

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

**Stadium Shadows: Gentrification, Community
Disruption and Urban Renewal in Los Angeles**

By

Hunter Nelson

July 19, 2024

A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Master of Arts degree in the
Master of Arts Program in the Social Sciences

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Philip ME Garboden

Preceptor: Dr. Alex Hofmann

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Displacement and Development: The Controversial Legacy of Dodger Stadium in Chavez Ravine ..	4
The Golden Paradox: The Dark Side of the Olympic Movement	15
Stadium of Dreams or Displacement: The SoFi Stadium Debate	26
Conclusion	37
Bibliography	40

Introduction

Since being fully introduced to the American landscape in the early twentieth century, athletic culture has blossomed into a multi-billion dollar industry that is widely celebrated by the general public. Sports historians have claimed there is perhaps no greater representation of such a shift than a large-scale athletic venue, as supporters who may be culturally connected have the ability to gather in a space that represents their community and spectate an event that can ultimately bring people together.¹ As the American public became more infatuated with these ideas, the allure of constructing such venues became more prevalent, as these gathering spaces transformed from “sanctuaries” for fans to assemble to a catalyst for immediate economic growth.²

When analyzing the outcomes of developing large scale venues in urban spaces, one of the more common interpretations of such events relates to a term known as the “Edifice Complex”. Although the term was first officially coined in the Philippines in the 1970s to describe First Lady Imelda Marcos’ practice of using both private and public resources to fund development projects, the practice has been connected to the athletic sphere since the 1930s, when city officials and team owners held began to hold conversations about building facilities in upstart, developing neighborhoods in urban spaces. The most common rationale for these projects is that the high-capacity venues will attract people to these spaces, which can ultimately lead to positive growth in the local economy, specifically in the form of enhanced business

¹ J.C. Bradbury, "Does Hosting a Professional Sports Team Benefit the Local Community? Evidence from Property Assessments," *Economics of Governance* 23, no. 3-4 (2022): 222. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10101-022-00268-z>.

² Robert A. Baade, and Victor A. Matheson. "The Economic Impact of Sports Stadiums: Recasting the Analysis in Context." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 33, no. 5 (2011): 464.

ventures such as retail activity, job promotion, and the potential for new housing development.³ Additionally, while financial incentives are the prime motivator for developing the venues, city officials have also commonly used the expression of building “community self-esteem” and creating “community consciousness” within these areas. Such officials claim that using teams and events to create a cultural identity is significant for bringing attention to the region, as the mass viewership attached to athletics helps spark public interest in the space. As one civic leader in Pittsburgh stated to describe the phenomenon, “The teams are the city’s identity... those in Japan know who Jaromir Jagr (a player for the NHL’s Pittsburgh Penguins) is, but they don’t know who Tom O’Brien from PNC Bank is.”⁴

However, although many stadiums have been planned with the aforementioned goals of generating economic prosperity and creating a sense of community pride, there are often hidden consequences that are unveiled through the development of such projects. One shortcoming is the modern difficulty of receiving permission to build these venues, which has forced team owners to manipulate city officials to cater to their demands. However, an even deeper concern is the growing level of gentrification and redevelopment that stems from these new venues, as the goal of sparking economic development often comes at the expense of pricing out the communities that previously occupied the urban spaces.

While many cities have fallen victim to these trends, perhaps the most noteworthy case has been the city of Los Angeles, whose population growth throughout the twentieth century has been well-documented. At the time of the 1920 census, the city’s population trailed behind many midwestern industrial powers with just over 550,000 residents. However, westward expansion

³ Rick Eckstein and Kevin Delaney, "New Sports Stadiums, Community Self-Esteem, and Community Collective Conscience," *Northeastern University's Center for the Study of Sport in Society* 26, no. 3 (August 2002), 242. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723502263002>.

⁴ Eckstein and Delaney, 243.

and the growth of the oil industry enticed workers to move across the continent, which soon doubled the population at the next census in 1930. Since that initial duration, the city has expanded during each census recording and the city is now the nation's second largest city with over 3.8 million residents. Los Angeles is also known for its emphasis on community identity, as the city is comprised of 572 different neighborhoods.⁵ While each neighborhood has its own characteristics, as the time has passed, these spaces have continued to shift as different racial and socioeconomic groups have filtered into areas that best adhere to their intended style of living. While the demographic shift have often been linked to political change, the mass influx of athletic venues and events are also responsible for such evolution, as reviewing previous literature and analyzing evidence of displacement will be the framework for this particular study.

Although the city's athletic movement was first put on display during the 1932 Summer Olympic Games, the city's first wave of modern athletically-driven redevelopment took place in 1959 when the Dodgers – the city's Major League Baseball team – relocated from Brooklyn to the densely-populated Hispanic region of Chavez Ravine. Once a proud enclave for the Hispanic community, the city used eminent domain and forcefully removed the members of the area before eventually displacing the community for good when the stadium was constructed. Twenty years later, when the city was in line to host the Summer Olympic Games for the second time in 1984, Los Angeles aimed to promote itself to a global audience, yet faced the challenge of dealing with its own struggling population. Lastly, jumping into the twentieth century, the neighboring community of Inglewood hoped to use the development of the \$5 billion SoFi Stadium to generate economic growth. Instead, many residents and community organizations

⁵ Census data.

have expressed growing concerns about ultimately being driven out of a region that once boasted a strong cultural identity.

As stadium construction plans continue to originate throughout the United States, this paper will analyze the unintended consequences of using athletics to derive economic and cultural growth by contrasting them against the economic benefits of such projects. Although each case in Los Angeles' rich athletic history illustrates a different scenario, the common theme within each project is centered around the expansion of the city's middle-class and elite groups, which has typically come at the expense of some of its most vulnerable communities. The development of major athletic venues in Los Angeles, including Dodger Stadium, the outcomes of the 1984 Summer Olympic Games, and the construction of the newly opened SoFi Stadium, explains a complex narrative where economic growth and urban renewal are pursued at the expense of displacing marginalized communities and eroding cultural identities. By analyzing specific cases of displacement and tracking demographic change, this study will critically examine the social costs of these projects by highlighting the ongoing patterns of gentrification and community disruption and advocates for more equitable urban development strategies that prioritize the well-being and inclusion of all residents.

Displacement and Development: The Controversial Legacy of Dodger Stadium in Chavez Ravine

In the 1950s, an era when an abundance of professional sports teams looked to relocate to the west coast, it appeared increasingly likely that Major League Baseball's Brooklyn Dodgers would be the next team to take the step. Following a growing impasse with New York City Construction manager Robert Moses over the ability to acquire land to build a new stadium, Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley came to an agreement to move his team to Los Angeles by the

end of the decade. The eventual construction of Dodger Stadium, which was completed in 1962, stands as a landmark of urban development, symbolizing Los Angeles' desire to become a modern city. Although the project has generated substantial economic benefits to the city – the team is now worth \$5.5 billion, trailing only the New York Yankees as the richest franchise in Major League Baseball – the development effort project came at a significant social cost, particularly for the predominantly Hispanic community of Chavez Ravine.⁶ In a neighborhood once filled with pride and a cultural identity, building the stadium involved forcibly evicting residents and completely redeveloping the land, a traumatic event that disrupted the growing community.

This chapter examines the negative outcomes for the Hispanic community, which contrasts the economic benefits often celebrated by advocates of the stadium. By exploring political manipulation, broken promises of public housing, and eventual gentrification that reshaped the area's demographics, the analysis illustrates the connection between progress and loss. Additionally, the evaluation allows focus on the long-term impacts on the displaced residents and the enduring efforts to preserve the memory and legacy of the community at Chavez Ravine.

Beyond the promise of development in Los Angeles lies a deeper, more polarizing history regarding the cultural context of Chavez Ravine and its connection to the postwar era. Following World War II, the area was at the center of discussions pertaining to housing development. With veterans returning from service coupled with the influx of defense workers that poured into the city following the attack at Pearl Harbor five years prior, these groups competed with the

⁶ MLB team evaluations, <https://www.forbes.com/lists/mlb-valuations/>

growing population for limited housing options.⁷ As a solution, liberal city developers turned to the idea of building public housing facilities and were equally attracted to its potential for social transformation and for its ability to collect federal funds that could be reinvested into other city projects. In 1946, the Los Angeles Planning Commission looked for “blighted areas” as potential sites for housing development and quickly targeted Chavez Ravine, a hilly terrain located less than a mile from the downtown area.⁸ In the LAPC study, the city cited Chavez Ravine for “improper use of land, poor street patterns, a high proportion of substandard housing, poor sanitation, juvenile delinquency, and the presence of tuberculosis.”⁹ Considering the negative qualities that were discovered, the idea of constructing new housing in the area seemed appealing to the city developers. However, this proposal did not consider the community that already existed in the area and what development could mean in terms of overriding a group’s cultural identity.

Sitting next to the city’s Elysian Park, in the early twentieth century, Chavez Ravine became a “tightly knit, working class community” of Hispanic residents that lived in isolation from the rest of Los Angeles. The community was formed in the early twentieth century when Marshall Stimson, a local attorney, purchased plots on the land and sold it to 250 families. By 1950, 95% of the residents were Hispanic.¹⁰ The growing level of commercialism in Los Angeles had yet to expand into the community, as many residents kept their own gardens and lived a relatively modest lifestyle. One resident, Frank De Leon, claimed the Chavez Ravine community was a place where “we are happy in living our own lives our own way,” illustrating the residents’

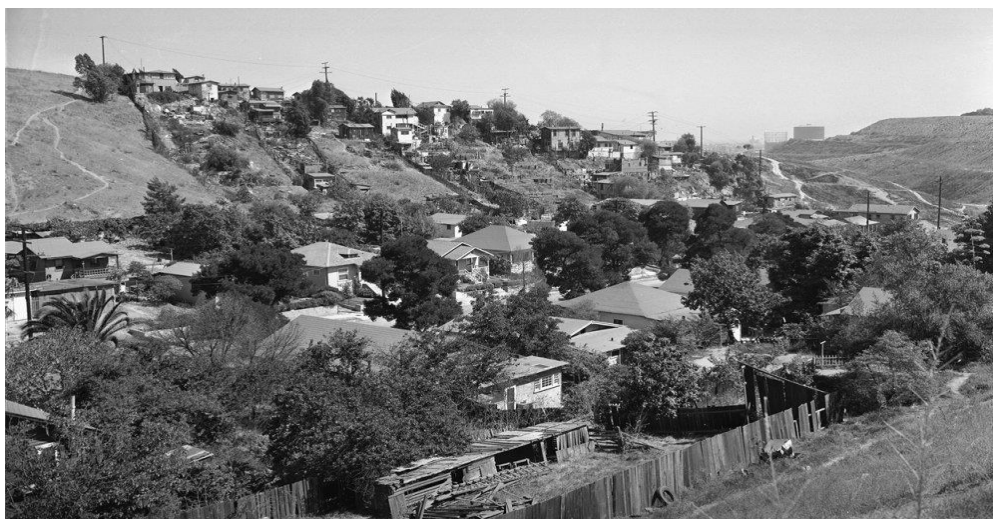
⁷ Jerald Podair, *City of Dreams: Dodger Stadium and the Birth of Modern Los Angeles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 164.

