations in part safeguarded the core of neighborhood from demolition threats like those seen in Bunker Hill. Concerns of redevelopment persisted in the 1970s because most of the area was zoned “R4,” which allowed for large scale, multi-unit housing and meant that if a developer tore down one of the Victorian homes, there was nothing to stop them from putting up a condominium complex (Myers 2013; Burns and Price Interview 2014). When Angelino Heights was designated a historic district it was rezoned to “R2,” which is a two-family dwelling unit zones.

Along with rehabilitation of existing structures, there was an effort to ensure that empty lots along Carroll Avenue were filled with compatible architecture. This resulted in several Victorian homes being moved onto empty lots from other parts of the city. Since 1978 at least six old Victorian homes have been brought by truck to be placed on a new foundation in Angelino Heights. One relocated mansion (1870) and one cottage

(1872) are older than the neighborhood itself (1886). These two houses came from Temple-Beaudry (now demolished in downtown LA). The others were moved from Boyle Heights in East Los Angeles or were houses stranded by the freeway construction around downtown (Klein 2008, 139).

The origins of the Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation (CARF) is linked to the “move-on” efforts. The Foundation came together in 1975 when four families, who had started work on their own homes, arranged to move two Victorian houses onto a property that was under the risk of being developed as an apartment building, which was seen as out of character from the historic fabric (Giovannini 1984; Myers 2013). The effort was financed with house tours (Morales 2014; Burns and Price 2014) and the “moved-on” homes were purchased by CARF and sold to preservation-minded buyers (Burns and Price 2014).

Overall, the mission of CARF was to undertake projects that would aid in the preservation of Carroll Avenue. Money raised at tours was devoted to the “move-on” projects, as well as those that would “benefit the community and enhance the Victorian character of the street” (Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation 1986, 6).⁴⁶ These projects included the installation of vintage street lighting, tree planting, new sidewalks, and burying the power lines to prevent electrical fires (Morales Interview, December 3, 2014). In terms of community outreach, CARF listed its contributions as: an extensive photo exhibit entitled “The Preservation of a Neighborhood” and the publication of a Picture Album (Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation 1986, 6).

⁴⁶ CARF’s film of the move-on projects won the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s 1978 film award (Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation 1986, 6).

The urban pioneers of Carroll Avenue were not only successful in filling several lots with relocated homes (Klein 2008, 139), they also purchased threatened properties themselves. The ability to control property prevented: 1) demolition, 2) guaranteed that no one would “build something crazy” (Good and Good 2014), and 3) ensured that like-minded people would move in. Planaria Price was one of the residents who purchased more than one home in the early 1970s and sold them to the “appropriate” people:

[W]hen my first husband and I came in we bought that house [on Carroll Avenue] and a year later we bought this house [on Carroll Avenue]. It was a different time. You could buy with no money down. And the house was like \$20,000 or \$30,000. And the house next door looked like the leaning Tower of Pisa and they were going to tear it down, so we bought that for like \$16,000. And we didn’t have money so we were able to sell those houses to people who seemed like they were interested in preservation (Burns and Price 2014).

Apart from the “move-on” projects and the acquisition of threatened homes, the residents of Carroll Avenue also protested against large-scale developments in and around the neighborhood in the early 1980s. One project was a “controversial subsidized” 42-unit apartment project at 666 Laveta Terrace (*Los Angeles Times* 1984). The project, some speculated, became “part of a ‘deal’ that led city councilmen [Ferraro’s] ‘crony’ to use a dubious bond” to construct the project over the allowable density (Klein 2008, 139). The *Los Angeles Times* (1984) explains that the apartment was being constructed with the aid of federal low-income rental housing funds and had been the center of a community battle over density. Following community pressure on the city and the developer, the builders agreed to adhere to a Victorian style, however they refused to reduce the plans to 28 units in conformity with the density, holding the city to its original contract calling for 42 rental units. As one resident recalls:

Oh, does this bring up memories of fighting City Hall corruption! [...] Ferraro was constantly sneaking through anything any developer wanted to do — and the

community was constantly having to fight him. [...] Among his many actions contrary to the community, he once swore up and down that he would block a high density project the community opposed on a corner address in Angelino Heights, while he was quietly sneaking it through the council committee he headed under a different address listing that no one knew of — until he got caught doing it and his deception was published in the local newspaper (“Eastside Property: A Pile of Peach Apartments Find a New Owner” 2014).

Figure 6.20: 666 Laveta Terrace. Source: Google Street View (2015).



The Laveta Terrace apartments were finished in 1985 after three arson attempts, one that resulted in \$1.2 million of damage (*Los Angeles Times* 1984). The result was not the Victorian style. New large-scale development projects, such as this one, prompted residents like Tom Morales to ask, “What is the sense of having our houses preserved when the rest of the neighborhood can be knocked down for big apartments or condos all over the place (Morales 2014)?”

The city had passed the HPOZ ordinance in 1979, and there was keen interest on the part of the preservationists and neighborhood organizations to make sure Angelino Heights would be designated. The historic district regulations require that new construction and remodeling comply with the scale and appearance of the neighborhood. Support for the HPOZ designation came from CARF, the Angelino Heights Community

Organization, as well the Los Angeles Conservancy (Schnapper 1982)—all historic preservation advocates. However, the Property Owners and Residents Association of Echo Park, Silver Lake and Elysian Area opposed the designation, due to the belief that it would serve only Carroll Avenue homeowners while violating others' property rights and imposing economic hardships to lower-income homeowners who might prefer to stucco a house rather than restore wood and paint (Gordon 1985). A 1987 *LA Times* article provides a snapshot of a resident for whom designation would impose hardships:

Franco, who lives on Bellevue Avenue, said: "The majority of houses here are very old and the wood is dry and has lost its natural resins. You can't hold these dilapidated houses together with a coat of paint. A better alternative is to stucco" (Gordon 1985).

Norman Klein states that designation was granted as part of a deal: "the neighborhood was quickly rewarded a 'historic overlay zone' weeks *after* documents were found of the illegal bond issue [for Laveta Terrace] that might implicate the councilman" (Klein 2008, 139). Whether or not the designation was influenced by political maneuverings, the Cultural Heritage Board voted with unanimous approval to designate Angelino Heights as a historic district (Schnapper 1982). Thus, in 1983 Angelino Heights became Los Angeles' first HPOZ.

1980s to 2000

Angelino Heights is populated by a mixture of "yuppies," blue-collar families and welfare recipients: by Latinos, Asians and Anglos; by proud homeowners, slumlords, and renters who simply want a decent apartment (Gordon 1985).

The 1980s Census data reveal that Angelino Heights remained racially and economically mixed. In 1980 the area was 41% White, 22% Asian, 36% Other, and 1%

Black. Out of all resident 61% identified themselves as Hispanic. From 1970 to 1980 there is a slight increase in residents with a Bachelor degree (19.4% to 21.2%), but still a high percent of residents living below poverty (34.1%). The average income in Angelino Heights in 1980 was \$41,693 compared to \$65,100 in the city. The average housing value was also lower than the city, \$206,931 compared to \$288,639.

In the 1980s, the newcomers to Angelino Heights differed from the earlier urban pioneers. One of them was Bob Good, who works for a Downtown title insurance company and now serves on the HPOZ board. Bob does not see himself as being part of the early “inner circle” of preservationists. He chose the neighborhood in 1980 because it was affordable and because his wife, Patti, had a sentimental attachment to this area:

Patti: I was born just West of here. Actually, in Saint Vincent's Hospital on Alvarado and 3rd. But, my parents lived on Hoover Street above Beverly. My dad was a fire captain. But, when he was a rookie fireman, in 1928 before my parents were married, at the fire station was down on Temple [...] Then they moved it when the freeway went in in 1948 or 49. They moved it over to where it is right now.⁴⁷ My dad always was here in this neighborhood. Then I had an uncle that lived on Bunker Hill when it was Victorian houses and apartment buildings and such [...]. We would go down every Sunday and pick him up and then bring him to my parent's house for dinner. But, my dad always liked to drive through [Angelino Heights]. In those days people would really take drives to look at stuff [...]. He would drive through and he'd say, “this judge lived here and there...” He was very involved here, even though he went to a lot of other fire stations after, he was very involved here because it was his first.

Bob: Basically, when we wanted to buy a house in 1980 actually '79, we started looking around in areas we liked. And, we started looking up north to the Silverlake area, found out that was pretty expensive and we kept on moving down farther south of Sunset. Then Patty remembered this neighborhood. We looked around and I said, well this area has potential (Good and Good Interview, September 27, 2014).

⁴⁷ The old fire station is currently located in the Angelino Heights HPOZ at the corner of Bellevue Avenue and Edgeware Road. It is not an active fire station, but is used for community purposes, such as after school programs and HPOZ board meetings.

Bob and Patti live in a 1905 duplex on West Kensington Road. Bob said he had the recession in mind when the couple bought the 2,600-square-foot former boardinghouse (which housed 12 people) in 1981 and converted it into a duplex. Using his GI bill to get a guaranteed loan and with no down payment, they paid \$119,000 (Mothner 1994). It took the couple over 3 years to renovate the home. In an interview for the *LA Times*, Bob stated, “I had been a renter for years. I could see the value of the house going up and I saw the rent creeping up to meet the mortgage. So we moved in and did it. To the point that we were living essentially rent-free” (Mothner 1994).

Another resident, Danny Muñoz, a local Angelino, grew up near Angelino Heights and was drawn to the area from an early age.

I used to come here when I was a teenager. I went to Belmont high school, which is not far from here. And a lot of my friends lived here in Angelino Heights. And I lived in Echo Park and we used to come here after school and I was just amazed and impressed by these old houses. (Angelino Heights Board Meeting, September 11, 2014).

Muñoz, a local historian, and his partner, David Hiovich, moved into a Victorian-style home on Bellevue Avenue in 1980. The home was subdivided into 4 units and they converted it back to a single-family residence. The restoration took 30 years (Lion 2012).



Figure 6.21: Restoration at Bellevue Avenue. Before: Danny Muñoz and David Hiovich (left) stand in front of their home in 1981. After: The same house today (right). Photos by Jesse Saucedo. Source: (Lion 2012).

The Goods and Muñoz reflect the second wave of preservationists who moved into Angelino Heights after the 1970s Carroll Avenue wave. The HPOZ continued to provide affordable homeownership opportunities for those willing to invest time in restoration. In 1982, soon before it became an HPOZ, the *Los Angeles Times* described the area as a “neighborhood in transition” with “the process of decay being reversed” through preservation by “residents who are as ethnically and economically diverse as their homes are architecturally mixed” (Schnapper 1982).

However, what is also apparent is a transformation of some of the rooming houses back to single-family residences. The tenants were generally offered cash inducements to leave, while others were allowed to stay with specially reduced rates (Klein 2008, 138). In 1985, a *Los Angeles Times* article noted that there were growing “fears that the district could lead to rapid gentrification” due to the loss of the small apartments (Gordon 1985).

Good provides another reason for the loss of affordable apartments at that time—the Systematic Code Enforcement program.⁴⁸ This program:

Forced landlords who had buildings that were in slum conditions to fix them up to the point where the original tenants couldn't afford to live there anymore. As the buildings got more value, just... things changed in the neighborhood. There are a lot of things happening in the inner city and HPOZs were just one of them (Good et al. 2014)

In many cases, cited landlords had to make improvements and comply with HPOZ rules, which increased costs. However many preferred to sell off their properties at a profit, either to preservationists or to developers, who would often favor new construction. Such was the case with Stanley Zurn, who owned a “dilapidated” three-unit Craftsman apartment building with 12 tenants, who were all low-income (McMillan 1989). He came before the board in March 1989 to seek board approval for demolition, because he had been offered a chance to sell, but only if the buyer could demolish the structure and rebuild. This phenomena was not uncommon, in 1989 Tom Morales, who was the HPOZ board president at the time, estimated that more than half of the 80 projects his board had considered involved new construction, additions or demolitions (McMillan 1989).

Zurn stated, “There’s no provision in HPOZs to preserve low-income tenants. If anything it’s meant to bring in higher-income tenants, higher real estate values” (McMillan 1989). Preservationists countered these types of arguments by stating that, “displacement could be worse without the HPOZ because it would be easier for developers to demolish properties and build expensive condominiums [and] rent control is still in force [with historic buildings]” (Gordon 1985).

⁴⁸ The Systematic Code Enforcement program requires that multi-family rental properties with two or more occupied units be inspected on a periodic basis. Inspections are done to ensure that the units are safe and habitable.

An additional concern that arose after district designation was the requirement to comply with specific design and building materials, and prohibition of others, in particular stucco and aluminum windows. In an article entitled, “Gingerbread or Stucco?” the *LA Times* outlines the story of Bonifacio Garcia, an owner of an apartment house, who replaced wood windows with aluminum and began adding stucco, since it is the most economical improvement, and faced a work stop order because of HPOZ regulations (Gordon 1985). The concern that preservation rules and permits add burdensome and expensive red tape is not uncommon and continues until today (“Picky about Paint” 2011). Due to the high cost of adhering to historically accurate requirements, the upkeep and rehabilitation of structures within the neighborhood are often expensive and can preclude low-income ownership.

What is evident in the stories of Zurn and Garcia is the HPOZ board members’ concern for the structures alone. In a socioeconomically diverse neighborhood, the preservationists’ desires to control the physical environment comes off as, “It’s our way or the highway.” One board member is quoted as saying, “We have to help overcome cross-cultural misunderstandings. Many people feel that stuccoing a little bungalow is the appropriate way of fixing it up. Historical preservation is a cultural concept that probably just isn't there for *them*” (Gordon 1985). In the Zurn situation, Morales stated, “It can't stay the way it is. The status quo is to leave it alone, and admire its beauty until it collapses. And live with the consequences of the *people problem*.” The term *people problem* is stated as being “a common euphemism among the preservationists, and Morales said it refers to tenants who are blamed for trash and [gang] graffiti” (McMillan 1989).

What is clear in the 1980s is that there were growing neighborhood tensions, concerns with affordability, and early signs of gentrification. Many factors were affecting the housing conditions: 1) the ability to purchase affordable housing or land (as an owner or developer) and relocate or “price out” renters; 2) strong development pressures (Gordon 1985); 3) the Systematic Code Enforcement program; and 4) the preservation movement and HPOZ regulations. Yet in 1989, Angelino Heights was still the “least homogenous” of the four existing HPOZS (South Carthay, Miracle Mile, and Melrose Hill), with “a mix of ethnic groups—mostly white, Latino and Asian—and a fairly large group of low-income tenants paying less than \$600 a month (McMillan 1989).

Klein states that Angelino Heights had “become one of the most integrated communities in Southern California, not at all what most of the homeowners expected” (Klein 2008, 138). Examples of interracial cooperation in the 1980s included—community watch against crime, friendships across class lines, and neighborhood street fairs and holiday parades (Good and Good 2014; Lash 2011; Klein 2008, 138). In the 1990s, there were some changes as Angelino Heights experienced homeowner flight for the first time in decades. Panic about the increases in crime in the 1980s and early 90s, as well as the lack of good schools, prompted some families with children to leave (Klein, 2008, 138). One of the gangs that was (and is) active at the time was Varrío Angelino Heights, which is a predominately Hispanic-American street gang located in the Angelino Heights (“Varrío Angelino Heights (AHTS) in Los Angeles | StreetGangs.Com” 2015).

Some residents recall those decades:

I lived on Edgeware for several years in the late 1980s-early 1990s. Angelino Heights is a mixed bag. I think if you're on Carroll Ave, it's completely safe, but on Edgeware I had my share of problems, mostly in the form of the gang kids in the dilapidated rental next door to me - they continuously harassed me, jumped

the fence into my yard, and, hate to say it, killed one of our cats. And the alley behind our Victorian was the local drug-deal hot spot; on more than one occasion I awakened in the middle of the night to gunfire in the backyard. Think of it this way – it's really just part of Echo Park, and has pretty much the same socioeconomic issues, with the exception of those two Carroll Ave blocks of homeowners (Username: SensibleShoes 2004)

In the 80s shootings happened anytime of the day. The streets were not for the community to enjoy, but for the gang members that were hurting and harming the residents and loitering our street with crimes. In the 90's Echo Park was surviving the crime and building up the dignity and integrity that the community had gone through (Betanzos 2009).

While some families moved away, more middle-class Mexican Americans began buying in and restoring houses. Also, increasingly, the district began turning into a rental area for single artists, entertainment industry personnel, and for professional couples without children who worked downtown (Klein 2008, 138). The 1980 and 1990 census shows the percent of homeowners went down slightly from 17% to 16.1%, and crept up to 16.9% in 2000.

The 2000 Census confirms the neighborhood changes: the Hispanic population increased from 61% to 67%, while the White population declined from 46% to 38%; the percent of residents with a BA also slightly decreased from 10% to 9%. The median income, however, increased from \$47,680 to \$60,314 and the percent of residents below poverty decreased from 30% to 26%. The median home values decreased slightly from \$289,751 to \$246,089. Although the changes are mixed, according to the neighborhood analysis Angelino Heights experienced socioeconomic ascent from 1990 to 2000 compared to the City and County, due to increasing incomes and residents with high status jobs (17% to 21%). These types of changes are indicative of incumbent upgrading rather than gentrification (Clay 1979).

In the late 1990s and early 2000, with the economic crisis closing in, the historic district was the community's protection against utter collapse (Klein 2008, 138). The belief was that City Hall did not, and realtors would not provide any meaningful support, unless the neighborhood looked more upscale. Therefore the small core of preservationists protected the living space of a widely diverse population, even though the focus was solely on physical preservation.

2000 to the present

As with the decade before, from 2000 to 2010 Angelino Heights also experienced socioeconomic ascent compared to the City and County. The type of ascent was different compared to the prior decade since there was a decrease in the Hispanic population from 67% to 56%, while the White population increased from 38% to 49%. The average income increased to \$62,613 from \$60,314 and the population of residents below poverty decreased from 26% to 23%. There was also a drastic increase in residents with a BA (9% to 23%) and homeowners (16.9% to 25.1%). The median home values also increased significantly to \$755,046.

A glimpse at the type of new homeowner moving in during the 2000s includes Tom Pejic and his wife, both architects. Tom now serves on the HPOZ board and recounts why he moved to Angelino Heights and what it was like:

We were looking for a historic house and some friends of ours lived right next door. When this house came up for sale [in 2004...] It was a good opportunity [...] When we bought this house, it was full of tenants, which we relocated... we paid for their relocation fees. The nature of the work we were doing, was such that nobody could live here. Where the stairs are, that was all the kitchens and bathrooms. It was all carpeted and tiny little rooms. We had to evict everyone to de-convert back to the single-family home (Pejic 2014).

As with previous generations of incoming homeowners, new homebuyers were attracted to the historic architecture and more affordable housing opportunities compared to the rest of the city (Oller 2014; Michele 2014; Pejic 2014). The growing desirability of the area is reflected in websites like “EchoParkCool,” which touts the area’s “wealth of architecture” and focuses on the “homes, real estate, architecture, new business, and revitalization in the historic enclave of Echo Park” (“Echo Park Cool” 2015).⁴⁹ In 2000 the average home value in Angelino Heights was around \$246,000 compared to \$273,000 citywide and \$255,000 countywide. In 2010, however, Angelino Heights saw its average home values greatly surpass the city average — \$755,000 compared to \$568,000.

The influx of new homeowners in the 2000s, a phenomenon that is supported by anecdotal and Census data, highlights the fact that, as with the 1980s and 1990s, several rental units were taken off the market. This is corroborated by the data that shows that the percent of renters decreased from 83% to 75%. In an online survey, a current Angelino Heights renter states that, “the fact that my neighbor got bought out of her rent controlled apt for 80K” points to one characteristic of gentrification occurring in the neighborhood (No Name 2014). Along with fewer rental units the median rent also increased from 2000 to 2010 (\$704 to \$850 in 2010 values), however it was still lower than the city average (\$851 and \$936).

As Angelino Heights has grown in popularity since the early 2000s, another trend that is noticeable is the sale of renovated multi-family units and flipping homes (Pejic 2014). Pejic notes “[In the 2000s...] Everyone, everybody was doing work to their houses. It really slowed down in 2008 but we are seeing a little bit of an uptick now with

⁴⁹ EchoParkCool includes Angelino Heights, as well as the neighborhoods of Edendale, Historic Filipinotown, Elysian Heights, Temple-Beaudry, Sunset Heights, Belmont Heights, and Victor Heights.

more and more ... A lot of people are buying multi-unit properties and restoring or trying to upmarket them” (Pejic 2014). An analysis of the HPOZ meeting agendas confirms that of the five case study neighborhoods, Angelino Heights’ average number of project that came before the HPOZ board was the highest at 57 projects per year coming before the board, compared to Miracle Mile, which came in second at 38 projects. Out of all the projects proposed 84% of the projects involved smaller projects, such as repainting, replacement of windows or doors, or landscaping, or general rehabilitations.

An example of a multi-unit property that was flipped includes 917 E. Edgeware Road (Figure 6.22). The duplex, which was advertised as being in the “sought after Historical Angelino Heights” was sold as a “major fixer” in 2012 for \$552,000 (for the first time since 1988) and flipped less than a year later for \$805,000 (“917 East Edgeware Rd” 2012). Once renovated, the new ad emphasized the location, architecture, potential to own an income-producing property, and the fact that the units came vacant.

Knock, Knock! It's me, Opportunity. I wanted to see if you would be interested in owning a beautifully renovated Craftsman duplex in Historic Angelino Heights. It's got Downtown Views, original built-ins, hardwood floors, beautifully renovated kitchens [...] AND it's delivered vacant. You could live in one unit and rent out the other and have your friends hate on you for making such a smart move, while they pay rent to their parents. Or you could rent out the whole kit and kaboodle and just stand out in front on the sidewalk telling passersbys, "That's mine. I own that". It's a rare opportunity.



Figure 6.22: 917 E Edgeware Road in 2009 and 2014. Source: Google Street View (2009 and 2014).

Similarly, a larger four-unit structure at 1456 Calumet Avenue, which sold in 1989 for \$145,000 (and later in 1992) was sold in 2011 for \$550,000 and again resold in 2014 for \$835,000 (“1456 Calumet Ave” 2014). The real estate agent lists the four units (1 bedroom/1 bathroom each) as “Echo Park’s Top Sale of the Month” in April 2014 (Bramante 2014). The rent roll shortly after sale was listed as \$809, \$940, \$1,016, and \$1,675. Since the building was constructed before 1978 the units are rent controlled. As with the previous property, the historic architecture is emphasized, as is the “unseen bonus [...] that it is Mills-Act eligible.” Pejic, the HPOZ board chair, notes that the Mills Act is in high demand in Angelino Heights, he states “its like an urban legend. [And] people are always bringing it up” (Pejic 2014). In 2009, a real estate agent’s comments confirm the Mill’s Act appeal: “there is a buyer's frenzy in the area for people looking to take advantage of the tax credit [...] and Angelino Heights is highly desirable” (“Home Selling in Echo Park: Comparable Prices” 2009).⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Out of all HPOZs, Angelino Heights has the third highest proportion of Mills Act contracts for its eligible properties (15.6% in 2014).



Figure 6.23: 1456 Calumet Avenue in 2007 (top) and 2014 (bottom).
Source: Google Street View and Redfin.com

The potential to own an income producing property is attractive to new residents, as well as long-term residents, such as Bob Good. Good stated, “I would say there is a trend there [for new secondary units] because of the proximity to downtown and it just makes sense to add density”(Good and Good 2014). For instance, in September 2014, 932 W. Kensington Road sold for \$1,084,000, which was last sold for \$650,000 in 2010. It was sold with a legal 1-bedroom/1-bathroom in the rear of the property. The HPOZ meeting agendas show that on average there were 9 properties per year that sought approval for additions or new construction; more than half of these cases included construction of new secondary units. Existing or proposed secondary units are also common in Angelino Heights, as visible in assessor information and HPOZ agendas.

Although some of the secondary units are new, the preservation of units built before 1978 is a means of maintaining affordable rental units in the area.

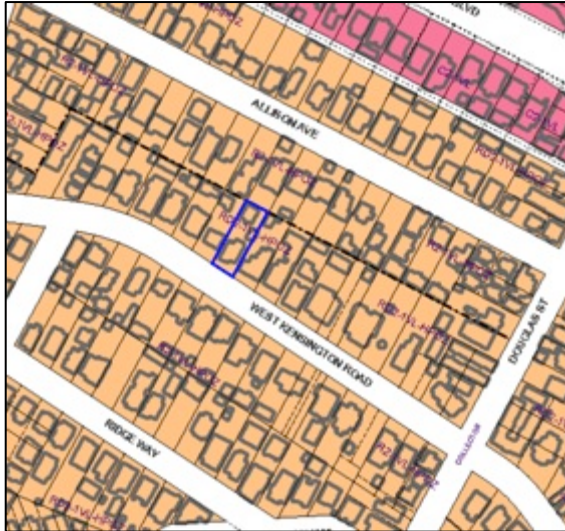


Figure 6.24: Screenshot from ZIMAS, showing secondary units along Kensington Road.
Source: Los Angeles Department of City Planning.

Newer construction like 938 East Edgeware Rd, built in 1990 that has 3 units (one 2-bedroom/2-bathroom and two 3-bedroom/2-bathrooms), was advertised as a “rare non-rent controlled triplex,” but sold below its listing price of \$1,075,000 at \$975,000. The rent roll was listed as \$1,695, \$2,300, and \$2,360 (an average of \$800 per room). New construction cannot apply for the Mills Act, but the advertisement praises the opportunity to “live in one of the oldest and most hip areas of town.”

Who is Leaving?

The voices of current and displaced renters are usually difficult to track. We learn aspects of what is happening from renters and owners. Some renters see that their neighbors are being bought out of rent controlled units (No Name 2014), and we learn from some owners, like Pejic, Good, and Muñoz, that they have paid relocation fees for tenants. Do some of those renters stay within the neighborhood or do they leave? From the interview with Tom Pejic it is revealed that in some cases families prefer to stay:

Tom: It was kind of funny because all the people who lived here, some of them, like I was saying, lived in this house for 30 years, they just moved a couple of doors down.

KG: Interesting. So these are older people?

Tom: They're extended families that run from great-grandparents to little kids. [...] They're all still in the neighborhood. Nobody left the neighborhood. [...] We still see them.

Patti Good also shares insight into Angelino Heights' renters and how they have changed:

There are some [renters] across the street from us. They were renters when Bunker Hill was going down in the 60's. The big family moved over here and then they just stayed there until all of them passed; the mother passed away, and I guess the father passed away before we moved here. But the mother passed away while we were here and then the daughter moved away. Then, things kind of changed. But the new people that are there are—the owner lives in the back upstairs. And the new people that are all there are all people that want to stay here and they're young.

At first renters, 34 years ago, they would strive to buy a house here. Now it's priced out. The difference is that maybe eventually they'll move away. I [know] a renter who is our dog-sitter. We're really good friends and I hope she never moves away. But her place is really tiny and if she ever wants a house, that's the thing, that's the whole thing. Living in the city where I grew up too, everybody has to go out to get a house.

A 2007 Bresee Foundation project offers some insight into how Latino renters feel about the changes in Angelino Heights, and nearby Echo Park, and how it affects them. When watching the video interviews, the viewer sees an image of Victorian homes flash on the screen and hears a young Latino couple state that, “The ‘yuppies’ are buying the houses and in one way or another damaging directly and indirectly the community. They have been reconstructing [the houses] and the value has tripled! Most of the people can’t buy those houses or even fix them” (Cisneros 2007). They continue to discuss the detrimental effects they see:

Echo Park's change due to gentrification has been going on about five years. There has not been information given to the people telling them what is going on. They have simply come and they offered ex-homeowners a lot of money for their houses but they didn't know the real reason. They had contributed to the community for many years and did a lot of good, so why not tell them the truth about what was happening and live out the good things that are entering the community and enjoy the benefits of this influx of richness (Karina and Votan interviewed for Cisneros 2007).

The following three quotes from the interviews provides useful insight from renters about being bought out or having to leave:

They have been selling a lot of our houses and pushing us out, not really pushing us out like saying to get out but there is no reason to kick us out because we are realizing what is going on and we move on (Employee at Angeles Bakery interviewed for Cisneros 2007).

We don't have a well balanced salary to pay high rents like \$1,000 for one-bedroom and we work for minimum wage and we can't afford to pay these higher rents (Lidia Bustamante interviewed for Cisneros 2007).

They are evicting us with unjust reasons. They are evicting us with lies, they are not fixing the apartment and people don't complain because they are afraid (Nora Sanchez interviewed for Cisneros 2007).

We glean from these few interviewees that renters may leave voluntarily, but only because they may not have the power to fight back or they realize that rents will increase eventually, and they may also be afraid due to their immigration status.

The case study has discussed properties that were reconverted into single-family units. However, Angelino Heights also contains several larger apartment buildings that provide rental opportunities in the area. Bob Good discusses why some of these apartments may now be less affordable:

What's interesting to me is that the larger apartments used to be run down and, because of that, people who couldn't afford to live anywhere else were living there. Because of the HPOZ and a few other policies [the Systematic Code Enforcement program] landlords had to fix up their apartments. [The owners] realized probably the best way to go... since the neighborhood is changing... the

way it's evolving is to fix up the apartments to attract higher income renters. Over a period of time, low-income people could no longer live here. In fact it's getting to be where it's pretty pricey, not like the west side. We're renting downstairs for \$1,950 (2 bedroom). That's a little below market but the people are just delighted to be there.

A recent example of an apartment "fix-up" includes the "Bellevue Lofts," which is a 1920s brick complex. An *Eastsider* article dubs the freeway adjacent lofts "the ultimate flip," with rents ranging from \$1,250 to \$2,850 a month ("The Ultimate Flip at \$21 Million" 2013). What is interesting about the conversion of these units to lofts is the reaction from residents that can be read in the comments section. The statements reveal neighborhood tensions, in particular the frustration with increasing rents and the change of population that it produces.

Resident 1: This is so sad. All those people evicted from their homes for a bubble-fueled fantasy, and it's just going to be rentals again... rentals that won't be affordable by the kind of folks who used to live there.

Resident 2: "by the kind of folks who used to live there." You mean the quasi-homeless squatter types, or folks who did nothing but stand and watch all the crime/drug deals/drive-bys that once over-rid this block while I overpaid for the privilege of having 9-1-1 on speed dial [...] Gathering en masse outside and starting fires in the building. Let's bring them back and let them live 20 to a one bedroom for like, \$600.00 a month. That was a good business plan.

Resident 3: I would like to respond to you and all of my new neighbors. I have lived in Angeleno Heights all 33 of my years and I can tell you from a unique perspective what is going on in "our" neighborhood. So with my experience in this once unique corner of Los Angeles I can truly say I'm sad to see what's become of the once familiar streets. Echo Park & Angeleno Heights have always had a split personality but now it seems our new inhabitants don't truly embrace what makes this place so appealing. If you don't like it here leave [...]. So here you are now and oh my, it's really not what all your friends said it was like, [there are] gangs, homeless, graffiti [...]. I believe living in a big city with such diversity can only enrich your experiences day to day. Relax, talk to people you otherwise would not you'll come to find that 'quality people' have a lot to offer.

Resident 2: I'm so sick of that rhetoric masking as logic. Why do people assume that anyone choosing to not live in the suburbs is: a) a poseur; b) a high-falutin'

liberal bourgeois NIMBY; c) yet another kind of racist or otherwise ignorant so and so. But to say that living minutes from downtown anywhere invites lawlessness is a horrible, lame excuse for what is essentially just very bad human behavior. Now that that's off my chest, I too agree, we do have an influx of some very obnoxious, entitled yoots who have NO sense of street smarts about themselves in our lovely, split personality hood I would just as soon see migrate anywhere else.

Resident 4: I've lived across from this building for 7 years and watched its change (slow, slow changes). Scary transient looking people for a while, and then new windows; three times, four to five different contractors that I have seen or talked to [...]. I can't wait for this to be done, so there's some peace to that place. And hopefully some cool, quiet new neighbors...

The lofts are promoted as “a fusion of New York Brownstone and Hollywood Regency [and they] emulate the best of Cosmopolitan Chic and California Cool.” The prices and proximity to downtown attract a new type of resident.

It is the restoration of the physical environment and the new tenants that residents equate with gentrification. When asked “*Do you see Angelino Heights as Gentrifying?*” the responses were all in the affirmative. But interviewees associated different aspects of change with the phenomenon. There was also variety as to whether it was seen as a good or bad thing. And there are nuances as to *how much* gentrification has varied over the decades:

Owner since 2004: When you think about gentrification; it was starting in the 70s. The first people on Carroll started buying houses and fixing those houses there. Even by the time the HPOZ started ... portions of the neighborhood had already gentrified. I mean hit or miss. It's just been differing waves. Definitely early 2000s we saw a big wave come through. A lot of people buying properties, a lot of properties changed hands. When the economy quieted down, everything stayed the same for eight years. Now we're seeing again another turning where previously it was like people were being displaced and people moving in were people who weren't upgrading the properties, maybe they were swapping out the tenants, maybe musician and artists were moving in. Now people are pushing those people out and really upgrading the properties to capture the full amount of rent. The people who are moving in are young professionals from downtown. It's a lot like recent college graduate/business types ... (Pejic Interview 2014).

It's very mixed. Maybe 10 years ago there were...I don't have the actual numbers... it was 20 people on this block or something were middle or higher income, now it's like 25. They're all pretty slight changes. Like I said, the people who've been here forever are still here and are not going anywhere. There is a low turnover of housing. Most of these people aren't interested in selling (Pejic Interview 2014).

Owner since 2004: Yes it is gentrifying. But it's not a bad thing, 10 years ago there used to be ALOT of drug dealing, visually noticeable every day on corners, a lot of gun shots at night, break-ins, etc. That has declined noticeably in last few years, the neighborhood is more of a mix of people, and there is more concern to stop crime and say something about it. Gentrification is caused by URBANIFICATION, people moving from suburbs to cities to be closer to work, walk to restaurants, and it's more exciting and cool to live in the city. It's been happening in SF, San Diego, Los Angeles, Chicago, etc. I don't think any group of people should think they "OWN" a neighborhood and be pointing fingers and blaming about gentrification (Michele Survey 2014).

Owner since 2003: Yes, the neighborhood is shifting from being an economically lower class neighborhood to a neighborhood consisting of wealthier people (Oller Survey 2014).

Owner since 1970: You know... this issue of gentrification drives me out of my mind. It's just a hollow issue. I mean I'm a rabid liberal and went to Berkeley in the 60s and I'm a radical. And I've spent 40 years of my life teaching immigrants, but I think gentrification like what we've done is just a total plus. So that people who rent here have habitable buildings, and the neighborhood is lovely, that you can take your children out. It's a safer, safer place. When they talk about gentrification, they are implying that it's the White people who are moving in pushing out the minorities. When the truth is this neighborhood was always a middle class White area and then immigrants came in, Polish, Croatian, Asian, you know. So this gentrification thing drives me crazy. It is very politically correct. And my view from teaching immigrants is that it's never a racial thing. It's a class thing. And so we are making these neighborhoods middle-class. And I mean this neighborhood is so wonderfully diverse. With owners and they are from all over. Their grandparents came from everywhere. And it's just a nice place to live (Burns and Price Interview 2014).

Owner since 1980: I would say long term residence who see a lot of new people moving in might be resentful. We've had a few cases where people come to the board because they find out they have to get approval [for something]. Maybe people coming to the board see a board that doesn't look like them as much [3 out

of 5 White], like the young kids. They worry about that too. Gentrification... that is negative (Good and Good Interview 2014).

I've been in Echo Park since 1970. My husband lived here in 1950. The last change in Echo Park began after the end of World War II. People moved away and others moved in, in some cases, others passed their homes onto the next generation, and so it went. No one was displaced by more affluent people. Not until now. The curious thing is the need these new people have to preserve everything in sight but the people themselves, and their businesses, rhythm, color, and flavor (pbspeedo@sbcglobal.net Jan 22, 2009).

In terms of how the HPOZ may be impacting the neighborhoods social composition there was a divide between the changes that some of the owners and renters perceived.

It's certainly had a positive effect on the properties, but I don't think it's had any real ... what's affecting the change in the neighborhood now has nothing really to do with the HPOZ. Maybe it makes the area a little more attractive for people who are looking at properties, they see properties that are more interesting to them and more attractive as investments. It's more driven with proximity of downtown above everything else – 10 year homeowner in Angelino Heights (Pejic Interview 2014).

There is now a good mix of people and many cultures, Latino, White, Asian, etc. Young and old – 10 year homeowner in Angelino Heights (Michele Survey2014).

It let's rich people be awful to those less wealthy. It's a deeply divided community between renters and owners and the assholes on Carroll – 9 year renter in Angelino Heights (No Name Survey 2014).

The division in the community was visible in 2008 when the HPOZ boundaries were expanded to what they are presently. Twenty-one comments were heard at the public hearing. Out of the 21, 8 were in support and 13 in opposition. Supporters remarked that the expansion was needed to protect the boundaries of the HPOZ. Opposing comments related to: concerns about the difficulties low-income households would have in complying with HPOZ standards, concerns about the powers of the HPOZ Board; the reduction of property rights; the bureaucratic delays to otherwise quick home

maintenance projects; and the spurring of gentrification as a result of the HPOZ (Williams 2008).

Overall, the Census data reveals that Angelino Heights remains a highly stratified community in terms of income. The 2014 median household income is \$47,782, which is 14% lower than that of Greater Echo Park Elysian (\$55,596).

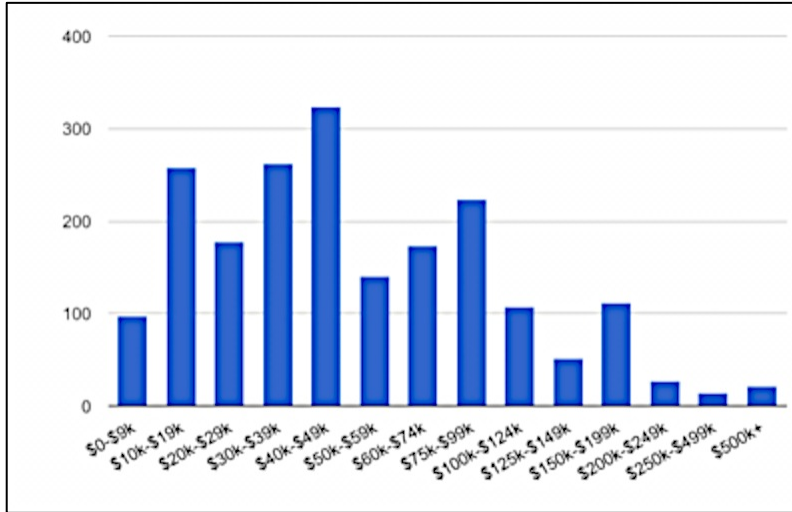


Figure 6.25: 2014 Household Income for Angelino Heights, Source: U.S. Census.

The neighborhood is also diverse in terms of race.

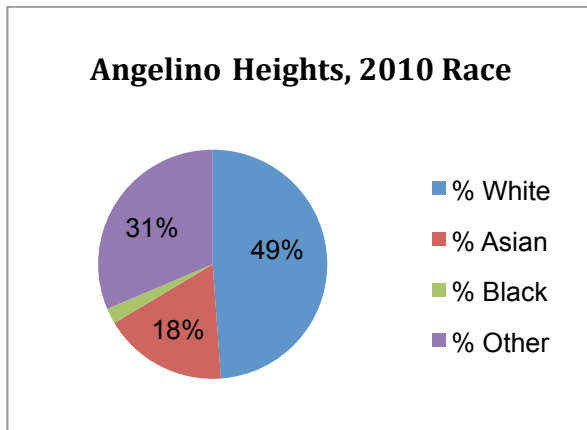


Figure 6.26: Angelino Heights' Hispanic population was 56.4% in 2010. Source: U.S. Census.

Although Angelino Heights is associated with its Victorian Architecture, the architecture and type of housing is diverse. The area is home to Craftsmen, as well as apartments from every decade up until the 1970s. However, it is the historic fabric of the

neighborhood, along with its location near downtown and the newly revitalized Silverlake Reservoir, which make this area more attractive to new homebuyers. There are two sides to the coin though. While the area's unique architecture is appreciated, the outside perceptions of Angelino Heights are still mixed, especially in relation to the fear of crime. The following comments from current and past residents provide insight into the pros and cons of the area.

Angelino Heights is a nice place to visit. The Victorians are cool and the views are great, but the place is a tiny pocket surrounded by a very large, and very violent, barrio. I have two friends who live there - both urban pioneers, both into architecture. And both have been tagged, burgled, and robbed repeatedly over the past five years. Anyone who sings the praises of Angelino Heights or West Adams 1) doesn't have children, 2) doesn't care if they die, 3) doesn't mind removing spray paint from their property on a monthly basis. AH is probably the most overpriced real estate in the history of the planet ("AH is a place to avoid and too expensive" 2007-02-16 15:37)

Hi Kirsten and Alex: Welcome to the neighborhood. I'm sorry you got robbed. We were robbed within a few months of moving in as well. That was three years ago. It takes new people moving into the neighborhood to wake us up into doing something about the crime, the graffiti and the garbage. My partner, Shannon, and I will be happy to join you in your effort to clean up the stairs. What we can do about the robberies, I don't know - we now have an alarm system that we set even to let the dog out for a pee. It seems to me they target new arrivals because we're still innocent to what Angelino Heights is really like. It's a fucking jungle. But in spite of all that, the burglaries, the gangs, the shootings, the graffiti, the filth, the dark streets, the garbage, the drug dealers, the smog, the traffic, we love our house, and many of our neighbors, [...] and we are somewhat happy here. We look forward to making the 'hood safer and will be happy to participate in any way. Best, Eduardo Santiago. September 8, 2004. (Angelino Heights Yahoo Group)

I live on Allison Avenue, and while it's possible there is a huge drug business happening on my street there is definitely another side to this coin-I personally knock on wood haven't had any problems living here and I've lived here for 11 years. I'm thinking about moving out of my income property and I would love to stay in Angelino Heights. There are multiple new businesses opening up in Echo Park, and they are putting 40 million into restoring the lake. Also the Dodgers were just bought and there is a lot of talk of development in the area. There is bad stuff that goes on here, I'm not going to act like there isn't but oddly, it's like

there are 2 worlds here.... Buyer, if you are looking into getting a property here, check out the *Eastsider LA* blog, but I will say that it's like the local news, there's tons of crazy stuff happening in this city all the time-it is after all Los Angeles and this isn't Beverly Hills. I find that living in Echo Park is incredibly convenient because [of location].

Yardley007, Home Buyer, Echo Park, CA. Jun 23, 2012.

http://www.trulia.com/voices/In_My_Neighborhood/We_are_considering_a_home_in_the_Angelino_Heights_-287575

I live on this street. The house is gorgeous, but this is Echo Park. Every other house on the street is an apartment. There is also a lovely HUD house on our street that the cops are regularly called to. The bamboo fence that separates the driveway of this one from the house next door is tagged. I was walking my dog at 10pm on Saturday night and there were gunshots at Laveta & Wallace, followed by the deafening roar of LAPD choppers. I love my neighborhood and there are some awesome, caring homeowners on the block, but almost \$1.3M is pretty greedy. 1422 Ridge was asking \$990K and only got \$864K. 10/06/08
http://la.curbed.com/archives/2008/10/new_to_market_angelino_heights_craftsmen.php#reader_comments

I grew up in Echo Park area and live in Echo Park now. My husband a native New Yorker loves that he can walk to pick up a cup of coffee, the people watching, close to fwy and that we can also get some quiet in the city. We own a home here and are quite happy with the neighborhood. The market seems to be on the rise and new businesses are on the horizon. Looks like we will have a Fresh and Easy in the area soon, which is much welcomed. There is an interesting mix in the neighborhood, that being the older Chicanos and the hipsters. Most of the homes are kept up and seems like the owners do take pride in their homes. There are a few dumps that the over the hill gangbangers seem to flock to. They do seem to keep to themselves with the exception of the Friday night aftermath when they decide to tag up their neighborhood. There are a ton of homes being flipped so hopefully with time the "cholos" will bounce to Lancaster or Palmdale. One can only hope!

http://www.trulia.com/voices/In_My_Neighborhood/We_are_considering_a_home_in_the_Angelino_Heights_-287575, Fri Oct 12, 2012

RUN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION! Drugs and gangs are rampant, having increased their presence in Angelino Heights, especially. The "creative hipsters" who the neighborhood, lumped in with Echo Park on the other side of Sunset are being driven out due to violent crime that the musician/ artists/ boutique designers never thought could happen to them, The bars that the artists and musicians once haunted, from the early days of The Short Stop, The Little Joy, and now The Gold Room are now taken over by gangbangers, and the only

hipsters who still go there go to score for the habit they picked up living in this gentrification gone awry [...]. And word to the wise, one of the cities largest heroin/meth/etc. drug dealer's has a permanent business running out of Angelino Heights, on Alison Avenue near Douglas, a street that could look innocuously charming if one keeps on their blinders. Dora Flood, June 28, 2011.

http://www.trulia.com/voices/In_My_Neighborhood/We_are_considering_a_home_in_the_Angelino_Heights_-287575

Ahh, this is so wrong, I've owned/managed a small apartment building in Angelino Heights for over 20 years. The whole gangbanger thing, that's what it was like when I bought the building in 1991; having to paint out graffiti every week, now its once year, maybe. Christopher Louie, May 14, 2014 Landlord, Torrance, CA

The last comment by Christopher Louie, highlights the fact that crime incidents have decreased in the area, yet are still present. A review of *LA Curbed* and *Eastsider* articles from 2008 to the present provides a glimpse into the incidents in the area.

