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“Re-Indigenizing Spaces: How Mapping Racial Violence Shows the Interconnections Between
Settler Colonialism and Gentrification”

By

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Introduction

Where does one begin when searching for the beginning of the city of Inglewood? *Siri*, *where does the history of Inglewood, CA begin?* Siri takes me straight to the City History section of the City of Inglewood's website page. Their website states that Inglewood's history begins in the Adobe Centinela, the proclaimed "first home" of the Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela which housed Ignacio Machado, the Spanish owner of the rancho who was deeded the adobe in 1844. Before Ignacio, it is said that the Adobe Centinela served as a headquarters for Spanish soldiers who'd protect the cattle and springs. But from *whom?* Bandits or squatters are usually the go to answers. If you read further into the City History section, Inglewood only recognizes its Spanish and Mexican past. But where is the Indigenous Tongva-Gabrielino history of Inglewood?

I have lived in Inglewood all of my life. I was born at Centinela Hospital Medical Center on Hardy Street in 1997. My entire K-12 education came from schools under the Inglewood Unified School District. While I attend UC Berkeley, my family still lives in Inglewood in the same house we've lived in for the last 23 years. Growing up in Inglewood, in a low income, immigrant family I witnessed things in my neighborhood that not everyone gets to see. Like the pride and energy of those who lived on Kelso Street who would stand outside their homes to watch the Inglewood High School Marching Band march to Sentinel Field for a football game on Friday nights. Or the way when Inglewood High School students and residents showed up to repaint Inglewood High and plant flowers. Anyone who wasn't from Inglewood never got to witness the good in the community, so they'd always rely on the negative stereotypes that labeled our community instead.

When I was 16 years-old, I attended a Fleetwood Mac concert at The Forum back in 2015 when the Forum had re-opened its doors after being mostly dormant after the 1990s when the

L.A. Kings and Los Angeles Lakers moved to the Staples Center. I met an older White woman there who told me that she grew up in Inglewood too. *“Inglewood never used to be so ghetto”*, she said. Her comment left me stunned. How could this white woman have been so comfortable and bold enough to tell me that my community and I were ghetto. She went on to tell me how she used to live in Inglewood back in the *good ‘ol days*. I remember later learning how Inglewood used to be a predominantly middle class white community up until the early to mid-1970s when Inglewood had to forcibly integrate its schools thus causing White flight.

Processing that short history lesson about my city was tough. We’re taught in school that Brown v. Board of Education stopped school segregation in 1954, why did it take my high school 20 years later to do so? I stopped by my school’s library to look at all the yearbooks to investigate if what my teacher said was true. I looked at each yearbook from the 1970s and saw the demographic shift from the early to mid-1970s. By 1980 Inglewood High had become predominately Black and Latinx which has remained even today. Before White flight happened and Inglewood was a predominantly White neighborhood, the city held a good reputation filled with opportunity. There were many projects of city beautification done by “founder” Daniel Freeman who planted many fruit trees in honor of his daughter and even attempted to have a college built in Inglewood. However, when Inglewood started to become a predominantly Black and Latinx community, the media was quick to spotlight crime rates and gang activity. From 1980 and onward, Inglewood’s “City of Champions” reputation plummeted to being added on Los Angeles Top Dangerous Cities list. (Slater)

Before we can unfold Inglewood’s current situation with gentrification, we must explore its history of settler colonialism and racial violence to fully grasp what current residents are going through. First and foremost, we must begin with Inglewood’s Native history, its Tongva

roots. A couple of maps of Los Angeles county, some made by Kirkman-Harriman and the Southwest Museum and dating as far back as 1938, suggest that a Tongva village once stood in Inglewood. Unfortunately, this village is not named in either of these maps. There were many other Tongva villages, such as Saa'anga, Tajuata and Guaspita, that were in very close proximity to Inglewood. (McCawley, 1996)

The fact that the Tongva village that was located in Inglewood goes unnamed further proves the constant erasure of Indigenous presence in Inglewood and all across Los Angeles county. It also raises many questions because while there were many Tongva villages across Los Angeles county, each village was unique in culture, sometimes even language and had ranging population numbers. (Alvitre) Perhaps the village's population was so small that anthropologists and Spanish invaders looked over it. Nonetheless, what we now know as Inglewood today was not a vacant piece of land that the Spanish "discovered". It was the home of a Tongva village. The Centinela Springs that flowed through the Centinela Creek onto the Ballona Wetlands sustained not just that one village but many! When an excavation took place in Centinela Park, archaeologists found fossils of prehistoric animals as well as arrowheads and other Native American artifacts proving Tongva existence in Inglewood.¹

In Chapter One, I will be reviewing the side of history that seems most deeply obscured: its Indigenous Tongva history. Inglewood did not begin with Ignacio Machado nor Daniel Freedman. Inglewood wasn't even the land's original name nor was it Los Angeles or El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles del Río Porciúncula. I will also be describing the start

¹ Waddingham, Gladys. *The History of Inglewood*. Inglewood: Historical Society of Centinela Valley, 1994.

of colonization and how its stages advanced through Spanish, Mexican, and American governments, and state violence, returning to the idea of protecting the spring as the foundational myth. In Chapter Two: Centinela Days, I will be investigating “Centinela Days”, an annual event created in Inglewood to celebrate its Spanish and Mexican past. I will do a deep analysis on how “Centinela Days”, Indian mascots, and other performances of the past actively erases Tongva people and perpetuate a harmful settler colonial narrative of settlers becoming “the new natives”. Chapter Three will focus on “White Flight”, I will be speaking more about how the forced integration of Inglewood schools and the Watts Riots caused Inglewood’s demographic shift from a White to community of color. Through every shift, an Indigenous presence remains in Inglewood. Finally, in Chapter Four: Gentrification, I will explore how the impact of the construction of the nearly 5 billion dollar project, the SoFi Stadium, has affected Inglewood’s low-income community of color. I will also be explaining the connections between gentrification and settler colonialism. This chapter will discuss the question of how non-Native people can create more accountable alliances with Native people.

Chapter One: A Tongva History of Inglewood

“We can only begin to imagine the world of our ancestors. There is a topography that challenges the perceptions of those educated within the Western paradigm” – Cindi Moar Alvitre, Tongva descendant and scholar.

The City of Inglewood states that Inglewood’s history begins with Spanish settlers. I would correct this statement by saying that Inglewood’s colonial history begins with the Spanish. Before the Spanish stepped foot in Inglewood or Los Angeles, it was and still is Tongva territory. There was a Tongva village placed near what we now call the Centinela Springs. The Tongva most likely had a name for the springs that we’re most likely not aware about due to colonialism. Before we talk about the Centinela Springs, let’s talk about the people.

The Tongva had many villages scattered all across Los Angeles county. Each village was unique in name, customs, population, and even language. In the essay, “Coyote Tours” from Tongva descendant and scholar, Cindi Moar Alvitre, of the book *“LATitudes: An Angelenos Atlas”* offers an Indigenous map of Los Angeles listing every known Tongva village in their appropriate territory. According to Alvitre, Tongva peoples identify themselves by their appropriate village and clans. (Alvitre, 2015) This is significant because it challenges colonial thought and the way colonizers have used umbrella terms to identify Native Americans rather than their distinct communities. “Creating a cartography of coyote space is an act of resistance. Coyote space is about making visible what others cannot, or choose not, to see. Arbitrary political boundaries become meaningless”. (Alvitre, 2015) By mapping Indigenous LA, Tongva people are able to make themselves visible and show how they are still connected to their land, while creating a counternarrative to settler/colonial stories. Counternarratives can serve as powerful tools to speak against oppressive forces, like how Alvitre’s knowledge allows us to view Los Angeles through a Tongva perspective.

It was through Coyote Tours that I was able to locate one of the nearest Tongva villages closest to Inglewood, which is the village Saa'anga. Saa'anga is located closely to the Ballona Lagoon and Centinela Creek (around the Culver City and Santa Monica area); Alvitre says most Tongva villages were located next to bodies or sources of fresh water since water is sacred and necessary for life. She did not mention any information about Saa'anga specifically, however the physical map she provided of physical locations of Tongva villages and waterways allowed me to locate the approximate location of Inglewood. Starting with the rancho that the city of Inglewood considers its beginning. When Tongva lands were stolen by the Spanish and later Mexicans, the land was divided up into ranchos that constantly displaced Tongva people and perpetuated violence. According to the city of Inglewood's webpage, Inglewood was made up of two ranchos, mostly rancho Aguaje de La Centinela and northern rancho Sausal Redondo. Aguaje de la Centinela translates to "the Springs of the Sentinel", which today would be known as the Centinela Springs.

The Centinela Springs is a water source that carried fresh water from what we know as the Baldwin Hills all throughout Centinela Creek and finally into the Ballona Wetlands. These springs are no longer visible due to the creation of the Centinela Park (now Edward Vincent Jr. Park) in 1945, however the water still runs underground providing water for the entire city and is purified at a water plant at Rogers park. Although Saa'anga wasn't in Inglewood, there is no doubt that Saa'anga depended on the waters that flowed from Centinela Springs. Saa'anga wasn't the only Tongva village to benefit from the Centinela Springs. These other villages included Waachnga and Guaspita to name a few. Just like the village in Inglewood there were many other Tongva villages that existed but left unnamed. (McCawley, 1996)

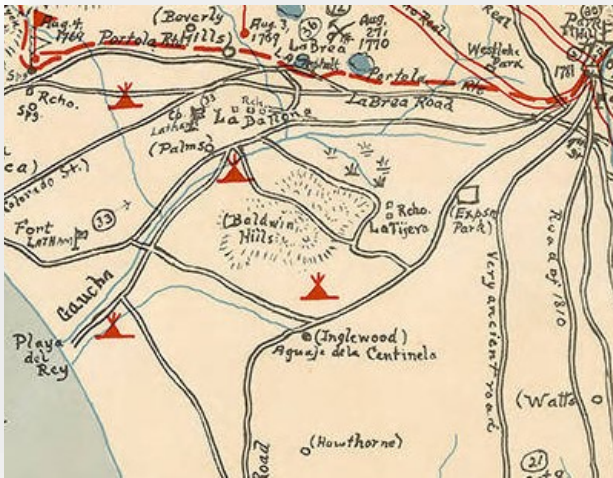


Figure 1: Kirkman-Harriman Pictorial and Historical Map of Los Angeles County (1938). Source: Los Angeles Public Library Map Collection.



Figure 2: The Gabrielino Indians at the Time of the Portola Expedition: 1769-70 (1962). Source: Los Angeles Public Library Map Collection.

Figure 1 is the Kirkman-Harriman Pictorial Map from 1938. This was an excellently detailed map that contained accurate and detailed locations of Tongva villages, Indian trails,

Portola's Expedition Trail (1769-70), Mission trails, El Camino Real and battlefields. The iconography of what seems to look like a tipi, stood for "Indian Village" in this pictorial map. As you can see, the icon shows right on top of Inglewood's name in the map, showing that there was a Tongva village in Inglewood's location. However, when I attempted to do further research in search for a name for this village, I kept running into dead-ends. Saa'anga, Waachnga, and Guaspita were the only villages I could find information on that were located nearby Inglewood but not *in* Inglewood.

