

LORDS OF FROGTOWN:
ADDRESSING CONCERNS OF GENTRIFICATION ALONG THE LOS ANGELES RIVER

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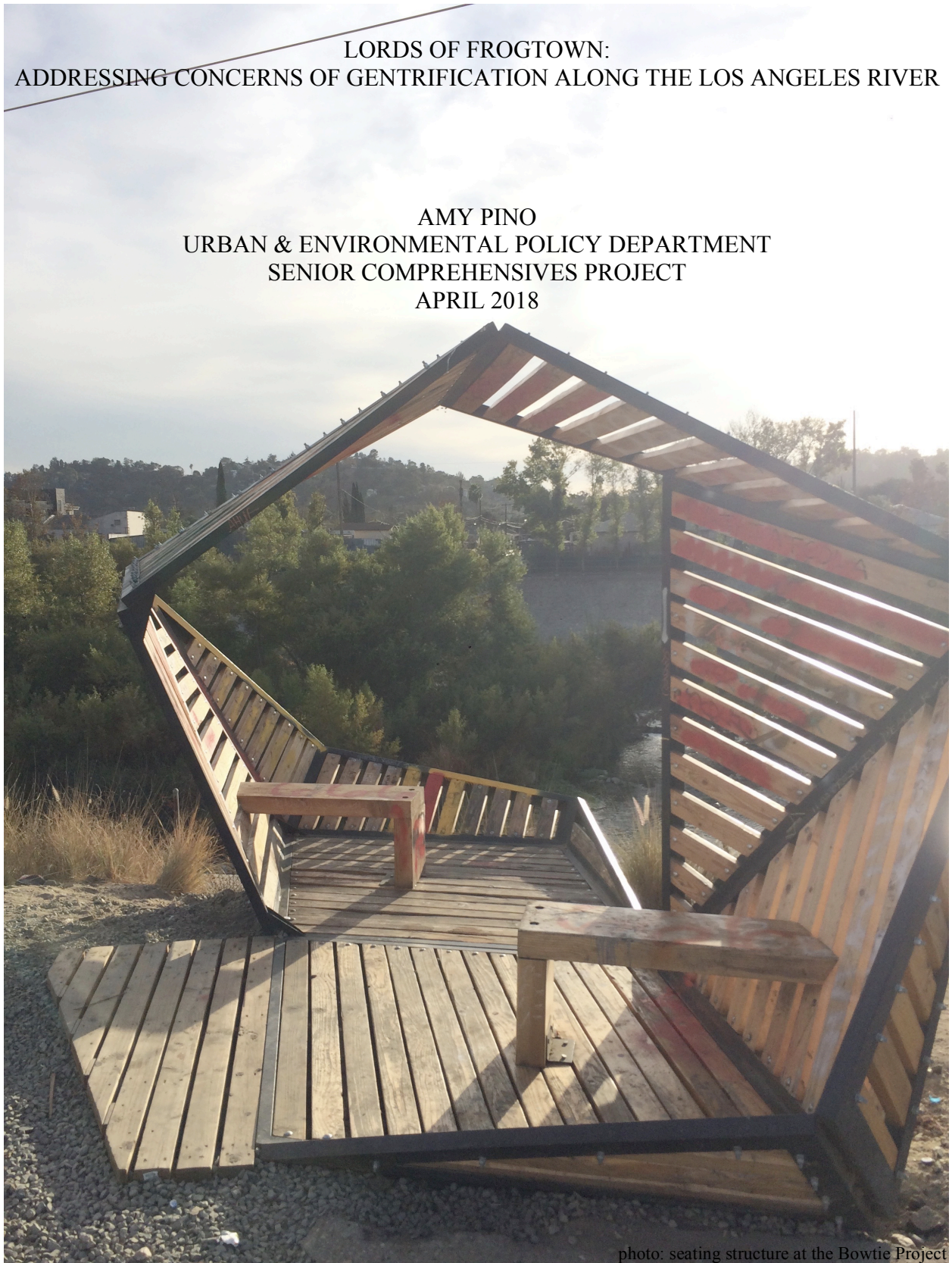


photo: seating structure at the Bowtie Project

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| ABSTRACT | 3 |
| <hr/> | |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 4 |
| <hr/> | |
| 2. BACKGROUND | 6 |
| <hr/> | |
| 2.1 HISTORY OF THE LOS ANGELES RIVER | 6 |
| 2.2 RECENT LOS ANGELES RIVER RESTORATION EFFORTS | 7 |
| 2.3 THE BOWTIE PROJECT | 9 |
| <hr/> | |
| 3. LITERATURE REVIEW | 10 |
| <hr/> | |
| 3.1 GREEN SPACE INEQUITIES IN LOS ANGELES | 10 |
| 3.2 METHODS FOR ADDRESSING GREEN SPACE INEQUITIES | 14 |
| 3.3 CONCERNS OF GENTRIFICATION IN LOS ANGELES | 16 |
| <hr/> | |
| 4. METHODOLOGY | 19 |
| <hr/> | |
| 5. FINDINGS | 21 |
| <hr/> | |
| 5.1 INTERVIEWS | 21 |
| 5.2 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS | 25 |
| 5.3 PROPERTY ANALYSIS | 28 |
| <hr/> | |
| 6. ANALYSIS | 30 |
| <hr/> | |
| 7. RECOMMENDATIONS | 32 |
| <hr/> | |
| 8. CONCLUSION | 34 |
| <hr/> | |
| 9. WORKS CITED | 35 |
| <hr/> | |
| 10. APPENDICES | 39 |
| <hr/> | |
| 10.1 APPENDIX A: LOS ANGELES RIVER WATERSHED | 39 |
| 10.2 APPENDIX B: BOWTIE PARCEL LOCATION | 40 |
| 10.3 APPENDIX C: LOCATION OF PROPERTY ANALYSIS | 41 |
| 10.4 APPENDIX D: TABLE OF FULL DATA USED FOR PROPERTY ANALYSIS | 42 |

ABSTRACT

Over the past decade, the Los Angeles River has been engaged in restoration efforts including park development adjacent to the river and ecosystem restoration for riparian habitats. In 2007, the City of Los Angeles released the Los Angeles River Revitalization Master Plan, detailing over 200 projects for river restoration and the development of urban green spaces along the river. The benefits that urban green spaces, parks, and other recreation spaces bring to communities are indisputable; however, research has discovered vast inequities in park distribution in Los Angeles. Furthermore, the development of urban green spaces has been shown to increase the desirability of a neighborhood, drawing the attention of real estate investors, property developers, and homebuyers, which in turn displaces existing residents. This process is called gentrification, and has been occurring in communities along the Los Angeles River since the “revitalization” efforts began. This paper will use the Bowtie Project as a case study to investigate how gentrification occurs in relation to urban green spaces. The Bowtie Project is a non-traditional open space adjacent to the river where the arts non-profit Clockshop and California State Parks has partnered to host a variety of arts and educational programs. The parcel on which the Bowtie Project is located is owned by California State Parks and is scheduled for park development in the next several years, so this paper will conclude with analysis on and recommendations for implementing urban green spaces in Los Angeles without contributing to gentrification and displacement.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Los Angeles River runs 51 miles from the San Fernando Valley to Long Beach. After a series of flooding events in the twentieth century, the Los Angeles County Flood Control District and the US Army Corps of Engineers began a massive channelization project in 1938 that lasted nearly 20 years. This project trenched and lined the Los Angeles River with concrete, leaving only three sections of the entire river free of concrete and in natural “soft-bottom” form (Gottlieb and Azuma 2007). Since the 1980s, the Los Angeles River has received renewed attention as a body of significant environmental importance in Los Angeles. The City and County of Los Angeles, the US Army Corps of Engineers, non-profit organizations, and community organizations have engaged in a variety of river restoration efforts ranging from ecosystem and watershed restoration for the river itself to the establishment of parks and bicycle paths adjacent to the river (Gottlieb and Azuma 2007).