Murders or Attacks	<p>Stabbing at Gold Room Proves Echo Park Still Has Some Grit - Feb 19, 2015,</p> <p>One dead in Angeleno Heights shooting - October 20, 2014, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Homeless man killed in Angeleno Heights - October 1, 2012, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Man killed in Angeleno Heights shooting - April 8, 2012, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Echo Park moves on even as the killers of three kids remain unpunished - October 22, 2008, <i>Eastsider</i></p>
Theft	<p>Mail theft reported in Angeleno Heights - June 18, 2014, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Burglars get busy in Echo Park and Silver Lake - October 16, 2013,</p> <p>Home surveillance video leads to arrest of Angeleno Heights burglary suspect- May 20, 2013, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Burglars busy in Echo Park and Angeleno Heights - June 13, 2012, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Police searching for suspected burglar in Angeleno Heights - September 29, 2011, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Woman mugged in Angeleno Heights daytime robbery - February 19, 2010,</p> <p>The New Year begins with a midnight robbery for an Angeleno Heights couple - January 4, 2010, <i>Eastsider</i></p>
Gang Activity/ Graffiti	<p>Cars in Angeleno Heights hit by gunfire - December 13, 2013, <i>Eastsider</i></p>

	<p>Angeleno Heights residents get stuck in the middle of gang tagging cross fire - July 2, 2012, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>One man injured in Echo Park drive-by shooting - February 26, 2012,</p> <p>Two injured in Echo Park area shooting - December 16, 2010, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Clean up crew suffers a setback in the ground war against graffiti - December 8, 2010, <i>Eastsider</i></p> <p>Police capture shooting suspect in Angeleno Heights - December 6, 2010,</p> <p>A sleepless night on Ridge Way (gunshots) - July 28, 2010, <i>Eastsider</i></p>
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Conclusions

The intention of the case study is to understand the relationship between the HPOZ and gentrification trends.

1. *What are the types of physical and social changes within HPOZs that can be attributed to historic designation?*

In terms of physical changes, Angelino Heights has experienced enormous revitalization since it became a designated district. In the early 1970s many homes were in a state of disrepair, as can still be seen with a few homes in the district (Figure 6.27).



Figure 6.27: Two examples of homes in disrepair in Angelino Heights. Photos taken by Author.

However, the numerous locally and nationally designated homes in the district

point to a significant physical revitalization. Other improvements can be seen with homes like those of Bob Good or Tom Pejic. Several multi-family homes flips and rehabilitation also reflect the changes that have occurred over the last decade in particular. The HPOZ agendas, which are available from 2004 to the present, indicate that Angelino Heights has the highest rate of applications (57 projects per year) compared to the other case study neighborhoods (Harvard Heights, Miracle Mile North, South Carthay, and University Park). Most are for renovations or small improvements.

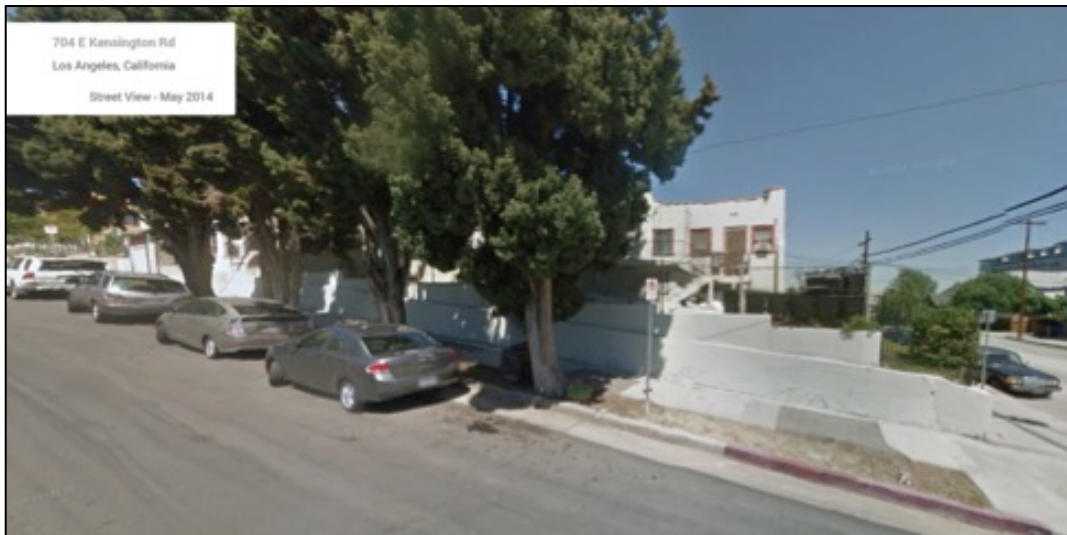
Through Google Street View (2007 to 2014 for Angelino Heights) one can also explore the physical improvements that have been occurring over the last decade. The following images reveal new façade paintings, security bar removal, and landscape improvements (Figure 6.28 a – g).

Figure 6.28: Angelino Heights Google Street View examples, 2004-2014.



a. 2014 compared to 2007

- No security bars
- No clothes on balcony
- New paint on window panes and stairs
- New landscaping



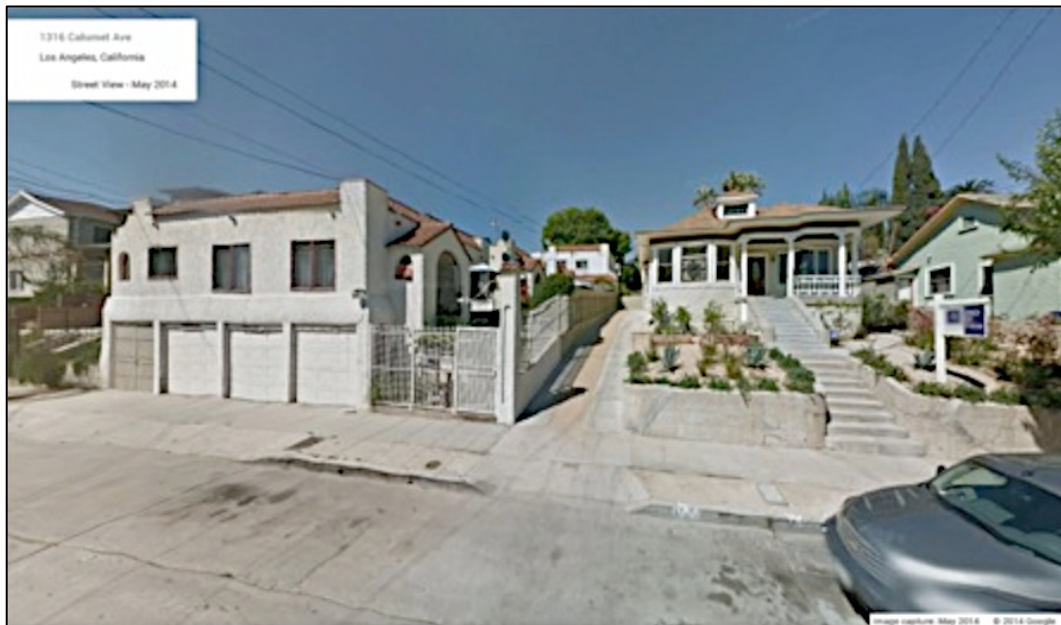
b. 2014 compared to 2007

- No graffiti
- New paint on fence
- Cleared sidewalk of trash



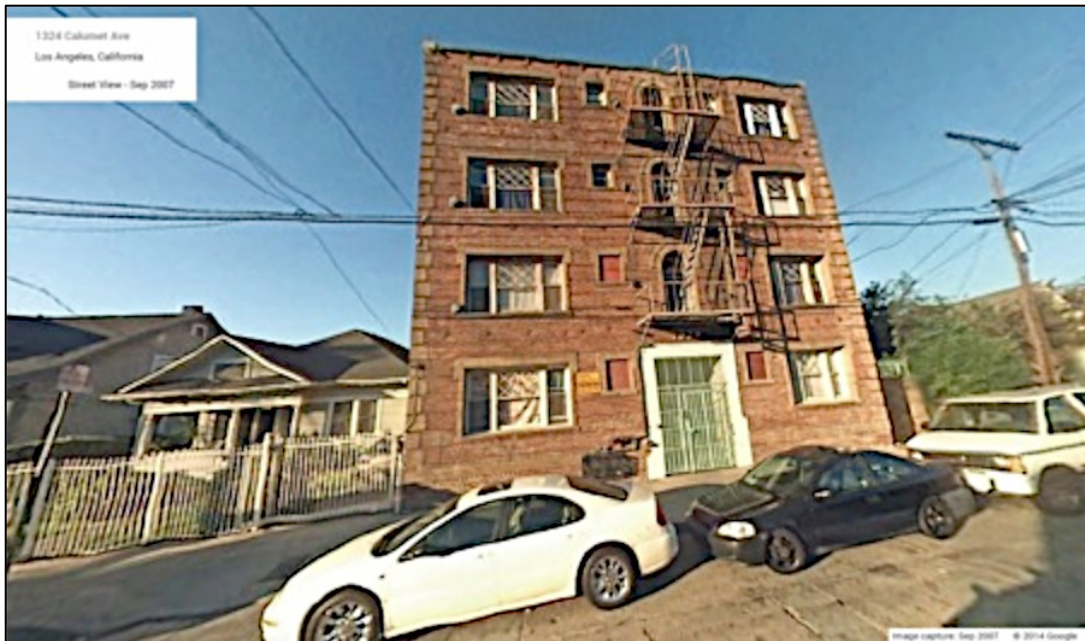
c. 2014 compared to 2007

- New green paint
- No security bars
- No fence
- New landscaping



d. 2014 compared to 2007

- New paint
- New landscaping
- Repaired retaining wall



e. From 2007 to 2014: Removed security bars from entrance



f.

2014 compared to 2007:

- New paint
- Improved landscaping
- Visible Façade
- No bars on windows



g. 2014 compared to 2007:

- New paint
- Renovated stairway
- Landscaping improvements

In terms of social changes, the Census data and case study have revealed that the neighborhood has experienced several changes since the establishment of the historic district. As shown in Richard Florida's recent work on Los Angeles, Angelino Heights is a predominantly *Service Class* area.⁵¹ Although the majority of the area consists of low-wage, low-skill workers, the socioeconomic ascent analysis conducted reveals that in 2010 Angelino Heights transitioned from a *Low-Income* to a *Middle-Class* neighborhood. However, the neighborhood remained *Hispanic* with 56.4% of its residents identifying as Hispanic in 2010. This analysis indicated that the area had experienced three waves of neighborhood ascent beginning in 1970: 1970 to 1980; 1990 to 2000; and 2000 to 2010.

The case study reveals that several changes occurred that could be linked to the historic fabric—the influx of urban pioneers, a growing interest in homeownership from outsiders, and the transformation of rental units to owner units. The changes in the Angelino Heights fluctuated, as can be seen by the neighborhood ascent analysis that indicates ascent occurring for each decade from 1970 to 2010, except from 1990 to 2000. While earlier urban pioneers and homeowners still remain in the area, in recent years there has been more home flipping and rehabilitation of multi-unit housing to attract higher rents.

There is an apparent influx of “gen-nesters,” who are described as “highly educated, ethnically diverse, eco-conscious and consummate consumers, and many of them are entering the housing market with their own ideas about what constitutes domesticity” (Wedner 2005). In an article entitled, *Gen-nesters want urban edge and barbecues, too* the appeal of neighborhoods like Angelino Heights is explained:

⁵¹ The *Service Class* includes workers in low-wage, low-skill, routine service jobs such as food service and preparation, retail sales, clerical and administrative positions, and the like.

The California Craftsman exteriors of many Angelino Heights, Echo Park, Glassell Park, Eagle Rock and Highland Park homes appeal to this demographic, who then open and update the interiors to accommodate studios or home offices. These older Los Angeles enclaves also are more moderately priced [...]. Gen-nesters often are happy to grab vintage homes, no matter the condition. "They're just trying to get in," Toyama said. "They move fast and make quick decisions." Finding the perfect house and staying there until retirement is not on Gen-nesters' radar, so buying and fixing homes, then moving a couple of years later, is no big deal, experts say (Wedner 2005).

In terms of economics, Angelino Heights has become a more desirable area and this is reflected in increasing home values. The HPOZ and diversity of well-preserved architecture, is frequently indicated as an important reason for why this area's desirability has increased. Other reasons include its location near several amenities or other central locations, such as Sunset Boulevard, Downtown Los Angeles, Echo Park Reservoir, and Dodger Stadium.

2. *Do residents of HPOZs experience gentrification? Do low-income residents who stay in gentrifying neighborhoods see any benefits?*

All of the residents that were interviewed or surveyed, or whose opinion on this matter was shared on public forums, do believe that gentrification is present in Angelino Heights. Many stated that there has been a visible change in population since the 1970s, however it has not been until the mid-2000s to the present when gentrification has been considered rampant. As Pejic noted, in the early 2000 a street might have had 20 "gentrifiers" and now the numbers have increased to 25 and there are also a noticeable interest in flipping properties. Slight changes make a difference in the perception of residents, but more importantly for long-term residents who see their friends or family being bought out or priced out of their homes.

As to whether low-income residents see benefits in gentrification is difficult to

answer due to the lack of information. From the material available, we know that gentrification in Angelino Heights does lead to loss of rental units either due to major rehabilitation or conversions to owner-occupied units. Many of the units are rent controlled, however if a landlord chooses to convert a property back to a single-family residence or to undertake a condominium conversion he can do so by paying relocation assistance. Rent in rent-controlled units is only reset at market-rate upon vacancy. If rental units are being converted to condos or single-family homes, as is the case with several homes in Angelino Heights, it is clearly not a benefit for those who depend on affordable housing. However, while accepting the negative aspects of the changes, an interviewee from the project *Echo Park: A Different View* also acknowledges that the “influx of richness” brings benefits and “good things.”

[W]hy not tell them the truth about what was happening and live out the good things that are entering the community and enjoy the benefits of this influx of richness.

Certain benefits that have come with the revitalization of Angelino Heights are the improvements in the homes and public spaces, but also the increased community activism, which has helped to decrease crime and gang incidents (graffiti or violence). For instance, Planaria Price discusses the creation of a phone tree and a neighborhood patrol to inhibit crime in the 1980s:

I put together a phone tree and, although a hassle, that seemed to work. I have no memory when the Select Patrol started but we jumped on board immediately. We no longer needed a phone tree. Only had to call them and they would be there and had better connections with the police than we. It would be nice if the police would come all the time, but the reality is there are not enough police. If we want to feel secure and safe in our neighborhood we need to spend a little of our own money and hire our own security. And, again, the more people who belong to the Select Patrol, the more hours they will be able to patrol.

The low-income residents that remain in Angelino Heights benefit from an increase in safety and rehabilitation, but only if they are not priced out. Since 2000, Angelino Heights has transitioned to being a middle-class neighborhood, yet the median household income for 2014 (\$47,782) was lower than that of Greater Echo Park Elysian (\$55,596). But although the median income is lower, there is a greater turnover of housing in Angelino Heights compared to Greater Echo Park Elysian and the Los Angeles City. This may indicate a higher rate of displacement.

Table 6.4: Angelino Heights Income, Housing, and Turnover compared to Echo Park and L.A. City.

	Angelino Heights	Greater Echo Park Elysian	City of Los Angeles
Median Household Income	47,782	55,596	79,055
Average Household Net Worth	487,888	541,487	707,291
Long-term Residents (5+ years)	24%	31%	36%
Annual Turnover	17%	15%	18%

What is clear from several interviews and surveys is that those with an interest in preservation or revitalization hope for a more balanced neighborhood, of solidly middle class and working class together. In some instance, the community has developed a degree of solidarity with owners and renters standing guard over a restored house or copying down license plates of unknown cars (Angelino Heights Yahoo Group). In October 2014, Jesse Gonzalez was killed in a drive-by in the neighborhood. The community banded together to gather donations for the family that has lived in Angelino Heights for years. Some of the online neighborhood discussion groups portray the solidarity between community members.

I am just now catching up on these emails and am devastated to learn that Randy's brother was the victim of this terrible shooting. Both of our daughters went to school at Plasencia, and Randy was the after-school sports/activity coordinator for all the years that they were there. Our girls

loved Randy and his brother Jesse, and Randy has always been so dedicated to the children of the school and of the neighborhood. Their family has long lived in this neighborhood and I am happy to see how the everyone is pulling together to help. Such sad news... (Brophy 2014).

My name is Randy Gonzalez. My little brother was the man who was shot on Kellam and Edgeware. My brother was a gentle and care free person, who enjoyed talking to the world [...]. On behalf of my family I want to thank you, my wonderful Angelino Heights Community for your support and encouraging words. We are humbled by the kind words and wonderful stories that were shared with us about my brother by many community members. We will be eternally grateful and forever in your debt. God bless you all and my brother sends his thanks from up above (Gonzalez 2014).

3. *What were the motivations for HPOZ designations? And who has a voice in how the district is maintained?*

Early interest the neighborhood preservation aligned with an increasing interest in preservation both city and nationwide. However, it was the threat of development, change, and destruction of historic homes that spurred activists to strive for HPOZ designation. Preservation groups, such as CARF of the LA Conservancy, who were well organized and motivated whole-heartedly, supported the effort. Early opposition arose from property owners, such as Property Owners and Residents Association of Echo Park, Silver Lake and Elysian Area.

Now, as was the case in the past, it is homeowners and not renters, who have a presence in the HPOZ and determine how it is maintained. Homeowners see themselves as having a greater financial stake. Although there is a provision for renters to be involved with the HPOZ board, there are none (and have not been) on the board. To serve on the HPOZ board takes time and requires flexibility in one's schedule, which is often not possible for lower-income professions.

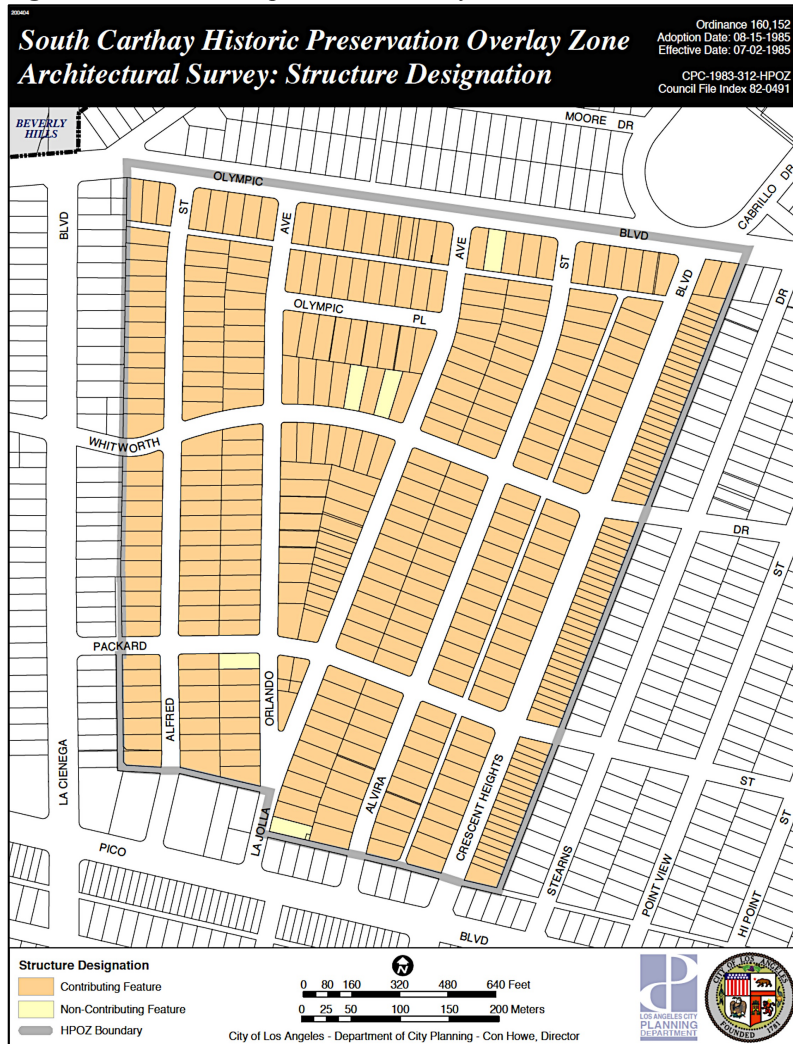
Finally, as Bob Good acknowledged, he suspects that Latino residents at times feel uncomfortable with an HPOZ board that does not look like them. For a neighborhood that remains predominantly Latino, the HPOZ board is not reflective of the population it

serves. This difference in representation, along with the socio-economic changes occurring in Angelino Heights, creates a situation in which the HPOZ becomes the face of the change or gentrification. Even if the HPOZ is not the sole reason for change.

6.3. South Carthay

The South Carthay HPOZ was designated in 1985 and was the second historic district to be designated in Los Angeles. South Carthay is located southeast of Beverly Hills and is bounded by Olympic, Crescent Heights, Pico, and La Cienega Boulevards. The neighborhood consists of single family-zoned streets in the core that are surrounded by duplexes and small multiple unit-zoned streets. The HPOZ also has two commercial zoned streets on the perimeter—La Cienega and Pico Boulevards. The commercial areas are not included in the HPOZ.

Figure: 6.29: HPOZ Map of South Carthay. Source: Office of Historic Resources.



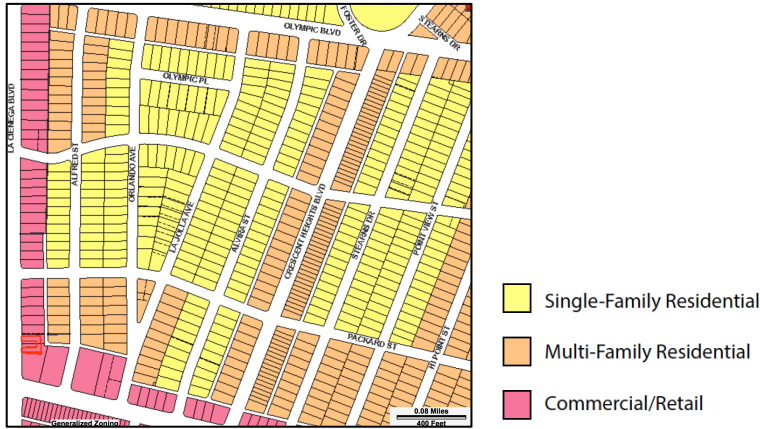


Figure 6.30: Zoning map of the South Carthay area. Source: ZIMAS.

Within the district there are approximately 370 structures and 90% are contributing. One-third of households in South Carthay live in single-family homes and the rest occupy small apartments and duplexes (Mothner 1993). The majority of the properties are Spanish Colonial Revival single-family homes that were constructed primarily in the mid-1930s. However, the area also exhibits other Period Revivals, in addition to a few Moderne-style homes (Gebhard and Winter 2003, 163). No two homes in the district are exactly alike, but the characteristic use of low-pitched red tile roofs, arched doors and windows, and smooth stucco exterior finishes provides visual continuity and cohesiveness to the neighborhood.



Figure 6.31: Two examples of Spanish Colonial Revival style single-family homes in South Carthay HPOZ. Photo Source: Office of Historic Resources.

The two-story apartments found throughout the HPOZ were generally constructed a few years after the single-family homes and in the same 1930s style, such as Spanish Revival. There are no large-scale modern apartment buildings that were constructed after the 1940s.



Figure 6.32: Examples of apartment buildings in South Carthay HPOZ. Photo Source: Right: www.zillow.com; Left: www.airbnb.com
Left: Apartment building on La Jolla Ave. Right: Apartment building on S. Crescent Heights.

South Carthay Early History

The area of the South Carthay HPOZ became a part of the City of Los Angeles on February 28, 1922 (“South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 17). And a single tract, recorded on October 22, 1922, would form most of the South Carthay HPOZ area. Although the tract was recorded in the early 1920s most of the area remained farmland until 1933, and only part of it was developed. The name South Carthay was based on its geography, since it was south of Carthay (South Carthay Neighborhood Association n.d.).⁵¹ By the mid-1920s, Carthay Center (or Carthay Circle today), to the north, was touted as one of the finest developments in local home possibilities” with the “only shopping district in that section of Wilshire Boulevard (*Los Angeles Times* 1924). Middle class residents arrived in Carthay Center on the San Vicente streetcar line to find Spanish

⁵¹ The area known as Carthay takes its name from its developer J. Harvey McCarthy.

Revival homes priced around \$8,000 in the 1930s (South Carthay Neighborhood Association n.d.).

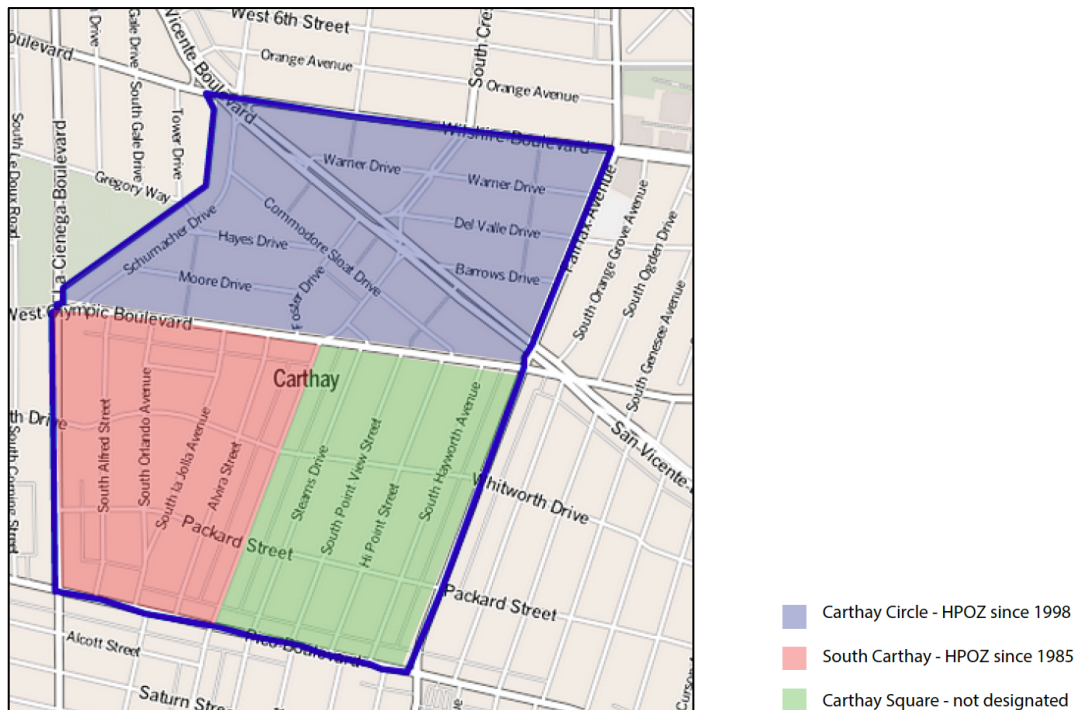


Figure 6.33: Sub-neighborhoods of the Carthay neighborhood: Carthay Circle, South Carthay, and Carthay Square. “Carthay” is presented as delineated by the *L.A. Times* Mapping L.A. project. Map created by Author. Source: L.A. Times Mapping L.A.

While Carthay Center (or Carthay Circle) was developed and grew in popularity during the 1920s, the South Carthay area remained undeveloped, since it was part of a long-term lease to Ralph’s Markets. This is suggested in a Certificate of Ownership on one of the tract maps that subdivided the area, which includes Ralph’s Markets as having an interest in the land and consenting to the dedication of streets (“South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 17). The Sanborn Maps from 1927 (Figure 6.34) reveal that the area of the South Carthay HPOZ is listed as “Proposed.” The detailed parcel map for the area is unavailable (Sheet 2373). However, the two abutting areas that were surveyed (Sheet 2372 and 2374) include portions of the current HPOZ and show that nothing was developed in the area in 1927.

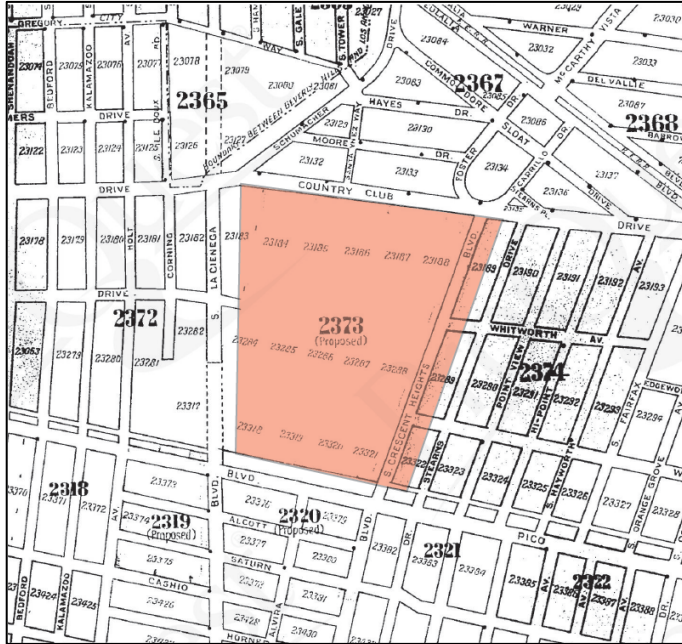


Figure 6.34: 1927 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Volume 23. The area indicated in red is the location of the current South Carthay HPOZ. “Proposed” is written underneath the Sheet number. Source: ProQuest.



1927 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Volume 23, Sheets 2371 (left) and 2374 (right). Areas in red are located in the South Carthay HPOZ.

The South Carthay neighborhood is listed as “unusual” by the Preservation Plan because it is an “infill” project (“South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 18). The majority of South Carthay “infill” development occurred rapidly during the 1930s. By the

1950s the Sanborn Map shows the South Carthay HPOZ area was completely developed. It has remained almost unchanged since then.



Figure 6.35: 1950 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Volume 23, part of Sheet 2372 and 2374, and Sheet 2373. The red dashed lines indicate the boundaries of the South Carthay HPOZ. Source: ProQuest.

Not only was South Carthay developed within one decade, mostly between 1932-1936, it is also stated as “notable” because the majority of its buildings are designed in the Spanish Colonial Revival style (“South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 18). The homes in the area when built were all approximately 2,200 square feet and contained two or three bedrooms, a den, a living room, a dining room, a kitchen, two bathrooms, and usually a small interior patio. However, the home exteriors and interior layouts were

modified to avoid the effect of a sea of identical buildings and houses and appear individually designed and built. An example of the design variation can be seen in the different glass windows with stained glass insets.



Figure 6.36: Examples of two windows with glass-stained insets in South Carthay HPOZ. Source: South Carthay Neighborhood Association.

One quarter of the homes in South Carthay were developed by Spyros George Ponty, who was known for the design of homes in Westwood, Norwalk, Beverly Hills, South Central Los Angeles, and the San Fernando Valley from 1929 until 1963. Other developers worked in the area too, however Spanish Colonial Revival was the most prevalent style, because it was the most popular. The single-family residences’ cost was approximately \$4,800 to \$7,000 (South Carthay Neighborhood Association n.d.). The original home covenants, conditions, and restrictions specifically eliminated people of color (except “servants”) from living in the new homes (Snyder 2014).

South Carthay HPOZ was not affected by major infrastructure projects, as was the case with the other HPOZ case study areas — Angelino Heights, Harvard Heights, and University Park. Since its creation, the street layout and built environment of the HPOZ have experienced few changes over the last several decades. Thus, South Carthay’s

historical importance or identity is closely tied to its uniform architectural style, which is “both intact and creates a powerful sense of time and place” (“South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 19). Gebhard and Winter (2003) note that it was the “sense of an organic community of period architecture” (p. 163), which caused the Los Angeles Cultural Heritage Board to recommend to the Planning Commission and to the City Council that South Carthay be recognized as a cultural-historic district or an HPOZ.

Socioeconomic Make-up Today and in the Past

In the mid-1930s, the cost and legal restriction of the homes in South Carthay attracted White, middle-class residents. The Census data show that South Carthay has remained a predominantly White neighborhood – 97% in 1970 and 72% in 2010. Although in 1970 over a third of the residents were foreign-born (38%) that number has decreased to 19% in 2010. During the 1980s the area was more diverse than today, as revealed by the Census, with 24% Black residents, 68% White residents, 3% Asian residents, 5% of residents listed as “Other.” The increase in Black residents can be associated to the development of Little Ethiopia to the east of the Carthay area beginning in the late 1970s.

Little Ethiopia is a one block stretch along Fairfax between Olympic and Whitworth in the Carthay area. It is the smallest of the Los Angeles’s many ethnic enclaves and it’s also the only African-American one. Overall, Los Angeles is home to the second largest group of Ethiopians living in America behind Washington, DC. The Ethiopian population in L.A. County is unofficially estimated at over 60,000 (Brightwell 2010). Although currently, Little Ethiopia is compromised of restaurant and businesses,

Ethiopian populations used to reside in the Carthay area too and is still home to most of Los Angeles' Ethiopians (Brightwell 2010).

In terms of the Hispanic (or Latino) population, it has increased since the 1970s: 3% in 1970 to 18% in 2010. However, the proportion of Latino residents is considerable lower than the proportion of Latino residents in the City and County (49% and 48%).

Table 6.5: South Carthay Total Population, Racial Composition, and % Foreign Born Residents, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	Total Population	% Black	% White	% Asian	% Other	% Hispanic	% Foreign Born
1970	3856	2	97		1	3	38
1980	3512	24	68	3	5	7	25
1990	3607	17	70	6	7	16	26
2000	3576	14	67	7	13	18	24
2010	3289	9	72	6	13	18	19

Table 6.6: City of Los Angeles Racial Composition, and % Foreign Born Residents, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	% Black	% White	% Asian	% Other	% Hispanic	% Foreign Born
1970	18	78	n/a	5	18	14
1980	17	61	7	15	28	27
1990	14	53	10	23	40	38
2000	11	47	10	32	47	41
2010	10	50	11	24	49	40

Table 6.7: County of Los Angeles Racial Composition, and % Foreign Born Residents, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	% Black	% White	% Asian	% Other	% Hispanic	% Foreign Born
1970	11	86	n/a	4	18	11
1980	13	68	6	14	28	22
1990	11	57	11	21	38	33
2000	10	49	12	30	45	36
2010	9	50	14	22	48	36

In terms of total population, the South Carthay area has seen slight decreases since the 1970s, however the number of housing units has remained almost unchanged (1630 in 1970 and 1614 in 2010). These two changes point to 1) the fact that no new

housing has been constructed in the area and 2) the decrease in family size or an increase of residents who live alone.

Table 6.8: South Carthay Housing Statistics, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	# Housing Units	% Owner Occupied	% Renter Occupied	Average Home Value	Median Rent
1970	1630	39	61	239704	899
1980	1668	38	62	455917	901
1990	1672	36	64	767117	1263
2000	1616	35	65	642518	1412
2010	1614	37	63	1000000	1514

Homeownership in South Carthay, since the 1970s, has seen a slight decrease (39% to 37%), while the proportion of renters in 2010 increased to 63%. Overall, the cost of homes in the area has steadily increased. In 2010, the average home value was a million dollars and the median rent listed was high at \$1,514 (compared to 936 for the City).

Table 6.9: South Carthay Income, Education, and Job Statistics, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	Average HH Income (\$)	% Education Attainment, B.A.	% High-Status Job
1970	94566	35	45
1980	77145	55	50
1990	100693	46	52
2000	98035	52	55
2010	126511	48	66

An analysis of the area’s socioeconomic status ascent indicates that South Carthay experienced ascent three times since 1970 relative to the City and County: 1970 to 1980, 1980 to 1990, and 2000 to 2010. From 1970 to 1980 there is an increase in residents with a B.A. and high-status jobs, as well as an increase in home values and rent. The HPOZ process was initiated in the early 1980s and was designated in 1985. During that decade, from 1980 to 1990, South Carthay sees an increase in average household income, residents with high-status jobs, home values, and rent. In the last decade of ascent, 2000

to 2010, there is an increase in income, residents with high-status jobs, home values and rents. In the last decade the area also transitioned from an Upper Middle-Class to an Affluent area.

Historic Preservation in South Carthay

The establishment of the South Carthay HPOZ was closely tied to the active neighborhood association in the area (Kaplan 1986; Robinson Interview 2014). Thomas Preston, a resident of South Carthay since 1973, helped organize community meetings and stated that the reason for the formation of the neighborhood association included concerns over crime along with goals ranging from planting trees to developing a plan to ease traffic in the area (Morain 1981). To try to alleviate the problems of crime and traffic, the community reached out to local political leaders for help. Present at a first community meeting in 1979 were Zev Yaroslavsky, who was a city councilman at the time, as well as Herschel Rosenthal who was in the state legislature (South Carthay Neighborhood Association n.d.). One of the founders of the neighborhood association, Terry Snyder, who has resided in South Carthay since 1972, gives his account of what motivated the creation of the association in 1980:

In 1980, the Post Office opened on a commercial street (Pico Blvd) on the site of a business owned by a former resident of the neighborhood. This caused an increase in traffic and speed. I contacted Zev Yaroslavsky, who was councilman at the time, and suggested he push for four-way stops to ameliorate this problem. When he refused (he didn't "believe in them") I helped start the South Carthay N.A., along with Dr. Tom Preston (formerly of Orlando & Whitworth, currently of Woodland Hills) and George Parks (Formerly of 1100 S Alfred, now deceased). Since I began a business at the time, I was unable to stay involved and Fred Naiditch became president. Shortly after that the HPOZ was initiated (Snyder Correspondance 2014).

The South Carthay Neighborhood Association provides an account of Fred Naiditch's, former association president, memory of how the HPOZ process began. The initial interest in a historic district is said to have occurred by chance.

A guy by the name of Bill Hoffman called me one day. He had been traveling around the neighborhood. He was writing a Master's thesis at UCLA, and his advisor suggested that Bill look around the city for an area that would look good to become an HPOZ. At that time, there was only one, Angelino Heights. I brought up the idea at an association meeting and everyone seemed to like it (South Carthay Neighborhood Association n.d.).

On the heels of creating the neighborhood association, there was significant community involvement and energy, and there was a strong interest in historic designation. Naiditch presented the homeowner's perspective to the *L.A. Times*:

As a homeowner, the historical designation would be prestigious. But primarily it will preserve the architecture by preventing people from tearing down homes and putting up condominiums (*Los Angeles Times* 1981).

A committee was quickly formed to look into the possibility of establishing an HPOZ. The committee consisted of Dorothy and Stanley Greenburg, Dorothy's sister Bess Levin, Walter Nukes, Fred Naiditch, and his wife Sandi (South Carthay Neighborhood Association n.d.). The group put together ballots and went around to every resident in the entire neighborhood to collect signatures for and against.

Fred Naiditch stated, "We had to have 70% in favor of doing this; we got 92% of residents to agree." It was clear that there was a strong support for designation; the last step was to complete a historic survey. Naiditch explained, "We got Professor Robert Winter, an architectural historian to do the survey. He went around and took photographs of all the residences, and went over all the information down at the Hall of Records." The Association appealed to the City Council to fund the cost of the survey, which would cost close to \$20,000. Councilmen Zev Yaroslavsky went before the

Council and got approval, as he would later do when Miracle Mile North sought designation. Both the ability to recruit a famous architectural historian to conduct the neighborhood survey, as well as to have the City pay for it, points to a community that is well connected and influential. The designation of South Carthay HPOZ did not take long. The process began in 1980 and the HPOZ was approved in 1984 and finalized in 1985.

At the time of designation South Carthay was a well-maintained neighborhood without any immanent threats of McMansions or demolitions. Therefore, the historic district status was a means of ensuring that the physical environment would be controlled and preserved. The South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan reinforces that idea in its mission statement, which states that the Plan should:

Facilitate the vitality of the district as a livable and sustainable neighborhood through the restoration, preservation and enhancement of structures, landscaping and natural features (“South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 5).

Additionally, the plan makes no references to the past or present population who resided in the area, however it does emphasize the strong activism of the neighborhood association – “South Carthay currently enjoys a strong identity through its active neighborhood association and through citizen involvement” (“South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 19).

South Carthay HPOZ: A Glorified Homeowner’s Association?

The South Carthay HPOZ was, and continues to be, a well-maintained residential neighborhood. Although tucked behind three major thoroughfares—La Cienega, Pico, and Olympic—the neighborhood feels like a quiet enclave when walking through it. How does the HPOZ status aid the preservation of this neighborhood? A survey of the HPOZ

board meeting agendas from 2004 to 2014 shows that South Carthay has the fewest number of meetings per year compared to the other HPOZ neighborhoods. It also has the lowest number of applications/projects to come before the board – an average of 19 projects per year. In comparison, Angelino Heights had an average of 57 projects per year over the same period (2004-2014). Over 80% of the proposed projects that come before the HPOZ board include minor work, such as window replacements or landscaping work, the other 20% relate to home expansions.

The board members interviewed agreed that the majority of the work they deal with are “cosmetic changes” or minor work (Robinson Interview 2014; Romero Interview 2014; Snow Interview 2014). As with other HPOZs, the South Carthay HPOZ board also deals with several residents per year who choose to complete work without permits and are then required to apply for retroactive permits. For instance, in 2011 there were two retroactive cases that dealt with unpermitted garage door changes. The tensions that revolve around the HPOZ tend to focus on disagreements as to what type of material should be used for elements such as windows or doors, and in particular the cost of preservation.

The types of HPOZ tensions that arise are illustrated in the following two examples. In 2009, applicant Beverly Pinnas appealed an HPOZ Board decision to the Planning (DIR-2009-1243-COA-1A). The applicant had applied for a Certificate of Appropriateness for the replacement of wood windows with aluminum frame windows in various locations on an existing single-family residence. No increase in height or square footage was proposed. In addition to the HPOZ board’s denial of the permit, the Director

of Planning determined the changes to be inappropriate. The Planning Commission denied the appeal, 4-0.

The second example also relates to windows and took place during an HPOZ board meeting on October 2nd, 2014. The only applicant who was present that day came to request a permit for window replacements for his home for the third time. The applicant was a middle-aged African-American who has resided in South Carthay since 1984. The applicant's house was built in 1936, and the last time the windows had been replaced was 1963. Although the home is listed as a historically contributing structure, the windows are not contributing since they are not wood. Thus, the home is considered an "altered contributor." The Board states that they base their decisions on the following three things: 1) The Secretary of Interior Standards, 2) Precedent of Board decisions, which has been to suggest and approve *wood sash windows only*; and 3) No vinyl windows have been approved for contributing structures under this Board.

