

Finding Home and Building Community in South LA

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Making Sense, Making Home



Figure 1.3. Mural in Historic South Central

Photo Credit: Walter Thompson-Hernández, USC CSII project team

- Focus on the demographic change (Latino growth) in South LA but with nuanced analysis
- Understanding tensions, transformations, and change over time in this area
- Stressing evolution of spatial as well as racial identity
- Emphasizing ethnic sedimentation vs. ethnic succession
- Noting how organizing in South L.A. will help forge the region's multi-ethnic future

Research Questions

- How have Latino immigrants made themselves at home in historically African-American neighborhoods?
- How do they and their 2nd generation children narrate their racialized experiences and identities?
- How do marginalized migrant men make themselves at home in the city?
- To what extent are Latino immigrant and African-American neighbors collaborating, sharing, and engaging with one another? To what extent is there conflict?



Figure 1.4. Bungalow in the Vermont Square Neighborhood

Photo Credit: Walter Thompson-Hernández, USC CSII project team

Methodology: Quantitative Data

Defining South Los Angeles and its neighborhoods

- Approximated the geographies by grouping 2010 census tracts that fall inside the boundaries found on the LA Times Mapping project

Data sources

- US Census Bureau: 2012-2016 American Community Survey (ACS) Summary File
- US Census Bureau: 2010 Decennial Census
- Geolytics, Inc. historical Census data from 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000
- Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS): 2012-2016 5-Year Pooled samples
- UC Berkeley Statewide Database
- California Department of Education
- US Department of Agriculture
- California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment

Methodology: Qualitative Data

- Chapters 3 and 4: 100 in-depth interviews with Latino residents in Vermont Square/Vermont Slauson, Historic South Central, and Watts (40 1st generation immigrants and 60 2nd generation).
- Chapter 5: Observations and 45 interviews collected in South LA parks and urban community gardens.
- Chapter 6: 19 interviews with South LA civic leaders and 25 interviews with two cohorts of residents.



Understanding Immigrant Integration through South Central Dreams

- Immigrant *home-making*, not assimilation, transnationalism, or exclusion.
- Home-making is an active process of creating a sense of security, familiarity, autonomy, and future-making activities attached to place.
- Latino immigrants in South LA develop a place-based identity and not a monolithic racial identity.



Figure 1.5. Salo's Mini Market Mural, Historic South Central
Photo Credit: Walter Thompson-Hernández, USC CSII project team.

Always Changing, Always Contested

- The demographics in South LA have significantly shifted towards a Latino majority...but South LA is still a significant space for African Americans
- Critical events in the late 20th century led to an exodus of African American residents from the region, and an increase in Latino migration. Particularly from Mexico and Central America

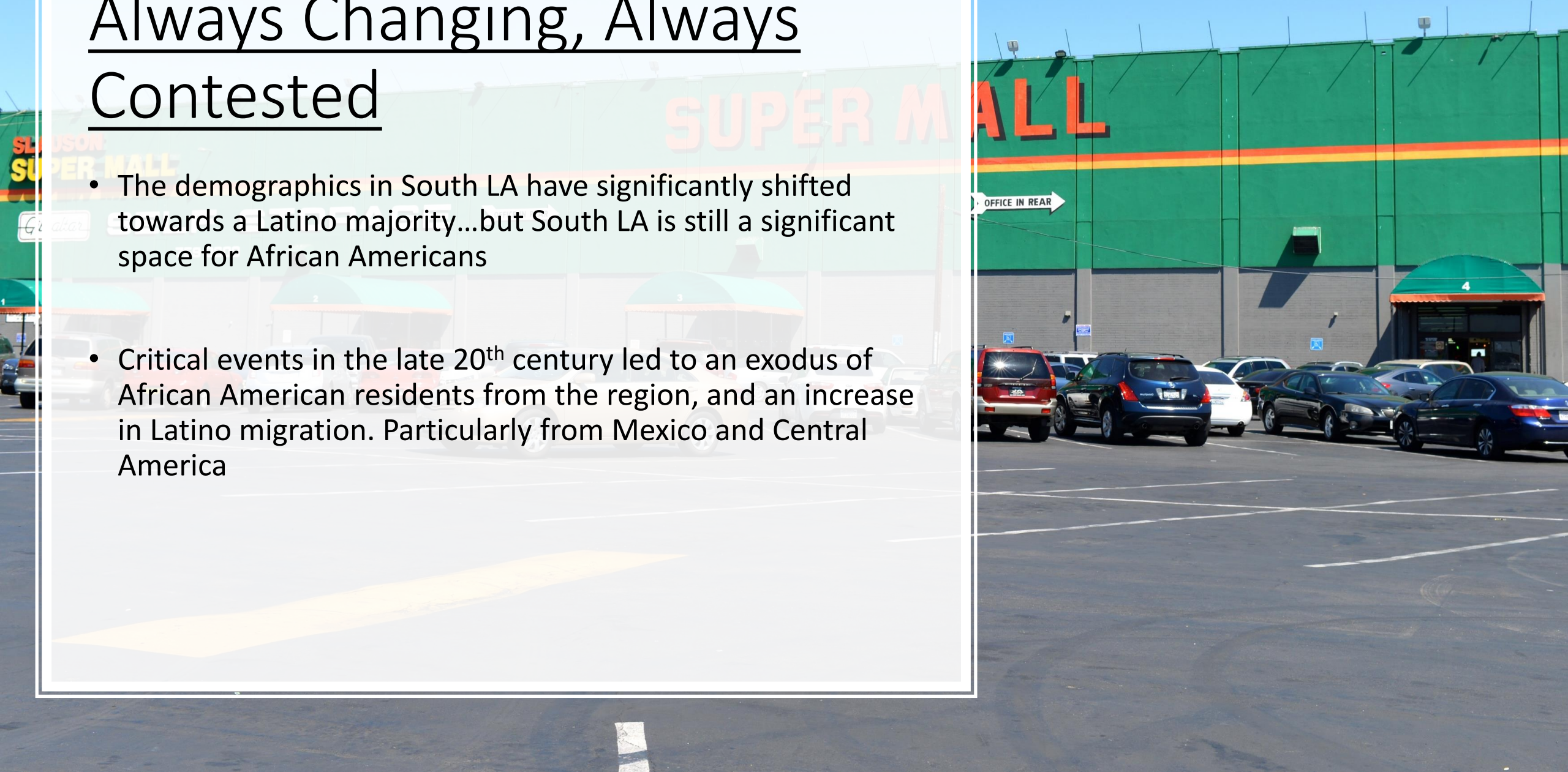




Figure 2.2. Public Housing, Watts

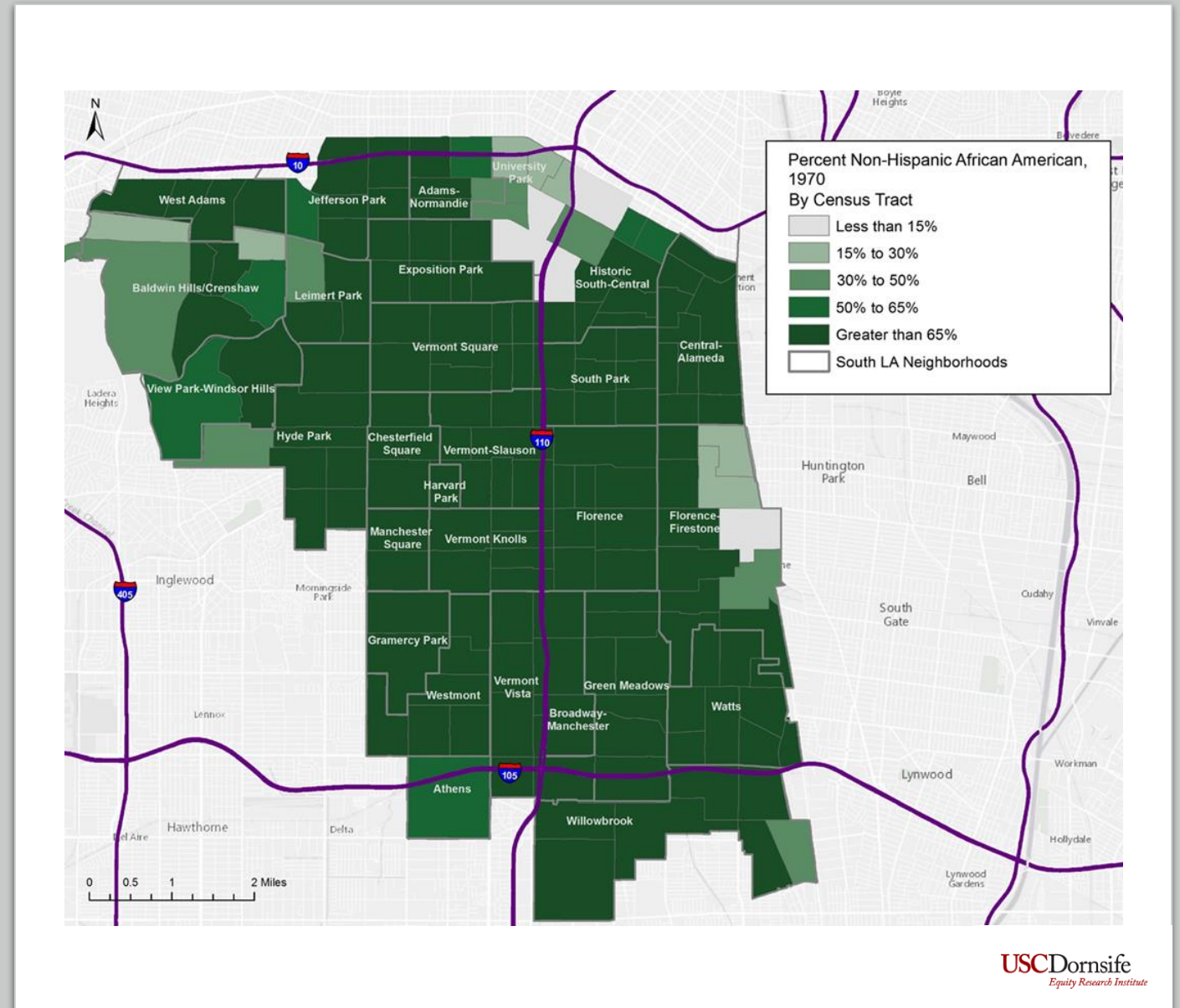
Photo Credit: Walter Thompson-Hernández, USC CSII project team