In 2003, California State Parks purchased the Bowtie Parcel from Union Pacific Railroad. The 18-acre lot was a rail yard until 1985, after which the infrastructure was demolished, leaving behind only a few concrete foundations (see Appendix B for map). In 2014, CA State Parks partnered with Clockshop, a non-profit multidisciplinary arts organization, to establish the Bowtie Project on the lot. The Bowtie Project has now hosted over 35 art installations, performances, and educational events, all free and open to the public. The Bowtie Project is temporary and free of any permanent infrastructure. The artists, educators, and other individuals hosted by the Bowtie Project often incorporate the Los Angeles River in their work, but the art and events still stand alone from the river while simultaneously adding to a greater conversation about the environment, both built and natural, in Los Angeles (clockshop.org). The Clockshop Main office and the Bowtie Project are located in the Los Angeles neighborhood of Elysian

Valley, more commonly known as Frogtown, located next to the Los Angeles River north of Downtown Los Angeles. Since the introduction of the City of Los Angeles-sponsored Los Angeles River Revitalization Master Plan, the Frogtown community has been experiencing serious issues of gentrification and displacement. The introduction of new parks and the promise of river restoration has attracted the attention property developers, who have been purchasing Frogtown properties for high-end condominium, home, and retail developments, pushing out long-time residents who can no longer afford the cost of living in the area. A 2014 study conducted by RAC Design Build found that since 2011, more than half of the properties in the Frogtown neighborhood have changed ownership (Jao 2015).

It is undeniable that green spaces are beneficial for communities in many ways; methods must therefore be pursued to develop urban green spaces without creating or contributing to issues of gentrification and displacement in the surrounding communities. For this paper, urban green spaces will be defined as any open space within the city of Los Angeles, including parks, bike paths, and the Bowtie Project. Gentrification and displacement will be defined according to Ruth Glass's 1964 definition, detailed in Section 3.3. Using the Bowtie Project as a case study, this paper asks the question: *How does gentrification occur in relation to urban green spaces?* This paper will use a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative semi-structured interviews and document analysis with quantitative property analysis, to answer the research question. Considering that the Bowtie Parcel will eventually become the site of a California State Park, this paper will conclude with recommendations for developing urban green spaces without causing or contributing to gentrification and subsequent displacement.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 HISTORY OF THE LOS ANGELES RIVER

The Los Angeles River runs 51 miles from Canoga Park in the western San Fernando Valley to the Long Beach Harbor, with a watershed of approximately 870 square miles (see Appendix A for map). Prior to the twentieth century, the Los Angeles River was a main water source for populations in the area, but the growing city of Los Angeles had depleted and polluted the river by the early twentieth century (Price 2008). The Los Angeles County Flood Control District was formed in 1915 after the river flooded in 1914 and caused 10 million dollars in damages. Taxpayers approved measures in 1917 and 1924 to build dams along the river, but federal assistance was eventually required after two more flood events in the 1930s. In 1938, the US Army Corps of Engineers and the Los Angeles County Flood Control District began a 20-year project to trench the river and line it with concrete (Gottlieb and Azuma 2007).

Only three sections of the river remain unpaved: the Sepulveda Flood Control Basin in the San Fernando Valley, The Glendale Narrows (the section of the river adjacent to the Frogtown neighborhood and the Bowtie Project), and the estuary in Long Beach where the river meets the Pacific Ocean. The concrete channelization effort destroyed most of the river's ecosystems and altered its natural watershed. Not only was the river lined with concrete, but it was also trenched below ground level and often protected with high fences. These efforts changed the river from a natural water source to a flood control channel, cutting communities off from the river and limiting possibilities of recreation and green spaces along the river. Since the late 1980s, various entities including the County and City of Los Angeles, The US Army Corps of Engineers, non-profit organizations, and community groups have engaged in efforts to restore the Los Angeles River to its natural form (Gottlieb and Azuma 2007).

2.2 RECENT LOS ANGELES RIVER RESTORATION EFFORTS

Since the mid-1980s, there has been interest in the Los Angeles River as a body of significant environmental importance in the Los Angeles area. Recent river restoration initiatives have ranged from removing the concrete channel and restoring the natural soft-bottom of the river to establishing bicycle paths and green spaces in communities along the river. In 1985, *Los Angeles Times* writer Dick Roraback wrote a twenty-part series aimed at rediscovering the Los Angeles River and following its path from beginning to end. The series took on a somewhat comedic tone, as Roraback highlighted how much of the river does not present itself as a river at all, but simply a concrete channel (Gottlieb and Azuma 2007). Lewis MacAdams founded the organization Friends of the L.A. River (FOLAR) in 1986 with the goal of restoring the river's natural habitat and removing its concrete lining (Gottlieb and Azuma 2007).

In 1996, The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors adopted the Los Angeles County River Revitalization Master Plan. In 2002, the Los Angeles City Council moved to establish the Ad Hoc Committee on the Los Angeles River as a way for the City of Los Angeles to engage with various stakeholders in river revitalization efforts. In 2005, former Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa endorsed the Los Angeles City Council's motion to develop the Los Angeles River Revitalization Master Plan (LARRMP) for the 32-mile section of the river that flows through the City of Los Angeles. The LARRMP is "intended to be a 25 to 50-year blueprint for implementing a variety of comprehensive improvements that would make the River one of the City's most treasured landmarks" (City of Los Angeles 2007). The plan outlines recommendations for projects and physical improvements to the river and to green spaces in adjacent neighborhoods, as well as policy and governance recommendations to manage public

access. The four goals of the plan include “revitalizing the river, greening the neighborhoods, capturing community opportunities, and creating value” (City of Los Angeles 2007).

In June 2016, The Los Angeles City Council voted to adopt the United States Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) plan to restore the ecosystem of 11 miles of the river from the Griffith Park area to Downtown Los Angeles (City of Los Angeles 2007). The project seeks to restore the riparian and freshwater marsh ecosystems of the river that were lost during the concrete channelization project of the 1930s. The project will also reintroduce fluvial watershed processes and connect the river to the greater ecological zones of the area while continuing to mitigate flood risk (US Army Corps of Engineers 2013).

The Los Angeles neighborhood of Elysian Valley, commonly known as Frogtown, has experienced intense pressures of development and gentrification since the establishment of the Los Angeles River Revitalization Plan. Various upscale housing developments have sprouted up in the area, some of which advertise river- and river-park-adjacent living (Jao 2015). Expanded in 2014, Marsh Park is located across the Los Angeles River from the Bowtie Project Site; directly next to Marsh Park sit the LA River Lofts, a condominium complex completed in 2016. These lofts have only further heightened fears of gentrification and displacement among existing residents of Frogtown. “In an article for KCET, Jan Lin, Professor of Sociology at Occidental College, called this 'green gentrification' where previously disinvested neighborhoods undergoing environmental restoration and enhanced livability are drawing new homebuyers and investment, threatening existing low-income residents with displacement" (Jao 2015). While Marsh Park cannot be labeled as the cause for this development, developers have focused attention on the area and are using the Los Angeles River as a selling point for livability (Chandler 2017).

2.3 THE BOWTIE PROJECT

The Bowtie Parcel is located along the Glendale Narrows (soft-bottom) section of the Los Angeles River (see Appendix B for map). Named for its shape resembling a bowtie, the 18-acre parcel was a Southern Pacific Railroad train and maintenance yard until 1985, after which the structures and facilities were demolished. The Bowtie Parcel now sits as an empty lot with a few remaining concrete foundations in place. California State Parks purchased the Bowtie Parcel from Union Pacific Railroad in 2003 for 10.7 million dollars in anticipation of turning the parcel into a Los Angeles River-adjacent park. Park development is still several years off, so California State Parks partnered with the non-profit organization Clockshop to use the lot as a temporary space for art installations, performances, and community events, naming the project the Bowtie Project (California State Parks n.d.).