⁸ Don Normark, *Chavez Ravine, 1949: A Los Angeles Story* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999), 12.

⁹ Normark, 18.

¹⁰ Thomas S. Hines, "Housing, Baseball, and Creeping Socialism: The Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, 1949-1959," *Journal of Urban History* 8, no. 2 (1982): 125.

contentment with being isolated from the growing sprawl in the central hub of the rest of Los Angeles.¹¹ When told the area was labeled a slum, another resident said: “We did not know we lived in the slums. We thought of slums as narrow, crowded airless places with houses jammed one atop another. This is my home, and this is where I live.”¹²



13

Despite the rebuttal from the community, the city’s desire to redevelop the space was too strong to overcome, especially given the Chavez Ravine residents’ state of vulnerability. Initially, the city aimed to follow through on its plan to construct public housing units. In August 1949, the Los Angeles City Council unanimously approved the construction of over 10,000 public housing units in Los Angeles with 3,360 being built in Chavez Ravine. One year later, the residents of Chavez Ravine received form letters from the California Housing Authority that stated: “This is to inform you that a public housing development will be built on this location for families of low income. You will be visited by representatives of the Housing Authority who will

¹¹ "Settlement Losing Battle for Its Life: Bitter Residents of Chavez Ravine Slowly Yield to Housing Project," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1951.

¹² "Settlement Losing Battle".

¹³ A photo from 1951 shows Chavez Ravine looking down Bishops Road, Photo courtesy of *Los Angeles Times* archive.

inspect your home in order to estimate its value.”¹⁴ In his analysis titled “Housing, Baseball and Creeping Socialism”, Thomas Himes claims the use of forceful eminent domain not only deprived the residents of their residential freedoms but likens the impoverished minority community to a subservient status, as they were tactfully removed from the area for the sole use of property.¹⁵

Despite the city’s intention to create public housing in Chavez Ravine, the project slowly lost momentum. In the midst of rising Cold War tensions and the Red Scare era, many authorities viewed public housing as a hidden ideology of the socialist movement and council members even described the idea as “collectivist.”¹⁶ Although the public housing facilities never came to fruition, the idea opened the door for future developmental plans in Chavez Ravine for the remainder of the decade. In what informally became known as the “Battle for Chavez Ravine”, the city still sought opportunities to develop land through private investment in the space, further demonstrating the increasing fear of a “blighted” Hispanic community experiencing some type of autonomy. The city continuously looked for new solutions, and when a disgruntled baseball owner from the east coast was looking for land, city officials soon recognized the potential for a new tenant.

After spending 68 seasons in Brooklyn, Walter O’Malley struck a deal with the city of Los Angeles in 1957 to permanently relocate his team to the city. Although the general belief for O’Malley’s reasoning to move the team west is most commonly attributed to postwar westward expansion, there are various interpretations for why the team decided to move to Los Angeles.. Like many developmental projects, the primary belief centers around the notion that O’Malley

¹⁴ Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles to the Families of the Palo Verde and Chavez Ravine Areas, July 24, 1950.

¹⁵ Hines, 138.

¹⁶ Hines, 138.

could gain more political support in Los Angeles than in Brooklyn. In his discussions with Moses to build a new stadium to replace the aging Ebbets Field in Flatbush, O'Malley claimed the new stadium should classify under Title I distinction as a public good, despite the fact the Dodgers would be funding 75% of the stadium privately.¹⁷ However, Moses viewed the project as a private enterprise and not a public good, so he rejected the proposal to use Title I classification, which would have granted O'Malley the land at a cheaper price. In 1979, when the Dodgers had begun to peak as one of the more lucrative teams in the league, it was revealed in O'Malley's obituary that the owner claimed he "tried for 10 long years to acquire land, but when a high ranking official in Brooklyn told us we didn't have a chance, I told him good bye."¹⁸

With the idea of remaining in New York slipping away, O'Malley quickly drew support from Los Angeles Mayor Norris Poulson, who formed an alliance with local elites hoping to attract a "star" market contributor such as the Dodgers. Pairing with "professed progressives", Poulson cited the "blighted" Chavez Ravine as a solution.¹⁹ Because the stadium still needed to be partially financed by city funds (just under 25%), the city issued a proposal to Los Angeles residents in June 1958 titled "Taxpayers Committee For 'Yes' on Baseball". The residents narrowly approved the proposal shortly after, which granted O'Malley 352 acres of Chavez Ravine from the city to build a new stadium.²⁰ The construction crew broke ground on the new stadium four months later before the stadium opened for good in 1962. At a cost of \$23 million, the project was the first majority (75%) privately funded MLB stadium since Yankee Stadium

¹⁷ Statement from Walter O'Malley, August 16, 1955, Walter O'Malley Papers, Box 1, Folder 4, Brooklyn Historical Society.

¹⁸ "Walter F. O'Malley, Leader of Dodgers' Move to Los Angeles, Dies at 75," *The New York Times*, August 10, 1979.

¹⁹ Paul Zimmerman, "Wrigley Still Key Man, Says Mayor," *Los Angeles Times*, September 29, 1963

²⁰ Michael Friedman, *Mallparks: Baseball Stadiums and the Culture of Consumption* (Cornell University Press, 2023), 110.

was built in New York City in the 1920s, and O'Malley, Poulson and the rest of the city of Los Angeles viewed the project as a potential catalyst for financial opportunity.²¹

Once the Dodgers moved to Los Angeles, the stadium proved to be a significant ignition for economic opportunity, yet only to a select group of upper-class elites. The Dodgers quickly grew to become one of the most lucrative teams in the league, and O'Malley implemented several business strategies that would change stadium planning for the remainder of time. For example, although early low-end ticket prices were similar to what O'Malley charged when the team played in Brooklyn (around \$2-4), the stadium's inclusion of luxury seating was one of the first cases of an owner meticulously using infrastructure to cater to more affluent fans.²² In addition to having the option of being physically separated from the working public, the emptiness around the stadium made the venue only accessible by a personal vehicle, which was still viewed as an upper-class luxury. Some historians have labeled these characteristics as "technologies of exclusion" that helped spark a new wave of residents within the Chavez Ravine community.²³ In an area that was once a proud Hispanic space, the middle class slowly was able to claim a symbolic stake in the land by attending the events held at the venue. Although this practice led to economic stability, these features ultimately played a significant role in burying the cultural legacy of the Hispanic population that once occupied the space.

Once the plans to build Dodger Stadium were announced, many Chavez Ravine residents had already succumbed to defeat and left their community. However, the 20 remaining households – many of whom had no alternative housing arrangements – remained in Chavez Ravine through May 1959. On May 9, on a day that has been labeled "Black Friday", the

²¹ Friedman, 132.

²² Podair, 191.

²³ Dinces, 2021, 942.

remaining residents were forcibly removed from their homes through the help of police assistants. The most striking image of the event came at the expense of an occupant named Aurora Vargas, who after refusing to leave the property, threatened law enforcement by stating they would “have to carry her out” for her to leave the premises. After refusing to comply with the enforcement’s orders, the woman was carried out of the facility with her feet in the air, screaming as two bulldozers eventually leveled her former home.²⁴ Although the events proved to be traumatic, the *Los Angeles Times*, the news outlet that covered the majority of the Battle of Chavez Ravine, remained silent with their coverage for the May 9 removals.²⁵ Instead, the anecdotal tales of displacement were primarily documented by the secondary outlet *Los Angeles Herald and Express* and *Mirror News*, who particularly highlighted the story of the Arechiga family, a family that resided in Chavez Ravine for 36 years. Just two days before being evicted on “Black Friday”, he stated that he “haven’t anything against the Dodgers, but if they want my land, let them pay a reasonable price for it and not just take it.”²⁶

²⁴ "Chavez Ravine Family Evicted; Melee Erupts: Screaming Woman Removed," *Los Angeles Times*, May 9, 1959.

²⁵ Hines, 141.

²⁶ Scott Harrison, "1959 Evictions from Chavez Ravine," *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 2017.

<https://www.latimes.com/visuals/photography/la-me-fw-archives-1959-evictions-from-chavez-ravine-20170328-story.html>.