The Board was unsatisfied with the applicant's materials and requested additional documents for the window replacement, which included 1) a floor plan with elevations; 2) Photos of properties from across the street and view from across the street, so that the board could see what the house (and windows) looks like when passing by; and 3) Photos of neighboring homes to compare the appearance of windows. The applicant was a contractor and some on the Board stated that they thought that he should have known what was necessary when applying for a window replacement. One board member told him that he "has the skills to do it properly." The applicant was unhappy with the Board's

reaction and seemed to think it was excessive for window replacements. He stated that what they said was “conjecture” and they had “no proof as to what was on [his] house,” and when he moved not all the windows were wooden. He stated that they could not require anything of him and that he would not put in wood windows, because it is just too expensive. He stated, “This is my house. What it looks like is my decision. And I pay for it.” Before the end of the meeting the applicant got up and left. The overall atmosphere was pretty tense between the applicant and Board.

These types of disagreements are not unusual for South Carthay, or historic districts in Los Angeles and elsewhere (Robinson Interview 2014; Romero Interview 2014). Two aspects that seem to exacerbate the problem are 1) the perceived vagueness of the preservation plan guidelines, and 2) the perception that the HPOZ Board is subjective in its decision-making process. An 18-year resident of South Carthay outlined his perception of lack of concrete design guidelines:

The South Carthay board has been in operation since the early 90s and there is NO design review manual. Meaning if I wanted to change something like a gate, window, door, tile, etc., they cannot provide any guidebook for specifications. I mean real specifications as we discuss in BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION, WITH CODES AND APPROVED MATERIALS. So property owners are operating in an environment when every time they want to ‘officially’ change something they have to go in front of a board and ask, “Do you like this?” “Is this what you mean?” This constitutes an environment where the design review board says “I’ll know it when I see it.” Design specifications need to be clearly written out. They are not opinions to be opined about. This creates a second unexpected result... homeowners stop asking permission to make changes and just start doing what they want because they learned how arduous the process is from their neighbors. We need to reform this immediately. Another issue, if we are trying to

create REAL historical preservation then our preservation is only as good as our comprehension of history. Don't show me a picture from the 60s and tell me to follow it as a design analogue for a 1920s home. Historical preservation IS in the details. Show me a pic from the 1920s for a 1920s home or don't show me any photo at all. Again, this goes back to a comprehensive guidebook for homeowners to operate within their HPOZ and work WITH them in harmony (Matricardi Survey 2014).

Although there may be some uncertainty among residents about what can or cannot be altered in a historic home, in reality the HPOZ Preservation Plan provides quite detailed design guidelines. The issues that arise relate more to the interpretation of the guidelines, which do not provide concrete suggestions or answers.

For example, the South Carthay Preservation Plan, similar to other HPOZ Preservation Plans, has an entire section dedicated to windows (Section 7.3). The Windows Section outlines 13 guidelines related to window design, replacement, or alteration. The plan specifies that repair of original windows is preferred over replacement, and that when necessary "replacement windows should match the historic windows in size, shape, arrangement of panes, materials, hardware, method of construction and profile" ("South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan" 2010, 46). Point 7 states, "If a window is missing entirely, replace it with a new window in the same design as the original if the original design is known. If the design is not known, the design of the new window should be compatible with the size of the opening, and the style of the building" ("South Carthay HPOZ Preservation Plan" 2010, 47).

When an applicant is told that new windows should be *compatible* with the style of the building, they are dependent on the HPOZ Board to explain what *compatible* means since they may not be familiar with a specific architectural style. The South Carthay HPOZ Board has an architect, George Romero, and a historic preservationist, Jenna Snow.

In an interview with Ms. Snow she explained that the most vocal South Carthay board members do not know much about preservation or architecture and at times these members can lean toward subjective decisions (Snow Interview 2014). If true, it is unsurprising that some applicants find the process frustrating and inconvenient when dealing with simple matters (Braun Interview 2014, Matricardi Survey 2014). What is more interesting though is that as a historic preservationist, Ms. Snow sees HPOZs as glorified Home Owners Associations (HOAs) (Snow Interview 2014). She believes that in most cases HPOZ boards purely maintain the common scheme of development by regulating the exterior appearance of homes and even the conduct of owners. Her proposal would be to have the City Planning department have their historic preservationist consistently apply regulations to each district, rather than have the vocal, but uninformed, residents do it.

Although the HPOZ regulations are often described as burdensome and expensive, homeowners have pointed out that this is the price you pay for “stability” and

to avoid “renovations, which are completely out of place” (Braun Interview 2014; Robinson Interview 2014). In terms of renters, Jenna Snow, a renter herself, stated that the HPOZ has no effect on her or other renters she knows. The HPOZ does not affect her rent since her unit is rent-controlled. She also stated that renters are not particularly represented or interested in getting involved with the HPOZ. However, Ms. Snow mentioned that many of the renters on her street, Crescent Heights, are long-term renters because the buildings are rent controlled, due to the fact that they were constructed prior to 1978. So in that sense, the difficulty of replacing the small-scale apartment buildings with new large-scale, non-rent controlled apartments provides security for current renters. However, although some long-term renters may be benefiting from lower rents, the newer renters that move in undoubtedly pay more. In 2010, the median rent in the area was slightly higher than \$1500, significantly higher than the City (~\$860).

Conclusions

1. *What are the types of physical and social changes within HPOZs that can be attributed to historic designation?*

In terms of physical changes, South Carthay has changed very little since its construction in the mid-1930s. When one compares today’s map to the 1950s Sanborn Map of the area, one sees that the area has been virtually untouched.

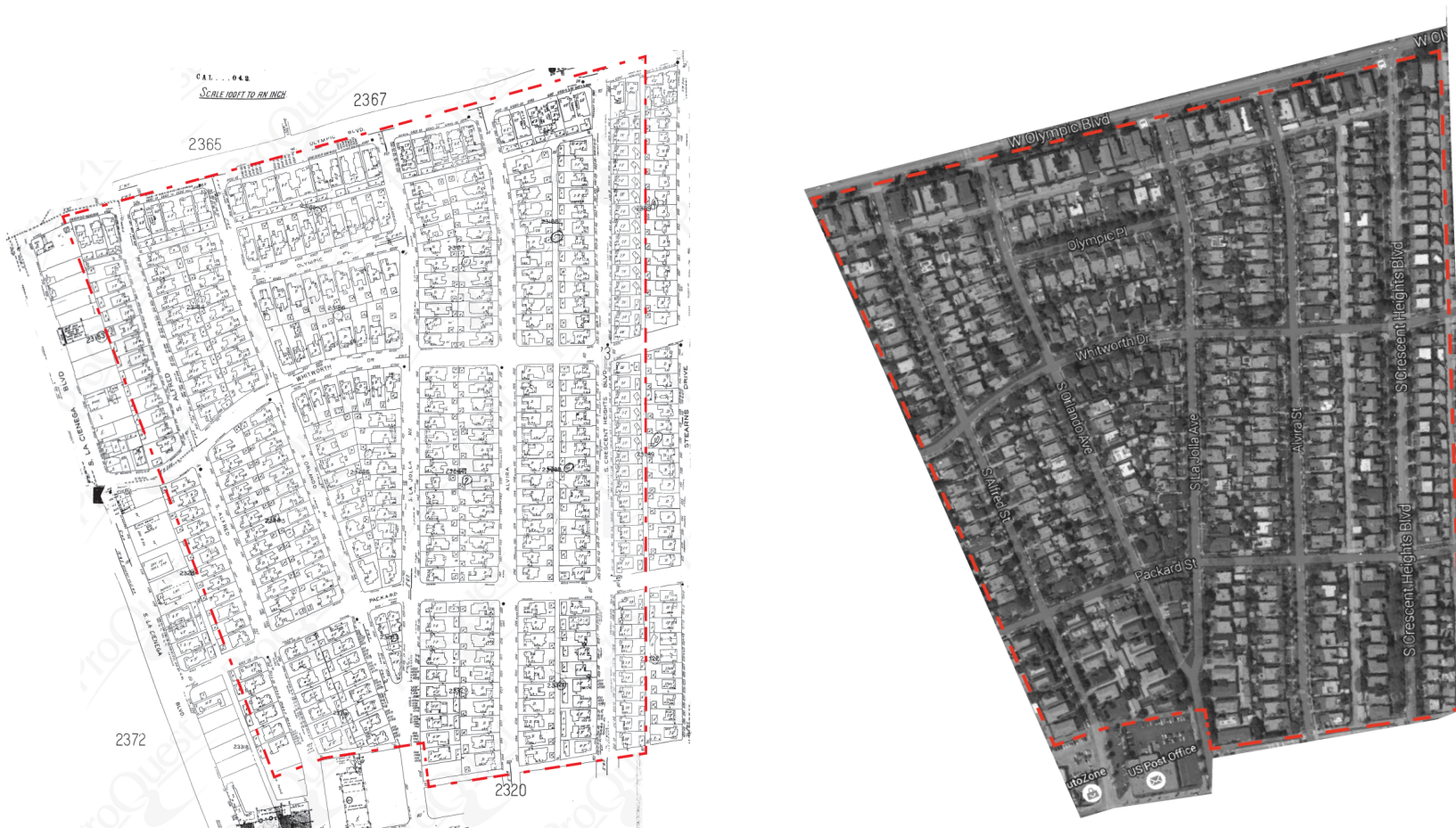


Figure 6.37: South Carthay HPOZ in the Past and Today.

Left: 1950 Sanborn Map of South Carthay. Source: ProQuest. Right: South Carthay Today, Image Source: Google Maps.

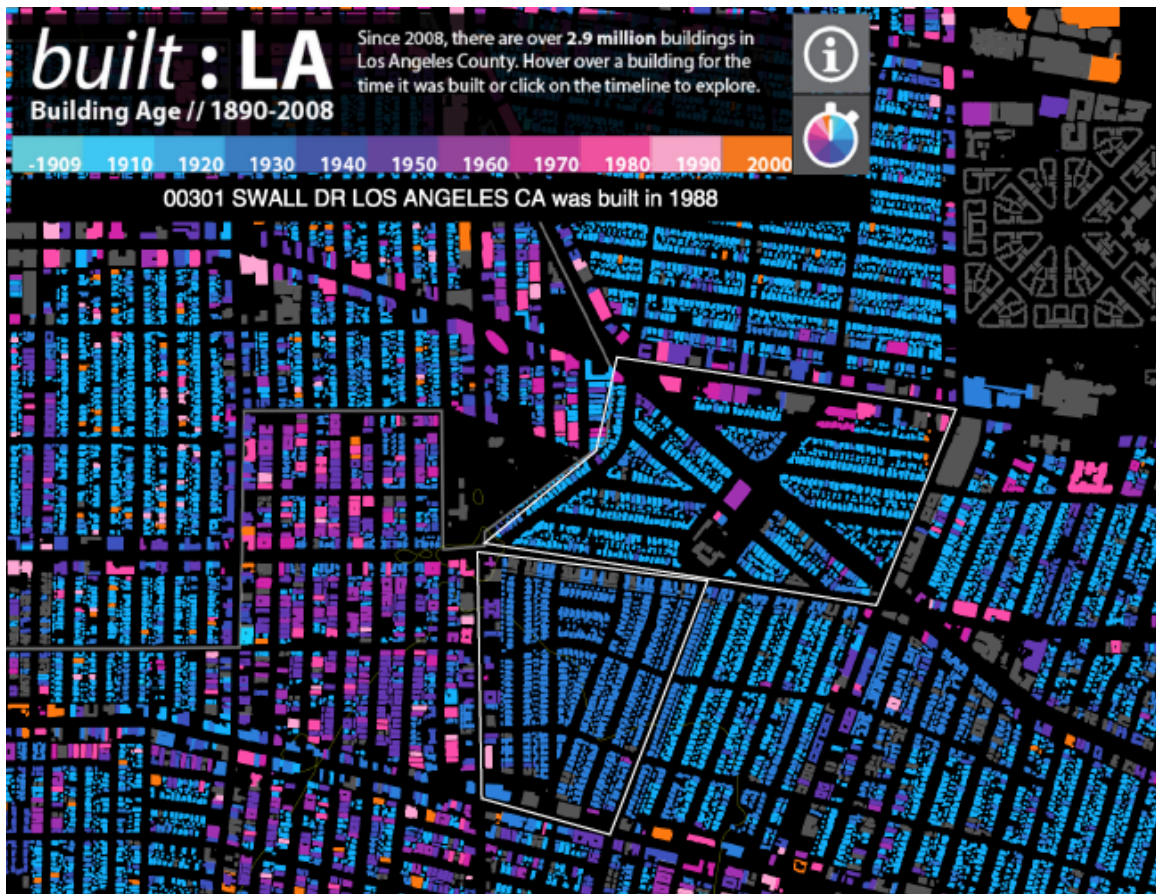


Figure 6.38: A map indicating the age of housing in Los Angeles highlights the consistent age of homes in the South Carthay and Carthay Circle HPOZs, especially in relation to the abutting districts to the West. Source: built: LA

The historic district's uniform, Spanish Colonial single-family homes remain preserved and hidden behind small-scale apartment buildings, which are also well maintained. Long-term residents, along with a review of newspaper articles and a survey of the HPOZ meeting agendas from the last decade, have confirmed the fact that there have not been major changes in the district since its designation. Additionally, the bulk of work done in the district over the two decades has been predominantly cosmetic. The benefit of the historic designation to certain homeowners is that the district maintains a strict aesthetic standard:

I think the HPOZ benefits the neighborhood because it should aim to create a defined look to the visual landscape that is pleasing to the eye celebrating the

historic architecture style of the area. We seek happiness and things that please us, so... why not celebrate our built environment with visual cues that reflect a rich history? (Matricardi Interview 2014).

In addition to purely aesthetic improvement, the residents are gratified with the HPOZ ability to prevent many of the changes that are visible throughout the city – teardowns and McMansions. Several residents stated that these problems exist in the abutting neighborhoods (Matricardi 2014; Persic 2014; Robinson 2014; Snow 2014):

[The HPOZ] has stabilized the appearance of the neighborhood and has prevented ‘mansionization’ that has plagued and diminished other neighborhoods. To understand, you need only look at what’s happening in surrounding neighborhoods, where the cohesive scale and look is being destroyed by insensitive and inappropriate development (Persic Interview 2014).

Right now there is a BOOM of purchase and tear down of SFRs in mid-city because we have a housing stock, which does not meet the preference of contemporary buyers. Creating more HPOZs in neighborhoods that do not meet architectural requirements are a simple shortcut and shameful way of penalizing the majority of Angelinos to limit housing stock by impeding the building process. A much more difficult approach, yet thoughtful way to respond to the problem is to create comprehensive Design Review Boards (Matricardi Interview 2014).

One of the residents, Matricardi, pointed out that he does not believe that all areas qualify as HPOZs, but that there should be design standards that are adhered to. An example of an abutting neighborhood that has not been designated is Carthay Square (Figure 6.33). It is currently listed as a “Pending HPOZs under active consideration, initiated by City Council motion” (“Proposed HPOZs” n.d.).

Carthay Square is seeking HPOZ status to preserve its small-scale English Tudors, Spanish Revivals, and Deco houses. Unlike South Carthay, the homes in Carthay Square are more diverse since they were mostly constructed during the 1920s and 1930s.



Figure 6.39: Historic homes in Carthay Square. Image Source: Brower, 2014.

Residents of Carthay Square have been trying to get the HPOZ established since 2008; it would subject any new developments and changes to exteriors of current structures to a review by a board of residents (Barragan 2014). Volunteers in the neighborhood compiled a history of the neighborhood and photographed and catalogued each of its 347 buildings. They hired an architectural historian who concluded that 90% of the structures in Carthay Square had enough historic integrity to be part of the proposed zone (Brower 2014). However, due to the budget deficiencies and high number of other neighborhoods that want to become HPOZ, the Carthay Square designation has not happened.



Figure 6.40: Two examples of large-scale homes, McMansions, in Carthay Square. Image Sources: Brower, 2014.

What is happening in Carthay Square is similar to neighborhoods throughout the City and has recently resulted in the City Council unanimously passing the Neighborhood Conservation Interim Control Ordinance in March 2015. This ordinance put a two-year ban on the size of new, single-family dwellings in 15 neighborhoods, some of which include South Hollywood, Miracle Mile, Larchmont Heights, Beverlywood, Fairfax Area, Bel Air, and Old Granada Hills. The law also puts a temporary moratorium on the issuance of building and demolition permits in five proposed HPOZs: Sunset Square, Carthay Square, Holmby-Westwood, Oxford Square and El Sereno-Berkshire Craftsman District (Smith 2015).

The South Carthay HPOZ has been immune from the development challenges that are faced by other neighborhoods, even those that are right next-door.

In terms of social changes, the neighborhood composition has remained relatively steady. It has always been a majority White neighborhood, and remains so at 72%. In 2010, the South Carthay area, had 9% Black residents, 6% Asian residents, and 13% that declared themselves as “Other.” The Census also indicated that 18% of the area was Hispanic. Some consider the area ethnically and religiously diverse (Robinson Interview 2014). One aspect of the area that is not captured in the Census, as is the case with the Miracle Mile HPOZ, is the increasing Jewish population. South Carthay is in close proximity to numerous synagogues and shuls, such as Temple Beth Am on La Cienega or Beth Chayim Chadashim on Pico Boulevard. Residents like Jenna Snow mentioned that she lives in the area because it is close to her synagogue. Terry Snyder, who has resided in South Carthay since the 1950s, also acknowledges the influx of Jewish families:

The new families moving in are mostly members of Beth Am, which is the single most important draw. This is good for diversity (great to see kids playing football in the street again, as my kids did) but it also makes for cliques and exclusionary

behavior. They also do not seem to have the same feeling that we had when we started in 1980 when nearly 200 families were eager to sign up [for the neighborhood association] (Snyder Correspondence 2014).

Unlike the Miracle Mile North HPOZ, and its significant Orthodox Jewish population, the South Carthay HPOZ has not experienced tensions related to home expansion regulations.

Other changes worth noting include the fact that within the last decade South Carthay's socioeconomic status ascent has shifted it from a *High-Income* to an *Affluent area*. From 2000 to 2010 South Carthay area experienced an increase in income, residents with high-status jobs, home values and rents.

Home values have increased relative to the City and County, and this has made South Carthay more expensive than in the past. The average home value in 2010 was one million dollars. The architect on the board notes that the majority of the HPOZ homes they deal with exceed the one million dollar market, and he himself could not reside there even if he wanted to (Romero Interview 2014).

Some residents speculate that the area is in high demand because unlike abutting areas, like Carthay Square, the HPOZ provides stability to the physical environment (Matricardi Survey 2014; Robinson Interview 2014). Others acknowledge that it is the HPOZ in combination with the general location that makes homes in South Carthay appealing:

Along with us, there are two other families on this block who have been here longer - since the 1950s. I don't know if it is the HPOZ or the location (I'm guessing both) that make it such a high demand neighborhood. Homes sell here faster, especially during the down cycles elsewhere. Real estate agents love to mine this neighborhood for listings (Snyder Correspondance 2014).

2. *Do residents of HPOZs experience gentrification?*

It is clear that that South Carthay has transitioned from a middle-class (1930s) to a high-income/affluent area today. Overall, residents had mixed answers with regards to gentrification. Some believe that the term gentrification does not apply to the area because it was never a low-income area:

Gentrification... I'm not really sure what that is. Gentrification is when you take a drug and alcohol strewn neighborhood and take it into luxury. That's not going to happen in our area. We were never there – Lloyd Robinson, 24 year resident (Robinson Interview 2014).

I thought [gentrification] meant improving a run down neighborhood. I can assure you this has never been run down or even came close to it. It has always been the kind of neighborhood I call “real LA.” It was integrated (by those of color, by sexual orientation, age, et al.) then and still is. So according to my definition, no, this is not gentrified, nor could it ever be. Having well kept homes whether or not in an HPOZ is a nice place to live. The ONLY thing I can be sure the HPOZ has done, is kept the out-of-scale-bad-taste homes from infecting us (Snyder Correspondance 2014).

On the other hand, others do see gentrification trends in the area, however the phenomenon is more often attributed to the HPOZ's attractive location.

South Carthay gentrified over a long period of time due to its central location. I remember early 90s when crime was out of control and bars where required on all windows in LA. I feel that HPOZ areas gentrify because there is value ascribed to rich history and smart developers realize that if they can flip or build in young HPOZs before their boards get their “act” together, then they can reap the rewards of replacement of functionally obsolescent housing stock – Carlo Matricardi, 18 year resident (Matricardi 2014).

South Carthay has been affected by the gentrification around it. For example, the areas that have changed near the district include: Pico Blvd (dramatic changes) and East of Fairfax – Jenna Snow, 10-year renter (Snow Interview, 2014).

It's already gentrified – Bob Braun, 21 year resident (Braun 2014)

Yes. People are moving in and improving older properties – Peter Persic, 22 year resident (Persic 2014).

One of the homeowners provided an interesting side note, in which he points to how the HPOZ could alleviate gentrification problems, such as lack of affordable housing. Carlo Matricardi's answer indicates that he does not see the HPOZ spurring gentrification per se, however the HPOZ may be inadvertently augmenting it.

If anything the HPOZ attracts investment. Although if the community was truly concerned with social impacts such as gentrification and congestion, it would adopt real long term solutions like lax building standards for affordable housing & density credits as well as mandatory MAXIMUM PARKING spaces required not parking space minimums so that building owners are building in space to house cars – Carlo Matricardi, 18 year resident (Matricardi 2014).

3. *What were the motivations for HPOZ designations? And who has a voice in how the district is maintained?*

From 1970 to 1980 there is an increase in residents with a B.A. and high-status jobs, as well as an increase in home values and rent. And in 1980 many of the highly motivated, well educated, and politically savvy residents took it upon themselves to create a neighborhood association, and shortly thereafter the historic district. Although the neighborhood association and HPOZ were spurred by strong community interest, councilman Yaraslovsky aided both efforts. More specifically the councilman helped with the cost of the historic survey and he showed support for the formation of neighborhood association. The residents' desire to control and preserve South Carthay represents the beginnings of the diminishing "growth is a self-evident good" attitude that became more prevalent in Los Angeles in the 1990s (Purcell 2000: 87).⁵² The neighborhood association and HPOZ provide several levels of regulation, as emphasized

⁵² Purcell (2000) identifies five factors that led to the weakening of LA's growth machine: 1) The fall of a pro-growth mayoral regime; 2) the globalization of land-based interests; 3) the geographical fragmentation of land-based interests; 4) the emergence of groups opposed to growth; and 5) the city's diminished ability to act as a partner for growth.

by one of the HPOZ board members:

The HPOZ could not exist without the South Carthay Neighborhood Association or the other way around. Neither one could exist without the other and neither could do their job without the neighborhood council oversight (Robinson Interview 2014).

The South Carthay HPOZ board differs slightly compared to the other case study neighborhoods because one of its members is a renter, however Ms. Snow's decision to volunteer was influenced more by her interest in historic preservation, rather than her ties to the community. The architect on the HPOZ board lives outside the district, as is the case with Harvard Heights. Apart from these two board positions, the others are, and have been, held by homeowners.

Finally, although the South Carthay neighborhood was not facing any threats of demolition or out-of-scale developments, the HPOZ now acts as a means of preventing these types of changes that are occurring in abutting neighborhoods, such as Carthay Square to the East. As noted:

The HPOZ has had a positive effect in that homeowners know that no McMansions will be built here. The one on Whitworth, one house west of La Jolla on the north side of the street, was completed (actually a rehab) shortly before the HPOZ was a reality. I am sure you've heard about the one on Olympic Place that almost was, but that the HPOZ was able to make them restore it into original shape. I would like to see a little more teeth in the ordinance to make it easier to stop if anyone else tries again (Snyder Correspondance 2014).

Overall, the South Carthay neighborhood has successfully remained intact since its creation. The HPOZ is a strong reason for why this has been the case over the last three decades. The historic district has halted the undesirable development trends that have popped up in the surrounding neighborhoods and in doing so has made the neighborhood more desirable and more exclusive, as is implied by the neighborhood ascent data.

6.4 Miracle Mile North

The Miracle Mile North HPOZ was established in 1990. The area is located north of the Miracle Mile section of Wilshire Boulevard approximately five miles west of downtown Los Angeles. The HPOZ is bounded by Beverly Boulevard on the north, Detroit Avenue on the east, 3rd Street on the south, and Gardner Avenue on the west. It is also situated just East of the popular shopping destination – the Grove and the Farmer’s Market, as well as the Pan Pacific Park. The district is located in what the *LA Times* “Mapping LA” project calls the Fairfax District.



Figure 6.41: Map of the Fairfax District in Los Angeles. Source: L.A. Times Mapping L.A.

Miracle Mile North is comprised of 598 parcels; approximately 91% of which are contributing to the district (Miracle Mile North Preservation Plan, 2010: 20).

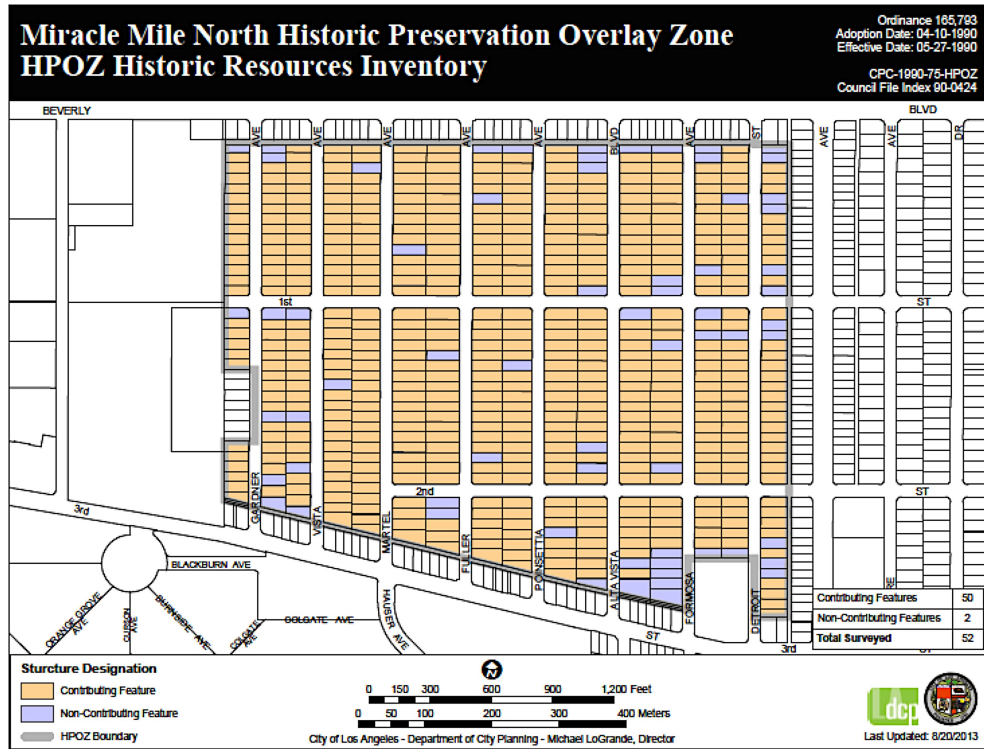


Figure 6.42: HPOZ Map of Miracle Mile North. Source: Office of Historic Resources.

The HPOZ contains primarily one- and two-story single-family residences. However, there are also a number of duplexes on Detroit and Martel Avenues. Nearly 350 buildings in the district are designed in the Mediterranean and Spanish Colonial Revival styles. These styles include stucco walls and red tile roofs that results in a visually cohesive streetscape.



Figure 6.43: Two examples of Spanish Colonial Revival Style homes in the Miracle Mile North HPOZ. Source: LA Office of Historic Resources.

The remaining houses are designed in other Period Revival styles including American Colonial Revival, Tudor Revival and French Revival.



Figure 6.44: An example of a Tudor Revival Style home in the Miracle Mile North HPOZ. Source: LA Office of Historic Resources.

Most of the houses were constructed between 1924 and 1941 and were designed by contractors (Miracle Mile North Preservation Plan, 2010: 19). However, a few architects had some design influence too, such as Paul R. Williams who designed two Colonial Revival homes in the HPOZ.



Figure 6.45: Paul Williams home in Miracle Mile North. Source: MLS

The Preservation Plan notes that other neighborhood characteristics include uniform setbacks and site plans, and the area is also said to be “significant as an automobile suburb” (Historic Places LA website).

The Early History of Miracle Mile North

Los Angeles was expanding horizontally from district to district along its auto routes. Wilshire Boulevard epitomized this trend. The Champs Elysees of Los Angeles was designed not for pedestrians but for the automobile. One morning in 1921 developer A.W. Ross sat looking at a map of Los Angeles. As he mused, Ross made two judgments. Los Angeles, first of all would not grow southwards as had been predicted, not yet anyway, but would heads westwards toward Santa Monica on the sea. Second, the motorized citizenry would be willing to drive up to four miles to shop. Drawing a circle around the four most prosperous residential districts of the city—Hollywood, Beverly Hills, West Adams Heights, and Wilshire—Ross saw that his circle centered on the narrow east-west roadway called Wilshire at a point halfway between Los Angeles and the sea. There, decided Ross, in the bean fields fronting Wilshire between La Brea and

Fairfax avenues, he would create a shipping district, Wilshire Center, that would capitalize on the automobile and the westward thrust of the city (Starr 1991, 81).

As is reflected in the name of the HPOZ, the district is closely tied to the Miracle Mile portion of Wilshire Boulevard. The development of this part of the city was the brainchild of real estate developer A.W. Ross in the 1921 (Masters 2012; Starr 1991). It was not until 1928 that the Miracle Mile acquired its name. Ross originally gave his development a much less-memorable name: Wilshire Boulevard Center (Masters 2012). According Kevin Starr, “at the suggestion of a fellow developer, Foster Stewart, Ross’s original tract was renamed the Miracle Mile in 1928” (1991, 82).

The Miracle Mile North preservation plan provides a history of how the area was identified as ideal for new commercial and residential development:

Ross reasoned that in the next decade, the middle class would travel increasingly by car, and so would be willing to do their shopping and other business within a certain radius of where they lived. On a map he drew a circle with a radius of four miles, which encompassed the most fashionable neighborhoods of the day (Westlake, Hollywood, West Adams, Beverly Hills). Four miles, he thought, was the most anyone would be likely to drive from home to shop. The center of that legendary circle was the mile of Wilshire between La Brea and Fairfax (“Miracle Mile North HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 16).

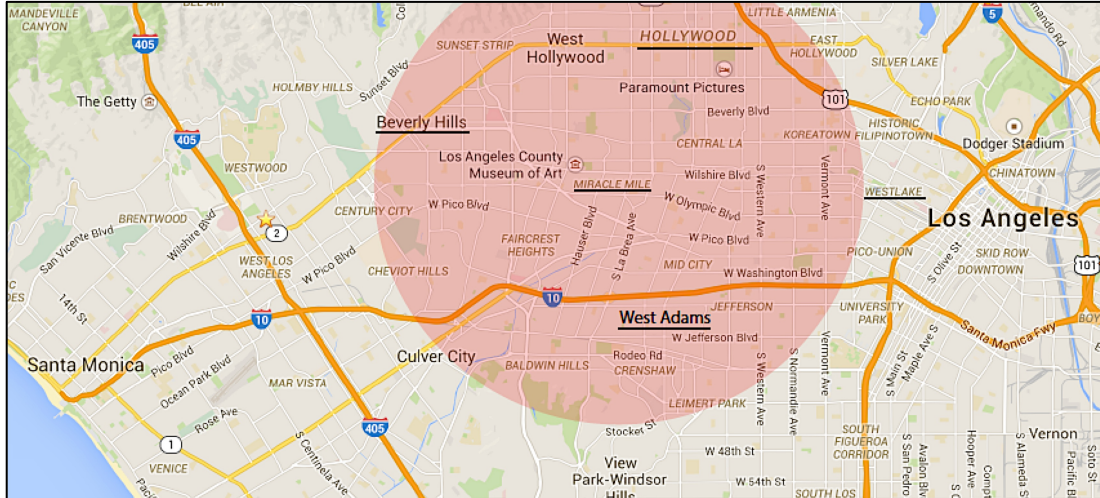


Figure 6.46: Circle with four-mile radius with Miracle Mile at the center. Also indicated: Beverly Hills (North West), Hollywood (North), West Adams (South), and Westlake (East). Map by Author. Base Map Source: Google Maps.

Figure 6.47a and 6.76b from 1920 and 1929 reveal how rapidly development popped up in the Miracle Mile area.

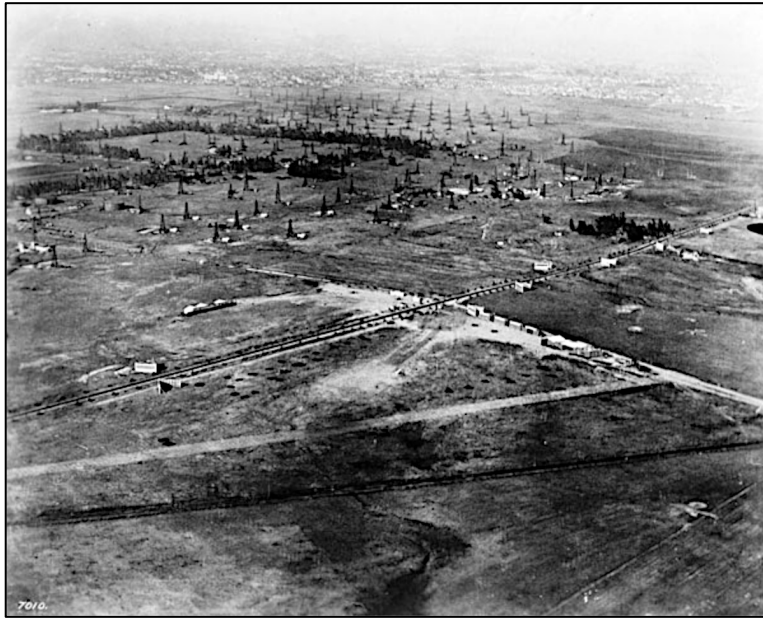


Figure 6.47a: In 1920, when this aerial photograph was taken, barley fields, oil wells surrounded the future Miracle Mile. Wilshire Boulevard is the street running diagonally from bottom-left to top-right. It intersects near the middle of the photograph with Fairfax Avenue. Courtesy of the Title Insurance and Trust / C.C. Pierce Photography Collection, USC Libraries.



Figure 6.47b: Circa 1929 view of the Miracle Mile, looking east down Wilshire from Fairfax. Courtesy of the Title Insurance and Trust / C.C. Pierce Photography Collection, USC Libraries.

The Miracle Mile North HPOZ is an example of just one of the residential communities that was constructed within the original 4-mile radius first drawn by Ross. Many investors found areas around the Miracle Mile attractive and often a contractor or a builder would buy several lots in the subdivision, erect residences in a variety of period revival styles, and then sell as quickly as a buyer could be found. Others, however, assembled a team and proceeded to acquire a block or two and develop it. Due to this pattern, some areas within the HPOZ retain the mark of one developer, although architectural styles may vary by residence. Thus, the pattern of development of the single-family residential tracts north of Third Street is the result of the efforts of small independent firms who built similar housing throughout the area. The Miracle Mile North HPOZ district preservation plan states that the area is “significant more for its representative qualities than for any outstanding architectural merit” (2010: 23).

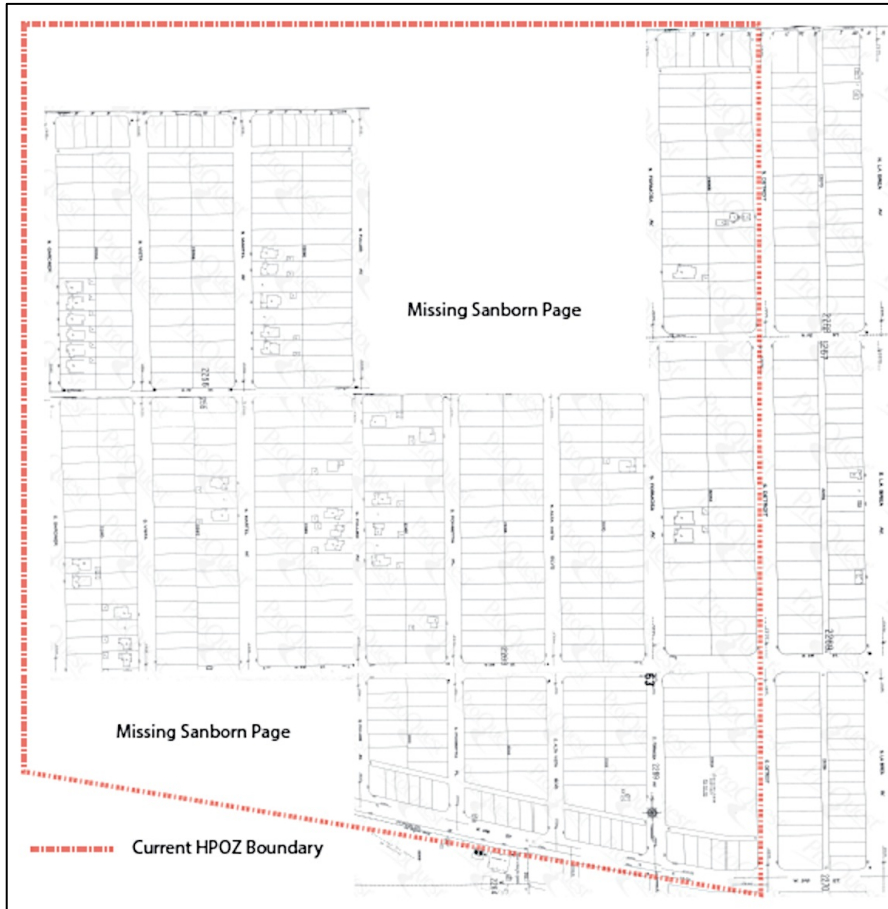


Figure 6.48a: 1926 Sanborn Map, Volume 22. Source: ProQuest Sanborn Maps Geo Edition

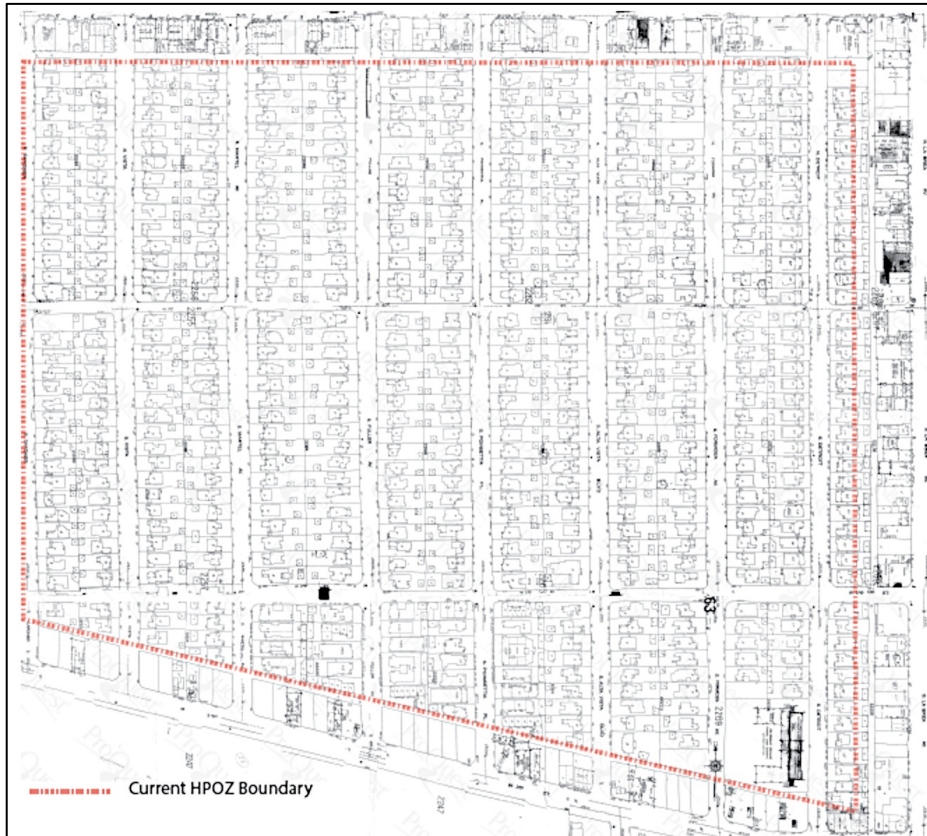


Figure 6.48b: 1951 Sanborn Map, Volume 22. Source: ProQuest Sanborn Maps Geo Edition

What makes the district notable is its integrity as a grouping, which preserves in tangible form the historic patterns of development, which characterize Los Angeles between the years 1925-40. The Sanborn Maps from 1926 and 1951 show that the current street grid and lot subdivisions were already shaped in 1926 and have not changed. The maps also reveal that the entire district was constructed by 1951 and the majority of current homes were in existence. Other comparable groupings in the city share this trait in varying degrees, however many other clusters have been significantly eroded, either during the building boom of the so-called “ding-bat” apartments in the 1960s, or more recently, in the face of redevelopment trends (Miracle Mile North Preservation Plan).

The historic relationship between the Miracle Mile North HPOZ and the Miracle Mile itself is another distinguishing feature of the district. Traditionally considered a

“support” district to the Miracle Mile, the neighborhood continues that tradition today. The area is known for its proximity the nearby commercial districts and attractions, such as LACMA (museum), the La Brea Tar Pits, The Grove Shopping Center, and the Farmer’s Market.



Figure 6.49a: 1940 postcard of Wilshire Boulevard's Miracle Mile district. Courtesy of the Werner von Boltensern Postcard Collection, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Loyola Marymount University Library.



Figure 6.49b: Coulter's Department Store (now part of LACMA), circa 1939. Courtesy of the Title Insurance and Trust / C.C. Pierce Photography Collection, USC Libraries.



Figure 6.50: Left: The Farmer’s Market at 3rd & Fairfax. Right: The Grove Shopping Center.

Socio-Economic Makeup Today and in the Past

An analysis of the socioeconomic makeup of the Miracle Mile North HPOZ reveals that the area has remained within the *Affluent, White* neighborhood typology since 1970. The population of the neighborhood, which is around 90% White, has lingered at around 4,000. The area has a high percentage of college graduates and residents with high-status jobs. In terms of Florida’s class categorization, this HPOZ is currently located within a Creative Class area.

Table 6.10: Miracle Mile North Socio-economic data, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	Total Population	% Black	% White	% Asian	% Hispanic	% Foreign Born	Average HH Income	% Bachelor's Degree	% High-Status Job
1970	4002	2	98	n/a	7	37	148391	52	51
1980	3772	2	92	3	4	23	121301	69	57
1990	3945	2	92	4	5	19	185042	56	63
2000	3806	3	89	5	4	21	149883	65	73
2010	3944	3	89	4	5	17	149568	43	65

Although Miracle Mile North has been an *Affluent* area since 1970, in comparison to the City and County, it has experienced socioeconomic status ascent during two decades: 1980 to 1990 (increase in income, % high status jobs, home values, and rents) and 1990 to 2000 (increase in % B.A. and % high status jobs, home values, and rents), which points to an exclusionary ascent process. The district attained historic designation after the first

decade of socioeconomic ascent in 1990, but continued to ascend for another decade after.

Table 6.11: Miracle Mile North housing data, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	# Housing Units	% Housing, Owner Occupied	% Housing, Renter Occupied	Average Value Owner Households	Median Rent
1970	1820	41	59	302418	1000
1980	1836	43	58	600708	1138
1990	1782	45	55	834187	1520
2000	1804	43	57	905274	1934
2010	1787	42	58	1000000	1973

A stable proportion of rental housing (percent of rental housing has remained at around 58% since 1970) suggests that ascent may occur through exclusionary zoning that prevents rental or low-income housing from being built, ensuring that only higher-SES residents can move in (Rothwell and Massey 2008). Additionally, ascent can occur because all but high-SES residents are priced out of affluent neighborhoods, due to increasing home values and rents.

One aspect of the area that is not reflected in the Census and other socioeconomic indicators is the Jewish history of this neighborhood. The Russian Jews, in particular, have a long history in Los Angeles and one of their enclaves is in the Fairfax District where Miracle Mile North is located. The Miracle Mile North HPOZ has become an attractive area for Orthodox Jewish families because it is within walking distance to many of the Orthodox shuls and synagogues along La Brea, like on Beverly and 3rd Street (Bernstein and Levy 2014). Some residents speculate that approximately 50% of the HPOZ residents are Orthodox Jews (Carr 2014), however others believe that “the number of non-Orthodox Jewish families and non-Jews, exceeds the number of Orthodox Jewish families” (Tomin 2014).

