

OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE URBAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

# Power, Poverty and Policy

---

Evaluating Anti-Violence Strategies in the Context  
of Los Angeles' Skid Row

**Kelsey Longmuir**

**April 2011**

## **Table of Contents**

I. Executive Summary	2
II. Acknowledgements	3
III. Introduction	4
IV. Research Questions	6
V. Methodology	7
VI. The Coloring of Skid Row: A Black History of Los Angeles	8
VII. Contemporary Skid Row: the Lay of the Land	16
VIII. Skid Row Activism: the Los Angeles Community Action Network	20
IX. Safer Cities and Policing as a Violence-Prevention Strategy in Skid Row	23
X. Evaluating Alternative Anti-Violence Strategies	33
XI. Policy Recommendations and Conclusions	30
XII. Works Cited	42

## **Executive Summary**

In the wake of much media attention to perceived violence, the Safer Cities Initiative was introduced in 2006 to reduce and control violence and crime in Skid Row. Since its inception the policing initiative has been criticized by community residents and academics alike. Since this policing has been so controversial, I have explored a wide range of anti-violence strategies in the context of Skid Row. I examined policing, strategies to reduce violence created by the police, and non-police strategies to reduce interpersonal violence.

### **Primary Findings:**

- There is a lack of specific attention to violence reduction techniques. Many programs impact violence by addressing poverty or addiction but do not track rates of violence.
- Violence reduction is not valued as a measure of success. When data demonstrates that programs have not reduced violence, the programs are not cut.
- Safer Cities policing is a policy initiative that specifically addresses violence in Skid Row but it has been unsuccessful in significantly reducing violent crime.
- Policing in Skid Row has actually created a need for initiatives that work to reduce the violence created by interactions with the LAPD.
- A plan for effective policing must be developed in partnership with residents.
- Increasing the supply of affordable housing will allow anti-violence programs by community-based organizations to have better access to residents.
- Affordable housing will help mitigate drug addiction in a cost-effective way and will likely lead to decreased rates of recidivism.

## **Acknowledgements**

I cannot express enough how truly grateful I am to everyone that I have developed relationships with in Skid Row. I am especially grateful to the staff and core members of the Los Angeles Community Action Network, without whom this research would have been impossible. The space for me to write about this subject matter is only possible through community-based organizing and resistance. The efforts of community members to assert their rights and voices have created, reproduced and sustained a discussion about Skid Row that I feel privileged to contribute to.

The relationship between academics and low-income community activists is always a tense one. In my first meetings with staff at the Los Angeles Community Action Network, they expressed concerns that I would come to Skid Row, take what I needed academically and leave. I am immensely grateful that they took a chance on me and allowed me to come into their lives and their work. My experiences and relationships downtown have come to meaningfully define my life in Los Angeles.

I am deeply impressed by Professor Gary Blasi from the UCLA School of Law. He is an academic who truly cares for and respects the needs of communities and uses his research to promote the well-being of Skid Row residents. Thank you for sharing your wisdom with me and for doing the work that you do.

This work is dedicated with love, admiration and the greatest respect to:

Pete White, Becky Dennison, Steve Diaz, Nick Dahmann, General Dogon, Debbie Burton, Karl Scott, Joe Thomas, Dee Weakly, Eric Ares, James Porter and all of my friends on Skid Row.

## Introduction

*“The struggle today is much more difficult. It’s more difficult today because we are struggling now for genuine equality. And it’s much easier to integrate a lunch counter than it is to guarantee a livable income and a good solid job. It’s much easier to guarantee the right to vote than it is to guarantee the right to live in sanitary, decent housing conditions. It is much easier to integrate a public park than it is to make genuine, quality, integrated education a reality. And so today we are struggling for something which says we demand genuine equality.”*

*-Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.*

Growing up in a suburban community that was predominately white and middle-class, I had the impression that racial inequality was something of my parents’ generation. Since there were few differences of class or race in my town, I was able to believe that these differences no longer bred inequality, I was able to believe that we had achieved “the Dream”. Moving to Los Angeles, I was confronted for the first time with racial and economic difference and I began to ask myself questions about the nature of inequality.

I first arrived on Skid Row in the fall of 2009 to complete an internship with the Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN). Occidental is only ten minutes from Skid Row, but the spatial segregation of racialized poverty is so complete in Los Angeles that I had no idea that Skid Row or its residents even existed. As soon as I crossed the invisible borders into the neighborhood I was struck by the obvious racial dynamics of poverty in the city. All of a sudden, nearly everyone was African American and many people had obvious physical or mental disabilities. In Skid Row I was allowed to see all of the racially disparate outcomes of American institutions manifested in the most extreme way.

On a day-to-day basis I was thrown into everything the organization had to offer. The activities change from week-to-week and I went along and did whatever the organizers were doing that week. There was no grace period where I was eased into the intensity of the environment. Within the first week I was passing out flyers at the Huntington Hotel, arguably the most dilapidated residential hotel in all of Skid Row. I shyly knocked on doors and meekly told

residents about an upcoming tenant meeting as I tried not to catch my shoes on lifting floorboards. As we walked the halls, organizers Steve and Dogon told me why almost every door was boarded shut or why it wasn't safe to use the elevator. The shock factor of walking through the hotel and the intensity of the problems of the residents set the tone for my entire internship.

There were very few times when I felt that I was an expendable part of the LA CAN team because I was a temporary intern. That's not to say that I didn't do a lot of grunt work, I probably made over 200 phone calls in the first month. What's important is that everyone on staff does at least some grunt work and everyone recognizes it as a vital component of the organizing process. There was definitely a period of trust building between myself and the organizers. I think they were expecting me to clock in and clock out exactly when my twelve hours were up. It took several long nights, extra work and lots of questions for them to get a sense that I was there for real. Over a year later, I am still volunteering at LA CAN and getting involved in Skid Row issues as much as my schedule allows. I am constantly having "Aha!" moments where I realize why it is so important to study policy in a community-based manner.

I am including my own experiences in this introduction because I am an outsider writing about the issues of Skid Row residents. It is important to acknowledge that I am not speaking for residents, only in solidarity. I write this comprehensive project because I have grown to care about many residents of Skid Row and I am angry that Los Angeles is spending money on policies that are marginalizing these residents. Community residents are the *reason* that we as policymakers should do the work that we do and why we should strive every day for equity and excellence in our work.

## Research Questions

A great deal has been said about Skid Row issues. Academics have researched everything from housing, to policing, to substance abuse and more. I found it difficult to find space to say something new about Skid Row policy and politics. Eventually I realized that many policies have been created in Skid Row under the guise of violence prevention and reduction: missions, centers, policing initiatives.

Professor Gary Blasi and the UCLA School of Law have done excellent work evaluating current policing in Skid Row as a violence reduction strategy but little has been said about non-police anti-violence strategies. In this project I have asked:

1. What are anti-violence strategies that are being used or can be used in Skid Row?
2. What are the merits and demerits of each strategy?
3. Who bears the responsibility of implementing each strategy?
4. How is success measured in each strategy?

I recognize that my research is limited by its general nature. Homeless women especially experience violence in unique ways that I have not addressed here. I additionally acknowledge that the solutions presented within this project are short-term. Long-term anti-violence measures must address the racially disparate systemic conditions that lead to poverty and homelessness.

## **Methodology**

To address these research questions and begin to understand Skid Row and the issues of residents more intimately, I employed a variety of research methods, primarily participant observation and interview analysis.

I engaged in participant observation from August to December 2009 and from June 2010 to the present. In this duration I volunteered at the Los Angeles Community Action Network anywhere from 40 hours a week to dropping in once every few weeks. I attended many public meetings, including meetings of the Police Commission and Los Angeles City Council. I also attended meetings discussing the impacts of the Safer Cities Initiative where many different Skid Row stakeholders were represented: residents, developers, business interests, service providers and police. I also took part in the daily activities of the Los Angeles Community Action Network: I followed the organizers in their work, attended protests, demonstrations, “know your rights” trainings and accompanied Community Watch teams on their neighborhood patrols.

To supplement these observations I conducted interviews and applied the findings of scholarly research to Skid Row and to the context of violence prevention and reduction. From this research I feel that I have an understanding of the merits and demerits of different anti-violence strategies and how realistic their implementation on Skid Row is.