OUT FEET FIRST. Mrs. Aurora Vargas, struggling fiercely, is carried from house by deputies as hold-
outs are cleared from Chavez Ravine. Fourteen deputies made eviction which turned into a melee. Times photo by John Malinin

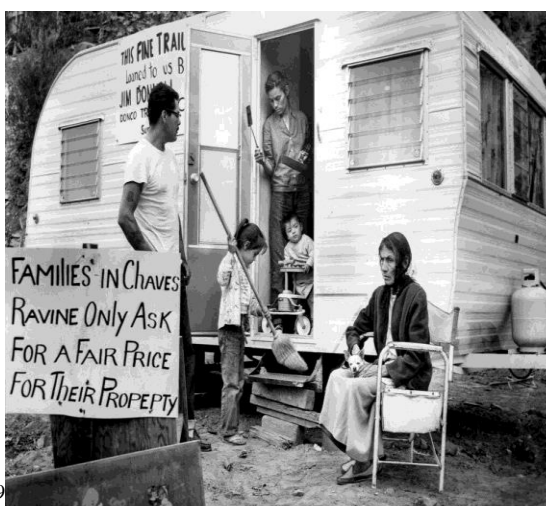
27

Although the city of Los Angeles was technically the culprit for removing the residents, the Dodgers and their plan for building the new stadium, whose parking lot soon rested where the homes previously stood, turned the Hispanic community against the franchise. With the stadium still in place over 60 years later, several artists have made an effort to highlight the community's previous identity. Chicano artists and activists have played a crucial role in preserving the memory of Chavez Ravine through murals, performances, and community events, ensuring that the history of displacement is not forgotten.²⁸ Additionally, the Great Wall of Los Angeles, a mural by Judith Baca, prominently features the story of Chavez Ravine, symbolizing the broader struggles of Mexican Americans in the face of urban development. In each of these cases, the art and representations on display demonstrate the connection between pride and loss, which further highlights the disconnect between urban development and eventual displacement. Though many of the Chavez Ravine residents had already moved after Poulson stated his intentions to transform the area, the remaining population was forcibly evicted from the space on

²⁷ Photo is from May 9, 1959 story.

²⁸ John H. M. Laslett, *Shameful Victory: The Los Angeles Dodgers, the Red Scare, and the Hidden History of Chavez Ravine* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 235.

May 9, 1959, in a day that has been labeled “Black Friday” for the trauma and turmoil it created within the community.



Beyond the simple anecdotal evidence of the displacement of residents at Chavez Ravine, spatial data further confirms their quick exodus, which only continued to progress with each passing census. Using census data from 1960-1990, tract 171, which is home to Dodger Stadium, experienced a decline in the Hispanic population in each recording. Starting in 1960, shortly the Black Friday removals took place and two years before the stadium opened, census tract 171's Hispanic population was recorded at 44.6% - a fall from 95% in 1950 but still a relatively populated area. However, at the 1960 census, the number fell to 34.2%, which ultimately led to a slow decline for the remainder of the recording periods throughout the rest of the twentieth century.³¹

²⁹ The destruction in Chavez Ravine following the forced removal in May 1959. Photo courtesy of *Los Angeles Times* archive

³⁰ Family protesting their removal in May 1959. Photo courtesy of *Los Angeles Times* archive

³¹ The data in the table was found through the Social Explorer database, using census data from 1960-2000. Note, the definition of Hispanic varied for each survey. In 1960 and 1970, being counted as Hispanic was based solely on the fact of having a Spanish last name.

Year	Hispanic Population % (Census Tract 1971)
1950	95.0%
1960	44.6%
1970	34.2%
1980	25.2%
1990	21.8%
2000	13.7%

Meanwhile, as the residents were moved out of Chavez Ravine, many of those that were displaced sought new homes elsewhere. The majority of the residents established a presence in the neighboring community of Lincoln Heights, located directly East of the stadium. In 1960, shortly after the Chavez Ravine evictions, the Hispanic population of the neighboring census tract 1997 was 83.1%. Ten years later in 1970, the population grew to 93.8%.³² In addition to the forced relocation and community disruption, Hispanic population was once again in a vulnerable state once they moved into the new region. First, amid the rampant state of highway building in the United States, the city of Los Angeles was no exception, and Interstate 110 was constructed in between the Lincoln Heights neighborhood and Dodger Stadium and fully opened in 1966. Although the city had spent the last 30 years proposing the routes for the new interstate system, the decisions were typically made by high-class city officials that had been shown “entirely too much favoritism” in the development plans.³³ When the road was finally completed, a barrier had been established, which further exemplified the “technology of exclusion” that ultimately

³² Census data from Social Explorer database. <https://www.socialexplorer.com/a9676d974c/explore>

³³ Ken Reich, "Battle Lines Drawn Over Freeway Route: Long Fight Appears Certainty Freeway Battle Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, December 19, 1965.

separated the racial groups from fully coexisting with the new population that occupied their former homes near Dodger Stadium.

The development of Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles depicts a disturbing case of urban progress at the expense of vulnerable communities. The displacement of the predominantly Hispanic community in Chavez Ravine underscores the broader implications of urban renewal projects, where economic gains are often prioritized over social welfare. However, the narrative of Chavez Ravine not only illustrates a series of displacement, but also a story of resistance and resilience. The residents' efforts to fight eviction and the ongoing attempts to preserve their cultural legacy reflect a community's determination to maintain its identity in the face of systemic pressures. While Dodger Stadium has undoubtedly contributed to the economic growth of Los Angeles, becoming a symbol of the city's modern ambitions, it also serves as a stark reminder of the human costs of such developments. When reflecting on the Dodger Stadium case, it becomes evident that true progress should be measured by the outcomes for all community members and not simply the derived economic benefits. Although these lessons call for a more equitable approach to urban development, one that balances economic interests with social responsibility, the city of Los Angeles soon engaged in additional athletic projects that failed to promote inclusivity, which ultimately challenges the outcomes of the developmental goals.

The Golden Paradox: The Dark Side of the Olympic Movement

As the emergence of an athletic presence swept through Los Angeles, city officials devised strategies to promote their growing landscape to a global audience. Perhaps no better opportunity came about than in 1977 when the city was in position to submit a bid for the 1984 Summer Olympic Games. Los Angeles had hosted the Games in 1932 for similar motives,

namely as an opportunity to enhance the city's image and ignite a growing economy.³⁴ However, the global Olympic spirit began to dwindle in the 1970s following a terrorist attack at the 1972 Munich Games, a financial disaster at the 1976 Montreal Games, which left the host city over \$1 billion in debt, and the pending United States boycott of the 1980 Moscow Games due to Cold War tensions with the Soviet Union. Regardless, despite its unsuccessful bids to host the 1976 and 1980 Games, the city was persistent in its third consecutive attempt and was awarded the 1984 Games after its only competitor, Tehran, withdrew its bid amid the Iranian Revolution.

Although the city was optimistic about the prospect of hosting the global event, there was also calculated concern. Essentially, Los Angeles was only competing against itself during the bidding process, as the financial pitfalls of the 1976 Montreal Games lessened interest from the core of usual bidding cities.³⁵ Since the rebirth of the Olympics in 1896, every city had used public funds to host the Games. However, the majority of Los Angeles city officials were against this practice because they could not justify spending money on an athletic event and potentially limiting the funds for schools and other public services.³⁶ In 1979, Los Angeles voters amended the city's charter to restrict public funds for the Olympics to a \$5 million hotel tax and an Olympic ticket tax.³⁷ As a final effort to keep the Games in the city, the United States Olympic Committee joined forces with the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee to devise a strategy to privately fund the Games for the first time since 1896, when the games were first reintroduced to the public landscape.

³⁴ Sean Dinces, "Padres on Mount Olympus: Los Angeles and the Production of the 1932 Olympic Mega-Event," *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 2 (2005): 139.

³⁵ Stephen R. Wenn, "Peter Ueberroth's Legacy: How the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics Changed the Trajectory of the Olympic Movement," in *The 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games*, (Routledge, 2017), 171.

³⁶ Wenn, 171.

³⁷ Robert Lindsey, "'84 Olympics Facing Financing Struggle," *The New York Times*, August 19, 1979. <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/08/19/archives/84-olympics-facing-financing-struggle-los-angeles-taxcutters.html>.

The partnership was led by LAOOC President Peter Ueberroth, a businessman that viewed the Games as “a powerful instrument to demonstrate the validity of the American free enterprise system,” and focused on using corporate sponsors to privately generate the necessary funds.³⁸ Ueberroth’s plan was successful, as in addition to managing a \$225 million TV deal with ABC, he also created a policy where corporate brands that were interested in joining the Olympic movement must pledge at least \$4 million. This policy created an element of elite exclusivity, which appealed to 35 of the world’s most recognizable brands. This strategy proved to be a renowned success, as the Games remained in Los Angeles and ultimately created a \$215 million surplus – by far the most profitable Olympics the world had ever seen – and helped Ueberroth earn the moniker “the miser with a Midas touch.”³⁹

In the aftermath of the Games, the 1984 Olympics seemed to leave behind a memorable legacy. The general consensus has called the event a success, mainly because of the financial breakthrough that took place. The historic number of profits were later redistributed among the United States Olympic Committee (40%), governing bodies for US Olympic Sports (20%), and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee’s Amateur Athletic Federation (40%) – later rebranded as LA84 – to support thousands of youth sports groups across Los Angeles.⁴⁰ Others have lauded the wide display of American exceptionalism that was on display, with former sportswriter Jim Murray writing that “On a note of joy, and hope and promise, America gave a party and the world came.”⁴¹ Just four years removed from the United States boycotting the

³⁸ Neil Amdur, "Los Angeles Assured of Games," *The New York Times*, February 11, 1979. <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/02/11/archives/los-angeles-assured-of-games-elements-of-agreement.html>.

³⁹ Ray Kennedy, "Miser with a Midas Touch," *Sports Illustrated*, November 22, 1982. <https://vault.si.com/vault/1982/11/22/miser-with-a-midas-touch>.

⁴⁰ Richard Perelman, *Olympic Retrospective: The Games of Los Angeles*. LA84 Foundation, 1985. <https://digital.la84.org/digital/collection/p17103coll8/id/79122/>.

⁴¹ Jim Murray, “The World Came and Conquered All Our Hearts,” *The Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 1984. <https://www.newspapers.com/article/the-los-angeles-times-la-times-1984-01/32538523/>.

Games in Moscow amid Cold War tensions, the Soviet Union did not appear at the Los Angeles Games, which played a role in the United States collecting 174 medals – more than three times the next closest competitor (Romania, with 53).

However, despite the financial success and showcase of American exceptionalism, beneath the surface lies a more troubling interpretation of the 1984 Olympic Games. Prior to the Games arriving in the city, Los Angeles was a sprawling metropolis with declining infrastructure, inner-city decay and need for economic development.⁴² In an attempt to glorify its image to a global audience, many of these issues were intentionally hidden from the public eye. Just one week before the opening ceremony – which ultimately hosted over 92,000 spectators with over 23.8 million additional viewers watching on television – Los Angeles Police Department captain Billy Wedgeworth claimed the motive for his team was to “sanitize the area” ahead of the universal spectacle, which came at the expense and displacement of the unhomed population.⁴³ Additionally, enhanced security measures that were implemented during the Games – and ultimately funded by federal taxpayer dollars – remained in effect long beyond the closing ceremony. Ultimately, the 1984 Olympics left a complex legacy in Los Angeles, where the glitter of international acclaim came at a profound cost to its most vulnerable citizens, revealing the stark contrast between global celebration and local consequence.

