#### THE NEW SUBURBIA:

How diversity remade suburban life in Los Angeles after 1945

Oxford University Press, January 2024

**Becky Nicolaides** 

Clark Davis Memorial Lecture
LA History & Metro Studies Group
May 5, 2023

\*Urbanism and Suburbanization in the EU Countries and Abroad"

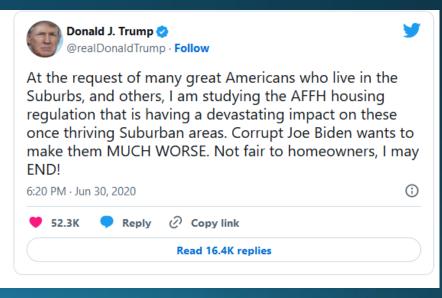


# The many faces of white suburban "victimhood"



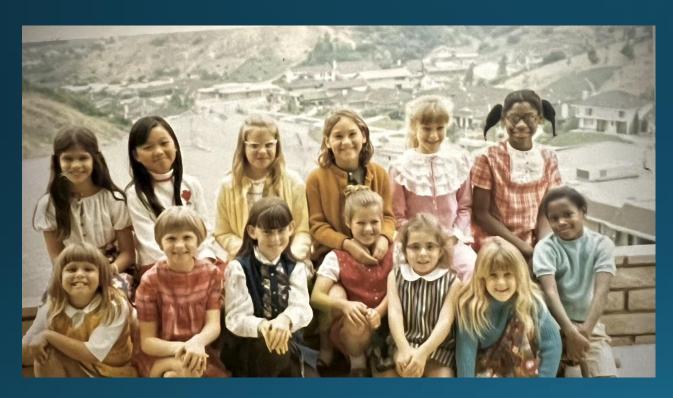






#### THE NEW SUBURBIA:

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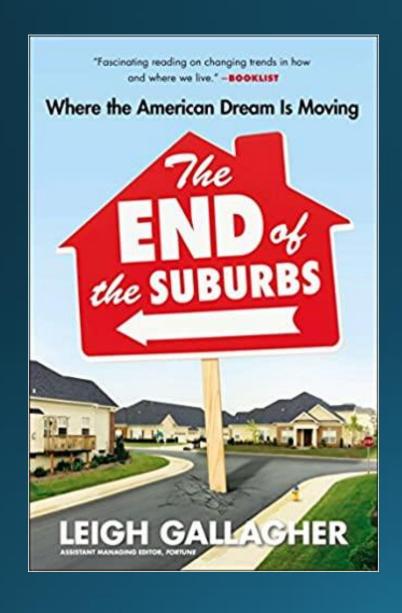


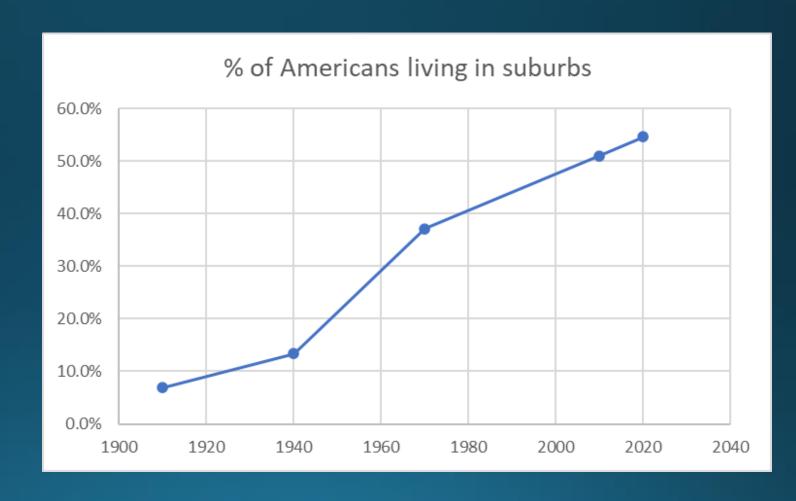
South Pasadena, 1971



Mark Padoongpatt, age 6, Arleta, San Fernando Valley, 1989

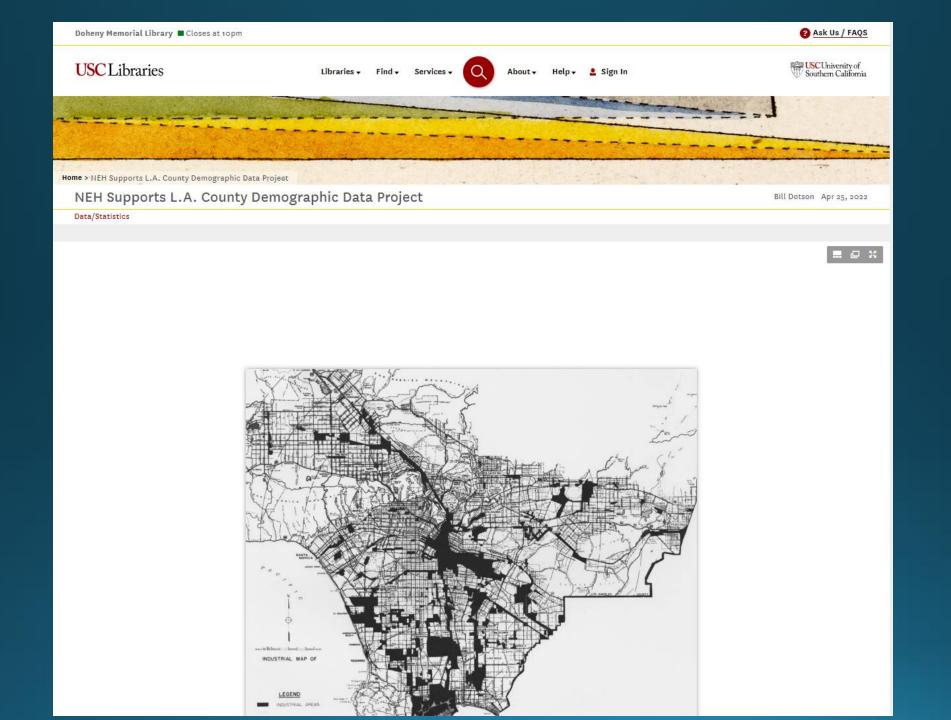
### The suburbs are not ending... they are growing