Demographic Change over Time

- South LA, once a Black cultural center in the early 20th century, experienced a decline in the Black population near the end of the century
- Police violence, divestment, and a decline in manufacturing led to families and residents migrating out to safer middle-class exurbs. Especially in the 1980s and 1990s

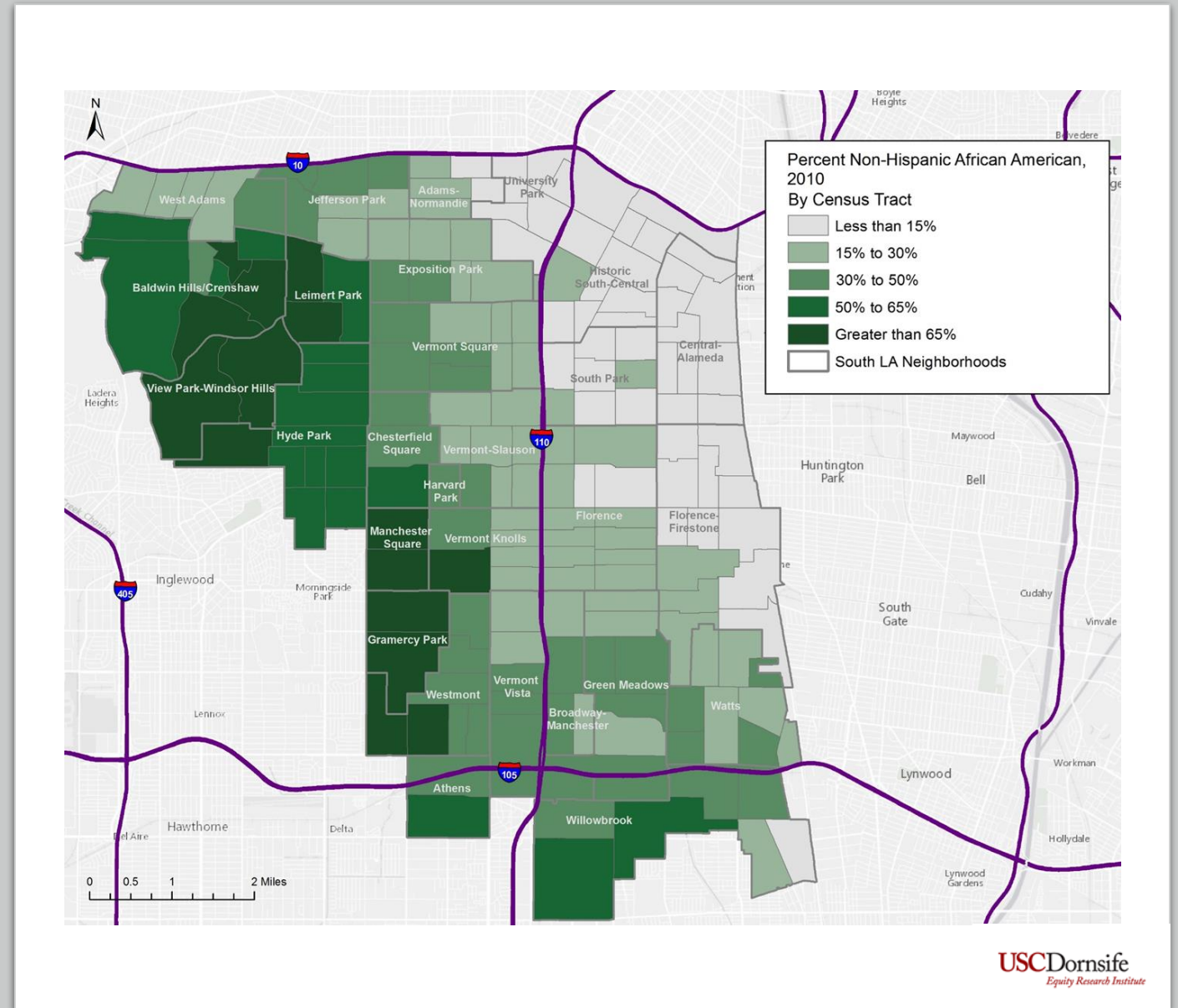
South LA Black Population by 1970

- Tensions about long-lasting economic and social inequities boiled over in 1965 in the form of the Watts Rebellion.
- The rebellion prompted a wave of white flight that in turn led to a geographic spread of the Black population. By the 1970s, African Americans were moving as far west as Baldwin Hills and the area we now call South LA was roughly 80 percent African American



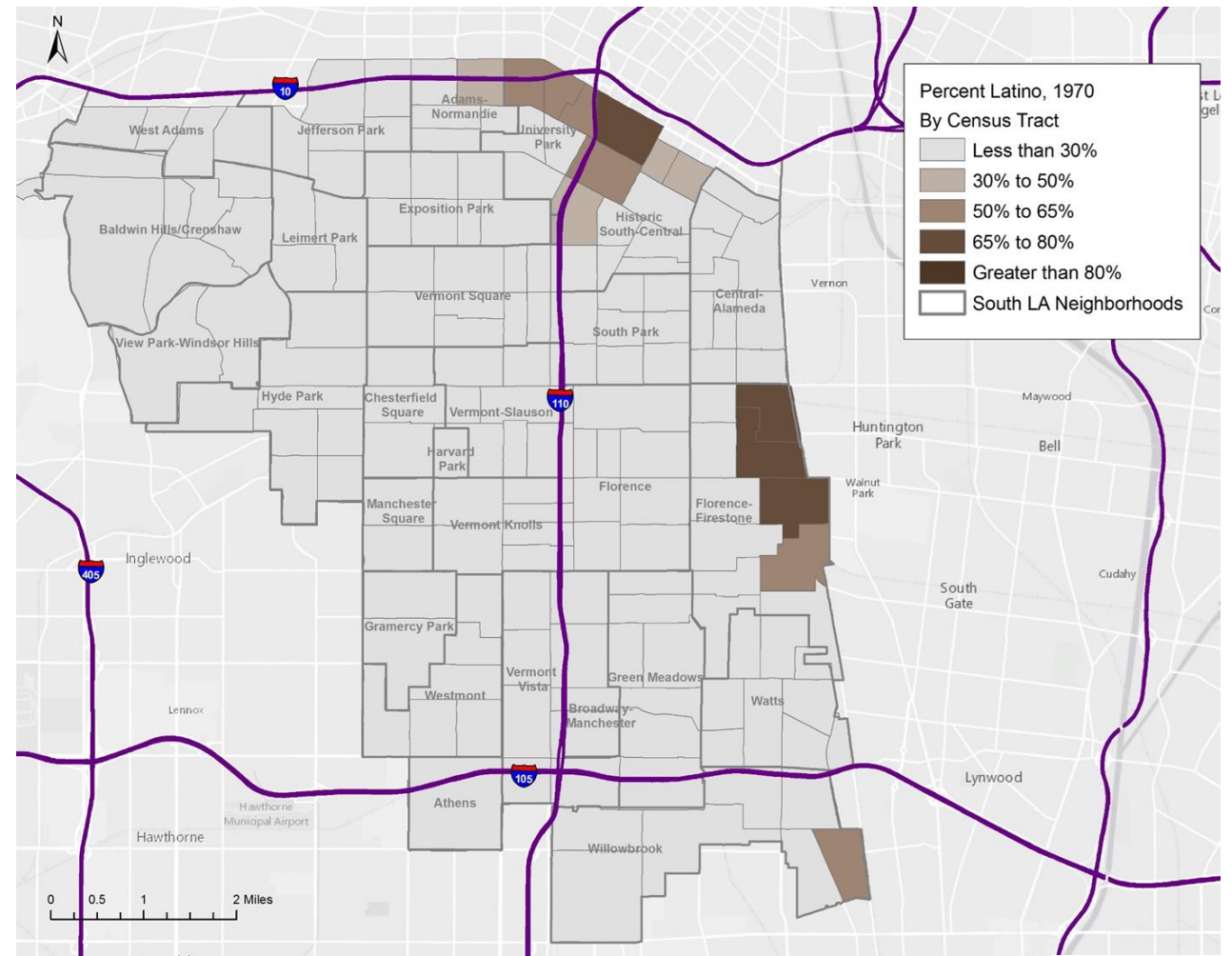
South LA Black Population by 2010

- Black populations became more concentrated in Leimert Park, Baldwin Hills, and Ladera Heights. San Bernardino County's Black population doubled between 1990-2010, and the Antelope Valley's population tripled.
- The heart of Black LA—South LA—is now nearly two-thirds Latino.