However, Bernice Eastman Johnson's book *California's Gabrielino Indians*, was the closest to support my findings. "This is the complete roster of the known names of coastal villages. 'We may be sure that there were many others on the high places overlooking pools and streams, such as those which the Spanish called La Centinela and the Rodeo de las Aguas, "the Gathering of the Waters"'". (Johnson, 1962) Johnson's research of the Gabrielino-Tongva peoples are based off the map in Figure 2. Although the 1962 map is not as detailed as Kirkman-Harriman's, but it still marks an icon over Inglewood. The triangles symbolize known archaeological sites and the circles stand for approximate locations of historical sites. Although the map doesn't recognize Inglewood as a known spot for a historical site/ Tongva village, it does recognize the 1934 excavation that happened in Centinela Park.

Let's start look closer at Centinela Park. Centinela Park, now known as Edward Vincent Jr. Park, is the largest public park in Inglewood. In person, it looks like an ordinary park with recreational activities for children and adults alike. The park is always being used for soccer games, tennis, and jogging. Many people from the community gather to part take in these activities or even hold community events there such as birthday parties or family barbeques. That

is the image we associate with the park, but those weren't always its only uses. Before the park's construction it was known as the site of Centinela Springs.

However, as residents settled in Inglewood, they wanted a recreation area where the community could gather and hold events. The construction of Centinela Park was a project that took years in the making; planning began as early as 1938 and the park opened around 1945. Due to frequent flooding and failed attempts to being granted to sell bottled water from the Centinela Springs, they had to nearly completely drain the springs at least enough for them to build above it. (Rosenberg , pg. 27) However, during the construction of Centinela Park, many workers came across fossils of woolly mammoths and other prehistoric creatures. Among the fossils that were found, were also arrowheads and other Indigenous items proving a Tongva presence in Inglewood and their use of the Centinela Springs. (Rosenberg , pg. 9)

The History of Inglewood by Roy Rosenburg (1938) was the first book ever written about the history of Inglewood, and it only devotes a sentence to the Indigenous history of the place. "Later, the same water which gave sustenance and slaked the thirst of Indians who left arrowheads and tomahawks as mute reminders of their brief sojourn here, drew the Spanish-speaking visitors". (Rosenberg , pg. 9) This sentence alone speaks in volumes promoting the violent culture of settler colonialism and genocide. "Reminders of their brief sojourn" infers that the Natives they speak of, the Tongva people, vanished leaving behind hints of their past for the Spanish to find. According to Jean M. O'Brien, author of *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*, "Romanticized constructions of generalized Indians doomed to disappear were one thing; it was quite another thing to contemplate the "extinction" of Indian peoples who might instead have been your very neighbors." (O'Brien , pg. xiv) Rosenburg not only claims the extinction of Tongva-Gabrielino people but of Native Americans in general

without providing any evidence to back his statement. This book was published in 1938, the very same year U.S. Olympic gold medalist Jim Thorpe of the Sac and Fox Nation and his Cherokee wife, Margaret Irma Miller lived in Inglewood with their family.

This local myth that claims Native Americans vanished is a product of settler colonialism. “First, settler colonialism is conceptually distinct from other kinds of colonialism, in that it is rooted in the elimination of Indigenous peoples, polities and relationships from and with the land” (Wolfe, 2006). Patrick Wolfe defines settler colonialism as it destroys to replace. Wolfe explains settler colonialism by providing examples from different parts of the globe to show how settler colonialism is accomplished through renaming and uprooting the original to clear for the new. “It is both as complex social formation and as continuity through time that I term settler colonization a structure rather than an event”. (Wolfe, 2006) Wolfe stresses that settler colonialism isn’t a one-time event but rather a process that gets perpetuated in daily life of the settler colonial state. This is significant because when Indigenous erasure is normalized, it also normalizes violence and displacement against Indigenous peoples.

When discussing settler colonialism to non-Indigenous people, even to some people of color, one should be prepared for unpacking settler anxieties. Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, and Jeff Corntassel dedicate a section of their article, “*Unsettling Settler Colonialism: The Discourse and politics of Settlers, and solidarity with Indigenous Nations*”, to unpack settler anxieties by pulling various definitions of settler colonialism from numerous scholars and by each of them sharing their perspective of who is a settler. Snelgrove provides his settler definition from his point of view as a white man, Dhamoon shared hers as a person of color, and Corntassel as an Indigenous man. This was able to provide a wide perspective of who is a settler and what that means as well as the complicity and responsibilities attached to it. “From their

perspective, while there are differences among differently positioned people of color (refugee, migrant workers, economic immigrants etc.), we are settlers”. (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, & Cornassel, 2014) Since Inglewood is a predominantly a community of color, it is important for people of color, who are non-Native, understand that they’re settlers and the types of violence it contributes onto Native and Indigenous peoples. Once an open dialogue is done about settler colonialism and non-Native people understand their positions as settlers, then decolonization can proceed. Decolonization means the dismantling of colonialism and reclaiming of ancestral knowledges and self-determination.

After the Centinela Springs were drained enough to be built over, the city commemorated its existence with two monuments. The first monument was built in 1937, a small tower of stones that also served as a water fountain with a plaque that read “From time immemorial God’s blessing of sweet water to all his creatures | marked by California History and Landmarks Club March 2, 1939”. The second monument that was done in honor of the springs was in 1970. It is a much larger version of the 1937 monument and had a larger plaque that said “Aguaje de la Centinela (Centinela Springs) | On this site bubbling springs once flowed from their source in a deep water basin which has existed continuously since the Pleistocene era. Prehistoric animals, Indians, and early Inglewood settlers were attracted here by the pure artesian water. The Springs and Valley were named after the sentinels guarding the cattle in the area. | California Registered Historical Landmark No. 363 | Plaque Placed by The State Department of Parks and Recreation in Cooperation with The Historical Society of Centinela Valley, October 9, 1976.” Both of these monuments were placed on the very location of where the springs used to be. “Local historians regularly included an Indian presence woven into the landscape, especially in the form of retained Indian place-names and in an intense interest in Indian relics and remains. Like much of

local history writing, such portrayals situate Indians securely in the past, separating them neatly as part of nature instead of culture.” (O'Brien , pg. 35) O'Brien suggests that monuments play a significant role in settler colonialism since they not only become markers of specific areas of the land but also promote Indigenous erasure.

Once again we see a trend of Tongva erasure within these two monuments. The first monument is a typical colonial monument that reveals a religious intention. There is no mention at all about Tongva nor Native Americans at all, and the reference to God naturalizes the “gift” of the water to the occupiers of the place. Although the plaque doesn't mention Native peoples directly it doesn't necessarily mean that they weren't included. Let's revisit Centinela Park again in the 1930's. While creating the park they found dinosaur bones and arrowheads; two things that White America believed to be extinct or going extinct. Also, let's not forget that White Americans still considered Native Americans as less than human and had to be “civilized” by being forcefully converted into Christianity and sent off to boarding schools. With this historical context, I believe it is safe to assume that whoever created this first plaque had the Tongva or Native people in mind when writing “creatures”. As for the second monument, we see that there is a direct mention of Native people and their presence in Inglewood, however they are put under the offensive umbrella term “Indians” rather than being called by their respective nation/community, Tongva. This plaque is just as harmful as the first one because it places the Tongva as a “people of the past” or that have gone extinct, when in fact the Tongva are still here.

A question that is probably going through your minds right now as you are reading this is *“Well where were they during all of this?”*. Before the Spanish arrived, the Tongva were thriving in their villages across Los Angeles county. Glen Creason, the Map Librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library, says that there were at least 5,000 Tongva people in the Los Angeles

Basin before European arrival. According to William McCawley, author of *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles County*, the earliest European contact recorded with the Tongva (also known as the Gabrielino due to the Mission) was in 1592 when Cabrillo was lost at sea and washed up to the Santa Catalina Island. Later there would be more European contacts after that with the Gabrielinos of the Islands, but McCawley states that even in 1592 the Gabrielinos had already heard stories of the Spanish explorations by the Colorado River.

It was Gaspar de Portola and his party of soldiers and missionaries that would make the first significant contact with the Gabrielinos on the mainland in the Los Angeles Basin, when Portola led a 1769 Expedition in search of the Monterey Bay. (McCawley, 1996) In this expedition, McCawley affirms that the Spanish passed through Gabrielino territory twice while they were looking for a route to Monterey. During the first encounter, the Gabrielino gave the Spanish a warm welcome but this was still done with great caution after all the stories they heard from neighboring tribes (McCawley, 1996). It wasn't until the founding of the San Gabriel Mission that the Spanish would invade all over what we know as Los Angeles and Orange county, settling into spaces where there was access to valuable natural resources to sustain these Spanish colonizers and settlers, as well as their cattle. (Varno)

According to the San Gabriel Mission Community, the mission's establishment dates back to September 8th, 1771 by founding priests Father Pedro Benito Cambon and Father Angel de la Somera. The California Missions are constantly glorified in California history. If you're a fourth grader in California before 2016, it was mandatory to create a diorama of a California mission and learn its history.² However, schoolchildren are only educated in the colonizers

² <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/editorials/la-ed-california-mission-models-20170919-story.html>

perspective of history of the California mission through the narratives of Mission Padres. We are never educated about California Native history nor their perspective and survival during the Mission era enduring the abuse and abduction they faced from the missions. (Miranda , Bad Indians)

The San Gabriel Mission (as the rest of the California Missions) had an intentional goal to subject the Tongva into Spanish rule, which they did through disease, rape, and forced assimilation. This was done in a violent process that involved kidnapping Tongva children and sexually abusing Tongva women. (Miranda, "Saying the Padre Had Grabbed Her") Missionaries and Spanish soldiers did this in order to annihilate Tongva people or at least convert them into Christianity to “civilize” them in order to steal their land. Due to these horrendous acts of abuse the Tongva suffered greatly that was seen through a mass depopulation. George Getze, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter, wrote an article for the *Los Angeles Times* in 1967 about the Tongva-Gabrielino people and the horrors they suffered from the Mission, cited his information from Powhatan-Renapé and Delaware-Lenápe scholar, Jack D. Forbes. “Another method was to baptize children without their instruction and then when they reached the age of 5 to 7, bring them to the mission as neophytes, separating them from their gentile(unconverted) parents. The mother would usually follow, to be close to her child, and the husband, to be close to his wife”. (Forbes, 1967) By kidnapping Tongva children, missionaries were able to forcefully baptize and convert many Tongva villages. However, this wasn’t the only way because Forbes states that often Tongva chiefs were threatened that if they didn’t surrender their villages to be converted then they risked getting massacred by Spanish soldiers.