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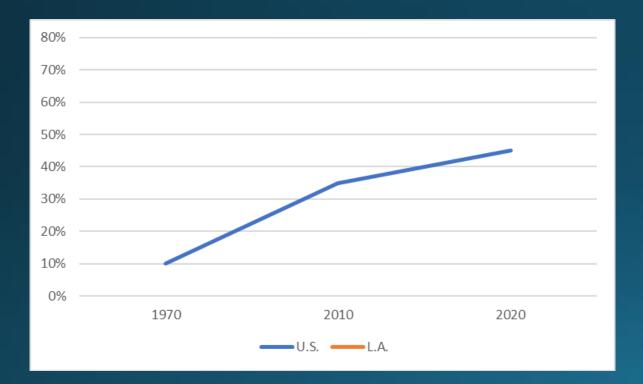
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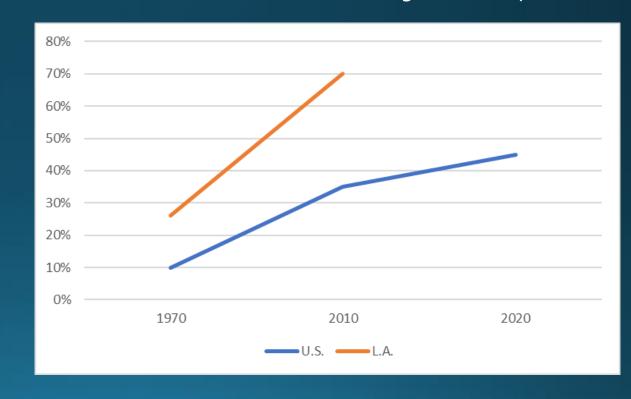
#### Greater ethno-racial diversity

Percentage of *αll* suburbanites who were Black American, Latino, and Asian American





#### United States and Los Angeles County



(in 100 largest metro areas)

## More Immigrants

Monterey Park, Roland Heights, Maywood









### Greater economic inequality

L-R: Bradbury, Azusa, and San Fernando Valley

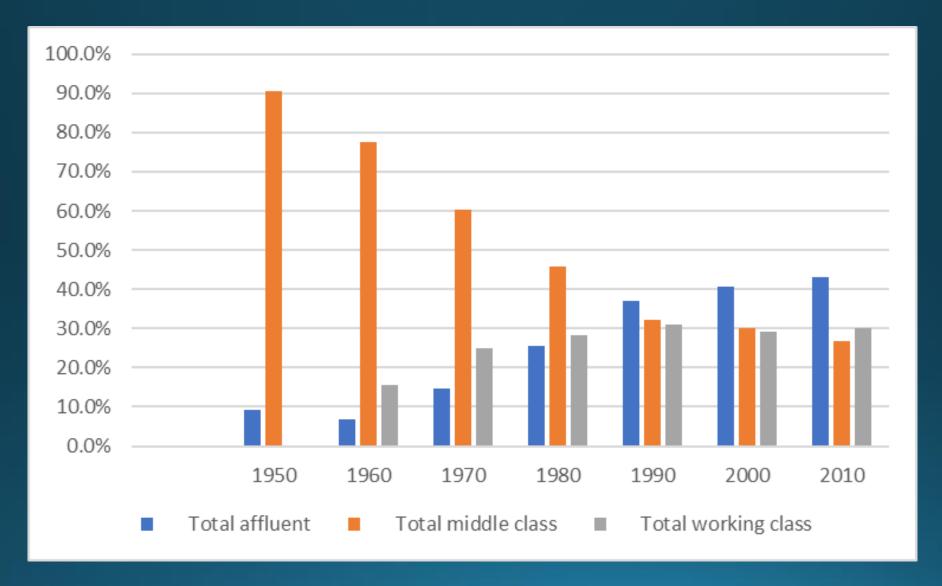






The red bundle is a person

#### Affluent, middle-class, and working-class suburbs in LA County, 1950-2010



Shown as a percentage of all towns for each decennial year; data based on "median family income" for each town, classified in relation to the LA Co average.

#### Household composition changing

More singles, divorced adults, LGBTQ residents, extended families, and the elderly in the suburbs







### Key suburban trends in recent LA history

• 1990: nonwhite suburbanites outnumbered white suburbanites

#### Key suburban trends in recent LA history

• 1990: nonwhite suburbanites outnumbered white suburbanites

• 2010: *nonwhite* <u>suburban homeowners</u> outnumbered white suburban homeowners