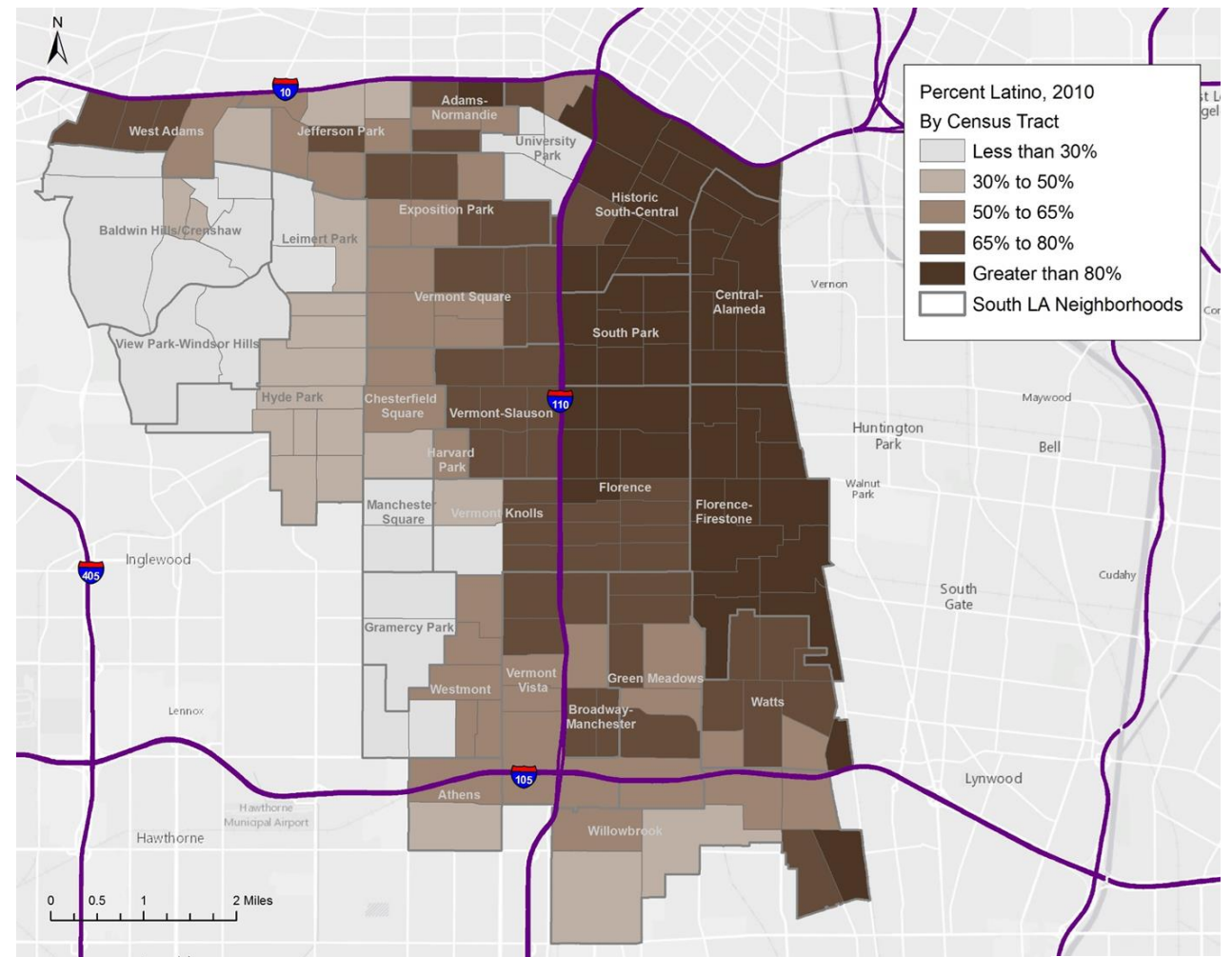
South LA Latino Population by 1970

- Prior to 1965, most Latino immigrants settling in LA were concentrated in East LA and the San Fernando Valley
- Many of these migrants were men and agricultural workers entering the US in connection to the *Bracero* program



South LA Latino Population by 2010

- The end of the Bracero program and the passing of the 1965 Immigration Act caused significant changes to migration into LA
- Immigration after 1965 became more female and more family-based, leading to a demand for single-family homes, a housing type that dotted the landscape of many South LA neighborhoods



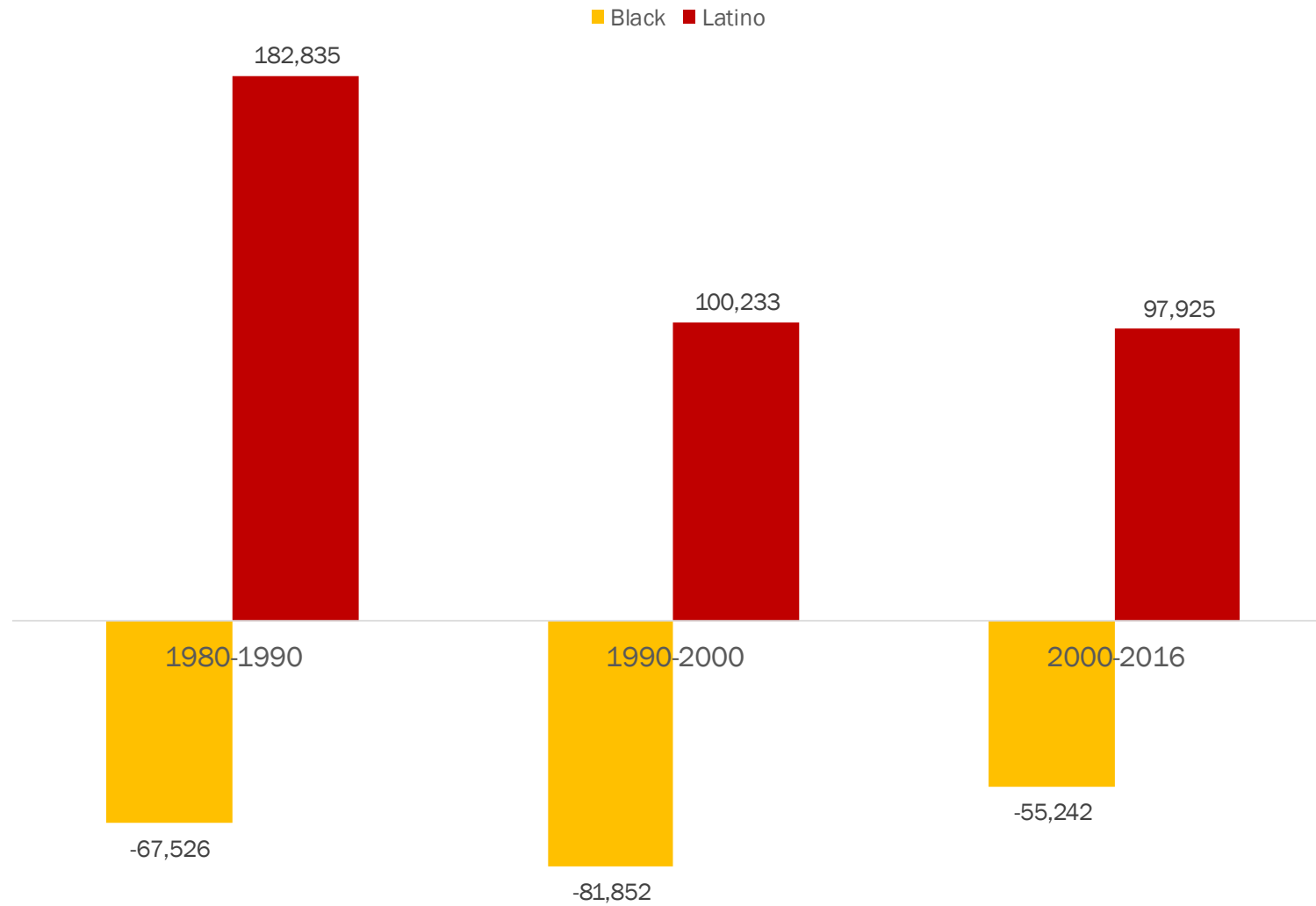


Figure 2.11. Decadal Population Growth by Race/Ethnicity, South L.A., 1980–2016 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Geolytics Inc

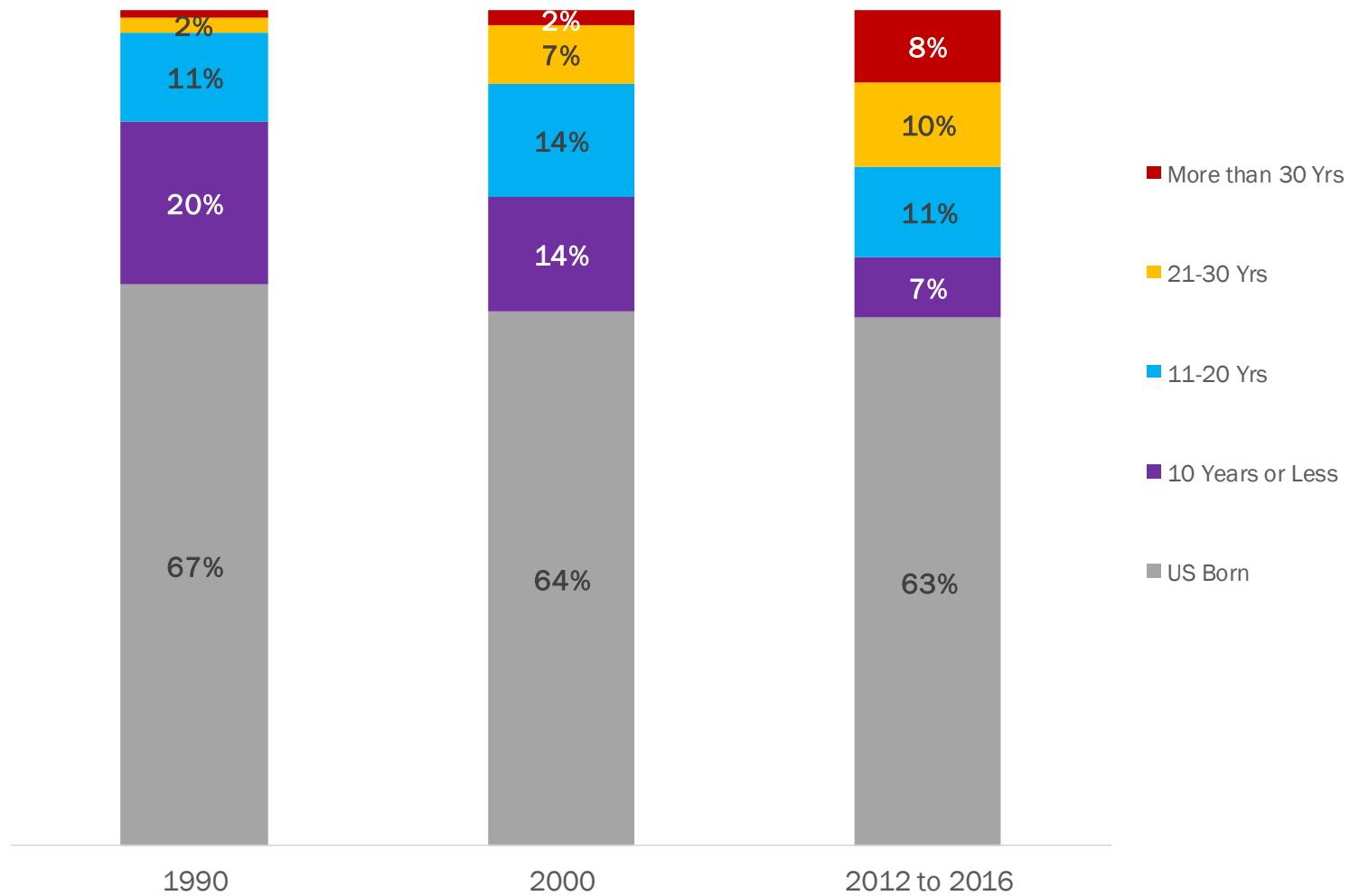


Figure 2.12. Population by Nativity and Years in the United States, South L.A., 1990, 2000, and 2012–16 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Geolytics Inc