Prior to the development of the Miracle Mile, most Jewish residents resided in Boyle Heights. However, in the 1920s Jews began to move out of Boyle Heights to more affluent homes west of Downtown, especially in Hollywood and the increasingly Jewish Fairfax Avenue neighborhood north of Beverly Boulevard. During the 1940s and 50s, many Jews settled near Fairfax Avenue, between Wilshire Boulevard and Melrose Avenue (Rapaport and Marks 2003). This area soon emerged as the most important Jewish residential and shopping enclave of the city. The Fairfax area became the symbolic focus for the Jewish community during the post-war years.

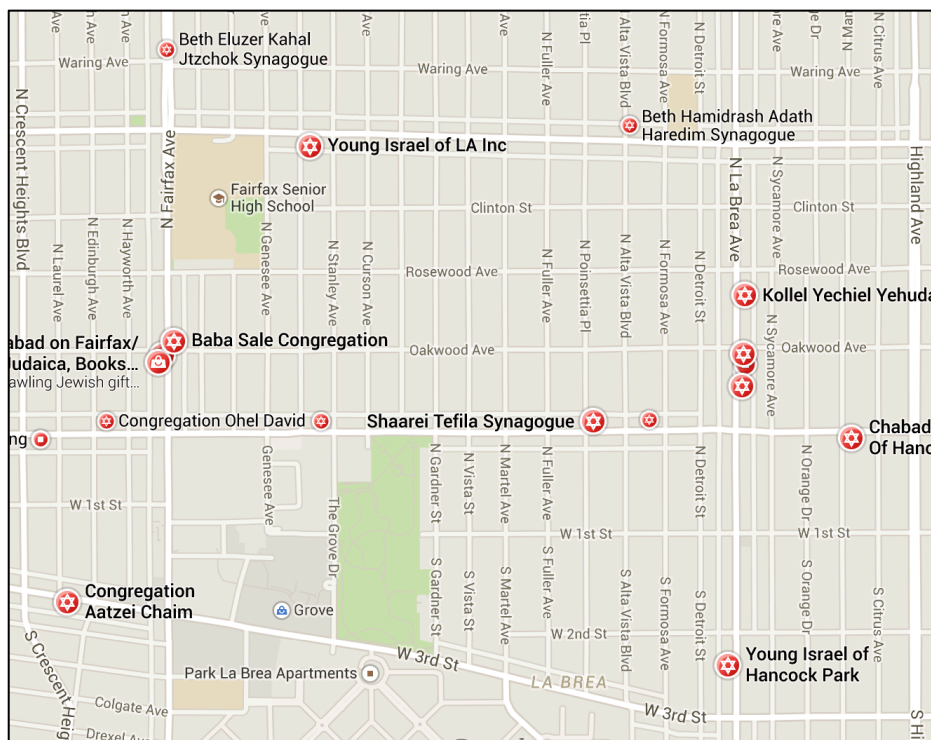


Figure 6.51: A number of Synagogues and Shuls are located within the Fairfax District and walking distance from the Miracle Mile North HPOZ.

There are still many signs of a Jewish community present in the Fairfax District, however the area has been undergoing much change during the years, not only in terms of physical appearance but also in terms of its population. The older generation of European Jews has passed on and much of the younger generation has moved farther west in Los

Angeles. The changes have been viewed positively by some residents and business owners, including the Canters, whose grandfather founded *Canter's Deli* on Fairfax Ave (Rapaport and Marks 2003).



Figure 6.52: Canter's Deli on Fairfax Avenue. Source: Wikipedia.

Although the Fairfax neighborhood is not solely Jewish today, there is still a sizable Orthodox Jewish population and there are remnants of Jewish heritage all around the area. Similar businesses are present as were in the past, including Canter's. Jewish bakeries, delis, kosher butchers, temples and schools line the streets of the area.

In 1997, out of all Los Angeles neighborhoods with a Jewish population of 100 or more, the Fairfax District had the highest population with 54,850 Jewish residents (Sheskin and Dashefsky 2010). The Miracle Mile North Preservation Plan does not refer to the Jewish history or population of the area. This is an interesting point because the residents interviewed did bring up the Jewish population, in particular the Orthodox Jewish residents, as an important characteristic in the district today, which I will discuss in the following sections.

Historic Designation in Miracle Mile North HPOZ

The pursuit of a historic district for Miracle Mile North did not come as a result of a long tradition of historic preservation in the neighborhood, but rather as a reaction to the fear of demolition and change (Carr 2014; Tomin 2014; Meyer 1989). One residential development in particular prompted residents to make sure that their neighborhood would be preserved. The property in question is located at the northwest corner of South Poinsettia Place and 2nd Street and was considered a “monstrosity” from the onset and a “threat to the architectural character” of the neighborhood (Tomin 2014; Meyer 1989).



Figure 6.53: The property at the Northwest corner of Poinsettia and 2nd Street in Miracle Mile North. Image: Google Street View.

The HPOZ residents interviewed confirmed that this specific development was a strong motivating factor in the pursuit of designation. Harold Tomin, a long-term resident, describes the house and how it unified the community to act.

It’s an absolute fortress-like, three-story structure. No one knows whether it’s a single-family residence or apartments. People who live in there are very secretive. Anyway, [...] the councilmen at the time was John Ferrero who was a very powerful city councilmen and the building was given a variance to be built because of Ferrero’s pull. And it got built and it frightened the neighborhood so much that the petition to designate the neighborhood as an HPOZ took off. And

eventually there were enough signatures, a survey was done, most of the single-family residences within the boundaries of the [...] HPOZ are contributors, a few aren't, but most are, over 90% are contributors. And it moved forward from that. [...] It was really popular, because the reaction to the structure on Poinsettia was overwhelming negative.

A 1989 *Los Angeles Times* article, “His Dream Home Becomes Their Nightmare and a Rallying Point,” explained that although residents had shown interest in establishing a historic district prior to the unpopular development being constructed, it was this house that “galvanized their efforts” to pursue designation. The home in question was constructed by Jack Alpen, who said he had “been dreaming of building the home during more than 20 years [that] he has toiled as a dentist in downtown Los Angeles.” Alpen stated that he was not happy making his neighbors unhappy, but he added, “I spent two years on this—it’s my design and I think it’s beautiful. So when they say it isn’t, it hurts me.” The home is technically designed in the Mediterranean style, but is more than twice the size of the other homes. Frieda Kahan, who lived in the house immediately to the north said she didn’t care about the architecture but was bothered by its size and that the three-story structure now blocked her sunlight (Meyer 1989).

The Alpen house is significant because it brought fore a fear of development that encompassed the larger Miracle Mile area around Wilshire at the time. In the late 1970s, the Miracle Mile section of Wilshire Boulevard was designated by a City Council-adopted Wilshire district plan as a “regional center,” to encourage large-scale commercial development, and this zoning was reaffirmed in the mid-1980s in plans drafted in preparation for Metro Rail (McMillan 1986). In addition to promoting new commercial developments, several residential areas were rezoned for “high medium” residential density – allowing 40 to 60 units per acre. This was beginning to have an impact on

smaller apartment buildings (4-6 units) along South Detroit Street, just South of the HPOZ. In “South Detroit Street—a War Against Redevelopment” the concern over new development that spread throughout the area is described:

Word followed that at least eight buildings along three blocks of the street had been sold to one Los Angeles developer, Homestead Group Associates, and that the company had obtained city demolition permits for seven of them. South Detroit Street, the residents discovered, had become “hot” property. A street of mostly two-story Spanish Colonial or chateau-style apartment buildings dating from the 1920s, populated mostly of elderly retirees and young professionals, it has become another older city neighborhood, like downtown's Bunker Hill, West Adams or West Hollywood, subject to development pressure—in this case, pressure encouraged by city planners (McMillan 1986).

What is interesting about the South Detroit Street article is that it describes that the tenants’ hope against demolition rested on the pursuit of historic designation for their buildings. Tenants in two buildings scheduled for demolition applied to the city's Cultural Heritage Commission to have their buildings declared historical monuments, a designation that would have saved them from the wrecker's ball. The applications were denied.

Whereas the residents of smaller apartment buildings were unable to attain any historic preservation protection to prevent change, the single-family neighborhood of Miracle Mile North was. What helped Miracle Mile North was the fact that Zev Yaroslavsky, a city councilmember at the time, who lived in the neighborhood, helped induce the City Council to spend \$15,000 in March 1987 to study whether a preservation zone was warranted for the area (Meyer 1989). A year later, the Cultural Heritage Commission gave its approval. Yaroslavsky called the Alpen house “an outrage” and stated that,

It is an example of how one house improperly designed and insensitive to the neighborhood can be a degradation of the whole block. It only takes one to screw things up, and we've had that one. We don't want another one (Meyer 1989).

Although critics at the time argued that preservation status would conceivably raise the value of Yaroslavsky's home and benefit him personally, he said the city attorney's office told him there is no conflict of interest, and that he is only doing what is best for his constituents.

Preservation Tensions

A review of the meeting agendas from 2004 to 2014 provides a snapshot of the type of reviews that are brought in front of the HPOZ board meeting for both contributing and non-contributing structures. Compared to the other case studies (Angelino Heights, Harvard Heights, South Carthay, and University Park) Miracle Mile North has the second highest average of projects per year after Angelino Heights (38 compared to 57). Thus, it is a relatively active area in terms of work being done on the homes. Out of the projects that are proposed, 75% constitute minor work, such as renovations or landscaping. The other 25% of projects fall under new construction or home expansions, such as second story additions. In comparison to the other HPOZ case studies, only University Park has more new projects or additions (31%). In the case of Miracle Mile North almost all of the projects that are included in that 25% are second story additions or first-floor expansions.

These expansion projects have become a source of tension in the community. As Ken Bernstein, the manager at the Office of Historic Resources, explains:

In Miracle Mile North you have some cultural tensions over [...] the demographic changes with the Orthodox Jewish community in the neighborhood. It has led to controversies over second story additions and there have been different perspectives on that issue and something we tried to address in the preservation plan (Bernstein and Levy 2014).

The conflicts arise because there are “large families and small homes in Miracle Mile North” (Bernstein and Levy 2014). The typical Spanish Colonial homes in the HPOZ are single-story homes that were built with two or three rooms, which is considered small for large families. Josh Tomaszewski has lived in the neighborhood for 6 year. He is an Orthodox Jewish resident and currently serves on the HPOZ board. He considers himself lucky because he bought a two-story home and said that it would “be a crazy fight to build a two-story” (Tomaszewski 2014). He did however successfully expand his home, but still found the regulations restrictive:

It’s very frustrating when somebody who’s trying to build a family and you know they’re being told for no reason other than subjective; “We think it’s better if there’s some kind of indentation in the back” and that’s what you have to do (Tomaszewski 2014).

The subjectivity of the HPOZ regulations was brought up several times in surveys and discussions with residents (Allemand 2014; Burau 2014; Drucker 2014). Some used the term “kangaroo court,” while others referred to the regulations as “draconian.” A homeowner who moved in two years ago describes his perception of the HPOZ board:

I believe there should be more oversight and involvement from the City of Los Angeles. I know that’s not possible [...] but it would mean that five regular citizens couldn't have a runaway with unreasonable requests of residents appearing before them. I sat in at least one HPOZ meeting where the homeowners likely didn't even need to get the Board's approval to make improvements to their home; instead, they went to the meeting as a courtesy. They were blown away by the detail into which the Board dug (e.g., the types of screws to be used on a window not visible from the street), and I couldn't help but agree. It was power run slightly amok (Burau 2014).

At a December 2014 HPOZ meeting the board members utilized language that visibly frustrated two applicants. In one case, the board architect stated that a proposed project seemed “odd looking” and that it needed to be “more resolved.” When asked what

specifically should be changed in order to acquire board approval, the architect stated that it “wasn’t his job” to tell the applicant what to do (Carr, Tomin, and Matteuci 2014).

The board members are required to advise applicants based on the preservation plan guidelines, however the plan is written in such a way that suggests what an applicant should do, but does not specifically say what she/he can or cannot do. This can cause problems (and has) in terms of interpretation or what some residents have called “subjective guidelines.” For instance, in terms of residential additions, the first guideline states, “New additions *should not* be built on the primary facade or facades or the front half of the side facades. Additions *should be* located in the rear of the structure, away from the main architectural façade. Residents have argued that just because the preservation plan says that an addition should not be in the front, it does not mean it cannot be there (Tomaszewski 2014). Another guideline regarding second-story additions states, “Two-story additions to one-story buildings *are strongly discouraged* on both primary and accessory structures. (“Miracle Mile North HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 59). The preservation plan also provides visuals as to what are considered appropriate or inappropriate additions.

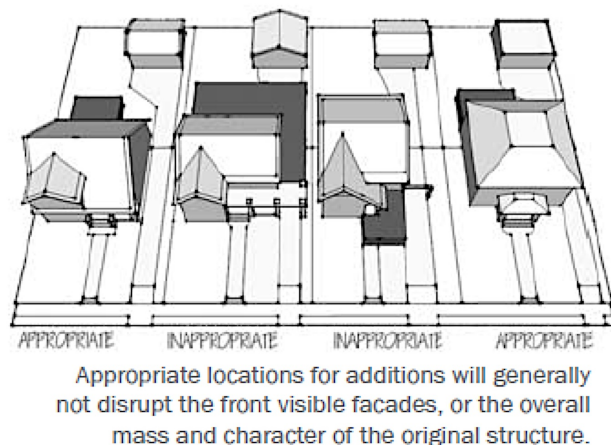


Figure 6.54: Source: “Miracle Mile North HPOZ Preservation Plan” 2010, 59

Marian Carr, one of the board members, shared a story about one residents' desire to expand the front of her home and the type of situation this created in the community. Her story touches on 1) Orthodox Jewish family needs, 2) guidelines that aren't "clear cut," and 3) rules that may not be applied consistently (Carr 2014):

Marian: Once one of the permanent people in this community who happens to own five or six homes, she just wanted to put in an addition on the front, which we all know is a big no-no, right? Hires a great architect to do it. Seven-foot addition to expand a dining room. If you're not familiar with the community, you go "What?" Somebody needs to expand a dining room? She's got twenty grandkids. Her son lives across the street, and the other daughter lives around the corner. They each have five kids. You put all this together and go, yeah. For her life, that's extremely important. She turned out 250 signatures plus a packed audience. Probably maybe a hundred people showed up to support her.

Karolina: What happened?

Marian: Somebody else comes in and wants to change windows and isn't as well connected. Nobody shows up. In the families that have connections, people show up. People generally come up to Josh [Tomaszewski] and ask, "Should we bring a lot of people to support our project?" Because they could call their friends and they'll all show up.

Karolina: If you bring more people, is your project more likely to get approved, then? Was her expansion approved?

Marian: To be honest, probably yes to the people who live here in the neighborhood. If you have a large group of people living in this neighborhood who come to express that they really think that this person should have something and there's no clear-cut answer, it doesn't say in the rules no, then I guess why not.

Karolina: Right.

Marian: It's clear that a lot of people support [the HPOZ]. The rules are not black and white. The city was so wussy in these preservation plans. They said, "You should not do this." They didn't say, "You can't do it." They left it wide open, and then the HPOZ board simply tries to ratchet in what they want. "Yes, you can have this addition, but you have to articulate it. You have to put in some nice

windows. You have to do this, this, this.” Then they can have it. There’s a lot of pressure on the board when people are sitting there staring at you. You ask for public comment, and not one person is against it.

Karolina: That’s the community. Those are the people who live there.

Marian: Yeah, it’s the community. It’s not black and white. You want people to be happy here, and they live here.

The board members suggested that residents (not just Orthodox Jewish residents) sometimes choose to avoid getting approval and do work illegally (Tomin 2014; Carr 2014; Tomaszewski 2014). In a few cases, they stated that older residents might be unaware of the regulations, since even work that some might consider minor, such as landscaping or tree replacement, requires board approval in the Miracle Mile HPOZ. A survey of the board meeting agendas from 2004 to 2014 indicates that many residents get caught and have to seek retroactive approval, on average 5 cases per year. In a majority of the cases the work done without a permit involves landscaping, driveway alterations, or window replacement. One 80-year-old resident complained that she had spent over \$10,000 in legal fees to comply with HPOZ regulations (Allemand 2014). After being reported for cutting a tree in her front yard, this prompted the board to require retroactive work on other parts of her home. Another resident, Brent Zadorozny, filed a lawsuit against the HPOZ Board in 2011. Zadorozny initiated landscaping and driveway work, however was fined for proceeding without HPOZ board approval. Once he sought board approval his project was denied (Zadorozny 2011). He filed a lawsuit, but lost and again had to comply with HPOZ regulations in 2012.

The tensions within the HPOZ are clear, however residents still want to have some protection rather than none in their neighborhood (Drucker 2014; Steve 2014; Bureau 2014).

Honestly, I think the vote [for HPOZ designation] was in reaction to overbuilding (or Mansionization) and this method was presented to us as the only way to stop it. If I, or many others, had to do it again, I think we would look for a different method to control the size of homes without locking us into the restrictive building codes (Drucker 2014).

The HPOZ is often tossed around by angry residents who are simply eager to stop business or even neighbors seeking reasonable adjustments to their homes. It is fortunate that the designation of an HPOZ is a cumbersome and lengthy process and that it cannot be dictated by a few vocal residents who may be at odds the vast majority of their neighbors (Bureau 2014).

One survey respondent, a renter, who has lived in the HPOZ for 30 years, believes there should be “stiffer oversight by architects and design professionals” (Steve 2014). One of the reasons Steve finds Miracle Mile North attractive is its historical character and states:

People should understand that they are buying into a neighborhood cherished for its original ambience and character... they should not have the right to add a second story to their home if that is not in keeping with the neighborhood or visual sightlines... if they need the extra space, buy elsewhere (Steve 2014).

When Josh Tomaszewski was asked if he might consider moving to a non-HPOZ area in the future he stated that he would. He also added that many Orthodox Jewish families were purchasing homes north of Beverly (just north of the HPOZ) because they could expand the homes without restrictions. Another resident agreed that the HPOZ might be having an effect on larger families leaving the area:

Perhaps, the HPOZ keeps out the larger (and most often Orthodox) families because they know they can't expand house size to fit the needs of a rapidly growing family. That expansion is clearly limited (Drucker 2014).

The question then becomes, “Is a unified preservation approach appropriate for this area?” One resident believes that it is not due to the area’s diversity – “We have orthodox Jews, gays, secular urbanites, and the nearby Pan Pacific Park that attracts additional groups. This makes it a challenge to have a unified approach [to preservation]” (Drucker

2014). Those residents who have free time and are the most vocal tend to have the greatest input in how the historic district is run and how the rules are applied (Tomaszewski 2014). Tomaszewski elaborated on this idea in reference to the creation of the district's preservation plan:

The bigger issue is that, you know when they make these preservation plans; it's a limited number of people that are really involved... because a lot of people just don't have time to be involved. I mean, working families don't have time to sit with people, talking about it — so a lot of people are frustrated in the community, like they live in this area with a preservation plan that they didn't really have representation [when it was written]. True, they could have come to meetings, whatever, but, I'm like, people have lives. They don't have time to just sort of sit around and make a preservation plan (Tomaszewski 2014).

It is apparent that there are several problems within the HPOZ, however overall respondents liked to know that McMansions could not be built in their neighborhood. Many residents specified that they would not want something “unattractive” or “too large” built next to their homes. Yet, even though the HPOZ guarantees that oversized mansions cannot be constructed, residents do not like the detailed rules regarding historical accuracy of building materials or requirements for the landscaping to conform to how it looked in the 1920s to 1940s. The need to maintain historical accuracy is seen as too cumbersome. One resident explained, “I [...] think that the HPOZ is not quite the best designation, that the designation we should use is Historical Zone, which would allow the HPOZ-like board to approve or disapprove changes based upon style rather than historical issues about which I feel that few people care” (Drucker 2014).

Conclusions

The case study has provided insight into why the Miracle Mile North HPOZ was designated and the desire of residents to have the ability to control changes that might

threaten their neighborhood. Conversely, it also reveals that although there is a concern for a consistent scale and aesthetic, there is not a unified idea of how historic preservation should be applied and what role it should take on.

1. *What are the types of physical and social changes within HPOZs that can be attributed to historic designation?*

Unlike the neighborhoods that surround the HPOZ to the Northwest (Beverly Grove) and South (Miracle Mile), the physical fabric of the Miracle Mile North HPOZ has remained intact. To the East of Miracle Mile North there are two large HPOZs – Hancock Park and Windsor Square – that also prevent major changes to occur without preservation oversight. The meeting agendas reveal that the home expansions and additions are typically added to the rear of single-family homes and can barely be seen when surveying the neighborhood.

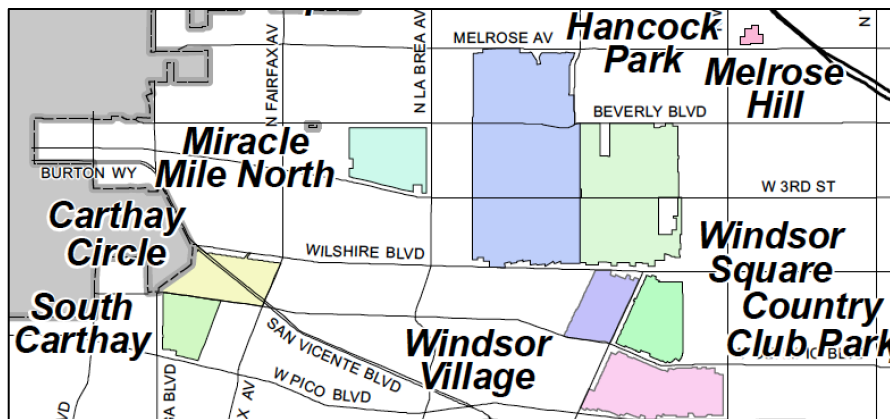


Figure 6.55: Map of HPOZs in Central Los Angeles. Source: Office of Historic Resources.

Resident associations of nearby neighborhoods, such as the Miracle Mile Residential Association (MMRA) or the Beverly Grove Alliance, that do not restrict demolition or have regulations that limit the size of new homes, have in recent year been concerned with overdevelopment (“MMRA Declares War on McMansions” 2014; “Beverly Grove Alliance” 2015).



Figure 6.56: The MMRA boundaries. Source MMRA website.

The fear of McMansions and overdevelopment has led the nearby Miracle Mile Residential Association (MMRA) to endorse the process of initiating an HPOZ in January 2015 (MMRA Editor 2015). The HPOZ Committee co-chair for the MMRA, Jeremy Matz, stated “The Miracle Mile is in the midst of an onslaught of overdevelopment [and the] HPOZ is the only way we can save our neighborhood” (MMRA Editor 2015). The proposed boundaries of the Miracle Mile HPOZ are Wilshire Boulevard on the north, San Vicente Boulevard on the south, La Brea Avenue on the east, and Fairfax Avenue on the west. The MMRA website explains that commercial properties and certain recently constructed apartment complexes would be excluded.

One Miracle Mile North homeowner stated that he thought the HPOZ itself did not attract new residents, however admitted that “that could be changing with the mansionization we’re seeing in nearby Beverly Grove and even just north of the Miracle Mile North HPOZ across Beverly” (Bureau 2014). The cohesive physical fabric of the HPOZ has been preserved since 1990; thus little change can be seen there when compared to the neighboring areas.

Socially, the Census indicates that the neighborhood has also not experienced much change in its socio-demographic characteristics. However, the case study has shown that although the area is still predominantly a high-income, White neighborhood, there are tensions in the community related to the needs of Orthodox Jewish families and the HPOZ regulations. A long-term renter in the area expressed his frustration with this:

The Orthodox Jews appear to be oblivious to anyone who is not one of them. Otherwise, long-term residents, both renters and homeowners love this area... Its not just the homeowners in the area who have a strong identification with the area... many of the renters so as well... (Steve 2014).

Economically, the HPOZ has become more exclusive. Home values and rents have increased and are higher than that of the City and County.

2. Do residents of HPOZs experience gentrification?

Overall, most residents who were interviewed or surveyed did not believe the residential area had gentrified per se. A 32-year homeowner of the neighborhood noted, “This neighborhood never really ran down to the point that ‘gentrification’ would be needed to improve it” (Drucker 2014). However, another long-term homeowner had a different definition of gentrification and referenced the increasing home values:

Yes, this neighborhood has gentrified. The commercial streets like La Brea and Beverly have a lot of new expensive stores. The cars of the homeowners have gone from regular cars to luxury cars. The value of our house in the past 27 years has multiplied 500 percent. We think that the increase in home costs is unfortunate, and wonder how people can afford to buy houses (Jancken 2014)

The high costs of property are not only related to the historic district, but also to the desirable location of the neighborhood amidst cultural and commercial corridors. Historically, this area has been a destination, but in recent decades with the development of the Grove and new boutique stores along Beverly Boulevard and Third Street, the area

has continued to become more exclusive and trendy. A renter who has resided in the district for the last 30 years references these changes:

Certainly Beverly Blvd west of La Brea is sprouting wonderful new restaurants and art and interior design shops. This is great for the area... so long to the former tire and body shops which used to line the streets... ugh! (There are some still around... and actually occupy structures of historical import that could readily serve more appropriate uses... Hello Pete's Coffee? (Steve 2014).

This increase in boutiques points to the transformation of an already prosperous and solidly upper-middle-class (gentrified) neighborhood into a more exclusive and expensive enclave. This phenomenon is called super-gentrification (Lees 2003). Lees makes the argument that this intensified “re-gentrification” is happening in a few select areas of cities like London and New York that have become the focus of intense investment and consumption by a new generation of super-rich “financifiers” employed by either the global finance or corporate service industries (Lees 2003).

I don't know how much the following issues are the result of the area being HPOZ, and how much this is caused by the general housing market and location in general. Anyone purchasing a house in this neighborhood now must be affluent. There are [fewer] families with children. There are more two income gay male couples, because men tend to make more money than women. There are less people of color moving into the neighborhood than lived here when we bought 27 years ago, and I think that is unfortunate (Janke 2014).

I think there is a conundrum in the process of preserving the historic qualities of old neighborhoods. It can be expensive to maintain old houses appropriately. Unfortunately, this can lead to gentrification, and driving out communities who have been residing in these neighborhoods for many years. I have no idea how to get around that (Janke 2014).

3. *What were the motivations for HPOZ designations? And who has a voice in how the district is maintained?*

Motivations for designation in this area were to prevent demolition of existing structures and preserve the cohesive look of the neighborhood. The current and past

board members have been homeowners and have a stake in how the neighborhood changes. Harold Tomin, now serves on the HPOZ board and describes why he first became involved:

[We] first got involved in the HPOZ shortly after we moved in. Our neighbors to the North wanted to just about double the size of their home[...]. We are very involved because our house is a cultural historical monument and that gives us a special interest in making sure the neighborhood stays historic. We don't want to be the only one with a bunch of mansions around it, so we've been active (Tomin 2014).

A significant percent of the community is Orthodox Jewish and Josh Tomaszewski, now on the board, in a way serves as their representative. As described in the case study, the application and approach to the historic district regulations can vary based on the community pressure that is applied. This reflects some of the tensions that are present and how they are played out in the physical fabric of the HPOZ.

Overall, an important issue to consider in Miracle Mile North is: How can the HPOZ incorporate or accommodate the cultural and social needs of the community who lives within it? The district's preservation plan does not speak to the diverse population of the area, and perhaps it should. This case study brings up the question of whether in the future HPOZs might try to embrace historic preservation that looks beyond physical preservation alone. Perhaps the Miracle Mile North serves as a warning about the tensions that arise when the goal of historic district designation is to prevent change rather than to embrace the importance of historic preservation of architectural styles or histories.

6.5 Harvard Heights Case Study

The Harvard Heights HPOZ was designated in 2000 and is comprised of 34 blocks bounded by Pico Boulevard on the north, the I-10 Santa Monica Freeway on the south, Normandie Avenue on the east, and Western Avenue on the West.



Figure 6.57: HPOZ map of Harvard Heights. Source: Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources.

The neighborhood of Harvard Heights is located within the Historic West Adams district (Figure 6.58), which is situated in the center of Los Angeles. According to the West Adams Heritage Association the area roughly stretches from Figueroa Street on the east to West Boulevard on the west (five (5) blocks west of Crenshaw Boulevard), and from Pico Boulevard on the north to Jefferson Boulevard on the south.

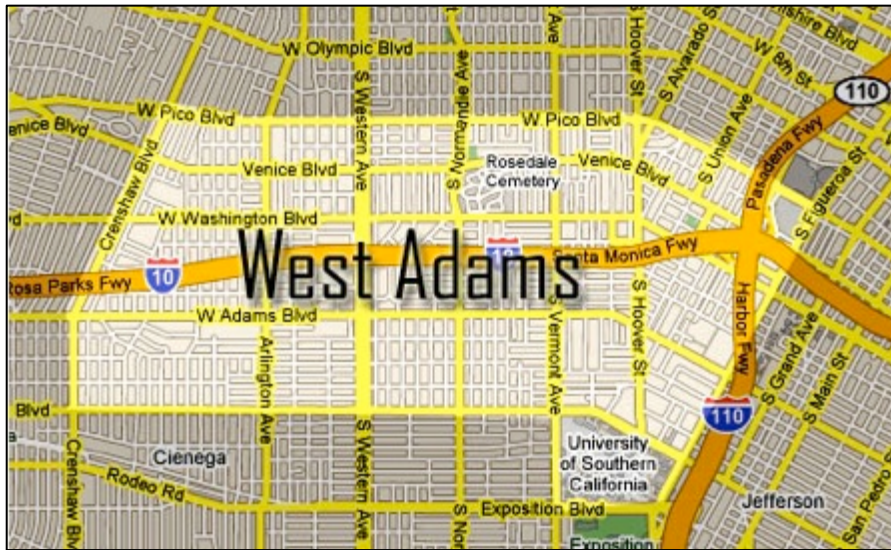


Figure 6.58: Map of Historic West Adams. Source: West Adams Voices?.

The Harvard Heights HPOZ is just one of several historic districts located within and around this area of the city. Historic West Adams, and its surroundings, is home to twelve historic districts (Figure 6.59). These HPOZs include: The “Triplets” (Country Club Park, Wilshire Park and Windsor Village), Jefferson Park, Lafayette Square, University Park, Western Heights, Pico Union, Adams Normandie, Harvard Heights, West Adams Terrace, and the North University Park Specific Plan (which is a specific plan that includes historical components, and projects are reviewed per the HPOZ ordinance).



Figure 6.59: HPOZs associated with Historic West Adams. North University Park not included in map. Map Source: Source: Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources.

What makes this an attractive location is its proximity to the central city with access to many amenities and job centers. The 10 Freeway, downtown Los Angeles, and USC are also a couple minutes away. Up-and-coming Koreatown is immediately to the north.

Approximately 71% of the structures in Harvard Heights are listed as contributing to the historic nature of the HPOZ. Although many architectural styles can be found within the HPOZ, it is the Craftsman houses, primarily built between 1902 and 1910, which characterize the neighborhood. Today, Harvard Heights is home to the only remaining Greene and Greene house in the City of Los Angeles, which is a designated local historical cultural monument. The HPOZ also has homes built by the Heinemann brothers (one of which is a local historical cultural monument), Hunt and Eager, and the noted architect Frank M. Tyler. Apart from the Craftsman style in Harvard Heights, one can also see homes built in the Colonial Revival, Spanish Revival, and Mission styles.



Figure 6.60: The Lucy Wheeler house, built in 1905, is the last remaining Greene and Greene house in the city of Los Angeles. It is a Historical Cultural Monument. Source: Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources.



Figure 6.61: Craftsmen home in Harvard Heights. Source: Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources.

When one compares the Sanborn insurance maps of 1921 and 1954 they reveal that most of the single-family, duplex, and small apartments in Harvard Heights stayed intact after the war, and few physical changes occurred in the area. In some cases, larger homes were subdivided into flats.

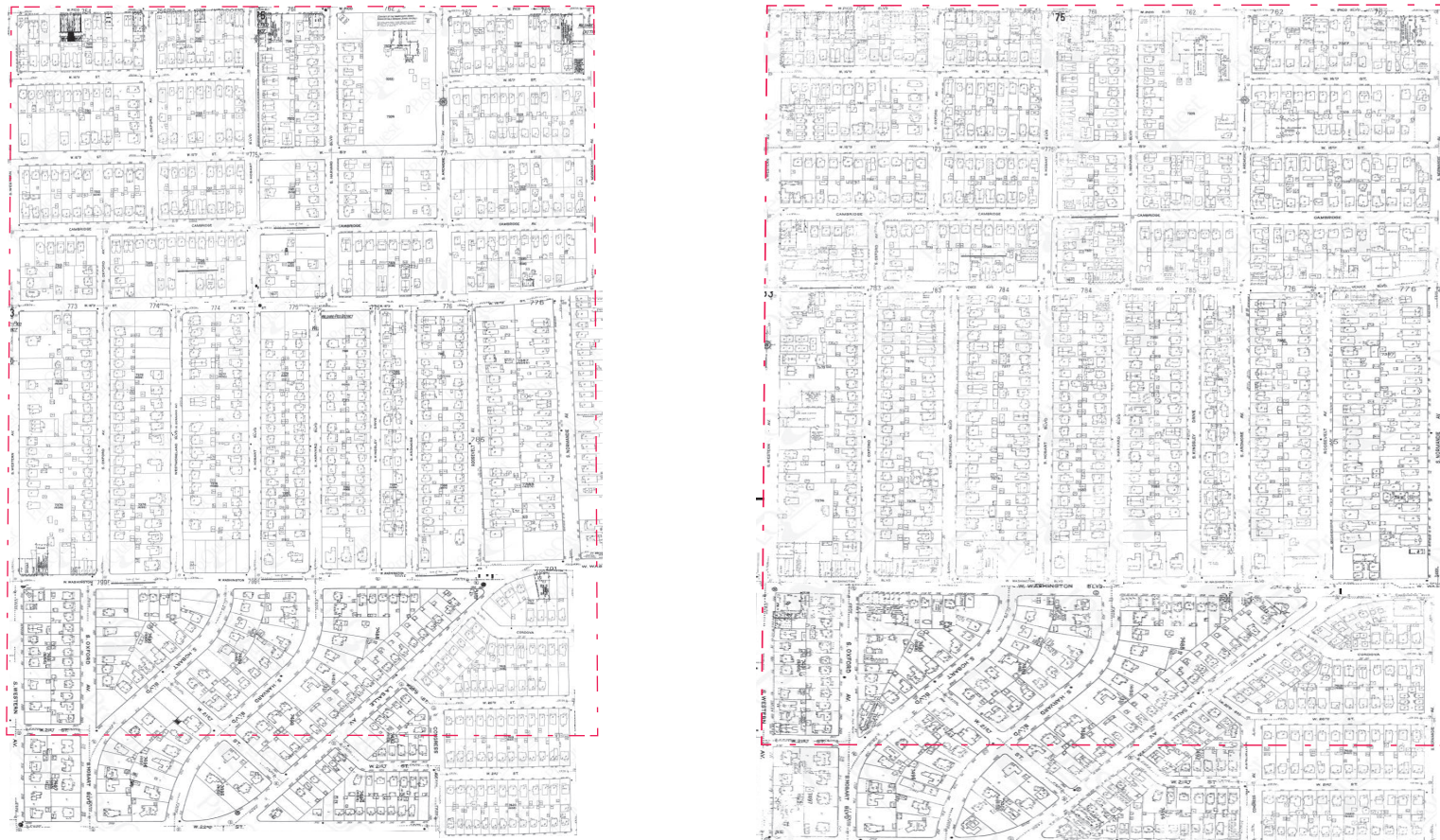


Figure 6.62: Left: 1921 Sanborn Map. Right: 1954 Sanborn Map. Source: Proquest. Dashed line indicates the HPOZ boundaries today.

Significant changes arose in the mid-1960s when the I-10 Santa Monica Freeway cut through the southern portion of Harvard Heights. As is visible from a portion of the 1954s Sanborn maps, there was a significant amount of housing south of 21nd Street that was cleared for the freeway.

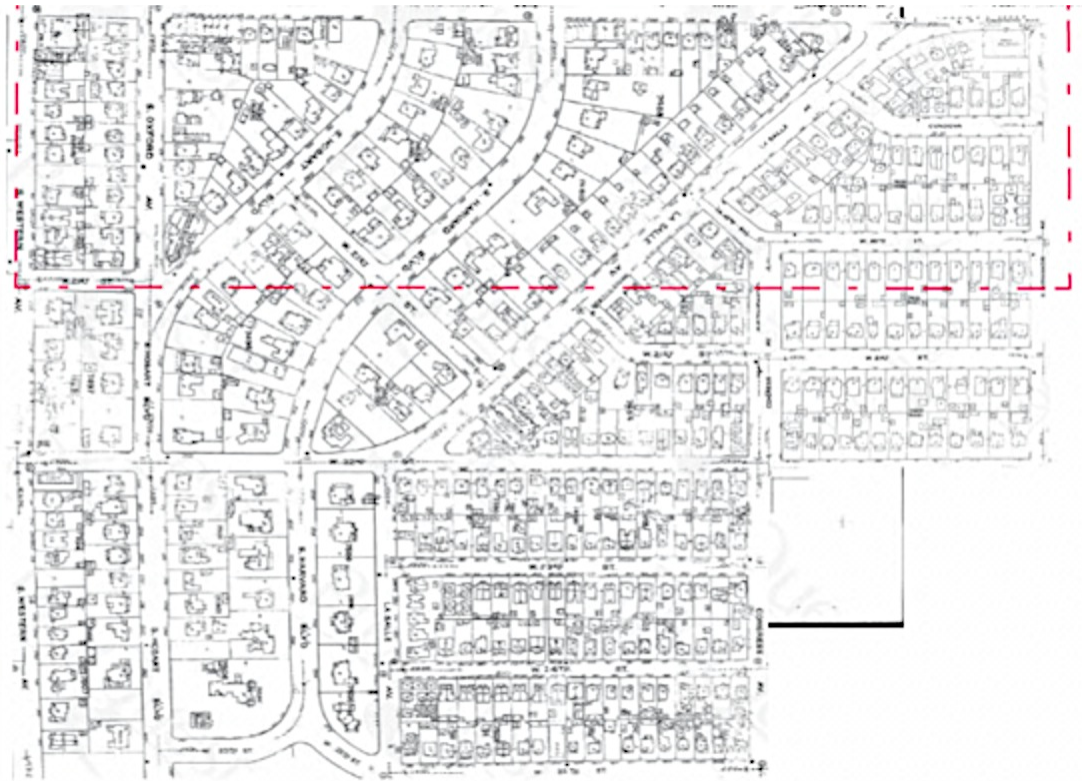


Figure 6.63:1954 Sanborn Map. Everything below the dashed line and above 22nd St. was cleared for the I-10 Freeway.

This area of Harvard Heights was the northern part of what was (and is known as) Sugar Hill. According to Janet Clark, a resident who has lived in the neighborhood since 1949, the largest numbers of Black families, especially affluent Black families, resided south of Washington up to around Adams in the West Adams/Sugar Hill area (Nico 2015a). Many of these homes were demolished with the construction of the freeway.

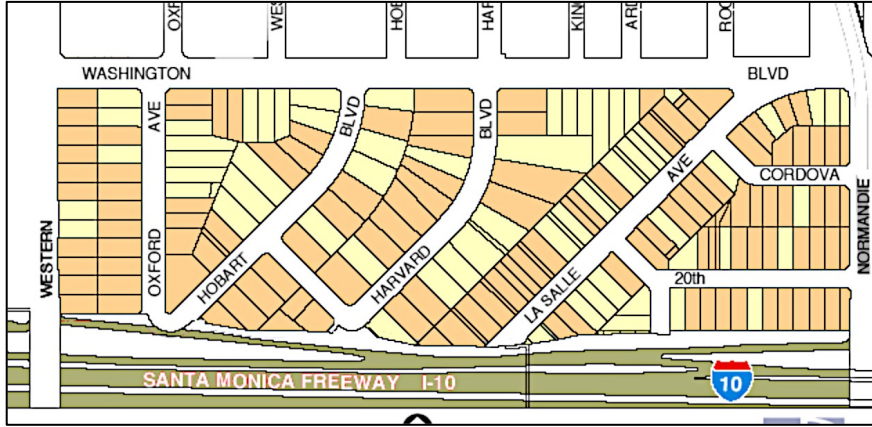


Figure 6.64: The West Adams Heights/Sugar Hill area portion of Harvard Heights (“About Us | West Adams Heights-Sugar Hill” 2015).



Figure 6.65: Two examples of the grand houses located in the Sugar Hill area (“About Us | West Adams Heights-Sugar Hill” 2015).

After the construction of the freeway, the Harvard Heights area began to decline through the 1970s (“History | West Adams Heights-Sugar Hill” 2015). In the mid-1950s, with the anticipation of the freeway, the demolition of older homes and the construction of apartment buildings began in Harvard Heights (Childress Interview 2014; Wallis Interview 2014). The trend of replacing historic homes with large-scale apartment building continued into the 1990s and was one of the reasons why some residents were motivated to designate the area as a historic district (Childress Interview 2014; Labiner

Interview 2014; Wallis Interview 2014). A past resident of Harvard Heights notes the significant changes in one area of neighborhood.

When I visit L.A. now I always have to visit my old neighborhood. The area has really changed! I remember when there were only three apartment buildings on Harvard Blvd now there are at least six. Instead of taking pride in the history and craftsmanship of these beautiful homes the lots are sold and replaced with large apartment complexes. Crazy! Tenna August 18, 2009 (“Harvard Heights Mapping L.A.” N.D.)

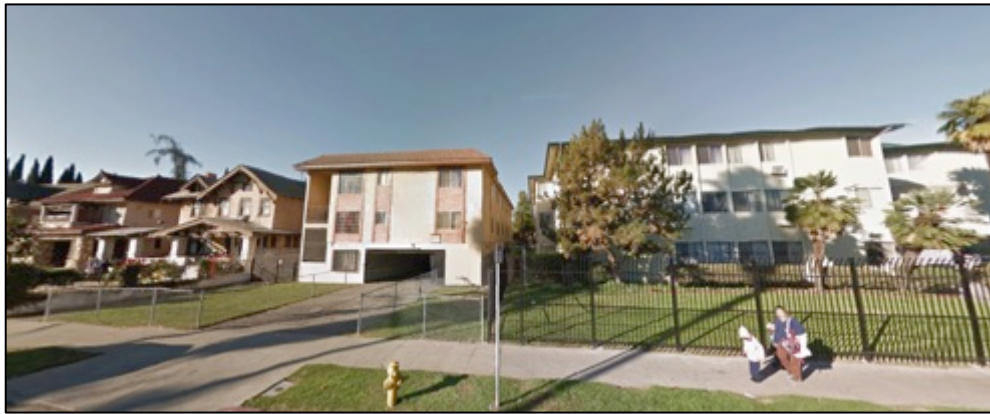


Figure 6.66: An example of two apartment complexes on Westmoreland Blvd (on the left built in 1985 and on the right built in 1968). Image Source: Google Street View.



Figure 6.67: On the left: An aerial of Harvard Blvd., a southern portion of Harvard Heights in the area of Sugar Hill. Large-scale apartments are marked in red. On the right: The 1954 Sanborn Map shows the same portion of the HPOZ, with red indicating where the apartments were constructed. The time range of construction for the apartments marked on the map is from 1955 to 1982. Maps created by author. Image source: Google Maps Aerial and Sanborn Maps.

Harvard Heights Early History

The area now designated as Harvard Heights incorporates several different tracts. The southern portion of the HPOZ between Washington and the I-10 is part of the West Adams Heights Tract, which was laid out in 1902 (“CHC-2015-237-HCM: Historical-Cultural Monument Application for the Charles I.D. Moore Residence.” 2015,18). Although the freeway now creates a physical barrier, the original neighborhood boundaries were Adams Boulevard, La Salle Avenue, Washington Boulevard, and Western Avenue (*Los Angeles Times* 1902). Costly improvements were part of the development, such as 75-foot wide boulevards (which were some of the first contoured streets not to follow the city grid), lots elevated from the sidewalk, ornate street lighting, and large granite monuments at the entrance to every street (*Los Angeles Times* 1902). These upgrades increased the property values, which helped ensure the tract would be an enclave for the elite. One early real estate ad characterized the neighborhood stating:

West Adams Heights needs no introduction to the public: it is already recognized as being far superior to any other tract. Its high and slightly location, its beautiful view of the city and mountains make it a property unequalled by any other in the city (“For Sale - City Lots and Lands: Choice Residence Lots in the Southwest West Adams Heights Westmoreland Heights” 1903).