Founded in 2004 by artist Julia Meltzer, Clockshop is 501(c)3 non-profit organization based in Frogtown, a neighborhood directly across the Los Angeles River from the Bowtie Project. The mission statement of Clockshop reads:

Clockshop is a multidisciplinary arts organization in Los Angeles that creates new conversations about art, politics, and urban space. We commission work by artists and writers, curate inclusive public programs about pressing social and political issues, and collaborate with institutions to strengthen the social fabric of our community and the world beyond. Our core activity is the production of year-round commissions, conversations, and community events. We also bring this mission to our partnership with California State Parks on the Bowtie Project, an underused public space along the Los Angeles River. Together, we help our community realize its agency in shaping the future of the city (clockshop.org)

Since 2014, CA State Parks and Clockshop have hosted over 25 art installations, performances, and community events at the Bowtie Project. Some reoccurring events include Bowtie Field Day, a free, all-ages daytime event with outdoor-based activities and Reading by Moonrise, a free, quarterly nighttime event held on the eve of the full moon with a readings from Los Angeles-

based authors, journalists, and playwrights. Other on-site events include the LA River Campouts, which are all-ages, one night campouts in partnership with the Mountains Recreation & Conservation Authority and the National Park Service. The Bowtie Project also has a series of recordings found on bowtiewalk.org that follow a one-mile walk along the Los Angeles River, explaining environmental and historical context for the river and surrounding areas. The Bowtie Project Education Program allows groups of students to visit the Bowtie Project on organized field trips with instructional programs based on the intersection of art and the environment (clockshop.org).

The Bowtie Project is a completely temporary project; it is free of any permanent structures, signage is very minimal, and the events, programs, and installations are free and open to the public. The Bowtie Project is not included in any Los Angeles City or US Army Corps of Engineers River Revitalization plans, as it is owned and under the jurisdiction of California State Parks. Plans to turn the site into a California State Park are still in preliminary stages.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 GREEN SPACE INEQUITIES IN LOS ANGELES

The Los Angeles River has become a site of ecological and land use restoration efforts to increase recreational space in communities throughout the city and county of Los Angeles. The positive effects that urban green spaces can have on a community's overall physical and mental health are well documented. Research has shown, however, that access to these urban green spaces is often inequitable, with a low rate of usage among socioeconomically disadvantaged populations and populations of color (Byrne, Wolch, and Zhang 2009). Spatial barriers are some of the most prominent inhibitors of park use by people of color in the Los Angeles area;

respondents of one study conducted at the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area said that the park is too far away from their homes, they did not feel welcome by other users of the park, and that they were anxious about traveling across predominantly white neighborhoods (Byrne 2012). The physical design of urban green spaces and parks is often a major factor dictating usage (Goličnik and Ward Thompson 2010). In the case of Los Angeles, however, the geographical location of parks within the city is arguably the most important factor in determining overall usage.

Using an equity mapping analysis in a 2005 study, Wolch, Wilson, and Fehrenbach found an unequal distribution of park and open space in the city of Los Angeles. The equity mapping strategy developed a geospatial database with data on existing park sites, Proposition K grant application sites, and demographic and socioeconomic census data. Proposition K is a measure that passed in the City of Los Angeles in 1996 to provide funding for parks, community and recreational facilities, and childcare through property taxes. Access to park space was defined in the study as living no more than one-quarter mile from a park. Because of the well documented positive health effects that parks and green spaces can have on populations, Wolch et al. are able to determine that the issue of park distribution in Los Angeles is an environmental justice problem. Wolch et al. found that low-income areas and areas with predominantly Latino, African American, and Asian-Pacific Islander populations have strikingly lower levels of access to parks than people in predominantly white neighborhoods in Los Angeles. Wolch et al. write, “The question of equity in the distribution of parks became particularly acute in the city’s low-income communities of color, where a relative shortage of parks...was revealed to be a fundamental problem as early as 1965...Today, not much seems to have changed” (J. Wolch, Wilson, and Fehrenbach 2005, 5). Moreover, this study concluded that the funding approved through

Proposition K in 1996 did not result in the development of more parks in the city as the measure promised, but rather resulted in the improvement of existing parks (J. Wolch, Wilson, and Fehrenbach 2005).

In the case of the Los Angeles River, the parks along the northern section of the river greatly outnumber those on the southern half. Efforts to implement the River Greenway and other bike and pedestrian paths are concentrated in the San Fernando Valley, where the river originates, and neighborhoods in the more northern section of the city such as Atwater Village and Frogtown. The ecosystem restoration efforts of the City of Los Angeles and the Army Corps of Engineers are focused on an 11-mile stretch of the river in the already park-heavy river corridor around Griffith Park, and does not include many of the city's historically disadvantaged neighborhoods through which the river runs. Price writes, "[In] 1913...L.A. downgrades the central artery of its major watershed...to a minor water source. And to this day, the city's most affluent communities...drink cleaner water than overall than the poorer communities, which on average lie closer to the river" (Price 2008). Environmental justice is at the core of Price's vision for the future of the river, even if Price does not explicitly frame it as such: "An environmentalism inspired by this river's revitalization appreciates, and understands the tremendous ecological significance of, wilderness, but it does not embrace wilderness as a way to ignore or escape, rather than grapple with, the use of nature to sustain our lives" (Price 2008). South of Downtown Los Angeles in the industrial neighborhood of Commerce, the 710 Freeway follows the path of the Los Angeles River to its end in Long Beach. The 710 Freeway is a major corridor for truck traffic, running from the Port of Long Beach to the industrial hubs of South and East Los Angeles and through many low-income communities and communities of color. Along this corridor, river-centric parks are much less frequent. Wolch et al. assert that

environmental inequities, including park distribution, are not new issues in Los Angeles:

“However, in Los Angeles, low-income and minority areas have endured a history of undesirable land uses, especially industrial installations with their attendant pollution of air, water, and soil...Public parks, as well as other urban services were...disproportionately allocated to other parts of town” (J. Wolch, Wilson, and Fehrenbach 2005, 8).

A 2016 study titled “A Critical Race Theory Analysis of Public Park Features in Latino Immigrant Neighborhoods” used the Critical Race Theory as an analysis to further assert that Los Angeles park distribution is racially inequitable and varies by neighborhood. The study defines the Critical Race Theory as “a race-equity methodology that emphasizes inclusion of historicized and contextualized analysis, and prioritizes questions of race and racism” (García, Gee, and Jones 2016, 398). This study is key in explaining how the geographical development of Los Angeles was shaped by race and racist policies, and how the history of “white flight” to suburban neighborhoods throughout the twentieth century concentrated poorer communities and communities of color in urban and industrial centers. Because urban development policies prioritized the white population, parks and other leisurely spaces existed almost exclusively in white neighborhoods (García, Gee, and Jones 2016). Using a dataset created in ArcGIS that included park features data and American Community Survey “sociodemographic” data, this study sought to determine if the characteristics of Latino neighborhoods were associated with available park features throughout Los Angeles. From the results, the study concluded, “Neighborhoods with a very low percentage of Latino residents had over twice as many total park features compared to highly concentrated Latino neighborhoods” (García, Gee, and Jones 2016, 408). This study is essential in rooting Los Angeles park access disparities in housing inequality, particularly when acknowledging how Los Angeles’ geographical fragmentation and

sprawl has impeded policy making and planning in both public and private realms (MacKillop and Boudreau 2008).

3.2 METHODS FOR ADDRESSING GREEN SPACE INEQUITIES

Considering the limited funding that Parks and Recreation Departments are often faced with, “Alternative Approach to Meet the Recreational Needs of Underserved Communities: The Case of Florence-Firestone” suggests a series of recreational options that move beyond the typical park framework. Using a 2004 citation from the Trust for Public Land, this study writes, “nearly two out of three children in [Los Angeles] county do not live within walking distance (one-quarter mile) of a park, playground, or open space” (Lau 2012, 389). The study argues that while the development of more parks will always be ideal, many cities do not have the resources for this method and should instead pursue different options that still allow the population to have equitable recreation access. The strategies suggested involve multi-use and mobile facilities established through partnerships with non-governmental organizations, such as non-profits and community organizations. A major tenet of this study is the concept that park agencies should be “facilitators of recreational services” rather than “producers and guardians of parks” (Lau 2012, 389).