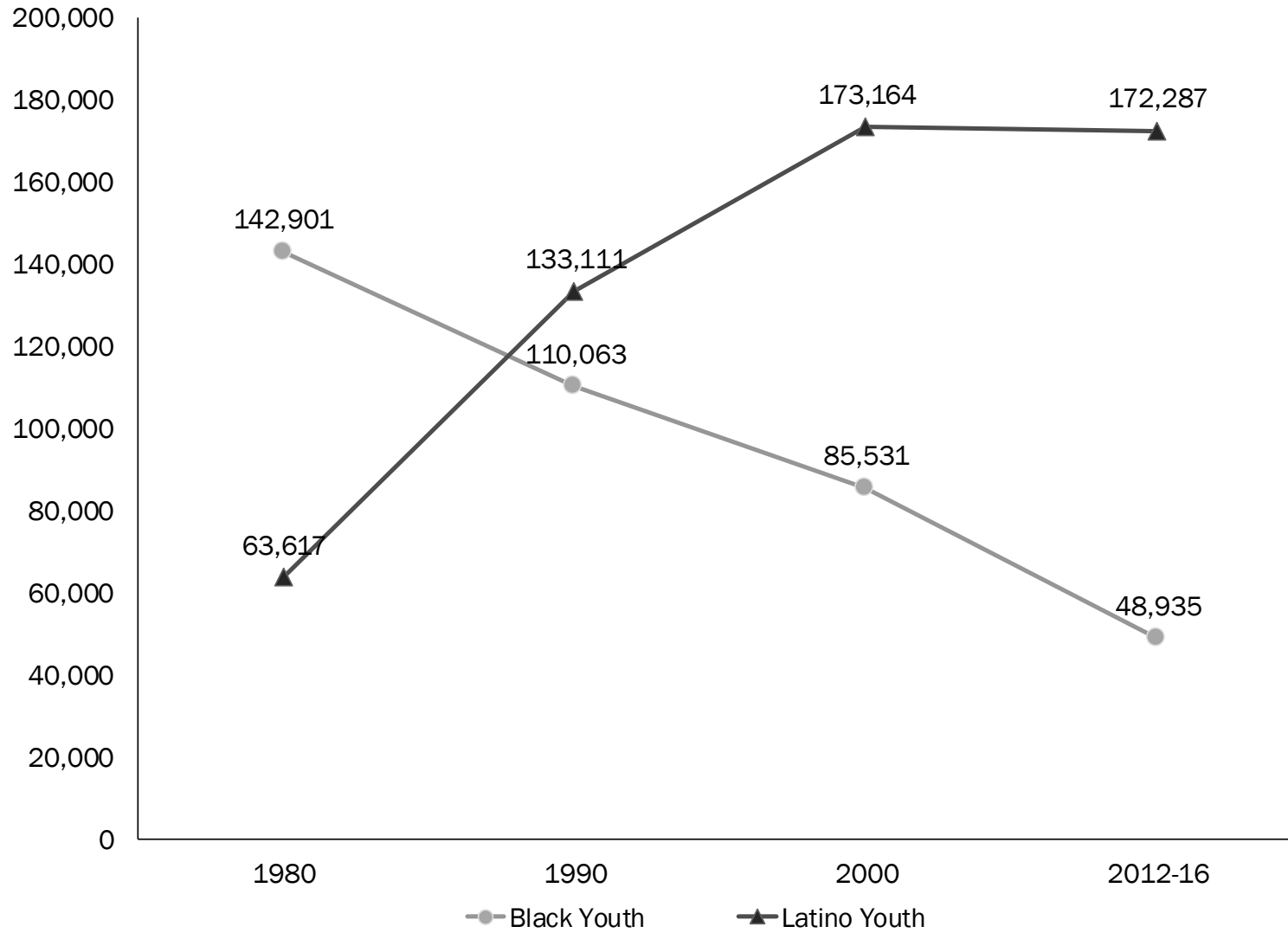


Figure 2.15. Change in Black and Latino Youth Population in South L.A., 1980–2016 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Geolytics Inc

Putting Down Roots

How have Latinos been sinking roots in South LA?

- Having children
- Forming families
- Moving strongly toward higher rates of homeownership

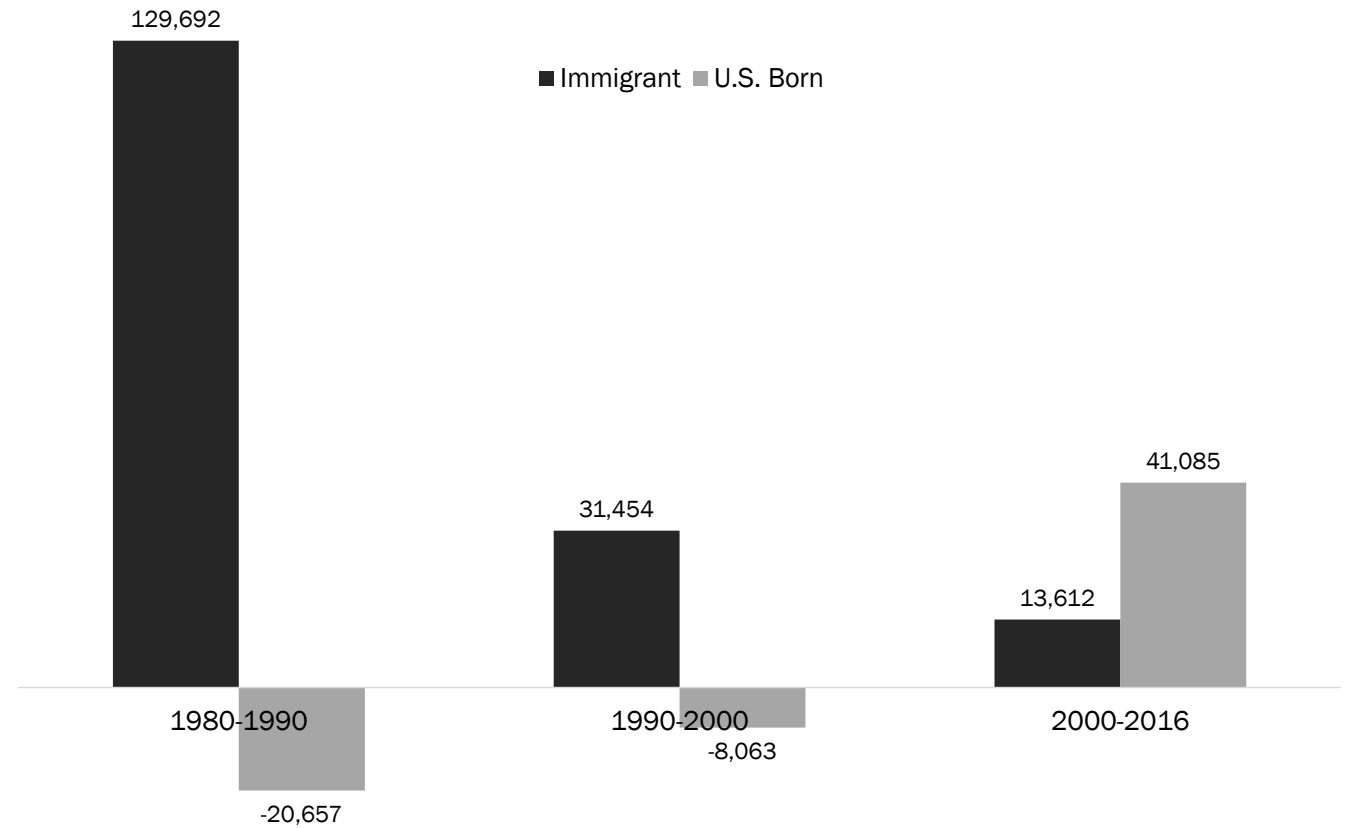
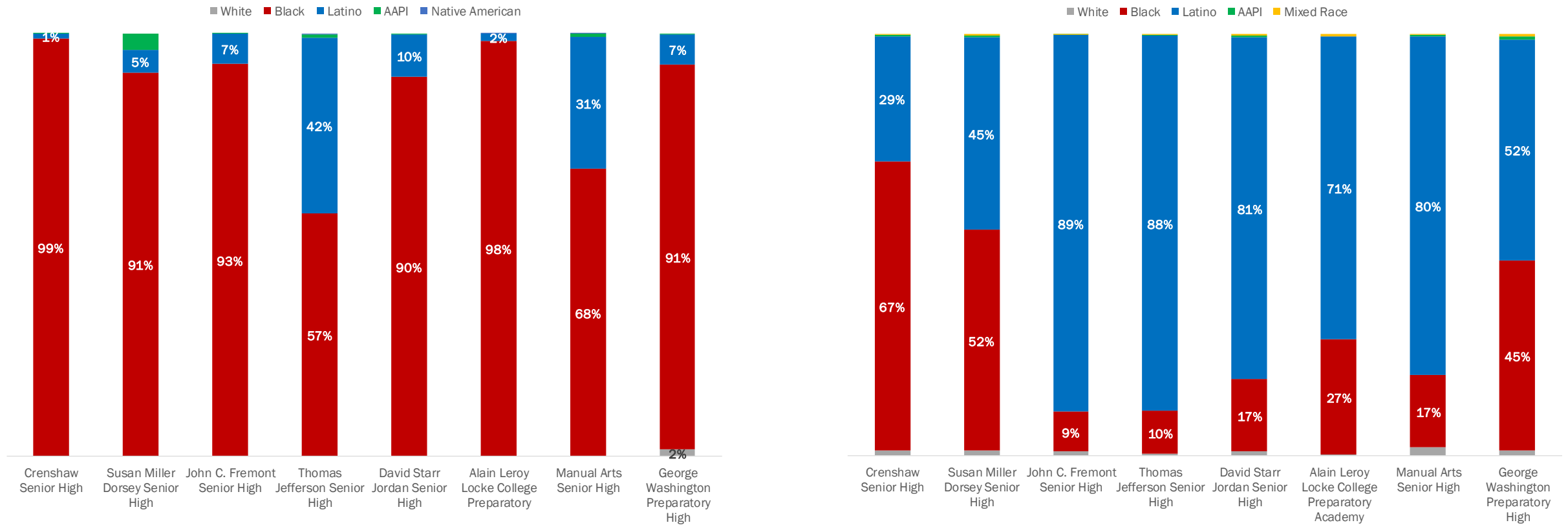