The sexual abuse by Spanish soldiers was so bad that Father Junipero Serra, the founder of the California Mission system, wrote letters to the Spanish crown begging them to do

something to stop this epidemic. One solution was to bring more Spanish women so that way the Spanish soldiers could have wives, but it still did not stop the abuse. According to Deborah Miranda, the California missions were infamous for their gendered and sexual violence they inflicted upon California Natives. “In all, an estimated population of 750,000 to one million Indians present in precontact California crashed to 5—10,000 during and immediately after missionization’s 64 years. A large part of this genocide is due to gendered and sexual violence”. (Miranda, 2010) It is a history that is often silenced and rarely spoken of today. Miranda also mentions how Missionaries depended on labor so they constantly pressured and forced California Native women into unwanted pregnancies to produce more workers and neophytes. (Miranda, 2010)

While Spain attempted to write laws to ease the violence done on to Indigenous people, it still wasn’t enough to stop it. Tongva men and chiefs who tried to protect their wives and families were also met with violence that resulted in death. “The soldiers garrisoned at the mission soon began seizing and carrying off Tongva women. An angry husband seeking retribution had his head cut off and mounted in front of the mission stockade as a warning to his fellows.”(Forbes, 1967) Despite it all, Tongva-Gabrielino people have always resisted against their colonizers and continue to fight for their rights and land as sovereign Indigenous people.

We must be critical of dominant Western historical narratives that often label Tongva and other California Native peoples as “docile” and “submissive”. When we view history through a decolonial lens that centers Indigenous voices and perspective, we witness the true history of how Native land was maliciously stolen from its Indigenous people while also learning about the history of Native resiliency and survival. Tongva people are *still here*, despite how constantly Los Angeles’ terrain transforms. Inglewood’s past, present and future is and will remain

Indigenous. You're probably asking yourself, "Then why is this the first time I'm hearing this history?". Now that you know a bit about Inglewood's original peoples, we can answer your question together. Inglewood's settler colonial history begins in a 181 year old adobe house that currently sits right by the 405 freeway.

Chapter Two – Settler Nativism Expressed Through Centinela Days

“The Indian head in the jar, the Indian head on a spike were like flags flown, to be seen, cast broadly. Just like the Indian Head test pattern was broadcast to sleeping Americans as we set sail from our living rooms, over the ocean blue-green glowing airwaves, to the shores, the screens of the New World.” –

“There There” by Tommy Orange

Ten years after the Spanish established the San Gabriel mission in 1771, a group of Spanish families known as “the Pobladores of el Pueblo de Los Angeles” or “los Californios” accompanied by Spanish soldiers came to settle into California permanently. Among those families were the parents of Ygnacio Machado, the builder of the Centinela Adobe. His parents, Josef Manuel Orchanga y Machado and Maria del Carmen Valenzuela arrived at the San Gabriel Mission on July 14th, 1781 and granted ownerships of Ranchos La Ballona and Aguaje del Centinela. (Temple II, 1931). Soon after their arrival, the city of Los Angeles would be founded as “El Pueblo Sobré El Rio de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles del Rio de Porciúncula” under the Spanish. Nearby where they plotted the pueblo, was the Tongva village, Yaanga. According to Dr. Kelly Lytle Hernandez, these Spanish families depended on Tongva labor when it came to building what we know as the city of Los Angeles. “When the Spaniards arrived in 1781, the Yaangavit [the Tongva villagers of Yaanga] built many of the buildings in the new town. Yaanga land and labor, in other words, lay at the core of the expanding Anglo-American city.” (Hernandez, 2017) Shortly after, it wasn’t surprising to find out how quickly the Spanish would begin treating their Yaanga neighbors unjustly through actions like displacement, assimilation, and even incarceration.

Ignacio Machado’s parents along with the other families they traveled with, were promised large plots of land and so many other luxuries for settling into the Tongva Basin. Since

these families were coming from Colonial Mexico³, they were subjected under the Spanish Empire's caste system which was a social hierarchy built upon race. Kelly Lytle Hernandez describes the caste system accurately stating that *peninsulares* (men born in Spain) were at the top, *criollos* (Spanish born in the Americas) followed after and finally Natives and Africans at the bottom of the caste system. Hernandez also found that the first families of Californios claimed some degree of African and Native ancestry, therefore becoming colonists gave them an opportunity to escape the Spanish's caste system that may have restricted them from certain privileges in Colonial Mexico.

Despite escaping the caste system, these Spanish settlers still retained certain aspects of their Spanish culture by making sure to distinct themselves from the Tongva. "In particular, they set aside the technicalities of the *casta* matrix for the similar divide between *gente de razon* [people of reason] and *gente sin razon* [people without reason]." (Hernandez, pg. 28) By doing so, the Spanish were able to justify the violence they caused onto Tongva peoples as well as stealing their land. To be considered *gente sin razon* [people without reason], means to be "othered" and treated like a child. The Spanish believed that *gente sin razon* weren't intelligent nor civilized enough to be treated with respect or allowed to govern themselves. Despite that Tongva-Gabrielino people have been governing themselves since time immemorial, the Spanish still forced them into the missions in hopes to "civilize" them.

During Spanish and Mexican rule, the land that made up the Los Angeles county was split into several ranchos and pueblos. Before Inglewood, it used to be Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela and a small section of Rancho Sausal Redondo. Although there weren't many records

³ When I say Colonial Mexico, I am referring to Spanish colonization of Mexico.

of Ignacio's parents living in Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela, they still occupied the land to raise cattle. The cattle that the Spanish would bring with them to invade the Tongva Basin also became a colonial tool. According to Teddy Varnos' *The Bovid Metropolis*, the cow and bull became integral elements of the Spanish invasion of the Americas since they would be unleashed upon the lush grassy landscapes where with minimal human guidance they would flourish and multiply. "Wherever they [cattle] went they trampled the land and voraciously devoured the native flora, consuming too the croplands of Indigenous peoples who were astonished by the immense herds that soon stalked the countryside." (Varno , pg. 54) By the cattle devouring Tongva peoples' crops and creating an extreme environmental shift in the ecosystem, it caused starvation amongst Tongva communities, thus forcing them to depend on the missions.

Despite the landscape rapidly changing, the Tongva didn't sit back and let Spanish settlers think that their colonial actions were righteous, but rather violent and destructive to Tongva way of life. According to Hernandez, the Tongva constantly resisted in various ways, from uprisings to petitions. They repeatedly made their presence known and showed the Spanish that they will not allow themselves to be assimilated into Spanish way of life. They fought for their land, their water, their families and fallen *tomyaars* (Tongva Chiefs). One of the major attacks by the Tongva is remembered to this day and it was led by a young female shaman named Toypurina. According to Kelly Lytle Hernandez, Toypurina led an attack against the San Gabriel Mission by rallying warriors from at least 8 villages. "At her trial, she testified that she was 'angry with the Padres and with all of those of this Mission because they had come to live and establish themselves in her land.'" (Hernandez , pg. 31) After the trial, she was imprisoned for two years before being banished from the Tongva Basin and sent to a mission in Northern California. (Hernandez, pg. 31)

On September 16th, 1821, Mexico won its Independence from Spain, which brought a significant change to the Spanish settlers residing in the Tongva Basin. “After Mexico won independence from Spain and secularized the missions, the land that was intended for Natives was instead divided into large ranchos and granted primarily to Mexican men.” (Pulido, pg.64) While the secularizations of the Missions were seen as a positive move due to freeing Natives from the Mission Padres, but it actually created devastating results which consisted of homelessness and starvation. “Secularization of Mission San Gabriel had dire consequences, and Yaanga had been the last traditional holdout of Indigenous refugees, disenfranchised souls displaced by settler colonialism”. (Alvitre) Since the arrival of Spanish padres and settlers, Tongva people were forced from their villages and into missions. Those who were able to avoid the missions had to constantly relocate due to the increasing numbers of Spanish settlers and their cattle that occupied their lands resulting them to depend on the San Gabriel Mission or work as servants for these Spanish families.

On September 14th, 1844, a little over twenty years since Mexico won its independence, the Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela would be granted to Ygnacio Machado who would build the Centinela Adobe, which would serve as the home for the ranchos future owners and survive to be over 170 years old. However according to Roy Rosenburg, Machado would soon trade Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela over to Bruno Avila for a small adobe in Los Angeles and two barrels of wine a year later. Between 1857 and 1860, Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela would have multiple owners in just a short span of years, that included a Confederate Army brigadier general and a Scottish lord. While Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela juggled owners, so did the Pueblo of Los Angeles. In 1848, California became a United States territory in result to the U.S.-Mexico war and entering into the state of union as the 31st state in 1850. Americans invaders were no

different than the previous Spanish and Mexican settlers when it came to more violence and mistreatment of Native peoples. According to Kelly Lytle Hernandez, after the U.S.-Mexico war, the U.S. military ordered the Yaanga village to move even farther from the city center.

While Americans made sure to monitor and police Tongva peoples, they also encouraged genocidal violence against them with the intention to exterminate all California Indians.

According to Hernandez, “Native elimination was one of few points of agreement between the invading Anglo-Americans and Mexican citizens in Los Angeles. Together, they launched a series of armed raids and assaults on Native communities in the hinterlands of the city.”

(Hernandez, pg.42-43) The state of California quickly began what is today referred to as the California Genocide. California’s first governor encouraged Native American extermination among all California Native, going as far as to paying bounties for every Native killed.

(Hernandez, pg.43) This genocidal violence caused about 36 years of terror and trauma that is still felt within California Native families today. Many California Native families share survival stories today on how it greatly affected their families. Some were forced to assimilate and lied about their indigeneity to officials by identifying themselves as Mexicans in order to save their families. (Miranda, *Bad Indians*)

The motive for the California Genocide was clear, it was the state of California’s solution to carry out what was believed to be the final steps of Manifest Destiny which is the complete extermination of Native Americans. Despite the extreme measures that were taken to kill off California Natives, they survived. While California was committing these genocidal atrocities, Congress worked to search more avenues to steal land from California Natives. According to Hernandez, between 1851 and 1853, the commissioners signed 18 treaties with 134 tribes, which stripped Natives from most of their lands in return a guarantee of a small but protected reserves,

supplies, and rations. In 1852, some Tongva-Gabrielino members signed a treaty and by 1853 most of them moved to the San Sebastian Reserve. (Hernandez, pg.43) However, there were strong pressures from White settlers that were against these treaties so the United States never followed through with their end. “Bowling to settler pressure, Congress enjoined the treaties with a secrecy injunction, which banned any public review or inquiry, and then dumped the unsigned agreements in the basement of the U.S. Senate archives.” (Hernandez, pg.43) These were called the “Lost Treaties” and they were never ratified before they would be broken.

In 1873, Daniel Freeman would lease and buy both Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela and Sausal Redondo. Fourteen years later, Daniel Freeman would sell part of it to be subdivided to form Inglewood which would be established as in 1888 (incorporated on February 14th, 1908). Daniel Freeman has always been referred to as the founder of Inglewood. He named the city after the place he was born in Canada and was extremely known for the beautification projects on the land, especially the trees he planted. In an interview with Flint Hindman, Grace Freeman Howland (daughter of Daniel Freeman), shared how her family has a history of being planters since a Freeman set out the first trees in Winnipeg, Canada; and Daniel Freeman planted Inglewood’s first trees.