Research has also shown that the park and other recreational needs of children vary greatly depending on the socioeconomic and demographic qualities of communities. Moreover, there are significant differences in the acreage of parks per capita between low-income and wealthier areas in Los Angeles (Loukaitou-Sideris and Stieglitz 2002). Research that highlights the inequities of park availability throughout Los Angeles has crucial implications for planners and policy makers. “Siting Green Infrastructure: Legal and Policy Solutions to Alleviate Urban Poverty and Promote Healthy Communities” details the benefits of green infrastructure, which is

defined as natural or engineered systems that increase water capture, lower air pollution and overall temperatures, and enhance general environmental quality (Dunn 2010). Dunn's paper argues for the importance of cities to overcome legal, funding, social obstacles to developing green infrastructure in historically disadvantaged neighborhoods. Many cities have already implemented green spaces on defunct urban industrial sites, but the effects of these post-industrial green spaces on surrounding property values are now being studied. While green spaces such as parks have the potential to improve the health of residents, rising housing values, property values, and new commercial and retail establishments have been shown to contribute to gentrification and displacement of residents. Urban planners, park designers, and other entities responsible for the implementation of the green spaces therefore need to pursue strategies that are "just green enough", ensuring that these park spaces will be designed in ways that preserve "social sustainability", not just ecological sustainability (J. R. Wolch, Byrne, and Newell 2014). Community collaboration, as well as anti-gentrification policies such as affordable and low-income housing funds and rent stabilization, are essential in designing parks that are "just green enough". "In their case study of Greenpoint, a community in Brooklyn, Curran and Hamilton found that working-class residents and gentrifiers collaborated to demand environmental cleanup strategies that allowed for continued industrial uses and preservation of blue-collar work, and explicitly avoided what they term the "parks, cafes, and a riverwalk" model of a green city" (J. R. Wolch, Byrne, and Newell 2014, 241). A 2015 report from researchers UC Berkeley and UCLA, published by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, found that property values are higher in areas close to parks and other urban green spaces. This report explains that public investment into parks and open spaces has been shown to reduce crime statistics, which in turn

attracts a more affluent population of new residents, leading to gentrification and displacement of existing residents (Zuk et al. 2015).

3.3 CONCERNS OF GENTRIFICATION IN LOS ANGELES

British sociologist Ruth Glass first coined the term “gentrification” in 1964 to describe the changes occurring in an urban area of London, England. Glass documented that working class residents were being replaced by middle and upper class people, and modest properties were being replaced by high-end homes. Glass said that once the process of gentrification begins, it rapidly continues until all original, working class residents are displaced and the “social character” of the neighborhood is changed (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2013). An interview in the 2017 KCET documentary titled “City Rising” attributes gentrification and subsequent displacement to a “lack of ownership...if you own something, you can’t be displaced from it” (KCETLink Media Group 2017). The lack of property ownership among low income communities and communities of color can be attributed to a long history of racist and exclusionary housing policies in the U.S. In a 1995 book titled *Black Wealth/White Wealth*, Melvin L. Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro write:

Locked out of the greatest mass-based opportunity for wealth accumulation in American history, African Americans who desired and were able to afford home ownership found themselves consigned to central-city communities where their investments were affected by the “self-fulfilling prophecies” of the FHA appraisers: cut off from sources of new investment[,] their homes and communities deteriorated and lost value in comparison to those homes and communities that FHA appraisers deemed desirable (Shapiro and Oliver 1995).

Little has been done in Los Angeles to fully reverse the damaging effects of these past policies; this can be clearly seen today through the ways in which low income communities and communities of color are continually displaced by gentrification.

Los Angeles has a long history of housing displacement, documented in part by Susan Briante's "Utopia's Ruins: Seeing Domesticity and Decay in the Aliso Village Housing Project". Aliso Village is separated from the Arts District by the Los Angeles River, but connected by bridges such as the First Street Bridge. Aliso Village Housing Project, a public housing complex, was built in the 1940s after the city demolished a community labeled an "immigrant slum". In 2001, the Aliso Village Housing Project was also demolished to make room for mixed-income townhouses. Briante's essay narrates a series of photos taken throughout Aliso Village's history. The photos indicate that the neighborhood was not full of "deteriorating" buildings as assessments claimed, but rather home to hundreds of people with structurally sound and entirely livable homes. Briante argues, "Public housing reformers should value actual, lived community networks established in the places they seek to improve" (Briante 2010, 138). While Aliso Village may seem disconnected from Downtown Los Angeles and the Arts District because of its separation by the Los Angeles River, the areas are in fact very much connected, and will be more so if the city moves through with its plans for the Sixth Street Viaduct Project. The Sixth Street Bridge, one of several bridges connecting Downtown with Aliso Village, Pico Gardens, and Boyle Heights, was demolished due to decaying concrete, and current plans for rebuilding include an arts plaza designed by renowned Los Angeles architect Michael Maltzan and supported by wealthy donors. The city's plans for the new Sixth Street Bridge situate the Los Angeles River in a discussion of redevelopment and gentrification, as the bridge and arts plaza underneath are intended in part to create more traffic into the Arts District, raising concerns of further gentrification in neighboring Boyle Heights (sixthstreetviaduct.org).

A 2016 study "Skid Row, Gallery Row and the space in between: cultural revitalisation and its impacts on two Los Angeles neighbourhoods" sought to understand how local community

groups can resist actions of gentrification and displacement. The study looks at the Downtown Los Angeles area “gallery row”, or what is commonly know as the Arts District, and neighboring Skid Row, which is home to thousands of Los Angeles’ homeless residents. The study conducted and subsequently coded many interviews with representatives from both Gallery Row and Skid Row, including members of the Downtown Business Improvement District and the local neighborhood council. The findings concluded that while “most scholars identify gentrification as a zero-sum game... our fieldwork demonstrated that reality is more nuanced... a 'space in-between' may emerge that allows room for new political engagement” (Collins and Loukaitou-Sideris 2016). For example, because of the heightened attention on adjacent Gallery Row, more Los Angeles Times articles have also been published on Skid Row and its residents. While the study addresses that there is a great deal of work still to be done in advocating for Downtown Los Angeles’ low-income and homeless populations, there is a vast power imbalance favoring developers. According to this study, gentrification in this particular area could be seen not as a lost cause but rather as a way for Skid Row advocates to enter the political arena at a time when it is receiving heightened attention.

The City Los Angeles River Revitalization Master Plan (LARRMP) acknowledges that gentrification is perhaps the most serious and pressing issue that can arise from riverfront development. The LARRMP writes, “Gentrification occurs when low-cost, aging neighborhoods are renovated and subsequently experience gains in property values that can result in displacement of the neighborhood’s original residents” (City of Los Angeles 2007). The LARRMP recommends the following to combat gentrification during the Los Angeles River restoration process:

The City could address gentrification within the River Corridor by encouraging affordable housing, sound community planning on a neighborhood-by-neighborhood

basis, establishing community benefits agreements to ensure that development benefits flow to affected local communities, meaningful community involvement in the implementation of projects, minimizing out-of-scale developments (such as excessive road width and parking), and partnering with community-based development organizations (such as community development corporations, community land trusts, and non-profit developers) (City of Los Angeles 2007).

The LARRMP recognizes that gentrification has already occurred in many neighborhoods throughout Los Angeles, and that the public funds invested during river revitalization efforts may lead to gentrification. The decision to use the word “revitalization” in the title, however, is an interesting one. “Revitalization” is often used to describe gentrification in a more nuanced way; more often than not, it simply means gentrification (KCETLink Media Group 2017). Some areas on which the LARRMP has focused, such as the neighborhoods of Atwater Village and Elysian Valley, otherwise known as Frogtown, have seen tremendous spikes in gentrification and displacement over the last decade. While a direct correlation between river revitalization efforts and gentrification has yet to be proven, it is undeniable that the river restoration efforts have attracted the attention of investors and housing developers (Jao 2015).