## The Coloring of Skid Row: A Black History of Los Angeles

*“But if the importance of race in America is indeed declining, the continued concentration of poverty, joblessness, and crime in many urban black communities proves that it still plays a powerful role in shaping the opportunities and destinies of African Americans. Today’s city limits are surely not what they once were. But they still exist, and those who desire complete racial equality in the United States should think seriously about where these limits have come from and what their future may be.”*

*-Josh Sides, L.A. City Limits*

The ranks of the poor have not always been filled by people of color in Los Angeles. In fact, Skid Row was once populated by white, alcoholic veterans. The modern, predominately black, Skid Row was constructed through the labor and residential restrictions imposed on black workers after the Second World War, the decline of manufacturing industries in 1970s and ‘80s, and failed social reforms. When higher wage jobs and public funds began to leave South Central, black Angelinos were left floundering, and many ended up on the streets of Skid Row, where service concentration meant that free beds and meals were still available. The economic decline of South Central Los Angeles and the concentration of services in Skid Row have created a neighborhood that holds both many homeless individuals and some of the last affordable housing in Los Angeles. An understanding of the racial history of Los Angeles is critical to understanding contemporary problems of policing and violence in Skid Row.<sup>1</sup>

Beginning in the 1940s, the black population in Los Angeles grew with unprecedented rapidity. Chafing at the restrictive opportunities for employment and housing in the South, black Americans, now known as the Great Migration generation, headed to Los Angeles during the Second World War to take advantage of the booming defense industry. So explosive was the migration that “between 1940 and 1970, the black population in Los Angeles grew faster than in

---

<sup>1</sup> It is not within the scope of my paper to give full detail to the fascinating history of African Americans in Los Angeles. However, anyone interested in understanding poverty (or the associated violence) in Los Angeles must be attentive to racial history. I highly recommend Josh Sides’ *L.A. City Limits* as it is a comprehensive and insightful analysis of black history in Los Angeles.

any other large northern or western city, climbing from 63,744 to almost 763,000.”<sup>i</sup> African Americans came looking for high-wage jobs but were shut out of the highest-paid jobs, especially in the aerospace industry, and were forced to take semi-skilled and low-skilled jobs. Nonetheless, many black migrants made more in Los Angeles than they could have made in the South and most industrial workers could afford to buy a house. However, racial and economic segregation “was maintained with restrictive covenants (an attachment to a deed prohibiting sales to a non-white person), and the collusion of real estate agents, lending institutions, and civic associations that threatened black families with violence if they attempted to move to white communities.”<sup>ii</sup> Most of these units were overpriced and located in what is now the Little Tokyo neighborhood at the edge of downtown.

After the war, racial segregation in jobs and housing continued as industries expanded to the suburbs. During the war, heavy industry was concentrated along the Alameda corridor in the central city and jobs were racially segregated by their pay and skill level. In the years immediately following the war, high-wage jobs and the white workers who occupied them fled the central city to live in planned industrial suburbs. Since these communities were exclusively white, black workers were suddenly denied geographical access to higher-wage jobs. As Josh Sides writes in his excellent history of black Los Angeles, “this tight integration of work and community, as well as the distance of these communities from the central city, effectively eliminated blacks from the industry, even when the industry was not explicitly discriminatory.”<sup>iii</sup> As whites moved into planned communities, the multiracial neighborhoods where many black Angelinos had lived before the war became increasingly and exclusively black. The postwar “social and spatial isolation” of African Americans from the rest of the city was the beginning of

a long standing separation of black and white space in Los Angeles that confined many African Americans to South Central Los Angeles.<sup>iv</sup>

Even when restrictive housing covenants were abolished by consecutive Supreme Court decisions in 1948 and 1953, blacks were kept segregated by individual discrimination of homeowners, and new infrastructure that created literal divisions around black and brown communities. California received “massive federal subsidies to build freeways, which not only cut up black and brown communities in Los Angeles and reinforced racial segregation, but it offered industrial firms incentives to move away from core urban communities.”<sup>v</sup> The disappearance of industrial firms from black communities brought a decline in jobs which in turn led to a decline in the tax base, quality and quantity of schools, city services and public transportation.

In the post-war years, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA) began to build public housing projects across the city. These original public housing projects were clean, safe, racially integrated and spatially dispersed. This *initially* “prevented the type of concentration that cropped up in other cities and often doomed neighborhoods to automatic ‘ghetto’ status.”<sup>vi</sup> However, it was not long before public opinion shifted and communities began to associate public housing with crime and declining property values. South Los Angeles, especially Watts, became a “dumping ground” for public housing projects that were rejected in all other areas of the city.<sup>vii</sup> By the late 1950s and early 1960s South Central Los Angeles had become a poverty corridor in the region, devastated by the effects of deindustrialization. The crumbling economy of the neighborhood was exacerbated by the flight of educated, more affluent blacks. Though the success of these wealthy blacks represented progress and opportunity

for black Angelinos, their “disappearance contributed to the isolation of poor black people along Central Avenue and engendered a deep feeling of betrayal among many of those left behind.”<sup>viii</sup>

In the early 1960s, South Central and Watts saw a tremendous inflow of police and an outflow of jobs. Following the general trend of the nation, industrial manufacturing declined in Los Angeles, beginning with the steel industry. Sides sums up deindustrialization as caused “by increased global competition; aging, inefficient, and expensive capital stock; and corporate management’s desire to save labor costs by relocating to foreign countries.”<sup>ix</sup> The national disinvestment in manufacturing capacity manifested itself most profoundly in South Central Los Angeles in the disappearance of well-paid jobs where black Angelinos were a large proportion of the labor force. This had a profound psychological impact on the children of black industrial workers. In his analysis, Sides argues:

“The economic dislocation of the Great Migration generation also had severe implications for its children. For an already disillusioned minority of these children, watching their parents lose hard-won jobs confirmed the fruitlessness of playing by the rules...The crime rate throughout black Los Angeles skyrocketed as young African Americans, particularly young men, sought financial stability outside the legitimate labor force.”<sup>x</sup>

The employment vacuum left by deindustrialization was filled by service jobs, a poor substitute for the well-paid, union jobs that were available to the previous generation of black Angelinos. The gains that the Great Migration generation had made were rapidly reversing and leaving disillusioned black youth in their wake.

It is in this social context that the police presence, which historian Robin D.G. Kelley calls an “occupying army,” increased dramatically in South Los Angeles.<sup>xi</sup> South Central and Watts were areas of notorious police brutality; as early as 1950 “a survey of Watts residents corroborated the frequency and routine occurrence of police abuse: half of the respondents reported that they had been lined up on the sidewalk, frisked for no apparent reason, and

‘slapped, kicked, etc.,’ by the police.”<sup>xii</sup> In 1965, frustration with poverty and police brutality in South Los Angeles came to a head in the form of the Watts Riots. This explosion of violence symbolized the limited opportunities for the younger generation of black Angelinos and solidified the perception of South Los Angeles as a dangerous, blighted area. The destruction of the economy of South Central “contributed significantly to crime, drug addiction, rising rates of out-of-wedlock births, and the creation of a substantial – and semipermanent – underclass of African Americans.”<sup>xiii</sup> The abandonment of South Los Angeles paved the way for the racial transformation of Skid Row and the pervasive and continuing poverty of many blacks in Los Angeles.

These changes in South Central Los Angeles coincided with national neoliberal trends, especially the deinstitutionalization movement, the dismantling of social safety nets, and the aging of the baby boom generation, that led to the creation of the contemporary Skid Row.<sup>2</sup> In the 1960s deinstitutionalization hit America with the passage of the Community Mental Health Centers Act. Under deinstitutionalization, federal mental health facilities would be dismantled and community-based service centers would take responsibility for the long-term care of the mentally ill. Though this seemed like a good idea to both fiscal conservatives and civil rights activists who were concerned with the treatment of patients in state asylums, “a woefully inadequate sum was subsequently allocated by federal, state, and local governments to construct and staff the promised community-based services so critical to supporting the mentally disabled in the community.”<sup>xiv</sup> In this way, the deinstitutionalization movement set a precedent of reform without the necessary fiscal follow-through. Despite its flaws, deinstitutionalization “became

---

<sup>2</sup> In brief, neoliberalism is a market-driven framework for social and economic policy. Neoliberalism is characterized by open markets and the maximization of the private sector. In the context of homelessness, neoliberalism is the shrinking of traditional safety nets for the poor, even as the number of impoverished people grows.

fashionable [and was used to reform the systems] for the mentally [ill], the physically disabled, the dependent elderly, and probationers and parolees.”<sup>xv</sup> As the overall stock of care facilities was depleted, those who didn’t get care became more susceptible to homelessness.

The dismantling of effective social services continued in the 1980s as the Reagan administration attempted to get government off the backs of the American people. “Between 1982 and 1985, federal programs to the poor were cut by \$57 billion (adjusted for inflation).”<sup>xvi</sup> One of the central problems with Reagan’s fiscal strategy was the abruptness of the policy shift. In a span of less than fifteen years, the government-supported housing stock was completely gutted. “Federal authorizations for housing were 7 percent of the total federal budget in 1978 but amounted to only 0.7 percent by the late 1980s.”<sup>xvii</sup> Those who had become reliant on social services were suddenly confronted with a much smaller safety net. Reagan’s idea that government should be small so that the free market can flourish reeks of social Darwinism when examined in the context of homelessness and services for the mentally ill. Starving the governmental beast and allowing citizens to compete freely assumes an equal playing field, and the repercussions of this false assumption have been manifested in Skid Row.

The timing of Reagan’s budget cuts coincided with the maturation of the baby boom generation to create fertile conditions for a rise in homelessness. The mass maturation of the baby boomers placed a strain on the economy by creating a bulge in the working-age population. “This bulge hurt the economic prospects of many people by depressing their earnings and increasing their likelihood of unemployment.”<sup>xviii</sup> Additionally, these unfavorable economic conditions coincided with an increased need for social services. “The onset of major mental disorders frequently occurs during the late teens to mid-twenties as the baby boom cohort reached early adulthood during the late 1960s and 1970s, more and more people were affected by

mental disability and were in need of treatment.”<sup>xix</sup> In the wake of Reagan’s deinstitutionalization policies, the newly ill baby-boomers had fewer resources to find affordable treatment and often ended up homeless. Homelessness is caused predominately by economics and personal vulnerability, and the 1980s provided the historical context for the emergence of homelessness as a national epidemic.