The community became home to many wealthy owners. The naming of streets after universities such as Harvard, Cambridge, Oxford, and Hobart added to the neighborhood’s prestige, and West Adams Heights rapidly became an elite and fashionable enclave, which is evident from quotes like this:

Nowadays we scarcely notice the high stone gates, which mark the entrances on Hobart, Harvard, and Oxford streets, south of Washington Boulevard. For one thing, the traffic is too heavy, too swift; and then, again, the gates have been obscured by intrusions of shops and stores. At the base of the stone pillars appears the inscription “West Adams Heights.” There was a time when these entranceways were formidable and haughty, for they marked the ways to one of

the first elite residential areas in Los Angeles... In the unplanned early-day chaos of Los Angeles, West Adams Heights was obviously something very special, an island in an ocean of bungalows—approachable, but withdrawn and reclusive—one of the few surviving examples of planned urban elegance of the turn of the century (McWilliams 1949).

During the same time period, a variety of nearby tracts (now north of the freeway's dividing line) were established, which are now jointly designated as the Harvard Heights HPOZ. Two-story Craftsman-style residences built from 1902 to 1908 predominantly characterize the HPOZ. The large and somewhat grand scale of architecture is due to land covenants that stipulated that houses built within many of the tracts that now comprise the HPOZ cost more than \$2,500, which was a substantial sum at the turn of the century (Miller 2005). The Westmoreland Heights Tract, comprising Hobart and Westmoreland Boulevard between Washington and Venice, required the houses cost at least \$5,000 ("CHC-2015-237-HCM: Historical-Cultural Monument Application for the Charles I.D. Moore Residence." 2015).

Residents who had achieved a certain wealth and stature in Los Angeles constructed large residences in the area from 1890 into the 1920's. The 1924 Sanborn map reveals that the majority of the Harvard Heights HPOZ was developed by that time.

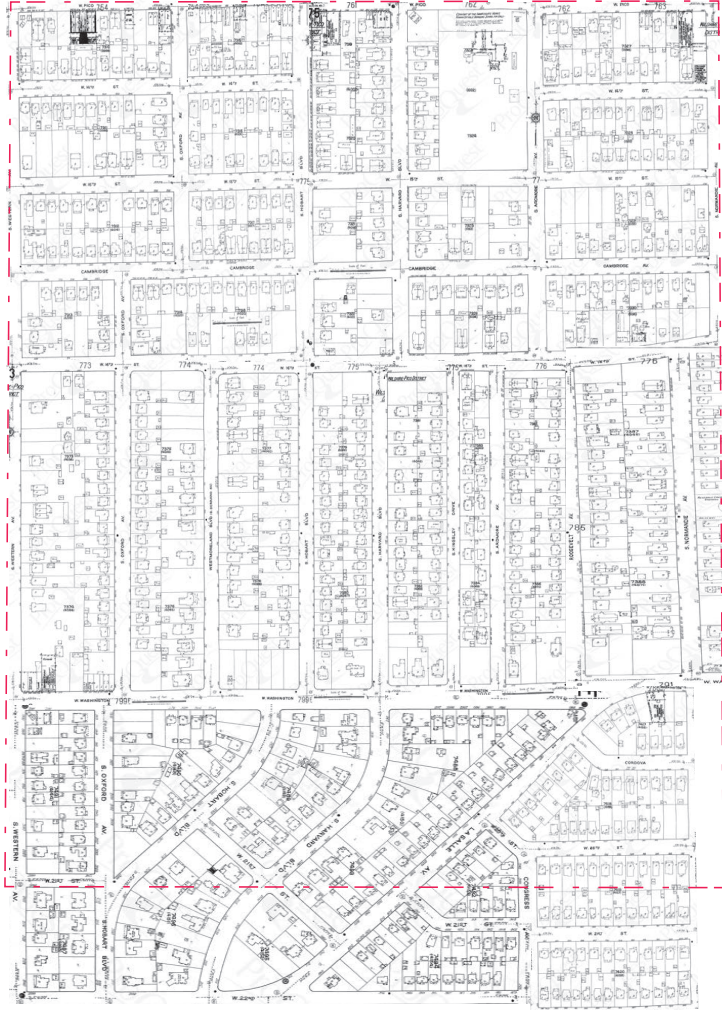


Figure 6.68: 1924 Sanborn map of Harvard Heights area.

Streetcar extensions facilitated the neighborhood's development into a suburban enclave for families who worked downtown ("Harvard Heights HPOZ Preservation Plan" 2010, 17). The first local streetcars reached the area around Rosedale Cemetery and the University District (near USC) in the early 1890's, prompting the migration of wealthy businessmen from downtown Los Angeles. The first streets to become major thoroughfares included Pico, Washington and Jefferson Boulevards. Usually there was a direct relationship between the streetcar routes and the development of residential tracts (Brooks and Lutz 2014). Other significant streetcar routes included the Washington Street line to Rosedale Cemetery (began in 1895). The routes of streetcars and electric railways

in most cases determined the first areas of concentrated residential development and hastened the “suburbanization” of outlying farm communities.



Figure 6.69: South Los Angeles Historic Streetcar Lines. Source: South Los Angeles Historic Resources Survey Report.

Overall, the Harvard Heights HPOZ contains the Tract north of Venice, the Westmoreland Heights Tract, and the northern-most section of the West Adams Heights Tract. The granite corner markers on Washington Boulevard and Harvard Boulevard are extant, restored by the neighborhood association. West Adams Heights was cut apart by the development of the I-10 Freeway in the 1960s. A substantial number of its residences were lost at that time, with about 17 still in existence south of the freeway. The north side, which falls within the Harvard Heights HPOZ boundaries, is more intact, with approximately 60 residences of the era still standing (“CHC-2015-237-HCM: Historical-Cultural Monument Application for the Charles I.D. Moore Residence.” 2015).

Like many Los Angeles tracts, land deeds in the West Adams Heights tract came equipped with a slate of restrictions designed to ensure and perpetuate the “desirability” of the area. The early residents’ were required to sign a detailed restrictive covenant. This hand-written document required property owners to build a “first-class residence,” of at least two stories, costing no less than \$2,000 (at a time when a respectable home could be built for a quarter of that amount, including the land), and

built no less than 35 feet from the property's primary boundary. Common in the early twentieth century, another clause excluded residents from selling or leasing their properties to non-Caucasians.

By the mid 1930s, after being implemented in early 1920s, most of the restrictions had expired. While some absentee landowners welcomed the opportunity to profit from an expanded market, others feared the prospect of living in a racially integrated neighborhood and lobbied for the covenants' extension. A small group of white property owners signed agreements in 1937 and 1938 in which they said they would not permit occupancy in West Adams Heights by non-Caucasians.

Nonetheless, between 1938 and 1945 many prominent African-Americans began to make "The Heights" their home. According to Carey McWilliams, West Adams Heights became known "Far and wide as the famous Sugar Hill section of Los Angeles," and enjoyed a clear preeminence over Washington's smart Le Droit Park, St. Louis's Enright Street, West Philadelphia, Chicago's Westchester, and Harlem's Sugar Hill. Among the famous residents of West Adams Heights/Sugar Hill was actresses Louise Beavers, Hattie McDaniel (the first African-American to win a Oscar) and Earl Grant (jazz organist) (Meyers 2015). The West Adams area became home to many influential and wealthy African-Americans. The first African-American to run for city council was Courtland G. Mitchell, who lived in West Adams Heights/Sugar Hill on 2048 South Oxford Avenue.

Eventually, a number of prominent African American property owners challenged the constitutionality of the racially based deed restrictions in West Adams Heights and in other restricted tracts in Los Angeles. These cases were ultimately consolidated and heard

at the U.S. Supreme Court. The 1948 “Shelley v. Kraemer” decision declared not so much that the restrictions themselves violated constitutional provisions but, rather, prohibited courts from enforcing them (Meyers 2015). Regardless, in the absence of enforceability, the racially restrictive covenants were rendered impotent.

This triumph of equity, however, was short lived. In 1955, the government chose the neighborhood in its bid to connect downtown and the Westside with a freeway. Constructed between 1961 and 1966, the I-10 now goes directly through the heart of the West Adams Heights tract. The freeway succeeded in fragmenting the neighborhood permanently: there is no overpass that connects the two halves. In the aftermath, the trend of absentee landholding continued to grow with some owners concerned more with profits than neighborhood cohesion. Janet Clark, a resident of Harvard Heights since 1949, speculates that, “something happened in the late 70s and 80s when there was decline. I don’t know if it had to do with people renting out their home rather than owning them. Not taking pride in their homes” (Clark Podcast Interview, 2015). Another resident who grew up in the neighborhood similarly notes the continued deterioration of homes due to neglect and absentee landlords.

I grew up in what is now called “Harvard Heights,” but like many others it was simply home to me. I loved the area and still do, because it is in the middle of everything I needed. However, since moving out after college and renting out the family craftsman home, I feel that the neighborhood has changed so much that much of the charm has gone away. I guess that's just progress as more people look for a better life. I do wish that more of the homeowners that rent out their houses did a better job of who they rent to. I see so many beautiful homes slowly being destroyed by people who don’t appreciate the houses they rent. That also applies to homeowners, who don’t pass by to make sure to keep up with repairs and make sure their property is kept up (Ronnie Interview June 7, 2010).

Moreover, the area was “up-zoned,” effectively incentivizing the demolition of historic single-family residences. After historic designation in 2000 the residential portions of Harvard Heights were zoned for Low to Medium residential density (R2-1 HPOZ).

Undeterred by the consequences of these setbacks, some residents have remained committed to preserving their quality of life and preserving a collection of early 20th century housing styles. The northern part of the West Adams Heights neighborhood boasts a particularly effective neighborhood association, which meets regularly, actively engaging the community. One of its most commendable beautification projects has been the restoration of the street markers that punctuate the comers of Washington & Oxford, Hobart, and Harvard.



Figure 6.70: Street marker in Harvard Heights. Source: WAHA.

Historically, residential development in Harvard Heights was not limited to single family homes, but included multi-family typologies such as duplexes, “railroad courts” and bungalow courts, and apartment buildings, executed in the same styles and materials as single-family homes. Following the stock market crash and the westward migration of

residents to Hancock Park and Beverly Hills, many of the large residences were carved into boarding houses or board-and-care facilities.

After decades of urban blight, residents took action in the late 1990s. They formed a strong neighborhood association with active members from the community's diverse ethnic and socioeconomic groups. Today the gangs and crack houses are gone, crime is lower, and the once-ubiquitous security bars are disappearing from the neighborhood's beautiful homes (Childress Interview 2014; Wallis Interview 2014).

Additionally, unlike some of its surrounding HPOZs, Harvard Heights has a commercial area that contains many examples of early 20th century commercial architecture, much of which was constructed in response to the streetcar lines.

Socioeconomic Make-up Today and in the Past

Over the years the Harvard Heights area has become associated with various ethnic and immigrant populations. During an interview with Steve Wallis, a resident and HPOZ Board member, he summed up the changes and diversity that have occurred in the neighborhood:

This area was obviously a White, fairly upper-middle class neighborhood when it was built, stayed that way through World War II, some African-American residents started to move in, then White residents started to move out. That transition happened say from the 50s, 60s, 70s – and so Whites moving out, Blacks moving in. Then, sporadically, Latinos moved in as well, and more Whites moved out. Then in the 90s, early 2000s, floods of Latinos moving in and a lot of Blacks moving out, and so that changed dramatically. It was a fairly well to do neighborhood through World War II and then it [transitioned] to a very nice blue-collar middle class neighborhood through the 70s. And then the 80s it just economically went to hell in a hand basket – a lot of crime, crime surged, the problems surged...

Then, in the late 80s, early 90s, mostly, sporadically some people started moving in. I would call them the gentrifiers, they found houses that had need been remodeled and that were still fairly intact, but completely worn out. Then by the

late 90s ... I'd say when we moved in there was a little mini rush of people moving in. Prices on the west side by that time had already gone up, prices per square foot, you can't ... couldn't beat this area, and you still can't for what you've got. Then, with Latinos moving in and then some, I'll call it again, gentrifiers moving in, it's become less dangerous.

The Census Data from 1970 to 2010 corroborates the changes that occurred in Harvard Heights from the 1970s onward. By the 1970s, the neighborhood had been affected by the construction of the freeway, the replacement of older homes with new apartment buildings, as well as absentee landlords. Along with the physical changes, social changes occurred as well. The 1970 Census reveals that at that time Harvard Heights was a majority Black (54%) area, with 37% White and 25% Hispanic residents. Additionally, this was a low-income part of the City—the average household income was around \$50,000, which was lower than the City and County Average of around \$76,000. From 1970 to 2010 the percent of Black residents steadily decreased from 54% to 13%, while the Hispanic population increased from 25% to 73%. The decrease in Black residents from 1970 to 2010 mimics City and Countywide trends – the percent of Black residents in the City decreased from 17.9% to 9.6% and also decreased in the County from 10.8% to 8.7%. Although the percent of Black residents has significantly decreased in Harvard Heights, the proportion of those residents is still higher than that of the City.

Table 6.12: Harvard Heights Socio-economic data, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	Total Population	% Black	% White	% Asian	% Other	% Hispanic	Below Poverty Level	Ave. HH Income (\$)	% BA	% High- Status Job
1970	14742	54	37	n/a	9	25	15	49802	21	16
1980	16736	42	34	7	17	45	28	37017	25	12
1990	15739	33	23	6	38	60	31	44643	8	13
2000	15644	24	27	4	45	65	34	44933	9	16
2010	16347	13	35	9	43	73	28	44206	14	15

The Hispanic proportion of residents in Harvard Heights in 2010 (73%) was considerably higher than those of the City and County (48.5% and 47.7%, respectively).

And as with City and County trends, the Hispanic population has increased since 1970 (18.4% to 48.5% and 18.3% to 47.7%, respectively). Overall, this HPOZ was categorized as *Black/Hispanic* and has remained in the *Low-Income* category since the average household income (\$44,000) remains below that of the City and County (\$75,000 and \$80,000) in 2010.

The 1970 and 1980 Census reveals that the Harvard Heights area had over 30% White residents. At the same time, the percent of residents with a B.A. was over 20%. However the proportion of White residents and those with a B.A. progressively decreased and reached the lowest percentage in 1990 (23% White and 8% with a B.A.). %. The out-migration of White residents during the 1980s came at a time when Harvard Heights experienced more crime (Childress Interview 2014; Wallis Interview 2014).

Subsequently there was a slow increase of White residents during the 1990s and 2000s: 27% in 2000 and 35% in 2010). In 2010 the percent of residents with a college degree also increased from X% in 1990 to 14%. The slow influx of White residents in the following years seems to collaborate what Steve Wallis described as gentrifiers sporadically moving in.

The neighborhood ascent analysis indicates that Harvard Heights experienced socioeconomic status improvements, relative to the City and County, from 1990 to 2000 and 2000 to 2010. From 1990 to 2000, there was an increase in income, education, and high-status jobs, which points to an influx of gentrifiers. On the other hand, from 2000 to 2010, we see an increase in education, average home value, and median rent. The changes in housing costs (home value and rent) point to a possible result of the previous decade's neighborhood ascent and the influx of gentrifiers.

Table 6.13: Harvard Heights housing data, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	% Owner Occupied	% Renter Occupied	Average Household Value	Median Rent
1970	15	85	117455	576
1980	15	85	171853	595
1990	17	83	298792	769
2000	17	83	251560	669
2010	18	82	578411	754

Although the Harvard Heights area has experienced socioeconomic improvements in the last two decades, it still remains a *Low-Income* area with over 20% of its population living below poverty, which is higher than the City and County (~17% and 14%). The area has seen slight increases in homeownership, but the area maintains a high percent of renters (82%). In 2013, this area was categorized as a predominantly *Service Class* (Florida 2013).

Historic Designation in Harvard Heights

It was during the 1990s that a core group of dedicated homeowners in the neighborhood began to pursue historic designation for Harvard Heights. However, the path towards designation was not easy. As with Angelino Heights several urban pioneers moved into the district, began to renovate individual homes and sought to achieve the HPOZ status for their neighborhood.

Two urban pioneers from Harvard Heights were Odel Childress and his partner Donald Weggeman, who moved to the area in 1984. Both were active in the designation process. Odel and Donald purchased a 1906 Craftsmen home for \$135,000 and have continued to work on the restoration and furnishing of the home until today (Roberts 2008). Donald stated that, “We bought at perhaps the low point for the neighborhood in 1984, but we figured these houses were so splendid they were bound to turn around”

(Roberts 2008). Odel stated that they were specifically looking for a historic home (Childress Interview 2014).



Figure 6.71: Odel Childress and his partner Donald Weggeman. Source: Roberts, 2008.

During the early 1980s when Odel and Donald moved in the population was mostly older and largely African-American, as whites had migrated to the suburbs, the freeway had bisected the neighborhood, and most of the homes had been converted into apartments. The couple was distressed to see their neighbors making significant and inappropriate architectural changes to the homes. “We watched as they stuccoed their houses and replaced double-hung, wood-clad windows with aluminum. For a while, we thought we’d made a mistake,” Donald has admitted (Roberts 2008). “We hoped the neighborhood would improve, but we went through a fairly deep recession in the late 80s and early 90s. Then the riots of 1992 caused a lot of destruction through our business corridor” (Roberts 2008). The business corridor Donald is referring to are Western Avenue and Normandie Avenue, where numerous businesses were looted or destroyed.

Nevertheless, the neighborhood began to experience changes in the 1990s. These changes were influenced by white-collar professionals moving back into older city neighborhoods, like Harvard Heights, due in part to lengthening commutes and increasing home values on the west side (such as Santa Monica). One of the residents

who moved in at the time was Steve Wallis, a homeowner and HPOZ Board member. He stated:

I'd say when we moved in there was a little mini rush of people moving in. Prices on the west side by that time had already gone up, prices per square foot, you can't ... couldn't beat this area, and you still can't for what you've got (Wallis Interview, 2014).

Residents like Steve Wallis and Odel Childress pushed for historic designation of the neighborhood due to the destruction and demolition of historic homes they witnessed around them. The construction of apartment buildings was also a concern for them (Labiner 2014).

[M]any beautiful homes were torn down for really ugly apartment buildings, like there was one here, there was a house that had a bowling alley in the basement that was torn down for a piece of crap apartment; so that happened a lot, I think in the 70s or early 80s. The people [in the 1980s and 90s] who moved in seemed to have an economic interest in making sure that the neighborhood gets better because they pay a lot for the house. Then they want to make sure that they're not going to lose their investment, they want a sense of neighborhood and community as well (Wallis Interview, 2014).

However, although there was a strong interest by new homeowners to seek designation, the city councilman at the time was initially not supportive of the idea.

It was Nate Holden [who was the Councilmen]. Anyway, when the neighborhood association, when their board began to represent the neighborhood, which I think is probably the case. Then he changed his mind. He was told that if the neighborhood wanted it that they should get it. Then he went ahead and endorsed the HPOZ and also paid for the survey because the houses need to be cataloged, etc. (Childress Interview, 2014).

Odel elaborated that, “[Holden] didn't like all the trendy newcomers trying to change things, but finally he gave in and got us the HPOZ status” (Childress Interview, 2014).

The designation took approximately four years and “there was apathy and division in the

neighborhood” (Childress Interview, 2014). Steve Wallis explained who he believes was and continues to be indifferent towards the HPOZ status of the neighborhood.

Again, most Latinos, especially renters, not a single renter cares about [the HPOZ]. Why should they? They don’t have a financial stake, and there are a lot of renters in the neighborhood. Then the owners, frequently, absentee landlords who live in Orange County, Lancaster, West Side, whatever, who couldn’t care less. I almost discount them as well, because even though they have a financial stake in the community, they ... I couldn’t tell you a single landlord that actually takes care of his/her or its property, to be proud of, they’re just landlords that basically suck all the money out of the property (Wallis Interview, 2014).

Additionally, prior to designation some homeowners also viewed historic designation unfavorably because they did not want to be told what they could or could not do to their properties. “There was some resistance here and there, and it’s funny, one of the guys who was on the board, Mark, who lives next door, he probably had the most anti-HPOZ stance” (Wallis Interview, 2014).

Odel Childress was the president of the neighborhood association in the 1990s, when historic designation was being pursued, and he continues to serve on the HPOZ board. Since Odel is African-American, his partner Donald credits him with building a bridge between the new residents, who are mostly White, and the old residents, who are predominantly Black and Latino (Roberts 2008). Odel believes that: “It was my egging, my pushing, my becoming president of the neighborhood association and keeping everyone channeled into becoming an HPOZ” that aided in the historic designation of the neighborhood. Overall, other residents confirm that the process was burdensome and lengthy.

It took an amazing amount of community effort. The city and the councilman’s office were initially very suspicious and poorly informed about preservation issues. There was and is today uncertainty about any neighborhood organizations that are grassroots that advocate in favor of communities in ways that might change the political status quo. The experience took a lot of my time during the

first 10 years that I lived here. There were huge losses [of historic homes] in the community during the time prior to HPOZ designations (Souza 2014).

The HPOZ status is seen as an important achievement for the Harvard Heights community because, “with the HPOZ, it meant that the city as well as the developers would really have to think about the neighborhood when they would try to make changes” (Childress Interview, 2014). Odel elaborated that the HPOZ status grants more than the ability to save historic homes, but rather it gives residents power over what happens in their community.

I grew up in an area called Watts. If anyone in the city wished to come in and rip out a whole row of houses and put in an oversized apartment building they were welcomed to it. We had no say so in that. This way we have some say so in it. It’s not so much to celebrate an old house or an old neighborhood but to maintain the quality of living in the area for the neighborhood, for the people around, for myself... (Childress Interview, 2014).

Preservation Tensions

Harvard Heights has been an HPOZ for fifteen years, and both the tensions and apathy that were present at the time of designation still exist within the community. Within the HPOZ there are differences between the level of involvement between homeowners and renters, as well as a socioeconomic divide that separates some of the newer and older homeowners. These disparities become more apparent when one looks at the HPOZ activities and board makeup. For instance, apart from Odel Childress, the other four board members are White. All of them are homeowners, and the board architect does not reside in Harvard Heights. Odel Childress acknowledges that the demographics of the board is an issue in the community and elaborates on the difficulty of recruiting new residents, who do not have the time to engage in volunteer work:

There has been outreach to neighbors. In this area, getting volunteers to show up consistently is difficult. What will happen is you'll wind up; we'd wind up with people who are always on some kind of committee of this nature. They do not change it, they just want to be that change. When you do eight hours of work, you really don't feel like dealing with extracurricular activities (Childress Interview, 2014).

Steve Wallis expounds on the topic:

[The HPOZ board is] reflective of the people who care about the neighborhood. The Board doesn't represent Latinos, well, Danielle is Latina, and then Odel being Black, we don't have a Korean on the Board. I would really like to find a preservation-minded Korean, but it just doesn't happen [in Harvard Heights] (Wallis Interview, 2014)

These types of differences can cause rifts in the community and create a “them versus us” mentality. Odel explains that it is not necessarily the fact that board members are White that creates the problem, but rather that the newcomers are seen as condescending:

People aren't worried about there being White people [on the board]. It's just that, like Santa Monica, you've heard of the people to the Republic of Santa Monica? Historic Preservation Overlay Zones with craftsman houses like these. They draw that type of person. There's an influx of, all of a sudden, you've got someone running around telling you; thank you for keeping your lawn cut or something like that. A real insult... They have no idea that it's mental and they wonder why people can't stand them. They impose what they've learned in living in other neighborhoods, usually well-off neighborhoods. They are trying to impose those standards on basically a ghetto or slum.

A long-term resident admits that she likes the new neighborhood improvements but at the same time expresses a disdain for the “new neighbors” that bring the changes.

I was born and raised and still live in what most recently has been called Harvard Heights. For most of my life (almost half a century) it was known as Mid-City. It's a bit of over-kill with all the “historical” signage in the neighborhood, especially along Washington Blvd., O.K., I get it, it's Washington Blvd. I don't need a sign on EVERY caged tree on the street to know it's Washington Blvd. Despite the minimal gentrification I still love my neighborhood. I like the improvements but I don't like the “new neighbors” that try to ram their ridiculous “mightier than thou, when I lived in... neighborhood” B.S. down my throat. I was here before YOU and I will continue to be here after YOU leave and

infiltrate another neighborhood. I love Harvard Heights and the “real” Harvard Heights residents. — hills-jury July 16, 2009 at 12:19 p.m.

In addition to differing opinions on how a neighborhood should be improved, a few residents have pointed out difficulties and inconsistencies when dealing with the HPOZ board. Janet Clark, who is Black, has lived in Harvard Heights since 1949. She provides an example of how the board requested certain design standards that were not consistent with what she saw growing up in the area.

I want to build a new garage, because mine fell down a few years ago, and they say the garage roof has to have the same pitch as the house. But I told them the original roof was a flat roof. Well you know I used to play in the houses and walk the neighborhood, so I know what things looked like. So you can't tell me how it should look (Janet Clark Podcast Interview, 2015).

The discrepancies between what the neighborhood looks like and what preservation-minded individuals desire appears to vary. This may in part be due to the fact that it is predominantly newcomers and those who have more time to spare that govern the HPOZ and influence the preservation plan guidelines. Odel admits:

There are a lot of inconsistencies. I think my main beef with the whole thing is that; yes, this is an old area. However, this isn't the old times. As things progress, things can change. Yes, you can limit the way things look but you can't stop the progress. One thing that people have become accustomed to around here is fences. Having their front fence, as well as a back fence. Around here... because people live so close, thousands are in such close proximity to each other that people feel safe with fences. People do want them on the properties around here.

During an HPOZ meeting on September 30th, 2014 one of three applicants was a young Korean couple, who wanted to attain approval for a new fence on their property because homeless people were sitting and sleeping on their front lawn and they felt unsafe. The HPOZ board proceeded to explain that the Preservation Plan for the area does not encourage the construction of new fences, especially if they are not consistent with the “Period of Significance,” meaning that they would have to adhere to the style of fences

present in the early 1900s. Moreover, the HPOZ plan advocates the “Removal of fences that were installed outside of the Period of Significance” (pg. 13). However, the plan does not specifically forbid the construction of a fence either. Instead the board recommended the addition of landscaping, such as roses or cacti, which would provide a safety measure. The imposition of a specific aesthetic by the board can frustrate certain residents and can lead to illegal construction, as with the example provided by Steve Wallis.

There is a Black woman who lives there, an older black woman. She just basically hates Whites, and she resents having to be told anything. Even though she knew that she needed to get approval for her front fence like everybody else does, she basically says, “Screw you. I’m going to build whatever the hell I want.” She did, she spent a lot of money, a woman who was like in foreclosure on her own house; she built this just to make a point (Wallis Interview, 2014).

Newer residents have noted that interactions with the HPOZ board can be unnecessarily tedious, which is especially frustrating for them as they see numerous residents bypass the board and do illegal work on their homes (Jeffries Interview, 2014; McCormick Survey, 2015). Sophie Jeffries, who moved into a flipped home in June 2014, states that some “people don’t move in because there are too many regulations” and there are not enough repercussions for those who break the rules (Jeffries Interview, 2014). Blake McCormick, a five-year resident of Harvard Heights, added that that the interaction with the board can be unpleasant:

I believe that the HPOZ Board needs to be more welcoming to people who appear before it. Going before a statutory body is an intimidating thing and I find that the board does little to dispel people’s discomfort. It has also been my experience that people who come before the board and are the most interested in doing the right thing can receive rougher treatment at the hands of the board. There are people who are brought to the board because they have made mistakes and the board will work with them. People who come to the board openly can get a little beaten up. It’s impossible for the board’s personal opinions not to come

into play, but they shouldn't. Lastly, the board needs to be of service to the community (McCormick 2015).

Odel provided some insight into his view of the HPOZ board decision-making process. What stands in his comment and the previous opinions is the board's interpretations and desire to adhere to the preservation guidelines, which may be perceived as superfluous, expensive, or even not sensitive to the resident's needs (such as the Korean couple's desire to feel safer with a fence).

What I find is that the [other] board members, I guess, they're using their personal biases as to whether our project is approved or not. In other words, a person who wants one color scheme for their home is told no. 'You have to have it this way because we like it.' That's not right. A person who is coming to the board for a project behind the house, and the board members see that the person doesn't have a chimney above the roof line, then they'll tell him to put the chimney back, and all he can just say is; why? I don't have a fireplace. The previous owner took out the fireplace. They want this person to spend his money on doing their wishes or biddings for the house (Childress Interview, 2014).¹

Childress is a member of the HPOZ board, however in this quote he is implying that the other members are the ones who use their personal biases for decision-making. In the interview he specified that he tries to mitigate these biases when possible, but often feels outnumbered.

Conclusions

- 1. What are the types of social and physical changes within HPOZs that can be attributed to historic designation?*

¹ The Preservation Plan does not forbid specific colors, but rather states, that "Simple and restrained two-color and three-color paint schemes highlighting body, trim and accents" should be used ("Harvard Heights HPOZ Preservation Plan" 2010, 33). The board, in particular the appointed architect, ultimately has to agree and approve of the applicant's suggested choice based on what they deem is historically accurate.

In terms of social changes, the Harvard Heights HPOZ experienced socioeconomic status ascent during the decade prior to historic designation (1990 to 2000). At that time the area saw an increase in income, education, and high-status jobs, which points to an influx of urban pioneers or gentrifiers. These new residents were often attracted to the affordability of the area (Childress 2014; DeMan 2014; Wallis 2014) – “It was the most square feet for the money in 1988” (DeMan 2014). With the arrival of new residents came a greater desire for the physical improvement of the homes and the neighborhood in general, which eventually resulted in the creation of an HPOZ.

The residents were asked: *Do you see the HPOZ affecting the social composition of the neighborhood?* Numerous times in conversations and in articles, newcomers had mentioned that it takes a “certain type of person,” who is “creative and smart” to want to live in Harvard Heights (Nico 2015b). The general attitude of many urban pioneers in Harvard Heights is that the historic nature of the area attracts like-minded people that like to restore old homes and usually spend years on restorations. If it is specifically historic preservation (and affordable homeownership) that draws new people into the neighborhood, is their presence significant enough for residents to attribute it to any social changes they see around them? The answers were fairly mixed. Below are a few of the answers:

- Those that *do not* see the HPOZ affect social composition.

Not yet - we have equal parts long time residents and appreciative new comers. Wish certain elements did not IGNORE the HPOZ and gut and ruin historic homes - JF Morie, 13 year resident of Harvard Heights (Morie 2014).

Not really, it's still mixed culturally - Carmen Price-Zigrang, 35 year resident of Harvard Heights (Price-Zigrang 2014).

- Those that *do* see the HPOZ affect social composition.

Yes. More affluent people of all colors are moving in, repairing 100-year-old-homes and taking pride in their homes — Mark DeMan, 27 year resident of Harvard Heights (DeMan 2014).

To a degree, yes. The gentrified numbers still seem like a minority by a landslide, but little by little more professional and educated families have been moving in along with a lovely intentional community of young renters - Stephanie, 13 year resident of Harvard Heights (Stephanie 2014).

- Those that see indirect effects.

In our neighborhood in seems to have been a stabilizing effect although some of the old time neighborhood residents seem to perceive the neighborhood as safer now and no longer a place to move away from when you achieve upward mobility. That could have coincided with crack cocaine epidemic that ravished parts of the neighborhood in the 1980's - Roland Souza, 9 year resident of Harvard Heights (Souza 2014).

Indirectly. Groups/individuals living in the HPOZ because of its historic nature affect the social composition - Alex Marrache, 11 year resident of Harvard Heights (Marrache 2014).

And do residents *perceive a strong sense of community*? When asked, people again had varied responses.

- Positive responses

Over the years the area has changed. Today there is more sense of community as more neighbors are getting involved with fixing the area up and keeping it clean, painting and restoring the homes and now more small businesses are moving in (Price-Zigrang 2014).

Absolutely. Certainly all the owners of these historic houses have a great shared love of history and a great fighting spirit, ready to protect and nurture this wonderful neighborhood. Everyone also loves sharing the neighborhood and helping others discover it and learn to respect it (Hailey 2014).

Yes. We all try hard, working together to keep the unique flavor and character of our historic neighborhood (Morie 2014).

The residents have gotten to know each other and to work together to problem solve and define a shared sense of what the community could be (Souza 2014).

- Mixed responses

Where it is not divided, yes. I think the majority of residents are families and so regardless of color or economic status, that bonds people. We also have made wonderful friends who were also similarly willing to become “pioneers” and move into what is considered an unsavory location despite the specialness of the homes (Stephanie 2014).

It’s a mixed bag. The sense of community is largely orchestrated by the people who have moved to the neighborhood specifically for its historic nature. To most residents, however, participation in the community has little to do with its historic nature but rather more quotidian concerns such as crime, quality of life issues, etc. (Marrache 2014).

My very local neighborhood has a strong sense of identity because a few neighbors are committed to bringing residents together. The HPOZ is really too large to have its own identity in my opinion (DeMan 2014).

- Negative response

It’s clique-ish more so than community (Francisca 2014).

Another change or intangible benefit that was listed as a result of the historic district included the fact that people were more proud of their neighborhood, because it looked like a place that was well-loved and properly maintained (Hailey 2014; Price-Zigrang 2014; Souza 2014).

Following the establishment of the HPOZ, from 2000 to 2010, the Census data reveals an increase in education status, average home value, and median rent. Although the last two decades indicate increases in socioeconomic status, the neighborhood remains relatively diverse with a high percentage of Latino residents and a greater proportion of African-Americans compared to the City and County. It has also remained a predominantly renter-occupied neighborhood; the proportion of renters has dropped only slightly from 85% in 1970 to 82% in 2010.

Unlike in the previous decade, after 2000 the neighborhood has experienced a rise in housing costs relative to the City and County trends. Although the cost of housing has increased, several residents, who moved in after the HPOZ designation, have stated that homes are a “bargain” in Harvard Heights:

Great big house, with backyard. You can't find a better deal in the City. But people still think it's the 'hood (Nico 2015c).

Harvard Heights was the only L.A. neighborhood we could afford at the time we bought (Hailey 2014).

In spite of the size of our land and house, it remains one of the best bargains in LA because it is considered an undesirable neighborhood by most upper/middle class (Stephanie 2014).

In terms of rental housing, the data reveals an increase in median rent. However last year, the *L.A. Weekly* magazine listed Historic West Adams (#1) and Harvard Heights (#2) as two of the top 10 *Best L.A. Neighborhoods for Renting an Affordable [Single-Family] House* (Romero 2014). When discussing Harvard Heights the author of this article stated:

You'll find plenty of Craftsman and Victorian homes, many if not most still unrestored, in this neighborhood south of Koreatown. Zillow says you can expect a median rent of \$2,251, which is 6.7 percent more than last year.

And when discussing the nearby West Adams the author noted:

This is another architectural treasure trove, with plenty of large Victorian, Queen Anne, Arts and Crafts, and Beaux Arts homes to choose from. The community southwest of downtown is no secret, however, and bargains aren't common. Median rents have gone up a whopping 11.2 percent in the last year. Zillow says the median rent is \$2,270. You'll pay a little more to be here, but you'll certainly look cool doing it.

In both cases the historic architecture is an important factor in making these areas attractive, and even with an increase in median rents the article implies that you can get more value for your money. This phenomenon points to the growing appeal of this area, while also potentially warning of future displacement of long-term residents.

Additionally, the HPOZ status has provided a sense of security and stability for homeowners who now know the physical environment will not change drastically.

Harvard Heights, as many areas in transition, has experienced and is currently experiencing home flipping. An example of a new homeowner is Sophie Jeffries, who is originally from Britain. Ms. Jeffries moved into a flipped 1906 Craftsmen in June 2014, and states that she could not have purchased a large home for the price she paid anywhere else in Los Angeles. Furthermore, the architecture and historic district were important factors in making the purchase attractive. Jeffries works downtown, thus the location was also convenient.

Glimpses of the flipping trend in Harvard Heights can be seen on the neighborhood Facebook page and real estate websites, such as CurbedLA. On the Harvard Heights Facebook page a post from December 2014 gleefully announces the upcoming renovation of a home. The revamp has been undertaken by long-term residents of Harvard Heights, one of whom is Chris Ramos, a real estate agent who has lived his entire life in the neighborhood and whose parents have lived in the neighborhood since the 1960s (Nico 2015d).



Figure 6.72: Image of flipper in Harvard Heights. Source: Harvard Heights Facebook page.

The resident reactions on the Facebook post are mixed and reflect varied opinions about these changes. Although some are pleased to see the home improvement, one resident remarks that “Sure, the place wasn’t pleasant to look at but it was [an older couple’s] home and they were good people.” The joy of the new restorations comes hand-in-hand with the departure (willing or not) of long-term residents who could not afford to do the same.



Figure 6.73: Comments about flipping in Harvard Heights. Source: Harvard Heights Facebook page.

Another flipping example worth noting is found on the website *LACurbed*, and is of a newly renovated 1907 Craftsmen that was purchased in 2013 and put on the market in 2014 (Barragan 2014). The home was sold in 2013 for \$450,000 and was listed for \$949,000 in 2014.



Figure 6.74: Before and after photos of 2225 West 20th St., Los Angeles, CA 90018.

Although the newcomers see the homes as bargains, long-term residents may have a different perspective. Janet Clark, the resident who has resided in Harvard Heights since 1949, remarks:

I watch the construction and the renovation of houses... and I ask about estimates and go “wow.” Because the estimates I was getting before were not quite as steep. Part of the HPOZ gives people the ability to charge more for the same work... I mean come on, the quality of work you did for X dollars doesn’t have to be Y dollars for the same quality of work. But you know the law of supply and demand. I think that maybe if we did things as a collective, we might be able to bring the price down a little bit to get this stuff done. That’s the only way (Clark, 2015).

What the case study has shown is that Harvard Heights is a neighborhood in the midst of a slow transformation. As more people like Sophie Jeffries or Mason Bendewald “discover” Harvard Heights and the demand for large, historic homes increases, the real estate prices and rents will also rise. Examples of physical improvements in the neighborhood are visible in pockets, as can be seen in the photos below. However, compared to the other case study HPOZs, Harvard Heights is in the middle of the road in terms of number of meetings (an average of 14 HPOZ board meeting and 28 projects a year between 2004 and 2014). Out of all the projects that come before the board, Harvard Heights has the highest percentage (31%) of projects categorized under “new additions or new developments.” These include new developments or infill projects on empty lots,

additions to the rear of a single-family home, and new commercial development or additions.

The HPOZ meeting agendas also indicate there is a significant number of “legalization” projects for work done without permits. Some examples include the legalization of a carport or a porch enclosure. This supports previous statements about residents who chose to avoid HPOZ board approval prior to the work they do on their properties.

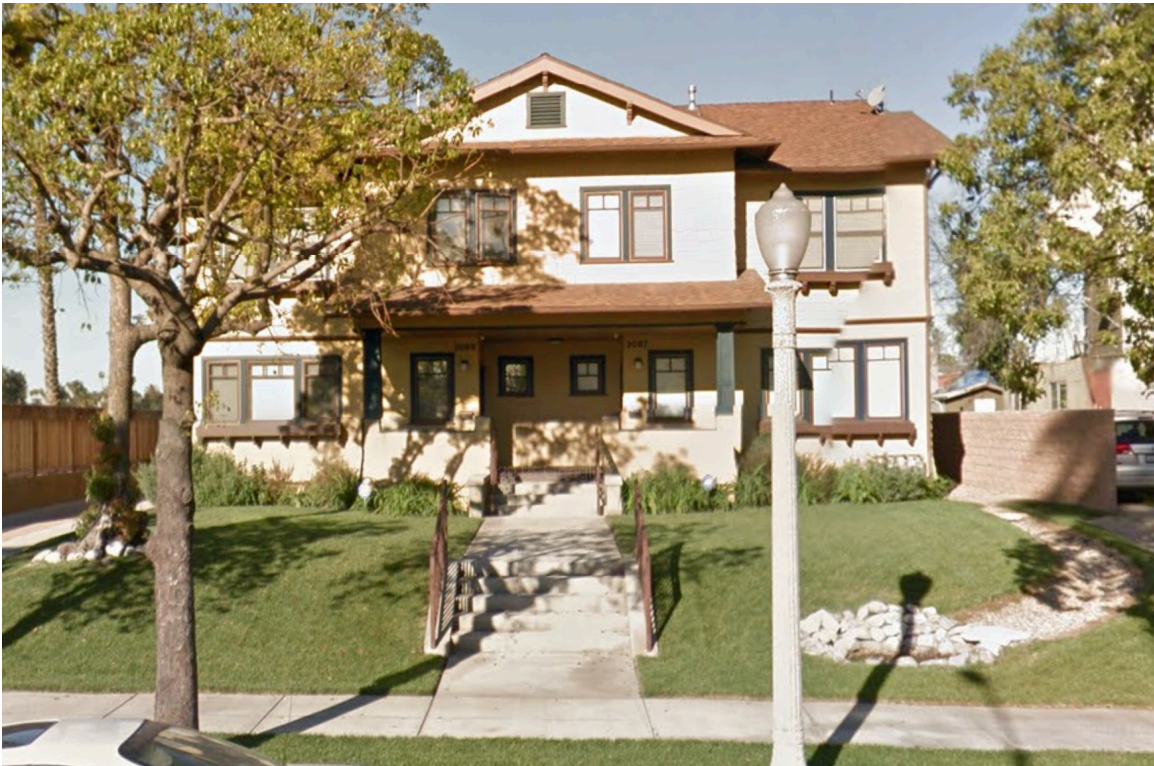
The following Google Street View photos highlight the type of preservation that can be seen in Harvard Heights and that has occurred in the last decade. The work that is most common includes façade improvements to Craftsmen homes, landscape improvements, and shingle renovations.

1701 S. Kingsley Drive



From 2007 to 2014: Changes in landscaping and wooden shingle façade

2178 S. Hobart Boulevard



2007: Empty lot adjacent to I-10 Freeway.

2015: New duplex in the Craftsman Style, new landscaping.

2190 S. Hobart Boulevard



Property next to formally vacant 2178 S. Hobart Boulevard.

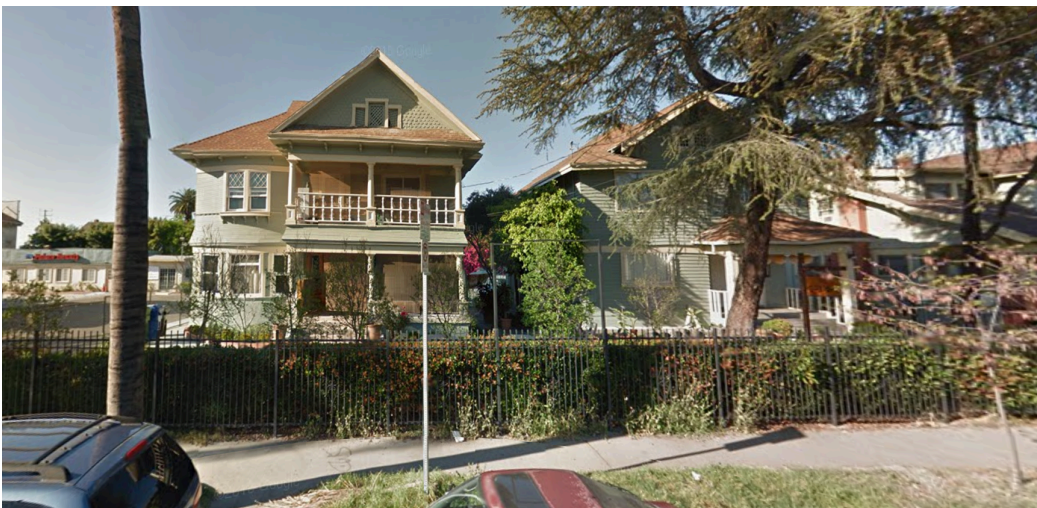
Changes from 2007 to 2015: Façade renovations, new paint, new landscaping, visible street parking restrictions.

