

UCLA

BLUE PRINT



ISSUE #14 / FALL 2021
DESIGNS FOR A NEW CALIFORNIA
A PUBLICATION OF THE
UCLA LUSKIN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

TOMORROW'S L.A.
THE CITY OF THE FUTURE CONTEMPLATES ITS OWN

EDITOR'S NOTE

BLUEPRINT

A magazine of research, policy, Los Angeles and California

THE RECENT PAST HAS OFFERED PRECIOUS LITTLE OPPORTUNITY TO

think about the future. Beginning in early 2020, COVID-19 posed such an immense and uncertain challenge that it was difficult to think weeks in advance, much less months or years. Indeed, the entire Trump presidency was so erratic and unpredictable that it made living in the present a political necessity. Now, with at least some relief from those catastrophes, there is at last a chance to return to looking ahead — a luxury that is doubly valuable when it comes to thinking about the future of Los Angeles.

This is a region that foreshadows much of what awaits the United States — in culture, food, music and politics. It is a city of immigrants and diversity, the home of an emerging Latino/a majority and of rapidly evolving values. It is a laboratory of the American future. Its recent past offers stark lessons in the possibility and rapidity of change. Consider this: In the living memory of L.A.'s older residents, this city and its suburbs were a bastion of Republican politics and a largely white, conservative, anti-labor alternative to its more liberal and labor-friendly counterpart, San Francisco.

Today, Los Angeles is home to a dynamic labor movement and vigorously progressive politics. It is solidly committed to environmental protection and economic justice. It is a leader in fighting climate change and on raising the minimum wage. In only two generations, Los Angeles has gone from Mayor Sam Yorty, a blowhard conservative, to Mayor Eric Garcetti, a gentle and articulate liberal. And it now confronts its future after Garcetti, who is preparing to leave the office to a successor.

Every single one of the city's elected officials is either a Democrat or an Independent (Republicans have left the building). There are political differences, of course, but they divide moderates from liberals — conservatives are on the outside — or split officials based mostly on the interests of their districts or their relationships. There are no longer any elected

voices championing gun ownership or smokestack industries. No one in modern Los Angeles leadership blames immigrants for the area's troubles, at least out loud. Those debates, still lively on the national level, are part of L.A.'s past.

But what of the future? That's the question to which we turn with this issue of Blueprint.

It's hard to predict the future, of course. Ten years ago, who would have said Donald Trump might win the White House and preside over the worst health disaster in the nation's modern history? And yet, some of the fundamentals of Los Angeles are likely to endure. The Los Angeles of tomorrow will be populated by more people arriving from Latin America and Asia; it will need to provide more homes for families; it will be sick of traffic. These are already staples of daily life. But it will need to respond even more thoughtfully to the environment, and the city will look and feel different to those who live and work here.

To consider these features of the region's future — and of the future that awaits the rest of the nation — we have enlisted some of this area's finest writers and deepest thinkers. I'm proud to present them here.

We hope you enjoy and respond to their ideas with appreciation, of course, but also with concerns or amendments — and, most of all, with action.

Here's to our future.

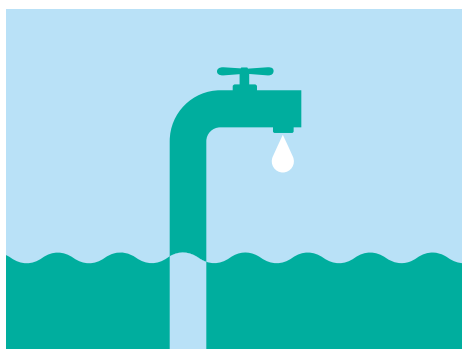


JIM NEWTON

Editor-in-chief, Blueprint

INSIDE BLUEPRINT

ISSUE #14 / FALL 2021



LANDSCAPE

- 02 **THE STRUGGLE TO TEACH**
COVID and the classroom
- 03 **CITY ELECTIONS AND ME**
A reporter and the politics he likes
- 03 **THE WATER SUPPLY**
Desperate for water? How about the ocean?
- 04 **"LIGHTER LOOK"**
Rick Meyer and Edwin Edwards



PROFILE

- 06 **ANTONIA HERNANDEZ**
On justice, generosity and struggle

INFOGRAPHIC

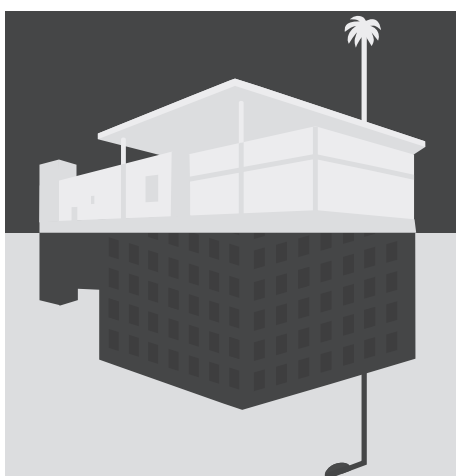
- 10 **WHERE ARE WE HEADED?**
Los Angeles, future tense

FEATURED RESEARCH

- 12 **THE NEW LOOK OF L.A.**
Thinking freshly about the city of tomorrow



- 16 **WHERE TO LIVE?**
Segregation and cost shape housing patterns



- 20 **HOW TO WORK?**
UCLA's Labor Center and the new workforce
- 24 **PAYING TO DRIVE**
How congestion pricing could change everything

SPECIAL REPORT — A CLOSER LOOK

- 28 **LOCKED OUT AT THE BORDER**
Professors and students rush to help a border crisis



TABLE TALK

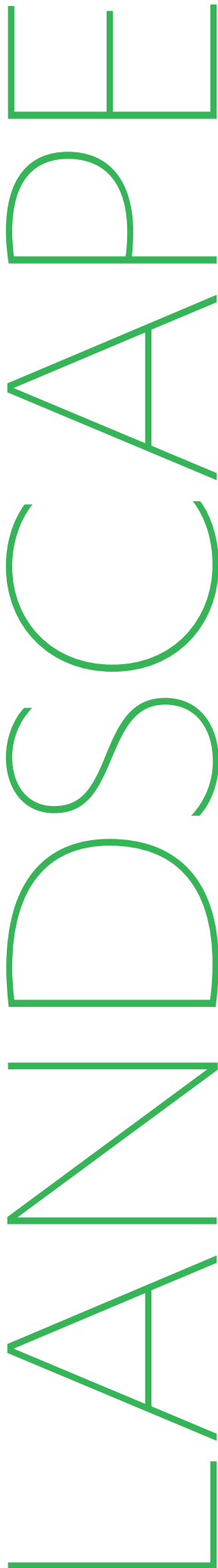
- 32 **FRANK GEHRY**
Disney Hall, the L.A. River and the search for understanding



CLOSING NOTE

- 38 **CHALLENGE VS. OPPORTUNITY**
The race for L.A.'s future

TO READ PAST ISSUES
OR SUBSCRIBE TO
BLUEPRINT GO TO
BLUEPRINT.UCLA.EDU



TEACHING DURING COVID

An LAUSD veteran confronts a historic challenge to learning.

FOR THE FIRST TIME in his teaching career, he considered quitting.

Being a teacher was demanding at the best of times, but the pandemic brought a new wave of pressures and responsibility.

In a virtual reality, he had to cultivate a classroom setting. “The feeling that I wasn’t doing enough was magnified because there was no real way for me to gauge how my students were feeling, because many never turned their cameras on, or came to my support sessions, or even tried to communicate with me through email.”

But now Mark Estanislo — Mr. E to his students — was glad that he had not abandoned them and his future. “Welcome to 10th grade World History,” he said, on his first day back in a real classroom in more than a year. He walked in with characteristic confidence, but he was unsure of how to break the awkward silence. He poked fun at the chaos and frustrations that everyone had felt trying to learn through a screen.

He also acknowledged the difficulty he and his students would feel returning to normal. “Now I know these next few months are going to be a challenging transition,” Mr. E said. “However, I am here to help you all adjust. Every day I am available for an hour after school to meet with you and answer any questions you have about the material. I strongly encourage you all to take advantage of this opportunity.”



Tugging on the strings of their backpacks, his students entered the classroom guardedly. Some wore masks. Others concealed their faces behind spiral notebooks.

Coming back to in-person classes for the first time since the beginning of the coronavirus pandemic was bracing. For students and teachers in Los Angeles — indeed, everywhere — the future meant marching bravely into the past, but with new experiences and cautions. It meant testing everything: how to arrange desks (at least six feet apart), how to decorate face masks (would drawings of beer mugs be allowed?) and how to look at a roomful of others without staring.

For Mr. E, it was a welcome experience. On the precipice of resigning, he was happy now to leave Zoom teaching behind. He had decided. He would continue to be an LAUSD teacher and add to his 12 years in front of classes at New West Charter High School, nestled among the houses of West L.A., with students from both high- and low-income families.

He wanted to strengthen his relationships with these students and watch them grow. Although the previous

“Being trapped behind a screen hindered my ability to truly connect with my students.”

year had been taxing, he was eager to forge ahead, even break new ground. Like many educators, he was dedicated to his students and loved inspiring them to learn.

BEFORE ATTENDING UCLA, I was one of his students.

“You were in my class before COVID, and you know how expressive and passionate I am when I teach,” Mr. E said when we talked recently. “Being trapped behind a screen hindered my ability to truly connect with my students.”

He recalled the difficult days of Zoom, when only five out of 20 students had turned on their cameras and actively participated in class. “Many kids were taking the backseat, and I can’t blame them. I had some students who never volunteered all year,” he said. Every school day followed the same pattern, and Mr. E said he became frustrated by the monotony associated with staring at a screen for hours at a time.

Determined to find ways to foster meaningful relationships, he urged his students to connect with him and with one another. He entertained class discussions about what they were binge watching. He also took advantage of technology, using private messaging and Pear Deck, an interactive platform, to ask and answer questions. While implementing these tools allowed students to have a voice and participate, it failed to motivate them to be engaged for the duration of the school year. Teaching by Zoom was a long and unhappy struggle.

Mr. E wasn’t alone in feeling defeated. He relied on a close-knit community of colleagues who shared experiences and turned to one another for advice. The teachers in his department met weekly over Zoom to brainstorm creative ways to keep students engaged, and debriefed

the tribulations of teaching through a screen. One solution: going easier on students; but that, too, yielded only mixed results.

"I gave the kids months to turn in assignments," Mr. E said. "Some kids had until May to turn in assignments from January; however, I would say that five out of 20 students took this opportunity, and the rest accepted zeros."

BUT MR. E AND HIS COLLEAGUES KEPT AT IT — from the initial shutdown, to the move to Zoom, to cautious steps toward reopening. Uncertainty prevailed, and students struggled alongside teachers. Finally, on August 17, everyone re-entered their classrooms, and even as the Delta variant kept teachers from restoring full normalcy, some routines resumed.

"Rather than go heavy with the curriculum," Mr. E said, "we want to hone in on the skills students lack. I predict that students will struggle with reading, keeping up with the fast pace we are used to in an hour and having a short attention span. The hope is that the kids who struggled this past year did so because of the environment; if they are physically together in person, maybe this will help get them back on track."

"The goal is to get the kids invested in their own learning and play into their own interests."

— **Ashley Lifton**

FIRST PERSON I NERD OUT OVER CITY ELECTIONS

Some people tire of city elections in Los Angeles. Not me.

FOR MOST PEOPLE who follow politics, 2022 means one thing: The election cycle, particularly the November ballot, will determine whether President Biden and the Democratic Party cling to their slim advantages in the House of Representatives and U.S. Senate, or Republicans claw back some power.

This Washington stuff is important, sure, but I'm much more excited about something else on the ballot: the Los Angeles mayoral election.

I'm also looking forward to the eight City Council races, the contest for City Attorney, and even the battle to be the next City Controller. (If you have no idea what the office of City Controller is, you're not alone; basically, it's L.A.'s fiscal watchdog.)

For me, an open mayor's race — like the one

"Fundraising, egos, polls and political theater. What's not to love?"



that starts next June with the primary — is the political equivalent of the Super Bowl melded with the Oscars and a party for a birthday that ends with a zero. I have already had dozens of conversations about which City Hall or outsider candidates will enter, and I expect to have scores more. I've tumbled down the rabbit hole by speculating not just on who will run for the seat but how much money they will need to raise and what voting blocs they will seek to build. I get giddy when my Twitter feed reveals the results of a new poll.

My nerdy affection for local elections runs deep. I know the names of not only the winners of most city races in the past two decades but many of the losers — even for council districts far from my Highland Park home. I have cobbled together factoids that are utterly useless, unless someone creates a City Hall-themed version of "Jeopardy!" For example, my frontal lobe holds data points such as Mayor Eric Garcetti earned 81% of the vote in his 2017 re-election, compared with the 55% that Antonio Villaraigosa secured when he won a second term in 2009. I know that veteran City Hall player Mark Ridley-Thomas is 10-0 in elections over three decades, and that another undefeated figure is, surprise, former Councilman José Huizar; he is too ensnared in a City Hall corruption scandal but he'll always have a perfect 6-0 record.

Why do local elections resonate so deeply with me? Why during campaign season do I regularly check the City Ethics Commission website so I can pore over fundraising data? Why do I willingly watch council campaign forums, knowing they are filled with well-intentioned but hopeless candidates who speak in clichés such as the tired "I will fight for you!"

In part, it's the power play. City elections produce hard-nosed, strategic political theater. These are high-stakes throwdowns, often involving individuals with epic egos, making the races fun

to watch. Plus, when it comes to council contests, we're talking about mini-kingdoms; the 15 Los Angeles council members each represent approximately 250,000 residents. By contrast, before becoming the U.S. Secretary of Transportation, Pete Buttigieg was the mayor of a city, South Bend, Ind., with only about 100,000 inhabitants.

But that's not all. Local elections matter to me because, well, I love Los Angeles, and I love living in Los Angeles, and the people we elect help determine the direction and livability of the city.

You might argue that this holds true, even more so, on the national stage, and I won't dispute it. I'm not downplaying the importance of a presidential race or contests for governor or Congress. There is no denying that the Joe Biden-Donald Trump election last fall was the most consequential ballot of my lifetime.

And yet, it feels like the actions taken by a mayor or a council member will have a more immediate impact on my life as an Angeleno. These are officials whose decisions and stances on myriad policies — from policing to homelessness to trash collection and beyond — color the fabric of the city. Maybe this is just a version of the old adage that all politics is local.

Because the primary election doesn't come until June, many people won't start paying attention to the mayor's race and other city contests until May. That's OK. When that time comes, I'll emerge from my rabbit hole and share my nerdy take with anyone who cares to listen, knowing that what happens at the ballot box will shape Los Angeles for years to come.