In the mid-1970s and 1980s Los Angeles began to see the impact of conservative neoliberal policies and was hit by the epidemic of crack cocaine. Following a national trend, there was a swell in conservatism in California in the ‘70s and 80s. In 1978, California voters passed Proposition 13 which limited the ability of California politicians to raise property taxes. Often called a taxpayer revolt, Proposition 13 disproportionately impacted blacks by reducing the inflow of dollars used to fund public housing, employment and welfare. In the early 1980s, crack cocaine hit the streets of Los Angeles and left an indelible mark on the city’s black community. As previously suggested, black youth in South L.A. were already presented with a minimal set of options for employment, and social and economic mobility. This preexisting vulnerability allowed the crack trade to bring “an unprecedented wave of violence to South Central and drove thousands of young black people into gangs” in addition to creating thousands of addicts.<sup>xx</sup> The explosion of addiction and crime in South Los Angeles, combined with the disappearing federal safety nets, allowed the racial composition of homelessness in Los Angeles to change dramatically.

As blacks became increasingly homeless in Los Angeles, the city adopted a philosophy of containment that changed Skid Row into an area of concentrated services. Los Angeles began to concentrate emergency housing and services for the homeless beginning in the late 1970s. This policy came during a boom of commercial development in downtown and was a compromise

between developers who wanted to move the homeless away from potential redevelopment projects and homeless advocates who wanted to see increased services. The Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) created the SRO Housing corporation, a move that maintained affordable housing but also provided the spatial fix that developers wanted. With services and housing concentrated in one area, developers wouldn't have to worry about the homeless potentially interfering with the economic success of their new downtown projects.<sup>xxi</sup> As services were concentrated in Skid Row, there was an exodus by poor blacks from South L.A. to Skid Row. This is exemplified by the racial statistics of Skid Row: in the 1970s, "21% of the population [of Skid Row] was black and 67% was white."<sup>xxii</sup> Today Skid Row is disproportionately black, with most demographic estimates claiming that Skid Row is over 50% African American<sup>3</sup>. Though there were limited chances for upward mobility in Skid Row, the ability to get basic human services allowed black Angelinos a chance to survive if they became homeless.

However, as the homeless population exploded in size in the '80s, containment became less popular with business representatives who were worried about "spillover into the central business district threatened the value of investments there."<sup>xxiii</sup> While containment created Skid Row as a service-dependent neighborhood, it also allowed for the growth of a constituency of extremely low-income homeless and housed individuals and the service providers and advocates who support them. This is where history intersects with the present most clearly in Skid Row. Developers are still trying to move homeless people and affordable housing out of Skid Row to pave the way for a downtown renaissance but community members are fighting back.

---

<sup>3</sup> Demographic considerations are further discussed in the "Contemporary Skid Row" section.

## Contemporary Skid Row: the Lay of the Land

For the purposes of examining violence prevention in Skid Row, it is important to acknowledge the neighborhood landscape: people, services, and housing. While the common conception of a Skid Row resident is one of homelessness, it is important to note that many Skid Row residents are housed. Skid Row has a housing stock that is accessible to the very poor, as well as newly developed and expensive lofts and condominiums. Though housed, many residents who belong to the same demographic groups as homeless residents (predominately black men) experience many of the same interactions with the police.

Homelessness can be divided into two categories based on the markedly different characteristics surrounding the individual and the circumstances leading to homelessness. Chronic homelessness is federally defined as "an unaccompanied homeless individual with a disabling condition who has either been continuously homeless for a year or more, or has had at least four episodes of homelessness in the past three years."<sup>xxiv</sup> These disabling conditions can include, but are not limited to, a physical or mental disability, depression, alcohol or drug use, or any chronic health problem. Episodic homelessness includes individuals and families that may have disabling conditions but have been literally homeless only sporadically. Counting the homeless in this way requires the estimation of the point when someone became homeless so that we may define their condition as chronic or episodic. In Los Angeles, the homeless are counted by the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA) using the definition from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). This definition says "A person is considered homeless only when he/she resides in one of the three following places: 1) places not meant for human habitation such as cars, parks, sidewalks, and abandoned buildings; 2) an

emergency shelter; or 3) transitional housing for homeless persons and who originally came from the streets or emergency shelter.<sup>xxv</sup> This definition does not include individuals and families that move frequently between the homes of different friends or family members. These individuals, and those paying an extremely high proportion of their resources toward rent, are considered precariously housed.

Skid Row is home to the largest concentration of homeless individuals in both Los Angeles and Los Angeles County. In the 50-square block area there were 3,802 homeless individuals as of 2009 LAHSA count.<sup>xxvi</sup> This is 9% of Los Angeles' Continuum of Care (CoC) homeless population. This CoC area includes all of Los Angeles County except the cities of Glendale, Long Beach and Pasadena. In 2009 22% of Skid Row homeless were unsheltered, while 78% were sheltered. These numbers look very different from the CoC at large where 67% of homeless are unsheltered. This is due to the concentration of services, including emergency and transitional housing, in Skid Row<sup>4</sup>. While Skid Row may have a relatively low number of *literally* homeless individuals, it is the highest concentration of homelessness anywhere in the City or County. "Comprising about 0.85 square miles, Skid Row contains about 0.18% of the land area in the City but about 7.6% of the homeless population, a density 42 times the citywide average [as of 2005]."<sup>xxvii</sup>

While Skid Row-specific data on homeless subpopulations is not available through LAHSA, homeless individuals in Skid Row are more likely to be chronically homeless, often with mental disabilities or substance abuse problems. In the City at large, LAHSA found that 24% of homeless persons had mental disabilities and 42% had substance abuse problems.<sup>xxviii</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> The concentration of emergency housing and services and transitional housing in Skid Row is far from accidental. Policymakers specifically created Skid Row as a service-concentrated neighborhood as part of a philosophy called "containment." The creation of contemporary Skid Row, including containment, is discussed in detail in the "Coloring of Skid Row" section.

Comparatively, a 2002 LAPD homeless reduction strategy document referenced “reliable estimates claim[ing] some 60 % of this population to be mentally impaired and 80% to be substance abusers.”<sup>xxix</sup> Additionally, most homeless individuals in Skid Row did not become homeless in Skid Row, but instead ended up there to use the abundant services.

Nearly half (47%) of the homeless persons across the CoC are African-American and 60% are male. These trends are reflected in Skid Row, where black males disproportionately populate the streets and shelters.<sup>5</sup> Based on “sample surveys, projections from countywide data, and informed estimates of experts and service providers with long experience on Skid Row,” Professor Gary Blasi and the UCLA School of Law Fact Investigation Clinic estimated “that well over two thirds of the homeless population on Skid Row have a severe and chronic mental illness, a serious addiction problem, or very frequently, both major mental illness and a substance abuse problem.”<sup>xxx</sup> Furthermore, across the City, “there are about 13 persons with mental disabilities for every shelter space targeting this population, and 21.5 homeless addicts for every potential shelter bed. For the many people with co-occurring disorders, the ratio is likely far higher.”<sup>xxxi</sup>

It is critical to understand that many extremely low-income individuals are housed in Skid Row. Skid Row has a unique affordable housing stock that includes residential or single-room occupancy (SRO) hotels. In fact, roughly two thirds of Skid Row’s residents are housed in these SROs.<sup>xxxii</sup> However, those living in SRO hotels can still be classified as housing insecure.

---

<sup>5</sup> This overrepresentation of black men in Skid Row comes from a variety of factors, some of which are discussed in “The Coloring of Skid Row” section. However, institutions such as our foster care, health care, criminal and juvenile justice and public school systems contribute to black homelessness as they routinely underserve black youth and black men. For specific data about the racial achievement gap in California’s public schools see: UCLA Institute for Democracy’s “Education and Access, Separate and Unequal: 50 Years After Brown, California’s Racial ‘Opportunity Gap’”. Additionally, the Center for Law and Social Policy recently released a document called “We Dream a World: the 2025 Vision for Black Men and Boys” which suggests innovative policies that would reduce the disparate racial impacts on black men and boys.

Residents, especially those living in for-profit SROs, are in constant fear that they will lose their housing and end up on the street or in a mission. A large portion of housed residents are dependent on federal financial assistance, primarily General Relief (GR) and Social Security, or are receiving housing vouchers (Section 8). As the national economy and federal leadership is always in flux, these benefits cannot be taken as a constant. For example, GR benefits were recently reduced to \$221 per month and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) payments fell to between \$50 and \$100 in California.

Preserving this affordable housing has been a constant battle for the community-based activists. Early victories for the Los Angeles Community Action Network came from establishing tenancy rights for extremely low-income SRO residents<sup>6</sup>. However, creating and preserving affordable housing long-term has been very difficult. During the housing boom of the past decade, “fewer affordable units were built in Skid Row... than in the recessionary 1990s.”<sup>xxxiii</sup> Though Los Angeles has a Rent Stabilization Ordinance (LARSO), it allows landlords to raise rents by 5 percent every year even if incomes (measured through the Consumer Price Index) stay the same or decrease. In 2002, it appeared that housing advocates had made progress when Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa launched an Affordable Housing Trust Fund (AHTF). The original \$100 million was earmarked for the creation and preservation of affordable housing across Los Angeles. However, as of today there is only \$9 million in the AHTF, a decimation of the fund that went “without a mention in the *Los Angeles Times*.”<sup>xxxiv</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> The Los Angeles Community Action Network is further discussed in the next section.