Before we dive much deeper into Inglewood’s settler colonial history, I want readers to understand that this history of violent displacement is settler colonialism. It is a process that continues to this day that has never ended. “Conquest is a process, not an event. Taking land is not simply a matter of signing a treaty or conducting a massacre. Elaborate ideologies and attendant practices are required before, during, and after.” (Pulido, pg.64) An ideology that Tongva people no longer exist is rooted in white supremacy and has been practiced in Inglewood well into the present. It is important to acknowledge the history of where these ideologies and

practices come from because they have normalized into our daily lives that non-Native people are unable to identify why their problematic. Part of settler society is not teaching the true history of how our cities and societies are formed. When we erase the Indigenous peoples of the lands we occupy from our history books, that is an act of genocide within itself.

Settler colonialism isn't limited to treaties, massacres, and other physical actions of displacement. As mentioned by Laura Pulido, it's about elaborate ideologies and practices. Inglewood has a history of practicing settler colonialism besides displacing Tongva peoples and letting Spanish cattle devour their lands. About twenty-three years after Inglewood was incorporated officially as a city with a rising White population, the city dwellers of Inglewood began curating their own history of Inglewood. This meant that American settlers began producing a desirable history fit for a settler society that excluded Tongva-Gabrielino peoples by portraying them as ancients. "These local stories were leashed to a larger national narrative of the "vanishing Indian" as a generalized trope and disseminated not just in the form of the written word but also in a rich ceremonial cycle of pageants, commemorations, monument building, and lecture hall performance." (O'Brien, pg.xiii) On October 9th, 1931, a settler tradition was born in the city of Inglewood called "Centinela Days". Centinela Days was an annual event that was used to celebrate Inglewood's birth as a city. This was done through pageants (both theatrical and beauty contests), the public dressing up as Indians, Mexicans, and Spaniards, contests, and parades. While although Inglewood would rather glorify their Spanish beginnings, they still included Native Americans in their origin myth of Centinela Springs but in the most historically inaccurate way possible.

As I had mentioned in Chapter One, what possible drew settlers into Inglewood was the source of water produced by the Centinela Springs. However, before the Spanish arrived, there is

small but strong evidence of the possibility of a Tongva village already in Inglewood or the Centinela Springs holding significant and sacred meaning to the Tongva people. Let us revisit the previous name of Inglewood which was “Rancho Aguaje de la Centinela”, which translates into “Waters of the Sentinel”. A Sentinel is defined as “someone who watches over”, or a “protector”. Many locals have said that the name for the ranch came to be in honor of the Spanish vaqueros who watched over the cattle that grazed over these lands. However, according to Grace Freeman Howland (daughter of Daniel Freeman), the name comes from a legend, during Spanish-Indian difficulties, a native Sentinel had kept watch on the hill overlooking the depthless springs. (Hindman, pg. 326) Also, while there was an excavation in Centinela Park where the springs are located, excavators found arrowheads, tomahawks, and other Tongva-Gabrielino artifacts in the area. Could this have been the evidence of a struggle? Other legends of the springs suggest that it was a protected site by Native sentinels. While water is necessary to sustain life, Cindi Alvitre also mentions that water was very sacred to Tongva-Gabrielino peoples that they would pray by the waters and hold ceremony.

Those who organized and participated in the first Centinela Days in 1931, produced a history that would be set as the framework of how the city of Inglewood would continue to treat Native Americans for years to come. In honor of celebrating the city’s “founding”, a theatrical pageant was created to retell a settler’s version of how first contact must have been like between Tongvaavit and Spaniards. According to a 1931 *Los Angeles Times* article, “Old legends of the discovery of Centinela Springs by Indians perishing of thirst and the subsequent first coming of Spanish soldiery whose sentinels gave the sparkling springs and the wide valley its present name, merged tonight in the glamorous present with the initial offering of “The Romance of Centinela Springs” within a stone’s throw of the old spring and the new pump house that now carries its

waters into the homes of Inglewood.” (L. P. Hamilton , 1931) Instead of telling the truth, settlers decided to romanticize the displacement of Tongva people and provide a false and inaccurate perspective of history.

The pageant was directed and written by a White man named Alfred E. Chamberlain who also wrote some of the songs to this play. The entire cast of this play were White Americans who portrayed Spaniards and Indians. Those who played Indians wore costumes that were nothing like California Native regalia but were designed to mimic the regalia of Native American tribes of the Great Plains. The actors also wore “redface”, painting themselves brown to put themselves “into character”. Chamberlain gave them “Indian names” such as Princess Centinela, Chief Wam-bal-aska, Natoma, Silver Cloud, and White Eagle to name a few. Chamberlain gave such a first impression that the main the pageant was performed annually, usually on the last day of Centinela Days festivities featured as the grand event. Aside from the pageant, some townsfolks who participated in Centinela Days would dress up as Indians, wearing fake regalia and “war paint”. (see *Figure 3*)



Figure 3: Image from “Highlights of Inglewood History” book created by the senior class of Inglewood High School in 1971.



Figure 4: Los Angeles Times article, Oct 10th, 1931. “Years Rolled Back in Romantic California Drama”.

“The Romance of Centinela Springs” pageant is one of the subtle yet violent forms of settler colonialism. For one, this pageant erases Tongva-Gabrielino people and misrepresents California Native culture completely. In its entire history of Centinela Days, the name Tongva nor Gabrielino was never used at all to name the “Indians of Inglewood”. By generalizing Native peoples instead of identifying them to their distinct nations, it allows settlers to disregard diverse Native/Indigenous cultures, languages, and communities. The White settlers that organized this pageant together created their own depiction of what an “Indian” is and how they’re supposed to behave, which was to be docile, uncivilized, and to be on the brink of extinction. This is visible through the lack of research and cultural humility that was done to depict a reenactment first contact between Tongvaavit and Spaniards. Centinela Days was an annual tradition that begun in

1931 that was unstably ran until the late 1970's. According to a Los Angeles Times article from 1967, residents who remembered the first Centinela Days recalled it being birthed to bring the community together during the Great Depression. (Inglewood to Fete Old Centinela Days) While the townsfolk of Inglewood romanticized 'Spanish and Indian days', Tongva-Gabrielino folks were struggling with federal recognition, displacement, and forced assimilation.



Figure 5: Los Angeles Times, July 31st, 1933. "Pageant Will Feature Celebration".

The Native American characters in “The Romance of Centinela Springs” were portrayed as a people of the past in “need” of saving, thus creating a white-savior narrative as the “Spanish sentinels” arrived and saved them from dying. Then the pageant also decided to incorporate the stereotypical “Indian Princess” romanization through the character Princess Centinela and her forbidden love for the Spanish general Don Antonio Rivera. After the clash for the springs, the pageant ends with the Native and Spanish people becoming friends and agreeing to share ownership over the springs. There is no historical accuracy in this pageant but the awareness of a struggle over the Centinela Springs between Natives and Spaniards. This pageant is dangerous because it reproduced a false origin story of a settler colonial town and erases Tongva peoples by using these pageant characters to generalize them into the “Indian” stereotype. Through the character Princess Centinela, they portrayed Tongva women wearing beaded buckskin instead of regalia that represents her land and village. The pageant lead peoples to believe that the Tongva-Gabrielino became friends with Spaniards and happily gave up their land to White settlers as they eventually “disappeared” throughout time.

One of Inglewood’s ideas to remember its original stewards is by memorializing them through school mascots for one of their high schools. Inglewood High School (then called Inglewood Union High School) are known as the Sentinels, to commemorate the sentinels that guarded the Centinela Springs. However, as I had mentioned before local historians have different perspectives of who the sentinels really were. There are more accounts that label the sentinels as Spanish vaqueros guarding the springs and cattle, but the earliest of accounts such as the one told by Daniel Freeman’s daughter Grace Freeman Howland, the sentinels were Native people. I have reason to believe both accounts because there is evidence from an excavation of Centinela Park from 1934 that proved the Centinela Springs were occupied by Tongva-

Gabrielino people. Also, as told by Tongva-Gabrielino community members, water is a very sacred element to Tongva-Gabrielino culture. Even if the sentinels were actually Spaniards, who would they be protecting the cattle and springs from during a time of violent Tongva displacement and uprisings? Another reason why I believe the first sentinels of Centinela Springs were Native people, is because Inglewood High School chose a Native mascot to represent their school instead Spaniards despite popular local tales.

While many non-Native people try to argue that Native mascots are not harmful, the truth is their opinions do not matter because they're not affected at all by its harmful effects as they benefit off of colonial relationships. By Inglewood High School choosing to have a "Indian mascot is a form of erasure and further perpetuates racism against Native peoples. According to an article by the National Congress of American Indians, "derogatory "Indian" sports mascots have serious psychological, social and cultural consequences for Native Americans, especially Native youth." (*Ending the Era of Harmful "Indian" Mascots*) The mascot originates from the story about the first contact between Natives and Spaniards at Centinela Springs. "Indian" mascots dehumanize Native and Indigenous people by portraying them as stereotypes and caricatures. It reinforces a national attitude amongst settlers that Native Americans should be seen as unhuman and treated disrespectfully or violently. As stated by the NCAI, "Indian' mascots cause serious harmful consequences especially onto Native youth who attend these schools."

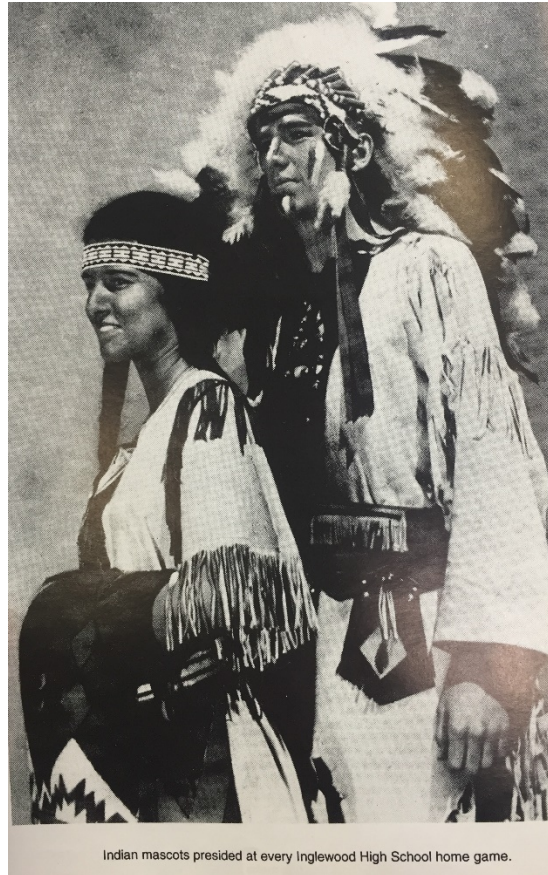


Figure 6: Source: The History of Inglewood by Gladys Waddingham

Inglewood High School portrays their “Indian” mascot very stereotypically in various ways over the years. Their school seal features two “Indian” warriors holding tomahawks and a shield, standing on each side of the letter “I” that stands for Inglewood. According to local historian Gladys Waddingham, at every Inglewood High School home football game, two high school students would dress up as “Indian” mascots; one would be a male sentinel donned with a headdress and the other would be a female “Indian” princess or maiden while both in redface. The Inglewood High School marching band would perform a fight song fit for their mascots to perform to and rile up the crowd with “war drum” beats. Sometime during the 1980’s or 1990’s, the “Indian” mascot would change again but this time excluding the “Indian” maiden to just the “Indian” sentinel warrior. Students would no longer wear redface, a headdress, and fake regalia

but instead wear a costume suit with exaggerated caricature features resembling much like controversial baseball team, the Cleveland Indians' infamous mascot "Chief Wahoo".