In the months leading up to the Olympic Games, mitigating the presence of unhomed Los Angeles residents became a central priority for city officials. By 1984, the city’s unhomed population had risen to the point where between 40,000 and 60,000 people were without shelter

⁴² Mark Dyreson and Matthew Llewellyn, "Los Angeles is the Olympic City: Legacies of the 1932 and 1984 Olympic Games," in *Olympic Legacies: Intended and Unintended*, (Routledge, 2013), 150.

⁴³ Leon Daniel, "Cleaning Up Mean Streets for Olympics," United Press International, July 23, 1984. <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1984/07/23/Cleaning-up-mean-streets-for-Olympics/9364459403200/>.

on any given night.⁴⁴ Skid Row, a downtown hub located just five miles northeast of the Coliseum, where many visitors were expected to congregate, was a central hub for the unhomed population. In August 1983, in an attempt to curtail the growing number of unhomed residents to “give a good impression to visitors”, Los Angeles City Councilmember Gilbert Lindsay, famous for being the city’s first Black councilmember, recommended the city relocate its unhomed residents to a space historically known as a “drunk farm” in the outskirt town to Saugus so the unhomed residents could “sweat out in the sun, grow vegetables to eat, and learn a new trade.”⁴⁵ Although this extreme policy was ultimately never implemented, the focus shifted toward devising a strategy to deplete the unhomed population and enhance the city’s image.

By 1984, Los Angeles city officials enacted several laws that harmed the city’s unhomed community, which ignited the paradox of using the Games to highlight a city that was still plagued with socioeconomic troubles. The first was the ban on sleeping on the streets and park benches, which was enacted in February, just five months before the start of the Games. The city also made it illegal to use a vehicle as a living quarter, which remained in effect for over 30 years until legislation overturned the policy in 2014. Additionally, as the Games drew closer, many permanent motel residents were priced out of living in such facilities due to soaring rates created by the inelastic demand created by global tourism, which unintentionally placed an additional group of town residents on the streets.⁴⁶ To remove the unhomed residents from the public space near Skid Row, the Los Angeles Police Department deployed 40 officers on horseback to

⁴⁴ Josh R. Lieser, *Los Angeles and the 1984 Olympic Games: Cultural Commodification, Corporate Sponsorship, and the Cold War* (University of California, Riverside, 2014), 13.

⁴⁵ Jenna Chandler, "LA 'Sterilized' Its Streets for the '84 Olympics—How Will It Treat the Homeless in 2028?" *Curbed: Los Angeles*, July 12, 2018. <https://la.curbed.com/2018/7/12/17454676/los-angeles-olympics-homeless-police-militarization-security>.

⁴⁶ Jerry Hicks, "Crowded Out: Olympics Puts a Critical Strain on County Shelters for Homeless," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 22, 1984.

investigate the area, although many of the officers used this as an opportunity to arrest individuals under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Those that were arrested were either sent to jail or detoxification centers, which quickly reached maximum capacity.⁴⁷

Although the officers attempted to “sanitize the area” to enhance the city’s image, many have claimed such tactics – specifically using police force to arrest and relocate unhomed citizens – were tools that ignited structural racism. In an August 1984 interview with the Los Angeles Times, an unnamed Black resident claimed that “Before the Olympics it wasn’t so bad, but now they treat us (the unhomed population) like dirt.”⁴⁸ NOlympics, a coalition of Los Angeles community organizations that was created to critique the legacy of the Games and protest future bids, claimed that the 1984 Olympics “continuously disrupted and then uprooted our most vulnerable communities” and the communities are “still picking themselves up from the Games that took place three decades ago.”⁴⁹ Such concerns, coupled with the negative optics of citizens being swept away from the area, have enabled critics to evaluate the Games as an event that highlighted the financial growth of corporate America at the expense of its most vulnerable residents. Many corporations committed to their sponsorships under Ueberroth’s motive to bring “Disneyfication” to the Games and transform them into a showcase of mass commercialism amid Cold War tensions and eventual Soviet boycott.⁵⁰ While Ueberroth’s financial strategy was ultimately a success for the city and a clear victory for capitalist ideology, the disconnect

⁴⁷ Nic John Ramos, “Poor Influences and Criminal Locations: Los Angeles’s Skid Row, Multicultural Identities, and Normal Homosexuality,” *American Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (2019), 97.

⁴⁸ Chandler, 2018.

⁴⁹ NOlympics Los Angeles, “Examining the LA 1984 Olympic Legacy: Capitalism, Police Violence, & Privatization,” June 29, 2020. <https://nolympicsla.com/2020/06/29/examining-the-la-1984-olympic-legacy-capitalism-police-violence-and-privatization/>.

⁵⁰ Alan Tomlinson, “The Disneyfication of the Olympics?: Theme Parks and Freak-Shows of the Body,” in *Post-Olympism*, (Routledge, 2020), 155.

between global celebration and local structural challenge demonstrated the Games produced varying outcomes between different racial and socioeconomic hierarchies.

While the short-term strategy to use police monitoring led to immediate detrimental consequences for the lower-class unhomed population, there is also evidence that the use of rampant security at the 1984 Games was a catalyst for the city's war on crime against racial minorities. Following the fatal terrorist attacks at the 1972 Munich Games and ongoing Soviet tensions, Ueberroth made safety a top priority in 1984 by ultimately allocating \$80 million in federal funds specifically to protect the Olympic athletes in Olympic Village, which was later categorized as a "thundering success".⁵¹ However, this aforementioned success was solely intended to protect the athletes and enhance the reputation of the city, which ultimately targeted unimposing spectators.

Much of the security enforcement was overwhelmingly intense. Following the opening ceremony, the *New York Times* stated that if there was one "distinctive sound" to the early part of the Games, it was the "chop-chop noise of helicopter rotor blades whirling in the warm southern California air" as more than 100 helicopters were deployed for security and support operations. Tetsuya Sumi, a reporter for Kyodo News Service in Japan, claimed the city was operating "almost like a military base."⁵² Although the city was using the Olympic Games as a catalyst for its enhanced security measures, Los Angeles had already gone through its first stage of revamped policing several years prior. In 1974, the department's total operating cost was \$198.5 million, accounting for 35.5% of the city's budget. By 1982 – just two years out from the Olympics –

⁵¹ Kenneth Reich, *Making It Happen: Peter Ueberroth and the 1984 Olympics* (Capra Press, 1986), 191.

⁵² Robert Lindsey, "The Olympics: Los Angeles '84; Security Is Called Largest in Peacetime," *The New York Times*, July 26, 1984.

LAPD's total operating cost increased to \$525 million.⁵³ Los Angeles Police Department Chief Daryl Gates, who had already developed a critical reputation among city minorities for his "law and order" approach, exacerbated his reputation by deploying "saturation tactics" and mass arrests in target neighborhoods, specifically South Central Los Angeles, which at the time was 77% Black residents. Each of these policies and events have been labeled to illustrate the disconnect between the Olympic vision and the reality of the Games for communities of color. Azad Amir-Ghassemi, a NOlympics activist who moved from Iran to the United States in the 1980s to escape the Iran War, claimed there was a "classed, white remembrance of the event" that varies widely from the interpretations that came from communities of color and challenged Olympic romantics by saying, "if you come from a place of privilege, you have to be aware of what the effects were on other populations."⁵⁴

Despite the harms the enforced policing created for targeted populations, the Games enabled the police force to be celebrated on a national level, and the excess funds were partially used to advance future policing projects and continue the pattern of mistreatment. In his evaluation of the 1984 Games, sportswriter Dave Zirin viewed the Olympics as "an accelerant" of law enforcement that transformed Gates and the rest of the Los Angeles Police Department as "an untouchable hero." Ultimately, Zirin claimed these views led to an "institutional support of police brutality", which became increasingly prevalent in the following years once the department was granted new equipment.⁵⁵ Following the Olympics, federal officials granted the LAPD with military grade, state-of-the-art equipment that were used during the Games to handle

⁵³ Max Felker-Kantor, *Policing Los Angeles: Race, Resistance, and the Rise of the LAPD* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 117.

⁵⁴ Jules Boykoff, *NOlympians: Inside the Fight Against Capitalist Mega-Sports* (Fernwood Publishing, 2020), 63.

⁵⁵ Dave Zirin, "Want to Understand the 1992 LA Riots? Start with the 1984 LA Olympics," *The Nation*, April 30, 2012. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/want-understand-1992-la-riots-start-1984-la-olympics/>.

daily operations. Some of the equipment included a military-grade armored vehicle that the police force converted into a 14-foot battering ram for use during potential drug raids. Additionally, the LAPD was also granted an \$800,000 budget line for the Olympics to secure automatic weapons, night vision equipment, and an improved communications system. In one instance in February 1985, the SWAT team used the vehicle to smash into a suspected “rock house.” All that was found inside the house were two women and three children eating ice cream with no weapons or cocaine in sight.⁵⁶

In the ensuing years, Los Angeles Police enforcement reached its peak through two critical events. The first was Operation Hammer, which took place in 1987. The objective was to raid various South Central neighborhoods that had been linked to drug distribution and gang violence, which Gates categorized by saying “this is Vietnam here.”⁵⁷ Over the course of the year, 24,864 Black youths were arrested – the vast majority without cause. Following a series of invasions that were so destructive that the NAACP claimed they would “destroy the Black community,” the tensions were broadcast to a national audience in 1992 when a swarm of LAPD officials were filmed beating Black resident Rodney King following his roadside arrest, which ignited a series of riots within the Southern Los Angeles area.⁵⁸ After the riots, Gates resigned as police chief and the city created a non-profit initiative titled ‘Rebuild LA’ that aimed to modify police reform and push for redevelopment in the city’s facilities, namely schools and public spaces. However, many citizens criticized the social outcomes of the initiative and claimed the project was hyperfocused on fiscal growth rather than social development. The target of such

⁵⁶ Max Felker-Kantor, "The 1984 Olympics Fueled L.A.'s War on Crime. Will the 2028 Games Do the Same?" *The Washington Post*, August 6, 2017. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/08/06/the-1984-olympics-fueled-l-a-s-war-on-crime-will-the-2028-games-do-the-same/>.