Figure 2.3. Population Growth by Nativity, South L.A., 1980–2016

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Geolytics Inc

South LA High School Demographics by 1981 and by 2016



■ Black ■ Latino ■ LA County

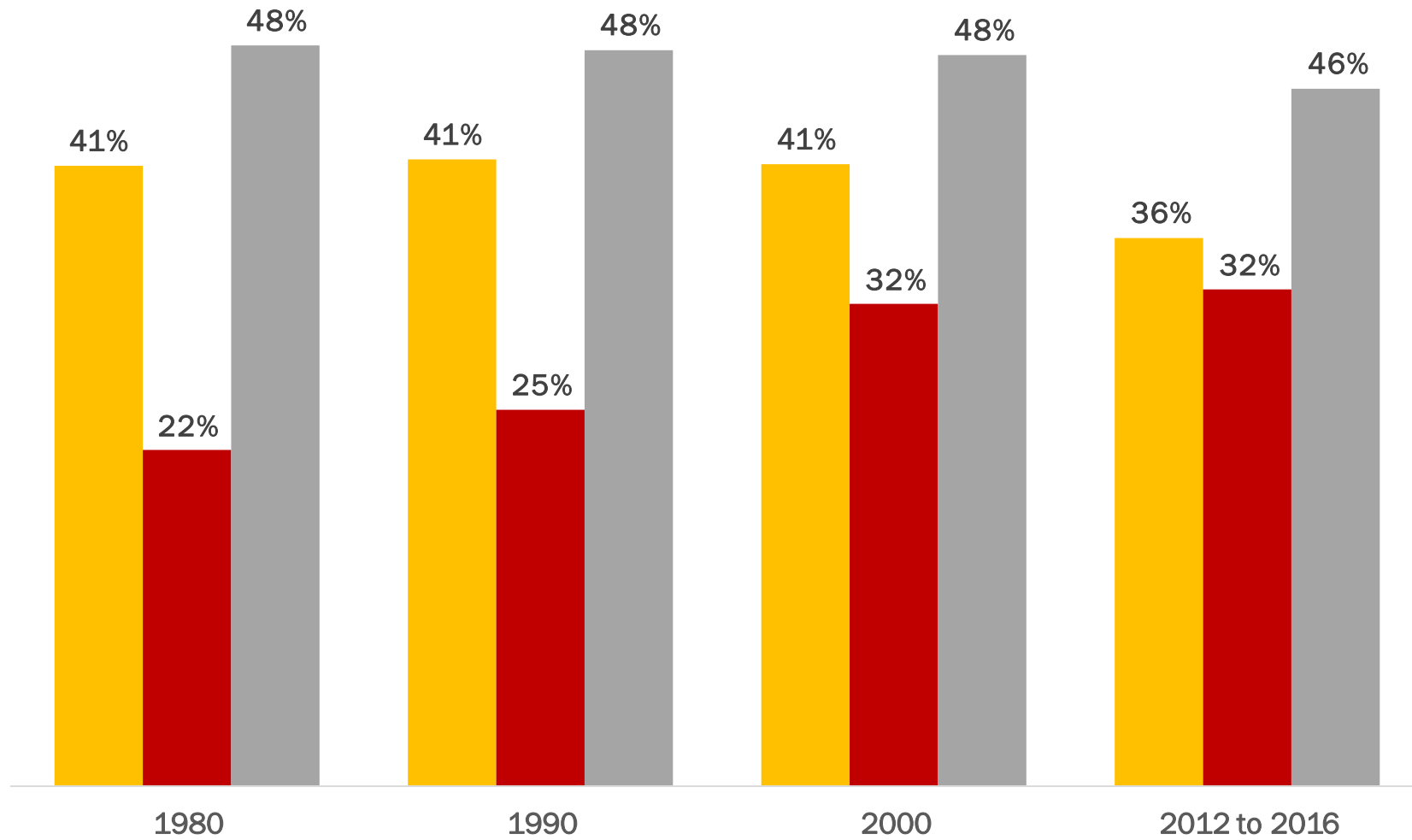


Figure 2.17. Homeownership by Race/Ethnicity in South L.A. and L.A. County, 1980–2016

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Geolytics Inc

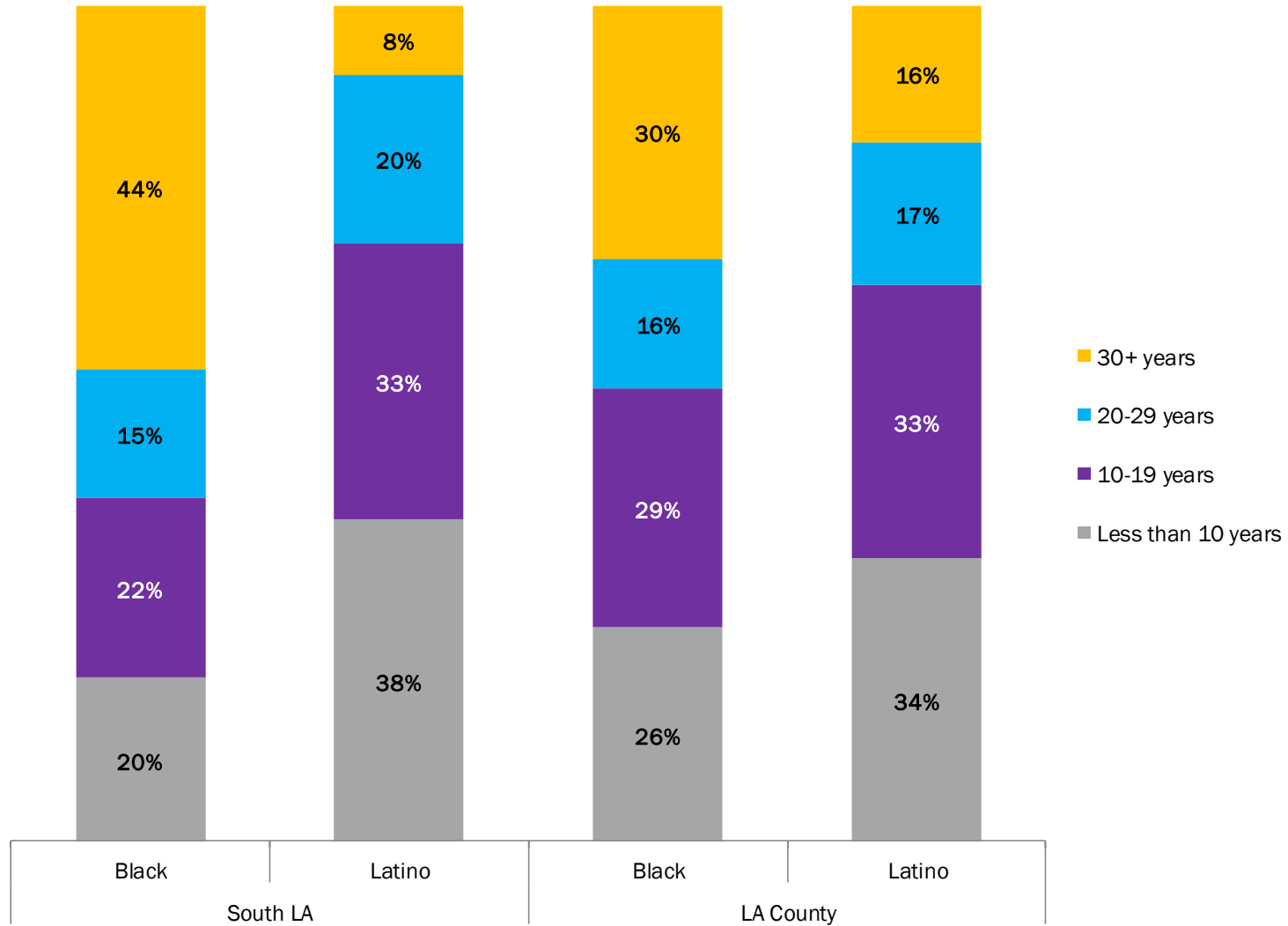


Figure 2.18. Black and Latino Homeownership by Length of Time in Residence, South L.A. and L.A. County, 2012–16 Source: ERI analysis of 2012–2016 pooled IPUMS data.