### Case study suburbs of *The New Suburbia*



# Pasadena: white flight within





Pasadena June Ball, 2022

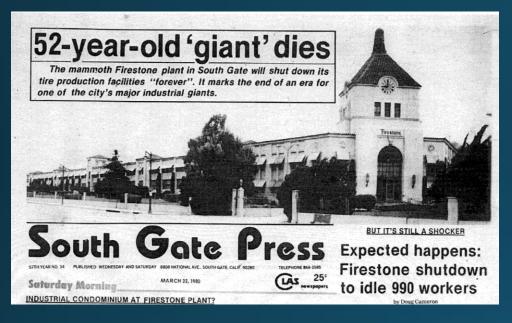
Busing in Pasadena, 1970

# San Marino: learning suburban affluence

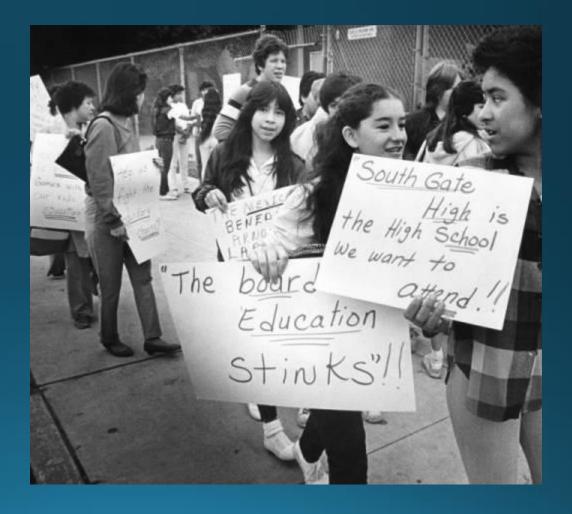




## South Gate: the death and life of a working-class suburb







## Lakewood: From neighborhood trust to neighborhood watch





#### Lakewood's origins: some notable aspects

A mass-produced suburb

#### Lakewood Park under construction, 1950





#### Lakewood Park, 1950 Sales office in foreground



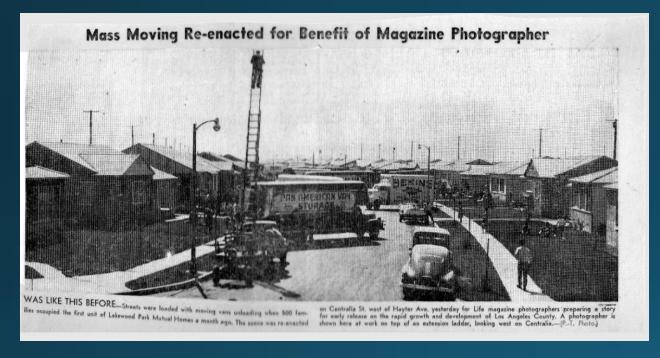


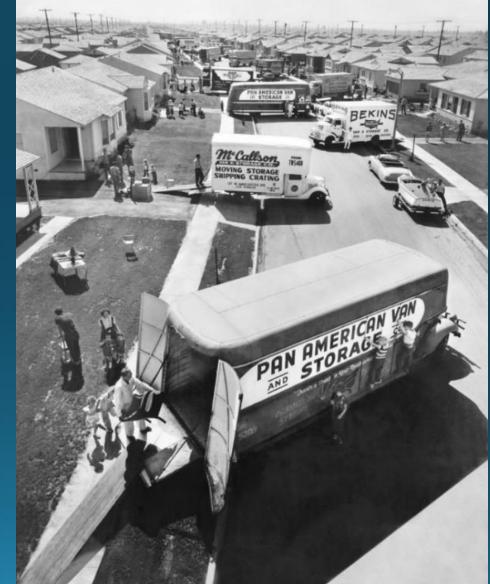


#### Lakewood's origins: some notable aspects

- A mass-produced suburb
- Early PR team hired to control Lakewood's image

#### Staging the Life magazine "move in" photo of Lakewood, 1953





L: Photograph courtesy of the Long Beach Press Telegram

R: Life Magazine photo by J. R. Eyermann, 1953

#### Lakewood's origins: some notable aspects

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#### Lakewood's origins: some notable aspects

- A mass-produced suburb
- Early PR team hired to control Lakewood's image
- Racial segregation
- Lakewood Plan (1954) outsource services with LA County

#### Community life in postwar Lakewood: segregated and tight-knit



Lakewood Square Dancers, 1956



## Lakewood children, ca. 1950s

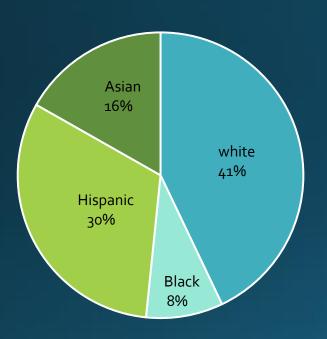




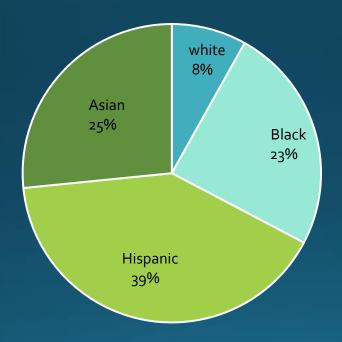
Photos from City of Lakewood history archive.

# Ethno-racial diversity in LA's southeast suburbs

Lakewood, 2010



Carson, 2010





### Chase family, moved to Lakewood 1980



# Williams family, moved to Lakewood 2006



# Chase family of Lakewood







Cassandra school photos

#### Lakewood KKK Klavern members, 1981

Five-Minute Rule Permits Klausman to Have His Say

The Los Angeles Times (1923-1993); Mar 4, 1981; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times ps. R3

#### Five-Minute Rule Permits Klansman to Have His Say

By SCOTT HARRIS, Times Staff Writer

Just about anyone who wants to can harangue the Paramount City Council on any subject . . . for five minutes.

So that's how long Mike Lyons—exalted cyclops of the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Lakewood Klavern)—was allowed to speak when he came to Tuesday night's council meeting.

"We'll give anyone a chance to say their piece," Mayor Charles Weldon said.

What Lyons said surprised no one, though it offended quite a few.

#### Concern About Crime

He said white children were being "harassed by Negro and Mexican children." He said white people "founded this country, made it what it is," and asked the council what it intended to do about crime and "minority gangs."

He also said he had come to the meeting in the hope of attracting attention—particularly from the news media.

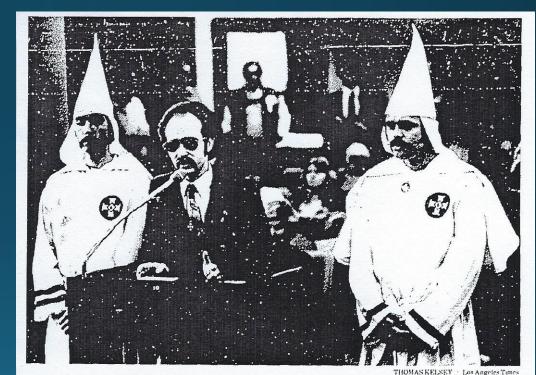
In that, he appeared to have been successful:

His entrance—wearing a dark suit and dark glasses, accompanied by two other men in white Klan robes—was watched and photographed by several members of the media.

It also was noticed by various anti-Klan members of the audience in the council chamber, many of whom either laughed at the white robes or offered such jibes as "terrorist," "seum," and "bigot."

But Lyons, 26, an investigator for a law firm who said he has been a Klansman for more than two years, pretended not to notice. And the council simply listened in stoic silence while he spoke.

Mayor Weldon explained that the Paramount City Council has a rule that allows anyone to speak for five minutes, and was "not about to" suspend it just to avoid listening to the Klan.



Exalted Cyclops Mike Lyons, flanked by fellow Klansmen Larry Rizzo, left, and Vic Gruber,

addresses Paramount Council. He said the KKK will become more active in the Los Angeles area.