⁵⁷ Mike Davis, "Los Angeles: Civil Liberties between the Hammer and the Rock," *New Left Review* 170 (1988): 38.

⁵⁸ Felker-Kantor, 2017.

frustrations was none other than Peter Ueberroth, the leader of the project whose previous primary contribution to the city was prioritizing financial outcomes over monitoring social responsibility.

With the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games leaving behind a memorable, yet complicated legacy, the strategy of using the Olympics as a global platform has now shifted toward the present. In 2017, the city found itself in a similar position as where it stood 40 years prior, as Los Angeles placed a bid to host the 2028 Summer Olympic Games with the hope of becoming the first American city to host the Summer Games since Atlanta in 1996. Much like the 1984 Games, Los Angeles was the sole bidder, but when the bid was complete in August 2017, councilmember Herb Wesson claimed that hosting would be “too good of an opportunity to pass up.”⁵⁹ However such excitement has not prevented several organizations from highlighting their concerns of the city hosting the event, with NOlympics being the primary leaders of the anti-Olympic campaign.

The primary concerns for the event are correlated to what transpired during and after the 1984 Games, with displacement, gentrification and fear of overwhelming security often at the forefront of such discussions. Beginning with displacement, the amount of unhomed residents has increased dramatically during Eric Garcetti’s second term as mayor. According to the Homeless Service Authority’s estimate, there were 41,290 people experiencing homelessness in the Los Angeles area by the end of 2022. A short-term solution for these residents has been tent encampments, but when the city was on the grand stage of hosting the Super Bowl in 2022, the California Department of Transportation removed these residents from visible sight, extending

⁵⁹ Rory Carroll, "Los Angeles City Council Backs 2028 Olympic Bid," Reuters, August 11, 2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/sports/los-angeles-city-council-backs-2028-olympic-bid-idUSKBN1AR273/>.

the tradition of the city masking an urban crisis in a time of mass attention.⁶⁰ In terms of enhanced policing, the city is already calling for additional reinforcements for assistance during the 2028 Games, which mirrors the events that took place in 1984. In a 2021 city meeting, Sheriff Alex Villanueva urged for the city to increase its police staff from 10,000 to 13,000 officers to ensure security and order during the Games. However, members of the Knock LA Organization have questioned this policy, as they believe it is unlikely the city will cut members of its staff after the Games and “The idea of bringing in more policing to maintain safety — we know that that means safety for some at the expense of all the rest of us.”⁶¹ In a city with a diverse population haunted by the events over three decades earlier, these concerns demonstrate the Games can often lead to different outcomes for different groups.

While the 1984 Olympics have been celebrated for transforming the city of Los Angeles, the social consequences of the Games must be considered. As the city prepares to host the 2028 Games, the lessons of 1984 loom large. The lasting impacts on marginalized communities, particularly the unhomed and racial minorities, illustrate the paradox of complexity for hosting a global event, as the Olympic mission should be centered around development and inclusion for all parties involved. As Los Angeles steps back onto the world stage, it faces a critical opportunity to redefine the Olympic legacy—one that balances the excitement and economic benefits of the Games with a firm commitment to the welfare and dignity of all its residents.

⁶⁰ Lauren Lee White, "The 2028 L.A. Olympics Are Already Creating a Housing Disaster," *The New Republic*, August 19, 2022. <https://newrepublic.com/article/167488/2028-la-olympics-housing-disaster>.

⁶¹ C.P. Robertson, "The 2028 Olympics Will Expand Policing And Surveillance In LA. Starting Now," *Knock LA*, February 28, 2021. <https://knock-la.com/la-2028-olympics-security-police-surveillance-2452a02632f5/>.

Stadium of Dreams or Displacement: The SoFi Stadium Debate

More than 50 years after Dodger Stadium displaced members of the Hispanic community at Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles was once again positioned to cause controversy following the development of SoFi Stadium in Inglewood. Throughout the latter part of the twentieth century, the city of Inglewood – located 12 miles Southwest of Los Angeles – experienced a demographic shift following the White Flight movement that sent the white population to suburban areas. After the 1960 census reported only 29 Black residents in a city with a population of over 60,000, Inglewood became a “Black enclave” by the 1980s as the Black population peaked at nearly 47% by 2000. The Hispanic population also remained prevalent, and during the 2010 census, these two racial groups represented 92% of the city’s racial demographics.⁶² Although the city’s economic stability was modest – the median income was listed at inflation-adjusted \$57,561 in 2011 – many community members reported being proud of their cultural heritage, stating “Inglewood was a place they felt comfortable.”⁶³

Despite the growing pride in the region, Inglewood was set to change once again in the mid-2010s. In January 2014, Stan Kroenke, owner of the National Football League’s St. Louis Rams, purchased a 60-acre plot of land in the region, hinting at a potential relocation for his franchise. Two years later, the NFL approved the team’s move to Los Angeles, 30-2, and the path was set to build the new stadium. The project was initially expected to cost \$2.6 billion in private funds supplied by Kroenke and the NFL, but internal league documents indicated a need to raise the budget to nearly \$5.5 billion. These changes were approved by the league, which

⁶² US Census Data, 2020

⁶³ Erin Kaplan, "Op-Ed: Whites are moving back to Inglewood. There goes our neighborhood," *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 2017. <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-kaplan-inglewood-gentrification-20171126-story.html>.

made the project the most expensive sports venue ever built. After the COVID pandemic delayed the process a few months, the stadium officially opened its doors in September 2020.

Kroenke and the NFL were eager to build the stadium, and many of the Inglewood city officials soon followed suit. Inglewood mayor James Butts called the project a “resurrection” and expressed his excitement to “make Inglewood a destination.” Butts also highlighted the early economic benefits of the development, as the city’s previous structural deficit of \$18 million was likely to be alleviated with the new stadium and the fans it attracted.⁶⁴ In addition to weekly NFL games in the fall, the stadium was also created to host concerts and other large athletic showcases (including the Super Bowl, College Football Playoff games and the Summer Olympics in 2028), paving the way for seemingly untapped economic potential. The early returns have been promising, as the stadium generated over \$107 million in net revenue in 2022, the first year without COVID restrictions.⁶⁵

The development of SoFi Stadium has generated numerous economic benefits, and the city is planning to use the revenue to reinvest in developing the town’s housing facilities and public transportation infrastructure.⁶⁶ However, when reflecting on Butts’ promise to make the city a “destination”, many previous residents and national critics have questioned the intended audience for the mayor’s ultimate goal. Since the stadium opened, Inglewood residents have mainly categorized their concerns about gentrification into three components: increased housing prices, congested infrastructure, and loss of cultural identity. This equal weight of economic,

⁶⁴ John Gonzalez, "SoFi Stadium Went Up—and Then Everything Changed," *Sports Illustrated*, February 9, 2022. <https://www.si.com/nfl/2022/02/09/sofi-stadium-changed-everything-inglewood-daily-cover>.

⁶⁵ Duncan Phenix, "These are the most profitable venues of 2022," *Las Vegas News*, December 14, 2022.

⁶⁶ Jonny Coleman, "The Struggle Against A Stadium’s Construction Became A Battle for the Soul of Los Angeles," *The Appeal*, September 10, 2020. <https://theappeal.org/sofi-stadium-gentrification-displacement-lennox-inglewood-tenants-union/>.

technical and social consequences enhances the complexity of gentrification and highlights how the process has harmed the pre-existing communities in a number of ways.

Although Kroenke was the primary engineer of bringing the stadium to Inglewood, the stadium could not have been constructed without a bit of political manipulation, which eventually trickled down to harm the lower-income community. While the stadium was financed with private funds, Kroenke and the Los Angeles Rams needed residential support to complete the process of construction. Due to the environmental concerns that come with such projects, construction plans are typically reviewed extensively by environmental protection groups, which can stall or minimize what is supposed to be built. However, California law features a unique loophole that voids the review process if 15% of the residents support its cause.⁶⁷ Ultimately, the stadium planning group received two times the amount of support that was required, including approval from the predominantly Black city council.

Despite agreeing to support the stadium's construction, which ultimately expedited the process and enabled the planning group to develop the space as they originally intended, several sociologists have claimed the planning group's development tactics were predatory for a vulnerable community. In an essay titled "The Predatory Rhetoric of Urban Development", sociologists Kevin Clay and Jasmine Hill introduce how the stadium planning group were successfully able to appeal to Black voters through the idea of capitalistic framing.⁶⁸ When the stadium was proposed to the residents, the developers highlighted the potential for financial

⁶⁷ Tim Logan, "Inglewood Stadium Plan Garners 20,000 Signatures," *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 2015. <https://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-inglewood-stadium-plan-garners-20k-signatures-20150126-story.html>.

⁶⁸ Kevin Clay and Jasmine Hill, "The Predatory Rhetoric of Urban Development," *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 20, no. 2 (2023): 381. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X23000048>.

growth and claimed the stadium would “reinvigorate the economy.”⁶⁹ However, Clay and Hill criticized these motives because although they are intended to promote a charitable message, the ulterior motive is still for the developers to enhance their own financial prosperity. Another component of the pitch centered around complementing the stadium with job-readiness programs. Additional researchers have criticized the framing of such programs as they play into racist assumptions about Black cultural identities and the need for majority white workers to teach Black workers how to operate in the workspace.⁷⁰ In the case of stadium development, billionaire owners and developers are actively seeking long-term economic prosperity with these expensive projects. However, Clay and Hill state that these projects get sold to Black communities as a charitable act under the guise of “you need our stadium to solve your problems,” which creates a superiority complex and disconnects different racial groups from one another.⁷¹

Moreover, such forms of manipulation often make their way to the administrative level, which sociologists have categorized as “solving the blemish of place” through Black representational politics. For example, upon his election as mayor in 2011, Butts, a Black former police chief, claimed that “over the last two decades, Inglewood has been a space that people avoid.”⁷² However, by characterizing the city with such a negative connotation, Clay and Hill argue that Butts is embracing the rhetorical degradation of the town and suggesting that only

⁶⁹ Jordan Williams, "The Unspoken Consequences of Creating a Sports Empire: How Sports Arenas and Stadiums Impact the Environment and Affect Communities in the Greater Los Angeles Area" (Order No. 29325860, Lehigh University, 2022), 88-89. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/unspoken-consequences-creating-sports-empire-how/docview/2771670341/se-2>.