## **Skid Row Activism: The Los Angeles Community Action Network**

While there are a great deal of place-based organizations in Skid Row, the Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN) is the only one that mobilizes and engages residents into civic life through community organizing. As an organization, LA CAN has done a masterful job of building a vocal and educated network of Skid Row residents that continue to enthusiastically spread the organization's gospel of social and economic justice. The organization does a commendable job of using well-researched data and statistics in concert with a morally pertinent human narrative to achieve big victories.

The Los Angeles Community Action Network was founded on January 2, 1999 in Skid Row. The founding of LA CAN by 25 community residents marks a departure from service-based efforts that have historically dominated the community. LA CAN was originally formed with the mission to "help people dealing with poverty create and discover opportunities, while serving as a vehicle to ensure they have voice, power and opinion in the decisions that are directly affecting them."<sup>xxxv</sup> The founding members of LA CAN built upon other organizing efforts that they believed did not go far enough in scope of issues, or in commitment to indigenous leadership. Most of the founding members of LA CAN are still involved with the organization and help constitute the 95 percent of the organization's staff and core membership that are Skid Row residents.

Over the past ten years, LA CAN has grown significantly in terms of membership, from an initial 25 to over 200, and in the scope of their campaign work. The organization was founded around fighting what they viewed as egregious civil and human rights violations. However, the current organization has expanded its focus to address housing policies in the Skid Row community, economic development and the condition of women. The violation of civil and

human rights that the LA CAN founding members sought to challenge were the anti-poor and anti-minority policing tactics that they saw around them.

LA CAN's organizers, Debbie, Steve and Dogon, are the fundamental relationship-builders for the organization. They are the individuals who conduct outreach on the street and at the residential hotels. Residential hotels are some of the only affordable housing in the neighborhood and are often characterized by slum conditions. The landlords, hotel-owners in name only, often attempt to illegally evict residents to pave the way for higher income residents. All of these organizers, plus the part-time organizers, Dee and Karl, and full-time volunteers, Joe and James, are longtime residents of the downtown community. Having these Skid Row residents as staff members reinforces LA CAN's commitment to building indigenous leadership. The paid organizers are responsible primarily for recruiting non-paid community leaders. This is done by the organizers through the formal mechanism of LA CAN or through the personal relationships with their neighbors that already exist. Many of the core members of LA CAN initially joined because they had a personal friendship with one of the organizers. One of the most important ways in which the organization grows is through the institutionalization of these informal relationships that exist in this community. Even if the organizers don't personally know every single resident, there is a degree of recognition that comes from walking through the community. There are always people, often the same people, on the streets hanging out; this physical accessibility is part of why LA CAN has had success organizing in the Skid Row community.

Choosing an issue at LA CAN is a very resident-driven process. Since many of the organizers and core members live in the downtown area, they are likely to be the first to notice place-based problems. The very difficult part of the process is cutting the problems into

accessible and winnable issues and campaigns. Because *every* building is infested with roaches and has a greedy landlord, because *every* corner market sells chips instead of carrots and because *every* cop assumes that residents are dealing drugs on *every* corner, it is difficult to target just one person or place. Issues are chosen through what boils down to two criteria: winnability and greatest impact. Often these two prove to be mutually exclusive so there are the issues that LA CAN chips away at and doesn't hope to win immediately, and issues that are attainable in a shorter period of time.

A constant theme in internal meetings at LA CAN is how to involve members and non-member residents. Especially since many Skid Row residents are in dire straits, it is imperative to convince members and non-members alike that LA CAN makes a *tangible* positive difference in their lives. Since the campaigns are directed by residents' needs, the campaigns generally impact a wide variety of residents. It is easy to recruit new members when the organization has recently had a victory, but it is during the lulls in between major victories, such as the moratorium on the conversion of residential hotels to pricey condominiums, that LA CAN has a difficult time creating momentum. Organizers work to spread the burden of creating positive morale among themselves and the community leaders. At semi-weekly membership meetings residents are selected to speak about a topic if they feel particularly passionate about it. LA CAN believes that enthusiasm and a belief in what co-director Pete White calls, "people power," is infectious and can be spread from one community member to another.

## Safer Cities and Policing as a Violence-Prevention Strategy in Skid Row

*“But we know the lie was constructed over a century ago  
We have been blamed before  
Prosecuted and punished to the fullest extent of the law...  
But there are no criminals here  
Just people surviving against all odds”*  
-Jonathan D. Gomez, “There Are No Criminals Here” (2009)

In 2006, Skid Row saw an unprecedented rise in police activity in the form of the Safer Cities Initiative (SCI). The original effort was designed to reduce crime on Skid Row by coupling increased policing with increased services. However, while extra cops have been hastily assigned to the Skid Row beat, residents are still waiting for services five years later.<sup>xxxvi</sup> The absence of the promised services is a clear indicator that SCI is about more than crime reduction; it is a part of a gentrifying vision of a new downtown Los Angeles that does not include homeless and low-income people. SCI is problematic as a violence prevention strategy because it is widely resisted by community residents, tremendously expensive and promotes unconstitutional practices.

### **Gentrification, the New Downtown, and the Rise of Policing**

As briefly discussed in previous chapters, policies of renewal and development are never free from politics of race and class. This is especially true with Skid Row, a swath of land in close proximity to the financial district, swanky Bunker Hill, and the entertainment mecca of L.A. Live. It is difficult to understand the purpose of aggressive policing measures in Skid Row without examining them in the context of downtown redevelopment.<sup>7</sup>

In 1949, the federal government passed the Housing Act of 1949 which allowed cities to redo areas that were defined as blighted. The government even provided funds for slum clearing

---

<sup>7</sup> A full history of gentrification and the redevelopment of blighted areas is not within the scope of my research. However, there is an enormous body of writing about this topic and it is worth exploring. I have relied heavily on the senior comprehensive project of Phil Barney when summarizing this topic and the way that it applies to Skid Row.

efforts associated with urban renewal. Cities would submit redevelopment plans for blighted areas to regional urban renewal offices and if the plans were approved the city could seize the land through eminent domain. The people and businesses already on the land were given small amounts of money for compensation and were forced to leave. As previously discussed, the development of poor black neighborhoods was systematically assisted by the federal and local governments through discriminatory housing laws. This has led to an association by many scholars and activists of urban renewal with “Negro removal.”<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Los Angeles’ Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) was established in 1948 to carry out the process of urban renewal in Los Angeles. The CRA defines “redevelopment areas” where deteriorated structures are removed or replaced to foster job creation and private investment. Part of the CRA’s mission includes maintaining or increasing the affordable housing supply for low-income Angelinos.<sup>xxxviii</sup> Bunker Hill, a predominately black neighborhood at the time, was chosen for redevelopment in 1955. The Bunker Hill project was supposed to be the beginning of downtown as the center of the economy and lifestyle of the city. Though a tremendous amount of low-income housing units were destroyed in the transformation of Bunker Hill, very little of it was rebuilt.<sup>xxxix</sup> Contrary to the CRA’s mission, it is uncommon for affordable housing to be rebuilt after it has been destroyed.

Since the Bunker Hill project, downtown Los Angeles has been consistently targeted for new projects that cater to wealthy individuals and private corporations. In 1999 Los Angeles’ Adaptive Reuse Ordinance (ARO) was approved to facilitate “the conversion of dozens of historic and under-utilized structures into new housing units.”<sup>xl</sup> This meant that single-room-occupancy hotels in Skid Row could be more easily converted by wealthy developers into high-rent lofts and condominiums. This re-imagination of downtown was furthered by the CRA’s

2002 City Center Redevelopment Plan. Going a step further than the ARO, the redevelopment plan actively designated for-profit residential hotel units in Skid Row for conversion. These 4,000 total units were primarily occupied by low-income, long-term residents and the CRA's plan offered no mechanism to replace existing housing or for relocating the residents who would be displaced. According to homeless and low-income activists, the redevelopment plan "called for the wholesale destruction and eviction of the existing poor black and brown community in favor of a wealthy and white 'new downtown.'"<sup>xli</sup>

Beginning in 2002, a group of community-based organizations including LA CAN, Strategic Actions for a Just Economy (SAJE), and the Figueroa Corridor Coalition for Economic Justice (FCCEJ) joined with the Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles (LAFLA) to launch a campaign to preserve the residential hotels in Skid Row and low-income housing across the city. Instead of the CRA's proposed elimination of nearly all low-income residential hotel units, the organizing campaign won one-for-one no-net loss policies for protecting low-income housing in residential hotels and other rent-stabilized units across the city.<sup>8</sup> An Interim Control Ordinance (ICO) was also passed in 2006, officially defining residential hotels as low-income housing, and creating a temporary moratorium on conversions into lofts and condominiums. In 2008, the protections of the moratorium were made permanent in the Residential Hotel Preservation Ordinance which now protects residential hotel units citywide from conversion or demolition without replacement<sup>9</sup>. All of these organizing efforts have effectively stemmed efforts to gentrify

---

<sup>8</sup> Los Angeles' Rent Stabilization Ordinance (RSO) is a city-wide ordinance that attempts to limit excessive rent increases for tenants. The terms of the RSO are still contested by tenants' rights activists because the scope of the ordinance is limited in that it applies only to buildings built on or before October 1, 1978 and it allows landlords to raise rent even in poor economic times. (Whereas other cities base the percentage that landlords can raise rent off of the national Consumer Price Index.) For complete information about Los Angeles' Rent Stabilization Ordinance please see the website of the Los Angeles Housing Department.