— **Jon Regardie**

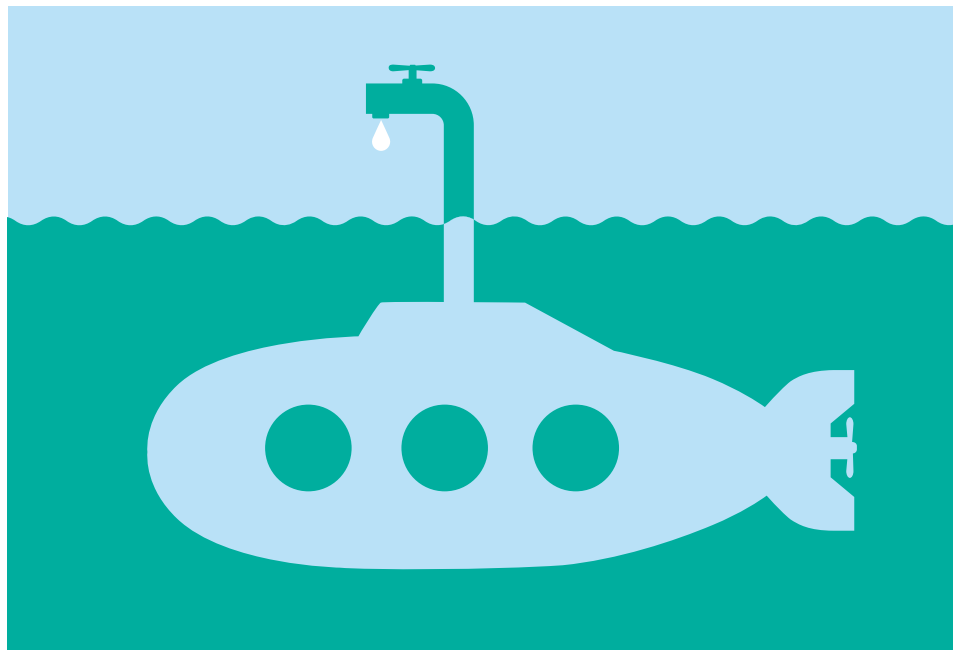
AND NOT A DROP TO DRINK

Facing a critical drought, California considers the costs and benefits of desalination.

BRAD COFFEY WAS HOLDING a friend's baby when a striking thought crossed his mind: Baby Violet could live to see the year 2100 — an era in which fresh water as we know it today could become hard to find.

The year 2100 is significant to many who study climate change. More than half of the snowpack in Southern California is predicted to disappear by then, Coffey said, referencing a 2013 UCLA study. And by the end of the century, the Sierra Nevada could see a 79% reduction in its snowpack, according to a 2018 study by the Lawrence Berkeley National Lab.

What, Coffey wondered, would life be like for Violet? "That really made the year 2100 no



longer mysterious to me,” said Coffey, who leads water resource management at the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California.

California’s water struggles are legion and growing. Conservation has helped the state weather population growth and climate change, but it cannot increase supply by itself. As the state contemplates its future, then, many eyes look to the ocean and wonder whether it could provide an answer.

California has 1,100 miles of coastline, all of it abutting the largest source of water on Earth, the Pacific Ocean. If this water were put to use, it could, perhaps, stave off the disaster that threatens California. That is the premise behind Poseidon Water, which two decades ago built the largest desalination plant in the United States.

The facility, which sits on the shore in Carlsbad, delivers 50 million gallons of drinking water to San Diego County per day.

“The Pacific Ocean is the largest reservoir in the world. It’s always full.”

“The Pacific Ocean is the largest reservoir in the world. It’s always full,” said Scott Maloni, vice president of Poseidon Water. Desalination presents an alluring prospect — a nearly unlimited water supply, immune to the punishing costs of climate change. But these plants are fiercely opposed by environmentalists because they vacuum up and kill marine microorganisms. Others raise an eyebrow at the heavy use of energy associated with operating them.

They are also extremely expensive and tend to raise water bills in the communities they serve, a concern for those living in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

“There is often this panic, I think, for many people, and they start sort of looking at these options and say, ‘Well, water is important, so we’ll pay anything,’” said Heather Cooley, director of research at the Pacific Institute, a nonprofit research organization that focuses on freshwater issues.

That wall of opposition, a \$1.4 billion price tag and a sea of evolving regulations in California are what have held Poseidon’s proposal to build a plant in Huntington Beach in limbo for more than 20 years.

“To them, the ocean is a profit center, to us it’s a fragile environment,” said Andrea Leon-Grossman, director of climate change action for Azul, an ocean conservation group.

Maloni’s response: “I would say that conservation is more important than *desal* ... but you can’t conserve water you don’t have. Conservation alone is not going to get us through what the new world looks like with climate change.”

The fate of the long-embattled Huntington Beach project rests in the hands of the California Coastal Commission, which is expected to vote on a crucial permit before year’s end. But even that won’t be the last regulatory stop for Poseidon.

“If we can’t get it through the state’s permitting process, you’re not going to see another large-scale *desal* plant built in this state for a very long time, if ever,” Maloni said.

Before its final decision, the Coastal Commission will investigate the ecological impacts of the project. The agency could direct Poseidon to take on additional mitigation requirements to reduce anticipated impacts on the ocean. One area of concern is the plant’s intake system, which threatens to kill larvae and plankton as it sucks salt water from the sea. The plant also would discharge salty brine back into the ocean after extracting fresh water.

That impact is based on how large an area of the ocean would be affected each year. In Huntington Beach, that’s estimated at about 420 acres, said Tom Luster, senior environmental scientist with the Coastal Commission.

“If that scale of impact happened on land, there’d be outrage,” Luster said. “That’s three-quarters of a square mile that you’re moving every tree, leaf, bug, flower, egg and all that sort of thing. But because it’s under the water, nobody sees it. It’s a pretty immense impact that they need to mitigate for.”

Luster’s team will make a recommendation to the Coastal Commission’s 12-member board before the end of the year.

The cost, and a question of whether the plant is necessary in north Orange County, remain his primary concerns. Over the next decade, California is likely to have more dry years, but it’s also expected to see wet years, said Karl Seckle, the recently retired district engineer for the Municipal Water District of Orange County.

“If we could build a plant at the ocean and only turn it on when we needed it, how often would we turn it on?” Seckle said. “And that’s where this becomes problematic. We would only turn that on, I think, two or three years out of 10.”

Cooley, the Pacific Institute research director, says that L.A.’s efforts to conserve and recycle water serve as a model for the rest of the state.

“Los Angeles was founded based on importing water and all of the social, economic and environmental issues associated with that,” Cooley said. “And then transitioning toward this more sustainable vision ... it’s certainly a city to watch.”

For Cooley, the solution to a new normal with dry years in California lies within conservation, water recycling and efficiency, as well as updating the state’s existing water systems and infrastructure.

“We will have to change how we’re using and managing water, but the good news is there are lots of opportunities,” Cooley said. “It’s not all doom and gloom ... California is known for its innovation and, with time and resources, we can solve these problems.”

— **Kat Schuster**

“A LIGHTER LOOK” — EDWIN EDWARDS

Rick Meyer’s regularly appearing column takes a lighter look at politics and public affairs around the world. This month: An appreciation.

“FAST EDDIE” POURED TOMATO JUICE into cut-glass goblets. One was for me, the other was for him. We talked in his dining room. Over lunch, he

invited me to travel with him.

I was writing a magazine piece about the moon-dog opalescence of Louisiana politics, and covering an Edwin Edwards gubernatorial campaign would turn out to be more fun than any reporter should be allowed to have.

He was a rogue, a rake and a rascal, in the mold of Huey Long, “the Kingfish,” and his brother, Earl. I grew to like “Fast Eddie,” and when word came this summer that he had died, at age 93, I refused to believe it. The world would be far smaller and far less fortunate without him.

When he was governor, Edwards had socked it to oil companies to fill state coffers and improve social services, health care, schools and highways. He streamlined government and appointed record numbers of women, Blacks and other minorities to office. He supported the Superdome and pushed for an NBA team in New Orleans.

He never turned his back on anyone, especially the downtrodden. His charm was legendary, especially with ladies. So was his wit.

It was irrepressible.

When his amorous adventures became too much, Edwards and his wife were divorced. Now he hoisted his goblet in a toast and told me he had a new lady. As if on cue, she walked downstairs: blond hair tied in a white bow; light green eyes; a blue, white and pink blouse; white shorts; and long, tan legs. Her name was Candace Picou, and she was a student nurse at Louisiana State University. She was 26 years old.

He leaned close to me. “I’m 64 years old. Some people say that at 64, a man should be looking for a nurse. Others say that he ought to be looking for the best-looking young lady he can find.”

He paused. “I’ve combined the two.”

IT WAS 1991. THIS CAMPAIGN was for the third of his four terms as governor.

He was running against Buddy Roemer, an angry reformer. Roemer opposed Edwards and Louisiana’s live-and-let-live politics with such intensity that he tumbled into a midlife crisis. His wife left him, along with their 10-year-old son. Roemer was taking advice from a guru who showed him how to wear a rubber band on his wrist and pop it to cancel negative thoughts. “Cancel! Cancel!”

Edwards also was running against David Duke, a former grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, who was a member of the Louisiana House of Representatives. Research by a coalition against racism showed that Duke had worn a Nazi uniform and picketed against a civil rights activist, calling him “a communist Jew.”

The research, which Duke variously minimized or conceded, also showed that, until recently, he had celebrated Hitler’s birthday every year; sold racist books at his legislative office; written a book to trick Black militants; and posed

as a woman to help write another book — for women about dating and sex.

IN THE MIDST OF THIS FRAY, Edwards and I drove to Crowley, the parish seat of Acadia Parish, in the heart of Cajun country, where he had gotten his political start at 27 as a city councilman. People gathered to greet him.

“Cher!”

“Comment ça va?”

Somebody asked: “Did I tell you the joke I heard about you the other day? You died and went to heaven.”

“That’s a joke?” Edwards replied.

Everyone laughed.

“No. Here’s the joke. So you get up there, and St. Peter says, ‘Well, Edwin, you made it. Go to your pillow over yonder and enjoy yourself.’ And you come back about an hour later and say, ‘St. Peter, I need some companionship. Where’s all the women?’

“It’s Phyllis Diller. You run back to St. Peter and say, ‘Phyllis Diller! Come on! I did a lot better than that when I was on Earth.’”

“He says, ‘I’ll send somebody over.’

“It’s Phyllis Diller. You run back to St. Peter and say, ‘Phyllis Diller! Come on! I did a lot better than that when I was on Earth.’

“St. Peter says, ‘Well, Edwin, you just barely made it in here. You can’t expect too much.’

“Buddy Roemer walks past, and you look at him, and you say, ‘There goes Buddy Roemer with Michelle Pfeiffer! How in the hell did he get a beauty like Michelle Pfeiffer?’

“St. Peter says, ‘Well, Edwin, you just don’t understand. Michelle just barely made it in here.’”

FROM CROWLEY, WE WENT TO Shreveport. Edwards was scheduled to speak at the Louisiana Baptist Convention. As a teenager, he had drifted into the fundamentalist Nazarene church. He returned to the Catholic fold, but he could still preach with the best from the brush arbor.

He pledged aid for the struggling and the poor.

“Not everybody can raise himself by his bootstraps,” he shouted.

“Amen!” came the reply.

“Not everybody can make it on his own.”

“Amen!”

I recalled a story told by John Maginnis, one of Louisiana’s most respected political reporters. On the 4th of July, Maginnis had gone with Edwards to a campground at the United Pentecostal Church tabernacle not far from Tioga.

Edwards brought 10,000 believers to their feet. Maginnis sought an explanation.

“How,” he asked the Rev. Clarence Bates, who had come to his vocation after serving as a bodyguard for Earl Long, “can any church intent on holiness and morality support a man like Edwin Edwards, who is known to gamble, chase women ... and constantly be under investigation for corruption?”

Bates looked at Maginnis for a moment. “Well,” he said, “he doesn’t drink or smoke.”

AS WE LEFT SHREVEPORT, Edwards suggested I read Maginnis’ book, *The Last Hayride*. The book told about his successful 1983 campaign. He had run against Gov. David Treen.

The campaign was famous for two things, Edwards said. One was his caravan that crossed the state. He spoke 109 times in seven days and reached hundreds of thousands of voters.

The other was his remark that Treen was “so slow it takes him an hour and a half to watch *60 Minutes*.”

Maginnis wrote “a very interesting book,” Edwards said. “But it’s unfair in that it depicts Treen as a total dummy and me as a total crook, which is just partly true.”

Which part? I asked.

“Well, he’s dumber than I’m a crook.”

BY 1991, EDWARDS HAD BEEN tried twice on charges of fraud and racketeering. The jury deadlocked. Then he was acquitted. He was a scoundrel, but Louisianans loved him for it. They gave him the name “Fast Eddie,” and they winked at his womanizing.

He defeated Roemer in the primary, then used his reputation to campaign against Duke in a runoff.

“I’m the wizard under the sheets,” he said.

His bumper stickers urged: “Vote for the Crook. It’s Important.”

He defeated Duke in a landslide.

EDWARDS MARRIED CANDY PICOU. After his fourth term, he was convicted in a scheme involving riverboat casino licenses and was sentenced to federal prison for 10 years. They were divorced. She has “suffered enough,” he said.

In prison, a visitor, Trina Grimes Scott, became his pen-pal. He served eight of his 10 years, was released into halfway-house supervision and married her. He was 83. She was blond, striking and 32. Given his age, he said, they had sent him to prison for life. “But I came back with a wife.”

Some politicians scare me. Others anger me. Many put me to sleep. But not Edwin Washington Edwards. He made me laugh.

It was a gift.

— Richard E. Meyer

THE OPTIMISM OF EXPERIENCE

ANTONIA HERNANDEZ AND THE FUTURE OF LOS ANGELES

WRITTEN BY

JIM NEWTON

PHOTOS BY

DAVID SPRAGUE

The work of philanthropy begins with need — locating and appreciating people who are desperate. And once those in need have been found, the business of helping them requires more than generosity. It demands strategic vision, tactical sophistication and guts.





It is a business that combines practical skills and a devotion to community. Sadly, Los Angeles has no shortage of need, as any trip across town, with its multiplying tent cities, testifies. But fortunately for this region, it also has the California Community Foundation and its leader, Antonia Hernandez, who is as shrewd and tactical as she is generous.

"We're venture capitalists," Hernandez said in an interview this summer, sitting at a conference table in the foundation's downtown offices, half-empty to protect employees from COVID. "It's not just to pass through the money. Our goal is to change the way government contracts with nonprofits."

The foundation accepts bequests and donations to its various funds — from disaster relief to scholarships to community improvement — and uses the money to support groups that perform this work. It gives not to individuals but to nonprofits and community organizations. It does not accept federal grants because of the entanglements they often create.

Since 2000, the Community Foundation has given away more than \$200

million, and in 2015, Hernandez and the foundation pledged an additional \$1 billion to the people of Los Angeles County through the organizations it assists. The foundation is not only a mainstay of philanthropy in Southern California; it is also a formidable force in politics and government, supplementing the efforts of the sometimes-divided city and county and aiding those trying to solve problems that have tumbled through wide holes in the area's safety net.

HERNANDEZ WAS BORN IN 1948 on a communal ranch in Torreón, Mexico. Cattle were owned collectively, as was the land. She grew up in an atmosphere of mutualism and common responsibility, ideas that have shaped her ever since.

When she was 8 years old, Hernandez moved to East Los Angeles with her mother and father and, eventually, six siblings. She arrived knowing no English. She bluffed her way through the language before learning

"We have to think about the common good and where we fit into the common good. And I think that's something this pandemic has shown us: the yearning for human connection."

enough to handle herself at school and in the fields of the Central Valley, where she picked vegetables and fruit. She wore long sleeves on broiling days to keep off the peach fuzz. To this day, one of her sisters cannot bear the taste of peaches.

When picking season ended and the school year began, her family would return to Los Angeles. Hernandez did well at Garfield High School, then entered community college. A teacher encouraged her to transfer to UCLA, where she completed her undergraduate degree in 1970, then graduated from UCLA Law School in 1974. She passed the bar and became an American citizen, so overcome with emotion to be taking the oath that she had a “knot in my throat.”

Hernandez went to work at the Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice. She focused on civil rights and worked in the late 1970s for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy as a staff lawyer at the Senate Judiciary Committee; Hernandez was the first Latina to serve as counsel to the Committee. In 1980, she moved to Kennedy’s presidential bid. When he lost to Jimmy Carter, she joined the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund.