⁷⁰ Phillip Moss and Chris Tilly, *Stories Employers Tell: Race, Skill and Hiring in America* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), 22.

⁷¹ Clay and Hill, 2023.

⁷² JamesButts4Mayor Inglewood Election Campaign 2010 - City of Inglewood Election Information 2011 - Municipal Elections, YouTube, December 31, 2010. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CiOPun7TrOU>.

external financial projects can revive the community.⁷³ Regardless of the ultimate motives, another researcher, Loic Wacquant, believes this form of self-depreciation and “blemish of place” is a central process in the growth of the reproduction of neoliberal regimes. By making these assumptions, Wacquant argues “By sanctioning places as violent, morally destitute, or economically insolvent, policies to incarcerate, redevelop, and gentrify that place become natural and inevitable.”⁷⁴ With this power dynamic now activated among different socioeconomic groups, the development of the stadium soon opened the doors for gentrification practices that ultimately separated Inglewood communities.



75

Beyond the predatory tactics that ensured the stadium could be built according to plan, the development of SoFi Stadium led to a number of financial and social concerns for the residents of Inglewood. Perhaps the greatest pitfall of the stadium’s development has been the soaring cost of living, which has made it increasingly difficult for residents to remain in the city.

⁷³ Clay and Hill, 2023.

⁷⁴ Loic Wacquant, “Territorial Stigmatization in Action,” *Environment and Planning* 46, no. 6 (2014): 1273.

⁷⁵ SoFi Stadium in the shadows of the Inglewood community. Photo courtesy of the *Los Angeles Times*.
<https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2022-02-09/super-bowl-2022-inglewood-home-prices-rents-increase>

Between the years 2005-2007 and later 2009-2012, Black homeownership increased in Inglewood despite the Hispanic community comprising a larger percentage of the population and nearly half of the occupied housing became occupied between 2000-2014.⁷⁶ In 2000, 46% of Inglewood homes were valued between \$150,000-\$200,000 and the median housing cost slowly grew to a modest \$300,000 by 2012. In 2016, prior to the construction of the stadium, Inglewood was one of the most affordable cities in Los Angeles County with a median home value of \$402,271, which ranked 124th out of 159 communities. Following the development of the stadium, the median cost rose 84% to \$739,254 in 2021, which jumped to the 97th spot in the rankings.⁷⁷ Over the same timeframe, rents spiked \$650 to an average of \$1,750 while the rest of Los Angeles only experienced an average increase of \$335. While the average prices of standard living have gone up, so has the allure of living close to the stadium for its luxurious benefits. Prior to 2020, only one Inglewood home had sold for over \$1 million. After the stadium opened in September of that year, 18 homes were sold at that price over the next 12 months.⁷⁸

Although economic theory suggests that increased property value is beneficial for a city and Mayor Butts has reiterated these beliefs, the shifting ratio of renters to homebuyers in Inglewood raises a level of concern for the profitability of the trend. According to the recent census data, just 35% of the city's housing units were owner-occupied, signifying that renters are disproportionately impacted by the steep costs. The current homeownership rate is lower than Los Angeles, where 46% of homes are owner occupied.⁷⁹ As described in a report conducted at the University of California - Los Angeles, an increase in capital within an area typically impacts

⁷⁶ Williams, 2022.

⁷⁷ Jack Flemming, "A Crisis for Renters': Football Sent Inglewood Home Prices and Rents Skyrocketing," *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 2022. <https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2022-02-09/super-bowl-2022-inglewood-home-prices-rents-increase>.

⁷⁸ Flemming, 2022.

⁷⁹ Williams, 2022.

homeowners and renters differently, specifically those with low incomes.⁸⁰ As housing costs increase, very few Inglewood residents are benefitting from the economic growth and increase in demand. With 65% of the Inglewood community categorized as renters, it is instead limited liability partnerships, limited partnerships, or limited liability companies – who make up over a third of the housing market – that can capitalize on these on the increased pricing. As private investors occupy such a significant percentage of the housing market, the already increasing rental rate can be manipulated by these landlords and real estate investors to increase the number of rental units, which generates profits for these private investors instead of the public community.⁸¹

With private investment taking over the public space, the UCLA report states that such people have fewer options to stay in a particular area. Due to lower income, lack of accumulated generational wealth and discriminatory housing practices, Black and Hispanic households are twice as likely to rent their homes than whites. In the case of Inglewood and the soaring prices, the report states that Black and Hispanic homeowners may also face an increased pressure to sell when property values rise, due to the same conditions of lacking sufficient income and family wealth.⁸² As homeowners and renters continue to get trapped into this cycle, it becomes increasingly less likely that such groups will ever be able to have complete autonomy in the space they occupy, which further clarifies the belief that higher income groups receive more benefits to the project.

⁸⁰ Laylaa Abdul-Khabir, "From Chavez Ravine to Inglewood: How Stadiums Facilitate Displacement in Los Angeles," *UCLA Law Review* (2018). <https://www.uclalawreview.org/from-chavez-ravine-to-inglewood-how-stadiums-facilitate-displacement-in-los-angeles/>.

⁸¹ Dalton T. Graziani, "Tenants in Foreclosure: An Analysis of How Renters Experience the Financialization of Housing in Los Angeles County," UCLA: The Ralph and Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, 2019. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/55d964x9>.

⁸² Abdul-Khabir, 2018

Since the stadium was developed, there has been a growing fear among the city's Black and Hispanic community that increased costs of living will ultimately push these groups out of the city, which will negatively impact their cultural heritage. Since 2020, Inglewood's non-Hispanic White population has increased each year and now sits at 6%, marking a 100% increase since when the stadium opened.⁸³ Additionally, average income across all racial groups has also gone up at least 10% each year, which has raised concerns for the pre-existing members of the community. Celebrated as Los Angeles' "last Black enclave", residents fear this growth will push them out of the area and they will have no place to go without living "paycheck to paycheck" and spending over 50% of their income on housing. In addition to the increased costs of living, infrastructural concerns – namely a large volume of traffic – has drawn complaints from the Inglewood community. Although Los Angeles has always been known for its traffic, local residents have claimed the stadium's development has exacerbated these problems. Because the stadium seats nearly 75,000 spectators and hosts a minimum of 100 events each year, Inglewood residents have estimated that commute times have "quadrupled".⁸⁴ Meanwhile, city officials such as Butts have done little to counteract this influx of traffic and Butts has even made casual remarks stating that "residents know what areas to avoid" on event days.⁸⁵

While traffic is a direct concern for the residents, the community has also expressed displeasure at the large amount of air pollution the traffic ultimately generates. In a 2020 report titled "Sport and Environmental Sustainability", researchers determined that a lack of traffic flow outside of Los Angeles stadiums contribute to a higher percentage of poor air quality as cars are left running while seemingly not moving in any direction. The report also discovered that such

⁸³ <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/inglewoodcitycalifornia/PST045223>

⁸⁴ Gonzalez, Sports Illustrated, 2022.

⁸⁵ Gonzalez, Sports Illustrated, 2022.

congestion could force the poor air quality to linger for up to a few days, but with events taking place at SoFi Stadium year-round, there is hardly any time for the air to purify.⁸⁶ Considering the disproportionate level of Black and Hispanic residents in the regions, other researchers have even described such development as a form of environmental racism. In her case study on stadiums in Los Angeles, Laura Pulido has described this practice as “modern White Flight” as spectators from more affluent suburban communities have the ability to infiltrate the space for leisure and entertainment before ultimately escaping and leaving behind any carbon trail of their existence.⁸⁷ Many Inglewood residents have shared similar beliefs, ultimately believing that the new stadium is providing a short-term benefit to visitors while harming those that actually dwell in the space on a daily basis.

In an attempt to mitigate the aforementioned harms of gentrification following the development of SoFi Stadium, Inglewood city organizers have taken several steps to lessen the effects on the local community. The first initiative related to the price of housing came in the form of rent control, as the city agreed that old apartment complexes could only raise their prices by 3% on a yearly basis. While this ordinance can be viewed as a potential solution for helping former tenants remain in their spaces, the new policy does not apply to the newly built complexes that many new residents are now occupying. Additionally, the 3% marker does not account for inflation, so if the prices rise above that level, landlords will have the ability to charge above the set price. Another concern is that Inglewood allows landlords to raise rents even more on tenants who pay 80% or less of the area’s “fair market rent.” Essentially, this

⁸⁶ Jonathan Casper, "Sport and Safeguarding Air Quality," in *Sport and Environmental Sustainability: Research and Strategic Management*, edited by G. Dingle and C. Mallen (2020), 28.

⁸⁷ Laura Pulido, "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, no. 1 (2000): 34.

means landlords can impose higher annual increases on those with cheaper rents.⁸⁸ Over the past few years, the Citizens of Inglewood Tenant Organization has launched a series of efforts to push for a more standardized rent control, yet no plans to meet their demands have been finalized. As these voices are drowned out by the city officials, the disconnect between which community can claim ownership of the town continues to grow.

In addition to enacting some form of rent control legislation, the city has also tried to use funds to construct new housing facilities with the assistance of the City of Inglewood's Affordable Housing Division. One project, the Beach Terrace complex, was built in 2023 as a 42-unit affordable housing complex that primarily houses senior citizens, veterans and low-income families. The facility was created as an alternative to the preexisting Section 8 complexes that often fell behind on needed repairs and were stationed in high-crime areas⁸⁹. In the new Beach Terrace complex, all but 10 of the units are rented to tenants for 30% of their adjusted income. Although the city has fallen behind in terms of producing quality, affordable housing for its residents, a successful project like the Beach Terrace complex has given the Inglewood city officials a blueprint for building a sustainable model moving forward.