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LA Times, March 4 and 5, 1981

Families in Housing Suit Recall Pain of Bias: Racism: Plaintiffs get ... DOUGLAS P SHUIT TIMES STAFF WRITER

Los Angeles Times (1996-); Apr 4, 1997; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times

#### Families in Housing Suit Recall Pain of Bias

Racism: Plaintiffs get first part of \$1.7-million settlement. But they say money can't compensate for evictions and suspicions they and their sons were subjected to.

By DOUGLAS P. SHUIT

Carnella Bey, an African American fifth-grade teacher in the Los Angeles Unified School District, was shocked when the security chief at the Park Apartments in Lakewood warned her that if her son didn't stop hanging around with one of his friends, her family would be evicted.

The reason? The son's friend, a black teenager, was suspected of being a gang member-mostly on the basis of the clothes he wore.

"I really thought the security chieff had seen too many TV images," Bey recounted.

Other families she knew were being evicted from the same Lakewood apartment complex for much the same reason

Sharing notes, the families decided something was wrong Contending that they were victims of overt racism directed at their teenage children on the basis of pop culture stereotypes of black youth. they filed a housing discrimination lawsuit in 1993.

On Thursday the families received the first \$40,000 in installments of what will be payments of at least \$60,000 per family.

The suit was filed against the Village Property Management Inc., managers of the apartment complex; Paolo Pedrazzoli, the man-

ager, Burns International Security at all hours of the day and night, Services; and others, including members of the condominium association who own the rental units.

In addition to assessing the monetary damages, a consent decree approved Wednesday requires the defendants to initiate sensitivity training for their employees and require them to learn anti-discrimination housing taws.

The court order also will require the defendants to maintain records of evictions, complaints and other actions and allow tenants access to their files.

Although they agreed to the settlement, the defendants denied the allegations. In the consent decree, they said they agreed to the settlement to avoid a lengthy and costly lawsuit. They refused comment Thursday.

The suit accused the management firm and its security guards of practicing racial discrimination and harassing young black males by adopting a policy of not allowing them to gather in groups, even though teenagers of other nationalities and races were allowed to congregate freely.

Bey's son and his friend were good students and members of the football team at Artesia High

"Gang members don't play football," she said. "Gang members don't go to school every day. My son went to school every day."

Another example of harassment mentioned in the suit involved the parents of a boy suffering from lupus. They took around the-clock shifts so that one of them could always he with their son during an eight-month hospitalization.

They said they and other family members were in and out so much,

that they were evicted after being accused of selling drugs.

The male teenagers bore the brunt of the accusations, their families said. "All the young black males in the facility were having the same or similar problems," said John Graves, a youth counselor who, with members of other families, met with the news media Thursday in the Long Beach offices of the Fair Housing Foundation. The agency investigated the original complaints.

Graves said he thought the problem stemmed from "hip-hop" attire, such as baggy pants and shirts, that the teenagers were wearing.

"Unfortunately society has projected this image of members of the hip-hop culture as hard-core gangsters, murderers and drug dealers," said Graves, who was forced to move and now lives in nearby Hawaiian Gardens.

"It got to the point where I was questioning my kids because, being a parent, I understand that kids get involved in things they shouldn't be involved in."

Under terms of the consent decree, a pool of \$1.2 million in damages will be disbursed to victims of the discrimination-the original eight families and as many as 50 other apartment tenants who joined the legal action later. Lead attorney Bert Voorhees and his firm will receive \$500,000 in fees.

While the money symbolized their victory, the families said there was no financial payoff big enough to compensate for the pain they went through.

Bey said her son Arthur and his friends wore baggy pants and shirts. "Because they looked like some of the gang members, (it was) just automatically assumed that they were,' she said. "They were not, I was really furious.

Voorhees said the tensions that developed over the harassment, evictions and other problems created deep wounds within the fami-

"There is no question that it really damaged some family relationships," Voorhees said.

"When building managers and owners are telling you there is a problem, who are you to believe? You start talking to other families and realize the accusations are false and the kids are being set up. but by then you have already said some pretty harsh things to your children.'

Martin Crump, now 20, was 15 when his family lived at the apartment complex and he began being followed by security guards. Shortly before his family was evicted on the basis of complaints against Crump that he said were never proven, the guards put him under "house arrest."

"I had to drop out of summer school," he recalled Thursday, "I just stayed inside."

Crump, who hopes to begin college at Cal State Fullerton later this year, said he and his family had lived in the apartment complex for 14 years when they were evicted. He said he lost his friends and had to change schools.

Bey is the only parent still hving there. She said things at the Park Apartments have improved over the last 41/2 years, but racial stereotyping is still a problem.

"You can still tell there are stereotypes in these folks' heads that need to be removed," Bey said.

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#### Bias hits home for families

Discrimination: Black residents who won big settlement recall harassment, accusations.

By Bill Hillburg Apr. 4, 1997, Staff writer

LONG BEACH Crump, 19, recalled his last days at the Park Apartments in East Lakewood with a mixture of bewilderment and bitterness.

Crump, then 14, spent July 1992 under house arrest in his apartment. His family was evicted from Park Apartments on Aug. 1,

"It made me feel low or something," Crump, who now lives in Cerritos, said Thursday. "I hadn't done anything."

Reshrae Walker, her husband, Nelson, and their four children were evicted from Park Apartments, 12350 Del Amo Blvd., on Nov. 27, 1992. They were accused by management of being involved in drug trafficking.

"The manager said there were too many people coming and going from our apartment," said Walker, whose family now lives in Palmdale. "I told them we were all going in shifts to be with my 5-year-old son, Nellshawn, who was seriously ill with lupus at Bellflower Kaiser Hospital. They didn't believe me. I was humiliat-

The Crumps and Walkers are

Long Beach Press Telegram, April 4, 1997

# Spur Posse in Lakewood: small sampling of *LA Times* coverage 1993

Los Angeles Times (1923-1995); Apr 28, 1993; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Los Angeles Times pg. VYB7

#### Spur Posse Victim Speaks Out on Her Assault

m Molestations: The girl, 11, says she is telling her story to encourage others to come forward.