MALDEF’s broad goal was to defend Mexican Americans. More specifically, it targeted immigration and political representation, including voting rights — all as vital in the 1980s and 1990s as they are today. Hernandez supervised litigation and advocacy, and her work inevitably drew her into politics. She was a forceful voice against Prop. 187, the notorious 1994 ballot initiative that sought to deny state services — including medical care and education — to undocumented immigrants.

The measure passed, but most of its provisions were later declared unconstitutional, just as Hernandez and others had warned. In the process, the battle against Prop. 187 invigorated Latino/a voters and helped usher in the decline of the Republican Party in California.

Reflecting on Prop. 187 in 2016, amid President Donald Trump’s frequent denunciations of immigrants, Hernandez co-authored an op-ed piece with Alex Padilla, then the California secretary of state. “We know that the discriminatory nativist rhetoric we’re hearing now is not new,” they wrote. “But because we have experienced it before, we know how to overcome it.”

Padilla is now a United States senator.

IN 2004, HERNANDEZ BECAME THE DIRECTOR of the California Community Foundation, then approaching its 100th anniversary of service to Los Angeles. From that vantage point, she has a clear view of the most desperate problems facing the area — and of the fissures in the region’s network for solving those problems.

COVID-19 has widened some of those fissures and exposed others. Take, for instance, Internet connectivity. Access to the Internet was a concern before COVID. Poor communities struggled to connect to services more easily reached in areas where Wi-Fi connections were faster and easier to use. With COVID, however, what once seemed a luxury now became essential: Faster connections not only enabled video games to run more quickly, but now they also were access points to life. To be without a connection was to lose opportunities to work, to go to school, to reach a doctor.

“COVID amplified the needs of the poor,” Hernandez said. “People don’t understand that if you’re earning \$25,000 and Spectrum or T-Mobile is charging you over \$100 a month, you can’t afford it. So that’s an issue that we’re now really focused on. It’s a little ambitious, but we’re committed to creating a public connectivity fiber system.”

The foundation also is creating a nonprofit infrastructure that specializes in the digital divide. Its role will be to advocate and press for further improvements.

Why, one might ask, should the California Community Foundation be responsible for creating Internet access? Or, for that matter, for helping the homeless, or educating young people? Those sound like they should be responsibilities of government, the stuff taxes pay for.

The reason is that government has come up short. The Los Angeles

Unified School District, hampered by a succession of weak superintendents and fractious board politics, is a long-standing source of frustration, as are the Los Angeles City Council and the County Board of Supervisors, both of which often see needs as district-level challenges rather than problems requiring large, regional solutions. Term limits also impede big thinking, pushing elected officials to concentrate short-term when many troubles require sustained attention across decades. As a result, the city and county wrestle with each other in areas such as homelessness and transportation, making progress but often slowly and in frustrating contrast to the region’s mounting headaches.

Hernandez agrees that the foundation’s work places it in areas that government might claim, but she argues that the demand is big enough for both. Coordination is necessary between the public and private sectors, she says, and the foundation sometimes brokers their roles. “Government is a regulator,” she said. “They’re not your friendly, consumer-oriented [organization]. ... We’re becoming the bridge between government and the community.”

To serve as a bridge, the foundation has experimented. For instance, government often pays nonprofits only upon completion of a contract. That makes sense from an oversight perspective. It helps insure that taxpayers don’t fund services that are not delivered. But many nonprofits are on such shoestring budgets that they cannot afford to wait for payment. The foundation has responded by creating bridge loans that allow nonprofits to borrow money and then repay it when contracts are fulfilled.

HERNANDEZ SEES NEEDS AS BOTH LOCAL (the consequences of young Black men coming up short of diplomas in many L.A. high schools) and global (health care should no longer be seen as something to be purchased but rather as a fundamental human right). She dismisses windbags and praises those whose work is changing lives. She is tough-minded and easygoing, as comfortable mingling at the Hollywood Bowl as she is questioning a destitute woman about what her children need to survive.

As she views Los Angeles, Hernandez worries about gaps in leadership, about the uncertainty of its direction and about a lack of urgency that so many officials seem to have regarding its challenges.

But she remains committed to this city and region, unsure of itself as always but also brimming with promise.

“Am I optimistic?” she asked. “In a way, sort of.”

She sees potential among possible candidates to succeed Mayor Eric Garcetti, recently named to become the next U.S. ambassador to India. She is hopeful that the cries of the homeless and the pleadings of the uninsured will reach those in power. She rejects defunding the police but sympathizes with those who experience police abuse.

She worries, however, about whether L.A. institutions are capable of responding to long-standing demands that COVID-19 has made suddenly more present. Indeed, COVID has framed even more basic questions: Where does an individual’s right to refuse a vaccine, for instance, impinge upon a community’s right to live in health and safety?

“I come from a communal life,” she said. Americans tend to think in terms of individual rights, she added, but in other cultures, including many of those that supply Los Angeles with its diverse pool of immigrants, community values are at least as important as individual freedoms. “That’s what we do in a family. We have to think about the common good and where we fit into the common good. And I think that’s something this pandemic has shown us: the yearning for human connection, the family structure.”

These issues are being tested on the ground every day, and Hernandez believes that how they are addressed will determine the future of the home she came to as a third grader.

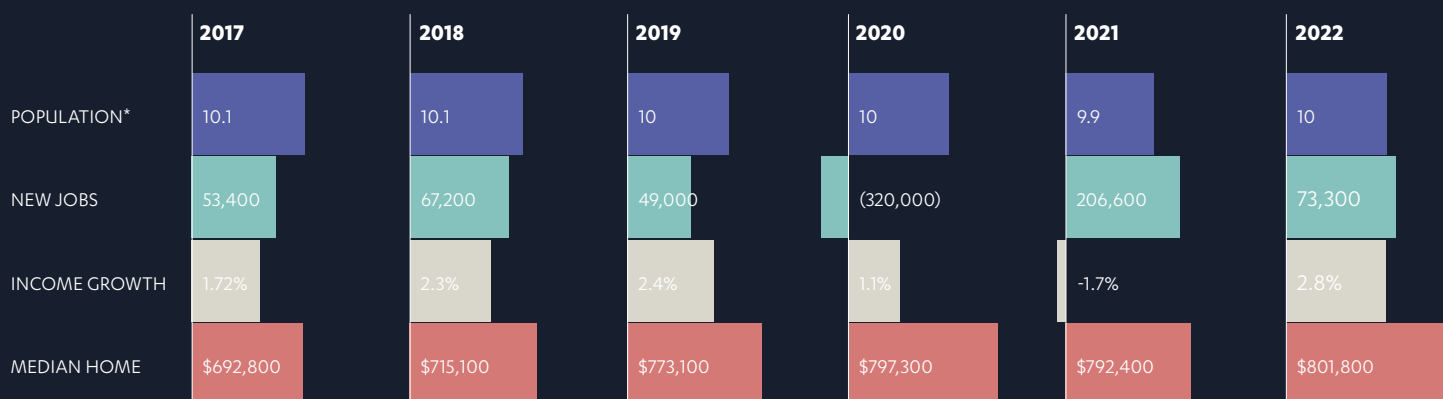
“California is the laboratory of the future, and L.A. is ground zero,” she said. “We’ve come to accept the messiness of life here ... the liberties, the opportunities. And I think we’re melding the good of what this country has to offer with the communal sense. That’s where liberal democracy will succeed.” ▀

L.A. — PRESENT AND FUTURE

As the city and county of Los Angeles evolve, challenges are emerging across all walks of life, from where Angelenos live to what jobs are available to the region's high costs. Here, a look at some of those realities and trends.

INCOME, JOBS, HOUSING

Los Angeles County's population is stable, but its economy has been buffeted by COVID-19, and its housing prices put homeownership out of reach for many residents. Below, a snapshot of L.A. County's economy:



NOTE: Housing refers to total number of households/occupied units. Most units or households, of course, include more than one person. Employment refers to total number of employees working in Los Angeles.

SOURCES: U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, LOS ANGELES COUNTY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

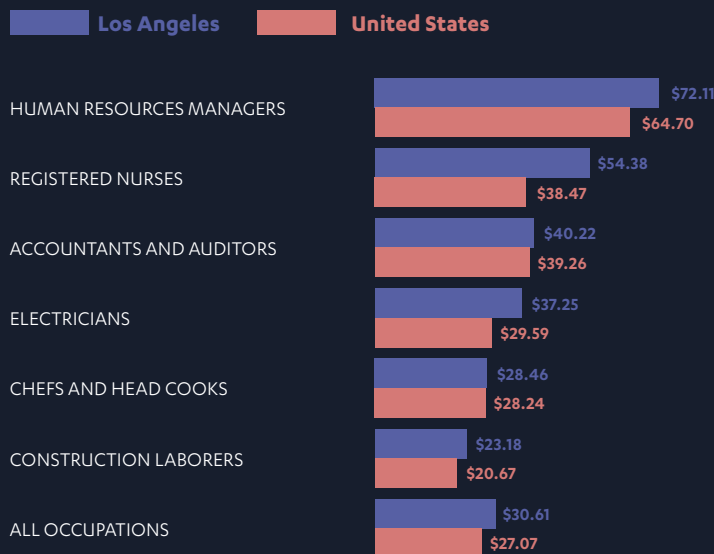
Last year, the city of Los Angeles invited architects to participate in "Low-Rise: Housing Ideas for Los Angeles," a project to help imagine sustainable new models of low-rise, multi-unit housing. Three hundred, eighty architects from around the world submitted entries in four categories.

AMONG THE WINNING DESIGNS WERE: **1.** HIDDEN GARDENS, BY OMGINNING, WHICH BALANCES INDOOR AND OUTDOOR SPACES (FIRST PLACE, FOURPLEX) **2.** FROGTOWN FOUR, BY BESTOR ARCHITECTURE, INCLUDES SUSTAINABLE FEATURES, SUCH AS PERFORATED STAIRCASES TO ENABLE NATURAL AIR FLOW (SECOND PLACE, FOURPLEX) **3.** GREEN ALLEY HOUSING, BY LOUISA VAN LEER ARCHITECTURE, CONVERTS UNDERUTILIZED PUBLIC ALLEYS INTO LOW-RISE DUPLEX INFILL AND SHARED COMMUNITY SPACES. (FIRST PLACE, SUBDIVISION) **4.** CASA ROSA, BY DANIELIAN ASSOCIATES AND URBAN ARENA, ENVISIONS MULTIGENERATIONAL HOUSING WITH COMMUNAL GATHERING SPACES AS WELL AS PRIVATE YARDS AND PATIOS (THIRD PLACE, FOURPLEX)



HOW MUCH DO ANGELENOS MAKE?

Although prices are higher in the Los Angeles region than they are nationally, on average, workers here also make a bit more. Below, average hourly wages in a few industries:



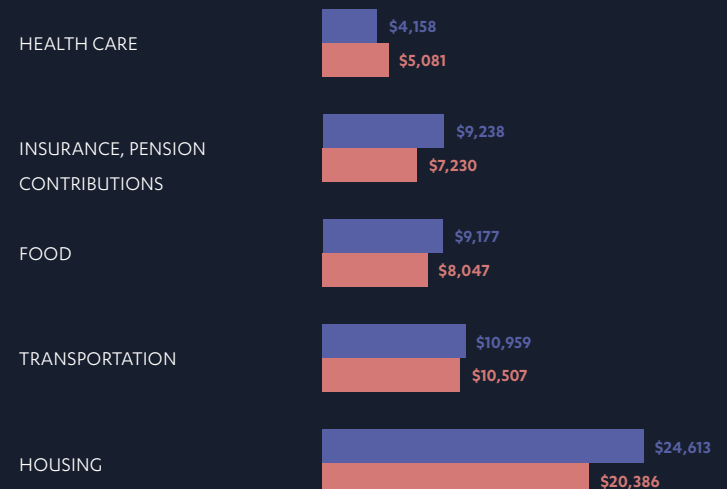
NOTE: These figures do not reflect wages in the informal economy (people being paid off the books), which is bigger in Los Angeles than in many parts of the country.

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, OCCUPATIONAL EMPLOYMENT AND WAGE STATISTICS, MAY 2020

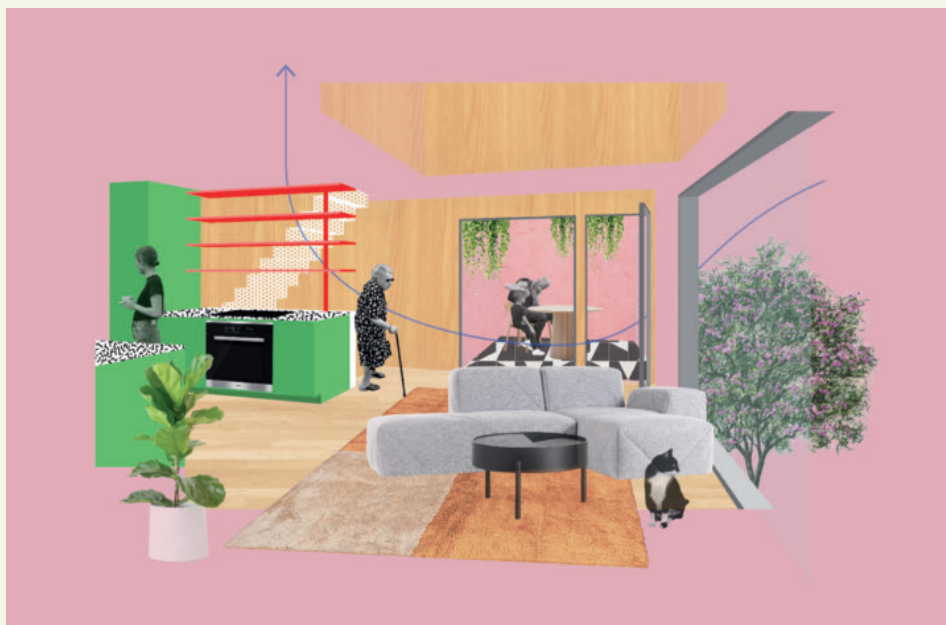
HOW DO ANGELENOS SPEND THEIR MONEY?

It won't surprise anyone who lives in the city of Los Angeles to learn that it's an expensive place. Angelenos spend more on food, transportation, insurance and, especially, housing than most Americans. Below, a breakdown:

Average annual expenditures, Los Angeles vs. United States, 2018-19:



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS, CONSUMER EXPENDITURE SURVEY



2



3



4

Reimagining Los Angeles

Once defined by the single-family home, car and commute, L.A. invites fresh thinking for a new look

FOR YEARS, LOS ANGELES HAS BEEN FACING THE FALLOUT of its own appeal, grappling with explosive population growth, unaffordable housing, an auto-centric lifestyle and inadequate transit options that leave roadways clogged and contribute to environmental distress.

To join those issues have come a host of new ones, many in just the past few years. The growing homeless population, the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, increasingly destructive wildfires, record-setting temperatures and continuing drought have accelerated calls for change. And the onslaught of COVID-19 gave the city a chance to pause and reflect on issues that had long existed but seemed to take on new urgency.

With more people forced to work from home, roads cleared of cars. Pedestrians, anxious to maintain six feet of distance from one another, stepped off curbs into streets suddenly devoid of traffic. Restaurants barred from indoor seating claimed space once reserved for parked cars. Empty parking lots and stretches of boulevards were converted into outdoor dining patios. Bicyclists felt safer on the less congested thoroughfares. And parks became havens of open, outdoor green space for those weary of being cooped up while sheltering at home.

