

REPORT FROM

RECONNECTING COMMUNITIES 710 ADVISORY GROUP

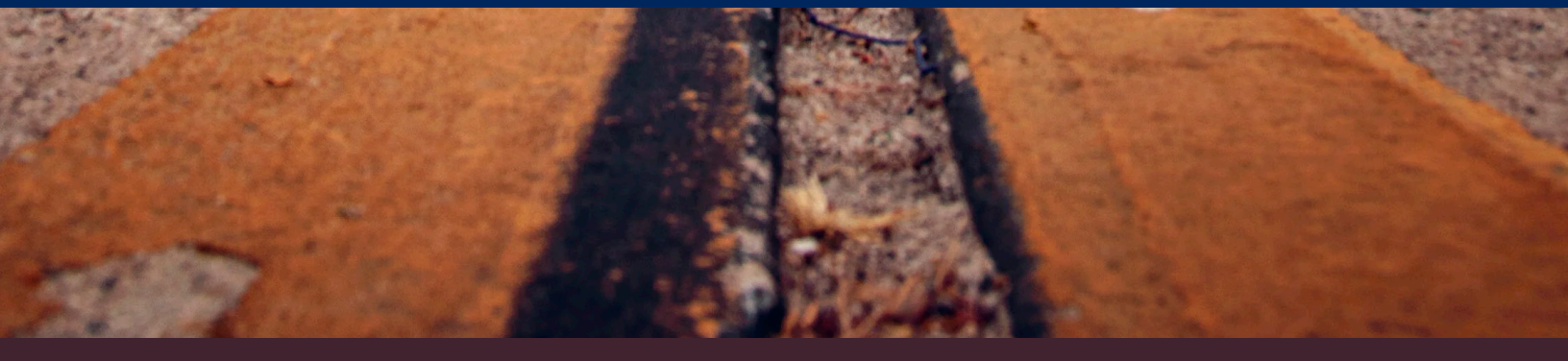
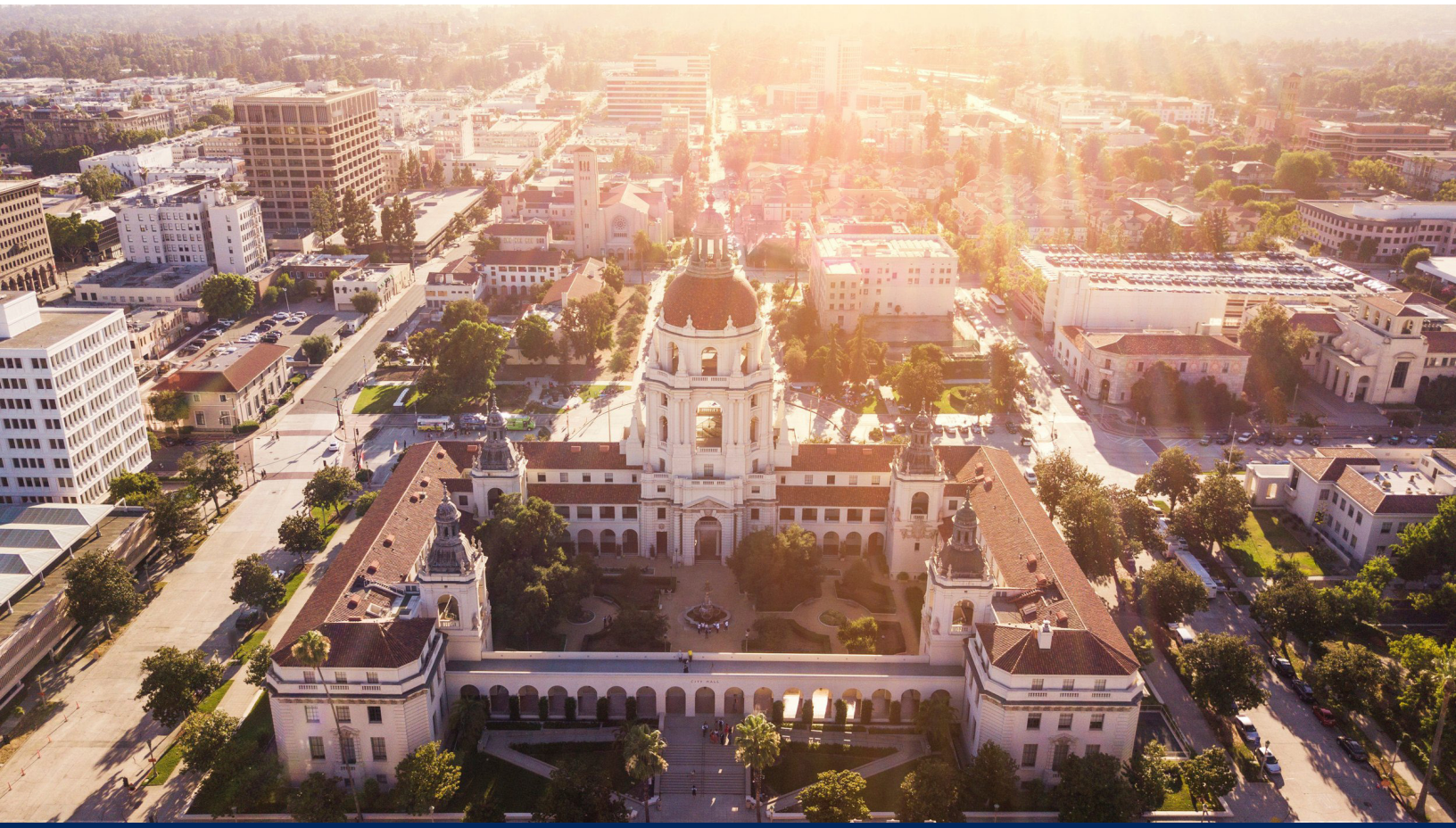


TABLE OF CONTENTS

Committee Members 01
Introduction 03
Restorative Justice Recommendations 07
Land Use and Mobility Recommendations 15
Placemaking and Public Art 18





COMMITTEE MEMBERS

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Danny Parker, Chair

Rémy De La Peza, Vice Chair (term ended 11/25)

Blair Miller, Vice Chair (term began 11/25)

Michelle Richardson Bailey

Ali Barar

Wayne M. Brandt

Joel C. Bryant

Jose Luis Correa

Mic Hansen

Cynthia J. Kurtz

Adriana Lim

Charles Loveman

Randy A. Shulman

Jasmin Shupper

Bryan Takeda

Tina Williams



INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

The members of the Reconnecting Communities 710 Advisory Group (the "Advisory Group") thank the Pasadena City Council for selecting us to participate in this process. The formation of the Advisory Group sent an important message about the importance and role of the Pasadena community in this process.

The Council's appointments brought together a diverse group with expertise in various areas such as restorative justice, real estate, nonprofits, and the public sector, who were united by their ongoing and passionate commitment to community service. We learned a tremendous amount from each other, and from the community.

In addition to the Advisory Group members, dedicated community members spent many hours participating in the Advisory Group's meetings, and their engaged, thoughtful contributions were valuable in understanding the potential community impacts of the future development, and in driving us towards a more comprehensive vision of placemaking.

The Advisory Group had the pleasure of working closely with a dedicated team of City of Pasadena staff as well as talented consultants who brought expertise, insight, perspective, and patience to the process. The input from our members, City staff, consultants, and the public led to robust discussions that identified and analyzed nuances, tradeoffs, and key issues to resolve in pursuit of the goal of reconnecting the physical and social fabric of the community.

Over the three years that this Advisory Group has met, our members benefitted from dedicated research on the history of the "710 Stub" area. The historian consultants exposed some of the fault lines of a Pasadena history characterized by discrimination, exclusion, and displacement. Understanding that unfortunate history is foundational to the redevelopment of this land in an equitable, restorative way that gives all members of this community a seat at the table of opportunity and gives all members of the community a sense of justice and a recognition of past harms.

In addition to the people, businesses and institutions who were displaced from the 710 Stub, we heard from and discussed the perspectives of multiple other stakeholders:

- **Residents** – nearby in West Pasadena and all over the City
- **Businesses** – those who will locate at the completed site
- **Nonprofits and Community Groups** – an important part of the fabric of this community
- **Government** – Local, regional, state, and federal

To enhance the work of the Advisory Group, members formed two standing committees to focus on key areas. The respective committees, Restorative Justice and Land Use and Mobility, each held several meetings with speakers, presentations, and public comments. Their thorough analysis led to a set of recommendations that the overall body discussed and ultimately approved (see pages 7 through 17).

In addition to the Advisory Group and Standing Committee meetings, members of the Advisory Group participated in the Community Meetings that were organized by staff and the consultants, gave presentations ourselves to Pasadena residents, met with groups of students, and updated Council Members directly.

With respect to the Perkins Eastman Vision Plan ("the Vision Plan"), the work is professional, extensive, and well framed. By way of this letter, we seek to highlight, supplement, and make certain recommendations regarding the Vision Plan.

Advisory Group members have prepared recommendations on the following subjects, which are included in this presentation:

- **Restorative Justice**
- **Land Use and Mobility**
- **Placemaking**

These recommendations are meant to enhance and inform the Vision Plan, which is being presented to the City Council on March 30, 2026.

The Advisory Group recommends that the City Council use the following questions to frame their review of both the Advisory Group recommendations and also for the Vision Plan.

In 15 or 20 years, how will Pasadena know if this project is "a success"?

1) The land will be transformed from a place for cars to a place for people to live and work, in a way that the vast majority of Pasadenans believe is positive.

2) That transformation will meet the goals outlined in the Restorative Justice Elements.

3) For 95% of the people who live in the vicinity of the Stub area, their living situation (traffic, noise, etc.) will not have been materially changed for the worse.

4) The project will be financially successful, and not a burden on Pasadena taxpayers.

5) Today's Pasadena youth will want to and be able to afford to live here when it is completed.

6) The process will have been transparent, and the community will have been engaged and informed.

7) This project will be a national model of redevelopment of a former freeway.

What metrics should the Council track to measure and define success?

1) Progress towards the fulfillment of the Restorative Justice housing, business opportunities, education, and compensation recommendations.

2) Through traffic numbers on the north/south streets on and between Orange Grove and Arroyo Parkway.

3) Average speed on the north/south streets on and between Orange Grove and Arroyo Parkway; number of vehicles waiting through more than one light cycle and peak and off-peak travel times.

4) Pedestrian and bicycle/scooter counts, percentage of 710 Stub residents who use public transit, and percentage of 710 Stub residents who have cars.

5) Percentage of power generated onsite.

6) Percentage of stormwater that is captured and percentage of water that is reused.

7) Average temperature compared to other parts of Pasadena.

8) Conduct (and track) a Community Health Needs Assessment for the area.

9) Number of temporary and permanent jobs created, and the median wages.

10) Number of new businesses located at the site, and existing businesses relocated

What information may be critical to the decision makers?

1) The consultants were unable to identify all of the households that were impacted by the demolition of the neighborhood for the 710 construction.

2) Water collects at the south end of the site. There are opportunities for capture and treatment, but there may also be engineering challenges with moving water through the site.

3) The actual size of the project area is only approximately 33 acres.

4) The area between Union and Walnut is still controlled by Caltrans but should be an integral part of the proposed development, so there will need to be future negotiations.

5) Real estate markets can change dramatically over time, therefore flexibility for the planned build-out will be critical.

6) It is possible to re-direct traffic through and around the site and create development that generates new vehicle trips without worsening the local roadway conditions.

What are the top priorities for the build-out?

1) Create opportunities for local residents and businesses, with a priority on those displaced from the area, so that where possible dollars are recirculated in the community.

2) A built environment that is uniquely Pasadena, where the design is considered world class, and where the style matches and enhances traditional Pasadena architecture.

3) An environmentally sustainable mixed-use development with housing (including affordable housing), commercial, retail and public uses.

4) Create a place where people can gather, thrive, and create community.

5) Determine the impacts of traffic and mitigate these impacts at each phase of development.

What are the next steps?

1) Determine financial feasibility.

2) Determine a model of project management that will move the project forward.

3) Create the RJCOC.

4) Engage Pasadena youth in the decision-making process.

5) Perform additional market analysis.

6) Negotiate with Caltrans regarding the relinquishment of the area between Union and Walnut.

7) Continue to collect histories from displaced residents, businesses and institutions, and their descendants.

8) Continue to collect census data as it becomes available.





RESTORATIVE JUSTICE RECOMMENDATIONS

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE RECOMMENDATIONS

PASADENA'S DRAFT DEFINITION FOR RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Restorative Justice is a dynamic process which takes action to repair direct and indirect harms caused by the proposed construction of the 710 and the construction of the 210 freeways and their broader impact in Pasadena. It will identify, publicly inform, officially acknowledge, respond to, and remedy these injustices through open and responsive engagement with the disproportionately impacted communities. This will ensure the development of community-driven solutions, including non-repetition of harm, integrated through the vision plan design elements for City Council's consideration.

**For the purposes of this document, "DISPLACED COMMUNITIES" is defined as people and their descendants who were forced to move due to the construction of the 710 and 210 freeways. This includes those displaced from neighborhoods within the parameters of the 710 and 210 freeway bounded approximately by Northwest Arroyo/Woodbury to the north, Mentone/Montana to the northeast, St. John Avenue to the west, and Pasadena Avenue to Columbia Street on the east, or other institutional policies, practices, and projects that contributed to segregation, including housing discrimination, redlining, and the redevelopment of the central business district and adjacent areas.*

***For the purposes of this document, "IMPACTED COMMUNITIES" are adjacent to those that are negatively impacted, but not displaced by the 710 & 210 parameters as stated above.*

Eligibility for specific recommendations are reflected in the element's recommendations below.



	Restorative Justice Element	RJSC Recommendation
1	Highway Construction	The Restorative Justice Standing Committee (RJSC) acknowledges that the City of Pasadena recognizes the harm caused by the construction of the SR-710 and, through the Reconnecting Communities Planning project, is working to recognize and address this harm.
2	Policy Adoption	The City should consider the RJSC's revised restorative justice elements for application to the 710 Vision Plan project and to the entire City where applicable. Prioritizing measures that prevent future harm caused by infrastructure or policies to impacted or vulnerable communities in Pasadena.
3	Historical Acknowledgement	1) A formal public acknowledgment of harms and an apology from the Mayor on behalf of the City of Pasadena. We also encourage apologies from other government entities involved in the displacement of the impacted communities (e.g. State and Federal government). 2) The creation of permanent programmable and publicly accessible physical space reflective of the community, that brings to life the cultural, and physical aspects of the community that existed before the construction of the SR-710, and triggers reflection of cultural histories for the future. 3) The creation and inclusion of an educational or performing arts component, based on the history of the 710 Stub area, in the curriculum of local schools and/or libraries.
4	Hard Infrastructure	The City should prioritize circulation and mobility options for the 710 Vision Plan project that prioritizes infrastructure connectivity with the historically redlined Northwest section of Pasadena. Creating infrastructure that will foster involvement and movement to and from impacted communities and the entire City into the proposed 710 Stub area and related community engagement events or opportunities.



255 Waverley Drive. Pasadena, CA 91105
Home purchased in 1021 by Laura B. and Harrison Bailey Sr.

	Restorative Justice Element	RJSC Recommendation
5	Restorative Justice Community Oversight Committee (RJCOC)	While the RJSC recognizes that the decision-making power in Pasadena lies in the hands of the City Council, it understands the importance of open dialogue with impacted communities** in the development of the 710 Stub area. This should be a structured and inclusive process where impacted community members are actively heard, allowing them to share their experiences, express concerns, and articulate their aspirations for their community, even if the community isn't a formal or final decision-maker. **What is the Restorative Justice Community Oversight Committee?** The Restorative Justice Community Oversight Committee (RJCOC) is a body of community stakeholders that will be responsible for ensuring that all aspects of implementation of development of all matters pertaining to the 710 Stub will be consistent and will follow all the RJ Elements of the RC 710 Vision Plan. The RJCOC will play an essential role in ensuring the success and accountability of the project. Working in close coordination with the Planning Commission, the RJCOC will be integrated into the process at a key stage to help keep the project on track and aligned with community expectations. The RJCOC is responsible for reviewing project plans prior to their presentation to the Planning Commission and City Council, providing early input and oversight. The committee will be actively involved in all aspects of the project, offering guidance, raising concerns, and ensuring transparency throughout the planning and implementation phases. This is a stipend-based position, requiring a significant time commitment. **Specific recommendations include:** 1) Creation of a RJCOC appointed by the City Council, with at least 51% of the members being descendants and/or a representative of those displaced or impacted by the construction of the SR 710 freeway and 210 freeway (between Northwest-Arroyo/Woodbury, Northeast-Mentone/Montana, West-St. John, East Pasadena Ave to California Street. The priority criteria for RJCOC selection of the 4-year term must include the following: a. Representation of the displaced, descendants and those that were directly harmed or their designated representative (51%) and those that no longer reside in Pasadena. b. Representative demographics and ethnicity as specified in the UCLA report Representation of each City Council District. c. Individual or professional skills. d. Renters. 2) The RJCOC will facilitate and ensure impacted communities participate in an inclusive open dialogue process meant to guide the implementation of the 710 Vision Plan project. 3) To enable participation, the RJCOC will be tasked with creating a registry of those displaced by the partial construction of the 710 freeway within the parameters listed above and other institutional policies, practices, and projects that contributed to segregation, including housing discrimination, redlining, and the redevelopment of the central business district and adjacent areas for identification of right of first opportunities outlined in the remainder of the document.

Restorative Justice Element		RJSC Recommendation
6	Community Benefits Planning Framework	Meaningful, measurable community benefits, such as equitable labor practices, affordable housing, or shared public spaces, should be delivered and maintained. Legal agreements to be considered include, but are not limited to, Disposition and Development Agreements, Ground Leases, and Community Benefit Agreements (CBAs). City policies applicable to the entire 710 stub area, such as Specific Plans, may also apply. These instruments are legally binding and commonly used in development negotiations. Ultimately, the City Council serves as the final decision-making authority and signatory to any agreements. **Specific recommendations include:** 1) Based on the Restorative Justice Elements, a matrix of the anticipated community benefits will have been received by the end of the project. The matrix will include all of the different types of benefits outlined in this document, the potential funding sources of the benefit, and the timeline. 2) RJCOC to receive copies of each legal agreement signed by the City, along with a summary of the community benefits included in the agreement, the mechanism for enforcement, applicable penalties outlined by the RJCOC (to be determined), and the implementation schedule. RJCOC shall also have the capacity to monitor compliance with these agreements, including reviewing progress, identifying non-compliance, and recommending corrective actions to the City Council as needed.



	Restorative Justice Element	RJSC Recommendation
7	Communities Wealth Generation through Home and Business Ownership	The City should prioritize housing affordability, but more importantly, home and business ownership as part of the implementation of the 710 Vision Plan. The RJSC believes home ownership is a vehicle for wealth generation. Displaced Community members at various levels of affordability should have access to priority home ownership and/or business ownership incubator programs. The approach recognizes that lasting economic justice requires not only jobs and services but also asset-building, ensuring that community members can own property, build equity, and remain rooted in their place. **Specific recommendations include:** 1) The focus of community wealth generation through home or business ownership must be on displaced homeowners, renters, and non-profit, business owners and institutions affected by the construction of the SR-710 and I-210 freeways, as well as other institutional forces such as land-use regulations, redlining, and racially restrictive covenants, regardless of age or income level. Displaced communities include institutions and businesses that were also displaced. 2) The RJSC aims to make community wealth generation accessible to all impacted communities by providing a range of ownership opportunities across various income and age levels and by ensuring access to homeownership opportunities for low-, moderate-, middle-income households and above. They support ownership models that allow for upward mobility and neighborhood stability. Some homes may contain covenants that ensure a constant inventory of affordable housing while also requiring a portion of housing units in all sizes, allowing for the eventual resale to help residents build equity. a) The total housing benefit for Targeted Beneficiaries will be valued at least $25M 2025 dollars, or 1% of the estimated value of the housing and commercial, whichever is higher. These housing benefit dollars can be used for any of the programs listed below, or any additional programs developed by the City and the RJCOC. These housing benefit dollars are meant to be in addition to the value of the 20% set-aside, in-lieu fees and any external subsidies, such as tax credits. b) Financing for the proposed 1% of estimated housing benefit dollars should be included in first round of tax increment financing, infrastructure bonding or other financing tools. c) Prior to initiating the project, a survey shall be completed of Displaced Communities, to determine the optimum affordability and size mix that would meet the needs of the greatest number of interested and qualified buyers and renters. Based on this information, the RJCOC will work with the City to define recommended affordability levels (15% ownership affordable and 20% rental affordable) and unit sizes for the affordable for-sale and rental homes in the 710 Stub area, within the parameters of what is typically finance-able. 3) The RJSC strongly believes in creating generational wealth through education, scholarships, internships, and other workforce-development opportunities, with priority given to the project's impacted communities. Opportunities for workforce development should be tied to the CBA, other mechanisms and RJ elements. 4) Additional research will be conducted to identify the mechanism to administer the funds the Community Trust will provide support for eligible individuals and projects within the impacted communities by providing such as but not limiting to: a) The proposed 1% of estimated housing benefit dollars, referenced above in 2a will also fund remuneration to homeowners, business owners, and institutions displaced by the 710 freeway. Remuneration payments will be calculated to be approximately $150k based on the 1% estimated housing benefit calculation and the number of businesses, institutions, and residents displaced identified in the Architectural Resources Group report. Additional data and verification is necessary to identify, locate and determine the number of qualified participants and the potential cost of this entire proposal.

	Restorative Justice Element	RJSC Recommendation
7	Communities Wealth Generation through Home and Business Ownership **(Continued)**	b) Forgivable second mortgages. c) Business loans. d) Educational scholarships. e) Tuition assistance. f) Grants to impacted or displaced cultural institutions.
8	Affordable Housing and Affordable Housing Registry	Create an affordable housing registry for individuals displaced by the 710 and 210 freeways, serving as a mechanism to facilitate accessibility to affordable housing for those on the registry. The system will use marketing to notify qualified communities about housing stock availability, ensuring a transparent and seamless application process and emphasizing that 25-35% of affordable housing units built in the 710 Stub Area shall be affordable, as well as the development of workforce housing units. 1) The City will create an eligibility registry for affordable housing in the 710 study area. The registry will prioritize those who are eligible, with Displaced Community members and their descendants at the top of the list, followed by other Impacted Community members. Those at the top of the list will have the first right of opportunity to rent or purchase a home in the 710 Stub area. 2) A survey of Displaced Communities shall be conducted to determine the optimal mix of affordability levels, unit sizes and types. Based on the survey findings, the RJCOC will collaborate with the City to recommend affordability targets— ex. 15% affordable ownership and 20% affordable rental—as well as appropriate unit sizes, including family-sized units with three or more bedrooms, that would best meet the needs of the greatest number of interested and qualified buyers and renters of for-sale and rental homes in the 710 Stub area. The creation of affordable housing will be responsive to internal/external subsidies available and prioritized at the Federal and State funding levels. a) **Displaced Homeowners** - Persons who previously owned and occupied the 710 properties at the time it was acquired by the state and were displaced due to the project. b) **Displaced Renters** (Including Impacted Communities) - Individuals who rented and were displaced from the area because of the construction of the SR-710 freeway. c. **Adjacent Displaced** - Individuals displaced by Parsons, Ambassador Auditorium, Pepper Street Project, and the Norton Simon Museum.
9	Business Development Support	The City should provide or increase the existing 5% bid preference for certified small businesses in procurement and contracting for development in the 710 Stub area. Additionally, creating mechanisms to facilitate the use of local training and hire programs for the local workforce requirements. Impacted communities or those harmed who no longer reside in Pasadena are also eligible to participate. **Specific recommendations include but are not limited to:** 1) The Restorative Justice Community Oversight Committee (RJCOC) will work with City staff in building a local business database and maintaining a certified registry of impacted community businesses owned by individuals or families displaced by the construction of the SR 710. 2) Request for Proposals (RFPs) will be created to prioritize accessibility, encourage participation from local and small businesses, and maximize the likelihood of success.

	Restorative Justice Element	RJSC Recommendation
9	Business Development Support **(Continued)**	3) Access to micro-loans, working capital, or mobilization funding for businesses preparing to fulfill contracts. 4) Require or incentivize prime contractors and developers to subcontract with impacted community businesses, where possible utilize materials sourced from local suppliers. 5) Facilitate joint venture partnerships that benefit all types of business structures including co-ops and intentionally cultivating business districts that support displaced business populations.
10	Workforce Development	The City should include the impacted communities and those who were harmed, even if they no longer reside in Pasadena, in any training or workforce development programs created as a result of the RJSC's work. **Specific recommendations include:** 1) At the direction of the RJCOC City staff (EDD) will develop a local business database and maintain a certified registry of impacted community businesses owned by individuals or families displaced by the construction of the SR-710, even if they no longer reside in Pasadena. The creation of a partnership with existing businesses in Pasadena as well as new businesses in all industries occupying the 710 Stub area to train and develop impacted communities. Training and employment percentage requirements will be part of the CBA that will cover the entire 710 Stub area. 2) Business interventions should include training programs in project management, compliance, and finance. 3) Facilitate mentorship or joint venture partnerships between large firms and small, local, disadvantaged businesses.





LAND USE AND MOBILITY RECOMMENDATIONS

LAND USE AND MOBILITY RECOMMENDATIONS

We identified Five Key Elements of Land Use and Mobility that we consider foundational. Where we do not comment on a specific topic, it indicates agreement with the current approach from Perkins Eastman. For example, Sustainability is a cornerstone of the project. The absence of recommendations on this topic reflects our support for what has been presented.

Additionally, several of our recommendations extend beyond the scope of the consultant's work. We acknowledge this and are identifying these issues for consideration by the City Council and the Planning Commission.

Recommendations for the Five Key Elements

Mobility and Circulation Recommendations

1) No net additional daily vehicle trips through the study area should be the goal against which all of the other land use decisions are made. The transportation system should be designed to minimize through traffic and facilitate local mobility.

2) Access to Huntington Hospital should remain as good as it is now or better.

3) LUM recommends selecting the street design option that would best achieve this goal, which we believe is the "Boulevards and Paseos" option.

4) The City should consider a "mobility hub" north of Union. which would enable people to transfer from cars to other modes of transportation. As this area is still under Caltrans jurisdiction, a partnership with the State will be needed to access this property.

Housing Recommendations

5) 30% of the targeted household incomes should have rents or purchase prices that are affordable to households whose income levels are defined as Very Low, Low, Moderate, or Workforce. Affordable should also include subsidized, independent, and assisted living housing for seniors

6) 30% affordability level will be achieved with the 20% Inclusionary Zoning, plus standalone buildings where affordability is created via external subsidy.

7) Unit sizes and configuration should encourage a range of household types, including singles, roommates, couples, families with children, students, and seniors.

8) There should be at least one independent senior living building on site, preferably near Huntington Hospital.

9) The City should consider partnering with a local school to create college student housing including but not limited to PCC and the Art Center.

10) There should be both rental and home ownership options.

11) If possible, housing typologies should include both traditional multifamily and other forms, such as townhomes, work-live units, and flats.

12) Where possible, the City requirements regarding affordable housing should support the ability of development teams to be competitive for non-City public sources of subsidy. These requirements may include affordability levels, unit types, target demographics, unit distribution, zoning, and other regulations.

13) Please refer to the Restorative Justice Framework for additional recommendations regarding housing.

Design, Land Use, and Community Interaction Recommendations

14) Recommend City Council request a site plan with some portion of City of Gardens compatible as well as townhome-style building types in Neighborhood 3 and multifamily residential in Neighborhoods 1 and 2.

15) Recommend moving the commercial space in the current plan to Neighborhood 1 to connect with Colorado Boulevard. The density of what is built must be graduated from North to South, compatible with the adjacent neighborhoods. South from Del Mar should provide for lower density and context compatibility.

16) Consider including a medium size (e.g. 150-room) extended or limited-service hotel in the commercial portion.

17) Recommend providing sports fields and ample open space for outdoor events in Neighborhood 3, potentially with parking underneath.

18) Recommend de-coupling parking spaces from the units. Selling/ renting units independently may result in better structures, and more thoughtful management of parking needs and availability.

19) Fitting into the context of the area should be of paramount consideration. Neighborhood character, adjacencies, stylistic compatibility, and Pasadena's unique 'sense of place' need to be respected. Physical integration into the surrounding neighborhoods and contextual compatibility are key, including connection to Old Pasadena.

20) The General Plan guidelines, as well as to Specific Plan(s) that may be applicable to adjacent areas should be consulted and respected during the planning process to create an integrated plan that connects with adjacent neighborhoods.

21) Public spaces need to be thoughtfully designed and placed throughout the site. If a site is dependent on ongoing programming to activate, consider an endowment to create a permanent fund for programming. Other spaces should have built-in activation so that ongoing programming is not required.

22) Recommend a commitment to public art and community programming around cultural touchstones to Pasadena's history.

Land Contribution Recommendations

23) The Committee recommends the City continue to hold title to the land and enter into long-term ground leases with developers as it begins Phase I. These leases may be at market rates or discounted rates to promote a specific use to meet a City priority. This will allow the City to collect both lease revenues and property taxes while still owning this valuable asset into the future.

24) All future economic feasibility analysis should include not only the one-time cost of vertical infrastructure but also the ongoing operational service and maintenance costs of the new Pasadena community, including police, fire, park maintenance, streetcleaning, street maintenance, and other non-fee services.

Economic Feasibility and Funding Recommendations

25) LUM recommends that the City consider the lower density 60% housing scenario with a 40% allocation to park and flexible open space. The open space, depending upon future market demand, could flex to accommodate commercial space, including but not limited to biotech, deep technology, and lab space.

26) All scenarios should include the cost of the Restorative Justice commitments.

27) All scenarios should focus on Return on Cost (Stabilized NOI / Total Development Cost) as the metric to compare across scenarios. Do not use leverage considerations; they are too assumptive. Using today's expected return criteria for mixed use urban development, a +/- 6.5% Return on Cost is appropriate to attract public and private capital to the project.

28) LUM recommends that the City ask the consultants to run a feasibility scenario where Phase I is 100% housing with little or no speculative office. Phase I should include neighborhood-supporting retail.

29) Phase II would bring commercial space (tech office or life sciences, for example) online at Year 5.

30) Phase III is all uses stabilized by Year 20 from the time predevelopment begins.

31) The City should assess all impacts of project phasing at each stage, including traffic disruption and the effects of vacant land held for future development.





PLACEMAKING AND PUBLIC ART

PLACEMAKING AND PUBLIC ART

The task of the Reconnecting Communities 710 Advisory Group entails social as well as physical reconnection of the 710 Stub. Social reconnection can occur via "placemaking" – providing gathering spots that bridge socioeconomic gaps and bring together a cross section of a community.

As more people, more often, work from home and shop from home, how do we as a community bring people together? How do we get people to look up from their cell phones? Placemaking provides an answer.

Placemaking exists at the intersection of the arts, culture, and space. The National Endowment for the Arts offers this useful definition/reference "Creative placemaking integrates arts, culture, and design in efforts to advance local economic, physical, and other community desired outcomes."

History

Historically, Pasadena has celebrated and prioritized arts and culture. The rich cultural history of Pasadena includes a long presence of major cultural institutions, such as the Pasadena Playhouse and the Norton Simon Museum; a rich architectural history that includes the Beaux Arts Civic Center and the Arts and Crafts Movement; and the world-renowned Rose Parade and Rose Bowl game.

The City formalized its commitment to arts and culture via two plans that integrated input from large, broad cross sections of the City. The 2005 Cultural Nexus plan comprehensively provided a plan for arts and culture. The Public Art Master Plan 2014 provided a framework for the future of public art. The plan outlined policies that reflect the role of public art in reinforcing Pasadena's identity and how public art can weave together culture, people, neighborhoods and ideas to create a memorable urban landscape.

An Economic Engine

Successful placemaking generates foot traffic, which leads to economic activity. The U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis reported that Arts & Cultural Economic Activity in the U.S. generated 4.2% of GDP, or $1.17 trillion in 2023. That activity supported 5.4 million jobs. Arts & Cultural Economic Activity included performing arts, museums, design services, and education services.

The City also has its 1% for Art program, which should apply to the redevelopment of the 710 Stub. These recommendations are separate and apart from the public art that will be included in this project, though some of the ideas listed here could be funded partially through that program.

Standing Committee Alignment

The Restorative Justice recommendations include the following related to placemaking:

- The creation of permanent programmable and publicly accessible physical space reflective of the community, that brings to life the cultural, and physical aspects of the community that existed before the construction of the SR-710, and triggers reflection of cultural histories for the future. (Element 3)

- Meaningful, measurable community benefits, such as… shared public spaces, should be delivered and maintained. (Element 6)

The Land Use and Mobility recommendations include the following related to placemaking:

- Public spaces need to be thoughtfully designed and placed throughout the site. If a site is dependent on ongoing programming to activate, consider an endowment to create a permanent fund for programming. Other spaces should have built-in activation so that ongoing programming is not required. (Item 21)

- Recommend a commitment to public art and community programming around cultural touchstones to Pasadena's history. (Item 22)

We believe this key pillar of reconnection merits greater detail and focus to ensure that it does not become an afterthought lost in the shuffle of more prominent issues like traffic. We present the following to increase the likelihood of successful placemaking:

Recommended Physical Elements

1) An amphitheater or other gathering space that includes lawn or grass areas for people to be on the ground, as well as elevated seating, either built-in or a raised area for viewing.

2) A civic gathering space for larger group events. This could be the same as the amphitheater, or separate.

3) Multiple smaller gathering spaces that are designed specifically for use and interaction. Special attention needs to be paid to shading these areas, as our warming climate will make outdoor space without shade usable for shorter periods of time over the next century.

4) Shade trees, lighting, planters, public art, and water features.

5) Retail that includes "third spaces," such as cafes.

Potential Physical Elements

The following elements and ideas merit consideration, including, but not limited to:

- Live/work units for artists, musicians or food businesses.
- Dedicated nonprofit office space.
- Pooling the 1% for Art funds to ensure the most cost-effective approach to developing places and programs for the area.
- Incorporating urban agriculture into the redevelopment in the form of gardens or greenhouses, or plants and trees with edible produce.
- An internal "maker space" or other ground floor space that is accessible to the entire community.
- Interactive museum.
- Ethnic business district.

Potential Programming

- Performances, festivals.
- Storytelling elements that can tell 710 history as well as citywide history.
- Public market – farmers markets, popup markets.
- Food cart pavilion or pod(s).
- Rotating art or other types of dynamic exhibits.

Placemaking offers an opportunity to translate the values we espouse as a community into tangible action. More ideas should be collected as part of a community-driven cultural planning process to gauge their feasibility. The Public Real Plan referenced in the "Next Steps" chapter of the Vision Plan should involve co-design and collaboration with community stakeholders, including RJCOC, and draw upon examples from other cities for the funding, management, and maintenance of the project's public space.

Recommendations for Next Steps:

1) Structure a process to develop the concept and plan for public space by building on the foundations of the 2005 Cultural Nexus and the Public Art Master Plan 2014, where and as appropriate.

2) Install the administrative and human (including artists) infrastructure to execute this concept as well as provide ongoing oversight/management. Similar to the ongoing involvement of the Departments of Planning and Transportation, the Arts and Cultural Affairs Division and RJCOC should be an integral part of planning.

3) Seek funding. Funding may come from:
(i) allocation of some of the overall 710 project funding;
(ii) arts and cultural related third-party sources;
(iii) the 1% public art fee; or (iv) from other sources to be determined.

4) Early phase priority. Include public space in all of the phases of the site development, including the earliest.

THANK YOU FOR ALLOWING THE RECONNECTING COMMUNITIES 710 ADVISORY GROUP TO OFFER OUR RECOMMENDATION TOWARDS THE REVITALIZATION OF THIS IMPORTANT PART OF PASADENA.

WE OFFER THESE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE BENEFIT OF FUTURE GENERATIONS OF PASADENA RESIDENTS.

Architectural
Resources Group

Architecture
Planning
Conservation



Historic Report on the 710 Displacement

Task 1: Historical Background and Data

Prepared for

City of Pasadena
City Manager's Office

Prepared by

Architectural Resources Group

July 2025

Opporite: Aerial view of Pasadena looking east in 1945; Colorado Boulevard can be seen at center, Green Street to the right (Photo courtesy of Pasadena Public Library)

Table of Contents

Introduction

Introduction. 3

Project Overview 3

Document Organization. 3

Project Team 7

Research Methodology and Sources 9

Notes on Language 11

Part I: Historical Background and Setting

Pasadena's Early History 17

Freeway Development at the State & National Levels .24

History of Freeway Construction in Pasadena 41

Part II: Historical Data

Overview 71

The Property Acquisition Process 71

Types of Property Acquisition 71

Property Acquisition Process for the 710 76

Effects of Displacement and Freeway Construction in Pasadena 79

Existing Communities in the Path of the Freeway 79

The Process of Displacement 82

Aftermath of Displacement and Its Impacts 84

Details of Displacement: Building Counts 86

Conclusion

Conclusion 88

For Further Reading 88

Bibliography

Bibliography 90

Appendices

Appendix A: Division of Highways Right of Way Maps

Appendix B: Right of Way Map Listings

Appendix C: City of Pasadena City Directory Listings, 1966-1968

Appendix D: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps

this page was intentionally left blank



Introduction

Opposite: Construction of the Foothill Freeway (Interstate 210) near Devil's Gate Dam, 1955 (Photo courtesy of University of Southern California)

Project Overview

This report was prepared for the City of Pasadena as part of the Historic Portion of the Reconnecting Pasadena 710 Master Plan process, which will develop a master plan for the State Route (SR) 710 Freeway relinquishment area, also known as the 710 Stub. The information herein will serve as background for the master plan. For the purposes of this report, the study area is defined as Walnut Street on the north, Pasadena Avenue on the east, California Boulevard on the south, and St. John Avenue/Havendale Drive on the west as well as the parcels cleared immediately south of Bellefontaine Street on either side of S. Pasadena Avenue). It also includes the area bounded by St. John Avenue, Walnut Avenue, and what would have been Holly Street and Terrace Drive prior to their removal for the 710 Freeway. In addition, it includes non-contiguous parcels bounded by Bellefontaine Street, South St. John Avenue, Barclay Alley, and South Pasadena Avenue.[1] (See maps below.) The report provides an overview of the history of, and the displacement related to, the construction of the SR-710 Freeway (also known as the Long Beach Freeway) in the City of Pasadena. It explores how the history of freeway construction was influenced by earlier planning practices and intersected with racism, discrimination, segregation, and exclusion to systematically marginalize and displace communities of color.

The history of planning and land use in the twentieth century, including the creation of the nation's freeway system, is fundamentally intertwined with then-prevailing ideas of race, class, and ethnicity. Land use policies in the first half of the twentieth century were influenced by these attitudes, entrenching and then reinforcing unequal access to wealth, privilege, and decision making. A host of public and private mechanisms were used to this end, eventually influencing the siting of freeways in the post-World War II period. During this period, freeway construction became one of the driving forces in urban planning, and decision-making related to freeway construction continued to privilege the voices and neighborhoods of affluent White residents over working class neighborhoods and communities of color. This same pattern would negatively impact the communities of color in Pasadena in the 1960s and 1970s during the planning and construction of the 710 Freeway.

Document Organization

This report provides a detailed examination of the history of the construction of the 710 Freeway in Pasadena, the impacts of its construction, and the community that was lost as a result. It includes details on the residents and businesses displaced as a result (full list of property owners found in Appendix B and list of occupants found in Appendix C). The list of property owners includes name, street or location, and the type of property acquisition used.[2] Details on name, address, and building type are included in the list of occupants. The report does not include detailed information on property values in the displacement area at the time properties were acquired by Caltrans or discussion of any relocation assistance provided to area residents (no evidence was found).

Part I provides a brief overview of events nationally and regionally before focusing on Pasadena specifically. Sections include: Pasadena's Early History, Highway and Freeway Development at the State and National Levels, and the History of Freeway Construction in

[1] The study area examined in this report is larger than the Relinquishment Area delineated in the 710 Master Plan. It encompasses parcels affected by the construction of the 710 Freeway.

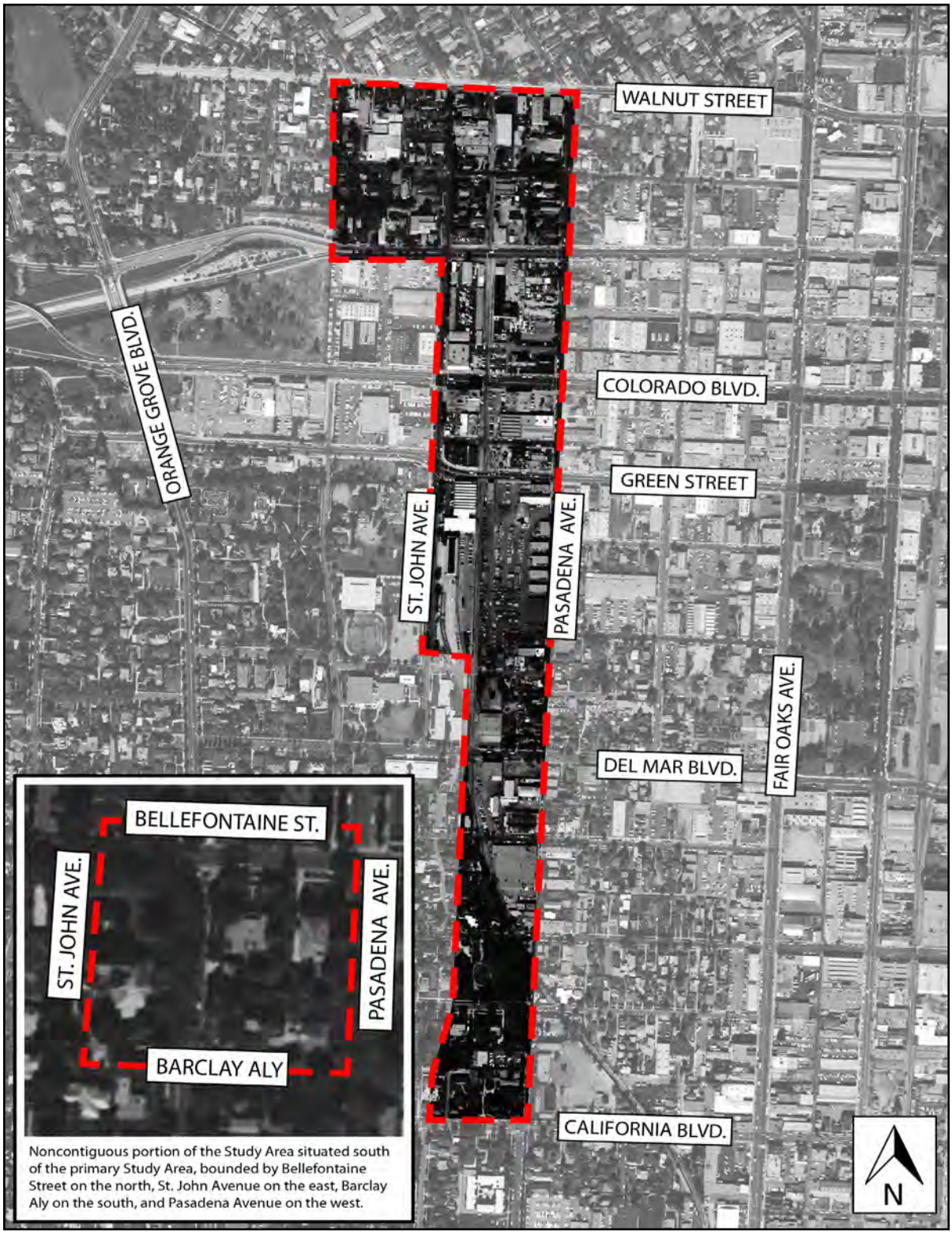
[2] For an explanation of property acquisition and the different types, see Part II.

Pasadena. The sections on freeway history and development provide national and state context to the occurrences in the City of Pasadena.

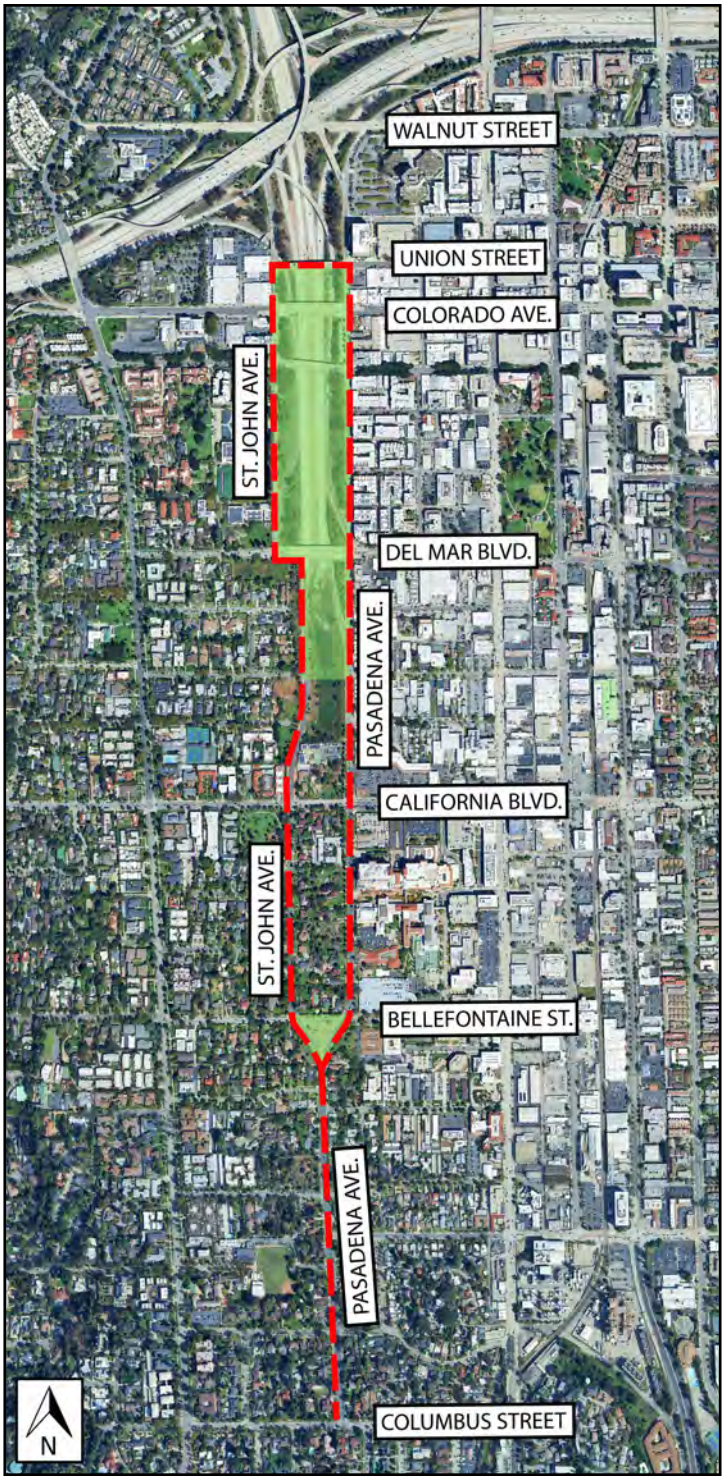
Part II of this report provides an overview of the property acquisition process and those affected by the construction of the 710 Freeway. It includes a breakdown of the individuals, businesses, and institutions displaced by the 710 Freeway, as well as numerical counts of buildings demolished in the study area. It concludes with a discussion of the effects of freeway construction on Pasadena's communities of color.

A breakdown of the contents of the report and their location is as follows:

Part I	History of freeway construction
	History of segregation and displacement
	Freeway construction in Pasadena
	Freeway opposition in Pasadena
Part II	Property acquisition
	Property acquisition process
	Effects of freeway construction
	Study Area building counts
Appendix A	Property acquisition maps
Appendix B	List of property owners
Appendix C	List of occupants and building types
Appendix D	Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps



Map of the project study area on a 1967 aerial (Map base courtesy of University of Santa Barbara Frame Finder)



Map of the relinquishment area (Courtesy of City of Pasadena)

Project Team

The project team included Architectural Resources Group (ARG) staff Katie Horak, Principal; Elysha Paluszek, Senior Associate; Brannon Smithwick; Sydney Landers; and Kiara Hosseinion, as well as subject-matter experts Becky Nicolaides, Ph.D.; Eric Avila, Ph.D.; William Deverell, Ph.D.; Elizabeth Logan, JD/Ph.D.; and Danielle Wiggins, Ph.D. Research support was provided by ARG intern Tyler Dahlgren.

Katie Horak is a Principal Architectural Historian at ARG. She has extensive experience related to preservation planning and the built environment in Southern California. Ms. Horak has managed and contributed to numerous projects documenting the history and built environment of Los Angeles, including sections of the *Los Angeles Citywide Historic Context Statement* and SurveyLA, the historic resources survey of the City of Los Angeles. Elysha Paluszek is a Senior Associate Architectural Historian and Preservation Planner at ARG. Her specialties include the preparation of historic context statements and historic resources surveys; her work has included researching and writing about the history of communities in Southern California, including Los Angeles. She has completed multiple projects related to communities of color and marginalized communities in California, including the Los Angeles Historical Housing and Land Use Study, West Hollywood Historical Context Study, African Americans in California Multiple Property Documentation Form, and Historic-Cultural Monument Nominations for the Los Angeles African American Historic Places Project.

Brannon is an Architectural Historian and Preservation Planner at ARG. She has a dual degree in historic preservation and urban planning from the University of Southern California. Her professional experience in historic preservation consulting includes conducting historic research and oral history interviews, site documentation and fieldwork, California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) documentation, and drafting historic context statements and landmark nominations.

Sydney is an Architectural Historian and Preservation Planner at ARG. Her work includes conducting historic resources surveys, HABS/HALS documentation, 508 compliance, historic context statements, cultural landscape reports, historic resource assessments, and producing technical reports for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Sydney received her Master of Science in Historic Preservation from the University of Texas at Austin, where her research centered on affordable housing, adaptive reuse, and university housing cooperatives.

The project team relied on the expertise of several project advisors who have worked extensively on the history of Southern California, the urban and suburban environment, and the West. They reviewed the draft report and lent their expertise to the project.

Dr. Eric Avila is a professor in the departments of History and Chicana/o Studies at UCLA. He also holds a courtesy appointment in the Department of Urban Planning. He teaches courses on the history of the Los Angeles, the history of American cities, and the history of Mexican Americans, California, and the West. His research has won various awards and prizes, including the recent inclusion of his article, "Popular Culture in the Age of the White Flight: Film Noir Disneyland, and the Cold War (Sub) Urban Imaginary" published in the *Journal of Urban History*, within a new publication by the Organization of American Historians featuring the ten best articles in American history written between the summers of 2004 and 2005. He is the author of the books *The Folklore of the Freeway: A Race and Revolt in the Modernist City* and *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles*.

Dr. William Deverell is a historian of the nineteenth and twentieth century American West and the director of the Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West, a collaborative research and teaching entity between USC's College of Letters, Arts, and Sciences and the Huntington Library. He has published numerous books and papers on the history of California and the American West. His work includes *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past*, and he is the co-author of *Water and Los Angeles: A Tale of Three Rivers* with Tom Sitton. He is the co-editor of *Land of Sunshine: An Environmental History of Metropolitan Los Angeles* and the *Blackwell Companion to Los Angeles* and *Blackwell Companion to California*. Professor Deverell's other research focuses on the aftermath of the Civil War in the American West.

Dr. Elizabeth Logan is a legal historian specializing at the intersection of landscape and community culture throughout California and the American West. As Co-Director of the Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West (ICW), she blends her skills in historical analysis and strategic management. She provides critical content and program coordination for ICW's Chinatown History Project – focusing on the neighborhood razed for the Union Station terminal – and the West on Fire Project. Her work involves blending archival analysis, creation of new archives through oral histories, and community engagement in service of public-facing history projects rooted in academic research.

Dr. Danielle Wiggins is an assistant professor of history at Caltech. She is currently working on a book manuscript preliminarily entitled *The Politics of Black Excellence: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Black Liberalism* which examines the evolution of racial uplift in the post-civil rights era and the intersections between black politics and the rightward-shifting Democratic Party between the early 1970s and the early 1990s. Dr. Wiggins' work has been supported by the Institute for Citizens and Scholars, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Jefferson Scholars Foundation at the University of Virginia. Her writing has been published in the *Journal of Urban History*, the *Journal of African American History*, the *Journal of Southern History*, *Black Perspectives*, and *Atlanta Studies*. At Caltech, she teaches courses on radical Black movements, modern African American history, and United States history with a focus on the recent past.

Dr. Becky Nicolaides is a historian specializing in the history of cities, suburbs, and Los Angeles. Her books include *The New Suburbia* (2024), *My Blue Heaven* (2002), and *The Suburb Reader*, edited with Andrew Wiese (2016), and her writing has appeared in academic journals, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, and other outlets. She was a member of Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti's Civic Memory Working Group and is currently working on Pasadena All Saints Church's "Telling the Whole Story Project," which focuses on reparative justice for the Tongva people. She has given numerous public lectures to community groups in and around Pasadena about the history of local race relations and segregation. Working with Stephen Berrey who heads the national Sundown Project, she is developing a "Suburb Toolkit" to help suburban communities create more inclusive, welcoming communities for all people. She has taught at UCSD, UCLA, and Pitzer College, and is currently a research scholar at the Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West.

Research Methodology and Sources

While this document is not meant to be an exhaustive history of freeway construction and displacement in Southern California, it serves as an introductory overview of the topic as well as an examination of how this history affected Pasadena and its communities of color.

The project team consulted a variety of primary and secondary source materials to inform the history of freeway construction. These included:

- Sources related to the history of freeway construction, such as the "Historical Context and Methodology for Evaluating Trails, Roads, and Highways in California," published by the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans), "The Implications of Freeway Siting in California" from the Pacific Southwest Region University Transportation Center, and articles published by the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA).
- Sources on the history of Pasadena, such as *The New Suburbia* by Becky Nicolaides, which provided background on the history of Pasadena during the post-World War II period and the complex racial dynamics that existed in the city at the time.
- Sources on the history of freeways and their displacement in Los Angeles included Eric Avila's *Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City* and *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles*, as well as Gilbert Estrada's "If You Build It, They Will Move: The Los Angeles Freeway System and the Displacement of Mexican East Los Angeles" in *Southern California Quarterly*.
- Newspaper archives. Newspapers were also key in documenting the history of freeway construction in Pasadena and its effects on the community. Newspapers consulted included the *Los Angeles Times*, *Pasadena Star News*, *Pasadena Independent*, *South Pasadenan*, *Los Angeles Sentinel*, *El Sereno Star*, and others. Researchers also consulted sources at the City of Pasadena City Clerk's office, Pasadena Museum of History, and Pasadena Public Library.

For the completion of Part II, sources included:

- Right-of-way (ROW) maps produced by the California Department of Transportation (then the Division of Highways). The project team used ROW maps to obtain the names of property owners from whom land was purchased for the 710 Freeway in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The maps include the names of property owners from whom land was purchased for the construction of the 710 Freeway, in this case, and other transportation projects. They also include parcel outlines, the type of acquisition used, date of purchase, and the amount of land area purchased for each parcel or ROW take. The maps for Caltrans District 7 are available online here through the Office of Right of Way Engineering library. The maps that cover the study area are included in Appendix A.
- Caltrans Archives. Acquisition records were sent to the Caltrans library in Sacramento. Acquisition records related to property purchasing before a final property transaction are not public because they contain personal property owner information. Grant deeds

related to the purchase of property by the state are available and contain largely the same information as the ROW maps. They do not include information related to property values.

- California Department of Transportation manuals. These included documentation on right-of-way and property acquisition procedures.
- Los Angeles County Assessor records. The ARG team checked select ROW map lists against Los Angeles County Assessor records, which are archived in the City of Pasadena permit center, to confirm that the information in the ROW maps matches that on record with the Assessor.
- City directories published between 1966 and 1968. The ARG team used city directories to obtain the names of residents and businesses located in the study area, as property owners and tenants/residents were not always the same. These years were selected because they are the listings closest in time to when the Division of Highways purchased the land in the study area for the construction of the 710 Freeway.
- Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. The project team used the Sanborn maps to cross check addresses and to obtain building counts to the extent possible. The latest Sanborn map available for Pasadena was produced in 1951, so it does not necessarily reflect exact building counts from the late 1960s and early 1970s. City directory listings, which include address and information about the residents and business at each address, were used to supplement the Sanborn maps and obtain more information to inform the building counts.

In addition to reviewing primary repositories and known resources, ARG undertook an extensive and deliberate search for property acquisition data related to the Caltrans-owned homes within the study area. This multi-pronged effort included the following steps, none of which yielded the sought-after information:

- A records request was submitted to Caltrans in October 2024 to obtain information on the property values at the time of acquisition for properties in the study area. In addition, ARG contacted Caltrans staff to inquire about any correspondence or records on file related to contact with property owners in the study area. Caltrans staff informed ARG that there are no such records on file with the District 7 office. Acquisition records were sent to Caltrans headquarters in Sacramento but that any transactions before the final transaction are not public records because they would have included private property owner information and is thus confidential.[3] Caltrans staff also informed ARG that records older than 30 years of age are not typically kept in their archives.
- ARG conducted research at the Pasadena Museum of History, specifically related to individuals and/or businesses located in the study area and displaced by the construction of the I-710 Freeway. Museum staff informed ARG that no lists of individuals and/or businesses displaced by the I-710 Freeway are on file in their archives.

[3] Phone conversation with Fatima Choudhury, Caltrans District 7, July 26, 2024.

ARG also conducted research on Garfield Elementary School, located adjacent to the study area (no longer extant). A records request was submitted on March 7, 2025, to the Pasadena Unified School District to inquire about records on file related to Garfield Elementary School enrollment records, including enrollment numbers and the names of students. The response to the request stated, "The District does not maintain enrollment records for the time period requested. The District asked the California Department of Education if it maintained records for this time period and learned that the CDE only possesses records by county, rather than by school site or district between 1948-1980. Additionally, the District's archive of board meetings and agendas only extends to 2004."[4]

For a full list of sources, please see the bibliography.

Notes on Language

The terms used to refer to individuals and groups of people carry meaning and power. They can convey positive or negative attitudes towards people or a group of people. Racism and discrimination influence the language used both in the past and today when referring to groups of people, especially those who have been historically disenfranchised.

This document endeavors to talk about difficult topics, including race, ethnicity, displacement, and disempowerment, with inclusivity and respect. Several sources related to the usage of inclusive and sensitive language were consulted, including the American Psychological Association's style guide on race and ethnic identity (which can also be found online at APA Style Guide and in the APA Publication Manual, Seventh Edition), the Diversity Style Guide online, and the Racial Equity Tools glossary online. The authors also consulted the National Archives' "Statement on Potentially Harmful Content", which provides guidance on the presentation of materials or sources that reflect outdated, biased, or offensive views and opinions.

Since this report addresses issues of race, ethnicity, and inequity, as well as historic attitudes towards race and ethnicity, sensitive terminology does appear. This includes language utilized in the past but now regarded as derogatory and offensive, particularly in primary source materials. If such language is used, it is included in quotation marks, either on its own if necessary to provide context or *in situ* within a primary source quotation. It is not included to perpetuate or excuse it, but to honestly convey historic attitudes towards race and ethnicity.

The APA notes that while care must be taken to avoid perpetuating biases and demeaning attitudes about people, at the same time, "historians and scholars writing analyses of past events or times or of historical figures must be careful not to misrepresent the ideas of the past in an effort to avoid language bias." Alterations to language may result in changes to the ideas conveyed in a primary source, and "the best approach is to retain the original language and to comment on it in the discussion. Quotations should not be changed to accommodate current sensibilities."[5]

Below is a discussion of the terms used related to race and ethnicity in this document. This

[4] Pasadena Unified School District Office of Communications, "RE: Public Records Request dated March 7, 2025 #25-074," March 17, 2025.

[5] American Psychological Association, "Historical Context," accessed October 19, 2022, https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/bias-free-language/historical-context.

is not necessarily a comprehensive list. Race refers to the "physical differences that groups or cultures consider socially significant" (for example, Black or African American, Asian, etc.). It is a social construct that is not universal and has changed over time. Some groups that are considered "White" in the United States today were considered "non-White" in previous eras, in U.S. Census data and in mass media and popular culture (for example, Irish, Italian, and Jewish people). Ethnicity, on the other hand, refers to "shared cultural characteristics such as language, ancestry, practices, and beliefs" (for example, Latino).[6] Terms for racial and ethnic groups are proper nouns and are therefore capitalized. Please note that terminology is highly personal and not uniform across a particular group of people. There are a variety of reasons that people may prefer one identifier over the other.

- African American and Black: Refers to people in the United States whose lineage traces directly or indirectly back to Africa. The terms do not necessarily mean the same thing. Black tends to be a broader term because it encompasses those of African descent who do not identify as American or are not from America. According to the APA, some American people of African ancestry prefer "Black," and others prefer "African American." Both are acceptable, and some individuals may prefer one or the other. In this document, the group referred to are generally of African descent and born in America, though it is recognized that this is a generalization. Both terms are used in this report.
- Asian and Asian American: The term Asian refers to people of Asian ancestry from Asia. The term Asian American is appropriate for people of Asian descent from the United States. According to the APA, they are not to be used synonymously, as doing so "reinforces the idea that Asian Americans are perpetual foreigners." In this document, when both terms are used, it is done to encompass both groups. Its intent is to recognize that historically, both groups existed side by side, not to lump them together as one group. When a specific group is discussed (for example, Japanese or Japanese Americans), that moniker is used.
- BIPOC: A term referring to "Black and/or Indigenous People of Color." People of Color (POC) is often used as well. BIPOC explicitly leads with Black and Indigenous identities, which helps to counter anti-Black racism and the erasure of Native communities.
- Hispanic and Latino: The usage of the terms Hispanic and Latino is evolving. Neither is all encompassing, and each has a different connotation. The term Latino may be preferred by people from Latin America. Some use the term Hispanic to refer to Spanish-speaking people, though not all people from Latin America speak Spanish. Various groups use and advocate for different identifiers. This document uses the term Latino, except in data tables containing information taken from the U.S. Census, or when referring to a more specific group of people.

[6] American Psychological Association, "Race and Ethnicity," accessed October 19, 2022, https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/bias-free-language/racial-ethnic-minorities.

- Indigenous Peoples: Terminology related to Native people can vary from person to person and nation to nation. Some Native nations operate with names that they did not choose for themselves but were instead selected by others. As with any group, it is best to consult members of that group for their preference. Therefore, sources written by Native Americans were consulted on the appropriate terminology to use.[7]
- People of Color: Often the preferred collective term for referring to non-White racial groups. Racial justice advocates have been using the term "people of color" (not to be confused with the pejorative "colored people") since the late 1970s as an inclusive and unifying frame across different racial groups that are not White, to address racial inequities.
- White: This document uses the term "White" for people of European ancestry. The APA notes that "the use of the term Caucasian as an alternative to White or European is discouraged because it originated as a way of classifying White people as a race to be favorably compared with other races." Therefore, this document avoids the use of the term Caucasian unless it is from a primary source quote.

Many media outlets and inclusive language guides now capitalize terms when referring to a race, including both Black and White, though this is not universal and may change. It must also be recognized that language evolves over time and continues to do so. Terms that are regarded as acceptable and inclusive as of the completion of this document may not necessarily remain so in the future.

Additional terms used in this document include:

- Discrimination: the unequal treatment of members of various groups based on race, gender, social class, sexual orientation, physical ability, religion, and other categories.
- Freeway: a divided arterial highway with full control of access and with grade separations at intersections.[8]
- General Plan: a California city or county's outline for the overall pattern of future development; a collection of the goals and policies which a municipality will base their land use decisions; each General Plan must include seven elements – land use, circulation, housing, conservation, open-space, noise, and safety – but each municipality may adopt additional elements.
- Highway: a public right of way for the purpose of travel or transportation; an arterial highway is defined as a highway primarily for through travel usually on a continuous route; a divided highway is defined as one with separated roadbeds for traffic traveling in opposing directions.[9]

[7] For more on appropriate language when referring to Native people, please see the Native Governance Center's guide "How to Talk about Native Nations," here https://nativegov.org/resources/how-to-talk-about-native-nations/.

[8] California Department of Transportation, Chapter 60: Nomenclature, Highway Design Manual, December 2020, 60-5. These are current definitions. Historic definitions are included in the report below.

[9] California Department of Transportation, Chapter 60: Nomenclature, Highway Design Manual, December 2020, 60-5.

- Parkway: an arterial highway for noncommercial vehicles, for full or partial control of access, which is typically located within a park or a ribbon park-like development.[10]
- Racism: different from racial prejudice, hatred, or discrimination. Racism involves one group having the power to carry out systematic discrimination through the institutional policies and practices of the society and by shaping the cultural beliefs and values that support those racist policies and practices.
- Redlining: a discriminatory practice that puts services (financial services, i.e. loans, or otherwise) out of reach for residents of certain areas based on race or ethnicity. The term "redlining" originated in the 1930s, when a government-sponsored corporation (the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, or HOLC) assessed and categorized neighborhoods occupied by ethnic groups and people of color as "declining" or "hazardous" and therefore viewed them as investment risks; the policy discouraged investment in these neighborhoods, the legacy of which is felt to this day.
- Restrictive covenant: a clause in a deed or lease that restricts the free use or occupancy of property by forbidding certain uses, types of buildings, or owners/occupants based on race and ethnicity.
- Right-of-way: the land over which a public road is constructed, land occupied by a railroad, or land used by a public utility (such as transmission line).
- Segregation: "the separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group by enforced or voluntary residence in a restricted area, by barriers to social intercourse, by separate educational facilities, or by other discriminatory means."[11]
- "Slum": a derogatory term used to describe areas or neighborhoods containing substandard housing, unsanitary conditions, and often overcrowding; historically, the term was often associated with neighborhoods in which communities of color lived.
- Suburb: the residential area on the outskirts of a city or large town; a smaller community adjacent to or within commuting distance of a city.
- Urban renewal: the process of seizing and demolishing a large swath of public and private property for the purposes of "modernizing" and "improving" what was regarded as aging infrastructure.
- Zoning: the process by which a municipality organizes land into areas, or zones, and regulates the allowable uses in each zone; it typically establishes development standards such as lot size, building size, setback, and other features in a particular zone.[12]

[10] California Department of Transportation, Chapter 60: Nomenclature, Highway Design Manual, December 2020, 60-5.

[11] Merriam-Webster Dictionary, "Segregation," accessed June 12, 2024, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/segregation.

[12] For more on terms related to planning, see "A Citizen's Guide to Planning," prepared by the Governor's Office of Planning and Research, State of California, January 2001.



Part I

Historical Background and Setting

Opposite: The Pasadena Freeway (Arroyo Seco Parkway/110 Freeway), circa 1940 (Photo courtesy of Pasadena Public Library)

Pasadena's Early History

Indigenous People in Pasadena

The displacement of disempowered groups of people has a long history in the United States, and Pasadena is no exception. The land that is occupied today by the City of Pasadena was first inhabited by Indigenous people who are known as the Gabrieleño and Tongva. The Indigenous people of Southern California were descended from the Uto-Aztecan peoples, who entered the area between 2,000 B.C.E. and 700 C.E. By 1500, dozens of Indigenous villages had been established in what is now Los Angeles County. Each village operated as an independent unit with distinct leadership and governance, but they remained interconnected by interpersonal ties and alliances.[13] The name Gabrieleño was given to the local Indigenous people by the Spanish when they arrived in the area in the eighteenth century. The name is derived from the nearby Mission San Gabriel.

The name Tongva has been introduced as a substitute for Gabrieleño, though usage of this name is not universal. The name was introduced in the early twentieth century by an anthropologist interviewing an Indigenous woman and was based on the name of the village in which she lived. The name was incorrectly interpreted as the name of her entire tribe. The Indigenous people of the region derived their identity primarily from their associated villages and did not have a central, unifying tribal identity the way that the name Gabrieleño suggests.[14]

Some argue that a more accurate name is Kizh (pronounced Keech).[15] This was what the Indigenous people in the Whittier Narrows area called themselves and may be "the closest thing to a pan-tribal name" that exists today.[16]

The Tongva lived in what is today the southern portion of Los Angeles County, northern portion of Orange County, and western portions of San Bernardino and Riverside counties.[17] The region was known as Tovaangar and included the land from what is now Palos Verdes to San Bernardino, and between Saddleback Mountain and the San Fernando Valley. Scholars estimate that the Indigenous population of the area numbered approximately 5,000 before 1770.[18] They lived in about 100 villages, each of which was an independent entity that was interconnected to those surrounding it.[19]

---

[13] Geosnytec, Olin, and Gehry Partners LLP, L.A. River Master Plan, prepared for Los Angeles County and Los Angeles County Public Works, June 2022, 74.

[14] E. Gary Stickel, "Why the Original Indian Tribe of the Greater Los Angeles Area is Called Kizh Not Tongva," Gabrieleño Band of Mission Indians Tribal Government, February 2022, 3, accessed May 13, 2024, https://gabrielenoindians.org/2022/08/09/kizh-not-tongva/.

[15] E. Gary Stickel, "Why the Original Indian Tribe of the Greater Los Angeles Area is Called Kizh Not Tongva," Gabrieleño Band of Mission Indians Tribal Government, February 2022, 3, accessed May 13, 2024, https://gabrielenoindians.org/2022/08/09/kizh-not-tongva/. Anthropologist A.L. Kroeber referred to the group as Gabrieliños in 1925 in the first published compendium about California's Native Americans. Earlier anthropological works referred to them as the Kizh or Kij.

[16] E. Gary Stickel, "Why the Original Indian Tribe of the Greater Los Angeles Area is Called Kizh Not Tongva," Gabrieleño Band of Mission Indians Tribal Government, February 2022, 3, accessed August 25, 2022, https://gabrielenoindians.org/2022/08/09/kizh-not-tongva/.

[17] Los Angeles Almanac, "Original People of Los Angeles County, accessed August 25, 2022, http://www.laalmanac.com/history/hi05.php.

[18] William McCawley, *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles County* (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1996), 25.

[19] Sean Greene and Thomas Curwen, "Mapping the Tongva Villages of L.A.'s Past," *Los Angeles Times*, May 9, 2019, accessed August 25, 2022, https://www.latimes.com/

The Tongva built "a complex society of significant economic power and cultural influence" due to their location between other Indigenous groups and the natural resources available in the region.[20] The largest village in the area was Yaanga (or Yanga), which was located in what is now downtown Los Angeles. What is today the City of Pasadena is located near what was the villages of Hahamogna and Hahamog-na, which take their names from the local Tongva band named Hahamog'na. The Hahamog'na lived in the Arroyo Seco between that is now the Los Angeles River, Glendale, Highland Park, South Pasadena, Pasadena, and part of Altadena.[21] Hahamogna itself was one of the largest Tongva villages in the San Fernando Valley area.

The Spanish and Mexican Periods

Following the arrival of the Spanish in North America, the lives of the area's Indigenous people changed dramatically. In 1769, Captain Gaspar de Portolá and Father Junípero Serra led an expedition from Baja (in what is today Mexico) to the area they called Alta California. They traveled through the Los Angeles Basin in the summer of 1769 as they made their way north. On the heels of this expedition, the Spanish founded a system of missions with the purpose of converting the Native Americans to Christianity and, by extension it was believed, into loyal subjects of Spain.

The colonization of land in North American was legitimized by the Doctrine of Discovery, which was the result of a series of Papal Bulls (or formal statements from the Pope) issued by the Vatican between 1452 and 1514. The documents played a central role in Spain's colonization of the Americas. The Doctrine of Discovery gave Spain and other European nations exclusive territorial rights to the lands of the Americas. It stated that any land not inhabited by Christians was available to be "discovered" and claimed by Christian rulers. According to the document, the lands' inhabitants should be converted to Christianity and their lands claimed by Christian rulers.[22] Spain applied this principal in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, and other European nations followed suit. Using the Doctrine of Discovery as justification, Spain colonized the land in Southern California and forcibly removed the area's Indigenous population that had been living there for centuries.

The colonization of Alta California was accomplished by a three-pronged approach, part of which was the establishment of the mission system. Spain intended to create a self-sufficient regional colony that was both protected from foreign incursions and would help maintain the country's foothold in the region.[23] The missions (including the San Gabriel Mission, founded in 1771) became the most important part of this system, for they helped sustain the region economically.[24] This economic success relied on the exploitation of the region's Indigenous people, who were forced to work in the missions' agricultural fields and in other capacities.[25]

projects/la-me-tongva-map/.

[20] McCawley, 9.

[21] PSC SoCal, "Hahamog'na: Native Tongva People," October 4, 2010, https://www.pbssocal.org/shows/departures/hahamogna-native-tongva-people.

[22] Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, "The Doctrine of Discovery, 1493," accessed May 13, 2024, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/doctrine-discovery-1493. The Vatican formally repudiated the Doctrine of Discovery in 2023.

[23] Spain also established pueblos, or towns, and presidios, or military settlement created to protect Alta California from attack by other countries.

[24] Daniel Prosser, "Spanish Colonial and Mexican Era Settlement, 1781-1849," *Los Angeles Citywide Historic Context Statement*, prepared for the City of Los Angeles department of City Planning, February 2016, 2-3.

[25] Prosser, "Spanish Colonial and Mexican Era Settlement," 5.

Missionaries believed that the Indigenous population was in need of improvement through conversion to a more "settled" way of life (i.e. agriculture and the domestication of animals).[26] The missionaries "considered agricultural land use a way to cultivate civilization and Christianity among Indigenous peoples."[27] The missions themselves became the places in which Indigenous people were forced to convert to Christianity, work, and live in adherence to a Spanish "civilized" way of life.[28] Many of the area's Indigenous people were forcibly relocated to land in proximity to the missions. Not all of the area's Indigenous people were forced onto mission lands or converted to Christianity. Those that did not convert and move to mission lands instead lived in or near the pueblo of Los Angeles (in what is today downtown Los Angeles) and worked in the pueblo or on privately owned Spanish ranchos.[29]

In 1821, Mexico gained its independence from Spain, and in the 1830s, the new Mexican government secularized the missions. The new government believed that it would be more beneficial for both the Indigenous people and the land itself to be removed from the oversight of the mission's fathers.[30] The land previously held by the missions was supposed to revert to the ownership of the area's Indigenous inhabitants and the missions would serve as parish churches for local Indigenous communities. In reality, few Indigenous people gained land following the secularization of the missions, and those that did were unable to maintain possession for long. The majority of mission land became ranchos and were owned by local governments and in turn, members of the local ruling class. Indigenous people continued to be subjugated and were "categorically deemed nonwhite, politically disenfranchised, and ruthlessly segregated from European Americans" after California was admitted to the United States in 1850.[31] The people who once called the land that is now Pasadena home were systematically displaced from their homes to make way for European settlement and development driven by incoming European colonizers, a pattern that would be repeated in the twentieth century as communities of color were forcibly removed from their homes to make way for the SR-710 and I-210 Freeways.

During the period of Mexican governance, the area which now makes up the City of Pasadena became part of Rancho San Pasqual, Rancho Santa Anita, and Rancho San Rafael. The Mexican government granted Rancho San Pasqual to the Juan Marine family in 1827. Following Marine's death, the land was acquired by Jose Perez and Enrique Sepulveda, and in 1843, Manual Garfias acquired part of the rancho. By 1860, John S. Griffin and Benjamin Wilson had acquired the land, parts of which they subdivided and sold.[32] Rancho Santa Anita, located east of Rancho San Pasqual, the western portion of which eventually became part of a ranch owned by Leonard Rose named Lamanda Park, which was

[26] Yvette J. Saavedra, *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race, Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771-1890* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018), 51.
[27] Saavedra, 51.
[28] Saavedra, 52.
[29] William McCawley, *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles County* (Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1996), 200. For more on Indigenous life in the nineteenth century, see *The First Angelinos*.
[30] Prosser, "Spanish Colonial and Mexican Era Settlement," 18.
[31] Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, repr 2009), 5.
[32] Pamela O'Connor and Urban Conservation Section, City of Pasadena Planning Division, "Architectural/Historical Development of the City of Pasadena Historic Context/ Property Type Report," January 1993, 10.



View of early Pasadena, looking northeast from Valley and Pasadena Avenues, 1885 (Photo courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library

later annexed by the City of Pasadena in 1906. Rancho San Rafael, located west of Rancho San Pasqual, was acquired by Jose Maria Verdugo in 1784. Later, portions of it were purchased by a series of individuals, including Prudent Beaudry and Benjamin Dreyfus. This would become the foundation for what was later Pasadena.

Early Pasadena

In the 1870s, a group of farmers from Indianapolis formed the Indiana Colony to purchase land in a warmer location. Though the economic panic of 1873 postponed the endeavor and forced many of the original investors to withdraw, a subsequent organization, the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, purchased land belonging to Rancho San Pasqual. The land was subdivided in 1874 and residential construction began over the next two years. The new community was named Pasadena. A commercial center developed near the intersection of Fair Oaks Avenue and Colorado Boulevard.[33] The new community's economy was based in agriculture, specifically citrus cultivation.

Following the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1886, California became more accessible to the rest of the country and began to grow in earnest. This included Pasadena. The downtown commercial area developed steadily along Colorado Boulevard, Fair Oaks Avenue, and Raymond Avenue.[34] Soon, new hotels were also constructed to accommodate the increasing number of residents and tourists, a trend which would continue into the next century. The City of Pasadena was incorporated in 1886. The new

[33] O'Connor, 12-13.

[34] O'Connor, 16.

city's economy was based heavily in tourism, with boosters promoting the area's "healthful," mild climate that doctors believed could help cure, or at least lessen the effects of, tuberculosis and other diseases.[35] Through the promotion of the new city, it grew quickly into a desirable tourist destination. Tourists tended to stay for the winter and return to their homes in the East or Midwest for the summer. By the mid-1890s, tourists began to purchase land and construct permanent homes rather than make use of the resort hotels that had sprung up in Pasadena.[36]

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Pasadena had a growing multi-ethnic and multi-racial population. They initially were primarily domestic workers who came with their employers or were middle-class people who traveled to Pasadena on their own. Many of these domestic workers lived along South Vernon Avenue (now South St. John Avenue)[37] early on, leading to the area becoming one of the city's primary neighborhoods for residents of color.[38] Later groups were more "economically and occupationally diverse" and may have been encouraged by accounts from families and friends who had already moved there.[39] By 1919, the city had a population of approximately 3,000 immigrants representing 24 nationalities.[40] The city's population had dramatic divisions along class and racial lines – a wealthy White upper class on one hand, and a working class population of color who worked in the service industry for its White residents on the other.[41]

In the first half of the twentieth century, Pasadena residents of color primarily lived west of Fair Oaks Avenue. This included Northwest Pasadena and the aforementioned neighborhood surrounding South Vernon and South Raymond Avenues south of Colorado Boulevard (to the west of Fair Oaks Avenue). These multi-ethnic neighborhoods included African American, Asian, Latino, and European immigrant residents.[42]

Northwest Pasadena became a core of Pasadena's African American community, as did the South Vernon Avenue area (South Vernon Avenue from Colorado Boulevard on the north and Del Mar Avenue on the south).[43] A commercial area of Black-owned businesses and institutions developed along North Fair Oaks Avenue in Northwest Pasadena and along Dayton Avenue to the east of the area that would later be cleared for the SR-710 Freeway. Community institutions included First AME Church on South Vernon Street (founded in 1886), Friendship Baptist Church on Dayton Avenue (founded in 1893), and the Scattergood Settlement on North Fair Oaks Avenue run by Black Pasadenans (which provided after school programs for school children). Scott Methodist Episcopal Church was founded in 1903 and eventually had a church on Mary Street, completed in 1930, which was a major architectural landmark for the city's African American community.[44] There were also newspapers, social groups, and clubs run by and for people of color. The Pasadena chapter of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP, founded in 1919) was active in local affairs, as were other civic organizations such as the Afro-American State Council.[45] The Black population increased at

[35] O'Connor, 17.

[36] O'Connor, 20.

[37] Vernon Avenue was renamed St. John Avenue circa 1970. No mentions of Vernon Avenue are found in area newspapers after 1970. However, a precise date or reason for the change was not found.

[38] Lynn M. Hudson, *West of Jim Crow: The Fight Against California's Color Line* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2020).

[39] Carson Anderson, "Ethnic History Research Report," 3.

[40] Anderson, 5.

[41] Andy Weise, *Places of Their Own*, 35.

[42] Anderson, 6. For more, please see the "Ethnic History Research Report."

[43] Anderson, 20.

[44] Anderson, 23.

[45] Anderson, 21.



Scott Methodist Episcopal Church at 55 Mary Street, 1929
(Photo courtesy of Pasadena Public Library)



Meiji Laundry at 244 W. Colorado Boulevard, unk. date
(Photo courtesy of Pasadena Public Library)

a more rapid pace than other populations of color in Pasadena. By 1920, Pasadena's African American population was approximately 1,094, and by 1930, it had nearly doubled to more than 3,000.[46] Among the population were domestic workers and other working-class professionals, as well as doctors, lawyers, and builders/real estate developers.[47] By the late 1940s, Pasadena's African American population was approximately 6,500, as people moved to California cities in search of work during the Great Depression and World War II.[48]

Pasadena also had populations of Latino and Asian residents that were present in smaller numbers in the early twentieth century. The city's Latino population initially lived primarily in the area around South Raymond Avenue and Broadway (now Arroyo Parkway).[49] By 1910, Latinos also began moving to northwest Pasadena in the vicinity of Washington Boulevard and an area known as Titleyville to the east.[50]

Pasadena's Asian community, which was smaller than the African American and Latino populations well into the twentieth century due to exclusionary immigration policies, lived initially near South Raymond Avenue and then also in the northwest Pasadena by the 1920s. Some Asian residents lived and had businesses in the city's central business district on or near Colorado Boulevard and Fair Oaks Avenue.[51] The city's Asian population was majority working-class during the first two decades of the twentieth century, but also included small business owners. Several churches, including a Japanese Union Church on Mary Street (1913), opened during

[46] Anderson, 22-24.
[47] Anderson, 24.
[48] Anderson, 28.
[49] Anderson, 5.
[50] Anderson, 6.
[51] Anderson, 2.

this time.[52] The Chinese population, targeted by harsh anti-Chinese sentiment at the end of the nineteenth century, was prohibited from living outside a proscribed area south of South Raymond Avenue and California Boulevard (to the south of the study area).[53] Japanese-owned businesses tended to be located in this same vicinity, while Japanese residents lived in small pockets in northwest Pasadena, the Lincoln Triangle, and Brenner Park.[54] Several Japanese nurseries were located to the east and south of the study area as well as in northwest Pasadena. The Japanese School and Cultural Center, established in 1910, served the city's Japanese and Japanese American community.[55]

Garfield Grammar School, located at the corner of South Pasadena Avenue and California Boulevard (demolished), served a diverse student body composed of students from the wealthier Orange Grove Avenue area to the west and the working-class area along South Vernon and South Raymond Avenues to the east.[56]

In the early twentieth century, Pasadena actively segregated people of color into specific areas, and city leaders enacted legislation early in Pasadena's history to ensure continued racial segregation. As will be discussed in the next section, city leaders and community members used multiple tools to ensure the segregation of people of color from White neighborhoods. These included city legislation, restrictive covenants, homeowners associations, and intimidation and violence.[57] Willa Mae Robinson, sister of baseball player Jackie Robinson, recalled: "North Fair Oaks [Avenue], that was the dividing line between Blacks and Whites, […] We lived over there on the Black side … and the we couldn't even cross to this side, the White side."[58] These well-established neighborhoods – among the only areas Pasadena residents of color could live for decades – would be targeted for redevelopment and removal in the post-World War II period.

[52] Anderson, 49.
[53] Anderson, 36.
[54] Anderson, 50.
[55] Anderson, 50-51.
[56] Anderson, 8.
[57] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 151.
[58] Andy Weise, *Places of Their Own*, 35.

Freeway Development at the State and National Levels

Highway Development at the National and State Levels Before World War II

Though it was not until the mid-twentieth century that a nationwide interstate highway system was established in the United States, efforts to develop regional connections via a network of roads and highways date to the early nineteenth century.[59] In the earliest years of American nation-building, roads were largely unpaved, providing local access for the passage of people and goods by wagon to complement an extensive waterway transportation system along the East Coast.[60] As American settlement expanded westward and the country began to urbanize in response to industrialization, political authorities and private landowners recognized the need to unify the young nation by improving its roadways to accommodate more regional access across state lines.[61] The government took advantage of westward migration as a means by which to improve road construction by selling federal land holdings to settlers who in turn built roads with government generated revenue, thus contributing to the overall expansion and maintenance of America's earliest roadways.[62]

Government- and privately-funded roads continued to develop in a piecemeal fashion across the Northeast and Midwest at the turn of the nineteenth century, but as Americans began moving west at an increasing rate, the need for a trans-Appalachian roadway became increasingly apparent.[63] This resulted in the construction of the Cumberland Road, later renamed the National Road, in 1811.[64] The National Road, which ran between Maryland and Illinois, was technically America's first federally funded interstate highway, laying the foundation for the U.S. federal highway system to come in the following century. Its popularity would only be surpassed in the mid-nineteenth century by the ever-expanding transcontinental railroad network, which quickly became faster and more efficient than road travel.[65]

In California, the earliest roads served as supply chains for the missions that has been established between San Diego and San Francsico. Mission roads played an essential role in maintaining political stability for the Spanish and Mexican governments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and formed the foundation upon which California's modern highway system evolved over the course of the next two hundred years.[66] The

[59] The term "highway" was not used widely until the 1910s. Prior to this, the most commonly used term was "road." The term "freeway" came into usage in the postwar period and was often used interchangeably with "expressway."
[60] National Research Council, Committee on Ecological Impacts of Road Density, "Assessing and Managing the Ecological Impacts of Paved Roads," United States: National Academies Press, 2005, 38-39.
[61] California Department of Transportation (Caltrans), "A Historical Context and Methodology for Evaluating Trails, Roads, and Highways in California," prepared for the Cultural Studies Office, Division of Environmental Analysis, California Department of Transportation, California: Sacramento, 2016, 51; Kathy Alexander, "The National Road – First Highway in America," *Legends of America* (blog), updated March 2024, accessed May 2024, https://www.legendsofamerica.com/ah-nationalroad/.
[62] National Research Council, "Assessing and Managing the Ecological Impacts of Paved Roads," 39.
[63] Alexander, "The National Road – First Highway in America."
[64] National Research Council, "Assessing and Managing," 39; Alexander, "The National Road – First Highway in America."
[65] Caltrans, "A Historical Context and Methodology for Evaluating Trails, Roads, and Highways in California," 51; Alexander, "The National Road."
[66] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 35, 51-54, 75, 144.

first mission road in the state that embodied characteristics of an interconnected highway was the El Camino Real (or the "Royal Road"). Constructed in sections between 1769 and 1833 and spanning a total of 600 miles, the unpaved trail was developed by Spanish colonizers for *carreta* (cart) and pack mule transport. The purpose of El Camino Real evolved over time, transitioning slowly from a commerce trail to an automobile highway in the twentieth century.[67]

Following an economic recession in the late 1830s, federally funded road construction halted, and road development fell to local governments and often relied on private funding.[68] This practice continued until the 1880s when the country again began to prosper and the Progressive Era took hold. California was one of the first states to seriously expand its roadbuilding capacity during this period. Its population rapidly increased, and the need for adequate roads rapidly became apparent. Despite various road improvements, its roads and early highways were spotty and noncontiguous, and transportation was difficult due to the state's variable terrain.[69] Despite these challenges, westward bound trails from the Southwest were converted to roads, and hundreds of new wagon and stage roads were built to support the state's economic growth in fields like agriculture, industry, and technology between the 1850s and the 1890s. As the state's population grew, so did its appeal as a tourist destination. Increases in tourism reinforced California's need for better road capabilities.

By the late nineteenth century, the United States had become an industrial nation, spurring economic growth and social problems in its cities. Policymakers and activists responded with reform efforts, coalescing around the Progressive Movement, which worked to alleviate the ill effects of rampant industrial capitalist growth while supporting the interests of middle-class Americans. Their efforts coincided with the advent of new transportation technologies such as the internal combustion engine, which emerged in the 1890s and led to production of America's first gas and electric motorized vehicles.

Among the myriad of Progressive campaigns was the "Good Roads Movement," which sought to improve local and regional roads in the 1880s and 1890s as transportation had become a crucial driver of social and economic growth and middle class leisure time was on the rise.[70] Various chapters of the Good Roads Association developed across the nation to address the poor conditions of the nation's roadways.[71] Coupled with the "Back to Nature Movement," which encouraged Americans to explore the outdoors away from overpopulated urban environments, the demand for new and better roads was at an all-time high.[72] The Good Roads Association, composed predominately of bicyclists and wealthy automobile owners, made hard surfaced roads the organization's primary goal. It lobbied Congress and state governments to provide increased federal funding for roadbuilding and maintenance.[73]

During the Progressive Era, California

[67] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 52, 57.

[68] National Research Council, "Assessing and Managing," 15-16; Alexander, "The National Road."

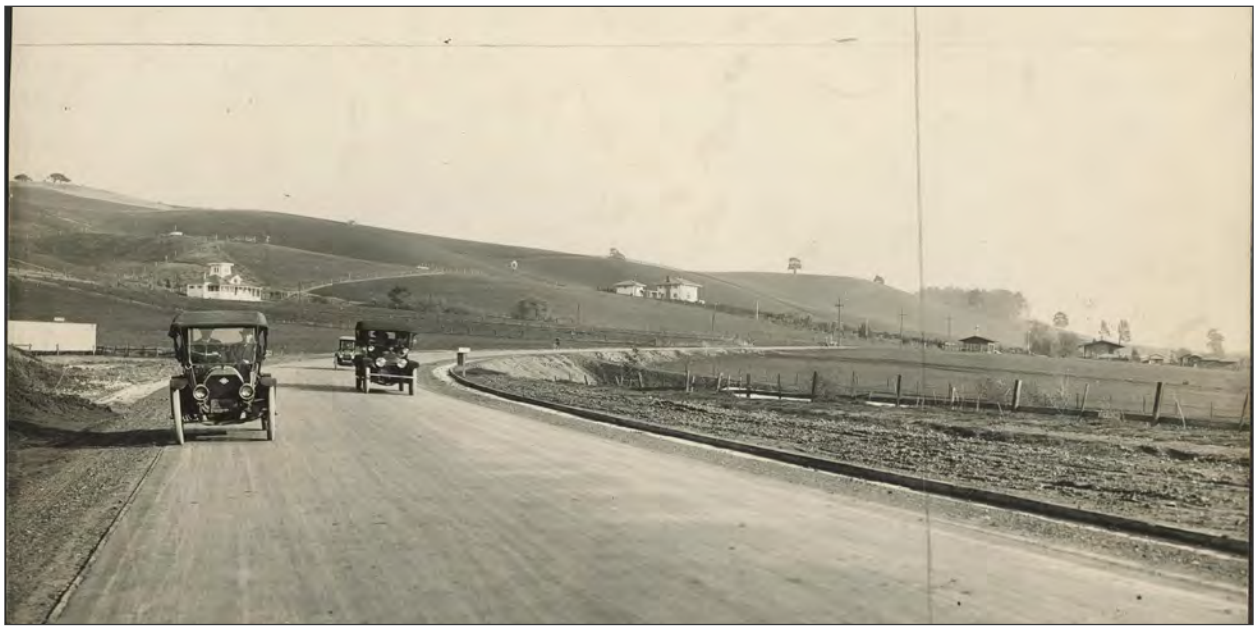
[69] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 51-54, 57.

[70] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 54, 64-67.

[71] Carol Roland et. al., Mead & Hunt, Inc., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Inventory/Nomination Form, prepared for the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 2011, E-4.

[72] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 54, 64-67.

[73] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-5.



The Lincoln Highway (now Foothill Boulevard) near Hayward, CA, unk. date (Photo courtesy of University of Michigan Library Special Collections)

roadbuilding accelerated with the rise of automobile production and subsequent pressure and private funding from local chapters of interest groups like the Good Roads Association, American Automobile Association (AAA), and the Automobile Club of California (ACC, established 1901), the latter of which played an influential role in helping to develop the El Camino Real into a modern thoroughfare for motorized vehicles in the first decade of the twentieth century.[74] In 1895, the state established the California State Bureau of Highways (Bureau) to centralize highway and road development. Policymakers solidified state-regulated highway construction by adopting a constitutional amendment that authorized the creation of a single highway system in 1902. This was the first time the California legislature made a budgetary appropriation of funding specifically for state roads, which would establish more statewide government oversight rather than relying on local governments and privatized spending to propel highway development.[75] Subsequent legislation continued this trend of financing road construction and maintenance by the state.

By the early 1900s, both public and private forces backed the creation of a transcontinental highway system. Middle-class motorists played a key role, especially as they became voracious consumers of automobiles with the introduction of the Ford

[74] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 64-67; 70-72.

[75] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 85-87, 114; Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-7 and E-8; "Caltrans History," California Department of Transportation, accessed May 2024, https://dot.ca.gov/programs/public-affairs/caltrans-history. In 1907, the Department of Highways was reorganized under the State Department of Engineering until the Department of Public Works was established in 1921.

Model T in 1908. Most road legislation passed in the early twentieth century was galvanized by grassroots initiatives led by automobile owners and clubs, local politicians, business leaders, and other local actors.[76] While these stakeholders pushed for better local and regional roads, other organizations emerged to promote the construction of interstate or transcontinental highways to compete with railroad transportation nationwide. One of the most influential of these was the Lincoln Highway Association (LHA), which created the Lincoln Highway between 1913 and 1928. It ran from New York City to San Francsico with support from local communities and minimal financial support from the federal government. The Lincoln Highway became popular with motorists and highway advocates who used it as a public relations tool to promote transcontinental interstate construction. In 1919, a young Dwight D. Eisenhower helped lead the first convoy of military trucks over 3,000 miles along the Lincoln Highway from Washington D.C. to Oakland, the first trip of its kind that spurred the use of trucks to transport goods long distances across the Lincoln Highway beginning in the early 1920s.[77]

Several other transcontinental highways sprung up across the U.S. in the in the first two decades of the twentieth century. These were essentially sections of local and state roads that were cobbled together and developed with funding from private benefactors and booster clubs in partnership with municipal and state governments. Perhaps the most famous of these was Route 66 (now U.S. 66). Later referred to as the "Main Street of America," it spanned 2,448 miles running from Chicago, Illinois through Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona before ending in Los Angeles. Route 66 remained a primary route for westward travelers and helped facilitate auto-centric commercial tourism across the American West for over fifty years.[78]

The success of the Lincoln Highway and its contemporaries incentivized the federal government to become more involved in improving highway systems overall by the late 1910s.[79] At the time, most roads and highway systems were still mostly privately funded and varied in quality between states and municipalities. Most lacked signage and suffered from poor maintenance and infrastructure. For example, many transcontinental highway bridges that had been constructed prior to highway alignment were unable to bear the weight of trucks carrying freight cargo, and thus were at risk of collapsing as traffic increased.[80] To address these issues and provide financial support to state and local governments for ongoing highway development, the federal government passed a series of legislative acts in the following decades. The first of these was the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916, which created the Federal-Aid Highway Program and provided a framework for which states could receive federal funding for highway construction. The Federal Aid Highway Program remains the basis for which federal support of highways is administered today.[81]

[76] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 77.

[77] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 80-82. Today, the Lincoln Highway comprises U.S. Route 30 from Pennsylvania to Wyoming. Other former alignments of the Lincoln Highway were replaced by Interstate 80 in the 1950s as the primary east-to west route from the New York City area to San Francisco.

[78] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," Section E; Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 144-46; Kathy Alexander, "Route 66 Information & History," *Legends of America* (blog), updated April 2024, accessed May 2024, https://www.legendsofamerica.com/66-info/.

[79] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 77, 87.

[80] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 80-82, 109.