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

LAKEWOOD—An 11-year-old girl who was sexually assaulted by a member of the Spur Posse in Lakewood said she was telling her story publicly for the first time Tuesday to encourage other victims to do the same.

The 16-year-old boy accused of sexually assaulting her admitted to the charge earlier this week and was sentenced to a county juvenile facility, authorities said.

"What he did to me was wrong," the girl, her voice quivering, said at a news conference at her lawyer's office. "Finally, he is going to pay for it."

The girl said she had been waiting for the opportunity to speak for herself. "I have been upset because I wanted to be on TV... to show how I feel," she said. "I wanted to say it for myself.

"I hope this will encourage other girls to come forward if they feel they have been the victims of the

Spur Posse," she sald.

Meanwhile, sheriff's deputies said Tuesday that they are investigating allegations of sexual assault by at least one, and possibly two, new victims who have come forward.

Sitting stiffly in an armchair, a fat law book propping her up, the Lakewood sixth-grader quietly rebuked those who have blamed the girls and called them "sluts."

"It makes me kind of upset," said the girl, who was flanked by her parents and her attorney. "I think there should be names for the boys."

The 16-year-old boy who admitted in court Monday that he molested the girl last summer is one of only two Spur Posse members to be charged by the Los Angeles County district attorney's office in response to numerous allegations that posse members assaulted girls and kept points of their sexual conquests. The boy, charged with lewd conduct against a child under age 14, has been in custody at Los Padrinos Juvenile Facility and will be sentenced to at least eight months at a county juvenile facility.

The victim's mother—a woman who identified herself only as Vicky—said it was "a relief that our girl was listened to, that she was heard."

The district attorney's office

charged a second 16-year-old boy last week in connection with the molestation of the same girl. But sheriff's deputies said they have neither talked to the boy nor arrested him. Detective Doug Blaydes said deputies still need to "make certain [of] the identification of the second boy."

Deborah Jentsch, who represents the boy in the first case, said she thinks authorities do not know the whereabouts of the boy in the second case. But Blaydes said authorities "are pretty sure we know where he lives."

"We determined that the victim was no longer in danger," said Blaydes.

Blaydes said that although the charge is the same, the circumstances are different in the second case. He would not discuss the details of that case.

2nd Charge Filed in Teen Sex Scandal: Crime: Two member DAVID FERRELL TIMES STAFF WRITER

Los Angeles Times (1923-1995); Apr 20, 1993; ProQuest Historical Newspap pg. WB4

# 2nd Charge Filed in Teen Sex Scandal

■ Crime: Two members of Spur Posse are now accused of assaulting 10-year-old girl.

By DAVID FERRELL

After reviewing the evidence against a dozen additional suspects in the Lakewood High School sex scandal, the Los Angeles County district atterney's office on Monday filed only a single new felony charge of child molestation against 16-year-old boy accused of have

16-year-old boy accused of havig sex with a 10-year-old girl,

uthoritles said.

In taking the action, the district torney's office rejected the 11 ther cases outright, leaving proseutors with only two unidentified veniles facing charges in a case at has focused national attention n Lakewood. Altogether, district torney's investigators have rined down 15 of the 17 cases resented to them by the Sheriff's epartment since the scandal roke a month ago with the arrest I nine teen-age members of a ang known as the Spur Posse.

The teen-agers were accused of piling or molesting a number of inderage girls over several months ite last year.

"Our conclusion is that there is o credible evidence of focible ipe involving any of these boys," andy Buttitta, chief assistant distot attorney, said Monday in a "fitten statement. "Although ere is evidence of unlawful sexulintercourse, it is the policy of its office not to file criminal parges where there is consensual we between teen-agers."

The decision drew bitterly mixed sactions in the middle-class subrb near Long Beach, where the Some Lakewood city officials and parents, meanwhile, voiced shock and disappointment that so few charges were filed after so much investigation and upronr. The cases rejected by the district attorney on Monday involved allegations against three adults and seven juveniles, stemming from what sheriff's deputies characterized as "hundreds of hours" of investigation.

"Til Tell you, it's hard to understand this," said Mayor Larry Van Nostran. "I can't believe they wouldn't file in cases where you have an adult having sex with a minor. . . They should get the full prosecution that the law allows."

City Councilman Mare Titel expressed exasperation over the ordeal caused by a month of intense media scrutiny.

"We have gone through a tremendous trauma," Titel said. "For what? I'm very angry, I'm angry at the young men [of the Spurs] . . .

'We have gone through a tremendous trauma...!'m angry at the young men...and angry at those we have placed our trust in to enforce the law.'

MARC TITEL Lakewood city councilman Schoolmates Give Heroes' Welcome to Ferrell, David;TINA GRIEGO TIMES STAFF W Los Angeles Times (1923-1995); Mar 24, 1993; F pg. VCB6

#### Schoolmates Give Heroes' Welcome to 'Spur Posse'

■ Lakewood: An underlying feeling of turmoil and frustration grips community struggling to deal with a sex scandal.

By DAVID FERRELL and TINA GRIEGO TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Five days after their arrest on suspicion of committing rape or other sex crimes, at least four teen-age members of the "Spur Posse" teturned to Lakewood High School on Tuesday to a heroes' welcome, while embattled school administrators tried to restore order to a campus mockingly being referred to as "Rapewood."

Even as camera crews and Los Angeles County sheriff's patrol cars continued to cruise near the peaceful suburban campus, many students greeted the returning suspects with cheers and back slaps. One girl, a 15-year-old freshman, hailed one of the arriving Spurs and volced the widespread student skepticism about the rape allegations, saying: "There are so many girls out there who want to sleep with these guys. They are so fine. They wouldn't have to rape anyone."

But the outward displays of support only hinted at the underlying turmoll and frustration that gripped a community struggling to deal with a sex scandal that has become national news. As if scorched by the unrelenting media spotlight, many students became openly hostile toward the press and harshly critical of sheriff's investigators who last week accused nine current or former Lakewood High School students of rape and other sex crimes involving underage girls.

Late Monday, the Los Angeles County district attorney's office filed a single charge of lewd conduct against a juvenile, who was arraigned Tuesday. The suspect pleaded not guilty to the felony charge and a trial date was set for April 8.

However, the district attorney's office refused to file charges against four youths and has asked for further evidence before proceeding against four others, a turn of events that stunned sheriff's investigators and left many parents and students confused and angry.