4. METHODOLOGY

Using the Bowtie Project as a case study, this paper asks the question: *How does gentrification occur in relation to urban green spaces?* The research for this paper is mixed-methods, combining semi-structured interviews, document analysis, and property analysis. Interviewing was chosen as a method as a way to directly engage with stakeholders involved with the Bowtie Project. Document analysis was chosen as a method to supplement information that could not be obtained through interviews. Property analysis was chosen as a method in order to identify any trends in property value and land use changes around the Bowtie Project.

Interview participants were chosen based on their direct involvement with the Bowtie Project. Participants were initially contacted through email. Interview participants were Julia Meltzer (Clockshop Founder), Savannah Wood (Clockshop Communications Director), and Sean Woods (California State Parks Los Angeles Sector Superintendent).

Documents for analysis were chosen mainly through personal research on Bowtie Project events. All documents are articles found online written by third parties unaffiliated with the researcher. Documents include two interviews conducted with Bowtie Project artists and stakeholders, one article on Bowtie Project events, one article and two public radio broadcasts with commentary concerning Los Angeles River-related gentrification, and a study from the City of Los Angeles Department of Planning concerning a housing development proposed next to the river and the Bowtie site. The following table includes all documents analyzed:

| Title | Author | Origin | Source Type |
|---|--|--|---|
| <i>Rafa Esparza by Clara López Menéndez</i> | Clara López Menéndez | BOMB Magazine | Interview with Bowtie Project artist |
| <i>Sean Woods, the man who's helping make L.A. a park place</i> | Patt Morrison | Los Angeles Times | Interview with Bowtie Project stakeholder |
| <i>Clockshop's Art Space the Bowtie Project Gives You a Cool New Reason to Visit the L.A. River</i> | Carol Cheh | LA Weekly | Article on Bowtie Project event |
| <i>Will the Los Angeles River Become a Playground for the Rich?</i> | Richard Kreitner | The Nation | Commentary on Los Angeles River-related gentrification |
| <i>Bridges and Walls: LA River, Part 1</i> | Hosted by Frances Anderton | Design and Architecture show on KCRW public radio | Commentary on Los Angeles River-related gentrification |
| <i>Bridges and Walls: LA River, Part 2</i> | Hosted by Frances Anderton | Design and Architecture show on KCRW public radio | Commentary on Los Angeles River-related gentrification |
| Initial Study: Northeast Los Angeles Community Plan Area: Bow Tie Yard Lofts Project | Prepared by Parker Environmental Consultants for the City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning | The City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning, Major Projects & Environmental Analysis Section | Plan for proposed housing development next to Los Angeles River and Bowtie Site |

The purpose of the property analysis is to identify any trends in property sales and land-use changes around the site of the Bowtie Project. Sales and changes in land use are often indicators of gentrification, as it signifies the movement of one group of people away from the area and the introduction of a more wealthy group of people (Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2013). Properties were chosen for analysis by searching for sales over the past three years within a one-quarter-mile radius of the Bowtie Site on the Los Angeles County Assessor online map (see Appendix C for map).

5. FINDINGS

5.1 INTERVIEWS

The three interviews were conducted during the month of February 2018. Two interviews were conducted over the phone, and one was conducted in person at the Clockshop office on Clearwater Street in Los Angeles. The interviewees were: Sean Woods, Superintendent for California State Parks Los Angeles Sector, Julia Meltzer, Founder of Clockshop, and Savannah Wood, Clockshop Communications Director. The following four section titles (“Background on the Bowtie Site”, “Bowtie Project Origins”, “Current and Future Goals of the Bowtie Project”, “The Bowtie Project, The Los Angeles River, and Gentrification”) were determined by the researcher. The purpose of these four sections is to organize and document all information obtained during the three interviews through both direct quotes from interviewees and comments from interviewees that have been paraphrased by the researcher.

1. The Bowtie Project is an unconventional urban green space

The state of California purchased the land on which the Bowtie Project sits in 2003 during a state effort to “invest in urban areas” and develop parks in Los Angeles for “park-poor

communities of color” (Woods). A lack of funding, however, led to the site being underutilized with no money for development and no state support (Woods).

Sean Woods was interested in bringing awareness to the soft-bottom section of the Los Angeles River that runs alongside the Bowtie site; moreover, Woods wanted to give new life to the blighted Bowtie site. Woods considered Lewis MacAdams, the performance artist and poet who formed Friends of the Los Angeles River (FOLAR). Woods said explained that artists expand people’s imaginations. In this way, Woods was hoping that bringing art to the Bowtie site would reinvigorate the site and expand visitors’ imaginations regarding what can be done in the space (Woods).

Sean Woods and Julia Meltzer pioneered a partnership between CA State Parks and Clockshop to create the Bowtie Project. Woods said, “Government has to partner with organizations and groups who have skill set outside what [CA State Parks] possess...with art, you don’t know what the outcome will be” (Woods). Woods said a partnership with Clockshop would allow CA State Parks to be “unconventional” (Woods), since The Bowtie Project was the “first massive intervention on the river in terms of art installations” (Woods). For Woods, a partnership between CA State Parks and Clockshop was intended to interweave traditional programming with the un-traditional, and do something unexpected from CA State Parks (Woods). Meltzer said, “If we weren’t doing [the Bowtie Project], it would just be a piece of land sitting there” (Meltzer).

2. The Bowtie Project has been successful in raising awareness of the Los Angeles River

For Sean Woods, a “major goal of the Bowtie Project was to bring people to the river”, a goal which has been very successful thus far. Woods added, “Some visitors to the Bowtie Project didn’t even know the river was in their backyard” (Woods). Sean Woods explained that the

Bowtie Project has been a model for other river-centric projects, and that the City of Los Angeles is now interested in doing more projects, parks, and programming like the Bowtie Project (Woods). “It’s rare that government will come up with innovative approaches...[the Bowtie Project] is government and non-profits creating a new path” (Woods). Since the beginning of the Bowtie Project in 2014, “We brought attention to the space...we put the Bowtie [site] on the map...the city [now] wants to collaborate on a project for the Bowtie site” (Woods).

Both Julia Meltzer and Sean Woods explained that the Bowtie Project is meant to be temporary, and that California State Parks will eventually develop a park on the land. Meltzer believes that the Bowtie Project has a lifespan of 2-3 more years, and that the project is specifically intended to focus on the “interim” period before a CA State Park is developed (Meltzer). Savannah Wood explained that when a CA State Park is eventually developed on the site, Clockshop “won’t be involved” (Wood). Sean Woods hopes that art and education programming would continue if a park was established on the site, as the Bowtie Project has been “extremely successful” in informing the community and bringing people together” (Woods).

3. The Bowtie Project may be implicated in concerns of gentrification along the Los Angeles River

When asked about concerns of gentrification along the Los Angeles River, Meltzer explained that just because the Bowtie Project is temporary does not mean, “we are excused. We are still bringing people to the area” (Meltzer). Savannah Wood believes that the Los Angeles River is receiving more attention because the Bowtie Project brings people to the area, but the Bowtie Project is not “implicated directly” in concerns of gentrification (Wood).

Sean Woods explained that the programming at the Bowtie Project has been successful in incorporating community input. When asked about the possibility of a future park on the Bowtie site, Sean Woods said, “We are very concerned with community input. [We would] allow the community to build the park with us” (Woods). When asked how many local neighborhood residents attend Bowtie Project events, which are all free/by suggested donation, Savannah Wood said there are a few regulars, but not a lot of attendance by immediately surrounding neighbors. More local residents use the seating structure that is always present at the site (Wood). Meltzer also mentioned the thoughtfulness of the programming, and that programs extend beyond the arts.

The programs and events at the Bowtie Project are intermittent because they take a long time to develop (Meltzer). Savannah Wood said, “what we love [about the Bowtie Project] is it is unmarked” (Wood). Wood also said there needs to be awareness that green spaces change neighborhoods, and suggested “maybe a lighter touch” by the City of Los Angeles and the state of California. “Maybe just signage and a bathroom”, Wood suggested (Wood). When asked about gentrification along the Los Angeles River, Wood mentioned concerns of the close proximity of new developments to the river floodplain. Wood is also concerned about new developments changing who would have access to the river, river parks, and the Bowtie site (Wood).