Figure 7: An Inglewood High School student identification card from the 1970s.

Inglewood High School's "Indian" mascot was part of the high school football tradition, entertaining the crowd with tomahawk chops or standing stoically, arms crossed as he'd nod his head to each first strong accent note of the "war drum" beat. The high school would continue to use this stereotypical caricature outside of football games by placing him on student identification cards, athletic uniforms, or murals. (See Figure 6) When schools and sport teams are challenged about their intentions with "Indian" mascots, they frequently respond about it is their way to "honor" or remember Native people. However, what is truthfully meant by this in a settler society is that they would rather remember or "honor" Native Americans as characters they can mold at will to their wild imaginations instead of acknowledging them as human beings with a rich culture and history dating back to time immemorial. "They suggest, not simply Indians, but particular *kinds* of Indian activity, namely, war dances and other forms of menacing behavior, easily associated with images of Indian violence and savagery." (Deloria, pg.194) It is

settler colonial actions like these that normalizes violence onto Indigenous people and creates settler complicity.

Around 2017, Inglewood High School's "Indian" mascot was finally discontinued and replaced with the imagery of a trojan or just the letter "I", ending its infamous legacy that is predicted to have been born in the 1930's or 1940's. I chose to include Centinela Days in the name of this chapter because it was through this town tradition that bore the framework of Inglewood's settler society that was part of a national agenda of eliminating Native American people. "These ideas [Indians could never be modern] provided fertile ground for the idea of extinction, a mythology that obliterated the fact of Indian survival and fostered the dominant ideology ... informed a developing national ideology about Indians." (O'Brien , pg. xxii) It was because of Centinela Days that Inglewood High School most likely became inspired to have an "Indian" mascot which would also inspire other Inglewood schools to do the same. When we see "Indian" mascots or pageants like "The Romance of Centinela Springs", we do not see Tongva-Gabrielino people. We see a racist character created by the imaginations of colonizers who imagined Native people to be non-human or nonexistent, so that settlers can keep reaping the land for themselves and become the "new Natives".

As someone who has had her entire k-12 education from the Inglewood Unified School District, I can say I was never taught about the Tongva-Gabrielino people. While I was required to build a replica of a California mission in the fourth grade, my fourth grade teacher nor textbooks included anything about California Native people nor their enslavement under the missions. After going through Inglewood's history, it comes as no surprise that education would also be used as a tool to eradicate Tongva-Gabrielino and other Native Americans from history books and lessons. Despite that Inglewood High School might have discontinued their "Indian"

mascot, today students still enter through the main school gate welcomed by the “Indian” head that is placed at the foot of the flagpole where the JROTC visit every morning to hoist the United States and California flags. An eerie reminder of how the Spanish used decapitated “Indian” heads to ward off Tongva people and discourage uprisings many decades ago.

Chapter 3 – White Flight

“Inglewood was bound and determined to stay all white. The black people living in Watts wanted the right to live where they wanted. That kind of conflict can’t help but spill over into the next generation.” – Rick Beam, Inglewood resident⁴

When we think about the integration of schools in the United States, we instantly refer to *Brown vs Board of Education*, which stopped school segregation across the United States and made equal opportunity in education possible. However, the implementation to integrate schools since its ruling in 1954 took generations to happen. Any resident from Inglewood who lived in the community in the last 20 to 45 years can tell you that Inglewood’s schools didn’t begin integration until 1970. “By 1970, the city’s schools had 2,500 black children among 14,000 students, but they were clustered on a handful of campuses. Inglewood High had only 17 black students, while Morningside High had more than 600”. (A Painful Lesson in Division) In this chapter, I will discuss how forced integration of Inglewood schools caused “White Flight,” a phenomenon that occurs when more people of color move into a neighborhood and White residents move out and “flee” to another predominantly White neighborhood. (Paperson , 2010) I will also show how Inglewood’s Ku Klux Klan history and the reactions to the Watts riots contributed to White Flight in the 1970s. I will still continue to highlight the Indigenous presence in Inglewood that remained during this time despite settler colonial violence that tried to erase it. Lastly, the theme of this chapter is to show how racial violence – the active attempts to eradicate Indigenous people and the terrorizing and policing of Black and Brown people – is intertwined with settler colonialism through what scholar La Paperson [K. Wayne Yang] calls Ghetto colonialism.

⁴ <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-aug-28-me-inglewood28-story.html>

La Paperson suggests Ghetto colonialism as a specialization of settler colonialism, taking place at the intersection between Indigenous displacement and Black dislocation. La Paperson writes: “ If Native land is imperialism’s frontier, the ‘outpost, the fort and the port’ (Smith 1999, 22), then the ghetto is imperialism’s interior frontier: the outcast, the alley and the underground. It is empire's outlawed life. Settler colonial eyes see the ghetto as sacred wasteland that may be re-inhabited by anybody, with impunity.” (116-117) La Paperson suggests that “ghettos” serve to contain Black people and other people of color in order to preserve all White communities. (Paperson , 2010) It is important to unpack history to show the relationship between settler colonialism and gentrification.

We also need understand how Inglewood became labeled as a ghetto and examine the racial tension that occurred that may have caused this demographic shift. In *The Postcolonial Ghetto: Seeing Her Shape and His Hand*, La Paperson gives a great breakdown of the purpose and history of ghettos. “A typical dictionary definition of the ghetto includes three important elements: walls (containment of bodies), legal and civil divestment (economic deprivation of those contained), and racial marking (minority status of the bodies contained). But this ‘racialization of space and spatialization of race’ (Lipsitz, 2007, p. 10) is historically black, and thus articulated with blackness in the case of U.S. ghettos.” (Paperson , 2010). The creations of ghettos in the United States has been made possible through forms of systemic racism such as redlining which will also be discussed in this chapter since Inglewood has a history of it.

In Chapter 1, I reviewed a Tongva history of Inglewood because that is the history that is rarely to never spoken about the city. We explored how certain markers in the city of Inglewood reflect unquestionable Tongva presence. Chapter 2 continues Tongva history and struggle in both Inglewood and Los Angeles as Spanish, Mexican, and American settlers invade their ancestral

lands. The main focus of the chapter was to show settler colonialism was destructive to Tongva people and their land, as well as how Inglewood's founding and White population came to be through the means of eradicating Indigenous people. We uncovered Inglewood's history of racist school mascots and red minstrel pageants that reproduced a historical inaccurate representation of Tongva people and history. In Chapter 3, we will be focusing on how "White Flight" caused a major demographic shift in Inglewood, creating it into the predominantly Black and Brown neighborhood since the 1980s and evolving into ghetto colonialism.

Ku Klux Klan in Inglewood

I would like to return us back to the early 1920s in Inglewood's history because there is a specific event that is rarely discussed. That page is about Inglewood's history with the "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan". According to local historian Roy Rosenburg, in 1921 and 1922 there was high Ku Klux Klan activity in Inglewood since many residents were participants. Rosenburg writes: "Many of the city's best known residents were identified with the movement, officialdom was saturated with it, and neighbors and friends of long standing became enemies". (Rosenberg) Inglewood's Ku Klux Klan branch was notoriously known for their raids and cross burnings. Since members were police officers and other government officials, they were rarely brought to justice. They would break another newspaper headline in 1922 when they decided to raid a local bootlegger (since this is during the Prohibition era) where shots were exchanged, leaving two men dead, including a Medford Mosher, and one wounded.

After the incident, there was large reaction from the rest of the Ku Klux Klan members as well as the family members of those who died during the raid. An article published by the Sacramento Bee on April 23rd, 1924, two years after the raid, states, "Several thousand unmasked Ku Klux Klansmen paraded silently through the streets of Inglewood, near here, last night,

bearing placards with the device: 'In memory of Med Mosher.' Constable Medford Mosher, Klansman, was killed in the Inglewood Ku Klux Klan raid two years ago. Hundreds of women paraded with the Klansmen". (The Sacramento Bee) We must think critically of this event. Even after two years of the raid, Klansmen gathered and marched through the streets of Inglewood in Medford Mosher's memory. They did so unmasked and with women alongside them. This was a clear message being sent from many residents in Inglewood and was *allowed* to happen without consequence to many Klansmen or women. While I do acknowledge that there were residents who were against Ku Klux Klan activity in Inglewood and their mission, we cannot overlook how the unchecked actions of the KKK molded Inglewood's future regarding racial violence against Black and Brown people.

While there are few narrations of this raid, there is no question that the news traveled feverously throughout the country causing uproar from other Klan members. According to a *Los Angeles Times* article written by Scott Harrison, Inglewood was then the county's agricultural hub and the nation's fastest-growing city while also being one of the highest active Ku Klux Klan cities in Southern California during the 1920s. Harrison writes: "And to keep it a white Protestant town, Klansmen posted signs that read 'Caucasian-only'". There are many Black elders who lived in Los Angeles during this period in time that remember segregated Los Angeles as well as which towns to avoid passing through after dark (often referred to as Sundown Towns). According to Kelly Lytle Hernandez, Black men and women had to pass by Sundown Towns during early morning hours and return home before dark, otherwise if they were in the area after dark they'd be policed or met with violence by White residents.

Histories of racial violence and intimidation are familiar stories in communities of color. When I was an undergraduate sophomore, I met an older returning student who remembered

Inglewood back when it was a predominately White town and the horror stories of racial terror that came from it. She recounted a memory to me about a Black professional who tried to move into Inglewood and how almost immediately a cross was burn across his lawn. He and his family moved out shortly after that. Another story from an ex-Inglewood resident and former NBA player Reggie Theus recounts a moment during his youth when he was harassed by White Inglewood police officers:

Reggie Theus had lived in Inglewood long enough to believe that black people weren't wanted. In his junior year, on Christmas Eve, the lanky, budding basketball star and two teammates were forced from a local hamburger joint by police who "rolled up, sirens flashing, guns out, put us against the car and handcuffed us," Theus recalled. The officers were looking for three tall black guys with afros -- "just about any black kid in Inglewood in those days" -- who had snatched gifts from an elderly white couple. Theus and his friends were on their way home from the gym. One officer dared the boys to run. "All I want for Christmas," the policeman told them, "is to shoot a n***** in the back." (A Painful Lesson in Division)



Figure 8: March 6, 1922: Members of the Ku Klux Klan at funeral services for a member at Inglewood Cemetery. (Los Angeles Times)

White Flight and Racial Tension

Inglewood would continue to have Ku Klux Klan activity all throughout the 1920s and well into the 1930s. Even if KKK activity died down, racism still lingered in these neighborhoods which often appeared through police brutality, redlining and school segregation. As noted earlier, *Brown v. Board of Education* ended school segregation nationwide in 1954 but Inglewood didn't begin actively integrating their schools until 1970. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Inglewood High School's Class of 1975 was "a product of the district's court ordered desegregation in 1970 that delivered hundreds of black students to a campus that had been virtually all white for half a century.". Due to Black parents advocating for their children to be allowed to attend Inglewood's public schools, they were able to win a case against the Inglewood Unified School District accusing them of racial polarization. Thus, IUSD were court ordered to immediately integrate their schools, so by fall of 1970 they began cross-town busing Black students. (A Painful Lesson in Division) When the Watts Riots happened on August 11th, 1965, it caused fear and anxiety into some Los Angeles residents causing demographic shifts among certain Los Angeles cities like Inglewood.