### Lakewood's Spur Posse draws national media coverage, 1993

New York Times, March 29, 1993

Where 'Boys Will Be Boys,' And Adults Are Befuddled: Where 'Boys Will ... By JANE GROSSSpecial to The New York Times New York Times (1923-); Mar 29, 1993; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index

#### Where 'Boys Will Be Boys,' And Adults Are Befuddled

**BV JANE GROSS** Special to The New York Times

LAKEWOOD, Calif., March 26 - It was lunchtime at Lakewood High School and the big men on campus were strutting their stuff at the local Taco Bell.

Eric Richardson, a 17-year-old football star, swaggered in, a T-shirt reading "No Crybabies" stretched taut across his pectorals.

"I got the power! I got the finesse! I got everything!" Eric declaimed to no one in particular.

Eric and eight of his friends, members of a group called the Spur Posse, had spent the last few days in jail, accused of molesting and raping girls as young as 10.

#### A Heroes' Welcome

Now all but one had been released. while investigations continued. And the boys returned to school this week to a heroes' welcome, their status enhanced and their scrapbooks thicker by several press clippings.

The tale of the Spur Posse in some ways sounds like an old story about bad boys and fast girls, about athletes who can do no wrong and the people who fawn over them. But it comes as codes of sexual conduct are colliding

with boys-will-be-boys mores and as unemployment and broken marriages are troubling the still waters of this piece of suburbia southeast of Los Angeles.

Lakewood's Mayor, Marc Titel, said he hoped the town would use its notoriety as an occasion for introspection. But he said he was not optimistic, because the boys seem unrepentent, the parents lenient and the other students inclined to lionize the athletes and vilify their accusers.

"We need to look at what kind of

Continued on Page A13, Column 1

#### Joan Didion, New Yorker, July 26, 1993

LETTER FROM CALIFORNIA

#### TROUBLE IN LAKEWOOD

Lakewood was once the ideal postwar town, part of the high-stakes defense boom that made California rich. Now it is best known as the home of the Spur Posse, a gang of high-school athletes who counted their sexual conquests as "points" in what may be the only game left in town.

#### BY JOAN DIDION

Angeles County community where an amorphous high-school clique identifying itself as the Spur Posse recently achieved a short-lived national notoriety, lies between the Long Beach and San Gabriel freeways and east of the San Diego, part of that vast grid familiar to the casual visitor mainly from the air, Southern California's industrial underbelly, the thousand square miles of aerospace and oil that powered the place's apparently endless expansion. Like much of the southern end of this grid, Lakewood was until after the Second World War open farmland, several thousand acres of beans and sugar beets just inland from the Signal Hill oil field and across the road from the plant that

TAKEWOOD, CALIFORNIA, the Los morrow's City Today." What was being offered in tomorrow's city, as in most subdivisions of the period, was a raw lot and the promise of a house. Each of the seventeen thousand five hundred houses would be nine hundred and fifty to eleven hundred square feet on a fifty-byhundred-foot lot. Each would be a onestory stucco (seven floor plans, twentyone different exteriors, no identical models to be built next to or facing each other) painted in one of thirty-nine color schemes. Each would have two or three bedrooms, oak floors, a glass-enclosed shower, a stainless-steel double sink, and a garbage-disposal unit. Each would sell for between eight and ten thousand dollars, Low F.H.A., Vets No Down. There were to be thirty-seven playgrounds, the federal government completed in twenty schools. There were to be seven-1941 for Donald Douglas at the Long teen churches. There were to be a hun-men worked day and evening shifts.

World War and the Korean War and the G.I. Bill and the defense contracts that began to flood Southern California as the Cold War set in. Here on this ray acreage on the floodplain between the Los Angeles and San Gabriel Rivers was where two powerfully conceived national interests, that of keeping the economic engine running and that of creating as enlarged middle class, could be seen to converge. What happened at the site of the hundred-foot pylon in the spring of 1950 was Cimarron: thirty thousan people showed up for the first day of selling. Twenty thousand showed up on weekends throughout the spring. New the sales office was a nursery where children could be left while parents tourd the initial seven completed and furnished model houses. Thirty-six salesNewsweek, April 12, 1993

#### **Mixed Messages**

California's 'Spur Posse' scandal underscores the varying signals society sends teens about sex

the head of her alleged lover's wife last year, the networks whipped the saga into instant made-for-TV melodrama. To | debate, including an unhelpful quarrel get the essence of the Lakewood, Calif., over whether some of the girls should be High School sex scandal, they might have to faulted for waging their own competition to

hen Long Island's 17-year-old Amy Fisher put a vindictive bullet into They take the competitive sense and They take the competitive sense and move it into the realm of sexuality."

The scandal touched off an angry local

Haffner, executive director of Sex Information and Education the United States): "They get status from aggressiveness. teaches them how to live in the In the wake of the Lakew both parents and school aut being blamed for not passir

compete in the state tournar

the majority of athletes remai ed, the gush of adulation of

dangerous sense of immunity

sporting values to the young worrisome was the "boys v attitude of some of their boasted to reporters about the run it first on "Wide World of Sports." A go out with high-status athletes (box). But three sons, who include a for

such feelings. Yet tained that what did was no differe behavior of profes claims to have slept women. A number also came to their guing that sex is si I guess everybody' said a worldly 10th starts in junior hig

far wrong, Surve that the age of in experience has bee vey by the Centers

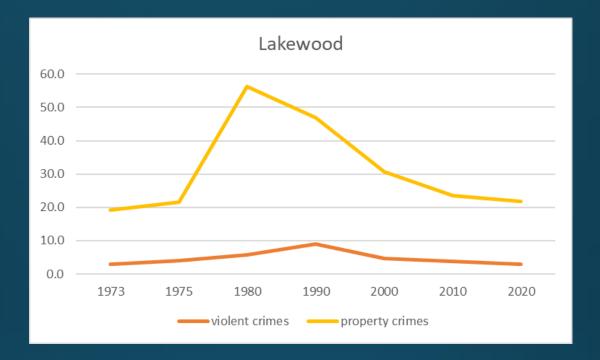
out of 10 high-school seniors and of ninth through 12th grader intercourse at least once. Oth shows that most have sex only ly, and usually in the context relationships. But sex educa that too often, romance is pre is missing. Good sex, they con sponsible sex, meaning an atn intimacy, sensitivity to the ne partners and agreement on measures. But by most accoun are barely even discussing the s teenagers. "Most are not what call askable parents," says M