[81] National Research Council, "Assessing and Managing," 39-40; Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-9; Richard F. Weingroff, "Federal Aid Road Act of 1916:

Subsequent legislation in the 1920s incentivized states to construct paved, two-lane highways to accommodate automobile travel that resembled the earliest iteration of American interstates.[82]

California created the Division of Highways in the 1920s. It worked with the California Highway Commission to administer federal funding and oversee highway development. By the mid-1920s, thirteen of the seventy State Highways that had been previously designated in California were incorporated into the new U.S. Highway System, including U.S. Highway 66 and U.S. Highway 101.[83] By 1937 State Route 1, also known as the Pacific Coast Highway, linked Northern and Southern California as the state's first complete north-south highway.[84]

During the Depression years of the 1930s, highway development continued, but was heavily bolstered by New Deal programs and other sources of federal relief that provided road construction jobs for unemployed American workers. The California Division of Highways used New Deal federal funding to create jobs for road and highway construction throughout the state. Many of California's projects centered around highway beautification, improving road conditions, and relieving traffic. California's roads were especially prone to traffic congestion as a result of the state's steadily increasing population and rising rates of automobile ownership, which were among the highest in the nation. In 1934, the California state highway code was revised to allow the Division of Highways to build highways in urban areas like Los Angeles using reapportioned gas-tax revenues.[85] These were the first organized efforts to allocate state and federal funding toward the specific construction of freeways.[86]

Simultaneously, planning was underway for a new national system of high-speed expressways to address increasing traffic issues caused by the everyday usage of automobiles, which by this point were owned by almost every household in America. Planning suddenly halted in 1941 when the United States prepared to enter World War II after the attack on Pearl Harbor, and it was not until after the war that roadbuilding efforts resumed and plans for the new nationwide system began to formalize.[87] Similarly, it was

Building the Foundation," *Public Roads* 60, No. 1 (Summer 1996), accessed May 2024, https://highways.dot.gov/public-roads/summer-1996/federal-aid-road-act-1916-building-foundation; Federal Highway Administration, "America's Highways 1776-1976: A History of the Federal-Aid Program," prepared for the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, 1977, 86-88.

[82] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-9 and E-10; Federal Highway Administration, "America's Highways 1776-1976," 108-09.

[83] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 89-91; Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-7, E-8, and E-11. After 1927, the California Highway Commission's powers were limited in favor of the California Division of Highways yet not altogether dissolved. It remained a policymaking body rather than an oversight organization as it had been in the years prior. The CHC was now responsible for routing highways, funding some projects, designating roads within the state highway system, and condemning properties for new routes, rather than designing, constructing, and maintaining highways, which was now the role of the Division of Highways. The Division of Highways remained the primary governing agency for highway construction until 1973 when it became the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans).

[84] "Caltrans History."

[85] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 94.

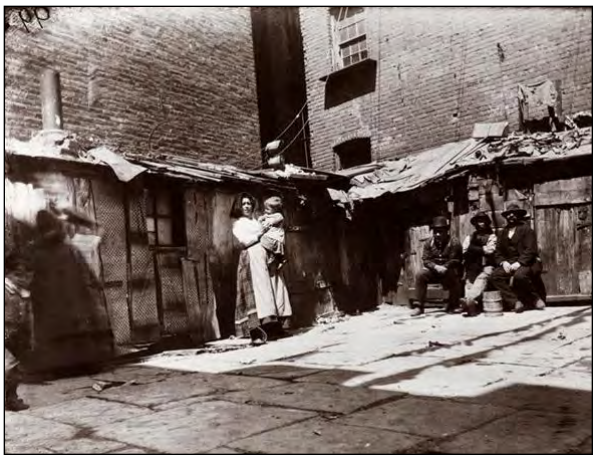
[86] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-11.

[87] National Research Council, "Assessing and Managing," 40; Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 94, 110-11; Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-11 and E-12; David E. Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940: How Americans Lived through the 'Roaring Twenties' and the Great Depression* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publishing, 2002), 27.

not until after World War II that a coordinated effort to plan for the future of automobile transportation in California took hold, despite an aggressive campaign for transportation planning that began a decade earlier.[88]

Land Use Policies and Housing Practices Before World War II

The use of zoning, which involves the division of a municipality's land in areas (or zones) as well as the regulation of land use, building density and scale, and population in each zone, dates to the early twentieth century.[89] City planning in the United States originally reflected the values of the Progressive Movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, and began as a "search for order" in a rapidly industrializing world.[90] Officials began to use city planning as a way to organize a city into distinct areas for industry, residences for different classes, commercial activity, and other uses. Practitioners believed that city planning would improve quality of life by reducing the spread of disease, regulating the flow of traffic, designating open space for leisure, and preventing homes' exposure to environmental toxins, among other things. To accomplish these goals, city planners tended to organize urban land into specific land use districts – commercial, industrial, institutional, residential, and mixed. The desire to separate so-called noxious uses from residential areas would underly the goals of early planning efforts.



Urban planners sought to avoid the conditions found in places like the tenements of New York's Lower East Side, as documented by urban reformer Jacob Riis. Photo circa 1890. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York)

However, what began as a desire for civic improvement soon also became "a mechanism for protecting property values and excluding the undesirables."[91] Early planning principals became embedded with then prevailing ideas about racial and class hierarchies. At this time, city officials often viewed communities of color and the working class through a racist lens that inaccurately equated them with immorality, disease, and inferiority. White residents often blamed people of color and immigrants for problems like overcrowding and unsanitary conditions that plagued newly industrialized cities in the East and Midwest – issues that people of color and the working class suffered, but for which they were not responsible. Cities often failed to invest in municipal services and modern

[88] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 75, 87, 94-95; Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-11 and E-12.

[89] The regulation of what were originally called nuisances, or "noxious" uses, date further back to both North America and Europe when cities used them to regulate land use until the creation of modern zoning laws. Source: Sonia Hirt, "Home, Sweet Home: American Residential Zoning in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 20 (1), 2013, 3.

[90] Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

[91] Christopher Silver, "The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities," Manning Thomas, June and Marsha Ritzdorf eds. *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997.

amenities such as proper sewage, sanitation, electricity, and paved roads in working class communities and communities of color. As a result, conditions in these neighborhoods were often worse than in neighborhoods occupied by White residents. In seeking solutions to the problems associated with industrialization, some city leaders concluded that keeping people of color out of White residential areas would help solve these issues. This eventually evolved into a belief which historian Carl Nightingale has called the "racial theory of property values," or the idea that residents of color represented a threat to real estate values and thus must be kept out of certain neighborhoods.[92] Planner Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., who had been among the first to promote the use of comprehensive zoning ordinances, admitted in 1918 that divisions by social class were "more or less coincident with racial divisions."[93]

Early legislation separated people of color from White residents. In cities across the American South, Jim Crow era zoning ordinances designated separate areas for White and African American residents. In numerous California cities, Chinese immigrants were impacted by legislation confining laundries to certain areas; in the late nineteenth century, laundries were often equated with the Chinese population. Even after the use of explicitly racial zoning ordinances were struck down by the Supreme Court, cities found ways to use zoning as a means of segregation through the control of land uses. For example, multi-family residences were typically associated with people of color and working-class White residents. So, following the prevailing racial logic, municipal leaders believed that allowing multi-family residences would threaten property values in single-family neighborhoods. Thereafter, the use of zoning to separate land uses, building densities, and population groups became a common way to keep people of color out of certain neighborhoods. Along with zoning, an array of private sector tools worked to racially segregate American cities, including violence, intimidation, racial steering,[94] and restrictive covenants.

Restrictive covenants were one of the most effective of these tools, used widely in cities around the country between 1900 and 1948. Restrictive covenants were legal clauses written into a property deed, which specified that the owner could only sell or rent the property to "Caucasians," otherwise the owner could be sued or lose the property. Many covenants listed the excluded racial groups by name, such as "Negroes," Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, or Jews, among others.[95] Covenants predated zoning as a form of land use regulation. They were intended to run with the land, despite future transfers in ownership, and typically lasted twenty to thirty years, and sometimes in perpetuity.[96] One African American resident of Los Angeles described the impact of these covenants this way: they created "invisible walls of steel. The whites surrounded us and made it impossible for us to go beyond these walls."[97]

---

[92] Carl H. Nightingale, *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities* (University of Chicago Press, 2012), 305.

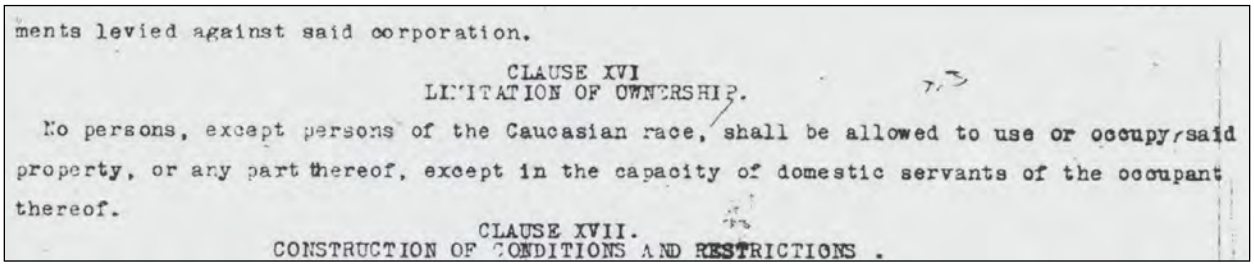
[93] Nightingale, *Segregation*, 323.

[94] Racial steering refers to the practice of guiding prospective buyers towards or away from certain neighborhoods based on their race.

[95] Wendy Plotkin, "Restrictive Covenants," in David Goldfield, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Urban History*, vol. 2 (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2007), 681; Flamming, 69; Laura Redford, "Intertwined History," 308.

[96] Plotkin, "Restrictive Covenants," 679; Flamming, 69; Lawrence B. de Graaf, Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor, eds., *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001; and Autry Museum), 25.

[97] Quintard Taylor, *In search of the racial frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York:



ments levied against said corporation.

CLAUSE XVI
LIMITATION OF OWNERSHIP.

No persons, except persons of the Caucasian race, shall be allowed to use or occupy said property, or any part thereof, except in the capacity of domestic servants of the occupant thereof.

CLAUSE XVII.
CONSTRUCTION OF CONDITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS .

(k) Until January 1, 1999, no lot in said tract shall at any time be lived upon by a person whose blood is not entirely that of the Caucasian Race, and for the purpose of this paragraph, no Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, Hindu, or any person of the Ethiopian, Indian, or Mongolian Races shall be deemed to be a Caucasian, but if persons not of the Caucasian Race be kept thereon by a Caucasian occupant strictly in the capacity of servants or employees of such occupant, such circumstances shall not constitute a violation of this condition.

Text from restrictive covenants for properties in Los Angeles County (Courtesy of LA County Registrar Recorder)

After the U.S. Supreme Court ruled explicitly racial zoning unconstitutional, restrictive covenants became one of the few enforceable mechanisms of maintaining discriminatory housing policies in this era. In 1919, the California Supreme Court upheld their use. It ruled that restrictive covenants, while they could not prevent people of color from buying a home, they could prevent them from living in it.[98] Restrictive covenants were widely used across Southern California. By 1941, about sixty percent of Pasadena's residential parcels included restrictive covenants.[99]

The real estate industry also played a pivotal role in reinforcing segregation by codifying and enforcing racist norms within the profession, at both the regional and national levels. In 1924, the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) established a code of ethics that prohibited realtors from selling property to "members of any race or nationality" where they would threaten property values.[100] If a real estate agent violated these rules, he could lose his license. The code of ethics would stay in effect until the late 1950s.[101] These professional pressures spurred the practice of steering among realtors. A statewide survey conducted by the all-White California Real Estate Association (CREA) revealed strong support of racial restrictions by realtors and described their own efforts to prevent people of color from moving into White neighborhoods. Survey takers deemed African Americans the greatest threat to White neighborhoods, compared to other racial groups.[102]

By the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, which devastated the American economy in general and the housing market in particular, these public and private sector forces had segregated people of color into certain areas in cities for decades. Between 1925 and 1933, housing construction in the United States fell 90 percent.[103] In 1933 alone, fourteen million

Norton, 1998), 235.

[98] The case was Los Angeles Investment Co. v. Gary (1919). Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom*, 156.

[99] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 151.

[100] Code of ethics quoted in Hirsch, "With or Without Jim Crow," 75.

[101] Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 106.

[102] Flamming, *Bound for Freedom*, 219-221; Andrea Gibbons, *City of Segregation: One Hundred Years of Struggle for Housing in Los Angeles* (New York: Verso Books, 2018), 25-27.

[103] Peter G. Rowe, *Modernity and Housing* (Boston: The MIT Press, 1993), 103.

Americans were unemployed and nearly 275,000 families lost their homes to mortgage foreclosure.[104] In response, the state and federal government sought to address the housing problem, which resulted in a number of initiatives and funding programs. This was the first time the federal government intervened in the private housing market in such a concerted way, and it put in place policies that reinforced segregation and inequality into the future.

The federal government's intervention in the housing market took the form of two new departments – the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) and Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, the HOLC and FHA were intended to provide emergency relief for home indebtedness and make homeownership financing more attainable to Americans, thus providing a much-needed boost to the housing market. The HOLC developed a system of rating neighborhoods as security risks for home loans that were influenced by the racial assumptions of the time. The HOLC system would influence the longer-lived FHA.[105]

The HOLC appraisal system assigned a rating to every neighborhood across the U.S., including Pasadena, where the survey was completed in 1939.[106] This system used racial considerations, among others, to rate the financial security of a neighborhood and whether it was considered a risk. The ratings were: A-green, B-blue, C-yellow, or D-red. Areas that were White, middle-class, zoned residential, and low density received the highest ratings (green and blue). Neighborhoods that were non-White, higher density, in proximity to industrial uses, and had combined land uses were rated lower (yellow and red). This practice has become known as "redlining." Often race was the most determining factor in a neighborhood's grade, regardless of other factors. The presence of African Americans in a neighborhood had a more negative impact on HOLC ratings than other ethnic groups or communities of color. The redlining of these areas reinforced the idea that these neighborhoods were unworthy of investment.

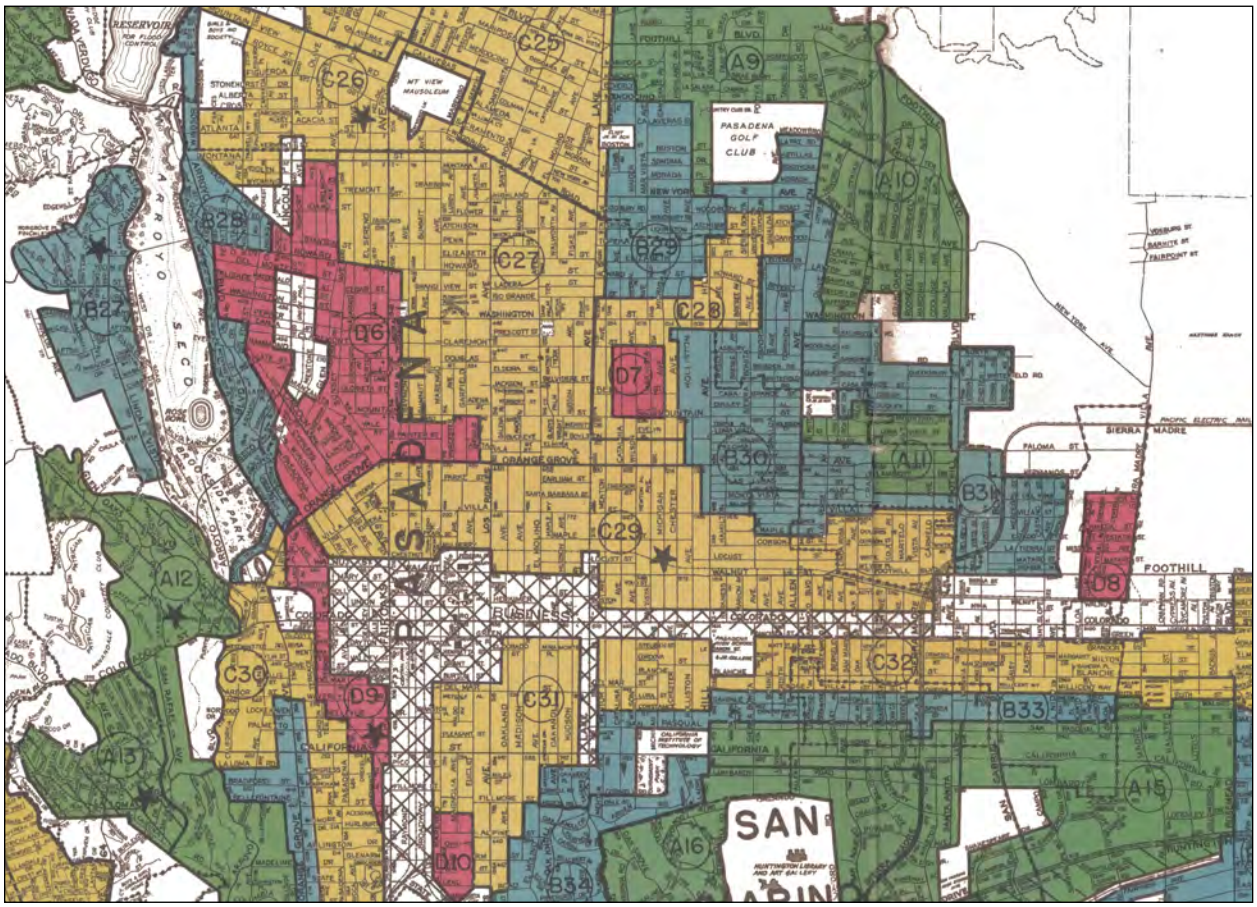
The HOLC ratings for Pasadena varied, revealing the contours of segregation and racialized settlement in the city. The areas to the east of where the SR-710 Freeway now runs were generally rated yellow, while the areas through which it passed were rated red. Area C27, for example, was given a yellow grade. Deed restrictions, the rating sheet noted, had expired but "racial restrictions in many cases are still in force." It went on:

> Zoning is mixed: 5/8 single-family residential; 2/8 permits duplexes; and 1/8 commercial. Regardless of zoning, however, [the] area is preponderantly single-family residential and [this] pattern is definitely established. Conveniences are all readily available. This section was subdivided many years ago and was a very popular district 20 years ago and is still highly regarded. Many of the large old residences are still occupied by original owners, who are people of means. Construction is generally super standard and quality of maintenance is excellent. In fact, this is a chief

[104] Gertrude S. Fish, "Housing Policy during the Great Depression," in *The Story of Housing* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1979), 196.

[105] Kenneth T. Jackson, "Race, Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration," *Journal of Urban History* 6 (August 1980), 419-452; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, ch. 11.

[106] Pasadena, University of Richmond, "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," accessed June 10, 2024, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/CA/LosAngeles/area_descriptions.



A portion of the HOLC map for Pasadena, 1939 (Image courtesy of University of Richmond's "Mapping Inequality" project).

> characteristic of the area. … Population is generally substantial, although not altogether homogeneous in character.[107]

The yellow rating for area C29 appears to have been a result of a high rate of rental units rather than ownership, the fact that many of the residences had been converted to multi-family units, the presence of working-class residents, and its proximity to the central business district along Colorado Boulevard.[108]

In contrast, areas D9, which included South Vernon Avenue south of Orange Grove Boulevard, was described as the "'melting pot' area of Pasadena." The sheet noted that

> while [it was] zoned for business and industry, [it] is honeycombed with poorly constructed cottages and shacks. That portion of area which is graded is residential 4th grade and is almost wholly given over to single family structures, but the adjacent business and industrial section is also infiltrated with similar structures, which are occupied by Negroes, Mexicans and Japanese. … This area is thoroughly blighted and a slum clearance project is under discussion.[109]

Area D6 (the northwest portion of Pasadena where the 210 Freeway would later be constructed) was said to have mixed zoning with single-family, multi-family, and commercial all included. The sheet stated:

> This old unrestricted area has long been inhabited by the servant class who were employed by wealthy families in the higher grade areas to the west and south. This district was originally much smaller but constant infiltration into other sections as deed restrictions expired has created a real menace which is greatly concerning property owners of Pasadena and Altadena. Population, improvements and maintenance are all highly heterogeneous. Many parts of the area zoned for business are honeycombed with single family dwellings, many of them of the 'shack' variety, which are occupied by Negroes and other subversive racial elements. The adjoining blue area to the west is protected from the subversive elements by deed restrictions. The area is blighted and its future is a matter of concern and doubt. A movement is on foot to re-restrict in perpetuity adjacent areas which are not as yet affected.[110]

This is in notable contrast to later personal recollections of the area. When asked about northwest Pasadena, one former resident who lived there just before the construction of the 210 Freeway said it was home to a "close-knit neighborhood" and "beautiful old houses."[111]

[107] Pasadena Area C27, University of Richmond, "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," accessed June 10, 2024, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/CA/LosAngeles/area_descriptions.

[108] Pasadena Area C29, University of Richmond, "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," accessed June 10, 2024, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/CA/LosAngeles/area_descriptions.

[109] Pasadena Area D9, University of Richmond, "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," accessed June 10, 2024, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/CA/LosAngeles/area_descriptions.

[110] Pasadena Area D6, University of Richmond, "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," accessed June 10, 2024, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/CA/LosAngeles/area_descriptions.

[111] Bob Gonzalez oral history interview, qtd. in Lloyd, 9-10.

The policies of the HOLC significantly influenced the practices of the FHA, which became the most important program for homeownership in the country. The FHA's mortgage insurance program guaranteed loans granted by private lenders, including low-interest loans to homeowners and construction loans to builders. As part of the stipulations of a construction loan, the FHA established construction guidelines that regulated lot size, building setback, materials, and other features. These standards by their very nature favored new single-family suburban development and disqualified most existing urban residential areas from loan eligibility.[112] Areas that were zoned for homogeneous land uses (namely single-family residential construction) and which kept out "incompatible" land uses were the most likely to meet FHA standards. Areas which included mixed land uses, on the other hand, did not meet FHA standards and were thus ineligible for these loans. In addition, the FHA supported the use of restrictive covenants until 1948 and was reluctant to guarantee home construction loans in areas without them. The FHA *Underwriting Manual* noted, "If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes."[113] The *Manual* emphasized that restrictive covenants "provide[d] the surest protection against undesirable encroachment and inharmonious use."[114]

The HOLC's appraisal system significantly influenced the lending practices of private banks, which were resultant to provide loans for properties in redlined areas. Both public and private investment in older, mixed-use areas of cities decreased, leading to disinvestment and neighborhood decline over time. Historian Ryan Reft summarized the impacts of redlining in Southern California:

> Redlined communities struggled to receive federally backed home loans, making property ownership much more difficult for residents. Moreover, it made getting loans for home improvements – maintenance, upkeep and renovation – though not impossible, very unlikely. Neighborhoods fell into a vicious circle of decline: the inability to access capital led to disrepair and the physical decline of a community's housing stock, which in turn reinforced the redline designation. That redlining became equated with race and class led to the naturalization of segregation. […] Redlined communities also sat closer to industrial areas, vice districts, and environmentally compromised settings, exposing residents to health risks and crime.[115]

Due to the policies and practices outlined above, Pasadena in the first half of the twentieth century was highly segregated. African Americans tended to live adjacent to the mansions on Orange Grove Boulevard, where they worked. As the African American population grew, people settled in northwest Pasadena, where they could buy land and build homes, though municipal services were sparse.[116] By 1935, the city's communities of color were largely concentrated on the west

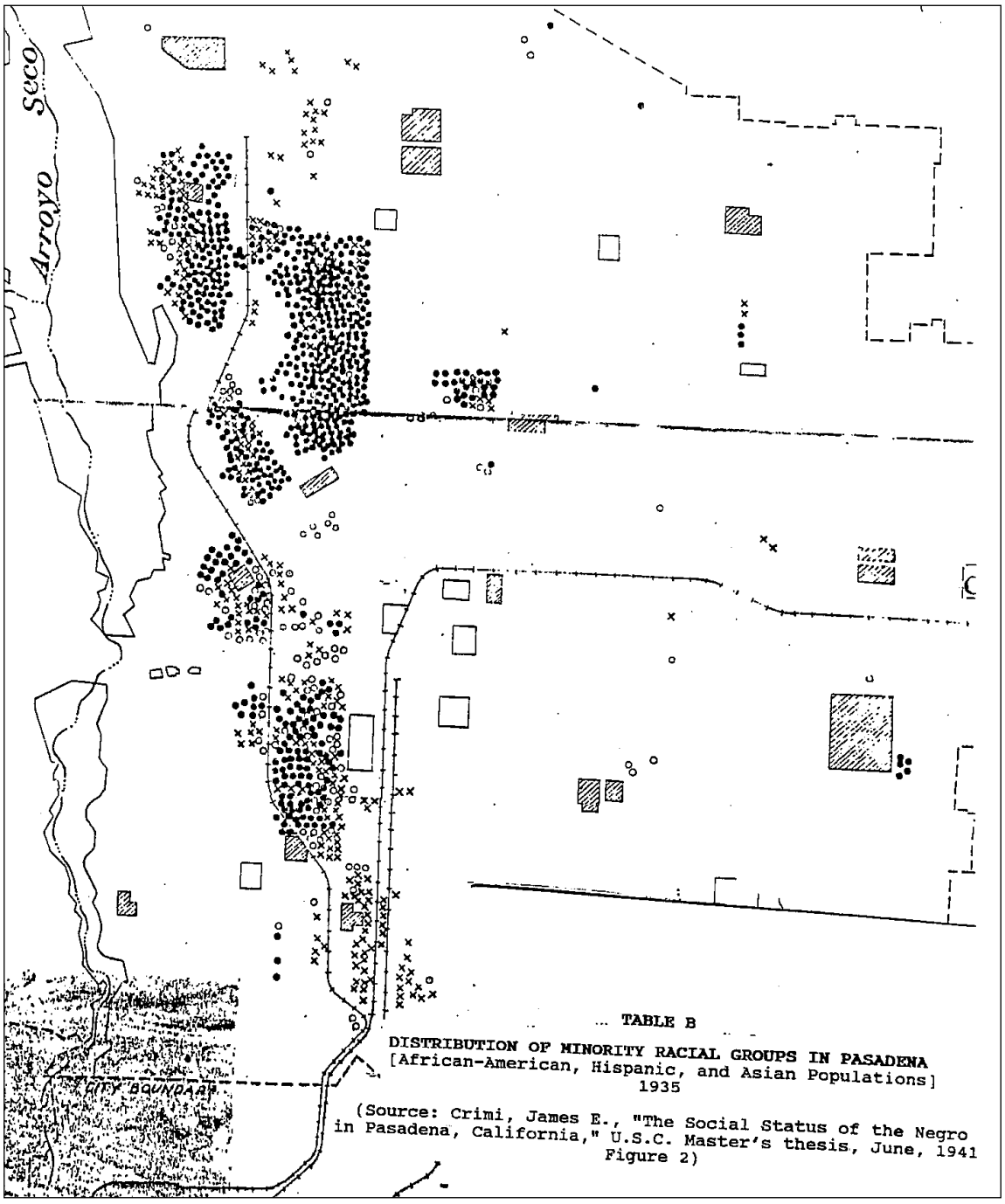
[112] Becky Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, "Suburbanization in the United States after 1945," April 26, 2017, accessed June 10, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.64.

[113] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier,* 208.

[114] Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure under Title II of the National Housing Act*, Washington, D.C., rev. 1938, 980 (1).

[115] Ryan Reft, "Segregation in the City of Angels: A 1939 Map of Housing Inequality in L.A.," for Lost LA, KCET, November 14, 2017, https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/segregation-in-the-city-of-angels-a-1939-map-of-housing-inequality-in-l-a.

[116] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 148.



Map of the racial distribution of racial and etchnic groups in Pasadena in 1935 (Source: James Crimi).

side of Pasadena. The policies put in place in the first half of the twentieth century would continue to be influential in the post-World War II period, as redlined communities became vulnerable to redevelopment (discussed further below).

Highway Development at the National and State Levels After World War II

Though the country had been moving towards the creation of a unified highway system since the first half of the twentieth century, it was not until the post-World War II period that this effort reached full fruition. Following World War II, funding again became available for the maintenance and construction of freeways, which had been deferred during the war. Significant funding for the construction of urban highways, as opposed to those in rural areas, accelerated in this period.[117] In 1944, the federal government established a national system of interstate highways, which was intended to connect major metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial centers in addition to serving national defense purposes.

After World War II, the United States entered a period of economic prosperity and experienced a development boom. In places like Southern California, residential construction occurred at a rapid pace to meet demand, and vast tracts of single-family housing were built on the urban fringes. In response, transportation infrastructure expanded rapidly and extensively. It quickly became evident that the country's existing transportation network was not sufficient.

Some states, including California, passed legislation to address these issues and provide additional funding for freeway construction. In 1947, California passed the Collier-Burns Act, which consolidated county road administration efforts and increased state fuel taxes and other fees to aid in developing intra- and intercity freeway networks. The goal of the Act was to reduce traffic congestion overall in the state. Though it increased funding for highway construction and improvement, the flow of revenue for that purpose remained slow.[118] The passage of the Collier-Burns Act redistributed state highway funds more equally between the northern and southern parts of the state, making it possible to embark on an aggressive freeway construction campaign in the Los Angeles area.[119] In 1949, the state of California passed a freeway law that gave "the state broad powers of land acquisition for the construction [and financing] of freeways."[120] This would be instrumental in the construction of freeways in the postwar period.

At the federal level, politicians linked the development of an interstate highway system with the nation's economic health, which, in turn, would justify funding for the construction of additional highways. Highways were seen as key to the expansion of American commerce and the creation of jobs.[121] A report to Congress on the state of the nation's highway system argued:

> We are indeed a nation on wheels and we cannot permit these wheels to slow down… We have been able to disperse our factories, our stores, our people; in short, to create a revolution in living habits. Our cities have spread into suburbs, depending on the automobile for their existence. The automobile has restored a way of life in which the individual may live in a friendly neighborhood, it has brought city and country closer together, it has made us

[117] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-14.

[118] "Planning for Cars in Cities," 24.

[119] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-15.

[120] California Highways, "Interstate 710," accessed May 23, 2024, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.

[121] Weingroff, "Original Intent: The Purpose of the Interstate System, 1954-1956," 2.

> one country and a united people. But America continues to grow. Our highway plant must similarly grow if we are to maintain and increase our standard of living…[122]

President Eisenhower pushed for improvement of the nation's highway system in the 1950s. A series of federal aid highway acts in the 1950s set up a funding mechanism for an interstate highway system. The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 (also known as the National Interstate and Defense Highway Act) was the final push in establishing the infrastructure for an interstate highway system. It resulted in changes to the ways highways were connected in the U.S. and the ways they were financed. It increased taxes on gasoline and automobiles and created the Highway Trust Fund to funnel revenue directly toward constructing highways; funding jumped from $79 million in 1956 to $1.125 billion in 1960 in urban areas.[123] This funding provided 90 percent of the capital cost of freeway construction "in exchange for states keeping highways toll-free, meeting certain design criteria, paying for operation and maintenance costs, and accepting responsibility for the finished freeways."[124] The 1956 Act paved the way for today's intestate system and restructured the way goods and services are transported around the country.[125] It unified the nation's transportation system, provided evacuation routes for cities during the Cold War, and provided Americans free access to urban areas all over the country.[126] It also shifted the control over freeway development from local officials and urban planners to state highway engineers.[127] It has been argued by some scholars that these officials largely examined the issue of freeway construction through a theoretical and economic lens, while failing to consider the impact of freeways on cities and neighborhoods. It also took most of the decision-making power out of the hands of local planners, who had more extensive knowledge of the neighborhoods which these freeways would traverse and who would have been able to make more informed decisions about how freeways would dovetail into local land use and infrastructure planning.[128]

The 1950s and 1960s saw a frenzy of freeway construction in California. In 1959, the state created the California Freeway and Expressway System, which facilitated the construction of new freeways to replace the earlier U.S. highway system.[129] The 1962 Federal-Aid Highway Act created a federal mandate for urban transportation planning in areas with populations of 50,000 or more, driving further freeway development. This coincided with urban areas increasingly planning for interstate highways.[130] In California, Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown backed the initiation of statewide

[122] Weingroff, "Original Intent: The Purpose of the Interstate System, 1954-1956," 4.

[123] Eric Avila, *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014, 23.

[124] Wasserman, J. L, Garrett, et al., 41.

[125] U.S. Department of Transportation, "Celebrating 50 Years: The Eisenhower Interstate Highway System," accessed May 23, 2024, https://www.transportation.gov/testimony/celebrating-50-years-eisenhower-interstate-highway-system; Caltrans, "Historical Context," 109.

[126] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 111.

[127] Wasserman, J. L, Garrett, et al., 41.

[128] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 18. For more on this, see Jeffrey R. Brown, Eric A. Morris, and Brian D. Taylor, "Paved with Good Intensions: Fiscal Politics, Freeways and the 20th Century American City," *ACCESS Magazine*, Fall 2009, and Cliff Ellis, "Interstate Highways, Regional Planning and the Reshaping of Metropolitan America," *Planning Practice & Research* 16 nos. 3-4 (2001).

[129] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-15 – E-16.

[130] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 95.

traffic surveys to assist with freeway planning, and an ambitious state freeway construction plan commenced.[131] This freeway construction in turn fueled residential expansion into suburban areas, which in turn increased the need for freeways – a continuous cycle. Many of these new freeways bypassed or cut around major urban areas, though in some cases, such as Los Angeles, they cut directly through to connect different parts of the city.[132]

During this period, freeways became synonymous with economic prosperity and home ownership.[133] By the 1960s, interstate highway system emerged as a symbol of "individuality, freedom, and opportunities," though this largely applied to White Americans.[134] However, only certain segments of the American population had access to this suburban dream and the benefits that went along with it. An oil embargo in the 1970s affected automobile transit, slowing freeway construction and turning planners' attention towards mass transit.[135] By this time, both officials and the public increasingly examined the impacts of freeways on public health, the urban fabric, city development, and other aspects of life that had not been widely considered in previous decades.

Freeway Construction, Urban Renewal, and Displacement in the Postwar Period

The post-World War II period saw a boom in construction and development in response to the need for housing and facilities as the population exploded. As part of this effort, many cities adopted a strategy of redevelopment, which essentially entailed wiping out older, poorer neighborhoods to bring in newer housing, businesses, and commerce. In California, legislators passed the Community Redevelopment Act in 1945 to facilitate this process. The law was based on the idea that so-called "blighted" (economically depressed) areas contributed to social problems and typical land use controls such as zoning and building codes were not enough to combat it; this became a rationale for clearing away these neighborhoods for more economically lucrative uses. This view was gaining traction around the country by the mid-1940s.

California's law created community redevelopment agencies (CRAs) in cities around the state. It gave CRAs the ability to acquire property (through eminent domain if necessary) and develop that property and it gave them the authority to impose development and land use controls.[136] Though one of the goals of the CRA to create affordable housing, this did not come to fruition in many cases.[137] It was only later that "it became obvious to the housing movement's progressives that slum clearance was a form of racial discrimination that had the opposite effect of its intentions: it actually made affordable housing more scarce."[138] Neighborhoods with significant populations of people of color became targets for urban renewal in the postwar period.

[131] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 105-107; Wasserman, J. L, Garrett, et al., 41.
[132] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 112.
[133] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 112.
[134] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 112.
[135] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 107.

[136] Mara A. Marks, "The Rise and Fall of the Community Redevelopment Agency," *Southern California Quarterly* 86, No. 3 (Fall 2004), 245.
[137] Later laws in 1975 and 1976 would require that CRAs replace housing for low- and moderate-income residents destroyed by redevelopment and some of the housing constructed in redevelopment areas be made affordable for low- and moderate-income residents. Source: Marks, 245.
[138] Cuff, *The Provisional City*, 216 qtd. in Architectural Resources Group, "Garden Apartments of Los Angeles Historic Context Statement," 18.

This period also saw the usage of freeway construction as a means of "slum clearance" and urban renewal in cities around the country. Highway planners often recommended the placement of freeway routes in areas that had been redlined in the 1930s. Some highway planners saw the chance to coordinate urban renewal and highway construction; it was a chance to get rid of "the mean clutter of narrow streets" and "decaying slum areas" that prevented the efficient movement of automobile traffic.[139] City officials at the time "welcomed freeways to their cities, seeing them as job creators, slum destroyers, and all-around growth generators."[140] While the construction of freeways brought jobs to millions of Americans, increased the scale of American life and the urban environment, and bolstered the American economy, it devastated those low-income and immigrant communities targeted for removal to make way for the freeways. Between 1956 and 1966, approximately 37,000 units of urban housing in California were demolished for the construction of freeways, displacing untold thousands of people, the majority of them low-income or people of color.[141] Though publications on highway planning did not include an overt discussion of race, scholar Eric Avila notes that the racialized bias was inherent, for planning thought at the time equated poverty and "blight" with racially and ethnically mixed urban neighborhoods.[142] Such areas, where redlining had suppressed property values and made land cheaper for the state to seize via eminent domain, became vulnerable to yet a new threat during this era of freeway construction.

One powerful example of this bias in freeway planning was East Los Angeles. Early sections of the Santa Ana Freeway (Interstate 5) opened beginning in 1947 in East Los Angeles; so-called "substandard housing" was cleared to make way for the freeway in this community, while the existing railroad tracks running along the river remained untouched.[143] As Gilbert Estrada writes of the clearing of housing for the Santa Ana Freeway in 1948, "two hundred ten families were cleared in what the state claimed was their best effort to route the freeway with the least amount of disturbance, but the least amount of disturbance for whom?"[144] In East Los Angeles alone, 1,171 buildings had been demolished for the construction of the Santa Ana Freeway by 1953.[145] The subsequent construction of the Long Beach Freeway and others eventually displaced nearly 11,000 residents in East Los Angeles, taking more than seven percent of the area's total land.[146] Resident Bob Eula recalled his neighborhood was home to numerous Japanese gardens before the arrival of the Long Beach Freeway. He recalled receiving no warning from officials. He first learned about the freeway when he saw construction crews working on freeway bridges in the area. Initially, he was not alarmed, but after "three or four major streets [of] homes were gone," he and his neighbors became increasingly upset but had no recourse.[147] Despite the cost to residents' homes, communities, and livelihoods, freeway construction throughout the region continued.

[139] Avila, *Folklore of the Freeway*, 39.

[140] Avila, 18.

[141] Avila, 30; Caltrans, "Historical Context," 104.

[142] Avila, *Folklore of the Freeway*, 40-41.

[143] Gilbert Estrada, "If You Build It, They Will Move: The Los Angeles Freeway System and the Displacement of Mexican East Los Angeles, 1944-1972," *Southern California Quarterly* 87, No. 3 (Fall 2005), 294.

[144] Estrada, 296.

[145] Estrada, 296.

[146] "The 710 Long Beach Freeway," PSC So Cal, accessed June 4, 2024, https://www.pbssocal.org/shows/departures/the-710-long-beach-freeway-a-history-of-americas-most-important-freeway.

[147] "The 710 Long Beach Freeway," PSC So Cal, accessed June 4, 2024, https://www.pbssocal.org/shows/departures/the-710-long-beach-freeway-a-history-of-americas-most-important-freeway.

History of Freeway Construction in Pasadena

Highway Development in the Greater LA Area and Pasadena Before World War II

Southern California was particularly well-positioned to emerge as a leader of highway development at the turn of the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1880s, the region's population exploded because of the burgeoning real estate and oil markets, and it grew at a faster rate than any other part of the state. The arrival of the Southern Pacific and Santa Fe Railroads propelled an already-growing agriculture industry and gave rise to tourism, driving settlers westward to reap the benefits of Southern California's emerging economic opportunities and mild weather.[1] Pasadena was no exception, quickly establishing itself as a resort town for part-time tourists, health seekers, and wealthy families from the East Coast and Midwest.[2]

By 1900, Los Angeles was the most populous and prosperous city in Southern California. The Pacific Electric interurban rail and local system of streetcars bolstered the area's sprawl, making it easier for residents to spread out beyond the urban core and settle in suburbs like Pasadena. Residential pockets grew around interurban rail stops, and rural surroundings created prime locations for residents to settle as access to automobiles became increasingly attainable.[3] By 1910, Route 66 traversed several different paths from Pasadena to Los Angeles, including along Huntington Drive through South Pasadena and into the El Sereno area before terminating in Downtown Los Angeles.[4]

The region's development occurred alongside the rising popularity of the automobile, shaping it in fundamental ways. In 1910, less than 20,000 residents of Los Angeles County owned automobiles. By 1920, that number had increased to over 100,000 car owners, due in large part to the mass production of the highly economical Ford Model T. Now the dominant mode of travel in Southern California, the rise in automobile consumption forced Los Angeles area policymakers and planners to address the worsening problem of automobile traffic congestion. They faced mounting pressure from community leaders, private automobile owners, and the Automobile Club of Southern California (ACSC), which was established as the LA area's local chapter of the American Automobile Association (AAA). In its early years, the ACSC played an instrumental role in helping pass Los Angeles County's first successful bond measure for urban road improvements.[5]

In 1922, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors created the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission. One of its roles was to study how the county's street and highway systems could further be improved to accommodate automobile travel. One of its top priorities was developing a preliminary plan for a comprehensive network of highways to connect downtown Los Angeles with growing

[1] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-12; Glenn Dumke, "The Boom of the 1880s in Southern California," *Southern California Quarterly* 76, no, 1 (1994): 99-114.

[2] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-59, E-60, and E-61; Thomas D. Carpenter, *Pasadena: Resort Hotels and Paradise* (Azusa, CA: March Sheldon Publishing, 1984), 147-169.

[3] Daniel Prosser, "SurveyLA Los Angeles Citywide Historic Context Statement, Context: Commercial Development, 1850-1980, Theme: Commercial Development and the Automobile, 1910-1970," prepared for the City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning, Office of Historic Resources, August 2016, 4-5.

[4] Later in 1931, the alignment was moved to the west side of the Arroyo Seco riverbed along Figueroa Street and through the Highland Park neighborhood. Source: Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-18.

[5] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-5.

suburban communities like Pasadena.[6] To accomplish their goals, the County and City of Los Angeles jointly hired landscape architect and urban planner Frederick Law Olmsted Jr.'s firm to prepare a survey of conditions and make recommendations for improving the area's roads in 1924. Influenced by City Beautiful[7] concepts, the report, titled *A Major Traffic Street Plan for Los Angeles*, focused primarily on upgrades for local and arterial streets throughout Los Angeles. Several recommendations were also made to improve access between Los Angeles and suburbs like Pasadena via widened thoroughfares with landscaped parkways. The city began implementing the suggestions in the *Traffic Street Plan* to reconfigure arterial and local roads into major distribution streets in the years immediately following, though it would take over a decade of planning before highspeed connections to Pasadena and other LA area suburbs would commence.[8]

The Great Depression caused a general halt in road and highway construction throughout the county, though it did not stop legislators from enacting policies to utilize federal funds for future projects. In addition, efforts to chart what would soon become known as "freeways" began to ramp up.[9] Beginning in the mid-1930s, a series of policies and studies laid the foundation for tangible freeway planning in the years to follow. By 1935, the City of Pasadena had implemented its first *Master Plan of Highways*, adopted jointly by the City and County of Los Angeles.[10] A study by the ACSC titled *Traffic Survey, Los Angeles Area* (1937) found that the only feasible solution to solve Los Angeles' ever-increasing traffic issues was to create a network of automobile-exclusive routes that barred the crossing of pedestrians and non-motorized vehicles and restricted other land use activities that would interfere with the flow of traffic. Their report became the basis on which a countywide freeway plan was developed, and together these policies and findings incentivized the Regional Planning Commission to begin preparing for an expansive system of high-speed freeways in Los Angeles County.[11] By 1941, a comprehensive *Master Plan of Highways* outlining the need for "express highways" in the county had been codified and was underway.[12]

[6] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 98; Prosser, "Commercial Development, 1850-1980," 5-6.

[7] The City Beautiful Movement was a movement led by architects, landscape architects, and urban reformers that emphasized the idea that beautiful public spaces and an organized, aesthetically pleasing urban environment would lead to social harmony and civic pride. As a result of the rapid industrialization of cities in the late nineteenth century, conditions in cities worsened, giving rise to inadequate and unsanitary housing conditions, overcrowding, and deteriorating urban environments. The City Beautiful Movement arose following the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 and was popular between the 1890s and 1920s. Source: "City Beautiful Movement" Britannica Encyclopedia, accessed June 11, 2024, https://www.britannica.com/topic/City-Beautiful-movement.

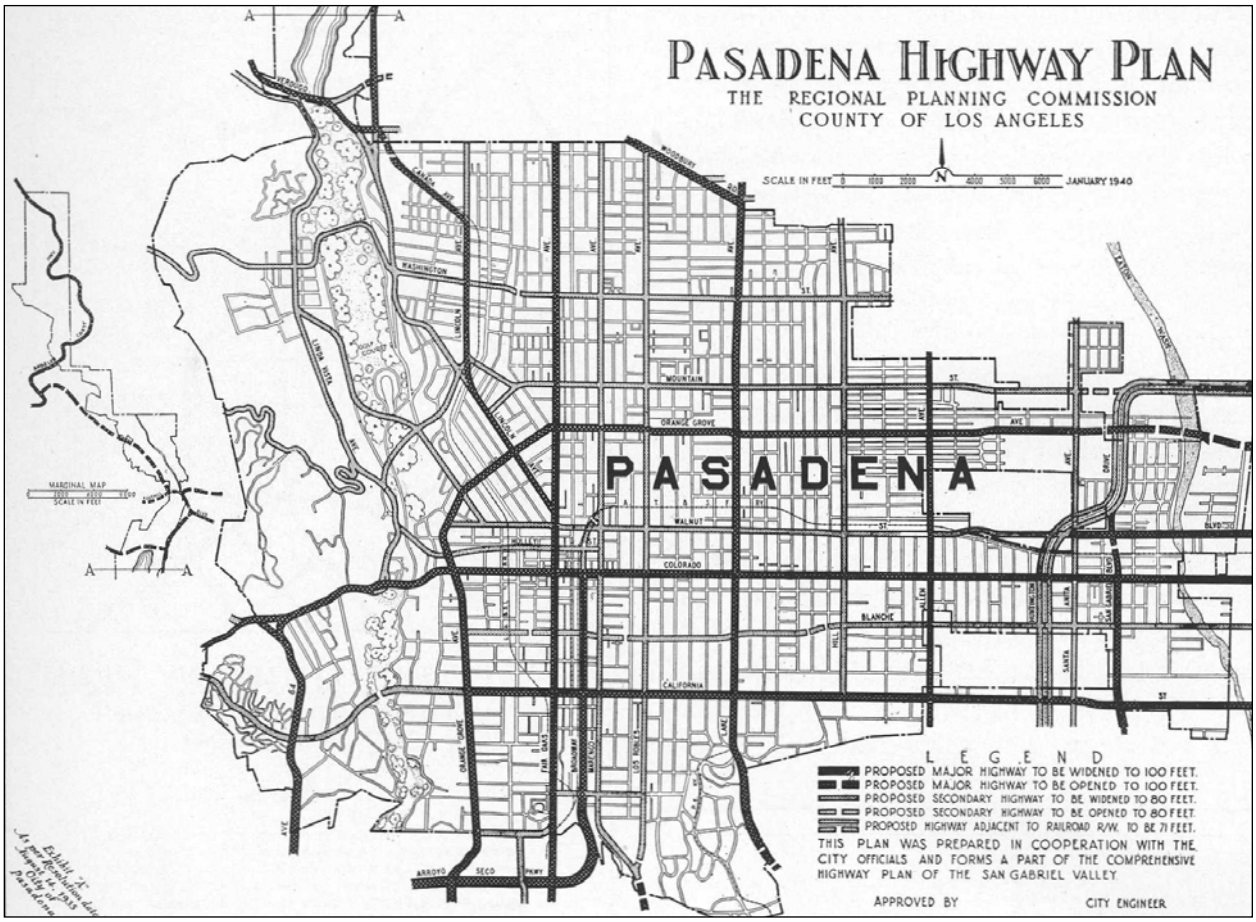
[8] Prosser, "Commercial Development, 1850-1980," 6-7; Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-12 and E-13; Frederick Law Olmsted, Harlan Bartholomew and Charles Henry Cheney, *A Major Traffic Street Plan for Los Angeles*, prepared for the Committee on Los Angeles Plan on Major Highways of the Traffic Commission of the City and County of Los Angeles (Los Angeles: Traffic Commission of the City and County of Los Angeles, 1924), 28-29, 34.

[9] Prosser, "Commercial Development, 1850-1980," 15.

[10] Pasadena Planning Commission, *1962 General Plan, City of Pasadena, California*, prepared for the City of Pasadena, 1962, 40-45.

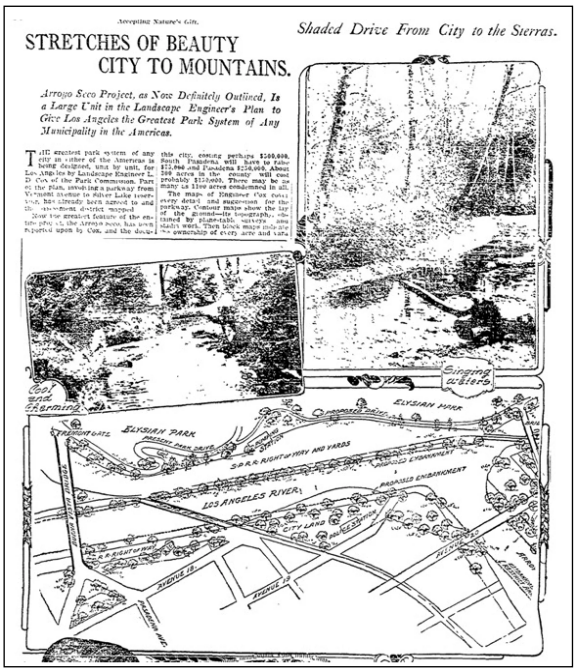
[11] Prosser, "Commercial Development, 1850-1980," 15-16; Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-13.

[12] Prosser, "Commercial Development, 1850-1980," 15; Pasadena Planning Commission, *1962 General Plan,* 48.



The proposed highway plan for Pasadena in the 1941 *Master Plan of Highways* by the Los Angeles Regional Planning Commission.

The first major effort to construct a freeway in Los Angeles County involved the Arroyo Seco Parkway, now known as the Pasadena Freeway. Plans to widen Arroyo Seco Boulevard into a freeway that would connect Pasadena and South Pasadena to Los Angeles stemmed from the 1924 *Traffic Street Plan*. By the mid-1930s, Pasadena was firmly established as one of Los Angeles' leading suburbs, and planners understood the importance of connecting it with the city's downtown central business district to relieve traffic congestion. Building on Olmsted's City Beautiful-inspired suggestions, the Parkway restricted commercial vehicles and was designed strictly for passenger automobiles to be used as a landscaped thoroughfare for leisurely passage into Downtown Los Angeles, rather than for use as a commuter stretch into the city. The route was surveyed and approved in 1934, and construction began in 1936.[13] The Arroyo Seco Parkway was dedicated in December 1940 and was the first planned, limited-access, high-speed roadway in the United States, marking the beginning of the freeway era in California.[14] Other limited-access freeway projects followed suit, such as the construction of the Cahuenga Pass Parkway, now called the Hollywood Freeway, which connects Downtown Los Angeles with the San Fernando Valley.[15]



Accepting Nature's Gift. *Shaded Drive From City to the Sierras.*

STRETCHES OF BEAUTY
CITY TO MOUNTAINS.

Arroyo Seco Project, as Now Definitely Outlined, Is a Large Unit in the Landscape Engineer's Plan to Give Los Angeles the Greatest Park System of Any Municipality in the Americas.

THE greatest park system of any city in either of the Americas is being designed, unit by unit, for Los Angeles by Landscape Engineer E. D. Cox of the Park Commission. Part of the Plan, providing a parkway from Verdugo Avenue to Silver Lake reservoir, has already been approved to and [illegible] amendment district mapped. Now the greatest feature of the entire plan, the Arroyo Seco, has been reported upon by Cox, and the details [illegible] this city, costing perhaps $500,000. South Pasadena will have to raise $12,000 and Pasadena $250,000. About 300 acres in the county will cost perhaps $150,000. There may be no more than a few acres condemned in all. The maps of Engineer Cox cover the detail and succession for the entire channel of the Arroyo, the line of the parkway boundaries, established by plane-table surveys, and also show the ownership of every acre and lot.

GLENDALE
ELYSIAN PARK
ELYSIAN PARK DRIVE
S.P.R.R. RIGHT-OF-WAY AND YARDS
PROPOSED EMBANKMENT
LOS ANGELES RIVER
CITY LIMITS
AVENUE 19
AVENUE 20
ALHAMBRA

Mention of a scenic highway in the Arroyo Seco can be found as early as 1911 (Source: ***Los Angeles Times***, Los Angeles Public Library)

The onset of World War II fundamentally changed the use of freeways in the country. The war effort took precedence over civilian use, and limits were placed on civilian access to freeways. Road construction largely halted except for the usage related to military purposes, and funding for state highway departments became extremely limited aside from defense-related highway projects, which focused on roads which provided access to military bases, defense manufacturing plans, and other specific sites.[16]

[13] Prosser, "Commercial Development, 1850-1980," 6-7; Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-20, E-21 and E-22.

[14] Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 99; Caltrans History." It became the new alignment of U.S. Route 66 through Pasadena, replacing the former routing along Figueroa Street and Colorado Boulevard, which at that point became the U.S. Route 66 Alternate for the Los Angeles County area. Source: Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-20, E-21 and E-22.

[15] Although both the Arroyo Seco and Cahuenga Pass Parkways exhibited characteristics of a modern freeway, planners would soon come to find that pre-World War II freeways were not equipped to handle the area's social and economic boom that occurred after the war. Source: Caltrans, "A Historical Context," 99, 103.

[16] Roland et. al., "U.S. Highway 66 in California," E-13.

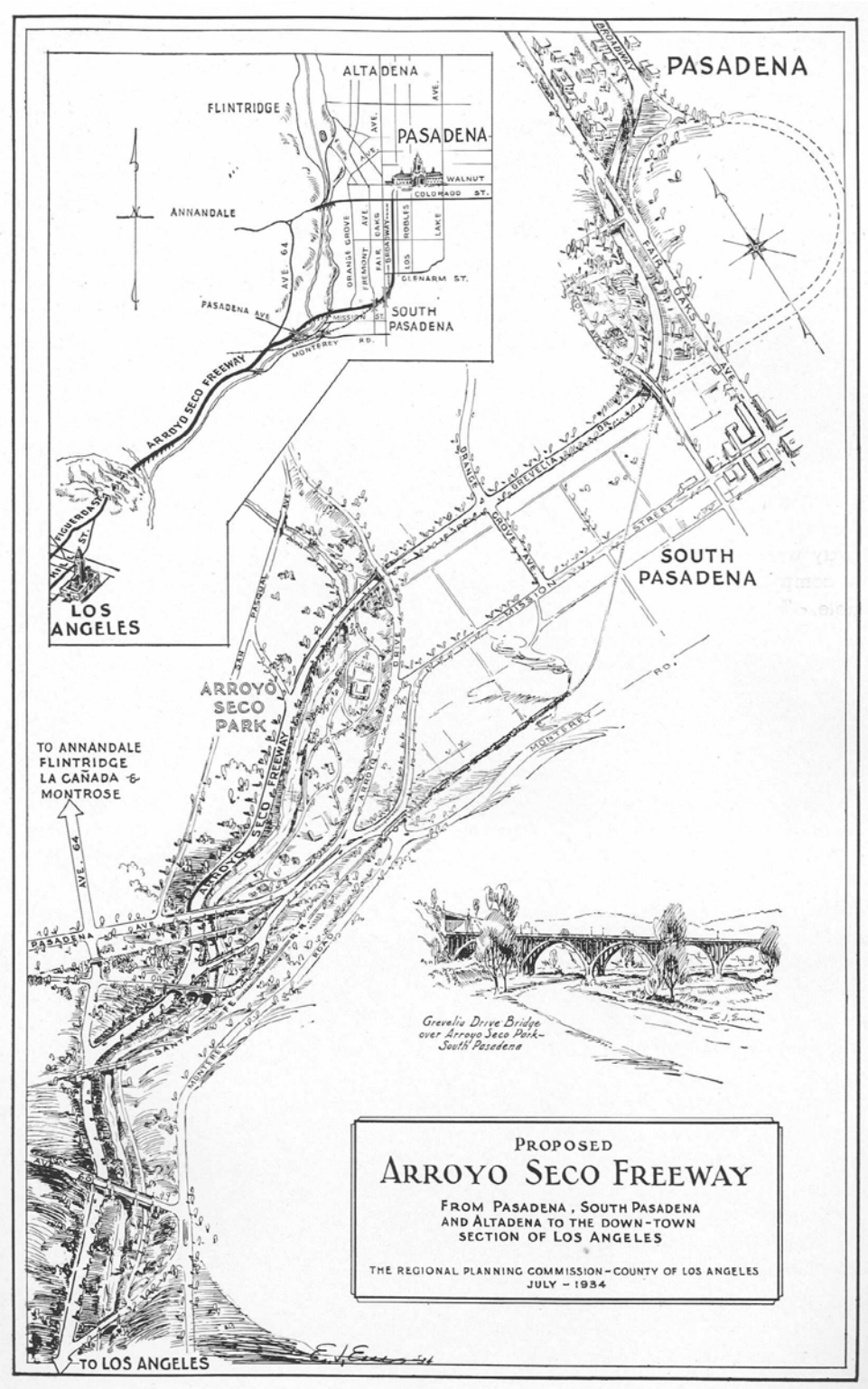


Illustration of the proposed Arroyo Seco to Pasadena from the 1941 *Master Plan of Highways* by the Los Angeles Regional Planning Commission.

Highway Development in the Greater LA Area and Pasadena in the Postwar Period

During World War II, Los Angeles became a major center of the defense industry. Following its horizontal growth in the 1920s and 1930s, the region continued to spread outward, increasing the need for the automobile and its infrastructure. By the 1940s, Los Angeles County was firmly entrenched in "car culture," and there were more than one million cars in the county. In 1941, the county had 880 miles of state highways, 3,000 miles of major streets, 5,000 miles of local streets, and 4,000 miles of unimproved streets.[17] Freeways became crucial to the war effort, as they allowed the efficient transport of supplies, soldiers, and other needs. This need, coupled with the rapidly swelling population, drove demand for additional automobile infrastructure.[18] In 1941, for example, the Los Angeles City Planning Commission completed a proposed parkway plan for the region entitled the *Master Plan of Highways*. It was expanded over the next several years and was ratified by the Los Angeles Regional Planning Commission, the county's planning commission, in 1944.[19] It laid out a plan for transportation growth in the region and would be a blueprint for freeway planning the postwar period. Another early effort at freeway planning in region was the 1941 *Report on the Feasibility of a Freeway Along the Channel of the Los Angeles River*, which concerned a freeway connecting the San Fernando Valley to the Los Angeles and Long Beach Harbors – what would later become the SR-710 Freeway. It was during the 1940s that the Long Beach and Foothill Freeways began to show up in other transportation planning documents as well.

Southern California experienced a rapid population increase after World War II. Between 1940 and 1950, Los Angeles County's population nearly doubled from 2,785,643 to 4,151,687.[20] At the same time, the automobile continued its ascent as the primary form of transportation in the region. Automobile registration in Los Angeles alone increased from 1.2 million to 2.6 million between 1946 and 1956.[21] As the number of automobiles exploded and traffic increased, planners' priorities for freeways shifted. As a result of the area's increase in population, a number of construction projects were needed including the construction of freeways because "without them no city can grow … Los Angeles, above any other city, needs a complete system of freeways because of the enormous area."[22] Freeways were increasingly seen as a way to redirect traffic congestion off city streets and onto a centralized arterial road.

The area's earliest freeways, the Arroyo Seco Parkway and the Cahuenga Pass Parkway (now the Hollywood Freeway), opened in 1942. The Arroyo Seco became a model for future freeway construction projects. As Jovanni Perez notes, the success of the Arroyo Seco Parkway convinced city planners that freeways were the answer to the area's ever-present traffic problem.[23] As discussed above, the Arroyo Seco Parkway was originally designed as a scenic route. However, population growth and increasing traffic in the Los Angeles region shifted the

[17] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 100.

[18] Perez, 5.

[19] Caltrans, "Historical Context," 102.

[20] California Department of Finance, "Historical Census Populations of Counties and Incorporated Cities in California, 1850-2020," accessed May 24, 2024, https://dof.ca.gov/reports/demographic-reports/.

[21] Prosser, "Commercial Development and the Automobile," 16.

[22] George Read, "The Future of Los Angeles," *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1945 qtd. in Perez, 5.

[23] Jovanni Perez, "The Los Angeles Freeway and the History of Community Displacement," 6.



Proposed freeway system map from the 1946 *Interregional, Regional, and Metropolitan Parkways in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area*(Courtesy of the Southern California Rapid Transit District Library)

focus of transportation projects from scenic parkways to freeways designed to alleviate traffic congestion and accommodate higher volumes of automobiles.[24]

As noted earlier, the passage of the Collier-Burns Act in 1947 redistributed state funding more evenly across the state, making possible an ambitious freeway-building campaign in the Los Angeles region. In the roughly two decades following the passage of the Collier-Burns Act, nearly the entire Southern California freeway system was constructed, fundamentally changing the shape of the region's transit. William Fulton referred to this period as "the golden age of freeway construction" in the Los Angeles area.[25] Work on the Hollywood Freeway continued into the early 1950s and 1960s, connecting downtown Los Angeles with Burbank. The Santa Ana Freeway (I-5), San Bernardino Freeway (I-10), and Ventura Freeway (SR-134) were constructed in the 1950s and early 1960s. Much of Los Angeles' freeway system, as envisioned in earlier decades, was finished by the mid-1960s.[26] The region's freeways decimated its neighborhoods of color, building on decades of inequitable planning practices and policies.

[24] Perez, 6.

[25] William Fulton, *The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Urban Growth in Los Angeles* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 134.

[26] Prosser, "Commercial Development and the Automobile," 16-17.

Origins of the SR-710 and I-210 Freeways

Planning for the SR-710 and I-210 Freeways began in the 1940s, when the early routes for these freeways were mapped out. The Long Beach Freeway (SR-710) was constructed as a means of connecting the port to the rest of the region, including the central manufacturing district in Southeast Los Angeles. The Long Beach Freeway was part of Los Angeles' planning efforts from an early date. As noted above, the Regional Planning Commission's "Report on the Feasibility of a Freeway Along the Channel of the Los Angeles River" proposed a four-lane route from Long Beach to Sepulveda Boulevard in the San Fernando Valley. The cities of Long Beach and Los Angeles began reserving right-of-way along the river for the route as early as the 1930s and 1940s.[27] In the 1940s, Long Beach financed the planning and construction of a port highway that it named the Los Angeles River Freeway.[28] The Long Beach Freeway was shown on the Master Plan of Freeways (1946) as the "Los Angeles River Freeway" and the "Concord Parkway," which would be the later route of the 710 Freeway.[29] In 1949, construction began on the freeway, initially called Route 15 and later Route 7.[30] The new route was created by connecting existing older freeways between Long Beach and Los Angeles, and would extend to South Pasadena. The first section of the route, renamed the Long Beach Freeway, opened in Long Beach in 1952.[31] Various portions of the freeway between Long Beach and U.S. 101 in Los Angeles were completed during the 1950s.

The Foothill Freeway had its origins in an early state highway that ran between San Fernando east to Pasadena as part of Legislative Route (LRN) 9. It later became part of US Route 99 in 1926. The 210 Freeway is mentioned as early as 1943 as a proposed route to the east following the old State Route 118.[32] Plans for an east-west "Foothill" freeway route through Pasadena, intended to run parallel to Route 66, appears in the 1946 freeway plan and again in freeway plans in the 1950s. The routes at this stage were approximate.[33] By the 1950s, growth at the Port of Los Angeles led to an increase in trucking activity and renewed efforts to construct the "Concord Parkway," which would extend the Long Beach Freeway past its existing terminus southeast of Downtown LA. The northern portion of the Concord Parkway corresponds to the current 210, while the portion south of Pasadena corresponds to the current and unconstructed portions of the 710 Freeway.[34] In 1959, plans were created to extend the 710 Freeway to the 210 Freeway, which would result in prolonged debates over the freeway's route through Pasadena in the 1960s.[35] More detail on the construction of these freeways is included below.

[27] California Highways, "Interstate 710," accessed May 24, 2024, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.

[28] Gilbert Estrada, "The 710 Long Beach Freeway: A History of America's Most Important Freeway," PBS SoCal, accessed May 23, 2024, https://www.pbssocal.org/shows/departures/the-710-long-beach-freeway-a-history-of-americas-most-important-freeway.

[29] Tim Ivison and Julia Tcharfas, "710: Excerpts from the Archive," Offramp, Summer 2019, accessed May 23, 2024, https://offramp.sciarc.edu/articles/710-excerpts-from-the-archive.

[30] Ivison and Tcharfas, "710: Excerpts from the Archive."

[31] Ivison and Tcharfas, "710: Excerpts from the Archive."

[32] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 89.

[33] Lloyd, "Freeway Development and Modernity in Pasadena," 8. A small portion of Route 118 between La Cañada-Flintridge and Pasadena was completed to freeway standards in 1955. It was later bypassed by the Foothill Freeway.

[34] Ivison and Tcharfas, "710: Excerpts from the Archive."

[35] California Highways, "Interstate 710, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.



Pasadena in 1945. Colorado Boulevard can be seen at center (Photo courtesy of Pasadena Public Library)

Pasadena in the Post-World War II Period

In the postwar period, Pasadena, like much of Southern California, experienced rapid and unprecedented growth. The city's population grew from approximately 81,000 to about 106,000 between 1940 and 1950. It also grew in land area, with 1,856 acres of land added in 45 annexations. One of the most significant of these was the addition of Hastings Ranch on the east side of the city.

By 1950, the city's population of people of color was 12,616; they continued to live largely on the west side of the city in northwest Pasadena and the South Vernon/South Raymond neighborhoods.[36] Northwest Pasadena was a mostly working-class neighborhood with clear pride of ownership visible in well-tended yards. The South Vernon neighborhood was made up of mostly single-family homes, as well as some multi-family residences and commercial and industrial buildings along South Pasadena and Vernon Avenues. A 1955 study conducted by the NAACP indicated that 65 percent of African Americans in the city owned their homes; the study noted, "This housing picture indicates a highly stable, settled, relatively prosperous group. They are home owners, family members, and permanent residents of the community."[37]

[36] Demographic information courtesy of Becky Nicolaides.

[37] Betty Jensen Jones and Robert W. O'Brien, "The Negro Community in Pasadena: A Survey of Levels of Employment," Pasadena Chapter NAACP, 1955, 12.

It also had well-established institutions such as First AME Church (115 North Vernon Avenue) and Neighborhood Church (551 South Pasadena Avenue) and businesses.

During this time, Pasadena shifted from "a tourist-dependent, old-money space into a more forward-looking, Space Age city."[38] A significant factor in this change was the completion of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, which linked Pasadena to downtown Los Angeles more easily than ever before. City leaders also actively worked to attract new business and industry. New commercial shopping districts opened along Lake Avenue and in Hastings Ranch, and office construction occurred at Lake Avenue and Colorado Boulevard.[39]

One of the most notable changes to take place in Pasadena during this period was the increase in the city's light industrial and manufacturing sectors. This shift away from a primarily residential community came in part as a result of the realization that "an industrial plant does not necessarily have to constitute an ugly scar on the face of the community," in addition to recognition of the importance of these sectors to a local economy.[40] Industry was discouraged before the war as a result of an "almost single purpose devotion of the city in its early stages to the development of a residential atmosphere."[41] Due to the presence of Caltech and the demand for industrial plants during the war, Pasadena's industrial sector grew, "particularly in the fields of scientific research and the manufacture of precision instruments."[42] City leaders increasingly sought to develop Pasadena as "a center of science, research and light manufacturing" as well as "other industry that conforms to the character of the community, including their head offices and sales divisions."[43] Pasadena, which had been heavily reliant on a tourist-driven economy, began contemplating new options for its future.[44] Despite these desires, though, Pasadena lacked available land; it was almost entirely built out by this time.[45]

Until the early 1950s, Pasadena was easily accessible via public transportation. Into the mid-1960s, advertisements in local newspapers referenced the proximity of residential areas to schools, shopping, and transportation, even as other ads championed the new automobile infrastructure that was cropping up in Southern California.[46] As the streetcar began to make service cuts in the 1950s, the city became less accessible, and freeway planning took center stage. By this period, freeway construction had spread throughout the region, and Pasadena sat at the intersection of three proposed freeways – the Long Beach Freeway (SR-710), Colorado Freeway (SR-134), and the Foothill Freeway (I-210).[47]

The construction of a freeway through Pasadena became linked with its economic prosperity in the postwar period. City leaders became convinced that freeways would provide a necessary link between Pasadena and the rest of the Los Angeles area.[48] This was especially significant as Pasadena became a suburban shopping district at this time.[49]

[38] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 152.
[39] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 152-153.
[40] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 7.
[41] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 27.
[42] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 27.
[43] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 37.
[44] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 147.
[45] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 37.
[46] Lloyd, 8-9.
[47] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 89.
[48] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 89.
[49] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 152.

Urban Renewal in Pasadena

As the city grew and its economy shifted, city officials increasingly turned an eye toward its existing building stock, especially the areas it felt needed redevelopment. Pasadena had begun studying the issue of redevelopment and "housing blight" as early as 1944 when the Planning Commission formed a Citizens Advisory Committee to focus specifically on these issues.[50] In 1950, the city conducted a study to assess the conditions of its residential units and provide recommendations. The city felt that its ability to eradicate "blight" was limited, however, and more comprehensive efforts were made in the following decades. In 1959, Pasadena formed its Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA). The CRA's first undertaking was the Pepper Street Project, Pasadena's first urban renewal project of this period. The area that was eventually redeveloped was a mixed income community of color in northwest Pasadena. The redevelopment project removed a well-established and varied neighborhood of modest but well-kept homes with public housing (later called Kings Manor and now Kings Village). Despite ten years of vehement opposition by the local community, the project ultimately moved forward.[51] It displaced nearly 300 families, most of them people of color. Though city paid relocation costs, including moving expenses, storage costs, and others,[52] that did not come close to mitigating the loss of community suffered by residents displaced by the Pepper Street redevelopment project.

In 1962, the City of Pasadena released its General Plan. The plan set out the City's intentions for the future as it moved into a new era of



Group of residences on Pepper Street, n.d. (Courtesy of Pasadena Museum of History)

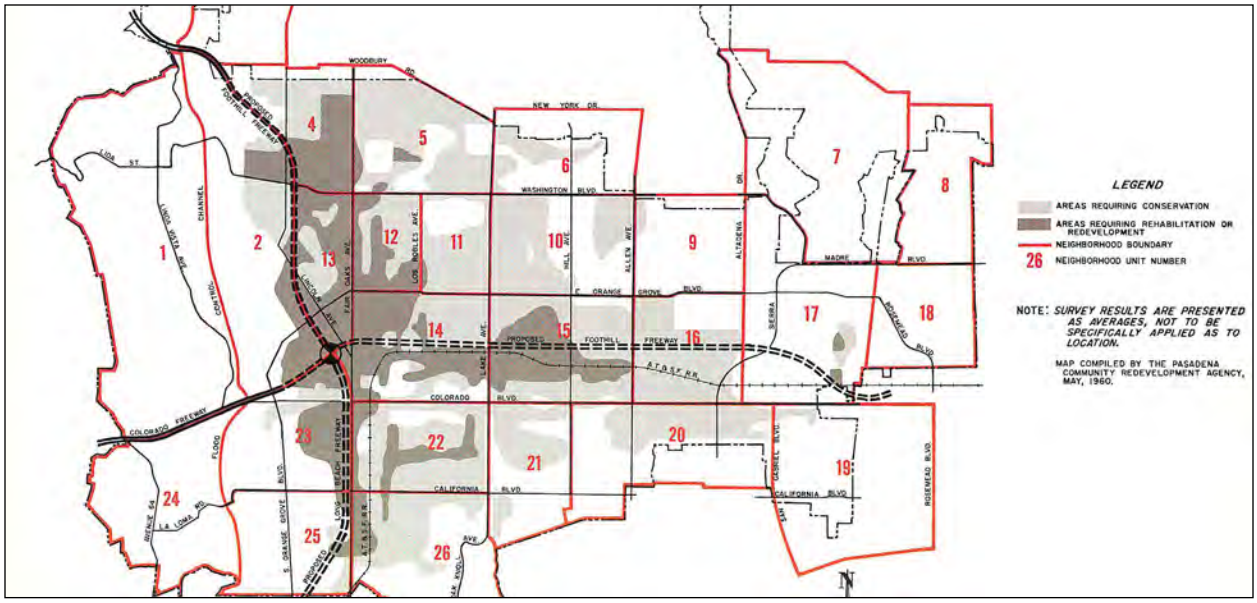


Buildings noted as being "makeshift nonconforming residence rear of commercial usage, on North Fair Oaks" in the Pepper Street area, n.d. (Courtesy of Pasadena Museum of History)

[50] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 1962, 103.

[51] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 175.

[52] "Pepper Project Status Report and Action Required," prepared by T. Ross Williams, Community Redevelopment Agency, May 7, 1968, 2.



The study area was part of one of the redevelopment areas outlined in the Pasadena General Plan, 1962 (Courtesy of the City of Pasadena)

development. In the foreword, the plan asks, "What kind of city is Pasadena? How did it become such a city? What are the people's needs? Their aspirations? And, finally, how can we best plan to meet these needs and aspirations, not only for today but for the years to come?"[53] Its purpose was to "provide the citizens of Pasadena and the City Government with a comprehensive long-term general plan to guide growth and development."[54] It laid out the existing conditions in the City of Pasadena such as population, traffic and circulation, land use, and recreational features (parks, schools, etc.), and then it provided a plan to guide growth and development into the future. The plan outlined improvements to land use and zoning, community facilities, circulation and transportation, and neighborhood design, among other things. However, the plan prioritized these needs for White neighborhoods, while simultaneously ignoring the needs of neighborhoods of color.

The General Plan also included a section of urban renewal and redevelopment. In the Plan, the city was divided into 26 neighborhood units. The Plan then laid out the characteristics of each, including existing population, land use, and housing type and condition. It stated that nearly 5 percent of the city's residential units were categorized as substandard, citing the 1960 Federal Census. The General Plan noted further that 12 percent of Pasadena's neighborhood areas were "sufficiently blighted to require rehabilitation or redevelopment."[55] Redevelopment areas in Pasadena were established, creating a roadmap that would later be used to justify freeway siting.

[53] City of Pasadena, General Plan, iv.

[54] City of Pasadena, General Plan, iv.

[55] City of Pasadena, General Plan, vi.

Some of the areas marked thusly were the neighborhoods which were historically occupied by communities of color. These areas were earmarked for the city's first redevelopment efforts, to be converted into commercial and industrial areas.[56] These were the same areas that had been redlined during the late 1930s by the HOLC, and it was through these neighborhoods that the 710 and 210 Freeways were depicted as part of the city's planning efforts.

Early Planning for the SR-210 and I-710 Freeways in Pasadena

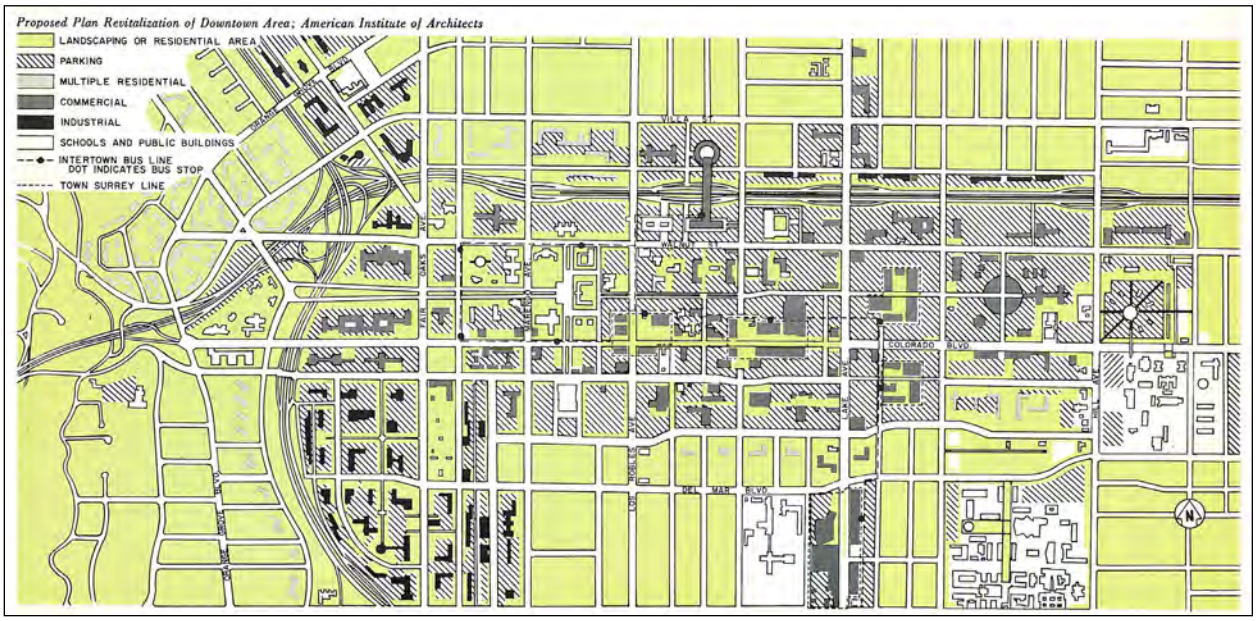
In the early 1960s, business and political leaders formed a Citizens' Committee on Freeways, which worked with state highway officials to decide a freeway route. Local newspapers proclaimed a freeway as "the road to Pasadena's future."[57] It was seen as the solution to the city's transportation issues, as long as state highway officials ensured it did not travel near the Pasadena Playhouse, the California Institute of Technology (Caltech), or "other education and cultural" sites that made the city "world famous."[58]

The SR-710 and I-210 Freeways were incorporated into the city's redevelopment and transportation planning efforts. The construction of the freeway was seen as a way to boost the city's development and economy. The freeway and the provision of transit would provide long-term benefits for residents not only because of ease of circulation; it would also boost land values, encourage construction, and connect Pasadena to the rest of the region.

The 1962 General Plan outlined a rationale for how the freeways should be sited in Pasadena, revealing a desire to protect "established" neighborhoods (implicitly wealthier), while virtually ignoring the integrity of existing neighborhoods of residents of color. "Although it is generally preferable to route freeways around rather than through a city," the General Plan stated, "this is practically impossible in Pasadena's case and the next best solution would appear to be the establishment of routes which will have the most favorable influence on the development of abutting properties and at the same time provide maximum user benefits."[59] It noted "we advocate that the North-South Freeway to Long Beach be built as a dividing greenbelt to permanently insulate the high-income residential areas from the future research and development area," which incidentally were northwest Pasadena and the South Vernon Avenue neighborhood. No mention is made of these areas as containing existing residential neighborhoods; rather, they are discussed as if they do not exist or do not matter.[60] The route for the I-210 Freeway, it noted, "would cause a minimum of disturbance to existing residential developments and maintain neighborhood integrity."[61] The neighborhoods marked for the freeway's route were northwest Pasadena and the South Vernon Avenue area, the very same as the ones marked for redevelopment. The plan went on:

> The proposed north-south route [the SR-710] would, for the most part, take substandard residential, commercial and industrial developments and would not disrupt established neighborhoods. In the central portion of the city the freeway would traverse areas planned for future redevelopment.[62]

[56] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 35.
[57] Lloyd, 15-16.
[58] Lloyd, 15-16.
[59] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 45.
[60] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 35.
[61] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 45.
[62] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 45.



Proposed location of the North-South Freeway as part of the "revitalization" of downtown Pasadena in the 1962 General Plan (Courtesy of the City of Pasadena)

It completely ignored the fact that these were, in fact, long-standing neighborhoods that had been in place since the early twentieth century.[63] They were occupied by people of color and therefore, apparently, not worth the same consideration as so-called "established" White neighborhoods. And for the residents of these neighborhoods, Lloyd notes, "once a neighborhood was slated for a potential freeway route, it was as if someone had placed a bull's-eye on it. Home and business improvement loans would be almost impossible to obtain, ensuring that the neighborhood would continue to deteriorate."[64]

Meanwhile, construction began on the freeways that were intended to converge in Pasadena. The first segment of the Foothill Freeway to Devil's Gate Dam opened in 1955. In 1960, the California Division of Freeways began location studies for the Long Beach Freeway extension. It formally notified the cities of Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Alhambra that studies were being initiated for the location of a proposed freeway extension running from Huntington Drive north to the Foothill Freeway.[65] The next year, the Long Beach Freeway was in its advance planning stages though Pasadena.[66] At the same time, the route that had been Route 118 from La Cañada-Flintridge to Pasadena became LRN 210 in anticipation of the completion of the Foothill Freeway east towards Interstate 10. At the same

[63] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 45.

[64] Lloyd, 10.

[65] "Interstate 710," California Highways, accessed May 30, 2024, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.

[66] "Interstate 710," California Highways, accessed May 30, 2024, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html. The Los Angeles River Freeway was initially known as Route 15 and was renumbered to Route 7 in 1964 as part of the "Great Renumbering" in which the California legislature changed freeway route numbers across the state.

time, state highway officials laid out several route options for the freeways through Pasadena. Debates over the freeway's routes would be fierce for the next several years.

The 710 and 210 Freeways in Pasadena: The Route Debates and Opposition

In planning the Long Beach and Foothill freeways through Pasadena, state highway engineers and city officials explored various route options through the city. Between 1958 and 1963, a number of alternatives were presented to the public.[67]

Opposition to the construction of the Foothill and Long Beach Freeways through Pasadena arose quickly following the announcement of their planning. Early opposition questioned the need for a freeway through Pasadena in the first place. In 1958, approximately 1,400 residents attended a presentation by state highway officials at Pasadena City College on the proposed Foothill Freeway. Many residents wanted to know "Will the freeway go through my house?" and expressed concerns about the freeway's impact to property value, quality of life, and local businesses.[68]

Numerous groups were formed in opposition to the freeway in Pasadena and surrounding communities. Eventually, the question as to whether a freeway would be constructed through Pasadena was settled as a given. One *Los Angeles Times* article noted "it is impractical and impossible to stop it."[69] Once it became clear that the construction of the freeway was inevitable, and it was only a matter of what route would be chosen, each group had a different agenda. Hearings were held throughout the 1960s to address the issue.

Numerous groups responded to the possibility of a freeway with petitions to stop it. In 1958, for example, more than 2,500 residents from affluent neighborhoods in southeast Pasadena delivered a petition to the state highway district office in protest of the freeway. While they did not oppose a freeway in Pasadena per se, they did not want it to be constructed near them. Their objections included the following:

> "First, the petitioners argued, it would destroy 'hundreds of … attractive residences' and displaced families 'will be unable to relocate in Pasadena' because of lack of residential areas of similar quality. Second, 'It will cut off many north and south streets' that local residents use to access merchants on Colorado St. Third, 'It will create a blighted area between Colorado [Boulevard] and the freeway, where no one will care to own a home.' Fourth, the freeway was too costly; and fifth, it would damage business property values on Colorado [Boulevard]."[70]

In 1964, appraisals for the first 176 Pasadena properties needed for the construction of the Foothill Freeway were completed. $5.5 million was made available for right-of-way acquisition that year. The properties appraised were located within the freeway "core" (excluding interchanges).[71] Eventually, three routes (Red, Blue, and Green) were decided upon. Initially some individuals in Pasadena, such as the City Manager, opposed all three routes (Green, Red, and Blue) since they "of necessity, bisect and carve up prime residential, as well, and commercial and industrial areas."[72] The Green Route traveled along Fair Oaks Avenue south

[67] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 90.

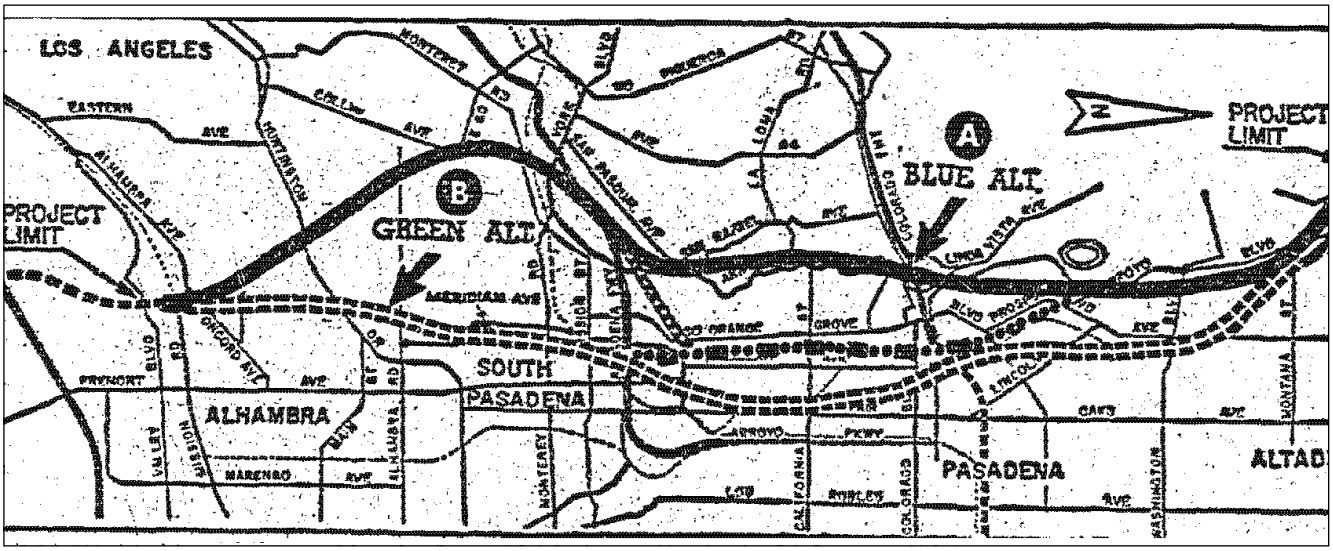
[68] Lloyd, 11.

[69] "Freeway Inevitable," *Los Angeles Times*, 1964.

[70] Lloyd, 11-12.

[71] "First Appraisals near Completion for Freeway," *Pasadena Independent*, January 7, 1964, 13.

[72] "Pasadena Stands Fast on Freeway Position," *Los Angeles Times,* September 2, 1964, D9.



The Blue and Green Routes outlined for the Long Beach Freeway, *Los Angeles Times*, March 18, 1964 (Courtesy of Los Angeles Public Library).

of what is now the 134 Freeway, while the Red Route traveled along Pasadena Avenue south of the 134 Freeway. The Blue Route was located farther west through the Arroyo Seco. In March 1964, two basic alternatives (the Blue Route and the Green Route) were decided upon. It was reported that right-of-way would have to be acquired on 1,647 living units on the Blue Route, while the Green Route would be required right-of-way from 2,653 to 2,696 living units.[73] At public hearings, "both routes, slicing through established residential communities, were attacked as destructive, unnecessary and unwanted."[74]

The Pasadena Citizens Freeway Committee, formed in April 1964, opposed the construction of a freeway at all, but if a freeway was inevitable, it supported the Green Route along Fair Oaks Avenue "or an easterly modification of it." [75]

The group held numerous meetings and signed petitions in support of the Green route.[76] Everett B. Clary, a White member of the committee's board of directors, said that the Fair Oaks Avenue route would "save a 'choice residential area' and school and churches."[77] The Blue Route would affect "many showplace homes on both banks of the Arroyo" while the Red Route would eliminate "dozens of large and well-kept homes" between Orange Grove Boulevard and Pasadena Avenue.[78] Clary declared: "The Fair Oaks Avenue area, where the so-called Green route is placed is the only area which would actually benefit from proximity of the freeway."[79] The group held a rally at Singer Park in support of the Fair Oaks Route.[80]

[73] "Seven Routes Outlined for Freeway Extension," *Los Angeles Times*, March 18, 1964, A1.

[74] Ray Hebert, "2 Disputed Freeway Routes in Pasadena Area Adopted: New Bursts of Protests Expected," *Los Angeles Times*, November 19, 1964, A1.

[75] Dave Swaim, "200 Assail Red, Blue Routes," *Pasadena Independent*, April 23, 1964, 82.

[76] Jack Birkinshaw, "Hearings Slated on Paths for Two Valley Freeways," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1964.

[77] Jack Birkinshaw, "Hearings Slated on Paths for Two Valley Freeways," *Los Angeles Times*, April 9, 1964.

[78] Dave Swaim, "200 Assail Red, Blue Routes," *Pasadena Independent*, April 23, 1964, 82.

[79] Dave Swaim, "200 Assail Red, Blue Routes," *Pasadena Independent*, April 23, 1964, 82.

[80] Dirk Werkman, "Freeway Meetings Jam Week's

The Board of City Directors endorsed the eastern (Green) alternative along Fair Oaks Avenue at that time.[81] The Green Route was depicted in the City's 1962 General Plan, where it is the only one depicted, despite the City not yet having decided upon one at the time.[82] Using circular logic, city officials then argued that the Green Route conformed with the City's General Plan and therefore should be adopted. It was also reported that the Green Route would boost property values in the Fair Oaks industrial and commercial area.[83] This route, however, affected the highest number of homes and destroyed more neighborhoods of color in the most densely populated areas of the city than the Blue Route would have. While Pasadena favored the Green Route, South Pasadena pushed for the Blue Route, as it would have avoided their city.

Ultimately the Green Route with the Red Route alternative to the south was chosen. As the "Implications of Freeway Siting in California" report notes:

> "Despite the fact that the Blue route that would have had the least impact on already established neighborhoods, would have removed the fewest number of housing units, and would have received South Pasadena's support as well, ultimately, the Green route (with the Red cut-off) was chosen in 1964. The city put its weight behind a more expensive route that affected more homes and disrupted primarily neighborhoods of color."[84]

In November 1964, the State Highway Commission adopted the Long Beach Freeway extension through Pasadena and the Foothill Freeway from Pasadena/South Pasadena to La Canada.[85] The route for the Long Beach Freeway ran along Pasadena Avenue north to the Colorado Freeway interchange, and the Foothill Freeway would then run northwest towards Devil's Gate Dam.[86] The *Times* reported that the Long Beach Freeway extension would result in the demolition of 2,400 living units in Pasadena and South Pasadena between Valley Boulevard and Devil's Gate Dam.[87] Initial estimates for the Long Beach Freeway extension were totaled at nearly $100 million for right-of-way acquisition and construction.[88]

Even after the State Highway Commission decided upon the route along Pasadena Avenue, the Board of City Directors remained in opposition and had "not given up the fight" to have the Fair Oaks Avenue route selected instead.[89] The mayor declared "At no time did we agree to the Pasadena Avenue route."[90] Without the city's approval, freeway construction could not move forward.

Activities," *Independent Star-News*, May 3, 1964, 3.

[81] "East Freeway Route Favored in Pasadena," *Los Angeles Times*, May 6, 1964, A8.

[82] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 95.

[83] "Pasadena Area Girds for Battle of Freeway: Extension Route Stirs Differences," *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1964, A1.

[84] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 110.

[85] Ray Hebert, "2 Disputed Freeway Routes in Pasadena Area Adopted: New Bursts of Protests Expected," *Los Angeles Times*, November 19, 1964, A1.

[86] Ray Hebert, "2 Disputed Freeway Routes in Pasadena Area Adopted: New Bursts of Protests Expected," *Los Angeles Times*, November 19, 1964, A1.

[87] Ray Hebert, "2 Disputed Freeway Routes in Pasadena Area Adopted: New Bursts of Protests Expected," *Los Angeles Times*, November 19, 1964, A1.

[88] "2 Freeway Routes Set Tentatively," *Los Angeles Times*, July 30, 1964, A1.

[89] "Opposition to L.B. Freeway Path Affirmed," *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 1965, SG1.

[90] "Opposition to L.B. Freeway Path Affirmed," *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 1965, SG1.

The Foothill Freeway route was decided, and right-of-way commenced for the adopted portion of the I-210 Freeway.[91] Debate over the route selection of the Long Beach Freeway, however, continued into the end of 1965. South Pasadena continued to lobby for changes that would result in a route along Fair Oaks Avenue. In November of that year, the State Highway Commission ultimately chose the previously adopted route along Pasadena Avenue. The Commission stated that "modification of the route to approximately 30 feet [is] acceptable but the basic route [can] not be altered."[92]

By 1966, right-of-way acquisitions for the Foothill Freeway were reportedly 36 percent complete.[93] This included the acquisition of the northern end of Besse Park via eminent domain in 1967, which split the park in half. Separately, the state also acquired the Boys' Club's Besser Park branch, immediately north of the park.[94] Despite land acquisition, construction was delayed by budgeting issues. The State Division of Highways confirmed that construction would likely not be possible until the 1969-1970 fiscal year due to funding and right of way acquisition plans.[95]

Following the adoption of the freeway route, the architecture firm Victor Gruen Associates suggested revising the route to follow Fair Oaks Avenue and to avoid Pasadena Avenue. Though the suggested route would require the acquisition of the Neighborhood Church, it would "have the least detrimental influence on the Orange Grove Boulevard residential community... and would have the least detrimental influence on the redevelopment area and the community as a whole of any of the possible alternatives."[96] It also would have formed a barrier between the existing industrial-commercial area to the east and the residential area to the west. And though the City had commissioned the report by Victor Gruen Associates, it did not follow its recommendations.[97]

Public hearings continued through 1967 with protests from all sides. A resolution was introduced to reopen hearings on the Long Beach Freeway extension route and reevaluate the route but was ultimately struck down. Officials were afraid that this would set a dangerous precedent in freeway planning.[98] In 1967, the City of Pasadena approved the Pasadena Avenue alignment for the Long Beach Freeway extension, which required taking the Neighborhood Church and properties on the east side of Pasadena Avenue between Bellefontaine and Columbia streets that were not previously involved in the potential routes. This portion of the route corresponded with the Red Route alternative proposed by the state.[99] It became the basis for the City's Freeway Agreement with the state and was known as the "Meridian Avenue Line." The Federal Highway Administration (FHA) approved the state adopted route in June of that year.[100]

[91] "The Implications of Freeway Siting in California: Four Case Studies on the Effects of Freeways on Neighborhoods of Color," 90.
[92] Jerry Gillam, "Pasadena Beaten on L.B. Freeway Route," *Los Angeles Times*, November 18, 1965, SG1.
[93] "Periodic report on the Freeway," *Pasadena Independent*, January 31, 1966.
[94] Jack Birkinshaw, "Besse Park will be halved by freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 1967.
[95] Wanda Tucker, "Board To Mull Letter," *Pasadena Independent*, October 23, 1967.
[96] "Pasadena Studies New Freeway Path: Route East of Proposed Long Beach Extension recommended," *Los Angeles Times*, April 14, 1966, SG1.
[97] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 111.
[98] Don Snyder, "Further Hearing Urged on Freeway Extension Route," *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1967, B7.
[99] "City Directors Face Freeway Choices," *Independent Star-News*, January 15, 1967, 3.
[100] "Interstate 710," *California Highways*, accessed May 30, 2024, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.



Depiction of the "Meridian Avenue line" (Red Route) that was selected and approved by the FHA in 1967.

Right-of-way acquisition for the Long Beach Freeway through Pasadena began in 1968.[101] Acquisition for the Foothill Freeway was largely complete and construction underway by 1971.[102] Some of the land acquired for the construction of the Foothill Freeway was identified as leftover and rezoned for heavy commercial use. It was originally zoned as commercial and single-family residential development.[103]

Construction of the Foothill Freeway was initially delayed after part of a bridge for the Foothill Freeway collapsed over the Arroyo Seco below Devil's Gate Reservoir in 1972, killing three workers on site.[104] It opened in segments between 1973 and 1976. The northern portion was completed in 1973 and 1974, while the southern stub completed in 1975 and the eastern spur completed in 1976.[105] The final portion of the Foothill Freeway, which consisted of the eastbound lanes between the Pasadena interchange and Madre Street, opened in March 1976.[106]

The existing SR-710 Freeway in Pasadena was largely completed in 1974 and connected with the Foothill Freeway the following year. An injunction filed by the City of South Pasadena delayed the last part of its construction, but in 1976, a federal judge ruled that the section of

[101] Don Snyder, "State Clearing Way For Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 1968.
[102] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 91.
[103] "Zone change backed for service facility," *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1973, 23.
[104] "Freeway bridge falls; 3 dead," *Independent*, October 18, 1972.
[105] "The Implications of Freeway Siting in California: Four Case Studies on the Effects of Freeways on Neighborhoods of Color," 89 and 92.
[106] Bert Mann, "Freeway Opens Friday (Well, Most of it)," *Los Angeles Times*, March 18, 1976.

the SR-710 Freeway between the I-210 Freeway interchange and California Street could open.[107] Construction of the "wishbone," a one-way couplet between Pasadena Avenue and St. John's Avenue, was finished at this time.[108] Due to opposition from groups in neighboring cities, discussed below, the SR-710 Freeway's construction further south through Pasadena and South Pasadena was halted.