To put events into simpler words, Black residents from Watts wanted to escape violence from the aftermath of the Watts Riots by moving into Inglewood in hopes to provide safety for their families and better education opportunities for their children. Due to Inglewood bordering Watts, White residents were afraid Inglewood would be the next target for looting and fires while also disfavoring the idea of Black people moving into the neighborhood, so they left Inglewood. The *Los Angeles Times* writes: "The Watts riots in 1965 spurred white residents to flee and opened the city's doors to minorities. By 1970, Inglewood had more than 10,000 blacks among

its 90,000 citizens.” (2) It was the Watts Riots that sparked this growth of Black residents into the city of Inglewood. Unfortunately, many Black residents were not welcomed and faced racism by many White residents along with police brutality and school segregation.



Figure 9 Access to this collection is generously supported by Arcadia funds., 1970 SCHOOL INTEGRATED--Students arriving by buses at La Tijera school in Inglewood are directed to their classes while other students wait to board the same buses to be taken to other schools.

While these young Black students were indeed breaking barriers by attending schools that once served only White students, it did not guarantee them safety from experiencing racist harassment from their White classmates and peers. The Black students from Inglewood High School’s class of 1975 can attest that school integration did not fulfil its promise of racial equality and friendship. “Crowds of whites -- adults and students -- would rock the bus and yell racial slurs. Blacks who dared to answer back were jumped and beaten in the hallways between classes.” (Los Angeles Times, 2008) The Black students of Class of ’75 faced relentless discrimination and harassment throughout all four years of their high school career. Even if not

every student was beaten, all of them were subjected to the environment of racial violence and peril. According to a 2008 article examining the Class of '75, "More than half the whites from the class of '75 left before their senior year. The rich kids from Ladera Heights moved to places such as Beverly Hills and the Palos Verdes Peninsula. The working-class kids from Inglewood transferred to whiter schools outside the city, such as Westchester and El Segundo." (Los Angeles Times, 2008) As more Black students began attending Inglewood High, fewer White students remained. Many White families chose to move elsewhere thus causing the final stages of White Flight from Inglewood.

By 1980, Inglewood was a mostly Black community and became predominantly Black and Latino by 1990 and remained so up to the present. However, just because White residents "fled" didn't mean that the racism left with them. Racism stayed in Inglewood, it just took on different manifestations through redlining and police brutality. The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) was born in 1933 as part of President Roosevelt's New Deal plan to rescue households at risk of defaulting on mortgages due to the Great Depression. Daniel G. Cumming of New York University writes: "A key tool in this endeavor were Residential Security Maps, known notoriously as "redlining maps." Appraisers color-coded entire neighborhoods according to their credit risk, rewriting the terms under which residents could secure a home loan." (Cumming, pg. 86) Redlining created the foundation of how the city of Los Angeles would be racialized which still permeates to this day. In Figure 3, I have included the 1939 map that was created by HOLC that visibly color coats the city of Los Angeles. On this map, grade A and B (blue and green) zones were considered "safe" locations that was populated mostly by White residents and middle/upper class families. However, grade C and D (yellow and red) zones were labeled as the "unsafe" parts of neighborhoods where uncoincidentally Black, Mexican, Asian,

and other ethnicities lived whom were also of either middle or lower income families. If we look closely at Inglewood, we can see how the city is split in half where North Inglewood (closest to the oilfields and Baldwin Hills), is Blue and Green and South Inglewood (bordered by South Central and South Los Angeles) is Red and Yellow.

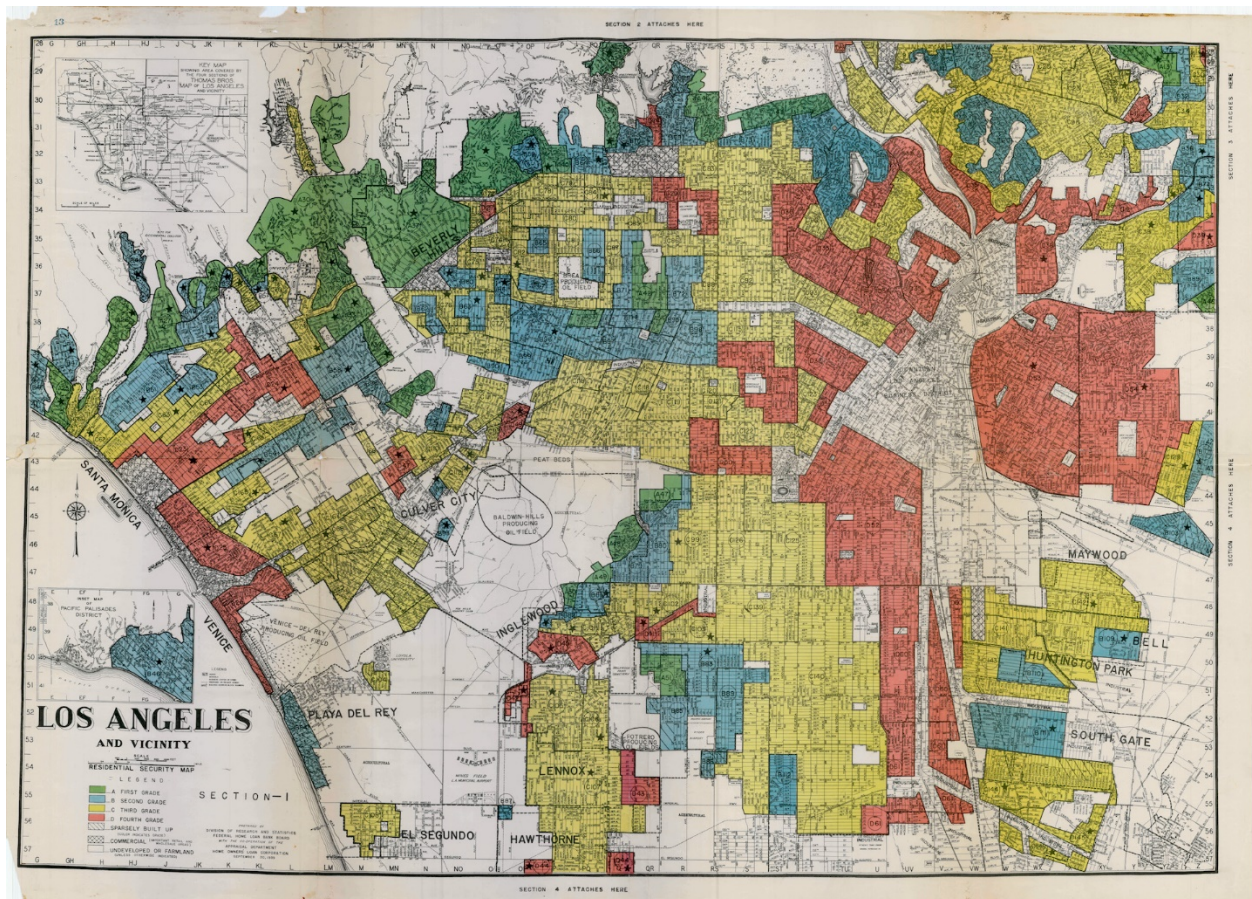


Figure 10: 1939 HOLC "redlining" map of central Los Angeles, courtesy of kcet.org, [LaDale Winling](http://LaDaleWinling.com) and urbanoasis.org.

The way this map of Los Angeles is color-coded is not by accident. Redlining did more than ensuring what areas could insure consumers a home loan. Redlining created a racial hierarchy that affected the property values of a community which then affected the overall distribution of wealth, education, and resources in cities. "Following WWII, African Americans

and Mexicans migrated in unprecedented numbers to metropolitan Los Angeles only to be denied home loans everywhere but the city's redlined neighborhoods. Decades of civil rights activism helped knock down barriers to fair housing, but pathways out of the city often led residents to its redlined petro-suburbs. Black and brown communities found themselves locked in toxic neighborhoods intimate to noxious industry, environments of 'slow violence' that undermined residents' wealth and health for generations (Nixon 2011)." (Cumming, pg. 87) For a long time, red-lining and other tactics were used by real estate companies to prevent selling homes to people of color in white neighborhoods. This was done to maintain whiteness in certain neighborhoods and uphold White supremacy as an organizing structure of society.

Turning to Inglewood in particular, North Inglewood was sectioned off as the "safe" part of town due to it being color coded in Blue and Green. However, let's explore why that is and why Inglewood was a predominantly White town for such a long time. As explored in the first two chapters, it had greatly to do with the land. Colonizers were drawn to the Centinela Springs and considered it a great water source that would at one point sustain the city's reputation as one of the nation's fastest growing agricultural centers. There was another characteristic of the land that made Inglewood valuable: oil. The city of Inglewood sits right next to the Newport-Inglewood fault line, which produced oil in the Baldwin Hills/ North Inglewood area. Cumming explains, "A neighborhood's proximity to oil production clearly shaped appraisers' evaluations, but only when combined with 'racial subversion' did the presence of oil actually produce a downgrade...In redlined Inglewood, for example, 'adjacency [sic] to oil wells and industry, proximity to city dump and presence of inharmonious racial elements, renders an improved grade highly questionable' (D40 HOLC 1939)." (Cumming, pg. 100) The Inglewood Oil Fields began

production in 1924 so when HOLC formed and created the map shown in Figure 3, the division of colors in Inglewood becomes self-explanatory due to the proximity of the oil fields.

Redlining wasn't the only thing that continued to oppress Black and Brown residents in Inglewood, but also police brutality and negative stereotyping of the community. When Inglewood became a predominantly Black and Latinx community by the 1980s, a reputation began to form over Inglewood. Mainstream news media would broadcast all over Los Angeles about Inglewood's increase of crime and poverty rates. In 1993, the Federal Bureau of Investigation named Inglewood the 14th highest murder rate in its annual Crime in the United States report. (Slater) Due to such reports, Inglewood was labeled one of the most dangerous cities of not only Los Angeles but of the entire nation. This reputation for criminality influenced a lyric in 2pac Shakur's 1996 song *California Love*, "Inglewood up to no good" which would be used to describe Inglewood for generations. (2pac)

Police brutality in Inglewood is an epidemic that gets little to no attention. On July 9th, 2002, sixteen year old Donovan Jackson was attacked by officers at a local gas station in Inglewood. According to *The Guardian*, "Donovan, who suffers from hearing, speech and learning difficulties, was returning to his car after paying for petrol when the officers told him to drop the crisps he was eating and put his hands on the car."⁵ Donovan and his father were approached over expired license plates but then the situation exploded with cops using excessive force on Jackson. A bystander was able to video tape the entire encounter of Jackson being slammed onto the hood of the car where he was beaten and strangled by officers. Donovan and his family sought justice especially since there was video evidence of the incident but

⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/mar/09/usa.garyyounge1>

unfortunately Donovan did not win his case. Instead the officers who were being charged decided to sue for defamation and won some sort of settlement.