Homes near 2255 Cambridge Street



From 2007 to 2015: Façade improvements on both homes. New landscaping. Fence removed from property on the left.

2271 Cambridge Street



From 2007 to 2015: New landscaping, less obvious fencing, renovated facades, new paint, conversion from Institution use to Single-Family homes.

The property was sold in 2013. And the 2010 real estate Zillow ad stated:

Restoration project for preservationist! Fabulous first floor woodwork and much remaining on second level. Rare transitional Victorian c1904 with a Southern/New Orleans feel due to two level front porch. In Harvard Heights HPOZ. This is one of four contiguous homes that are on the market each to be restored to single-family status. This property's recent use was institutional as a library and alterations were done without permit - buyer must immediately cure all violations and return to legal residential usage. Currently no functioning kitchen or full bath - heavy cash buyer preferred ("2271 Cambridge St" 2010).

2208 Cambridge Street



Changes from 2007 to 2015: renovated façade. New landscaping. In 2007 renovation work is visible. The house is currently listed for \$715,000 and public records show the house was last sold in 1978. The ad for the home states:

Own a piece of LA History! Elegant Craftsman Revival in historic Harvard Heights, Designed by Frank H. Tyler in the early 1900's. Situated a stone's throw from K-Town, DTLA, Jefferson Park and tons of locale vibrant shops. This spacious home is beautifully appointed with Stately crown moldings, door casings, and classic period details. Traditional center foyer with grand wood staircase, formal living and dining room, large updated kitchen with granite stone tops, dark wood cabinets, tiled flooring and bonus rooms ("2208 Cambridge St, Los Angeles, CA 90006 | MLS# 15-913565" 2015).

Commercial gentrification

The commercial sections of Harvard Heights have not seen large-scale gentrification trends, such as numerous artisanal coffee shops or yoga studios. However, some retail/commercial changes are visible like the Blu Elephant café on Washington Blvd. and the Fitness & Beyond gym on Pico Blvd.



Figure 6.75: Images of Blu Elephant cafe, source Author (top right) and Ricardo Hernandez (top left) and Fitness & Beyond (bottom), source Google Images.

According to the Blu Elephant website the café was established “in response to the demands of the vibrant neighborhood of West Adams. The Blu Elephant is the latest conception of Inri Aguilar, a native Angeleno who has lived in West Adams for the last 20 years. Realizing the vacuum that existed for the artistic community, she tapped her resources to create an establishment where the creative can converge and dialogue while enjoying organic foods and eclectic décor” (<http://www.blueelefantcafe.com>). The café is the stage for different musical venues, such as Acoustic Mondays, Hip Hop Sundays, or Artist Markets. The website information is available in both English and Spanish and features photos of local patrons, many of whom are Latino.

Although small commercial or retail changes are visible, residents still see a lot of room for improvement. Not only is there a desire for more cafes or grocery stores, but there is also a desire for commercial properties to be physically improved.

One thing I don't like is the boulevard near our neighborhood – the repair shops, not enough trees; they are all boarded up. We have to work to change that. Homeowners will make a difference and that effort really bleeds out. There will be investors who see all these beautiful homes and say they don't have any services. I would venture to say that 90% of people listening to this, the people in the neighborhood, they drive outside of the neighborhood to get their groceries. Food for Less is ok, but it's not as good as the Ralphs on Wilshire or going to Wilshire and Western. We don't have that yet. And getting some of those nicer cafes, you know. The closest nice café is you know, driving to Starbucks, up to Larchmont. There is the Blu Elephant... But those things will come as we continue to do what we are doing, which is cleaning up our blocks, our homes, and kind of doing things like this and telling people we really want it - Mason Bendewald (Nico 2015c).

The investors who own commercial properties, again, frequently Korean who don't live in the area, they view this area as a total slum and why would they put money into their buildings if it's a slum? The problem is that it's their buildings collectively that create the slum. There are rare examples. There's one on Washington at Harvard, the Southeast corner. A guy bought that building and it's not really a restoration, it's a rectification, and so that's the one commercial building that's been done correctly. There hasn't been ... I can't think of a single other one that has that (Wallis Interview 2014).

There used to be a Safeway store, at the corner of Hobart and Washington and it moved to where the Food for Less is now. It's terrible not to have a full service grocery store. We deserve better quality food in the neighborhood - Janet Clark (Nico 2015a).

Photos of Commercial Change (Google Street View)

- The first image shows the block of Washington and Harvard; as described by Steve Wallis in the previous quote. This commercial structure, which was historically rehabilitated, is home to the Blu Elephant Café. The physical difference from 2007 to 2014 is quite clear – changes in signage, façade presentation, as well as window and door replacements.



- The area around 3018-20 W Pico Blvd now contains a new gym. These changes are not directly related to historic preservation. However, a new, upscale gym can be indicative of changes in the community. While the corner building was renovated, the abutting commercial business has remained almost unchanged.



Other Changes

Compared to the other case study neighborhoods (Angelino Heights, Miracle Mile, South Carthay, and University Park), the Harvard Heights community was the most active in terms of social networking and community engagement. Many (but not all) of the activities were initiated by newcomers and have been embraced by many long-term residents. Some of these include:

- The Harvard Heights Facebook page, which was started by Mason Bendewald, one of the “urban pioneers.” The page is updated regularly with information regarding

community meetings, regular street cleanups, new home renovations (or flipping), or meetings with police officers.

- NextDoor, which is a private social network for neighborhoods. Residents often referenced this site as a way to communicate with their neighbors on a variety of topics, such as crime or handyman recommendations.
- Harvard Heights Neighborhood Podcast. David Nico who moved to the neighborhood 15 years ago started the podcast. He stated in his pilot episode that it's "fun to get to know neighbors... rather than have cocktail parties and go to meetings, we can get to know people on a more intimate level" (Nico 2015e). There have been eight episodes to date and the guests have ranged in age, race, and length of residence. The episodes are posted on Facebook and NextDoor. Many of the long-term residents (both Latino and Black) have stated that they really appreciated this new show and enjoyed meeting new neighbors this way.
- New Parking Restrictions. These new restrictions came into effect in March 2014 and were also discussed on Facebook. This type of change points to the desire of community members to control the neighborhood environment and eliminate aspects they find burdensome.

 Harvard Heights
March 30 at 8:30pm · 🌐

You may have noticed the new No Parking signs that were recently installed in Harvard Heights between Venice and the 10 Freeway. This area joins the restricted parking district already in place north of Venice which limits street parking to residents ONLY between the hours of 2:00 - 6:00 am all days.

Harvard Heights community members petitioned the city for these parking restrictions because a large number of non-residents (including car sellers) parked vehicles in this area, taking valuable street parking from HH residents. Some would leave multiple vehicles on our residential streets and move them only for street cleaning. This new ordinance will force non-residents to park their vehicles elsewhere and free up street parking for legitimate residents.

All dwelling units, houses and apartments, in the new restricted parking area should have received a letter from DOT explaining the new restrictions. Most important, the letter explains how to obtain parking permits for those who street park and/or have guests who must street park their vehicle.



Figure 6.76: New parking restrictions in Harvard Heights. Source: Harvard Heights Facebook page.

- Although many newcomers have spurred changes, some long-term residents have embraced it and followed suit. In one instance, Isabel Cruz describes how while walking her son to school she noticed that an apartment building was leaving trash in on the sidewalk and it was unpleasant for parents and school children. She had never thought about doing anything about it before and did not really know how. However, one day she decided to call her neighborhood council after consulting a neighbor and realized how easily and quickly she could make small changes in the community. She says she now has “caught the bug” and wants to continue to make small improvements around her (Isabel Cruz Interview, Nico 2015e).

Other changes that long-term residents have noticed include an increased sense of neighborhood safety:

Harvard Heights has changed in so many ways. I grew up here, and was infested with so many gang members in the 1980 and early 90s. Now, it feels safer than ever, and is peaceful, unless somebody is having a neighborhood party, which is ok. Overall, a great place to live now as it's close to Hollywood, Downtown, and the Freeway. “Harvard” April 12, 2011

[...] The gangs that once dominated the area in the 80s have mostly disappeared - largely due to the efforts of preservationists, working with neighborhood activists. This is probably one of the most diverse neighborhoods in Los Angeles, and one of the most enchanting Michael June 10, 2011.

Several interviewed and surveyed residents have noticed reductions in gang activity and violent crime. However, according to the *Los Angeles Times* Mapping L.A. project, it was recently noted that property crime was “significantly up” in Harvard Heights. Over the last six months, from September 2014 to March 2015, the rate of 150 crimes per 10,000 people is higher than in nearby Jefferson Park, Arlington Heights, Koreatown, Pico-Union and Adams-Normandie (“Harvard Heights Mapping L.A.” N.D.). Criminological theories hold competing hypotheses for the connections between gentrification and crime, and quantitative studies of this link remain infrequent and limited. One early study suggests that a reduction in personal crime along with a increase in property crime was an indicator of gentrifying neighborhoods (McDonald 1986). One explanation given was that that higher-income newcomers offer more lucrative targets and would be more conducive to increased crime. A more recent study from Seattle (1982 to 2000) concluded that gentrification in its earlier stages is associated with small increases in crime, but gentrification in its more consolidated form is associated with modest crime declines (Kreager, Lyons, and Hays 2011).

2. Do residents experience gentrification? Are there any benefits?

Undoubtedly Harvard Heights is in the midst of a gradual revitalization process, which began two decades ago. Both the newcomers and long-term residents have noticed the physical and social changes around them and respond to these changes differently.

Two posts from the Mapping L.A. project for Harvard Heights give a glimpse into different perspectives of the changes happening in the area.

Yes, Harvard Heights, the new name for the neighborhood I grew up in. Nice ring to it. Too bad this is not Larchmont! So, please keep out all you “bobos,” we do not need to follow in Echo Park’s footsteps. Remember, the Latino population will become the new majority very soon... I will still be in Harvard Heights when you are moving back to West L.A. or the Valley. Cambridge, February 23, 2010 (“Harvard Heights Comments: Mapping L.A.”).

Great neighborhood. A bit jittery and unpredictable at times. However, a very tight community of folks who look out for each other. The historic homes are second to none. We’ve seen the streets slowly improving every year. Neighbors hold each other accountable. I think this area has huge upside. Just need some cool cafes, and sit down dinning! Hangin Inne January 26, 2010 (“Harvard Heights Comments: Mapping L.A.”).

The first comment mentions both Larchmont and Echo Park, since these are areas of Los Angeles that have gentrified or are seen as gentrifying. The person sees changes as negative and points to the incoming ‘bobos’ as the reason for change. The second comment lies on the opposite side of the spectrum in that the changes and improvements are presented positively, but it is clear that the neighborhood is still in transition.

The Harvard Heights residents surveyed and interviewed do acknowledge that gentrification exists, but the way they define and respond to it varies. Most responses also associate gentrification with an influx of money into the neighborhood, with less of a focus on race.

Do you feel that this is a gentrifying neighborhood? How do you define gentrification?

- The people who agree that gentrification is present in Harvard Heights mention it in relation to visible physical renovations/restorations (homes and streets), as well possible changes to “people and their way of life” (Francisca 2014). However, most see it as a slow process, or one that is not prevalent in Harvard Heights.

Yes, I do believe my neighborhood has been gentrified to a certain extent. To me gentrification is when a select few come in, make changes and then also want to

change the people and their way of life to fit their needs and wants - Francisca, resident since 1961 (Francisca 2014).

In some cases yes, but it is a house-by-house case. You might have one or two houses on a street because someone moved it and fixed them up. Then there might be others that are either renting or low-income and can't or don't try to restore the buildings. I have one across the street from me, an elderly lady isn't able to give the house a coat of paint and other maintenance, so it looks awful and brings down the value of the rest of the neighborhood. On the other [side], movie people have moved in and put hundreds into restoring the house and it looks great - Carmen Price-Zigrang, 35 year resident of Harvard Heights (Price-Zigrang 2014).

It will never be as gentrified as when it was first established when only upper middle class white families lived here in brand new houses. I think of gentrification as money coming into neighborhoods, displacing older residents and businesses. What I think is different about money coming into this neighborhood is that it is almost always accompanied by a great respect for the history and diversity of the neighborhood. Living in an old house in a very diverse neighborhood is not the same as buying a new house in a non-diverse neighborhood and I love the people who make the first choice! - Kendall Hailey, 11 year resident of Harvard Heights (Hailey 2014).

Yes, but very slowly. Upkeep of homes and yards, more owners living in the homes as vs. absentee owners, increasing real estate prices and interest in locality, more businesses catering to goods/services paid for with disposable income - Alex Marrache, 11 year resident of Harvard Heights (Marrache 2014).

I do. I define gentrification as the upkeep and betterment of the homes and neighborhood done by loving and patient people who want beauty in an urban setting - Stephanie, 13 year resident of Harvard Heights (Stephanie 2014).

Yes. I think it's gentrifying slowly. I don't see tensions. No one is being kicked out or anything like that. There are some streets where properties have been renovated more than mine - Sophie Jeffries, less than 1 year in Harvard Heights (Jeffries Interview 2014).

Yes. Defined as residents having pride in their dwelling, immediate neighborhood and maintaining a good quality of life - Mark DeMan, 27 year resident of Harvard Heights (DeMan 2014).

I feel that there are many properties that have been acquired by new arrivals to the area and with that, properties get upgraded. To me gentrification means that an area is having people move into it of a higher economic level. In Los Angeles,

I believe that people are staying in the central area for obvious reasons and neighborhoods they previously might not consider appear more attractive – Blake McCormick, 5 year resident of Harvard Heights (McCormick 2015).

- A couple of residents were displeased with the use of the word gentrification or disagreed as to its presence in Harvard Heights.

The interesting thing is that really, that whole subject really makes me so pissed off. Yeah, I'm a white guy but God, we live here for the diversity... the renters, which are basically a fairly transient population, for the most part behave poorly, because they can. They can have screaming loud parties, they can throw their trash in the ground, they can park on the front lawn, and they could shoot guns into the air and all this crazy stuff. You got all these people behaving really poorly, but then as people like Dan and Odel started to move in and created little beach heads, and then Aileen and I moved in, Eric and Dorothy, a couple more, we're the ones who put ourselves out to the streets... Aileen cleans up the street every day. They would see her doing that. Going after the people who behave badly, getting them out of here, and once those people were gone, then the other people who lived here maybe behaved a little poorly themselves, maybe they had some wild parties, and they didn't care, maybe they threw trash on the ground. Once they saw that, they walk up and were like, "This is a nice neighborhood, it's quiet, I can sleep through the night now. I'm not tripping over trash. I don't see people parking on the front, it's nice not having people park in the lawn, yes, I know I can't park in my front lawn, now, but I don't mind. This is a nice neighborhood, I like having my grandkids here now." We go work out on the street, and I could point those people out, now, they're starting to water the lawn, they're starting to pick up trash. Yeah, they're Latino and they're enjoying the fruits of having the HPOZ started. That's how the neighborhood is gentrified, It's almost ... it's changing behavior literally from family to family or within the family. That to me is a success story.

Gentrification is a negative word usually used as a slur by some fringe political groups. I think "gentrification" happens more commonly in non-HPOZ neighborhoods in L.A. than HPOZ designated neighborhoods. L.A. may again be a special case! - Roland Souza, 9 year resident of Harvard Heights (Souza 2014).

Not yet - at least where I live. It is still economically and ethnically diverse. – JF Morie, 13 year resident of Harvard Heights (Morie 2014).

The long-term residents who discussed the changes in the neighborhood stated that they thought many of the changes were positive. However, Janet Clark (who has lived in the area since the 1940s) said that although she appreciates the changes, there are

still areas beyond home renovations that need improvements. These are education and food. She emphasized that to really renew or revitalize a neighborhood the newcomers have to look beyond physical improvement:

Much like when the wall came down at the U-haul. I thought that was great. Or the permit parking... It's great. Those are issues of important. But there is also education and the quality of food. The thing that needs to change though is that when all of you move into the neighborhood, your children don't attend the neighborhood schools. You don't necessarily use the market in the places that are here. If you did, it would return to what it once was. But again, if this is a community, then there could be some collaborative effort to pick one of the schools to make it a feeder into the rest of the school's quality of education and other services in our neighborhood to bring it up to the level that it once was.

3. *What were the motivations for HPOZ designation? And who has a voice in how the district is maintained?*

Many of the residents who moved in during the late 1980s and 1990s initiated the historic designation. The HPOZ status was a means of preventing certain types of change – it would provide protection against demolitions and the construction of large-scale apartment buildings. However, the historic district also prompted “revitalization” – as one resident stated, “it created a stabilizing affect, more security for homeowners, and made it more attractive to potential buyers” (Souza 2014).

When asked if they were more willing to live in the neighborhood because it was an HPOZ, several of the newer “urban pioneers” noted that they were. For instance, Roland Souza and Sophie Jeffries, both stated that they felt safe investing money in a neighborhood that most Los Angelinos had written off for years. Mr. Souza noted many of his neighbors expressed the same sentiment.

Overall, residents see Harvard Heights as a neighborhood in the midst of a renaissance, but as Janet Clark noted if newcomers want to truly integrate into the community there has to be an effort to look beyond home improvements. The physical

revitalization has been mostly welcomed in the community. Newcomers, along with long-term residents, have also spurred many neighborhood improvements, apart from home renovations, such as street cleaning, parking enforcements, and new businesses. As the area becomes more desirable, the gentrification trends will likely continue, therefore as Janet Clark notes now should be the time when there is a greater focus on social concerns within the neighborhood, such as a housing affordability, school improvements, and greater access to healthy food. So that those who have lived in the community before it was desirable can also enjoy the benefits of change.

6.6 University Park HPOZ

The University Park HPOZ is located in historic West Adams and was designated in 2000. A City Council motion initiated the historic designation process. The area is bounded by the I-10 Freeway to the north and the I-110 to the east. The University of Southern California (USC) is located a few blocks to the south, and Downtown L.A. is located to the northeast. There are around 620 developed parcels in the district and around 70% are listed as contributing. These parcels were developed with a mixture of single- and multi-family homes, and apartments, only 18 of which contain more than 20 units (Gay and Duenas 1999, 3).

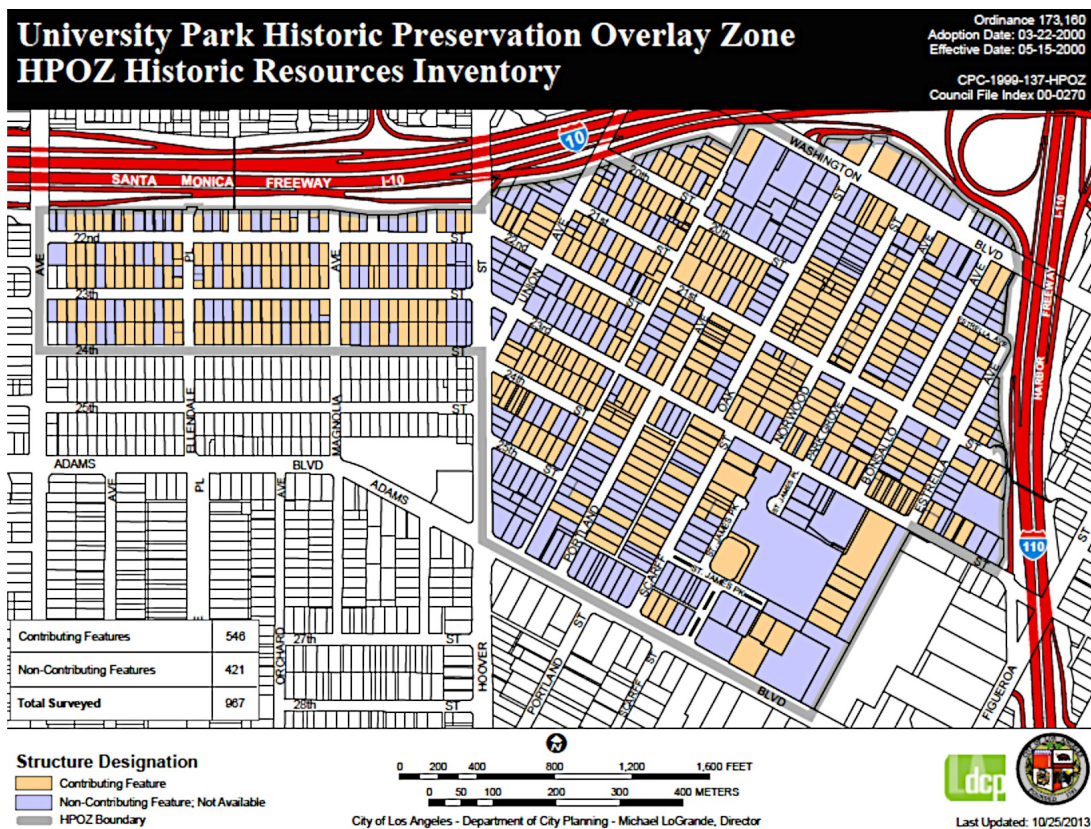


Figure 6.77: HPOZ map of University Park. Source: Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources.

The area also has two elementary schools, two churches, and two parks. There are commercial strips along, Vermont, Hoover, Union, and Washington Boulevard, and

several smaller parcels on Hoover and Union Streets at 21st Street are developed with commercial manufacturing uses. In the northern part of the HPOZ, south of the I-10 freeway several parcels are utilized for industrial uses, such as the US Post Office or Cater Craft Foods.

The historically contributing residences in the district were built between 1885 and the 1930s and include many examples of the 19th century Queen Anne style, as well as later Craftsman, Spanish Colonial Revival, and American Colonial Revival styles.



Figure 6.78: Example of Queen Anne style home in the University Park HPOZ. Source: (Office of Historic Resources n.d.).

What makes University Park different from other HPOZs in Los Angeles is that it contains one of the highest concentrations of City Historic–Cultural Monuments. Additionally, within the HPOZ, there are two National Register of Historic Places districts: Twentieth Street and Saint James Park, as well as the National Register eligible Chester Place Historic District.

Harvard Heights Early History

The University Park HPOZ is located within historic West Adams and generally has not had specific boundaries, as is the case with Angelino Heights or South Carthay. In the 1979 the area of the current HPOZ was included in the larger Normandie Program Area (NPA), which was approximately a five-mile area that was bounded by the Santa Monica Freeway to the North, Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard to the South, the Harbor Freeway (110) to the East, and roughly Western Avenue to the West (see image below). This area was part of the Normandie 5 Redevelopment Project of the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) that was adopted in 1969 (CRA LA, n.d.). The redevelopment project was spurred by members of the African-American community, in direct response to the Watts rebellion of 1965 (Adler 1969). The plan called for the “retention of as many existing homes and businesses as possible and to add to the economic life of these homes and businesses by a program of voluntary participation in their conservation and rehabilitation” (CRA LA 1969, 6).

Numerous communities were located within the NPA, such as USC, University Park, Exposition Park, West Adams, and West Jefferson. The history of University Park HPOZ and the abutting areas are closely related and were developed in relation to one another.

Historically, development within and around Harvard Heights began in the 1860s. The first area to be developed was the Charles Victor Hall Tract, which was recorded in 1868 (Adler 1969, 1). In 1879, the University of California (USC) was established in the West Los Angeles tract. Most residential development was concentrated around the Charles Victor Hall Tract, and there were still a few small farms in the area in the 1880s (Pierre 1992, 13). However, in the 1890s the prime location of Los Angeles shifted from the mansions of Bunker Hill and Angelino Heights to the mansions of the West Adams area between Figueroa Street and Hoover—an area within the University Park HPOZ (Adler 1969, 8). This area became known as Chester Square (or Chester Place).

Two areas within the University Park HPOZ boundaries—Chester Square and St. James Park, were areas of great prestige in the early history of the City (Gebhard and Winter 2003, 276; Regan 1965). Gebhard and Winter write that, “The great residential street of the 1900s was West Adams Boulevard, extending from South Figueroa Street to South Arlington Avenue” (2003: 276). The earliest residential subdivisions were developed in the northeastern neighborhoods of the NPA nearest to Downtown during the real estate boom of the 1880s that followed the connection of Los Angeles to the transcontinental railroad network. Development extended outward from the city center along streetcar lines in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The University Park neighborhood contains several urban mansions dating to this era, when the neighborhoods between Downtown and USC were home to many of the city’s wealthiest inhabitants (Architectural Resources Group, Inc. 2012, 11).

Apart from the upscale residences and university presence, the development within the University Park area was greatly shaped by public transportation. A streetcar

line opened in 1891 and began running from downtown L.A. to present day Exposition Park. The Exposition Park line can be seen in the map below (yellow lines). This line remained in continuous service until the 1940s (Adler 1969, 10). Additionally, in 1894, a streetcar line on Vermont was approved (green line). In 1897, an extension of the line was approved to proceed westward on 24th St. to Normandie (Adler 1969, 11). Today 24th street is the Southern boundary of the Western portion of the University Park HPOZ.

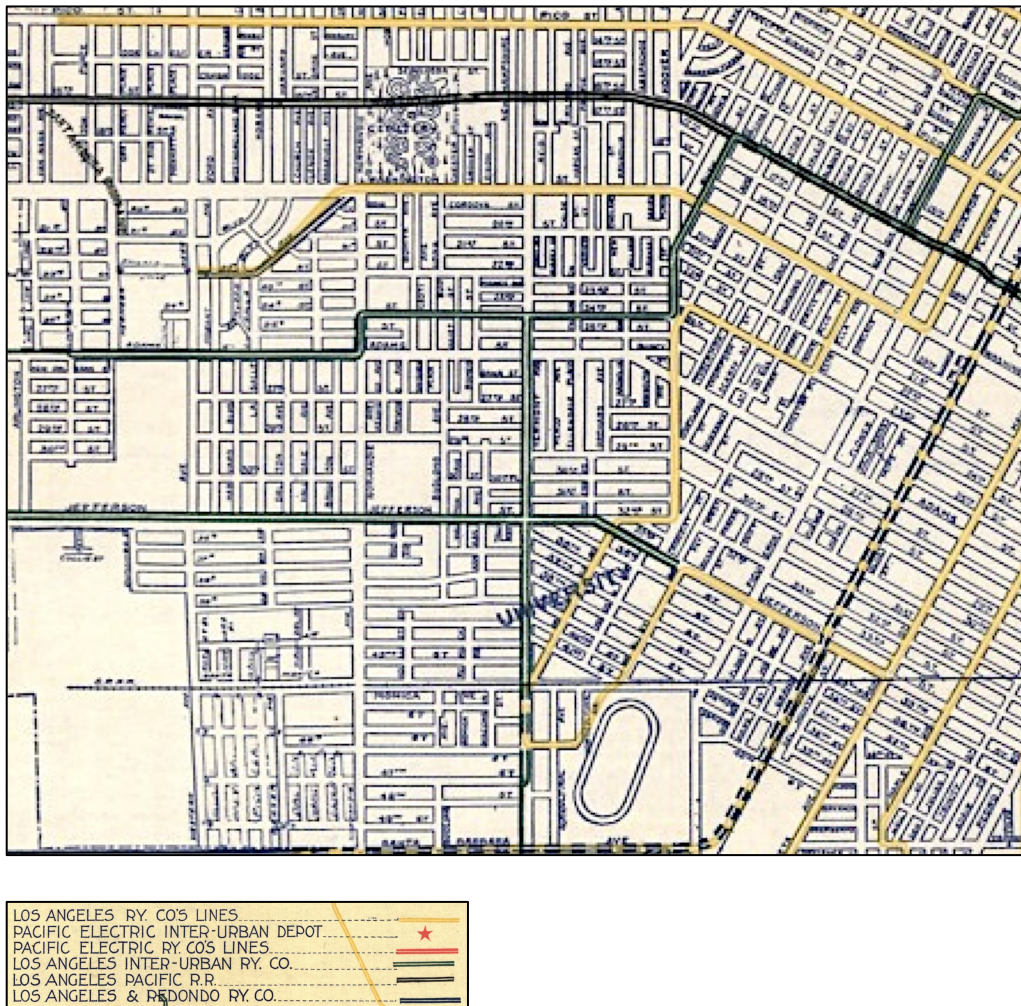


Figure 6.80: Legend and Portion of 1906 Map of the City of Los Angeles Railway Systems
 Source: Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.

Both the rail development and land speculation encouraged continuous growth. By 1899 the entire NPA, which includes the current HPOZ boundaries, was annexed and was now located within the City of Los Angeles.

During the 1920s this area of the city experienced a new building boom, as did most of Los Angeles. Small, usually single-family homes were built at the time (Pierre 1992, 16). The California Bungalow became one of the most popular architectural styles of the 1920s and is one of the most predominant styles in the area and in the University Park HPOZ. During the 1920s racial tensions between White and Black property owners began to emerge because of racial deed restrictions, which existed throughout the area (Adler 1969). By 1922, an organization was formed which sought to keep Blacks out of the area. This organization was called the anti-African Housing Association and was founded in July 1922. It was later called the University District Property Owners' Association (Davis 1992, 162).

In 1925, African-Americans residents formed the West Side Improvement League (Pierre 1992, 19). Through this organization, they lobbied for better streets, better lighting, storm sewers, and other services. After the 1920s restrictive covenants kept most people of color from buying homes north of Jefferson, such as in the current University Park HPOZ, until the Depression (Pierre 1992, 19). During the Depression, many White property owners sold out their properties to African-American and Japanese residents. However, when World War II began, Japanese residents were deported and African-Americans purchased many of their houses. During the war, the NPA again experienced an increase in racial tensions, which were compounded immediately after the war by housing shortages, new in-migration, and the ending of many wartime programs.

Additionally, the African-American population doubled between 1940 and 1945, which coupled with the racially restrictive deeds and covenants caused a serious housing shortage in the areas around University Park (or NPA) (Adler 1969, 36). These covenants were deemed unconstitutional in 1948, and by the 1950s, there was a dramatic shift in population. In one decade, Whites rapidly left the area. In addition, the freeway construction during the 1950s disrupted the northern and eastern edges of neighborhoods in the area.

As the city expanded, the wealthiest citizens followed the westward path of the growing city into the neighborhoods of Windsor Square and Hancock Park, and many of the mansions in the University Park neighborhood were converted to multi-family use. Today's University Park neighborhood has been dramatically shaped by the influence of USC, with many residential buildings removed to accommodate post-World War II campus expansion, and other early residential buildings converted to student housing and other university-related uses (Architectural Resources Group, Inc. 2012, 9).

After the 1965 Watts riots, the area of the NPA was classified as a troubled area by the police and was subject to the same police curfews as Watts (Adler 1969, 45-46). During the early 1970s, African-American residents of the NPA continued in their efforts to carry out organized action. They prompted the CRA to develop projects to rehabilitate existing single-family dwellings, and preserve and enhance the quality of life in the area (Pierre 1992, 23). These activities not only involved the preservation and enhancement of the area's historic character but also sought to eliminate the spread of blight and deterioration.

Socioeconomic Makeup Today and in the Past

The history of the University Park HPOZ and its environs has revealed that this part of the city has experienced numerous socioeconomic transitions since the 1880s. In its early heyday, the University Park HPOZ was home to numerous White, affluent individuals, who resided near St. James Park or Chester Place. However, since the 1910s the area changed several times. It became progressively middle-class and more diverse after wealthier residents moved further west in the city. Since the 1940s, however, the area went through severe difficulties and for many years was redlined out of financial credit. The result was dilapidation, demolition, and replacement of the building stock by inexpensive multi-family units. Additionally, historic West Adams attracted a significant number of African-American and Japanese residents. During and after the War however, the area saw a decrease in Japanese residents. The influence of African-American residents in the area was strong and is emphasized in their push for the establishment of programs, such as the Normandie Project Area (Adler 1969).

The Census data from 1970 reveals that the University Park area was 19% Black, which was higher than the City average (17.9%), but lower than other areas of West Adams, such as Harvard Heights that was 54% Black in 1970. The percent of Black residents in the HPOZ has decreased to 6% over the last four decades, and is now lower than the City and County averages (10% and 9%). Currently, the University Park area is a predominantly Latino neighborhood (73%).

Table 6.14: University Park Socio-economic data, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	Total Population	% Black	% White	% Asian	% Other	% Hispanic	% Foreign Born
1970	6415	19	78	n/a	4	64	67
1980	8683	6	40	3	51	81	64
1990	10116	6	25	4	65	85	62
2000	8802	7	31	6	56	80	61
2010	8130	6	36	12	46	73	54

Overall, the area of the University Park HPOZ has a high proportion of residents who live below poverty (34% in 2010) compared to the City (20%) or the County (16%). Residents also have average household incomes that are significantly lower (\$39,685 in 2010) than the City or County averages (\$74,591 and \$79,584).

Table 6.15: University Park Income, Education, and Job data, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	% Below Poverty Level	Average HH Income	% B.A. Degree	% High-Status Job
1970	22	42873	18	13
1980	32	36088	19	10
1990	33	39501	8	13
2000	35	39384	12	17
2010	34	39695	16	22

The University Park HPOZ area has remained a strongly renter-occupied neighborhood since the 1970s. This may be indicative of a high percent of low-income renters, as well as increasing student housing in the area. The median rents for the area remain relatively low, \$693 in 2010, compared to the City and County averages of \$936 and \$975, respectively.

From 1970 to 2010, homeownership rates in the University Park area have increased slightly from 9% to 12%. Home values have seen small increases too, particularly from 2000 to 2010, the decade after designation. Suzanne Henderson, a real estate agent in historic West Adams, believes that home prices for homes in HPOZs compared to non-HPOZs may be slightly higher, but it is difficult to document that

because every house is different, for instance in terms of the renovation it may or may not require (Henderson Interview 2015). However, despite the slight increases, the average home value in 2010 of \$464,240 remained lower than the City and County averages for 2010 (\$567,551 and \$522,107).

Table 6.16: University Park Housing data, 1970-2010. Source: U.S. Census.

	% Owner Occupied	% Renter Occupied	Average Home Value	Median Rent
1970	9	91	150876	492
1980	10	90	165852	541
1990	12	88	251949	712
2000	12	88	228888	624
2010	12	88	464240	693

In terms of the socioeconomic status, the ascent analysis results show that the University Park area experienced ascent from 1990 to 2000, the decade prior to historic district designation. During that time, the area saw increases in the proportion of residents with college degrees and high-status jobs. This increase, based on the ascent analysis, was significant relative to the City and County trends at the time. An influx of residents with college degrees and high-status jobs can indicate a trend of urban pioneers moving into low-income communities (Mollenkopf 1983). Alternatively, this may point to a greater presence of USC employees or graduate students residing in the area. The University Park HPOZ’s mix of residents is supported by Richard Florida’s recent work on Los Angeles, which categorizes the area as being both Creative and Service class (Florida 2013).

Historic Preservation in University Park

The neighborhood of University Park and its surroundings have some of the oldest homes in Los Angeles (starting in the 1870s). The historic structures in the

neighborhood motivated newcomers to embrace preservation, and in many ways this area was in the “forefront of the historic preservation movement in Los Angeles” (Henderson Interview 2015). The early historic preservation work undertaken in University Park was similar to what was occurring on Carroll Avenue in Angelino Heights in the 1970s. The drive to preserve University Park’s built environment was initiated by urban pioneers who moved in during the 1970s and early 1980s, such as Art Curtis, an artist and founding member of the *North University Park Community Association* (NUPCA), Jean Frost, who currently serves on the HPOZ board, and Suzanne Henderson, a real estate agent. Their stories are similar in that they stumbled upon this area through acquaintances and were drawn to the “cheap” homes. All were living in Los Angeles before moving to the University Park area.

We were looking around at different neighborhoods because there were no HPOZs or anything at that time. There was no organization. What we were looking for is something that was appealing to us that was big and historic and cheap [...] We just came down here because somebody brought us down here. There was a professor that we’re friends with at the Hebrew Union... and it was her husband that got together with us, called us, “You know, you should come and check out the university” or just the area around USC, I don’t think it was officially called North University Park at the time. He said, “There are these big houses down here, they’re not in perfect shape, the neighborhood is not that fantastic, but you know they’re cheap.” And our idea was to buy a house and move in, and just ignore the neighborhood. Close the windows, work in the studio because we’re both artists, and that would be it (Curtis Interview 2015).

I had a friend who lived on Scarff. And I was looking in different areas for an opportunity to purchase a home. Didn’t have a lot of money, still don’t. The house was advertised in the LA Times. I saw the building... it was in disrepair. [The house] had been purchased by a person who either had to put money into it to continue renting it, or they had to sell. It was boarded up in the back. The street was nice and the house was nice. Other people were scared by the amount of work it needed. It needed new electrical and a new roof. The façade had to be repainted [...] It was a difficult negotiation. I bought the house and I was like “Ok I’m here.” Right next door we had an apartment where coyotes would keep people... you know illegal migration coyotes and they would drink beer on the

front parkway and it was kind of like the Wild, Wild West back then. It wasn't scary; it was wacky and wild. Over time, things gradually improved. There were a lot of people that were long-time residents that felt that the neighborhood never got the respect that it felt it was due. *And so part of historic preservation was recognition and instilling pride* (Frost Interview 2014).

Suzanne Henderson, a “preservation-oriented” real estate agent, who resides in the abutting neighborhood of Adams-Normandie (also an HPOZ), was involved with the CRA Project Area Committee (PAC) and was a founding member West Adams Heritage Association (WAHA). The story of how she discovered the area mimics that of Art and Jean's stories, while also providing a glimpse into the growing interest in West Adams in the early 1980s. It was a time when “young, educated professionals, largely White, not all” began to return to the city (Henderson Interview, 2015).

I came to West Adams in 1982, but I didn't move here until 1983. We stayed in a bed and breakfast and that's how we found the neighborhood. They had written about it in the *LA Times* and so I came down with a girlfriend and our husbands and we stayed in a bed and breakfast and I just fell in love with the houses. And I had no idea about this neighborhood and I couldn't get it out of my mind and then there was an article in *Los Angeles Magazine* a few months later with prices in it and I realized we could sell our home in the Valley and live here. Which was really close to my husband's work and we could live in one of these fabulous houses and that's what interested us. And I started looking for a place to live here. [...] There was this really interesting man who stayed here and he made it sound like a grand adventure, there were not very many of us, there was a handful, and I had no idea when I looked how... I thought we could do this... this is a dream come true. There were hardly any other people like us living here at the time. There were... I don't know... twenty households at most. I mean young, educated professionals, largely White, not all, but you know it was a different kind of people returning to the city. And in the long run, the more I think about it there were people who had never left, there were people here that at the time it was a novel idea for people to move here from the Valley. [...]

In 1985 the *Los Angeles Times* confirmed this trend and wrote, “[F]or better or worse, West Adams... has become the new darling of historical preservationists. Since 1981, when middle-class whites began trickling into the area, buying time-worn homes and

restoring them to their former glory, scores of newcomers have bought bargain-priced, mansion-sized fixer-uppers in the predominantly black neighborhood” (Banks 1985). As newcomers began to “discover” parts of historic West Adams, such as the University Park area, they began to embrace historic preservation activities as a means of renewal, and as way to secure their new interests (Frost Interview 2014; Henderson Interview 2015). Unlike the Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation that was the only organization that dealt with historic preservation in Angelino Heights, in the University Park area there were several organizations and groups that took on this role in one way or another. At the onset, each one of the preservation organizations consisted of a handful of residents. The first historic preservation group that emerged in the area was the *North University Park Community Association* (NUPCA). NUPCA is a non-profit community organization active since 1979, which seeks to “preserve and enhance the quality of life in the University Park area including protecting and enhancing its architectural and cultural resources” (Frost 2013, "NUPCA Letter Re: 1342 West Adams Blvd, Los Angeles CA 9007"). Art Curtis was one of the initial members of the organization and described the motivation of the preservation group:

[There was] probably about a dozen [of us]. Maybe a little more than that, maybe fourteen to sixteen, and it all came about because we decided... everybody decided that we needed to protect the neighborhood. It was historic-looking, there were lots of old houses, and we felt, even early-on, that USC was behind the neighborhood, because they just got in our mind, I’m not even sure how, that the area might eventually be bulldozed, even though USC didn’t have evident domain rights over the land that they would slowly infiltrate the neighborhood. A lot of like-minded preservationists who liked these houses and some were already here before we got here, met one evening and contacted the councilman at that time and said, “We’re going to start this preservation organization because we want to protect the neighborhood and we want to protect our investment and start a historic area.” We did not consider a national historic district for quite a long time after that (Curtis Interview 2015).

We were the first historic association in the neighborhood, and we were pretty much one of the early associations of this area because nobody had really felt any value or interest in this area until preservation got going. We were recognized as an existing entity that actually wasn't just going to walk away if USC wanted to buy our property or expand, which we were always concerned that they were going to do that. That might have been a little paranoia, but the way it goes (Curtis Interview 2015).

Curtis described numerous ways that NUPCA was active in the early years, and although it still exists as an organization, many of the original members have moved on. One of the important legacies of NUPCA was that it developed a North University Park (NUP) Specific Plan in 1983, which outlines the function of its Design Review Board. The community members themselves developed the plan. The Design Review Board predates the establishment of any HPOZ, but it is similar to the HPOZs in that it has a 5-person board that advises the Department of City Planning concerning the compatibility of proposed construction, demolition or relocation projects with the historic and cultural character of the Plan Area.



Figure 6.81: North University Park Specific Plan Boundary Map. Source: North University Park Specific Plan, 1983.

The NUP Specific Plan is particularly focused on historic preservation and in fact incorporates the HPOZ ordinance among its other rules, with the provision that in case of a conflict between the HPOZ ordinance and the NUP Specific Plan, the Specific Plan has precedence (“North University Park Specific Plan” 1983). The NUP Specific Plan is a functional equivalent of an HPOZ, but a formal designation has never been assigned and NUP does not appear in the city’s listings of HPOZs. The other achievement of the NUPCA organization was the successful National-level historic district designation. The NUP area contains two National Register Historic Districts. The first is the *North University Park National Register Historic District*, which was declared in 2004; bounded by Magnolia, Hoover, Adams, and 27th Street (and two properties on 28th Street). The second, is the *Menlo Avenue-West 29th Street* National Register Historic District, which was listed in 1987. The boundaries of the *Menlo Avenue-West 29th Street* district are Adams Blvd., West 29th Street, and Menlo Avenue.

The area that the NUP plan applies to is just south of today’s University Park HPOZ and the former 4321 Adams-Normandie CRA Project Area. Historically, however, North University Park and the University Park HPOZ were not distinguished as separate communities. They were both outgrowths of the development trends that took place along Adams Boulevard during the 1890s. They were also areas that were trendy with affluent families, and later experienced similar changes influenced by the out-migration of wealthier families, development of streetcars, and red-lining after the 1940s (Gebhard and Winter 2003, 276; Regan 1965).

Apart from NUPCA, Art Curtis also highlighted the fact that there was a strong street association within his neighborhood, the Magnolia Avenue Neighborhood

Association (MANA). The purpose of the street-level association was to focus on cleanup and safety. Today Curtis says that MANA rarely meets unless there is an emergency or something serious. The formation of neighborhood and street-level associations focused on revitalization spread quite quickly at the time:

I'll tell you what, when we moved in here, 32 years ago, there were no organizations. No church organizations, there were church groups, but there wasn't anything specifically related to development or the upgrade of the community. We got started and it seems to me that within a year or two, and I may be wrong on some of the dates, all of the sudden community churches, community associations started popping up. The university was still the 50 thousand pound elephant in the middle of it all, and they haven't really changed other than us just driving them off with their plans of how they're developing the university campus area. I'd say within five years there were at least a dozen organizations and I think by that time, five years, maybe not five years, but West Adam Heritage association started up and of course they became a much bigger organization (Curtis Interview, 2015).

Another influential preservation group to arise in the area was the *West Adams Heritage Association* (WAHA). WAHA was founded in 1983 by a small resident support group, like NUPCA, and now has hundreds of members. Suzanne Henderson and Jean Frost have been involved with WAHA since the onset and are still on the board. While NUPCA and the current HPOZ focus their preservation efforts within specific neighborhood boundaries, WAHA acts as an umbrella agency for the larger West Adams community. The organization states that it “works to promote commercial development of the major streets, to clean up trash, to paint out graffiti, to encourage cooperation between ethnic groups, and to win the same level of city services that are routine in more affluent parts of town (Patterson Jr. 2015). Through fundraising, such as its Preservation Defense Fund and membership fees, WAHA has the ability to file lawsuits against developers or appeal planning decisions.