Opposition in Neighboring Cities

Multiple groups formed in opposition to the freeways through Pasadena and neighboring cities, including La Cañada-Flintridge, South Pasadena, and El Sereno.[109]

In La Cañada to the northwest of Pasadena, opposition first coalesced in 1964. More than 1,000 mostly White residents from La Cañada-Flintridge protested the construction of the Foothill Freeway at a meeting of the California Highway Commission in September of that year, and opposition continued for a year and a half.[110] Some of La Cañada's public officials threatened to refuse to sign the necessary street closure agreements that were required for construction.[111]

Opposition to the SR-710 Freeway in South Pasadena was fervent and ongoing[112] and was the most well-known local anti-freeway movement. Opposition was first expressed in 1960, when South Pasadena leaders objected to a route through their community proposed by the City of Pasadena, arguing that it had not been consulted on the proposal. The director of the Community Redevelopment Agency in South Pasadena said, "It is not the prerogative of the City of Pasadena to tell the City of South Pasadena what to do."[113] As soon as the official alignment was adopted in 1964, the majority-White City of South Pasadena requested reconsideration of the adopted route. Many South Pasadena residents "refuse[d] to accept the fate of a ribbon of concrete slicing through their city."[114] The *Times* reported that "South Pasadena is deeply concerned. Small and almost totally residential, the city fears the wrong route would cut it in half and cause economic havoc."[115] The only segment that was ever constructed ran between the Interstate 10 north to Valley Boulevard, completed in 1965. Three years later, "the city of South Pasadena still refuses to accept the location of the route as adopted by the California Highway Commission. A state freeway agreement with South Pasadena remains unsigned."[116] Approximately 7,000 of the city's 11,000 registered voters signed petitions against the route, and the city presented a detailed version of an alternative alignment that would cut along the city's western boundary rather than one closer to the center of the

[107] Bert Mann, "L.B. Freeway Must Clear Legal Hurdles," *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1975, 16; "Judge Rules Freeway Segment May Open," *South Pasadena Review*, January 1, 1976.

[108] "Interstate 710," *California Highways*, accessed May 30, 2024, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.

[109] Other municipalities, such as Alhambra, supported it.

[110] Lloyd, 12.

[111] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 94.

[112] Due to the extended nature of the fight against the SR-710 from South Pasadena, this accounting is not comprehensive. It is a broad overview meant to provide background and contrast to the occurrences in Pasadena.

[113] "SoPas Stews Over New Freeway Plan," *Pasadena Independent*, December 7, 1960, 4.

[114] "Freeway Issue Is Not Dead, Residents Continue to Battle," South Pasadena Review, November 30, 1964, 1.

[115] "Pasadena Area Girds for Battle of Freeway: Extension Route Stirs Differences," *Los Angeles Times*, May 4, 1964, A1.

[116] Don Snyder, "State Clearing Way For Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 1968.

city.[117] Similar situations would play out in other Southern California communities such as Beverly Hills, which was successful in stopping the construction of a freeway through the city, and in other cities nationwide.

In El Sereno, south of South Pasadena, officials initially signed a freeway agreement, but opposition in the community was strong. The El Sereno Chamber of Commerce was among one of the many organizations that requested a delay, new study, or abandonment of the freeway proposal in the mid-1960s.[118] The *El Sereno Star* reported, "To our knowledge, not one resolution has been passed asking 'for' a freeway."[119] They added: "Granted, there is manifest selfishness in many of these resolutions, an attitude of 'don't take my home, take his,' but there is, nevertheless, real honesty in a resolve to call the whole thing off."[120]

By the late 1960s, an alternate route was being proposed which would run west of the Monterey Hills through Lincoln Heights before intersecting with the existing Arroyo Seco Freeway.[121] However, that route would have still cut through El Sereno, and the community vowed to oppose the freeway route in front of the state Senate in Sacramento.[122] This alternate route was presented after the Green Route had been officially adopted, causing pushback and fears about what setting such a precedent could mean. By this time, the Division of Highways had begun purchasing homes in El Sereno for the construction of the 710 Freeway.

In 1969, the cities of Alhambra, Pasadena, and Los Angeles agreed to a feasibility study of the new route through the Monterey Hills. The study found that while it was technically feasible, "many factors weighed against it, not the least of which were higher costs, poor soil conditions and the need to violate a section of the Arroyo Seco Park."[123] As a result, the state Highway Commission decided to stick with the Meridian Avenue route previously adopted.

South Pasadena continued to fight. In 1972, South Pasadena residents voted on an initiative that prohibited City Council from closing off any streets that would allow construction of the freeway along the Meridian Route.[124] South Pasadena resolved to recommend the "Westerly Route" for the Long Beach Freeway extension. After appealing to officials in Sacramento and failing to obtain a solution it was happy with, City Council formed a Freeway Study Commission to continue the fight. Soon after, the Commission came close to a vote allowing the freeway (8 to 6), but the fight against the freeway went on. Local groups opposed to the freeway included the Citizens United to Save South Pasadena, the No 710 Action Committee, the Committee for Civic Action, the Citizens Committee for the Westerly Route, and the South Pasadena Arroyo Seco Parkway Association. These groups lobbied politicians, filed lawsuits, reviewed environmental documentation, hosted marches and meetings, and solicited media coverage for their fight.[125]

---

[117] "710 Freeway Fighters Leave Lasting Legacy," *The South Pasadenan*, accessed June 4, 2024, https://southpasadenan.com/710-freeway-fighters-leave-lasting-legacy/.

[118] "Long Beach Freeway: No one wants it but the engineers," *El Sereno Star*, May 7, 1964, 23.

[119] "Long Beach Freeway: No one wants it but the engineers," *El Sereno Star*, May 7, 1964, 23.

[120] "Long Beach Freeway: No one wants it but the engineers," *El Sereno Star*, May 7, 1964, 23.

[121] "Proposed Route Change of Long Beach Freeway," *El Sereno Star*, April 27, 1967, 1.

[122] Bert Mann, "L.A. and El Sereno to Team Against Route of Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1967, B7.

[123] Bert Mann, "S. Pasadena Freeway Fight Becomes a Siege," *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1973, SG1.

[124] Berkley Hudson, "Strategies Set for Hearing on 710 Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, Sept. 26, 1993.

[125] "710 Freeway Fighters Leave Lasting Legacy," *The South*



The proposed route through El Sereno that would bypass South Pasadena, *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 1967 (Courtesy of Los Angeles Public Library).

With the passage of the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) and the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) in 1970, the City of South Pasadena gained a new tool in its arsenal. The new regulations worked in the City's favor. In 1973, the City of South Pasadena sued to halt construction, pending compliance with NEPA and CEQA. An injunction was issued, prohibiting construction until an Environmental Impact Report (EIR) was completed. The Federal Highway Administration (FHA) and Caltrans started the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) process.[126] Caltrans released the Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) in December 1974.[127] The EIS was rejected by the FHA. Caltrans would resubmit the EIS three more times over the course of the next two decades; it was rejected each time.[128] By this time, the issue was even more polarizing, and more people were skeptical of the benefits of freeway construction. In speaking of the changes in attitudes about freeway construction since the opening of the Arroyo Seco Parkway in the 1940s, the *Los Angeles Times* said, "No one then, least of all the state, could see beyond the need to provide a transportation network for the burgeoning population of motorists. But now the heyday of freeways is past, more and more people having come to feel that freeway benefits are increasingly outweighed by the detriments, notably air pollution."[129] Residents in South Pasadena continued to use every weapon in their arsenal to fight, with a type of political clout and professional expertise (including legal advisors) that the residents of northwest Pasadena and the South Vernon neighborhood did not have. Plans to construct the Long Beach Freeway through El Sereno and South Pasadena were ultimately cancelled in 1977 by the Department of Transportation.[130] The Long Beach Freeway extension was never built north of Valley Boulevard.

Opposition Among Pasadena's Communities of Color

Reactions among Pasadena's residents of color to the construction of the 710 Freeway ran the gamut. Evidence suggests that some felt powerless to stop it, while others actively lobbied against it. An interview with one resident whose home lay in the path of Pasadena's freeways pointed to this feeling of helplessness. When he was asked what he and other residents did to fight the freeway, he responded, "Well, you know what happened at Chavez Ravine? See? The government. The city. Money. We couldn't do nothing. We couldn't fight city hall."[131] As evidenced by this comment, the displacement of residents in Bunker Hill, Chavez Ravine, and other areas for the construction of housing and freeways (such as Interstate 5 in East Los Angeles) would have been fresh in the minds of residents in northwest and southwest Pasadena. In addition, redevelopment projects like the Pepper Project were occurring in Pasadena at the same time. The city's communities of color faced this issue wherever they looked. Hearings related to the Long Beach Freeway extension and redevelopment projects in Pasadena and elsewhere were often "one of the many concerted steps that transportation planners took to ignore or suppress the concerns of residents of

Pasadenan, accessed June 4, 2024, https://southpasadenan.com/710-freeway-fighters-leave-lasting-legacy/.

[126] "Interstate 710," *California Highways*, accessed May 30, 2024, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.

[127] "Interstate 710," *California Highways*, accessed May 30, 2024, https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.

[128] City of South Pasadena, "State Route 710: General Development Timeline," accessed June 4, 2024,

[129] Bert Mann, "S. Pasadena Freeway Fight Becomes a Siege," *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 1973, SG1.

[130] "El Sereno, 1977 – The Year in Review," *El Sereno Star*, December 28, 1977, D2.

[131] Lloyd, 13.



Plans for a public housing project in Chavez Ravine in the early 1950s called for the removal of the area's existing residents, drawing widespread opposition. Though the housing project was never constructed, the site was chosen as the location of Dodger Stadium, resulting in the removal of residents later that decade. (Photo courtesy of Los Angeles Public Library).

color, while listening to those in other areas when they objected."[132]

Lawyer and owner of the African American newspaper the *California Eagle*, Loren Miller, summed up the treatment of African Americans in urban environments:

> Take me to a strange city where I've never been before and point out the areas in which Negroes live, and I will lay you some neat odds that I can point out the route of the city's next freeway. There's nothing magic about it. I don't know whether it is a required subject in engineering schools or not, but I do know that one of the cardinal articles of faith among highway engineers is that the areas of Negro residence offer the best, the most feasible, and the most economical routes for highway construction…To use a military term, Negro home owners are expendable.... There's no question about that the displacement of Negroes and other non-whites works a greater hardship than is worked when whites are roaded out of their homes. The white residents can find someplace else to live without undue hardship. The Negro is put into a bad position. He can't go out to the new suburban areas and buy a new home simply because he has the money and the desire....After it is all over, the Negro victim of freeway construction will wind up, more often than not, in another restricted area where he will have to pay through the nose for a second-hand home in a community a cut below that in which he formerly lived. Freeways benefit an entire city, and it seems to me the social, as well as financial, cost ought to be borne by all who benefit…. I don't think it's fair to require the condemned man to pay for the hangman's rope.[133]

A local African American writer added to this, "If some people had their way, we would be bulldozed right out of the city."[134] The seemingly-fruitless fight against the freeways wore on Pasadena's communities of color." A few years later, in an article titled "Pasadena Blacks Say Little Done to End Their Plight," the *Los Angeles Times* observed, "It would be difficult to convince many blacks that the freeway is not part of a plot to cut them off from the surrounding white communities. Yes, that kind of belief accompanies a profound sense of political and economic impotence that pervades the city's northwest area."[135]

[132] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 93.

[133] Miller, 1961, 4 qtd. in Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 109-110.

[134] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 176.

[135] Bert Mann, "Pasadena Blacks Say Little Done to End Their Plight," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1972, GD1.

That is not to say that residents did not fight back. One group to oppose the freeway was FACTS (Freeway Action Committee for Thorough Study), which was a multi-racial group that included Ruth Washington, the publisher of the *Los Angeles Sentinel*. In 1964, FACTS gathered 20,000 protest signatures in Pasadena and surrounding areas, but the petition had no effect on the city's decision.[136] FACTS was also active as a group in South Pasadena (it does not appear to have been affiliated with Pasadena's group). In at least one instance, community groups posted guards in front of a residence on Bancroft Way that housed three low-income families who were to be evicted and the residence razed for the Foothill Freeway. The NAACP, Emergency Housing Commission, and Commission on Human Need and Opportunity in Pasadena pressured the Division of Highways to delay the eviction and find relocation funds for the families.[137] During talks to find a solution for the families, a group of thirty women and children from the Pasadena branch of the National Welfare Rights Organization marched on City Hall with demands that the City find housing for the low-income residents who would be displaced by the freeway.[138] They sought to not only demand justice for the families in the Bancroft Way residence but also to highlight the need for housing for low-income residents in Pasadena more generally.[139]

Pasadena's communities of color also weighed in on the route debates that raged at the time or opposed the freeway altogether. Long-time Pasadena resident Alma Stokes was part of a group successfully prevented the 210 Freeway from cutting through Washington Boulevard in northwest Pasadena.[140] Documentation shows that they did not necessarily come to a consensus on the proposed freeway routes. Of those that fought against the freeway, various groups opposed different routes. The Northwest Pasadena Association of Property Owners and Residents, which drew membership from the property owners and residents in the northwest Arroyo section of Pasadena, stated that it was formed "primarily for the neighborhood protection and benefit of this portion of Pasadena."[141] It backed the Green (most easterly) Route. In a statement, the Association said, "If we must have a north-south freeway through Pasadena, we believe the Green route offers less removal of prime residential property with attendant dislocation of long-time, stable residents, and more elimination of undesirable neighborhood factors than the alternate Blue route (most westerly) proposal."[142] In the statement, the Association said, "We feel the desirable residential flavor of the neighborhoods affected by the Blue route should be preserved and maintained. This nearly 100 percent owner-occupied area presents plus factors contributing to progress and growth in Pasadena than most other neighborhoods in the northwest portion of this city. Further, its residents and property owners offer a high degree of constructive activity and assistance in the civic and cultural life of Pasadena."[143] The Association continued:

[136] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 176.

[137] Hall Leiren, "State Relents, Pasadena Families Facing Eviction Get Brief Reprieve," *Los Angeles Times*, March 19, 1970, SG1.

[138] Nicolaides, *The New Suburbia*, 176.

[139] Hall Leiren, "Marchers at Pasadena City Hall Demand Homes for Poor," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1970, SG1.

[140] "Alma Stokes oral history conducted by Becky Nicolaides, June 28, 2024, Pasadena, California."

[141] "Freeway Route Preference Told," *Pasadena Independent*, April 23, 1964, 5.

[142] "Freeway Route Preference Told," *Pasadena Independent*, April 23, 1964, 5.

[143] "Freeway Route Preference Told," *Pasadena Independent*, April 23, 1964, 5.

We believe the adoption of the Green (easterly) route, north of the proposed interchange [vicinity of Orange Grove Boulevard and Pasadena Avenue] will:

1. Eliminate more deteriorating, unsightly and sub-standard structures from the area.
2. Eliminate more factors contributive to neighborhood blight [loss of value to adjacent property, a railroad track to 'Nowhere,' noise, fumes, dust, etc.
3. Preserve and maintain the atmosphere necessary for undistracted and more complete enjoyment of the Rose Bowl, Municipal Golf Course, bridle trails and other Arroyo Seco facilities for recreation.
4. Facilitate General Plan implementation (proposed Washington-Lincoln shopping center, etc.)
5. Preserve unification of a substantial, robust and thriving residential neighborhood.[144]

Emmett Mickle, African American chairman of the Association, stated in 1964, "We are bound to suffer some loss no matter which way this freeway goes – if we are to have a freeway at all – but through these meetings we are endeavoring to minimize the loss. We don't like the Green line either, but it is the one that will hurt fewer people. We are choosing the route which will disrupt the community the least."[145] The group is also documented battling "to keep the freeway out of the Arroyo Seco and away from Pasadena Avenue."[146] It held meetings and signed petitions backing the Green (Fair Oaks) route.[147]

Later that year, however, Mickle spoke out against the freeway route through northwest Pasadena. At a City Council meeting urging Pasadena residents to act against the proposed freeways, he noted that "750 families would be displaced by the north-south extension of the Long Beach freeway when it cuts through the northwest area of Pasadena. Five hundred of these, he said, are Negro 'and the facilities where they can be relocated in this area are very limited.'"[148]

Mickle was also chairman of the Pasadena Civic Participation League. The organization formed in 1963; among other issues, it focused on racial unity and worked against school segregation. No statements were found directly from the Pasadena Civic Participation League regarding their stance on the freeway routes. However, the League was on record as being opposed to the actions of the Pasadena Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA). Mickle accused the CRA of creating blight in the "entire racial minority residential area of [Pasadena]" in order to push redevelopment.[149] The League opposed the CRA's policy of easing the housing code in the city's redevelopment areas, which it

[144] "Freeway Route Preference Told," *Pasadena Independent*, April 23, 1964, 5.

[145] Dave Swaim, "Green Route Backed by Northwest Group: Line Seen Least Disruptive," *Pasadena Independent*, May 5, 1964, 13.

[146] Dave Swaim, "Green Route Backed by Northwest Group: Line Seen Least Disruptive," *Pasadena Independent*, May 5, 1964, 13.

[147] Dave Swaim, "Green Route Backed by Northwest Group: Line Seen Least Disruptive," *Pasadena Independent*, May 5, 1964, 13.

[148] "City Urged to Back Freeway Ban Action," *Pasadena Independent*, August 19, 1964, 71; "Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1964, 142.

[149] "CURAC's Code Program," *Pasadena Independent*, March 31, 1964, 11.

said "would create blight and thus perpetuate development work here."[150] Areas designated for redevelopment included the Pepper Redevelopment Project Area and Redevelopment Area II in the southwest downtown district. The League also opposed a civic improvement bond measure because it "neglect[ed] the northwest portion of the city."[151]

The Los Angeles branch of the NAACP was opposed to the construction of freeways in the region. In speaking of a lawsuit brought against the construction of the Century Freeway in Los Angeles, the president of the Los Angeles branch, Elbert T. Hudson, said the Black community "can no longer sit idly by and watch freeways push through ghetto areas … The NAACP does not challenge the right of government to build freeways … But we do demand that the taking of private land and the disruption of families be accomplished by strict adherence to the law."[152]

As will be discussed in Part II, the construction of freeways in Pasadena would have profound and lasting impacts on the city's communities of color.

[150] "Agency Head Fires Back at Code Critics," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1964, 123.
[151] "13 Civic Projects Hang in Balance," *Independent Star-News*," October 11, 1964, 3.
[152] Ray Herbert, "Class Action Lawsuit Lodged Against Century Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 1972, E1.

this page was intentionally left blank



Part II

Historical Data

Opposite: Aerial view of the completed I-710 Freeway, circa 1975 (Courtesy of Pasadena Public Library)

Overview

Part II of this report outlines the specific effects of the construction of the 710 Freeway, including a breakdown of the individuals, businesses, and institutions displaced by the 710 freeway in the study area. It also examines some of the economic, built environment, and social effects freeway construction had on the city's communities.

The Property Acquisition Process

As shown in the ROW maps for the study area (Appendix A), a combination of different types of property acquisition were used for the construction of the 710 Freeway in Pasadena. These included typical right-of-way purchasing, hardship acquisition, and eminent domain. This section includes an overview of the different types of property acquisition. The various types of property acquisition are presented in the order in which they would occur during a transportation project. Hardship acquisition occurs early in the process, while right-of-way occurs after a route is selected. Condemnation proceedings, including eminent domain, happen if a sale cannot be resolved through typical right-of-way acquisition.

Types of Property Acquisition

Hardship acquisition is a type of property acquisition that occurs early in a project. Early acquisition involves the purchase of property before the completion of the environmental review process for a proposed transportation project and may be used for a project involving "corridor preservation, access management, or other purposes."[153] There is no indication that particular types of transportation projects used early acquisition beyond these above stated circumstances.

Hardship is defined as "a situation where unusual personal circumstances of an owner are aggravated by a proposed transportation facility and cannot be solved by the owner without acquisition by the State. There are two types of hardships: those which occur in advance of the regular right of way acquisition process; those which occur when the requirements for commencing the regular right of way acquisition process have been met, but funding and activity on the project have been deferred."[154]

The Caltrans *Right of Way Manual* states, "The following minimal requirements must be met and documented if a hardship request is approved:

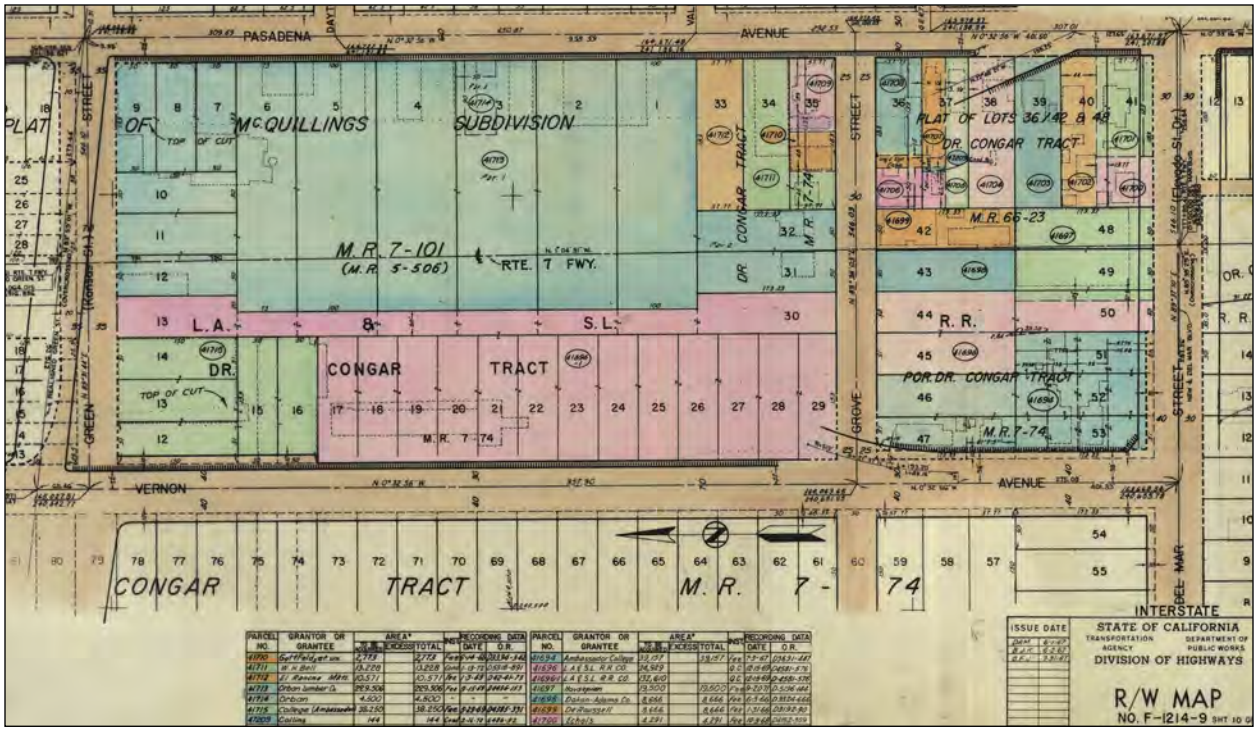
- Owner demonstrates need to dispose of property.
- Owner is unable to dispose of property at fair market value because of transportation facility plans.
- Owner cannot reasonably alleviate the hardship in the absence of the State's purchase.
- State's purchase will either partially or totally alleviate the hardship."[155]

There are a variety of reasons that owners can

[153] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 5, 5.01.02.00; Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) Title 23 Section §710.501, National Archives, accessed June 21, 2024, https://www.ecfr.gov/current/title-23/chapter-I/subchapter-H/part-710/subpart-E/section-710.501.

[154] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 5, 5.03.01.00.

[155] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 5, 5.03.04.01.



One of the right-of-way maps for the study area (Source: California Department of Transportation).

request immediate sale, including medical and financial reasons as well as monetary loss from the proposed project.[156] Owners must submit an application requesting hardship acquisition. Today, property owners applying for hardship acquisition are still eligible for "appropriate relocation assistance and sufficient time to consider the State's offer."[157] Since the usage of hardship acquisition occurred prior to routine right-of-way purchasing and was owner initiated, it would not have been recorded on the right-of-way maps.

While property transactions are typically settled via sale, the state can use condemnation proceedings to obtain property if a property owner and Caltrans cannot agree on the terms of a sale. If a property owner fails to go through the initial acquisition process, and the hardship acquisition process, the proceedings will then move into the eminent domain process which is now considered a legal proceeding.[158]

[156] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 5, 5.03.04.02.

[157] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 5, 5.03.01.00.

[158] California Department of Transportation, https://dot.ca.gov/programs/right-of-way/acquisition-condemnation.

BPR REG NO	STATE	FEDERAL PROJECT NO.	EFFECTIVE DATE	SHEET NO	TOTAL SHEETS
7	CALIF	I 210-1 (92) 24	5-10-65	9	

DISTRICT R/W AGENT BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS DATE

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA			INST.	RECORDING DATA	
		TO BE ACQ.	EXCESS	TOTAL		DATE	O.R.
41716	Ambassador College	14,778		14,778	Fee	5-29-69	D4385-329
41717	Jones Desert Stone	5,300		5,300	Fee	10-31-69	D4542-525
41718	Kaplan	6,677		6,677	Cond.	6-1-70	D4729-98
41720	Tanaka	5,101		5,101	Fee	8-20-69	D4472-81
41721	Pomeroy, et ux	7,650		7,650	Fee	7-14-70	D4771-76
41721-1	Pomeroy, et ux	7,621		7,621	Fee	7-14-70	D4771-76
41722	Leishman	18,473		18,473	Fee	8-14-70	D-4801-642
41723	Stasand, etux	5,483		10,533	Fee	8-20-68	D4105-610
41723-1	Stasand, etux	5,050		5,050	Fee	8-20-68	D4105-610
41724	Cohn	10,966		10,966	Fee	9-2-69	D4483-442
41725	Security First Nat'l Bank	5,049		5,049	Fee	11-18-68	D4197-331
41726	Fiore	5,049		5,049	Fee	2-19-70	D4637-218
41728	Union Oil Co.	21,582		21,582	Fee	8-5-69	D4456-937
41730 Por. 1-2	Throop, et ux.	13,964		13,964	Fee	12-17-68	D4226-216
41731	Mathewson	8,811		8,811	Fee	7-12-68	D4063-383
41732	Ward	17,689		17,689	Fee	7-9-68	D4058-731
41733 Por. 1-2	Throop, et al.	37,903		37,903	Fee	12-17-68	D4226-225
41734	Wilks	81,254		81,254	Cond.	5-13-71	D5056-664
41696-2	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	10,599			Q.C.	12-15-69	D-4581-576
41696-3	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	9,674			Q.C.	12-15-69	D-4581-576
41696-4	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	11,386			Q.C.	12-15-69	D-4581-576
41696-5	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	101,256			Q.C.	12-15-69	D-4581-576
49320-1	Carmelita Park Co.	7,563		4.764 Ac.	Fee	4-6-72	D-5418-92
49320-2	"	2,342		"	Eas.	4-6-72	D-5418-92
49320-3	"	3,373		"	Temp. Ease.		
49320-4	"	2,677		"	Eas.	4-6-72	D-5418-92
DK49320-4	City of Pasadena				Q.C.	12-18-75	D6909-59
REL 903	SEE MAP	F1214-5					

Table with property acquisition data from a right-of-way map for the 710 study area.

Other types of acquisition, and shown on the right-of-way (ROW) maps for the study area, include:

Fee acquisition, a type of routine right-of-way purchasing, was the most common type indicated on the ROW maps for the study area. Fee acquisition involves the usage of grant deeds, which is the most common type of deed used in the purchase of property and "are primarily used to transfer real property in fee (all rights, title, and interest of the property)." A grant deed may be used for the full or partial acquisition of a property and is used when a person transfers ownership or adds a new owner.[159] Upon purchase by the Division of Highways, the state becomes the owner.

A **quitclaim deed** (indicated as Q.C. on the maps) is used to purchase properties when the title to a property may not be valid due to a cloud on the title or other encumbrances.[160][161] A cloud on the title is defined as "a claim, encumbrance or condition which impairs the title to real property until disproved or eliminated as for example through a quitclaim deed or a quiet title legal action."[162] It may be caused by a number of issues, including:

- Unpaid debts: Such as mortgages, liens, or property taxes
- Errors in public records: Such as a misspelled address or an improperly recorded deed
- Ownership disputes: Such as a surviving seller who hasn't probated the estate of a deceased owner.

A quitclaim deed conveys any interest a grantor may have had and "transfers only the interest the grantor has at the time the conveyance is executed. The grantor is not promising anything other than that they are giving up their own rights, if any. […] This type of deed guarantees nothing and there is no expressed or implied warranty that grantor owns the property or any interest in it. […] A quitclaim deed effectively says, 'I am conveying all the title that I have in the property described in this quitclaim- if I have, in fact, any title.'"[163] In the study area, quitclaim deeds were typically used for properties owned by the Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railway Company and – in one observed case – land owned by the City of Pasadena. This process was not used for the acquisition of residential properties.[164]

An **easement deed** "is used to acquire rights over real property" for a variety of purposes ranging from access rights to utilities.[165] Construction easements were not a purchase of property; rather the Division of Highways paid the grantor to use the land for a specified period of time for the purposes of construction. The land remained in the ownership of the grantor.[166] Both easements and temporary easements are seen in the ROW maps as "eas." and "temp eas." in

[159] Caltrans Right of Way Manual chapter 6, 6.09.02.01; California State Board of Equalization, "Property Ownership and Deed Recording," accessed April 23, 2024, https://www.boe.ca.gov/proptaxes/pdf/Ownership_DeedRecording.pdf.

[160] Cloud on a property title means a property has an outstanding lien or unresolved issue that makes it possible for the property to be confiscated in place of payment.

[161] Caltrans Right of Way Manual chapter 6, 6.09.02.03.

[162] Source: California Department of Real State, "Reference Book: A Real Estate Guide," Glossary of Terms, 567.

[163] California State Board of Equalization, "Property Ownership and Deed Recording," accessed April 23, 2024, https://www.boe.ca.gov/proptaxes/pdf/Ownership_DeedRecording.pdf.

[164] California State Board of Equalization, "Property Ownership and Deed Recording," accessed April 23, 2024, https://www.boe.ca.gov/proptaxes/pdf/Ownership_DeedRecording.pdf.

[165] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 6, 6.09.02.02.

[166] Communication with Fatima Choudhury, Caltrans staff, July 26, 2024.

the study area. Easements were used primarily for railroad right-of-way, land owned by power companies, and flood control channels.

Relinquishment refers to "the statutory conveyance of all rights, title, interests, liability, and maintenance responsibilities of a State highway, or portion thereof, to another government entity."[167] Relinquishment is seen in one instance of City-owned property.

A **Director's Deed**, abbreviated as "D.D.," are used when the state sells a property; the sale has to be approved by the Director of Caltrans.[168] Director's Deeds were used in only a small number of cases in the study area; transactions were with both private individuals and for land located on a street leading to Ambassador College.

Eminent domain, a type of condemnation proceeding, is the act of taking private property for public use upon payment of just compensation.[169] While property transactions are typically settled via sale, the state can use **condemnation** proceedings to obtain property if a property owner and Caltrans cannot agree on the terms of a sale. The usage of condemnation is shown as "cond." on the ROW maps. This type of acquisition would have been used if the Division of Highways did not receive a response to its notification letters within a specified time frame (at the time, it was sixty days initially then a follow up letter would be sent, after which property owners had thirty days to respond).[170]

Just compensation is the price an agency must pay to acquire real property; it is also its fair market value. **Fair market value** is defined as "the highest price on the date of valuation that would be agreed to by a seller, being willing to sell but under no particular or urgent necessity for so doing, nor obliged to sell, and a buyer, being ready, willing and able to buy but under no particular necessity for so doing, each dealing with the other with full knowledge of all the uses and purposes for which the property is reasonably adaptable and available."[171] It refers to the market value of a property that has been adjusted to reflect constitutional and other legal requirements for public acquisition.

A sample table from one of the right-of-way (ROW) maps from which this information was obtained can be seen above. The types of property acquisition used for each parcel is included in the column labeled "INST." Other terms listed on the ROW maps include:

- Et. Ux: an abbreviation for "et uxor." It means "and wife"
- Excess area/land: real property acquired by the state that is no longer necessary for highway purposes, rights of way or other operational purposes of the Department of Transportation[172]

[167] Caltrans Project Development Procedures Manual, Chapter 25, accessed April 30, 2024, https://dot.ca.gov/-/media/dot-media/programs/design/documents/pdpm-chapter25-a11y.pdf.

[168] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 6, 6.15.01.00.

[169] California Department of Transportation, "Your Property, Your Transportation Project," accessed April 24, 2024, https://dot.ca.gov/-/media/dot-media/programs/right-of-way/documents/acquisition-condemnation/your-property-your-transportation-project-digital-view-english-2020-a11y.pdf.

[170] Communication with Fatima Choudhury, Caltrans staff, July 26, 2024.

[171] California Department of Transportation, "Your Property, Your Transportation Project," accessed April 24, 2024, https://dot.ca.gov/-/media/dot-media/programs/right-of-way/documents/acquisition-condemnation/your-property-your-transportation-project-digital-view-english-2020-a11y.pdf.

[172] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 6, 6.16.03.00,

- Grantee: a person to whom a grant is made
- Grantor: a person who transfers his or her interest in property to another by grant[173]

The Property Acquisition Process for the 710 Freeway

Research indicates that the Division of Highways used a combination of property acquisition types for the purchase of properties for the construction of the 710 freeway. A *Los Angeles Times* article notes from 1968, "routine right-of-way purchasing is under way in Pasadena from California Blvd. north to the interchange. About 200 parcels have been acquired in this area adjacent to and paralleling Pasadena Ave."[174] Communication with Caltrans staff indicates that the notification process has remained largely the same since the 1960s. The Division of Highways notified property owners by mail once a route had been selected. Property owners then had sixty days to contact the state regarding the sale of their property.[175] If they did not contact the state, the Division of Highways would send a follow up notification letter, after which property owners had thirty days to contact the state. If the state still did not get a response from property owners, condemnation proceedings were initiated.[176]

During the 1960s, when highway construction was in full swing around the country, legislation was passed to smooth the acquisition process and aid property owners. In 1966, the Federal-Aid Highway Act required the Department of Transportation to study the advance acquisition process for right-of-way purchasing for the purpose of Federal-aid highway construction. Particular emphasis was placed on studying the relocation of individuals, businesses, etc., and the removal of improvements on such land. The study, completed in 1967, recommended that states be required to provide a program to assist individuals, businesses, and non-profit organizations with displacement and relocation.[177]

A review of this report reveals that by the time it was completed in 1966-1967, many states had an advance acquisition process of some type in place, though many only planned one to five years in advance. California was one of the few states that planned more than five years in advance and one of two states that planned up to ten years in advance.[178] California's advance acquisition process dated to 1952, when the state enacted legislation that set up an advance right-of-way acquisition fund to allow for the acquisition of property where there was a probability of development. It was intended to prevent higher acquisition costs later if a development went forward.[179] It allowed for the acquisition of properties that were part of the state's long-range transportation planning program and allowed the state to purchase right-of-way up to ten years in advance of scheduled construction.[180] The report noted

6.17.02.00.

[173] As defined in California Department of Real Estate, "Reference Book: A Real Estate Guide," Glossary of Terms.

[174] Don Snyder, "State Clearing Way For Freeway," *Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 1968.

[175] The notification time frame has changed.

[176] Communication with Fatima Choudhury, Caltrans staff, July 26, 2024.

[177] U.S. Department of Transportation, "Advance Acquisition of Highway Rights-of-way Study: A Study Transmitted by the Secretary of the Department of Transportation to the Congress," Washington, D.C., July 1967, 10.

[178] "Advance Acquisition of Highway Rights-of-way Study," 6-7.

[179] "Advance Acquisition of Highway Rights-of-way Study," 71.

[180] "Advance Acquisition of Highway Rights-of-way Study," 73-74.

that in California, in 1965-1966, "approximately 3,600 families and business owners were offered relocation assistance" as part of a "sincere and effective program."[181] State assistance was needed for only ten of these relocations, while the vast majority made their own arrangements due to advance notice. The report did not indicate which projects or in which parts of the state these relocations occurred.

Today, federal legislation helps protect property owners from racial discrimination in such projects. It requires that when federal funding is used, land acquisition and relocation assistance must comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Uniform Act. These laws protect property owners during the environmental review and property acquisition processes. These were largely enacted after the displacement for the 710 Freeway in Pasadena occurred. They include Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance. President John F. Kennedy observed in 1963, "Simple justice requires that public funds, to which all taxpayers of all races [colors, and national origins] contribute, not be spent in any fashion which encourages, entrenches, subsidizes or results in racial [color or national origin] discrimination."[182] The Act prohibits discrimination in federally funded programs and activities.

Though the Civil Rights Act was made into law by the time the 710 Freeway route was selected and property purchasing was underway, no mention of it was found in relation to the freeway project in the preparation of this report. Articles were found indicating that the legislation was used as leverage against urban redevelopment projects at the time, including the Pepper Project in Pasadena and the Flood Ranch redevelopment project in Santa Fe Springs (though in both cases, the suits were unsuccessful).[183] Now, usage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act is explicitly discussed in the Caltrans *Right of Way Manual*. Both routine and early acquisition have to be conducted in such a way that complies with Title VI and, acquisition "shall be conducted in such as a way and manner as to assure that no person shall, on the grounds of race, color, sex, national origin, or disability, be denied the benefits to which the person is entitled, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination, in compliance with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and related statutes."[184] Chapter 5 of the *Right of Way Manual* states that "property interests will be acquired through negotiation, without the threat of, or use of, condemnation; and is in compliance with the Uniform Act and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."[185]

Other legislation that helps protect property owners includes the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act, passed in 1970. Also known as the Uniform Act, the law was passed by Congress to ensure that property owners and tenants affected by the acquisition of private property are treated fairly and equitably and receive relocation assistance.[186]

---

[181] "Advance Acquisition of Highway Rights-of-way Study," 77.

[182] Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice, "Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," accessed June 17, 2024, https://www.justice.gov/crt/fcs/TitleVI.

[183] "Complaint Filed in Try to Reverse Ordinance Against Pepper Project," *Pasadena Independent*, January 15, 1965, A5; Keith Takahashi, "Project Changes Houses, Hearts," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1971, L2. For more on Flood Ranch, see Jerry Gonzalez, *In Search of the Mexican Beverly Hills: Latino Suburbanization in Postwar Los Angeles* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2017).

[184] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 6, 8.01.03.00.

[185] Caltrans Right of Way Manual Chapter 5, 5.01.01.00.

[186] Federal Highway Administration, "Uniform Act,"

It provides protections and assistance for people affected by federally funded projects. However, this law was passed after most of the property acquisition for the 710 freeway in Pasadena had occurred. The right-of-way maps indicate that the majority of properties were purchased between 1966 and about 1970; while some were acquired as late as 1975, the majority had been purchased by 1969-1970. In addition, property acquisition for the majority of the properties in the study area occurred prior to the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) and the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) in 1970, which property owners in South Pasadena would be able to utilize to halt proceedings related to the 710 Freeway in their city. Today, environmental compliance pursuant to the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) must be completed for any property acquired by the state before any cost incurred by the state is approved for federal participation.[187]

accessed April 23, 2024, https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/real_estate/uniform_act/.

[187] 23 U.S.C. Title 23 §108 (b).

Effects of Displacement and Freeway Construction in Pasadena

Freeway construction had innumerable and far-reaching consequences for the city's communities of color. This document provides an introductory overview of this topic and offers evidence of these impacts.[188] Extensive scholarship exists on the effects of freeway construction on urban communities of color around the country. A partial list of work that covers these topics is provided in the "For Further Reading" section below.

In addition to the evident physical effects on the landscape, much of the time in neighborhoods occupied by people of color and the working class, freeway construction had social and economic impacts.[189] There is also a personal and emotional impact on individuals that cannot be comprehensively quantified. Some of the effects that will be discussed in this section include:

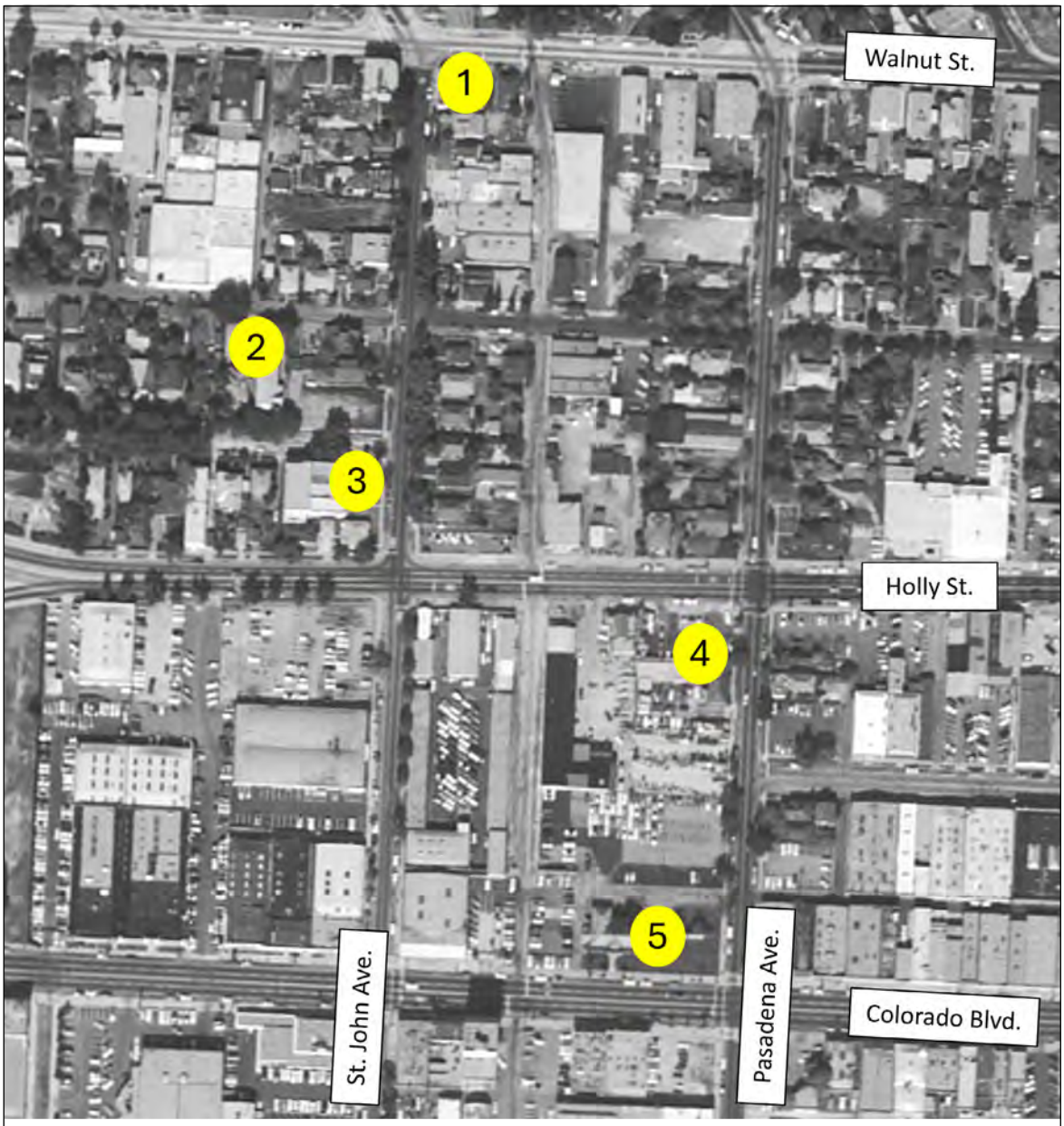
- **physical effects**: impacts on the built environment and overall landscape; the destruction of housing and an established community
- **social effects**: the prevention of access and limiting access to housing, loss of community and neighborhood unity, loss of a sense of community and neighborhood pride
- **economic effects**: decline in property values as a result of freeway planning, loss of generational wealth, loss of established businesses

Existing Communities in the Path of the Freeway

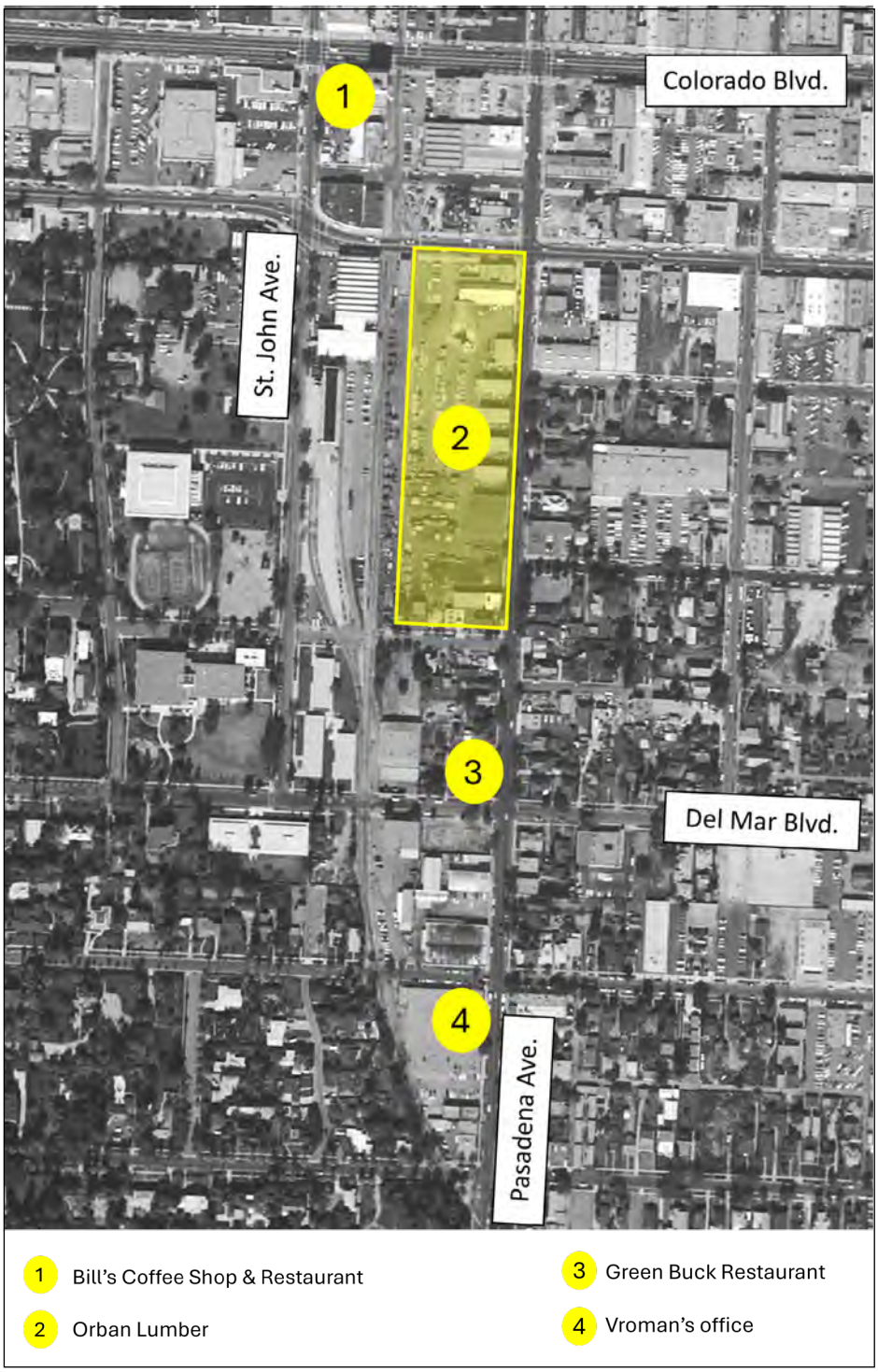
Neighborhoods occupied by people of color existed in Pasadena since the turn of the twentieth century. These areas would be in the path of the city's redevelopment and freeway initiatives in the 1960s. An examination of city directories indicates the South Vernon Avenue area was a well-established community with residential pockets along California Boulevard, Havendale Drive, and Palmetto Drive. Aerial photographs, seen on the following pages, show a longstanding neighborhood with residential streets, as well as businesses and industrial uses along major thoroughfares. The northern portion of the study area was heavily residential (along Kensington Place, Holly Street, and Mary Street, for example). While some streets such as Pasadena and Vernon Avenues were mixed use in nature, this was not characteristic of the entire district. In addition, while multi-family residential buildings are present, they are not the majority of residential buildings that existed. Single-family residences made up most of the area's housing. Aerial photographs show neighborhoods with street trees and front lawns between Grove Street and California Boulevard. Northwest Pasadena was also an established neighborhood with a range of economic strata represented. Some of the businesses and institutions in the study area can be seen below.

[188] Extensive scholarship exists on the effects of freeway construction on urban communities of color around the country. A partial list of work that covers these topics is provided in the "For Further Reading" section below.

[189] Since this report focuses primarily on the effects of displacement and its intersection with freeway construction, the environmental effects of freeways, which area felt by neighborhoods in the vicinity of freeways, will not be discussed at length.



The northern portion of the study area between Walnut Street and Colorado Bouelvard (Base image courtesy of University of California Santa Barbara Frame Finder, annotations by ARG).



The study area between Colorado Bouelvard and Bellevue Drive (Base image courtesy of University of California Santa Barbara Frame Finder, annotations by ARG).

Decades of racist land use policy made communities of color vulnerable to redevelopment, displacement, and erasure in the post-World War II period. As discussed in Part I, these communities had often been redlined earlier by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC). This was certainly the case for the northwest and South Vernon Avenue neighborhoods in Pasadena, which had been redlined in 1939. They had been among the areas characterized as showing "evidences of blight," with "many old frame structures in fair to poor condition" in northwest Pasadena, while the housing stock around South Vernon Avenue west of the railroad tracks was "most large homes in good to fair condition." Redlining discouraged further investment by the federal government and private banks, resulting in declines in homeownership, property values, and rents. In addition, the HOLC identified many of these communities as "ideal" locations for freeway development or redevelopment in the late 1930s. The HOLC sheet for Area D9 in Pasadena noted "this area is thoroughly blighted and a slum clearance project is under discussion."[190]

Communities of color thus faced decline and disinvestment long before they were targeted for freeway development and urban renewal efforts in the postwar period. A *Los Angeles Times* article from 1972 hints at the impacts that decades of disinvestment had on northwest Pasadena, for example. It speaks of the "emotional pressures from isolation and alienation from the larger nonblack part of the city and the surrounding almost totally white cities of Arcadia, Glendale, South Pasadena, San Marino, and Sierra Madre. The residents of these areas are generally better fed, have better homes, better cars, better services, and larger income than in the northwest where unemployment is variously estimated at from 25% to more than 30%, and much of the housing, as one black woman put it, is 'last century's beautiful.'"[191] The article notes that "the northwest has its share of wealthy residents and middle class, well-kept neighborhoods too, but poverty is pervasive."[192]

Instead of acknowledging the role of decades of land use policy, segregation, and discrimination in creating and then perpetuating poverty in these neighborhoods – and acknowledging the nuances in their make up – city officials disregarded them and removed them via redevelopment and freeway construction.

The Process of Displacement

According to communication with California Department of Transportation staff, once a route was decided upon, the Division of Highways notified property owners by mail about acquisition of their property. Once owners were notified, they had sixty days to respond. If property owners did not contact the state regarding the sale of property, the Division sent a follow up letter, after which owners had thirty days to respond. If that time period passed with no word from property owners, the Division started condemnation proceedings, which essentially forced the sale of property to the state. Right-of-way agents would have been sent to the area to record the sale of property.[193]

The announcement of planned freeway construction often resulted in the drop of

[190] Pasadena Area D9, University of Richmond, "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," accessed June 10, 2024, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/CA/LosAngeles/area_descriptions.

[191] Bert Mann, "Pasadena Blacks Say Little Done to End Their Plight," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1972, GD1.

[192] Bert Mann, "Pasadena Blacks Say Little Done to End Their Plight," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1972, GD1.

[193] Communication with Fatima Choudhury, Caltrans staff, July 26, 2024.

property values and the depreciation of real estate in areas slated for freeway development. Previous scholarship has shown that property values in African American neighborhoods were affected the most negatively by such future work.[194] David Karas points out that in some cases, "time would elapse even between condemnation orders and actual demolition, leaving 'demoralized homeowners and businessmen [who] lost all incentive to make repairs' to their properties – leading to even worse general neighborhood conditions and contributing to further difficulties among remaining property owners to sell their homes or businesses and flee their soon-to-be former community."[195] Thus, even though property owners were supposedly reimbursed with the fair market value of their property, this value would likely have been less than an equivalent property in another part of Pasadena due to both earlier redlining and declines in property values following the announcement of freeway work.[196]

Scholars including Raymond Mohl have pointed out that state highway departments focused on the construction of freeways and not any of the consequences of their actions. The construction of freeways in the country caused a nationwide housing problem, for example, and the brunt of this was borne by communities of color.[197]

Housing demolition was viewed as a consequence or byproduct of freeway building, but federal and state highway agencies did not examine any outcomes beyond demolition. No provisions were made to replace this lost housing, and the federal government rejected policies and legislation related to relocating residents and replacing housing.[198] By the late 1960s, freeway construction in the United States had resulted in the demolition of approximately 62,000 unit of housing every year, and no mechanism was provided to relocate residents or construct replacement housing.[199]

In northwest Pasadena, those who could afford to move did so, while those who could not were forced to stay in the bisected area left behind. As scholar Becky Nicolaides puts it, "redevelopment stimulated the dispersal of middle-class Blacks into formerly all-white neighborhoods at the same time that it concentrated the poorest people of color in a small area of northwest Pasadena. Pasadena, in effect, helped loosen the color line while simultaneously forging new geographies of class segregation."[200] The city also appears to have lost population, if enrollment in its school district is any indication. In 1970, student enrollment dropped by nearly 1,500 students in one year across public, private, and parochial schools in Pasadena. Then-Superintendent Ralph Hornbeck considered freeway construction to be a contributing factor in the enrollment drop. It was said that approximately 300 to 400 families were displaced due to the freeway, and it was unknown whether they relocated within Pasadena or left entirely.[201]

---

[194] Roger Biles, Raymond Mohl, and Mark H. Rose, "Revisiting the Urban Interstates: Politics, Policy, and Culture since World War II," *Journal of Urban History*, *40* (5); Jeffrey P. Cohen, Nicholas Lownes, and Bo Zhang, "1960s Interstate Highways and Homeowner Wealth Distribution," *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, 2022.

[195] Roger Biles, Raymond Mohl, and Mark H. Rose, "Revisiting the Urban Interstates: Politics, Policy, and Culture since World War II," *Journal of Urban History*, *40* (5), 850 qtd. in Karas, 12-13.

[196] *Pasadena Star News*, 1964 in Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 115.

[197] Raymond A. Mohl, "The Interstates and the Cities: Highways, Housing, and the Freeway Revolt," Poverty and Race Research Action Council, 2002, 3.

[198] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 15.

[199] Weber, 2011, in Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 15.

[200] Nicolaides, 174.

[201] "Student Enrollment Drop Poses Mystery," *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1970.

Once residents were displaced, they had a more difficult time finding comparable housing – or housing at all – into which they could move. They may have lost homes and businesses that they owned and in which they had built equity. Due to the depression of property values in redlined neighborhoods, it is unlikely that the cost they were paid for their properties would have afforded them a similar property in another neighborhood in Pasadena or elsewhere. Though the city provided relocation assistance for some redevelopment projects at this time, including the Pepper Project, evidence has not yet been found pointing to relocation assistance for residents displaced for the construction of the Long Beach Freeway.

In an example touched upon in Part I, Pasadena members of the National Welfare Rights Organization advocated for replacement housing for low-income residents evicted from a residence on Bancroft Way because of the construction of the Foothill Freeway. The National Welfare Rights Organization sought housing for not only these families but for numerous low-income residents expected to be affected by the coming of the Foothill Freeway.[202] Though some city officials appear to have been receptive, it is unclear whether the residents were successfully relocated nor whether any assistance was given to them. Even if state highway officials had offered relocation assistance, displaced residents still would have had a difficult time finding housing in Pasadena due to the influence of segregationist and discriminatory housing policies that had existed for decades. Large portions of the city remained off-limits to people of color as result of these policies and practices. Discussions with local historians and residents during the research for this draft report suggest that former area residents moved to other neighborhoods in Pasadena or other cities.

[202] Hall Leiren, "Marchers at Pasadena City Hall Demand Homes for Poor," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1970, SG1.

The Aftermath of Displacement and Its Impacts on Pasadena

Communities around the country faced displacement because of freeway construction. Between 1957 and 1969, approximately 330,000 units of housing were demolished in American cities for freeway construction.[203] All told, it is estimated that more than one million people were displaced in the United States for freeways beginning in the 1950s, some of which were never constructed.[204] Approximately 21,000 people in East Los Angeles were displaced for freeway construction in what was likely the largest per capita displacement in California history.[205] It is estimated that 13,000 people in Pasadena were displaced for the construction of the freeways, both built and unbuilt.[206]

In some cases, highways were deliberately sited to create physical barriers between neighborhoods of color and White neighborhoods. Scholars of highway construction have concluded that "the federal highway program and its planners acted both with deliberate discriminatory intentions and with racially disparate effects" in cities around the country.[207] In Birmingham, Alabama, for example, freeway planning and redevelopment were completed so that they created physical barriers White and Black neighborhoods, while other freeway routes were curved to circumvent White residential areas and run through Black neighborhoods instead.[208]

[203] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 13.

[204] Liam Dillon, "Even freeways that don't get built leave a scar. How one Bay Area city is healing," *Los Angeles Times*, February 21, 2022.

[205] Gilbert Estrada and Jerry González, "Justice and the Interstates: The Racist Truth About Urban Highways," April 19, 2023, accessed June 14, 2024, https://boomcalifornia.org/2023/04/19/justice-and-the-interstates-the-racist-truth-about-urban-highways/.

[206] Nicolaides, 176.

[207] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 14.

[208] Joe Weber, "'America's New Design for Living:' The

As discussed previously, the location of the 710 Freeway was selected deliberately. The 1962 General Plan noted, "We advocate that the North-South Freeway to Long Beach be built as a dividing greenbelt to permanently insulate the high-income residential areas from the future research and development area." [209] The "future research and development area" that Plan referred to were northwest Pasadena and the South Vernon Avenue neighborhood. In the General Plan's goals for revitalizing downtown Pasadena, these neighborhoods were envisioned as being turned into industrial areas. The Plan goes on to say, "the proposed north-south route would, for the most part, take substandard residential, commercial and industrial developments and would not disrupt established neighborhoods," completely ignoring the fact that these were, in fact, established neighborhoods.[210] They were occupied by people of color and therefore, apparently, not worth the same consideration as so-called "established" White neighborhoods.

The construction of the freeway had dramatic economic, physical, and social effects. Despite what state highway and city officials either deliberately ignored or simply left out, freeways did divide established communities, many of them older, walkable neighborhoods near city centers and accessible employment, forcing people to move further from their places of employment. The expansion of the highway system undermined public transportation in urban areas, which lower-income residents more frequently relied upon than affluent White residents, who could afford a car to drive between their places of work and residence. This placed an economic burden on lower income residents. Freeways allowed White residents to move to further flung suburban neighborhoods that were off-limits to people of color due to accessibility and discriminatory housing practices. As people moved away from the central city, commercial and industrial development followed to the suburbs as well, removing these significant segments of the economy from city centers and the communities that relied on them.[211] Areas that had been previously racially and economically mixed transitioned to low-income communities with a majority people of color.[212] These areas faced continued disinvestment after commerce and industry relocated, as "civic services started to neglect the remaining residents due to a plummeting tax revenue base."[213] In some cities, displaced populations of color "relocated to working-class, White neighborhoods and created 'second ghettos' on the fringes of former Black ghettos."[214] This in turn set off "White flight," further separating and segregating communities in urban areas.

In Pasadena, the construction of the 710 and 210 Freeways decimated communities of color. Northwest Pasadena was bisected and large portions of it demolished, while the South Vernon neighborhood was wiped out altogether. Homes were demolished and well-established businesses and community institutions were destroyed. The construction of the 210 Freeway split Northwest Pasadena down the middle through a primarily residential area and brought with it noise, air pollution, and a visual split.[215] What had been a

Interstate Highway System and the Spatial Transformation of the U.S., in *Engineering Earth*, Brunn, S. (eds) Springer, Dordrecht, 2011 (553–567); Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 14.

[209] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 1962, 35.

[210] City of Pasadena, General Plan, 1962, 45.

[211] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 16.

[212] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 26.

[213] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 26.

[214] Hirsch, 1998 and Mohl, 2000 in Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 15.

[215] Sam Hall Kaplan, "Pasadena Planning Goals Stir Community Distrust," *Los Angeles Times*, November 12, 1982, I1; 1956 aerial photograph, northwest Pasadena,

connected neighborhood is now interrupted by an elevated freeway. The South Vernon area was eliminated and is now bisected by the below-grade freeway where a neighborhood used to be. The redevelopment of the area to the east of the 710 Freeway further destroyed what had been an established and close-knit neighborhood.

The section below lays out the concrete effects of the construction of the 710 Freeway in Pasadena, namely the displacement of individuals and businesses as well as a tally of buildings demolished in the area now occupied by the 710 Freeway.

Details of Displacement: Building Counts

Building counts for the study area were obtained from the 1966, 1967, and 1968 Pasadena City Directories. The 1968 City Directory was used whenever possible in order to obtain listings as close as possible to when properties would have been acquired by the Division of Highways (determined by the recording dates in the right-of-way maps). If a property was listed as vacant in the 1968 City Directory, then the 1966 and 1967 City Directories were consulted and that entry was used. Sources are indicated in all cases. A summary of the methodology used to establish building counts is as follows:

Residential properties indicated with a ½ address or as a rear unit were not counted as separate residential buildings. These were assumed to be smaller ancillary buildings or rear residential buildings and were not counted as separate buildings in the total count. However, they were counted in the overall total of residential units. Listings of apartment buildings with multiple units were counted as one building (all units were counted towards the residential unit total).

Frame Finder, University of California Santa Barbara, accessed July 2024, https://mil.library.ucsb.edu/ap_indexes/FrameFinder/.

If two commercial listings/tenants were listed in the same address, these were counted as one building. It is likely that this would have been two businesses in one subdivided commercial building.

Institutional buildings included any building affiliated with an institution, including churches, schools, and buildings associated with Ambassador College.

Some properties were listed as vacant as far back as the 1966 City Directory. In addition, there were properties that were indicated on Sanborn maps within the study area boundary but were not listed in City Directories. These addresses are included in "vacant/unknown."

Buildings Counts in the Study Area	
Building Type	**Numerical Count**
Residential (Bldgs.)	117
Residential (Units)	168
Commercial	50
Institutional	10
Industrial	8
Vacant/Unknown	21
Total Buildings (known)	188
Total Buildings (incl. vacant/ unknown)	209

Residential buildings included both single- and multi-family residences, a list of which can be found in **Appendix C**.

Of the commercial buildings demolished were Peerless Sheet Metal Works, Bill's Beech Inn Tavern, Gerhart Ray Inc. Building Contractors, the Green Buck Restaurant, the Vroman's California School Book Depository, Jack Wall Chevrolet Auto Dealership, Bill's Coffee Shop and Restaurant, and the offices of Lyons & Carnahan Publishers.

Institutional buildings demolished included the First African Methodist Episcopal Church, United Presbyterian Church, Neighborhood Church of Pasadena/Sugar Tree Nursery School, Ambassador College Circulation Annex, and a student dormitory (potential affiliated with Imperial Schools, which was located across the street).

Industrial buildings included Orbon Lumber Company, Northside Metal Products, Screw Machine Products, Croan Engineering Co. Plastic Manufacturing, H.A. Jones Desert Stone, and Orth Mayflower Van and Storage.

These totals do not include the areas adjacent to the study area that were cleared as part of redevelopment efforts during this time; this includes addresses on the west side of Vernon Avenue and the east side of Pasadena Avenue. Buildings were demolished and residents displaced in these areas as well; however, this was outside the scope of this report. Previous estimates show that nearly 300 families were displaced by the 1960s by urban redevelopment projects and freeway construction in Pasadena, the majority of which were people of color.[216] The list of property owners obtained from the Division of Highways' ROW maps is included in **Appendix B**. A full list of occupants (individuals, businesses, and institutions) in the study area is included as **Appendix C** of this report.

[216] Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 88. The report indicates that 91 percent of these families were people of color.

Conclusion

The 710 Displacement Historic Report lays out the policy and planning decisions that influenced the placement of the SR-710 and I-210 freeways in Pasadena. Land use policy and freeway construction in Pasadena was undoubtedly and inextricably tied to race and class and were at their heart, fundamentally inequitable. Decades of policy and practices in Pasadena and cities around the country, including redlining, restrictive covenants, and zoning, systematically segregated people of color and disregarded their needs and voices. By the 1960s, segregation and racism were imbedded in the very fabric of land use policy.

Decisions made regarding freeway placement were a stark illustration of the political power held by White residents not only in Pasadena but in neighboring communities and the lack thereof held by people of color. Despite resident opposition to the freeways' location, city leaders proceeded without regard for the well-established neighborhoods that existed in the path of the freeways or the consequences for their actions. The years-long fight over the freeways' location set in stark relief the manner in which people of color were ignored and the way that their neighborhoods were viewed as substandard, despite evidence to the contrary. Taken together with the erasure of neighborhoods of color through redevelopment during the same period, land use decisions decimated these areas in the 1960s and 1970s.

The consequences of freeway construction in Pasadena can be seen in both the broad effects – social, economic, and physical – and the loss of homes, businesses, and institutions in the area now occupied by the SR-710 Freeway. The construction of the 710 and 210 freeways has had lasting impacts that are still felt today in the physical landscape, the memories of former residents and their descendants, and a profound sense of loss for a neighborhood that is no longer evident in Pasadena's physical landscape.

For Further Reading

There are numerous scholarly works on the topics covered in this report. This section provides additional sources that can be consulted on these topics. This is not a comprehensive list.

For more on the history of freeway construction:

- Ryan Reft et. al., eds. *Justice and the Interstates: The Racist Truth About Urban Highways*
- David Karas, "Highway to Inequity: The Disparate Impact of the Interstate Highway System on Poor and Minority Communities in American Cities," in *New Visions for Public Affairs* Vol. 7 (April 2015)
- James Hanlon, "Unsightly Urban Menaces and the Rescaling of Residential Segregation in the United States." *Journal of Urban History*, 37 no 5. (2011): 732-756.
- Richard F. Weingroff, "Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956: Creating the Interstate System." *Public Roads*. 60, no. 1 (Summer 1996): 1-14.
- Richard F. Weingroff, "The Genie in the Bottle: The Interstate Highway System and Urban Problems, 1939-1957." *Public Roads*. 64, no. 2 (September/October 2000): 1-13.
- Roger Biles, Raymond A. Mohl, and Mark H. Rose, "Revisiting the Urban Interstates: Politics, Policy, and Culture since World War II." *Journal of Urban History*, 40, no. 5 (September 2014): 827–830.
- Gilbert Estrada and Jerry González, "Justice and the Interstates: The Racist Truth about Urban Highways," Boom California, April 19, 2023, https://boomcalifornia.org/2023/04/19/justice-and-the-interstates-the-racist-truth-about-urban-highways/.

- Deborah N. Archer, "White Men's Roads Through Black Men's Homes: Advancing Racial Equity Through Highway Reconstruction," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 73, no. 5 (October 2020): 1259-1330.
- Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2017).
- Sally Bagshaw, Scott Bonjukian, and John Feit, "Reconnecting What Freeways Severed: Addressing the Historical Toll on Communities Split By Highways," Harvard University Advance Leadership Initiative Social Impact Review, https://www.sir.advancedleadership.harvard.edu/articles/reconnecting-what-freeways-severed-addressing-the-historical-toll-on-communities-split-by-highways.

For more on the end of the freeway era, see:

- Brian Taylor, "Why California Stopped Building Freeways," *ACCESS Magazine* (1993).
- Brian Taylor, "Public Perceptions, Fiscal Realities, and Freeway Planning: The California Case," *Journal of the American Planning Association* (Winter 1995).
- Raymond A. Mohl, "Stop the Road: Freeway Revolts in American Cities." *Journal of Urban History, 30* no. 5 (2004): 674-706.
- Raymond A. Mohl, "The Interstates and the Cities: The U.S. Department of Transportation and the Freeway Revolt, 1966-1973." *The Journal of Policy History, 20* no. 2 (2008): 193-226.
- Raymond A. Mohl, *The Interstates and the Cities: Highways, Housing, and the Freeway Revolt*. Poverty and Race Research Action Council (2002).
- Eric Avila, "L.A.'s Invisible Freeway Revolt: The Cultural Politics of Fighting Freeways." *Journal of Urban History*, 40, no. 5 (September 2014): 831–842.
- Raymond A. Mohl, "Stop the Road: Freeway Revolts in American Cities." *Journal of Urban History*, 30, no. 5 (July 2004): 674–706.

Bibliography

Books, Journal Articles, and Other Published Sources

Almaguer, Tomás. *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California.* Reproduced, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Avila, Eric. *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Biles, Roger, Raymond Mohl, and Mark H. Rose. "Revisiting the Urban Interstates: Politics, Policy, and Culture since World War II." *Journal of Urban History*, 40, Issue 5, (July 2014): 827-30.

Brown, Jeffrey R., Eric A. Morris, and Brian D. Taylor. "Paved with God Intensions: Fiscal Politics, Freeways and the 20th Century American City." *ACCESS Magazine*, Fall 2009.

Brown, Jeffrey R., Eric A. Morris, and Brian D. Taylor. "Planning for Cars in Cities: Planners, Engineers, and Freeways in the 20th Century." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 75, Issue 2 (March 2009): 161–77.

Carpenter, D. *Pasadena: Resort Hotels and Paradise*. Azusa, CA: March Sheldon Publishing, 1984.

Cohen, Jeffrey P., Nicholas Lownes, and Bo Zhang. "1960s Interstate Highways and Homeowner Wealth Distribution." Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis *Review* 104, no. 4 (October 2022): 317-36.

Cuff, Dana. *The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000. Quoted in Architectural Resources Group, "Garden Apartments of Los Angeles Historic Context Statement." Prepared for the Los Angeles Conservancy, October 2012.

de Graaf, Lawrence B., Kevin Mulroy, and Quintard Taylor, eds. *Seeking El Dorado: African Americans in California.* Los Angeles: Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Dumke, Glenn. "The Boom of the 1880s in Southern California." *Southern California Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (1994): 99-114.

Ellis, Cliff. "Interstate Highways, Regional Planning and the Reshaping of Metropolitan America." *Planning Practice & Research* 16, no. 3-4 (2001): 247-269.

El Sereno Star, various dates.

Estrada, Gilbert. "If You Build It, They Will Move: The Los Angeles Freeway System and the Displacement of Mexican East Los Angeles, 1944-1972." *Southern California Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 287-315.

Fish, Gertrude Sipperly. "Housing Policy during the Great Depression." In *The Story of Housing* edited by Gertrude Sipperly Fish, 177-241. New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1979.

Flamming, Douglas. *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Fulton, William. *The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Urban Growth in Los Angeles*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Bibliography

Gibbons, Andrea. *City of Segregation: One Hundred Years of Struggle for Housing in Los Angeles.* New York: Verso Books, 2018.

Hirsch, Arnold R. "With or Without Jim Crow: Black Residential Segregation in the United States." In *Urban Policy in 20th Century,* edited by Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl, 90-94. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993.

Hirsch, Arnold R. *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-1960*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Hirt, Sonia. "Home, Sweet Home: American Residential Zoning in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 33, no. 3 (July 2013): 292-309.

Independent Star-News, various dates.

Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier*: *The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Jackson, Kenneth T. "Race, Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal: The Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration." *Journal of Urban History* 6, Issue 4 (August 1980): 419-452.

David Karas, "Highway to Inequity: The Disparate Impact of the Interstate Highway System on Poor and Minority Communities in American Cities." *New Visions for Public Affairs* 7 (April 2015): 9-21.

Kyvig, David E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940: How Americans Lived through the 'Roaring Twenties' and the Great Depression.* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Publishing, 2002.

Los Angeles Times, various dates.

Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia, and Robert Gottlieb. "A Road as a Route and Place: The Evolution and Transformation of the Arroyo Seco Parkway." *California History* 83, no.1 (2005): 28-40.

Marks, Mara A. "Shifting Ground: The Rise and Fall of the Community Redevelopment Agency." *Southern California Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 241-290.

McCawley, William. *The First Angelinos: The Gabrielino Indians of Los Angeles County*. Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1996.

Mohl, Raymond A. "Planned Deconstruction: The Interstates and Central City Housing." In *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America*, edited by J. Bauman, R. Biles, and K. Szylvian, 226–245. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

National Research Council, Committee on Ecological Impacts of Road Density. *Assessing and Managing the Ecological Impacts of Paved Roads*. United States: National Academies Press, 2005.

Nicolaides, Becky M. *The New Suburbia: How Diversity Remade Suburban Life in Los Angeles after 1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2024.

Nightingale, Carl H. *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*. University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Pasadena Independent, various dates.

Perez, Jovanni. "The Los Angeles Freeway and the History of Community Displacement." *The Toro Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (December 2017).

Plotkin, Wendy. "Restrictive Covenants." In *Encyclopedia of American Urban History* Volume 2, edited by David Goldfield, 679-681. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2007.

Redford, Laura. "Intertwined History of Class and Race Segregation in Los Angeles." *Journal of Planning History* 16, Iss. 4, (November 2016): 305-322.

Rowe, Peter G. *Modernity and Housing.* Boston: The MIT Press, 1993.

Saavedra, Yvette J. *Pasadena Before the Roses: Race, Identity, and Land Use in Southern California, 1771-1890.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018.

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

Silver, Christopher. "The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities." In *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows,* edited by Manning Thomas, June and Marsha Ritzdorf, 23-42. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997.

South Pasadenan, various dates.

South Pasadena Review, various dates.

Taylor, Quintard. *In search of the racial frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990*. New York: Norton, 1998.

Weber, Joe. "'America's New Design for Living:' The Interstate Highway System and the Spatial Transformation of the U.S." In *Engineering Earth: The Impacts of Megaengineering Projects* Volume 1, edited by Stanley Brunn, 553-567. New York: Springer, 2011.

Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Historic Context Statements and Multiple Property Documentation Forms

California Department of Transportation. "A Historical Context and Methodology for Evaluating Trails, Roads, and Highways in California." Prepared for the Cultural Studies Office, Division of Environmental Analysis, California Department of Transportation, 2016.

Federal Highway Administration. "America's Highways 1776-1976: A History of the Federal-Aid Program." Prepared for the U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, 1977.

O'Connor, Pamela and Urban Conservation Section, City of Pasadena Planning Division. "Architectural/Historical Development of the City of Pasadena." Prepared for the California State Office of Historic Preservation, January 1993.

Prosser, Daniel. "SurveyLA Los Angeles Citywide Historic Context Statement, Context: Commercial Development, 1850-1980, Theme: Commercial Development and the Automobile, 1910-1970." Prepared for the City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning, Office of Historic Resources, August 2016.

Roland, Carol et. al., Mead & Hunt, Inc. "U.S. Highway 66 in California National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Inventory/Nomination Form." Prepared for the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 2011.

Government Documents

"A Citizen's Guide to Planning." Prepared by the Governor's Office of Planning and Research, State of California, January 2001.

Report of Survey Findings: Ethnic History Research Project." Prepared for the City of Pasadena, March 1995.

City of Pasadena Planning Commission. "General Plan, City of Pasadena, California," 1962.

California Department of Real Estate. "Chapter 27: Glossary of Terms." In "Reference Book: Information Relating to Real Estate Practice, Licensing and Examinations." Prepared by the California Department of Real Estate, 2010.

California Department of Transportation. "Chapter 5: Early and Advance Acquisition, Corridor Preservation, Hardship and Protection, Donations and Dedications," and "Chapter 6: Right of Way Engineering." In the California Department of Transportation, "Right of Way Manual." Revised July 2024.

Federal Housing Administration. *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure under Title II of the National Housing Act*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938.

Geosnytec, Olin, and Gehry Partners LLP. "L.A. River Master Plan." Prepared for Los Angeles County and Los Angeles County Public Works, June 2022.

Prosser, Daniel. "Spanish Colonial and Mexican Era Settlement, 1781-1849." *Los Angeles Citywide Historic Context Statement*. Prepared for the City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning, February 2016.

Olmsted, Frederick Law, Harlan Bartholomew and Charles Henry Cheney. "A Major Traffic Street Plan for Los Angeles." Prepared for the Committee on Los Angeles Plan on Major Highways of the Traffic Commission of the City and County of Los Angeles, 1924.

Oral Histories

Bob Gonzalez oral history interview with John P. Lloyd. August 2, 2017. Quoted in John P. Lloyd, "Just One Barrier: Freeway Development and the Construction of Modernity in Pasadena, CA." N.D.

Academic Sources

Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia et al. "The Implications of Freeway Siting in California: Four Case Studies on the Effects of Freeways on Neighborhoods of Color." Prepared by the Pacific Southwest Region University Transportation Center, March 2023.

Wasserman, Jacob L., et al. "What's Driving California?: The Past, Present, and Future(s) of Transportation in The Golden State: An In-Depth Analysis of the Facts, Origins and Trends of Transportation and Urban Planning in California." Prepared by the UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies, March 2022.

Miscellaneous and Online Sources

Alexander, Kathy. "The National Road – First Highway in America." *Legends of America*. Last modified March 2024. Accessed May 2024. https://www.legendsofamerica.com/ah-nationalroad/.

Alexander, Kathy. "Route 66 Information & History." *Legends of America*. Last modified April 2024. https://www.legendsofamerica.com/66-info/.

Bibliography

American Psychological Association. "Historical Context." APA Style. Last modified July 2022.

https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/bias-free-language/historical-context.

American Psychological Association. "Race and Ethnicity." APA Style. Last modified July 2022.

https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/bias-free-language/racial-ethnic-minorities.

Aaronson, Daniel, Daniel Hartley, and Bhashkar Mazumder. "The Effects of the 1930s HOLC 'Redlining' Maps." Working paper,

Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, August 2020. Accessed April 2024. https://www.chicagofed.org/publications/working-papers/2017/wp2017-12.

California Department of Transportation. "Caltrans History." California Department of Transportation. Accessed May 2024. https://dot.ca.gov/programs/public-affairs/caltrans-history.

California Department of Transportation. "Chapter 25: Relinquishments." In "Caltrans Project Development Procedures Manual." Prepared by the State of California Department of Transportation. Last modified February 2018. https://dot.ca.gov/-/media/dot-media/programs/design/documents/pdpm-chapter25-a11y.pdf.

California Department of Transportation. "Chapter 60: Nomenclature." In the California Department of Transportation, "Highway Design Manual: Seventh Edition." Last modified September 2023. https://dot.ca.gov/-/media/dot-media/programs/design/documents/chp0060-092923-a11y.pdf.

California Department of Transportation. "Right of Way Maps, District 7." https://www.arcgis.com/home/webmap/viewer.html?webmap=be47fd3f5cc349f28f2871b5a6c07c6f.

California Department of Transportation. "Your Property, Your Transportation Project." California Department of Transportation, Division of Right of Way and Land Surveys, October 2020. Accessed April 24, 2024. https://dot.ca.gov/-/media/dot-media/programs/right-of-way/documents/acquisition-condemnation/your-property-your-transportation-project-digital-view-english-2020-a11y.pdf.

California Department of Finance. "Historical Census Populations of Counties and Incorporated Cities in California, 1850-2020." Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, August 13, 2021. Accessed May 24, 2024. https://dof.ca.gov/reports/demographic-reports/.

California Highways. "Interstate 710." Last modified May 27, 2024. https://cahighways.org/ROUTE710.html.

California State Board of Equalization. "Property Ownership and Deed Recording." Accessed April 23, 2024. https://www.boe.ca.gov/proptaxes/pdf/Ownership_DeedRecording.pdf.

Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice. "Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Federal Coordination and Compliance. Accessed June 17, 2024. https://www.justice.gov/crt/fcs/TitleVI.

Code of Federal Regulations (CFR) Title 23 Section §710.501. National Archives. Last modified May 6, 2024. https://www.ecfr.gov/current/title-23/chapter-I/subchapter-H/part-710/subpart-E/section-710.501.

Bibliography

Estrada, Gilbert. "The 710 Long Beach Freeway: A History of America's Most Important Freeway." PBS SoCal, February 12, 2014. https://www.pbssocal.org/shows/departures/the-710-long-beach-freeway-a-history-of-americas-most-important-freeway.

Estrada, Gilbert and Jerry González. "Justice and the Interstates: The Racist Truth About Urban Highways." Boom California, April 19, 2023. https://boomcalifornia.org/2023/04/19/justice-and-the-interstates-the-racist-truth-about-urban-highways/.

Federal Highway Administration. "Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970." Uniform Act. Last modified June 26, 2024. https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/real_estate/uniform_act/.

Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. "The Doctrine of Discovery, 1493." History Resources, 2012. Accessed May 13, 2024. https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/doctrine-discovery-1493.

Ivison, Tim and Julia Tcharfas. "710: Excerpts from the Archive." *Offramp*, Summer 2019. https://offramp.sciarc.edu/articles/710-excerpts-from-the-archive.

Los Angeles Almanac. "Original People of Los Angeles County." Accessed August 25, 2023. http://www.laalmanac.com/history/hi05.php.

Merriam-Webster Dictionary. "Segregation." Last modified July 8, 2024. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/segregation.

Native Governance Center. "How to Talk about Native Nations." Native Governance Center, 2021. https://nativegov.org/resources/how-to-talk-about-native-nations/.

Nicolaides, Becky and Andrew Wiese. "Suburbanization in the United States after 1945." April 26, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.64.

PBS SoCal. "Hahamog'na: Native Tongva People." PBS SoCal. October 4, 2010. https://www.pbssocal.org/shows/departures/hahamogna-native-tongva-people.

Pasadena City Directories, various dates.

Reft, Ryan. "Segregation in the City of Angels: A 1939 Map of Housing Inequality in L.A." KCET, November 14, 2017. https://www.kcet.org/shows/lost-la/segregation-in-the-city-of-angels-a-1939-map-of-housing-inequality-in-l-a.

Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1951.

Stickel, E. Gary. "Why the Original Indian Tribe of the Greater Los Angeles Area is Called Kizh Not Tongva." Gabrieleño Band of Mission Indians Tribal Government, February 2022. https://gabrielenoindians.org/2022/08/09/kizh-not-tongva/.

Weingroff, Richard F. "Federal Aid Road Act of 1916: Building the Foundation." *Public Roads* 60, no. 1 (Summer 1996). Accessed May 2024. https://highways.dot.gov/public-roads/summer-1996/federal-aid-road-act-1916-building-foundation.

Weingroff, Richard F. "Original Intent: The Purpose of the Interstate System, 1954-1956." U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration. https://highways.dot.gov/highway-history/interstate-system/original-intent-purpose-interstate-system-1954-1956.

Bibliography

University of Richmond. “Pasadena.” Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America. Accessed June 10, 2024. https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/CA/LosAngeles/area_descriptions.

U.S. Department of Transportation. “Celebrating 50 Years: The Eisenhower Interstate Highway System.” Testimony Documents, June 27, 2006. Accessed May 23, 2024. https://www.transportation.gov/testimony/celebrating-50-years-eisenhower-interstate-highway-system.

Yalzdeh, Naomi and Naomi Blumberg. “City Beautiful Movement.” Britannica Encyclopedia. Accessed June 11, 2024. https://www.britannica.com/topic/City-Beautiful-movement.

Architectural
Resources Group

Appendix A: Division of Highways Right of Way Maps

F1212

CITY OF PASADENA

F1214

F-1215

F-1534

F-1168
P.M. 12.7 Rte. 134
P.M. 24.7 Rte. 210

P.M. 32.3 Rte. 7
P.M. 24.7 Rte. 210

P.M. 32.0
Rte. 7

P.M. 24.5 | P.M. 24.7 | P.M. 24.9 | P.M. 25.2 | P.M. 25.5 | P.M. 25.8 | P.M. 26.0

ROUTE 210 — ONE WAY — OPERATION

ROUTE 134

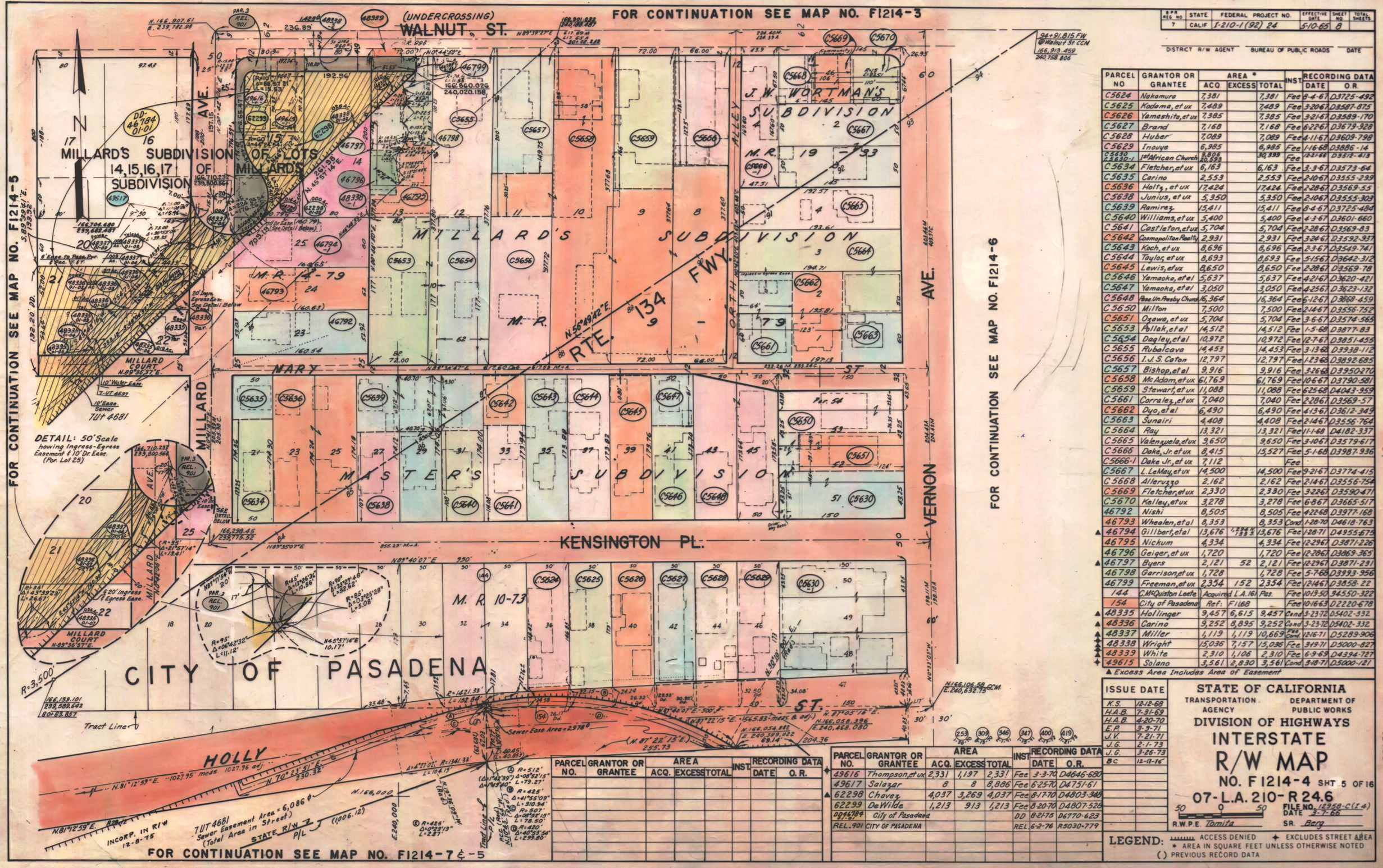
ROUTE 110

(1) F1214-1
(2) F1214-2
(3) F1214-3
(4) F1214-4
(5) F1214-5
(6) F1214-6
(7) F1214-7
(8) F1214-8
(9) F1214-9
(10) F1214-10
(11) F1214-11
(12) F1214-12
(13) F1214-13
(14) F1214-14
(15) F1214-15

R/W MAP FILES
CAL-TRANS, RM. 3000
DO NOT REMOVE

STATE OF CALIFORNIA TRANSPORTATION AGENCY
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS
07-7/134/210-INTERCHANGE
R/W INDEX MAP
600 0 600
DATE: 6-29-70
F. No. 1214
SHEET 1 OF 16

6-24-73



BPR REG NO	STATE	FEDERAL PROJECT NO.	EFFECTIVE DATE	SHEET NO	TOTAL SHEETS
7	CALIF	I-210-1(92) 24	5-10-65	8	

DISTRICT R/W AGENT — BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS — DATE

PARCEL NO	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA * ACQ	EXCESS	TOTAL	INST	RECORDING DATA DATE	O.R.
C5624	Nakamura	7,381		7,381	Fee	8-4-67	D3725-492
C5625	Kodama, et ux	7,489		7,489	Fee	3-20-67	D3587-875
C5626	Yamashita, et ux	7,385		7,385	Fee	3-21-67	D3589-170
C5627	Brand	7,168		7,168	Fee	6-22-67	D3679-928
C5628	Huber	7,089		7,089	Fee	4-11-67	D3609-798
C5629	Inouye	6,985		6,985	Fee	1-16-68	D3886-14
C5630 P.3830-1	1st African Church	9,808 20,699		30,399	Fee	12-2-68	D3512-413
C5634	Fletcher, et ux	6,163		6,163	Fee	3-3-67	D3573-64
C5635	Carino	2,553		2,553	Fee	2-10-67	D3555-299
C5636	Holtz, et ux	17,424		17,424	Fee	2-28-67	D3569-55
C5638	Junius, et ux	5,350		5,350	Fee	2-10-67	D3555-303
C5639	Ramirez	15,411		15,411	Fee	8-4-67	D3725-484
C5640	Williams, et ux	5,400		5,400	Fee	4-3-67	D3601-660
C5641	Castleton, et ux	5,704		5,704	Fee	2-28-67	D3569-83
C5642	Cosmopolitan Realty	2,931		2,931	Fee	3-24-67	D3592-937
C5643	Koch, et ux	8,696		8,696	Fee	2-3-67	D3549-741
C5644	Taylor, et ux	8,693		8,693	Fee	5-15-67	D3642-312
C5645	Lewis, et ux	8,650		8,650	Fee	2-28-67	D3569-78
C5646	Yamaoka, et al	5,637		5,637	Fee	4-21-67	D3620-421
C5647	Yamaoka, et al	3,050		3,050	Fee	4-25-67	D3623-132
C5648	Pasa Un. Presby Church	16,364		16,364	Fee	6-12-67	D3668-459
C5650	Milton	7,500		7,500	Fee	2-14-67	D3556-752
C5651	Ozawa, et ux	5,704		5,704	Fee	3-6-67	D3574-565
C5653	Pollak, et al	14,512		14,512	Fee	1-5-68	D3877-83
C5654	Dagley, et al	10,972		10,972	Fee	12-7-67	D3851-455
C5655	Rubalcava	14,453		14,453	Fee	3-13-68	D3938-112
C5656	I.J.S. Caton	12,797		12,797	Fee	1-23-68	D3892-685
C5657	Bishop, et al	9,916		9,916	Fee	3-26-68	D3950-270
C5658	Mc Adam, et ux	61,769		61,769	Fee	10-6-67	D3790-581
C5659	Stewart, et ux	11,088		11,088	Fee	6-25-68	D4043-959
C5661	Corralez, et ux	7,040		7,040	Fee	2-28-67	D3569-57
C5662	Dyo, et al	6,490		6,490	Fee	4-13-67	D3612-349
C5663	Sunairi	4,408		4,408	Fee	2-14-67	D3556-764
C5664	Ray	13,321		13,321	Fee	11-1-68	D4182-337
C5665	Valenzuela, et ux	9,650		9,650	Fee	3-10-67	D3579-617
C5666	Dake, Jr. et ux	8,415		15,527	Fee	5-1-68	D3987-936
C5666-1	Dake Jr., et ux	7,112			Fee		
C5667	L. LeMay, et ux	14,500		14,500	Fee	9-21-67	D3774-415
C5668	Allerizzo	2,162		2,162	Fee	2-14-67	D3556-754
C5669	Fletcher, et ux	2,330		2,330	Fee	3-22-67	D3590-471
C5670	Kelley, et ux	3,278		3,278	Fee	6-8-67	D3665-517
46792	Nishi	8,505		8,505	Fee	4-22-68	D3977-168
46793	Wheelen, et al	8,353		8,353	Cond	1-28-70	D4618-763
▲ 46794	Gilbert, et al	13,676	1,234 ± M 133 ±	13,676	Fee	1-28-71	D4955-675
46795	Nickum	4,334		4,334	Fee	12-29-67	D3871-226
46796	Geiger, et ux	1,720		1,720	Fee	12-28-67	D3869-365
▲ 46797	Byers	2,121	52	2,121	Fee	12-29-67	D3871-231
46798	Garrison, et ux	1,728		1,728	Fee	5-7-68	D3993-956
46799	Freeman, et ux	2,354	152	2,354	Fee	12-14-67	D3858-22
144	C.M. Quiston Leete	Acquired L.A. 161		Pas.	Fee	10-13-50	34550-322
154	City of Pasadena	Ref: F1168			Fee	10-16-63	D2220-678
▲ 48335	Hollinger	9,457	6,615	9,457	Cond	3-23-72	D5402-332
▲ 48336	Carino	9,252	8,895	9,252	Cond	3-23-72	D5402-332
▲ 48337	Miller	1,119	1,119	10,669	Fee Cond.	12-16-71	D5289-906
✦ 48338	Wright	15,036	7,157	15,036	Fee	3-19-71	D5000-827
✦ 48339	White	2,310	1,106	2,310	Fee	6-9-65	D4394-727
✦ 49615	Solano	3,561	2,830	3,561	Cond	3-18-71	D5000-121

▲ Excess Area Includes Area of Easement

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA ACQ.	EXCESS	TOTAL	INST	RECORDING DATA DATE	O.R.

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA ACQ.	EXCESS	TOTAL	INST	RECORDING DATA DATE	O.R.
49616	Thompson, et ux	2,331	1,197	2,331	Fee	3-3-70	D4646-680
49617	Salazar	8	8	8,886	Fee	6-25-70	D4751-61
▲ 62298	Chavez	4,037	3,269	4,037	Fee	8-17-70	D4803-345
62299	De Wilde	1,213	913	1,213	Fee	8-20-70	D4807-526
DD 46784 01-01	City of Pasadena				DD	8-21-75	D6770-623
REL. 901	CITY OF PASADENA				REL	6-2-76	R5030-779

ISSUE DATE	
K.S.	12-12-68
H.A.B.	7-31-69
H.A.B.	4-20-70
E.P.	3-3-71
J.V.	7-21-71
J.G.	2-1-73
J.G.	3-26-73
B.C.	12-11-76

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
TRANSPORTATION AGENCY — DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS
INTERSTATE
R/W MAP
NO. F1214-4 SHT. 5 OF 16
07-L.A.-210-R 24.6
50 0 50
R.W.P.E. Tomita
FILE NO. 12958-C(I 4)
DATE 3-7-66
SR. Berg

LEGEND: ACCESS DENIED ✦ EXCLUDES STREET AREA
* AREA IN SQUARE FEET UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED
( ) PREVIOUS RECORD DATA

5-24-73

B.P.R. REG. NO	STATE	FEDERAL PROJECT NO	EFFECTIVE DATE	SHEET NO	TOTAL SHEETS
7	CALIF	I-210-1(92)24	5-10-65	7	

DISTRICT R/W AGENT — BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS — DATE

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-12

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-10

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-8

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-4

CITY OF PASADENA

CORSON ST.