Finally, Angelenos didn't have to imagine what the city of the future would look like — they could experience it.

WRITTEN BY
LISA FUNG







“The pandemic showed that collective space — streets, parks, sidewalks — could be shared,” said Dana Cuff, UCLA professor of architecture/urban design and urban planning. “The vitality of the city is most embodied in those shared infrastructural spaces.”

As founder and director of CityLAB, a research and design center at UCLA, Cuff is familiar with reimagining cities and searching for ways to bring about change. CityLAB, in collaboration with UCLA’s Lewis Center and UC Berkeley’s Turner Center, recently was awarded a grant by California 100, a statewide initiative focused on developing a vision for the future of the state. CityLAB will study the housing market and look for potential policy changes that would enable increased equity and housing production.

“Architects are always aiming somewhere secretly toward that utopian model,” Cuff said. “That is a kind of dream that we have to work toward, even if it feels like we could hardly get there.”

IN A CITY OF NEARLY 4 MILLION PEOPLE sprawled over 502 square miles, the idea of sharing space can sometimes seem daunting. But a number of efforts are demonstrating how Los Angeles could indeed get there.

Last year, the city launched “Low-Rise: Housing Ideas for Los Angeles,” a design challenge that invited architects to imagine sustainable new models of low-rise, multi-unit housing, such as fourplexes. The competition drew 380 submissions from around the world.

“I think the pandemic made us realize how isolated we are and how much we value connection to other people,” said Christopher Hawthorne, chief design officer for the city of Los Angeles, “but we want it in the kind of space that seems really usable and functional.”

The design entries offered an interplay of indoor and outdoor space, a natural part of Southern California living that became increasingly important as the pandemic dragged on. Through community engagement sessions, the city learned what people valued in their neighborhoods — small businesses within walking distance, housing close to transportation, trees to increase shade, shared communal spaces — and these were incorporated into many of the designs.

“The winning fourplex design has very carefully thought about thresholds between public and private space,” said Hawthorne, who spearheaded the project. “It’s actually even more nuanced than that: It’s between fully private, semi-private, semi-public and fully public space. And that’s less about square footage and size than about a kind of design sensibility.”

As Los Angeles updates its general plan, with broad objectives for the city, as well as its 35 neighborhood-specific community plans, many of the major blueprints of housing and zoning are being rewritten. These models of desirable

living spaces could bring badly needed housing to neighborhoods fraught with NIMBYism.

“We have gotten so used to this idea of elbow room, particularly in single-family neighborhoods. One of the big efforts here is to lead Los Angeles through a conversation in learning how to share space,” Hawthorne said. “Shared space can actually bring benefits to communities if it’s well designed.”

To meet state-mandated targets, the city of Los Angeles has committed to adding nearly 500,000 housing units by 2029, with nearly 185,000 earmarked for lower-income residents. But the press for density collides with history and old values: More than 70% of L.A. land is zoned for single-family homes, and more than 400,000 lots have just a single-family house on them.

“We’re just not going to reach our climate goals, we’re not going to reach our housing affordability goals until we really have a broad-based conversation about the future of those neighborhoods,” Hawthorne said.

California has already taken steps to increase density on single-family lots. With California Assemblyman Richard Bloom (D-Santa Monica), Cuff helped craft a measure that made it easier for homeowners to build accessory dwelling units, or ADUs, in residential neighborhoods, smoothing the way for increased housing inventory throughout the state. The city of Los Angeles further streamlined the approval process, making it easier for homeowners and developers to build ADUs, also known as “granny flats,” which now account for more than 20% of newly permitted housing units.

“The kind of obvious question is what comes next after ADUs,” Hawthorne said. “Not only have they been very successful, but we haven’t seen the kind of backlash from neighborhoods and communities that was predicted.”

One proposed solution gaining momentum is low-rise housing, such as duplexes, fourplexes or bungalows and courtyard complexes, which gradually introduce more density in single-family neighborhoods. State lawmakers recently passed a bill that would allow subdividing single-family lots to accommodate duplexes. Low-rise housing could increase options — and provide more affordable ownership opportunities — without disrupting the distinct scale of neighborhoods that people may be interested in protecting.

Paavo Monkkonen, UCLA associate professor of urban planning and public policy, recently co-authored a study of fourplexes that is designed to help demystify the process of upzoning neighborhoods by showing that change won’t happen overnight and is unlikely to happen at all in some areas.

“We’re at this moment in history where we’re starting to do something we’ve never done — allow more than one unit on single-family lots,” he said. “I think the fourplex is maybe the next step.”

The study shows that allowing fourplexes could potentially add 1.2 million new homes statewide without dramatically changing neighborhoods, but that still won't be enough to bring down rents or to accommodate the growing population, so other solutions still will be needed.

"Gradual densification is preferred to rapid change," Monkkonen said. "As we have denser neighborhoods, we need to also expand opportunities for biking and buses and make it work for people so they don't have to rely on their cars."

THAT'S ALREADY STARTING TO HAPPEN as cities see the social and environmental benefits of converting street parking to bicycle lanes. In Santa Monica and Pasadena, designated bike lanes have been carved out of space once reserved for automobiles, and West Hollywood has joined the growing number of cities across the country that have closed off streets to traffic to create pedestrian-only thoroughfares. When playgrounds shut down during the pandemic, several cities, including Chicago and Philadelphia, created "play streets" for children by closing off space primarily occupied by cars.

"The problems aren't technical, they're just politics."

— Paavo Monkkonen, UCLA professor of urban planning and public policy

At the state level, a trio of bills signed by Gov. Gavin Newsom in September is intended to create new incentives for housing density, permitting lots to be split and making it easier for owners to tear down homes and replace them with multi-unit developments.

"If we allow for mid-rise density, the distances people travel wouldn't have to be as long, and it could be more easily done on a bike or on a bus. There are a lot of easy fixes on parking, bike and bus lanes," Monkkonen says. "The problems aren't technical, they're just politics."

Transportation needs are expected to change now that working from home has become commonplace. Companies are rethinking how office space will be used or whether it will be needed. Cuff expects some offices to begin "hoteling," where desks are shared by office workers on rotating schedules, and adding more shared spaces, like conference rooms. Homeowners might rethink floorplans to partition space and allow a room to be closed off, if needed, during work hours.

"I think there will be a push, mainly by employees, to stay partially hybrid," Cuff said, "which will reduce the overall real estate needs of companies."

Some office spaces, as well as retail locations shuttered during the pandemic, could be repurposed. Downtown Los Angeles experienced a renaissance after the city adopted the adaptive reuse ordinance in 1999 that allowed the conversions of historical commercial buildings into housing with a minimum of red tape and a waiver of parking requirements. Developers recently purchased the Baldwin Hills Crenshaw Plaza mall with plans to convert some of the retail space into workforce housing.

Changing work patterns, Hawthorne said, "will have all kinds of interesting repercussions for the kind of architecture we build, what our zoning looks like. We've had a lot of conversations about what the implications of that are."

Those working remotely have discovered it can be done from almost anywhere — any city. But regardless of where people are working from, Cuff said, local facilities matter. "With your work life, it doesn't matter where you are," she said, "but your non-work life has become highly important, highly localized."

That's why collective open spaces like streets, sidewalks and parks, as well as walkable neighborhoods, have drawn renewed interest. When people started driving less during the pandemic, they began to discover the importance of services within walking distance.

A number of Cuff and CityLAB's current projects address these issues, including the School Lands Housing project, which would add affordable workforce housing and other amenities on unused space on public school or community college campuses.

Cuff is also working with Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, distinguished professor of urban planning and associate dean of the Luskin School of Public Affairs, and Gustavo Leclerc, associate director of CityLAB, on a study of how lower-income older adults and youth use three inner-city Los Angeles parks. Their goal is to better understand how to make these public spaces more enticing for intergenerational activities.

Across the city are localized pockets of walkable neighborhoods, and these are some of the most desirable communities in Los Angeles. "People think density is just automatically bad," Cuff said, "but good density is what people actually choose. The more demonstrations of better Los Angeles that we have and the more they are shared across our neighborhoods, the more we're going to get. It will have a snowballing effect."

Architecture and design won't solve all of Los Angeles' problems, but they may allow residents to make better use of their space — and prove that some of the lessons of the pandemic are worth retaining. ▀

MODERN WORK

Los Angeles' labor movement has lessons for the nation. UCLA's Labor Center is there to study and advise

THE HISTORY OF MACARTHUR PARK is that of the nation in miniature.

The park was a mudhole when the City of Los Angeles took it over in the 1880s, but an aggressive reclamation project and a natural spring brought it to life. In 2007, it became known for a notorious melee with the Los Angeles Police Department, when protesters demanding amnesty for undocumented immigrants spilled outside park boundaries and the LAPD swooped in, displaying some old habits of violence that many had hoped were buried. Today, sidewalk vendors peddle toys, housewares, churros and bacon-wrapped hot dogs at the park, just down the street from Langer's Delicatessen. The park hums with the languages of Los Angeles — Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Tagalog, English and especially Spanish.

MacArthur Park also is the home of UCLA's Labor Center, an instrumental and vital host to L.A.'s labor movement, which has upended the politics of California and established new models for organizing workers and projecting their political power. Thanks to a \$15 million grant from the state of California, the center will renovate its downtown headquarters at 675 South Park View



WRITTEN BY
JIM NEWTON

PHOTOS BY
SAM COMEN



SALVADOR RODRIGUEZ RUNS A MEXICAN SEAFOOD TRUCK CALLED MARISCOS COLIMAN. RODRIGUEZ AND OTHER LUNCH TRUCK OWNERS WORKED WITH THE UCLA LABOR CENTER TO PROTEST A 2006 CITY ORDINANCE THAT LIMITED THEM TO ONE HOUR IN A PARKING SPACE. THE TRUCK OWNERS PREVAILED IN 2009, WHEN A JUDGE OVERRULED THE ORDINANCE. THE TRUCKS ARE NOW A STAPLE OF LOS ANGELES'S CULTURAL AND CULINARY LIFE.

Street, one block off the park, and embark on an earthquake retrofit. The project commences this fall. UCLA has purchased the building, which it had rented for 19 years, and the grant will add an elevator and other improvements to comply with requirements to assist the disabled.

The new, permanent offices will be named for James Lawson, a longtime labor and civil rights leader who did pioneering work in Nashville before moving to Los Angeles in the 1970s, bringing with him his fusion of commitments to economic justice, civil rights and pastoral leadership. The renovation marks a milestone in the life of the city's labor movement and in the history of the Labor Center itself — immersed in L.A.'s immigrant life and in the struggles and triumphs of work and family, at just the moment when those communities are emerging from a bitter year of battling COVID-19 and its economic fallout. These communities represent the Los Angeles of the future; the Labor Center is attempting to anticipate that future and to help lead the way into it.

THE PREDECESSORS OF THE UCLA LABOR CENTER and its counterpart at UC Berkeley were founded in 1945 by Earl Warren, a Republican governor who viewed himself as heir to the state's progressive tradition championed by Hiram Johnson. Warren was ambivalent about labor. He courted its support but was wary of its connections to the Democratic Party. The centers reflected those tensions. They focused on Califor-

nia's interest in industrial development as well as on studying workers and their interests, without fully committing to organized labor. Programs at both universities were styled as studies of industrial relations.

That shifted in 1964, under Democratic Gov. Pat Brown, when UCLA created the Center for Labor Research and Education. The center continued to evolve through the ensuing decades. It tackled questions such as labor organization, wages, unemployment and job discrimination — issues of concern to traditional unions, both then and now.

Kent Wong, a veteran of the Service Employees International Union and graduate of the Peoples Law School in Los Angeles, joined the UCLA center in 1991. During his tenure at SEIU, the Los Angeles chapter of the union helped lead the Justice for Janitors campaign and strove to organize home health care workers, both novel departures for organized labor, by focusing on low-wage, largely immigrant groups. "SEIU was a very dynamic union that was charting a new course for the labor movement here in Los Angeles," Wong said recently.

Wong was recruited by the UCLA Labor Center during his time at SEIU and accepted, he said, because it offered him the opportunity to work "not just with one union, but to work with dozens and dozens of unions" and allowed him to combine his interests in teaching, research and direct action. His tenure has validated that decision.

"Los Angeles has emerged as the focal point for the new American labor movement."

— Kent Wong, director of the UCLA Labor Center

Under his directorship, the center has vastly expanded its staff, programs and ambitions, and has become deeply involved in the larger labor movement of Los Angeles. The center has grown from three staff members to more than 30, and UCLA graduated 100 students last year who majored or minored in labor studies. The majority of students taking the center's courses are women, people of color or first-generation college students.

Many of those students find their way directly into the work of the labor movement, either through the center's Community Scholars Programs or by contributing to research around immigration, wages or other labor-related issues. In campaigns such as the struggle for a living wage, the center "participated and ... lent scholarly support," said Madeline Janis, a longtime Los Angeles and national labor leader, adding that the "voice of the university" was also useful in securing the attention of officials and others outside of labor.



KENT WONG, DIRECTOR OF THE UCLA LABOR CENTER, PICTURED IN FRONT OF THE MACARTHUR PARK BUILDING.



ASHLEY MICHEL '21, A LABOR STUDIES MAJOR, DRAWS INSPIRATION FROM HER FAMILY HISTORY OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS AND FROM HER MOTHER, A DOMESTIC WORKER. MICHEL CONTINUES TO PURSUE HER PASSION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AT THE LOS ANGELES ALLIANCE FOR A NEW ECONOMY, A LOCAL ORGANIZATION FOCUSED ON ADVOCACY IN SUPPORT OF LOW-WAGE WORKERS AND PROGRESSIVE POLICIES.

State Sen. Maria Elena Durazo, former director of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor and a pioneering organizer, said the center has provided students, energy and research to the movement in Los Angeles. It is, she said, “the biggest thrill for us to have UCLA in that working-class community” at MacArthur Park. Durazo carried the bill that secured the center its renovation funding.

The importance of the center’s work has been underscored by the stresses imposed over the past year because of COVID-19 and its impact on large swaths of Los Angeles. “The UCLA Labor Center has made historic contributions to working-class communities, immigrants and communities of color, who have faced the most severe consequences and mortality rates from the COVID pandemic,” County Supervisor Hilda Solis, a former U.S. Secretary of Labor, said in a motion supporting Durazo’s bill. “They pivoted to address the urgent needs of workers and their families in Los Angeles by providing invaluable research for L.A. County on issues affecting essential workers.”

AS THE CENTER HAS DEEPENED ITS RELATIONSHIP with the Los Angeles labor movement, it has both helped lead and been able to study a transformative moment in the history of American politics and labor. Once a solidly Republican city and county, Los Angeles has increasingly moved to absorb the values of its immigrant constituencies and their connections to labor.

Campaigns centered in Los Angeles in recent

years have included national movements to solidify the legal status of Dreamers, children brought to this country illegally by their parents; efforts to secure a living wage and raise the federal minimum wage; and struggles to improve working conditions and environmental protections at the Los Angeles port and elsewhere. One powerful result is that Los Angeles has shifted the image of a union worker in today’s America: Once a gruff steelworker in Pittsburgh or a miner in West Virginia, the image is now of a single mother working in cleaning services at a California hotel or of a recent immigrant tending to patients in their Central Valley homes.

These changes were wrought in part by a new approach to organizing in L.A. Rather than concentrating on single votes at single companies, Los Angeles organizers have broadened their campaigns to include church and community groups and to think more expansively about the interests of families, from schools to parks to safety. They have used leverage with local governments to gain strength, and they moved from specific campaigns to movement politics. Labor in Los Angeles has evolved from organizing factories for wages and benefits to acting as a centralizing force for communities of workers to protect themselves and maximize their influence. As labor’s range of vision has expanded, so have its ambitions.