Many Black and Brown residents have died at the hands of the police here in Inglewood and those who survived rarely receive justice. One case happened on February 21st, 2016 when a Black couple was shot 20 times by Inglewood police officers while sleeping in their car. According to *Los Angeles Times*, the officers were responding to a call about suspicious activity in Chevy, the same car that the couple was sleeping in. The officers claimed that one of them had a gun and pointed it towards them but this information is still not confirmed because the incident report didn't state what started the shooting. The city of Inglewood paid a \$8.6 million settlement to the couple's families and fired the 5 police officers who shot them, but not the two sergeants who gave the command to shoot. (Stoltze) While there were some victories won in this case, it does not excuse Inglewood police officers opening fire on a Black couple who were sleeping in a car. According to *The Vox*, "On December 22 [2018], the Los Angeles Times reported that the city of Inglewood (outside Los Angeles) had authorized the destruction of more than 100 police records dating back to 1991, days before a new state law allowing the public to access police records takes effect." (Lockhart) It raises so much suspicion but yet brings no surprise that Inglewood city officials are attempting to clean the city's violent record as the city further transforms due to the progression of the SoFi stadium.



Figure 11: SFGate - Inglewood Police officers are shown, in this image taken from video, holding a handcuffed 16-year-old boy [Donovan Jackson] against a squad car Saturday, July 6, 2002 in Inglewood, Calif. Lt. Eve Irvine says that Inglewood Officer Jeremy Morse, center, who was videotaped pushing the boy onto the back of a car and then striking him during an arrest has been relieved of duty. (AP Photo/Mitchell Crooks)

The point I am making here is that police brutality wasn't a problem back when Inglewood was a predominately White town. As mentioned before, the cops and city council members used to be Klansmen. Heavy police presence and neighborhood surveillance happened after White Flight which is blamed on gang-violence. Let us remember that gangs or cliques formed in Inglewood at first to protect each other from racist White students and residents who terrorized Black youth. According to a *Los Angeles Times* article, "Violent street gangs had made their way to Inglewood from South Los Angeles. 'In ninth and 10th grade we had to worry about the white kids,' Lewis [Inglewood High Alumni] said. 'When we got to 11th grade, we had to worry about the Crips.'" (Los Angeles Times, 2005) When we think about the formation of street gangs, we need to think critically of class and the environment the youth are growing up in. Many youth who do become involved in gangs usually come from low-income backgrounds which puts them in desperate situations for some kind of access to financial resource. I am not validating crime; I am simply demonstrating how things like redlining and police brutality are

interconnected. When redlining affects a community's access to resources, it is reflected in poverty and crime rates due to community members having to make difficult decisions as a means of survival.

Urban NDNs In Inglewood

Throughout these developments, the Indigenous presence in Inglewood persisted. After the secularization of the San Gabriel Mission, most of the Tongva people were not allowed any land due to the land being given to non-Natives. This happened despite promises that the Mission lands would be redistributed to Tongva people. The Tongva who did not receive land, either stayed and worked in one of the ranchos around the area or the Pueblo of Los Angeles or left Los Angeles completely. According to William McCawley, in the early 1900s Tongva people became very politically active in order to establish a role in American society. "In 1924 the United States government granted citizenship to all American Indians, in part out of recognition and gratitude for their service in the First World War, and in part to further the government's goal of assimilating them into the general population. As a landless urban tribe, the Tongva well understood the importance of citizenship." (Jurmain and McCawley, pg. 31) Tongva people worked hard during the 1920s and 30s to gain citizenship and federal recognition, in order to receive equal protections from the law and to have the ability to vote. (Jurmain and McCawley, pg. 32)

During the span of the 1920s to 1950s, Tongva people were also politically active in fighting for compensation over the land that was taken from them due to the eighteen treaties that were never ratified by the U.S. Senate which was successful. However, many Tongva people felt that they did not want compensation in money but in land instead. (Jurmain and McCawley , pg. 34) Many Tongva community members and their descendants continue to live all around Los

Angeles county fighting for many causes such as federal recognition, protection of sacred sites and artifacts and so much more. (Jurmain and McCawley , pg. 39)

Besides Tongva people and the neighboring Chumash and Fernandeano Tataviam peoples, Los Angeles became the home to other Native Americans from various tribes. “Around the nineteenth century and pre-the United States Federal Relocation Program (1948-1973), surrounding California Native Americans first migrated to the Los Angeles area for agricultural and domestic employment (e.g. masons, carpenters, plasterers, soap-makers, tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, millers, bakers, cooks, spinners, shepherds, and vaqueros).” (Mapping Indigenous LA) Around this time, many Native Americans were also moving into Los Angeles due to the film industry hiring Natives for Western films. “Most scholarship on Native urban diasporas focuses on the Urban Indian Relocation Program of the 1950s. But the transnational Indigenous community in the Los Angeles area is much older, spanning from the precontact era through the first decades of the twentieth century to the present as Native actors moved to Hollywood to establish their careers.” (Raheja, 2011) Natives who live in Urban cities are usually called “Urban NDNs”, who live far from their homelands and have to navigate city life or are Native Americans whose homelands were transformed into Urban cities like the Tongva.

According to *Mapping Indigenous LA*, Los Angeles is home to the largest Urban Native population of any city in the United States.⁶ Inglewood would become home to some of this Urban Native population with one notable resident. Jim Thorpe of the Sac and Fox and Potawatomi Nations was an Olympic gold medalist and served as the first NFL President. When Jim Thorpe began his acting career in the film industry he lived in Inglewood for some time

⁶ <https://mila.ss.ucla.edu/>

during the 1940s before moving to Detroit, Michigan. What lead Thorpe to reside in Inglewood you may ask? Thorpe's wife at the time, Margaret Irma Miller, is a Cherokee woman and graduate from Carlisle Indian School where she met Thorpe. Miller had a brother who lived in Inglewood with his family which became the perfect location for Thorpe and Miller to move to when Thorpe decided to pursue a career in the film industry. It allowed Miller to be close to her family while supporting Thorpe's acting career. According to a *Los Angeles Times* article, Jim Thorpe's home was located two blocks away from where the Hollywood Park Casino and The Forum currently stand. During Thorpe's day, it would've been known as just the Hollywood Park Race Track since the Casino didn't open until 1994 and the Forum wasn't built until the late 1960s. (Thorpe Battles to Free Indians)

While the population of Native Americans has been steadily low in Inglewood, it does not mean that the presence of Indigenous peoples had vanished. As a matter of fact, there has been a growing population of residents who are part of Indigenous communities from Mexico and Central America since the 1980s or perhaps even earlier. According to *Mapping Indigenous LA*, Los Angeles has a large population of the Indigenous Latin America diaspora ranging from indigenous communities from Oaxaca to Maya communities from Guatemala. In Inglewood, there hasn't been any written accounts about the Indigenous Latin America diaspora but many who reside in the community know it's here. As a community member myself, I had many friends in high school who were Zapotec or Mixtec, which are Indigenous communities from Oaxaca, Mexico.

Without a doubt, there are so many others who reside in Inglewood that share this identity but Indigenous people from Latin America often have their indigeneity erased by Latinidad. (Lopez, 2019) While non-Indigenous people may think that Indigenous people from

Latin America face the same struggles as Latinx people, it's not completely true. While many Indigenous people from Latin America do share common struggles like immigration, there are still unique experiences that greatly differ from non-Indigenous Latinos. One example is while Latinos face the language barrier between just Spanish and English, there are Indigenous people from Latin America who still speak their Indigenous dialects and barely know or just learned Spanish. ⁷ "According to the Department of Justice, Mam was the ninth most common language used in immigration courts last year, more common than French. Three Guatemalan Mayan languages made the top twenty-five: Mam, K'iche', and Q'anjob'al." (Nolan) Thus, when immigrating to the United States they are forced to learn a third language and since there are hardly any accessible resources for learning English this has become an issue for Indigenous people from Latin America. If the city of Inglewood stopped and took the time learn about these issues and complexities of Indigeneity, they'd find that Inglewood has a significant Native and Indigenous population.

All in all, Inglewood has an intense history of racial violence and inequalities to people of color. No matter how hard the city tries to erase Native and Indigenous people with mascots and inaccurate historical depictions, Tongva and other Native and Indigenous people are still here and live in Inglewood. As for the Black and Latino residents of Inglewood, ever since White Flight (and even before), Black and Brown bodies are threatened and with gentrification caused by the SoFi Stadium are pushing low-income families out and causing local businesses to compete with outsiders.

⁷ <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/01/06/a-translation-crisis-at-the-border>

Gentrification and settler colonialism are intertwined with each other. In Chapter 4, I will be explaining how they are interconnected with each and cause great harm to communities of color. Many communities in Los Angeles like East Los Angeles and Compton have led effective and powerful anti-gentrification movements, however, what I've noticed is that Tongva and other Indigenous voices are missing during these movements. While decolonization is a term that is popularly used in Los Angeles' social justice community, I will discuss what decolonization means through Eve Tuck's *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor* and what steps are needed to be "decolonial" if folks want to mobilize against gentrification. I will also be unpacking the term "settler" and who is and isn't a settler. My goal for this chapter is to incite non-Indigenous people to think about what are ways we can honor Tongva and Indigenous peoples while also advocating for other people of color who are being negatively impacted by gentrification?

Chapter 4: Gentrification and Settler Colonialism, Hand in Hand

“You can’t hate it until you love it” – Jimmie from The Last Black Man in San Francisco

‘This is our ‘hood. If you move us out of here, we’re lost.’ – Major Stewart, Inglewood resident⁸

In the end of the film, *The Last Black Man in San Francisco*, there is a short scene and dialogue between three characters. The main character, Jimmie, is a young Black man who grew up in the Filmore District of San Francisco in a house that was said to be built by his grandfather. However, San Francisco like other surrounding Bay Area cities faces gentrification as it pushes out low-income communities of color. Jimmie and his family are pushed out of the Filmore District and the house that meant so much to them. Towards the final scenes, Jimmie is sitting in the bus reflecting while he is on his way back home and two White women enter and sit in close proximity to him. They are discussing how much they hate San Francisco, naming its flaws and how better life was before they moved there. Jimmie tells one of them that they can’t hate San Francisco and the entitled White woman proceeds to tell Jimmie that she has the freedom to hate whatever she wants. Jimmie tells her, “you can’t hate it here until you love it.” (Talbot , 2019)

That single quote, while it may seem simple felt so heavy and powerful. I remember feeling its impact and then suddenly feeling sadness because I started thinking of Inglewood. I thought about the outsiders who are moving into our neighborhoods thinking about what a great investment or deal they made. They do not think at all about the Black or Brown family they pushed out. They don’t think of Saa’anga nor Tongva-Gabrielino peoples. The house or land they buy is just another property of convenience and wealth for them. The city of Inglewood claims that SoFi Stadium is going to bring economic and social renewal but what do they mean

⁸ <https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-inglewood-gentrification-rent-crenshaw-rams-stadium-20190410-htmlstory.html>

by renewal? It is impossible to think of economic and social renewal without racism and classism. One of the justifications for the construction of SoFi stadium were the job opportunities that it could offer as well as how the tourism could help local small businesses flourish. (Jennings)⁹ However, residents with low-income backgrounds weren't prepared for the rise in rent and local businesses weren't ready to compete with big brand stores.