PASADENA AVE.

UNION STREET

MOSHER TRACT

S. H. DOOLITTLE'S SUBDIVISION

M.R. 9 - 50

M.R. 10 - 28

M.R. 2 - 556 / 559

POR. DIV. B SAN GABRIEL ORANGE GROVE ASSN'S LANDS

AMENDED MAP OF COLORA

M.R. 8

J.W. WORTMAN SUBD. M.R. 19 - 33

TR. NO. 477 M.B. 14 - 188

VERNON AVE.

WALNUT STREET

MARY STREET

HOLLY STREET

ALLEY

(UNDERCROSSING)

Route 210 FWY.

RTE. 134 FWY

RTE. 10

S. P. R. R.

INTERSTATE

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA* TO BE ACQUIRED	AREA* EXCESS	AREA* TOTAL	INST	RECORDING DATA DATE	RECORDING DATA O.R.
41735	Doolittle	90		90	Fee	11-15-68	D4195-458
41736	Johnson Motors Inc.	12,497		12,497	Fee	2-29-68	D3925-754
41737	Tschumy, et. ux.	7,650		7,650	Fee	3-21-68	D3946-117
41738	Saathoff	7,337		7,337	Fee	10-29-68	D4177-747
41739	Schmidt	7,500		7,500	Fee	3-13-68	D3938-114
41740	Gutierrez, et. ux.	7,500		7,500	Fee	9-21-67	D3774-487
41741	Daniel, et. ux.	7,650		7,650	Fee	9-1-67	D3755-86
41742	Mears	37,791		37,791	Fee	3-25-69	D4317-177
41743	Bada Co.	13,444		13,444	Fee	5-15-68	D4001-759
41744	Busek	10,458		10,458	Fee	3-25-70	D4667-688
41745	Monden	7,250		7,250	Fee	6-3-68	D4019-690
41746	Fleming	6,670		6,670	Fee	11-2-67	D3817-935
41747	United Cal. Bank	7,250		7,250	Fee	12-5-67	D3848-928
41748	Nowls	7,250		7,250	Fee	8-17-67	D3738-337
41749	Butler	7,250		7,250	Fee	6-4-70	D4732-255
41750	Naungeyan, et. ux.	4,588		4,588	Fee	9-14-67	D3766-695
41751	Skarie, et. ux.	4,500		4,500	Fee	8-22-67	D3742-973
41752	Arvizu	3,052		3,052	Fee	8-22-67	D3742-957
41753	Sanders, et. ux.	12,191		12,191	Fee	9-29-66	D3440-440
41754	Gates	12,191		12,191	Fee	10-31-67	D3814-499
41755	Lee, et al	12,278		12,278	Fee	7-25-68	D 4077-885
41756	Flanders	28,408		28,408	Fee	1-28-69	D4262-647
41758	Cimino, et. al.	31,290		31,290	Fee	4-17-68	D3973-161
41759	Fields, et. ux.	5,619		5,619	Fee	10-6-67	D3790-588
41760	Clay,	2,477		2,477	Fee	10-3-67	D3786-573
41761	Cahn,	7,242		7,242	Fee	1-3-68	D3874-618
41762	Croan	15,202		15,202	Fee	3-24-69	D4315-851
41763	Van Zandt	6,960		6,960	Fee	3-17-69	D4308-923
41764	Barnewalt	7,189		7,189	Fee	11-8-67	D3823-800
41765	Reid	8,562		8,562	Fee	12-5-67	D3848-926
41696-6	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	9,765			Q.C.	12-15-69	4581-576
41696-7	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	10,658			Q.C.	12-15-69	4581-576

ISSUE DATE	
DRM	1-10-66
DRM	1-13-66
DRM	1-14-66
DRM	1-17-66
J.V.	4-13-71

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
TRANSPORTATION AGENCY — DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS

R/W MAP

NO. F-1214-6 SHT 7 OF 16

07-LA-210-246

50 0 50

FILE NO. 16892-C(1-7)

DATE 1-7-66

R.W.P.E. TOMITA — SR. BERG

LEGEND: ACCESS DENIED — EXCLUDES STREET AREA
* AREA IN SQUARE FEET UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED
( ) PREVIOUS RECORD DATA

5-24-73

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F1214-8

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F1214-6

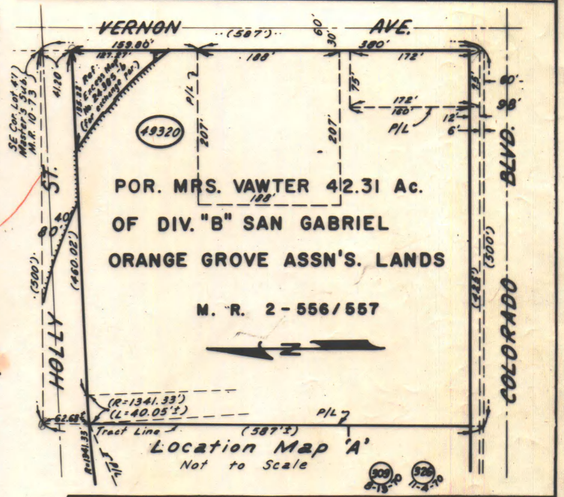
FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F1214-9

SEE MAP NO. F1214-4

B.P.R. REG. NO	STATE	FEDERAL PROJECT NO.	EFFECTIVE DATE	SHEET NO	TOTAL SHEETS
7	CALIF	I 210-1(92)24	5-10-65	9	

DISTRICT R/W AGENT BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS DATE

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA TO BE ACQ.	AREA EXCESS	AREA TOTAL	INST.	RECORDING DATA DATE	RECORDING DATA O.R.
41716	Ambassador College	14,778		14,778	Fee	5-29-69	D4385-329
41717	Jones Desert Store	5,300		5,300	Fee	10-31-69	D4542-525
41718	Kaplan	6,877		6,877	Cond.	6-1-70	D4729-98
41720	Tanaka	5,101		5,101	Fee	8-20-68	D4412-81
41721	Pomeroy, et ux	7,650		7,650	Fee	7-14-70	D4771-76
41721-1	Pomeroy, et ux	7,621		7,621	Fee	7-14-70	D4771-76
41722	Leishman	18,473		18,473	Fee	8-14-70	D4801-642
41723	Stasand, et ux	5,483		10,533	Fee	8-20-68	D4105-610
41723-1	Stasand, et ux	5,050		5,050	Fee	8-20-68	D4105-610
41724	Cann	10,966		10,966	Fee	9-3-69	D4483-442
41725	Security First Nat'l Bank	5,049		5,049	Fee	11-18-68	D4197-331
41726	Fiore	5,049		5,049	Fee	2-19-70	D4637-218
41728	Union Oil Co.	21,582		21,582	Fee	9-3-69	D4456-937
41730 Por.	Throop, et ux.	13,964		13,964	Fee	12-17-68	D4226-216
41731	Matheuson	8,811		8,811	Fee	7-12-68	D4063-383
41732	Ward	17,689		17,689	Fee	7-9-68	D4058-731
41733 Por.	Throop, et al.	37,903		37,903	Fee	12-17-68	D4226-225
41734	Wilks	81,254		81,254	Cond.	5-13-71	D5086-664
41696-2	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	10,599			Q.C.	12-15-69	D4581-576
41696-3	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	9,674			Q.C.	12-15-69	D4581-576
41696-4	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO	11,386			Q.C.	12-15-69	D4581-576
41696-5	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	101,256			Q.C.	12-15-69	D4581-576
49320-1	Carmelita Park Co.	7,563		4.764 Ac.	Fee	4-6-72	D-5418-92
49320-2	"	2,342		"	Eas.	4-6-72	D-5418-92
49320-3	"	3,373		"	Temp. Easm.		
49320-4	"	2,677		"	Eas.	4-6-72	D-5418-92
DK49320-4	City of Pasadena				Q.C.	12-18-75	D6909-59
REL 903	SEE MAP	F1214-5					



ISSUE DATE	
D.M.	6-1-67
H.A.B.	8-1-69
K.S.	9-12-69
H.A.B.	10-16-69
H.A.B.	3-26-70
C.D.S.	9-23-70
E.P.	11-2-70
E.P.	8-3-72

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
TRANSPORTATION AGENCY — DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS

INTERSTATE R/W MAP

NO. F1214-7 SHT 8 OF 16

07-L.A. 210-R-24.7

50 0 50

FILE NO. 77332-C(ra)

DATE 7-28-66

RWPE Tomita

SR. Berg

5-24-73

LEGEND: ACCESS DENIED ✦ EXCLUDES STREET AREA
* AREA IN SQUARE FEET UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED
( ) PREVIOUS RECORD DATA

CITY OF PASADENA

SEE MAP NO. F-1214-13

BPR REG NO	STATE	FEDERAL PROJECT NO.	EFFECTIVE DATE	SHEET NO	TOTAL SHEETS
7	CALIF	I-210-1(92)24	5-10-65	10	

DISTRICT R/W AGENT | BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS | DATE

PASADENA AVENUE

DAYTON ST. | VALLEY ST. | GERTRUDE COURT | KANSAS ST. | GREEN ST. | VERNON AVENUE | GROVE STREET | DEL MAR BLVD. (Elevado St. Dr.) | INTERSTATE

REPLAT OF Mc. QUILLINGS SUBDIVISION

M.R. 7-101 (M.R. 5-506)

RTE. 7 FWY.

DR. CONGAR TRACT

M.R. 7-74

PLAT OF LOTS 36, 42 & 48 DR. CONGAR TRACT

M.R. 66-23

POR. DR. CONGAR TRACT

CONGAR TRACT M.R. 7-74

TOP OF CUT

REALIGNED GREEN ST. (COVERCROSSING)

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-7 M.R. 22/148

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. 1214-14

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA* TO BE ACQUIRED	AREA* EXCESS	AREA* TOTAL	INST.	RECORDING DATA DATE	RECORDING DATA O.R.
41710	Gottfeld, et ux.	2,773		2,773	Fee	6-14-68	D3334-342
41711	W. H. Bell	13,228		13,228	Cond	1-13-72	D5318-891
41712	El Rancho Mkts.	10,571		10,571	Fee	1-3-69	D42-41-73
41713	Orban lumber Co.	229,506		229,506	Fee	9-15-69	D4496-153
41714	Orban	4,500		4,500	"	"	"
41715	College (Ambassador)	38,250		38,250	Fee	5-29-69	D4385-331
47209	Collins	144		144	Cond	2-16-70	6486-92
41707	Dugan, et ux	4,708		4,708	Fee	5-2-69	D4357-706
41708	Gerhart, Inc.	6,817		6,817	Fee	11-12-68	D4190-988
41709	Mayweather	5,141		5,141	Fee	4-24-69	D4348-368

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA* TO BE ACQUIRED	AREA* EXCESS	AREA* TOTAL	INST.	RECORDING DATA DATE	RECORDING DATA O.R.
41694	Ambassador College	39,157		39,157	Fee	7-3-67	D3691-447
41696	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	24,929			Q.C.	12-15-69	D4581-576
41696-1	L.A. & S.L. R.R. CO.	132,610			Q.C.	12-15-69	D-4581-576
41697	Hovsepian	19,500		19,500	Fee	9-20-71	D-5196-144
41698	Dakon-Adams Co.	8,666		8,666	Fee	6-3-66	D3324-666
41699	De Roussell	8,666		8,666	Fee	1-31-66	D3192-90
41700	Echols	4,291		4,291	Fee	10-3-68	D4152-309
41701	Allen	8,799		8,799	Fee	8-26-68	D4111-743
41702	Oki	8,051		8,051	Fee	2-20-69	D4284-684
41703	Hernandez	10,571		10,571	Fee	11-22-68	D4203-46
41704	Hammond, et ux	10,571		10,571	Fee	8-6-68	D4090-563
41705	De Anda	5,286		5,286	Fee	7-16-68	D4066-705
41706	Smith, et ux	4,188		4,188	Fee	4-1-68	D3956-366

ISSUE DATE	
DAM	6-1-67
B.J.K.	6-2-67
Q.F.J.	7-31-67

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
TRANSPORTATION AGENCY — DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS

R/W MAP

NO. F-1214-9 SHT 10 OF 16

07-LA-210-24.7 16125C(I-9)

50 0 50

DATE 6-17-65

R.W.P.E. TOMITA SR. BERG

5-24-73

LEGEND: ACCESS DENIED ✦ EXCLUDES STREET AREA
* AREA IN SQUARE FEET UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED
( ) PREVIOUS RECORD DATA

BPR REG NO	STATE	FEDERAL PROJECT NO.	EFFECTIVE DATE	SHEET NO	TOTAL SHEETS
7	CALIF	I-210-1(92)24	5-10-65	10a	

DISTRICT R/W AGENT BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS DATE

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-13

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-9

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-15

PASADENA AVENUE — N. 0°33'07"W. 408.67 — N. 0°33'07"W. 477.05' — N. 0°33'36"W. 346.54'

THE RAILROAD TRACT NO. 2766 — M.R. 23-61 — M.B. 31-38

JAMES SMITH TRACT — Por. Lot 4 — M.R. 6-250 — POR. BLK. A

SURVEY — RECORD — DD 309-5

S.P. 45903 L.A. R.R. — LOT 1

APPROX. TOP OF CUT

APPROX. ℄

East 20' of Saylor Ave (Voc.) M.R. 64-8

N.E. Cor. O.R. 6033-365

WAVERLY DRIVE TRACT — M.R. 70-9

HAVENDALE TRACT — M.B. 284-45/46

TRACT NO. 13706 — Por. of GORDON CIR.

R/W LINE FRONTAGE RD.

Temp Grad Ease

Por. Lot 3 PAR. 2 PAR. 1

DIV. "A" OF THE JAMES SMITH TRACT M.R. 6-250

GALBRAITH & THOMAS TRACT — M.R. 12-76

DEL MAR — LEWIS-J-MERRITT-PLACE M.B. 6-149 — DR. CONGAR TRACT M.R. 7-14

VERNON AVE — N. 0°32'56"W.

WAVERLY — BELLEVUE — GORDON TERRACE

JAMES SMITH TRACT 5 8 — PASADENA — M.R. 6-250

Detail "A" No Scale

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA* TO BE ACQUIRED	EXCESS	TOTAL	INST	RECORDING DATA DATE	O.R.
45903	L.A.&S.L. RAILWAY CO	15,042		15,042	Q.C.	12-1-69	D-4581-576
45903-1	L.A.&S.L. RAILWAY CO	13,482		13,482	Q.C.	12-1-69	D-4581-576
46812-1	Royle,	13,514		13,514	Fee	5-18-70	D4715-532
46813-1	Royle,	15,394		15,394	Fee	6-22-70	D4747-249
46814-1	Royle,	32,119		32,119	Fee	9-8-70	D4823-128
46815-1	Williams,	34,418		34,418	Fee	7-22-70	D-4779-177
46816	Orban Lumber Co.	16,999		16,999	Fee	10-22-69	D4474-643
46817	Arbuckle,	8,035		8,035	Fee	4-29-69	D4352-606
46818	Jackson,	8,032		8,032	Fee	7-17-68	D4068-55
46819	Ambassador College	8,925	8,925	8,925	Fee	5-17-68	D4004-732
46820	Bailey, et ux	7,140	7,140	7,140	Fee	5-20-68	D4006-200
46821	Vroman, Incorp	59,686		59,686	Fee	12-24-68	D4232-530
46822-1	Parril,	10,083		10,083	Fee	3-18-69	D4310-313
46823	Fellows, et al	10,539		10,539	Fee	8-13-68	D4097-998
46824-1	Berber, et ux	10,454		10,454	Fee	8-6-69	D4458-126
46825-1	Smith,	11,018		11,018	Fee	9-16-68	D4132-789
46826-1	Sakahara, et ux	12,594		12,594	Fee	11-12-68	D4190-706
46827-1	Kawashima, et ux	13,715		13,715	Fee	10-3-68	D4152-298
46828-1	Burgess	6,912		6,912	Fee	7-23-68	D4075-57
46829	Snook, et ux	8,410		8,410	Fee	8-7-68	D4091-942
46830	Fellows, Jr.	673		673	Fee	12-12-68	D4222-21
46831-1	Padua, et ux	10,250		10,250	Fee	7-30-68	D4082-632
46832-1	Alvarez, et ux	9,666	9,666	9,666	Cond.	4-28-70	D4698-514
46833-1	Cole, et ux	9,919		9,919	Fee	7-12-68	D4063-363
46834-1	Nakahiro, et ux	9,667	9,667	9,667	Fee	7-15-68	D4064-957
46835	Hinckley,	10,734	10,734	10,734	Fee	8-14-68	D4099-240
46849-1	City of Pasadena	3,636		3,636	Fee	11-26-69	D4565-746
49321-1	Ambassador College	18,273		66,557	Fee		
49321-2	Ambassador College	1,877		66,557	Temp Ease.		
49322	Magee,	14,716		14,716	Fee	6-23-70	D4748-651
49323	Williamson	1,855		10,712	Temp Ease.		
49324-1	Kawashima,	67		9,385	Fee		
49324-2	"	1,219		"	Temp Ease.		
49325-1	Ambassador Col.	508	508	9,891	Fee	10-31-69	D4541-114
49325-2	" "	1225	1225	"	Temp Ease.	Consent	
49326-1	Suzuki	1,005		10,365	Fee		
49326-2	"	1115		"	Temp Ease.		
49327	McMahon,	23,049	15,665	23,049	Fee	5-12-69	D4366-105
49321-3	Ambassador College	608		66,557	Temp Ease.		
60984-1	Ambassador College	392		39,815	Fee	7-19-71	D5128-342
60984-2	"	1,513		"	Temp Ease.		
DD 49327 01-01	AL TAMIMI				DD	12-2-74	D6489-729
DD 46832 01-01	KAWASHIMA				DD	8-5-75	D6751-930
Parl REL 902	City of Pasadena	See F1215-1			REL	6-28-77	77-688514

▲ Excess Includes Area of Easement

ISSUE DATE	
B.J.K.	6-2-67
B.J.K.	6-27-67
O.V.F.	7-13-67
J.N.S.	8-28-68
H.A.B.	7-18-69
H.A.B.	9-18-69
H.A.B.	12-11-69
J.V.	8-22-73
D.M.T.	7-12-12
K.H.	12-23-13

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
TRANSPORTATION AGENCY — DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS

R/W MAP
NO. F-1214-14 SHT 15 OF 16

07-LA-7-32.2 FILE NO. 19210-C(I-16)

50 0 50 DATE 5-31-67

R.W.P.E. TOMITA SR. BERG

LEGEND: ACCESS DENIED ✦ EXCLUDES STREET AREA
* AREA IN SQUARE FEET UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED
( ) PREVIOUS RECORD DATA

DPR REG. NO	STATE	FEDERAL PROJECT NO	EFFECTIVE DATE	SHEET NO	TOTAL SHEETS
7	CALIF				

DISTRICT R/W AGENT BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS DATE

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA* TO BE ACQUIRED	AREA* EXCESS	AREA* TOTAL	INST	RECORDING DATA DATE	RECORDING DATA O.R.
43402	C. MAITLAND et al	70,339		70,339	Fee	5-28-68	D4014-712
45903-2	L.A. & S.L. RAILWAY CO.	1,956		1,956	Q.C	12-15-69	D-4581-576
46834	Bennett, et ux	13,200		13,200	Fee	2-20-69	D4284-691
46837	Brown,	20,927		20,927	Fee	8-23-68	D4109-964
46838	Cormack, et ux	12,228	12,228	12,228	Fee	9-30-68	D4147-330
46839	Lauderdale, et ux	14,220		14,220	Fee	2-17-69	D4280-543
46840	Wood, et ux	17,600		17,600	Fee	7-9-68	D4058-704
46841	Gearhart	12,320		12,320	Fee	4-7-69	D4330-151
46842	Haskin	14,080		14,080	Fee	5-20-68	D4006-192
46843	Neighb. Church of Pasad.	85,000		85,000	Fee	7-28-69	D4447-390
46844	Singer Park Bldg Corp	24,250		24,250	Fee	2-4-69	D4269-71
46845	Mitsumori, et ux	25,802		25,802	Fee	1-2-69	D4239-910
46847	Shelton, et ux	22,344		22,344	Fee	8-29-68	D4115-670
47380	C. Maitland	237		237	Fee	5-28-68	D4014-712
▲ 49328	Pickell, et ux	21,330	13,166	21,330	Fee	12-22-69	D4587-950
▲ 49329	McCoy	8,674		8,674	Fee	12-17-70	D4635-62
49330-1	Bartle	5,292		21,000	Fee		
49330-2	"	2,742		"	Temp. Ease.		
◆ 46848	Hines, et ux	25,487	11,446	25,487	Fee	4-1-70	D-4672-945
49505	McINERNY	560		16,780	Ease.		
49506	NEIL	889		10,665	Ease.		
49507	JERVEY	379		11,184	Ease.		
◆ 49508	RIDDELL	744		19,950	Ease.		
46846 (FIRST)	M. Alfers, et ux.				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-612
46846 (SECOND)	R. La Rue				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-618
46846 (THIRD)	D. Wall				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-608
46846 (FOURTH)	W. Bauer, et ux.				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-614
46846 (FIFTH)	R. Tabor				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-618
46846 (SIXTH)	M. Colton, et ux.				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-622
46846 (SEVENTH)	W. Gilmour				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-620
46846 (EIGHTH)	E. Waupel				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-624
46846 (NINTH)	B. Birdsall, et ux.				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-630
46846 (TENTH)	T. Mathews, et ux.				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-626
46846 (ELEVENTH)	M. Bishop, et al.				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-632
46846 (TWELFTH)	A. Dettre				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-610
46846 (THIRTEENTH)	D. Edward, et al.				Fee	10-18-68	D4167-628
60884	Keith	435		22,680	Ease		
68923	G. Westin	696		27,000	Fee		
68924	M. Worthington	1,854		42,000	Fee		
68942	F. Graff	324		36,000	Fee		
D-46848	State to M.S. Keith					D.D. 3-23-73	D-5805-253
D-49328	McInerny					D.D. 3-27-74	D-6213-662

▲ Excess Includes Area of Easement

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F-1214-14

FOR CONTINUATION SEE MAP NO. F1534-6

ISSUE DATE	
B.J.K.	6-2-67
B.J.K.	6-29-67
J.N.S.	8-23-68
K.S.	10-11-68
H.A.B.	9-17-69
J.V.	11-3-71
E.P.	2-9-73
D.M.T.	7-12-12
K.H.	12-23-13

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
TRANSPORTATION AGENCY — DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS

R/W MAP
NO. F-1214-15 SHT 16 OF 16

07-LA-7-32.1

50 0 50

FILE NO. 1S196-C(1 17)
DATE 6-1-67
RWPE TOMITA
SR BERG

LEGEND: ACCESS DENIED ✦ EXCLUDES STREET AREA
* AREA IN SQUARE FEET UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED
( ) PREVIOUS RECORD DATA

For Continuation See Map F1534-6

BPR REG NO	STATE	FEDERAL PROJECT NO.	EFFECTIVE DATE	SHEET NO	TOTAL SHEETS
7	CALIF			6	8

DISTRICT R/W AGENT BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS DATE

CARLISLE HEIGHTS

M.R. 28-II

MARKHAM PL.

ST. JOHN ST.

RE-SUBDIVISION OF LA FUENTE PLACE

M.R. 34-85

CARLISLE HEIGHTS

M.R. 34-46

H. H. MARKHAM TRACT

PASADENA AVE.

CITY OF PASADENA

M.R. 10-96

FORSTER (VAC.) ALLEY

LA FUENTE (VAC.) ALLEY

LA FUENTE PLACE 2

M.R. 10-93

FAIRMOUNT AVE.

BELLEFONTAINE STREET

OVERCROSSING

PLAT OF H. HILL'S SUBDIVISION

M.R. 9-63

BARCLAY ALLEY

See F1534-6

For Continuation See Map F1534-4

PARCEL NO.	GRANTOR OR GRANTEE	AREA * ACQ.	EXCESS	TOTAL	INST	RECORDING DATA DATE	OR
68919-1	STEVENS	96		22,834			
68920-1	SIMPSON	303		21,495			
68921-1	PHILLIPS	514		44,815			
68922-1	HUNTINGTON HOSP.	435		9.793Ac.			
68800-1	BRAUNE	437		43,822			
68800-2	BRAUNE	881				Temp. Gr. Ease.	
68919-2	STEVENS	406		406			
68920-2	SIMPSON	421		421			

ISSUE DATE
10-21-74 LK
11-15-74

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
TRANSPORTATION AGENCY — DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
DIVISION OF HIGHWAYS

R/W MAP
NO. F1534-5
07-LA-7-31.8

50 0 50

R.W.P.E. Dunn — DATE 2-28-73
SR. Moseley

LEGEND: ACCESS DENIED ✦ EXCLUDES STREET AREA
* AREA IN SQUARE FEET UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED
( ) PREVIOUS RECORD DATA

Now Lot heads in 1992

Architectural
Resources Group

Appendix B: Right of Way Map Listings

Source: Division of Highways Right-of-Way Maps

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-4	C5624	Nakamura	8/4/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5625	Kodama, et ux	3/20/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5626	Yamashita, et ux	3/21/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5627	Brand	6/22/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5628	Huber	4/11/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5629	Inovye	1/16/1968	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5630-C5630-1	1st African Church	12/21/1966	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5634	Fletcher, et ux	3/3/1967	Kensington Pl. / Millard Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5635	Carino	2/10/1967	Millard Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5636	Holtz, et ux	2/28/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5638	Junius, et ux	2/10/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5639	Ramirez	8/4/1967	Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5640	Williams, et ux	4/3/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5641	Castleton, et ux	2/28/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5642	Cosmopolitan Realty	3/24/1967	Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5643	Koch, et ux	2/3/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5644	Taylor, et ux	5/15/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5645	Lewis, et ux	2/28/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5646	Yamaoka. et al	4/21/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5647	Yamaoka. et al	4/25/1967	Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5648	Pasadena Union Presbyterian Church	6/12/1967	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5650	Milton	2/14/1967	Vernon Ave. / Mary St.		Fee

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-4	C5651	Ozawa, et ux	3/6/1967	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5653	Pollak, et al	1/5/1968	Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5654	Dagley, et al	12/7/1967	Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5655	Rubalcava	3/13/1968	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5656	I.J.S. Caton	1/23/1968	Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5657	Bishop, et al	3/26/1968	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5658	McAdam, et ux	10/6/1967	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5659	Stewart, et ux	6/25/1968	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5661	Corralez, et ux	2/28/1967	Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5662	Dyo, et al	4/13/1967	Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5663	Sunairi	2/14/1967	Vernon Ave. / Mary St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5664	Ray	11/1/1968	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5665	Valenzuela, et ux	3/10/1967	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5666	Drake, Jr. et ux	5/1/1968	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5666-1	Drake, Jr. et ux	Not listed	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5667	L. LeMay, et ux	9/21/1967	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5668	Alleruzzo	2/14/1967	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5669	Fletcher, et ux	3/22/1967	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	C5670	Kelley, et ux	6/8/1967	Walnut St. / Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	46792	Nishi	4/22/1968	Millard Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	46793	Whealan, et al	1/28/1970	Millard Ave.		Cond.
F-1214-4	46794	Gillbert, et al	1/28/1971	Millard Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	46795	Nickum	12/29/1967	Walnut St.		Fee

Source: Division of Highways Right-of-Way Maps

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-4	46796	Geiger, et ux	12/28/1967	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	46797	Byers	12/29/1967	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	46798	Garrison, et ux	5/7/1968	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	46799	Freeman, et ux	12/14/1967	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	144	C. McQuiston Leete	10/13/1950	Kensington Pl.		Fee
F-1214-4	154	City of Pasadena	10/16/1963	Holly St.		Fee
F-1214-4	48335	Hollinger	3/23/1972	Millard Ave.		Cond.
F-1214-4	48336	Carino	3/23/1972	Millard Ave.		Cond.
F-1214-4	48337	Miller	12/16/1971	Millard Ave.		Fee Cond.
F-1214-4	48338	Wright	3/19/1971	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	48339	White	6/9/1969	Walnut St.		Fee
F-1214-4	49615	Solano	3/18/1971	Walnut St.		Cond.
F-1214-4	49616	Thompson, et ux	3/3/1970	Millard Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	49617	Salazar	6/25/1970	Millard Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	62298	Chavez	8/17/1970	Millard Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	62299	DeWilde	8/20/1970	Millard Ave.		Fee
F-1214-4	DD46784 01-01	City of Pasadena	8/21/1975	Millard Ave.		DD
F-1214-4	REL. 901	City of Pasadena	6/2/1976	Walnut St.		REL.
F-1214-6	41735	Doolittle	11/15/1968	Holly Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41736	Johnson Motors Inc.	2/29/1968	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41737	Tschumy, et. ux.	3/21/1968	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41738	Saathoff	10/29/1968	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41739	Schmidt	3/13/1968	Vernon Ave.	132 Vernon	Fee
F-1214-6	41740	Gutierrez, et. Ux.	9/21/1967	Vernon Ave.	140 Vernon	Fee

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-6	41741	Daniel, et. Ux.	9/1/1967	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41742	Mears	3/25/1969	Mary Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41743	Boda Co.	5/15/1968	Mary Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41744	Buzek	3/25/1970	Holly Street	205 W. Holly	Fee
F-1214-6	41745	Monden	6/3/1968	Pasadena Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-6	41746	Fleming	11/2/1967	Pasadena Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-6	41747	United Cal. Bank	12/5/1967	Pasadena Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-6	41748	Nauls	8/17/1967	Pasadena Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-6	41749	Butler	6/4/1970	Pasadena Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-6	41750	Naungeyan, et. Ux.	9/14/1967	Mary Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41751	Skarie, et. Ux.	8/22/1967	Pasadena Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-6	41752	Arvizu	8/22/1967	Mary Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41753	Sanders, et. Ux.	9/29/1966	Pasadena Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-6	41754	Gates	10/31/1967	Pasadena Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-6	41755	Lee, et al	7/25/1968	Vernon Ave.	108 Vernon Ave.	Fee
F-1214-6	41756	Flanders	1/28/1969	Walnut Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41758	Cimino, et. Al.	4/17/1968	Walnut Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41759	Fields, et. Ux.	10/6/1967	Mary Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41760	Clay	10/3/1967	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41761	Cahn	1/3/1968	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41762	Croan	3/24/1969	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41763	Van Zandt	3/17/1969	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41764	Barnewalt	11/8/1967	Vernon Ave.		Fee
F-1214-6	41765	Reid	12/5/1967	Walnut Street		Fee
F-1214-6	41696-6	L.A. & S.L. R.R. Co.	12/15/1969	Mary Street		Q.C.

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-6	41996-7	L.A. & S.L. R.R. Co.	12/15/1969	Mary Street		Q.C.
F-1214-7	41716	Ambassador College	5/29/1969	St. John Ave.		Fee
F-1214-7	41717	Jones Desert Stone	10/31/1969	Green St.	215 Green St.	Fee
F-1214-7	41718	Isadore Kaplan (Capitol Salvage)	6/1/1970	Green St.	201 Green St.	Cond.
F-1214-7	41720	Tanaka	8/20/1969	Green St.		Fee
F-1214-7	41721	Pomeroy, et ux	7/14/1970	Clay St.		Fee
F-1214-7	41721-1	Pomeroy, et ux	7/14/1970	Clay St.		Fee
F-1214-7	41722	Leishman	8/14/1970	Syndicate Alley		Fee
F-1214-7	41723	Stasand, et ux	8/20/1968	Clay St.		Fee
F-1214-7	41723-1	Stasand, et ux	8/20/1970	Colorado Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-7	41724	Cohn	9/2/1969	Clay St.		Fee
F-1214-7	41725	Security First National Bank	11/18/1968	Colorado Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-7	41726	Fiore	2/19/1970	Colorado Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-7	41728	Union Oil Co.	8/5/1969	Colorado Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-7	41730 Par. 1-2	Throop, et ux	12/17/1968	Pasadena Ave.		Fee
F-1214-7	41731	Mathewson	7/12/1969	Pasadena Ave.		Fee
F-1214-7	41732	Ward	7/9/1968	Holly St.		Fee
F-1214-7	41733 Par. 1-2	Throop, et. Al.	12/17/1968	Holly St.		Fee
F-1214-7	41734	Wilks	5/13/1971	Colorado Blvd.		Cond.
F-1214-7	41696-2	L.A. & S.L. R.R. Co.	12/15/1969	Clay St.		Q.C.
F-1214-7	41696-3	L.A. & S.L. R.R. Co.	12/15/1969	Syndicate Alley		Q.C.
F-1214-7	41696-4	L.A. & S.L. R.R. Co.	12/15/1969	Colorado Blvd.		Q.C.
F-1214-7	41696-5	L.A. & S.L. R.R. Co.	12/15/1969	Colorado Blvd.		Q.C.
F-1214-7	49320-1	Carmelita Park Co.	4/6/1972	Holly St.		Fee

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-7	49320-2	Carmelita Park Co.	4/6/1972	Holly St.		Eas
F-1214-7	49320-3	Carmelita Park Co.	4/6/1972	Holly St.		Temp Eas
F-1214-7	49320-4	Carmelita Park Co.	4/6/1972	Holly St.		Eas
F-1214-7	DK49320-4	City of Pasadena	12/18/1975	St. John Ave.		Q.C.
F-1214-7	REL 903			SEE MAP F1214-5		
F-1214-8	60993	Texaco Inc.	2/3/1972	Colorado Blvd.		
F-1214-8	60988-1	Gulf Oil Corp	7/29/1971	Green Street		
F-1214-8	60988-2	Gulf Oil Corp	7/29/1971	Green Street		
F-1214-8	00-060990-01-01	Street to Ambassador College	5/9/1973	Green Street		
F-1214-8	00-060988-01-01	Street to Ambassador College	5/23/1973	Green Street		
F-1214-8	REL. 901	City of Pasadena	6/2/1976	Colorado Blvd.		
F-1214-8	REL.903			See Map F-1214-5		
F-1214-9	41710	Gottfeld, et. Ux.	6/15/1966	Grove St.		Fee
F-1214-9	41711	W. H. Bell	1/13/1972	Grove St.		Cond.
F-1214-9	41712	El Rancho Mkts.	1/3/1969	Pasadena Ave.		Fee
F-1214-9	41713	Orban Lumber Co.	9/15/1969	Pasadena Ave.	77 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-9	41714	Orban	9/15/1969	Pasadena Ave.		Fee
F-1214-9	41715	College (Ambassador)	5/29/1969	Green St.		Fee
F-1214-9	47209	Collins	2/16/1970	Grove St.		Cond.
F-1214-9	41707	Dugan, et. Ux.	5/2/1969	Grove St.	237 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-9	41708	Gerhart, Inc. (Gerhart Ray Inc. Bldg Contrs)	11/12/1968	Grove St.	231 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-9	41709	Mayweather	4/24/1969	Grove St.	213 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-9	41694	Ambassador College	7/3/1967	Del Mar Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-9	41696	L.A. & S.L. R.R. Co.	12/15/1969	Grove St.		Q.C.
F-1214-9	41696-1	L.A. & S.L. R.R. Co.	12/15/1969	Vernon Ave.		Q.C.
F-1214-9	41697	Hovsepian	9/20/1971	Del Mar Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-9	41698	Dakon-Adams Co.	6/3/1966	Grove St.		Fee
F-1214-9	41699	De Roussell	1/31/1966	Grove St.		Fee
F-1214-9	41700	Echols	10/3/1968	Del Mar Blvd.	203 W. Del Mar Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-9	41701	Allen	8/26/1968	Del Mar Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-9	41702	Oki	2/20/1969	Pasadena Ave.	267 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-9	41703	Hernandez	11/22/1968	Pasadena Ave.	251 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-9	41704	Hammond, et. Ux.	8/6/1968	Pasadena Ave.	249 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-9	41705	De Anda	7/16/1968	Pasadena Ave.		Fee
F-1214-9	41706	Smith, et. Ux.	4/1/1968	Grove St.		Fee
F-1214-14	45903	L.A. & S.L. Railway Co.	12/15/1969	Waverly Dr.		Q.C.
F-1214-14	45903-1	L.A. & S.L. Railway Co.	12/15/1969	Waverly Dr.		Q.C.
F-1214-14	46812-1	W. Buford Rayle, Braden's California Products	5/18/1970	Pasadena Ave.	315 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-14	46813-1	W. Buford Rayle, Braden's California Products	6/22/1970	Pasadena Ave.	315 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-14	46814-1	W. Buford Rayle, Braden's California Products	9/8/1970	Pasadena Ave.	315 S. Pasadena Ave.	Fee
F-1214-14	46815-1	Williams,	7/22/1970	Del Mar Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-14	46816	Orban Lumber Co.	10/22/1969	Del Mar Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-14	46817	Arbuckle,	4/29/1969	Waverly Dr.	231 Waverly Dr.	Fee

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-14	46818	Jackson,	7/17/1968	Waverly Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	46819	Ambassador College	5/17/1968	Waverly Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	46820	Bailey, et. Ux.	5/20/1968	Waverly Dr.	255 Waverly Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46821	Vroman, Incorp.	12/24/1968	Waverly Dr.	186 Waverly Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46822-1	Parril,	3/18/1969	Bellevue Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	46823	Fellows, et. Al.	8/13/1968	Havendale Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	46824-1	Berber, et. Ux.	8/6/1969	Havendale Dr.	376 Havendale Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46825-1	Smith.	9/16/1968	Havendale Dr.	386 Havendale Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46826-1	Sakahara, et. Ux.	11/12/1968	Havendale Dr.	400 Havendale Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46827-1	Kawashima, et. Ux.	10/3/1968	Havendale Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	46828-1	Burgess	7/23/1968	Bellevue Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	46829	Snook, et. Ux.	8/7/1968	Bellevue Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	46830	Fellows, Jr.	12/12/1968	Waverly Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	46831-1	Padua, et. Ux.	7/20/1968	Havendale Dr.	268 Waverly Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46832-1	Alvarez, et. Ux.	4/28/1970	Havendale Dr.	375 Havendale Dr.	Cond.
F-1214-14	46833-1	Cole, et. Ux.	7/12/1968	Havendale Dr.	385 Havendale Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46834-1	Nakahiro, et. Ux.	7/15/1968	Havendale Dr.	405 Havendale Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46835	Hinckley,	8/14/1968	Bellevue Dr.	255 Bellevue Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	46849-1	City of Pasadena	11/26/1969	Waverly Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	49321-1	Ambassador College		Del Mar Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-14	49321-2	Ambassador College		Del Mar Blvd.		Temp. Eas.
F-1214-14	49322	Magee,	6/23/1970	Waverly Dr.	265 Waverly Dr.	Fee
F-1214-14	49323	Williamson		Waverly Dr.	288 Waverly Dr.	Temp. Eas.
F-1214-14	49324-1	Kawashima,		Frontage Rd.		Fee
F-1214-14	49324-2	Kawashima,		Frontage Rd.		Temp. Eas.

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-14	49325-1	Ambassador College	10/30/1969	Gordon Terr.		Fee
F-1214-14	49325-2	Ambassador College	Consent	Gordon Terr.		Temp. Eas.
F-1214-14	49326-1	Suzuki		Gordon Terr.	406 Gordon Terr.	Fee
F-1214-14	49326-2	Suzuki		Gordon Terr.	406 Gordon Terr.	Temp. Eas.
F-1214-14	49327	McMahon	5/12/1969	Bellevue Dr.		Fee
F-1214-14	49321-3	Ambassador College		Waverly Dr.		Temp. Eas.
F-1214-14	60984-1	Ambassador College	7/19/1970	Del Mar Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-14	60984-2	Ambassador College		Del Mar Blvd.		Temp. Eas.
F-1214-14	DD 49327-01-01	AL TAMIMI	12/2/1974	Gordon Terr.		D.D.
F-1214-14	DD 46832-01-01	KAWASHIMA	8/5/1975	Gordon Terr.	376 Gordon Terr.	D.D.
F-1214-15	43402	C. MAITLAND et. Al.	5/28/1968	Palmetto Dr.		Fee
F-1214-15	45903-2	L.A. & S.L. Railway Co.	12/15/1969	Bellevue Dr.		Q.C.
F-1214-15	46836	Bennett, et. Ux.	2/20/1969	Bellevue Dr.	220 Bellevue Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46837	Brown,	8/23/1968	Palmetto Dr.	237 Palmetto Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46838	Carmack, et. Ux.	9/20/1968	Bellevue Dr.	250 Bellevue Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46839	Lauderdal, et. Ux.	2/17/1969	Palmetto Dr.	253 Palmetto Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46840	Wood, et. Ux.	7/9/1968	Palmetto Dr.	194 Palmetto Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46841	Gearhart	4/7/1969	Palmetto Dr.	206 Palmetto Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46842	Haskin	5/20/1968	Palmetto Dr.	216 Palmetto Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46843	Neighborhood Church of Pasadena	7/28/1969	Pasadena Blvd.	535 S. Pasadena Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46844	Singer Park Bldg. Cor.	2/4/1969	California Blvd.	225 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46845	Mitsumori, et. Ux.	1/2/1969	Palmetto Dr.	230 Palmetto Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	46847	Shelton, et. Ux.	8/29/1968	Palmetto Dr.		Fee
F-1214-15	47380	C. Maitland	5/28/1968	Bellevue Dr.		Fee

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-15	49328	Pickeli, et. Ux.	12/22/1969	Bellevue Dr.		Fee
F-1214-15	49329	McCoy	12/17/1970	Palmetto Dr.	269 Palmetto Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	49330-1	Bartle		California Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-15	49330-2	Bartle		California Blvd.		Temp. Ease.
F-1214-15	46848	Hines, et. Ux.	4/1/1970	California Blvd.	260 Palmetto Dr.	Fee
F-1214-15	49505	McInerny		Bellevue Dr.		Ease.
F-1214-15	49506	Neil		Palmetto Dr.	275 Palmetto Dr.	Ease.
F-1214-15	49507	Jervey		Palmetto Dr.	285 Palmetto Dr.	Ease.
F-1214-15	49508	Riddell		Palmetto Dr.	274 Palmetto Dr.	Ease.
F-1214-15	46846-1	M. Alfers, et. Ux.	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-2	R. La Rue	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-3	D. Wall	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-4	W. Bauer, et. Ux.	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-5	R. Tabor	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-6	M. Colton, et. Ux.	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-7	W. Gilmour	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-8	E. Vaupel	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-9	B. Birdsall, et. Ux.	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-10	T. Mathews, et. Ux.	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-11	M. Bishop, et. Al.	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-12	A. Dettre	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	46846-13	D. Edward, et. Al.	10/18/1968	California Blvd.	245 W. California Blvd.	Fee
F-1214-15	60884	Keith		Palmetto Dr.	284 Palmetto Dr.	Ease.
F-1214-15	68923	G. Westin		California Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-15	68924	M. Worthington		California Blvd.		Fee

Map No.	Parcel No.	Grantor/Grantee	Recording Date	Street	Street Address	Purchase Type
F-1214-15	68942	F. Graff		California Blvd.		Fee
F-1214-15	D-46848	State to M.S. Keith	3/23/1973	Palmetto Dr.	245 W. Palmetto Dr.	D.D.
F-1214-15	D-49328	McInerny	3/27/1974	Bellevue Dr.	245 W. Bellevue Dr.	D.D.
F1534-5	68919-1	Stevens	Not listed	Bellefontaine St.		Not listed
F1534-5	68920-1	Simpson	Not listed	Bellefontaine St.		Not listed
F1534-5	68920-2	Simpson	Not listed	Bellefontaine St.		Not listed
F1534-5	68800-1	Braune	Not listed	Bellefontaine St.	156 Bellefontaine St.	Not listed
F1534-5	68800-2	Braune	Not listed	Bellefontaine St.		Temp. Gr. Ease.

Architectural
Resources Group

Appendix C: City of Pasadena City Directory Listings, 1966-1968

No.	Street	Number	Last Name/Business or Institution Name	First Name	Building Type	Source	Notes
1	Bellefontaine St.	156	Yamato	Chiyo Mrs.	Residential	1968 City Directory	Oral histories have revealed that these residents were displaced due to construction related to Huntington Hospital, even though they are in the relinquishment area
2	Bellefontaine St.	172	Slack	A. Bruce	Residential	1968 City Directory	
3	Bellefontaine St.	182	Guerrero	Carlos M.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
4	Bellefontaine St.	196	Yovanovich	Allan J.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
5	Bellefontaine St.	234	Burnham	John R.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
6	Grove St.	205	Peerless Sheet Metal Works		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
7	Grove St.	210	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
8	Grove St.	212	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
9	Grove St.	214	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
10	Grove St.	221	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
11	Grove St.	254	Not Listed	Not Listed	Vacant/Unknown	Sanborn	
12	Grove St.	204	Echols	Carl L.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
13	Grove St.	204 1/2	Johnson	Ida	Residential	1968 City Directory	
14	Grove St.	206	Lewis	Delton	Residential	1968 City Directory	
15	Grove St.	208	Roussell	William	Residential	1966 City Directory	
16	Grove St.	210	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
17	Grove St.	221	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
18	Havendale Dr.	375	Alvarez	Felix J.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
19	Havendale Dr.	376	Berber	Jack	Residential	1968 City Directory	
20	Havendale Dr.	385	Cole	Gordon	Residential	1968 City Directory	
21	Havendale Dr.	386	Smith	Rose M.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
22	Havendale Dr.	400	Sakahara	Henry H.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
23	Havendale Dr.	405	Nakahiro	Toshio	Residential	1968 City Directory	
24	Havendale Dr.	410	Kane	John A.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
25	Havendale Dr.	420	Snook	James E.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
26	N. Pasadena Ave.	47	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
27	N. Pasadena Ave.	49	Michaels	Ola	Residential	1966 City Directory	
28	N. Pasadena Ave.	51	Morris	Sadie	Residential	1966 City Directory	
29	N. Pasadena Ave.	55	Geo L. Throop Company Yard		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
30	N. Pasadena Ave.	71	Bill's Beech Inn Tavern		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
31	N. Vernon Ave	172	Wallace LR Co Roller & Conveyor	Vacant	Commercial	1966 City Directory	
32	N. Vernon Ave	186	Croan Engineering Co. Plastic Mfg		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
33	N. Vernon Ave	198	Northside Metal Products, Screw Machine Products		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
34	N. Vernon Ave	200	Evans	Ethel	Residential	1968 City Directory	
35	N. Vernon Ave	214	Vaughn	Ed Jr.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
36	N. Vernon Ave	250	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
37	N. Vernon Ave	258	Allen	Emmanuel B.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
38	N. Vernon Ave	260	Wright	Estelle L. Mrs.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
39	N. Vernon Ave	266	Wright	Estelle Mrs.	Residential	1968 City Directory	

No.	Street	Number	Last Name/Business or Institution Name	First Name	Building Type	Source	Notes
40	N. Vernon Ave	273	Wilson	Lucille	Residential	1968 City Directory	
41	N. Vernon Ave	273	Williams	Joan	Residential	1968 City Directory	
42	N. Vernon Ave	274	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1968 City Directory	
43	N. Vernon Ave	276	Woods	Henrietta	Residential	1967 City Directory	
44	N. Vernon Ave.	148	Obazawa	Hoshitane	Residential	1968 City Directory	
45	Palmetto Dr.	194	Wood	John E. Jr.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
46	Palmetto Dr.	196	McMullen	David	Residential	1968 City Directory	
47	Palmetto Dr.	206	Gearhart	Edna	Residential	1968 City Directory	
48	Palmetto Dr.	215	Vacant		Residential	1966 City Directory	
49	Palmetto Dr.	216	Haskin	John M.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
50	Palmetto Dr.	230	Mitsumori	John M.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
51	Palmetto Dr.	237	Brown	Barbara M.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
52	Palmetto Dr.	244	Gray	Robert L.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
53	Palmetto Dr.	253	Lauderdale	Robert V.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
54	Palmetto Dr.	260	Hines	Wilson S.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
55	S. Pasadena Ave.	29	Kunelogic Coprp. MFG Magnetic Tape Recorders		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
56	S. Pasadena Ave.	33	Birnie F.W. Co. Inc. Auto Parts		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
57	S. Pasadena Ave.	55	Dud's Auto Service Repair		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
58	S. Pasadena Ave.	77	Orban Lumber Co.		Industrial	1968 City Directory	
59	S. Pasadena Ave.	205	Epoxycon MFG Chemicals		Industrial	1968 City Directory	
60	S. Pasadena Ave.	213	Mayweather	Arthur	Residential	1968 City Directory	
61	S. Pasadena Ave.	231	Gerhart Ray Inc. Building Contractors		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
62	S. Pasadena Ave.	235	Humpries	Brinkie C.	Residential	1963 City Directory	
63	S. Pasadena Ave.	237	Dugan	Robert	Residential	1968 City Directory	
64	S. Pasadena Ave.	241	Casteneda	Tomasa G.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
65	S. Pasadena Ave.	249	Hammond	Charlie A.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
66	S. Pasadena Ave.	249 1/2	Sims	Ethel	Residential	1968 City Directory	
67	S. Pasadena Ave.	251	Hernandez	Albert S.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
68	S. Pasadena Ave.	267	Miyo	Oki	Residential	1968 City Directory	
69	S. Pasadena Ave.	275	The Green Buck Restaurant		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
70	S. Pasadena Ave.	299	Cooper	Rufus	Residential	1963 City Directory	
71	S. Pasadena Ave.	315	Braden's California Products		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
72	S. Pasadena Ave.	335	Litho Chemical & Supply Co.		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
73	S. Pasadena Ave.	367	Vroman's California School Book Depository		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
74	S. Pasadena Ave.	421	Current Control Devices		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
75	S. Pasadena Ave.	535	Neighborhood Church of Pasadena/Sugar Tree Nursery School		Institutional	1968 City Directory	
76	S. Pasadena Ave.	551	Young	Fred	Residential	1968 City Directory	
77	S. Pasadena Ave.	866	Luttrell	Lena M.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
78	S. Vernon Ave	30	Peter Satori Coach Works		Commercial	1966 City Directory	
79	S. Vernon Ave	120	Union Pacific Railroad freight station		Commercial	1967 City Directory	
80	S. Vernon Ave	254	Lewis	Anna	Residential	1960 City Directory	

No.	Street	Number	Last Name/Business or Institution Name	First Name	Building Type	Source	Notes
81	S. Vernon Ave	260	Imperial Schools		Institutional	1967 City Directory	
82	S. Vernon Ave	266	Corbin	Beatrice	Residential	1960 City Directory	
83	S. Vernon Ave	268	Johnson	Charles	Residential	1960 City Directory	
84	S. Vernon Ave	272	Winbush	Vera	Residential	1960 City Directory	
85	S. Vernon Ave	282	Not Listed	Not Listed	Vacant/Unknown	Sanborn	
86	W. Bellevue Dr.	215	Henderson	Countess	Residential	1968 City Directory	
87	W. Bellevue Dr.	220	Bennett	Paul (int. designer)	Residential	1968 City Directory	
88	W. Bellevue Dr.	250	Carmak	James A.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
89	W. California Blvd.	215	Neighborhood House Parish Hall		Institutional	1968 City Directory	
90	W. California Blvd.	225A	Boren	Jack S.	Residential	1968 City Directory	Singer Park Apartments; single apartment building with 225-227
91	W. California Blvd.	225B	Cristy	Sumner L..	Residential	1968 City Directory	
92	W. California Blvd.	225C	Gross	Katherine	Residential	1968 City Directory	
93	W. California Blvd.	225D	Goodchild	John	Residential	1968 City Directory	Singer Park Apartments; single apartment building with 225-227
94	W. California Blvd.	227A	Bartow	Benjamin F.	Residential	1968 City Directory	Singer Park Apartments; single apartment building with 225-227
95	W. California Blvd.	227B	Hall	William	Residential	1968 City Directory	
96	W. California Blvd.	229A	Ruger	D.	Residential	1968 City Directory	Single apartment building with 229-231-233
97	W. California Blvd.	229B	Drachman	Helene S.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
98	W. California Blvd.	229C	Mercer	Lura A.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
99	W. California Blvd.	229D	Vacant	Vacant	Residential	1966 City Directory	
100	W. California Blvd.	231	Klapper	Ivis M.V. Mrs.	Residential	1968 City Directory	Single apartment building with 229-231-233
101	W. California Blvd.	233	Hoesley	R.F.	Residential	1968 City Directory	Single apartment building with 229-231-233
102	W. California Blvd.	245-1	Smith	George	Residential	1968 City Directory	
103	W. California Blvd.	245-2	La Rue	Roberta	Residential	1968 City Directory	
104	W. California Blvd.	245-3	Wall	David A.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
105	W. California Blvd.	245-4	Bauer	William F.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
106	W. California Blvd.	245-5	Tabor	Henry W.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
107	W. California Blvd.	245-6	Bornes	J.W.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
108	W. California Blvd.	245-7	Bracken	Glenda	Residential	1968 City Directory	
109	W. California Blvd.	245-8	Vaupel	Edith M.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
110	W. California Blvd.	245-9	Birsdall	Bergen Rev.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
111	W. California Blvd.	245-10	Mathews	Thomas E.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
112	W. California Blvd.	245-11	No return	No return	Residential	1968 City Directory	
113	W. California Blvd.	245-12	Bishop	Maitland L.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
114	W. California Blvd.	245-13	Not Listed	Not Listed	Residential	1968 City Directory	
115	W. California Blvd.	245-14	Dettre	Adeline	Residential	1968 City Directory	
116	W. California Blvd.	245-15	Edwards	Doris	Residential	1968 City Directory	
117	W. California Blvd.	257	Herzig	Nettie	Residential	1968 City Directory	
118	W. Clay St.	211	Pasadena Brake Bond Co. Inc.		Commercial	1968 City Directory	

No.	Street	Number	Last Name/Business or Institution Name	First Name	Building Type	Source	Notes
119	W. Clay St.	211	Reconditioned Brake Shoes		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
120	W. Clay St.	235	Ambassador College Building and Grounds Department		Institutional	1968 City Directory	
121	W. Colorado Blvd.	200	German Cars Sales and Service/Car Dealership New		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
122	W. Colorado Blvd.	205	Union Pacific Railroad Company ticket office		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
123	W. Colorado Blvd.	212	King-Sport Line Co Sporting Goods Mfg		Commercial	1966 City Directory	
124	W. Colorado Blvd.	238	Aero Mayflower Transit Company, Orth Mayflower Van and Storage		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
125	W. Colorado Blvd.	244	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
126	W. Colorado Blvd.	245	Jack Wall Chevrolet Auto Dealership		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
127	W. Colorado Blvd.	246	Bill's Coffee Shop and Restaurant		Commercial	1966 City Directory	
128	W. Colorado Blvd.	254	Thale Engineering Corp Auto Air Conditioning		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
129	W. Del Mar Blvd.	203	Echols	Carl L.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
130	W. Del Mar Blvd.	210	King Sport-Line Co.		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
131	W. Del Mar Blvd.	219	Ambassador College Circulation Annex		Institutional	1968 City Directory	
132	W. Del Mar Blvd.	244	Martinez	Amelia	Residential	1968 City Directory	
133	W. Del Mar Blvd.	280	Imperial School		Institutional	1966 City Directory	
134	W. Del Mar Blvd.	281	Student Dormitory		Institutional	1966 City Directory	
135	W. Del Mar Blvd.	283	Under Construction		Institutional	1966 City Directory	
136	W. Del Mar Blvd.	300	Tilton	Georgia A.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
137	W. Del Mar Blvd.	320	Rothe	Louis G.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
138	W. Green St.	181	Pasagreen Body & Fender Shop		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
139	W. Green St.	201	Capitol Salvage Co		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
140	W. Green St.	215	H.A. Jones Desert Stone		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
141	Waverly Dr.	186	Vroman's (A C Inc) (retail purchasing office)		Commercial	1967 City Directory	
142	Waverly Dr.	194	Lyons & Carnahan Publishers		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
143	Waverly Dr.	231	Arbuckle	Eliz	Residential	1968 City Directory	
144	Waverly Dr.	237	Phillips	Thelma	Residential	1968 City Directory	
145	Waverly Dr.	238	Friedman	Raymond	Residential	1968 City Directory	
146	Waverly Dr.	255	Bailey	Harrison	Residential	1967 City Directory	
147	N Pasadena Ave.	*55*	Throop Geo L Co (Yard)		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
148	N Pasadena Ave.	71	Bill's Beech Inn Tavern		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
149	N Pasadena Ave.	109	Clark	Anita M Mrs.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
150	N Pasadena Ave.	109 1/2	Zackerman	Laureen	Residential	1968 City Directory	
151	N Pasadena Ave.	111	Hinojos	Antonia Mrs.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
152	N Pasadena Ave.	119	Tanaka	Kinai	Residential	1966 City Directory	
153	N Pasadena Ave.	125	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1967 City Directory	
154	N Pasadena Ave.	133	Johnson Tank & Tower (WHSE Metal Division)		Commercial	1967 City Directory	
155	N Pasadena Ave.	143	Williams	Alice	Residential	1967 City Directory	
156	N Pasadena Ave.	145	Vacant	Vacant	Vacant/Unknown	1966 City Directory	
157	N Pasadena Ave.	151	Nobco MFG Metal Parts		Commercial	1966 City Directory	
158	N Pasadena Ave.	165	Escobedo	Frank	Residential	1967 City Directory	
159	N Pasadena Ave.	171	Skarie	Louis L	Residential	1967 City Directory	

No.	Street	Number	Last Name/Business or Institution Name	First Name	Building Type	Source	Notes
160	N Pasadena Ave.	183	The Allen Company - Kitchens Custom Made		Commercial	1966 City Directory	
161	N Pasadena Ave.	191	Anderson's Chet Furn Repair / Anderson Chet C Cabt Mkr		Commerical	1967 City Directory	
162	N Pasadena Ave.	193-1	MC Nish	Jane L	Residential	1967 City Directory	
163	N Pasadena Ave.	193-2	No Return		Vacant/Unknown	1967 City Directory	
164	N Pasadena Ave.	193-3	Wagner	Hedwig	Residential	1967 City Directory	
165	N Pasadena Ave.	193-4	Gasonkos	Frank	Residential	1967 City Directory	
166	N Pasadena Ave.	193-5	Chattman	David	Residential	1967 City Directory	
167	N Pasadena Ave.	193-6	Valdovinos	Jesus	Residential	1967 City Directory	
168	W. Holly St.	200	Ward Service Auto Repair		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
169	W. Holly St.	204	Throop Geo L Co Bldg Sup		Industrial	1968 City Directory	
170	W. Holly St.	205	Buzek	Matilda G Mrs. Clarence M Piano Teacher	Residential	1968 City Directory	
171	W. Holly St.	217	Davis Cabinet Co, Cave's Plywood Service, Pasadena Brick & Tile Co., Crown City Paving Co.		Industrial	1968 City Directory	
172	W. Holly St.	223	Foothill Home Service Electric Appliances		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
173	W. Holly St.	309-1	Talbot	Bob	Residential	1967 City Directory	
174	W. Holly St.	309-2	Teller	Don	Residential	1967 City Directory	
175	W. Holly St.	309-3	Lewis	Ernest	Residential	1967 City Directory	
176	W. Holly St.	309-4	Talbot Jr	Robrt	Residential	1966 City Directory	
177	W. Holly St.	309-5	Villalobos	James	Residential	1967 City Directory	
178	W. Holly St.	309-6	Young	Jessie	Residential	1966 City Directory	
179	W. Holly St.	309-7	Lau	H H	Residential	1967 City Directory	
180	W. Holly St.	309-8	Garcia	James	Residential	1966 City Directory	
181	Mary St.	195	Naungavan	Dimas R	Residential	1967 City Directory	
182	Mary St.	201	Arvizu	Mary	Residential	1967 City Directory	
183	Mary St.	212	Bada Company Metal Products		Industrial	1963 City Directory	Listed under 210 Mary Street
184	Mary St.	249	Roselawn (or Roselane) Pottery		Commercial	1967 City Directory	
185	Mary St.	250	Jimmy's Lawnmower Shop		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
186	Mary St.	253	Clay Eug Painter Contractor		Commercial	1967 City Directory	
187	Mary St.	283	Gonzalez	Javier	Residential	1967 City Directory	
188	Mary St.	285	Gonzalez	Manuel	Residential	1967 City Directory	
189	Mary St.	285 1/2	Yamaguchi	I. Iwazo	Residential	1967 City Directory	
190	Mary St.	291	De La Vega	Bernandino	Residential	1967 City Directory	
191	Mary St.	293	Mercado	Lupe	Residential	1967 City Directory	
192	Mary St.	301	Orth's Mayflower Van & Storage.		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
193	Mary St.	312	Amado	Amparo	Residential	1967 City Directory	
194	Mary St.	320	Love	Maggie M.	Residential	1963 City Directory	
195	Mary St.	336	Brown	Earl	Residential	1967 City Directory	
196	Mary St.	339	Walker	Wm	Residential	1967 City Directory	
197	Mary St.	342	Kidd	Tessie	Residential	1967 City Directory	

No.	Street	Number	Last Name/Business or Institution Name	First Name	Building Type	Source	Notes
198	Kensington Pl.	305	Pasadena Union Presbyterian Church		Institutional	1968 City Directory	
199	Kensington Pl.	311	Yamaoka	Masawo	Residential	1967 City Directory	
200	Kensington Pl.	319	Patton	Eug S.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
201	Kensington Pl.	327	Ralston	Tracy T.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
202	Kensington Pl.	329	Daily	Mrs. Theresa E.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
203	Kensington Pl.	335	Clark	Earl	Residential	1967 City Directory	
204	Kensington Pl.	345	Busch	Corita	Residential	1966 City Directory	
205	Kensington Pl.	296	Inouye	James K.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
206	Kensington Pl.	304	Huber	Helene T.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
207	Kensington Pl.	316	Yamashita	James E.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
208	Kensington Pl.	322	Kodama	Takao	Residential	1967 City Directory	
209	Kensington Pl.	342	Nakamura	Richard T.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
210	N Vernon Ave.	105	Williams	EDW P	Residential	1967 City Directory	
211	N Vernon Ave.	117	First African American Methodist Episcopal Church		Institutional	1968 City Directory	
212	N Vernon Ave.	108	Lee	Evelyn Mrs.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
213	N Vernon Ave.	116	Cal-Swiss MFG Co Inc Precision Instruments		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
214	N Vernon Ave.	124	Wm A Saathoff Real Estate		Commercial	1966 City Directory	
215	N Vernon Ave.	132	Schmidt	Petra R Mrs.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
216	N Vernon Ave.	140	Gutierrez	Trinidad G	Residential	1968 City Directory	
217	N Vernon Ave.	148	Obazawa	Hoshitane	Residential	1968 City Directory	
218	N Vernon Ave.	172	Wallace L R Co Roller & Conveyor MFR		Industrial	1967 City Directory	
219	N Vernon Ave.	186	Croan Engineering Co. Plastic Mfg		Industrial	1968 City Directory	
220	N Vernon Ave.	198	Northside Metal Products, Screw Machine Products		Industrial	1968 City Directory	
221	N Vernon Ave.	200	Evans	Ethel Mrs	Residential	1968 City Directory	
222	N Vernon Ave.	214	Vaughn	Ed Jr.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
223	N Vernon Ave.	145	Ozawa	Harris H.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
224	N Vernon Ave.	153	No return		Vacant/Unknown	1967 City Directory	
225	N Vernon Ave.	163	Sunairi	Shigeru	Residential	1967 City Directory	
226	N Vernon Ave.	175	Ray Fitting & Bolt Co.		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
227	N Vernon Ave.	189	Valenzuela	Rudolph L.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
228	N Vernon Ave.	195	Cooley	Jessie	Residential	1967 City Directory	
229	N Vernon Ave.	217 -1	Dashniell	Dorothy	Residential	1966 City Directory	
230	N Vernon Ave.	217 -2	Chavez	Lorenza	Residential	1967 City Directory	
231	N Vernon Ave.	217 -3	Fox	Richard	Residential	1967 City Directory	
232	N Vernon Ave.	217 -4	Emerson	Raymond	Residential	1967 City Directory	
233	N Vernon Ave.	217 -5	Emerson	Raymond	Residential	1967 City Directory	
234	N Vernon Ave.	217 -6	Dashiell	Dorothy J.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
235	N Vernon Ave.	217 -7	Vacant	Vacant	Residential	1966 City Directory	
236	N Vernon Ave.	217 -8	Solario	Peter R.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
237	N Vernon Ave.	217 -9	Vacant	Vacant	Residential	1966 City Directory	
238	N Vernon Ave.	217 -10	Vacant	Vacant	Residential	1966 City Directory	

No.	Street	Number	Last Name/Business or Institution Name	First Name	Building Type	Source	Notes
239	W. Walnut St.	209	Hendricks	Mary Mrs.	Residential	1967 City Directory	
240	W. Walnut St.	210	Pitts	Willie	Residential	1967 City Directory	
241	W. Walnut St.	211	Sanders	Veisie L	Residential	1968 City Directory	
242	W. Walnut St.	215	Lawler	Marie C Mrs.	Residential	1968 City Directory	
243	W. Walnut St.	231	Huerta	Joseph	Residential	1968 City Directory	
244	W. Walnut St.	231 1/2	Huerta	Manuel	Residential	1968 City Directory	
245	W. Walnut St.	240	Roberts	Wilfred	Residential	1968 City Directory	
246	W. Walnut St.	250	Bailey	Aurelius	Residential	1968 City Directory	
247	W. Walnut St.	254	Golden Market Grocery		Commercial	1967 City Directory	
248	W. Walnut St.	270	Big-O Liquors		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
249	W. Walnut St.	282	Sanchez	Mrs. Louise	Residential	1967 City Directory	
250	W. Walnut St.	288	Laurent	Mercy	Residential	1964 City Directory	
251	W. Walnut St.	318	Lee's Welding Store		Commercial	1968 City Directory	
252	W. Walnut St.	326	Martin	Louis	Residential	1968 City Directory	
253	W. Walnut St.	340	Bishop	John D.	Residential	1967 City Directory	

Architectural
Resources Group

Appendix D: Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps

(SEA)

PASADENA, CAL. VOL. 2.

242

(25-26-28 VOL. 1)

CAL. . . 069

WINONA AV. | CYPRESS AV. | N. DE LACEY (DELACY) | N. FAIR OAKS AV. | N. VERNON AV. | MILLARD AV.

W. WALNUT | MARY | ROSEMONT AV. | N. VERNON AV. | E. WALNUT | PACIFIC PL. | KENSINGTON PL.

244 | 264 | 243 | 223 | 203 | 204 | 265 | 241 | 202 | 201

2207 (34)

2208

2204

2203

THE SALVATION ARMY PASADENA CITADEL CORPS

GYMNASIUM

AUDITORIUM 1½ STY. OFFICES 2ND

LAYNE MEMORIAL TABERNACLE

SOCIAL HALL & D

OPEN BIBLE CHURCH

SCOTT M.E. CHURCH

AUDITORIUM WALLS BUTTRESSED

6-APTS

LODGINGS

9 APT'S

AUTO REPR

2-F

3-F

2 FLATS

4 FLATS

6 APTS

GENERAL STORAGE

HOUSEHOLD GOODS STORAGE

AUTO STORAGE

ORTH VAN & STORAGE CO.

ORTH ALLEY

MACH. SHOP

UNION PRESBYN CHURCH

Fire Proof Construction.

THESE SECTIONS REINFD CONC. & TILE

THESE SECTIONS REINFD CONC & BR.

CALE 50 FEET ONE INCH

Copyright 1931 by the Sanborn Map Co.

243

(20-26 VOL. 1)

CAL. . . 069

265

N. VERNON AV.

266

N. PASADENA AV.

WINONA AV.

244

242

N. VERNON AV.

W. WALNUT

2308

2312

2206

2207 (34)

201

MARY

203

242

(155)

(156)

(157)

Sewer

16" W Pipe

6" W Pipe

4" W Pipe

8" W Pipe

DH.

FA

Gas & Oil

Lumber Stge

Equipment Stge Yard

Plaster & Wire Storage

Pottery Mfg

Lodgings

Auto Repg

Offs.

Flats

Stge

Sidg

Off.

Ho. Ct.

Gar.

2-F

q-Flats

6 Apts

R. 265 N. Pasadena

R. 273 Pasadena

R. 279 N. Pasadena

R. 285 N. Pasadena

R. 252 Pasadena

R. 210 N. Pasadena

R. 291 Winona Av.

R. 337 Winona

R. 373 Winona Av.

R. 385 Winona

243

203

W. UNION

CHRISTIANSEN ALLEY

8"W. PIPE

N. PASADENA AV.

8"W. PIPE

D.H.

8"W.P.

6"W.P.

D.H. OPP.

MARY

213

METAL WKG.

REINF. C. B.

CONC. FL.

LUMBER YARD

WOODWKG.

PAINTG

2108

LBR. & WOODWKG.

LBR. PRODUCTS STGE.

OFF.

STGE.

W. HOLLY

(36)

AUTO REPG. CONC. FL.

148A

MACH. SHOP

CONC. FL.

R. 148 VERNON

R. 116 VERNON

148

140 VERNON

132

124 N. VERNON

116

108 VERNON

(100) N. VERNON

242

6"W. PIPE

D.H. OPP.

F.A.

KENSINGTON PL.

1ST A.M.E. CHURCH

HEAT. GAS RFD LIGHTS ELEC WOOD TRUSS RF.

2106

8 - APTS.

R. 310 KENSINGTON

R. 296 KENSINGTON

4"W. PIPE

50'

WHITE CAB CO. (PARK.)

OFF.

CANDY FACY

AUTO PAINTG

12"-F. AUTO REPG REINF. CONC FL.

SEED & FERTILIZER STGE

STEEL STGE YARD

BLDG MATLS REINF. CONC. & FR.

2014

AUTO PARK'G.

BLDG. MATLS & STGE

(REINF. CONC.)

204A

U. P. SYSTEM PASADENA BRANCH

UNION PACIFIC SYSTEM PASSENGER STA.

(44)

10"W. PIPE

AUTO FINISH'G.

AUTO REPG

STEEL FRAME

CONC FL

2" CONC ON LIGHT STEEL FRAME

OFFS. 1 & 2

USED AUTO SALES

AUTO PARTS DEPT.

CONC. FL. WOOD TRUSS, RF. ON PILASTS.

10 WG. SKYLTS

TRIMMING & UPHOLSTG

4-8'-10' W. G. SKYLTS

AUTO SALES & SERVICE

CONC. FL.

WOOD TRUSS RF. ON PILASTERS

PAINT BOOTH

PAINT STGE

PAINT SPRAY'G.

CONC. FL. STEEL FR.

AUTO REPG

CONC. FL. STEEL FRAME

2" CONC. ON LIGHT STEEL FRAME.

W. COLORADO

N. VERNON AV.

6"W. PIPE

JOYCE INC.

MACH. SHOP & REPG

MOTORCYCLE SALES & SERVICE

7 W. G. SKYLTS.

AIRCRAFT INSTR'T MFG.

13 W. G. SKYLTS

REPG

AUTO. SALES & SERVICE

CONC. FL. WOOD TRUSS RF. ON REINF. CONC. FR.

15 W. G. SKYLTS.

METAL PAINT SPRAY BOOTH

2012

(2106)

(31)

METAL PAINT SPRAY BOOTH

REPG

AUTO REPG.

ELEC. POWER

AUTO SALES

OFF. MEZZ.

AUTO SALES

AERODYNAMICS LAB'Y. EQUIPT. MFG.

REINF. BR. CONC. FL. 4 W.G. SKYLTS WOOD TRUSS R.F. ON PILASTRS.

AUTO. REPG. SOME PAINTG

PARTLY BR. FRCD

N. TERRACE DRIVE (PRIVATE)

202

S. EL MOLINO AV.

Pasadena 2

(574)

PASADENA, CAL. VOL. 1

109

113

114

S. PASADENA AV.

FLETCHER AVIATION CORP'N, PASADENA

PASADENA WATCHMAN WITH CLOCK

DISPLAY & OFFIC.

AUTO ELECT'L SERVICE

EXPERIMENTAL DEPT

DISPLAY

AUTO SALES

AUTO REPG

INSTRUMENT RESEARCH

STGE

PHOTO ENGRAVG 2ND RECEIVING DEPT.

FLETCHER AVIATION CORP.

MACH SHOP & METAL WORKS

SAWTOOTH WOOD RF W.G. MONITOR SKYLTS

STEEL TRUSS RF ON PILAS. & STEEL POSTS

CRATING

1050

1052

1054

SYNDICATE AL.

CLAY

W. GREEN

GAS & OIL

AUTO REPG CONC. FL.

STGE

TC.

LUMBER STGE YARD

FINISHED LUMBER SHED

LUMBER SHED

PLANING MILL

BLOWER SYSTEM

SAWDUST BIN

ORBAN LUMBER CO.

NO WATCHMAN

ELEC. SAW

LUMBER SHED

IRREGULAR LUMBER PILES

STGE

ROOFG

U.P. SYSTEM (PASADENA BRANCH)

HOUSEHOLD GOODS STGE & PACK'G

2018

AIRCRAFT INSTRUMENT MFG

REST

AUTO STGE

CONC. FLR

AIRCRAFT INSTRUMENT MFG CONC. FL. WOOD TRUSS RF ON PILASTERS

LUMBER SHED

(2019)

CROWN PLANING MILL

V.P.'S 50'-1½" HOSE

1½" HYD. 50' HOSE

SASH & DOOR M'F'G

SASH & DOOR M'F'G

WOOD POSTS CONC. FLRS 1ST

LUMBER & MILL CO.

WOOD POSTS CONC. FLR

SAWTOOTH RF.

NIGHT WATCHMAN. APPD CLOCK. 1 500 GAL. CHEMAL ENG POWER ELEC. BLOWER SYSTEM

L&R YARD

LBR. SHED

LUMBER DRIVE

IRREGULAR LUMBER PILES

(2137)

CONC. PLATFORM 3' HIGH

UNION PACIFIC SYSTEM FREIGHT HO.

W. COLORADO

E. COLORADO

S. VERNON AV.

6" W. PIPE

10" W. PIPE

4" W. PIPE

D.H.

F.A.

USED AUTO SALES

AUTO REPG CONC. FL.

METAL PARTS ASSEMBLY 1ST

STEEL TRUSS RF

AUTO SALES

SERVICE CONC. FL.

AUTO REPG. & PAINTG WOOD POST 1ST, CONC. FLR 1ST, WOOD FLR 2ND

1041

AUTO SERVICE & REPG

AUTO SALES

AUTO PARTS OFF.

AUTO REPG

WOOD TRUSS RF ON PILASTERS

3 W.G. SKYLTS BODY SHOP

4 PLATS

OFF.

S. TERRACE DRIVE

GAS & OIL

AUTO REPG & PAINTG

MACH SHOP CONC. FL.

UNDERTAKER

CHAPEL

LODGINGS

LUMBER YARD

1042 (2132)

STGE

LATH

1043 (2133)

REST.

STGE No CH.

MENTORIA CT.

CAMDEN

105

OLCOTT PL.

SCALE 50 FT. TO ONE INCH

114

S. PASADENA AV.

110

(154 VOL. 2)

10" W PIPE

6" W PIPE

4" W PIPE

LUMBER YARD

LUMBER SHED

LUMBER YARD

LUMBER SHED

IRREGULAR LUMBER PILES

(2142)

1055

1057

U. P. SYSTEM (PASADENA BRANCH)

GROVE

(2139)

R 266 VERNON

R 254 GROVE

R 249 PASADENA

R 275 PASADENA

R 251 S. PASADENA

R 195 PASADENA

R 163 PASADENA

109

S. VERNON AV.

W. DEL MAR

CHURCH RM.

R 253 S. VERNON

R 260 TERRACE

TILE

MENTORIA CT.

S. TERRACE DRIVE

1044
(2134)

1045
(2135)

1032

1033

106

SCALE 50 FT. TO ONE INCH

Copyright 1932 by the Sanborn Map Co.

(574)
PASADENA, CAL. VOL. 1

1.11

(175-176 VOL. 2)

S. PASADENA AV.

115

112

110

107

1059

1061
(3078)

1034
(3071)

1036 (BL. 1036)
(3072)

(3076)

W. DEL MAR

WAVERLY DRIVE

HAVENDALE DRIVE

W. BELLEVUE DRIVE

GORDON TER.

S. TERRACE DR

PASADENA BRANCH U.P. SYSTEM

WALK (PRIVATE)

6" W. PIPE

4" W. PIPE

12" W. PIPE

OFFS

PRESERVES W HO WOOD TRUSS RF

FRUIT PRESERVING CONC FL WOOD TRUSS

WORK SHOP

REINF CONC

OFFS & DISPLAY

W. HO. WOOD TRUSS RF ON 1-ROW IRON POSTS & STEEL BEAM

PILASTD WALLS

SWEET PICKLE FACTY.

BLR

ENCLOSED BY 7' WIRE FENCE AROUND

GAS & OILS

AUTO REPG

WASH RACK

WOODWKG & CRATING
STEEL FR & POSTS
CONC FL

STGE

TEXT BOOK S.

TRADE BOOK S.

GUNITE FR. & WALLS
STEEL BEAMS & POSTS

BOOK WARE HOUSE & RECEIVING

CONC. PL FM 2'

STEEL SAW ASSEMBLING

GEAR MFG
WOOD TRUSS RF
PILASTD REINF
C.B.

HAVENDALE DR

GORDON

W. BELLEVUE

DRIVE

TER.

S. PASADENA AV. 116

CAL. ST.

W. CALIFORNIA

PALMETTO DRIVE

W. BELLEVUE DRIVE

GORDON TER.

ST. JOHN AV.

BALLOU

6" W.P. PIPE

4" W.P. PIPE

U. P. SYSTEM (PASADENA BRANCH)

NEIGHBORHOOD CHURCH
HEAT FURN. & GAS RNGS

SUNDAY SCHOOL RMS

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSE

STAGE & SCENERY

181 SUNDAY SCHOOL RMS REMR. BR.

10 CARS

6 APTS

225-27

(3081)

(3082)

(3080)

(3075)

(3074)

(3073)

1063

1064

1037

1038

TENNIS COURTS

TENNIS COURT

DRESSING RMS IN B

CONC PLUNGE

STORE RM

BADMINTON COURTS
WOOD TRUSS RF

108

SCALE 50 FT TO ONE INCH

(5401) PASADENA, CAL. VOL. 5 CAL. . .072

523

(198-201-213 VOL. 2)

504

MARKHAM PL. (ST.)

6" W. PIPE

ST. JOHN AV.

S. PASADENA AV.

(3329)

5168

(3332)

5170
(3335)

ST. CH.

BELLEFONTAINE

522

524

12" W.P.

10" W. PIPE

(3330)

(3333)

(3336)

LATTICE

5198 BARCLAY ALLEY

(3466)

WIGMORE DRIVE

534

HURLBUT

SCALE 50 FT. TO ONE INCH

505

S. PASADENA AV.

FAIRMOUNT AV.

LA FUENTE ALLEY

(3338)

5172

(3340)

4-Flats

(3472)

5200

(3477)

ALESSANDRO PL

(3473)

5201

BARCLAY ALLEY

WIGMORE DR.

PASADENA FIRE DEPT STATION No 5

BELLEFONTAINE

HURLBUT

523

525

535

SCALE 50 FT. TO ONE INCH

Copyright 1931 by the Sanborn Map Co.

March 26, 2025, Revised

710 RECONNECTING COMMUNITIES ORAL HISTORY REPORT

PASADENA
CALIFORNIA · WWW.CITYOFPASADENA.NET
710 RECONNECTING COMMUNITIES

Amplify

Presented by :

ALLEGRA
CONSULTING

TABLE OF CONTENTS



02 EXPLORING HERITAGE AND FORTITUDE:
Grant, Richardson, King Family Video
https://vimeo.com/985253951

03 SUMMARY :
STRATEGIC INSIGHTS AND
ACTIONABLE RECOMMENDATIONS

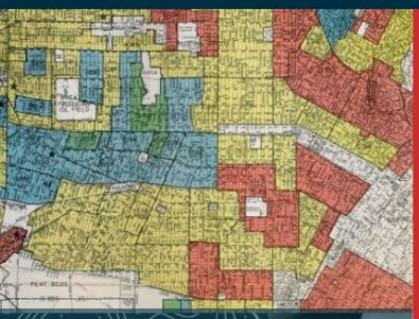
07 SECTION 1:
INTRODUCTION

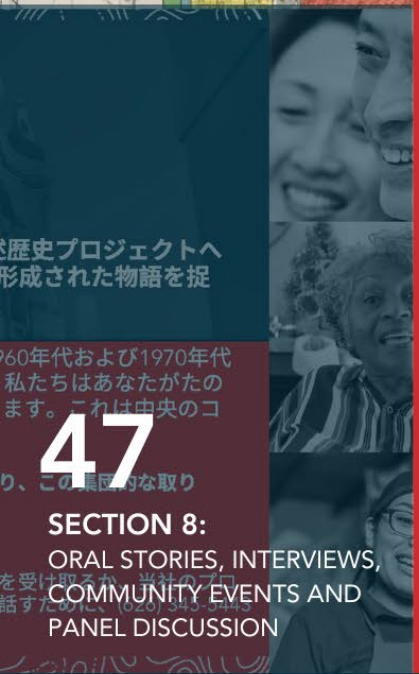
15 SECTION 2:
DISPLACEMENT ERA TIMELINE, KEY EVENTS AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

26 SECTION 3:
SURVEY RESPONSES – QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS 159 RESPONSES



34 SECTION 4:
RESPONDENTS WHO WERE NOT DISPLACED BUT IMPACTED BY THE SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION





47 SECTION 8:
ORAL STORIES, INTERVIEWS, COMMUNITY EVENTS AND PANEL DISCUSSION

37 SECTION 5:
DEMOGRAPHICS OF ALL RESPONDENTS

40 SECTION 6:
VIDEO INTERVIEWS – LIFE IN THE WEST PASADENA DURING THE 1960S-1970S

44 SECTION 7:
IMPACT OF DISPLACEMENT AND LOSS OF GENERATIONAL WEALTH

90 SECTION 9:
RESOURCES

92 SECTION 10:
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS, CONTRIBUTIONS AND GRATITUDE

94 APPENDIX



EXPLORING HERITAGE AND FORTITUDE:

Grant, Richardson, King Family
https://vimeo.com/985253951

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:
IMPACT OF SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION

Allegra Consulting was engaged to document the experiences of residents, businesses, and institutions displaced or impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction during the late 1960s and 1970s. Through interviews, stories, and both qualitative and quantitative data, we gathered insights into the effects of this major infrastructure project and the resulting displacement that began more than 60 years ago.

OUTREACH AND METHODOLOGY:

Allegra's outreach, conducted from April to July 2024, focused on engaging displaced residents, their descendants, and individuals with deep historical knowledge of Pasadena. A number of the original displaced residents have passed away, requiring us to find and connect with their families. We captured video interviews and collaborated with community stakeholders, historical churches, and organizations to identify those affected. Notably, the family history of many of the displaced residents in Pasadena traces back to the late 1800s, shortly after the City of Pasadena's founding.

FINDINGS:

Displacement due to the SR 710 freeway construction most notably affected communities of color, including African American, Latino, and Japanese American families, disrupting the lives of homeowners, renters, businesses, and institutions. Allegra's team gathered information from those impacted by both the SR 710 Relinquishment Area—known as "the stub" or "the ditch"—and the broader SR 710 freeway construction area, which extended beyond the relinquishment zone into surrounding neighborhoods.

While a number of homes acquired by Caltrans remain standing and are in various states of repair, interviewees shared experiences of enduring noise, pollution, and traffic congestion due to the uncompleted major infrastructure project. Interviewees also expressed confusion between the SR 710 and I-210 freeway projects, as both intersected and caused displacement during the same era. The SR 710 freeway construction devastated a vibrant community, displacing a thriving area where people of color lived, worked, and gathered—a place they called home.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

Understanding the displacement requires considering the broader historical context of Pasadena and Los Angeles County during the 1960s and 1970s. The SR 710 freeway construction, part of a wave of national infrastructure developments, exposed and exacerbated systematic racism in urban planning. The era saw significant social, economic, and cultural shifts, which deeply impacted communities of color. Discriminatory practices, such as racial covenants, continued to restrict housing options for displaced families, forcing some to relocate outside Pasadena. This often led to the erosion of generational wealth as these families struggled to attain homeownership in an extremely biased real estate market.

KEY CONTRIBUTIONS:

1. Lived Experiences:
   Captures firsthand accounts of displacement and its emotional impact.

2. Systemic Challenges:
   Highlights the impact of redlining, segregation, and economic barriers in Pasadena.

3. Resilience:
   Highlights the adaptability of communities facing systemic injustice.

4. Urban Planning Lessons:
   Provides insights for more equitable future development.



KEY METRICS:

- Displacement Data: 159 contacts/survey respondents, 49 displaced residents, and 42 displaced businesses.
- Interviews, Media & Stories: 32 interviews, 14 videos produced.
- Media Reach: Over 1.1 million digital impressions, 360,000 transit views, and 1.5 million bus shelter views.

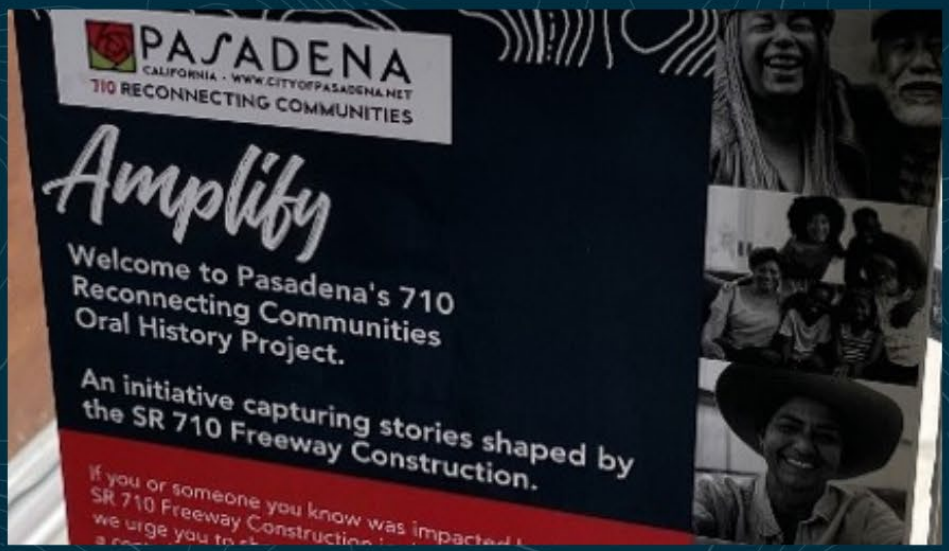
OBSERVATIONS:

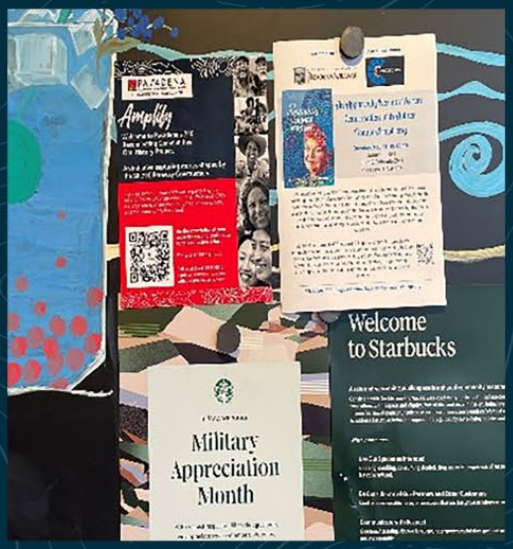
The report uncovers a range of emotions, from anger over systemic racism, lack of trust in government leadership, and lost generational wealth to resilience and adaptation. It serves as a tool for acknowledging past injustices and guiding future equitable development in Pasadena.

In presenting this report, Allegra Consulting remains neutral and unbiased, documenting the social, economic, and emotional impacts of the SR 710 freeway construction on Pasadena's communities. The findings, derived from one-on-one interviews, group interviews, and over 100 responses, underscore themes of systematic racism, redlining, racial segregation, economic barriers, environmental harm, and the resilience of those displaced. These insights offer valuable lessons for shaping more inclusive urban planning practices.















SECTION 1:
INTRODUCTION

WHY ORAL HISTORY MATTERS:

Oral history plays a vital role in preserving the rich tapestry of human experience by capturing personal stories and voices often overlooked in traditional historical records. It provides a platform for individuals and communities to share their experiences, adding depth and nuance to our understanding of the past. By documenting these firsthand accounts, oral history builds bridges between written sources and enriches the historical narrative, ensuring a more comprehensive and accurate depiction of events.

Through the SR 710 Reconnecting Communities Oral History Project, Allegra Consulting aims to advance historical knowledge about displaced and impacted individuals, businesses, churches, and group experiences related to the SR 710 freeway construction project in Pasadena. This project places these stories within Pasadena's history and a broader regional and national historical context. Additionally, we will present an analysis of the qualitative feedback collected, highlighting common themes related to displacement, including community impact and socioeconomic drivers.



Photo: Community Outreach at First African Methodist Episcopal (First AME Church) **Photo Source:** Suzanne K. Madison

These include the economic and health impacts of the SR 710 freeway construction, housing and social justice issues, civil rights, and social changes occurring in Pasadena, Los Angeles County, the state of California, and our country—contexts that form the backdrop of the lived experiences shared in the survey. The inclusion of videos in our report captures the authentic voices of those displaced and impacted, providing a powerful visual and auditory dimension to these narratives.

The importance of oral history extends beyond mere documentation; it serves as a powerful tool for education and empowerment. Through oral history, we gain insight into the social, cultural, and political contexts that have shaped communities over time. It helps us understand how historical events have impacted individuals and groups, highlighting both change and continuity.

Moreover, oral history fosters empathy and understanding by giving voice to those who have experienced marginalization, trauma, and displacement, thereby contributing to collective healing and social justice.

In projects like the 710 Reconnecting Communities Oral History Report and Documentary, oral history is instrumental in preserving the narratives of those affected by events such as the SR 710 freeway construction. These stories educate current and future generations about the consequences of past actions, emphasizing the importance of remembering and acknowledging history to build a more equitable and just society. By valuing and integrating oral history into our historical understanding, we honor the diverse voices that contribute to our shared humanity and compel us to work towards a future that recognizes and learns from the past.

THE TRANSFORMATIVE POWER OF ORAL HISTORY:

Oral history amplifies personal stories, fills gaps in written sources, and completes the historical record by providing an accurate depiction of the past. It captures people's experiences through the lens of their personal and social contexts. Oral history helps us understand how individuals and communities have experienced history, what has changed over time, and what has remained the same. It also conserves cultural heritage by offering insights into a community's social, cultural, and political structures.

In her presentation at the Alkebu-lan Cultural Center's "Because of Them, I Am" Juneteenth National Independence Day celebration, Dr. Alison Rose Jefferson emphasized the importance of oral history interviews and collecting stories for inclusion in the 710 Reconnecting Communities Oral History Report and Documentary. She stated,

"Oral history interviews are a very important way for our community to enrich the historical record for use by ordinary people and various professionals such as historians, public officials, and others."

The 710 Reconnecting Communities Oral History Project will help to preserve the narratives of people displaced and impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction that have been left out of the historical record. It will educate people about how the past influences the present and the importance of remembering the past to build a better future for collective empowerment in standing against injustice to create a more equitable and just society." Pastor Madelyn Manning, in her remarks at the same event, said,

"By sharing our stories, we acknowledge the pain and trauma experienced by our community and create space for empathy and understanding. This act of storytelling is a powerful tool as it allows us to process our experiences and find common ground. Healing also comes through unity."

In an interview, Rick Osaka, grandson of a Japanese American family who immigrated to California from Japan in 1906 and that was later forcibly displaced twice by the government —first during World War II when his family was sent to Santa Anita Racetrack and then to Manzanar, and the second time in the late 1960s when they were displaced from their Pasadena Beautiful award-winning home via eminent domain—he expressed skepticism that the City of Pasadena would acknowledge and right the wrongs of the past. However, he felt it was his duty to share his story in honor of those whose voices were never heard. This is why oral history matters.

During interviews, a millennial asked, "How long do we have to keep revisiting history, listening to stories, and paying for mistakes?" The response: "For as long as it takes and until things change." This is why oral history matters—it informs the restorative justice process. At the Reconnecting Communities 710 Advisory Group meeting in October 2024, Estolano Advisors **presented a draft restorative justice framework,** a key part of the Reconnecting Pasadena SR-710 Master Plan. A case study, **Reconnect Rondo**, examined the displacement of 650 families, businesses, and community centers when I-94 was built in St. Paul, MN (1958-1968). The framework's principles are to acknowledge past harm, engage all impacted parties, take accountability, and pursue remedies that lead to transformation. Through outreach and story gathering, we engage in restorative justice—ensuring history is preserved, policies evolve, and a more equitable future is built for all in Pasadena.

THE TEAM

SUZANNE MADISON
Project Manager

AUBIN WILSON
Project Coordinator

ARELENE LOZANO
Graphic Designer

STEPHANIE GUITIERREZ
Content Designer

DR. ALISON ROSE JEFFERSON
M. H. C. , Ph. D.
Independent Historian

MAYON DENTON,
M.D. Productions, LLC
(Film/Documentary)

SCOTT TORLUCCI
Davis Demographics

MCKAY LARRABEE
Davis Demographics

ALLEGRA PROJECT TIMELINE

1 **WORKPLAN DEVELOPMENT AND CREATIVE DESIGN**
JANUARY – MARCH 2024

2 **OUTREACH AND MEDIA DEPLOYMENT**
APRIL – JULY 2024

3 **COMMUNITY OUTREACH AND ENGAGEMENT**
APRIL – JULY 2024

4 **INTERVIEWS AND DATA GATHERING PERIOD**
APRIL – JULY 2024

5 **REPORT COMPILING**
JULY-SEPTEMBER 2024

COMMUNITY OUTREACH, ENGAGEMENT, AND MEDIA TACTICS:

The SR 710 Reconnecting Communities Oral History Project endeavored to capture and honor the diverse stories of those impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction. Through our outreach efforts, we sought to identify four target audiences and priority groups:

- Displaced Residents and Descendants of Displaced Residents
- Displaced Businesses
- Displaced Organizations and Institutions
- Not Displaced but Impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction

Our outreach period officially began on April 30, when the city deployed a press release announcing the launch of the Oral History Project and the community input tool, and ended on July 31, 2024.

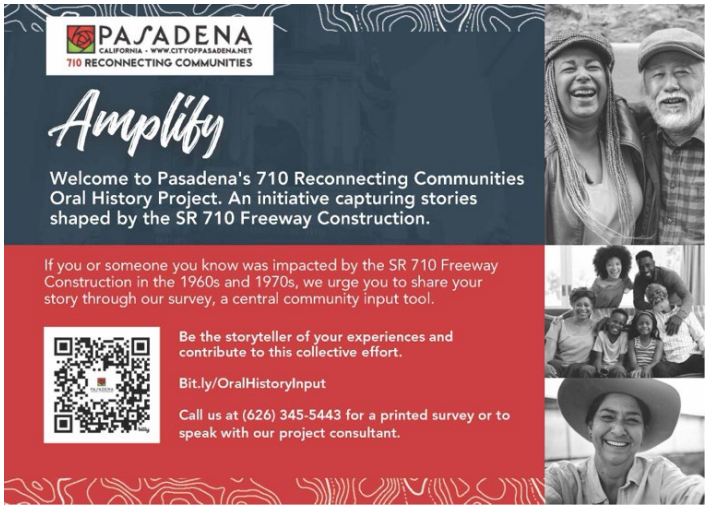


Photo: SR 710 Oral History Outreach Material
Photo Source: Allegra Consulting

The outreach campaign was developed in three languages, English, Spanish, and Japanese, to reach the target audience, whom we believe were displaced and impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction during the displacement era.