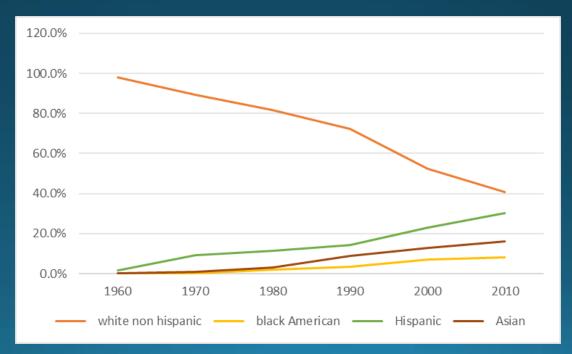


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Crime rates in Lakewood



Ethnic/racial composition of Lakewood



## Lakewood's Sky Knight helicopter, ca. late 1960s



## Lakewood's Sky Knight helicopter, 1966





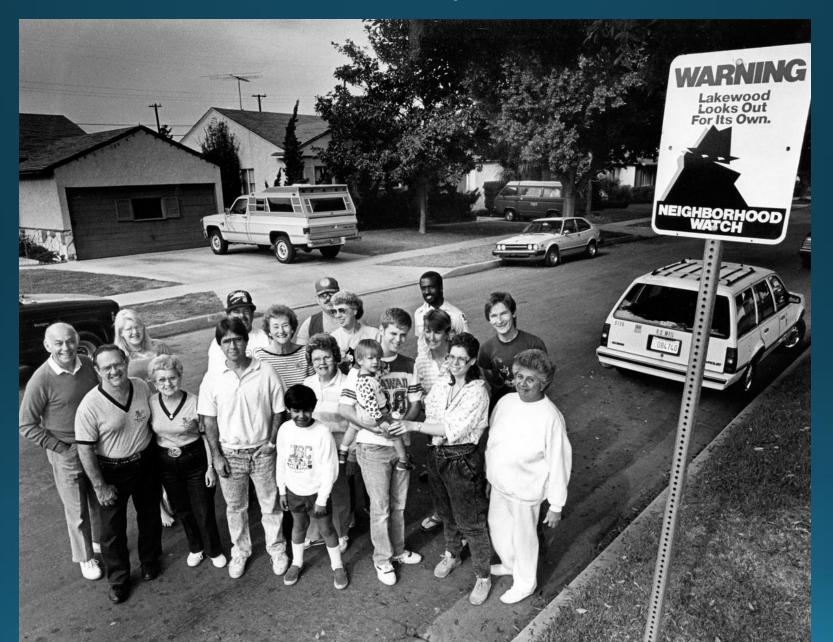
Lakewood Neighborhood Watch, est. 1977

# Neighborhood Watch in Lakewood, 2020





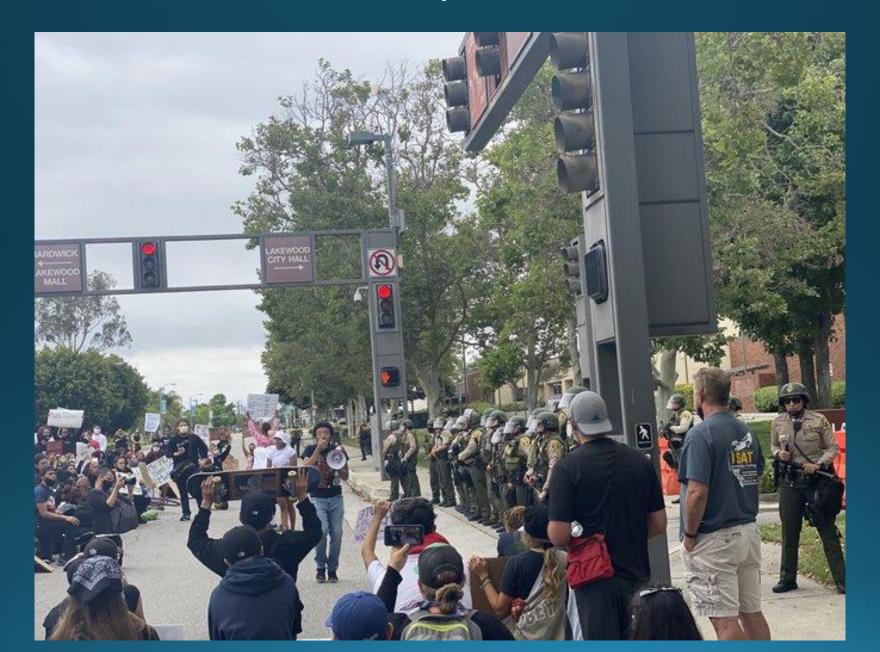
### Neighborhood Watch in Lakewood, photo 1987