This has not been lost on the national labor movement, though some of its leaders continue to resist the lessons of Los Angeles. In decline

nationally, labor’s base has been eroded by the disruption of heavy industries, such as steel and mining. Organized labor has grudgingly acknowledged L.A. as a powerful counter-example, a place where labor is ascendant, not by having redoubled its efforts in fading industries but by expanding its message and reaching into new communities. Nevertheless, many national labor leaders have hesitated to grasp the significance of that change.

Confident that it is right, L.A. is charting a new course. “Los Angeles has emerged as the focal point,” Wong said, “for the new American labor movement.” Duarzo agrees — but acknowledges that not all national leaders have gotten the word. She warns: “The labor movement nationally cannot succeed if we exclude immigrant workers or any workers of color.”

Emphasis on those workers has added to labor’s growth in Los Angeles, and one result has been the increase of its political might. In many parts of California today, it is nearly impossible to win or hold office without the support of at least some elements of organized labor. (As a large movement, its components do not always work in lock-step. Prison guards, for instance, may not hold the same priorities as schoolteachers or hotel workers.)

As Wong puts it, labor is largely responsible for transforming California from a purple state into a blue state. In today’s California, every statewide elected official is a Democrat, and the vast majority of them are supported by labor. Majorities of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and the Los Angeles City Council are labor-backed Democrats.

“We have succeeded,” Durazo said, “in changing the politics of Los Angeles.”

Not everyone likes that, but no one denies it.

THE LABOR CENTER’S DOWNTOWN HEAD-QUARTERS is within walking distance of more than 20 labor union offices. It is a hub of organizing, a model of “engagement with Los Angeles,” said Abel Valenzuela, professor of Chicana/o studies and urban planning and director of UCLA’s Institute for Research on Labor and Employment. “That’s something UCLA has been articulating for a long time.”

Indeed, UCLA’s mission often is described as threefold: teaching, research and community engagement, the last being fundamental to the notion of a public university. Yet the Labor Center’s work sometimes attracts quiet misgivings. Why, some officials ask (though none publicly), should UCLA help to support a movement with such overt political aspirations?

To which supporters of the center respond: Labor communities are at the heart of L.A.’s future, and what would engagement be if not attempting to understand and advance their interests? As Valenzuela noted, “What we’re doing is the will of the people.” ▀



Why We Live Where We Live

Discrimination and pricing shape L.A.'s housing patterns

WRITTEN BY
YANIT MEHTA

AS LOS ANGELES CONSIDERS ITS FUTURE, few questions are more pressing than where its residents will live. The price of housing haunts much of the region's vision for itself, undergirding homelessness, reinforcing the consequences of income inequality and threatening to divide the region into enclaves of rich amidst oceans of poor. As such, the topic is the subject of intense policy and academic interest, with researchers at UCLA and elsewhere examining models in other communities that may suggest ways for this area to address the cost of housing and its implications for society at large.

The dimensions of the issue are striking: California contains four of America's five most expensive housing markets and about a quarter of the nation's homeless. When the cost of housing is considered, certain parts of Los Angeles have some of the highest poverty rates in the country. Affordable housing is rare and difficult to encourage.

The median price for single-family homes in Los Angeles rose 22.6% to \$809,750 in July, while sales increased by 6.4%. According to the NAHB/Wells Fargo Housing Opportunity Index, Los Angeles has been the least affordable large metropolitan area in America since the fourth quarter of 2020. Only 11% of families can afford a median-priced home in Los Angeles. And with a median individual income of \$28,072, it would take nine years for an average Los Angeles resident to earn the sales price of that home. Nationally, the average is four years.

Income inequality in Los Angeles exacerbates an already dire housing situation. A local minimum-wage worker would have to work an average of 87 hours per week to pay the rent for an average one-bedroom apartment. With an unemployment rate of 10.4% in July 2021, too many Los Angeles residents are extremely reliant on rent moratoriums, and homelessness has increased by 16.1%.

A UCLA study found that one in five renters in Los Angeles was unable to pay on time during the early months of the pandemic. In 2020, about 7% — or about 137,000 households — were unable to pay any rent at all for at least one month from May to July. This was a substantial surge when compared to the roughly 2% of renters in 2019. And the share of renters that was unable to pay part of their rent for at least one month almost doubled, from 17% to 31%.

According to a survey from the USC Sol Price Center for Social Innovation, three out of four Los Angeles households were rent-burdened, meaning they spent over 30% of household income on rent and utilities. And 48% were severely rent-burdened, spending more than half of their household income on rent and utilities. The survey also highlighted racial disparities. White and Asian households were less likely to be rent-burdened than Latino and Black households.

Such disparities are hardly new. Housing and real estate in America have long been hotbeds for racial and economic segregation. African-American communities have repeatedly been denied the opportunity to accumulate wealth and own property. During the economic boom

that followed World War II, progress in California was racially restricted by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) through practices such as redlining and exclusionary zoning. Lakewood, developed between 1949 and 1953, and Westchester, developed by Kaiser Community Homes, were FHA White-only projects.

From 1937 to 1948, more than 100 lawsuits challenged racial covenants and evicting African Americans in Los Angeles from their homes. In 1947, an African-American man was jailed for refusing to move out of his house, in violation of racial covenants. Westwood, the neighborhood bordering the UCLA campus, was notorious for such segregationist practices.

During the 1960s, after racial covenants across Los Angeles were no longer legal, real estate agents sought an opportunity to commence “blockbusting” Los Angeles suburbs such as Compton. Blockbusting was the practice where agents would instigate fear among White homeowners about the influx of African Americans into their community and the subsequent drop in property values. Once all the White homeowners had given in to their trepidations, agents would then sell the same homes to Blacks at inflated rates. State legislators and regulators condoned the practice.

THESE PRACTICES ENCOURAGED SEVERE SEGREGATION in the Los Angeles area and excluded African Americans from accumulating generational wealth through home ownership, long after segregation was prohibited by law. Owning a home was easy for Whites through cheap, FHA-approved mortgages, even as those loans were routinely denied to Black applicants. The effect can still be felt in L.A.’s African-American community, where the median value of homes purchased in the 1950s would have increased since by almost tenfold. Black were denied those investment opportunities and the wealth that those homes would have allowed them to accumulate.

Today, many families, White or otherwise, still might not be able to purchase a house. That is because racial restrictions have been replaced by exorbitant prices. In contrast to the ‘50s and ‘60s, only half as many housing units have been built in the past decade, while demand has continued to grow.

That is not because Los Angeles has run out of space. Indeed, there is a misconception that Los Angeles has no more room to build new housing units. The truth is not that land is lacking, but rather that land is being misused. A majority of the neighborhoods in Los Angeles are zoned only for inefficient single-family homes. There is a high demand for housing in areas with a lot of job opportunities, notably the Westside. But a majority of the dense concentration of housing is in central L.A. and downtown, where multifamily zoning and apartment complexes are common but jobs are more scarce.

Moreover, the areas under single-family zoning can vary drastically across neighborhoods. For instance, only 14% of the homes in Palms (11.07% African American), are single-family, whereas in Cheviot Hills (1.31% African American) 78% of the homes are single-family. Los Angeles has built an insufficient number of homes in the last 50 years. The average home is 65 to 95 years old and areas of high poverty have the oldest average home age.

FOR RESEARCHERS WHO TACKLE THESE TRENDS, homelessness is the most tangible form that inequality, housing shortage and poverty can take in a metropolis like Los Angeles. The county of Los Angeles would need to build 509,000 affordable units to solve the homelessness crisis. “It just seems like a fundamental contradiction that a place that strives for equity and claims to be sustainable has people who cannot afford to live anywhere,” said Stephanie Pincetl, professor at the UCLA Institute of the Environment and Sustainability.

Pincetl urges Los Angeles to follow the examples set by cities such as

Minneapolis, Berkeley and Portland, Oregon, to end single-family zoning. She acknowledges the uphill battle. “Here we are, a city that thinks of itself as so liberal, and we can’t even entertain the notion of abolishing the single-family zone,” she said. “You try floating that out there to any of the city council districts and they will just flip. I’d say Los Angeles has had almost 100 years of building under single-family zoning.”

The single-family zone may be deeply ingrained in American land-use policy, but referenda such as Proposition HHH and Measure H have targeted the issue of providing affordable housing for the homeless population of Los Angeles. Prop. HHH was a \$1.2 billion bond to build approximately 10,000 units for the homeless, and Measure H was a ¼-cent sales tax approved by Los Angeles County voters in March 2017 to combat homelessness. Some experts were encouraged by those votes. “In 2016, we as a people decided to tax ourselves to come up with \$1.2 billion to expedite the production of permanent supportive housing in the city of L.A.,” said Michael Lens, associate professor of urban planning and public policy at UCLA. “That’s a tax-and-spend initiative on a grander scale than any other city in the country has engaged in recent decades.”

Still, the dream of an affordable housing market in Los Angeles remains elusive. About halfway into its 10-year tenure, Prop HHH has produced only 7% of the housing units it was supposed to create. Land acquisition and other factors slow down the process, but even if all 10,000 units were built, the city would still be very short of meeting its housing requirements.

“Looking forward,” Lens said, “we are still probably two to three years away from the 10,000 units being produced. We need more money for permanent supportive housing. We need a kind of HHH part two. However, I think that looks very unlikely given the public’s perception of how this has gone.”

Meanwhile, state officials are taking note of the housing crisis. On September 16, just three days after surviving the attempt to recall him from office, Gov. Gavin Newsom signed three housing-related bills. The most significant, SB 9, allows lot-splitting and enables property owners to subdivide their single-family lots and build up to four units where there was initially just one. A study by the UC Berkeley Turner Center for Housing Innovation found that SB 9 could create more than 700,000 new homes that would not be constructed under normal market conditions.

THE HOUSING SHORTAGE AND THE HOMELESS CRISIS are inextricably linked. Predominant single-family zoning prevents the development of affordable multifamily units such as apartment complexes or smaller homes. Though some of the homeless resist housing even when it is available, others would happily accept housing if they could afford it. Still, communities resist, with far-reaching implications.

“Even if Prop. HHH and Measure H passed with majority voter support, the median homeowner does not want anything built near them at all. They might not want anything built rather far away from them in some cases,” Lens said. “If you look at what’s going on in Venice right now, I think it’s very illustrative. That community hasn’t built. I think it’s true that the population of Venice has declined in the last 30 years. You have this incredibly high demand for living there, but they haven’t been allowed to build any new housing. So housing just is getting more and more expensive. Homelessness is getting more prominent, and renters have been pushed out.”

Those are the crises that confront the future of Los Angeles. ▸

TOP: THE STAHL HOUSE IS A SINGLE FAMILY HOME IN LOS ANGELES
BOTTOM: LOFT APARTMENTS IN THE ARTS DISTRICT, LOS ANGELES



PAYING TO DRIVE

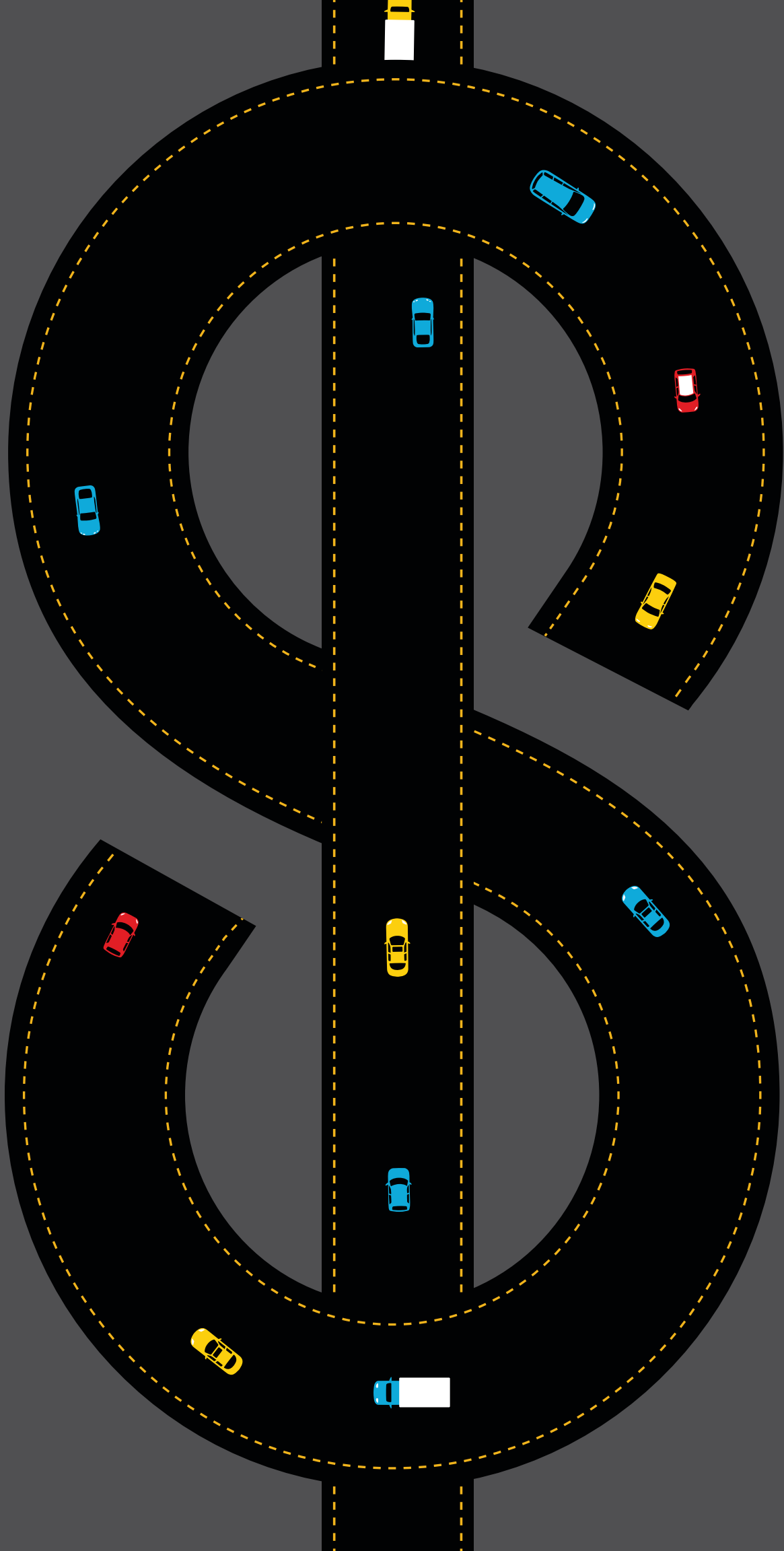
Congestion pricing is one answer to traffic.
Will Angelenos accept it?

IF THERE IS ONE THING all Angelenos have in common, it is that they spend too much time stuck in traffic, moving at the proverbial snail's pace on exhaust-filled freeways and roads. Congestion, whether on the commute to work, to an evening at Dodger Stadium or elsewhere, has become a quintessential Los Angeles cliché and a frustrating truth.

Gritting teeth over gridlock goes back further than many realize. That is revealed in a UCLA Luskin Center report published

in September 2020. The 53-page "A Century of Fighting Traffic Congestion in Los Angeles, 1920-2020" reveals that efforts to ease congestion date to when automobiles competed for space on a young city's roads with horse-drawn carts, bicycles, pedestrians and early mass-transit options. In 1920, city leaders, frustrated by streetcars falling behind schedule, enacted a daytime downtown parking ban. "Irate motorists soon staged a revolt against the ban," the report states. "In a mass act

WRITTEN BY
JON REGARDIE



of civil disobedience, a caravan of drivers came downtown and blocked the streets.” The ban was quickly lifted.