GETTING THE WORD OUT:

In collaboration with the City of Pasadena's City Manager's Office's Public Information Office, Allegra Consulting designed a suite of media assets to communicate, educate, and spread the word about the Oral History Project. The key message was Amplify: Welcome to Pasadena's 710 Reconnecting Communities Oral History Project. The media suite included transit posters placed near the SR 710 freeway and within communities of color, and social media posts were deployed on the city's feeds and shared on local platforms. Additionally, several city council members shared the media on their platforms and within district newsletters. The city displayed the media on the landing page of its website,

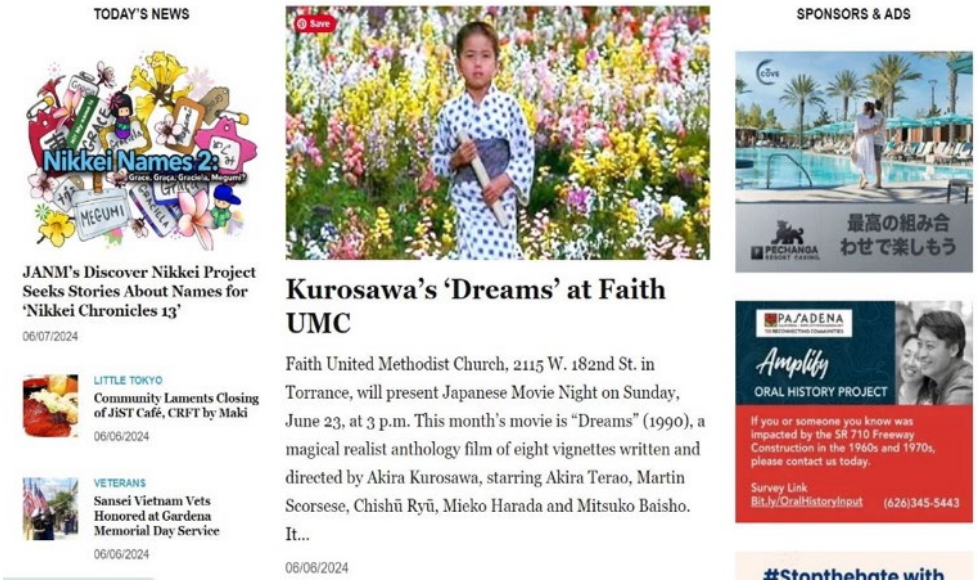


Photo Source: Rafu Shimpo



Photo: Outreach Materials Placed at Friendship Church
Photo Source: Suzanne K. Madison

featuring a direct link to the online survey. Printed posters and 5”x7” flyers were placed in community centers and public places where the community gathers. Digital ads with click-through links to the online survey were placed in Pasadena Now, Colorado Blvd., Pasadena Star News, and a Japanese American publication, Rafu Shimpo.

Grassroots tactics included meeting directly with local historic churches, community connectors, community-based organizations, markets, coffee shops, small independent retailers, and restaurants to place posters and flyers. Knowing that our target audience is mature, Allegra Consulting dedicated an Oral History telephone line so residents could easily access our team and share their stories at their convenience.

The outreach team attended community events and tabled at various locations to connect with the target audience. To support the outreach and engage with community stakeholders and members, the team collaborated with the Pasadena Buddhist Temple, Alkebu-lan Cultural Center’s Genealogy Classes Juneteenth Celebration, West Pasadena Residents Association’s Annual Meeting at the Pasadena Elks Lodge Meeting, Pasadena’s Museum of History, City’s 138th Birthday Celebration and the Pasadena Senior Center’s Independence Day Party. At these events, we educated the community about the 710 Oral History Project and captured interviews for the project. In addition, email flyers, telephone calls, and virtual online group meetings were held to host intimate discussions about the 710 Oral History Project. During the outreach period, the team conducted numerous one-on-one interviews with older community members and captured compelling videos so their stories could be utilized and maintained for the duration of the project. Many of our interviews and interactions were with community members aged 80 to 96 years. Interviewees were delighted to refer our team to other community members who were impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction.

The Reconnecting Communities SR 710 Committee Advisory Group members were gracious supporters who provided referrals, community connectors, and introductions to stakeholders so that our team could meet with key community members and learn more about the SR 710 freeway construction.

CAPTURING INFORMATION AND CONTAINING STORIES:

An online community survey and input tool were deployed in three languages to provide residents and stakeholders with information, history, and content related to the SR 710 freeway construction. Our report provides both quantitative and qualitative feedback and responses from residents impacted and displaced by the SR 710 freeway construction.

ADAPTING AND INTERVIEWS:

During the community outreach and engagement period, our team adapted to the needs of the community and target audiences. While interviewing and engaging with residents and stakeholders, the average interview

lasted 2-3 hours and, in some cases, required a series of follow-ups and assistance with sharing family photos and documents. In several instances, we decided to conduct the interviews via video recording, especially for our older residents, some of whom are over 90 years old. Unfortunately, in some cases, we missed the opportunity to capture the stories of stakeholders who were either too frail or passed away before we were able to meet with them.

SUCCESS METRICS:

Identification of Residents, Organizations, and Businesses Displaced/Impacted:

Survey Responses: 159

Displaced Residents, Descendants, and Addresses:

Residents: 49*
Addresses: 45
*Of the 49 displaced residents, 3 people did not take the survey, and 4 of the respondents cited the same address.
Displaced Businesses:
4 Identified by Allegra, and an additional 38 businesses identified by ARG = 42 displaced businesses.

Displaced Organizations/ Institutions: 3

Impacted but Not Displaced:
116 Respondents and Residents

Number of Interviews and Stories Conducted and Completed:
32 one-on-one and group interviews and stories collected.

Number of Videos Produced by KPAS and MD Productions:
14 Video Interviews completed to Date.

MEDIA REACH AND VISIBILITY:

Link and QR Code Scans and Click Throughs: 3,955 Clicks
Digital Media Impressions: 1,193,318 Total Impressions
Transit Media Exposure: 20 Sidewalk Transit Shelters (English/Spanish), 1.5+ million impressions and 60 Interior Bus Cards, with 5,000 riders onboard daily, achieving over 360,000 views. Placement of signs with a focus on being near the SR 710 and communities of color.



Photo: Bus Shelter Ad in Spanish at Washington Blvd. and Lake Avenue **Photo Source:** Aubin E. Wilson

COLLABORATIVE EFFORTS:

Partnerships Formed: NAACP, West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA), Japanese American Cultural Institute, First AME Church, Friendship Church, Lake Avenue Church, Metropolitan Church, Alkebu-lan Cultural Center, St. Andrew Church, Pasadena Senior Center, 710 Restorative Justice Coalition, and Pasadena Buddhist Temple.

REFERRALS RECEIVED:

208 community members were referred to our team.

QUALITATIVE IMPACT:

Testimonials, Comments, and Feedback:
138 Qualitative Responses

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES COLLECTED:

More than 300 articles, documents, historical journals, church architecture, photographs, and scanned items.

INCREASED AWARENESS AND EDUCATION:

- Increased public awareness around the history of the SR 710 freeway construction.
- Oral History Project and Allegra's role
- Importance of attending community meetings and making public comment.
- Motivated stakeholders to better understand Reconnecting Pasadena's Master Plan preparation process.
- Clarified the confusion around the SR 710 and I 210 Freeways.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AND ADVOCACY:

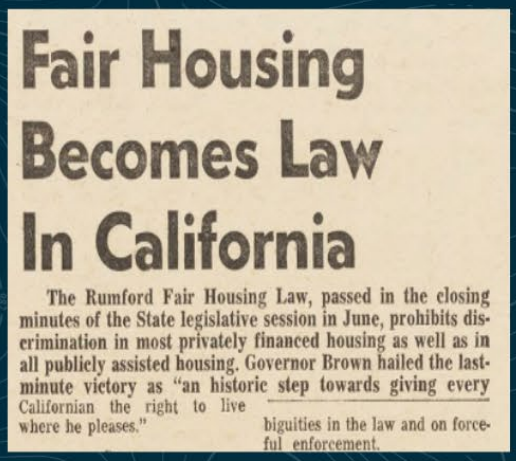
- Influencing Policy from the City of Pasadena's 1962 General Plan to Restorative Justice in Pasadena.
- Community Empowerment and Public Comment
- Spatial Injustice – Locational Discrimination (Urban Renewal)
- History of the Civil Rights Era

OBSERVATIONS AND THEMES:

During the interviews and community engagement interactions, our team observed that those impacted and displaced experienced deeply layered emotions, reflecting a complex interplay of loss, resilience, and the enduring consequences of systematic racism. The interviews were often emotional, with interviewees expressing sadness, tears, feelings of community disruption, anger, and frustration over systematic racism. There were also concerns about the city's leadership and a lack of trust in the government to act in their individual and the greater community's best interests. Many interviewees conveyed a deep sense of ongoing injustice and inequality, questioning who is truly listening and whether their voices even matter.

One historic church congregation in the area refused to engage with our team due to a lack of confidence in the city and an unwillingness to reopen old wounds without the prospect of resolution. This church leader mentioned that they were given a bad deal, now landlocked and prevented from future growth. Interviewees also highlighted the city's history of using urban renewal policies to benefit wealthy constituents and businesses at the expense of marginalized communities. During these interviews and interactions, we also learned about other injustices that occurred alongside the SR 710 freeway construction, including racist real estate covenants, various forms of what today are referred to as redlining (discriminatory loan policies, zoning policies around what could be built, and anti-Black housing sale and other practices), delays in receiving the Caltrans displacement checks needed to secure new housing, and resistance from new neighborhoods communities that did not welcome them as new neighbors.

Several interviewees emphasized the discrepancy between the freeway stopping at California Boulevard near more affluent communities while their own neighborhoods were destroyed, resulting in the loss of generational wealth and financial stability. Interviewees questioned why the SR 710 freeway stopped at California Boulevard, noting that this area was where affluent people lived. However, a few interviews, while less sad, also demonstrated resilience and adaptation. Some participants expressed a sense of acceptance, acknowledging that "it is what it is." Additionally, some interviewees who were not displaced voiced concerns about increased traffic, noise, and the neglected condition of Caltrans-owned homes.

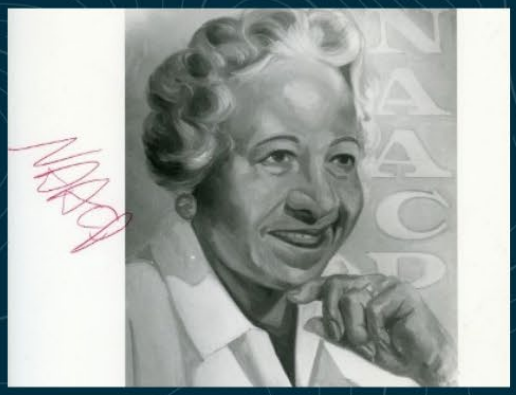


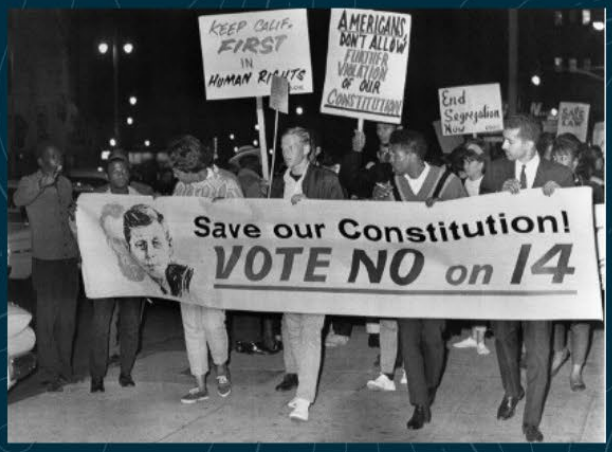
Fair Housing Becomes Law In California

The Rumford Fair Housing Law, passed in the closing minutes of the State legislative session in June, prohibits discrimination in most privately financed housing as well as in all publicly assisted housing. Governor Brown hailed the last-minute victory as "an historic step towards giving every Californian the right to live where he pleases."

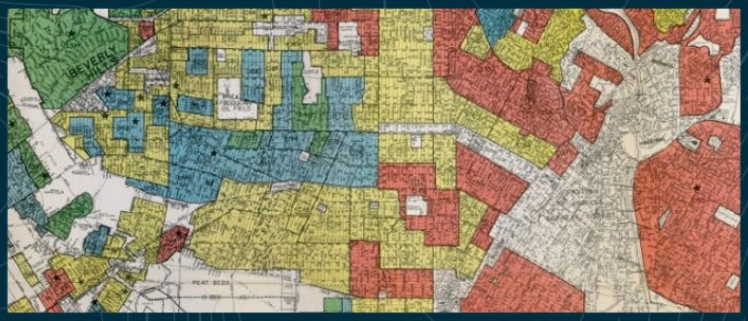
biguities in the law and on forceful enforcement.

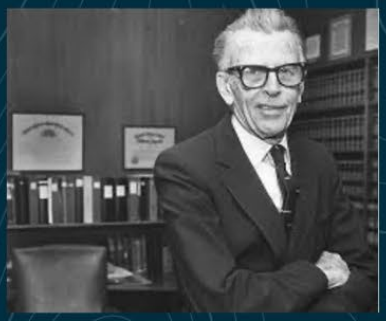
















SECTION 2:

DISPLACEMENT ERA TIMELINE, KEY EVENTS AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

DISPLACEMENT ERA TIMELINE, KEY EVENTS AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

The SR 710 freeway construction displacement era, identified by Allegra through first-person interviews and historical research, began in the 1960s and extended into the mid-1970s. This critical period was marked by several key developments, including the adoption of the Master Plan of Freeways, eminent domain acquisitions, growing community resistance, and the height of the 1960s-1970s era phases of the civil rights movement.

KEY EVENTS AND IMPACTS FROM THE 1960S TO 1975: A HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

To understand the impacts of key events from the 1960s to 1975, it's vital to consider the historical context of Pasadena, Los Angeles County, and the broader United States. This period saw significant infrastructure projects including the SR 710 freeway construction, which caused widespread displacement in Pasadena's communities of color, that exposed and deepened systematic racism in housing and urban planning under the guise of urban renewal and progress.

The era was marked by profound social, economic, and cultural shifts that influenced community development. Infrastructure projects, housing policies, public schools, the civil rights movements, and national political events all played critical roles in shaping the region's landscape and demographics. This section offers a brief overview of how the SR 710 freeway construction exacerbated existing systematic challenges for residents.

PASADENA, CA 1960S – 1970S SR 710 FREEWAY DISPLACEMENT:

The construction of the SR 710 freeway led to the displacement of hundreds of families from communities of color, causing them economic and social hardships. This project demolished homes and businesses while disrupting an established and thriving community, contributing to the financial and social instability of the former residents. **Source: Pasadena 710 Freeway Displacement**

UNENFORCEABLE HOUSING COVENANTS:

Even after the 1948 Supreme Court ruling in Shelley v. Kraemer made racist restrictive covenants legally unenforceable, these impacts of these covenants persisted socially, perpetuating discrimination, segregation and exclusion. For African American, Latino, and Japanese American families displaced by the SR 710 freeway construction, the continued practice of using race as a limiting factor in real estate sales posed significant barriers for them to find new homes. Though no longer legally binding, the social and economic pressures behind racial covenants remained strong, effectively limiting housing choices for communities of color. As a result, many displaced residents were forced to relocate to less desirable areas, often outside Pasadena, where covenants were less prevalent, or communities of color were already established. This not only severed ties to their original neighborhoods, but also eroded generational wealth, as families struggled to achieve home ownership in a racially discriminatory market environment. **Source: The Fair Housing Center**

REDLINING AND MORTGAGE DISCRIMINATION (1948-1968):

During the 1930s Great Depression, the mortgage lending markets were a mess, with thousands of homeowners defaulting on their mortgages daily. In 1933 half of all mortgages in America were in arrears. President Roosevelt's New Deal included the creation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to provide federal insurance for mortgage loans to prop up the mortgage lending market by protecting lenders against defaults.

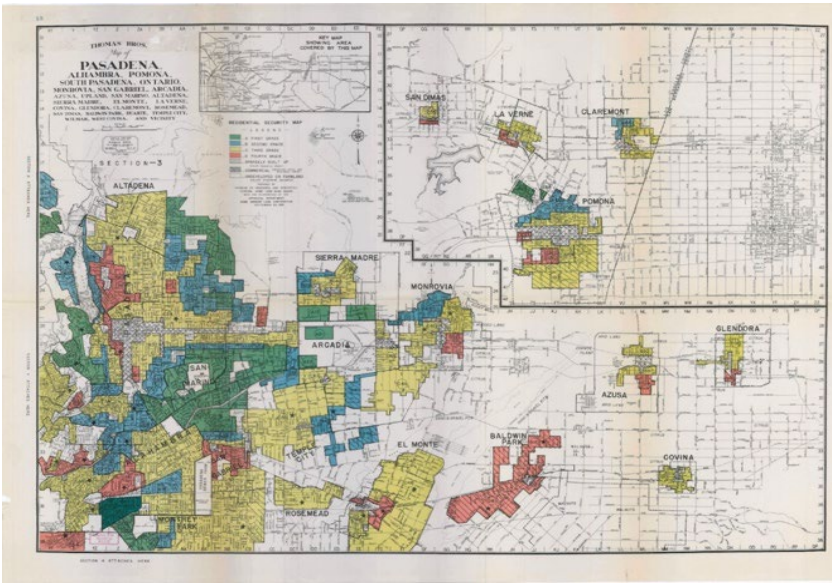
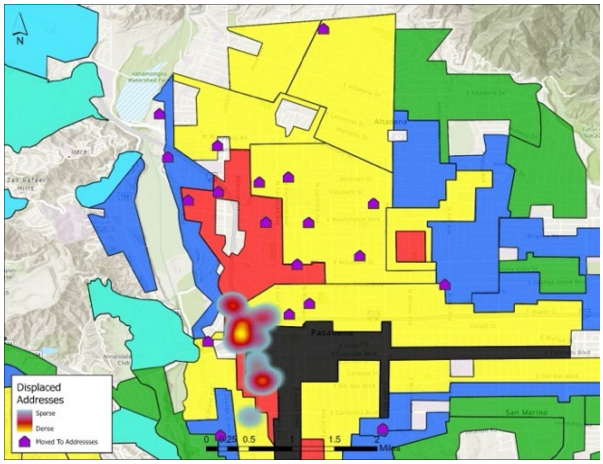


Photo Source: 1939 HOLC "redlining" map of Pasadena and vicinity, courtesy of LaDale Winling and **PBS So Cal**

This policy, however, did not protect all mortgage loans. Instead of establishing a system based on the individual financial status of potential homebuyers, Roosevelt's administration used race-based valuation policies and redlining maps. Government surveyors were sent to hundreds of cities nationwide to grade neighborhoods with an A, B, C, or D rating. Predominately Black, other communities of color and integrated neighborhoods were consistently rated D, were outlined on the maps in red (hence the term redlining emerged), and consequently denied government assistance. Private lenders also used the government's discriminatory policies to adopt similar policies, effectively icing any hopes a black family and those of other people of color had of buying a property with financial assistance. In addition, many deeds included racist covenants in these years that contractually prohibited homeowners from selling their property to minorities or marginalized homebuyers.

These policies continued to be lawful until the Fair Housing Act of 1968 was passed and enforced, which prohibited housing discrimination, and the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975 was passed and enforced, which required the release of lending data. Unfortunately for Black Americans, the damage had already been done. Historically, redlined communities have been starved of infrastructure investments by governmental entities and economic investments by the private sector, leading to deteriorating infrastructure and widespread economic disparity. The long-term impact of these race-based disparities cannot be overstated. **Lawson, M. (2022, June 18). Redlining and its impact on Black America. *Los Angeles Urban League*.**

Davis Demographics compiled digitized historical redlined areas through the University of Richmond's Mapping Inequality Project: **Redlining in New Deal America** and through spatial files available from T-RACES. We compared them with provided addresses where residents displaced by the 710 freeway had lived and where they moved to. Most of the areas where the 710 ROW is now located were in neighborhoods designated 'C' or 'D.' When these residents were forced to move, the vast majority remained in neighborhoods designated 'C' or 'D'. These areas today are often correlated with poorer health outcomes, less access to resources, and other issues of inequity.



Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America." Nelson, Robert K., LaDale Winling, et al. Edited by Robert K. Nelson. *American Panorama: An Atlas of United States History*, 2023. **https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/CA/LosAngeles/areas#loc=14/34.1562/-118.1314**"T-RACES: a Testbed for the Redlining Archives of California's Exclusionary Spaces" R. Marciano, D. Goldberg, C. Hou **http://t-races.net/T-RACES**

Additional Resources: Segregation in the City of Angels: A 1939 Map of Housing Inequality in L.A. | Lost LA | Food & Discovery | PBS SoCal, Freeways, Redlining & Racism Storymap - UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies

DISPLACED RENTERS:

During the SR 710 freeway construction, renters in Pasadena faced profound challenges. Unlike homeowners who had access to compensation through various property acquisition processes such as hardship acquisitions, fee acquisitions, or eminent domain proceedings, renters often received little to no financial assistance or relocation support. This left them especially vulnerable to financial instability caused by sudden evictions.

The freeway construction project, alongside other urban renewal efforts, exacerbated the housing crisis by reducing available housing stock and driving up rental prices. These impacts were disproportionately felt by renters of color, who also faced systemic discrimination when seeking new housing options.

While the Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970 (URA) was designed to provide protections—including moving expenses, rental assistance, and advisory services—its benefits were inconsistently applied. Renters often received less support than homeowners due to gaps in enforcement at local and state levels, leaving many without the resources needed to reestablish stable housing.

QUOTES FROM DISPLACED RENTERS:

Jose Luis Correra,
SR 710 Displaced Resident and Descendent

"Well, we had only lived in two places after moving to Pasadena from Merida, Yucatan, Mexico. The first was on Waverly Drive, where our family of five lived in a one-bedroom home, and the second was on Orange Place, which was a two-bedroom home. My sister was born while we were living on Orange Place in 1969. Shortly after her birth, we were notified that we had to move. They gave us a fair amount of time—I think we had a year to move out. My mom, who was a very religious woman, told us that we had to pray to help us find a permanent home, so that's what she and we did.

A few months before we had to move, my grandfather, my mother's father, won the lottery in Mexico, and he gave all his children part of his winnings. It was with that money that my mom put a down payment on the home we still have to this day. I remember her saying, "Thank you, God, for answering our prayers. Now I will be able to find a home that I will live in for the rest of my life," and she did. My mom passed away on October 23rd, 2023, in the home she purchased in Pasadena."

Salvador Lambarem,
SR 710 Displaced Renter

"I was in my early twenties when my sister called me at work to tell me we had to move immediately. We weren't given a 30-day notice or any compensation. It was extremely stressful, and I had to sleep on someone's sofa until I could find better living arrangements. I didn't fully understand what was happening since we were renting a small duplex, and I didn't speak much English. We attend St. Andrew Church and have a strong faith in God and our family."

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND DESEGREGATION

SPANGLER V. PASADENA CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION:

In March 1970, a federal judge ordered the Pasadena City Board of Education to desegregate its schools, marking it as the first district in California to receive such a mandate. The court found that Pasadena's schools were racially imbalanced, necessitating immediate integration to promote better educational outcomes for communities of color. As part of the compliance effort, Pasadena implemented a busing plan to transport students between predominantly communities of color and predominantly White schools, aiming to achieve a balanced racial composition and equity in educational resources. This busing plan, known as the "Pasadena Plan," initially met the court's requirements in the 1970-71 school year but faced challenges in maintaining compliance in subsequent years as some schools exceeded the communities of color enrollment limit.

Source: Spangler v. Pasadena City Bd. Of Edu.



Photo Caption: Mrs. Nettie Hunt, sitting on the steps of the Supreme Court, holding a newspaper and explaining to her daughter Nikie the meaning of the Court's decision to ban school segregation. **Source of Photo:** Granger

BLIGHTED TERMINOLOGY BY CITY OFFICIALS VS. URBAN RENEWAL, A COMMON THEME IN THE 1960S AND 1970S: The Pepper Street Redevelopment Project (aka Kings Villages), labeled as an urban renewal effort by city officials, led to the displacement of hundreds of residents, predominantly communities of color. Despite strong community resistance led by First AME Church member Emmett Mickle, the project was completed, resulting in the destruction of an established communities of color neighborhood and flourishing business district. Similarly, the SR 710 freeway construction and the I-210 Freeway projects displaced communities of color in Pasadena. All three initiatives are examples of how urban renewal and infrastructure projects in the 1960s and 1970s disproportionately affected people of color, causing long-term social and economic repercussions. **Source: The Basics of Blight Information – 1962 General Plan (Document, Page #111)**

SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC FACILITIES:

From the early 20th century through the 1960s, public facilities and private businesses in Pasadena, including swimming pools, theaters, and restaurants, developed systems of segregation. Notably, as cited in an article in ColoradoBoulevard.net about the **City of Pasadena's Brookside Plunge**, a city-owned swimming pool located in the Lower Arroyo neighborhood of Pasadena restricted its use by communities of color. In response to public pressure, the city created 'International Day', which allowed **non-white minorities** to use the pool just once a week, on Wednesdays from 2:00 to 5:00 pm. When the last patron departed, the pool's water was emptied and fresh water filled the pool, ensuring that the following day White swimmers would not have to

share the same water with the people from 'International Day'. This practice continued until 1947 when the pool was opened to all. This example highlights the pervasive discriminatory practices in many **public spaces in California** during the early part of the 20th century. **Source: A Noise Within**

NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS EFFORTS AND THE IMPACTS IN PASADENA:

In the 1960s, the NAACP and other civil rights organizations were active in Pasadena, reflecting the broader modern phase of the national civil rights movement. Although exclusionary practices and laws to maintain racial restrictions between 1948 to 1968 had been weakened by the US Supreme and California Court decisions in the cases of Shelley v. Kraemer (1948), Barrow v. Jackson (1953), Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954), and the federal legislation of the Civil Rights Act (1964), the Voting Rights Act (1965), and Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act (1968) -- local leaders worked to address racial injustices and advocated for improvements in education, housing, and equal rights. Key figures included Walter Shatford, a civil rights attorney, Emmett Mickle of First AME Church, Sam Sheets an NAACP attorney, and Ruby McKnight Williams, who led initiatives to support public education, housing rights, desegregation and community improvement. **Source: Pasadena Now**, **Black History Pasadena**

TAX IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SR 710 DISPLACEMENT:

The financial challenges faced by those displaced by the SR 710 project were exacerbated by various tax implications. One significant issue was the capital gains tax, which saw a rate of 27.5% in 1969, increasing to a maximum of 30.2% in 1970 and reaching up to 35% from 1972 to 1974. Capital gains taxes levied on monies received from Caltrans after the sale of a home or business greatly reduced the buying power of displaced residents and businesses burden of displaced.
Sources: Wolters Kluwer historical capital gains rates and **Capital Gains Tax**

LOS ANGELES COUNTY:

The 1960s phase of the civil rights movement and activism in Los Angeles and the region was extremely vibrant, with numerous protests and campaigns aimed at ending racial segregation and discrimination. In addition, local activists protested in favor of fair housing and quality public education and against police brutality, among other equity and civil rights issues. **Source: Los Angeles in the Civil Rights Era**

STATE OF CALIFORNIA:

The Rumford Fair Housing Act passed in 1963, was a pivotal California civil rights law aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in housing. Authored by Assemblyman William Byron Rumford, it prohibited property owners and landlords from refusing to sell, lease, or rent housing based on race, ethnicity, religion, gender, marital status, or physical disability. This legislation was a major step toward fair housing, particularly for African Americans and other minorities facing systemic discrimination. However, in 1964, backlash against the Rumford Act led to Proposition 14, a ballot initiative designed to nullify it. Prop 14 sought to restore property owners' right to refuse buyers or tenants based on personal preference, effectively permitting racial discrimination. Supported by groups opposing civil rights, it passed but was later ruled unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court**,** which found it violated both the U.S. and California constitutions**,** reaffirming the principles of the Rumford Act**.** **Source: Prop14 Shaped California's Racial Covenants**

THE CALIFORNIA ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY POLICIES:

Santa Barbara Oil Spill in 1969, caused by a blowout on Union Oil's platform A, was a catalyst for environmental activism and legislation. In California, the California Coastal Commission was formed, and the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) was enacted. CEQA was a foundation law and resource used by the 710 Freeway Fighters to stop the SR 710 Freeway. **Source: Santa Barbara Historical Museum**

INTERVIEW WITH STATE SENATOR ANTHONY PORTANTINO - POLITICAL INSIGHTS ON THE SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION:

The Oral History Team interviewed State Senator Anthony Portantino to gain his perspective on the SR 710 freeway construction, the political motivations behind its development, and the efforts of the 710 Freeway Fighters, founded in 1959, to stop the SR 710 Freeway as it approached their communities. Senator Portantino also discussed the unfair treatment of renters and the new policies now in place to protect renters from displacement. Additionally, he addressed what the City of Pasadena and the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) can do to rectify the wrongs experienced by displaced residents. **Senator Anthony's Portantino's Video Link**, **710 Freeway Fighters' History**

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FAIR HOUSING ACT 1968:

Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act, also known as **The Fair Housing Act**, enacted in April 1968, banned housing discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and sex. This landmark piece of legislation was crucial in addressing discriminatory practices like various discriminatory real estate and lending practices, now identified as redlining, which limited opportunities for displaced families to find new homes during the SR 710 freeway construction in Pasadena.

ASSASSINATIONS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS:

The assassinations of key figures during the 1960s, such as Medgar Evers, John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Robert F. Kennedy, and Fred Hampton, had a profound impact on this phase of the civil rights movement. These tragedies intensified the urgency and resolve within social justice efforts, highlighting the dangers faced by those challenging systematic racism and inequality while reinforcing the need for continued activism.

FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION, PRESIDENTIAL INFLUENCE, AND ITS NATIONWIDE SUPPORT:

Initiated by Eisenhower's 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act, the Interstate Highway System spurred massive freeway construction nationally. Subsequent presidents—Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter—continued the Act's expansion by adding urban transit, environmental impacts, and public transportation to the effort, building on Eisenhower's foundational legislation.

"So that's kind of how we got started. It was before the big hole over here and before the pseudo railroad track, where we always have the good and bad sides of the railroad track."

Excerpts from Frank T. Sata's 2022 interview. Mr. Sata spent most of his adult life after leaving camp in Pasadena, CA.

"So we moved in here into a very, the more elite side of town, not knowing what I know now, and nothing's changed, thanks to the railroad track there, we were secure."

"And it's going to continue that way because it's been almost landlocked to be preserved. Other side of the Arroyo is all well-established, it's a certain scale of Pasadena, it's upper class."

THE JAPANESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND THE SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION:

Many Japanese Americans were forced to restart their lives after the end of internment and again during displacement because of the SR-710 project. The effects of displacement in both instances have many similarities. Displacement required finding new homes and schools and relocating personal belongings. Portions of the interview from Pasadena resident, Esther Takei Nishio, help to illustrate challenges associated with displacement

Esther Takei Nishio(EN): *And my mother became a cleaning house, a cleaning lady. She hopped on a bus and went to these wealthy homes and cleaned house every day, a different house every day. So they worked really hard. Really, really tough for them. Sharon Yamato(SY): And at the same time you were going to school. EN: Yes. SY: So they, did it, it took a while for them to reestablish, and did people bother them at all when they came back? EN: I don't know. They never talked about it, so I don't know.*
(Densho Digital Archive - Esther Takei Nishio Interview, Segment 23)

Jack Y. Kubota: *"When my mom and dad came back from the camps, they came back with one suitcase apiece, my sister's ashes, and the sewing machine. Yeah, my granddaughter made a, wrote a little story the story of Grandma's, Great-grandma's sewing machine."*
(Densho Digital Archive - Jack Y. Kubota Interview, Segment 13)

Japanese American oral histories also described challenges of staying socially and culturally connected to their families and Japanese American communities after displacement.

Mary Kageyama Nomura*: "…one of the teachers who was a counselor, tried to get me into college in the East Coast. But I said, "I won't go because it's too far from my family." So I went to Pasadena instead. And I didn't have the feeling that I was welcome. And so I didn't last long, I don't know how many weeks I was there, but I quit, and I went to work as a housekeeper.*
(Densho Digital Archive - Mary Kageyama Nomura Interview, Segment 24)

THE MEXICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE-
EULALIA PÉREZ: THE WOMAN BEHIND RANCHO DEL RINCÓN DE SAN PASCUAL AND PASADENA'S EARLY HISTORY:



Eulalia Pérez de Guillén Mariné (c. 1766–1878) is a key figure in early California history, known for receiving the Rancho del Rincón de San Pascual land grant in 1835, covering about 14,000 acres of present-day Pasadena, South Pasadena, San Marino, and Alhambra—land originally belonging to the Tongva-Gabrielino Native Americans. Born in Baja California, Eulalia became the mayordoma at Mission San Gabriel, managing its operations during the Spanish and early Mexican periods. After the missions were secularized, she was granted the rancho, but, as a woman, could not legally own it. She married Juan Mariné, who took ownership but later lost the land after California joined the United States due to legal and financial challenges. Eulalia lived in Adobe Flores, a historic site in South Pasadena. Her land grant was crucial to the area's development, linking her legacy to the city's early history.

Sources: Roberta Martinez Latinos in Pasadena
Source of Photo: Wikipedia Eulia Perez
https://latinoheritage.blogspot.com/2011/09/eulalia-perez-de-guillen-de-marine.html
https://www.waterandpower.org/museum/Early_Views_of_Pasadena_1_of_8.html
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eulalia_P%C3%A9rez_de_Guill%C3%A9n_Marin%C3%A9

LATINO MIGRATION TO PASADENA-
PUSH AND PULL FACTORS, CHALLENGES, AND OPPORTUNITIES:

Latino migration to Pasadena began in the late 1800s and was initially driven by economic opportunities in agriculture. Mexicans arrived first, followed by Salvadorans and Guatemalans fleeing civil wars in the 20th century. Later, Hondurans, Nicaraguans, Colombians, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans came seeking stability and opportunities, with recent arrivals including Venezuelans and smaller groups from Argentina, Chile, and Peru. Established Latino communities and family networks eased migration, particularly after World War II, as Pasadena expanded. Chicanos, U.S. born descendants of Mexican immigrants, significantly shaped Pasadena's cultural and political landscape.

Push factors for migration included economic hardship and political instability in Latin America, while pull factors were job opportunities, especially with large infrastructure projects such as the SR 710 and 210 freeways. Although freeway construction displaced many Latino families, it also created job opportunities and enhanced regional connectivity, continuing to attract Latino migrants to Pasadena.

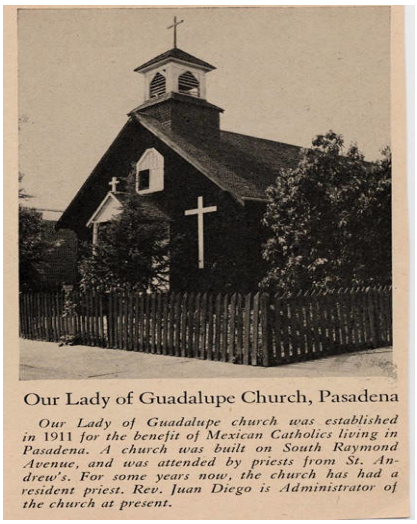
Sources: Roberta Martinez, Latinos in Pasadena
https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views5.htm
https://www.nps.gov/articles/latinothemeimmigration.htm
https://calisphere.org/exhibitions/t10/california-cultures-hispanic-americans/

REMEMBERING OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE CHURCH- A PILLAR OF FAITH IN PASADENA:

Our Lady of Guadalupe is a central figure in Mexican religious life, representing the Virgin Mary as she appeared to Juan Diego in Mexico in 1531. Located at the northwest corner of S. Raymond Avenue and W. California Blvd., the church served as a vital center for the Mexican American community in Pasadena.

Established in 1911 and completed in 1912, the church burned down in the 1970s. At the time of the fire, there was a resident priest, but details about the church's leadership remain scarce.

Father Marcos Gonzalez of St. Andrew Church shared that after the fire, the Archdiocese of Los Angeles chose not to rebuild Our Lady of Guadalupe, encouraging parishioners from the southwest part of Pasadena to attend the larger, more financially stable St. Andrew Church on N. Raymond Avenue. An original tile mosaic from the church was saved and is now displayed at Mijares Mexican Restaurant on a patio wall.


Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, Pasadena

Our Lady of Guadalupe church was established in 1911 for the benefit of Mexican Catholics living in Pasadena. A church was built on South Raymond Avenue, and was attended by priests from St. Andrew's. For some years now, the church has had a resident priest. Rev. Juan Diego is Administrator of the church at present.

Source: Photo: Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, Pasadena, CA **Photo Source:** Pasadena Public Library



Source: Photo: Our Lady of Guadalupe Tile Mosaic, Mijares Restaurant
Photo Source: Mijares Restaurant

CHICANO MOVEMENT:

The Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s had a profound impact on Pasadena's Latino community, as the larger civil rights efforts inspired local activists in nearby Los Angeles. Pasadena's Chicanos joined the fight to address racial discrimination, educational inequality, and lack of political representation within their city. Following key events like the East L.A. Walkouts (1968) and the Chicano Moratorium (1970), Pasadena's Latino leaders and students pushed for bilingual education, better school conditions, and greater Latino representation in local government. The movement also heightened awareness about housing and labor rights, especially as many Latino families in Pasadena faced displacement from projects like the SR 710 freeway. This activism empowered Pasadena's Latino community, contributing to lasting civic engagement and shaping the city's ongoing struggles for social justice and equality. The broader Chicano Movement's focus on promoting cultural pride and challenging systematic discrimination left a lasting legacy in Pasadena, fostering a more inclusive and equitable future for its residents.

Sources: https://www.history.com/news/chicano-movement



Photo source: History.com/DavidFenton/Getty Images

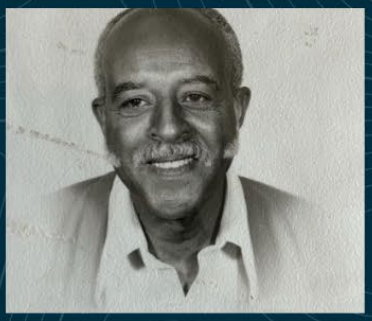


Photo Source: Garfield School Class Picture, Flickr

SHARED STORY OF PASADENA'S DIVERSE RESIDENTS AND DISPLACEMENT:

At the time of the SR 710 Freeway displacement, Southwest Pasadena was home to a diverse community, as seen in Garfield School's class pictures from the late 1960s. Our survey shows that most of those displaced by the SR 710 construction lived north of California Boulevard and identified as African American, Japanese American, or Hispanic/Latino. This displacement echoed a pattern of discrimination and economic hardship faced by these groups throughout American history, including redlining, restricted job opportunities, and forced relocations like Japanese American internment. Despite these challenges, they built strong cultural, social, and religious institutions, fostering resilience and a shared sense of solidarity. Their commitment to civil rights, cultural pride, entrepreneurship, and youth empowerment has enriched Pasadena, leaving a legacy of perseverance and shaping the city's progress toward inclusivity and cultural richness.



















SECTION 3:

SURVEY RESPONSES
QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS 159 RESPONSES

RESPONSES – QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS 159 RESPONSES

DISPLACEMENT AND IMPACT:

The survey gathered 159 responses, which provided valuable insights into the impact of the SR 710 freeway construction on the community. The key findings from the survey are as follows:

Displaced Families:

49 respondents indicated that their families were displaced due to the SR 710 freeway construction. We have 45 addresses where some respondents' family members identified the same address. One respondent's home currently remains a Caltrans house in need of repair.

Displaced Businesses:

4 respondents reported that their businesses had been displaced. Out of these, 4 provided confirmed addresses. Architectural Resources Group identified 38 businesses through directories. Note that this area was home to a thriving business community that offered valuable resources to the surrounding residents.

General Impact:

A significant portion of 116 respondents stated that the SR 710 freeway construction impacted them in various damaging ways such as noise, pollution and loss of real estate value.

Geographic Distribution of Respondents:

The survey also collected data on the zip codes of the respondents, which helps in understanding the geography of where respondents currently reside.

Some of the survey respondent's zip codes are as follows:

91001:	91101:	91103:	91104:	91105:	91106:	91107:	Other Zip Codes:	South Pasadena:
12.40%	3.88%	10.85%	10.85%	27.13%	5.43%	5.43%	16.28%	7.75%

Family Migration Timeline to Pasadena, CA – Before the 1900s to 1967:

The survey analysis sheds light on the long-term impact of the SR 710 freeway construction on Pasadena's residents and businesses. By examining when families first moved to Pasadena, we understand their generational ties, community connections, and economic and cultural losses during the Family Migration Timeline. Nearly 8% of respondents' families arrived in Pasadena before 1900, 29% between 1900 and 1950, 27% between 1951 and 1967, and 31% after 1967. Less than 5% of the respondents did not recall when their families migrated to Pasadena.

The years between 1900 and 1950 are particularly significant as they represent a period of substantial economic growth and social establishment for many families in Pasadena. Families that settled in the city during this time built generational wealth

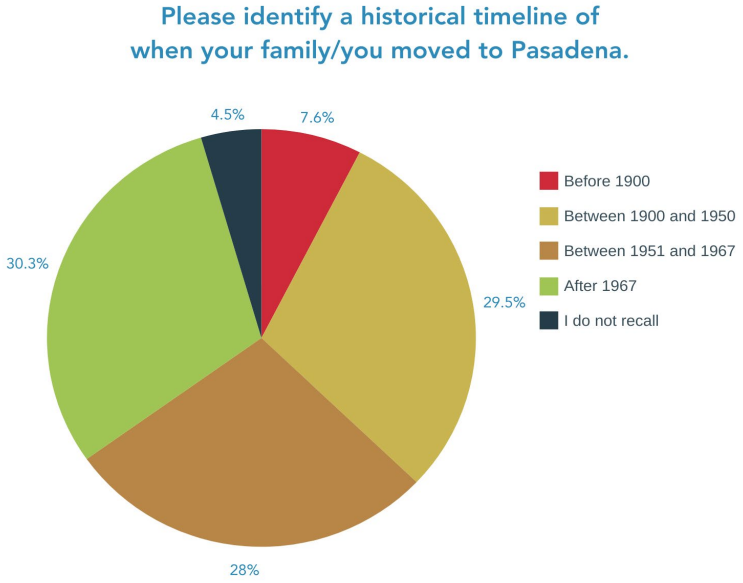


Chart #2 – Historical Timeline

through homeownership, owning local businesses, and community involvement. However, the SR 710 freeway construction led to large-scale displacement due to eminent domain and other types of property acquisitions for transportation projects, causing many of these families to lose their homes and businesses. This disruption not only resulted in immediate economic losses but also broke the cycle of generational wealth accumulation, affecting financial stability and cultural continuity for future generations.

AWARENESS OF THE SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION IN THE 1960S AND 1970S:

We asked respondents about their awareness of the SR 710 freeway construction at that time to better understand their knowledge of the event and the extent of community engagement during that period.

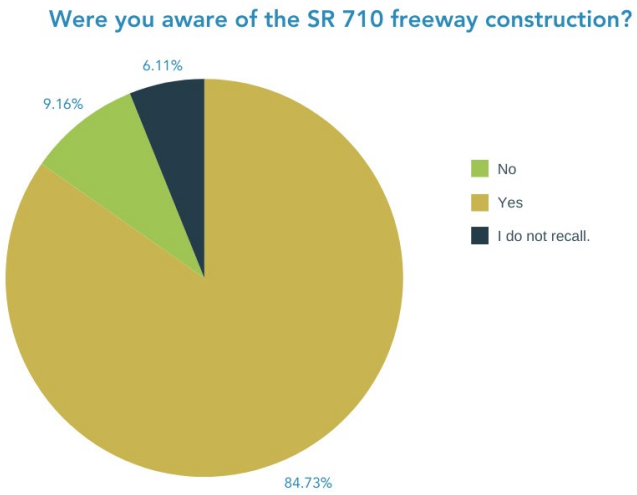


Chart #3 - Awareness of freeway construction

The results showed that nearly 85% were aware of the construction, 9.16% were not aware, and 6.11% did not recall. Understanding awareness levels helps us gauge how well-informed residents were about the project and its potential impacts. This information highlights the community's involvement in decision-making processes, preparedness for change, and ability to advocate for their interests. It also highlights the scale and effectiveness of communication and outreach efforts at the time, informing current and future community engagement strategies.

FAMILY DISPLACEMENT DUE TO SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION RESPONSES AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT:

The survey data reveals the significant impact of the SR 710 freeway construction on local families. Out of 129 respondents, 41.09% or 45 individuals reported that their families were displaced due to the construction, while 58.14% (75 individuals) indicated that they were not affected. A small percentage, 0.78% (1 individual), could not recall if their family was displaced. This data underscores the lasting effects of the freeway project on the community, with a substantial portion of survey respondents directly experiencing displacement.

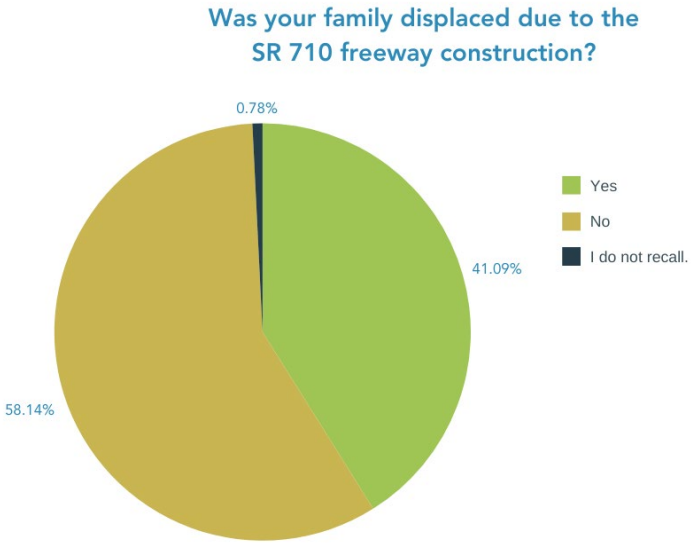


Chart #4 – Was your family displaced?

Given that 45 out of 129 respondents reported being displaced, this number, while seemingly small, still underscores the lasting effects of the freeway project on the community. This disruption had enduring consequences, particularly for those families directly affected, contributing to long-term challenges in rebuilding community ties and maintaining generational wealth.

AGE AT TIME OF SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION DISPLACEMENT:

We asked respondents about their age at the time of displacement, revealing that 36% were under the age of 10, and 34% were between the ages of 11-18. Several of the younger respondents had some emotional awareness of the displacement, mentioning that they knew they were being forced to move. And they recognized the stress that their families experienced as they struggled to relocate and find a new home in Pasadena.

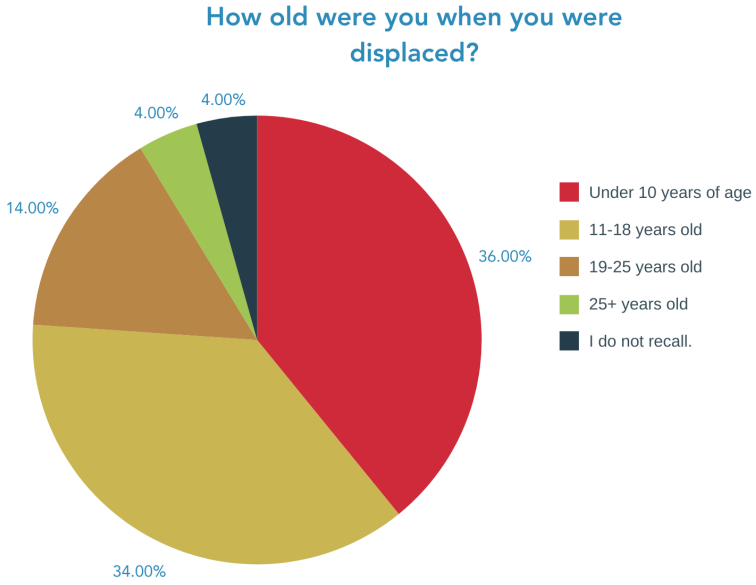


Chart #5 – Age at Displacement

Understanding the age of respondents at the time of displacement is important because it provides insight into the varying levels of emotional and psychological impact on different age groups. It is likely that children under 10 and adolescents between 11-18 years old experienced displacement differently. Younger children probably felt confused and anxious, while older children and teenagers might have had a greater awareness of the disruption and stress their families faced. **Source: Youth Mental Health Displacement Study**

This information helps us to comprehend the breadth of the impact on families, highlighting the need for targeted support and resources for children and adults affected by such significant upheaval. Additionally, it underscores the long-term effects of displacement on younger generations, influencing their sense of security and community attachment, especially since many youths did not receive any psychological counseling during the displacement period.

IMPACT OF DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES ON HOUSING OPTIONS FOR DISPLACED FAMILIES:

Of the 45 respondents who were displaced, we asked if laws such as racial covenants, redlining, and other discriminatory policies, including access to home mortgage loans, dictated where their families could move. We found that 46.94% said yes, 14.29% said no, and nearly 39% did not recall. The respondents' age at the time of displacement influenced their understanding of these discriminatory housing policies, with most children under 10 not fully comprehending the significance of these policies, nor how they affected their families.

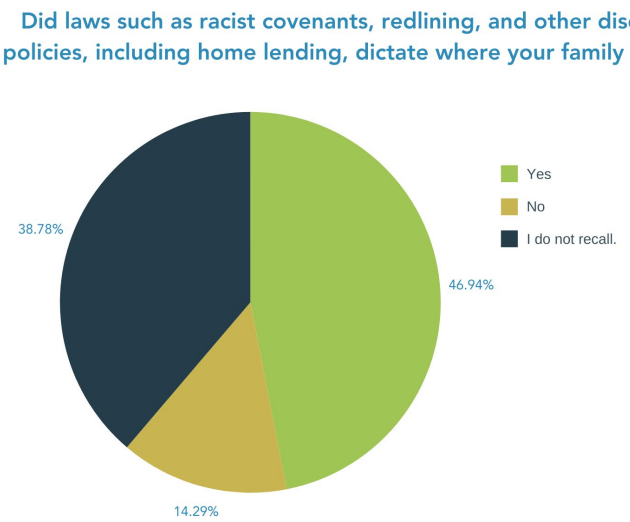


Chart #6 – Discriminatory Policies

During the 1960s and 1970s in Pasadena, California, discriminatory policies significantly shaped housing options for displaced families. Racist covenants, which are illegal now, were embedded in property deeds and used to prohibit the sale of houses to non-White buyers. This tactic effectively segregated neighborhoods, limiting where communities of color could reside or feel welcome. Redlining, the practice where banks and insurance companies denied loans and other services to residents based on their race or ethnicity, further restricting housing choices and economic mobility for these families. Also, displaced owners received less for their residences due to depressed neighborhood values because of redlining practices – impacting the amount of money they had available to purchase new homes when they were forced to sell their property to the State during the SR 710 freeway construction. The discriminatory practices made it difficult for African Americans, Japanese Americans, Latinos, and other communities of color families to secure mortgages. And even when they did qualify for home loans, they were often charged higher interest rates, which resulted in higher costs over the term of the loan.

Understanding these unfair policies can be challenging, especially for children under 10. At such a young age, they likely lacked the knowledge and context to grasp the complexities of these discriminatory practices. They certainly observed the immediate effects, such as being forced to move or witnessing their family's resulting stress, but the underlying systemic reasons were beyond their comprehension. As adults reflecting during the displacement period, these respondents might now recognize the broader context and impact of such policies on their families' relocation and housing options.

DISPLACEMENT OF FAMILY PLACES - WORSHIP, CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS, MARKETS, AND COMMUNITY SPACES:

Of the 116 respondents, we asked if their place of worship, cultural organization, market, or places where their family spent time and gathered were displaced or destroyed. The results showed that 44.35% said yes, 46.96% said no, and 8.70% did not recall.

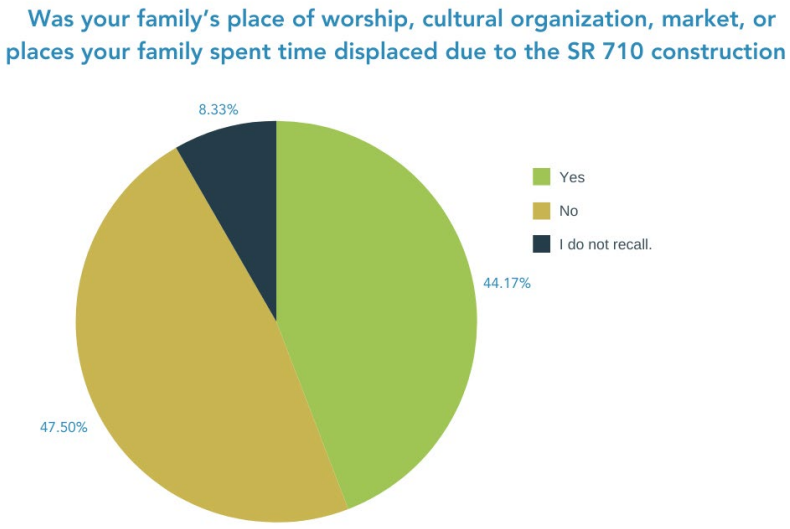


Chart #9 Displaced Places

1. Cultural and Social Fabric: Places of worship and cultural organizations are central to the social and cultural fabric of communities. They provide spiritual support, a sense of identity, belonging, and continuity. Displacement disrupts these connections, leading to a loss of cultural heritage and weakened community bonds.

2. Economic Impact: Local markets and businesses are economic lifelines, providing jobs and essential services. Their displacement affects the economic stability of families and reduces access to goods and services, contributing to economic decline.

3. Community Cohesion: Community spaces such as parks, recreational centers, and meeting halls foster social interactions, community engagement, and collective action. Their loss can lead to social isolation, reduced civic participation, and a weakened sense of community.

4. Historical Context: Understanding the historical context of displacement helps recognize the long-term impacts on communities, particularly those already marginalized by discriminatory policies. It highlights the compounded challenges faced by African American, Latino, and Japanese American families in Pasadena during the 1960s and 1970s.

5. Policy and Planning: Highlighting the importance of these displacements informs current and future urban planning and policy decisions. It emphasizes the need to review and analyze current City of Pasadena planning policies and practices that address preserving cultural and community spaces, ensuring equitable development, and providing adequate support for displaced communities to rebuild and thrive.

DISPLACED BUSINESSES, AS STATED BY RESPONDENTS, AND SOME WERE MENTIONED SEVERAL TIMES. SOME OF THESE NAMES WERE UNVERIFIABLE WITHIN CITY DIRECTORIES:

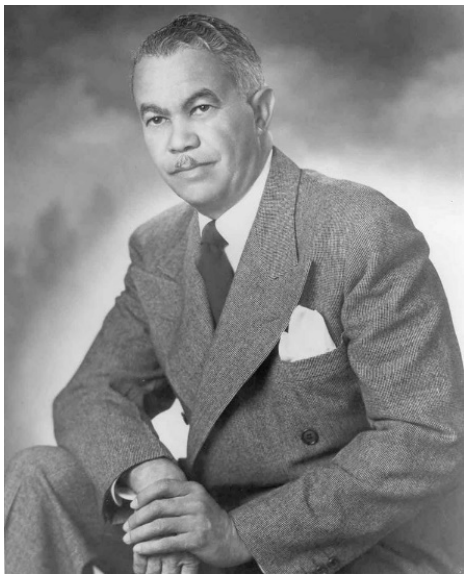
1. Arriba Mexican Restaurant
2. First African Methodist Episcopal Church (First AME Church)
3. Step's Barber Shop
4. Berry and Sweeney Pharmacy
5. Stan's Grocery Store
6. The Green Buck Restaurant
7. Valley Barbery Shop
8. Neighborhood Church
9. Pasadena Union Church
10. Pasadena Japanese American Cultural Center
11. Preble's Market
12. Village Cleaners
13. Foster's Freeze
14. Butcher Shop
15. Bill's Chicken
16. Tiki Room
17. Enterprise Cleaners

TESTIMONIALS AND FEEDBACK FROM RESPONDENTS:

"First AME Church at Vernon and Walnut was our church home. We attended Sunday school at First AME." Survey Respondent #181330683

"Pasadena Union Church, Pasadena Japanese American Cultural Center was where our family would spend time." Survey Respondent #181635886

"First AME Church, Green Buck Restaurant, and Valley Barber Shop were my three favorite places where our family spent time. I remember getting a haircut for $2.00 and a process for $15.00 at that time. The Green Buck Restaurant was a casual diner and a wonderful place to eat a burger or breakfast. I remember they had a house in the back where two older ladies lived. There was also a popular beauty shop on Green Street." Survey Respondent #181330773



First AME Church Architect Paul Revere Williams
Photo Source: NPR



First AME Church, Vernon Avenue – Front
Photo Source: University of California

"This was an injustice to the minority community. Our community was demolished and disrupted. Village Market, Village Cleaners, Fosters Freeze, Butcher Shop, Bill's Chicken, Tiki Room, and my brother were box boys at Village Market. I attended Guadalupe Church and Friendship Baptist Church. I ate at The Green Buck Restaurants #1 and #2." Survey Respondent #182328867



Japanese American Union Church Pasadena Sunday School Class **Photo Source:** Pasadena City College

The home we moved to, 1612 Glen Avenue, had a deed restriction that said it could only be sold to Whites. I don't know how we purchased it, but it had three bedrooms. I remember the mortgage being $100.00 monthly, and I was concerned about the payments. I had my children at the Women's Hospital on Congress Street and was married in 1948. During the 710 and 210 freeway construction, I was busy raising our family, so I wasn't concerned about the politics surrounding these projects. I do remember Brookside Plunge and only being able to swim on Tuesdays." Survey Respondent #182598706



Japanese American Union Church Image
Photo Source: Pasadena City College



Japanese American Union Church Image
Photo Source: Pasadena City College













SECTION 4:

RESPONDENTS WHO WERE NOT DISPLACED BUT IMPACTED BY THE SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION

RESPONDENTS WHO WERE NOT DISPLACED BUT IMPACTED BY THE SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION:

In this section, we explore the experiences of respondents who were not physically displaced by the SR 710 freeway construction but nonetheless felt its impact on their quality of life. These individuals, who remain near the construction area, provide valuable insights into the broader repercussions of such large-scale infrastructure projects on a community.

The SR 710 freeway construction brought about a host of changes that affected daily living conditions. Many respondents reported increased noise levels, which disrupted the peace and quiet of their neighborhoods. Air pollution levels also rose significantly, contributing to health concerns and a decline in overall quality of life. Additionally, the construction changed traffic patterns, which caused congestion and made commuting more cumbersome. The destruction of neighborhood landscapes, with the loss of familiar landmarks and green spaces, further contributed to a sense of disruption and loss.

The city's general plan from the 1960s intended to divide the community by building a freeway. However, it did not consider the potentially far-reaching effects of large-scale infrastructure projects beyond the immediate physical displacement of residents. By examining the experiences of those residents who remained, we gain a deeper understanding of the community-wide impacts of the SR 710 freeway construction.

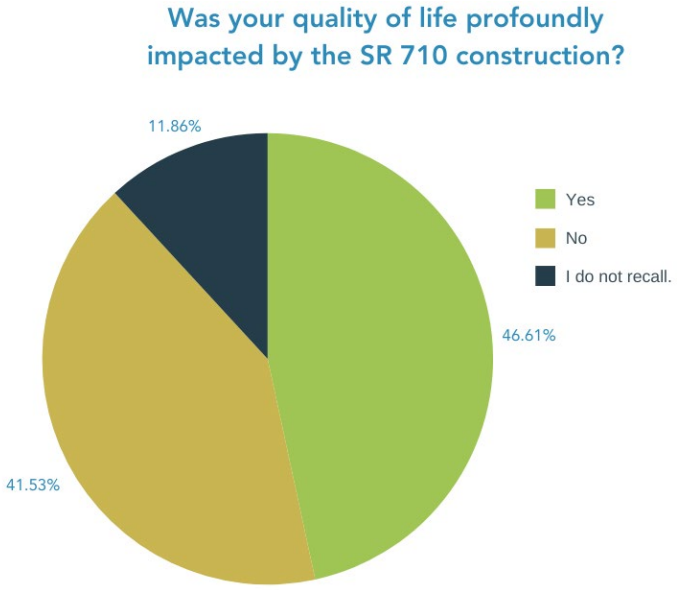


Chart #9 Not Displaced, Quality of Life

IMPACT ON QUALITY OF LIFE:

Respondents who were not displaced but still were impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction were asked if their quality of life was affected. Of the 114 respondents, 46.61% said yes, 41.53% said no, and 11.86% said they did not recall. This data highlights that even those who were not directly displaced by the freeway still experienced significant disruptions in their daily lives.

IMPACTED, NOT DISPLACED RESIDENTS - HOW WAS YOUR LIFE IMPACTED? FACTORS AFFECTING QUALITY OF LIFE:

The SR 710 freeway construction significantly affected many residents who were not physically displaced but experienced profound disruptions in their daily lives. According to survey data from 76 respondents, the most common issues were noise and increased traffic, each affecting 25% of survey participants. One resident expressed the widespread sentiment this way: “The noise and traffic became unbearable, altering our daily routines and peace of mind.” – Survey Respondent #181699806

Additionally, 6.58% of respondents cited other impacts, including Sequoyah School's threat of demolition and the emotional toll of the project's uncertain future. A resident reflected, “Children attended Sequoyah School, and it continually faced the prospect of demolition, which was unsettling for everyone involved.” – Survey Respondent #181921771

These survey results and personal stories highlight the multifaceted impacts of the SR 710 freeway construction on residents who remained in their homes, emphasizing the need for support and understanding for communities affected by large-scale infrastructure projects.

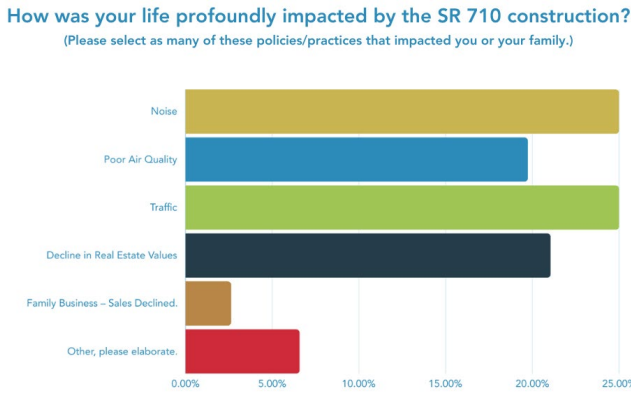


Chart #10 Life Profoundly Impacted

IMPACTED BUT NOT DISPLACED - HEALTH PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE SR 710 FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION:

According to survey results from 54 respondents, 14.81% (8 individuals) reported suffering health problems related to the construction, likely due to considerable dust and particulate matter from the demolition, transportation, and construction activities. These conditions can exacerbate respiratory issues such as asthma and bronchitis, contributing to long-term public health concerns.

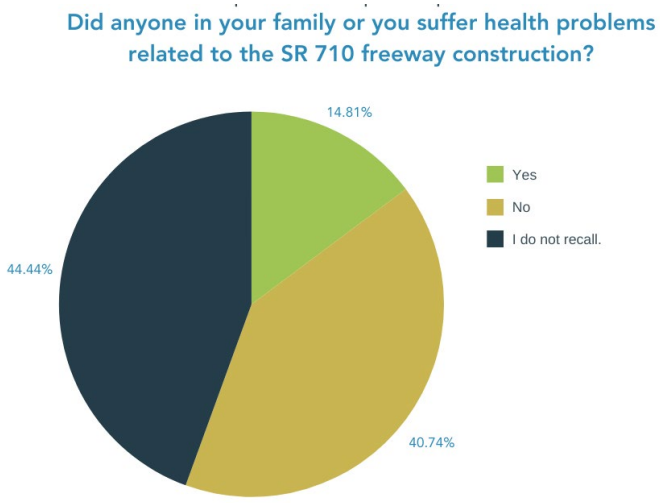
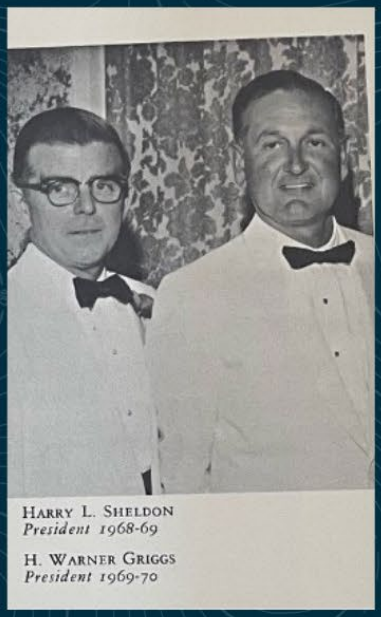


Chart #11 Health Problems

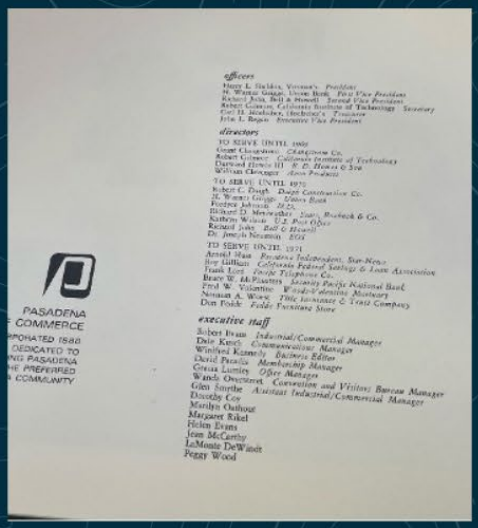
Meanwhile, 40.74% (22 individuals) of respondents reported they were not experiencing any health issues. A good size portion, 44.44% (24 individuals), could not recall if they had health problems related to the construction. This uncertainty suggests that while a minority reported direct health issues, many residents were either unaffected or unsure about the SR 710 freeway construction's impact on their health.







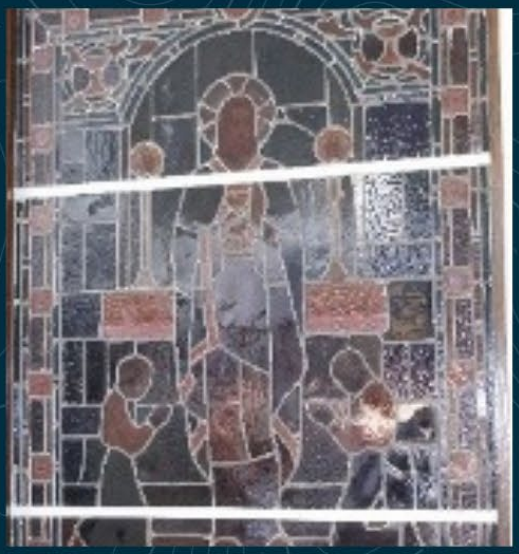



officers
directory
executive staff









SECTION 5:
DEMOGRAPHICS OF ALL SURVEY RESPONDENTS

SECTION 5: DEMOGRAPHICS OF ALL RESPONDENTS:

Racial and Ethnic Composition of Respondents:

The ethnic makeup data provided in the survey reflects a specific sample of households affected by or involved in the SR 710 freeway construction project. To understand its significance, it would be valuable to compare the results to the overall demographics of Pasadena, California.

When comparing the survey data to the broader demographics of Pasadena, the following distinctions can be made:

- The survey sample has a higher percentage of Black or African American households (29.89%) compared to the city average (10%).
- The percentage of White/Caucasian households in the survey (28.74%) is lower than the city average (38%).
- Hispanic/Latino households are underrepresented in the survey (12.64%) compared to the city average (34%).
- Japanese American households (17.81%) are significantly overrepresented among survey respondents compared to Pasadena's overall Asian population (16%). Within the city, Japanese Americans make up approximately 1.6% of the total population or about 2,110 residents. **Source:** **Pasadena Population by Race Neilsberg**

According to recent census data for Pasadena (2020 - American Community Survey), the city's racial and ethnic composition is as follows:

- White/Caucasian: Approximately 38%
- Black or African American: Approximately 10%
- Hispanic/Latino: Approximately 34%
- Asian (including subgroups such as Japanese American): Approximately 16%
- Other races and ethnicities: Approximately 2%

The significant differences between the survey data and Pasadena's current demographics highlight how the SR 710 freeway construction disproportionately impacted certain communities, particularly Black or African American and Japanese American households, which are overrepresented in the survey. This suggests that these groups were more heavily affected by displacement, leading to long-term socioeconomic challenges. Additional outreach was conducted to Hispanic/Latino households to close survey gaps and accurately represent the SR 710 freeway construction impact. Efforts at St. Andrew Church and among parishioners yielded no new information.

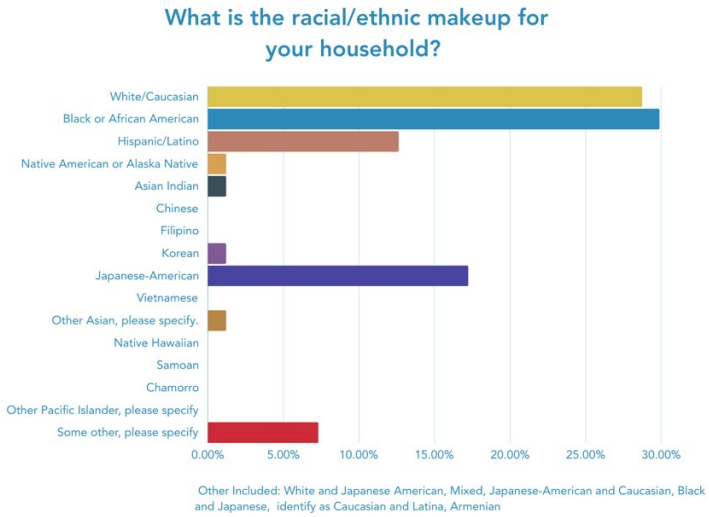


Chart #12 – Racial Ethnic Makeup of Household

Household Size in Your Family's Home During the 1960s-1970s:

During the SR 710 Displacement Era, the survey data reveals insights into the household sizes of families affected by the construction. Out of 87 respondents, many families (54.02%) consisted of 4-7 members. This indicates that mid-sized families were the most common among those surveyed.

These findings suggest that most affected families were relatively large, with nearly two-thirds having more than four members. This demographic detail underscores the significant impact of the displacement on family units, as larger families likely faced considerable challenges in finding adequately sized, affordable housing. It would have been difficult to maintain their social and economic stability during the upheaval caused by the SR 710 freeway construction. The data also reveals a small number of very large families (8 or more members), which further depicts the diverse household compositions affected by this period of displacement.

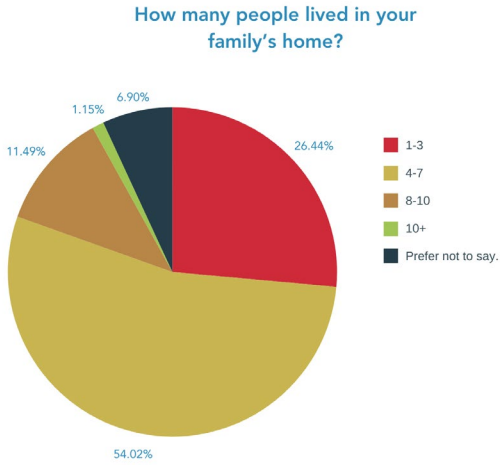


Chart 15: Household Size During The Displacement Period

Household Composition During the 1960s-1970s - Parents, Grandparents, Siblings, and Other Family Members:

The survey data on household composition during the SR 710 Displacement era provides valuable insights into the living arrangements of affected families.

Of the 95 respondents, we found that most households included parents and siblings, highlighting a traditional nuclear family structure in many cases. However, a significant number of households also included extended family members such as grandparents (11.58 %), and a smaller portion had great-grandparents (4.21%), indicating multigenerational living arrangements. Additionally, the presence of aunts or uncles (5.26%) and family friends (7.37%) in some households suggests a supportive and interconnected community where non-nuclear family members played a role in daily life.

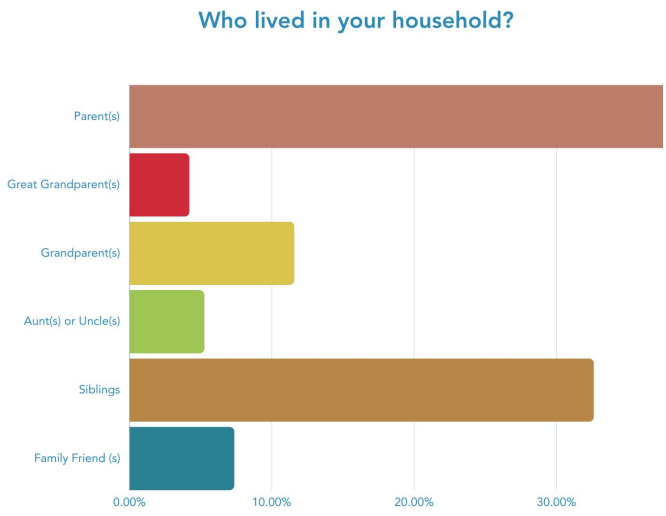
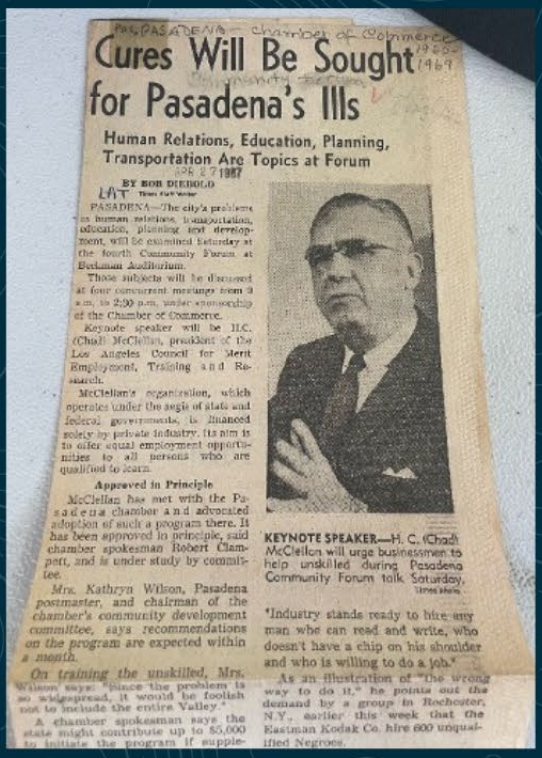


Chart 16: Household Composition

Understanding these living arrangements is key to appreciating the complexity and diversity of family structures affected by the SR 710 freeway construction. It underscores the broader social and familial networks that were disrupted, necessitating a comprehensive approach to addressing the impacts of displacement on diverse types of households on past and future transportation construction projects.







Cures Will Be Sought for Pasadena's Ills

Human Relations, Education, Planning, Transportation Are Topics at Forum

BY BOB DIEBOLD
Times Staff Writer

PASADENA—The city's problems in human relations, transportation, education, planning and development, will be examined Saturday at the fourth Community Forum at Bethanna Auditorium.

Those subjects will be discussed at four concurrent meetings from 9 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. under sponsorship of the Chamber of Commerce.

Keynote speaker will be H.C. (Chad) McClellan, president of the Los Angeles Council for Merit Employment, Training and Research.

McClellan's organization, which operates under the aegis of state and federal governments, is financed solely by private industry. Its aim is to offer equal employment opportunities to all persons who are qualified to learn.

Approved in Principle

McClellan has met with the Pasadena chamber and advocated adoption of such a program there. It has been approved in principle, said chamber spokesman Robert Clampett, and is under study by committee.

Mrs. Kathryn Wilson, Pasadena postmaster, and chairman of the chamber's community development committee, says recommendations on the program are expected within a month.

On training the unskilled, Mrs. Wilson says: "Since the problem is so widespread, it would be foolish not to include the entire Valley."

A chamber spokesman says the state might contribute up to $5,000 to initiate the program if supple-

KEYNOTE SPEAKER—H. C. (Chad) McClellan will urge businessmen to help unskilled during Pasadena Community Forum talk Saturday.

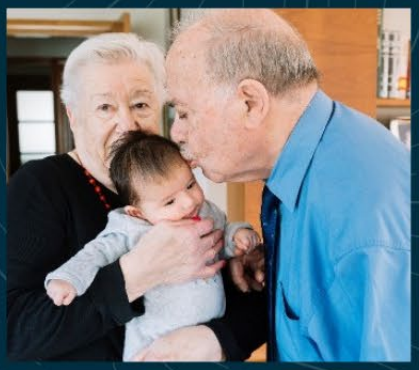
"Industry stands ready to hire any man who can read and write, who doesn't have a chip on his shoulder and who is willing to do a job."

As an illustration of "the wrong way to do it," he points out the demand by a group in Rochester, N.Y., earlier this week that the Eastman Kodak Co. hire 600 unqualified Negroes.













SECTION 6:

VIDEO INTERVIEWS – LIFE IN WEST PASADENA DURING THE 1960S-1970S

SECTION 6 VIDEO INTERVIEWS – LIFE IN WEST PASADENA DURING THE 1960S-1970S:

The following are video interviews and links conducted during the outreach period to learn more about how the SR 710 freeway construction impacted people of color, families, and businesses. Please note that interview questions varied depending on the interviewee and to assist with expanding on the dialog happening during the interview.

Grant, Richardson, King Family Interviews:

In 1948, Family Savings and Loan was established in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles by Pasadena resident M. Earl Grant. Originally, Grant intended to purchase property in Pasadena to start his business, but due to the pervasive racial discrimination of the time, he could not find a seller willing to transact with an African-American-owned bank. Despite these challenges, Grant's vision persevered, and in 1976, he successfully opened the first Pasadena branch of Family Savings and Loan. A photograph taken by Harry H. Adams captures the momentous occasion, showing employees of the business alongside members of the Grant family as they commemorate the groundbreaking of the new branch.



(Photograph by Harry H. Adams) Source: Images of America – Pasadena A Business History by Patrick Conyers, Cedar Phillips, and the Pasadena Museum of History

Grant, Richardson-King Family Interview: https://vimeo.com/985253951

Barbara Richardson-King and her family discuss their Pasadena roots, arriving in 1894 from West Virginia, and the impact of displacement during the SR 710 freeway construction. Despite the emotional and economic loss, the family persevered, starting businesses like Altadena Rubbish and Family Savings and Loan to support minority communities. They emphasize the need for restorative justice for those affected by the freeway. **Grant Richardson King Family Backyard Interview Video Transcription Report .docx**

Allison Michelle Moses: https://vimeo.com/1007331757

Allison Michelle Moses, granddaughter of Earl Grant, shares her family's experience of displacement during the SR 710 freeway construction. She discusses the loss of their home on Vernon Avenue, the struggle for fair compensation, and the impact of systemic racism on Black and Japanese American families. Moses emphasizes the loss of generational wealth and calls for restorative justice, advocating for reparations and political engagement to address these ongoing inequities. Her story highlights the lasting effects of displacement on her family's legacy in Pasadena. **Allison Moses Grant King Video Transcription.docx**

MIJARES FAMILY RESTAURANT ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW:

Alice Mijares Recendez, Interview: https://vimeo.com/1015488642

Alice Mijares Recendez shares the legacy of Mijares Restaurant, a Pasadena staple for over 100 years. The family discusses its growth, cultural ties, and resilience through challenges, including the SR 710 freeway

construction that displaced many. Despite this, Mijares Restaurant remains a key part of Pasadena's cultural and culinary history. **Alice Mijares Interview Video Transcription .docx**

R'Lene Mijares de Lang, Mijares Restaurant, Interview: https://vimeo.com/1015489929
R'Lene Mijares de Lang shares the story of Mijares Restaurant, founded by her entrepreneurial grandmother in 1918. Starting as a tortilla business, it grew into a community hub in a diverse neighborhood. The SR 710 freeway construction disrupted this area, displacing families and affecting the restaurant's clientele. Despite these challenges, her grandmother kept the business going. R'Lene hopes for a future with more green spaces and housing in the 710 Stub, preserving Pasadena's inclusivity.
R_Lene Mijares Interview Video Transcription Report.docx

FIRST AME CHURCH PANEL DISCUSSION AND ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS:
https://vimeo.com/1014487126
Anna Parker, Eddie Newman, Alma Stokes, Valisa Jeffrey, Gwen Brown (Displaced), Lorna Dee Washington, and Allene Washington:
Explore the history of Pasadena's First AME Church in this oral history session. Voices including Alma Stokes, Anna Parker, Eddie Newman, and Gwendolyn Brown reflect on the church's role in the community and the impact of the SR 710 Freeway displacement. The discussion highlights the church's vital role it plays in parishioner's education, spirituality, and social connection, emphasizing the legacy of its original building and spiritual home designed by Paul Revere Williams.
First AME Church Panel Discussion Video Transcript.docx

ALKEBU-LAN JUNETEENTH INTERVIEWS:
Allen Edson, NAACP Pasadena Chapter President: https://vimeo.com/1007333547
Allen discusses the impact of the SR 710 freeway construction on Pasadena's Black community, including his family's displacement and the fight to preserve Black history. Filmed at the Akebu-lan Cultural Center's Juneteenth Celebration, this interview reveals Pasadena's untold history and the ongoing push for fairness.
Allen Edson Video Transcription Report .docx

James Michael Mims, Sr.: https://vimeo.com/1007333744
James Michael Mims, Sr., a long-time Pasadena resident, reflects on his family's history, including his mother's 1933 property purchase on Lincoln Avenue. He discusses the impact of the SR 710 freeway construction on his neighborhood, which altered the landscape but did not displace his family. Mims shares memories of growing up on Lincoln Avenue's tree-lined streets and the freedom his mother provided.
Michael Mims Video Transcription.docx

Jamal Okeyo Jumal: https://vimeo.com/1007333774
Jamal Okeyo Jumal reflects on growing up in Northwest Pasadena and attending local schools, a path shared by Jackie and Mack Robinson. He discusses how the 210 freeway split the Black community, erasing homes, schools, and churches, and how the SR 710 freeway construction displaced families, transforming neighborhoods. Jumal highlights the long-standing lack of recognition for Jackie Robinson and the disproportionate impact of freeway projects on Black and poor communities.
Jamal Okeyo Jumal_Video Transcription.docx

State Senator Anthony Portantino: https://vimeo.com/993106172
In this interview, State Senator Anthony Portantino discusses his career and role in the SR 710 Freeway Project. He shares his shift from the film industry to politics, focusing on education, environmental protection, and safer streets. Portantino learned about the 710 issues in the 1990s through local activists and opposed the tunnel alternative due to environmental concerns. He authored Senate Bill 7 to halt the freeway's completion and advocated for tenant protections and community-driven reimagining of the SR 710 area.
Senator Anthony Portantino Video Transcription Report.docx

Assemblyman Chris Holden: https://vimeo.com/1014479482
Assemblyman Chris Holden, representing District #41 and author of Assembly Bill #29, reflects on the fight against the SR 710 Freeway extension. Recorded at his Pasadena home, Holden shares his journey from growing up amid debates to authoring the bill that removed a section of the freeway. He discusses the Freeway's impact on communities, family displacement, and the need for fair public policies.
Assemblyman Chris Holden Video Transcription .docx

Elena Phleger, Sequoyah School: https://vimeo.com/1007332267
Elena Phleger, director of advancement at Sequoyah School, discusses the school's history on land leased from Caltrans since 1958 and its resilience during the uncertainty of the SR 710 Freeway project. She highlights the displacement of nearby homes, the school's efforts to purchase the property, and the importance of restorative justice for affected families. Elena advocates for a pedestrian-friendly, sustainable future for the SR 710 stub area, emphasizing the school's commitment to the community.
Elena Phleger Director of Advancement Sequoyah School Video Transcription Report.docx

Richard Mamoru Osaka (Rick): https://vimeo.com/1014495978
Richard Mamoru Osaka (Rick) shares memories of his grandparents' home at 170 South Pasadena Avenue, known for its gardens and family gatherings. The SR 710 freeway construction displaced them, forcing a move to a smaller Altadena home, ending their large family gatherings. Rick recalls the challenges and emotional toll of displacement. He honors his grandparents by visiting their old home site and advocates for markers to remember those who lost homes and businesses.
Rick Osaka Video Transcription .docx

Edgar "Eddie" Riddle: https://vimeo.com/1007333034
Eddie Riddle, son of Pasadena's first Black police officer, Ralph Riddle, shares his experiences growing up in Pasadena and the impact of Freeway displacement. This interview highlights the Riddle family's history and the vibrant Black community of the 1960s. Mr. Riddle is the descendant of a family who was displaced by the construction of the I 210. **Edgar Riddle Video Transcription Report .docx**

Sandra McConnell: https://vimeo.com/1007332388
Sandra McConnell, a long-time Pasadena resident, shares her experience as a displaced homeowner during the SR 710 freeway construction. Her family's home on South Pasadena Avenue, purchased in 1965, was taken through eminent domain, forcing them to relocate. Sandra discusses the emotional toll, the move to Lakewood Place, and the broader cultural shifts in Pasadena. She advocates for using the 710-stub area for community spaces to honor displaced families. **Sandra McConnell Video Transcript.docx**















SECTION 7:

IMPACT OF DISPLACEMENT AND LOSS OF GENERATIONAL WEALTH

SECTION 7: IMPACT OF DISPLACEMENT AND LOSS OF GENERATIONAL WEALTH

The focus of this section is to explore the complex factors that have shaped Pasadena's neighborhoods adjacent to the freeway corridor. The outcomes identified here are based on residents' qualitative responses and an analysis by Allegra's subcontractor, Davis Demographics/MGT, of the long-term impacts of the SR 710 freeway construction. The loss of generational wealth and property ownership equity are two of the most significant long-term detrimental consequences of the 710 Freeway project.

In the U.S., homeownership has long been a primary means for families to build and transfer wealth across generations. However, the forced displacement due to the freeway construction disrupted this opportunity.

As one former resident stated:
"This took place before I was born, but if my grandmother and family had not been displaced and forced to start over from scratch, the trajectory of their lives could have been entirely different." Survey Respondent #181210581



Photo: Clara Allen Home
Photo Source: Judy Risby

These families lost not only their homes but also the ability to benefit from property value appreciation, which significantly contributes to economic stability in the United States. Over time, home values typically increase, providing homeowners with equity that can be of immense value to homeowners or passed down to future generations. Freeway displacement severed this financial lifeline, leaving many families unable to rebuild the wealth that was meant to benefit their children and grandchildren. Homeownership also provides families with the financial capital to be able to weather economic downturns or emergencies, which is a resource that renters generally lack. Moreover, the displacement disproportionately affected minority communities of color, who were already facing significant barriers to homeownership due to systematic racism from the impacts of past racist covenants, redlining practices, and discriminatory lending practices. The loss of generational wealth has had ripple effects, contributing to the ongoing economic disparities seen today. In the U.S., the average Black household has just one-tenth the wealth of the average White household. Sources: **CDC Health Equity Redlining** and **FederalReserveBank Wealth Inequality**

The long-term effects of this displacement are evident in the economic challenges faced by the descendants of those uprooted. Without the wealth generation foundation of homeownership, these families may have been placed at a significant disadvantage socially and economically. For example, missing opportunities for higher education, starting small businesses, securing financial stability, or maintaining adequate healthcare, which can all contribute to cycles of poverty and inequality. The legacy of the SR 710 Freeway displacement is not just a story of lost homes but of limited opportunities and enduring economic inequity.

A Descendant of the Displaced Ms. Allison Moses Speaks on the Loss of Generation Wealth



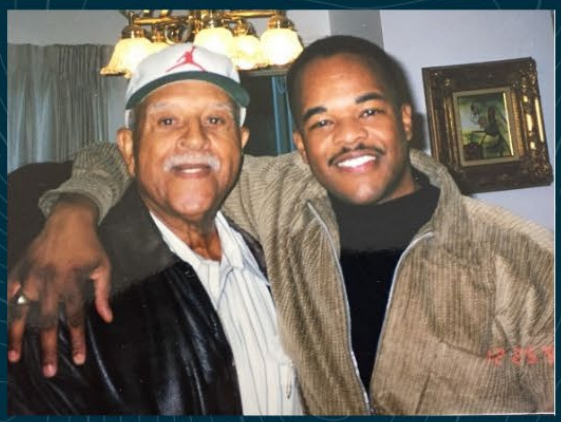
Photo: The Yashiro's House
Photo Source: Rick Osaka

ESTIMATING THE LOST WEALTH - THE LONG-TERM IMPACT OF SR 710 DISPLACEMENT ON HOMEOWNERS:

Davis Demographics/MGT conducted an analysis that estimated the property values of homes belonging to three displaced residents: Orrin Tracy, Porfirio Frausto, and Rick Osaka. The estimates were generated by averaging the appraised land and improvement values of single-family home parcels located within a 0.5-mile radius of each displaced address. The criteria for selecting **comparable properties** included a lot size of 15,000 square feet or less, homes built in 1960 or earlier, and parcels with appraised values assessed within the last 10 years. Valuations are based on 2024 values from the Los Angeles County Assessor's Office.

Had these homeowners not been forced to move by the SR 710 freeway construction, they would have accumulated more equity in their properties, contributing to greater overall wealth for their families. This analysis highlights the long-term financial impact of the displacement on the affected residents.

Name	Address Displaced	Est. Land Value	Est. Improvement Value	Est. Total Value
1. Porfirio Frausto	Cypress Street, Below Villa	$629,682.32	$323,552.65	$ 953,234.97
2. Orrin Tracy	325, 327, and 329 Kensington Pl.	$942,490.56	$1,779,239.50	$2,721,730.06
3. Rick Osaka	170 S. Pasadena Ave.	$1,177,504.50	$756,082.05	$1,933,586.55




















SECTION 8:

ORAL STORIES, INTERVIEWS, COMMUNITY EVENTS AND PANEL DISCUSSION

SECTION 8 ORAL STORIES, INTERVIEWS, COMMUNITY EVENTS AND PANEL DISCUSSION

TABLE OF NON-VIDEOTAPED INTERVIEWS:

ONE ON ONE INTERVIEWS:

#1 Interview - Alma Stokes
#2 Interview - Myrtle Sinclair
#3 Interview - Judy Risby
#4 Interview - Miriam Nakamura Quan and Ray Quan
#5 Interview - Claire Bogaard
#6 Interview - Doris Leonard
#7 Interview - Fr. Marcos Gonzalez – St. Andrew Church
#8 Interview - Sandra McConnell
#9 Interview - Christopher Allen Edson
#10 Interview - Walt Butler
#11 Interview - Cedric Smith
#12 Interview - Gladys Miles
#13 Interview - Orrin Tracy
#14 Interview - Joanne Nucklos
#15 Interview - Melvin Mercer
#16 Interview - Dr. Lawton Gray and Pablo Miralles – John Muir High School
#17 Interview - Lafayette Parks
#18 Interview - Allen Shay
#19 Interview - Tim Ivison
#20 Interview - Margot Seipelt
#21 Interview - Jane Mitsumori
#22 Interview- Harrison Bailey

GROUP INTERVIEWS:

#1 Group Interview - West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA)
#2 Group Interview - NAACP Pasadena
#3 Group Interview - 710 Restorative Justice Coalition
#4 Group Interview - Sequoyah School

PANEL DISCUSSION (VIDEOTAPED):

#1 Panel Discussion - First AME Church – Unveiling the Untold: First AME Church Oral History Discussion and Videotaping Session

STORIES:

#1 Story - The Settlement House
#2 Story - West Dayton Street
#3 Story - James A. Garfield School
#4 Story - Orban Lumber
#5 Story - "Because of Them, I Am: A Salute to Black Pioneers of Pasadena.

COMMUNITY EVENTS:

#1 Community Event - West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA)
– Annual Meeting – Tabling Event at The Elks Lodge, June 6, 2024

#2 Community Event - Happy Birthday Pasadena
– Silver Screen Extravaganza – Tabling Event at The Pasadena Museum of History, June 9, 2024

#3 Community Event – Alkebu-lan Cultural Center
– Juneteenth Event – "Because of Them I AM" – Collaborative Partner, June 18, 2024

#4 Community Event – Pasadena Buddhist Temple
– Outreach Event to the Japanese American Community, June 22, 2024

#5 Community Event – Pasadena Senior Center
– Independence Day Party – Great American Swing Band Concert and Dance -Tabling Event, July 4, 2024

1 ON 1 INTERVIEWS

#1 Interview:
Alma Stokes was not displaced. She is a long-time Pasadena resident, community advocate, and volunteer. Member of the historic First AME Church that was displaced.

Date: March 6. 2024, 10:00 AM



Photo: Alma Stokes
Photo Source: Aubin E. Wilson

The home where she has lived since the late 1950s, was originally slated to be on the path of the SR 710 Expansion, however neighborhood activists, including Emmett Mickle and Fred Peters, got the route shifted so Washington Boulevard at Arroyo Boulevard was spared. Alma was born in 1931 in Everett, Washington. As her father was an AME Pastor, her family, which included twelve siblings, frequently moved. The focus of the family was on faith, family, education and living their faith. Alma received an AA Degree from San Bernardino Valley College, a BA from Cal State LA, and an MA from Azusa Pacific. When she and her husband, Bailey, who she married in 1951, moved to Pasadena in 1953, they wanted to rent their "dream home" on Pasadena Avenue, however they were unable to do so because a sign that read "whites only" was posted on the front lawn of the home. For the next few years, they rented in NW Pasadena on Washington Boulevard and later at 600 W. Montana Street before they moved to her current home on Washington Boulevard. Together, until Bailey's premature death, they raised four children.

She taught school locally at Washington Elementary for many years and for a short while worked for the Pasadena Community Redevelopment Agency, located in the old Union Pacific Building, until it became a job that she believed conflicted with her values and was not in the best interest of the community. Alma's students, including former city council member John Kennedy, were considered part of her extended family. Her life, as she knew it, was interrupted by the SR 710 freeway construction. Her church home, First AME, was demolished and forced to move. This was a real blow to Alma and so many others for whom this was not only a church, but a community center and an extended family. Throughout her life Alma has been a community volunteer and social activist with countless churches including First AME, Brown Memorial, Scott Methodist, St. Barnabas, and All Saints Church Pasadena, where she has been a member for decades. She has also been an active participant in numerous organizations including her sorority, Delta Sigma Theta, the NAACP, and the Pasadena Education Foundation. At 93, she lives independently in Pasadena and is still living her faith. She is still active in the community and is currently working on the History of N. Fair Oaks Avenue- Past, Present and a Vision for the Future, a vision plan that is being developed by the Arroyo Group. Her younger sisters, Anna and Argola, both live locally and her children are scattered between Pasadena, CA and Orlando, FL. In addition to participating in a one-on-one interview, Alma was one the seven panelists who participated in the "Unveiling the Untold: First AME Church Oral History Discussion and Videotaping Session" on Wednesday, June 26. There she elaborated on the trauma caused by the displacement of her beloved church home and the disruption of community life for hundreds of African residents of Pasadena whose lives were being upended by freeway construction. She also described the damage caused by the development of the Pepper Street Project which was directed by her former employer the Community Redevelopment Agency of Pasadena.

#2 Interview:
Myrtle Sinclair, Family Displaced, 326 South Pasadena Avenue
Family-owned Sinclair Rubbish and attended Scott United Methodist Church
Date: May 7, 2024, 3:00 PM



Photo: Myrtle Sinclair
Photo Source: Aubin E. Wilson

Myrtle and her sister, Beverly Terry Palmer, were raised in Pasadena by their aunt and uncle, Wilbur A. Sinclair. Sinclair was a long-time resident of Pasadena and the owner of the Sinclair Rubbish Company. The family were members of and worshipped at Scott United Methodist Church. Her father was the Finance Manager for the Church and worked with Church leadership and others to find a new location for the church after it was slated for demolition.

Myrtle lived at 326 S. Pasadena Avenue between Del Mar and Waverly and attended Garfield School, McKinley Junior High, and graduated in 1961 from Pasadena High School (PHS). While at PHS she took classes at what is now Pasadena City College. The Sinclair Rubbish Company, which was in business for more than 50 years, was located on Waverly Place, around the corner from the family's home. Land for both locations was sold to Caltrans through eminent domain as part of the planned SR 710 Construction. After being displaced, her family started anew and moved to Northwest Pasadena where they lived off Arroyo Boulevard. Likewise, Sinclair Rubbish moved its operations to NW Pasadena and was in operation for 50 years.
It was a difficult move as they left a self-sufficient, as well as racially and ethnically diverse neighborhood, and thriving community where everyone knew everyone and supported one another. Neighbors included the Mijares and Yamada families as well as the Allens. After the SR 710 freeway construction began, families were scattered into different neighborhoods and despite being displaced and forced to move out of the neighborhood where her family lived and worked, Myrtle persevered and maintained her friendships from her Garfield School days thanks to her family. She has memories of walking to school past the stores and businesses, including the Vroman's Book Depository, a machine shop, a piano store, and of course, Mijares on Palmetto Drive where fresh tortillas, Mexican candies, and sodas could be purchased as after-school treats on the days when she had extra pocket change.