When asked about concerns of gentrification along the Los Angeles River, Sean Woods said there is a “double-edged sword with green space”, because making an underused space beautiful raises property values (Woods). Woods is very concerned about gentrification along the river and believes that it comes in part from a lack of political leadership, leaving it up to communities to protest development and the huge amounts of money being invested by

developers. Woods believes that it is possible for community groups to challenge developments, and that groups should “not give up, because these are worthy battles. [They are] fighting for the future of our city” (Woods).

5.2 DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

For this paper, documents were analyzed with relation to the original research question; in other words, all discussions of gentrification in relation to urban green, open, and revitalized spaces in the documents were considered.

1. The Bowtie Project is an unconventional space

Artist Rafa Esparza completed a yearlong artist residency at the Bowtie Project in 2015 through Clockshop. Esparza began making adobe bricks at the Bowtie Project, rooted in his familial history of his father’s profession as a brick maker. Esparza considered the history of the Los Angeles River in his work, particularly the river’s history as a body of sustenance for the area’s original inhabitants. Esparza was drawn to the Bowtie Project because it is an unconventional art space, far removed from most exclusive art galleries (López Menéndez 2016).

Detailed in a 2015 article for the LA Weekly, Carol Cheh witnessed sculpture installation *The Unfinished* by Michael Parker, Rafa Esparza’s adobe brick installation, and performances by Esparza and dancer-choreographer Rebeca Hernandez at the Bowtie Project. The installations and Esparza’s performance “evoked centuries of working-class labor along with the elusive promise of upward mobility” (Cheh 2015).

2. Gentrification along the Los Angeles River is already occurring, and may be caused in part by the implementation of river-adjacent green spaces

Sean Woods, California State Parks Superintendent for the Los Angeles Sector, acknowledges that there are both physical and economic barriers to park access for many

communities. CA State Parks has sought to address these issues in Los Angeles by working with interpreters who can inform community members about their local parks. When asked about the Los Angeles Business Council's proposal of more housing along the Los Angeles River, Woods answered that despite market forces, a legislative solution to gentrification is needed in order to keep people in their homes (Morrison 2015).

Richard Kreitner's piece for *The Nation* titled "Will the Los Angeles River Become a Playground for the Rich?" acknowledges Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti's investment in the river. In 2007, the City of Los Angeles formed the Los Angeles River Revitalization Corporation, now a nonprofit called LA River Corp., to lead development along the river. Kreitner asserts that gentrification has taken hold in communities along the river, most notably Frogtown, due to a lack of adequate public oversight in regulating real estate investor interests. In 2016, the *Los Angeles Times* revealed that famed architect Frank Gehry had been working for the LA River Corp. Kreitner details criticism of Gehry's position at the nonprofit, quoting Lewis MacAdams saying, "it's the epitome of wrong-ended planning. It's not coming from the bottom up. It's coming from the top down". Kreitner's article makes it very clear that the public sector has aligned with powerful and wealthy to craft a vision for the future of river that is very different than the hopes of local communities and activists (Kreitner 2016).

Public radio station KCRW's show Design and Architecture includes a series on the Los Angeles River that details future development plans for the river juxtaposed with concerns of social and economic stratification in low-income neighborhoods along the river. Part one of the series explains concerns of "green gentrification" from UCLA environmental historian Jon Christensen. Harry Gamboa, Jr., an artist who grew up in Boyle Heights, believes that new projects along the river, such as the Sixth Street Viaduct project, will destabilize Boyle Heights

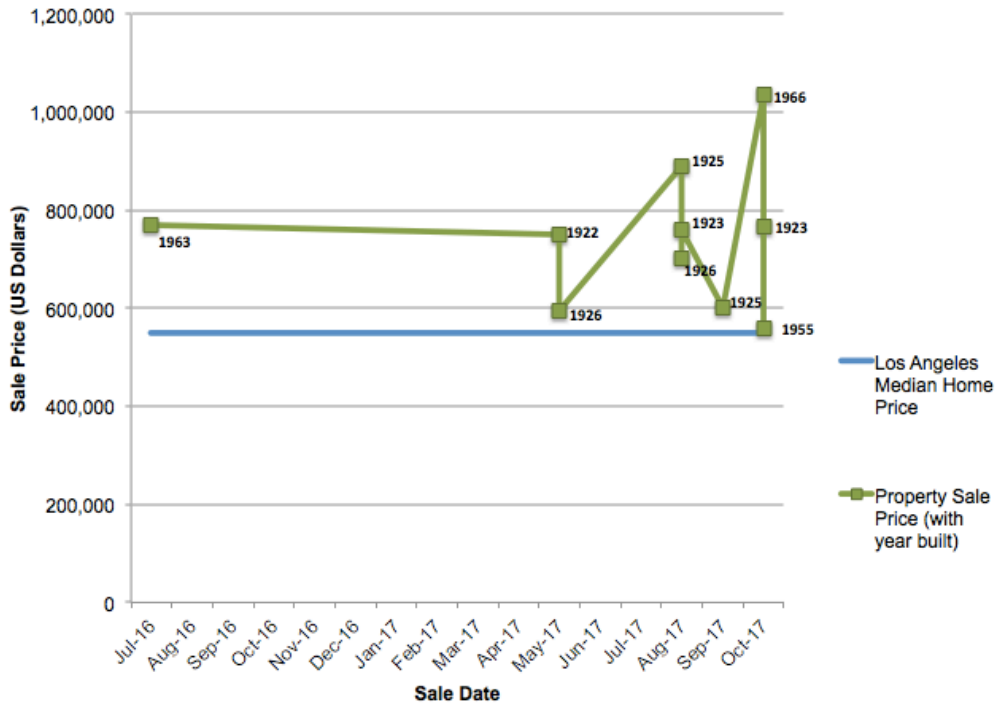
due to investment in the neighboring, now-affluent Arts District (Anderton 2018, 1). Part two of the series further explains the concept of green gentrification, or gentrification caused by the introduction of new parks and green spaces to an area. Several housing developments and proposals are mentioned, explaining that new housing projects will be unaffordable for most residents. Many of these projects use the river and the promise of new river-based parks as selling points. The working-class neighborhood of Cypress Park, which is 82.1 percent Latino, is now the site of the Rio de Los Angeles State Park. Home prices in the neighborhood have risen 18 percent in the past year alone.

A New York City-based developer, remaining nameless under the firm title “2800 Casitas, LLC”, purchased the 5.7 acre parcel located directly next to the Bowtie Site at 2800 Casitas Avenue. The parcel is currently home to manufacturer Nelson Miller. The proposal includes demolishing the Nelson Miller facilities and constructing five buildings with 419 multi-family units for an estimation of 1,416 new residents, 64,000 square feet of commercial space, and a 720-space parking structure for commercial and residential use. Interview participants for this paper all described personal and community concerns about this project. The development is proposed directly next to the soft-bottom section of the river and is therefore located in the river’s floodplain. Concerns of the housing being price prohibitive for existing residents are extremely pertinent. The housing proposal is emblematic of the heavy investment into river-adjacent projects by non-local developers. Community opposition to the project has been strong, and Bowtie Project stakeholders including Sean Woods and Julia Meltzer have asked for the project to change its name from Bow Tie Yard Lofts Project to a name that does not include “Bow Tie” so as to make clear that the Bowtie Project is in no way affiliated and is in opposition to this project proposal (Parker Environmental Consultants 2017).