In terms of handling traffic congestion, Inglewood and the Greater Los Angeles community have pledged to expand the transportation system to ease public transit for various income groups within the community. While the project seems intended to make the city more accessible, a potential ulterior motive is developing the system to expand profits ahead of the 2028 Summer Olympic Games. The transportation overhaul is aptly named "Twenty-Eight by

⁸⁸ David Wagner, "How Much Can My Rent Go Up Right Now? Here's Your LA Rent Hike Cheat Sheet," *LAist*, December 8, 2023. <https://laist.com/news/housing-homelessness/how-much-can-my-rent-go-up-increase-los-angeles-california-rent-control-rso-pasadena-burbank-inglewood-santa-monica-baldwin-park-santa-ana-county-culver-city-west-hollywood>.

⁸⁹ Susan Carpenter, "Beach Terrace is an Affordable Housing Lifeline in Inglewood," *Spectrum News*, April 26, 2023.

‘28” and aims to build 28 infrastructure before the city hosts the Olympics. The 1984 Summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles were a financial breakthrough that earned \$215 million in an era when many cities lost money for hosting the events, a trend that has continued well into the modern era. However, the project is expected to cost nearly \$26.2 million with at least half of the funds expected to come through taxpayer dollars.⁹⁰ Several taxpayers within the Inglewood community have expressed their dissatisfaction with the process, because although the development is expected to improve public transportation, the city could simply be making an attempt to mask its previous infrastructural shortcomings to a global audience.⁹¹ While the proposed solution is encouraging on one front, the lack of trust from the community hints at the broken relationship between the residents and organizers.

Ultimately, the development of SoFi Stadium in Inglewood reveals a unique interaction between economic development and community impact. Such factors summarize the effects of urban regeneration projects on existing communities, and this case summarizes the frequent challenges predominantly Black and Hispanic neighborhoods face when confronted with large-scale development projects that promise economic revitalization but also pose risks of gentrification and cultural erosion. While the stadium has brought significant economic benefits, including potential for economic growth and further city development, these advantages are contrasted against the increased cost of living and the cultural disruptions imposed on its community. The case of SoFi Stadium serves as a key example for examining the possible implications of urban redevelopment on minority communities, highlighting the need for more equitable development strategies that prioritize the welfare and stability of existing residents.

⁹⁰ Katelyn Do, "Twenty-Eight for ‘28: Metro Madness," *USC Annenberg Media*, March 9, 2023.

⁹¹ Do, 2023.

Conclusion

As athletic spaces continue to be promoted as a catalyst for economic and social growth by developers and city organizers throughout the country, the history of athletic development in Los Angeles presents a clear illustration of the outcomes that may arise when planners do not consider the potential for negative consequences toward its most vulnerable communities. Despite being initially promoted as a tool for positive change in both the social and economic landscape, the development of Dodger Stadium, the hosting of the 1984 Summer Olympic Games, and development of SoFi Stadium has instead led to community displacement due to the lack of inclusivity for such projects. Los Angeles is far from the only city that engages in these practices, as city planners and investors across the nation have long been enticed at the prospect of rebuilding their own communities through the lens of athletic funding, albeit many of these attempts have been equally unsuccessful. However, analyzing this phenomenon through the lens of Los Angeles is especially significant due to the city's quickly changing demographic outlook and the growing potential for new development projects.

Looking into the future, there are several measures the city could evaluate to ensure its athletic development does not lead to future pitfalls. The first pertains to the Olympic movement, as the 2028 Summer Olympic Games are lined up to be the “most ambitious sport program ever”, according to Casey Wasserman, the chairman of those particular Games.⁹² With over 10 million spectators expected to occupy the area over the two-week period, planners are already preparing solutions to “clean the streets” to remove the now 75,000 unhomed residents, much like the as they did 40 years ago. However, with the negative outcomes from the 1984 Games

⁹² Kevin Draper and Jenny Vrentas, "Swimming Moves to an N.F.L. Stadium for the 2028 Olympics," *The New York Times*, June 21, 2024. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/21/sports/olympics/olympic-swimming-2028-la-games.html>.

available as evidence for potential concerns for long-term displacement and enhanced monitoring, the city is adopting strategies to mitigate the detrimental possibilities.

The first is enhanced funding with shelters, as Mayor Karen Bass allocated \$1.3 billion in 2023 to fund homeless shelters and rehabilitation services for the expected 100,000 unhomed residents in 2028.⁹³ In addition to slowing down the housing crisis, the city also received assistance from the federal government in March 2024 in the form of a \$900 million agreement to improve infrastructure and public transportation for the Games. LA Metro CEO Stephanie Wiggins said these “game-changing” improvements will be welcome news to anyone, resident or tourist, who want to avoid the city’s infamous traffic, and about \$139 million of that additional funding will also be directed to LA Metro as it looks to “reconnect communities across highway and arterial barriers by creating multimodal investments.”⁹⁴ By taking these measures, these actions indicate the city is slowly making progress toward not only using athletics for economic and social growth, but also learning from previous mistakes to make the experience and growth more equitable.

In addition to Los Angeles learning from the Olympics case, Inglewood also has the opportunity to learn from the SoFi Stadium development when the city opens its doors to the newly built Intuit Dome in August 2024. Located just south of SoFi Stadium, the \$2 million project was funded entirely by Los Angeles Clippers owner and former Microsoft CEO Steve Ballmer with the hope of “fulfilling his commitment to helping the city thrive.”⁹⁵ To occupy the land, Ballmer was responsible for paying the city of Inglewood \$100 million. After meeting with

⁹³ “Homelessness in Los Angeles: A Unique Crisis Demanding New Solutions,” McKinsey & Company, March 24, 2023. <https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/public-sector/our-insights/homelessness-in-los-angeles-a-unique-crisis-demanding-new-solutions>.

⁹⁴ “Major Support Secured: Los Angeles Region to Receive Nearly \$900 Million in Funding to Strengthen Homeless Services,” Office of the Mayor of Los Angeles, March 12, 2024. <https://mayor.lacity.gov/news/major-support-secured-los-angeles-region-receive-nearly-900-million-funding-strengthen>.

⁹⁵ Steve Ballmer, Letter to Los Angeles Clippers Fans, June 16, 2017.

the Inglewood City Council, Ballmer pledged \$80 million of the investment toward affordable housing as well as financial assistance to renters and first-time homebuyers.⁹⁶ Since Ballmer made his pledge in 2019, part of the funds have been used to build three housing facilities and provide grants to renters and homebuyers looking for assistance.⁹⁷ Although Ballmer's commitment has been privately funded and similar efforts should not be expected when analyzing stadium development, this case demonstrates the mutual benefits of stadium development as an attempt to revive the urban space while handling an existing crisis such as rent spikes.

With the allure of new development continuing to sweep through the nation thanks to its overwhelming potential for success, cities must remain responsible for analyzing the possible winners and losers of the development. In the case of Los Angeles, previous projects highlighted by growth opportunities stagnated the livelihoods of residents already occupying the respective environments. Recent proposals and developments have indicated the potential for the city to learn from its previous mistakes to build athletic ventures that can benefit each group equally, but the city must remember its previous mistakes to prevent them from reappearing. Although each athletic development project was created around the idea of growth, the Los Angeles examples illustrate a cautionary tale and call to action for such events, which should urge future developments to create environments where both new and existing communities can thrive together.

⁹⁶ Ohm Youngmisuk, "Clippers' Arena Deal to Include \$100M for Inglewood," ESPN, September 10, 2019. https://www.espn.com/nba/story/_/id/27588999/clips-arena-deal-include-100m-inglewood.

⁹⁷ Ira Boudway, "Steve Ballmer's Passion Project: The New LA Clippers Intuit Dome," Bloomberg, January 29, 2024. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2024-01-29/new-la-clippers-intuit-dome-is-steve-ballmer-s-passion-project>.

Bibliography

- Abdul-Khabir, Laylaa. "From Chavez Ravine to Inglewood: How Stadiums Facilitate Displacement in Los Angeles." *UCLA Law Review* (2018).
<https://www.uclalawreview.org/from-chavez-ravine-to-inglewood-how-stadiums-facilitate-displacement-in-los-angeles/>.
- Amdur, Neil. "Los Angeles Assured of Games." *The New York Times*, February 11, 1979.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1979/02/11/archives/los-angeles-assured-of-games-elements-of-agreement.html>.
- Ballmer, Steve. Letter to Los Angeles Clippers Fans. June 16, 2017.
- Baade, Robert A., and Victor A. Matheson. "The Economic Impact of Sports Stadiums: Recasting the Analysis in Context." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 33, no. 5 (2011).
- Boudway, Ira. "Steve Ballmer's Passion Project: The New LA Clippers Intuit Dome." *Bloomberg*, January 29, 2024. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2024-01-29/new-la-clippers-intuit-dome-is-steve-ballmer-s-passion-project>.
- Boykoff, Jules. *NOlympians: Inside the Fight Against Capitalist Mega-Sports*. Fernwood Publishing, 2020.
- Bradbury, J.C. "Does Hosting a Professional Sports Team Benefit the Local Community? Evidence from Property Assessments." *Economics of Governance* 23, no. 3-4 (2022): 222. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10101-022-00268-z>.
- Carpenter, Susan. "Beach Terrace is an Affordable Housing Lifeline in Inglewood." *Spectrum News*, April 26, 2023.
- Carroll, Rory. "Los Angeles City Council Backs 2028 Olympic Bid." *Reuters*, August 11, 2017.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/sports/los-angeles-city-council-backs-2028-olympic-bidUSKBN1AR273/>.
- Casper, Jonathan. "Sport and Safeguarding Air Quality." In *Sport and Environmental Sustainability: Research and Strategic Management*, edited by G. Dingle and C. Mallen, 28. 2020.
- Chandler, Jenna. "LA 'Sterilized' Its Streets for the '84 Olympics—How Will It Treat the Homeless in 2028?" *Curbed: Los Angeles*, July 12, 2018.
<https://la.curbed.com/2018/7/12/17454676/los-angeles-olympics-homeless-police-militarization-security>.
- Clay, Kevin, and Jasmine Hill. "The Predatory Rhetorics of Urban Development." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 20, no. 2 (2023).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X23000048>.