Settling versus Succeeding

- While Latinos in South L.A. may be long-settled, they are not integrating by other measures—particularly measures associated with economic progress

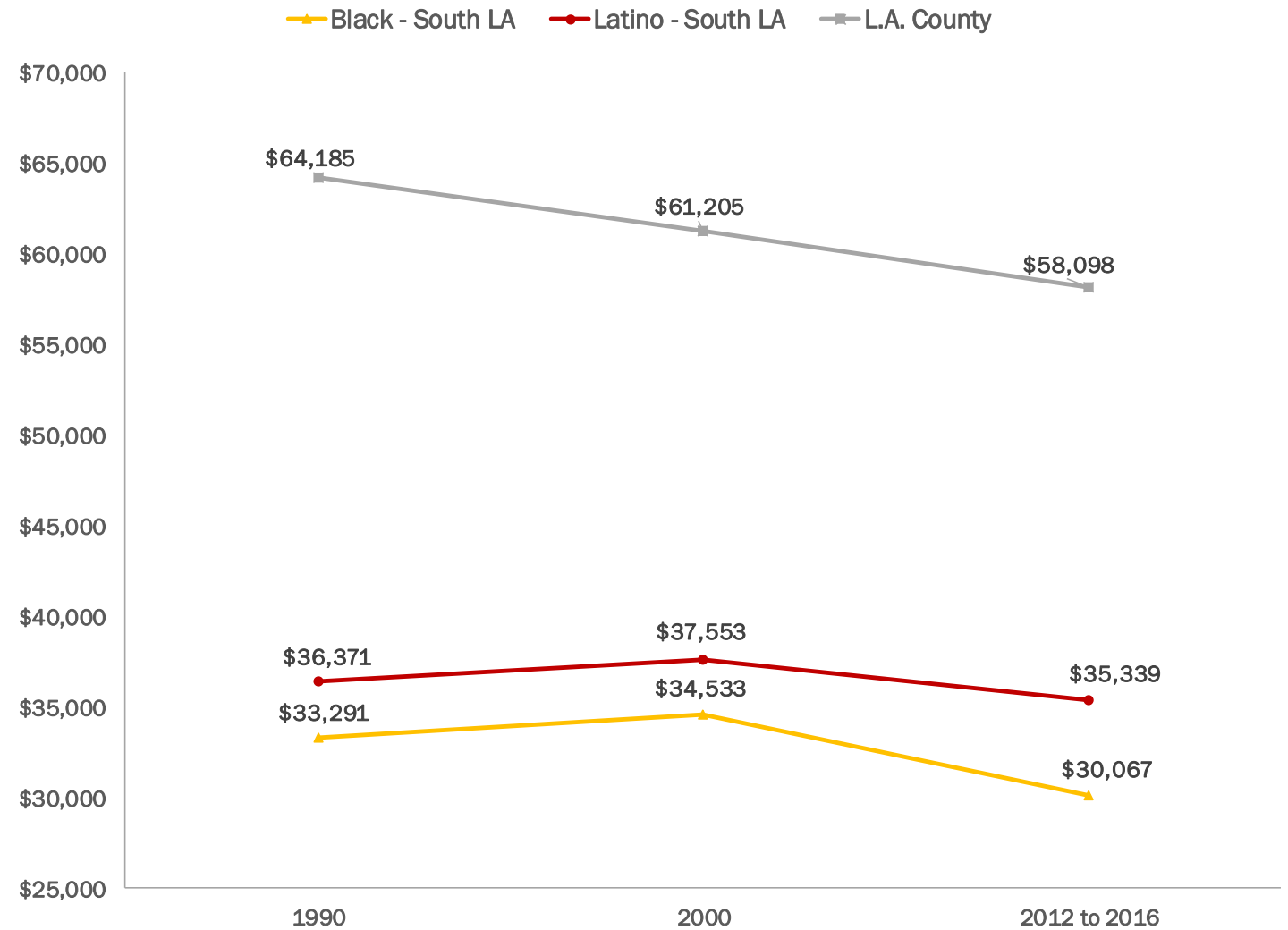


Figure 2.19. Black and Latino Median Household Income (2016 \$), South L.A., 1990–2016 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Geolytics Inc

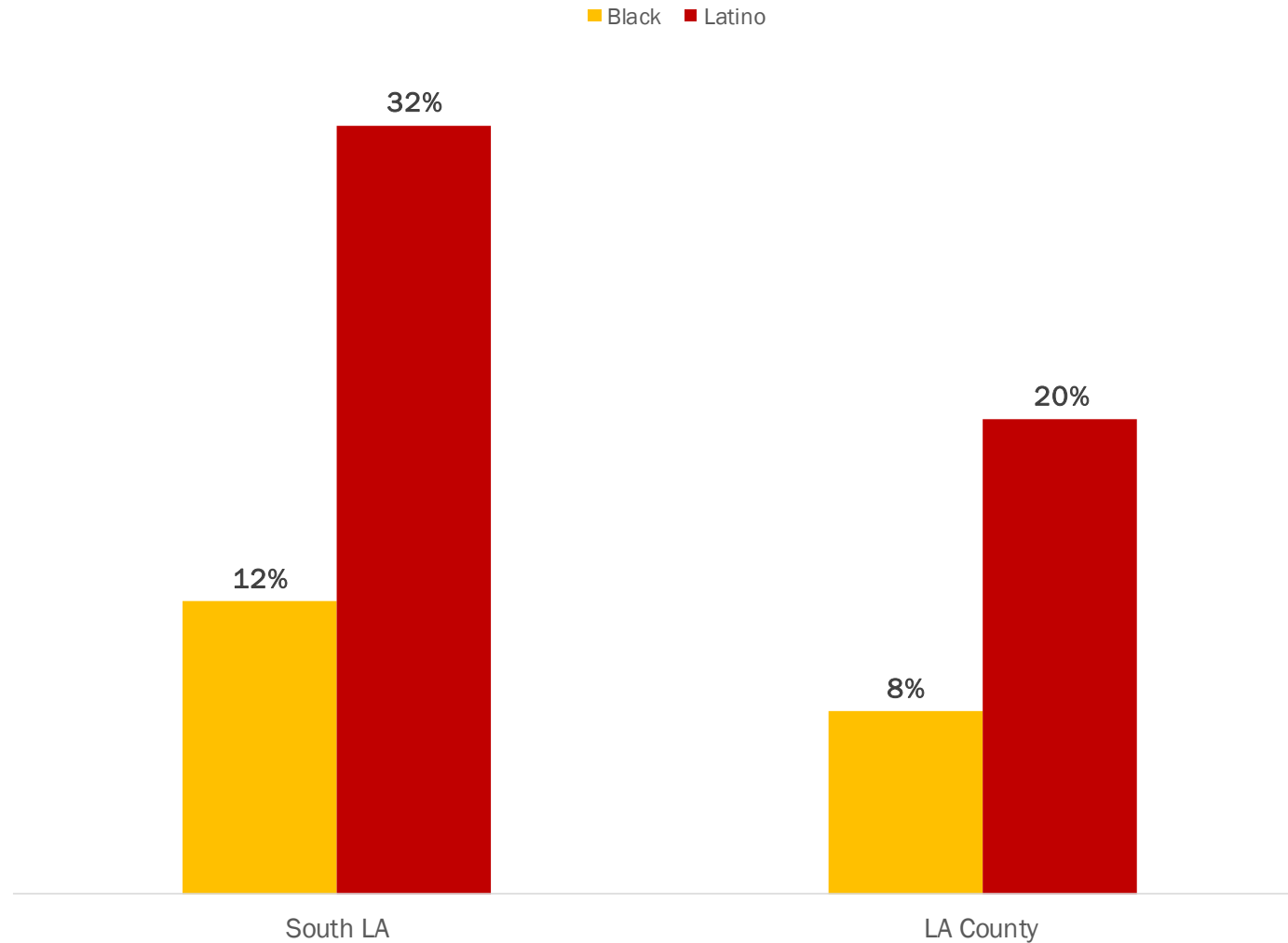


Figure 2.21. Working Poverty by Race/Ethnicity, South L.A., 2012–16 Source: ERI analysis of 2012–2016 pooled IPUMS data. Note: Working poverty is defined here as the share of full-time workers between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-four living at or below 150 percent of the federal poverty level. A full-time worker works at least fifty weeks in a year for at least thirty-five hours a week

Beyond the Numbers

- Latinos are disproportionately represented in the working poor, suggesting both persistent issues with education and pay but also leading to some degree of friction with a local African American population far more likely to be experiencing joblessness
- Immigrants with limited English abilities, rapidly changing high school populations, and other factors— can make it difficult to glimpse common ground between Black and Brown in a new and constantly changing home



Echando Raíces, Settling In

- 1st generation Latinos who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s expressed fear and anxiety about violence and Black people. Especially towards youth and gangs.
- They had very little interaction and contact with Black neighbors while simultaneously adopting dominant racial hierarchies which are accessible to immigrants.
- There were also experiences of Black of parental mentorship, bonding with older Black residents, and moments of neighborliness.



Homemaking and Belonging in a Multiracial Community



Becoming Secure: Putting up fences, gates, multiple locks. Shutting in and Shutting out.

Knowing Place: elaborate spatial mobility strategies for going and coming to work, school, leisure, and strict rules (such as avoiding certain parks or places).

Home as Haven: securing autonomy through homeownership and place making. Sense of freedom, pleasure, control about what you *can* do within boundaries of home (play loud ranchera music, work in driveway, parties, animals and fruit trees in the yard. *Ranchofication.*)

Making a Future: through children and parents. Childless folks had less contact with Black neighbors.