Myrtle left Pasadena after graduating from high school. She attended and graduated from Central Washington State University, where she met her college sweetheart and future husband. They moved to Seattle where she studied at the University of Washington and ultimately received a Master of Social Work Degree. Later they moved back to the Los Angeles area where she found work at St. Joseph's Hospital in Burbank, and then later at Glendale Adventist Hospital as a social worker. Prior to retiring, Myrtle worked for the Pasadena Unified School District (PUSD) in Special Education with children with autism.

She is currently living independently in Desert Hot Springs, California and is the mother to two children who are graduates of Blair High School in Pasadena.

#3 Interview:
Judy Allen Risby was displaced and her mother,
Clara Allen's business, The Green Buck was displaced as well. **Date: May 14, 2024, 9:30AM**



Photo: Judy Allen Risby
Photo Source: Judy Risby



Photo: Clara Allen, Owner of the Green Buck 1 and 2 Restaurants
Date of Photo: Unknown
Photo Source: Judy Risby

Judy Allen Risby is the daughter of Clara Allen, who was the owner of the Green Buck and Green Buck 2 Restaurants in Pasadena. When her mother was not working, they attended Friendship Baptist Church. She is a lifelong friend of Myrtle Sinclair and a mother, grandmother, wife, history buff, and playwright. Her play "Did You Know": A History of Black Altadena and Pasadena" that debuted in Altadena on Saturday, July 27, 2024.

She shared the story of her mother, Clara Allen, a sharecropper's daughter who was born in 1919 and migrated to Pasadena in 1943 with her second husband and two young daughters for her husband's job in the military which was based in Burbank. Clara, raised in Georgia, had a second-grade education, however she was taught early on by an aunt that if you have any money, then save it and invest in real estate. This lesson and her cooking skills stayed with her for her entire life.

After her marriage dissolved, Clara was live-in domestic in La Canada and Pasadena to raise money to buy a home for her family. While Clara was live-in domestic, Judy lived with relatives. Clara found a home at 275 S. Pasadena Avenue that she loved and was perfect for her family. Because she was Black, she was prevented from securing a mortgage despite having ample funds for a downpayment. The soon-to-be-former owners of the home knew that Clara was an independent forward thinker who would thrive despite any barrier put in front of her. As such, they carried the $10K mortgage and Clara paid them back monthly. To cover the $85 per month mortgage, Clara rented rooms in the home and cooked for her boarders. By the time Caltrans purchased Clara's home via the eminent domain process, her name was on the property deed.

Shortly after moving into her childhood home on South Pasadena Avenue, Judy met Mary Bourke, who lived on Orange Grove Avenue. Through Judy, Clara and Mary became the best of friends. It was Mary who, because she was white, was able to purchase the Green Buck Restaurant, using money that Clara had saved, and then had it moved from its original location on Green Street to South Pasadena Avenue at Del Mar Boulevard.

The new location of the restaurant was in the front yard of Allen's home on South Pasadena Avenue. Her mother was a formidable baker and cook who claimed that she was "led by the Holy Spirit." Judy remembers relatives migrated to Pasadena from Georgia and worked with Clara at The Green Buck along with people who lived in the neighborhood. Ever the entrepreneur and investor, Clara opened The Green Buck 2 on North Fair Oaks Avenue near what would later become the Parson's project.

Clara, her family, and home as well as her first restaurant, the original Green Buck, were displaced by eminent domain. Because the business was on the same parcel of land as their home, they were paid solely for the value of the home and not the business. Later, a new home, located at 396 North Raymond Avenue (at Maple) was purchased. This home is where Judy currently lives with her husband and two adult grandchildren.

Judy left Pasadena after high school and studied in the Pacific Northwest, and later moved to Alberta, Canada, where she met her husband, Phillip G. Risby, a Canadian-born visual artist whose paintings are a mirror of a life lived as a Black man growing up in North America. A life consisting of both pleasure and pain, social injustice, beauty, and resilience. Currently several grandchildren currently live with Judy and Phillip at their Victorian home in Pasadena as they continue the Allen family tradition of investing in real estate to build wealth for future generations.



Photo: Clara Allen's Home - 275 S. Pasadena Avenue, Pasadena, CA
Photo Source: Judy Risby



Photo: Clara Allen Green Buck Restaurant located in her front yard.
Photo Source: Judy Risby



Photo: Clara Allen in the Green Buck Restaurant Kitchen



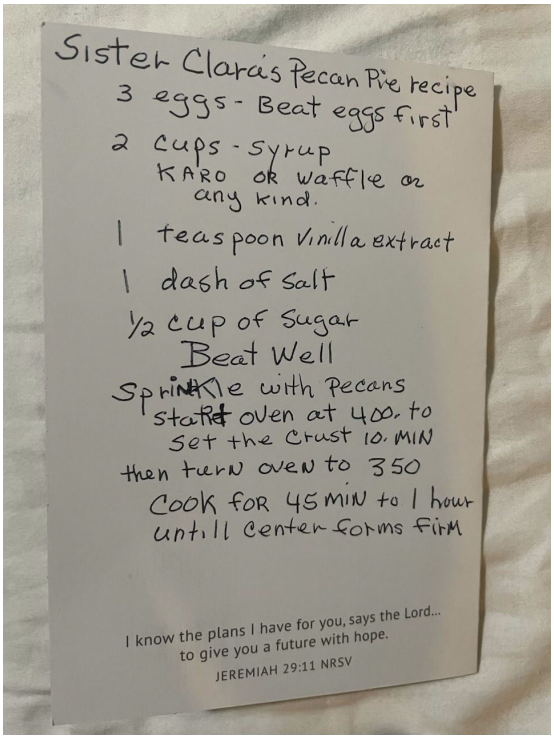
Photo: Green Buck Restaurant Staff.
Photo Source: Judy Risby



Photo: Honoring Clara Allen Program
Photo Source: Judy Allen Risby

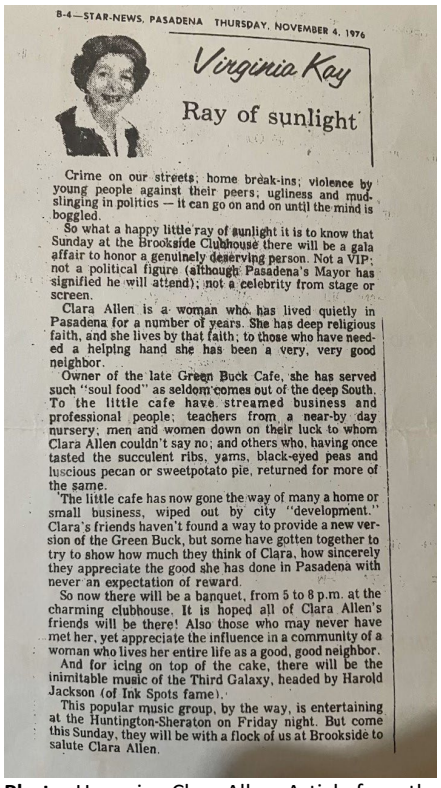


Photo: Clara Allen serving her customers.
Photo Source: Judy Risby


Sister Clara's Pecan Pie recipe
3 eggs - Beat eggs first
2 cups - syrup
KARO ok waffle or
any kind.
1 teaspoon Vinilla extract
1 dash of salt
½ cup of Sugar
Beat Well
Sprinkle with Pecans
started oven at 400. to
set the Crust 10. MIN
then turn oven to 350
Cook for 45 MIN to 1 hour
until center forms firm

I know the plans I have for you, says the Lord...
to give you a future with hope.
JEREMIAH 29:11 NRSV

Photo: Clara Allen's Famous Pecan Pie Recipe
Photo Source: Judy Allen Risby


B-4—STAR-NEWS, PASADENA THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1976

Virginia Kay

Ray of sunlight

Crime on our streets; home break-ins; violence by young people against their peers; ugliness and mud-slinging in politics — it can go on and on until the mind is boggled.

So what a happy little ray of sunlight it is to know that Sunday at the Brookside Clubhouse there will be a gala affair to honor a genuinely deserving person. Not a VIP; not a political figure (although Pasadena's Mayor has signified he will attend); not a celebrity from stage or screen.

Clara Allen is a woman who has lived quietly in Pasadena for a number of years. She has deep religious faith, and she lives by that faith; to those who have needed a helping hand she has been a very, very good neighbor.

Owner of the late Green Buck Cafe, she has served such "soul food" as seldom comes out of the deep South. To the little cafe have streamed business and professional people; teachers from a near-by day nursery; men and women down on their luck to whom Clara Allen couldn't say no; and others who, having once tasted the succulent ribs, yams, black-eyed peas and luscious pecan or sweetpotato pie, returned for more of the same.

The little cafe has now gone the way of many a home or small business, wiped out by city "development." Clara's friends haven't found a way to provide a new version of the Green Buck, but some have gotten together to try to show how much they think of Clara, how sincerely they appreciate the good she has done in Pasadena with never an expectation of reward.

So now there will be a banquet, from 5 to 8 p.m. at the charming clubhouse. It is hoped all of Clara Allen's friends will be there! Also those who may never have met her, yet appreciate the influence in a community of a woman who lives her entire life as a good, good neighbor.

And for icing on top of the cake, there will be the inimitable music of the Third Galaxy, headed by Harold Jackson (of Ink Spots fame).

This popular music group, by the way, is entertaining at the Huntington-Sheraton on Friday night. But come this Sunday, they will be with a flock of us at Brookside to salute Clara Allen.

Photo: Honoring Clara Allen, Article from the Pasadena Star News
Article Shared By: Judy Allen Risby

#4 Interview:
Miriam Nakamura Quan and Ray Quan were not displaced.
Active Members of the 'No on 710 Movement' and Japanese American Community Connectors. **Date: May 28, 2024, 11:00 AM**

The Quans, who are longtime residents of Pasadena and members of the Japanese American community, were referred to Allegra by Seiko, who is a member of the Pasadena Japanese American Cultural Institute. She suggested that we speak with the Quans regarding our outreach to the Japanese American Community. They, along with Bryan Takeda, assisted us in reaching descendants of those residents who were displaced by the SR 710 freeway construction.



Photo: Ray and Miriam Quan
Photo Source: Miriam and Ray Quan

Like Bryan, Mimi and Ray also spoke of a Japanese American language phrase Shikata ga nai (仕方がない), pronounced [ɕi̥kata ga na↓i], that means "it cannot be helped" or "nothing can be done about it".

They shared that this cultural belief that 'something cannot be helped', coupled with the pain of being marginalized repeatedly, explains why some members of the Japanese American community were unwilling to share their stories. This trauma started with the 1924 ban on all Asian immigrants coming into the United States, then continued with the Executive Order forcing all Japanese American people living on the West Coast out of their homes and businesses into internment camps during World War II, and is visible today with ongoing racial prejudice. Mimi and Ray worked with Allegra to identify local Japanese American residents who could be good community connectors and continue to spread the word about the SR 710 Oral History Project.

Active Members of the 'No on 710' Movement until any plans to build the SR 710 were thwarted by the State of California. They were most concerned about an increase in traffic congestion, as well as the negative environmental and health impacts of the planned construction of the SR 710 freeway. Ray was one of the 'No on 710' team members whose analysis of Caltrans and Metro studies and reports led to increased community awareness of both the "F" rating Caltrans plan received for reducing traffic congestion. His report also revealed the negative environmental and health impacts of both the demolition of homes and neighborhoods, as well as the construction of the infrastructure required to build the freeway and its proposed tunnel. Additionally, he studied the long-term impacts of opening the tunnel and freeway. Poor air quality was at the top of his list, which, over time, could lead to long-term health problems for neighbors, including asthma and heart disease. Ray's findings mirror the comments about the damaging impact the SR 710 freeway construction had on the individuals who completed the SR 710 Oral History survey.

#5 Interview:
Claire Bogaard- Family was not displaced but impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction. Active Member of the West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA)

Date: June 3, 2024, 2:00PM



Photo: Claire Bogaard
Photo Source: ColoradoBoulevard.net

Claire and her husband, Bill, the former Mayor of Pasadena, moved to Pasadena in the late 1960's. In 1971, they moved to a home on Congress Place which is in West Pasadena south of California Boulevard where they lived for nearly 50 years. Their home was along the proposed route of the SR 710 Freeway.

Claire's interest in historic preservation and her days as an advocate for historic preservation began after the city tore down "blighted" neighborhoods and built parking garages and office buildings. A founding member of Pasadena Heritage in 1977, Claire served as its Executive Director until 1993. Pasadena Heritage, a community-based historic preservation association, whose mission is to identify, preserve and protect the historic, architectural and cultural resources of the City of Pasadena through advocacy and education was instrumental in preserving Pasadena's historic downtown at a time when it was contemplated that it be raised and replaced with high-rise development. Today Pasadena Heritage works in cooperation with the City of Pasadena and neighborhoods to create urban design plans for historic commercial districts and residential neighborhoods.

In addition to her work with Pasadena Heritage, Claire served on the board of **The West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA)**, which was founded in 1962 and served to amplify the voices of West Pasadenans. As a group of volunteers the WPRA strives **"to guide and shape change and, as a result, enhance residents' quality of life."** She also served as an advisor to the National Trust of Historic Preservation, California State Historic Commission, and other city commissions and advisory committees, including the Committee for the Restoration of Pasadena City Hall. Claire worked tirelessly to oppose the completion of the SR 710 Freeway in Pasadena and was an active member of the No on 710 movement. Today, Claire is retired and living with her husband. Their four children, who attended both public and private schools in Pasadena, live here in the United States and in Spain.

PASADENA HERITAGE
PRESERVATION | ADVOCACY | EDUCATION



Photo Caption: American Chef, Author, and Television Personality Ms. Julia Child's family home is at 1199 South Pasadena Avenue, owned by Caltrans. It has been vacant since.
Photo Source: Pasadena Now

#6 Interview:
Doris Leonard – Family was displaced in her youth via eminent domain; Parcel #47569, Pasadena Avenue

Date: July 11, 2024, at 2:00PM

Parents: Emanuel Shelton Leonard Sr. (b. 5/5/1919)
Gravetta Jeanne Booker Leonard (b. 11/25/1921)



Photo: Emanuel and Gravetta Leonard Wedding
Photo Date: 1942
Photo Source: Doris Leonard



Photo: Three Leonard children today

Emanuel and Gravetta met in Seattle, WA, in 1941 and were soon married. Emanuel joined the Army, where he served as a cook, refusing to bear arms. He secretly fed families who had lost their fathers during World War II. Disturbed by the segregation and poor treatment of Black soldiers, he led a successful revolt against segregation in the military, ultimately contributing to the desegregation of the armed forces. Emanuel was subsequently promoted to second in command and served as a liaison to higher units.

The Leonards had three children:

Emanuel Shelton Leonard Jr.
(b. 1942 in Oakland) – Served in the Army.

Doris Mae Leonard
(b. 1945 in Oakland).

Shafik Dowan Leonard
(b. 1954 in Pasadena).

After the war, the Leonards moved to Pasadena in 1952. Emanuel started a construction company and, in 1957, built Manuel's Motel on Lincoln Avenue, which served as a safe haven for Black travelers. Gravetta became the first Black Realtor in the San Gabriel Valley, obtaining her real estate license in 1959. Together, they acquired and rehabilitated properties, often helping Black families purchase homes despite the challenges of redlining. They were instrumental in integrating Pasadena, working tirelessly to uplift their community.

Emanuel was named 'Father of the Year' and was featured in a Pasadena Star-News cover story in the 1950s, during the time when they lived in their Pasadena Avenue home. The Leonards were married for 64 years. The Leonards were innovators. Emanuel also started Silver Crown Limousine service, catering to entertainment industry clients. Gravetta ran a successful real estate business on Washington Blvd. and Lincoln Ave. Their businesses provided jobs and opportunities for many, including their own children, who worked alongside them.

The family was displaced by the SR 710 freeway construction, losing their home on Pasadena Avenue. They navigated the racist real estate practices of the time to purchase another home above the Rose Bowl on Arroyo Blvd. The loss of their home had a lasting impact on Doris, who recalled the noise, dust, and disruption caused by the construction.

Emanuel and Gravetta Leonard were pillars of the Pasadena community, leaving behind a legacy of service, innovation, and leadership. Their efforts to support and uplift the Black community continue to be felt today. Though they have passed, their impact remains in the lives they touched and the paths they forged.



Photo: Gravetta Leonard, 1950s
Photo Source: Doris Leonard



Photo: Emanuel and Gravetta Leonard
Photo Source: Doris Leonard



Photo: Emanuel Leonard, U.S. Army 1940s
Photo Source: Doris Leonard



Pasadena Avenue Home
Photos Source: Doris Leonard and family

#7 Interview:
St. Andrew Church- Fr. Marcos Gonzalez nor the church were impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction, but by the I 210 freeway construction and the Parsons Project.

Date: June 13, 2024, 3:15 PM and August 22, 2024, 3:15 PM



Photo: Fr. Marcos Gonzalez
Photos Source:
St. Andrew Church website

St. Andrew Church was aware of the SR 710 freeway construction; however, the church was not directly impacted. The church and school, anchors in the community since 1927, were impacted by both the construction of the I 210 Freeway and the Parsons Project. To this day, they still feel the environmental impact of the projects, not to mention the noise and the change in traffic patterns for accessing both the church and its school. Establishing a relationship with Fr. Gonzalez was a springboard to connecting with additional Hispanic and Latino families which increased the number of stories collected and histories amplified from displaced or impacted people and families. Many of whom cited, in the SR 710 Survey, that they identified as Hispanic/Latino.



Photo: St. Andrew Church, Pasadena
Photos Source:
St. Andrew Church website

Interview #8:
Sandra (Sandy) McConnell's family was displaced, and a year later, they moved into a new home in Pasadena. Caltrans took the house, which is still standing.

Date: June 27, 2024, 4:30 PM



Photo: Sandy McConnell and Daughters
Photo Source: Sandra McConnell

Sandy, a longtime resident of Pasadena, purchased a home located at 1150 S. Pasadena Avenue for $24,000 in 1965 when she moved there with her husband and two small children, including a newborn. In 1968, the McConnell family received an eminent domain order from Caltrans and were given $34,000 for their home. After a year of looking for a new home, they stretched their budget and in 1969 moved into their new home, 737 Lakewood Place in Pasadena, where she lived with her daughters until 1983, after her divorce in the early 1980's. Since then, she has rented in Pasadena for many years and now lives on Casa Grande Street.

Life changed when the family moved to Lakewood Place. A traumatic and life-changing event at their new home a week after they moved in made an already disruptive and difficult move even more challenging.


Front View of 1150 S. Pasadena Avenue
Photo Source: Sandra McConnell

Professionally, Sandy continued to work for the Pasadena Unified School District (PUSD) as a teacher at Allendale School during the desegregation of PUSD and to work part-time for the World Book Company. Meanwhile her husband, Glen, worked as a city attorney in downtown Los Angeles. Teaching and volunteering with the PTA during the desegregation of the schools was difficult – it happened quickly, and teachers and parent volunteers were not given the necessary tools and coaching to successfully integrate new families into their respective schools, classrooms, communities and programming. For example, acknowledging, understanding and appreciating the cultural differences between the various families in each school was not a skill they had at their disposal. The impact of the situation is counterintuitive to the concept of school desegregation which encouraged diversity, as it further divided rather than unified the schools. She simultaneously taught at Allendale and Franklin Elementary for many years while working for the World Book Corporation as a full-time employee.

Today, Sandy, a mother and grandmother, retired from PUSD and is an active participant in The Pasadena Village, a caring community of older adults who support each other as they age in place.

Interview #9:
Christopher Allen Edson, then NAACP President, is related to Mrs. Hazel Huff, who was displaced by the SR 710 freeway construction. **Date: July 1, 2024, 2:00PM**


Photo: Christopher Allen Edson
Photo Source: NAACP Pasadena Chapter

Christopher Allen Edson, current NAACP President, and a Pasadena native, shares his family's history and experiences with displacement due to the SR 710 freeway construction. Allen Edson is related to Gladys Miles and remembers Hazel Huff as a significant figure in his life. His family migrated to Pasadena in the early 1900s and was later displaced by the SR 710 freeway construction.

Born in 1953, Allen Edson recalls his childhood during the 1960s. As a young adolescent, he didn't fully understand the politics surrounding the 710 Freeway because he wasn't allowed to participate in adult conversations. During that time, he attended Friendship Baptist Church and fondly remembers Enterprise Dry Cleaners and his father's beautiful rose garden.

As he grew older, Allen became aware of the sundown laws of local nearby cities **(Glendale, South Pasadena, Burbank)** and segregation in Pasadena. He recalls the Pasadena city yard being the city jail and the city's segregated neighborhoods. Despite this, he appreciated the diversity of his community, living among Japanese American and Mexican families and having positive interactions with his neighbors. Allen also remembers the displacement that forced many Black families to move to Altadena and the efforts of the Neighborhood Improvement Association to better the area's quality of life. Before the displacement, his grandparents, parents, and siblings lived together, creating a close-knit family environment.

Allen Edson's story highlights the challenges and resilience of his family and community in the face of displacement and segregation, as well as his appreciation for the diverse community he grew up in.

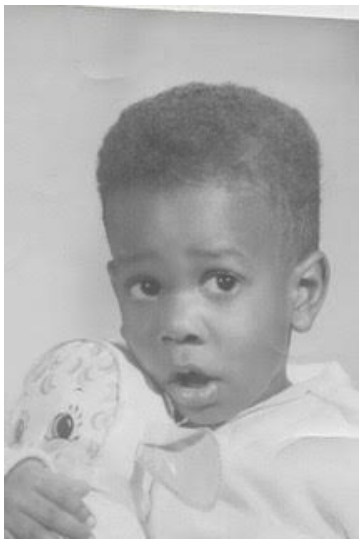


Photo: Christopher Allen Edson as a young boy.
Photo Source: Christopher Allen Edson

Interview #10:
Walt Butler's family was displaced by both the SR 710 freeway construction and the I-210 freeway construction, and his family's church, First AME, was displaced. (South Pasadena Avenue)

Date: July 1, 2024, 5:00PM



Photo: Walt Butler
Photo Source: Pasadena City College Library

Walt, a longtime resident of Pasadena and Altadena is, according to the **Pasadena African American Film Foundation,** one the greatest athletes to come out of Pasadena.

He grew up in a large family in Pasadena who was displaced from their home near Garfield School (he did not recall the exact address) between 1967 and 1970. They later moved to Northwest Pasadena. He attended Garfield School, McKinley Junior High School, and later Pasadena High School.

As a student at Garfield, he recalls being paid 25 cents to eat as many apples and oranges as possible from the fruit trees in the yards of homes on California Boulevard adjacent to the Arroyo. Homeowners saw this as an effective tool for warding off squirrels and other animals.

His family attended First AME church. After First AME was destroyed, his father and uncle became Deacons at New Revelation Missionary Baptist Church. Years later, Walt became involved with the church's renovation project. Church has always played an important part of Walt's life – he remembers flying home late one night from a track meet in Texas so he could attend church the next morning. Ever the competitor, Walt, did not want to blemish his perfect attendance record!

Walt was a standout track and field star at both McKinley Junior High and Pasadena High School specializing in running hurdles. To this day, he holds records at both schools. As a teenager his preference was to attend Muir High School with his friends, however, he was bused to the predominantly white Pasadena High School. Despite facing racial challenges at Pasadena High School, Walt gained national acclaim in track and field, setting a California Interscholastic Federation (CIF) record in the 120-yard-high hurdles, and competed at the National High School Track and Field meet at the University of Texas. After graduating from Pasadena High School Walt enrolled at Pasadena City College (he was the only one in his family to attend college), where he graduated with a degree in Public Relations and Outdoor Advertising. At PCC he played football and ran track and field, becoming the State Junior College Champion in the 120-yard hurdles.

After college, Walt coached track and field at Pasadena City College, participated in Master Athletics events where he broke more records that still stand today. In 1979, he opened Walt Butler Sports Shoes in Northeast Pasadena, closing it after more than 30 years of being in business. According to an article in ***Local News Pasadena*** he helped everybody who walked into his store. If you didn't have the money, he worked with you. Or, if you were a good student, he'd "straight-up give you some shoes." As Walt shared with us, his mantra has always been "don't be greedy give to the needy!"

In 2014, he was inducted into the USA Track & Field Master's Hall of Fame and was inducted into the Pasadena City College Sports Hall of Fame in 2023, and in 2025, he will be inducted into the Pasadena Sports Hall of Fame. We spoke at length about his accomplishments and national recognition in the sports world, however when the conversation turned to his family, the impact of the SR-710 and I-210 displacements on his family, the conversation quickly reverted to his successes in sports. "Just look me up – you can find anything you want to know about me online or at PCC," was his closing comment as we wrapped up our conversation.

Interview #11:
Cedric Smith was not displaced; his mother, Mrs. Lillian Smith, negotiated transactions with Caltrans to move homes scheduled for demolition to other parts of Pasadena.

Date: July 12, 2024, 2:00 PM



Photo: Mrs. Lillian Smith, 1960s
Photo Source: Cedric Smith, Son

Cedric Smith's family migrated to Pasadena from Texas in 1944. His parents, Nolan Sr., and Lillian Smith had three children: daughter Nolanda Smith and two sons, Nolan Smith Jr., and Cedric Smith. Cedric's narrative centers on his mother, Mrs. Lillian Smith, a successful realtor in Pasadena known for her shrewdness and ability to close real estate transactions throughout the entire city.

Lillian was a trailblazer, navigating the racist Pasadena real estate industry during the 1960s and 1970s. She facilitated real estate transactions for successful African American doctors and surgeons,



Photo: Nolan and Lillian Smith's Family
Photo Source: Cedric Smith, Son

leading to Solita Road being known as Doctors Row. Prominent doctors, including Dr. Robert D. Nesbitt and Dr. Adolpus Trailor, were among her clients. Lillian's office was located near Howard and Lincoln Road, adjacent to John Muir High School, where the school buses parked. Lillian's office could have been displaced due to the 210 freeway construction.

With remarkable foresight, Lillian negotiated the purchase of homes scheduled for demolition by Caltrans and physically moved these homes to other parts of Pasadena. She later sold these relocated homes to people of color, ensuring they would remain in the community. Lillian retained three properties for her own portfolio, where Cedric Smith's grandchildren now reside on Del Monte St., Forest Avenue, and Claremont St.

Cedric's father, Nolan, worked at California Consumer Corporation, a frozen food packaging company known for employing hundreds of minority workers. Nolanda, Cedric, and his younger brother Nolan Jr. were the first minority students to attend Pasadena Christian School at Montana St. and Lincoln Ave. Cedric experienced racial trauma and prejudice there but later found acceptance at Cleveland Elementary. Nolanda and Nolan Jr. remained enrolled at Pasadena Christian School.

Lillian was more than just a realtor; she was a pillar of the community. She served as the community notary public and voter registrar. Her home was a gathering place where people socialized and connected. Her legacy continues to impact the lives of her family and the broader Pasadena community. Mrs. Lillian Smith passed away in 1991.



Photos: These real estate photos are of Lillian Smith's relocated homes where Cedric Smith's grandchildren reside today.
Photos Source: Cedric Smith

Interview #11:
Gladys A. Miles—Her mother, Hazel Huff, who lived at 762 Winona Street in Pasadena, was displaced via eminent domain.

Date: July 12, 2024, 4:00 PM



Photo: Mrs. Gladys A. Miles, Pasadena Native
Photo Source: PasadenaNow, Eddie Rivera



Photo: Friendship Church Board Missionary Department, including Hallie Humdy, sister of Gladys Miles.
Photo Source: Historical Journal – 75 Diamond Jubilee Celebration – Friendship Baptist Church – 1893-1968

Gladys Miles, a remarkable 96-year-old Pasadena native, shares her family's long and rich history in the area. Gladys's family migrated to Pasadena before the 1900s, and she was born here. Her mother, Mrs. Hazel Huff, had eight daughters and two sons. Caltrans took their family home at 762 Winona St. through eminent domain.

After being displaced, Hazel Huff managed to purchase another home at **1612 Glen Avenue. This three-bedroom house had a deed with old language of the racist restrictive covenant written on it stating it could be sold to Whites only.** By the late 1960s, when Hazel was buying this house, the US Supreme Court had taken judicial actions since 1948 that made these covenants unenforceable, even though they still appeared in deeds in Pasadena and around the nation.

Gladys married at Friendship Baptist Church and had five children, all born at Women's Hospital on Congress Street. Her memories of Pasadena include the Brookside Plunge, which at one time only allowed communities of color to swim one day a week, and the Parke Theatre on Fair Oaks Ave. north of Washington Blvd.

At 96, Gladys continues to live independently. She pays her own bills, tends to her garden, and lives near Mayor Victor Gordo. Her resilience and dedication to her family and community are evident in her stories and the life she continues to lead.

Gladys' sisters: Hallie Humdy, who recently passed away in July 2024 at age 102, and Betsy Perkins, who is 92 years old and still resides independently in Pasadena.



Photo: Friendship Church Board Members including Hazel Huff, mother of Gladys Miles
Photo Source: Historical Journal – 75 Diamond Jubilee Celebration – Friendship Baptist Church – 1893-1968



Photo: Friendship Church - The Banquet Committee including Hallie Humdy, sister of Gladys Miles.
Photo Source: Historical Journal – 75 Diamond Jubilee Celebration – Friendship Baptist Church – 1893-1968

Interview #12:
Orrin Tracy – His family and the Taylor family were displaced. They owned three homes, 325, 327, and 329 Kensington Avenue, which was sold to Caltrans. The property owner was Ernestine Taylor.

Date: July 12, 2024, 4:00 PM



Photo: First AME Church, North Vernon Avenue
Photo Source: First AME Church

Orrin Tracy's family migrated to Pasadena in 1915. His grandfather, John F. C. Taylor, served as the pastor at First AME Church on Vernon Ave. and Kensington Place in the displacement area from 1915 to 1918. Orrin's grandmother, Ernestine Taylor, joined them in Pasadena in 1917. Orrin fondly recalls the bustling household where he lived with his grandparents, parents, and three siblings.

The Taylor family owned three homes at 325, 327, and 329 Kensington Avenue, all located in the displacement area and on one parcel of land. Due to the construction of the SR 710 Freeway, the family was forced to move. Orrin's brother remained in one of the homes until its demolition. Eventually, the family relocated to 894 Summit Avenue, Pasadena.

Orrin's educational journey took him through Lincoln Elementary, McKinley Jr. High School, Pasadena High School, and finally, John Muir Junior College in 1954. His memories of the community include Preble's Market, Joyce Shoe Factory at Vernon Ave. and Colorado Blvd., George Throop, and The Green Buck Restaurant. However, Orrin's experiences were not without hardship. He vividly recalls the extreme racial prejudice and discriminatory practices, particularly in the area east of Lake Avenue. Despite these challenges, the First AME Church remained a cornerstone in his life. Orrin attended First AME as a child and continues to be an active member today. Orrin dedicated 35 years of service to the US Postal Service before retiring. He now resides in Altadena, CA, where he reflects on the rich history and resilience of his family and community.

Interview #14:
Joanne Nucklos was not displaced. She is a long-time resident of South Pasadena who was an active participant in No On 710 Movement. **Date: July 24, 2024, 3:00 PM**



Photo: No on 710 Freeway Fighters.
Photo Source: Pasadena Star News



Photo: The South Pasadena Freeway Fighters. Joanne is on the far left.
Photo Source: South Pasadenan.com

Joanne, a resident of South Pasadena since 1967, was one of the South Pasadena 710 Freeway Fighters. A neighbor of AlvaLee Arnold, she quickly became involved in her neighbor's fight to stop the Long Beach Freeway extension from further dividing the City of South Pasadena which was already bisected by the 110 – Pasadena Freeway. When the proposed Meridien route was chosen over a more westerly route that would not run through the heart of the city, the Freeway Fighters ramped up their visits to Sacramento, to local town hall meetings hosted by Metro which was led by Kirk Kirkorian and Caltrans (formerly known as the Bureau of Highways), and to court to kill the SR 710 freeway construction and the planned tunnel through South Pasadena.

Joanne shared a 'No On 710' timeline of the project commencing with a resolution against extending the freeway by the City of South Pasadena in 1947 ending with SB7 and AB 29, which were spearheaded by Senator Anthony Portantino and by Assemblymember Chris Holden, and then signed by Governor Gavin Newsom on October 13, 2019. This decision ended the controversial effort of the SR-710 North Gap Closure Project and supported the City of Pasadena's ongoing efforts for the relinquishment of the corridor.

#15 Interview:
Melvin Mercer's family was displaced. His family lived on Lincoln Avenue at Eureka.

Date: July 26, 2024, 11:00 AM and August 14, 2024, 12:15 PM



Photo: Melvin Mercer
Photo Source: Melvin Mercer – Facebook Page

Melvin, a resident of Corona, was born in Los Angeles and moved to Pasadena from Watts. His Mother brought the family to Pasadena to live with his younger brother's father, Eugene Martin, whose family lived on Orange Grove Boulevard at Pasadena Avenue. Eugene was a longtime resident and employed by the City of Pasadena and later the Altadena Country Club. He was also close friends with baseball great Jackie Robinson. Melvin's mother, who married twice, was a stay-at-home mom and later worked at local convalescent homes in Pasadena. Melvin is one of ten children, four of whom are still living. Like Melvin, his siblings no longer live in Pasadena, but in Bellflower and Lancaster.

One of his earliest childhood memories was when his family was living in Watts. Even though his family was not religious, when asked what he wanted to be by Art Linkletter on "Kids Say the Darndest Things", he said that when he grew up, he wanted to be a preacher. After moving to Pasadena, Melvin attended Washington Elementary, Washington Junior High School and graduated from Blair High School in 1970. This was not his neighborhood school, which was a problem as he really wanted to attend Muir or Pasadena High School as did his friends and those, he played sports within the California Interscholastic Federation League (CIF) , including Walt Butler.

He has fond childhood memories of living in Pasadena and is still in touch with friends from here including Carlos Robledo whose family owned a boxing gym on Manzanita Ave. where many of the African American boys from the neighborhood spent time together. Melvin and his friends also went to the Boys Club located on N. Fair Oaks Avenue and Villa Street. Here he swam, played little league baseball, made arts and crafts and participated in a summer camp program.

When Melvin grew up there were rumblings about the SR 710 Freeway being built, but didn't pay attention to them. He was a teenager when his family received the notice alerting them that they needed to move because the freeway was going through their house. After his family of eight was displaced from their home, they were the first family to move into King's Manor (located at 88 W. Washington at Fair Oaks Ave.) where the family rented a home. This was a new experience for him as it was the first time his family had lived in a brand-new home.

After graduating from Blair HS, he attended Pasadena City College. He worked in different jobs for LA County, the City of Pasadena, and Abbott Laboratories in Alhambra. The blood plasma lab where he worked was open 24/7 and he worked a shift that required him to drive through South Pasadena after sundown. Despite the sundown laws in place in South Pasadena, he was able to travel back to Pasadena on Fremont Avenue as the police were less strict about enforcing the law that thoroughfare vs. Fair Oaks Avenue, where the police were more vigilant about enforcing the law.

His mother moved to Compton from Pasadena. Melvin joined her there and participated in a Manpower program that was co-sponsored by the City of Compton and McDonnell Douglas. His first position at McDonnell Douglas was as an aircraft structure engineer. Later, he worked as the Employee Assistance Program Coordinator, as well as a Certified Drug and Alcohol Counselor after receiving his counseling credentials from Cypress College. In this capacity he started an in-plant drug and alcohol recovery program. Subsequently, at Boeing (they acquired McDonnell Douglas in 1997), he was the President of the Black Employees Association, an affinity group which was actively involved in introducing DEI into the culture at the company. During his tenure there, Boeing sponsored programs in Washington, D.C. that afforded Melvin to meet with the Congressional Black Caucus and President Clinton. Upon retiring, Melvin worked for McDonnell-Douglas and the Boeing Corporation for almost 30 years.

Melvin met his wife, Cynthia, a longtime employee of the San Bernardino Sheriff's Department when they were both living in Compton. Together they have five children (3 daughters and 2 sons) and six grandchildren. One of his sons, who attended John Muir High School, met his wife at the Head Start program here in Pasadena. Today, Melvin lives in Corona where he has been a football coach for the last fifteen years and continues to lead a Christian 12 Step program at Patria Church in Rancho Cucamonga.
Of his life, Melvin says, "I have l lived two lifestyles in one lifetime."

#16 Interview:
Dr. Lawton Gray and Pablo Miralles – John Muir High School – Alumni History Museum

Date: August 6, 2024, 4:00 PM





A visit to the John Muir High School Alumni History Museum and a conversation with the school principal, Dr. Lawton Gray, and the school historian, Pablo Morales. The museum was in the process of being set up in a new location on the school's campus. Several class photo collages were on display, as was a small collection of sports memorabilia. Visitors to the museum can now view old year books via computers set up in the library. There were several boxes of archives that were still packed from the recent move and unable to be accessed.

We spoke about SR 710 freeway construction, and it did not directly impact John Muir High School. Neither Lawton nor Pablo was personally impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction. Pablo shared a story about his family moving into a new home in Altadena that his father, a successful architect, designed. When he went to a local bank to secure a mortgage, he was turned down despite having the funds to qualify for the loan and the income necessary to pay the monthly mortgage. Upon being turned down, he secured a loan from a bank in Los Angeles that would service a man of Hispanic/Latino descent.

Pablo wrote and directed the acclaimed documentary "Can We All Get Along? The Segregation of John Muir High" originally released in 2019 and aired on PBS in 2022. We spoke briefly about school desegregation in

Pasadena and how it was one of the many events taking place in the city at the same time as the construction of the I-210 freeway, the Pepper Street Project and the SR 710 freeway construction. When asked if he thought it was important for us to interview Dr. Ramon Cortines, the former PUSD Superintendent of Schools during the late 1960s and early 1970s, to get his take on the impact of the SR 710 freeway construction on PUSD students and families, he said that he did not believe it was necessary.





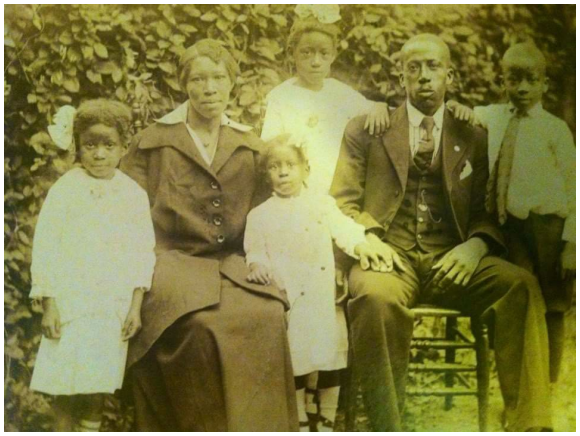
Photo Sources: Dr. Lawton Gray John Muir High School, Pablo Miralles Arroyo Seco Films, John Muir High School Alumni History Museum

#17 Interview:
Lafayette C. Parks, Jr., AKA "Sunny", Not Displaced and Family Attended Friendship Baptist Church
Born in 1935, Mother: Arena Lee Parks
Family Roots at Friendship Baptist Church **Date: September 3, 2024, 5:00 PM**



Photo: Groundbreaking Ceremony; Friendship Church, Arena Parks wearing white dress and holding shovel. Below: Grandparents Oneal Pickens Family Photo, circa 1920's when first arrived in Pasadena. **Source:** Lafayette Parks, Jr.

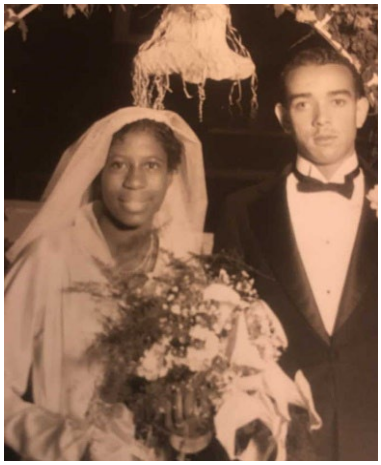
Lafayette recalls knowing about the SR 710 freeway construction but was not displaced. The Parks family lived at 60 Palmetto Drive, Pasadena, in a lovely two-story home that was later purchased by Beacon Storage and demolished. Lafayette's mother, Arena Lee Stephen, was born and raised in Pasadena and is the young girl breaking ground in the Friendship Baptist Church photo. The family attended Friendship Baptist Church through the years and remembers a time when there was no building; church services were held in tents, and they sat on benches. Arena Lee Stephen married Lafayette Parks Sr. at Friendship Baptist Church in 1934.



Photos: Lafayette Parks and family.
Photo Source: Lafayette Parks, Jr.

Lafayette Jr. recalls meeting Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at Friendship Baptist Church when he was eight years old, along with the large outdoor speakers and a big crowd of people. Lafayette's Aunt Pickens sang in the church choir, and in 1941, his father, Lafayette Sr., was drafted into the U.S. Army. At that time, Arena was a housewife but later took a job at Lockheed and eventually became a realtor in Pasadena.

Lafayette remembers how well Pasadena treated him and believes it was due to his light skin complexion. Lafayette Sr. was Creole (French, Indian, and Spanish), and his mother was Black. Lafayette Jr. was born with blonde hair and blue eyes, and people walking by often assumed his mother was his nanny. Lafayette's father encouraged him to embrace being different and unique. Lafayette shared fond memories of house parties, telephones on the wall, a diverse community, sleepovers, and backyard celebrations. He attended Garfield Elementary, McKinley Jr. High, and Pasadena Community College. After selling the family home on Palmetto Drive, Arena Parker purchased a home in Altadena to be near her daughter and grandchildren. Lafayette Jr. is now 89 years old, married, has one son, Lafayette Parks, III, and two grandchildren, and currently resides in Menifee, CA.



Photos: Arena Lee Stephen married Lafayette Parks Sr. at Friendship Baptist Church in 1934.

#18 Interview:
Allen Shay- Displaced Resident
Born in 1958 From Jackson, Mississippi

Date: September 3, 2024,
11:00 AM



Photos: Allen Shay
Photo Source: PasadenaNow

Allen Shay was born in Mississippi and is the eighth of 13 children. The story that he shared during the interview centers on Rena Mae Shay, his mother, who was born on August 18, 1929, into a family of sharecroppers in Jackson, Mississippi. She migrated to Pasadena in August 1963. Rena Mae lived on Kensington Street and was displaced by the SR 710 Freeway. She rented the house from a cousin of hers who owned the property and whose last name was Brown.

Allen remembers being close friends with the Prince family, visiting The Green Buck Restaurant, a dry cleaners, and a doctor's office in his community. Rena Mae was a domestic worker who also provided for her family by renting a house at Howard St. and Navarro Ave. She later purchased a bungalow-style home at 950 Worcester Ave., Pasadena. Rena Mae subsequently applied several times for a building permit to remodel the attic to accommodate her growing family, but the city's building department repeatedly denied



Photos: Little Red Hen Restaurant, Altadena, CA
Photo Source: Suzanne Madison

her requests. Frustrated, Rena purchased another home in 1969 in Altadena and rented out the Worcester property.

Rena Mae attended Friendship Baptist Church and later joined Lincoln Avenue Church, which became the family's church home. She lived by three guiding principles: God, Family, and Business. In 1972, Rena Mae purchased The Little Red Hen Coffee Shop on Fair Oaks Avenue in Altadena. Living in Altadena allowed her family to engage with a variety of progressive people of color, including Sam Cooke, Ivan Dixon, talent from the "Fat Albert" Show, and the Jacksons (the singing group), all of whom left a positive imprint on her children.

Allen speaks very highly of his late mother, describing her as an amazing, humble woman who didn't get involved in politics. The Little Red Hen Coffee Shop remained open until it was destroyed during the Eaton Fire and was run by her daughter and granddaughter, continuing the family legacy.

 # 19 Interview:
Tim Ivison – Not Displaced, but Impacted, Caltrans Renter **Date: September 4, 10:15 AM**
South Pasadena Avenue

Tim's Grandmother was a tenant who, beginning in October 1968, leased a Caltrans home located at 955 S. Pasadena Avenue and lived there until 2015-2016. Tim, his wife, Julia Tcharfas, and their family assumed the lease and now rent the home from Caltrans. They currently qualify via the Affordable Rent Program for a fixed monthly rental fee of 30% of their household income. This program went into place in 2015-2016 and was made permanent during the COVID-19 pandemic.

As Caltrans renters, they were offered the first right of refusal to purchase the property they rent from Caltrans. Tim and Julia qualify for an Affordable Purchase Program allowing them to purchase the home at a lower cost providing they can demonstrate that they, as tenants who have lived in the home for 5 or more years and have an income that is no more than 150% of area median income. There are restrictions on when they can sell the home, on how the proceeds from the future sale of the home are disbursed, however this is something they are pursuing. They were recently told that escrow on the property could take between six months and a year to close.



Photos: Tim Ivison
Photo Source: Otis School of Design



Photos: Ivison Home
Photo Source: Aubin Wilson

ONE ON ONE INTERVIEWS

#20 Interview:
Margot Seipelt – Family Displaced

Date: September 30, 2024, 3:00PM

Margot's mother, Barbara M. Brown was born in 1914 and passed away in Norther California in 2002 at age 88. She moved to Palmetto Drive in 1944 and lived there until 1968 when her home was purchased through eminent domain and later demolished to make way for the SR 710 Freeway. The move happened just three weeks after the marriage of her youngest child, a daughter. The house was built in 1906 or 1909, and it was a grand three-story home with eight bedrooms. It was the perfect home to raise her 5 children. However, by the time her daughter got married it was too big a house for Barbara. Margot recalls her mother being relieved that her house was being purchased by eminent domain as if she tried to sell it herself no one would have bought knowing that the SR 710 Freeway was supposed to go straight through her property.

#21 Interview:
Jane Mitsumori- Family Displaced

Date: October 4, 2024, 1:00PM

Jane's parents, John Manabu Mitsumori and May Mitsumori, lived on Palmetto Drive in Pasadena. Their home, a three-story, shingled Craftsman-style home with huge bedrooms, was purchased through eminent domain in 1968. The move was disruptive to the family who did not want to move out of the neighborhood. They were fortunate and were able to purchase a home on Markham Place, which is just a short distance from their former home on Palmetto Drive. Jane's Mother was insistent that they remained in the same neighborhood. The home on Markham Place is still owned by the Mitsumori family. Jane recalls that her parents didn't tell them much about the move, but on the day that the moving van came Jane went upstairs to check out the 3rd floor for the first time. As a rule, the door to the third floor was closed, and no one ever went upstairs, but this day, she did and found three bedrooms and two bathrooms. John was born in 1923 and raised in Pasadena. At age 17, his family was sent to an Internment Camp in Arizona and returned to Pasadena after the war ended. He was a plumbing engineer who worked for different firms until his retirement. He passed away in 2020 at age 97. May was born in 1924 and was raised in Pomona. At age 16, her family was sent to an Internment Camp in Wyoming and returned to Pomona after the war ended. She was a stay-at-home mother who raised three children, 2 sons and a daughter. She recently celebrated her 100th birthday and splits her time between her children's homes in Southern California.
Jane and her brothers, one older and one younger, attended Pasadena public schools – Garfield Elementary, McKinley, and Blair High School. Like many Japanese American families in Pasadena, the Mitsumori family worshipped at the Japanese American Union Presbyterian Church at 305 Kensington Place, which is now located on Lincoln Avenue in Altadena.



Photo: Mitsumori Family Home
Photo Source: Google

#22 Interview:
Harrison Bailey III and Karen Bailey Powell - Grandparents, Harrison Bailey, Sr., and Laura Bailey were displaced in 1967. First Cousins of Gary Moody and Michelle Moody

Date: November 20, 2024 – 1:00PM – Allegra Consulting' Office – 129 N. Marengo Avenue, Pasadena.

The Bailey's family connection to 255 Waverly Dr, The Walter Raymond Home, designed by Myron Hunt, one of the most important Southern California architects, began in 1921 when Harrison Bailey Sr., born in 1900 and died in 1970 of cancer, and Laura B. Bailey nee Laura Short bought the property and moved in with her mother Frances Short and John Short Sr. who moved into the rear house of the same address. They brought with them their daughter Julia Frances (1 year old) and the Winfrey (cousins) from Augusta, Georgia to settle in Pasadena. Grandfather Bailey was a chauffeur and gardener, and their grandmother was a domestic.



Photo: Harrison Bailey Sr., Laura Bell Bailey, Julis Frances Bailey and Harrison Jr. Bailey.
Photo Source: Google



Photo: Grandma Short and Grandpa Short in front of their home at 255 Waverly Place, Pasadena.
Photo Source: Harrison Bailey III and Karen Bailey Powell



Photo: Grandma Short **Photo Source:** Harrison Bailey III and Karen Powell Bailey

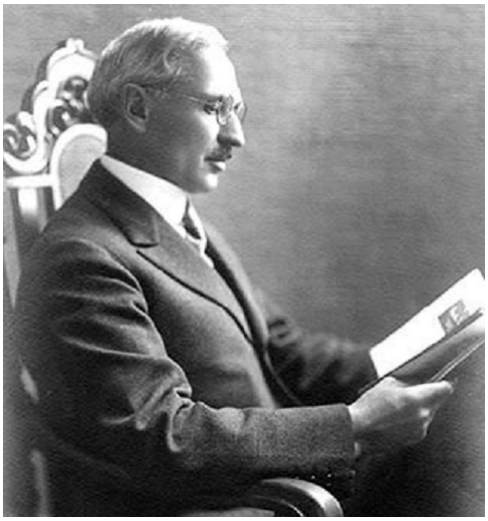


Photo: Myron Hunt, architect
Photo Source: Boys Republic

During those years, the Baileys had a son Harrison Bailey Jr. who was born two (2) years later in 1923 and many nieces, nephews, cousins, grandsons/granddaughters, great grandsons, and granddaughters. There were many benchmarks of those 47 years that included trips up the hill on New Year's to observe the Tournament of Roses parade. The Baileys hosted many holiday family events (Easter, Thanksgiving and Christmas) bringing family members from all over the country to share in these celebrations. At these times of the year the kitchen was jammed with people preparing food for these feasts. The Bailey family shared with the community of "South End" Pasadena and the membership of Friendship Baptist Church hosting major church banquets that was attended by the Pastors (Dr. Carter, Marvin T. Robinson, and Stan Lewis) over those 47 years.

According to Harrison and Karen, their grandparents were pillars in the community and helped set the cornerstone at Friendship Baptist Church in 1925 with Pastor Dr. Carter and the members of Friendship Baptist Church. Their family, including the Winfrey family, who occupied the three brownstone homes adjacent to 255 Waverly Drive, was the only Black family west of the railroad tracks, which made our home the center of activity and prestige. The family enjoyed an intimate relationship with the neighbors, especially the Magee's with whom Grandpa Bailey shared many conversations and shared seasonal fruit and vegetables from the many trees that occupied both properties. They still have vivid memories of the large avocado tree in the yard as well as the soft dichondra grass that blanketed the yard, and white rose bushes that were later moved to the house on Worcester Street after being forced to sell their home through the eminent domain process.



Photo: Grampa and Grandma Short – Circa 1952 **Photo Source:** Harrison Bailey III and Karen Bailey Powell



Photo: Harrison and Laura Bailey and Family – Circa 1952 **Photo Source:** Harrison Bailey III and Karen Bailey Powell

Their Bailey grandparents, along with Great Grandma and Grandpa Short (both of whom passed away in the 1950s), experienced a renaissance that spanned two generations of family members, as well as Pasadena's evolving government and changing downtown landscape. They witnessed the migration of families to Northwest Pasadena as the city's population grew to over 100,000 residents. Among their close family friends were the Valentines of Woods Valentine Mortuary. Mrs. Valentine was a frequent guest at Grandmother Laura's popular afternoon tea.

Mr. and Mrs. Bailey's daughter, Julia Frances, was married twice—first to Mr. Moody, with whom she had four children: Michelle, Francine, Winston, and Gary. She later married Mr. Mitchell, and they had three children: Sidney, Julie, and Laurie, who now live in the house on Claremont Street in Pasadena that Harrison purchased for Julia Frances.

On their mother's side, their grandparents, William J. and Celeste Bunch, came to Pasadena from Chicago and lived on Vernon Avenue. Grandmother Bunch had five daughters, lovingly referred to as the "Bunch Girls." Neither Harrison nor Karen recall whether their home was taken through eminent domain for the construction of the SR 710 freeway. Harrison and Karen's parents, Harrison Bailey, Jr, and Jacqueline Bunch, married and later divorced. Harrison and Karen's parents, Harrison Bailey, Jr, and Jacqueline Bunch, married and later



Photo: Harrison Bailey, Sr.
Photo Source: Harrison Bailey III and
Karen Bailey Powell



Photo: Harrison Bailey, Jr.
Photo Source: Harrison Bailey III and Karen Bailey Powell

divorced. As children, Harrison III and Karen lived on Garfield Avenue, and then, after their parents divorced, they moved with their mother to Sunset Avenue in Pasadena and, for a short while, lived with their father in Los Angeles, who moved closer to his job with the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). After retiring from the LAPD, their father worked for the Admiral Corporation. Their Mother worked for the LA County Court as a clerk in their Pasadena office and in downtown Los Angeles until she retired. Their father, Harrison, Jr. remarried several times, and their mother remarried once. Harrison Bailey, Jr. passed away at age 78 from heart disease, and Jacqueline Bunch Bailey passed away at age 91.

Harrison and Karen attended PUSD schools from grammar school and graduated from Blair High School. Karen was among the first students to graduate from Blair High School. They were bused there even though John Muir was their neighborhood school. At that point, a school had not been built. At that time, Blair was small, 200-300 students. They attended school in an old windowless factory-type building repurposed as a school. Unless the air quality was poor or the weather was bad, gym class was held outdoors in Allendale Park, and the Allendale branch of the Pasadena Public Library served as the school's library. Despite the school being very diverse, neither Harrison nor Karen do not have a recollection of there being any racial discord at Blair. They remember that they both got along well and socialized with everyone.

After graduating from Blair High School, both Harrison and Karen attended Pasadena City College. Harrison III has done much professionally; he served in the US Air Force for four years, worked for IBM and Savin in their copier divisions, and worked for CB Ellis Commercial Real Estate, where he created an online portal where agents could view available properties. Additionally, he worked for Cedars Sinai Hospital in admissions and in Denver for an electric power plant manufacturer. Most recently he owned a successful limousine service with multiple cars and employed numerous drivers that served both corporate and private clients. He is now retired and splits his time between Southern California and Mexico.

After leaving PCC, Karen became a flight attendant for TWA. Karen later moved with her husband, who worked for Lockheed, to Kansas City, MO. Here she worked her way up at Menorah Medical Center and became the hospital's Assistant Medical Staff Director. After 11 years in Kansas City, Karen returned to Southern California and continued her career where she had administrative positions at numerous hospitals in the Greater Los Angeles area, including St. Luke's Hospital (Pasadena), Keck Medical Center of USC, Century City Doctors Hospital, and St. Francis Hospital in Lynwood. She is now retired and resides in Torrance.



Photo: Michelle Moody, Gary Moody and their cousin Karen Bailey Powell with Aunt Frances in the backyard of the family's home on 255 Waverly Place.
Photo Source: Harrison Bailey III and Karen Bailey Powell

In 1967 Harrison Bailey Sr. was mandated by the State of California to move from 255 Waverly Drive by Right of Eminent Domain to make way for the construction of the SR 710 Freeway and was forced to accept a non-negotiable sum to relocate. This pristine property had an immaculate garden, gravel driveway, and second home and was a showcase home on Waverly Drive on a property that stretched from Orange Grove Blvd. to Pasadena Ave. Many gardeners would come to consult with their Grandpa Bailey and view his beautiful flowers and dichondra grass in the front yard. Because of his declining health, the family acted quickly and found a new home on Worcester Street in Northwest Pasadena.

In 1967, Grandfather Harrison Bailey Sr. was mandated by the State of California to move from 255 Waverly Drive by Right of Eminent Domain to make way for the construction of the SR 710 Freeway and forced to accept a non-negotiable sum of money to relocate. This pristine property had an immaculate garden, gravel driveway, and second home and was a showcase home on Waverly Drive on a property that stretched from Orange Grove Blvd. to Pasadena Ave. Many gardeners would come to consult with Grandpa Bailey and view his beautiful flowers and dichondra grass in the front yard. Because of his declining health, the family acted quickly and found a new home on Worcester Street in Northwest Pasadena.

When the State of California moved the SR 710 freeway construction more than 100 feet east of 255 Waverly Drive, Harrison Bailey was deceased, and Laura B. Bailey was in no condition to understand the brevity of the status at said property. The children of Harrison and Laura, Julia Frances Mitchell and Uncle Harrison Bailey Jr., weren't notified of the adjustment, and the property sat unoccupied and was finally razed sometime in the early 1970s. The property remained a vacant lot until the sale of the land to Mass Development Corporation and the subsequent building of a new single-family home in 2018.

According to Harrison and Karen, the trauma that was inflicted on the family when their Grandparent's home was sold through eminent domain is still felt by the descendants of the family today. They cannot bring back the home that was the Bailey Legacy nor the pride of the family's church and community throughout these 47 years, but they believe they need to be made "whole" regarding the unceremonious way this property has been juggled from various potential buyers without notifying the descendants and family members that still live in and around the greater Pasadena area. They were appalled that there is a single-family home being built on said property without giving the original residents an opportunity to retrieve what was stolen from their family.

GROUP INTERVIEWS

#1 Group Interview

West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA) -
Attendees are part of Priority Group 4 -
Not Displaced but Impacted by the SR 710 Construction.
Date: May 8, 2024, 6:00 PM

According to the West Pasadena Residents' Association's website its mission is to amplify the voices of west Pasadenans. As a group of volunteers with a more than 60-year history, they strive to guide change and, as a result, enhance residents' quality of life.

Mirroring qualitative data collected via the SR 710 Oral History Project Survey, members of the WPRA noted that for more than 50 years, residents have contended with "high traffic volumes, gridlock and a shift in traffic patterns on Pasadena Avenue and St. John Avenues, increased cut-through traffic, closed-through streets such as Markham Place or Wigmore Drive, unsafe sidewalks that are not being cared for by Caltrans, disrupted and blighted neighborhoods such as the Markham Historic District where homes remain empty" because of the planned SR 710 freeway construction.

Residents in West Pasadena spoke of the quality-of-life factors such as air pollution, noise, and traffic that they experience every day. "These factors add an often-unrealized level of inconvenience and stress to our daily lives." Despite these daily inconveniences, some of those in attendance moved to West Pasadena after the SR 710 Construction began.

Additionally, the WPRA spoke about the importance of historic preservation of the homes being sold by Caltrans. In addition, it is their desire to have the voices and views of those who live south of California Boulevard represented in the final plans for the SR 710 Freeway Stub. At this meeting we were first introduced to the "Freeway Fighters", a coalition of South Pasadena based community advocates who, with residents of El Serreno and Pasadena, lead a 60-year grassroots battle against extension of the 710 Freeway. These freeway opponents were united by their belief in accessible, safe, sustainable, and healthy communities for all.

The WPRA expressed their desire to assist Allegra in collecting surveys from their membership. An eblast introducing the survey, as well as a reminder to take the survey, were sent to more than 1,400 households. Additionally, Allegra was invited to host an information table at the **WPRA's Annual Meeting** on June 6 at Elks Lodge. At this meeting, the main program focused on "Reconnecting Pasadena: mobility, transportation and opportunity in the 710 Corridor". Experts were brought in to discuss traffic and land use, both subjects which are of great interest to the WPRA.

#2 Group Interview

NAACP Pasadena— Members of the Pasadena Chapter of the NAACP fall into all Priority Groups, including Displaced Residents, Businesses, Organizations, and those who were Not Displaced but Impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction.
Date: May 9, 2024, 6:00 PM

The Pasadena Branch of the NAACP has a more than 100-year history. The Branch was founded in 1919 when a small group of citizens answered the call of John Wright to respond to the needs of minority people in Pasadena. For over a century, the NAACP Pasadena has been fighting for civil and human rights, including the impact of desegregation of the public school system in Pasadena where the NAACP, in Spangler vs. Pasadena Board of Education, asserted that:

a) There was a racial imbalance or segregation in the student bodies and faculties of the Pasadena Unified School District at all levels: elementary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools.

b) That imbalance is a result of defendants' failure to carry out their announced policies of integration, policies that relate both to faculty and student assignments.

c) These failures have occurred in connection with the teacher assignment, hiring and promotion policies and practices of the district, its construction policies and practices, and its assignment of students.

Memories were shared about the beautiful homes destroyed, including President Allen Edson's relative's home on Vernon Avenue, and businesses, such as Preble's Market on Dayton Street that was displaced because of the SR 710 freeway construction.

Allen also shared recounted stories about another notable Black-owned business including the ***Hotel Carver***, located at 107 S. Fair Oaks Avenue which was listed in the Green Book and was located outside of the SR 710 displacement area. Owned by Percy Carter and his family, this was the first Black-owned hotel in Pasadena which was also home to a nightclub called The Onyx Club, later called Club Cobra. (Photos are shown on the following page.)

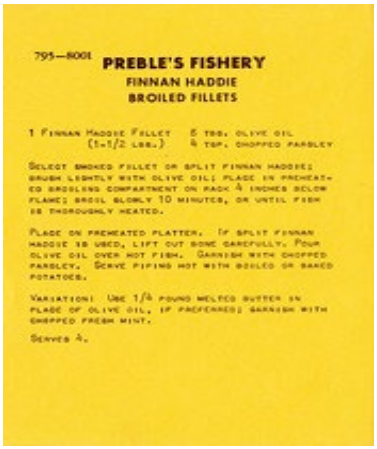


Photo: NAACP celebrates 95 years. Leadership featured in the photo.
Source: NAACP Pasadena Chapter

Subsequently, we accessed the NAACP archives, where we collected photographs, newspaper articles, and legal documents focusing on diverse neighborhoods, economic and social segregation, community changes, racial tensions and segregation, public safety, and more.



Photo: Percy Carter Jr., posed for the 1944 photograph at South Fair Oaks Avenue and Green Street.
Photo Source: Pasadena Museum of History



795—8001 **PREBLE'S FISHERY**
FINNAN HADDIE
BROILED FILLETS

1 Finnan Haddie Fillet (1-1/2 Lbs.) 6 Tbs. olive oil 4 Tsp. chopped parsley

Select smoked fillet or split finnan haddie; brush lightly with olive oil; place in preheated broiling compartment on rack 4 inches below flame; broil slowly 10 minutes, or until fish is thoroughly heated.

Place on preheated platter. If split finnan haddie is used, lift out bone carefully. Pour olive oil over hot fish. Garnish with chopped parsley. Serve piping hot with boiled or baked potatoes.

Variation: Use 1/4 pound melted butter in place of olive oil, if preferred; garnish with chopped fresh mint.

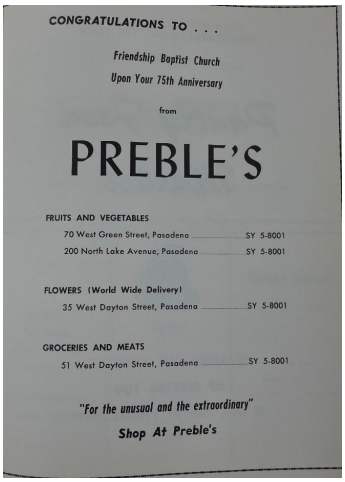
Serves 4.

Photo: Displaced Community Favorite Preble's Market and Preble's Fishery Recipe. **Preble's Market and Fishery**, founded by Newfoundland native Albert Preble, was a beloved Pasadena staple in the 1950s and 1960s. Known for its fresh produce, seafood, and friendly service, the original store was on Green Street. By the 1960s and '70s, Preble expanded to five locations, including one at Lake and Walnut. The market stood out for offering fresh juices, live seafood, and recipe cards, leaving a lasting impression on the local community.

Photo Source: Photograph and Recipe from the Pasadena Museum of History

NAACP General Membership Meeting- Officer Election Processes and Procedures and SR 710 Reconnecting Communities and Oral History Presentations
Date: August 22, 2024, 6:30PM

Listening and learning were the overarching themes of the evening's ZOOM meeting. Danny Parker, chairman of the Reconnecting Communities SR 710 Advisory Group, reintroduced the SR 710 Reconnecting Communities Project to the group and brought everyone up to speed on the who, what, where, and when of the project. He stressed the importance of keeping abreast of when meetings are being held and attending meetings to ensure that the NAACP member's voices are heard and that the organization has a seat at the table during community conversations about the restorative justice process and the future of the Stub. Having voices heard and meaningful change realized builds on the legacy of past NAACP Pasadena leaders working tirelessly to address racial injustices and advocating for improvements in education, housing, and equal rights. Key figures included Walter Shatford, a civil rights attorney, and Ruby McKnight Williams, the two-time president of the Pasadena branch of the NAACP, who led initiatives for desegregation and community improvement.



CONGRATULATIONS TO . . .

Friendship Baptist Church
Upon Your 75th Anniversary

from

PREBLE'S

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES
70 West Green Street, Pasadena ..... SY 5-8001
200 North Lake Avenue, Pasadena ..... SY 5-8001

FLOWERS (World Wide Delivery)
35 West Dayton Street, Pasadena ..... SY 5-8001

GROCERIES AND MEATS
51 West Dayton Street, Pasadena ..... SY 5-8001

"For the unusual and the extraordinary"
Shop At Preble's

Photo: Preble's Ad in Historical Journal – 75 Diamond Jubilee Celebration – Friendship Baptist Church – 1893-1968
Photo Source: Historical Journal – 75 Diamond Jubilee Celebration – Friendship Baptist Church – 1893-1968

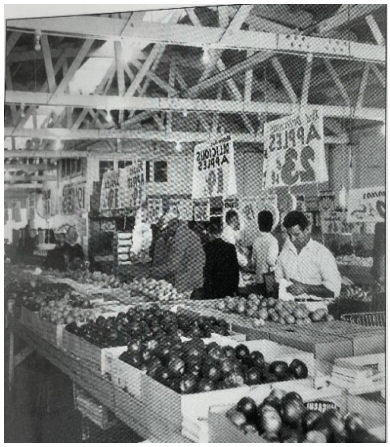


Photo Source: The Black Collection at the Pasadena Museum of History.

Additionally, members learned about the SR 710 Oral History project and how the NAACP was instrumental in providing Allegra with historical insights into the events taking place in Pasadena during the displacement era, including the desegregation of the Pasadena Unified School District (PUSD) and the Pepper Urban Renewal Project. The collection of 19 articles, letters, maps, memos, and photos was instrumental in doing so. Echoing what was gleaned in the SR 710 Oral History survey and at the Japanese American Buddhist Temple event, the question was raised about how the City of Pasadena was going to address the families and businesses who were displaced and impacted by the I 210 construction.

710 Restorative Justice

#3 Group Interview
710 Restorative Justice Coalition –
The coalition, comprised of local nonprofit organization leaders and community members, is advocating for a just and equitable solution in the 710 Stub Redevelopment Plan. Coalition members include Dr. Gilbert Walton, two members of the SR 710 Advisory Group, Tina Jackson Williams and Jasmin Shupper. Additional members of the coalition are Brandon Lamar, Pastor Mayra Macedo Nolan, and Hannah Berk.
Date: May 10, 2024, 8:00 AM

As part of its Oral History Outreach Efforts, Allegra met with several community connectors, including the ***710 Restorative Justice Coalition.*** Its mission is to collaboratively create a repair-based solution that is historically rooted, community-led, and ensures those who were displaced and/or directly impacted by the city's long history of racially biased policy, including supporting a planned route for the SR 710, participate in the conversation and benefit from the solution. Like the NAACP, the 710 Restorative Justice Coalition demands to have a seat at the table when conversations are being held about the future of the SR 710 Stub and believes that all, including the city's youth, need to be part of determining what the remedy will be and what restorative justice looks like. A professor, at Duke Medical School, writes about moving from inequality to justice via the ARC method, a three-phase process:

A	R	C
Apology and Acknowledgement	Restitution	Conciliation

"The City of Pasadena has a long history of disenfranchising the African American community, from the Brookside Plunge to the displacement of homes, businesses, and places of worship in the 1960s and 1970s," said Dr. Gilbert Walton, chairperson.

"The SR 710 is not an isolated incident. We must acknowledge the city's history and ensure it isn't repeated. Restorative justice requires a fresh perspective with an equity lens, leading to tangible solutions like long-term housing policy changes, opportunities for homeownership, and addressing health inequities. Equity is achievable, and people need to be made whole."
Dr. Gilbert Walton



Photo: Neighborhood Church
Photo Source: Library of Congress



Photo: Rebecca Hong
Photo Source: Sequoyah School



Photo: Elena Phleger
Photo Source: Sequoyah School

#4 Group Interview
Sequoyah School - The School was not displaced but impacted by the SR 710 freeway construction.
Rebbeca Hong, Head of School
Elena Phleger, Director of Advancement
Date: June 18, 2024, 11:00 AM

Sequoyah School, founded in the late 1950's, began leasing space at 535 South Pasadena Avenue from the Neighborhood Church in 1959. In 1968, the property was sold to Caltrans to make way for the SR 710 Freeway. Neighborhood Church left its historic building on South Pasadena Avenue at California Boulevard and moved to its current location on North Orange Grove Boulevard. Subsequently, the church sanctuary was torn down by Caltrans. However, Sunday school buildings and the rest of the campus were left intact. Thus, after the sale of the property, Sequoyah began leasing space from Caltrans to continue its school functions. During this period, Sequoyah searched for a permanent place to move, however they were unable to find a property that met their needs and budget.

The planned SR 710 freeway construction impacted the school in many ways. First, as renters from Caltrans, they feared being evicted and not having a viable place to go. And second, the traffic and sidewalks on Pasadena Avenue are significant safety hazards. Neither of the streets was designed to be on and off ramps for a freeway, and the neighborhood is not pedestrian-friendly. The sidewalks are narrow and in disrepair. Third, the impact on education was significant as well. Children attending schools like Sequoyah School in the SR 710 Corridor faced instability, due to pollution from the freeway and nearby power plants. These concerns mirror opinions shared in the qualitative data collected via the SR 710 Survey.

"The school continually faced the prospect of demolition until 2018. Additionally, the disruption extended to health, as highlighted by concerns about "breathing and allergies"



Photo: Classroom Building Sequoyah School
Photo Source: Library of Congress

Central to the vision of Sequoyah School is a dedication to diversity, equity, and inclusion. According to Rebecca Hong, Head of School, "We must name what happened. We want to see a space created that replicates what the neighborhood looked like before – a combination of businesses and residences that is pedestrian-friendly and socio-economically diverse. Everything should be knitted together and uniform.





Photo: Banquet in Basement of Vernon and Kensington.
Photo Source: 1st AME Church & Mayon Denton, M D Productions

#1 Panel Discussion
First African Methodist Episcopal Church (First AME Church) – Unveiling the Untold: First AME Church Oral History Discussion and Videotaping Session
History and Heritage Committee – Gwendolyn Brown, Valisa Jeffrey, Anna Parker, Eddie Newman, Alma Stokes, Allene Washington, and Lorna Dee Washington.
Date: June 26, 2024, 1:30 PM

The First AME Church of Pasadena, located at 107 N. Vernon Avenue, was designed by Paul Revere Williams, a prominent Los Angeles architect who was the first African American to become a member of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). With its shiny alter rail, soaring pipes of its famous organ, colorful stained-glass windows and grand center aisle, it was a masterpiece that "had an aura about it", according to Anna Parker. Adjacent to the sanctuary were other buildings on the campus that included the Pastor's parsonage, classrooms and retail shops. First AME was an extraordinary religious and cultural center for the African American community. Here families and friends gathered to celebrate, dine, play, sing, socialize, study, worship, and to be safe and free.

Beginning in the late 1960s, this historical church and bedrock of the African American community was seized through eminent domain along with the other buildings on the campus. Though church leaders fought valiantly against its destruction due to the planned SR 710 freeway construction, they were unsuccessful in their efforts.



Photo: Women's Choir
Photo Source: 1st AME Church & Mayon Denton, M D

"We were expendable, said Gwendolyn (Gwen) Brown, whose father was the Pastor of First AME at the time of the decision. Fortunately, church elders managed to salvage the beautiful stained-glass windows and front door of the church before bulldozers arrived."

These historic treasures (architectural elements) are part of First AME's current home at 1700 N. Raymond Avenue in Pasadena.





Photo: First AME Church Historic Architectural Elements Moved into New Church. Note the stained-glass windows in the Kensington Church can been seen in the Raymond Ave. Church. **Photo Source:** First AME Church and Mayon Denton, M.D. Productions

The power of faith and the importance of First AME Church in the lives of the panelists and their families was a constant theme that echoed throughout the oral history discussion and videotaping session. "The church was the center of our life," said Alma Stokes. And Eddie Newman shared that when she moved to Pasadena from Memphis, TN to live with her aunt and uncle to attend John Muir High School, her faith and church were such important parts of her life that her Pastor in Tennessee wrote a letter of transfer for her so she could quickly join First AME and find her new church community.



Photo: Stained Glass Windows
Photo Source: First AME Church and Mayon Denton, M. D. Productions

Pastor Madelyn Manning writes that "it is the power of faith that sustained these churches and members impacted through the trials and tribulations of their displacement, and it is our faith today that provides us with the strength to overcome adversity and to pursue justice. We must believe in the power of our voices and the significance of our stories. By sharing our experiences, we are strengthening the bonds that unite us and affirming the value of every person's contribution to our shared history." The panelists from the History and Heritage Committee believe in the power of their voices and oral histories and will no longer be bullied by people and policies designed to marginalize and push the people of color out of Pasadena – "We must resist the force. Our voices must and will be heard. We need to be part of the conversation, not for our generation but for the children of Pasadena," said Gwen Brown.

COMMUNITY EVENTS

#1 Community Event
West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA)– Annual Meeting – Tabling Event at The Elks Lodge
Date: June 6, 2024, 5:00 PM

More than 200 people were in attendance for the West Pasadena Residents Association's Annual Meeting, which focused on the city's plans to "reclaim, re-envision, reconnect and redevelop" the 710 Freeway stub and corridor. To better understand the theme: "Reconnecting Pasadena: Mobility, Transportation, and Opportunity in the 710 Corridor", experts were brought in to discuss traffic and land use. These subjects are of great interest to the WPRA, as noted in the qualitative data collected through the SR 710 Oral History Survey, in feedback collected on-site at the meeting's information fair, and during our May meeting with the WPRA. At Allegra's outreach team's table, a laptop with an online connection and paper surveys were used to gather information from event attendees. During this event, we engaged with more than 50 attendees who were given outreach materials and signed up to receive more information.

#2 Community Event
Happy Birthday, Pasadena! - Silver Screen Extravaganza - Tabling Event at The Pasadena Museum of History
Date: June 9, 2024, Noon

More than 300 people attended the City of Pasadena's 138th Birthday Party, a family-friendly annual event, at the Pasadena Museum of History. This community-wide celebration offered us the opportunity to educate attendees about the SR710 Oral History Project by distributing postcards and conversing with a broad cross-section of community members

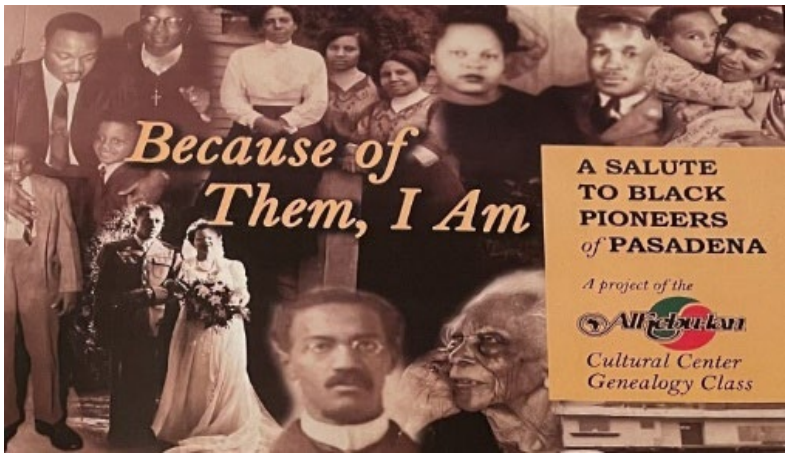


Photo: Because of Them, I Am: A Salute to Black Pioneers of Pasadena Book, a project of the Alkebu-lan Cultural Center Genealogy Class
Photo Source: Alkebu-lan Cultural Center

#3 Community Event
Alkebu-lan Cultural Center – Juneteenth Event – "Because of Them I AM." – Collaborative Partner
Date: June 18, 2024, 12:30PM

The Alkebu-lan Cultural Center and its genealogy class, led by Aldra Allison, organized a Juneteenth National Independence Day Celebration. This Celebration honored community trailblazers, shared a message of hope, faith, and healing, celebrated oral history as an important tool for collecting and preserving the voices memories and perspectives of people and for educating the community about the past and in doing so learn from it so past mistakes are not repeated. The highlights of the day were the release of the class's book "**Because of Them, I AM",** and the personal stories shared by several of the city's trailblazers, three of which were recorded**.** This celebratory and joy-filled commemorative community-wide luncheon and program attracted more than 150 guests.



Photo: Alkebu-lan Cultural Center
Photo Source: Alkebu-lan Cultural Center Facebook Page



Photo: Aldra Allison
Photo Source: Suzanne Madison

Oral history, according to Dr. Alison Rose Jefferson, is the oldest form of historical inquiry and mode of transmitting knowledge learned that arrived before a written tradition was developed. “The SR 710 Revisioning Project will help to preserve personal oral narratives of people impacted by the freeway construction that have been left out of the historical record that will engage people and educate them now and in the future about how the past influences the present and the importance of remembering the past influences the present, and the importance of remembering the past to build a better future for our collective empowerment in standing against injustice to create a more just society, and inclusive narrative and identity.”

#4 Community Event
Pasadena Buddhist Temple – Outreach Event to the Japanese American Community
DATE: June 22, 2024, 1:30PM



Connecting with Pasadena’s Japanese American community was an integral part of our outreach efforts. SR 710 Advisory Group Member, Bryan Takeda introduced us to the Japanese American language phrase Shikata ga nai (仕方がない), pronounced [ɕi̥kata ga na̠i], which means "it cannot be helped" or "nothing can be done about it". Understanding this deeply rooted cultural belief that ‘something cannot be helped’, coupled with the pain of

being marginalized repeatedly, beginning with the Immigration Act of 1924 which legislated a ban* on all Asian immigrants coming into the United States, helped us to better understand the culture of this community.

**The Immigration Act of 1924, or Johnson–Reed Act, including the Asian Exclusion Act and National Origins Act, was a federal law that prevented immigration from Asia and set quotas on the number of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe.*

As a result of this research, we worked in tandem with Bryan and his close friend, Ron Toshima, to plan and host an outreach event at the Pasadena Buddhist Temple, which was attended by more than a dozen Japanese Americans.

Most of the participants in the program acknowledged that do not follow the local news in Pasadena or are well-informed about what is happening in the community. Nevertheless, many knew about the Oral History Project because they had seen the signage at bus stops or a poster at the Altadena Library. Hosting this event served as an opportunity to share information, as well as to collect personal stories, and to answer questions about the project.

Themes discussed and stories shared that afternoon focused on the history of displacement of Japanese Americans and its subsequent impact on the community and their families. One of the program's participants, Rick Osaka, the grandson of a family who was displaced from the sale of their home by eminent domain, was reticent to share his family's story because he was skeptical that the City of Pasadena would acknowledge its responsibility and then repair the harm of the past. Even so, he felt it was his duty to share his family's story in honor of those whose voices were never heard. To this day, he said he is filled with sadness each time he drives up South Pasadena Avenue and passes by where his grandparents' "Pasadena Beautiful Foundation's - Golden Arrow Award" recognized home was torn down. Mixed with undeniable skepticism, there is hope and faith that their storytelling will be a springboard for repairing what is broken and making a better city for all Pasadenans to be included and respected.

#5 Community Event
Pasadena Senior Center, Independence Day Party-Great American Swing Band Concert & Dance-Tabling Event
Date: July 4, 2024, 1:00PM
Complementing our pop-by visits to fitness classes held at the Pasadena Senior Center, this event offered us the opportunity to generate added awareness of the SR710 Oral History Project through the distribution of postcards and mingling with more than 100 Pasadena area Seniors.



Photo: Great American Swing Band
Photo Source: Pasadena Now





#1 Stories -
The Settlement Movement in Pasadena

Historically a community gathering spot for the Mexican American community in Pasadena was located on W. Del Mar Boulevard, adjacent to the neighborhoods ultimately demolished to make way for the SR 710 freeway construction.

The Settlement Movement began in Chicago and focused on providing opportunities for social betterment by a variety of means. Recognizing similar needs in Pasadena, a group of civic-minded citizens started a Settlement House in Pasadena's southern commercial section of town.

Alternatively referred to as the Pasadena, Mexican, or Edna P. Alter, Settlement, it provided a medical loan chest in case of illness, a maternity hospital, and secondhand store. Classes offered included traditional folk expressions, English, "Americanization", and it was a place for neighbors to celebrate Halloween. (Pasadena Museum of History). Like one's parish, the Settlement House was a hub and an important community gathering spot for the Mexican American community in Pasadena many of whom who lived the neighborhood.

Also at the Settlement, a variety of clubs were established, each with the goal of keeping youngsters involved in positive, rather than negative activities. National organizations like Boy Scouts of America or Campfire Girls and groups that originated at the Settlement like "Settlers Club" and later the "Settlequeens", provided opportunities for young people to spend time together, enjoy enrichment classes and experience field trips while in a safe environment. (Lopez/Mares Collection)

The Settlement function, name and site changed over the years. After World War II, the building and organization moved to Del Mar Boulevard adjacent to the SR 710 Freeway displacement arfea. This picture was taken prior to a special event at the Settlement in 1951, a *jamaica*. During a *jamaica,* or a community fair, each club would take the lead on organizing an activity. The women typically would prepare food, and the men would construct the booths.



Source: Latinos in Pasadena, Roberta H. Martinez **Photo Source:** Lopes/Mares Collection

#2 Stories - West Dayton Street

Dayton Street served as the business and religious hub of the African American community in downtown Pasadena for decades. For example, it was home to the Francisca Building, the first commercial building commissioned by and for African Americans in Pasadena. From the 1920's to the 1940's the street housed many businesses owned and operated by Pasadena's Black residents.

This thriving commercial and cultural center of Pasadena which was also (and still is) home to Friendship Baptist Church. During the SR 710 freeway construction this street, which originally ran from Fair Oaks Avenue west to St. John Avenue, was shortened to end at the area now known as the SR 710 Freeway Stub.



Photo: The Francisca Building
Photo Source: Pasadena A Business History. Patrick Conyers, Cedar Phillips and the Pasadena Museum of History

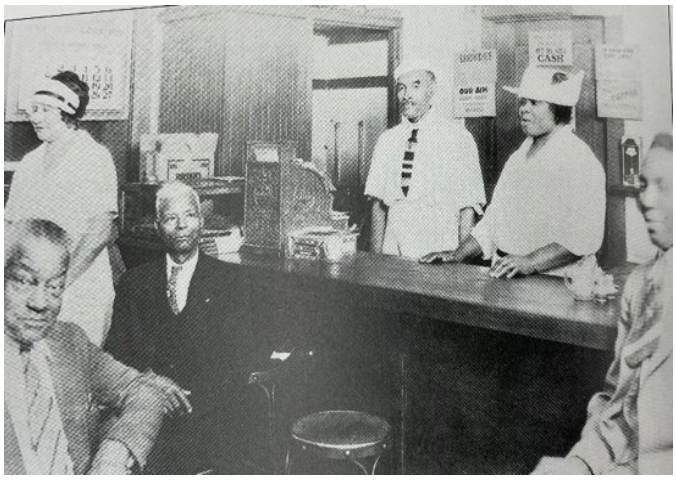


Photo: Gathering at a business in the Francisca Building.
Photo Source: Pasadena A Business History. Patrick Conyers, Cedar Phillips and the Pasadena Museum of History.



Photo: James T. Phillips, Jr. posed for this photograph in his law office in the Francisca Building at 24 West Dayton Street.
Photo Source: Pasadena A Business History. Patrick Conyers, Cedar Phillips, and the Pasadena Museum of History.



Photo: Hanging out on Colorado Boulevard
Photo Source: Pasadena A Business History. Patrick Conyers, Cedar Phillips and the Pasadena Museum of History.

#3 Stories – James A. Garfield School



Photo: Garfield School
Photo Source: Pasadena Public Library Facebook Page

Garfield School was originally called the California Street School when it opened in 1888; so, named because it was built on California Street (now a boulevard). In 1890 the campus grew with the construction of additional buildings, including a separate kindergarten building, and it was renamed James A. Garfield Elementary School. The impressive Victorian-style school with its looming towers was eventually replaced with a brick edifice in 1906. This building sustained extensive damage in the 1933 Long Beach earthquake and was subsequently demolished in 1936. During the Great Depression, a new Garfield School was built with the help of the Public Works Administration. The PWA, part of the New Deal of 1933, was a large-scale public works construction agency. It was created by the National Industrial Recovery Act in June 1933 in response to the Great Depression. It built large-scale public works such as dams, bridges, hospitals, and schools. Its goals were to generate employment, stabilize buying power, and help revive the economy.

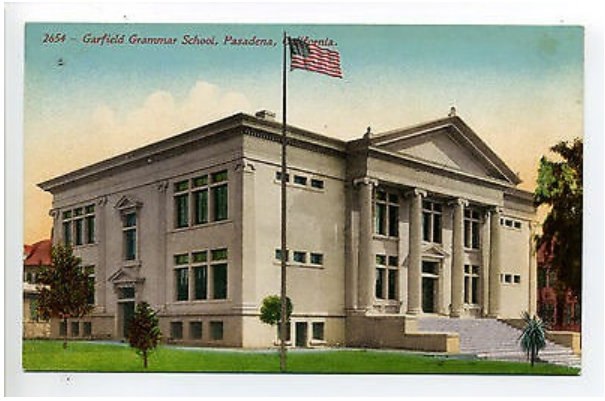


Photo: Garfield School
Photo Source: Pasadena Public Library Facebook Page

Located at the corner of Pasadena Avenue and California Boulevard, the Garfield School building was torn down again in the early 1970s as the result of the SR 710 freeway construction. Today, a shopping mall that houses Von's supermarket, several banks, and shops sits on this property.

Garfield School was repeatedly mentioned during our one-on-one oral history interviews, as well in feedback collected in the survey. Survey respondents mentioned that since it was the neighborhood's only public elementary school, every family sent their children to study there.



Photo: Garfield School Class Photos
Photo Source: Claire Bogaard



Photo Source: Pasadena Museum of History

#4 Stories – Orban Lumber

Located at 85 S. Pasadena Avenue, this business can be found on Caltrans R/W Map F-1214-9, parcel numbers 41713 and 41714.

#5 Stories - "Because of Them, I AM: A Salute to Black Pioneers of Pasadena"

Pasadena's Alkebu-lan Cultural Center (ACC) was established in 1989 as a community-based non-profit cultural center. The Center was founded by Versie Mae Richardson, a long-time Pasadena resident, internationally known opera singer, and community activist, along with two other community members: Emerson Terry, an artist, and Dr. Marie Battle, an educator. ACC seeks to encourage creativity through music, theater, drama, oratory, dance, and other mediums of artistic expression. In addition, the Center coordinates programs that provide the greater community with insight into, and appreciation of, the rich heritage and contemporary achievements of African American people. Alkebu-lan's genealogy class's book "Because of Them, I AM: A Salute to Black Pioneers of Pasadena," traces the roots of families who have lived in Pasadena for generations. Through the sharing of oral histories, the book offers insight into the fascinating histories of these families. For example, the family of Ann Marie Hickambottom still owns the home on Westgate Ave. that they purchased more than 100 years ago!

Additionally, several of the stories shared in this book speak about the disruption of the SR 710 Freeway Construction and actions people took to challenge Caltrans' plans. In the introduction to the book, Aldra Alison thanks her husband's nine siblings for sharing their stories about growing up in Pasadena. They lived on West Del Mar Boulevard, near the path of the SR 710 freeway construction, and attended First AME Church's vacation Bible school when the church was still located on Vernon Ave. After school let out, they often ate lunch at The Green Buck restaurant.



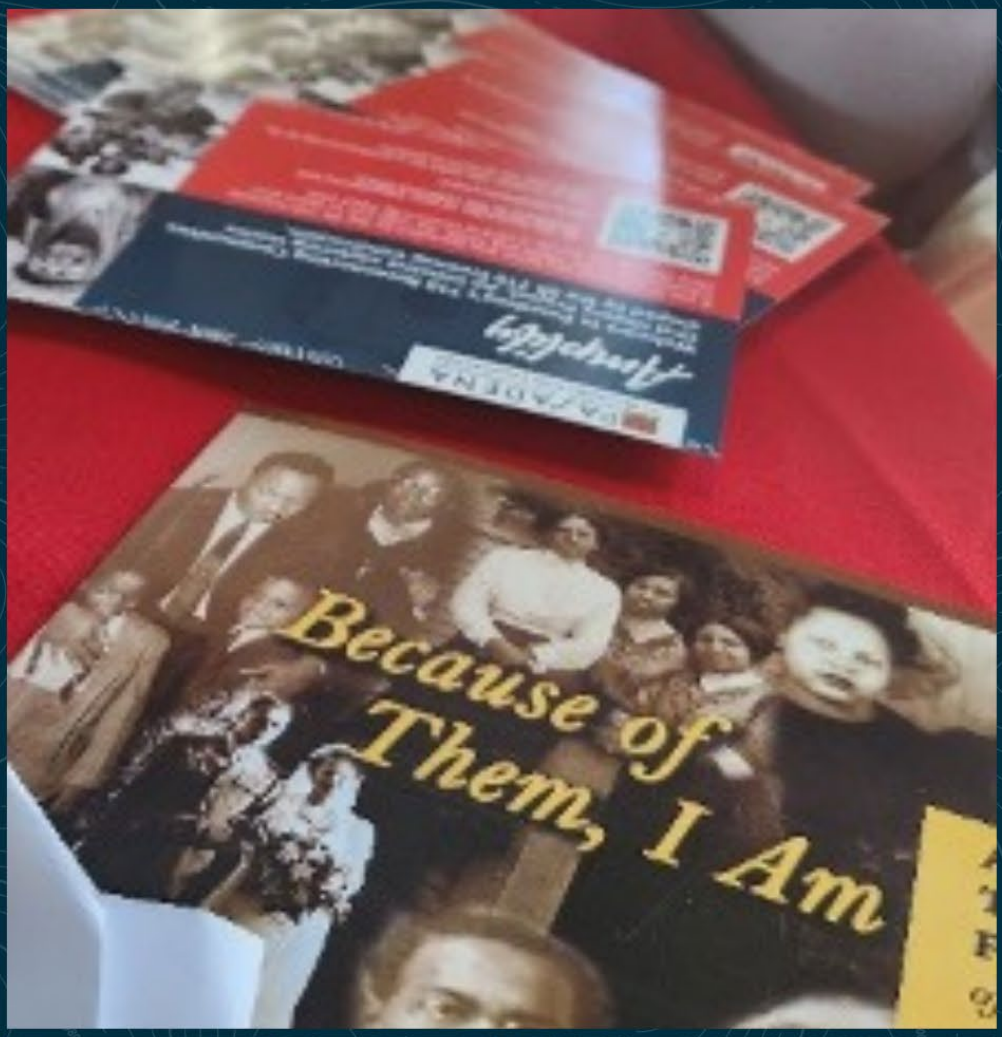
Photo Source: Barbara Richardson King

Sandra Knox's story was shared by Patricia Duff Tucker, who wrote, "Sandra Knox was the Executive Director for Pasadena Neighborhood Housing Services – Pasadena (PNHS) for over 20 years. She was a fearless advocate in bringing affordable housing services to the families in Northwest Pasadena. PNHS was the first organization to challenge Caltrans to ensure that homes along the 710 extension would go to low-income families. She also helped develop the Neighborhood Enterprise Center, which provided business education and micro-loans and grants.

Barbara Richardson King speaks about her family being able to turn lemons into lemonade. Ms. King remembers "In the 1960s, when eminent domain began eliminating neighborhoods in SW Pasadena, my father was desperate to help his parents relocate. My father bought this home from Caltrans and moved it to a vacant lot for my grandparents. He did five more projects that required moving houses in the middle of the night, in the middle of the street, to save them from demolition."