<sup>9</sup> There are 19,000 residential hotel units citywide.

Skid Row through the destruction of low-income housing. As historian Robin D. G. Kelley writes, “[the war on the poor] might have worked, but then a funny thing happened on the way to the downtown renaissance: poor folks fought back.”<sup>xlii</sup>

At the same time that efforts to gentrify Skid Row were beginning to meet community resistance, the LAPD was developing strategies to move the homeless out of the neighborhood. Beginning in 2002, the Central Division, which covers Skid Row, developed an internal document called *Homeless Reduction Strategies*. The document outlined a cooperative effort with the City Council, the City Attorney and the Business Improvement District to “impact the problem of the criminal homeless.” This document acknowledged that a majority of Skid Row homeless were drug addicted or mentally ill (or both) and proposed extra officers to control “anti-camping and anti-public urination/defecation ordinances” and “disbursement [sic] of Social Services providers from within Central Area.”<sup>xliii</sup> The partnership of the Central Division with the Business Improvement District, a “coalition of property owner...committed to enhancing the quality of life in downtown Los Angeles,” suggests a link between developers’ interest in gentrifying the neighborhood and the LAPD’s new interest in reducing the number of homeless in Skid Row.<sup>xliv</sup>

The Central Division’s internal plan was renamed and made public in the form of the SCI. New LAPD police chief William Bratton, known for aggressive policing in New York City, announced in 2003 that he would be using “broken windows” policing to clean up Skid Row. The “broken windows” theory of crime prevention, originally produced by George Kelling, argues that a tolerance of small crime spawns more serious and violent crimes. James Q. Wilson, a prominent advocate of the theory and co-author of the original article on “broken windows”, argues:

“if a factory or office window is broken, passersby observing it will conclude that no one cares or no one is in charge. In time, a few will begin throwing rocks to break more windows. Soon all the windows will be broken, and now passersby will think that, not only no one is in charge of the building, no one is in charge of the street on which it faces . . . so more and more citizens will abandon the street to those they assume prowl it. Small disorders lead to larger ones, and perhaps even to crime.”<sup>xlv</sup>

Kelling, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, was paid by the City from 2002 to 2006 for consulting services related to SCI.<sup>xlvi</sup> According to the minutes from consulting meetings with Kelling, obtained by Professor Gary Blasi through a California public records request, Kelling was concerned with appearance and public relations, telling LAPD that it was important to “get the high moral ground” and that “the group should have op-ed pieces ready for submission, explaining the strategy and tactics of the group, before enforcement action begins.”<sup>xlvii</sup> This increased attention to Skid Row issues, especially crime, is reflected in published stories in the *Los Angeles Times*. During the five year period before SCI entered its modern form, 151 articles were written having to do with homelessness and Skid Row.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, in the five year period since SCI has begun, 229 stories have been published on the same subject matter.<sup>11</sup> Among these articles is a high-profile series by editorial columnist Steve Lopez. Turned into a book called *The Soloist* and a movie of the same name, these articles portray Skid Row as a lawless area where “people stumble and rant, they lie in filth, they trap you with eyes that threaten and plead.”<sup>xlviii</sup>

In 2006 Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa announced SCI as part of a ten-year plan to reduce, and eventually end, homelessness in Los Angeles. Originally, law enforcement in Skid Row was to be coupled with an increase in social services. The mayor promised that more supportive housing would be built, more shelter beds would be available, and that misdemeanor arrestees would have the option of going to treatment instead of jail. Research by Professor Blasi has

---

<sup>10</sup> Number based on a Proquest search on April 1, 2011 for full text articles from the *Los Angeles Times* between 1/1/1999 and 12/31/2004. Search terms were “homeless\*” and “Skid Row.”

<sup>11</sup> Number based on a Proquest search on March 20, 2011 for full text articles from the *Los Angeles Times* between 1/1/2005 and 3/20/2011. Search terms were “homeless\*” and “Skid Row.”

demonstrated that no new units of permanent supportive housing were funded by the city and it is unclear whether additional beds became available. Additionally, alternative sentencing for misdemeanor arrestees has not been carried out. “By the end of May, 2007, out of 7,428 arrests (including 2,218 misdemeanors), a total of 34 people had completed the [PATH Alternative Sentencing] program.”<sup>xlix</sup> Though SCI has not delivered promised services, it can still be evaluated as an anti-violence strategy.

### **Evaluating Safer Cities as an Anti-Violence Strategy:**

*“A whole lot of the crime rate [in Skid Row] is from a lot of gang activity, you take away the gang activity, there is almost no crime rate downtown except for little drug sales. But then again, that’s not violent neither...Year before last [LAPD] only had two murders downtown, then the next year they only had one murder. So the police reported that they reduced murders by 50%...it’s all propaganda.”*

*-General Dogon, Skid Row Resident, Civil Rights Organizer with the Los Angeles Community Action Network*

*Race, Disorder and “Broken Windows” Theory:* Many scholars have criticized the “broken windows” theory at its foundation because the way disorder is perceived in communities is deeply connected to socially constructed perceptions of race. In a prolific study by Robert J. Sampson and Stephen W. Raudenbush, race and poverty were the most important factors in determining levels of perceived disorder. In addition to measuring the perceptions of residents of the neighborhood, the study examined the perceptions of community leaders who live outside of the community in which they work. Racial composition “strongly predicted leaders’ evaluations of disorder,” with all tested groups perceiving the most disorder in majority black communities.<sup>1</sup> In summary, “white men in an awful streetscape don’t generate nearly the same fear and perceived criminality as black men.”<sup>li</sup> In light of these findings, using “broken windows” theory as an anti-violence strategy in Skid Row, a predominately black community, is extremely problematic at a very basic theoretical level.

*Fiscal Expenditure v. Reduction of Crime:* Though Skid Row has never had the serious levels of violent crime found in other LAPD areas such as Rampart and 77<sup>th</sup>, SCI has assured the assignment of over 50 extra officers to the Skid Row beat. In the first year of SCI, the LAPD made about 9,000 arrests and issued about 12,000 citations, mostly for cross walk violations, among Skid Row's 15,000 person community<sup>12</sup>. In fact, the UCLA Law Center found that in the first year of SCI, pedestrian citations were "48 to 69 times more frequent in Skid Row than elsewhere in Los Angeles."<sup>iii</sup> Additionally, about \$6.5 million per year has gone to fund this policing effort.<sup>liii</sup> The essential question is whether or not SCI has reduced downtown crime proportional to the enormous fiscal expenditure. In an analysis of crime in Skid Row compared to the rest of the city during the first two years of SCI, researchers Gary Blasi and Forrest Stuart find that the reduction of crime in the SCI area was not statistically significant from the reduction in the non-SCI area. The only notable reduction in crime comes in the form of robbery. However, since robberies in the Central area only account for 5% of robberies citywide, the \$6.5 million dollar expenditure doesn't make sense.<sup>liv</sup>

*Broken Windows Policing v. Available Services:* Researchers and community activists have routinely found that many of the crimes of interest under SCI are not controllable by the individual but are instead necessitated by the condition of homelessness in Skid Row. Low-income Skid Row residents are routinely cited for littering in an area where there are very few trash cans and for sleeping on the street when there are not enough shelter beds.

---

<sup>12</sup> LA CAN runs a free legal clinic to provide legal representation for infraction citations for low-income Skid Row residents. In 2009, of the 600 tickets that were handled through legal clinic, 90% were for crosswalk violations/jaywalking.

The American Civil Liberties Union successfully sued the City of Los Angeles in 2006, alleging that enforcement of certain laws under SCI constituted cruel and unusual punishment. Specifically, the enforcement of city ordinance 41.18(d), which forbids sitting, sleeping or lying on sidewalks, was challenged in Skid Row because there aren't enough shelter beds for all of the neighborhood's homeless, thus necessitating that many individuals break the law. Cases like these suggest that the small crimes that SCI targets are less about individual choice and more about the condition of homelessness.<sup>lv</sup>

*Civil Rights Violations:* In addition to unconstitutional laws, SCI has been characterized by the violation of the civil rights of Skid Row residents. In 2003, Skid Row residents sued the City of Los Angeles on the grounds that Skid Row officers were routinely violating the Fourth Amendment by stopping and searching residents without sufficient evidence of wrongdoing. An injunction on these unconstitutional searches was granted by the California District Court in *Fitzgerald v. Los Angeles*, and the injunctive relief was extended in 2009.<sup>lvi</sup> However, a recent community-based human rights assessment by the Los Angeles Community Action Network found that police harassment in the form of warrantless stops, searches and detainments is still a frequent occurrence. Of the 203 individuals surveyed, 67.2% of respondents “confirmed the occurrence of such practices, reporting a stop/detainment resulting in neither citation nor arrest.” Additionally, the average number of these stops was 5.3 per person. During these stops, the majority of respondents were “handcuffed (60.3%), searched (75.4%), [or] asked if they were on parole or probation (76.2%).”<sup>lvii</sup> All of these practices should have stopped because of the Fitzgerald injunction.