This was just one in a litany of attempts over the years to speed up traffic flow. The Luskin report, by Dr. Martin Wachs, along with Peter Sebastian Chesney and Yu Hong Hwang, shows that local leaders have employed tactics ranging from tweaking land-use planning and zoning regulations, to using new technology, to building roads and freeways crisscrossing the county — which, notably, are now jammed.

Most endeavors to ease traffic jams have largely failed to bring lasting change. Often-expensive construction projects temporarily eased congestion, only for traffic to thicken again as commuters clogged the new lanes, a syndrome known as “induced demand.”

“Building a bunch of extra

freeways in the 1940s and ‘50s didn’t fix the problem,” said Chesney, who recently completed his Ph.D. in history at UCLA and is now working as a consultant. “There are still voices saying, ‘Let’s build double-decker freeways everywhere in Los Angeles.’ That would be a tremendous boondoggle, instant waste, and would also be terrible for freeway-adjacent communities.”

Chesney joined the project at the invitation of Wachs, a legendary figure whose career included chairing the UCLA Department of Urban Planning for 11 years (he died in April at age 79). The report includes an eye-opening timeline detailing scores of attempts to hasten vehicular flow. While showing what hasn’t worked in the past, the authors also make the case for trying something new in the future: congestion pricing.

“If you want to have the privilege to make it predictably from point A to point B, that’s something you should be willing to pay for.”

— Peter Sebastian Chesney, co-author of “A Century of Fighting Traffic Congestion in Los Angeles, 1920–2020,” published by the UCLA Luskin Center in September 2020

The proposal is controversial, primarily because it suggests charging for something — access to public roads — that millions now use for free. It raises questions about equitable application, with concerns that affluent drivers will welcome tolls to avoid traffic and leave lower-income Angelenos inhaling their exhaust.

Congestion pricing has been instituted in cities including London, Stockholm, Singapore and Milan. Analyses have found that traffic decreases and there is greater use of alternative forms of travel. Congestion pricing also generates significant revenue.

Elements differ depending on location. A 2019 report by the Southern California Association of Governments notes that a plan initiated in London in 2003 charges approximately \$15 to drivers who pass a “cordon” to enter the central business district during work hours on weekdays. In Stockholm, rates to enter the heart of the city vary depending on the time, maxing out at about \$4.25 during rush hour.

Chesney sees this as an opportunity for Los Angeles to make a change. “If you want

to have the privilege to make it predictably from point A to point B,” he said, “that’s something you should be willing to pay for.”

He is not the only one who glimpses the potential. SCAG’s 156-page “Mobility Go Zone & Pricing Feasibility Study” explores the impacts of a comprehensive traffic-reduction program west of the 405 freeway in Los Angeles, extending into Santa Monica. It envisions incorporating congestion pricing, express commuter buses, bike sharing and more, in an effort to persuade people to try anything but driving solo into a busy area. The report cites SCAG’s “100 Hours” campaign, named for its estimate of the time Angelenos lose in traffic each year.

Modeling, according to SCAG, shows that the Mobility Go Zone would reduce vehicle miles traveled by 21% during peak intervals, and vehicle hours traveled in the area would fall 24% during peak times (some trips would shift to less busy periods).

If congestion pricing were attempted in Los Angeles, Metro would play a lead role. The transit agency is deep into what is known as its Traffic Reduction Study. Earlier this year, Metro listed four areas where a congestion pricing pilot program (one independent from the SCAG effort) could be tried, including downtown, the Santa Monica Mountains Corridor and the 10 freeway west of downtown. Joshua Schank, Metro’s chief innovation officer, said the study grew out of the agency’s Vision 2028 Plan, which seeks not only to boost the use of public transportation but to explore other means of reducing traffic and improving mobility.

Schank said congestion pricing is being discussed in other U.S. cities, including New York, Seattle and San Francisco. The successes in London and Stockholm in particular, he believes, could be models for Los Angeles. But any plan will require clearing public relations hurdles.

“You see resistance to congestion pricing in every city, but once it’s in there, it tends to be popular, and that is because it works. You



LEFT: THE JUDGE HARRY PREGERSON INTERCHANGE, LOS ANGELES



LEFT: FREEWAY TRAFFIC IN LOS ANGELES

see pretty substantial and dramatic traffic reductions,” Schank said. “You also see greater availability of funds and greater usage of alternative modes. In London, we see a lot more biking and walking than we used to since congestion pricing. You see a lot more bus usage as well.”

Metro has a long lead time. It plans to initiate a pilot program in 2025. Tham Nguyen, project manager for the Traffic Reduction Study, said a technical analysis is currently underway, and extensive community outreach will take place. Predicting pricing is premature. Nguyen said the cost will be determined through modeling, surveys and other tools that result in a full financial plan.

If congestion pricing is part of L.A.’s future, the issue of equity will be front and center, with a need to ensure that a program benefits more than people with wallets fat enough to afford tolls. Chesney said a system that results in fewer drivers would speed up travel for the myriad Angelenos who ride public buses.

“We often forget how inequitable the current system is. We think, if we price the roads, that would be unfair to people. But how is the current system unfair to people?”

— Joshua Schank, chief innovation officer for Metro, the regional transit agency for Southern California

“The equity question is how to make it so buses work,” he said, “so people who can only afford to navigate the city that way can do so.”

Schank urges taking a more critical view of the present.

“We often forget how inequitable the current system is,” he said. “We think, if we price the roads, that would be unfair to people. But how is the current system unfair to people? For one thing, the 1.2 million transit riders, most of whom are on buses, are on buses that are stuck in traffic, and they’re stuck in traffic that is full of single-occupancy cars. So I would ask, ‘Why are we allowing that to happen?’”

There are other components to addressing equity, including how tolls are used. The SCAG report says that revenues in Stockholm paid for a commuter-train tunnel under the city, as well as new train lines. Chesney suggests congestion fees could provide free bus service in heavily impacted communities.

Fewer vehicles on the road also would improve air quality. Pollution disproportionately impacts lower-income communities alongside traffic-clogged corridors. Chesney and Schank cite higher rates of asthma and

other impairments for people living in these neighborhoods.

Although a world of new tolls represents a leap into the future, congestion pricing advocates say that local baby steps have already been taken. The 10 and 110 Freeways have carpool express lanes that solo drivers with FasTrak transponders can choose to access for a fee (the rate varies depending on time of day). A similar lane operates on 18 miles of the 91 Freeway between Orange and Riverside counties. All have been lauded as successful.

Initiating a wider system — perhaps charging people to drive into downtown L.A. — would require public champions. Chesney thinks that coming out of the pandemic, before workers return en masse to office towers, presents a unique opportunity for such advocates. “It’s a sensible time to be thinking about traffic congestion,” he said.

The Metro team takes it further, building on the UCLA Luskin study by pointing out that everything tried in the past few decades has yet to materially change the status quo.

“We’ve picked all the low-hanging fruit,” Nguyen said. “We have to explore more challenging, bolder strategies if we want to achieve our goals.”

No one pretends congestion pricing alone will eradicate gridlock. Rather, it is viewed as only a single tool in a larger kit addressing one of Southern California’s most persistent problems. Schank likens the overall issue to supply and demand: Metro is responding to supply with a swath of projects across the region, from major infrastructure developments to micro-transit efforts. Congestion pricing is a means to reduce demand on the goods — the roads — that now cost nothing.

“You have to do both. You can’t just do one without the other,” he said. “We’re definitely doing a lot on the supply side. Through the Traffic Reduction Study, we plan to do more on the demand side.” ▶

THE CALL TO HELP

Students, Professors and Activists Respond to a Crisis at the Border

ACADEMICS, UNIVERSITY STUDENTS and activists are creating an informal network reaching throughout California and beyond to seek justice for the more than 25,000 immigrants held in federal detention centers across the nation. It is eye-opening work and often distressing.

Members of the network struggle to penetrate the secrecy in which Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) shrouds its immigration centers, many located far from attorneys who might be able to help. When the network pierces the concealment, it often finds babies imprisoned with their mothers, random mistreatment by guards and an ever-growing backlog of cases awaiting hearings in immigration court.

"As a state university, we have an obligation to train students who will give back to the state, and immigrants are terribly important. Immigrants contribute greatly to the state," Ingrid Eagly, a UCLA law professor who is part of the network, told me in a recent telephone interview.

Victor Narro, project director at the UCLA Labor Center and one of Eagly's network colleagues, put it this way: "We are activist scholars, bringing the university into the streets."

Championing justice is crucial now, when immigrants are arriving in California and throughout the United States in ever-growing numbers, and it will become ever more urgent as desperate newcomers — refugees hoping for asylum after President Biden's end to the war in Afghanistan — attempt to enter the country. This is the immediate future of the battle over immigration, one that will shape the future of Los Angeles and the larger nation. It is far from settled.

A Washington Post-ABC News poll in early September showed general support for the resettlement of Afghans in the United States, after security screening. But granting them entry is likely to anger Americans bitterly opposed to immigration of any kind.

UCLA IS AT THE CENTER of this informal network of professors, students and activists pursuing justice for immigrants. But it is hardly alone.

Immigration clinics at the USC Gould School of Law and Southwestern Law School send students into the community to represent immigrants in deportation hearings. Centers for undocumented students at California State University, San Bernardino, and other Cal State campuses provide gathering places for students and faculty, as well as on-campus locations from which activists can enter the community and fight for those fearing deportation. There are many such examples around the state.

WRITTEN BY
BILL BOYARSKY



A MIGRANT AND HER DAUGHTER HAVE THEIR BIOMETRIC DATA ENTERED AT THE INTAKE AREA OF THE DONNA DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY HOLDING FACILITY, THE MAIN DETENTION CENTER FOR UNACCOMPANIED CHILDREN IN THE RIO GRANDE VALLEY, IN DONNA, TEXAS, TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 2021.

As faculty director of the UCLA Law School's criminal justice program, Prof. Eagly is deeply involved. She took her students to rural Texas to work with immigrants arrested by federal officers who accused them of illegal entry into the country. The immigrants were jailed by ICE officers after seeking amnesty at the border, or they were caught during raids on their workplaces.

The students went from familiar surroundings at UCLA to ICE's South Texas Family Residential Center in Dilley, Texas, 70 miles southwest of San Antonio, where the company that runs the center for the federal government had been accused of treating the immigrants as if they were dangerous criminals. The students met with migrants from Guatemala, Mexico, El Salvador, Ecuador and Honduras.

The center is tantamount to a prison for families as they await hearings in which they try to convince an immigration court that they fled their countries because they had feared death or injury at the hands of criminal gangs or corrupt police. These hearings are called credible fear interviews. If the immigrants are not persuasive enough, deportation proceedings begin. Like most detention centers, the South Texas facility is far from the immigration lawyers and translators the immigrants need to guide them through a the complex process. Among Guatemalans, for example, 22 languages are spoken.

Visiting the South Texas Center gave Eagly's students a unique experience,



she said. "They had deep concerns. We saw babies in arms being detained. We would hear about inadequate health care and mistreatment by guards." Even though the observers were only law students, Eagly added, the fact that the inmates had any representation at all made a difference in the process and getting people released.

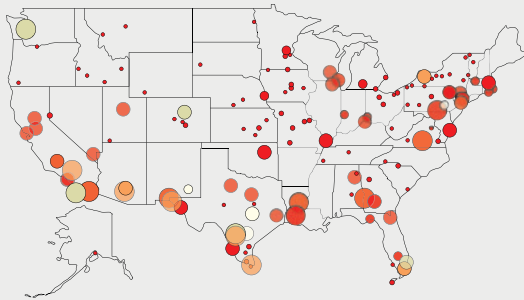
It was an intense introduction to a system bogged down in bureaucracy and shaped by years of hostility toward immigrants, extending through Democratic and Republican administrations. Democrats, fearing an electoral backlash, promoted laws increasing penalties for immigration violations. President Trump, elected as an anti-immigrant crusader, carried them to new extremes. The students learned that the backlog of cases awaiting hearings in immigration court numbered almost 1.4 million, according to Syracuse University's Transactional Records Access Clearinghouse (TRAC). Someone seeking a hearing at the Texas center could wait as long as 2.4 years, TRAC said.

When Eagly's students returned from Texas, they recruited lawyers who would take immigration cases without charge and try to help immigrants through the legal maze.

UCLA SOCIOLOGY PROFESSOR Cecilia Menjivar and her students focused on the inequalities that immigrants found in the United States. For many, it was

IN THIS JULY 12, 2019 FILE PHOTO, MEN STAND IN A U.S. IMMIGRATION AND BORDER ENFORCEMENT DETENTION CENTER IN MCALLEN, TEXAS, DURING A VISIT BY VICE PRESIDENT MIKE PENCE. ACKNOWLEDGING "THIS IS TOUGH STUFF," PENCE SAID HE WAS NOT SURPRISED BY WHAT HE SAW AS HE TOURED THE MCALLEN BORDER PATROL STATION WHERE HUNDREDS OF MEN WERE KEPT IN CAGED FENCES WITH NO COTS AMID SWELTERING HEAT.

U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Detention Over-72-Hour Facility Locations, Fiscal Year 2015



LEGEND

SIZE INDICATES AVERAGE DAILY POPULATION

- 0-10
- 11-50
- 51-100
- 101-500
- GREATER THAN 500

COLOR INDICATES FACILITY TYPE

- FAMILY RESIDENTIAL FACILITY
- SERVICE PROCESSING CENTER
- CONTRACT DETENTION FACILITY
- DEDICATED INTERGOVERNMENTAL SERVICE AGREEMENT FACILITY
- NONDEDICATED ICE INTERGOVERNMENTAL SERVICE AGREEMENT FACILITY, OR U.S. MARSHALS SERVICE INTERGOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT, OR CONTRACT FACILITY

SOURCE: GAO ANALYSIS OF ICE INFORMATION, MPINFOR (MAP). | GAO-16-231

“WHAT THE STORIES OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN MIGRANTS MAKE EVIDENT, ABOVE ALL ELSE, IS THEIR STRENGTH AND RESILIENCE.”

simply a continuation of the hard life they had left in Central America.

“Because it is so difficult to access people in detention, we approached it through lawyers,” Menjivar said. “What we wanted to do was capture the everyday life in detention centers. We wanted to focus on what life is like in detention centers. We also interviewed immigrants who had left detention.”

Menjivar recalled visiting a detention center in Eloy, Arizona, about 65 miles southeast of Phoenix, to attend immigration court.

“I had to go through three gates before entering the facility, first a barbed-wire gate, then two [more],” she said. “A guard accompanied me until I got to the courtroom. Six gates or doors [total] to get to the courtroom.”

“Immigrants are often moved from one place to another. Lawyers may lose contact with them. Immigrants can’t be found, [are] moved to a different facility, sometimes to a different state. So families have to locate relatives.”

NARRO, THE UCLA LABOR Center project director, told me about students venturing into Pico-Union in Los Angeles, where impoverished immigrants from Central America and Mexico crowd into apartments, making it one of America’s densest neighborhoods. Some of the immigrants try to find work in the food industry.

The students enroll in classes such as “Immigrants, Students and Higher Education,” taught by Labor Center Director Kent Wong. From these classes come academic studies like the center’s examination of the impact of robots on food workers. The studies, in turn, help shape legislation on the federal, state and local levels.