Becoming Secure

“No, no tenia amistades. . . .
No, I didn’t have friends,
because as I said, there were
only Black people living here.
And just one Mexican woman
over there. But no, I didn’t go
out. I was scared. Even in the
living room . . . when they
looked in I thought they might
come in through the window.”
pg. 83

“No, mi esposo las puso. . . .
No, my husband put them
on. And even so, when we
went to celebrate our silver
anniversary they [burglars]
got in through the front
door. Because out in front
there were some young men
smoking marijuana, and I
don’t know, when my son
left, they entered and they
robbed us of everything.
Everything. The money that
we had saved for my silver
wedding anniversary, the
rings, all of the gold, all of
the money. My husband had
brought a little money from
El Salvador. That was gone
too”. pg. 84

Black Embrace and the First Generation

“Mira. . . . Look, there were good things and bad things. At the time we bought our house we were practically the only Latino family on the block. And two houses down lived a Mexican man and an Americana, that’s it. Everyone else was Black. But the majority who lived here were older people, and they were very nice. We never had any problem with a Black neighbor”
pg. 87

“Cuando el perdió . . . When he lost his [construction] job, we were at zero. What do we do? Where do we go for food? That was the very first time I had ever spoken with a moreno [a Black person], directly like that, talking about things—my English is now more fluid. And we started going there for food, to a Black church. We went to ask for food, and we were in line waiting . . . and that day they needed volunteers. If you work inside as a volunteer, they give you a little more food . . .” pg.95

Making Place

“Navidad es bien. . . . Christmas is good, how shall I say, a good fiesta in this place. I have not gone elsewhere, so I cannot tell you what they do in East Los Angeles or things like that, but from what I can see, in our community, they are very devoted, strong believers. So in December, so these traditions aren’t lost . . . some people always organize the dances, celebrations . . . Las Posadas. These are traditions people are trying to hold on to. And even my children like these.” pg. 99

“My daughters’ *quinceanieras* went until 3, 3:30 or 4 in the morning. And the neighbors don’t meddle because we invite them too. Here, when we’ve had our fiestas, the police have never come. They have never bothered us.” Her husband concurred: “Here there’s more freedom. One is freer, to do whatever. One is free to do what one wishes.” pg. 104

Being Brown, Knowing Black

- 2nd generation Latinos grew up with Black neighbors and resonated with them.
- Some explained that their parents worked a lot and were monolingual, so they did not have a lot of opportunities to interact with Black folks like they did.
- Strong and emerging place-based racial identity, and a pride of being Brown in a Black space. It was also dissociating from East LA Chicano culture, which was associated with anti-Black and nationalistic identities.



Figure 4.3. “The older population, the older Latinos, the older African Americans, they don’t really get along. . . . You might as well get along ’cause at the end of the day, we’re still living in the same communities, we have the same struggles.”

Photo Credit: Walter Thompson-Hernández, USC CSII project team

2nd Generation Home-making Experiences

- Establishing Security: bullying in the street and schools; negotiating gang threats and police violence
- Accruing Familiarity: closeness to African Americans (friends at school and in the neighborhood, teachers, mentors, elderly neighbors)
- Securing Autonomy: gratitude towards Black mentors. Those who bussed outside of South LA saw how others stigmatized the region, further consolidating their place-based identity and an embrace of Black culture and influence.
- Future-Making: love and pride for South LA; community uplift, giving back.




Figure 4.4. “I can still walk in my neighborhood, and I hope my kids realize that there’s a lot to be done to improving the condition of how we live, but I hope they grow up knowing to do their part.”

Photo Credit: Walter Thompson-Hernández, USC CSII project team.

Black-Brown Tensions

“While I was growing up, majority of the population was African American. . . . We were the minority so we got picked on a lot, especially in elementary because there were more Blacks and they felt they owned the neighborhood. . . . Middle school is when it started changing. There started to be more Latinos in the neighborhood, but we still had the race riots. Like I remember running out of the middle school because it was Blacks against Mexicans, and so people would try to run home before they would start fights” pg. 125

“Immediately when I got there, there were the Brown and Black riots in the schools. We used to be on lockdown, and there was more heat [police], so that eventually kind of bled into the African Americans gangs and the Latino gangs that had never had beefs before that, and now they started beefing, right? And it was like, Wow. Just when I think I’m back home, now there’s this pressure. The climate changed. It became really hostile.” pg. 128

Navigating a Black Space

“We were among the first Latino families to move into the area. There were other Latinos sprinkled around, but most of the community was African Americans, but they were families, and they were—they were individuals who were poor, but had an incredible culture, were very amicable with their neighbors. I remember the lady who was behind us, she kept a garden in her backyard, and she would see me playing in my backyard and sometimes she would give me vegetables” pg. 131

“In the picture from my first grade, I’m the only non–African American in that picture, along with the teacher. Everyone else was African American. The funny thing is I never felt that color difference when I was in school. To me, I was just like my friends. . . . Throughout school, you could feel that African American culture. As years progressed, you started to see more Latino students, and some of that culture started to dwindle a little bit. I didn’t see it leave the school as much as my sister. My sister went to the same school and didn’t see that presence of that [African American] culture when she was there.” pg. 131-132



Figure 4.1. “I’m still proud of it, you know? I appreciate where I grew up from, you know? It was a struggle, but like I learned from it. That’s all I got.” Photo Credit: Walter Thompson-Hernández, USC CSII project team.

Busing to High School

“I was just like some nerdy kid. I was born here, and like I saw the struggle, and like I want to be better. . . . I did want to get out of South L.A. because I wanted to show that you know, that I could do more. It was almost like my identity was defined in like not trying to be from South L.A. anymore—that was me growing up, you know, trying to figure that out.” pg. 139

“[t]hat’s when I realized that I was actually proud of being from South L.A. Getting through that psychology, I realized how difficult it is for a person like myself from South L.A. to actually get into a university and succeed. . . . Instead of stigmatizing the fact that I’m from South L.A., I should be proud of it because I beat the odds and I have proven the statistics wrong” pg. 139

Place-Based Identity and African American Affinity

“My cousins who grew up in Lincoln Heights or in East L.A., they will make comments, ignorant comments, that have to do with race when they refer to African Americans, and my sister and I react very differently. To us, it’s like you’re talking about our extended family. They [African Americans] were the ones that were around there, that saw me walk home, that were extending a helping hand to my parents when they needed it. So to me, I see it differently.” pg. 148

“I feel like in South L.A. you get more of the flava . . . you’re more in tune with your African American community. Like East L.A., they’re probably more Americanized, but they’re still probably more Mexican American and Latino or Salvadoran. . . . Here you’re more mixed in.” pg. 149



Figure 4.2. “I think for South L.A., the best thing you can do is what they did with me. Open people’s eyes. Open their eyes and start seeing into the future and seeing how their decisions affect everything that can happen.” Photo Credit: Walter Thompson-Hernández, USC CSII project team.

Sharing Ground, Carving Space

- Five emergent themes from studying men in green spaces of South LA. Green spaces were sites for:
 - Therapy, solace, sanctuary in nature
 - Responsible fatherhood
 - Male sovereignty and sociability
 - Belonging and home-making
 - Emergent civic culture





Figure 5.10. The Stanford Avalon Community Garden plots flank a long dirt alley and span eleven blocks, set below the Department of Water and Power utility towers, just south of the flight path for jets arriving at LAX. Photo Credit: Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, USC CSII project team

Sanctuary and Solace in Nature

- Some men described the gardens and parks as places to free your mind and be free to reflect.
- A place for spiritual healing and describing it as their only green space for leisure. Some even described these spaces as church-like, therapy, or similar to yoga.



Figure 5.2. Planting a Garden Photo Credit: Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, USC CSII project team.

Responsible Family Men

- It is hard to live up to the racially contested and financially inaccessible expectations of good fatherhood for disadvantaged and marginalized people. Parks made this more accessible.
- Gardens served as a place that allowed Latino and Black men in South LA to be able to enact fatherhood through their rural backgrounds and ancestral past.



Male Sovereignty and Conviviality

- The study was not intended to be predominantly about men, but found women were rare in these spaces. They were not really seen as safe places, and when they were present, they were usually tasked with domestic duties like childcare.
- Places for men to gather with friends. Shade structures or *casitas* serve as a place to rest, talk, and connect.



Figure 5.3. Three Gardeners

Photo Credit: Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, USC CSII project team.

Belonging and Feeling “at Home”



Figure 5.8. One of the more rudimentary-built casitas. The white cabinet holds gardening tools.

Photo Credit: Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, USC CSII project team

- Love and pride in place. A sense of ownership and belonging in the city.
- The community gardens, more so than the parks, reproduce the routines of familiarity and family that commonly happen at home. A lot of happiness rooted in this space through “sweat equity”.

Emergent Civic Culture

- Urban community gardens also became places for conflicts and diverse views over governance of the land plots.
- At the same time, civic culture here is nascent, fragile, and contested.



Figure 5.9. At Stanford Avalon Community Garden, each garden plot is behind a locked chain-link gate and is identified by a number. Photo Credit: Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, USC CSII project team




Toward an Ethos of Togetherness?

- Latino immigrant men and African American men in South LA are both shaped by masculine privilege and social marginality
- Masculine privilege allows them into these spaces, and social marginality prompts them to seek solace, family man respectability, male sociability/ sovereignty and home.
- They share similar struggles, and fulfill similar needs in the parks and gardens of South LA
- Black and Brown hostility or togetherness? Neither. In green spaces, they are mostly “staying in their own lane.”
- Breaks the public/private binary by recognizing that feeling “at home” in public parks and community gardens.
- Immigrant integration as a process of inhabiting places and activities that become familiar, routine, and secure

Organizing Community, Building Power

- Latino community is becoming more rooted...but rootedness is not engagement
- Latino and Black communities have real differences...but share a number of common place-based struggles





Organizing Black and Brown in South L.A.

- Focus here is on the intersections of that organizing with Latinos and demographic change and what that means for contemporary South L.A. leaders
- South L.A.'s cultural institutions, such as churches, jazz clubs, and dance spots, are also places of public interactions
- The region's history is deeply tied to multiple political and civic geographies, including statewide and citywide struggles for higher wages and immigrant rights, as well as to global events, such as the wars in Central America



Being Black, Building Coalitions

- There is a long history of multicultural and multiracial movement building in South LA, even when groups were self-organized by race or ethnicity
- Another vehicle for interethnic organizing was through labor—a nuanced tale given the historic and ongoing undercurrent of anti-Blackness in unions
- Also came in the realm of community quality of life



Staying Local, Celebrating Place

- One of the reasons why Latino-led or -focused organizations did not take off was the relative neglect of the area by citywide and countywide Latino groups.
- Latinos have seen their political salvation less in Latino-based groups and more in local multiracial coalitions that can build power and take on some of the broad regional dynamics affecting life in South L.A.

Leading in South L.A.