*Recidivism:* SCI policing has not ended violence in Skid Row. Instead, it is likely to continue cycles of incarceration and chronic homelessness. The financial burden caused by citations for infractions, such as jaywalking or littering, has already caused and is likely to continue to cause mentally ill, disabled or homeless individuals to go to jail. As previously demonstrated, a large portion of Skid Row residents are on fixed incomes, especially California General Relief. The fine for infractions, such as crosswalk violations, is generally between \$159 and \$191, enough to force many low-income individuals to choose between basic necessities or paying the ticket. The LA CAN Community-Based Human Rights Assessment reports that “31% [of respondents] report losing social services, 26.8% report losing housing, and 16.9% report losing employment” because of their citation.<sup>lviii</sup> If residents are unable to pay, the monetary penalties can escalate and a warrant can be issued for their arrest.<sup>13</sup> Since residents in Skid Row are highly likely to be arbitrarily stopped by police, an outstanding warrant for failure to appear in court or pay a fine is especially dangerous for indigent residents.

Furthermore, more than half of all SCI arrests are for drug offenses, most of which are for either possession or the sale of small amounts of crack cocaine. The small quantity of drugs involved in most SCI arrests for drug sales suggest that many of those arrested are addicts caught in buy/bust schemes where undercover officers offer addicts an excellent price for their small stash.<sup>lix</sup> In accompanying Community Watch teams, I have watched these non-violent drug offenders receive escalated charges for drug sales in these undercover schemes. When the addict

---

<sup>13</sup> It is additionally problematic given that community activists allege that the lights at crosswalks in Skid Row have actually been shortened since SCI began. As of December 2010, Attorney Carol Sobel was working on a lawsuit against the City of Los Angeles for this practice. Many activists and scholars have pointed out that it is difficult to imagine that these citations are truly about making Skid Row safer for pedestrians. Gary Blasi makes the compelling argument that if LAPD was truly concerned with pedestrian safety in a neighborhood filled with mentally ill and disabled residents, they would improve crosswalks by adding audible signals and other types of assistance for the mentally ill.

makes the sale, the consequences are much more serious than if their charge was merely possession.<sup>lx</sup> Homeless and mentally ill addicts sent to state prison are more likely to return as chronically homeless individuals. Since individuals convicted for drug sales are ineligible for public housing, food stamps, and licenses in many professions, “people whose only crime is drug addiction or possession of a small amount of drugs for recreational use find themselves locked out of the mainstream society and economy – permanently.”<sup>lxi</sup> SCI is highly expensive locally, but it contributes to fiscally unsustainable rates of recidivism and incarceration.

*Community Resistance:* One of the most important factors in evaluating SCI as an anti-violence measure is community resistance. Skid Row residents, most noticeably through LA CAN, have vocally and vehemently resisted SCI since its full launch in 2006. Residents routinely attend meetings of City Council and the Police Commission to protest what they characterize as racist and unconstitutional policing. On May 21, 2010, several Skid Row residents were arrested in the chambers of City Council while protesting the Safer Cities Initiative.

## **Evaluating Alternative Anti-Violence Strategies**

When evaluating anti-violence strategies in Skid Row, I am concerned with ending *cycles* of violence. For many policy initiatives, success is measured through a permanent change in behavior. For example, the success of substance abuse programs is measured through the number of individuals that do not relapse into their addiction. The success of mental health services is measured through the permanent reentry of an individual into society. Most anti-violence measures are not tracked in this way. Especially in policing, violence is measured in arrests of individuals and in overall crime reduction statistics. As with SCI, these statistics do not necessarily connote a reduction in violence. In indigent communities such as Skid Row, measuring the success of anti-violence is further complicated by the conditions of transience and poverty. In evaluating alternative strategies I will describe the anti-violence strategies that are being employed or could be employed (mostly by agents other than the LAPD), the merits and demerits of each strategy, identity indicators of success that are currently available and identify areas where more extensive research is necessary.

### **Strategies to Reduce Police-Based Violence:**

*Community Watch:* In 2005 LA CAN founded a Community Watch program to monitor and document practices of private security guards employed by the Business Industrial District (BID). At the time, the BID guards were performing illegal searches and detaining homeless residents. These practices are unconstitutional given that private security guards have the same rights and power as any other civilian. Community Watch teams are composed of four LA CAN members who patrol the neighborhood with clipboards and video cameras. The team's purpose is to be present and document unlawful policing or unconstitutional harassment of residents. The

launch of SCI refocused the efforts of Community Watch on the police. LA CAN Civil Rights

Organizer General Dogon says:

“When SCI started in 2006 we were monitoring the private security guards but then we started seeing officers slamming people against walls and running warrant checks over a jaywalking ticket...The Community Watch program was basically created to put a check and balance on the police, to ensure that they not violating folks’ rights. Its community residents watching out for other community residents, like a brother’s/sister’s keeper type thing.”<sup>lxii</sup>

Video footage from Community Watch has been used in court to demonstrate the routine nature of illegal searches and detainments under SCI. In general, Community Watch has been successful in mitigating violence in police-resident interactions. The simple act of occupying space near the police has deterred the police from the unnecessary violence that General Dogon describes. According to Professor Blasi, “Given the resources on both sides they [LA CAN] have done a pretty remarkable job” in restraining cops on the Skid Row beat.<sup>lxiii</sup> In the many times that I accompanied Community Watch teams, it was routine to approach a situation where an officer was handling a resident roughly. As the Community Watch team approached, the officer would often change his or her demeanor and continue the interaction with the resident in a non-violent manner.

“*Know Your Rights*”: LA CAN conducts weekly “Know Your Rights” trainings which educate community residents on the law and on how best to deal with police when stopped, detained or questioned. According to General Dogon, these trainings are necessary as a check on the police and as a way to change individual behavior:

“They don’t teach know your rights classes in public schools, when I was in junior high they didn’t teach you that, when I was in high school they didn’t teach you that, basically the only way you would learn that was if you go to college and go to law school, that’s basically the only way that you would know your rights...when people know they rights they feel more comfortable...It keeps altercations from happening when people know their rights because people will self-check theself.”

While both Community Watch and “Know Your Rights” trainings have been reviewed positively by community members, they are limited as long-term anti-violence strategies because it is difficult to measure their success statistically. Additionally, these practices are reactionary, their need is ultimately decided by how violent policing in the neighborhood is, and the burden is placed on organizations like LA CAN. To get to the root of police-based violence, the police must change their practices.

*Sensitivity Trainings:* The decision in *Fitzgerald v. Los Angeles* mandated that LAPD officers on the Skid Row beat undergo sensitivity trainings to more respectfully deal with disabled and mentally ill residents. However, it is unclear how frequently these sensitivity trainings are enforced for new and seasoned officers alike. The most telling evaluation of sensitivity trainings is scholarship that has concluded that they are largely useless. A body of academic literature about the “rebound effect” suggests that forcing people to suppress their reactions to things or people makes those reactions come out stronger. As Professor Blasi notes:

“The problem with sensitivity trainings is that they’re either non-productive or counter-productive...there’s pretty good evidence that if you force people to go to sensitivity trainings they come out more racist than they came in.”

Ultimately, racially disparate policing practices will not be stopped by sensitivity trainings but by stronger discipline of officers. Both Blasi and Dogon agree that if individual officers thought they would be punished for enforcing the law violently or harassing residents in Skid Row, police-based violence would drop. Dogon explains:

“We need to bring that back, disciplining officers real stern. They [LAPD] let them get away with too much...If the officer does something bad they need to fire him, he needs to stand for criminal charges and he needs to be sued...When officers start getting fired and sued and stuff like that you will see a change...I strongly believe that they are training officers in the academy to act [violently] too, because if they were telling [the new officers not to be violent] otherwise they wouldn’t just get out there...and do something stupid.”

*Community Policing:* Professor Blasi describes community policing by saying, “There’s this whole concept of community policing, it’s often just a catchphrase, but the basic idea is that you police Skid Row in the same way you police middle class neighborhoods which is that you actually listen to the people who live there.” It is inarguable that Skid Row needs some sort of police presence, just like every other community in Los Angeles. However, the aggressive “broken windows” tactics are being challenged by community residents and courts of law. Community policing would increase responsiveness to residents and mitigate some of the civil rights abuses that are occurring under SCI. The LAPD has unsuccessfully attempted to do community policing by holding SCI Impact Meetings. These meetings bring together a wide group of Skid Row stakeholders including representatives from the Central City Association, the Union Rescue Mission, LA CAN and the LAPD. Additionally, community residents and employees from various supportive housing agencies are present. However, the possible gains from these meetings are limited because residents have very little efficacy. Two SCI Impact Meetings that I attended devolved into heated arguments between representatives from the LAPD and residents. The LAPD used the time to try to tell residents that their concerns about harassment and civil rights violations were unfounded and residents responded with frustration. At the third Impact Meeting that I attended, third party mediators were brought in to try and achieve better group process. For meetings like this to work, residents must believe that their contributions to the discuss could actually change the LAPD’s policies and this is not the case at this time.

### **Strategies to Reduce Interpersonal Violence:**

*Anti-Violence Trainings:* In the last year, LA CAN has begun to conduct anti-violence trainings in Skid Row residential hotels. These trainings are designed to educate residents about institutional, structural and interpersonal forms of violence. Dogon, one of the organizers who conducts these trainings, is sure that they have an impact on the psyches of residents. He says that folks will “check theyself” after attending the trainings and treat each other more respectfully. An easy way to measure the success of these trainings is through personal narratives. Separating the impact of these trainings in a statistical analysis from other variables that contribute to violence would require much more time and research. Additionally, the impact of these trainings is limited to residents of Skid Row that are already housed simply because they are most accessible.