“Two summers ago, they did a project on gig workers,” Narro said. “We train students on how to survey workers. They interviewed gig drivers. They collected data and analyzed it, and the information was used by community activists.”

“[In that way], the activists become scholars.”

SHANNON SPEED COMBINES MANY of the attributes of scholars and activists.

Speed is a professor of gender studies and anthropology at UCLA and director of the American Indian Studies Center. She also is a citizen of the Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma.

The center brings together indigenous American Indian students with faculty, staff, alumni and members of the indigenous community. Its goal is to address American Indian issues and support native communities. It also acts as a bridge between the academy and indigenous peoples locally, nationally and internationally.

One of Speed’s accomplishments has been to lead a successful effort to have Los Angeles adopt Indigenous People’s Day, the largest city to do so. As director of the Community Engagement Center at the University of Texas in Austin, she was one of a corps of volunteers who inspected detention centers.

“We would talk [to immigrants] about how things were, what their needs were, how they came to be there,” she said. “Almost all had been kidnapped for ransom.” Now, Speed said, they had no idea when — or whether — they might be released from detention.

She collected some of their stories in a book, *Incarcerated Stories: Indigenous Women Migrants and Violence in the Settler-Capitalist State*. The subtitle reflects Speed’s thesis: that European settlers imposed a violent culture on Indians living throughout the length and breadth of South and North America, a violence that continues in the treatment of the indigenous people Speed grew up with and whom she and her students met every day.

“What the stories of indigenous women migrants make evident, above all else,” Speed wrote, “is their strength and resilience as they seek to free themselves of the oppression and violence that mark their lives.”

These are the lessons, learned in migrant communities, that students and their academic and activist mentors will take with them as the United States meets its ongoing challenge of immigration, with its newest confrontation: this one between those who approve of Afghan resettlement and those who do not.

There is work left to do: Even as Americans have voiced their sympathy for Afghans who helped U.S. soldiers fight the 20-year war in Afghanistan, the Post-ABC News poll shows that 27% of Americans opposes resettling Afghans here. ▀

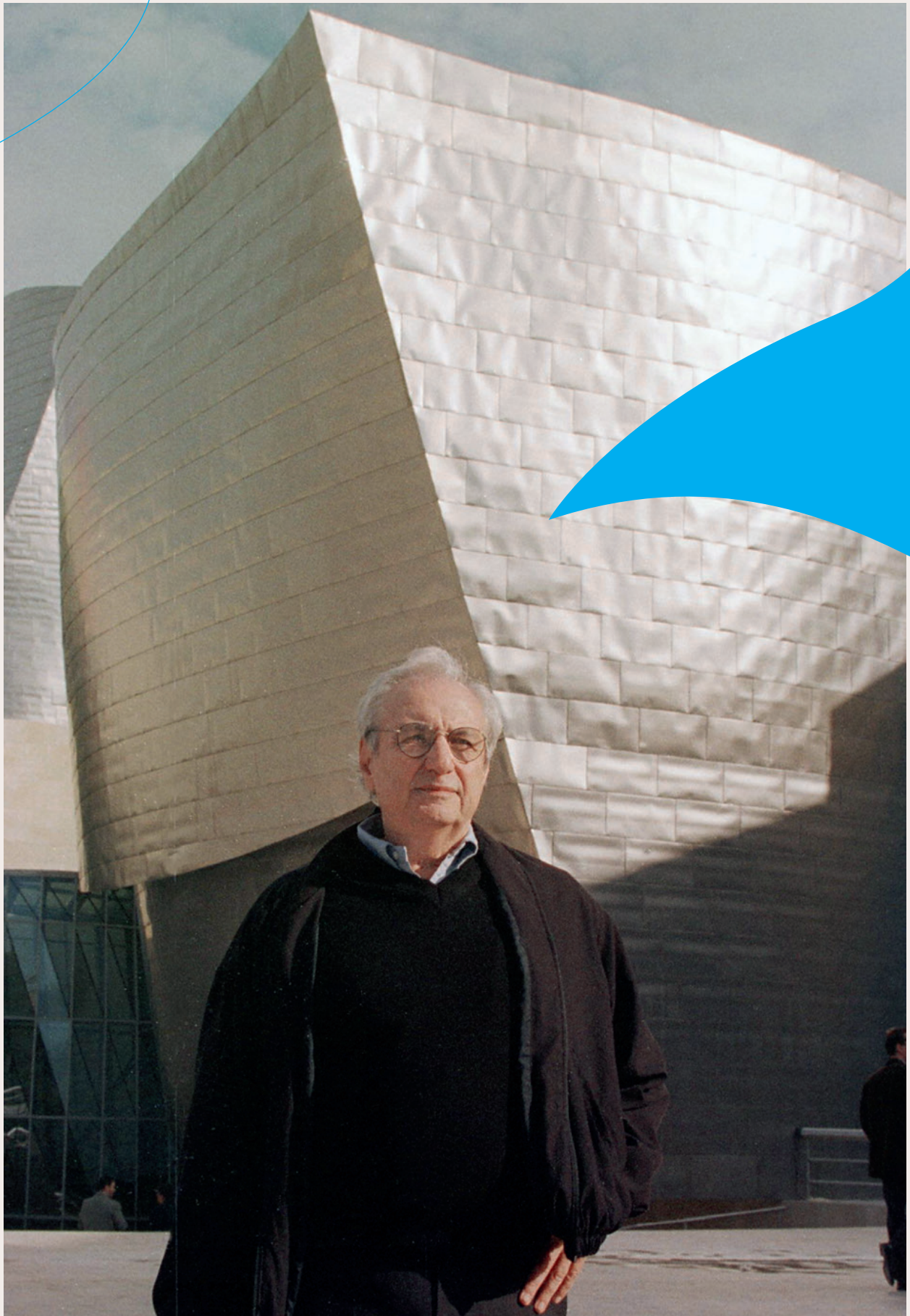
A RCHITECT

FRANK

Visionary and humanitarian, Gehry creates buildings and communities that serve people and satisfy the soul

GEHRY

INTERVIEW BY
JIM NEWTON

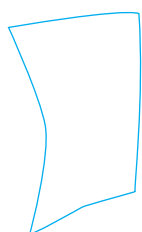


NO BUILDING IN LOS ANGELES more brilliantly captures this region than Frank Gehry's iconic Disney Hall. And no story of a building — the initial uncertainty about its radical look; the protracted government-approval process; the long delays in fundraising; a two-year shutdown of the project beginning in 1994; and then its triumphant resumption, conclusion and astonished reception — better comprehends this area's frustration and promise.

Gehry himself is a part of that. A native of Ontario, Canada, he grew up here and worked for decades producing important but only slightly noticed work until winning the 1987 competition to build Disney Hall and leaping into the first rank of international architects. Since then, Gehry's work has illuminated the world. Now 92, he is among the planet's most sought-after architects, as gentle and humane as he is visionary.

Gehry's projects are arresting — and sometimes controversial. He famously designed the home of Eli Broad, Los Angeles' great modern benefactor, only to fight with Broad over costs and delays. Gehry eventually left that project, only to be reunited with Broad on Disney Hall, when Broad helped lead the revitalized fundraising effort that brought the hall into existence. Broad died last April, and Gehry, in this interview, reflects fondly on their past differences.

Gehry and Blueprint editor Jim Newton have been acquainted for more than a decade, first getting to know one another over their shared interest in President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Newton is the author of *Eisenhower: The White House Years*, and Gehry designed the national Eisenhower Memorial, which, after debates and delays, was dedicated in September 2020 on the Washington Mall. Gehry and Newton spoke this summer via Zoom.



BLUEPRINT: The last time we talked, you were still wading through the debates over the Eisenhower Memorial in Washington. It's all done now. I haven't seen the memorial yet, but congratulations.

FRANK GEHRY: I haven't seen it either. I keep getting good reviews for it. The Eisenhower family loves it. ... I'm in good graces with them. I always liked them.

There's a lot of bad karma in Washington. Those commissions and stuff, and who's telling who what. It took a long time to cut through it, to meet with the politicians who were involved, who were against it, just to show them and prove to them that we were trying to do this the right way, that we were respecting the family and all that.

BLUEPRINT: As you work around the world, are there things that you find that make some cities great in architecture and others not? Are there characteristics of greatness when it comes to the architectural landscape of a city?

FRANK GEHRY: American cities are founded on different principles. Capitalism reigns. I'm not denouncing it. It's part of our world, but it does set the pace and opportunities for real estate investment and things like that.

Generally, [cities] follow patterns of growth. Wilshire Boulevard forms a strong east-west connection, and Sunset Boulevard and Santa Monica Boulevard and Olympic — they connect the city. I don't think an architect designed that. Nobody set that up. It's just natural to the hills and the terrain.

And then the north-south streets hit the wall of the mountains, and they go south until they hit the water.

So the natural terrain sets the pattern. And when you build in a city, people take advantage of the natural terrain for views and values. When the city grows like this one did, like all of them do, those values tend to be lost and forgotten. You end up with a mélange: some nice places and some bad places, some places that could get better and some places that seem to get worse.

I don't think we're in control that much, architects. We're after-the-fact. We have to get hired by somebody who comes to a place. If you're lucky you get selected for something like Disney Hall, or a marina, or the Star Wars guy who's building a museum. [George Lucas, the Star Wars creator, is bringing the Lucas Museum of Narrative Art to Exposition Park. The museum is being designed by Ma Yansong.] Those are offers of generosity and spirit that help make a place better. So I think it's same-old: Each generation responds to what's there.

Eli Broad, for example, was a big influence in downtown, in L.A. I didn't always like him. I had my problems with him.

BLUEPRINT: I'm aware that you had your differences.

FRANK GEHRY: But in the end, we did good. It was because of him that I ended up doing Grand Avenue, the commercial development, which I wasn't excited about getting involved with, to tell you the truth. I thought, "Big developer from New York, how are they going to play it here?"

But it worked out great, I think. I'm proud of the building. It's a decent commercial building. It's not fancy, hey-look-at-me architecture. It's comfortable and deals with the issues of being at that location and the relationship to the cultural district and to an area that is becoming more and more defined as a cultural area, so this is a

commercial piece of a cultural district. ... And we were able to keep it at a moderate scale. It didn't fly out of hand. The buildings are lower.

So to get back to your original question, it's piecemeal: If you're lucky, you get a chance; mostly you don't — most of the deciders aren't art-smart or architecture-smart. ...

[Still], you get these kernels of beauty.

BLUEPRINT: I don't know that I've ever spoken with you about this, though it's something I've talked with Eli Broad and former mayor Dick Riordan and others about, and that's the idea of Disney Hall as not just a beautiful and historic building but also as a symbol of L.A.'s ability to get back on its feet post-riots and post-Northridge earthquake. It's your building, of course. Do you look at it that way?

FRANK GEHRY: Well, the start of that was way back with Ernest Fleischmann [longtime executive director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic]. Eli was not involved at that point ... nor was he involved with L.A. Phil then. ...

I think that when Eli really got interested in playing a role in the city, he already was very involved in contemporary art. He was collecting furiously and famously. He asked me to do [his] house, which was brave of him. It didn't work out so good. But I was over there the other day, and it looks pretty good. ...

Before all that, before Bunker Hill, I used to live on 9th Street and Burlington. We were very poor. I walked to work at a jewelry store on 3rd Street. It was at the bottom of Angels Flight. Downtown was different. At the top

GEHRY'S DISNEY HALL, IN DOWNTOWN LOS ANGELES

of Angels Flight was a beautiful section of Victorian homes. They got moved for Bunker Hill redevelopment. The redevelopment tore out the historic heart of the city and brought all new stuff to it. ...

That's when the lightning struck to do the opera house and the concert hall. ... The notion to create a cultural center was starting to foment there with those people [the Chandlers, Fleischmann and others]. Their view of it, for sure, had no interest in Frank Gehry. When I got put in the saddle, everybody — the Chandlers, even the Disney family — was horror-struck. I couldn't remember ever having had such antagonism. I hadn't done anything yet. I did a little house in Santa Monica for \$50,000 and used corrugated metal and chain link [Gehry's Santa Monica house was one of his first notable projects].

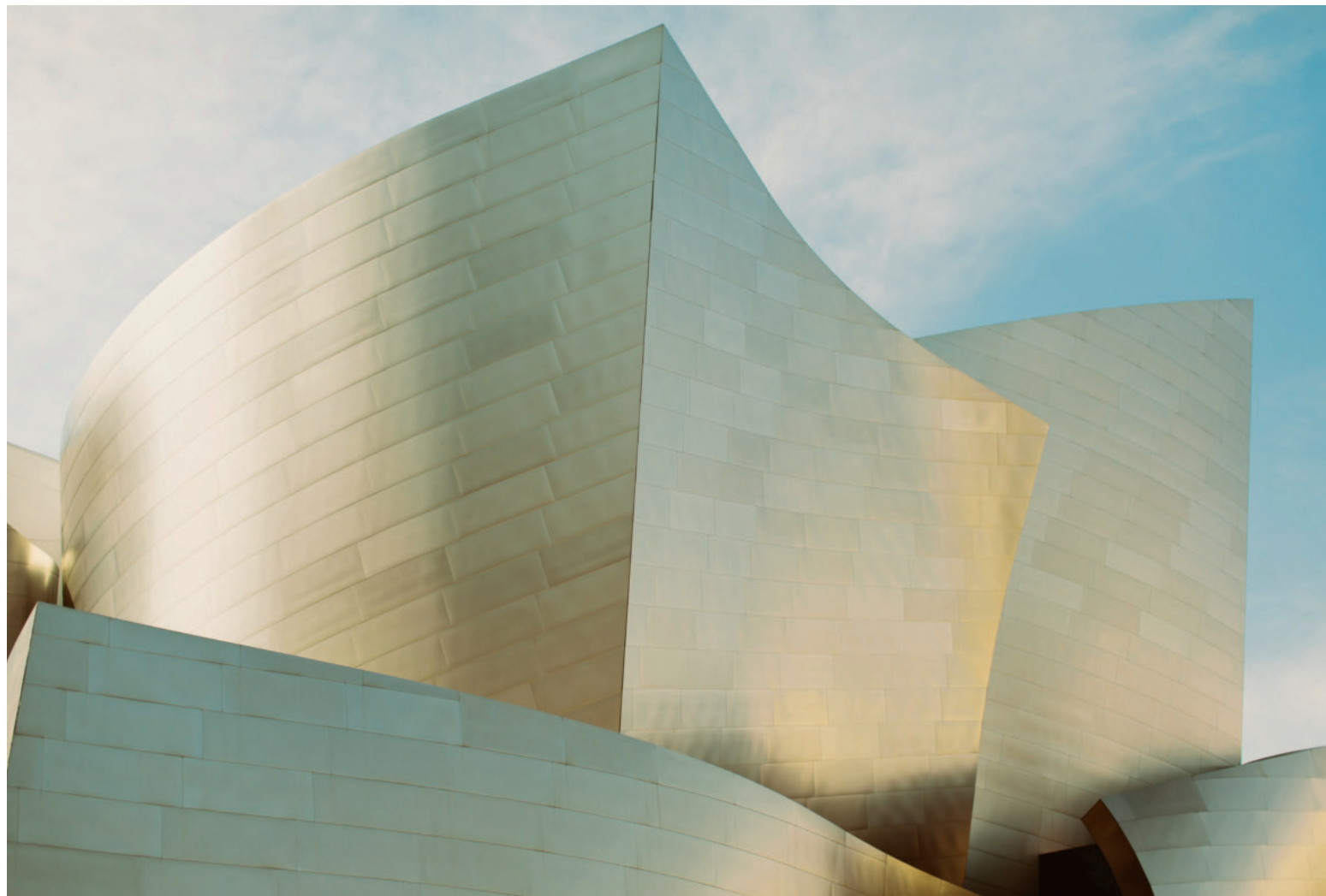
But culture prevailed. Zubin Mehta and the Phil became very important. People from all over the world would come and play with them. ... And it was that which gave them courage to say, "OK, let's go forward [with a new hall]."