Pamela and Derrick Williams, 2012



# #BLM protest march in Lakewood, June 2020



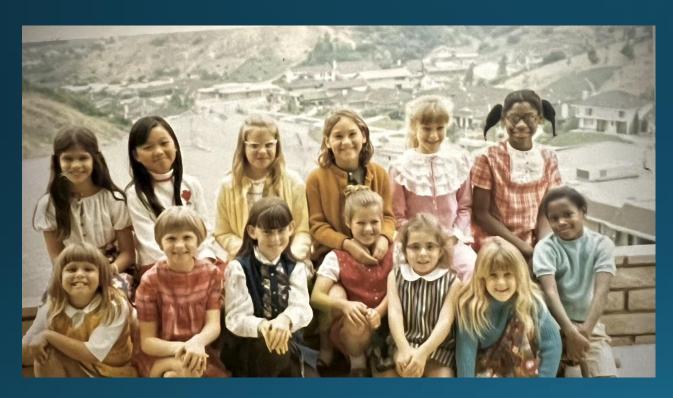


## Cassandra Chase and family



#### THE NEW SUBURBIA:

How diversity remade suburban life in Los Angeles after 1945

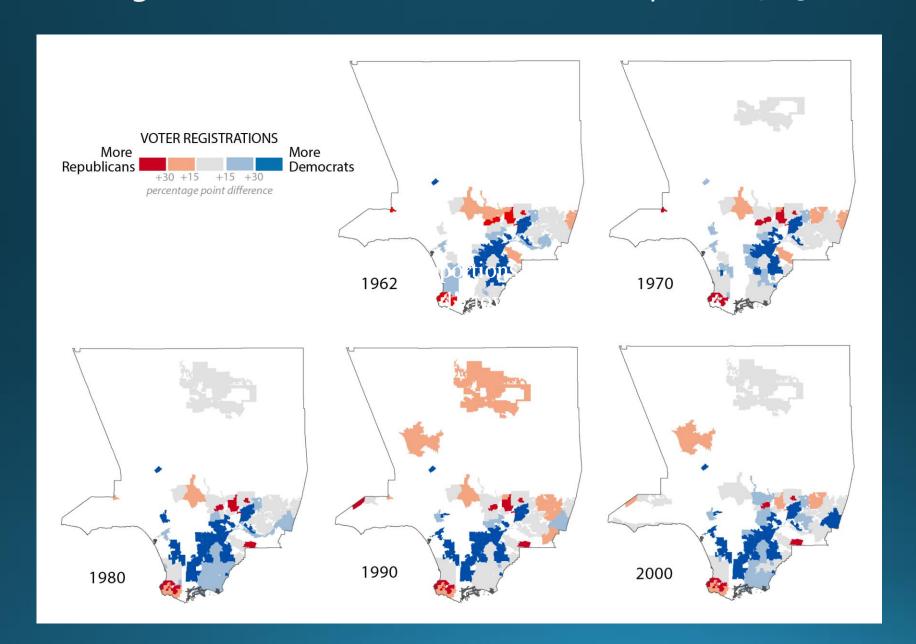


South Pasadena, 1971

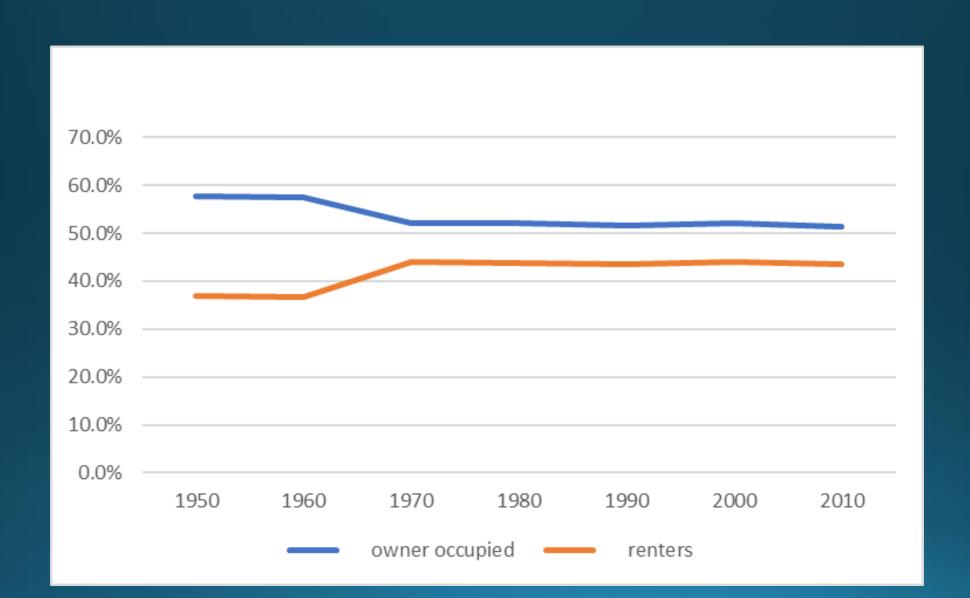


Mark Padoongpatt, age 6, Arleta, San Fernando Valley, 1989

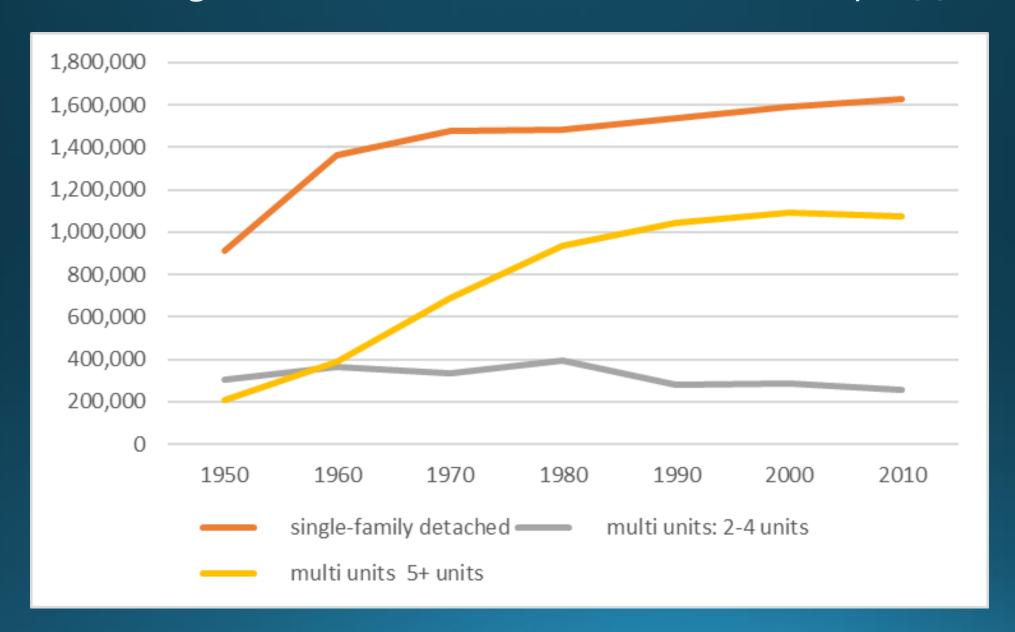
#### Voter registration in LA's suburban municipalities, 1962-2000



Housing tenure in LA suburbs, showing the % of homeowners and renters in occupied units of all suburban municipalities of the County, 1950-2010.



### Type of housing (shown in raw numbers) in LA County, 1950-2010



### The "housing burden" in LA County, 1950-2016