I was shocked learning about how the construction of the SoFi stadium is nearly under 5 billion dollars because many residents can think of better ideas of how to spend the money that could not only better our community but also keep our homes.¹⁰ (Clarke) According to *The Washington Post*, this is the most expensive stadium in NFL history and is nearly about three times larger than Disneyland. It is very frustrating to see projects like this happen because I think of who have been pushed out of school or lost their life or a loved one to police brutality or violence. I think about our youth who have so much potential but are hardly ever given the resources to let their creativity flourish. Many residents who have thought of a better future for Inglewood have been told by councilmembers and city officials that there isn't anything in the budget for these requests. But yet somehow the city can find a way to build a 5 billion dollar stadium?

While I feel so many emotions of anger and frustration about how gentrification is affecting my community here in Inglewood, I always have to remind myself to take a step back and think critically of this moment in time. I must remind myself that these are not my ancestral homelands, this is Tongva-Gabrielino land. The Tongva-Gabrielino peoples and their

¹⁰ https://www.washingtonpost.com/sports/the-rams-5-billion-stadium-is-bigger-than-disneyland-it-might-be-perfect-for-la/2019/01/26/7c393898-20c3-11e9-8e21-59a09ff1e2a1_story.html

descendants are still alive and continue to be displaced and have their homelands exploited.

While I am not a White person, even as a person of color I too can still perpetuate Whiteness and settler colonialism. I know that this is going to be an uneasy section to read however, if one is to truly call them self an ally to Indigenous peoples or “decolonized”, it is important to reflect on your own privileges as settlers.

To begin, let’s define the term settler. According to Mohawk scholar, Sandra Styres, “the term settler serves to make the necessary distinction between the Indigenous peoples of a particular place and those whose roots originate elsewhere – often Europe, but it can also refer to anyone seeking to live on Indigenous peoples’ traditional territories and who benefit from the privileges of colonial relationships”. (Styres, pg. 31) While of course no one comes to the so-called United States thinking they are ready to occupy Indigenous lands; that is not the argument. Part of settler colonial life is being able to go about your day and not even have to once think about the Indigenous people whose lives were disrupted for you to be able to live on their homelands. The eradication of Native Americans has been part of the United States’ settler colonial project since its creation. This is evident through physical acts of genocide and through subtle acts such as the lack of accurate education on Native American peoples in the United States education. Inglewood not knowing its own Tongva history is just one example. It is also important to know that these inaccurate history lessons aren’t an accident but very intentional and central to ensure Indigenous erasure.

One of the points that Styres makes is that settlers are people who often benefit from colonial relationships. A lot of you are probably wondering if this includes people of color. Can people of color be settlers? A simple answer to this is yes, however this topic alone has been argued in many discussions. It is important to acknowledge that the United States has not only

stolen Indigenous lands in the states but also has acted in imperialist projects overseas spreading U.S. colonialism to other parts of the world. Many people of those countries fell into poverty due to U.S. imperialism felt that they had no other choice but to migrate to the United States for a better chance at survival. According to Rita Kaur Dhamoon, despite being differently positioned people of color (refugees, migrant workers, economic immigrants, etc.), we are still settlers. (Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel , pg. 15) In Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel's study, they locate people of color as settlers by virtue of living and owning land appropriated from Indigenous peoples, since they are able to exercise and seek rights that are collectively denied to Indigenous people. (Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel , pg. 13) The reason people of color can be settlers despite whatever historical relationship they might have with the United States, according to Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, is because we can still live/occupy Indigenous lands and have a source of capital. By doing so, people of color can become complicit in the settler colonial state despite simultaneously also being colonized subjects. (Paperson, pgs. 23-24)

While people of color can be settlers, there are very few exceptions to who cannot be a settler and that's African Americans. African Americans who are descendants of those who were enslaved cannot be settlers because their ancestors were brought to the United States against their will. Also, when they were first brought to the United States, they were dehumanized and treated as property instead of as human beings. "The remaking of land and bodies into property is necessary for settlement onto other people's land. To be made into property, according to settler colonialism, Black people must be kept landless ..." (Tuck, Guess and Sultan , pg. 2) Thus, it is unethical to call Black people settlers because while African Americans are no longer considered property, they are still being dehumanized in other violent ways and their labor is still being exploited. Also as mentioned by Tuck, Guess, and Sultan and La Paperson, the United States

intentionally tries to keep Black people landless. We have seen this through redlining, the creation of ghettos, and gentrification. Another group of people who cannot be settlers are other Native American and Indigenous people.

Indigenous peoples can't be settlers because they have never benefitted from colonial relationships. Historically, the federal government has never honored a single treaty they've made between Native Nations. The federal U.S. government's goal is to eradicate Indigenous peoples through settler colonialism so that they can "inherit" the land. "Native American-ness is *subtractive*: Native Americans are constructed to become fewer in number and *less* Native, but never exactly white, over time. Our/their status as Indigenous peoples/first inhabitants is the basis of our/their land claims and the goal of settler colonialism is to diminish claims to land over generations (or sooner, if possible)." (Tuck and Yang , pg. 12) Due to displacement being one of many settler colonial factors, other Indigenous peoples often have to live on lands that aren't their ancestral territories. As mentioned before, Los Angeles is home to the largest Native American population in the nation which consists of both Tongva-Gabrielino peoples as well as a large Native American diaspora. (Alvitre , pg. 44) So, if Native Americans can't be settlers, what does it mean for them to live on other Indigenous Nation's lands?

Tsalagi (Cherokee) scholar, Jeff Corntassel, says when Indigenous people visit/reside on another Indigenous Nation's territory, they carry their own communities and sense of place with them. (Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel , pgs. 4) For example, in Chapter 3, it was discussed how Urban Natives in Los Angeles built an Indigenous community for them in urban cities to maintain their indigenous identities, cultures and practices despite not being on their homelands. This is important because the federal government displaced Native Americans from their homelands and into urban cities in an attempt to assimilate them into Western American culture

(see Chapter 3). By Urban Natives simply existing while creating communities of support and spaces to practice and celebrate their cultures maintains Indigenous presences in cities. Cities like Los Angeles, that are supposed to emulate Western, “modern” society, and whose sole creation was to eradicate any Indigenous presence is ultimately challenged by the mere existence and resiliency of Indigenous peoples. “While the land may not recognize us, the goal is to be known not as strangers but as welcome visitors with accountability to the Indigenous nations and peoples of the territory”. (Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Cornthassel , pg. 5) What Jeff Cornthassel means is, while other Indigenous people may not have an ancestral connection to the lands they visit/reside on, they still have a responsibility to the Indigenous peoples and nation that territory belongs to.

It is very critical to think of how we are complicit to settler colonialism by reflecting on our own relationships to the land we occupy and its Indigenous peoples. It’s important to recognize our settler privileges because by trying to distancing ourselves from it, it becomes a move to innocence. According to Corey Snelgrove, “As a move to innocence, it’s a deferral of one’s complicity and responsibility, as if colonization is only a problem because of others not quite getting it. In moves to innocence, those performing the move presume that there is such a thing as a good settler, a good colonizer, as if decolonization can occur outside of a larger scale, systematic subjective *and* objective transformations.” (Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Cornthassel , pg. 15) Rita Dhamoon puts it in a very clear way, the term can be paralyzing for some non-Indigenous people who are absorbed by guilt, or it can mobilize action. You can either do nothing with your privilege or take accountability and be an ally to Indigenous communities. You cannot “decolonize” without uplifting Indigenous voices and communities.

In Los Angeles, a couple of notable cities have led strong anti-gentrification movements, such as East Los Angeles and Compton to name a few. While these movements are social justice based, terms such as “reclaim” and “decolonize” are commonly used as for reasons to preserve our communities. Popular slogans such as “keep hoods ours” have also been popularly used to initiate our goal to protect our communities from gentrification. However, I feel that these terms and slogans are not keeping ourselves accountable to Indigenous communities. Can we really claim a territory ours when it really belongs to Tongva people? When we exclude Indigenous people and re-appropriate land that isn’t ours, we are reproducing settler colonial notions. If an anti-gentrification movement was to be true to its mission of social justice and decolonization, we not only have to recognize our privileges as settlers* but also include Indigenous voices into the movement while respecting Indigenous sovereignty as well. This can then allow us to create intentional and accountable alliances with Indigenous peoples.

What is decolonization and what does it mean to decolonize? Decolonization for people who have been negatively impacted by Western colonization can mean many things. It could be unlearning Western ideas of thinking and returning to one’s ancestral knowledges. It can also mean relearning or re/membering one’s Indigenous language or culture. According to Styres, decolonization can also refer to the “‘present struggle for political, intellectual, economic and cultural self-determination’ (Kuokkanen, 2007, p.143)”. (Styres , pg. 30) Decolonization has been a powerful motivator for many communities of color that have been oppressed in the United States as well as other parts of the world. However, while it is important to decolonize, scholars Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang warn not to use the term decolonization as a metaphor.

I want to acknowledge that it is important and powerful for oppressed peoples to decolonize themselves, however I encourage it to be done responsibly and respectfully. We must

be aware that if we are not on our own ancestral lands then we must not only educate ourselves about whose lands we reside on but also create accountable alliances with those peoples.

“Decolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life; it is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools”. (Tuck and Yang , pg. 1) We must not use decolonization to reform structures that are in place due to settler colonialism. By doing so, Tuck and Yang say it becomes settler moves to innocence which “problematically attempts to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity.” (Tuck and Yang, pg. 3) If decolonization means dismantling settler colonialism then we must be intentional with our actions and relationships with Indigenous peoples. If we are going to be against gentrification, we need to include Indigenous voices because while we do not want to be displaced ourselves, we need to be mindful of the Indigenous communities who were displaced before us.

Conclusion

In the case of Inglewood, I strongly recommend anti-gentrification organizers and community members to create accountable alliances with Tongva-Gabrielino peoples. I personally cannot predict what that would entail but what I do know is that when people build community and solidarity with each other, their power and possibilities are endless. I’d like to imagine a future where Tongva-Gabrielino peoples are recognized and that their presence is acknowledged instead of ignored. I would love to see the city of Inglewood recognize Tongva-Gabrielino peoples and give an accurate history about their history and culture. More than anything, I want to see land being repatriated back to them. I have faith that Inglewood will remain resilient and continue to speak out against the injustices that continue to oppress Black, Latinx, and Indigenous peoples. I write this thesis as an offering for healing and to expose that these settler colonial tactics of displacement and Indigenous erasure are not an accident. My

hopes with this thesis is for it to begin more discussions on how we can best mobilize ourselves against issues like gentrification while still centering Indigenous voices.

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