In recent years, for example, the University Park HPOZ with the aid of WAHA

fought a development that was approved by the planning department. In 2007, Jim Robinson, a University Park HPOZ board member, described the situation in “WAHA Supports Demand for Environmental Impact Report for University Park Project” (Robinson 2007). A proposed, four- to six-story, 142-unit condominium project was approved for the northern part of University Park on a parcel which stood partially vacant, while the other part of the parcel housed a truck catering business, Cater Craft Foods Inc. The planner assigned to the project found that the proposed buildings would have “no impact” on the HPOZ or on the existing houses on 20th Street, which constitute part of the nationally registered 20th Street Historic District. The decision - a “negative declaration” - relates specifically to whether or not the project would “cause a substantial adverse change in significance of a historical resource” as defined in Section 15064.5 of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). That code section defines “local register” as “a list of properties officially designated or recognized as historically significant by a local government pursuant to a local ordinance or resolution.” WAHA responded to the planning department that, “For all these reasons it is clear to us that the project proposed for 902 W. Washington Blvd. has potentially significant impacts on historical resources and requires a full environmental study, including public hearings, before it proceeds further.” Aside from historic considerations, neighbors sought a formal review of the project’s effects on traffic, parking, air quality, noise and other environmental issues.

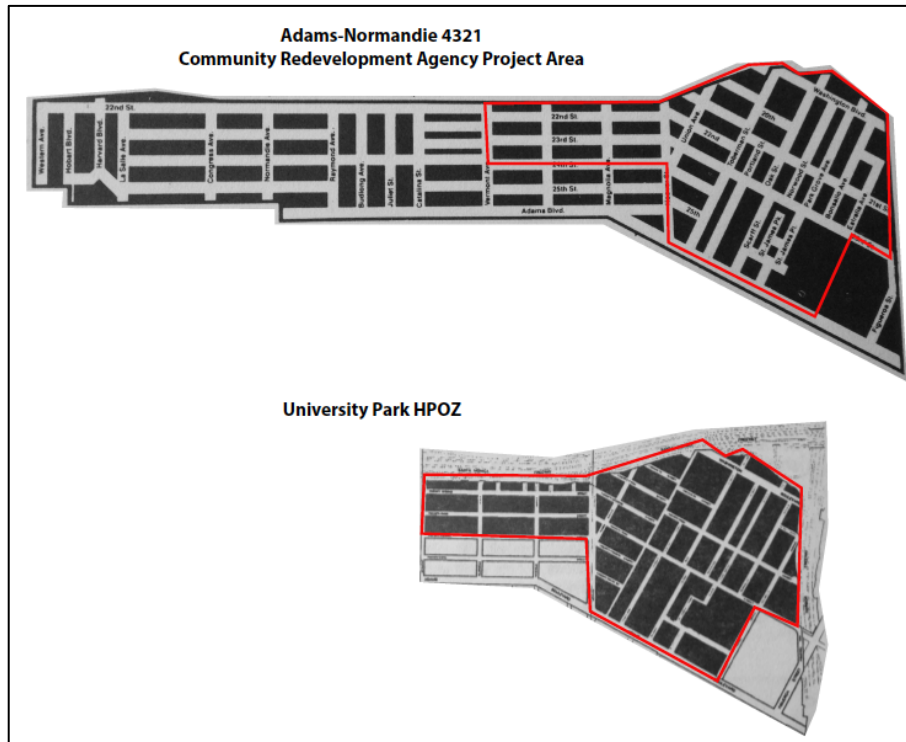
The project did not materialize and this area of University Park remains undeveloped. Overall, it is these types of situations that WAHA comes to the aid of communities in the larger West Adams. WAHA has the necessary funding, support, and

expertise to confront, slow down, or even reverse development decisions.

A third preservation non-profit group that was present in the University Park area prior to the HPOZ is the *Adams Dockweiler Heritage Organizing Committee* (ADHOC). Jean Frost's husband, Jim Childs, created ADHOC in 1988 and remains the chair of the organization. Since 1988 ADHOC helped designate three National Register Historic Districts including St. James Park, which is located in the HPOZ. The group has also supported and helped in the designation of over three-dozen local Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monuments within and around University Park. Unlike NUPCA, ADHOC does not focus its efforts within a specific boundary, but works within the large University Park area. Jim Childs has described himself as “one keeper of the neighborhood’s communal memory, with a duty to both move forward and acknowledge the community’s history” (Childs 2014).

What the previous three preservation organizations have in common is that they were created by a handful of residents, many of them newcomers concerned about the preservation of the homes around them. The homes were their investments, and what happened around them mattered. Thus, many early activists focused on the historic designation of individual structures, and later on designation of districts, both national and local.

An important planning intervention in the University Park area that superseded the preservation organizations was the CRA project area—the *4321 Adams-Normandie Project Area*. Although the CRA’s interest was not historic preservation per se, many of their activities in the area did utilize preservation, as will be described below.



The former Adams-Normandie 4321 CRA Project Area compared to the current University Park HPOZ boundaries. CRA Project Area Map Source: “PAC Newsletter” 1993. HPOZ Map Source: “University Park Chronicle” 2003.

The CRA project area in University Park was established in 1979 and ended in 1999. The redevelopment plans included an elected Project Area Committee (PAC) that was established to advise the CRA in the implementation of the Redevelopment Plan for the area. Some of the members of the PAC included Jean Frost and Suzanne Henderson. Dealing with the CRA “was schizophrenic experience, because one half wanted big development and the other understood context” (Frost Interview 2014). However, with input from the local PAC, which was composed of local residents and business owners, the areas of focus in the project area became a) an Urban Design Program, b) Economic Development, c) a Residential Rehabilitation Program, d) Move-On Program, and e) a Historic Preservation and Education program (“PAC Newsletter” 1993).

a) The Adams Normandie PAC and the CRA prepared the *Urban Design Program* jointly. The elements of the Program served to “reinforce the physical characteristics of the community by promoting development that is compatible with and enhances existing structures and neighborhoods” (“PAC Newsletter” 1993, 7). Frost explained how the process of establishing the guidelines happened:

We [the PAC] fought to get urban design guidelines in 1991, based on Secretary of Interior Standards. One of the battles was if there should be an urban design board to implement the guidelines or not. There were a lot of community meetings and eventually we did not get a design review board, but at least we had these guidelines that the CRA planners had to implement them (Frost Interview 2014).

Any proposal for rehabilitation or new construction in the area had to be presented to a CRA planner for consultation. After the project area ceased to exist in University Park, the HPOZ continued to utilize these design guidelines until an official preservation plan was written and certified by the City (Frost Interview 2014).

b) The *Economic Development* work was guided by the Business and Economic Development Subcommittee, which was formed in 1993. The purpose of the subcommittee was to bring the business community together to engage in work with the CRA in its efforts to initiate and promote economic opportunities, create employment and revitalize the commercial strips in the Project Area. One of the programs that had an impact on the physical environment was the Commercial Façade Improvement Program, which included technical and financial assistance by the CRA. The grants dispersed were approximately \$25,000 per façade. The businesses that utilized the façade program varied from Pete’s Burgers to few businesses along Hoover, which today include Nature’s Brew cafe, Bacaro L.A. restaurant, a yoga studio, and other office uses.



Figure 6.83: Pete's Burgers (top), source: photo by Author, and commercial facades in University Park (bottom), source Google Images.

Frost stated that, “the facades that were improved became much more contextual in terms of the character of the neighborhood, which isn’t pure historic preservation but it’s putting a face to the street that kind of encourages a certain type of aesthetic” (Interview 2014).

c) The *Residential Rehabilitation Program* provided money for homes that needed repairs and other improvements. Applicants could obtain money by participating in the program at 3%, 7%, and 10% interest. Qualified homeowners were also able to obtain 0% interest and deferred payment loans.

d) The CRA's *Move-On* housing program in Adams-Normandie 4321 was established in 1997. In total there were four historical homes that were purchased and moved onto CRA-owned sites. Each of the four homes was located in one of the four Project Area quadrants ("A Historic Welcome Home" 2003). The primary goal of the *Move-On* housing program was to provide homeownership to low- and moderate- income families. Other goals included increasing the housing stock, historic preservation, and neighborhood revitalization ("CRA/LA to Hold Lottery for Refurbished, \$300,000 Home" 2003). All of the homes offered through the Move-On Housing Program targeted low- and moderate-income families, defined as families earning 60 to 120% of the median income for Los Angeles County.



Figure 6.84: Councilman Reyes with the winner of the last Move-On home on 1965 Bonsallo Avenue. ("A Historic Welcome Home" 2003).

The last house that was moved-on happened in September 2003. It was placed within the University Park area on 1965 Bonsallo Avenue (“A Historic Welcome Home” 2003). The home was relocated from the Staples Center Development area, and City Councilman Ed Reyes drew the winner’s name from the lottery bowl of qualified applicants.

e) The *Historic Preservation & Education Program* was meant to increase community awareness and understanding about the benefits of historic preservation. The CRA developed an RFP calling for concepts to implement a historical preservation education program that would focus on training materials and establish a literature resource library for the community (“CRA Corner, PAC Newsletter” 1992). There are no indications that this program was implemented or signs that it has remained within the community or current HPOZ.

Overall, the CRA’s Redevelopment Plan for the Adams-Normandie area and land use review provided important protections for neighborhoods (such as University Park); protections with regards to development scale, use, density, intensity, parking, design, and historic preservation. The CRA objectives in the area were tailored by the PAC committee and focused on the rehabilitation and preservation of existing residential and commercial structures. The CRA funded rehabilitation, facade improvements, public improvements, design guidelines, and affordable housing through tax increment funds, block grants, and federal monies. One strength of CRA in its support of preservation as a planning tool was its creation of many surveys by architectural historians (Jim Robinson Interview 2014) The CRA and the community utilized the surveys to make decisions about land use and historic preservation (Doherty 1992a). Frost mentioned that because

the CRA had already prepared historic resource documents, the HPOZ process was probably faster and cheaper (Frost Interview 2014).

End of CRA & Establishment of the HPOZ

The beginnings of the HPOZ align with the withdrawal of the CRA from the Adams-Normandie area. In 1998 the councilmen for the larger University Park area, Mike Hernandez and Mark Ridley-Thomas, requested from the City Council to initiate proceedings for an HPOZ following the termination of the CRA project area. The reasons for the termination of the area are linked to the PACs consistent opposition to the re-establishment of eminent domain by the CRA (“RE: AN/4321 H&P Motion: That the CRA State It’s Position Regarding the Compatibility of CRA and HPOZ as Co-Existing Overlays. ANHP051298-04” 1998). Another reason given was that the establishment of a HPOZ within the Project Area would be incompatible (Frost Interview 2014).

Frost: We wanted to be both a CRA area and an HPOZ. But CRA didn’t want to share jurisdictions, you’re either A or B. But they now share jurisdiction in the Pico-Union HPOZ to the north. They were very resistant.

Karolina: Why?

Frost: Because they didn’t have any vision... didn’t want to share powers.

Whatever the backroom politics were between the CRA and the local PAC, the CRA’s exit from the area prompted councilmen Hernandez and Ridley-Thomas to act. In their motion to initiate the HPOZ process, the councilmen acknowledge that the existing urban design guidelines developed by the CRA and PAC were burdensome to many of the low-income renters in the area:

The Adams-Normandie 4321 Redevelopment Project area contains some of the finest turn-of-the-century architecture in the Southern California region. The surrounding streets are part of unique residential neighborhoods containing many

architecturally distinct home. *However, many of its residents are low-income and cannot afford the costs embedded in maintaining their property as required by the historic preservation and urban design guidelines developed by the City's Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) [which is] scheduled to terminate in 1999.*

Although the issues of cost and unaffordability were brought up in these early stages of the HPOZ process, they do not reappear in any later documents. The HPOZ board utilized the urban design guidelines up until a Preservation Plan was drafted in 2005, which in many ways has similar guidelines (Frost Interview, 2014).

After the motion to initiate an HPOZ was underway, there were several community meetings held prior to a public hearing that was conducted on October 8th, 1999. According to the planning report there were no speakers in opposition of the establishment of the HPOZ and no letters of opposition were received either (30 letters were received in total) (Gay and Duenas 1999). In the minutes from a Cultural Heritage Commission meeting on August 5, 1998 it is stated that, "Guadalupe Duran-Medina of Councilmember Hernandez's office stated that Councilmember's support of the HPOZ as evidence by his Motion to Council. She stated that significant community support was witnessed at the community meeting."

However, when Jim Robinson, a resident of the HPOZ, was asked about the early community meetings he stated:

At those meetings, the whole neighborhood was notified by mailings. There was a series of meetings to fill people in about what an HPOZ was and what the benefits were. A few people objected, but most people seemed in favor and so the HPOZ came to be. [...] *As you know... it's a democracy, but you know that 90% of people don't show up.* People only showed up if they were interested. Homeowners tend to have more of an incentive – it's their investment and the place they live... while renters are obviously different (Robinson Interview, 2014).

According to the Census, in 1990 the University Park area was composed of 88% renters. If indeed it was predominantly homeowners who attended the meetings, the support for the HPOZ is only a reflection of a small proportion of the area. Additionally, what is apparent in many documents regarding the HPOZ establishment is that the same people are consistently involved and organizing many of the community meetings—Jim Childs (ADHOC), Jean Frost (chair of the PAC at the time), and Tom Florio (WAHA) were listed on all of the meeting agendas.

All the required guidelines to initiate the HPOZ process were followed; notices were sent to all property owners within a 500-foot radius and four to five community meetings followed the posting of the notices. However, whether the final HPOZ support was reflective of true community sentiment is not certain. The HPOZ was passed based on a City Council motion rather than majority community approval (75%), which is the case with almost all HPOZs.

The comments of support at the public hearing referenced the desire to continue preservation activities and to stifle development pressures in the area. There was no reference to earlier remarks in Councilman Hernandez's motion regarding issues of unaffordable design guidelines. In fact, the hearing examiner notes,

It would be easy for individuals to give in to difficulties facing inner city property owners and sell their plots and move to nicer areas, however in doing so they would be forgetting that where their at now is nice, if not very nice, due to its historical richness and character (Gay and Duenas 1999, 6).

With this comment we see a concern by the City for the needs of the University Park property owners, who reflected about 12% of the community at the time.

The HPOZ came into existence at the end of 1999; right after the CRA exited the area. The boundaries of the University Park HPOZ were altered from the Adams-

Normandie 4321 Project Area. The blocks west of Vermont that were once part of the Adams-Normandie 4321 Project Area are now incorporated into the Adams-Normandie HPOZ, which abuts the University Park HPOZ. The six blocks south of 24th were not included in either HPOZ, however they are considered for *University Park/North University Park Expansion* (OHR "Proposed HPOZs").

University Park HPOZ: People vs. Property

The concerns and issues that exist within the University Park HPOZ are well exemplified in an article from the Fall 1992 PAC newsletter, entitled “People and/or Property.” In the article, the author discusses recent “emotion, heated debate, anger and hostility” over a contested issue of a proposed demolition of the Hodgeman House, rather than its preservation, and the need for the neighborhood to “work together as a community” (Greenberg 1992, 3). The contestation arose in 1992. Due to an expedited demolition permit process following the 1992 riots, a developer was able to obtain a permit to demolish a home that was in disrepair, but had not been technically damaged in the riots (Corwin 1992). At the time, the city had eased procedures to allow owners to rebuild quickly and had not taken note of the fact that the property was listed as contributor to the St. James Park historic district and should not be demolished.

The developer, Chris Carbonel, said he planned to demolish the house and build townhouses for low- and moderate-income residents (Doherty 1992b). Neighbors opposed the demolition, which had been partially completed, and stopped the wrecking crew from carrying on further demolition. City officials admitted that the permit was improperly issued because there was no evidence that the damage to the house was riot-related. At Councilman Hernandez’s urging, the City Council postponed additional

attempts to demolish the vacant house. And responding to further community protests against the demolition, which included “more than 25 signed declarations” by neighbors, the council approved a motion by Councilman Hernandez directing the CRA to prepare a recommendation to acquire the property at 2377 Scarff St. and to set aside enough money to buy it (Corwin 1992). Carbonel said he would be willing to sell the property for its fair-market value as long as the city agreed to purchase the property in “a timely fashion” (Doherty 1992b).

Among the alternatives proposed by some residents, such as Jim Childs, was the rehabilitation of the house for use as a child-care center. Jean Frost, his wife, explained that the preservation-minded community reached out to Esperanza, an affordable housing community corporation, in an effort to help restore the home:

There are people in the community who don't care about preservation and some of it's unfortunate because years ago I met with Sister Diane Donahue about restoring a modest house into a childcare center. It was a house that had a lot of land around it, so it could be used for day care. At the time it was 30% building, 70% open space and I think one of the things she missed entirely was that preservation is, and can be, an ally. Not the enemy. But she had historically viewed preservation as the enemy. And I couldn't convince her otherwise. And there are some people you just can't convince. So you just go your separate ways. So that was really a lost opportunity (Frost Interview 2014).

Today, the lot at 2377 Scarff Street remains empty. The partially demolished home was never rehabilitated, and no other use was found for the building. The fractured interests of the community between preservationists, developers, and affordable housing advocates did not come together in the case of the Hodgeman House. Today the relations between all parties remain the same, since the various stakeholders do not work together.

Sister Diane Donahue, who was mentioned by Jean Frost in the previous quote, founded the Esperanza Community Housing Corporation (Esperanza) in 1989. Esperanza

has a strong presence within the HPOZ and its vicinity. Although one would think that preservationists and Esperanza would have a perfect opportunity to come together to maintain or create opportunities for affordable housing within the community, due to the fact that there are several vacant lots and empty structures in need of rehabilitation, this has not happened. According to Frost, “Esperanza has not embraced preservation probably because of Sister Donahue, who thought we were a bunch of white gentrifiers [when we moved in]. That was her perception” (Frost Interview 2014).⁵³

The mission of Esperanza is to build affordable housing rather than to focus on historic preservation. Esperanza centers its efforts in the working-class Figueroa Corridor neighborhood of South-Central Los Angeles, which has been described as being “squeezed in the gentrifying pinch between downtown and USC” in 2006 *LA Times* article (Quinones 2006). With the aid of bankers, City Hall operatives, immigrants and clergy Esperanza has rebuilt nine tenements into renovated apartment complexes (“Affordable Housing Developments | Esperanza Community Housing” 2015). The apartments have a total of 165 units and rents are set at 30% of a garment worker’s typical salary, which in 2006 translated into \$575 a month for a three-bedroom apartment (Quinones 2006). Four out of the nine Esperanza affordable housing apartment buildings are located within the University Park HPOZ. Out of those four, three are listed as contributing structures in the HPOZ.

⁵³ In an attempt to understand if this was indeed the perception at Esperanza I reached out to the organization numerous five times with an interview request, but never received a response.

Figure 6.85: Esperanza Affordable Housing Apartments within the University Park HPOZ. Source: Google Street View.

Alegria	801 W. 23rd Street	15 Units	Contributing Structure	
Amistad	1959 Estrella Avenue	23 Units	Contributing Structure	
Senderos	2141 Estrella Avenue	12 large apartments & Community Training Facility	Contributing Structure	
La Estrella	1979 Estrella Avenue	11 large units & permanent office for Esperanza's Healthy Homes Project	Non- Contributing Structure	

Esperanza works in a geographic region that has a high concentration of Latino working-class residents, many of whom reside in the University Park HPOZ. In addition to Esperanza apartments, there are also several Section 8 homes within the HPOZ (Frost Interview 2014; Robinson Interview 2014). The Census data from 2010 indicates that the University Park area remains predominantly Latino (73%), however the proportion has decreased from 2000 (80%). The poverty level also remains high at 34% in 2010, compared to 20% in the City. Jean Frost, from the HPOZ board, acknowledges that,

[There are] renters of varying economic levels and we always have had that, and continue to have that mixed in with the students housing... a great deal of affordable housing, you know Section 8 housing and the housing that Esperanza owns. The bigger buildings are affordable housing, very mixed-population. So there has been a dynamic mix and tension and this would have happened, even if we were an HPOZ or not (Frost Interview 2014).

Both the preservationists and affordable housing activists work and coexist within the same area, but not together. Both also acknowledge the threat of the University (USC). The preservationists fear demolition of historic structures and the influx of student housing, because it interferes with a cohesive community feel (Curtis Interview 2015; Frost Interview 2013; Robinson Interview 2014). Esperanza has confronted USC for different reasons; such as over USC's plan to privatize food workers, thus cutting them off from the school's health plan. Additionally, Sister Donahue has formed the Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice to counter USC's growth plans, which were proceeding, in her view, without neighborhood consultation (Quinones 2006).

The mission of the preservationists does not take into account the affordability concerns of organizations like Esperanza. Their concern is for aesthetic improvements and visual cohesion only. When asked what the role of the HPOZ in the area is, one of the board members replied:

Where an HPOZ might play a role is if the neighborhood over time looks better [...] This area still has a bad reputation and it still looks ugly and dangerous. And people still have bars up since the Watts riots. Some people have taken them down, but the area still looks dangerous. But the HPOZ has helped gradually over time to get people to do restoration properly. Over time the neighborhood will look better, and more people will notice. They will think they can get better rents here. And that can lead to better amenities. We now have a nice wine bar and coffee shop (Robinson Interview 2014).

Generally, the type of work that is brought before the University Park HPOZ board varies, however it is primarily minor residential work. From 2004 to 2014 there were an average of 35 proposed projects that came before the HPOZ board each year, compared to an average of 57 in Angelino Heights. These projects varied in scale from minor work, such as window replacement or façade improvements, to large projects such as new commercial developments or infill projects on empty lots. 75% of the projects fall under the category of minor work. As with Harvard Heights and Miracle Mile North, many of the projects were listed as “retroactive” (average of 6 retroactive projects/year in University Park), meaning residents made changes to their properties without prior HPOZ approval. Many residents, who came before the board retroactively, had been cited by Building and Safety, and had to reverse unapproved work. Often this work refers to the use of more affordable materials such as vinyl, rather than wood for their windows, or choosing stucco over wood siding.

Community or Lack There Of

The cost of historic preservation in an area that is predominantly low-income has many consequences. Over the last decade, the residents I spoke to acknowledged that the cost of renovation has forced some people to sell. And many of the homes sold in recent

years have been converted to student housing. Jim Robinson, who serves on the board, owns nine properties in the HPOZ that are now student housing. He believes that,

[S]tudent housing really improved the neighborhood because nobody else I think who could afford rents that it took to restore the houses would live in this neighborhood. The reality of it is that families couldn't have made those renovations unless they had a lot of money. And if they had a lot of money they wouldn't live here (Robinson Interview 2014).

In addition to Mr. Robinson, David Raposa, a member of the HPOZ, owns student housing too, as does Art Curtis from North University Park. As Ms. Henderson described it, "You now have a situation, where people have their feet in both camps," as preservationist and landlord (Henderson Interview, 2014). The strong demand for student housing, which can bring in high rents, has led to buyers who have more money upfront for renovations. This contrasts with the late 1970s and 1980s when there was an influx of newcomers into the area, who were willing to take the time to renovate homes slowly. While some praise student housing owners for adhering to preservation and aesthetic standards, they also lament the loss of a true neighborhood community:

There just aren't as many [preservation-minded people] as there used to be. People have passed away, or moved, but that really hasn't been a pattern. It's really been aging of the neighborhood; the replacement has not been homeowners. [...] I think people want to be here because of the character of the neighborhood. Unfortunately, when they are looking to buy they are often competing with student housing. The higher price will be paid by the student housing and some of whom are very good stewards. Several of our local students housing folks are local and anything they do will be sensitive to the neighborhood and will be an improvement. But it doesn't solve my problem of not having neighbors, which I have kind of resigned to (Frost Interview 2014).

When I first moved in here, it was all residences with a couple of apartment houses for USC rentals. Over the last ten years, USC students, not the university, began moving into houses because the rents were low for them but good for the owners and eventually some families began to move out and either they sold or they kept their property and rented it out because they could get a lot more money out of their houses rather than living in them. But the majority, I think did sell and got pretty good money out of it, and moved on. It was really strange

because these were all what I thought were tough, kind of inner-city preservationists and everybody except maybe five or six of us survived that move away. I've seen a lot of people come in here and they're all excited about preservation and within two to three years, they have their house either fixed up or decided to turn around and sell it and make a profit. There were specific people that went in and did that on purpose. Good friends of ours, who have completely disappeared, restored houses and then turned around and sold them. I don't know if they just decided they didn't like the neighborhood or what. During that period, a lot of those houses became rental properties (Curtis Interview, 2014).

Michelle Levy and Ken Bernstein of the Office of Historic Resources acknowledge the increase in student housing as recent issue within the University Park since HPOZ designation.

Michelle: Probably, over the last 10 or 15 years, there has been an increase in changes to structures to accommodate more student housing. In that sense, there has been an effect on some of the older housing stock in the community.

Ken: That issue has been very much at the forefront over the last decade or more, but was less of a motivating factor for the original establishment (Bernstein and Levy Interview 2014).

The Census shows that the area has seen increases in residents with college degrees from 1990 to 2010 (8% to 16%), which may point to more graduate students moving in. The replacement of long-term homeowners with student housing is just one factor that impacts the sense of community in the area.

The dwindling lack of community in University Park is apparent especially when one compares it to the other historic West Adams case study of Harvard Heights. Case study research in Harvard Heights reveals that there are several community activities in which newcomers and HPOZ board members participate in, such as street cleaning, tree planting; they also communicate through different means like Facebook, NextDoor, and neighborhood podcasts. In the University Park HPOZ area these types of activities or means of communication do not exist. As a researcher, my perception was that there was

a greater lack of community. Response rates for interviews were extremely low, and there were no resident surveys that were completed for the area. Suzanne Henderson speculates that there is a lack of community due to fewer families living in the area, since “it is difficult to live a single-family life among students” (Henderson Interview 2015).

Others that were interviewed about the lack of community in University Park pointed to the fact that how involved an HPOZ board is in reaching out to a community can make a difference (Bernstein and Levy Interview 2014; Henderson Interview 2015). For instance, when the University Park was part of the CRA Project Area there was an emphasis on education and outreach. This type of activity has not carried over into the work of the HPOZ. Initially, the HPOZ Board did release a bilingual *University Park Chronicle* newsletter in Spanish and English that was mailed to all homeowners. The newsletter described the purpose of the HPOZ, the HPOZ’s goals and objectives, as well general HPOZ information about board appointments or window replacements. The *Chronicle* was a continuation of the bi-lingual CRA PAC newsletter and was meant to act as an educational tool and a means of reaching out to the community. The newsletter is no longer produced, mostly due to lack of funding for printing and mailing.

Apart from the early newsletter the community outreach from the HPOZ board appears to be infrequent. An example of occasional outreach occurred during an October 2014 HPOZ board meeting when the newly appointed board architect, who does not reside in the community, stated that he had been to two applicant’s homes in order to help them to better understand what would be required of them in terms of restoration. The additional advice given by the architect was not required of him and was volunteer work, however it was clearly appreciated by the applicants present. This brings up the

personalities of the HPOZ board members as another important factor of how individual HPOZs are run and their approach to community outreach. Interestingly, Ms. Henderson, a preservationist, pointed out that even though she was an early proponent of HPOZs, today she has reservations about them and this is mostly due to the adversarial nature of some of HPOZ boards. The implication is that the personalities of the HPOZ boards can have an effect on community relations, and this might be the case in University Park.

Conclusions

1. *What are the types of physical and social changes within HPOZs that can be attributed to historic designation?*

Those involved with historic preservation in the area believe that the HPOZ has aided in 1) quality of life issues, 2) better development, because there are more design standards, and 3) making people happy to live here. As Robinson stated, “Where an HPOZ might play a role is if the neighborhood over time looks better.” Jean Frost noted that the “HPOZ was not a dramatic change because of the CRA involvement before. Now people go to the planning department, rather than the CRA.” Perhaps the fact that there are design standards is the same. For instance, many of the commercial façade improvements that are visible within the HPOZ occurred at a time when the area was part of the CRA Project Area. However, the difference is that before the HPOZ there was funding available for restoration work, and now there is not.

The cost of rehabilitation of Victorians or Queen Anne’s has resulted in many large homes being converted to student housing. There has been a noticeable decline in young couples or preservationists moving into University Park, as was the case in the 1970s and 1980s.

We've lost that kind of urban pioneer that would come in and say "I'm an artist I can afford this, I'm going to restore this slowly or not restore it to the extent you thought you would in the beginning." That kind of cutting edge is gone. There are some streets where you see homeowner occupants, David Raposa, who owns a few houses that he rents to students would like to sell it to a family who lives down the road at some point. And so you hope that places aren't screwed up to the point where it can't go back to single-family. It's just the economic forces don't encourage that [at the moment] (Frost Interview 2014).

We haven't had a lot of people move in here in the last few years, other than student rentals. I have to say, we are part of that situation. We are landlords to a house next door to us, which we bought from its original owner or the second owner about fifteen to twenty years ago and turned it into student rentals because it was good for us and we decided we wanted that investment and the price was right (Curtis Interview 2015).



Figure 6.86: Example of new student housing on Scarff Street. Photo by Author.

When conducting a survey of changes in the area with Google Street View, many of the streets in University Park only had images from 2011, thus a comparison of change was not possible. Other streets included images from 2007 to 2015. Most of the changes were modest and included changes of fencing or landscaping. In other cases, properties had more security measures added. Examples are provided below.

Vicinity of 2112 Portland Street (renovation)



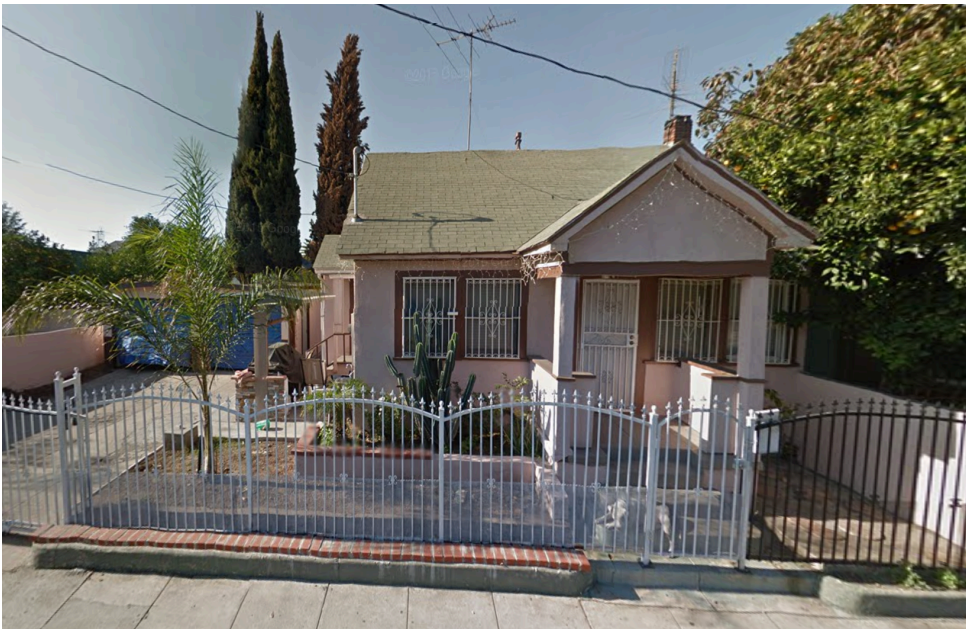
From 2007 to 2015: Removal of fence, new landscaping, new paint, and façade renovations.

1394 W. 22nd Street (modest renovation)



From 2007 to 2015: Cleaned up street, fresh grass on street, improved fencings, new landscaping, and new paint.

2436 Toberman Street (more security measures)



From 2007 to 2015: New paint, added window bars and new fencing.

1962 Estrella Avenue (renovation)



2007 to present: new paint and window renovations.

What is apparent when ones compares University Park as a whole to the to abutting areas to the South, is that the HPOZ has managed to stifle new large-scale development, even when compared to the North University Park area. Properties that are located closer to USC are much newer and were built between 1970 and 2000.

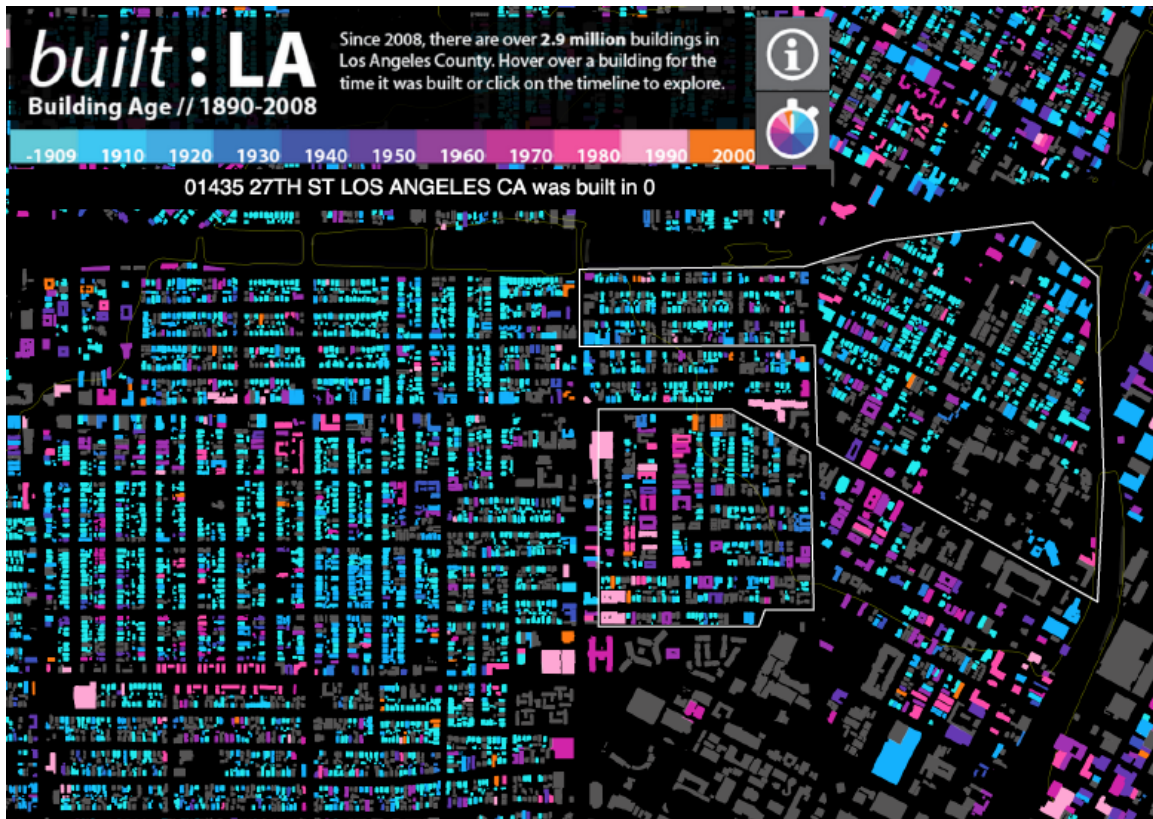


Figure 6.87: A built:LA map, with University Park HPOZ (and North University Park) highlights, indicates the age of the housings. Properties to the West of the University Park are within the Adams-Normandie HPOZ. Properties to the South include USC and show where newer properties are constructed.

In terms of social change, University Park has remained a predominantly low-income, Latino neighborhood since the 1970s (64% in 1970 and 73% in 2010). Even though University Park experienced a small influx of preservationists three decades ago, as did most of West Adams, the area has not drastically changed in terms of its socioeconomic composition.

2. *Do residents of HPOZs experience gentrification?*

It is difficult to conclusively answer this question with regards to the University Park HPOZ. The only perspective represented through interviews is reflective of homeowners and supporters of the HPOZ. These residents are all White and moved into the neighborhood beginning in the late 1970s into the early 1990s. When asked about gentrification, they did not like or think the term gentrification was applicable to University Park.

Well, there's always been the attitude that if somebody like us comes into the community, we're gentrifiers. I'm not forcing anybody to leave. I am perfectly comfortable in having a variety of ethnicities in the neighborhood and we have them on this street. We have Black, Latino, Asian, Indian; I mean it's like a little world headquarters on this street. I can't talk about the other streets because I don't know what the make up of them is. I don't think gentrification is the issue here. I do think there is an issue of the wide range of what would be status of those who are comfortable and wealthy and those who are maybe working middle class and then those who are basically are poor but are still working in the community (Curtis Interview 2015).

This HPOZ is unique, there is a mixture not necessarily rich gentrifiers, and I hate that word, it's just people wanting their neighborhood to be respected (Frost Interview 2014).

I was surprised to see you use [gentrification] in your material cause it's really a loaded word. And it doesn't seem to have a common definition. You know when I got your email I did a little Googling to see what the heck... and no A) it's a pejorative and B) there isn't any common definition. I tend to hear it used by advocacy groups, who use it to describe poor people being pushed out by rich people. But you know I remember in 1991 Jerry Brown said, "If you aren't in favor of gentrification, you're in favor of slumification." I think what most people mean by gentrification is fixing things up and making them more desirable and when things become more desirable the price goes up. And that's pretty basic. Coming from Toronto it took me awhile to get used to that if you let a house deteriorate no one will do anything about it, even if there are complaints. In Toronto you aren't allowed to do that. [...] But we have houses in this neighborhood that look like they are going to fall down. And you wouldn't be allowed to do that. The argument you usefully hear about gentrification is that poor people are being forced out. And I ask myself how is that occurring? When HPOZs, or our HPOZ, deals with a period of significance that ends in 1950 and

LA's rent stabilization law applies to 1978. How are these people being forced out and I never get a straight answer on that, because they are not. They may be getting bought out. In two cases we've done that, we had two tenants in a building, this was a building that had been in horrible condition, it was mostly vacant. But still two tenants. So we said we will pay you what was the going rate at the time under the rent stabilization, \$5,000 each, but we will only do it if you both accept. [...] And off they went (Robinson Interview 2014).

When the preservation-minded residents first moved to University Park they were often seen as gentrifiers (Bryant Jr and McGee Jr 1983; Curtis Interview 2015; Frost Interview 2014). In a 1979 study conducted in Los Angeles that was commissioned by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), three areas of the city and its suburbs were identified as exemplars of the gentrification process; Pasadena, Venice Beach, and North University Park (Bryant Jr and McGee Jr 1983). North University Park, was presented as an archetypical example of gentrification and its promise and problems (Bryant Jr and McGee Jr 1983).

However, although University Park experienced an influx of urban pioneers who undertook preservation activities in the 1970s and 80s, like Angelino Heights, it has not resulted in the same type of gentrification trends or the same scale of physical neighborhood revitalization. This may be as a result of several factors:

- 1) *Later HPOZ designation* (2000 compared to 1983). This may indicate that gentrification can take longer to occur.
- 2) *Impact of USC student housing*. In the early 1980s, the study commissioned by HUD already noted the impact of student housing:

And though there will be displacement of tenants from what are undeniably illegally converted units and often unsafe living arrangements, the greatest threat to area renters no doubt stems from the potential expansion of the university and the rent-inflating consequences of the revitalization of the area. Just last year, the university was forced to 'leap over' the adjoining blocks to the north and purchase a hotel, converting it to a residential facility for some 400 students and faculty. The acquisition of the hotel and the creation of the new corporation to construct and

restore housing for students concerns area residents, one of whom said, “SC’s attitude was ‘the community be damned.’”... There is a great deal of hope but an extraordinary deal of mistrust (McGee 1991, 39).

One can argue that student housing is a form of gentrification, because it is displacing lower-income residents.

3) *Diverse land uses* (100% residential in Angelino Heights compared to a mix of residential, institutional, commercial, and industrial uses in University Park).

3. *What were the motivations for HPOZ designations? And who has a voice in how the district is maintained?*

The historic designation of the HPOZ followed the CRA’s exit from the area. There was clear support from the councilmen’s office for the HPOZ as means of allowing the homeowners in the community to continue to utilize design guidelines for the preservation and rehabilitation of the neighborhood. Since the early 1970s, several preservation organizations were active in University Park – NUPCA, WAHA, and ADHOC. The same people who initiated these organizations, helped shape CRA policy in the area, as reflected by the PAC’s influence on the Design Guidelines. In turn, those who were most active in previous years were the ones present at the birth of the HPOZ, and who remain active on the current board. Jean Frost and her husband Jim Childs have both served on the board in alternative shifts. Ms. Frost currently serves on the board. Jim Robinson is currently on the board and joined after his wife’s term ended. David Raposa has been on the board since at least 2004. Mr. Raposa is a real estate agent who specializes in selling historic homes in West Adams and lives outside of the University Park HPOZ. The current board architect resides outside of the HPOZ and was appointed by the cultural heritage commission.

When asked about why the same group of people consistently serves on the board the answers pointed to the lack of interest from most of the community to participate in the HPOZ.

There isn't a line out the door of volunteers. It takes a lot of time. We have a lot of Hispanic neighbors, and we can't get them to join. I mean I know them, I deal with them, but they just don't want to get involved. They'll come to the board if they need to get any work done, and increasingly we have more people who come for advice. They are seeing the benefits now. The houses being restored, they notice the differences (Robinson Interview 2014).

The issues between the different stakeholders in the community are deep and longstanding. This is partially highlighted in an op-ed by an architect working on new student housing for USC. When discussing his interactions with the varying community members near the university, it is clear that there are differing ideas of what the concerns for the development project should be. In the case of the HPOZ members the main development concerns related to the aesthetic and physical appropriateness, rather than any social issues.

Among some of the most outspoken neighborhood advocates, such as Sister Diane Donoghue of Esperanza Housing, Gilda Haas of Strategic Actions for a Just Economy and the collective membership of the social justice advocacy group ACORN, we were never able, perhaps inevitably, to see eye-to-eye on every issue. But we hope we have started a dialogue with them, and we have certainly gained understanding and respect for the values that each of them provides. With Jim Childs and Jean Frost of the [University Park] Historic Preservation Overlay Zone, we spent literally dozens of hours debating an appropriate scale and density for the Figueroa Corridor, never quite reaching accord. Nonetheless, the community is a better place because of their deep commitment, and I hope that, some day, they will say the same about us (Rosenfeld 2008).

The neighborhood ascent analysis of the University Park area indicates that the area experienced ascent from 1990 to 2000, which was the decade prior to designation. However, the Census data does not point to clear gentrification trends. Yet, the case study

reveals that over the last two decades visible changes have occurred on the ground level, with the most pressure coming from the university's expansion. Both the preservationists and non-profit organizations, such as Esperanza have focused on slowing down and mitigating changes brought on by the university.

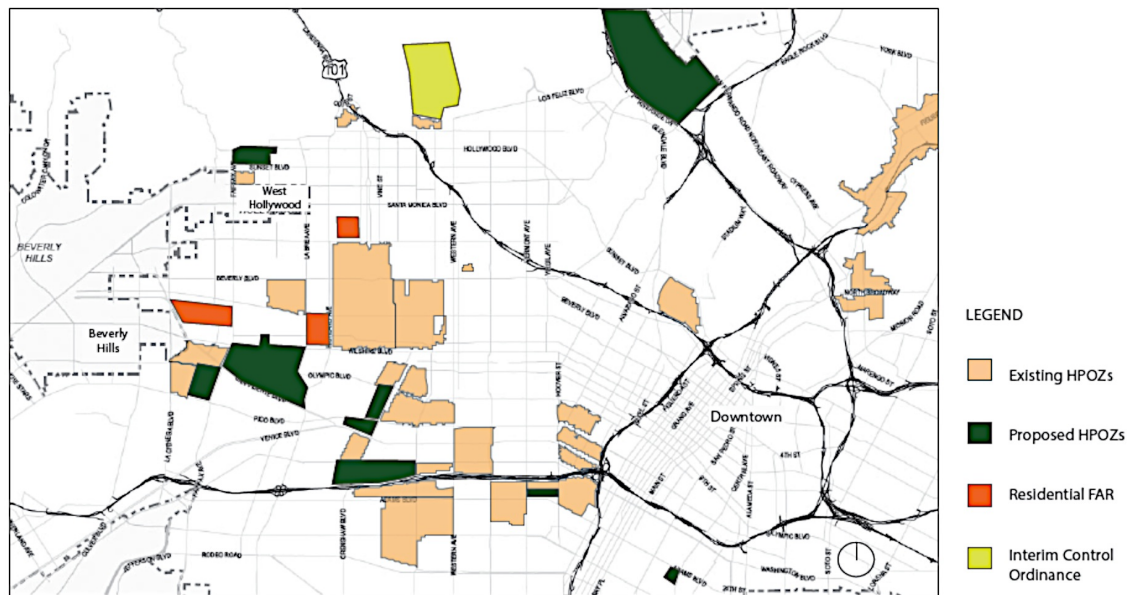
The former pastor of the St. Mark's Lutheran, which is just outside the HPOZs boundaries does acknowledge gentrification in the area, but believes that this has mostly "occurred via USC channels, parents of students, faculty, and then even worse, private investors, buying multiple homes for economic profit" (Eklund Interview, 2015). Pastor Eklund adds that many in his community are not part of the HPOZ, and as result "the community has been part of a horrific "department-ification," in which beautiful old craftsman and bungalows have been torn down to build cheaply built apartments for student housing (Eklund Interview, 2015). The benefits of the HPOZ may be the first step in the physical preservation of homes for the community, but whether long-term residents can afford to stay and maintain them is another question.

7. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

This dissertation set out to explore the relationship between Los Angeles's Historic Preservation Overlay Zones and their impacts on gentrification trends and neighborhood change. As of mid-2015 Los Angeles has 29 HPOZs, however 16 more HPOZs are proposed, with many of them located in the central city area where housing shortages and increasing housing costs are of concern (Taylor 2015). In addition to current and proposed HPOZs, other policies that restrict housing development, size, and density include Residential Floor Area Ratio restrictions, as well as Interim Control Ordinances.⁵⁴ In March 2015, the Los Angeles City Council also adopted a temporary Anti-Mansionization Ordinance that would restrict development in 20 city areas (Smith 2015). Figure 7.1 does not include the areas included in the Anti-Mansionization Ordinance, which are Valley Village, South Hollywood, La Brea Hancock Neighborhood, The Oaks of Los Feliz, Miracle Mile, Larchmont Heights, Lower Council District Five, Beverlywood, Inner Council District Five, Fairfax Area, Bel Air, Faircrest Heights Neighborhood, Kentwood, Mar Vista/East Venice, and Old Granada Hills. In addition to these 15 neighborhoods, the Anti-Mansionization Ordinance puts a temporary moratorium on the issuance of building and demolition permits in five proposed HPOZs: Sunset Square, Carthay Square, Holmby-Westwood, Oxford Square and El Sereno-Berkshire Craftsman District (D. Smith 2015).

⁵⁴ An Interim Control Ordinance is a temporary moratorium. Many communities impose moratoria on new development as they engage in planning processes to address issues of growth and change. These moratoria have taken various forms, including moratoria on re-zonings, building permits, and subdivision plats.

Figure 7.1: Map of restricted development areas located in the central Los Angeles.



Data Source:
LA. City Boundary -DPW, Bureau of Engineering; County Roadways and County Names. © Thomas Brothers Maps Inc.

Understanding where these types of neighborhood policies are being applied and how they work is important for several of the following reasons: 1) Restrictive development policies, like HPOZs, may be impacting housing development and costs; 2) Policies like HPOZs may be resulting in increasing gentrification trends in the City; and 3) continued neighborhood-level research helps provide a nuanced understanding of city-wide trends (Sampson 2012).

Over the last decade Los Angeles has experienced increasing housing costs. The Los Angeles Housing Department explains that the increasing costs result from the lack of supply, the growing population, and the lack of family-sized apartments (Los Angeles Housing Department 2015). This mismatch adds to the severe overcrowding problems caused by high rents and home prices. A recent study from UCLA has also indicated that

Los Angeles is now the least affordable rental market in the country based on the portion of a renters' income that has to be paid for rent (Ray, Ong, and Jimenez 2014).

The discussion of gentrification in Los Angeles over the last few years has increased drastically. A recent *LA Weekly* article acknowledged strong gentrification trends in the City and asked "Is Gentrification Ruining Los Angeles, Or Saving It? Pick A Side" (Simpson and Tavana 2015). *LA Curbed*, which follows neighborhood and development trends in the City, runs a "Gentrification Watch" section that tracks issues such as new trendy dining developments in up-and-coming neighborhoods and housing cost increases. At the same time more newspaper articles track stories of gentrification and displacement, such as "After 31 years in Echo Park, victims of displacement by gentrification" (Lopez 2015).

Finally, recent scholarly work by Sampson (2012) has reemphasized the significance of neighborhood-level analysis. Sampson highlights that although historical, macroeconomic, and global forces have impacted urban neighborhoods, they do not negate the strong mechanisms of neighborhoods that help to account for variations in concentrated inequalities. Therefore, Sampson encourages scholars to broaden their perspective of policy evaluation, in this case historic district designation, which often tends to focus on individual actions. Since meaningful change depends on understanding the impact of ongoing neighborhood dynamics and social structures, these social processes should be an essential part of any program of evaluation.

Because of the above three reasons, the purpose of the HPOZ case studies was to examine if HPOZ designations in Los Angeles have impacted housing affordability and caused gentrification, focusing particularly on the neighborhood-level. This case study

research acquired more qualitative and detailed information to complement the initial census-level analysis that resulted in the neighborhood socioeconomic typologies.

What Does the Study of HPOZs Reveal about Gentrification & Ascent Trends in L.A.?

1. Diverse neighborhoods become HPOZs and experience varied socioeconomic ascent.

The dissertation work began by exploring all 29 HPOZs in order to understand what types of neighborhoods were being designated and whether they were experiencing similar socioeconomic changes and trends to one another, as well as compared to the City and County. Through cluster and PCA analysis I examined the HPOZs in order to categorize the areas by socioeconomic makeup and create appropriate neighborhood typologies. The creation of neighborhood groups (or typologies) revealed that diverse areas of the city were seeking and becoming designated as historic districts. The analysis of the HPOZs from 1970 to 2010 resulted in the creation of nine neighborhood typologies: Affluent White, Upper-Middle Class White, Middle-Class White (1970-1990), Lower-Income Black, Lower Income Black/Hispanic (1990-2010), Low-Income Hispanic, Middle-Class Hispanic (2000-2010), Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic, and High-Income Multi-Ethnic (1980-2010).

When I compared the averages of all HPOZ neighborhood Census tracts to Los Angeles City and County averages, some interesting differences stood out. In terms of demographics, HPOZ neighborhoods have a higher percentage of Non-White residents than the City or County (Table 5.7). In 2010, the percentage of White residents was 50.3%, which was lower than the City and County averages (57.6% and 61.9%).

On average, there are also higher percentages of foreign-born residents (42.1%),

compared to the City and County (32.3% and 27.8%). In terms of housing, the average percent of homeowners (35.7%) in HPOZs are lower than the City (39.7%) or the County (48.4%). As expected, the housing is older in the HPOZ neighborhoods. And finally, the home values and rents are higher than City and County averages.

Overall, 16 out of the 29 HPOZs remained within the same typology between 1970 and 2010, while the other 13 HPOZs transitioned from one typology to another. The shifts that occurred for the 13 HPOZ neighborhoods can be categorized as either shifts in economic class or racial composition.

Table 5.9: HPOZs that remain in same group from 1970-2010

Affluent/High Income White	Upper Middle-Class White	Low-Income Black	Low-Income Hispanic	Lower Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic
Balboa Highland	Carthay Circle	Jefferson Park	Banning Park	Country Club Park
Hancock Park	Spaulding Square	Lafayette Square	Lincoln Heights	
Hollywood Grove		W. Adams Terrace	Pico Union	
Miracle Mile North		Western Heights	University Park	
			Vinegar Hill	

Table 5.10: HPOZs that remain in the same economic class, but change in racial composition

Affluent/High-Income White to High-Income Multi-Ethnic	Low-Income Black to Low-Income Black/Hispanic	Middle-Class White to Middle-Class Hispanic
Windsor Square	Adams-Normandie	Stonehurst
Windsor Village	Harvard Heights	

Table 5.11: HPOZ neighborhood economic class transitions

Upper Middle-Class to High-Income	Upper Middle-Class to Middle-Class Multi-Ethnic	High-Income to Upper Middle Class White	Low-Income Hispanic to Middle-Class Hispanic
South Carthay Circle	Wilshire Park	Whitley Heights	Angelino Heights
Gregory Ain Mar Vista			Highland Park-Garvanza

Table 5.12: HPOZ neighborhoods the experience racial and economic class transitions

Lower Middle-Class White → Low-Income Hispanic
Melrose Hill
Van Nuys

I also wanted to study neighborhood ascent more closely and understand whether neighborhoods that did not transition to new typologies were experiencing socioeconomic change nonetheless. Following Owens (2012), I defined neighborhood ascent as neighborhoods in which, at the aggregate level, residents' income, housing costs, and

educational and occupational attainment increased. Including housing costs ensured that ascent captured real changes to neighborhoods as places, as well as changes to residents' socioeconomic status. To examine ascent beyond gentrification, I examined more than low socioeconomic status neighborhoods, and did not require that high-income neighborhoods be the end product.

I chose five variables that have been shown to distinguish between ascending and non-ascending tracts: household income, educational attainment, occupation type, rent, and housing values. I calculated a neighborhood socioeconomic status score based on these five variables using principal components analysis (PCA) separately for 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010. The analysis revealed that almost all HPOZ neighborhoods had experienced ascent at least once from 1970 to 2010. There were two HPOZ neighborhoods that never ascended – West Adam Terrace (always *Low-Income Black*) and Wilshire Park (transitioned from *Upper-Middle Class* to *Middle Class*).

Table 5.14: HPOZ Neighborhoods that Ascend, 1970- 2010. Neighborhoods in bold were designated during that decade.

1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010
Angelino Heights	Adams-Normandie	Adams-Normandie	Angelino Heights ⁵⁵
Banning Park	Banning Park	Angelino Heights	Carthay Circle
Gregory Ain	Carthay Circle	Balboa Highlands	Harvard Heights
Jefferson Park	Gregory Ain	Country Club Park	Melrose Hill
Lincoln Heights	Hancock Park	Gregory Ain	South Carthay
South Carthay	Highland Park	Harvard Heights	Stonehurst
Stonehurst	Hollywood Grove	Highland Park ⁵⁶	Windsor Square
Van Nuys	Miracle Mile North	Jefferson Park	
Vinegar Hill	Pico Union	Lafayette Square	
	South Carthay	Lincoln Heights	
	Spaulding Square	Miracle Mile North	
	Vinegar Hill	University Park	
	Western Heights	Whitley Heights	
	Windsor Village		

⁵⁵ Angelino Heights was initially designated in 1983, it HPOZ was expanded in 2008.

⁵⁶ Highland Park-Garvanza HPOZ was initially designated in 1994, but was expanded in 2010.

The socioeconomic ascent status analysis indicated that certain neighborhood types were more likely to ascend during some decades than others, reflecting individuals' changing preferences for where they move, the changing likelihood that existing residents of certain types of neighborhoods experience an increase in their own SES, or the changing involvement of government or private interests in generating ascent, such as policies like HPOZs. In particular, minority urban neighborhoods are increasingly likely to experience SES ascent over time, suggesting that higher-SES residents have become more likely to find these neighborhoods attractive, though also suggesting the risk of displacement for poor residents. At the other end of the spectrum, upper-middle-class neighborhoods are also more likely to experience ascent over time, suggesting a transition of these neighborhoods to an extremely affluent status reflecting the increase in economic segregation over time (Reardon and Bischoff 2011).

Overall the neighborhood typology and ascent analysis revealed that:

1. Diverse socioeconomic neighborhoods have been designated as HPOZs in Los Angeles;
2. Over the 5 decades studied, more than half (55%) of the HPOZ neighborhoods remained in the same socioeconomic typology they were in prior to designation;
3. The 45% of the HPOZ neighborhoods that transitioned to a different socioeconomic typology either experienced a change in racial composition (5 HPOZs), economic status (6 HPOZs), or both (2 HPOZs);
4. The ways in which the HPOZ neighborhoods transition to different typologies (or not) varies and does not necessarily coincide with the timing of designation (Table 5.5);

5. Although not all HPOZs changed typologies, almost all of the HPOZ neighborhoods (27 HPOZs) experienced socioeconomic status ascent. This can indicate different ascent processes happening at the neighborhood level. For example, exclusionary ascent in higher-income typologies or invasion–succession of upwardly mobile immigrants into previously white areas;
6. There is a positive linear relationship between neighborhoods experiencing socioeconomic status ascent prior to designation (Figure 5.6 and 5.7). This points to an influx of residents with B.A.’s, high-status jobs, and higher incomes, or “gentrifiers,” into neighborhoods prior to designation.

2. Case Study Analysis – A deeper look at the HPOZ neighborhood typologies.

Although the initial analysis helped to provide an overview of how HPOZs can be categorized broadly, and how they have changed over the last few decades, it was difficult to assess why historic designation was implemented, and whether it has had a direct impact on the changes that have occurred there. To answer these questions, I conducted five HPOZ case studies, which included Angelino Heights, South Carthay, Miracle Mile North, Harvard Heights, and University Park.

In order to understand these five neighborhoods better I first categorized the HPOZs into typologies based on ascent or gentrification stages, which can aid in pairing neighborhoods with appropriate policy recommendations. Due to differences in the types of land uses, architectural diversity, and demographic disaggregation, the HPOZs displayed distinctive indicators of gentrification, which included: change in the percentage of White residents, the time frame of socioeconomic status ascent, and change in homeownership rates (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 HPOZ Case study factors that point to gentrification.

	Angelino Heights	South Carthay	Miracle Mile North	Harvard Heights	University Park
Typology Change	Low → Middle-Income	Upper-Middle → Affluent	No, Affluent	No, Low-Income	No, Low-Income
Race	Hispanic	White	White	Black → Black/Hispanic	Hispanic
% Change White (2000 to 2010)	11%	5%	0%	8%	5%
Ascent	1970-1980, 1990-2000, 2000-2010	1970-1980, 1980-1990, 2000-2010	1980-1990, 1990-2000	1990-2000, 2000-2010	1990-2000
Ownership Change	16% → 25%	39% → 37%	41% → 42%	15% → 18%	9% → 12%
Ave. # of HPOZ projects (2004-2014)	57	19	38	28	35
Diverse Architecture	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Gentrification	Late/Stage III Gentrification (Clay 1983)	Super-Gentrification	Super-Gentrification	Early/Marginal Gentrification	Marginal Gentrification
Other Ascent?	Incumbent Upgrading	Incumbent Upgrading	Incumbent Upgrading	Incumbent Upgrading	Incumbent Upgrading

High-Income, Affluent & White Typologies

The two high-income White neighborhood case studies, the Miracle Mile North (designated 1990) and South Carthay (designated 1985) HPOZs, share several characteristics. These HPOZs are 100% residential with uniform architectural scales and styles, and contain mostly single-family residences that are built in a modest Spanish Colonial Revival style. The rate of homeownership (around 40%) since 1970 has been stable and higher than the City’s. Residents are college-educated, have high-status jobs, are predominantly non-Hispanic White, and have high average incomes.

The case studies revealed that these neighborhoods were well organized and highly motivated to seek historic designation based on resident concerns for out of scale development and aesthetic changes. In addition to the current HPOZs, these areas

continue to have strong neighborhood and homeowner associations. The desire to restrict development in these areas is reflective of a time period in Los Angeles when a durable opposition to growth began to emerge (Purcell 1997). The attitude that “growth is a self-evident good” significantly diminished by the 1990s (Purcell 2000, 87). Both HPOZs received the support of Councilman Yaroslavsky, which resulted in financial help with the historic resource survey and the costs of designation, and the designation was initiated by City Council motion.

In terms of neighborhood change, Miracle Mile North has always been an *Affluent White* neighborhood. South Carthay transitioned from *Upper-Middle Class* to the *Affluent* category from 2000 to 2010. Both these HPOZs have experienced socioeconomic ascent, South Carthay from 1970 to 1980, the decade before HPOZ designation, from 1980 to 1990, and then from 2000 to 2010. Miracle Mile North ascended twice, from 1980 to 1990, the decade before HPOZ designation, and then again from 1990 to 2000. These homogenous high-income HPOZ neighborhoods have maintained a low and stable proportion of rental housing, suggesting that ascent may occur through exclusionary policies or zoning, such as the HPOZ, that prevents rental or low-income housing from being built, and ensuring only higher-socioeconomic status residents can move in (Rothwell and Massey 2010). Lees (2003) might dub the ascent in these areas as “super-gentrification,” which means that they are already gentrified, prosperous and solidly upper-middle-class neighborhoods that have transitioned to more exclusive and expensive enclaves.

Alternatively, rather than gentrification, which typically describes the process when predominantly white, middle-income households resettle in older urban

neighborhoods in an attempt to reverse the cycle of deterioration (Smith 1986), the *High-Income White* neighborhoods suggest changes related to incumbent upgrading. Incumbent upgrading usually occurs in neighborhoods located at a considerable distance from the Central Business District (usually greater than one mile), which South Carthay and Miracle Mile North are, and which are comprised of primarily structurally sound single family houses and duplexes (Clay 1979; Johnson Jr. 1981). Existing residents, rather than outsiders, collectively attempt to upgrade their residential environments, primarily through strong community organizations, accomplishing incumbent upgrading. This was reflected in the initial phases of the HPOZ designation for South Carthay and Miracle Mile North, where residents, not preservationists, were interested in protecting the status quo of their neighborhoods.

Middle-Class Hispanic Typology

The Middle-Class Hispanic Typology case study was the Angelino Heights HPOZ (designated in 1983). Angelino Heights has one commercial structure within its boundaries, but apart from that, is a residential neighborhood with a mix of single and multi-family homes. There is a great diversity of residential scale and architectural styles, such as Victorian, Craftsmen, or Bungalow styles. The core of the neighborhood, which includes the nationally designated Carroll Avenue, is predominantly single-family and has a suburban look. The oldest historic Victorian homes date back to the 1880s from a time when the area was popular with wealthy Angelinos. The areas near the boundaries of the HPOZ house larger-scale apartment buildings. The neighborhood is located within

a mile of downtown Los Angeles and in the middle of the up-and-coming Echo Park, which makes it attractive to young suburbanites.

Since 1970, Angelino Heights has remained a Hispanic neighborhood (over 55% Hispanic), however from 2000 to 2010 the proportion of White residents has increased by 11% (38% to 49%) (Table 7.1) In 2010, 17.6% of the residents were Asian (higher than the City and County average) and 31.4% of the residents identified as “Other.” Overall, this type of HPOZ is relatively mixed in terms of racial composition and architectural styles.

Since 1970, the homeownership rate in Angelino Heights has increased significantly from 17% to 25% (Table 7.1). This has had an impact on rental housing in the area. As described by neighborhood residents, the trend of converting large historic homes back to single-family homes has been present since the 1970s, but has sped up within the last decade. Newcomers to Angelino Heights are attracted to the historic homes and neighborhood location.

Angelino Heights has transitioned from a Low-Income to a Middle-Class neighborhood. The socioeconomic ascent analysis also confirmed that Angelino Heights had experienced ascent in the decade prior to designation, 1970 to 1980, and then later from 1990 to 2000, and from 2000 to 2010. The analysis indicated the possibility that higher-SES residents find this neighborhood attractive, suggesting the risk of displacement for poor residents. The case study confirmed this trend.

In Angelino Heights gentrification has gone through several of Clay’s (1979) classical gentrification phases (outlined in Section 3.3). The initial gentrification trends in the 1970s (Stage 1 and 2) are reflected in the desire for neighborhood revitalization and

historic preservation by newcomers to Angelino Heights, who were predominantly white, middle-income households. Newcomers, or urban pioneers into low-income communities (Mollenkopf 1983), felt that they had discovered Angelino Heights and sought to reverse the cycle of deterioration. There was also concern for overdevelopment and demolition of historic structures.

As the case study of Angelino Heights revealed, over the last decade the type of gentrification trends that are visible in the neighborhood relate more closely to Stage 3 of Clay's (1979) model. This means that there are still some homes in the neighborhood in need of visible renovation (Figure 7.2); however the flipping trends are becoming increasingly popular (Pejic 2014).



Figure 7.2: A home in need of renovation in Angelino Heights. Photo by Author.

All residents interviewed or surveyed, or whose opinion on this matter was shared in public forums, believe that gentrification is present in Angelino Heights. Many stated that there has been a visible change in population since the 1970s, however it has not

been until the mid-2000s that perceived gentrification became rampant. The increase in White residents from 2000 to 2010, along with a steady stream of HPOZ projects (an average of 57 projects/year; the most of all case studies), and a rise in homeownership, intensified the process of gentrification that had begun in 1970 (Table 7.1). Although the process of change has been in effect for several decades, recent socioeconomic ascent changes make a difference in the perception of residents, particularly long-term residents, who see their friends or family being bought out or priced out of their homes.

Low-Income Hispanic (& Historically Black) Typology

The two Low-Income Hispanic (& Black) neighborhood case studies, Harvard Heights and University Park HPOZs, were both designated in 2000. These HPOZs are predominantly residential neighborhoods located in the Historic West Adams area of Los Angeles, which has attracted significant historic preservation interest. Unlike the previous two typologies, these two HPOZs have several commercial, institutional, and industrial (University Park only) land uses within their boundaries. The built environment in Harvard Heights and University Park is very diverse and includes single and multi-family homes, from duplexes to large apartments. The conditions of the homes vary widely (Figure 7.3); there are pockets of homes that have been restored, while many others are in need of restoration.



Figure 7.3: Contrast in restoration of University Park homes. On top a restored home at 1961 Park Grove Avenue. At the bottom, a home in need of restoration at 1947 Estrella Avenue. Photos by Sebastian Kansas.

Harvard Heights and University Park both have a high proportion of Latino (73%) and foreign-born residents (51% in Harvard Heights and 54% in University Park). These areas have remained within the *Low-Income* typology since 1970. In 2010, the average income was significantly lower than those of the City and County: ~\$40,000 in University Park and \$44,000 in Harvard Heights. The poverty level was also high: 34% of households in University Park and 28% in Harvard Heights were below the poverty line. These two HPOZs can be described as Latino urban enclaves.

Although the two HPOZ areas have remained *Low-Income*, the socioeconomic

status ascent analysis pointed to ascent occurring in both neighborhoods. University Park experienced ascent from 1990 to 2000, the decade before designation. Harvard Heights also ascended from 1990 to 2000, the decade before HPOZ designation, and also from 2000 to 2010. During the decades of ascent the HPOZs saw an increase in college-educated residents, and those with higher status jobs. These neighborhoods can be seen as examples of the two earlier phases of the classical gentrification model (Clay 1979), in which urban pioneers are undertaking many recent improvements (Mollenkopf 1983). The areas may also be experiencing “marginal gentrification,” since they have not become wealthy neighborhoods. Marginal gentrification (Rose 1984) refers to neighborhood renewal by middle-class residents, who may be highly educated but not very wealthy. Similarly, there are examples of incumbent upgrading, more so in Harvard Heights, since there are moderate-income households that are improving their own housing conditions and the character of their neighborhood, while little population change occurs. Overall, these Latino enclaves could be experiencing incumbent upgrading, marginal gentrification, or other neighborhood ascent processes, though they do not become wealthy neighborhoods.

In recent years the gentrification trends in University Park have differed from Harvard Heights due to an increase in student housing. Although University Park newcomers undertook historic preservation activities in the 1970s, as was the case with Angelino Heights, the neighborhood has not experienced similar gentrification trends. The institutional presence of USC and its students has had a drastic effect on University Park. Instead of new families or long-term renters moving in, University Park has seen an upturn in short-term rentals that some residents have said impacts the community feel. In

turn, this has resulted in a lack of community engagement by newcomers and preservationists, which differs from Harvard Heights. In Harvard Heights, residents, both long-term and newcomers have made efforts to engage in community improvement on many levels.

Overall, it seems that gentrification is in its earlier stages in the more ethnically homogenous neighborhoods of Harvard Heights and University Park, which can perhaps be attributed to racial concentration as observed in a gentrification study by Hwang and Sampson (2014). Although Angelino Heights also has a high percentage of Hispanic residents (56%), it is more diverse with a higher percentage of White (49%), Asian (18%), and Other (31%) residents.

3. Case Study Findings: Do HPOZs generate gentrification?

The two main findings regarding Los Angeles HPOZs and gentrification trends are:

- *HPOZs do not cause gentrification per se, but they can accelerate gentrification trends especially due to issues of affordability.*

The HPOZ case study neighborhoods are experiencing a variety of gentrification trends, as described in the previous section. Whether or not there is a causal link between the HPOZs and gentrification is difficult to say. However, a historic preservation district is an important factor in making certain neighborhoods more attractive to newcomers, such as Angelino Heights or Harvard Heights.

Most importantly, issues of affordability arise due to inflexible historic preservation guidelines and the lack of anti-displacement measures. The HPOZ case studies highlight that many of the same historic preservation design requirements are

required regardless of a community's socioeconomic level or needs. The Office of Historic Resources outlines that the staff formulates the individual preservation plans based on community needs (OHR n.d.), however, as was apparent in University Park, those that are most active guide and influence the final document, and this does not necessarily reflect the community needs as a whole. This is significant in areas where affordability may be an issue.

For example, in the lower-income neighborhoods the architecture is older, more varied (ex. Victorian or Queen Anne), and many of the styles are more elaborate than in the higher-income areas (Table 7.1). These factors may require residents to seek expertise in preservation matters and can add to cost. In addition to cost, the design guidelines may not meet changing community needs. This is apparent in the Miracle Mile North case study where Orthodox Jewish homeowners have large families and would like to expand their homes, but the HPOZ regulations makes this difficult.

- *The second finding deals with the importance of neighborhood governance in imposing physical and social change.*

In the case study neighborhoods the HPOZs were predominantly initiated due to the desires of a few homeowners and political support; consequently in the end only a few people had a say in what happened in the neighborhood. The renters and lower-income residents who were often not involved in the HPOZ process now face issues of affordability and can be priced out.

Overall, a motivating feeling encountered among many residents in the case study neighborhoods, which often led to their pursuit of historic district designation, was the fear of physical change; however, the scale of the change the residents feared varied.

Ironically, HPOZs may protect from physical change, but can also bring social change.

In the more affluent neighborhoods, we saw distaste for the scale and design of new homes, or McMansions. In lower-income areas, such as University Park, communities faced neighborhood demolition due to the construction of freeways and the increasing change of neighborhood character through the replacement of smaller scale homes with large-scale apartment buildings. Historic districts provide an added layer of protection and restrict new developments. Where the two ends of the socioeconomic spectrum differ, however, is that in addition to preventing certain types of change, in lower-income neighborhoods preservationists often refer to their neighborhoods as ugly or unpleasant and they see historic preservation as a means of much needed revitalization and improvement (Burns and Price 2014; Robinson 2014).

In all the case studies the HPOZ designations were formally initiated by the City Council, through a motion by the Councilmember of the district, rather than by majority residents approval (75% of residents). The case studies revealed that there was stronger community support, and not necessarily preservation activism, prior to HPOZ designation, within higher-income areas compared to lower-income areas. The higher-income HPOZs also benefited from the support of councilmen Yaroslavsky in terms of financing the historic resource surveys. On the other hand, in the lower-income areas there was strong preservation activism, which focused on historic designation. Yet, historic preservation activists in communities like University Park or Angelino Heights comprised a small percent of the overall communities.

Policy Recommendations

The HPOZ case study findings suggest four useful policy recommendations, which include: 1) greater design and housing flexibility for HPOZs, 2) required community outreach, 3) the reconsideration of HPOZ designation by the City Council Motion, and 4) a need for anti-displacement strategies.

1. Greater Design and Housing Flexibility

Over the last few decades, the historic preservation movement has considered ADA accessibility needs, such as wheelchair ramps or elevators, as well as environmental concerns, such as allowing solar panels on roofs. In turn, it would be beneficial to have historic preservation guidelines, such as HPOZs, balance authenticity with affordability concerns. When building materials are at the core of the preservation process—as they are in the case studies—affordability loses out. Preservationists and planners should recognize that authenticity means more than just historically accurate building materials. In many cases, buildings that retain elements such as historic scale, style, and form are sufficiently authentic, even without old shingles or windows. By de-emphasizing materials, historic preservation can become more viable in low-income community development. Saving some buildings will be too costly; saving others will require using less expensive (often historically inaccurate) materials. For example, replacing wood siding with vinyl can reduce costs while still paying homage to a building's past.

However, according to Werwath (1998), many historic preservation officials hesitate to approve replacing original materials with substitutes (e.g., vinyl for wood). The dislike for vinyl is associated with middle-class values that drive preservation. And while the fight over vinyl may seem trivial, the strength of some people's feelings points

to how deep their belief in the value of authenticity runs (Werwath 1998). The fight also shows the extent to which a particular kind of orthodoxy guides the historic preservation movement and influences its accompanying regulations. The movement's lack of flexibility diminishes preservation's effectiveness as a community redevelopment tool (Sohmer and Lang 1998).

The appropriateness and use of alternative materials for historic building rehabilitation has been the focus of the National Park Service (NPS) and Historic Preservation Commissions for many decades. This issue was addressed in 1988 with the NPS publication of Preservation Brief 16, "The Use of Substitute Materials on Historic Building Exteriors" (Park 1988). Since 1988, the range of alternative materials marketed for historic homes has continued to expand and historic district property owners are increasingly requesting their use (Thomason and Associates 2013). In a survey of 18 historic districts in diverse U.S. cities (Thomason and Associates 2013), the use of alternative materials was studied and revealed that many cities have more flexible guidelines for historic materials compared to Los Angeles. A few examples of alternative materials that can be utilized are:

- Cementitious siding, which has been widely adopted and accepted in historic districts for new infill and outbuilding construction. If a property's original wood siding has deteriorated some cities allow the installation of this material on primary elevations while others only allow it on elevations not readily visible from the public right-of way.
- Composite materials of recycled plastic and wood, as a substitute for wood porch floors is approved in many communities. Commissions are generally receptive to this material because of its recycled composition, potential longevity, and ability to recede into the background on a historic wood porch.

- New metal or composite material doors on rear elevations or secondary elevations are approved in the majority of the cities surveyed. In the other cities and smaller communities the approval of aluminum clad, vinyl or vinyl clad window has been fairly common as long as they match as closely as possible to the original window.

In addition to alternative materials that can reduce the cost of preservation, HPOZ policies should focus on more flexible housing alternatives. Greater flexibility in housing use and design can be beneficial in higher and lower-income communities.

For instance, many of the large houses of University Park or Angelino Heights could remain subdivided into apartments, creating a model that might provide a good opportunity for preserving both the neighborhood's building stock and its economic diversity. In Boston, the Department of Neighborhood Development has a Rental Development Program (or cohousing program) that focuses on multi-family housing and affordable housing for the elderly. Cohousing is a type of residential development designed to encourage social interaction and active neighboring (Center for Housing Policy n.d.). The homes can be single-family or multifamily, attached or detached, rented or owned. In Harvard Heights, *Synchronicity LA* reflects this kind of cohousing model. *Synchronicity LA* is a communal living house in which 11 residents share a nine-bedroom 105-year-old Craftsmen house. The cost of living communally makes rent considerably cheaper, for the residents of *Synchronicity LA* rent is \$525 a month (Barragan 2015).

In University Park, collaboration between historic preservationists and affordable housing activists, like Esperanza Community Housing, to promote cohousing in larger historic homes would be beneficial in 1) retaining low-income residents, 2) promoting longer term rentals, and 3) preservation.

2. Required Community Outreach

Currently community outreach is not required for HPOZ Boards. A required community outreach plan might aid in alleviating tensions and make preservation more accessible. An example of community outreach can include:

- Invitation to homeowners to attend free or low-cost window or home repair workshops in the neighborhood.
- Working sessions provided by the Los Angeles Housing Department to investigate funding strategies.
- Collaboration with neighborhood and local nonprofits, businesses and religious institutions that serve neighborhood families, including immigrant populations, in order to share information about ongoing historic preservation strategies and educational programs.
- Promotion of informal networking to engage college or graduate students living in the neighborhood as volunteers in neighborhood advocacy and education efforts. For example, USC has a historic preservation program that could be active in the nearby West Adams neighborhoods, like University Park.

3. Reconsideration of HPOZ designation by City Council Motion

All the case study HPOZs were initiated by city council motions. A reconsideration of this policy in more diverse, low-income income communities should be examined. In HPOZs, like Angelino Heights or University Park, there is a diversity of opinions and needs—homeowners vs. renters, low-income residents vs. middle class newcomers. However, as the case studies revealed, it was mostly the strong preservation activists, like Carroll Avenue Restoration Foundation, that greatly influenced the initiation of the historic district designation. In documents related to the designation of University Park, the same preservation activists were involved in the process from start to finish, and their support was counted to be around 20 to 30 people. The fact that a small

percentage of residents can have such an important say in the establishment of restrictive zoning policies, including the design guidelines, which affect an entire community, does not seem democratic. Since HPOZs can impact housing and rehabilitation costs, the involvement of lower-income residents should also be encouraged. In more homogenous neighborhoods, like South Carthay and Miracle Mile North, where there is strong community support, a City Council motion may not be as important.

4. Anti-displacement Strategies

In neighborhoods such as Angelino Heights, University Park, and Harvard Heights, community groups and planners should note that anti-displacement tools in these areas would be beneficial and should be directed towards residential displacement of owner households. Several HPOZ residents, in Angelino Heights and University Park, mentioned that low-income owners were willing to sell their houses due to costs of repair. Effective strategies to mitigate this type of displacement might highlight government assistance to low-income homeowners, such as loan modifications to create manageable payment options, utility-cost or weatherization programs that can reduce residential utility expenses, or grant programs that directly aid in home repairs.

Final Thoughts

Although there is a growing body of research that challenges traditional notions of gentrification (Freeman and Braconi 2004; Freeman 2006), there is a clear need for more empirical research on the relationship between preservation, neighborhood change, and gentrification. Surprisingly, little empirical research currently exists on the actual relationship between preservation and gentrification (Allison 2005). And even though

gentrification research dates to the 1970s, there remains a clear need for research specifying preservation's relationship to displacement, and affordability.

Additionally, unlike New York or London, the study of gentrification and historic preservation in younger cities like Los Angeles is in its early stages. Continued research in Los Angeles, and in other contexts, should be continued in the years to come as more neighborhoods embrace historic preservation as a means of revitalization or economic development in urban neighborhoods. Due to historic circumstances many older neighborhoods in central cities have provided affordable housing options for low- and moderate-income minority and immigrant populations for decades. Thus, if successful revitalization through historic preservation is desired within these communities, the question of how preservation relates to displacement and gentrification is important to understand.

Additionally, the question of whose history is being preserved is critical to the understanding of how historic preservation is used. The historic preservation profession, in recent years, has begun to highlight the importance of social history, which has often been overshadowed by purely physical and aesthetic concerns. The question of whether the discipline can embrace both the physical and varied historic narratives of a community should continue to be explored. As should the question of who makes these decisions for the community.

Further research by scholars, policy makers, and practitioners must work toward: 1) rethinking historic preservation so that it remains relevant and responsive to twenty-first-century urban needs and conditions, and 2) push historic preservation toward playing

a more direct role in shaping contemporary urban policy, such as addressing issues of housing affordability and gentrification.

As cities, like Los Angeles, continue to age, more and more neighborhoods will become eligible for historic designation. Thus, planners, policy makers, and preservationists must balance the preservation of cultural identity and the physical environment, with the ongoing evolution of urban places. Preservationists should ask whether the primary concern of historic districts should be architectural accuracy? Should the focus be to replicate exactly what was present at the time of significance, 80 or 100 years ago? Or on the other hand, are details less important and should historic preservation in a diverse city like Los Angeles embrace ideas of social preservation? For instance, it would be fruitful for Los Angeles to explore tiered systems of designation allowing more flexibility in material changes where overall community character or intangible heritage is more significant than architectural integrity (Listokin, Listokin, & Lahr 1998).

In conclusion, the criticisms of the HPOZs, and their design guidelines, by residents are often a reflection of divergent community concerns and needs, such as cost or cultural differences. This dissertation confirmed that Los Angeles' HPOZs are diverse in their socioeconomic makeup and architectural fabric; yet the approach to the historic designation process and its regulations are frequently applied in one size fits all manner. On the whole, future generations will have to embrace a new set of tools in their advocacy of historic and community preservation in order to honor both the historic fabric of a neighborhood and its people.

Appendix A:

Secretary Of The Interior Standards For The Treatment Of Historic Properties

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.
2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, will not be undertaken.
4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.
6. Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.
7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.
10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

Appendix B – Interview Questions

Residents Interview Question Guide (ask if they are ok providing their name, age, ethnicity).

Objectives: To explore what, if any, historic district designation has had on its surrounding community/neighborhood in terms of **social effects, economic effects, and revitalization effects.**

- How long have you lived in the area?
- Do you own or rent?
- Has anything changed in the neighborhood since the HPOZ designation?
- Do you think that the HPOZ has a positive or negative effect on the neighborhood? And why?
- Do you see “mansionization” as a problem in your neighborhood?
- If you rent, have rents been affected by the historic district establishment?
- Do you think people are more willing to live in the area because it is an HPOZ?
- Would you say the neighborhood has strong community involvement? And why?
- Are you involved in a neighborhood association or the HPOZ Board?
- What defines the neighborhood to you? For example, is it the architecture or people, or something else?
- Were you involved with the establishment of the HPOZ?
- If involved, how long did it take to establish the HPOZ?
- What do you think works best about the current policy and protection process?
- How do you see the HPOZ affecting the social composition of the neighborhood?
- Do long-time residents often move out?
 - Do properties become more expensive/have greater value?
 - Do many physical changes occur in the neighborhoods?
 - Do new businesses move in? (ex. Starbucks).
 - Do new residents move in?
- Has there been any tourist activity in your neighborhood? If so, what impact has tourism had on the neighborhood?
- What do you think are the largest threats to historic neighborhoods today?
- What do you think needs improvement in the current policy and protection process?
- Do you have any other thoughts about preservation in urban neighborhoods?

HPOZ Board Member Question Guide (ask if they are ok providing their name, age, ethnicity).

- Do you live in the HPOZ neighborhood?
 - If yes, how long? And do you rent or own?
- How long have you served on the Board?
- Were you recruited or did you actively pursue this position?
- Can you tell me a little bit about what your duties?
- Were you involved with the establishment of the HPOZ?
- If involved, how long did it take to establish the HPOZ?
- Has anything changed in the neighborhood since the HPOZ designation
- Would you say the HPOZ has a positive or negative effect on the neighborhood? And why? Ex. Mansionization?
- Do you think people are more willing to live in the area because it is an HPOZ?
- Would you say the neighborhood has strong community involvement? And why?
- What defines the neighborhood for you? For example, is it the architecture or people, or something else?
- What do you think works best about the current policy and protection process?
- How do you see the HPOZ affecting the social composition of the neighborhood?
 - Do long-time residents often move out?
 - Do properties become more expensive/have greater value?
 - Do physical changes occur in the neighborhoods?
 - Do new businesses move in? (ex. Starbucks).
 - Do new residents move in?
- Has there been any tourist activity in your neighborhood? If so, what impact has tourism had on the neighborhood?
- What do you think are the largest threats to historic neighborhoods today?
- What do you think needs improvement in the current policy and protection process?
- Do you have any other thoughts about preservation in urban neighborhoods?

Appendix C: Interview, survey, and other sources

Interview List

Office of Historic Resources:

Ken Bernstein—September 5th, 2014
Michelle Levy—September 5th, 2014

Angelino Heights

Tom Pejic: architect, HPOZ board member—September 22nd, 2014
Bob Good: HPOZ board member & resident —September 11th and 27th, 2014
Patti Good: resident—September 27th, 2014
Planeria Price: Angelino Heights' resident—October 6th, 2014
Murray Burns: Angelino Heights' resident—October 6th, 2014
Priscilla Morales: Angelino Heights' resident—December 3, 2014 (phone call)
Danny Muñoz: HPOZ board member & resident—September 11th, 2014

Harvard Heights

Caroline Labiner: architect, HPOZ board member— (email)
Steve Wallis: HPOZ board member & resident—October 14th, 2014
Odell Childress: HPOZ board member & resident—October 14, 2014 (phone call)
Sophie Jeffries: resident—October 20th, 2014
Mason Bendewald: resident: —March 1st, 2015 (email)

South Carthay

Terry Snyder: resident—October 27th, 2014 (email)
George Romero: architect & HPOZ board member—October 9th, 2014 (phone call)
Lloyd Robinson: resident & HPOZ board member—October 8th, 2014
Jenna Snow: renter & HPOZ board member—October 27th, 2014

University Park

Jean Frost—resident & HPOZ board member—October 20, 2014
Jim Robinson—resident & HPOZ board member—October 27th, 2014
Art Curtis & (Shelly Adler): resident—May 26, 2015
Suzanne Henderson: former real estate agent—May 19, 2015
Pastor Brian Eklund: former pastor of St. Mark's Lutheran Church—July 14th, 2015
(email correspondence)

Miracle Mile North

Josh Tomaszewski: resident, real estate agent, & HPOZ Board member—November 12, 2014

Marian Carr: resident & HPOZ Board member—November 11, 2014

Harold Tomin: resident & HPOZ Board member—November 14, 2014

Joan Allemand: resident—December 3, 2014 (phone call)

20 Online Resident Surveys

- South Carthay - 3
- Angelino Heights - 4
- Harvard Heights - 9
- Miracle Mile North - 4

HPOZ Board Meetings Attended

1. Angelino Heights—September 11th, 2014
2. Harvard Heights—September 30th, 2014
3. South Carthay—October 2nd, 2014
4. University Park—October 7th, 2014
5. Miracle Mile—December 10, 2014

Other Sources

Harvard Heights: Harvard Heights Neighborhood Show podcast. David Nico, a 15-year resident of Harvard Heights, hosts the podcast. Nico interviews long and short-term residents. The podcast interviews that I utilized include:

- Isabel Cruz, resident since 1973
- Mason Bendewald, resident since 2013
- Francisca Jurado, lifelong resident of Harvard Heights, born 1961
- Abraham Jurado, lifelong resident of Harvard Heights, born 1992
- Kim Calvert, resident since 2014
- Janet Clark, resident since 1941
- Blake McCormick, resident since 2008

Angelino Heights: Yahoo Angelino Heights Community (352 members), Echo Elysian Neighborhood Councils Forum (344 members). Comment sections from *The Eastsider*

articles. A 2007 Bresee Foundation project captures how Latino renters feel about the changes in Angelino Heights through interviews.

All HPOZs: LA Curbed article comments; Mapping L.A. *Los Angeles Times* comments; real estate websites and online discussion groups; and social media sources, such as Facebook groups or online Neighborhood Group blogs.

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Burns, Murray, and Planaria Price. 2014. In-person interview.

Carr, Marian. 2014. Phone Interview.

Carr, Marian, Harold Tomin, and Michael Matteuci. 2014. Miracle Mile North HPOZ Meeting.

Childress, Odell. 2014. Phone Interview.

Curtis, Art. 2015. Phone Interview.

Eklund, Brian. 2015. Email Correspondence.

Jean Frost 2014b. In-person interview.

Good, Bob, and Patti Good. 2014. In-person interview.

Good, Bob, Danny Munoz, Tom Pejic, and Michelle Levy. 2014. Angelino Heights HPOZ Meeting.

Henderson, Suzanne. 2015. Phone Interview.

Jeffries, Sophie. 2014. Phone Interview.

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Francisca. 2014. Online Survey #8, Harvard Heights.

Hailey, Kendall. 2014. Online Survey #10, Harvard Heights.

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Marrache, Alex. 2014. Online Survey #5, Harvard Heights.

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McCormick, Blake. 2015. Online Survey #19, Harvard Heights.

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No Name. 2014. Online Survey #14, Angelino Heights.

Oller, Monica. 2014. Online Survey #16, Angelino Heights.

Persic, Peter. 2014. Online Survey # 2, South Carthay.

Price-Zigrang, Carmen. 2014. Online Survey #11, Harvard Heights.

Souza, Roland. 2014. Online Survey #6, Harvard Heights.

Stephanie. 2014. Online Survey #9, Harvard Heights.

Steve. 2014. Online Survey #15, Miracle Mile North.

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