- Coleman, Jonny. "The Struggle Against A Stadium's Construction Became A Battle for the Soul of Los Angeles." *The Appeal*, September 10, 2020. <https://theappeal.org/sofi-stadium-gentrification-displacement-lennox-inglewood-tenants-union/>.
- Daniel, Leon. "Cleaning Up Mean Streets for Olympics." *United Press International*, July 23, 1984. <https://www.upi.com/Archives/1984/07/23/Cleaning-up-mean-streets-for-Olympics/9364459403200/>.
- Davis, Mike. "Los Angeles: Civil Liberties between the Hammer and the Rock." *New Left Review* 170 (1988).
- Dinces, Sean. "Padres on Mount Olympus: Los Angeles and the Production of the 1932 Olympic Mega-Event." *Journal of Sport History* 32, no. 2 (2005).
- Do, Katelyn. "Twenty-Eight for '28: Metro Madness." *USC Annenberg Media*, March 9, 2023.
- Draper, Kevin, and Jenny Vrentas. "Swimming Moves to an N.F.L. Stadium for the 2028 Olympics." *The New York Times*, June 21, 2024. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/06/21/sports/olympics/olympic-swimming-2028-la-games.html>.
- Dyreson, Mark, and Matthew Llewellyn. "Los Angeles is the Olympic City: Legacies of the 1932 and 1984 Olympic Games." In *Olympic Legacies: Intended and Unintended*, edited by John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, 150. Routledge, 2013.
- Eckstein, Rick, and Kevin Delaney. "New Sports Stadiums, Community Self-Esteem, and Community Collective Conscience." *Northeastern University's Center for the Study of Sport in Society* 26, no. 3 (August 2002).
- Felker-Kantor, Max. "The 1984 Olympics Fueled L.A.'s War on Crime. Will the 2028 Games Do the Same?" *The Washington Post*, August 6, 2017. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/08/06/the-1984-olympics-fueled-l-a-s-war-on-crime-will-the-2028-games-do-the-same/>.
- Felker-Kantor, Max. *Policing Los Angeles: Race, Resistance, and the Rise of the LAPD*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2018.
- Fleming, Jack. "'A Crisis for Renters': Football Sent Inglewood Home Prices and Rents Skyrocketing." *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 2022. <https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2022-02-09/super-bowl-2022-inglewood-home-prices-rents-increase>.
- Friedman, Michael. *Mallparks: Baseball Stadiums and the Culture of Consumption*. Cornell University Press, 2023.

- Gonzalez, John. "SoFi Stadium Went Up—and Then Everything Changed." *Sports Illustrated*, February 9, 2022. <https://www.si.com/nfl/2022/02/09/sofi-stadium-changed-everything-inglewood-daily-cover>.
- Graziani, Dalton T. "Tenants in Foreclosure: An Analysis of How Renters Experience the Financialization of Housing in Los Angeles County." UCLA: The Ralph and Goldy Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies, 2019. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/55d964x9>.
- Harrison, Scott. "1959 Evictions from Chavez Ravine." *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 2017. <https://www.latimes.com/visuals/photography/la-me-fw-archives-1959-evictions-from-chavez-ravine-20170328-story.html>.
- Hicks, Jerry. "Crowded Out: Olympics Puts a Critical Strain on County Shelters for Homeless." *The Los Angeles Times*, July 22, 1984.
- "Homelessness in Los Angeles: A Unique Crisis Demanding New Solutions." *McKinsey & Company*, March 24, 2023. <https://www.mckinsey.com/industries/public-sector/our-insights/homelessness-in-los-angeles-a-unique-crisis-demanding-new-solutions>.
- Hines, Thomas S. "Housing, Baseball, and Creeping Socialism: The Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles, 1949-1959." *Journal of Urban History* 8, no. 2 (1982).
- JamesButts4Mayor Inglewood Election Campaign 2010 - City of Inglewood Election Information 2011 - Municipal Elections. YouTube, December 31, 2010. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CiOPun7TrOU>.
- Kaplan, Erin. "Op-Ed: Whites are moving back to Inglewood. There goes our neighborhood." *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 2017. <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-kaplan-inglewood-gentrification-20171126-story.html>.
- Laslett, John H. M. *Shameful Victory: The Los Angeles Dodgers, the Red Scare, and the Hidden History of Chavez Ravine*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015.
- "Major Support Secured: Los Angeles Region to Receive Nearly \$900 Million in Funding to Strengthen Homeless Services." *Office of the Mayor of Los Angeles*, March 12, 2024. <https://mayor.lacity.gov/news/major-support-secured-los-angeles-region-receive-nearly-900-million-funding-strengthen>.
- Lieser, Josh R. *Los Angeles and the 1984 Olympic Games: Cultural Commodification, Corporate Sponsorship, and the Cold War*. University of California, Riverside, 2014.
- Lindsey, Robert. "The Olympics: Los Angeles '84; Security Is Called Largest in Peacetime." *The New York Times*, July 26, 1984.

- Lindsey, Robert. "'84 Olympics Facing Financing Struggle." *The New York Times*, August 19, 1979. <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/08/19/archives/84-olympics-facing-financing-struggle-los-angeles-taxcutters.html>.
- Lindsey, Robert. "'84 Olympics Facing Financing Struggle." *The New York Times*, August 19, 1979. <https://www.nytimes.com/1979/08/19/archives/84-olympics-facing-financing-struggle-los-angeles-taxcutters.html>.
- Logan, Tim. "Inglewood Stadium Plan Garnerers 20,000 Signatures." *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 2015. <https://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-inglewood-stadium-plan-garnerers-20k-signatures-20150126-story.html>.
- "Major Support Secured: Los Angeles Region to Receive Nearly \$900 Million in Funding to Strengthen Homeless Services." *Office of the Mayor of Los Angeles*, March 12, 2024. <https://mayor.lacity.gov/news/major-support-secured-los-angeles-region-receive-nearly-900-million-funding-strengthen>.
- Normark, Don. *Chavez Ravine, 1949: A Los Angeles Story*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1999.
- NOlympics Los Angeles. "Examining the LA 1984 Olympic Legacy: Capitalism, Police Violence, & Privatization," June 29, 2020. <https://nolympicsla.com/2020/06/29/examining-the-la-1984-olympic-legacy-capitalism-police-violence-and-privatization/>.
- Perelman, Richard. *Olympic Retrospective: The Games of Los Angeles*. LA84 Foundation, 1985. <https://digital.la84.org/digital/collection/p17103coll8/id/79122/>.
- Phenix, Duncan. "These are the most profitable venues of 2022." *Las Vegas News*, December 14, 2022.
- Podair, Jerald. *City of Dreams: Dodger Stadium and the Birth of Modern Los Angeles*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017.
- Pulido, Laura. "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, no. 1 (2000).
- Reich, Kenneth. "Battle Lines Drawn Over Freeway Route: Long Fight Appears Certainty Freeway Battle Freeway." *Los Angeles Times*, December 19, 1965.
- Reich, Kenneth. *Making It Happen: Peter Ueberroth and the 1984 Olympics*. Capra Press, 1986.
- Ramos, Nic John. "Poor Influences and Criminal Locations: Los Angeles's Skid Row, Multicultural Identities, and Normal Homosexuality." *American Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (2019).

- Robertson, C.P. "The 2028 Olympics Will Expand Policing And Surveillance In LA. Starting Now." *Knock LA*, February 28, 2021. <https://knock-la.com/la-2028-olympics-security-police-surveillance-2452a02632f5/>.
- "SoFi Stadium in the Shadows of the Inglewood Community." Photo courtesy of the *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/business/story/2022-02-09/super-bowl-2022-inglewood-home-prices-rents-increase>.
- Statement from Walter O'Malley, August 16, 1955, Walter O'Malley Papers, Box 1, Folder 4, Brooklyn Historical Society.
- Tomlinson, Alan. "The Disneyfication of the Olympics?: Theme Parks and Freak-Shows of the Body." In *Post-Olympism*, edited by John Bale and Mette Krogh Christensen, 155. Routledge, 2020.
- U.S. Census Bureau. *2020 Census Data*.
- U.S. Census Bureau. "QuickFacts: Inglewood city, California." <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/inglewoodcitycalifornia/PST045223>.
- Wagner, David. "How Much Can My Rent Go Up Right Now? Here's Your LA Rent Hike Cheat Sheet." *LAist*, December 8, 2023. <https://laist.com/news/housing-homelessness/how-much-can-my-rent-go-up-increase-los-angeles-california-rent-control-rso-pasadena-burbank-inglewood-santa-monica-baldwin-park-santa-ana-county-culver-city-west-hollywood>.
- Wacquant, Loic. "Territorial Stigmatization in Action." *Environment and Planning* 46, no. 6 (2014).
- Wenn, Stephen R. "Peter Ueberroth's Legacy: How the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics Changed the Trajectory of the Olympic Movement." In *The 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games*, edited by Mark Dyreson and Matthew Llewellyn, 171. Routledge, 2017.
- White, Lauren Lee. "The 2028 L.A. Olympics Are Already Creating a Housing Disaster." *The New Republic*, August 19, 2022. <https://newrepublic.com/article/167488/2028-la-olympics-housing-disaster>.
- Williams, Jordan. "The Unspoken Consequences of Creating a Sports Empire: How Sports Arenas and Stadiums Impact the Environment and Affect Communities in the Greater Los Angeles Area." Order No. 29325860, Lehigh University, 2022, 88-89. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/unspoken-consequences-creating-sports-empire-how/docview/2771670341/se-2>.
- Youngmisuk, Ohm. "Clippers' Arena Deal to Include \$100M for Inglewood." *ESPN*, September 10, 2019. https://www.espn.com/nba/story/_/id/27588999/clips-arena-deal-include-100m-inglewood.

Zirin, Dave. "Want to Understand the 1992 LA Riots? Start with the 1984 LA Olympics." *The Nation*, April 30, 2012. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/want-understand-1992-la-riots-start-1984-la-olympics/>.

Zimmerman, Paul. "Wrigley Still Key Man, Says Mayor." *Los Angeles Times*, September 29, 1963.