- Latino leaders generally recognize the need to call out anti-Black racism—partly out of principle and partly out of a political calculation that this is helpful for establishing bona fides in what has historically been Black space
- Gap between the share of residents that are Latino in South L.A. and the share of political representatives, nonprofit executive directors, and other leadership positions that are occupied by Latinos
- Worry that calls for enhancing Latino civic power can devolve into a rhetoric of ethnic succession



Encouraging Latino Civic Engagement

- South LA Latino population is younger and so the share of those who are of voting age is lower
- Latino population in the region has a sizable number of noncitizen immigrant adults who are ineligible to register and vote
- Latino rates of registration and actual voting are lower than for other groups.

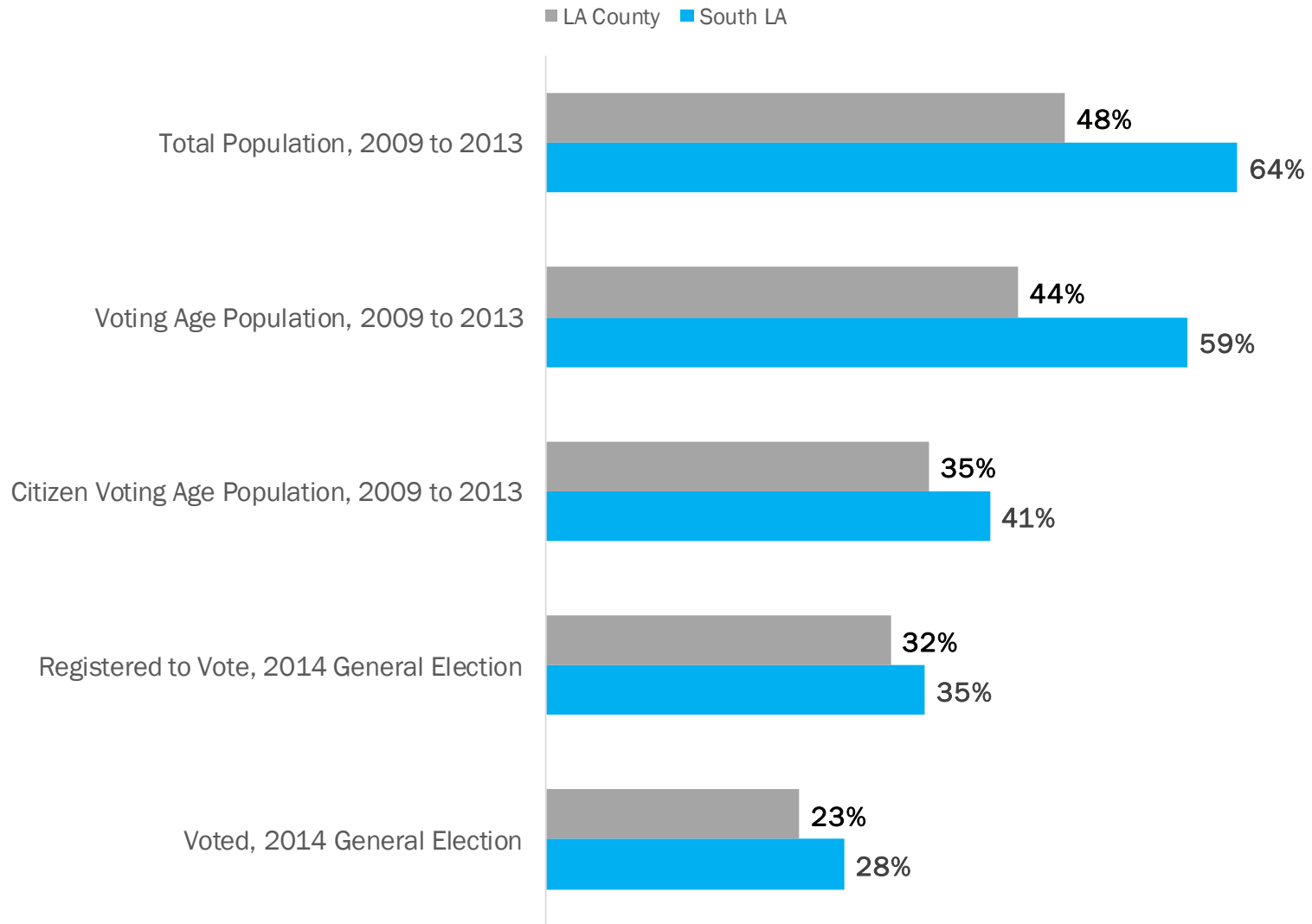


Figure 6.1. Civic Engagement of Latinos as Share of the Total Population in South L.A. and L.A. County

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, UC Berkeley Statewide Database.

Note: Voting age population refers to the population ages eighteen and older. Citizen voting age population refers to the population ages 18 and older who are citizens

Encouraging Latino Civic Engagement

“There’s that older African American guard who’s like, “Okay, do we really trust you? Do we really know you? Can you really think Black/Brown?” . . . I feel like a sense that you have to prove yourself all the time . . . every single decision I make from what time we open this building to what time we close the building to like what print will we bring to the program. Who I hire. Who I surround myself with. Who I invite to my house. I mean it’s all around this idea that we have to make sure that people see me as an ally and as a bridge builder and someone who is really authentically, intentionally, trying to represent a different vision for what South L.A. can become in the future” pg. 216

“[t]here’s always that thing, too, that I see in the County level—not to hate or anything, it’s just, it is what it is—that you see all the upper management being African American and then the lower management is Latinos. But African Americans fought for those positions for many years and finally got there, but now the whole community changed around them. But now it’s . . . do they want to let go of that power? Now, that’s political” pg. 216

Understanding Black Loss

“I did hear a lot of “we can’t even get jobs at fast-food restaurants anymore, our kids can’t get jobs at fast-food restaurants anymore because you have to speak Spanish.” . . . And some people said, well, we need to learn Spanish, but that—you know, from a lot of people that didn’t seem practical and I think there was some—there was a stress about that. Like gosh, now what do we do, we can’t even get these jobs. And really I kept hearing that, it was the language. It wasn’t like, oh, you know, they’re taking our jobs, it was no, you know, to get that job we need to speak Spanish suddenly and we couldn’t do it” pg. 224

“I mean we would say well, these Latinos, you know, maybe they’re poor, they don’t have much but they have numbers on their side. Numbers is a kind of capital, right, it’s a kind of wealth. We don’t have numbers. We don’t have money. We don’t have political clout. So what do we have? Now, to me, you know, the only capital we have or the consistent capital is community and when that goes what do you have?” pg. 225

Building Bridges, Centering Blackness

“My experience with the Latino community has been more that they just don’t think we come. I mean, I don’t really get the complaints about, “You stopped my kid. You’re harassing us.” We don’t get those complaints. We get the complaints that I called the police and you never got here. I called the police and you didn’t do anything when you got here . . . Whereas in the Black community it’s “You’re picking on my kids. We’re afraid you’re going to shoot us” pg. 233

“So this is kinda hard because I think, for many years, it was the old guard; it was the older people who were really the leaders in our community. And it was Council People—and people really kind of depended upon the system and tried to navigate that system, but I think as we’ve had more police brutality and just different issues, people getting killed unjustly, now, I think it’s more of the millennials are kinda moving in and it’s Black Lives Matter groups, it’s people working outside of the system.” pg. 234

Worrying about Displacement

“[y]ou know when it [gentrification] was happening around here by USC it’s like, “Okay it’s part of downtown,” but when it starts going and encroaching deeper into areas like West Adams . . . where you have definitely strong, solid, middle-class Black communities that’s starting to generate a really strong sense of fear.” pg. 237

“I’ve seen a number of homes being purchased by young, white couples, for whom buying a house in South LA has been like the easy route ‘cause it’s been inexpensive; it’s been they can’t maybe buy one in a neighborhood they would have bought one in five, ten years ago, but they can in South L.A., particularly after the crash, ‘cause a lot of property became available, a lot of people were made—you know, thrown out of their homes. . . . [In the past,] a couple of my crew members were white, and we’d get stopped everywhere. We would get like, “Why are you here in the neighborhood?” ‘cause people were just curious at them seeing white people. But now it’s not “a thing” to see white folks.” pg. 239

Conclusion

- Multiracial organizing in South L.A. is not new but the current era has brought a particular set of challenges and opportunities.
- There may be a shared agenda for economic justice, but it is clear that African Americans are more plagued by issues of joblessness while Latinos, specifically immigrants, are more affected by lower wages.
- While there may be deep conversations about the connection between deportation, over-incarceration, and police brutality, the insecurities and damage each induces are felt in very different ways.
- The future of South L.A. hinges on effectively connecting Black legacy institutions and contemporary African American residents with an emerging Latino majority.

Summing Up, Looking Elsewhere

Figure 7.1. Rolland Curtis
Garden Opening Celebration
Photo Credit: Abode
Communities



Complicating Race Relations

- Much of the literature either focuses too dramatically on the conflicts between groups or paints too rosy a picture of the natural commonalities between communities of color
- South L.A. experiences suggest that bridge building is forged in daily practice; it occurs over a long time and is far more complex than simple snapshots of one struggle or another can provide
- A shared understanding of racism and a political project of creating “minority shared fate” can overcome job and other competition

Rethinking Immigrant Integration

- South LA has a much higher share of undocumented residents than other locales, even in LA County, and yet deportation and detention did not emerge as a primary concern
- Latinos raised in South LA see themselves as quite distinct from East LA Latinos, largely because of their deep relationship with Black histories and future



Watts

Making (and Losing) Home

- In this context, Black–Brown civic organizing becomes the rule rather than the exception for Latinos with civic ambition, a sort of political habit deeply ingrained into their thinking and their being
- But it is also the case that Black–Brown framing can diminish the specificity of anti-Black racism and fail to capture the hearts and minds of Black Angelenos
- Latino leaders perceive that the direct political paths are mostly blocked, but they also realize that the best way forward is to form alliances with Black leaders

The Future of South LA

- Create on-ramps to civic participation, including activities like beautifying parks and staging community concerts
- Increase and deepen Latino leadership for multi-racial coalitions
- Strengthen Black-Latino alliances, invest in autonomous spaces
- Build capacity in existing South LA organizations
- Invest in reframing the public narrative around South LA, particularly in strategic communications that stress the assets of South LA, chart the transformation of tensions over time, and point the way forward to a future together