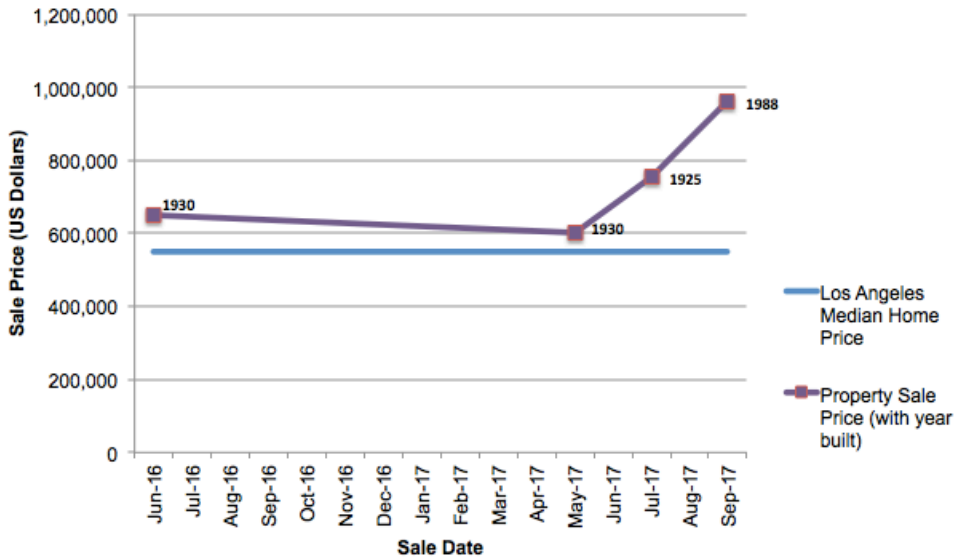
5.3 PROPERTY ANALYSIS

Property sales and land use changes are often indicators of gentrification; the property analysis conducted for this paper therefore reveals that gentrification is occurring along the Los Angeles River due to the implementation of Los Angeles River Revitalization projects and other river-related green spaces projects. The property analysis has been condensed into two graphs created by the researcher, shown below. The data was generated through a search of all property sales over the past three years within a one-quarter-mile radius of the Bowtie Project on the Los Angeles County Assessor online mapping tool. The two graphs are a consolidated presentation of information regarding these property sales; one graph represents the Bowtie Project “side”, or North Side, of the Los Angeles River. The other graph represents the Marsh Park side, or South Side, of the Los Angeles River. This radius search produced a list of 71 properties that have been sold in the past three years. Of the 71 properties, 54 were in a new condominium development called “River House”, located next to Marsh Park. These condos were excluded from the property analysis so as not to skew the data, since the condominiums are all located on the same parcel. The area around Marsh Park, located across the Los Angeles River from the Bowtie Project, is used as a point of comparison because Marsh Park has more traditional park infrastructure than the Bowtie Project, including landscaping, seating, signage, and fencing. Marsh Park was completed in 2014 as part of the Los Angeles River Revitalization Master Plan. Graphs are available on the following page, and a full data table can be found in Appendix D.

Single Family and Multi-Family Residential Property Sales on North/Bowtie Side of Los Angeles River



Single Family and Multi-Family Residential Property Sales on South/Marsh Park Side of Los Angeles River



6. ANALYSIS

The Bowtie Project offers a compelling case study through which to discuss gentrification along the Los Angeles River because the project is not a typical urban green space. The site will remain undeveloped until enough funding is available for a California State Park, and until then, Clockshop will continue intermittent arts and education programming. The Bowtie Project was originally chosen as a site to study for this paper because of its untraditional structure; in part, this paper sought to ask if the “hands-off”, development-free approach used by organizers of the project would allow the project to be free from implications of the gentrification that has occurred around other parks and green spaces, since the Bowtie Project is not classified as a traditional park. However, the very action of facilitating events, art installations, educational programs, and other gatherings at the Bowtie Project can arguably be considering a “hands-on” approach. During an interview for this paper, Clockshop Director Julia Meltzer explained that Clockshop is not “excused” from implications of gentrification along the river just because the Bowtie Project is temporary. Meltzer continued with, “we are still bringing people to the area”. When asked how many visitors to Bowtie Project events are from the surrounding community, Clockshop Communications Director Savannah Wood explained that “not a lot” of local residents attend the events, local classified as being from the immediately surrounding area. It is here that we can return to Ruth Glass’s original definition of gentrification, which describes the process by which middle and upper class people replace existing working class and low-income residents in a neighborhood, buying and renovating properties which in turn raises the property values of the area. Glass explains that this process continues until the entire character of the neighborhood is changed (Lees, Slater, and Wylie 2013). Meltzer acknowledged the danger of bringing outside people to the area for Bowtie

events, and Wood confirmed that most people at the Bowtie Project are not residents of the immediately surrounding community. While the Bowtie Project is successful in hosting Los Angeles-based artists, writers, and performers, and is successful in facilitating programs that are free and therefore inclusive to all levels of income, the stark fact remains that most attendees of Bowtie Project events are not residents of the Frogtown neighborhood, many of whom are currently being displaced by gentrification.

During the interview conducted for this paper, California State Parks Los Angeles Sector Superintendent Sean Woods highlighted concerns of gentrification that may occur out of Los Angeles River revitalization efforts. Woods was clear in acknowledging that improving a plot of land through greening and park development raises surrounding property values, which is a main driver of gentrification. The property analysis conducted for this paper also proves that property sales in Frogtown and around the Bowtie Project have increased greatly over the past year, most likely due to gentrification. In a book chapter titled “Gentrification of the City”, Tom Slater writes:

As Ruth Glass intended, “gentrification” simply yet very powerfully captures the class inequalities and injustices created by capitalist urban land markets and policies. The rising house expense burden for low-income and working-class households, and the personal catastrophes of displacement, eviction, and homelessness, are symptoms of a set of institutional arrangements (private property rights and a free market) that favor the creation of urban environments to serve the needs of capital accumulation (Slater 2013).

Slater’s analysis asserts that when dealing with issues of gentrification, it is important to continually return to Ruth Glass’s original definition, as it roots the forces behind gentrification in issues of land ownership and development, thereby explaining how gentrification results in the displacement of disenfranchised populations who have been excluded from property ownership. “Gentrification commonly occurs in urban areas where prior disinvestment in the urban infrastructure creates opportunities for profitable redevelopment, where the needs and concerns

of business and policy elites are met at the expense of urban residents affected by work instability, unemployment, and stigmatization” (Slater 2013). Slater explains that a bottom-up approach to addressing issues of displacement, in other words viewing displacement through the eyes of those who experience it, is fundamentally necessary in order to analyze and ultimately end the cycle of gentrification and displacement through community-based methods (Slater 2013). In the case of the Bowtie Project, which is located on land that will eventually become a California State Park project, it is imperative that stakeholders involved in the site are aware of the ways in which urban green space development can make a neighborhood more attractive to real estate developers and homebuyers (Zuk et al. 2015).

The document analysis conducted for the research highlights concrete and pressing issues of gentrification that has occurred and will continue to occur out of Los Angeles River-based development, particularly the development of parks and other urban green spaces. The following recommendations should be considered before any Los Angeles River-related urban green space development is pursued, and particularly before park development is pursued on the site that currently houses the Bowtie Project.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Establish Anti-Gentrification Policies

As recommended by a 2014 study titled “Urban green space, public health, and environmental justice: The challenge of making cities ‘just green enough’”, anti-gentrification policies must be implemented city-wide. These policies may include funding for affordable and low-income housing, inclusionary zoning that would require all new developments to include

affordable and low-income housing, and rent stabilization (J. R. Wolch, Byrne, and Newell 2014).

II. Promote Private Sector Regulation by the Public Sector

As mentioned by both Sean Woods in the interview conducted for this paper and by Richard Kreitner in the article analyzed for this paper, the public sector, namely the City of Los Angeles, must take a much more active role in regulated development that threatens to displace existing residents. Kreitner critiques the public sector for aligning with and favoring the private sector in plans for river development, and that these plans threaten existing low-income communities and communities of color along the river (Kreitner 2016). Sean Woods was quoted saying a legislative solution to gentrification is needed in order to address market forces (Morrison 2015).

III. Pursue Community Based Development for all Future Development

Community-based development is at the core of solutions to address urban green space-related gentrification. A bottom-up approach (Kreitner 2016, Slater 2013), or one that is led by and based in the communities at risk, is the only truly equitable, just, and revolutionary approach to stopping gentrification and displacement. A community benefits agreement (CBA) is one way to achieve equitable development with community engagement at its core, and may be a promising model to institute before any more Los Angeles River-based development takes place. A CBA is an agreement between a community group or groups and a developer, and can include requirements for development such as local hiring practices and inclusionary zoning (Baxamusa 2008).