*Effective Addiction Treatment:* Since more than half of SCI arrests are drug-related, it is necessary to effectively treat addiction in order to meaningfully reduce violence throughout Skid Row. Many studies, most prominently by Sam Tsemberis and his colleagues at Pathways to Housing, have shown that treatment first programs (where an individual must control their addiction before they can have access to housing) and housing first programs (where an individual is given housing before they have control of their addiction) demonstrate equal rates of drug use over a two-year period.<sup>lxiv</sup> These findings demonstrate that individuals can be housed without increasing drug use. Cost-efficiency should be a high consideration when creating policies to fight addiction in Skid Row.

*Permanent Supportive Housing:* Studies have demonstrated that a cost-effective way to control addiction is through permanent supportive housing. In a seminal study by the Economic Roundtable, the think tank found that public costs decrease when individuals are no longer homeless and that permanent supportive housing is an effective way to reduce public costs. The 2009 study, “Where We Sleep: The Cost of Housing and Homelessness in Los Angeles” compares the public cost in services for chronically homeless individuals to the cost of housing similar individuals. While it is noteworthy that public costs go down by 79% when chronically homeless or disabled residents enter supportive housing, it is more important to recognize that costs decrease “19 percent for individuals with serious problems – jail histories and substance abuse issues – who received only minimal assistance in the form of temporary housing.”<sup>lxv</sup> Since permanent housing is more cost-effective than leaving individuals on the streets and it has the same success rates as non-housing programs, building supportive housing to mitigate drug use in Skid Row should be an easy choice. While the study did not look at violence reduction specifically, using resources wisely to control addiction will likely reduce the number of arrests and the amount of violence associated with drug use. Additionally, housing individuals in a stable environment will increase the likelihood of their continued participation in programs like LA CAN’s anti-violence trainings.

## **Policy Recommendations and Conclusions:**

Very little research has been done to specifically evaluate anti-violence strategies. This is reflective of the lack of programs that address violence directly. Violence is generally treated as a consequence of poverty and addiction. While it is important to create and maintain programs that mitigate the effects of poverty and addiction, violence reduction should be part of evaluating these programs. Reductions in recidivism are an important measure of the long-term success of programs in Skid Row. Additionally, by clarifying that violence reduction is a primary goal of policy initiatives in Skid Row, it is easier to cut programs, like SCI, when they are not achieving significant reductions of violence.

- **Evaluate Violence Specifically:** Violence has been essentialized to the Skid Row community without backing in data. Though Skid Row had low rates of violent crime before SCI began, a large amount of resources were allocated to reduce violence. If violence reduction was valued as a measure of success, allocations of funds would follow the data on violent crime and LAPD officers would be reassigned to more violent neighborhoods. Valuing concrete data on violence reduction would also challenge the racially disparate perceptions of disorder that come with “broken windows” policing.
- **End SCI:** It is clear that Skid Row policing in the form of the Safer Cities Initiative has not been successful and is unlikely to succeed. The civil rights violations and harassment that has been alleged by community activists and residents is recreating violence that the initiative is supposedly trying to stop. This violence is unlikely to be remedied through sensitivity trainings. Additionally, SCI has not significantly reduced violent crime in Skid Row. In light of this failure to reduce violence, the \$6.5 expenditure is unwarranted and wasteful.

- **Develop a Resident-Driven Plan for Community Policing:** The notion of community policing is vague at best. In order to truly perform community policing, residents must be part of designing a policing effort that works in their community. Since Skid Row is a community of vulnerable populations – the mentally ill, disabled, elderly and addicted – extra effort must be made in order to police responsibly. Residents must have a sense of efficacy in their role in developing a strategy for policing Skid Row. This requires that the LAPD demonstrate a willingness to change policy in the face of widespread protest by residents.
- **Increase the Supply of Supportive Housing:** Since studies have demonstrated that supportive housing is an inexpensive and (equally) effective way to help individuals control their addictions, the supply of supportive housing should be increased to meet the high demand in Skid Row. Housing will help to mitigate the violence that is associated with addiction, homelessness and poverty. Additionally, housing creates a level of stability that makes residents accessible to anti-violence programs and discussions.

---

<sup>i</sup> Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 2.

<sup>ii</sup> Robin D.G. Kelley, “Ground Zero,” in *Downtown Blues: A Skid Row Reader*, ed. Christina Heatherton (Los Angeles: Southern California Library, 2011), 11.

<sup>iii</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 85-86.

<sup>iv</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 108.

<sup>v</sup> *Ibid.*, Kelley, 12.

<sup>vi</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 116-117.

<sup>vii</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 120.

<sup>viii</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 125.

<sup>ix</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 180.

<sup>x</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 181-182.

<sup>xi</sup> *Ibid.*, Kelley, 12.

<sup>xii</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 136.

<sup>xiii</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 185.

- 
- <sup>xiv</sup> Michael Dear and Jennifer Wolch, *Malign Neglect: Homelessness in an American City* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1993), 10.
- <sup>xv</sup> *Ibid.*, Dear and Wolch, 10.
- <sup>xvi</sup> *Ibid.*, Dear and Wolch, 11.
- <sup>xvii</sup> *Ibid.*, Dear and Wolch, 12.
- <sup>xviii</sup> *Ibid.*, Dear and Wolch, 16.
- <sup>xix</sup> *Ibid.*, Dear and Wolch, 16-17.
- <sup>xx</sup> *Ibid.*, Sides, 202.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Ellen Reese, Geoffrey Derveuteuil and Leanne Thach, "'Weak-Center' Gentrification and the Contradictions of Containment: Deconcentrating Poverty in Downtown Los Angeles," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34 (2010), accessed March 16, 2011, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00900.x.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Gary Blasi, "Skid Row in Transition: An Interview with Gary Blasi," in *Downtown Blues: A Skid Row Reader*, ed. Christina Heatherton (Los Angeles: Southern California Library, 2011), 36.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> *Ibid.*, Reese et. al.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Notice of Funding Availability for the Collaborative Initiative to Help End Chronic Homelessness, Federal Register, Vol. 68, No. 17/Monday, January 27, 2003, 4019.
- <sup>xxv</sup> U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Community Planning and Development, "A Guide to Counting Unsheltered Homeless People Second Revision," January 15, 2008, p. 5.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> "2009 Greater Los Angeles Homeless Count Report City of Los Angeles Skid Row," Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority, Jan 2010, [http://www.lahsa.org/docs/HC09/SKID\\_ROW\\_Jan13\\_10.pdf](http://www.lahsa.org/docs/HC09/SKID_ROW_Jan13_10.pdf).
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Gary Blasi, et al., UCLA School of Law, "Policing Our Way Out of Homelessness? The First Year of the Safer Cities Initiative on Skid Row," 7, 32 (2007). <http://cdn.law.ucla.edu/SiteCollectionDocuments/media%20press/blasi%20homelessness%20study%209-28.pdf>.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> *Ibid.*, LAHSA 2009.
- <sup>xxix</sup> *Ibid.*, Blasi et al., 2007.
- <sup>xxx</sup> *Ibid.*, Blasi et al., 2007.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> *Ibid.*, Blasi et al., 2007.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Nicholas Dahmann and the Los Angeles Community Action, "Los Angeles: I Do Mind Dying, Recent Reflections on Urban Revolution in Skid Row," *Los Angeles Public Interest Law Journal*, Spring 2010, 211.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> *Ibid.*, Dahmann, 213.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> *Ibid.*, Dahmann, 213.
- <sup>xxxv</sup> Los Angeles Community Action Network, "We At LA CAN," Los Angeles Community Action Network, [http://www.cangress.org/we\\_lacan.htm](http://www.cangress.org/we_lacan.htm).
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> *Ibid.*, Blasi et al., 2007.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Nancy A. Denton and Douglas S. Massey, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Marking of the Underclass*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 56.
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> "About Us," Community Redevelopment Agency Los Angeles, accessed April 3, 2011, <http://www.crala.org/About/index.cfm>.
- <sup>xxxix</sup> Phil Barney, "A Crisp, New \$20 Bill/A Nickel Taken: 'Revitalization', Gentrification, and Displacement in Los Angeles' Skid Row," Occidental College Senior Comprehensive Project, 2007.
- <sup>xl</sup> "Adaptive Reuse Ordinance," City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning Office of Historic Resources, accessed April 3, 2011, <http://www.preservation.lacity.org/reuse-ordinance>.
- <sup>xli</sup> Nicholas Dahmann and Anat Rubin, "Los Angeles I Do Mind Dying: Reflections of Urban Revolution in Skid Row through the housing and civil rights work of the Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN)," 2010, used with permission of the authors.
- <sup>xlii</sup> *Ibid.*, Kelley, 13.
- <sup>xliiii</sup> *Ibid.*, Blasi et al., 2007.
- <sup>xliv</sup> "About Us," Downtown Center Business Improvement District, accessed April 9, 2011, [http://www.downtownla.com/5\\_0\\_aboutUs.asp](http://www.downtownla.com/5_0_aboutUs.asp).
- <sup>xlv</sup> Hope Corman and Naci Mocan, "Carrots, Sticks, and Broken Windows," *The Journal of Law and Economics* 48, no. 235 (2005): par. 4, <http://0-www.lexisnexis.com.oasys.lib.oxy.edu/us/lnacademic/auth/checkbrowser.do?ipcounter=1&cookieState=0&rand=0.13610191806595306&bhcp=1>.
- <sup>xlvi</sup> *Ibid.*, Blasi et al., 2007.