Photo Source: Patricia Duff Tucker











SECTION 9:
RESOURCES

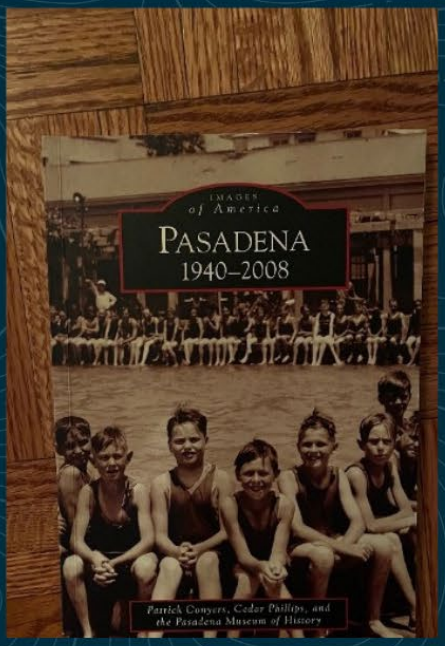
SECTION 9: RESOURCES

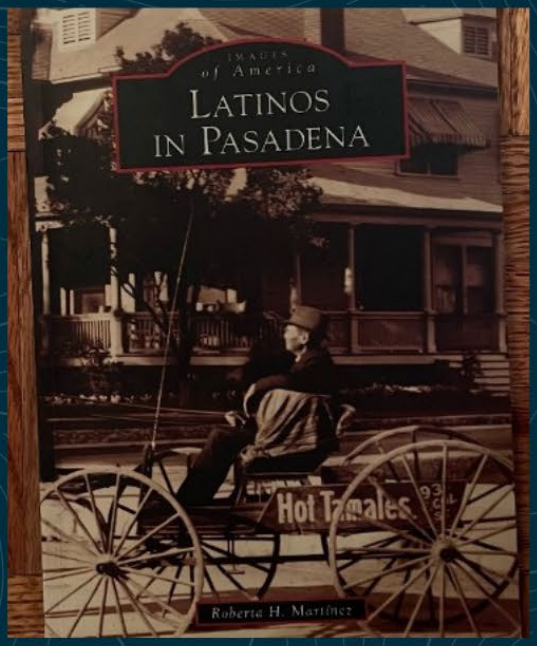
Primary:

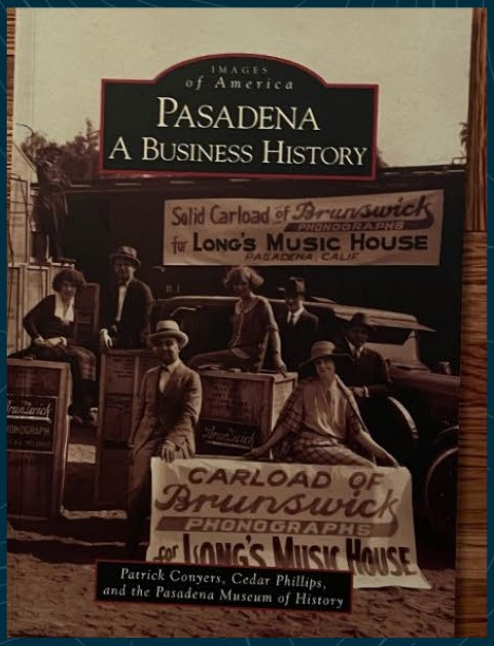
Online Survey/QuestionPro.com
Printed/Mailed Surveys
1on1 Interviews (Telephone and In-Person)
Group Interviews
Video Interviews

Secondary:

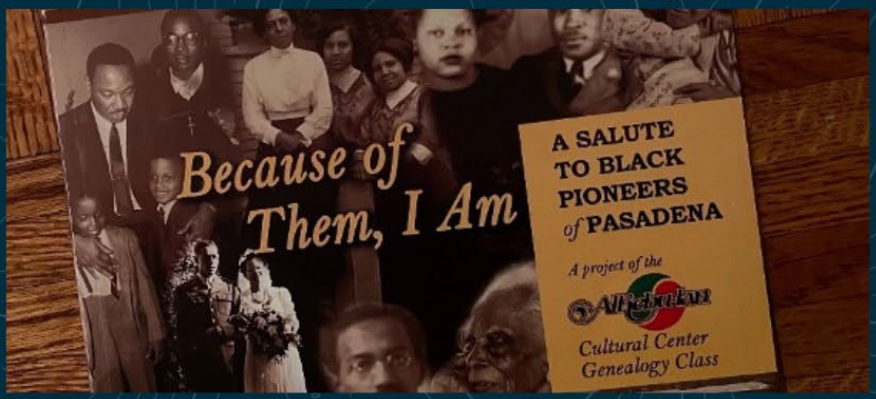
Pasadena 1940-2008, Patrick Conyers, Cedar Phillips, and the Pasadena Museum of History
Caltrans 'Right of Way' Maps
Pasadena Museum of History
NAACP Pasadena Branch Archives
First AME Church Pasadena Archives
Friendship Church Pasadena Archives
Because of Them, I AM: A Salute to Black Pioneers of Pasadena
Alkebu-Lan Cultural Center
Conspiracy of the Good: Civil Rights and the Struggle
for Community in Two American Cities, 1875 - 2000
Michael E. James
(Garfield Elementary School)
West of Jim Crow: The Fight Against California's Color Line
Lynn M. Hudson
Pasadena Public Library
Latinos in Pasadena, Roberta H. Martinez
Pasadena: A Business History, Patrick Conyers, Cedar Phillips, and the Pasadena Museum of History

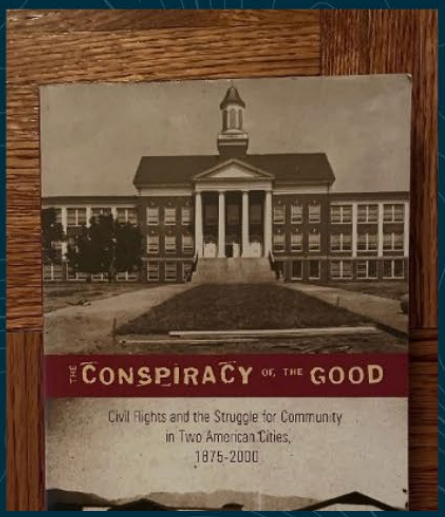


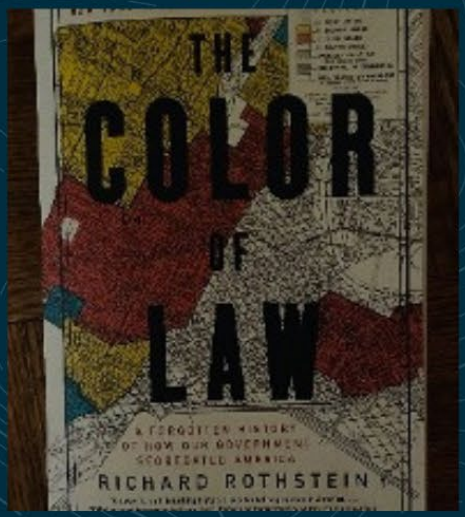














SECTION 10:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS, CONTRIBUTIONS AND GRATITUDE

OUR SPECIAL THANKS TO

THE ALLEGRA CONSULTING TEAM AND INDEPENDENT CONSULTANTS

Suzanne Madison, CEO, Allegra Consulting
Aubin Wilson, Consultant
Arlene Lozano, Graphic Designer
Stephanie Gutierrez, Graphic Designer
Dr. Alison Rose Jefferson, M.H.C., Ph.D., Independent Historian
Mayon Denton, Filmmaker, M.D. Productions
Scott Torlucci, Davis Demographics/MGT
McKay Larrabee, Davis Demographics/MGT
Cameron Arceneaux, Davis Demographics/MGT
Jasmine Lewis. Davis Demographics/MGT

THE CITY OF PASADENA

City Manager's Office
Department of Parks, Recreation and Community Services
Department of Transportation
Pasadena Media and KPAS
Pasadena Public Library

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION (CALTRANS)

COMMUNITY BASED ORGANIZATIONS AND SCHOOLS

710 Restorative Justice Coalition
Alkebu-lan Cultural Center
Altadena Public Library
Altadena Senior Center
Armory Center of the Arts
John Muir High School
NAACP – Pasadena Branch
Pasadena Chamber of Commerce
Pasadena Japanese Cultural Institute
Pasadena Museum of History
Pasadena Senior Center
Pasadena Unified School District
Sequoyah School
West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA)

COMMUNITY MEMBERS AND BUSINESSES

Aldra Allison
Eugene E. Anderson
Harrison Bailey III
Karen Bailey Powell
Claire Bogaard
Gwendolyn Brown
Walt Butler
C. Allen Edson
Jeril D. Grant
Robert Grant III
Dr. Lawton Gray
Assemblymember Chris Holden
Rebecca Hong
Tim Ivison
Valisa Jefferey
Barbara Richardson King
Doris Leonard
Dianne Lewis
Roberta Martinez
Sandra McConnell
Melvin Mercer
Alice Mijares Recendenz
R'lene Mijares Recendenz
Mijares Restaurant
Gladys Miles
Michael Mims
Pablo Miralles
Jane Mitsumori
Gary Moody
Keiko Mori
Allison Michelle Moses
Miriam Nakamura Quan
Eddie Newman
Joanne Nucklos
Jamal Okeyo Jumal
Rick Osaka
Elysha Paluszek
Anna Lou Parker
Lafayette Parks
Elena Phleger
State Senator Anthony Portantino
Ray Quan
Barbara Richardson King
Komiko Richardson
Seiko Richardson
Edgard Riddle
Judith Risby
Margot Seipelt
Allen Shay
Myrtle Sinclair
Cedric Smith
Alma Stokes
Ron Toshima
Orrin Tracy
Juanita West Tillman
Emiko Yamaguchi
Lee Wallace
Allene Washington
Lorna Dee Washington

MEDIA PARTNERS

ColoradoBoulevard.net
Pasadena Now
Pasadena Star News
Rafu Shimpu

MEMBERS OF THE CLERGY AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

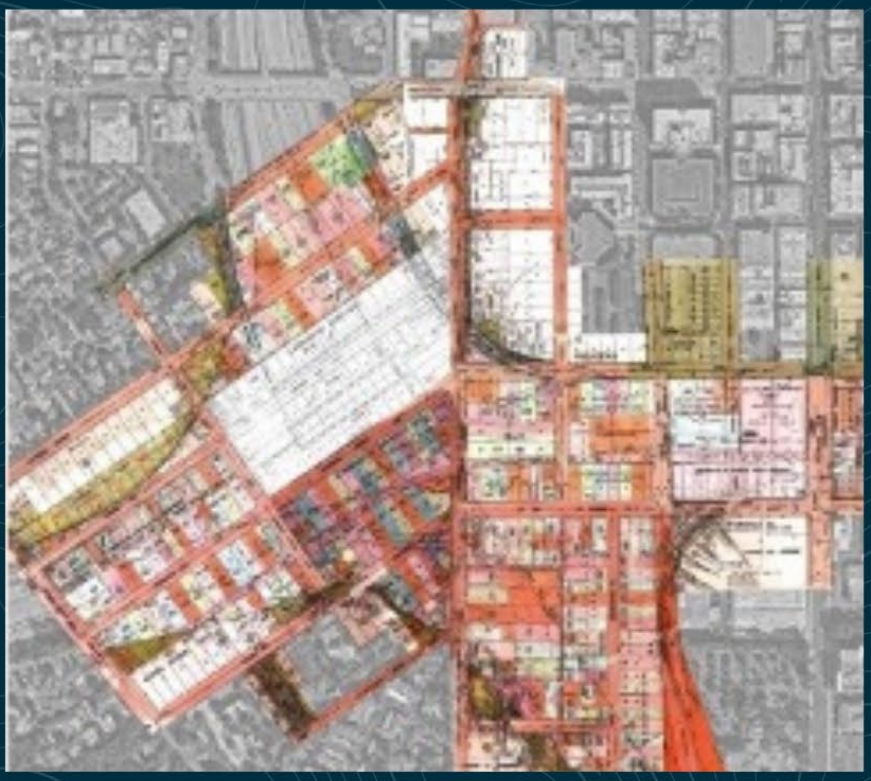
Rev. Dr. Larry E. Campbell
Rev. Gregory Gibbs
Fr. Marcos Gonzalez
Rector Mike Kinman
Pastor Madelyn D. Manning
Pastor Tyrone Skinner
Rev. Lucious W. Smith
Pastor Elizabeth Wang

All Saints Church
First African Methodist Episcopal Church
First Presbyterian Church, Altadena
Friendship Pasadena Church
Lake Avenue Church
Metropolitan Baptist Church
Pasadena Buddhist Temple

RECONNECTING COMMUNITIES 710 TEAM

Reconnecting Communities
710 Advisory Group
Architectural Resources Group
Davis Demographics/MGT, Inc.
Perkins Eastman
The Robert Group
UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies






ST. JOHN AVE.
PASADENA AVE.
COLORADO BLVD.
GREEN STREET
DEL MAR BLVD.
ORANGE GROVE BLVD.
FAIR OAKS AVE.
CALIFORNIA BLVD.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Link - Additional Data from Surveys (Charts, Graphs and Narratives)

Link - List of Displaced Residents

Link - List of Businesses Displaced

Link – List of Institutions Displaced

Link - Archives: Images, Scanned Documents and Captions

1. **People, Documents and Images: https://spaces.hightail.com/space/PmpSqktDPp**
2. **Schools, Documents and Images: https://spaces.hightail.com/space/C7lTlKIGT1**
3. **CBO's Documents and Images: https://spaces.hightail.com/space/A303IBG9cx**
4. **Churches, Documents and Images: https://spaces.hightail.com/space/w1H4FBwqy2**

Link – Davis Demographics – Impact of Displacement and Loss of Generational Wealth Analysis – 18 Properties. The linked analysis examines the long-term impact of lost generational wealth. Davis Demographics/MGT estimated the property values of homes belonging to 18 displaced residents using 2024 data from the Los Angeles County Assessor's Office. Valuations were based on the average appraised land and improvement values of comparable single-family homes within a 0.5-mile radius of each displaced address. Selection criteria included homes built in 1960 or earlier, lot sizes under 15,000 square feet, and appraisals conducted within the past 10 years. Caltrans purchase prices were not available for this evaluation.

Link – ARG 710 Relinquishment Area Residents and Summary

AERIAL IMAGES OF THE DISPLACEMENT AREAS.



Photo: SR 710 Map showing the Displacement Area
Photo Source: UCLA



Photo: SR 710 Caltrans R/W Maps
Source: Perkins Eastman



Photo: 1967 Aerial Split Map
Photo Source: ARG

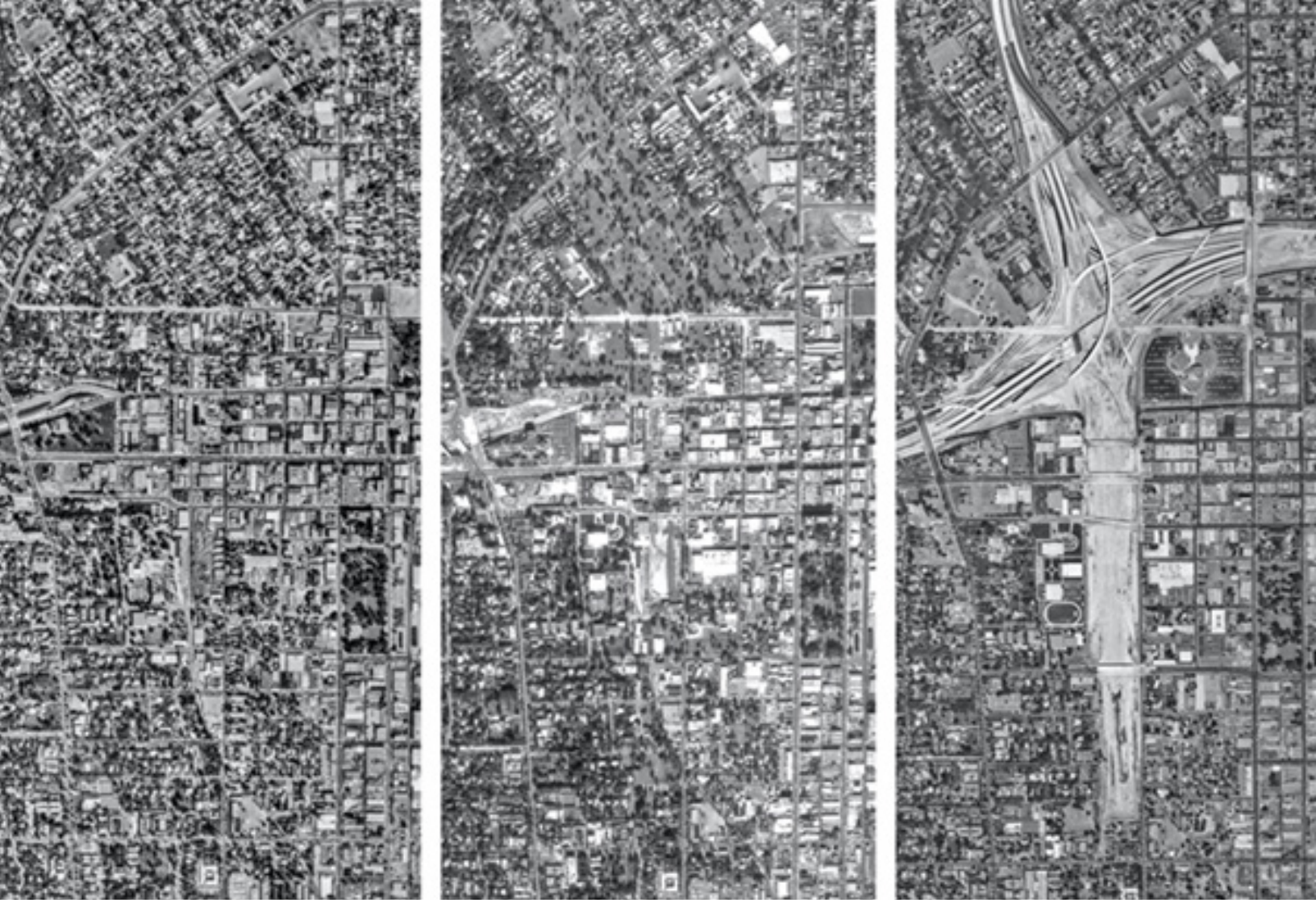


PASADENA
CALIFORNIA • WWW.CITYOFPASADENA.NET

710 RECONNECTING COMMUNITIES

Amplify

ALLEGRA
CONSULTING



RESEARCH REPORT

Racial Segregation in Pasadena: The Role of Freeway Development and Institutional Mechanisms

May 2025

UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies

Abstract

This study documents the historical and current patterns of racial/ethnic residential segregation in Pasadena, examining the role of freeways and other mechanisms in shaping these outcomes. Using quantitative data, this project compares racial segregation in Pasadena with that in the rest of Los Angeles County and analyzes demographic changes in the neighborhoods containing Interstate 210 and State Route 710 before and after their construction. Additionally, the study investigates other institutional policies, practices, and projects that contributed to segregation. The findings offer insights to support Pasadena's efforts to redress the historical impacts of freeway development.

Pasadena and the wider Los Angeles County have become more racially diverse over time. Despite these broader changes, neighborhoods along the built and unbuilt freeway corridor have grown increasingly segregated and economically polarized. From 1960 to 1970, tracts affected by freeway construction lost almost 1,800 units of housing (-28%), while the city overall and the South tract, not directly impacted by freeway construction, experienced steady growth. Home values, rents, and income generally fell north of SR-710 but rose around it and south of it. Pasadena mirrored national trends in housing discrimination, including redlining, racially restrictive covenants, school integration resistance, and anti-integration ballot measures. In the face of these barriers, residents of color successfully organized protests and pursued legal remedies. Urban renewal projects, particularly around the SR-710 stub, disproportionately displaced communities of color under the guise of eliminating urban blight. Freeway development in Pasadena left a lasting legacy of environmental and social inequality.

About the UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies

The UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies supports and advances cutting-edge research, the highest-quality education, and meaningful and influential civic engagement on the many pressing transportation issues facing our cities, state, nation and world today. The institute is part of the University of California Institute of Transportation Studies, a four-campus consortium that includes UC Berkeley, UC Davis and UC Irvine. UCLA ITS is also a proud partner of the Pacific Southwest Region 9 University of Transportation Center, a federally funded research network with seven other universities.

About the UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge

The UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge conducts basic and applied research on the socioeconomic formation and internal dynamics of neighborhoods and how these collective spatial units are positioned and embedded within regions. The Center for Neighborhood Knowledge works with a broad set of data and employs a range of analytical skills to examine neighborhood phenomena across time and space.

Acknowledgments

This study was made possible through funding from the City of Pasadena. The authors would like to thank the City for its support of university-based research and especially for the funding received for this project. The authors also thank Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Emmanuel Proussaloglou, Andres F. Ramirez, and Abigail Fitzgibbon at UCLA and Wendy Macias, David Reyes, and the Reconnecting Communities 710 Advisory Group at the City of Pasadena.

The UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies and UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge acknowledge the Gabrielino/Tongva peoples as the traditional land caretakers of Tovaangar (the Los Angeles basin and So. Channel Islands) and that their displacement has enabled the flourishing of UCLA. As a land grant institution, we pay our respects to the Honuukvetam (Ancestors), ‘Ahiihirom (Elders) and ‘Eyoohiinkem (our relatives/relations) past, present and emerging.

The research team acknowledges the presence of the study area on the traditional, ancestral and unceded territory of the indigenous peoples who today use the names Tongva, Gabrielino, Kizh, and Chumash.

Disclaimer

The contents of this report reflect the views of the authors, who are responsible for the facts and the accuracy of the information presented herein. This document is disseminated under the sponsorship of the State of California in the interest of information exchange. The State of California assumes no liability for the contents or use thereof. Nor does the content necessarily reflect the official views or policies of the State of California. This report does not constitute a standard, specification, or regulation.

Racial Segregation in Pasadena: The Role of Freeway Development and Institutional Mechanisms

Paul M. Ong, Ph.D., Research Professor, UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs and Director, UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4358-6297

Chhandara Pech, Deputy Director, UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3065-051X

Casey Chung, Graduate Student Researcher, UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies, https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5698-7594

Jacob L. Wasserman, Research Program Manager, UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies, https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2212-5798

May 2025
Project ID: UCLA ITS-LA2410
DOI: 10.17610/T6XW3J
Cover Photo Credit: Pasadena Office of the City Manager

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents

Executive Summary ..... **xi**

Introduction **2**

Part 1. Racial Diversification and Segregation in Pasadena and Los Angeles County, 1940-2020 ..... **4**

Population Trends and Composition 4

Segregation and Diversity Metrics, 1950-2020 6

Part 2. Impacts of Freeway Developments: I-210 and SR-710, 1950-1980 ..... **16**

Analytical Study Area and Population Trends 16

Increased Segregation in the Study Area 20

Changes in Housing Units Across Study Area Tracts 26

Economic Polarization in the Study Area 28

Part 3. Institutional Discriminatory Practices in Housing **32**

Housing Discrimination, National Context, and Pasadena 32

Redlining 34

Intersection of Housing and School Segregation 37

Opposition to Fair Housing 38

Neighborhood Tipping and White Flight 41

Part 4. Urban Renewal and Restructuring Projects **45**

Freeway Construction and Urban Restructuring 45

Norton Simon Museum 51

Parsons Headquarters 51

Ambassador College/Worldwide Church of God 52

Old Pasadena 53

Pepper Project 55

Conclusion **57**

Appendix: Data and Methods **59**

References 73

Primary Sources 73

Secondary Sources 78

List of Tables

Table 2-1. Housing Units in Pasadena and Los Angeles County, 1950-1980 27

Table 2-2. Changes in Housing Units in Pasadena and Los Angeles County, 1950-1980 27

Table 3-1. Proposition 14 (1964) Results 40

Table 4-1. Housing and Demographic Changes in the Parsons Headquarters Area, 1960-1980 52

Table 4-2. Housing and Demographic Changes in the Ambassador College Area, 1960-1980 53

Table 4-3. Housing and Demographic Changes in the Part of Old Pasadena to the East of the SR-710 Corridor, 1960-1980 54

List of Figures

Figure 1-1. Los Angeles County Population in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020 4
Figure 1-2. Los Angeles County Non-Hispanic White Population in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020 5
Figure 1-3. Los Angeles County Demographics in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020 6
Figure 1-4. Los Angeles County Dissimilarity and Entropy Indices in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020 7
Figure 1-5. Los Angeles County Entropy Scores in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020 8
Figure 1-6. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1970 9
Figure 1-7. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1990 10
Figure 1-8. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 2010 11
Figure 1-9. Diversity, as Measured by the Entropy Score, in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1970 12
Figure 1-10. Diversity, as Measured by the Entropy Score, in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1990 13
Figure 1-11. Diversity, as Measured by the Entropy Score, in Pasadena by Census Tract, 2010 14
Figure 2-1. Pasadena Study Area in Context 17
Figure 2-2. Pasadena Study Area Tracts 18
Figure 2-3. Study Area Population, 1940-2020 19
Figure 2-4. Study Area's Share of Pasadena's Population by Race/Ethnicity, 1940-2020 20
Figure 2-5. Racial/Ethnic Distribution of the Study Area, 1950-1980 21
Figure 2-6. Share Non-Hispanic White in the Study Area Tracts, 1950-1980 22
Figure 2-7. Segregation, as Measured by the Dissimilarity Index, in Pasadena, 1950-1980 23
Figure 2-8. Center Tract Population, 1950-1980 24
Figure 2-9. South Center Tract Population, 1950-1980 25
Figure 2-10. South Tract Population, 1950-1980 26
Figure 2-11. Average Home Value Relative to the City of Pasadena 29
Figure 2-12. Average Rent Relative to the City of Pasadena 30
Figure 2-13. Median Income Relative to the City of Pasadena 31
Figure 3-1. Restrictive Clause in a Pasadena Deed 33

Figure 3-2. 1939 HOLC Redlining Map of Pasadena and Surrounding Areas 35

Figure 3-3. Current Home Values and Historic Redlining, Pasadena 36

Figure 3-4. Map of Voting Patterns on Proposition 14, 1964 40

Figure 3-5. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1950 43

Figure 3-6. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1970 44

Figure 4-1. Population Distribution of Pasadena Residents of Color, 1935, and Future Freeway Routes 46

Figure 4-2. Pasadena Redlined Areas, Redevelopment Areas, and Freeway Routes 47

Figure 4-3. Aerial Photographs of Changes in Land-use Patterns at the Central Pasadena Interchange 48

Figure 4-4. Major Development Sites near SR-710 Stub 49

Figure 4-5. Major Development Sites near SR-710 Stub, 1967 and 1989 50

Figure 4-6. Pepper Project Urban Renewal Area Plans 55

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Executive Summary

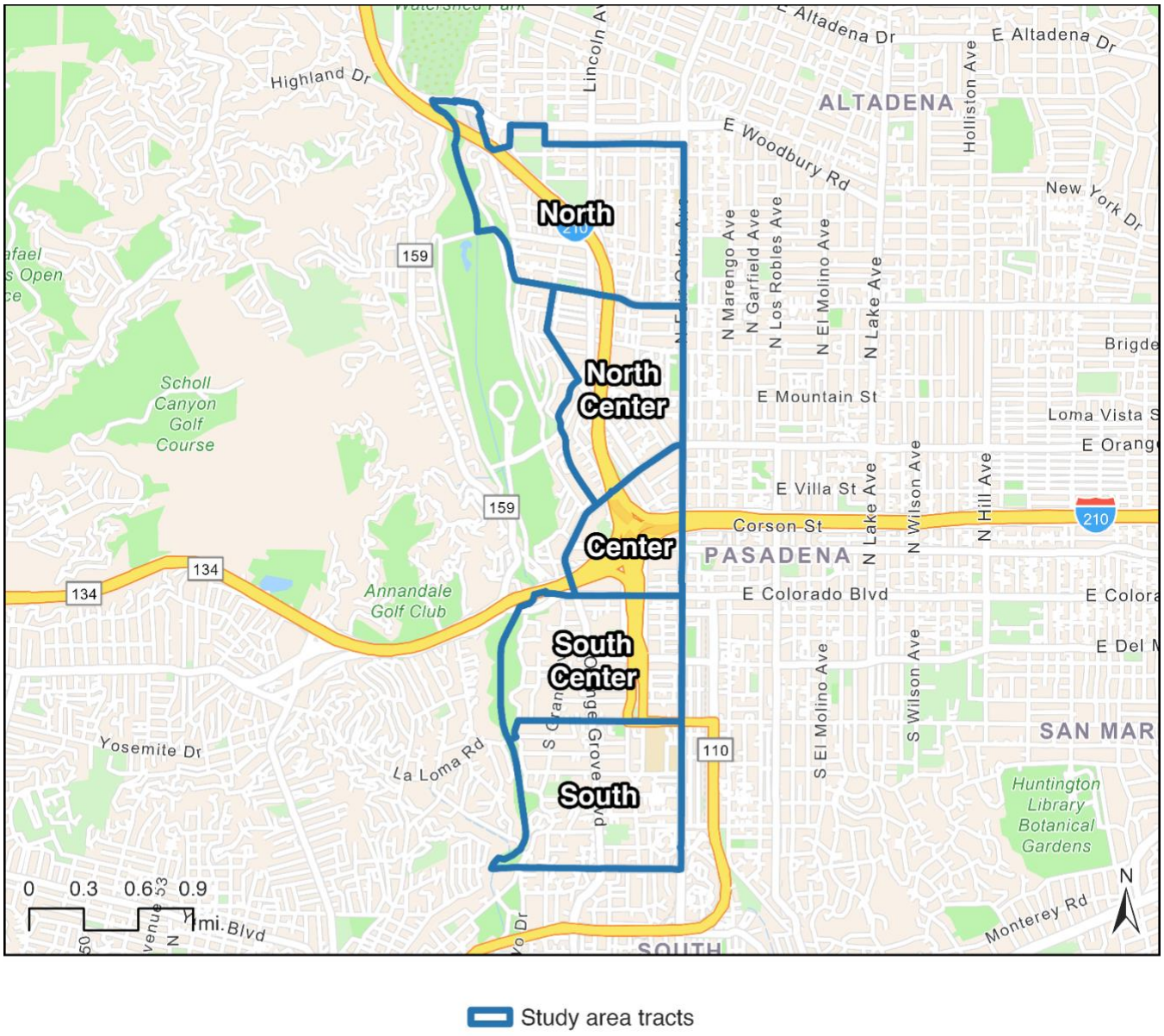
This study documents the historical and current patterns of racial and ethnic residential segregation in Pasadena, examining the role of freeways and other mechanisms in shaping these outcomes. Using quantitative data, this project compares racial segregation in Pasadena with that in the rest of Los Angeles County and analyzes demographic changes in the neighborhoods containing Interstate 210 and State Route 710 before and after their construction. Additionally, the study investigates other institutional policies, practices, and projects that contributed to segregation, including housing discrimination, redlining, and the redevelopment of the central business district and adjacent areas. The findings offer insights to support Pasadena's efforts to redress the historical impacts of freeway development and its related historical processes.

Pasadena and the wider Los Angeles County have become more racially diverse over time. During the quarter-century after the Second World War, both Pasadena and the broader county were predominantly non-Hispanic white, but by the last quarter of the century, both the region and the city had become "majority-minority." Despite the influx of people of color moving into the area, the City of Pasadena continued to remain segregated, as people of color remained disproportionately concentrated in the northwestern section of the city, just east of the Arroyo Seco valley, due to restrictive covenants written into property titles and enforced by the government (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020); Rose, 2016; Cole, 2021; Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023; and A. Ramirez et al., 2025).

Segregation levels began to decrease around the 1960s, with Pasadena showing lower levels of segregation than the rest of the county, as calculated using a number of measures of segregation and diversity. Nonetheless, the northwest section remained predominantly Black, with newer Asian areas in the southeast and Latino/a populations spread out across the city (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)).

Despite these broader changes, neighborhoods along the built and unbuilt freeway corridor have grown increasingly segregated and economically polarized. The study area's population remained stable through the 1950s, then declined sharply in the 1960s, remained low over the next decade, and partially recovered during the post-freeway period. Subareas within the study area (See **Figure E-1**) became increasingly racially polarized and segregated over time, more so than the rest of Pasadena. Especially in the North tract but generally along I-210, shares of residents of color increased, while south of the interchange along the SR-710 stub and unbuilt sections, areas lost residents of color or saw little demographic change (See **Figure E-2**). From 1960 to 1970, tracts affected by freeway construction lost almost 1,800 units of housing (a 28% reduction), while the city overall and the South tract, not directly impacted by freeway construction, experienced steady growth. Home values, rents, and income generally fell north of SR-710 but rose around it and south of it (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)). Together, these findings paint a picture of economic stratification within Pasadena's western neighborhoods.

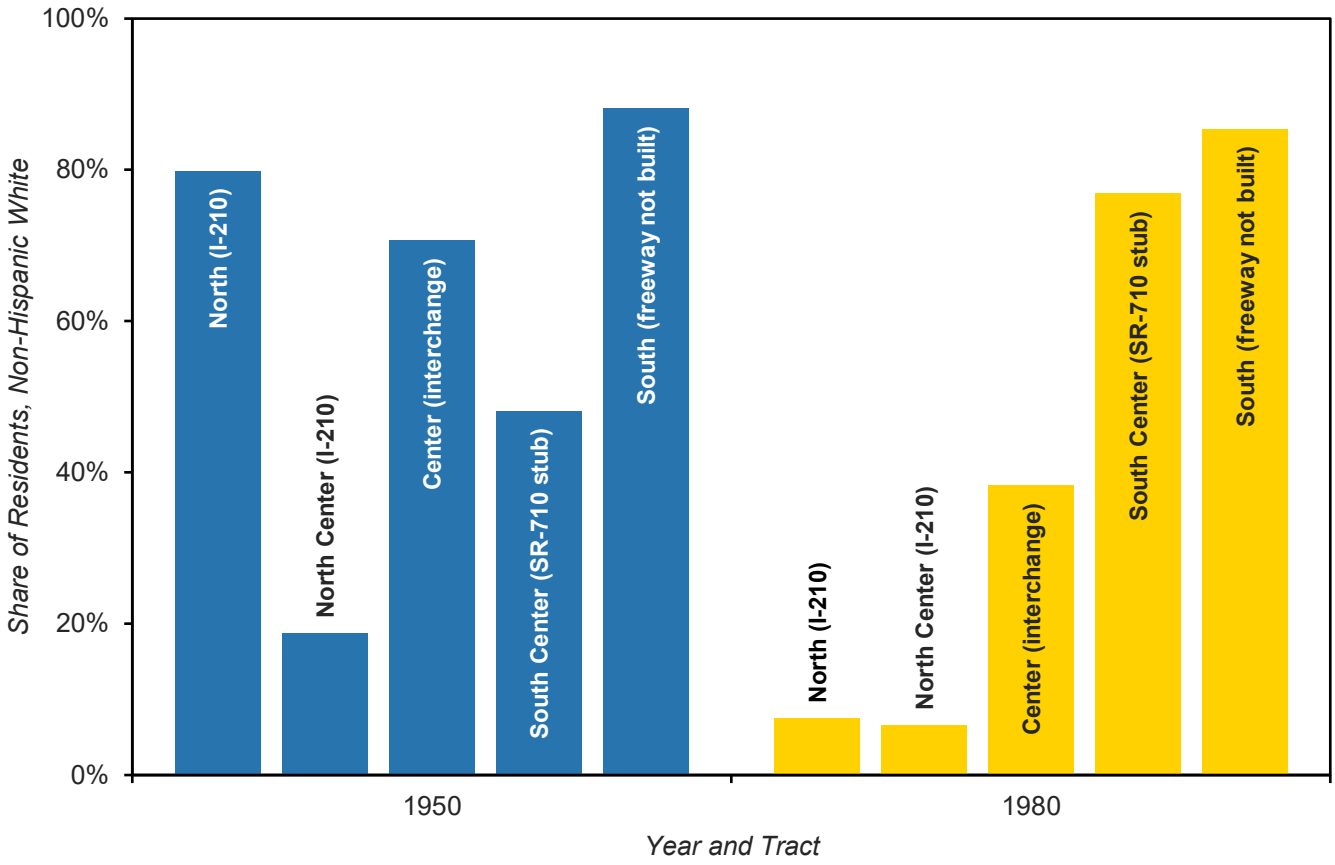
Figure E-1. Pasadena Study Area Tracts



Data source: 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960); base map: Esri, 2024b

Turning to historical policy research, we find that Pasadena mirrored national trends in housing discrimination during the freeway-development era. Pasadena implemented land-use regulations that, while not overtly racist, had a disproportionate impact on people of color and reinforced segregation. Likewise, around 60 percent of Pasadena properties had a restrictive covenant—clauses in property deeds that prohibited sales based on race/ethnicity—in 1942 (Shook, 2020; Gotham, 2000; Rose and Brooks, 2015; and Cole, 2021). Federal redlining maps that helped preclude people of color from obtaining home loans labeled Pasadena neighborhoods of color

Figure E-2. Share Non-Hispanic White in the Study Area Tracts, 1950-1980



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950 and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1980)

as being affected by "infiltration" of a "...Mexican and Negro population," a "real menace" (quoted in Nelson et al., 2023). The enforcement of residential segregation in Pasadena led to both limited economic opportunities and subjection to poorer living conditions for communities of color, restricting upward mobility and significantly impacting their quality of life and standard of living (Swope, Hernández, and Cushing, 2022 and Nardone et al., 2020). But Pasadena was also a site of resistance against housing discrimination, including the *Fairchild v. Raines* (1944) case that presaged the invalidating of restrictive covenants nationwide (*Shelley v. Kraemer*, 1948 and Cole, 2021).

These anti-discrimination efforts met with backlash. For instance, school desegregation and busing efforts in Pasadena faltered amidst local opposition. And Proposition 14 in 1964—which temporarily overturned the anti-housing-discrimination Rumford Act before itself being invalidated by the courts—passed overwhelmingly in Pasadena and surrounding segregated towns, with northwest Pasadena a lone island of opposition (Lee, 1970; Blumberg, 1964; Oppenheimer, 2010; *Maryland Law Review*, 1967; Vyas, 2014; Anderson and Lee, 1965; and Jordan, 1964).

Both public and private urban renewal projects, particularly around the SR-710 stub, disproportionately displaced communities of color under the guise of eliminating urban blight. Along with the City's 1962 General Plan, major developments near the freeways reinforced the isolation of people of color. Four major sites—the Norton Simon Museum, Parsons headquarters, Ambassador College, and Old Pasadena (See **Figure E-3**)—significantly influenced neighborhood demographics and urban dynamics beyond the freeway's immediate impact. From 1960 to 1980, housing units across these areas declined sharply (See **Table E-1**). In 1960, non-white residents occupied over half of the housing units across the sites; by 1980, this figure had fallen to just 17 percent,[1] highlighting the profound displacement of people of color as a result of these projects. Meanwhile, the Pepper Project redevelopment north of the interchange, meant to include mixed uses and some integrated affordable housing, was not completed and ended up displacing existing Black residents and businesses (calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b and Manson et al., 2024); Pasadena Planning Commission, 1962; Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023; A. Ramirez et al., 2025; Norton Simon Museum, 2024a, 2024b; Coplans, 1975; *Los Angeles Times*, 1975; Vincent, 2011; Los Angeles Conservancy, 2024; Erdman, 2013; Baker, 2023; Old Pasadena Management District, 2024; Marshall, 2013; Shigley, 2005; Mann, 1978; Pincetl, 1992; B. Ramirez, 2021; Nicolaides, 2024; Frieden and Sagalyn, 1991; and Blumberg, 1964).

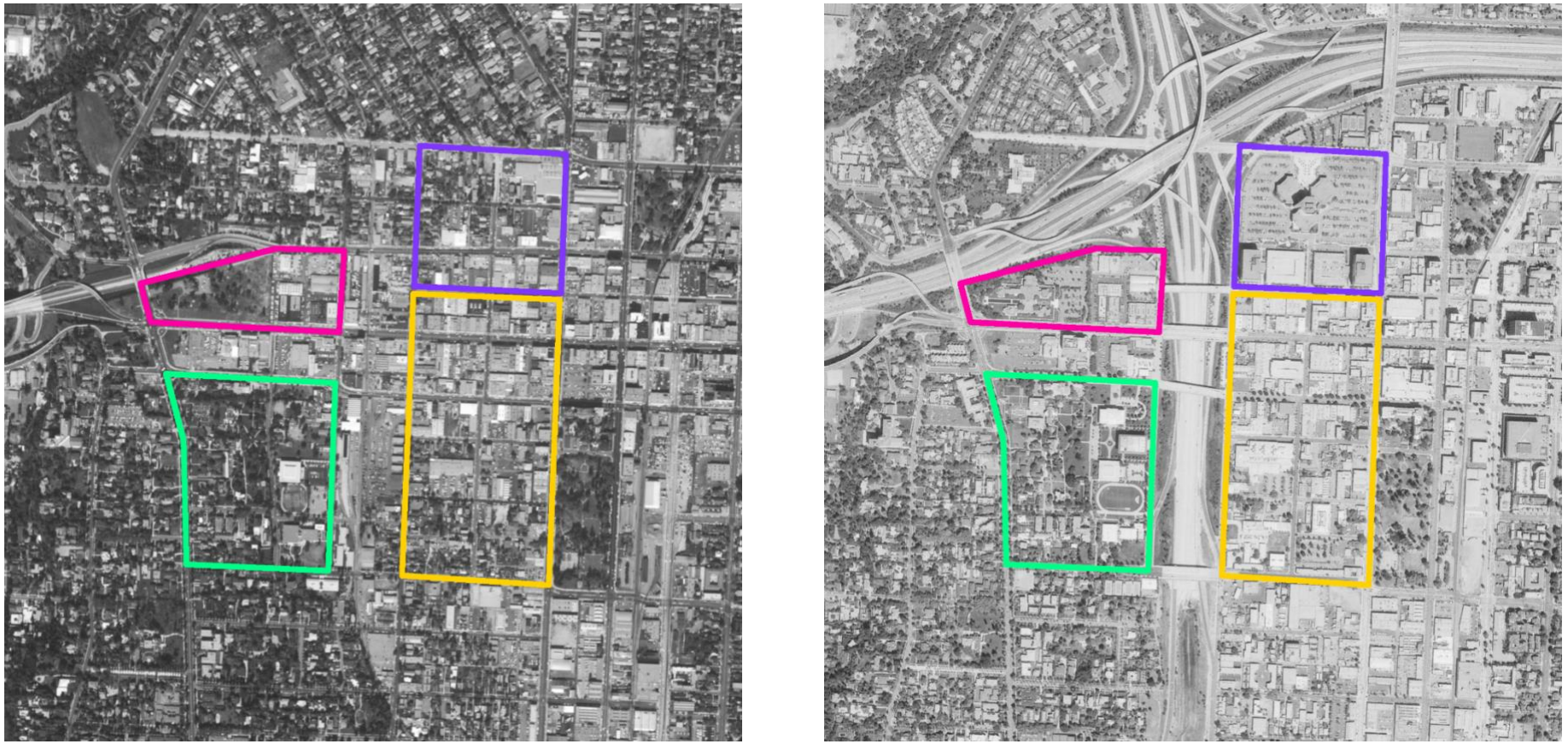
All told, the developments of I-210 and SR-710, along with several city improvement projects in Pasadena during this time period, were marked by controversial and discriminatory practices that exacerbated racial segregation. The construction of the I-210 and the I-210/SR-710/SR-134 interchange resulted in the displacement of numerous households and contributed to a demographic shift marked by white flight, which increased the relative proportion of residents of color. Similarly, the development of the 710 stub to the south disproportionately displaced households of color. Under the policy of addressing urban blight—particularly in the downtown areas—the city and private developers, whether intentionally or unintentionally, engaged in practices that perpetuated racial erasure in and around renewal areas. The displacement of communities of color became an inherent consequence of these urban improvement initiatives. Of course, there were larger societal dynamics and institutional practices perpetuating racial segregation; nonetheless the evidence in this report reveals that freeway construction and related urban restructuring exacerbated racial segregation, deepening demographic and economic polarization in neighborhoods along I-210 and SR-710.

The impacts are not just historical. Mid-20th century freeway development in Pasadena left a lasting legacy of environmental and social inequality, particularly when comparing neighborhoods along different freeway segments. Data on air pollution, traffic density, and access to opportunities reveal stark disparities across the study area, with neighborhoods of color north of the interchange bearing a significantly higher environmental burden and having limited access (California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment, 2023 and CTCAC, 2024a). The consequences of freeway development and urban restructuring continue to manifest today, leaving an economic and environmental legacy of racial and spatial inequality.

In deciding the future of the SR-710 stub after Caltrans relinquished the route to the City (Pasadena Department of Transportation, 2024), one major challenge facing the city's 710 Revisioning Project is how to address and redress the past and legacy harms caused by freeway development. The report's analyses broadly identify the nature, magnitude, and causes of the impacts, providing critical information that could inform discussions on

1. The 1960 figure represents "non-white households" and excludes Hispanics, while the 1980 figure reflects people of color in the population, not households. This discrepancy makes a direct comparison challenging.

Figure E-3. Major Development Sites near SR-710 Stub, 1967 and 1989



Note: 1967 aerial image at left; 1989 aerial image at right; Norton Simon Museum outlined in pink; Parsons headquarters outlined in purple; Ambassador College outlined in green; Old Pasadena sub-area for analysis outlined in yellow

Sources: UC Santa Barbara Library, 2012 and 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961a)

Table E-1. Housing and Demographic Changes in Major Projects near the SR-710 Corridor, 1960-1980

Statistic	Parsons Headquarters			Ambassador College			Part of Old Pasadena in Study Area		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Housing units	166	43	0	137	18	24	250	187	63
Occupied housing units	147	37	0	126	18	16	223	161	54
Owner households	22	5	0	39	3	3	48	15	5
Renter households	125	32	0	87	15	13	175	146	49
Non-white (excluding Latino/a) households	36	19	no data	32	0	no data	131	46	no data
Share, non-white (excluding Latino/a) households	24%	51%	no data	25%	0%	no data	59%	29%	no data
Share, households of color	no data	no data	N/A	no data	no data	5%	no data	no data	39%

Note: The Norton Simon Museum site did not contain any housing units from 1960 to 1980; the project replaced historic Carmelita Park for the museum's expansion.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961 and Manson et al., 2024); Norton Simon Museum, 2024b; and Coplans, 1975

potential remedies. Any proposed actions should be directly linked to specific damages and should reflect the values and priorities of stakeholders, especially those from communities that have been disproportionately harmed.

CONTENTS

Introduction

This study documents the historical and current patterns of racial and ethnic residential segregation in Pasadena, examining the role of freeways and other mechanisms in shaping these outcomes. Using quantitative data, this project compares racial segregation in Pasadena with that in the rest of Los Angeles County and analyzes demographic changes in the neighborhoods containing Interstate 210 and State Route 710 before and after their construction.[2] Additionally, the study investigates other institutional policies, practices, and projects that contributed to segregation, including housing discrimination, redlining, and the redevelopment of the central business district and adjacent areas. The findings offer insights to support Pasadena's efforts to redress the historical impacts of freeway development and its related historical processes.

The study draws on decennial enumeration data from the U.S. Census, analyzing data by census tract (small areas of a few thousand residents defined by the U.S. Census Bureau (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022b)) as proxies for neighborhoods (See Appendix). Commonly accepted methods are used to measure residential patterns and housing segregation, with further details on data and methodology provided in an appendix. We first review historical and contemporary segregation in Pasadena and the rest of the county from 1940 to 2020. A more focused analysis then examines segregation and demographic change from the late 1950s to the 1970s specifically within the primary study area in Pasadena: the census tracts along the I-210 corridor in northwest Pasadena and those along the SR-710 stub in central/southwest Pasadena (the constructed and partially constructed segments of that freeway before it was ultimately canceled). Next, we conduct a qualitative analysis of broader institutional discriminatory factors, reviewing and synthesizing existing literature and documents from national sources, local archives, and other locations. Where relevant, we also conduct some quantitative assessments of these practices.

The study's major quantitative findings reveal that 1) Pasadena and the wider Los Angeles County have become more racially diverse over time, 2) segregation levels began to decrease around the 1960s, with Pasadena showing lower levels of segregation than the rest of the county, and 3) despite these broader changes, neighborhoods along the built and unbuilt freeway corridor have grown increasingly segregated and economically polarized. Freeway developments contributed significantly to this latter outcome.

Our qualitative research also sheds light on racialized housing and transportation patterns. We find that 1) Pasadena mirrored national trends in housing discrimination during the freeway-development era, 2) both public and private urban renewal projects, particularly around the SR-710 stub, disproportionately displaced communities of color under the guise of eliminating urban blight, and 3) major developments near the freeways reinforced the isolation of people of color. These actions pushed non-white residents out of the city, deepening long-term racial divides. The consequences of freeway development and urban restructuring continue to manifest today, leaving an economic and environmental legacy of racial and spatial inequality.

The rest of the report is organized into four main sections. First, we discuss racial diversification and segregation in Pasadena and Los Angeles County from 1940 to 2020. After, we focus on the impact of the developments of the SR-710 and I-210 freeways from 1950- to 1980. We then review institutional discriminatory practices in housing. We provide an analysis of urban renewal and restructuring projects in the area. The report concludes

2. As in Loukaitou-Sideris et al. (2023), we abbreviate Interstates with "I-" and California State Routes with "SR-."

with reflections on the role of past and legacy harms in guiding Pasadena's restorative-justice efforts. An appendix provides further details on the data and methods used in the study.

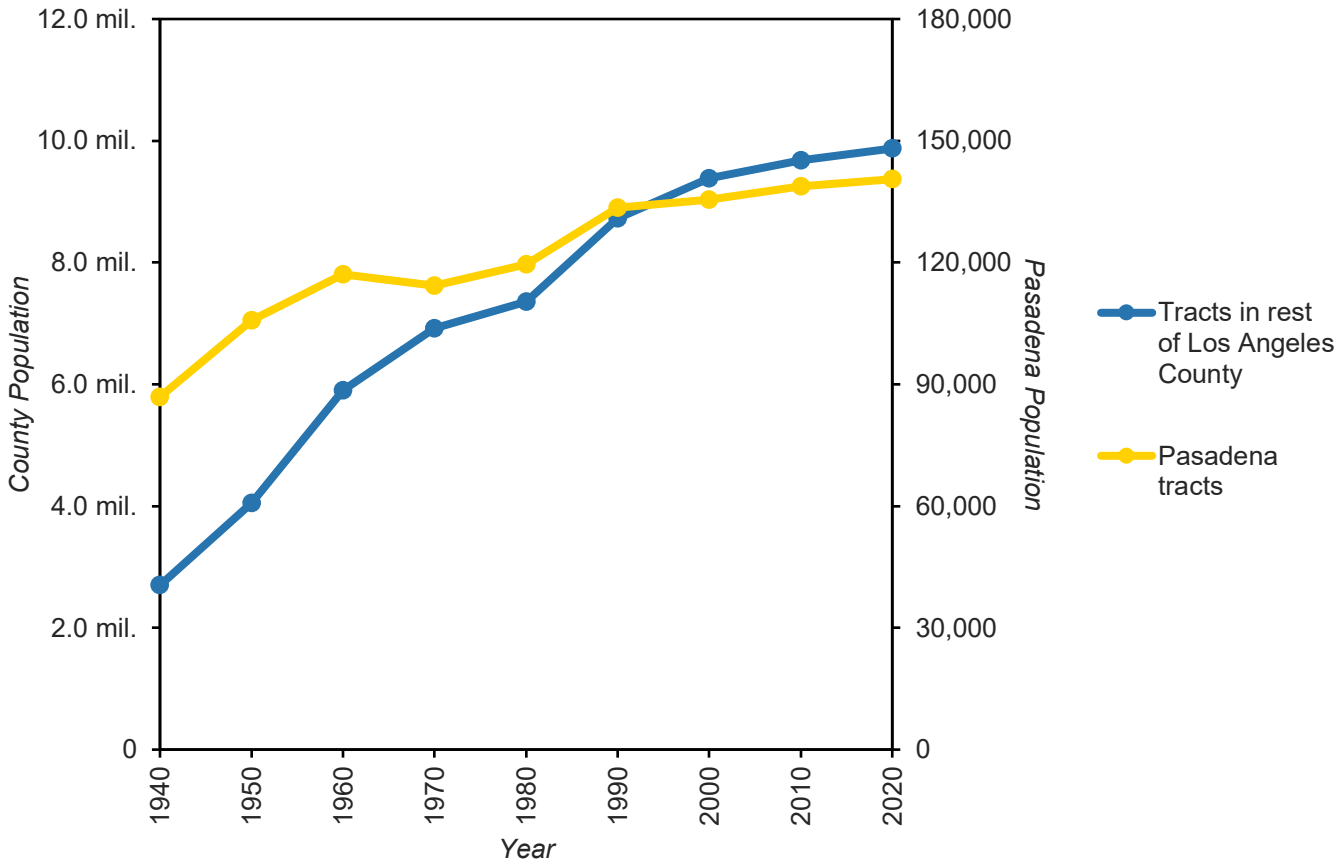
Although this report covers some aspects of the I-210, a fuller account of the history of that freeway can be found in a previous publication. This report builds on the work the UCLA research team conducted for the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) and the Pacific Southwest Region University Transportation Center on the construction and legacy of I-210 in northwest Pasadena. That report documents the full context of national, state, and regional freeway development plans; their ties to urban restructuring and systemic racism; and how these forces played out in Pasadena in the era of freeway construction. That report calculates the demographic differences between the route ultimately chosen for I-210 north of the central Pasadena interchange (and the SR-710 stub to the south as a result) and a less destructive route not chosen. Over the segment north of the interchange on we could conduct an apples-to-apples comparison, the former displaced over 1,700 people (not counting the interchange itself), three quarters residents of color, compared to just over 200 people, half residents of color, for the latter route. That report also describes how state and local planners built I-210 through Black northwest Pasadena but how communities in the path of the planned I-710—some now Hispanic, others suburbs with a deep history of racial exclusion—successfully stopped the completion of that freeway as late as 2017, with only the SR-710 stub having been built (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023). This report extends the analysis from there, offering further quantitative analysis of regional and local segregation as it relates to the freeway and exploring the policies and programs that influenced and followed from the construction of SR-710.

Part 1. Racial Diversification and Segregation in Pasadena and Los Angeles County, 1940-2020

Population Trends and Composition

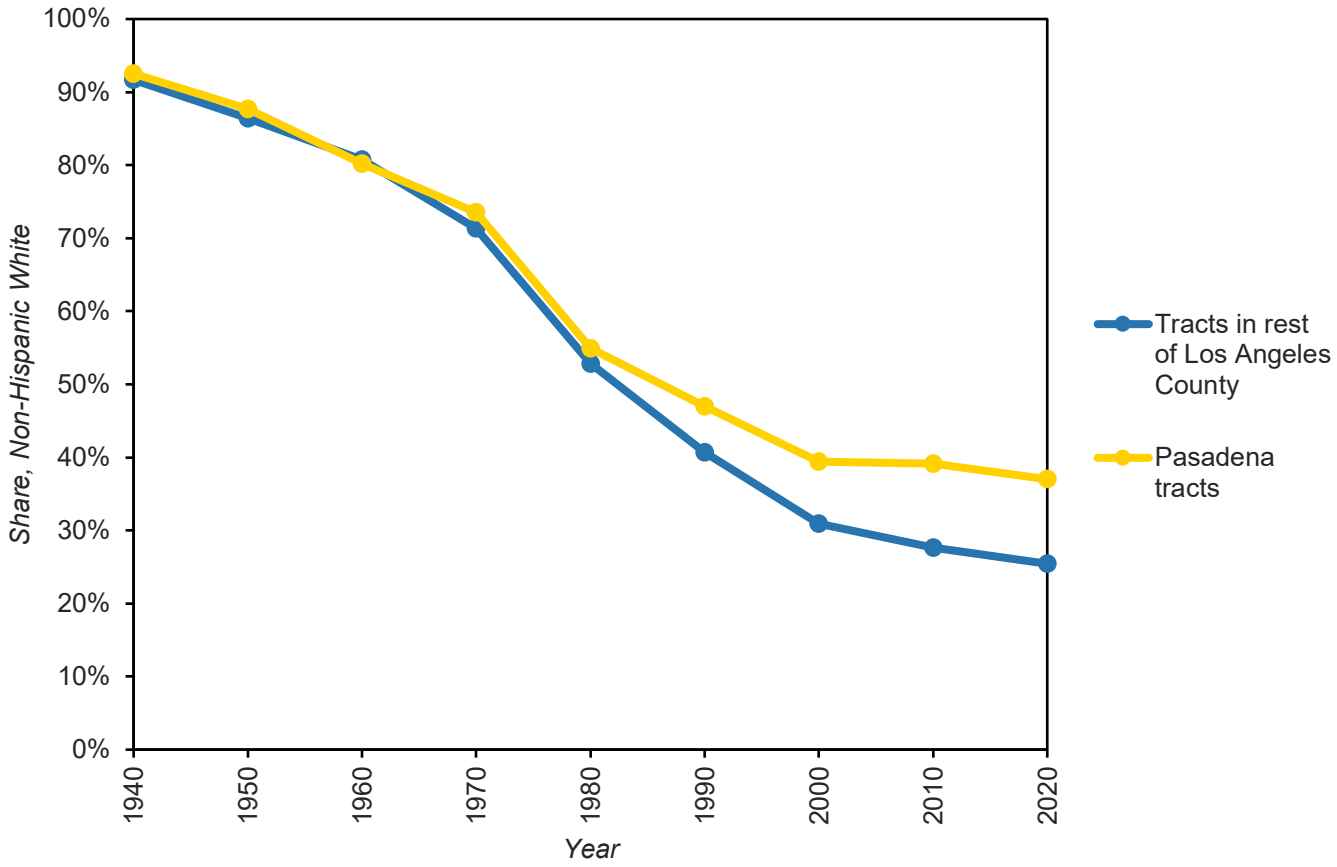
Pasadena, a medium-sized city incorporated in 1886 and located in the San Gabriel Valley about 11 miles northeast of downtown Los Angeles (City of Pasadena, 2024), experienced modest population growth in the period after the Second World War. During the quarter-century after the war, both Pasadena and the broader county were predominantly non-Hispanic white. From 1950 to 1980, Pasadena's average decennial growth rate was only about one-sixth of that of the rest of the county. However, there was a gradual decline in the non-

Figure 1-1. Los Angeles County Population in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020



Data source: calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)

Figure 1-2. Los Angeles County Non-Hispanic White Population in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020

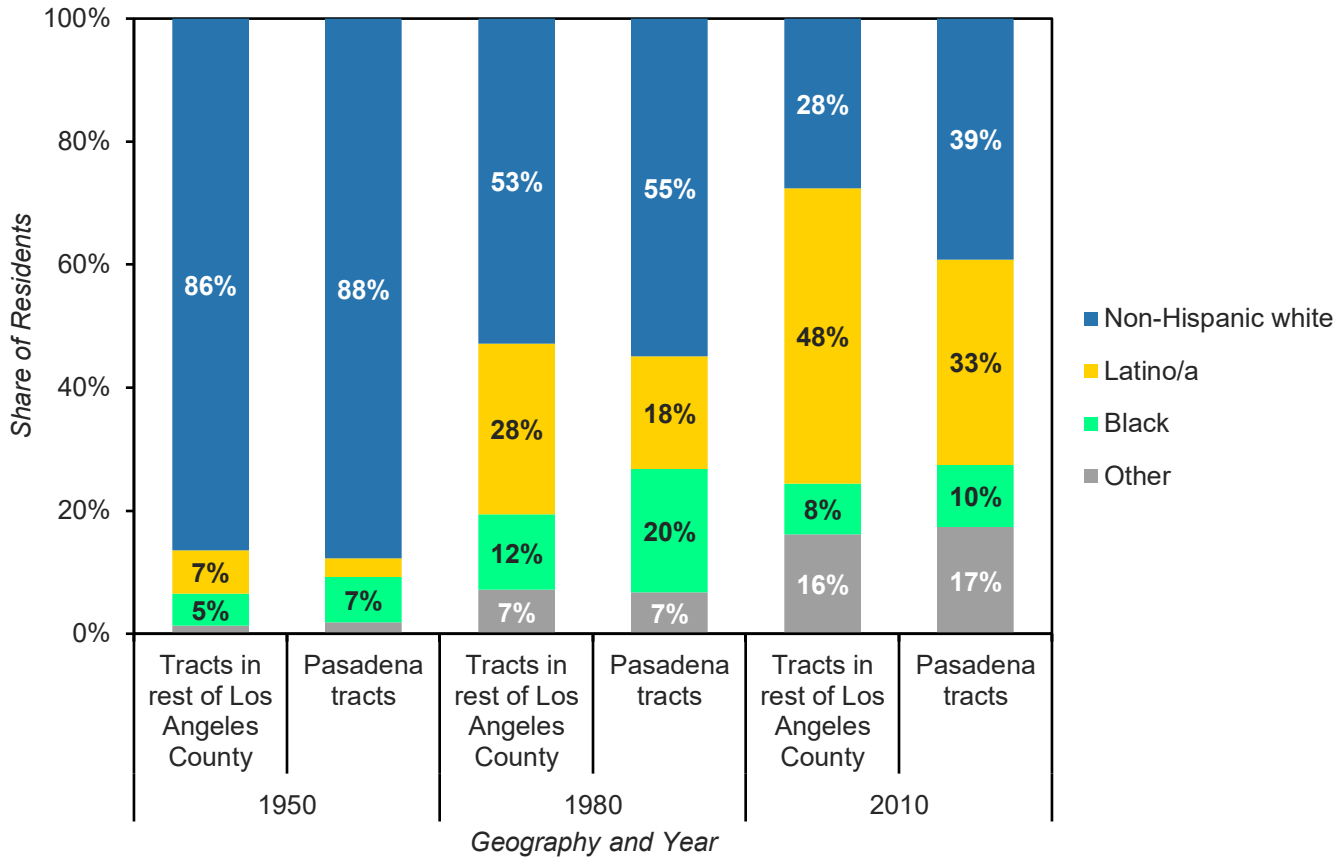


Data source: calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)

Hispanic white population share beginning in this period, which only accelerated in the 1970s and continued throughout the rest of the 20th century. By the last quarter of the century, both the region and the city had become "majority-minority" (See **Figures 1-1** and **1-2**) (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)).

The rapid ethnic diversification of Pasadena in the 1960s and 1970s (calculated by authors from 1960 and 1970 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1970)) reflected the same trends in the rest of the United States, with populations of color flocking to commercial centers, seeking better economic opportunities and living conditions. Pasadena saw substantial increases in its Black, Latino/a, and Asian populations, driven by both internal and international migration. Although the city's demographic landscape was becoming increasingly more diverse over time (See **Figure 1-3**) (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)), specific laws and regulations were established with the intention of upholding systemic barriers and fostering *de facto* segregation (discussed below). Unequal distribution of both resources and opportunities continued to exist across the city.

Figure 1-3. Los Angeles County Demographics in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1980, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1980, 2010)

Despite the influx of people of color moving into the area, the City of Pasadena continued to remain segregated, as people of color remained disproportionately concentrated in the northwestern section of the city, just east of the Arroyo Seco valley, due to restrictive covenants written into property titles and enforced by the government (Rose, 2016; Cole, 2021; Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023; and A. Ramirez et al., 2025). The concentration of residents of color in specific, designated areas of Pasadena led to the exacerbation of residential segregation, which in turn, made way for the development and cultivation of other types of racial disparities.

Segregation and Diversity Metrics, 1950-2020

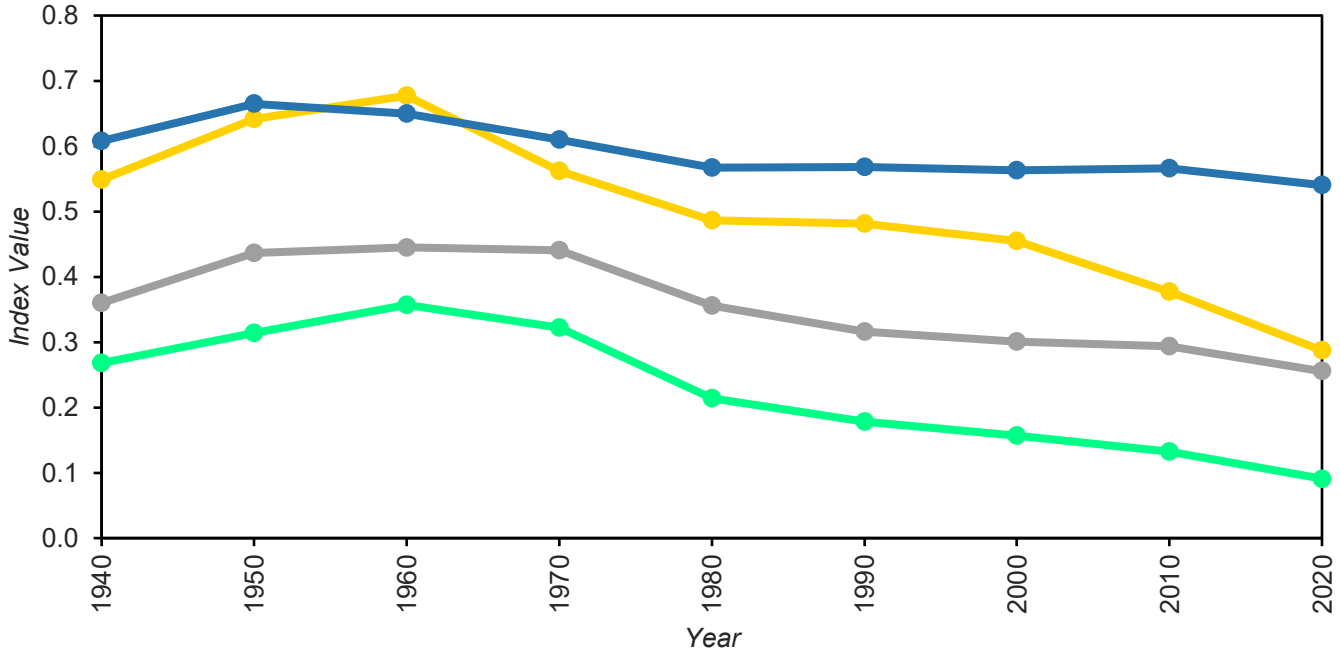
Various metrics of segregation uncover important patterns in the racial dynamics of both Pasadena and the rest of Los Angeles County. We examined three primary metrics: the dissimilarity index, the entropy index, and the entropy score. The first two measure segregation; the last measures diversity (See the Appendix for detailed descriptions of these metrics.).

The dissimilarity index measures the degree of residential segregation between two groups. A higher value in the dissimilarity index indicates greater segregation and spatial separation between groups within a geographical

area. Values closer to 1 (100%) indicate maximum segregation and values near 0 indicating minimal segregation. The dissimilarity index can be interpreted as the percent of a group that would have to move from neighborhoods where they are overrepresented to neighborhoods where they are underrepresented in order to achieve complete integration. In examining Los Angeles County and Pasadena, we calculated the dissimilarity index between two groups, non-Hispanic white residents and residents of color.

The entropy index offers an alternative measure of segregation, capturing the level of segregation across multiple populations. We calculated the entropy index for four groups: non-Hispanic white residents, Black residents, Latino/a residents, and a residual group labeled “Other” (encompassing Asians and all remaining racial and ethnic groups). Unlike the dissimilarity index, the entropy index is nonlinear and less intuitive, making comparisons between the two metrics challenging. However, the entropy index still provides valuable insights into changes in the levels of multi-racial segregation. Lower entropy index values indicate lower segregation levels, while higher values suggest greater segregation. Additionally, rather than comparing their absolute levels, we can assess

Figure 1-4. Los Angeles County Dissimilarity and Entropy Indices in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020



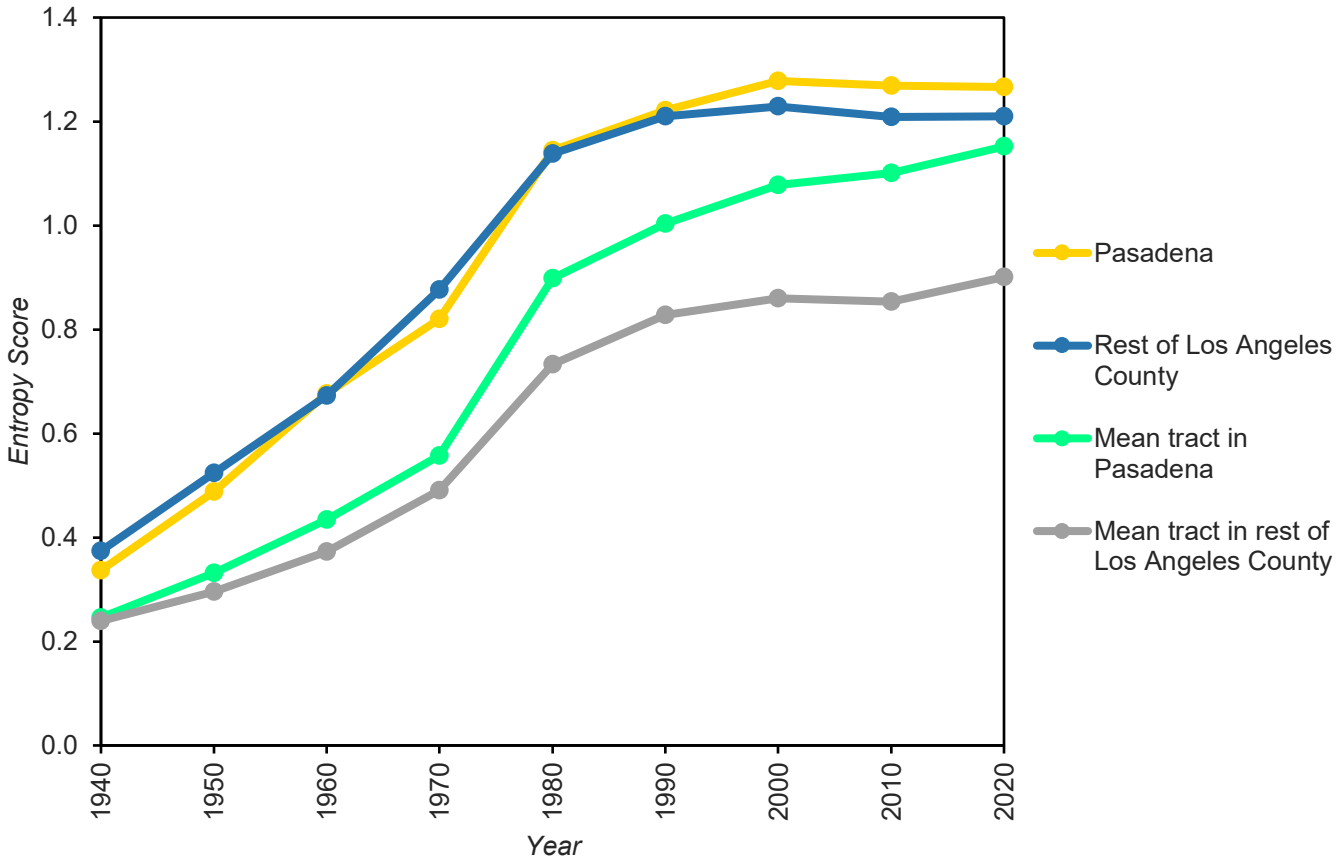
Data source: calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)

overall segregation trends over time by examining the temporal direction of change in both the dissimilarity and entropy indices. If both metrics are trending upward, segregation is increasing, and vice versa.

Both Los Angeles County and Pasadena exhibited high levels of racial segregation in the early decades of the study period, followed by a steady decline after the 1960s (See **Figure 1-4**).This trend aligns with the passage of several significant anti-housing discrimination laws, including the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (the Fair Housing Act) (1968), the Rumford Fair Housing Act (1963), the nullification of Proposition 14 (Oppenheimer, 2010; *Maryland Law Review*, 1967; *Mulkey v. Reitman*, 1966; and *Reitman v. Mulkey*, 1967), and the landmark decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) (See Part 4 for more details on these.). Even sharper declines in the dissimilarity index were observed in Pasadena than the rest of Los Angeles County, partly due to regional-level place segregation and differences in racial/ethnic composition (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)).

The entropy index calculations reveal similar trends: values increased in the early decades of the study period and then decreased later on for both Pasadena and the county. Pasadena has consistently shown lower tract-

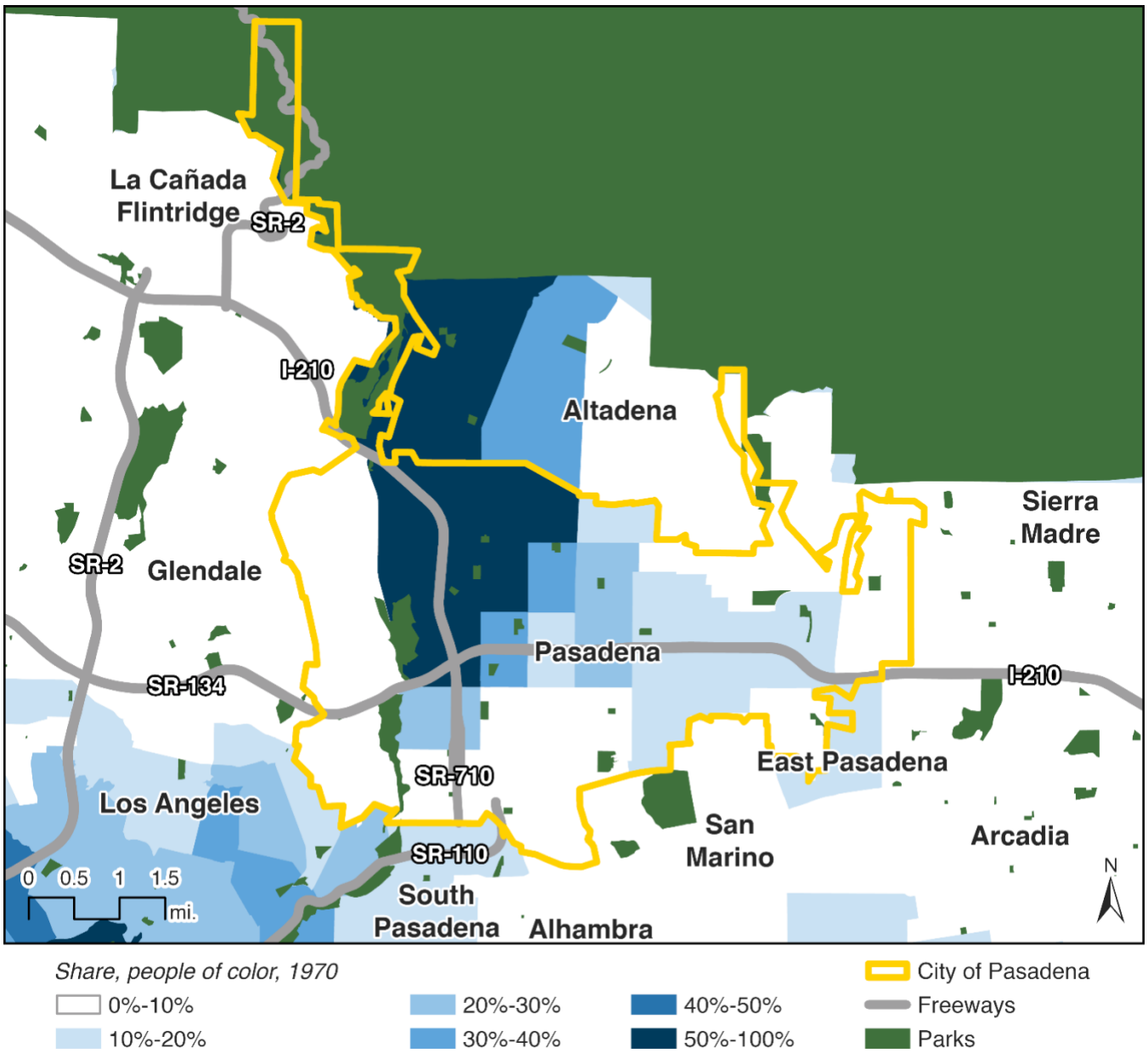
Figure 1-5. Los Angeles County Entropy Scores in Pasadena and Beyond, 1940-2020



Data source: calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)

level segregation than the county under both indexes (See **Figure 1-4**) (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)).

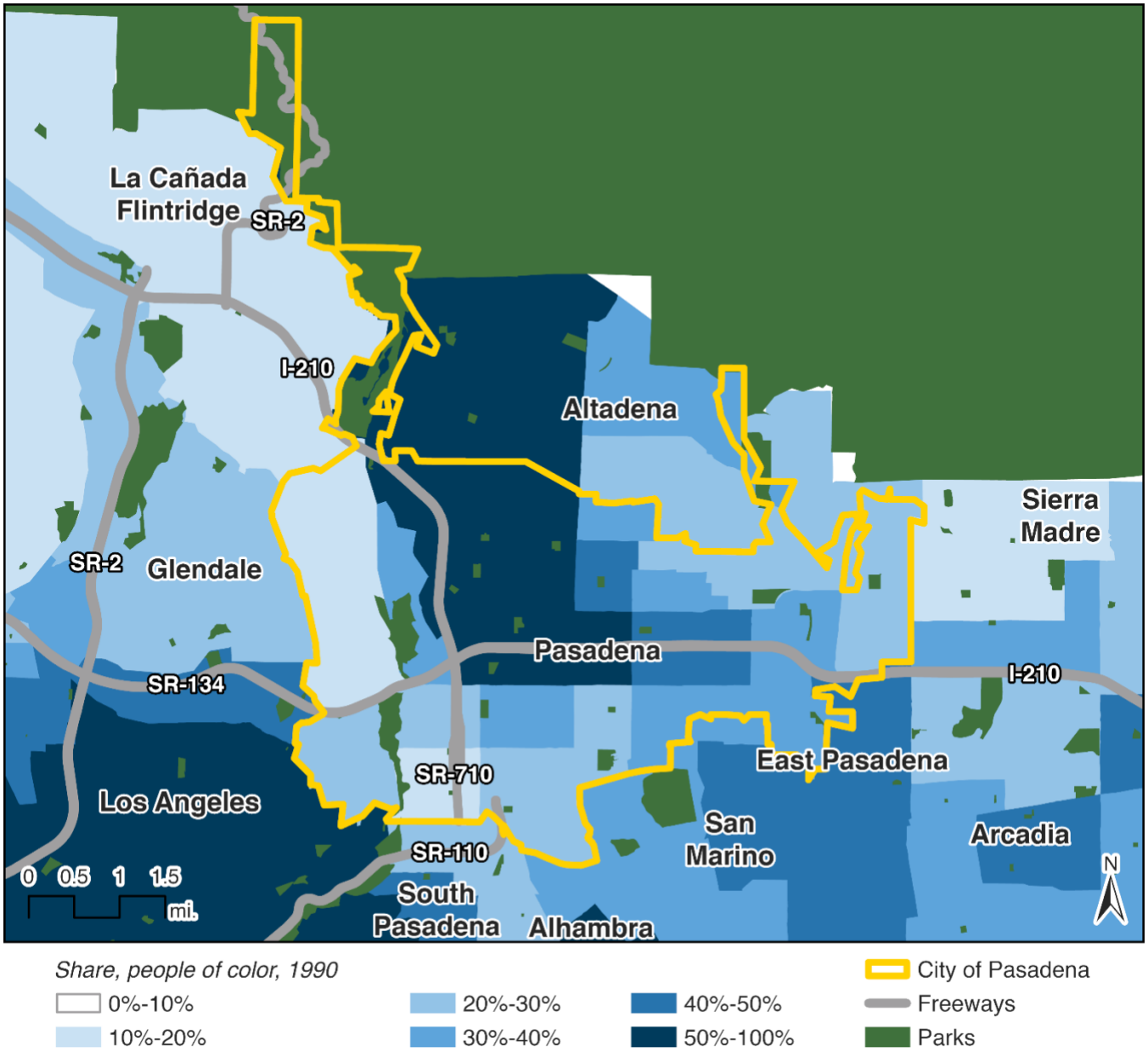
Figure 1-6. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1970



Data sources: calculated by authors from 1970 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970); U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

To effectively measure the diversity of a place (Pasadena, the rest of Los Angeles County, and individual census tracts therein) we used the entropy score, which indicates how evenly or unevenly racial and ethnic groups are present within an area. Similar to the entropy index, we calculated the entropy score for non-Hispanic white, Black, Latino/a, and other residents. If only one racial/ethnic group is present while others are absent, the score would be 0. With all four groups present, the maximum possible entropy score is 1.4 (for reasons discussed in the

Figure 1-7. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1990

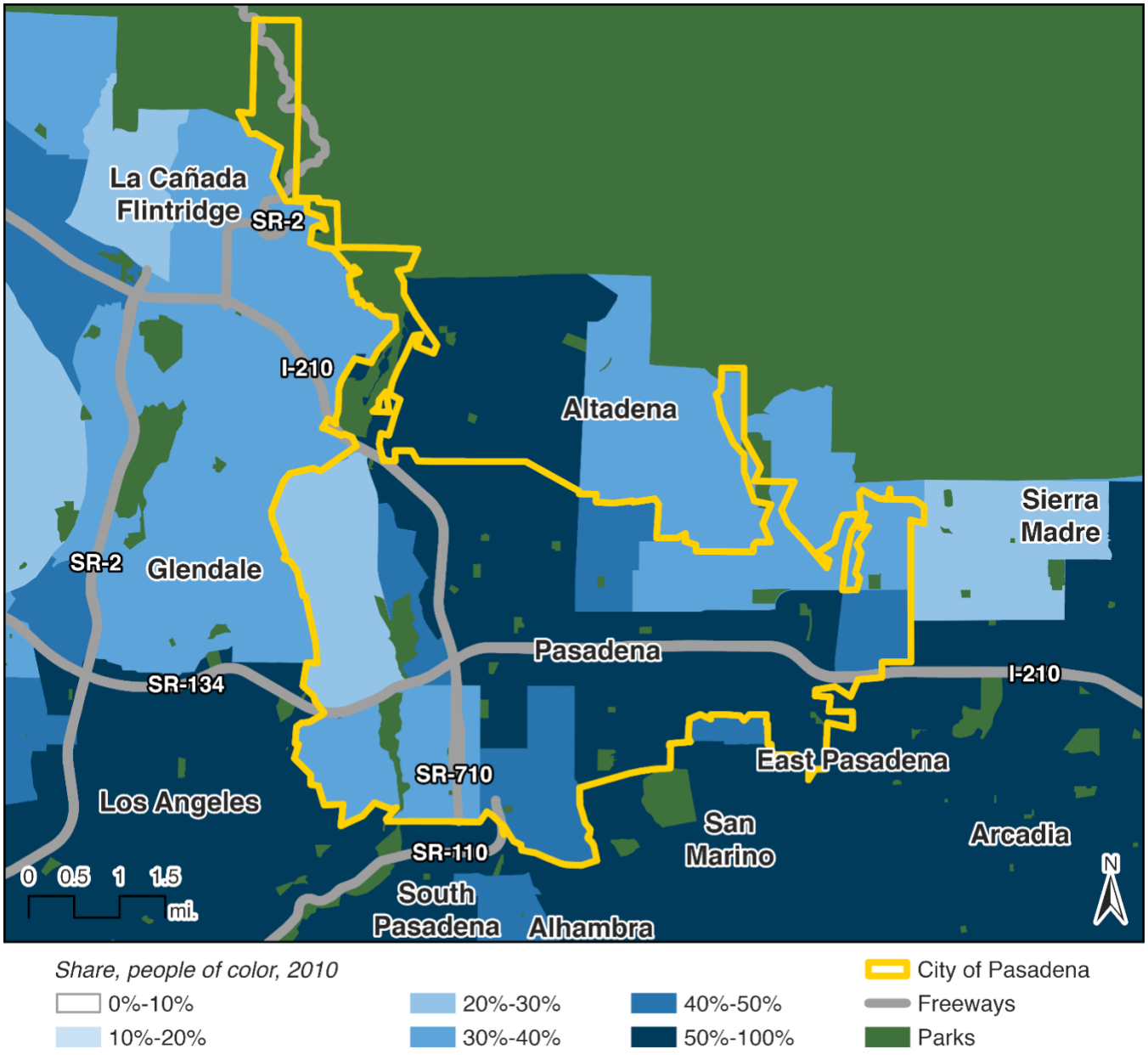


Data sources: calculated by authors from 1990 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990); U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

Appendix). A higher entropy score reflects a more balanced and diverse population. It is also important to note that this score is nonlinear.

With the racial/ethnic recomposition of Pasadena and Los Angeles County's populations, the entropy score has risen for the city and the rest of the county in parallel (See **Figure 1-5**). The sharp increase in the entropy score

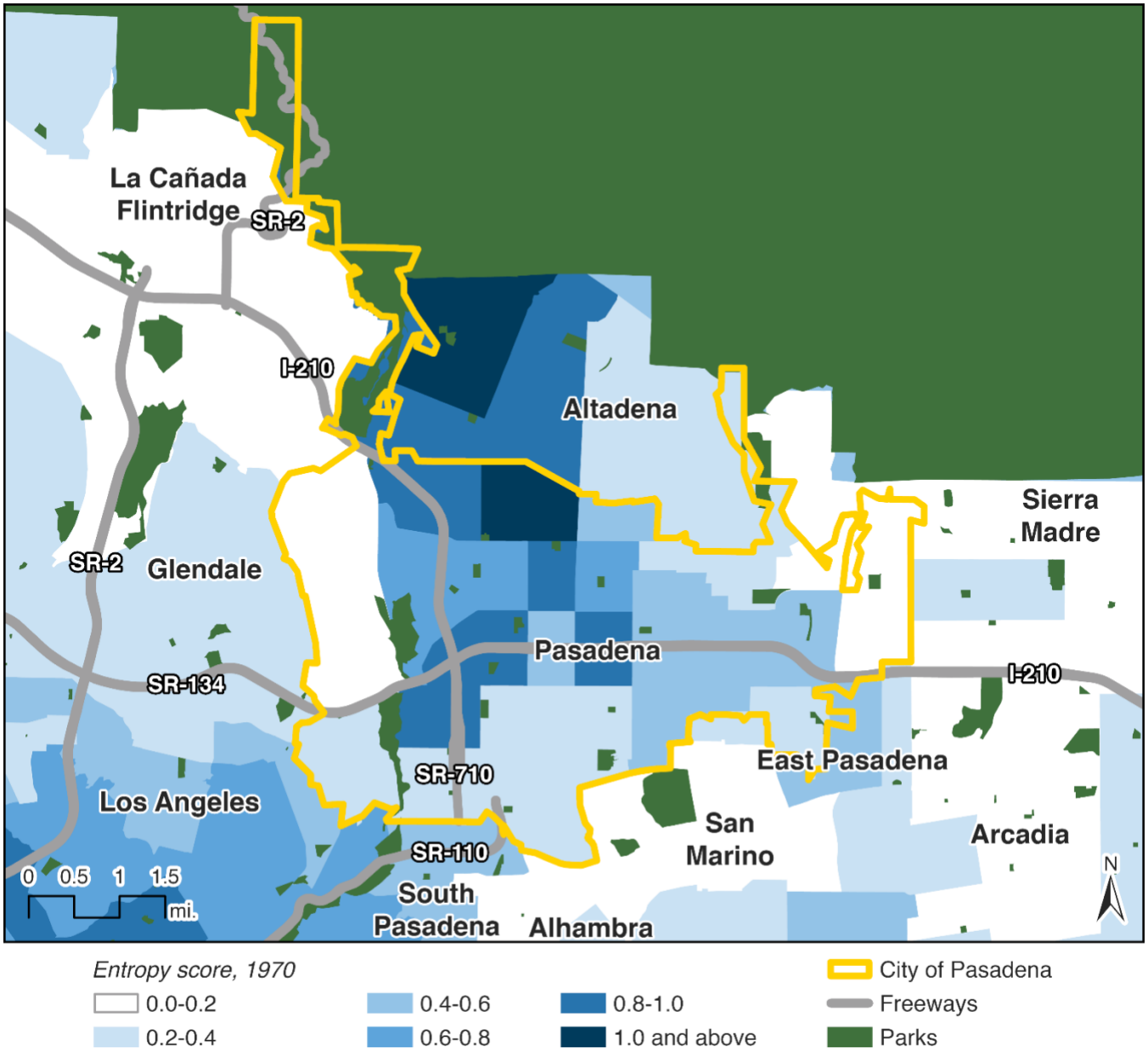
Figure 1-8. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 2010



Data sources: calculated by authors from 2010 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010); U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

from 1970 to 1980 is particularly notable, aligning with the substantial increase in populations of color during the 1970s discussed above (See **Figure 1-2**). The average entropy scores at the tract level are lower than those for the city and region as a whole, indicating that racial/ethnic groups are not equally distributed across smaller geographies. However, the average tract-level scores for Pasadena are higher than those in the rest of the county, suggesting greater diversity within Pasadena—a difference that has continued to grow over time

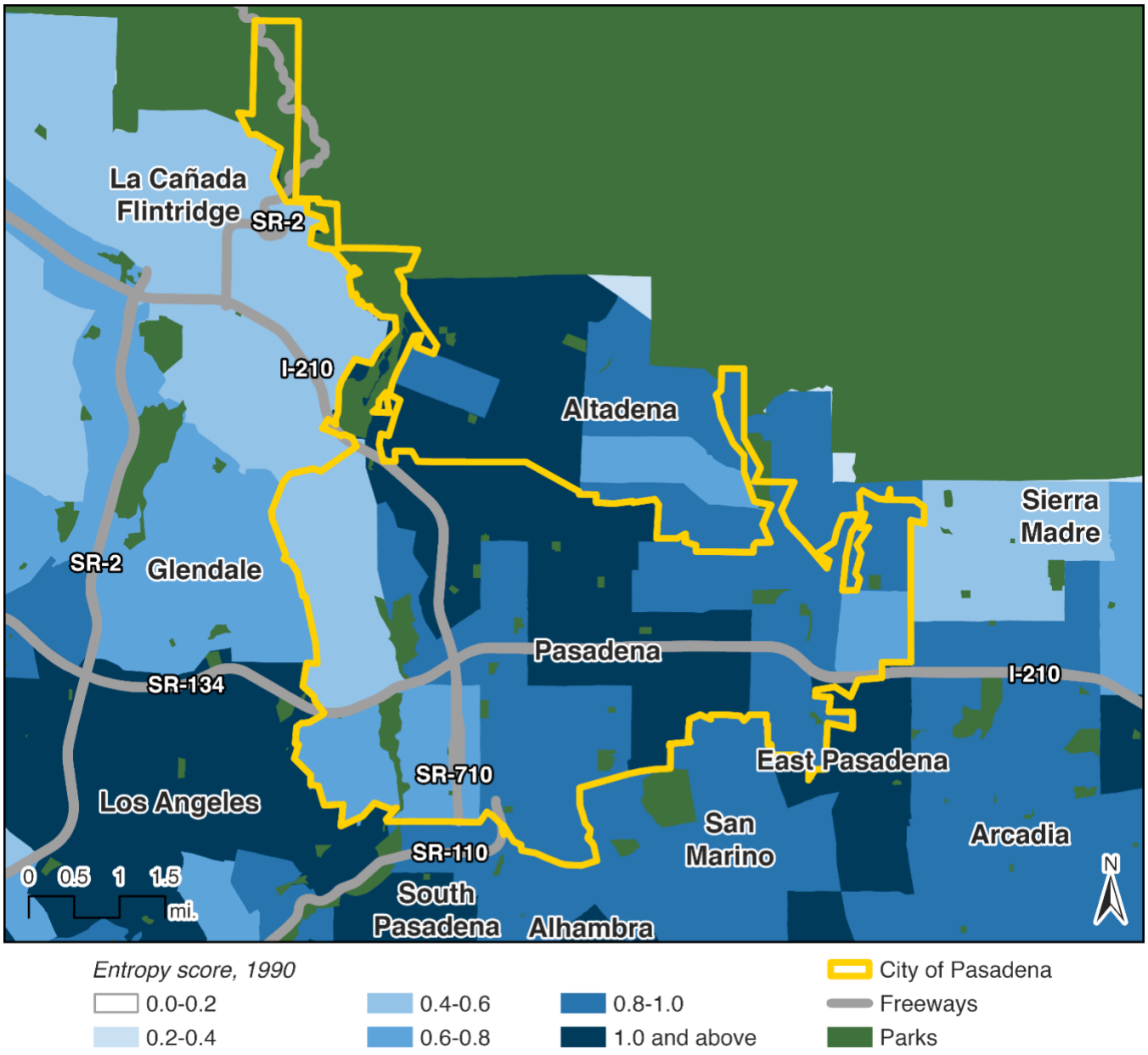
Figure 1-9. Diversity, as Measured by the Entropy Score, in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1970



Data sources: calculated by authors from 1970 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970); U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

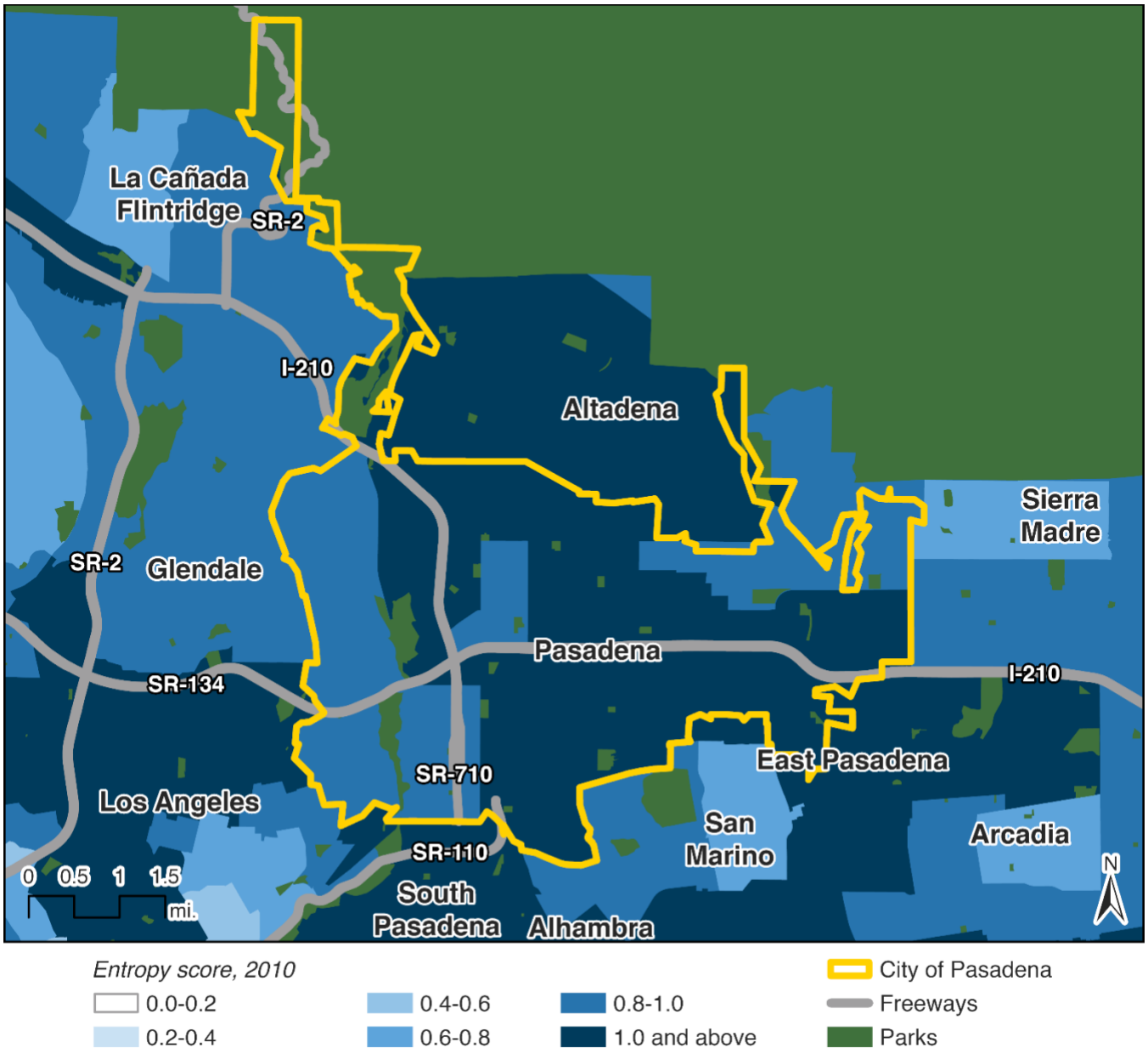
(calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)).

Figure 1-10. Diversity, as Measured by the Entropy Score, in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1990



Data sources: calculated by authors from 1990 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990); U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

Figure 1-11. Diversity, as Measured by the Entropy Score, in Pasadena by Census Tract, 2010



Data sources: calculated by authors from 2010 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010); U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

To analyze the specific spatial patterns of segregation within Pasadena across select decades from 1970 to 2010,[3] a period that includes freeway development (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023), the project uses geographic

3. 2020 patterns are very similar to 2010 patterns, and thus we exclude them for brevity (calculated by authors from 2010 and 2020 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010, 2020)).

information system software mapping to visualize racial/ethnic distribution and entropy scores. These maps help identify neighborhoods where racial/ethnic populations were concentrated and isolated, assess the relative diversity within census tracts, and understand the spatial relationship between diverse and homogenous areas.

We begin by examining maps of the percentage of residents of color by census tract (See **Figures 1-6**, **1-7**, and **1-8**). In 1970, populations of color were primarily concentrated in northwest Pasadena, with the exception of the neighborhoods along the Arroyo Seco. The I-210 and I-210/SR-710/SR-134 interchange cut through the center of this racially segregated corridor, reinforcing geographic and social divisions within the city (calculated by authors from 1970 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970); Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023; and A. Ramirez et al., 2025).

By 1990, the area with a high percentage of residents of color had expanded eastward in a contiguous pattern, reflecting both an absolute increase in populations of color and a growing relative presence in the city. By 2010, areas with a high concentration of residents of color had extended into much of southeast Pasadena, signifying continued demographic shifts over time (calculated by authors from 1990 and 2010 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2010)).

However, the 2010 map does not capture the diversity within the broader category of residents of color. The northwest section remained predominantly Black, while the newer areas of color in the southeast section had a higher proportion of Asian residents. The Latino/a population, which grew significantly over these decades, also contributed to the overall increase in representation of residents of color. Latino/a residents were more spread out than Asian and Black Pasadenans, with a noticeable presence in both the northwest and southeast (calculated by authors from 2010 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010)). These trends highlight the evolving racial composition of Pasadena's neighborhoods, shaped by decades of demographic growth and migration patterns.

The entropy score maps illustrate increasing diversity across most parts of Pasadena over time (See **Figures 1-9**, **1-10**, and **1-11**)., consistent with the previous figures showing overall diversity trends for the city (See **Figures 1-6**, **1-7**, and **1-8**). Visually, this is evident as tracts within Pasadena have darkened, indicating higher diversity as measured in entropy scores. Similar diversification can be observed in tracts surrounding Pasadena, aligning with trends across the county as a whole. The areas with a noticeable but not overwhelming population of color were generally more diverse. It is notable that the area south of the I-210/SR-710/SR-134 interchange shifted from approximately average diversity relative to the city in 1970 to relatively lower diversity in the following decades (calculated by authors from 1970, 1990, and 2010 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970, 1990, 2010)). The lower entropy score here reflects reduced racial and ethnic integration.