BLUEPRINT: Tell me about the river. What's the place of the L.A. River in the future of L.A., and what's the status of your proposal there?

FRANK GEHRY: This is the longest story in history.

BLUEPRINT: Well, tell a short version of it.

FRANK GEHRY: OK. I'll try. A couple of guys from Hollywood said they were sent by the mayor to ask me to look at the L.A. River. Nice guys. They said New York had a High Line, and they were doing great with that, and didn't I think that we had 51 miles of beautiful [river] landscape? Well, it wasn't all beautiful, but we could make it beautiful — and the river could become a connector of the whole city. You look at it and you say: "God, yes, it could. ..."





I had to remind them that the High Line was a rusty old bridge, and they had been thinking of tearing it down. Somebody put some plants on it, and it happened to be in the right space, and it created a beautiful area.

I thought that the river, which I didn't have personal knowledge of, was a flood control project and had a mandate of

its own. But I said I would look into it, and I did. I did it pro bono. We spent a couple of years studying every bit of geography, the social issues along that 51 miles, the economics, the dangers of flooding and what that scene in the community did, cutting through these areas. We brought in experts from all over. We studied it so many different ways.

Everybody wants to take the concrete out and make it a sylvan landscape. The damn problem is that 2% of the time [it floods]. This makes you think, "That's nothing. We can handle that." But it's a terrible thing. Just last year, at the bend in the river in Atwater Village, I saw bicycles in the trees.

BLUEPRINT: That 2% is a bad 2%.

FRANK GEHRY: It's bad, and you can't get rid of it. So you have to keep the concrete. ...

We looked around for solutions, and the one that seemed ready at hand was what's happening along freeways, where communities, in Seattle especially, are covering the freeway and running parks over the top. And that's done with a rational budget. You can do it. ...

It's possible to put parallel walls in the river bottom — concrete walls that run parallel to the water — that would give you a post to span the 600 feet more economically. Once you do that, you can put four feet of dirt on the top, and you have a park. ... This is the least expensive way to get this. Should you do the whole river? I don't know. You don't have to. ...

South of L.A. comes up on the map as a serious red zone for lack of open space, pollution from the freeway and other stuff, economic problems. The population is struggling to exist financially. And they

don't have any open space. They don't have any parks. There are a couple other places along the river, mostly south of L.A. and one area up in Canoga Park. So it seems like, if you could create park space in those areas, you could do a public health service for those communities, and then rebuild them.

So what else could you do along those areas to make it more of a social justice project? You could look into the education issues. What's happening with schools? A lot of the schools along there — in South Gate, Bell and Bell Gardens, for instance — are having problems, dropouts and so on. So we started a program of turn-around arts — Michelle Obama started it, actually, when she was first lady — that brings an arts educator to these schools and starts to reinvigorate them by bringing arts into the equation, which turns the kids on. They get involved. That's something I've been working on a long time. My sister who is a teacher develops programs around that, art-based learning.

And so we funded 10 schools along the South Gate area with turnarounds. Four or five of them are already in operation. There's a new transit stop that hits right at the confluence of the two rivers [the L.A. River and Rio Hondo]. We were able to show that we could create 40 acres of park, 30 acres of new park with a cover and connected to spaces that could become parks. That's within walking distance of South Gate, the center that we're proposing. That's within walking distance of the 10 schools that we're funding. And so you start to create a place that becomes more user-friendly, more uplifting and more health-conscious. ... We've done it in great detail, and we have a proposal.

We figured out the budget for the cover. It's about \$800 million to get the 40 acres. And the center that we're proposing, which is a cultural venue with dance and theater and all kinds of other things. We've designed it. It would be \$150 million for that. And I think we have a third of it. So we're fundraising.

We're getting the schools up. We're looking for housing. That's another part of it. And I think there are people asking us to help find that. We have governmental help. [County Supervisor] Hilda Solis is supporting it, as are all the supervisors. As is Gov. Newsom, who came to us when we first started this study and said he would be for it a million percent.

BLUEPRINT: If you don't mind my saying, this sounds much larger than an architectural project. It's not a building. You're really creating a community.

FRANK GEHRY: That's right. We are building buildings, but they're very industrial. They're not fancy architecture. They're very inexpensive, in the spirit of the Temporary Contemporary. It's warehouse kind of space with as much flourish as we could get.

But we create a street, and the street connects to a 500-seat YOLA [Youth Orchestra of Los Angeles] concert hall, which is just a box with the floating seats that I love to do, hung inside. And it would be spectacular.

BLUEPRINT: I don't mean to sound ungrateful — just the opposite — but this sounds like a project for government.

FRANK GEHRY: It is. [Assembly Speaker Anthony] Rendon has been very helpful. He got the first \$45 million or \$50 million. He's very culture-oriented. He's well-educated in the arts. He also brought in the supervisors and the other people.

The other thing that hasn't been mentioned is that we didn't do this in a vacuum. We spent a lot of time meeting with the community

leaders in each one of those towns. And they all have very different attitudes. Some of them just want to build casinos and get on with it. But most of them, when they saw what we were trying to do, got into it. We're not going to lay a thing on them. They are given chances to veto or say things. We're listening a lot.

BLUEPRINT: What's your sense of the sustainability of L.A.'s civic leadership in this area at this point? Is big stuff still within the reach of this city and region?

FRANK GEHRY: I think there are a lot of people who are [engaged] in this. I see it on the Philharmonic board. There are community leaders like the Coburn family, many others. There are a lot of generous people who have done well in the market and are looking to give back. As did Eli.

BLUEPRINT: What I'm wondering is not so much whether there are wealthy, generous people. I take that as a given. But wealthy, generous people need guidance. If I had a billion dollars and I wanted to make L.A. better or more beautiful, I'm not really sure how I would go about doing that. How does L.A. compare to Berlin or Warsaw or New York City in terms of the engagement of those people?

FRANK GEHRY: American philanthropies are so different from the Europeans. In France, for instance, the government picks up everything. Their philanthropy goes to different venues.

I kind of have gotten to know the L.A. group, a little bit of New York. ... They're all different. They have different tastes. San Francisco is very conservative. New York has their favorite architects. I'm not one of them.

BLUEPRINT: You have a couple of beautiful buildings in New York.

FRANK GEHRY: Yeah, it seems so. I'm not complaining.

the top. After we had Roosevelt and Eisenhower and Johnson and Kennedy, how did we get here?

Every once in a while, somebody appears who has a positive point of view and is reasonably supportive to do something. People like me just wait around for that to happen. I don't go out looking for it.

The developer world has its political ties and connections and obviously is running a lot of the show. The built environment — most of it is being built that way, for business reasons, and not always with the best of intentions and priorities. It's hard work. We have to really work hard, and we have to train our offspring to understand that we have to work at it. We have to devote time to it. It's scary now with the global warming thing and the virus taking front and center.

BLUEPRINT: Are you building buildings differently knowing that climate change is upon us?

FRANK GEHRY: I hope so. I think so, as much as we can. There are efficiencies that help. *[Note: Gehry developed Gehry Technologies to address ways to make construction more efficient, largely through the improved and increased use of software in design, and more responsive to issues of climate change. He sold the company to a software design firm known as Trimble in 2014. He also has pioneered the use of 3D models to conduct energy analyses of buildings.]*

BLUEPRINT: What should Los Angeles be doing more of, or doing better, to prepare itself for the future?

FRANK GEHRY: There should be a more even distribution of park space, open space. You get into the design of schools and public buildings and how they're made, and unfortunately, it becomes a "taste" thing. It becomes a visual thing, and you can say you don't like it. Or you like it. Or it's the architect's ego, or something else. That's mostly not true. Most of my profession is hidebound by an economic construct. It doesn't give you time or space to be egregiously self-aggrandizing. It's not that kind of profession. People will try to make it that in the press sometimes, but it's really not. ...

God bless anybody who can make a humanistic response that engages people and makes them feel better. It doesn't have to look like something I like, or that anybody else likes.

What the stories of indigenous women migrants make evident, above all else, is their strength and resilience.

But there are different points of view in different parts of the world. That's probably the way it has to be and probably the way it should be.

BLUEPRINT: If you were building Disney Hall in Los Angeles today, do you think it would be easier?

FRANK GEHRY: I think you would have similar problems. You can see it in these boards in smaller towns. They're provincial. They don't have the vision, so they're going with sort of simple metrics that are leading to just the opposite effect from what they say they want.

That's scary to me. And you see it in L.A., in some of the communities. It's the same with American politics that went all the way to

It's a tall mountain to climb. It's only a small percentage of the architectural profession that gets to really innovate or really address social issues.

I just think [we need] a little more public-serving, humanity-serving attitude. What would be nice for kids to play in? Where would be a nice place to live and stay and meet with other people?

BLUEPRINT: It sounds very simple. I'm sure it's not simple to execute, but it's very simple to express.

FRANK GEHRY: Yes. It's up to all of us to sign onto that. That seems to be harder to do. Politics gets in the way. If you talk like I do, [you're] a socialist. I'm only 92. I have a long way to go. ▀

CLOSING NOTE: OBSTACLES AND OPPORTUNITIES



WHICH ARE GREATER, the challenges facing Los Angeles or the opportunities to meet them? The research and civic leaders featured in this issue of Blueprint are evidence of the magnitude of both.

The challenges are considerable: Immigrants are arriving daily from around the world, some ready for work, others destitute and desperate. Income is stratified, with astonishing pockets of wealth virtually adjacent to dismaying swaths of poverty. Housing is in short supply, stretching even middle-class residents, and pushing some of the very poor into homelessness. Squalid encampments mock the region's claims to affluence. And traffic? Well, try hurrying across town on a Friday evening.

But opportunities are abundant as well: The same immigrants who need places to live and schools for their children bring energy and excitement to the region, in everything from its food to its economy. Housing policy, once an afterthought, has moved squarely to the center of the political agenda. Planners and researchers are experimenting with design and transportation innovations that could revolutionize the way Angelenos live, work and move about.

It is perhaps the range of innovation that is most striking. As the articles in this issue reveal, academics and planners are studying ways to redirect

traffic and parking. They are developing new ways of thinking about the design and density of housing. Legislators and voters, in part driven by the tragedy of homelessness, are exploring new ideas for promoting more affordable housing. Students and teachers are immersing themselves in Los Angeles communities and in controversies at the border to study and assist new arrivals, as well as help this city's working people. If L.A.'s future is bright, it is because so many people are striving toward it.

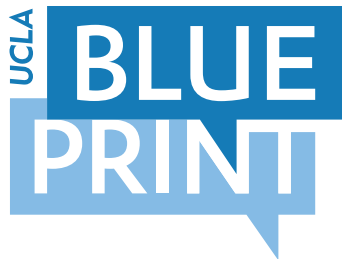
It's also noteworthy that these ideas are being explored against different histories. As Jon Regardie explains in his article about congestion pricing, that is not an idea new with Los Angeles, but it has specific potential, as well as resistance, here, where residents are accustomed to free public roads that are not a commodity subject to tolls or otherwise managed. Similarly, L.A.'s housing crunch is the object of close analysis by UCLA professor Stephanie Pincetl, who has clear eyes about the complexity of its politics. Meanwhile, immigration and labor are vital to L.A. and its future, but the best ways to address them combine research and activism, a sense that Los Angeles needs to be studied and lived in at the same time.

On balance, the tension between challenge and potential gives thoughtful leaders reason for optimism. Frank Gehry designed L.A.'s most beautiful building, the arresting Disney Hall, and he is now designing new and inviting places to work and learn and celebrate our culture along the Los Angeles River. Antonia Hernandez, who came here in the third grade from her native Mexico and went on to graduate from UCLA and UCLA Law School, is addressing the region's needs as executive director of the California Community Foundation.

"We've come to accept the messiness of life here ... the liberties, the opportunities," she said in a conversation with Blueprint. "And I think we're melding the good of what this country has to offer with the communal sense. That's where liberal democracy will succeed."

Hernandez is onto something. Los Angeles must recognize both its messiness and its potential. Both are true and true at the same time. She, along with others in this issue, remind us that, although there is plenty to do, Los Angeles has abundant resources to work with.

— *Jim Newton*



A PUBLICATION
OF THE UCLA
LUSKIN SCHOOL OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

SENIOR ADMINISTRATION

CHANCELLOR

Gene Block

DEAN, UCLA LUSKIN

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Gary Segura

EDITORIAL STAFF

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Jim Newton

SENIOR EDITOR

Richard E. Meyer

ART DIRECTION & DESIGN

Rent Control Creative

ILLUSTRATOR

Noma Bar

FEATURED PHOTOGRAPHER

David Sprague

PRODUCTION STAFF

PUBLICATION MANAGERS

Robert Cox

Wileen Wong Kromhout

PRINT PRODUCTION MANAGER

Michael J. Salter

SENIOR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, PUBLIC OUTREACH

Elizabeth Kivowitz Boatright-Simon

OFFICE MANAGER

Audrey Prescott

CONTRIBUTORS

BILL BOYARSKY was a political reporter, columnist and editor at the Los Angeles Times for 30 years.

bwboyarsky@roadrunner.com

LISA FUNG is a Los Angeles-based writer and editor who has held senior editorial positions at the Los Angeles Times and The Wrap.

lisa.fung5@gmail.com

ASHLEY LIFTON is a junior at UCLA, double-majoring in Public Affairs and Communication Studies. She contributes to The Daily Bruin and produces a podcast called "BDE: Big Dorm Energy."

ashleylifton@ucla.edu

YANIT MEHTA is a San Francisco/Los Angeles based multimedia freelance reporter, specializing in state government and politics, environmental reporting and California housing.

yanitmehta@gmail.com

JON REGARDIE spent 15 years as editor of the Los Angeles Downtown News. He is now a freelance writer contributing to Los Angeles Magazine and other publications.

jregardie@gmail.com

KAT SCHUSTER is a journalist based in Long Beach who covers California politics, public health and breaking news for Patch. She has covered communities throughout the central coast and Southland for dozens of newspapers since 2014.

katannschuster@gmail.com

FEATURED RESEARCHERS

PETER CHESNEY

mrpchesney@gmail.com

DANA CUFF

dcuff@aud.ucla.edu

INGRID EAGLY

eagly@law.ucla.edu

MICHAEL C. LENS

mlens@ucla.edu

CECILIA MENJIVAR

menjivar@soc.ucla.edu

PAAVO MONKKONEN

paavo@luskin.ucla.edu

STEPHANIE PINCETL

spincetl@ioes.ucla.edu

SHANNON SPEED

sspeed@aisc.ucla.edu

ABEL VALENZUELA

abel@irle.ucla.edu

KENT WONG

kentwong@ucla.edu

SPECIAL THANKS

Special thanks to Lisa Horowitz, the chief copy editor for Blueprint, whose sharp eye makes this magazine what it is. — Jim Newton

DO YOU HAVE
SOMETHING TO SAY?

Blueprint's mission — to stimulate conversation about problems confronting Los Angeles and the rest of California — doesn't stop on publication day. We urge you to continue these conversations by contacting us or our contributors or by reaching out directly to the researchers whose work is featured here. We also hope you'll follow us on the web, where we showcase exclusives and link to ongoing debates in these fields. You can find us online at blueprint.ucla.edu



blueprint.ucla.edu