8. CONCLUSION

The positive effects that urban green spaces can have on low-income communities and communities of color are well documented; these communities, however, are disadvantaged in terms of park access in Los Angeles, where wealthy communities have a much higher number of parks than low-income and poor communities. The Los Angeles River Revitalization Master Plan offers promises of new green space development along the river and river ecosystem improvements. This development, however, has the potential to displace many communities along the river through gentrification; the improvements made to the river and the development of river-centric parks have already begun to attract the attention of real estate investors and property developers, leading to serious issues of gentrification in Los Angeles River-adjacent neighborhoods such as Frogtown, where the Bowtie Project is located.

This paper used the Bowtie Project, an unconventional partnership between the arts non-profit organization Clockshop and California State Parks, as a case study to investigate concerns of gentrification that have arisen since Los Angeles River restoration efforts began. The site on which the Bowtie Project is located will eventually become a park, since California State Parks owns the land. Using a mixed-methods approach, this paper found that most visitors to Bowtie Project events are not from the immediately surrounding community. Using Ruth Glass's 1964 definition of gentrification, it can be argued that the Bowtie Project is still implicated in concerns of Los Angeles River-centric gentrification because the project is attracting attention from residents outside of the existing community. Considering that a park will eventually be developed on the site, it is imperative that stakeholders and developers seek measures including anti-gentrification policies and community-centric development in order to ensure that future urban green space development around the Los Angeles River does not displace communities.

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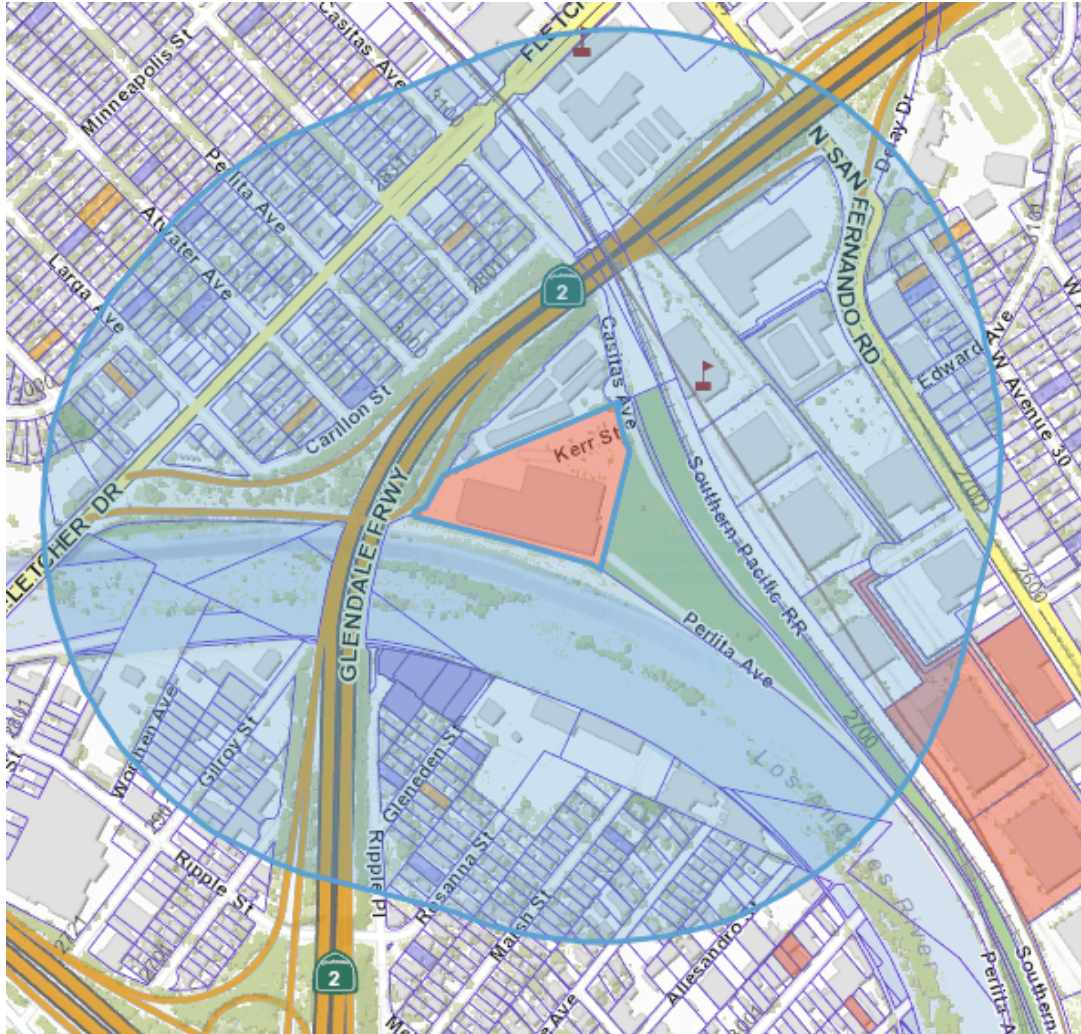
10. APPENDICES

10.1 APPENDIX A: LOS ANGELES RIVER WATERSHED



Photo courtesy of Los Angeles City Council Ad Hoc Committee on the Los Angeles River, via Gottlieb and Azuma 2007.

10.3 APPENDIX C: LOCATION OF PROPERTY ANALYSIS



Screenshot from Los Angeles County Assessor Online Map (maps.assessor.lacounty.gov).

10.4 APPENDIX D: TABLE OF FULL DATA USED FOR PROPERTY ANALYSIS

| Address | Year Built | Sale Date (m/d/y) | Property Sale Price (US Dollars) | Building Size (sq. ft.) | Property Type (zoning) | Bowtie or Marsh Side |
|-------------------|------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 3037 Atwater | 1926 | 8/14/17 | 701,007 | 660 | single family residential | Bowtie |
| 3040 Atwater | 1923 | 8/25/17 | 760,007 | 728 | multi-family residential | Bowtie |
| 3120 Atwater | 1925 | 9/11/17 | 600,006 | 718 | single family residential | Bowtie |
| 3145 Atwater | 1925 | 8/11/17 | 890,008 | 961 | single family residential | Bowtie |
| 2824 W Ave 30 | 1923 | 10/19/17 | 768,007 | 1,728 | single family residential | Bowtie |
| 2828 W Ave 30 | 1926 | 5/25/17 | 595,005 | 1,394 | multi-family residential | Bowtie |
| 2833 W Ave 30 | 1955 | 10/25/17 | 560,005 | 1,262 | multi-family residential | Bowtie |
| 2908 Glenhurst | 1966 | 10/10/17 | 1,035,010 | 1,872 | multi-family residential | Bowtie |
| 3037 La Clede | 1963 | 7/20/16 | 770,007 | 3,260 | multi-family residential | Bowtie |
| 3135 Larga | 1922 | 5/24/17 | 750,007 | 1,515 | single family residential | Bowtie |
| 2800 Casitas Ave | 1999 | 8/19/16 | 22,000,220 | 100,184 | commercial/ industrial | Bowtie |
| 2706 Media Center | 2001 | 11/17/16 | 19,200,192 | 71,356 | commercial/ industrial | Bowtie |
| 2710 Media Center | 2001 | 11/3/16 | 18,000,180 | 56,087 | commercial/ industrial | Bowtie |
| 2938 Marsh | 1930 | 5/2/17 | 602,006 | 1,032 | single family residential | Marsh |
| 2911 Gleneden | 1988 | 9/28/17 | 960,009 | 2,250 | single family residential | Marsh |
| 2914 Gleneden | 1925 | 7/31/17 | 755,007 | 1,961 | multi-family residential | Marsh |
| 2932 Gleneden | 1930 | 6/23/16 | 650,006 | 1,456 | single family residential | Marsh |

All data from Los Angeles County Assessor, accessed via: maps.assessor.lacounty.gov