---

<sup>xlvi</sup> Ibid., Blasi et al., 2007.

<sup>xlviii</sup> Steve Lopez, "Demons are Winning on Skid Row," *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 2005, <http://www.latimes.com/news/printedition/la-me-lopez16oct16,0,2997786,full.column>.

<sup>xlix</sup> Ibid., Blasi et al., 2007.

<sup>l</sup> Robert J. Sampson and Stephen W. Raudenbush, "Seeing Disorder: Neighborhood Stigma and the Social Construction of 'Broken Windows,'" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2004), [http://www.wjh.harvard.edu/soc/faculty/sampson/articles/2004\\_SPQ\\_Raudenbush.pdf](http://www.wjh.harvard.edu/soc/faculty/sampson/articles/2004_SPQ_Raudenbush.pdf).

<sup>li</sup> Ibid., Blasi interview.

<sup>lii</sup> Ibid., Blasi et al., 2007.

<sup>liii</sup> Gary Blasi and Forrest Stuart, "Has the Safer Cities Initiative in Skid Row Reduced Serious Crime?," UCLA School of Law and UCLA Department of Sociology, September 15, 2008, [http://cdn.law.ucla.edu/SiteCollection/Documents/missing%20files/did\\_safer\\_cities\\_reduce\\_crime\\_in\\_skid\\_row.pdf](http://cdn.law.ucla.edu/SiteCollection/Documents/missing%20files/did_safer_cities_reduce_crime_in_skid_row.pdf).

<sup>liv</sup> Ibid., Blasi and Stuart.

<sup>lv</sup> Ina Jaffe, "L.A., ACLU Compromise on Skid Row Camping," National Public Radio, September 19, 2006, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6105364>.

<sup>lvi</sup> *Fitzgerald v. City of Los Angeles*, United States District Court, CV 03-01876 DDP (RZx), 2009, <http://www.clearinghouse.net/chDocs/public/PB-CA-0006-0002.pdf>

<sup>lvii</sup> Los Angeles Community Action Network, "Community-Based Human Rights Assessment: Skid Row's Safer Cities Initiative," December 2010.

<sup>lviii</sup> Ibid., Los Angeles Community Action Network, 2010.

<sup>lix</sup> Ibid., Blasi et al., 2007.

<sup>lx</sup> Ibid., Blasi et al., 2007.

<sup>lxi</sup> Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, (New York: The New Press, 2010), 92.

<sup>lxii</sup> General Dogon, interview, March 2, 2011.

<sup>lxiii</sup> Ibid., Blasi interview.

<sup>lxiv</sup> Deborah Padgett, Leyla Gulcur, and Sam Tsemberis. "Housing First Services for People Who Are Homeless With Co-Occurring Serious Mental Illness and Substance Abuse" *Research on Social Work Practice* 16.1 (2006): 74-83.

<sup>lxv</sup> Daniel Flaming, Michael Matsunaga and Patrick Burns, "Where We Sleep: The Costs of Housing and Homelessness in Los Angeles," the Economic Roundtable, November 2009, [http://www.economicrt.org/summaries/Where\\_We\\_Sleep.html](http://www.economicrt.org/summaries/Where_We_Sleep.html).

## Works Cited

Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, (New York: The New Press, 2010), 92.

Barney, Phil. "A Crisp, New \$20 Bill/A Nickel Taken: 'Revitalization', Gentrification, and Displacement in Los Angeles' Skid Row," Occidental College Senior Comprehensive Project, 2007.

Blasi, Gary and Forrest Stuart. "Has the Safer Cities Initiative in Skid Row Reduced Serious Crime?," UCLA School of Law and UCLA Department of Sociology, September 15, 2008, [http://cdn.law.ucla.edu/SiteCollection Documents/missing%20files/did\\_safer\\_cities\\_reduce\\_crime\\_in\\_skid\\_row.pdf](http://cdn.law.ucla.edu/SiteCollection/Documents/missing%20files/did_safer_cities_reduce_crime_in_skid_row.pdf).

---

Blasi, Gary, et al., UCLA School of Law, "Policing Our Way Out of Homelessness? The First Year of the Safer Cities Initiative on Skid Row," 7, 32 (2007).

<http://cdn.law.ucla.edu/SiteCollectionDocuments/media%20press/blasi%20homelessness%20study%209-28.pdf>.

Blasi, Gary, "Skid Row in Transition: An Interview with Gary Blasi," in *Downtown Blues: A Skid Row Reader*, ed. Christina Heatherton (Los Angeles: Southern California Library, 2011), 36.

City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning. "Adaptive Reuse Ordinance," City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning Office of Historic Resources, accessed April 3, 2011, <http://www.preservation.lacity.org/reuse-ordinance>.

Community Redevelopment Agency Los Angeles. "About Us," Community Redevelopment Agency Los Angeles, accessed April 3, 2011, <http://www.crala.org/About/index.cfm>.

Corman, Hope and Naci Mocan. "Carrots, Sticks, and Broken Windows," *The Journal of Law and Economics* 48, no. 235 (2005): par. 4, <http://0-www.lexisnexis.com.oasys.lib.oxy.edu/us/lacademic/auth/checkbrowser.do?ipcounter=1&cookieState=0&rand=0.13610191806595306&bhcp=1>.

Dahmann, Nicholas and Anat Rubin. "Los Angeles I Do Mind Dying: Reflections of Urban Revolution in Skid Row through the housing and civil rights work of the Los Angeles Community Action Network (LA CAN)," 2010, used with permission of the authors.

Dahmann, Nicholas and the Los Angeles Community Action. "Los Angeles: I Do Mind Dying, Recent Reflections on Urban Revolution in Skid Row," *Los Angeles Public Interest Law Journal*, Spring 2010, 211.

Dear, Michael and Jennifer Wolch, *Malign Neglect: Homelessness in an American City* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1993).

Denton, Nancy A. and Douglas S. Massey, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Marking of the Underclass*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 56.

Downtown Center Business Improvement District. "About Us," Downtown Center Business Improvement District, accessed April 9, 2011, [http://www.downtownla.com/5\\_0\\_aboutUs.asp](http://www.downtownla.com/5_0_aboutUs.asp).

Flaming, Daniel, Matsunaga, Michael and Patrick Burns. "Where We Sleep: The Costs of Housing and Homelessness in Los Angeles," the Economic Roundtable, November 2009, [http://www.economicrt.org/summaries/Where\\_We\\_Sleep.html](http://www.economicrt.org/summaries/Where_We_Sleep.html).

General Dogon, interview, March 2, 2011.

---

Jaffe, Ina. "L.A., ACLU Compromise on Skid Row Camping," National Public Radio, September 19, 2006, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6105364>.

Kelley, Robin D. G. "Ground Zero," in *Downtown Blues: A Skid Row Reader*, ed. Christina Heatherton (Los Angeles: Southern California Library, 2011).

Lopez, Steve. "Demons are Winning on Skid Row," *Los Angeles Times*, October 16, 2005, <http://www.latimes.com/news/printedition/la-me-lopez16oct16,0,2997786,full.column>.

Los Angeles Community Action Network, "Community-Based Human Rights Assessment: Skid Row's Safer Cities Initiative," December 2010.

Los Angeles Community Action Network, "We At LA CAN," Los Angeles Community Action Network, [http://www.cangress.org/we\\_lacan.htm](http://www.cangress.org/we_lacan.htm).

Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority, "2009 Greater Los Angeles Homeless Count Report City of Los Angeles Skid Row," Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority, Jan 2010, [http://www.lahsa.org/docs/HC09/SKID\\_ROW\\_Jan13\\_10.pdf](http://www.lahsa.org/docs/HC09/SKID_ROW_Jan13_10.pdf).

Notice of Funding Availability for the Collaborative Initiative to Help End Chronic Homelessness, Federal Register, Vol. 68, No. 17/Monday, January 27, 2003, 4019.

Padgett, Deborah, Gulcur, Leyla, and Sam Tsemberis. "Housing First Services for People Who Are Homeless With Co-Occurring Serious Mental Illness and Substance Abuse" *Research on Social Work Practice* 16.1 (2006).

Reese, Ellen, Derverteuil, Geoffrey and Leanne Thach, "'Weak-Center' Gentrification and the Contradictions of Containment: Deconcentrating Poverty in Downtown Los Angeles," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34 (2010), accessed March 16, 2011, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00900.x.

Sampson, Robert J. and Stephen W. Raudenbush. "Seeing Disorder: Neighborhood Stigma and the Social Construction of 'Broken Windows,'" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (2004), [http://www.wjh.harvard.edu/soc/faculty/sampson/articles/2004\\_SPQ\\_Raudenbush.pdf](http://www.wjh.harvard.edu/soc/faculty/sampson/articles/2004_SPQ_Raudenbush.pdf).

Sides, Josh. *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

United States District Court. *Fitzgerald v. City of Los Angeles*, United States District Court, CV 03-01876 DDP (RZx), 2009, <http://www.clearinghouse.net/chDocs/public/PB-CA-0006-0002.pdf>

---

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Community Planning and Development,  
“A Guide to Counting Unsheltered Homeless People Second Revision,” January 15, 2008,