Part 2. Impacts of Freeway Developments: I-210 and SR-710, 1950-1980

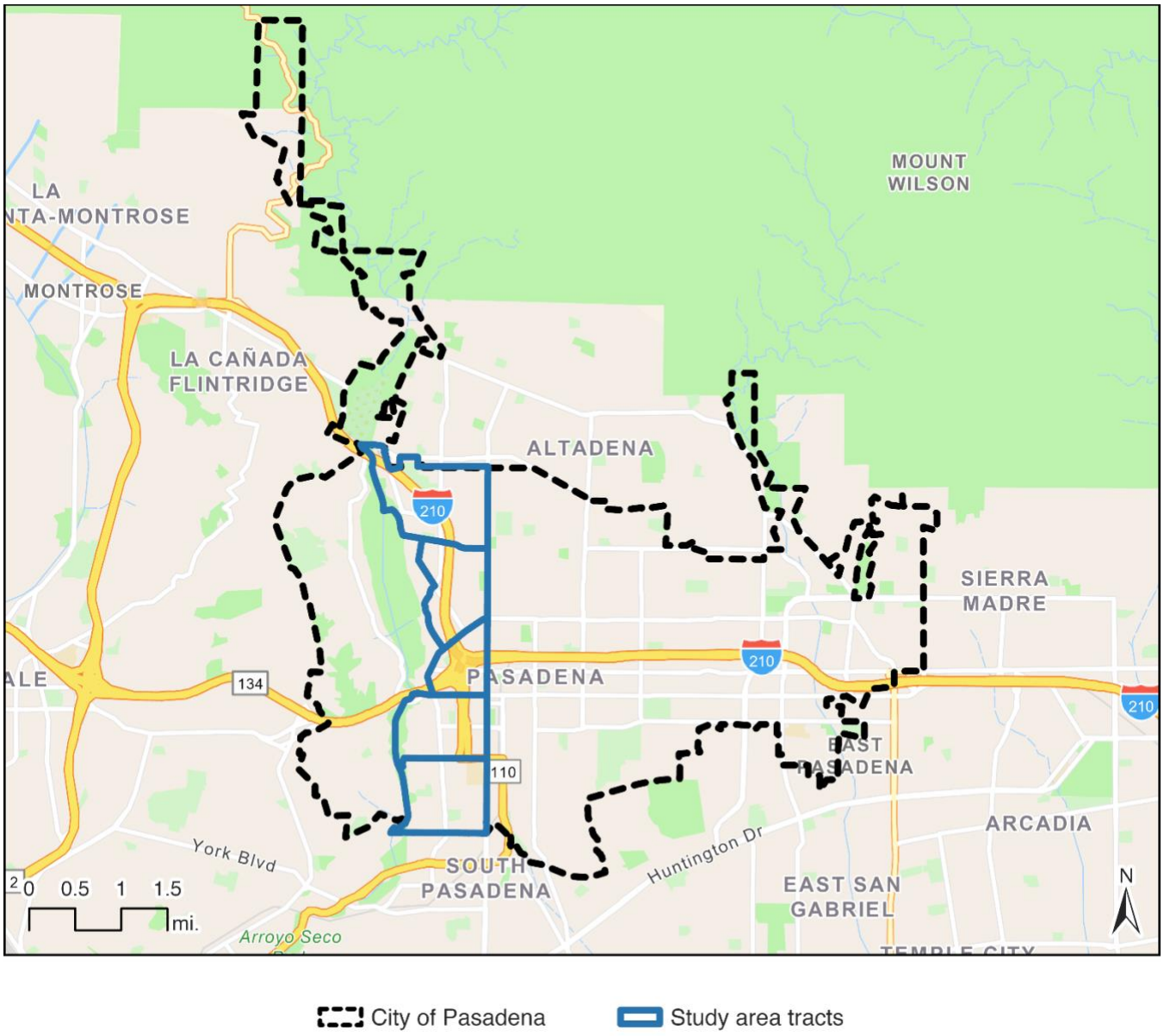
Analytical Study Area and Population Trends

As shown in **Figure 2-1**, the analytical study area encompasses much of the western half of Pasadena and is defined by five census tracts that contain I-210 north of the interchange ("North" and "North Center"), the interchange itself ("Center"), and the area along with the unbuilt segment of the SR-710 ("South Center" and "South") (See **Figure 2-2**). The study-area boundaries are roughly defined by Woodbury Road to the north, Fair Oaks Avenue to the east, Columbia Street to the south, and the Arroyo Seco to the west. These were based on 1950-1970 census tract boundaries, with adjustments to 1980 boundaries for consistency purposes.

Organizing the study area by these freeway segments allows us to analyze the varying impacts of each section of infrastructure on nearby population characteristics, racial and ethnic composition, levels of segregation, home values and rent trends, and income distribution. This analytical structure—from the I-210 in the north, through the central interchange, and down to the SR-710 stub in the south—helps us trace the influence of each segment on Pasadena's urban landscape.

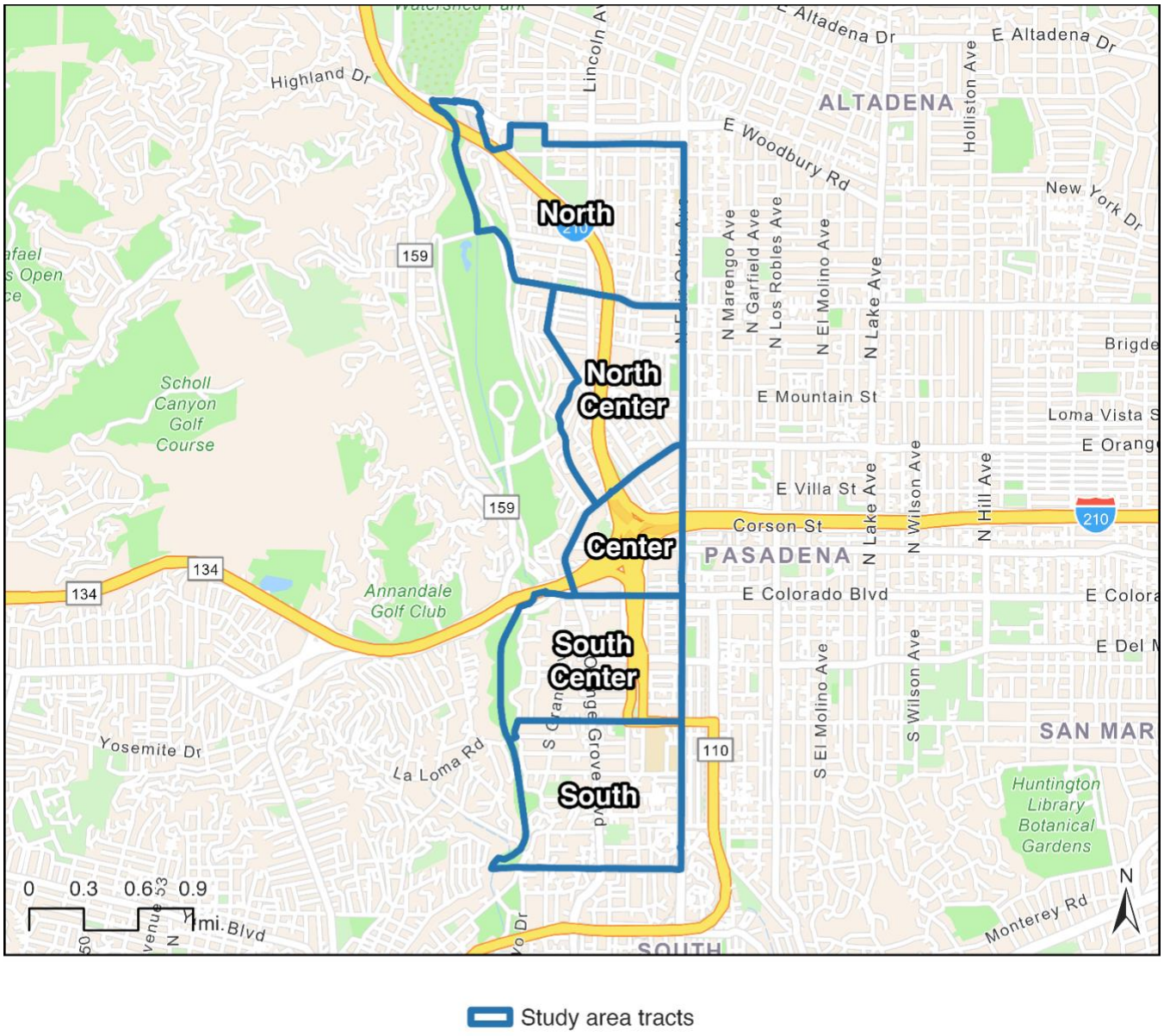
Based on the population trends, we categorized the development of the study area into two time periods: 1) the freeway period (1950-1980) and 2) the period of post-freeway effects (1980-2010). **Figure 2-3** illustrates that the study area's population remained stable through the 1950s, then declined sharply in the 1960s, remained low over the next decade, and partially recovered during the post-freeway period. As a percentage of the city's population, the study area's share dropped significantly during the freeway period before stabilizing in the subsequent years (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)).

Figure 2-1. Pasadena Study Area in Context



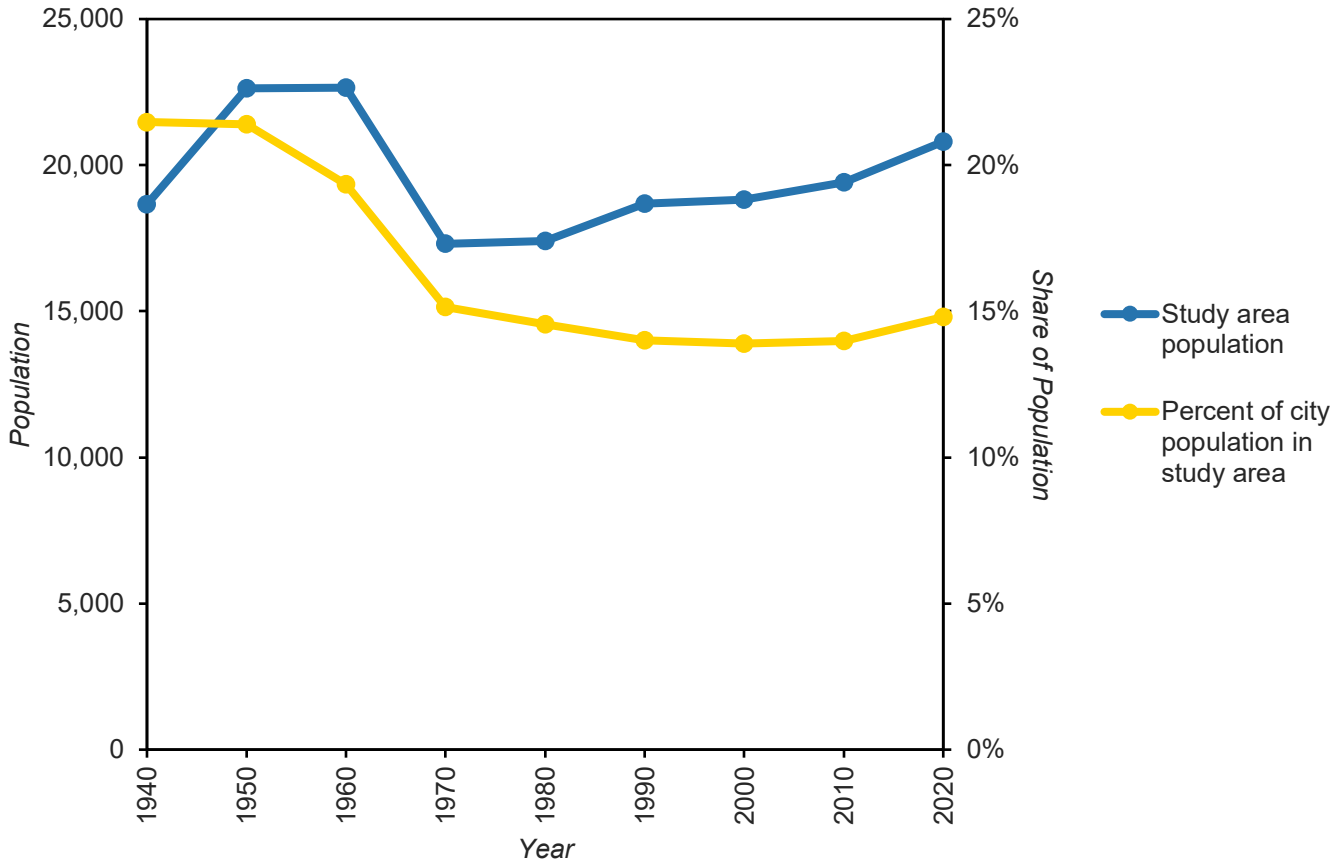
Data sources: 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960) and U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; base map: Esri, 2024b

Figure 2-2. Pasadena Study Area Tracts



Data source: 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960); base map: Esri, 2024b

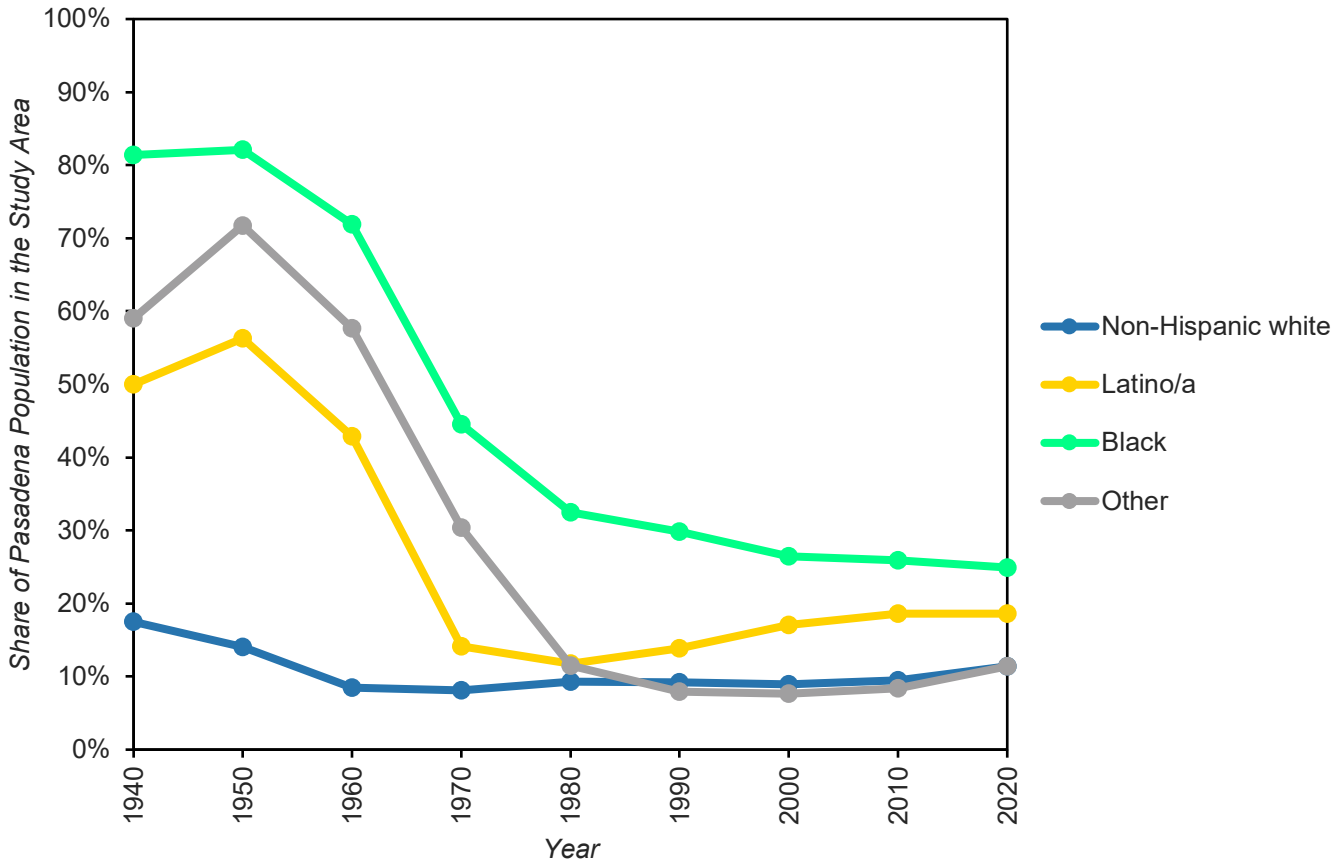
Figure 2-3. Study Area Population, 1940-2020



Data source: calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)

Initially, the study area held a disproportionately high share of Pasadena's population of color before and during much of the freeway development period; however, this share decreased over time (See **Figure 2-4**). This relative decline was inevitable given the absolute increase in the city's population of color over the decades, resulting in an expansion of the area housing people of color. In contrast, the study area consistently had a disproportionately smaller share of the non-Hispanic white population throughout the entire time period (calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020))

Figure 2-4. Study Area's Share of Pasadena's Population by Race/Ethnicity, 1940-2020

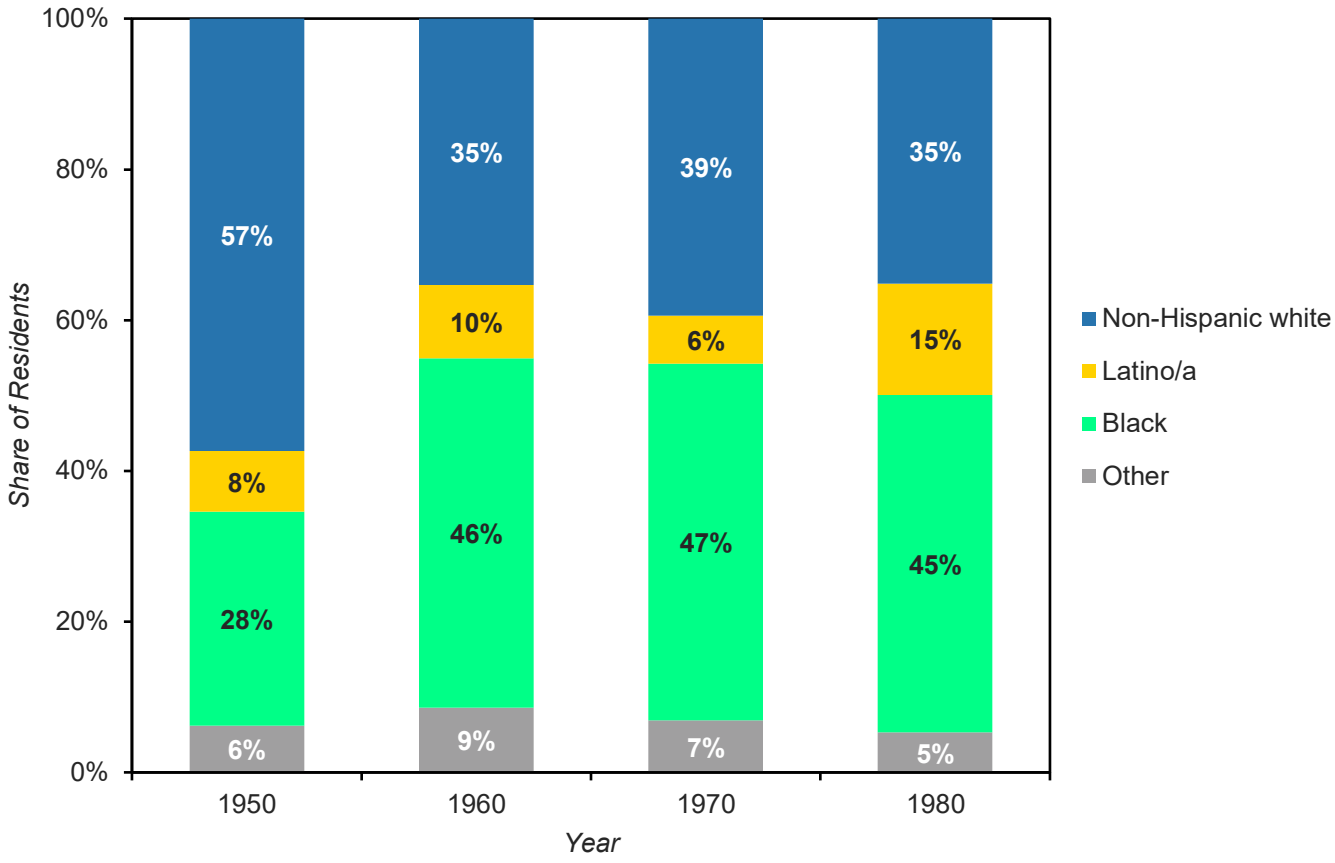


Data source: calculated by authors from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)

Increased Segregation in the Study Area

As shown in **Figure 2-5**, the racial/ethnic composition of the study area experienced noticeable shifts between 1950 and 1980. The non-Hispanic white population declined dramatically in the 1950s and remained low in subsequent years. Meanwhile, the Black population grew significantly during this period and held a plurality for the next two decades. Notably, the shares of Latino/a residents and people in the "other" group (encompassing Asians and all remaining racial and ethnic groups) remained relatively small throughout the freeway period, although the "other" race population fluctuated over time (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)).

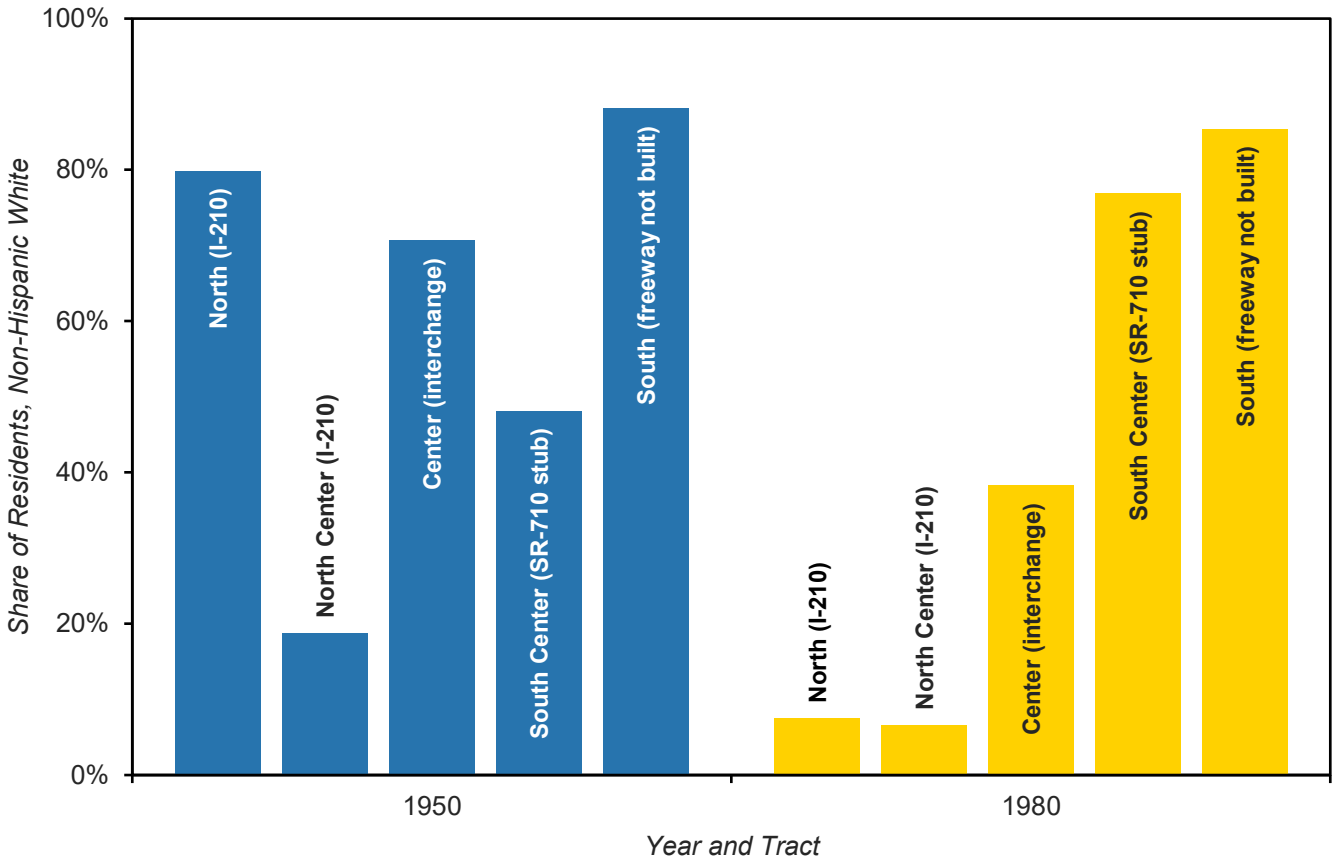
Figure 2-5. Racial/Ethnic Distribution of the Study Area, 1950-1980



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)

Figure 2-6 illustrates that the subareas (See **Figure 2-2**) became increasingly racially polarized and segregated over time (more so than the rest of Pasadena (See **Figure 2-7**)). The Center tract shifted from majority non-Hispanic white to majority residents of color. In the two southern subareas, the South Center tract began with a majority of people of color and transitioned to majority non-Hispanic white, and the South tract, which started as with a large majority of non-Hispanic white residents, remained so. These tracts became disproportionately non-Hispanic white compared to Pasadena tracts outside of the study area. Meanwhile, the North tract passed a racial tipping point and experienced dramatic demographic change, discussed further at the end of Part 3 (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)).

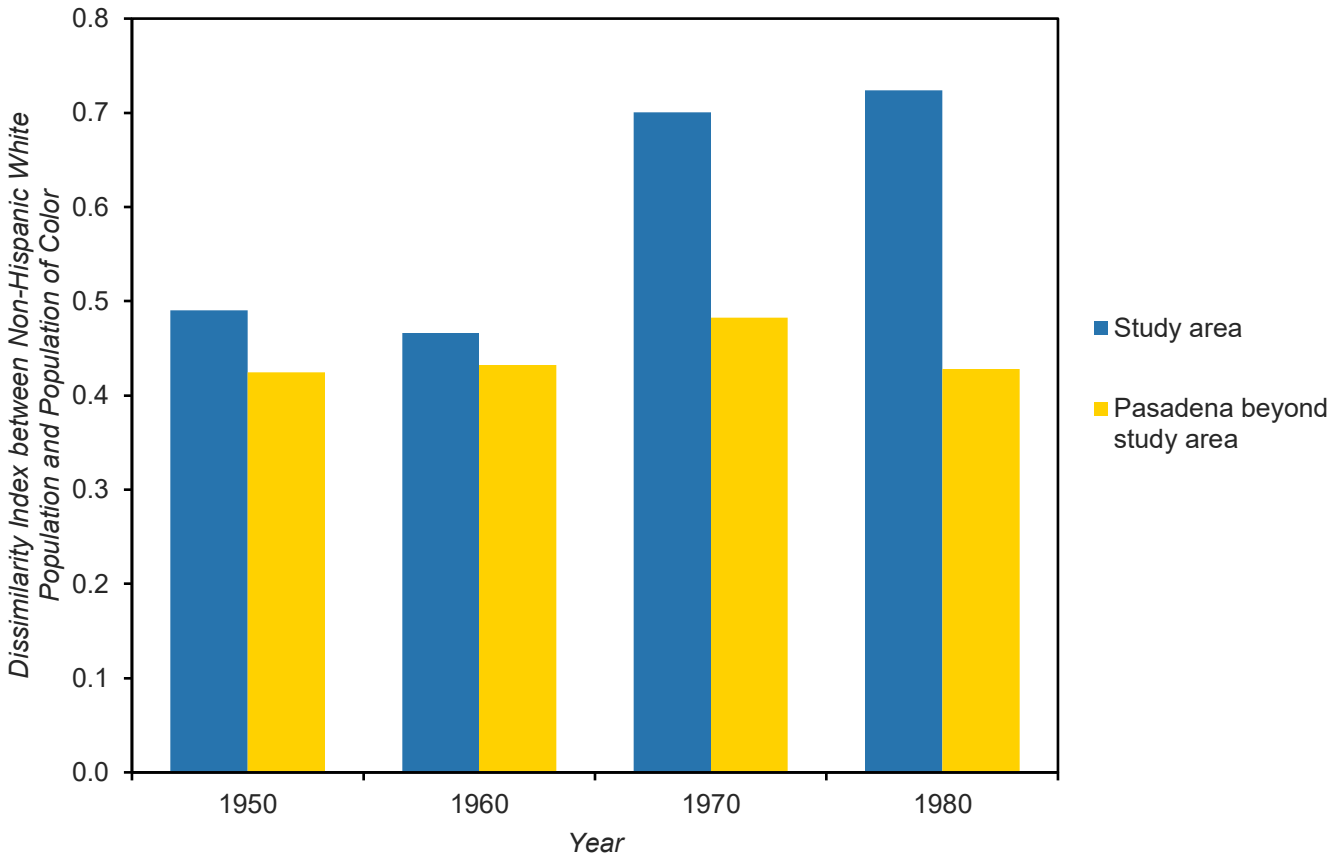
Figure 2-6. Share Non-Hispanic White in the Study Area Tracts, 1950-1980



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950 and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1980)

The dramatic changes in racial/ethnic composition within the study subareas contributed to increased segregation within the study area. As shown in **Figure 2-7**, the dissimilarity index values indicate that non-Hispanic white population and populations of color were already exhibiting slight segregation before freeway development compared to the rest of Pasadena. However, the study area became significantly more segregated during and after freeway construction, with the dissimilarity index increasing from under 0.50 in 1950 to over 0.70 in 1980. The rest of Pasadena did not show a long-term increase (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)).

Figure 2-7. Segregation, as Measured by the Dissimilarity Index, in Pasadena, 1950-1980



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)

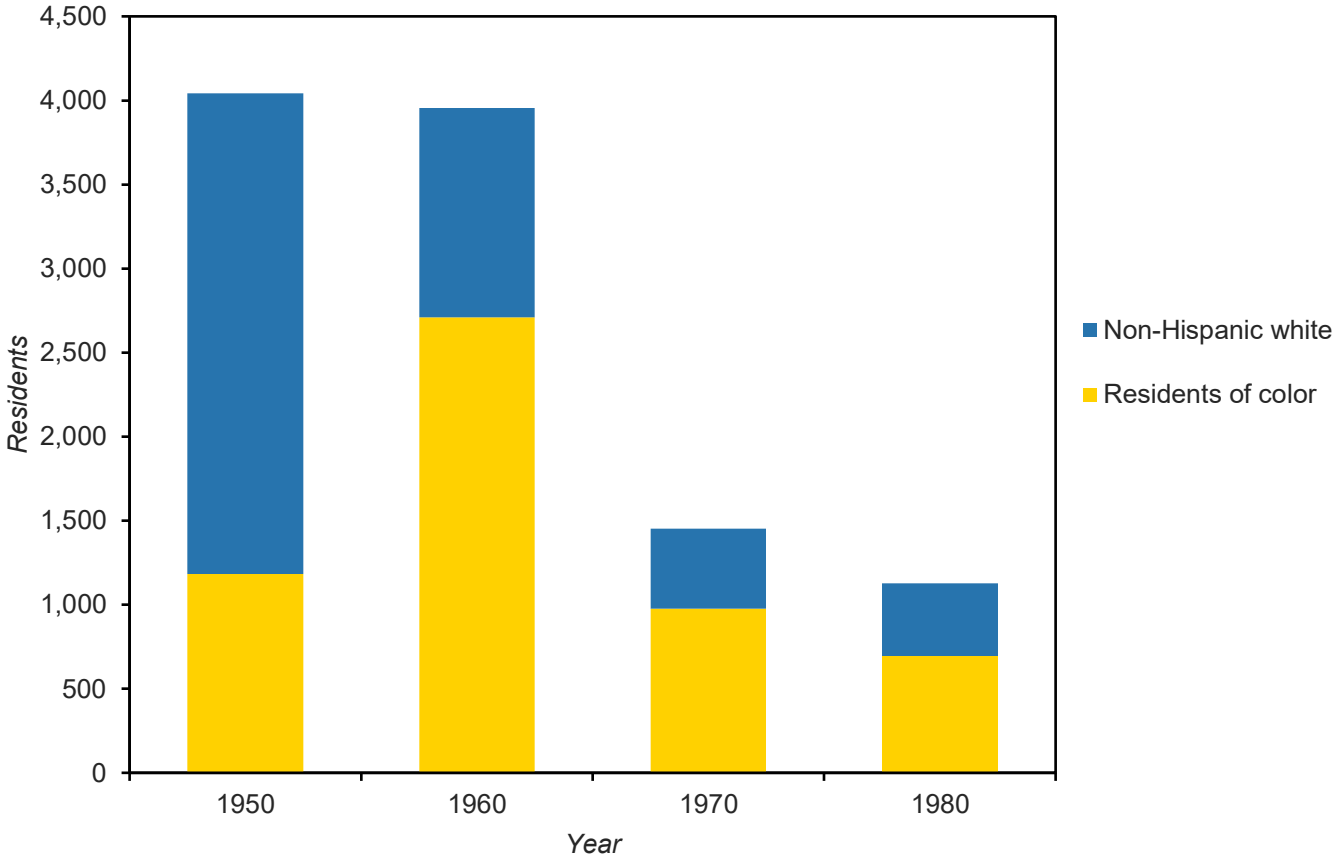
The tracts most impacted by the SR-710 stub were the Center (where the stub connects from the interchange) and the South Center (where the majority of the stub is located) (See **Figure 2-2**). As previously noted, these two tracts experienced vastly different trajectories in population and racial composition (See **Figure 2-6**).

The population decline in the Center tract (See **Figure 2-8**) coincided with Caltrans' property acquisitions, which displaced both non-Hispanic white residents and residents of color. Available data suggests that the tract became more internally segregated during this period, although the level of segregation was low to moderate. Block-level data shows that the dissimilarity index between white and non-white households was 0.32 in 1960, while the dissimilarity index between white and non-white households was 0.49 in 1970.[4] The South Center tract (See **Figure 2-9**), meanwhile, experienced a steady population decline over the entire time period. People of color—particularly Black residents—initially represented a slight majority there (52%) and became a small minority (23%) by 1980. The neighborhood was also characterized by high internal segregation. The dissimilarity index between white and non-white households was 0.70 in 1960, while the dissimilarity index between white and non-white

4. We focus on white and non-white households because those are the categories consistently available at the census block level for both decades (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1970).

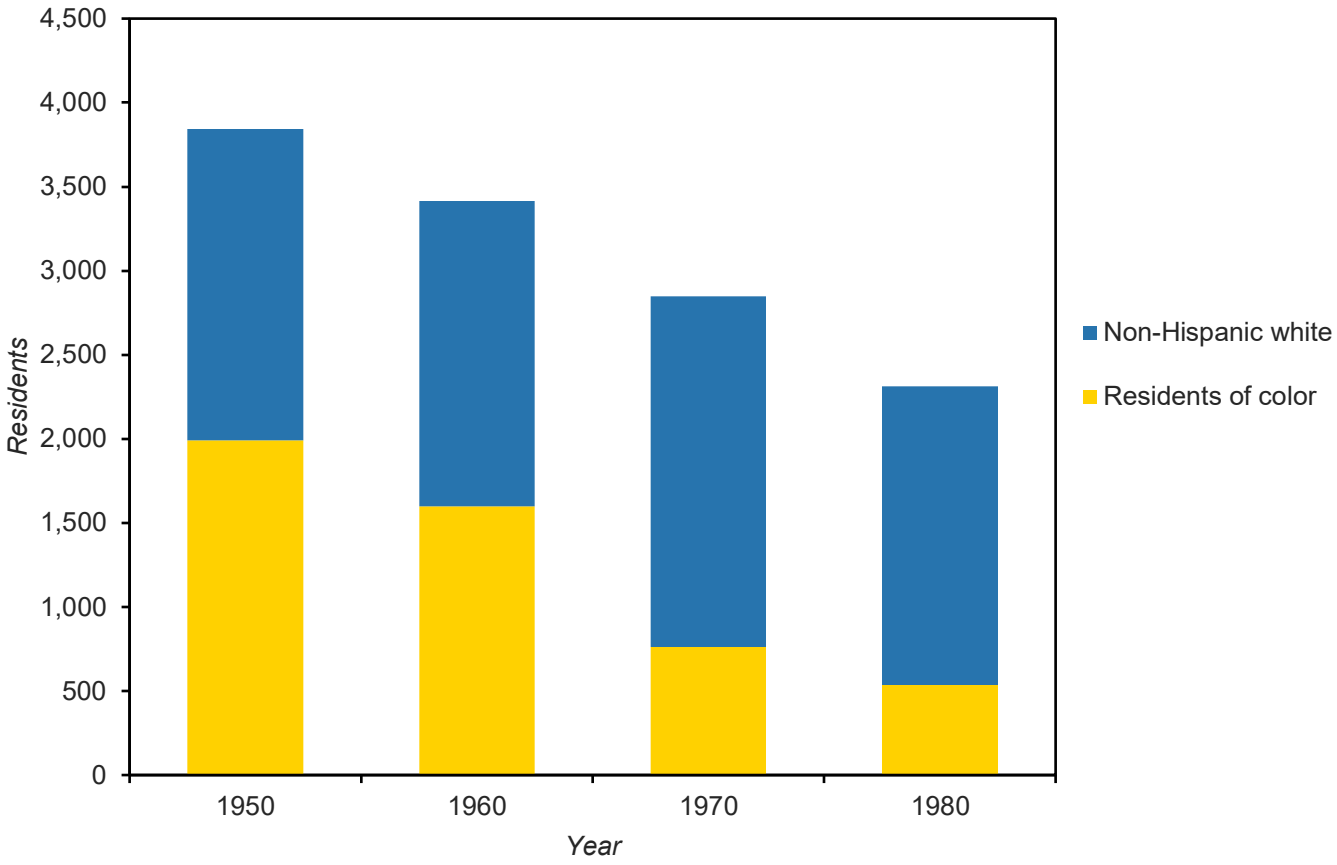
households was 0.69 by 1970. This shows that the level of segregation started high and remained so (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)). In the South tract, Caltrans purchased properties, but no freeway construction occurred (California Division of Highways, 1965–1969 and UC Santa Barbara Library, 2012). The absence of direct destruction may have contributed to these areas maintaining and even increasing their non-Hispanic white population share (See **Figure 2-10**) (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980); California Division of Highways, 1965–1969; and Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

Figure 2-8. Center Tract Population, 1950-1980



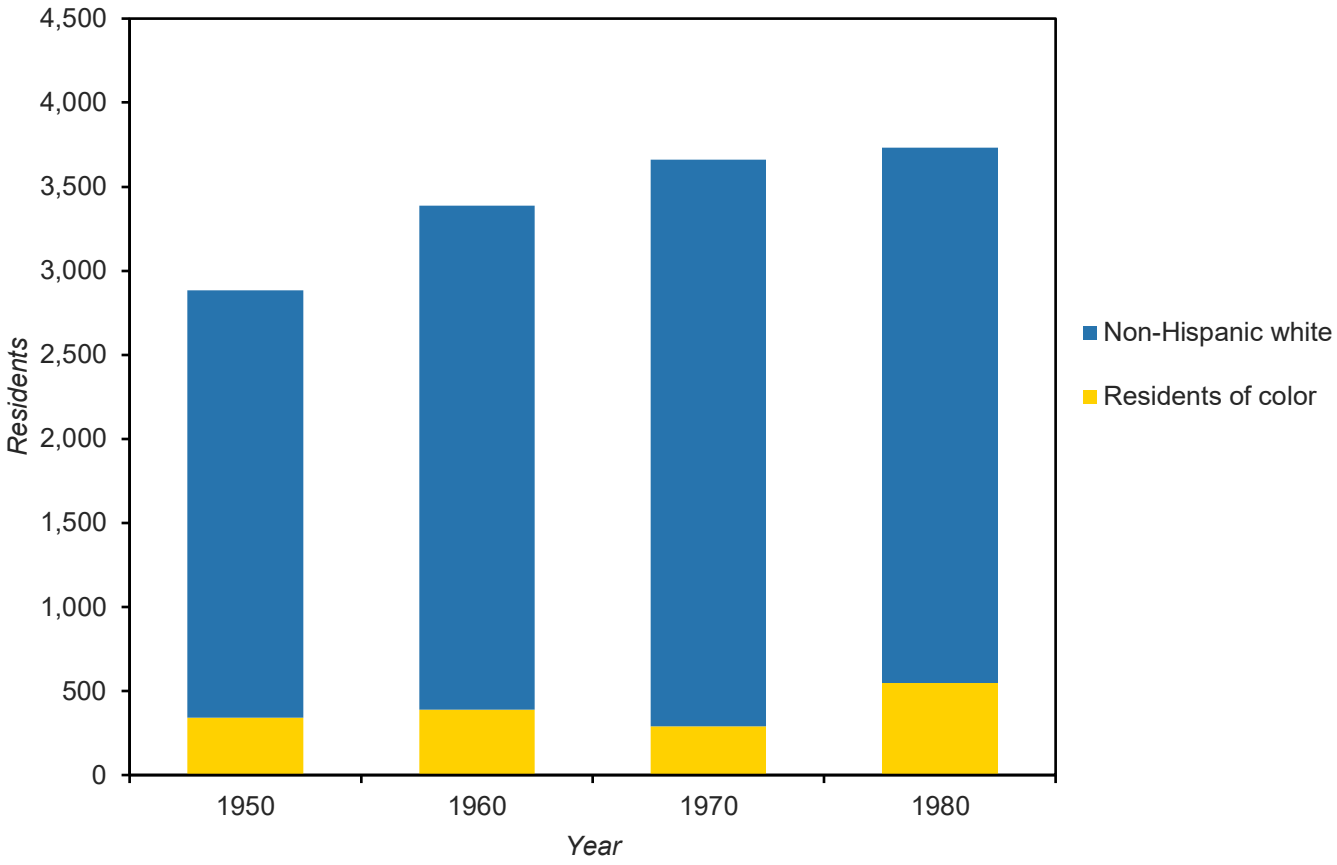
Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)

Figure 2-9. South Center Tract Population, 1950-1980



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)

Figure 2-10. South Tract Population, 1950-1980



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)

Changes in Housing Units Across Study Area Tracts

Similar to the data on the population, the data on housing units across the tracts in the study area from 1950 to 1980 show distinct patterns of growth and decline, reflecting the impacts of freeway development and other urban changes. While Pasadena overall saw an increase in housing units—from 37,943 in 1950 to 49,732 in 1980, a growth of 31 percent—individual tracts within the study area experienced varied changes, as shown in both the absolute counts and percentage changes (See **Tables 2-1** and **2-2**) (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)).

In the Center tract, which includes the interchange and was heavily affected by freeway development (See **Figure 2-2**), the number of housing units declined drastically over the decades. From 1,470 units in 1950, the count dropped to only 433 units by 1980. This represents a cumulative decrease of 71 percent, with the most significant drop of 59 percent occurring between 1960 and 1970, coinciding with the construction of the interchange (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census

Table 2-1. Housing Units in Pasadena and Los Angeles County, 1950-1980

Geography		1950	1960	1970	1980
Study area census tracts	North	1,841	2,001	1,828	1,913
	North Center	1,703	1,826	1,329	1,566
	Center	1,470	1,482	603	433
	South Center	1,153	1,173	935	865
	South	947	1,356	1,582	1,737
Pasadena		37,943	46,687	47,093	49,732
Los Angeles County		1,442,691	2,142,139	2,538,910	2,855,578

Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)

Table 2-2. Changes in Housing Units in Pasadena and Los Angeles County, 1950-1980

Geography		Change, 1950-1960	Change, 1960-1970	Change, 1970-1980
Study area census tracts	North	+9%	-9%	+5%
	North Center	+7%	-27%	+18%
	Center	+1%	-59%	-28%
	South Center	+2%	-20%	-7%
	South	+43%	+17%	+10%
Pasadena		+23%	+1%	+6%
Los Angeles County		+48%	+19%	+12%

Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)

Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980) and Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023). This substantial reduction highlights the displacement of residential structures due to infrastructure expansion.

The South Center tract, containing the SR-710 stub (See **Figure 2-2**), also saw a steady decline in housing units, although less extreme than in the Center tract. Housing units in this area decreased from 1,153 in 1950 to 865 by 1980, an overall reduction of 25 percent. Units fell 20 percent between 1960 and 1970 and a further seven percent from 1970 to 1980, indicating the continued influence of the freeway on residential availability (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)).

The South tract, which was not impacted by freeway construction (See **Figure 2-2**), experienced steady growth over the decades. Starting with 947 units in 1950, this tract grew to 1,737 units by 1980, reflecting a total increase

of 83 percent. Each decade showed positive growth, with the most significant increase of 43 percent occurring between 1950 and 1960, followed by smaller but steady increases in subsequent decades (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)). The consistent rise in housing units suggests that the South tract remained a stable and desirable residential area, likely benefiting from the absence of disruptive infrastructure projects.

In the North and North Center tracts (See **Figure 2-2**), the trends were more mixed. The North tract saw an overall slight increase, from 1,841 units in 1950 to 1,913 in 1980, marking a four percent increase across the period. However, this tract experienced fluctuations, with a notable nine percent decrease between 1960 and 1970, followed by a recovery in the next decade. In the North Center tract, housing units grew by seven percent from 1950 to 1960 but then dropped by 27 percent between 1960 and 1970, before rebounding with an 18 percent increase from 1970 to 1980 (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)). These changes may reflect shifting demand and the impact of nearby developments on housing stability.

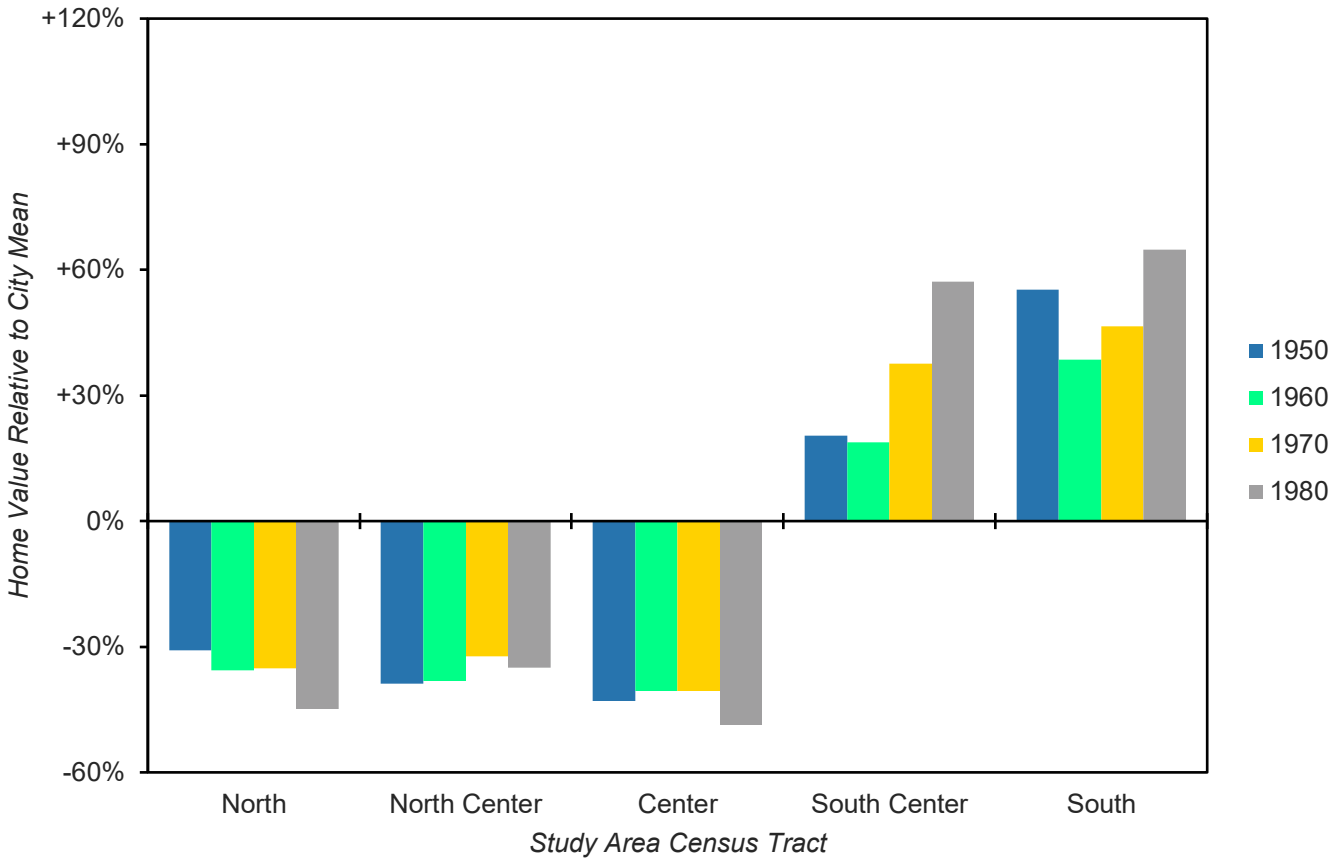
Compared to Los Angeles County as a whole, which experienced a near-doubling of housing units between 1950 and 1980, the study area shows a mix of growth and decline, heavily influenced by proximity to freeway development. Los Angeles County saw substantial growth, with the most significant jump of 48 percent occurring from 1950 to 1960, followed by slower growth in subsequent decades (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)).

Economic Polarization in the Study Area

Along with increased racial segregation, the study area experienced economic polarization, as reflected in housing-market characteristics and dynamics and ultimately in income levels. Observations from home prices, rent levels, and income data from the 1950 and 1980 U.S. Censuses reveal distinct economic and housing patterns across the study area. These patterns vary between neighborhoods along the I-210 corridor (the North and North Center tracts), the central interchange (Center tract), and the SR-710 stub and unbuilt segment (South Center and South tracts) (See **Figure 2-2**) (calculated by authors from 1950 and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952a, 1980)).

In the North, North Center, and Center areas, home values remained consistently below the citywide average across the decades. As shown in **Figure 2-11**, these values generally hovered around 50 to 60 percent of Pasadena's average, indicating lower relative property values in these neighborhoods. Rent trends followed a similar pattern, with contract rents in these areas staying between 50 and 75 percent of the city average (See **Figure 2-12**) (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952a, 1960, 1961b, 1970, 1980 and U.S. Census Bureau et al., 1972)). This consistent undervaluation suggests that these neighborhoods experienced lower demand and economic growth compared to other parts of Pasadena, along with other factors such as housing and mortgage discrimination as discussed later in this report. Additionally, median income in the North area declined relative to the city average from 1950 to 1980, as shown in **Figure 2-13**, while income levels in the North Center and Center areas consistently remained below the city average through this period (calculated by authors from 1950 and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1980)). Together, these trends indicate that the North, North Center, and Center areas did not experience the same level of economic uplift that occurred in other sections of the study area.

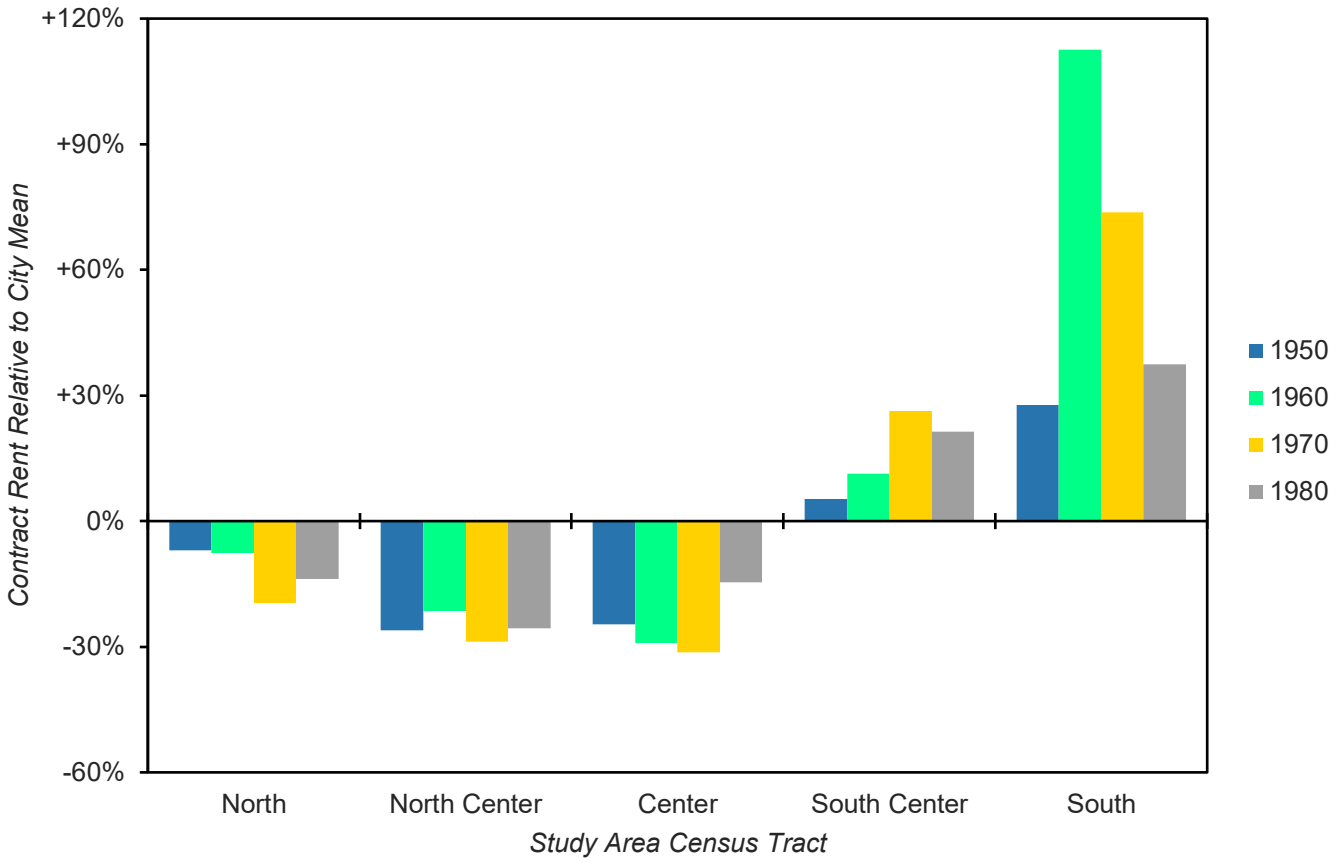
Figure 2-11. Average Home Value Relative to the City of Pasadena



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952a, 1960, 1961b, 1970, 1980 and U.S. Census Bureau et al., 1972)

In contrast, the South Center and South areas saw substantial increases in home values, rent, and income levels over the same period (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952a, 1952b, 1960, 1961b, 1970, 1980 and U.S. Census Bureau et al., 1972)). In 1950 and 1980, the South area had the highest relative home values in the study area, surpassing 1.5 times the city average by 1980. The South Center area also exhibited a significant rise, with home values peaking almost as far above the city average by 1980 (See **Figure 2-11**). Rent trends aligned with these increases, particularly in the South area, where rents spiked to over double the city average in 1960 before moderating somewhat in subsequent decades, as highlighted in **Figure 2-12** (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952a, 1960, 1961b, 1970, 1980 and U.S. Census Bureau et al., 1972)). This high relative rent indicates increased demand for housing in these areas, likely driven by shifts in neighborhood desirability.

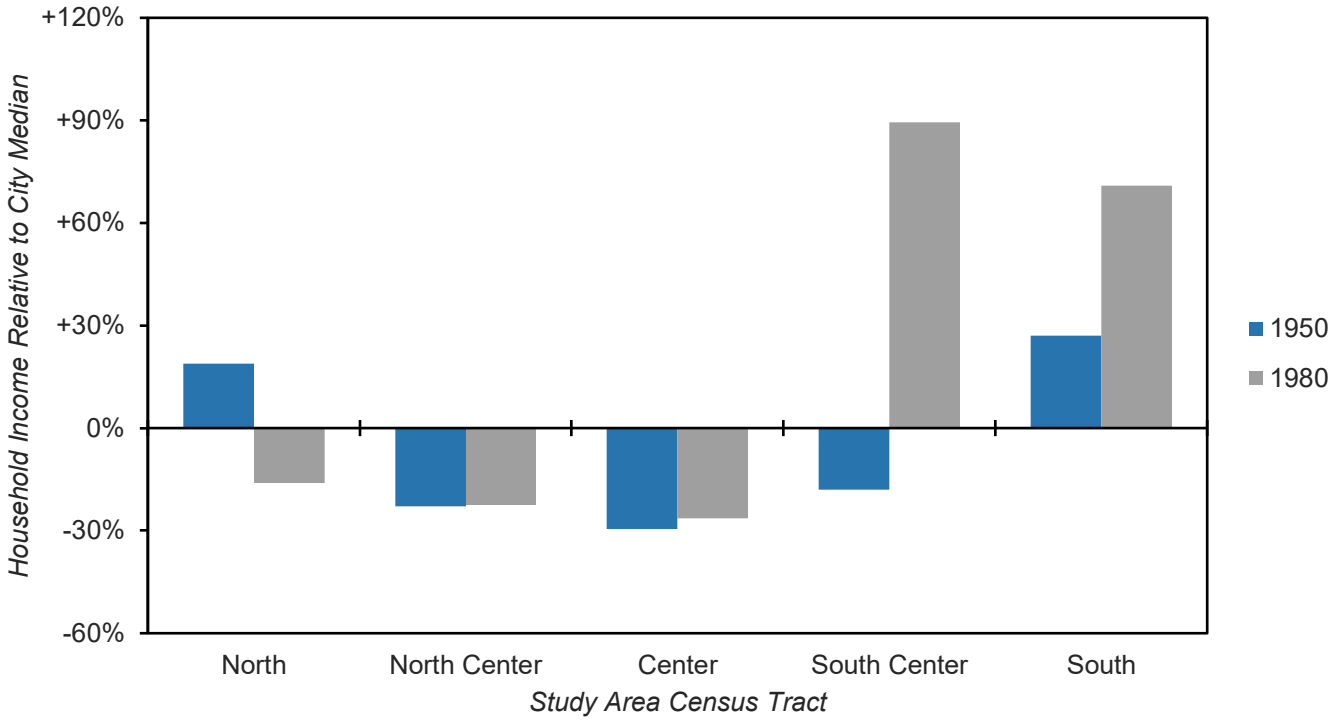
Figure 2-12. Average Rent Relative to the City of Pasadena



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952a, 1960, 1961b, 1970, 1980 and U.S. Census Bureau et al., 1972)

Median household income data further underscores the economic transformation in the South Center and South areas. As illustrated in **Figure 2-13**, these areas saw substantial income growth, with the South Center tract reaching nearly double the city's median income by 1980. The South area also experienced a significant rise in relative income (calculated by authors from 1950 and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1980)), reflecting a demographic shift toward more affluent residents. These increases in home values, rent, and income suggest that the South Center and South areas became increasingly desirable, contributing to a demographic change marked by higher-income residents and reduced presence of lower-income populations and populations of color over time.

Figure 2-13. Median Income Relative to the City of Pasadena



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950 and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1980)

Together, these findings paint a picture of economic stratification within Pasadena's western neighborhoods. While the North, North Center, and Center areas maintained relatively lower property values, rents, and incomes, the South Center and South areas experienced considerable appreciation, indicative of rising demand and affluence. This dynamic underscores the broader socioeconomic changes that took place as freeway development and selective urban projects reshaped the area.

Part 3. Institutional Discriminatory Practices in Housing

Freeway development was not the only factor influencing segregation in Pasadena. To better interpret the quantitative analyses of residential patterns, it is essential to consider the broader institutional forces and dynamics of the early to mid-20th century that contributed to housing segregation. Our analysis examines several factors before, during, and after freeway construction that collectively fostered racial inequality. These include preexisting racialized policies and practices, such as redlining, biased zoning, and restrictive covenants (each defined and described further below), as well as resistance to these practices, exemplified by cases like *Fairchild v. Raines* (1944) that challenged restrictive racial covenants. The qualitative analysis for this section, as well as the next part of the report, draws heavily on a review and synthesis of existing literature and historical documents on these societal forces and dynamics, both nationally and in other contexts. Where relevant, we also conduct quantitative assessments to support our findings.

Housing Discrimination, National Context, and Pasadena

The nation, including Pasadena, has a long history of racial housing discrimination, enforced by both private and public actors. For instance, a city councilmember and later Pasadena mayor and state senator argued that the "only sensible solution" to "the Negro problem" was strictly enforced residential segregation (quoted in Cole, 2021). Challenging this form of racism was a primary focus of the civil rights movement, fought in courts, legislative bodies, and at the ballot box. While some progress was made in dismantling housing discrimination during the first three quarters of the 20th century, these efforts remained slow and incomplete (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

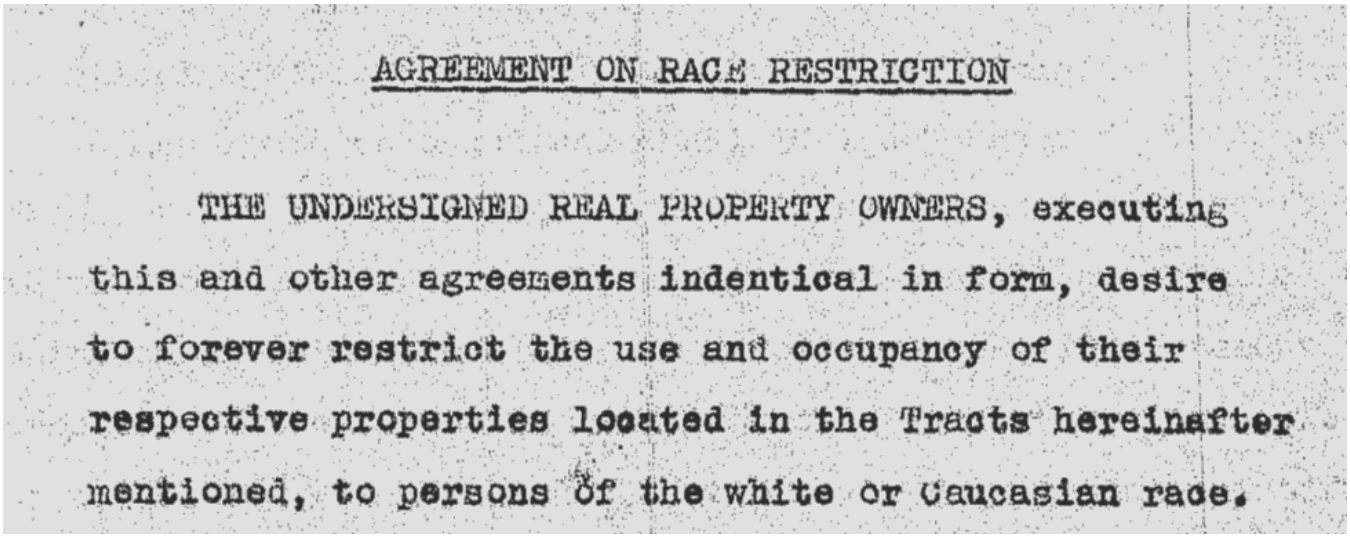
One significant agent in producing racial housing segregation was the government, particularly through land-use control and zoning. While local regulations like these can serve legitimate purposes, such as separating hazardous industrial activities from residential areas, the use of spatial control by public authorities has historically been rooted in racism. Some of the earliest examples include efforts across California in the latter half of the nineteenth century to restrict where Chinese residents could live, purchase property, and work (Ong, 1981; Chou, 2013–2014; and Ong, Ong, and Pech, 2024). Later, racial zoning became a common practice in cities nationwide, especially in the South (Rice, 1968 and Silver, 1991, 1997).

The courts initially permitted racial zoning practices in the early 20th century. For example, in 1915, the Virginia Supreme Court ruled in *Hopkins et al. v. City of Richmond* (1915) that it was legal under the state's constitution for the city to restrict Black residents from occupying homes in white-majority neighborhoods. However, just two years later, in 1917, the U.S. Supreme Court reached a different conclusion in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), ruling that it was unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment to prevent property owners—whether white or "colored"—from selling to "constitutionally qualified" buyers. This landmark decision effectively voided *explicitly* racial zoning practices (*Buchanan v. Warley*, 1917 and Ely, 1998, 2018).

However, this ruling did not prevent private parties from using restrictive covenants—clauses in property deeds that prohibited sales based on race/ethnicity—which became a primary mechanism for perpetuating housing

segregation.[5] Around 60 percent of Pasadena properties had such a restriction in their deeds in 1942 (See **Figure 3-1**), and salespeople knocked doors to get white homeowners to add these clauses (Cole, 2021). This form of discrimination was eventually outlawed. In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) that racially restrictive covenants were unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment and that the government could not enforce such restrictions. While the overt practice of restricting sales based on race could no longer be enforced (Tushnet, 1988, 1994), more subtle forms of discrimination persisted in the housing market. Addressing this required laws that specifically prohibited and penalized such actions (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

Figure 3-1. Restrictive Clause in a Pasadena Deed



AGREEMENT ON RACE RESTRICTION

THE UNDERSIGNED REAL PROPERTY OWNERS, executing this and other agreements indentical in form, desire to forever restrict the use and occupancy of their respective properties located in the Tracts hereinafter mentioned, to persons of the white or Caucasian race.

Source: Agreement on Race Restriction [(1612 Glen Avenue, Pasadena, California)]*, 1947*

The fight against private housing discrimination culminated in the passage of the federal Fair Housing Act of 1968, part of the Civil Rights Act (1968). The law declared, “it shall be unlawful...to refuse to sell or rent after the making of a bona fide offer, or to refuse to negotiate for the sale or rental of, or otherwise make unavailable or deny, a dwelling to any person because of race, color, religion, sex, familial status, or national origin” (Civil Rights Act of 1968, 1968, p. 21). The Act also led to the establishment of federal agencies to enforce these protections (Civil Rights Act of 1968, 1968 and Pollak, 2000), which appears to have had some positive impact (Massey, 2015 and Squires, 2017). Nonetheless, housing discrimination—such as steering—continued to persist for decades after the law’s enactment (Galster, 1990 and Turner and Mikelsons, 1992).

Pasadena was very much a part of the contentious history around housing discrimination. While there is no evidence that the city engaged in *explicit* racial zoning, it appears Pasadena implemented land-use regulations that, while not overtly racist, had a disproportionate impact on people of color and reinforced segregation (Shook, 2020). These zoning ordinances were designed to limit and prevent certain groups—typically low-income residents and people of color—from residing in particular areas (Whittemore, 2021 and Goetz, 2021). For example, high minimum lot size requirements for single-family housing and the prohibition of multifamily housing

5. Some cities found ways to circumvent the 1917 ruling by enacting zoning that reinforced existing land-use patterns with disparate impacts on people of color and that reinforced racial segregation (Silver, 1997 and Shertzer, Twinam, and Walsh, 2016).

limited the supply of affordable housing, making it difficult for lower-income families and/or families of color to find housing (Marcus, 1970).

Housing discrimination had negative impacts on housing costs for people of color. Artificially limiting the supply of available housing units by excluding people of color from predominantly non-Hispanic white neighborhoods tends to push up market prices; consequently, segregation imposed a cost on people of color in terms of higher prices for a given quantity and quality (Kain and Quigley, 1970, 1972 and King and Mieszkowski, 1973). Combined with practices like redlining and racial covenants, these regulations created substantial barriers that hindered people of color from improving their living conditions and socioeconomic outcomes.

Discriminatory practices by non-governmental actors were also readily evident in Pasadena. A 1927 article in the local realtors' magazine reveals the prevailing prejudicial attitudes: "Pasadena has a large number of [N]egroes who are recently trying to move into desirable sections of the city. Through subdivision restrictions and owners agreements[,] it [(the realtors association)] is attempting to hold them in check" (quoted in Cole, 2021). In 1939, the Pasadena Improvement Association, supported by other organizations, pushed for "race restrictions on all of the Pasadena residential districts now occupied by Caucasians" (quoted in Cole, 2021). Additional examples of such private-sector racism, particularly the use of racial restrictive covenants, are discussed later.

Pasadena was also a site of resistance against housing discrimination. Notably, in 1944, a Black family attempting to move into a neighborhood bordering Arroyo Seco launched a court case, represented by journalist and civil rights lawyer Loren Miller (*Fairchild v. Raines*, 1944 and Cole, 2021). The area had restrictive covenants stating that "each and every parcel of land within said area shall be limited and restricted to occupancy by, and that the same shall be occupied exclusively by persons of the [w]hite or Caucasian race" (*Fairchild v. Raines*, 1944). The California Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Black family (*Fairchild v. Raines*, 1944), marking an important victory that predated the U.S. Supreme Court's *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) decision to outlaw racially restrictive covenants nationwide (Cole, 2021).

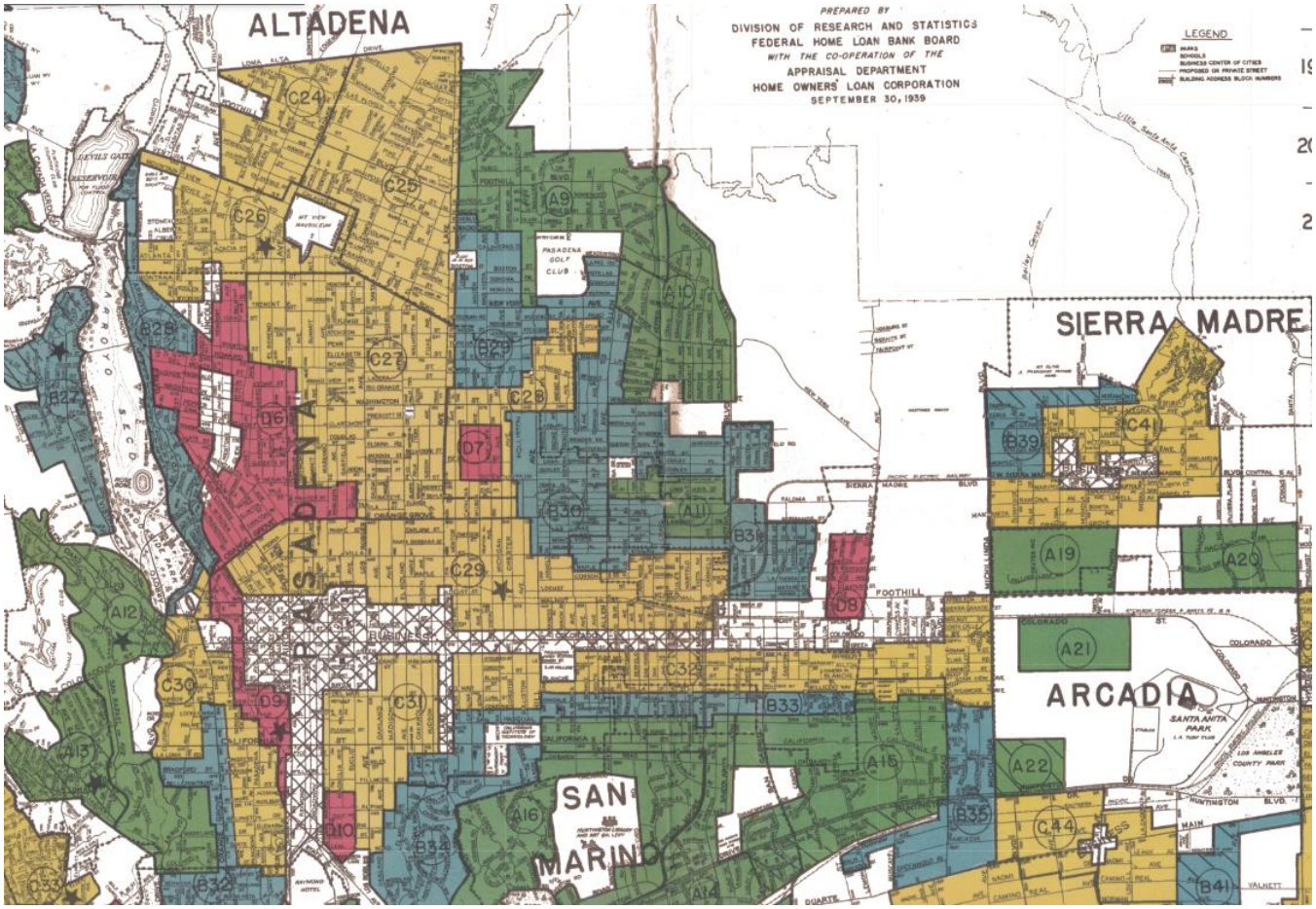
Redlining

Redlining was a form of racial discrimination present in housing that involved banks and insurance companies limiting or denying individual access to credit and other services—such as mortgages and insurance—based solely on where they lived or sought to live, even if they were otherwise qualified. Nationally, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) each assessed neighborhoods in major American cities in terms of mortgage risk. HOLC color-coded areas in the 1930s into four hierarchical categories from least to most risky: green, blue, yellow, and red. One of the products of this system was a series of maps used by loan officers, appraisers, and real estate professionals in their lending practices. Neighborhoods deemed high risk or "hazardous" were typically "redlined" by lending institutions, denying residents access to capital investment. Recent scholarship has complicated the history of redlining, as FHA's maps, which they destroyed, likely contributed more to discrimination in lending than HOLC's. Regardless, federal entities established criteria for racially coding neighborhoods, lowering homeownership rates and hindering wealth accumulation in these communities (Aaronson, Hartley, and Mazumder, 2020; Fishback et al., 2021, 2024; Hernandez, 2009; An, Orlando, and Rodnyansky, 2019; Park and Quercia, 2020; and Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

Figure 3-2 shows how HOLC graded Pasadena. This practice of rating risk was inherently racist, as areas labeled "risky" and "undesirable" were predominantly those where communities of color lived. Race was explicitly tied to these classifications, as seen in descriptions assigned to different neighborhoods (Nelson et al., 2023).

Areas safeguarded against residents of color were often graded more favorably. For example, the blue-colored area just east of the Rose Bowl was described as “protected from the subversive elements by deed restrictions,” which, according to HOLC, made the neighborhood safer for mortgage lending (quoted in Nelson et al., 2023).

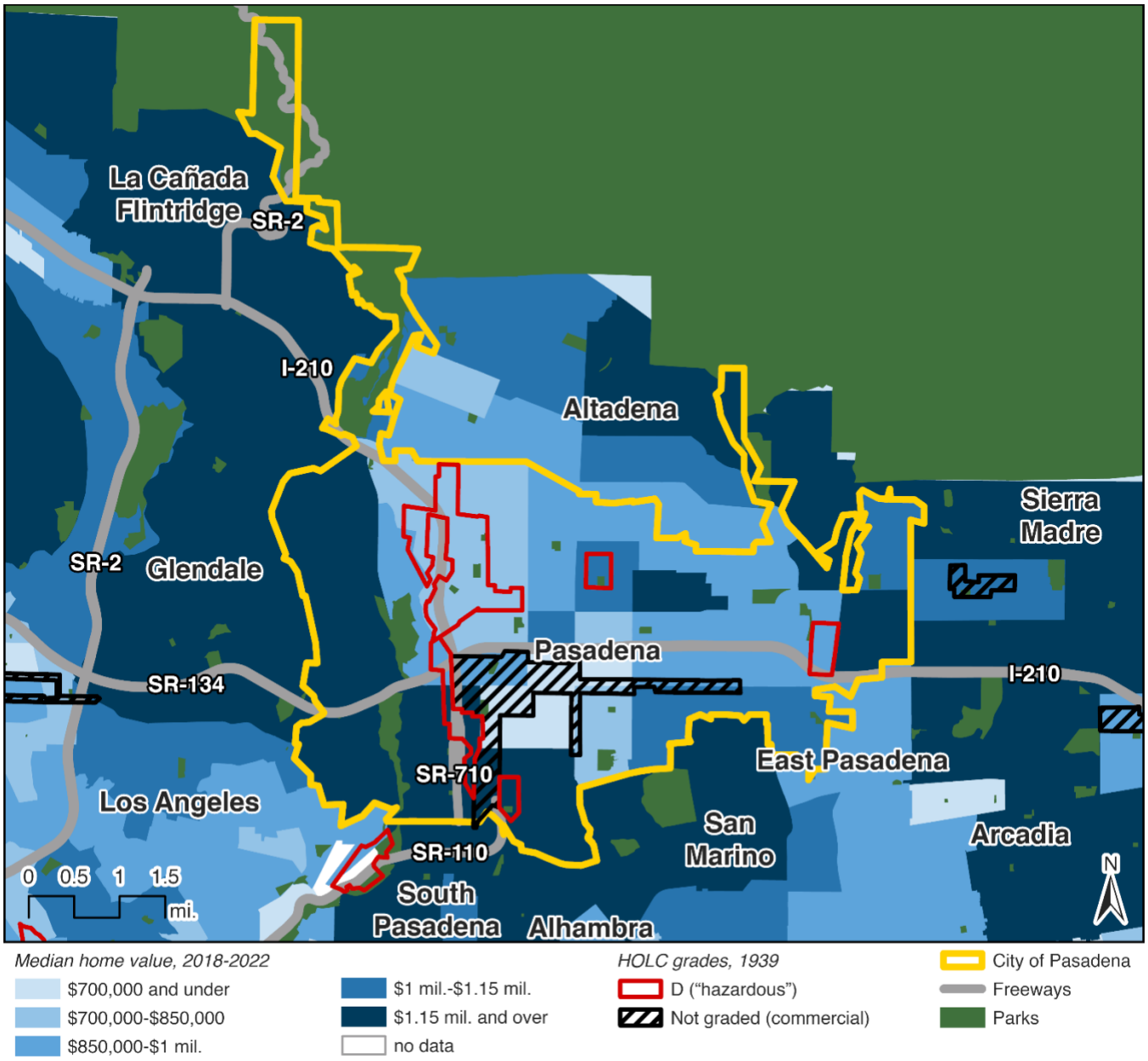
Figure 3-2. 1939 HOLC Redlining Map of Pasadena and Surrounding Areas



Source: Nelson et al., 2023

In contrast, the red-colored area north of downtown, about half people of color—primarily Black, Mexican and Japanese residents (Nelson et al., 2023)—was labeled as being affected by “infiltration” of a “...Mexican and Negro population” (quoted in Nelson et al., 2023). HOLC described this as a “real menace” that alarmed property owners, particularly as deed restrictions expired (quoted in Nelson et al., 2023). The importance of these racially restrictive deeds is further highlighted in HOLC’s description of an area north of this redlined neighborhood: “Deed restrictions have expired on approximately 50% of [the] area[,] but active efforts are being made to re-restrict owing to threat of subversive racial infiltration” (quoted in Nelson et al., 2023).

Figure 3-3. Current Home Values and Historic Redlining, Pasadena



Data sources: calculated by authors from 2018-2022 American Community Survey five-year average (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022a); Nelson et al., 2023; U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

The enforcement of residential segregation in Pasadena led to both limited economic opportunities and subjection to poorer living conditions for communities of color, restricting upward mobility and significantly impacting their quality of life and standard of living (Swope, Hernández, and Cushing, 2022 and Nardone et al., 2020). Although the Fair Housing Act (1968) outlawed redlining, its lasting effects are still evident today. The redlined section of northwestern Pasadena, for example, continues to have higher concentrations of people of color and lower home

values (See **Figure 3-3**) (calculated by authors from 2018-2022 American Community Survey five-year average (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022a); Nelson et al., 2023; and Joshi, Horn, and Berrens, 2024).

Intersection of Housing and School Segregation

As discussed above, racial segregation, discrimination, and redlining have shaped the social fabric of Pasadena, and their effects continue to impact residents' lives today (Blumberg, 1964). *De facto* segregation occurred not only in housing but also in schools, part of a project of maintaining "racially pure" neighborhoods (Nicolaides, 2024, p. 144) through exclusionary practices (Cohen, 1967 and Nicolaides, 2024). Pasadena's history of school desegregation is complex, with some residents actively advocating for integration and others pushing back against it. The intensification of civil rights activism, coupled with the enforcement of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) through the Civil Rights Act (1968), led to widespread white flight. This included "internal white flight," in which remaining affluent white residents distanced themselves from public institutions and segregated themselves within their own neighborhoods (Nicolaides, 2024; Wicker, 1973; and Berg, 1974). Internal white flight manifested as enrollment in private schools, while contemporaneous external white flight involved moving out of the district or transferring enrollment to another district (Li, 2009).

As more people of color, particularly Black and Latino/a residents, began moving into Pasadena, especially in the northwestern areas, certain neighborhoods appeared to "tip" (See below for a discussion of "neighborhood tipping"). However, many of these communities were later displaced to make way for highways, industrial areas, commercial zones, and public housing (also discussed further below) (Nicolaides, 2024). This was often justified as removing perceived "blight" and by the argued benefits of "urban renewal," facilitated through practices like blockbusting and other predatory real estate tactics (Hartley and Rose, 2023).

As mentioned earlier, Pasadena witnessed a fervent fight for fair housing, with activists and community leaders organizing against discriminatory practices like redlining and restrictive covenants that upheld racial segregation in the city's neighborhoods (Cole, 2021). These efforts coincided with the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, and with the development of the I-210 and SR-710 freeways, which further shaped the city's racial landscape (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

The struggle for school desegregation also escalated following the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, as efforts to implement integration in schools faced significant opposition from both educational lawsuits and resistance when people of color attempted to move into white neighborhoods or enroll in white-majority schools (Lozano, 2007). This tension is best exemplified by the complexities surrounding the Pepper Project, Pasadena's first major urban renewal project (See Part 4 for additional details on this project) (B. Ramirez, 2021; Mann, 1971; C. Wilson, 1966; Turpin, 1970; Nicolaides, 2024; and Blumberg, 1964).

Despite the City's self-claimed efforts to promote residential desegregation by encouraging white residents to move into neighborhoods of color and fostering integrated housing developments, these attempts largely proved unsuccessful (Blumberg, 1964 and Marugg, 1968). Along with residential desegregation, another equally contentious challenge arose: the proposition of busing Black children from the Pepper Project area to predominantly white schools, due to overcrowding in schools nearby the project. This initiative met strong resistance from Parent Teacher Association leaders in these whiter schools, opposed to integration efforts (Lee, 1970). Although the project aimed to foster integrated housing, no enforcement mechanisms were put in place to ensure this outcome.

Opposition to Fair Housing

The existence and enforcement of racial covenants perpetuated residential segregation and limited economic mobility for communities of color in Pasadena. Prior to *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), these legally binding agreements were explicitly embedded into property deeds, prohibiting the sale, lease, or transfer of property to individuals based on race, ethnicity, or religion (Gotham, 2000 and Rose and Brooks, 2015). Preserving and increasing property value took precedence over integration, making these covenants a tool—used alongside redlining—to prevent people of color from owning property and to maintain predominantly white neighborhoods. This is evident in Pasadena's past and present landscape, where people of color were historically confined to the northwestern part of the city due to redlining and racial covenants (Pincetl, 1992), leaving a lasting impact on residential patterns and racial dynamics.

To better understand the stance of Pasadena residents on housing discrimination during the 1960s—particularly among the majority population of non-Hispanic white residents—it is useful to examine the politics surrounding anti-discrimination laws. California elected officials pioneered state-level anti-discrimination laws. Initially, the state's civil-rights legislation focused on the labor market and public spaces (Gelb and Frankfurt, 1983 and Noel and Cheng, 2009). In 1959, the California Fair Employment Practices Act (1959) safeguarded "the right...of all persons to seek, obtain and hold employment without discrimination." That same year, the Unruh Civil Rights Act restricted discrimination in public spaces (specifically in business establishments), and the Hawkins Act aimed at prohibiting discrimination in publicly subsidized housing (Noel and Cheng, 2009 and Oppenheimer, 2010).

Four years later, in 1963, Assemblyman William Rumford introduced a statewide housing bill to address widespread discrimination in California's private housing market (Oppenheimer, 2010 and *TIME*, 1964).[6] Despite opposition from the real estate industry (Rumford, 1970–1973), the Rumford Fair Housing Act (1963, p. 2) was enacted, banning "the practice of discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry in housing accommodations" with at least four rental units.

The Rumford Act continued to face strong opposition, particularly from the housing and real estate industries, which saw the law as a threat to their right to operate as they chose (Rumford, 1970–1973 and Historical Research Center, CSU Bakersfield, 2024). A builders' association attacked the law as an "extremely dangerous to the freedom of all people" and "a move toward a police state" (quoted in Radkowski, 2006, p. 56). The California Real Estate Association echoed this rhetoric, accusing the state of infringing on individual rights (W. Brown, 1972). These groups played a major role in opposing the law, with an implicit assertion of their desire to continue discriminatory practices against people of color.

Evidence from Wolfinger and Greenstein (1968) showed that white voters' support for the Rumford Act varied based on attitudes towards interracial contact. White voters who were opposed to interracial interaction strongly opposed the Rumford Act, while those who claimed they "would not move if many" Black residents "moved into their neighborhood," were "split" in their support for the legislation (Wolfinger and Greenstein, 1968, p. 766).

Opponents of the Rumford Act sought to overturn the law by placing Proposition 14 on the 1964 ballot. They helped to reframe the political debate around individual property rights and limiting state power, rather than

---

6. The Rumford Fair Housing Act was a part of a package of civil rights legislation that addressed fair practices in the labor and housing market in California (Oppenheimer, 2010). Originally, the 1959 Hawkins Act prohibited discrimination in "publicly assisted housing" (quoted in Oppenheimer, 2010, p. 120). It was not until 1963 that Rumford proposed extending it into the private real estate industry (Oppenheimer, 2010).

directly challenging the state's anti-discrimination intent. Supporters of Proposition 14 argued that it would "prevent such tyranny" (L. Wilson, Schrade, and Snell, 1964, p. 19) from "State-appointed bureaucrats" (L. Wilson, Schrade, and Snell, 1964, p. 18), "restore...freedom to sell or rent," and "abolish the Rumford Forced Housing Act that deprives you of the right to choose" (Committee for Yes on Proposition #14 to Abolish Rumford Forced Housing Act, 1964). The ballot initiative was labeled as "Sales and Rentals of Residential Real Property" (1964, p. 18), with wording that focused only on individual property rights:

> *"Prohibits State, subdivision, or agency thereof from denying, limiting, or abridging the right of any person to decline to sell, lease, or rent residential real property to any person as he chooses. Prohibition not applicable to property owned by State or its subdivisions; property acquired by eminent domain; or transient lodging accommodations by hotels, motels, and similar public places"* (*Sales and Rentals of Residential Real Property*, 1964, p. 18)

Proponents of Proposition 14 sought to nullify the Rumford Act, which they argued was equivalent to government tyranny and the "seizure of private property" (L. Wilson, Schrade, and Snell, 1964, p. 18). On the other hand, opponents of the initiative, primarily civil rights organizations and organizations of people of color, emphasized Proposition 14's devastating racial implications, warning that it would effectively "write hate and bigotry into the [California] Constitution" (Californians against Proposition 14, 1963).

Opinions on Proposition 14 were starkly divided along racial lines, with pre-election polls showing that a large majority of white voters supported the referendum, while an even greater majority of Black voters opposed it (Wolfinger and Greenstein, 1968; Hahn, 1968; and Chen, Mickey, and Van Houweling, 2008).[7] However, not all people of color were opposed to the proposition's passage (Felker-Kantor, 2013 and Brilliant, 2010), as many were likely influenced by the political narrative surrounding individual property rights. This narrative also resonated across party lines, with about half of Democrats supporting the proposition (Historical Research Center, CSU Bakersfield, 2024 and Anderson and Lee, 1965).

Despite the majority opposition from voters of color, the initiative passed by a significant margin—65 percent of voters cast their ballots in favor. The disorganized campaign strategies of liberal oppositionist groups contributed to Proposition 14's success. Additionally, the outcome can largely be attributed to the fact that non-Hispanic white Californians comprised a supermajority of the voting population (Ballotpedia, n.d.-b; Vyas, 2014; and Anderson and Lee, 1965). While the referendum was an exercise in direct democracy, it also represented a tyranny of the majority effectively enshrining the right to discriminate in the housing market.

Pasadena's voting patterns closely mirrored those of the state and county, with nearly two thirds of voters supporting the passage of Proposition 14 (See **Table 3-1**). Many surrounding cities showed even higher levels of support. Two of these cities, South Pasadena and Glendale, were "sundown towns", where people of color other than servants were banned from not just living but visiting at night (History and Social Justice, n.d.; Loewen, 2005; Vargas, 2020; *Colorado Boulevard*, 2022; and South Pasadena City Council, 2022). Additionally, these three nearby cities were overwhelmingly white, with white residents making up over 99 percent of the population in 1960 (calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1963)). In Pasadena, opposition primarily came from voters of color, especially those residing along what would later become the I-210 corridor. **Figure 3-4** shows an island of votes against the proposition in northwest Pasadena, amidst a sea of suburban

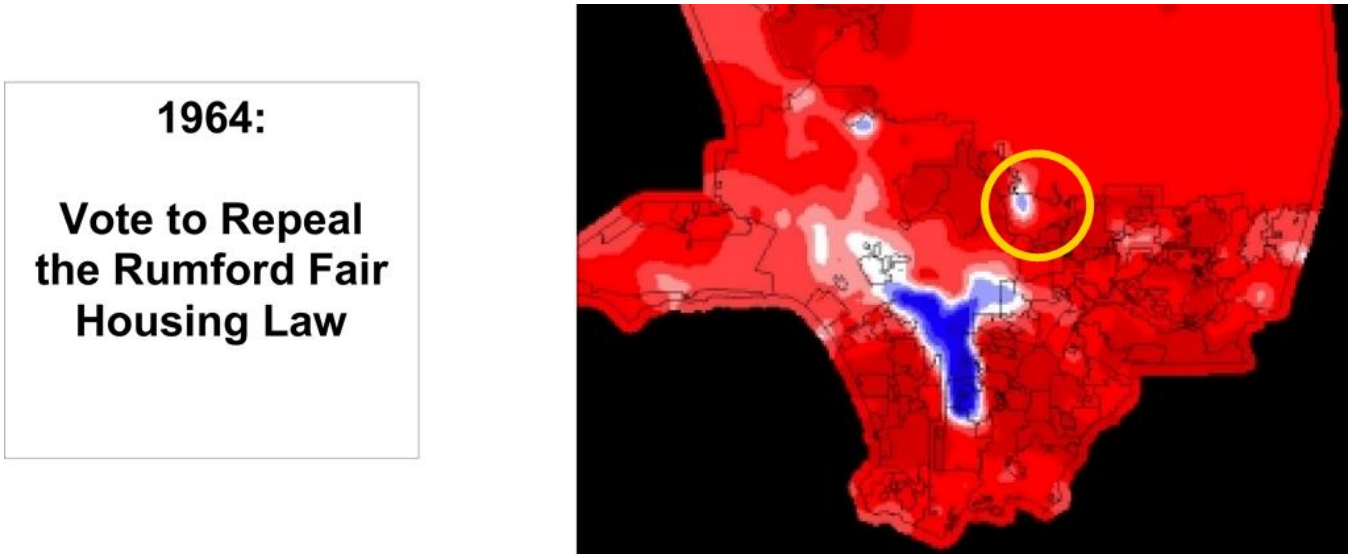
7. Besides race, there were other divisions: less-educated voters, Republicans, and Southern Californians were more likely to vote in support of Proposition 14 (Wolfinger and Greenstein, 1968; Hahn, 1968; and Chen, Mickey, and Van Houweling, 2008).

Table 3-1. Proposition 14 (1964) Results

Geography	In Favor		Opposed	
	Votes	Share	Votes	Share
California	4,526,460	65.4%	2,395,747	34.6%
Los Angeles County	1,802,620	67.4%	870,342	32.6%
Pasadena	35,444	65.9%	18,374	34.1%
South Pasadena	8,405	78.7%	2,278	21.3%
Glendale	50,598	83.5%	10,018	16.5%
San Marino	6,715	86.5%	1,051	13.5%

Data source: Jordan, 1964

Figure 3-4. Map of Voting Patterns on Proposition 14, 1964



Note: Red areas had more votes for the proposition; blue areas had more votes against the proposition; Pasadena circled in yellow.

Source: Ethington, 2000, with annotation by authors

votes for it.[8] In contrast, the rest of Pasadena, including the area south of the eventual I-210 and SR-710, voted overwhelmingly in favor of the proposition (Ethington, 2000).

8. The other pocket of opposition in the suburbs, shown in **Figure 3-4** (Ethington, 2000), was Pacoima, the region's other suburban exclave of color, which we studied in a prior report (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

The passage of Proposition 14 in November 1964 stalled progress on desegregation efforts in Pasadena and halted the development of the Pepper Project (discussed further below), as it amended the state constitution to overturn the Rumford Act (Tucker, 1966 and *Independent Star-News*, 1965). Though these efforts were ultimately short-lived, Proposition 14 allowed property sellers and landlords to openly discriminate based on ethnicity for the two years it remained in effect.

While voters supported Proposition 14, the courts eventually overturned the results (Oppenheimer, 2010 and *Maryland Law Review*, 1967). In 1966, the California Supreme Court declared the initiative unconstitutional (*Mulkey v. Reitman*, 1966), and a year later, the U.S. Supreme Court reached the same conclusion in *Reitman v. Mulkey* (1967).[9] Thurgood Marshall, then U.S. Solicitor General, argued that the proposition was "an exercise of state power in support of discrimination" (quoted in *TIME*, 1967). Despite these rulings, racial discrimination in the housing market persisted in more covert forms as noted earlier in this section (Black, 1967).

Neighborhood Tipping and White Flight

Despite persistent housing discrimination and racial segregation, neighborhoods in Pasadena did transform to accommodate the growing population of color—but in ways that often perpetuated their isolation. This shift often followed a process in which predominantly non-Hispanic white neighborhoods rapidly transitioned to areas of color, as seen in the North tract of the I-210/SR-710 study area (quantified in Part 2) (See **Figures 2-2** and **2-6**) (calculated by authors from 1950 and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1980)). Under the "tipping-point" model of neighborhood change, Schelling (1971) argues that once a predominantly white area surpasses a certain percentage of a particular non-white racial/ethnic group (often Black), white residents leave in large numbers, resulting in a relatively racially homogeneous community of color (Grodzins, 1958; Cohen, 1967; and Wolf, 1963).

This dynamic is driven by both social and economic factors: some prejudicial white residents may refuse to live near neighbors of color, while others may fear declining property values when people of color move into the area. Both groups relocate, often to predominantly white neighborhoods, perpetuating racial segregation despite broader demographic changes at the city or regional level.

There is no precise, consistent tipping point, but studies indicate that white residents become unlikely to recommend the neighborhood to a white friend when the population of color reaches around 20 percent, with white flight becoming apparent at around 30 percent (Wolf, 1963; Spiegel, 1960; and Meyerson and Banfield, 1955) The lack of a consistent tipping threshold is due to various factors, such as local amenities, proximity to existing neighborhoods of color, and the composition of the particular population of color (Easterly, 2009; Durlauf, 2011; and Schelling, 1971). While 30 percent serves as an average, the tipping point for each neighborhood varies; generally, it must exceed the mean of the normal distribution of white preferences for an area's racial composition (Easterly, 2003). This sensitivity highlights how residential patterns are shaped by shifting social dynamics.

A number of different factors play an important role in understanding how neighborhood tipping works and why it occurs. Schelling's (1971) work utilizes both the spatial proximity model and the bounded-neighborhood Model to explore why a neighborhood might "tip." Key contributing factors include speculation, tolerance dynamics,

9. Proposition 7 in 1974 ultimately removed Proposition 14's language from the state constitution (Post, 1974 and Ballotpedia, n.d.-a).

capacity limitations, concerted action, and empirical evidence. People's preferences for integration, along with patterns of movement, also help explain why this might occur. Each of these factors is elaborated upon below, to provide a clearer understanding on the concept of neighborhood tipping.

Speculation occurs when white residents expect an increase in the population of color in a given area, which often prompts many to move out—a process known as "out-tipping." *Tolerance dynamics*, on the other hand, examines the satisfaction and tolerance levels among white residents and Black residents/residents of color. Those who are most dissatisfied or less tolerant of living in a mixed community tend to leave first. Within this dynamic, understanding *integrationist preferences*—the desire for either integration and separation—helps to establish the limits on the majority's tolerance toward minority populations (Schelling, 1971).

Capacity limitations also play a role, as "tipping-in" might occur when there is excess housing or high population growth, influenced by the dynamics observed between white populations and Black populations/populations of color. However, this can also be limited by natural turnover and evacuation rates. Finally, *concerted action* among residents—whether intentional or reactive—can influence the establishment of a tipping point. This collective behavior can significantly affect the stability of a mixed community, depending on initial conditions or the rate at which residents move (Schelling, 1971).

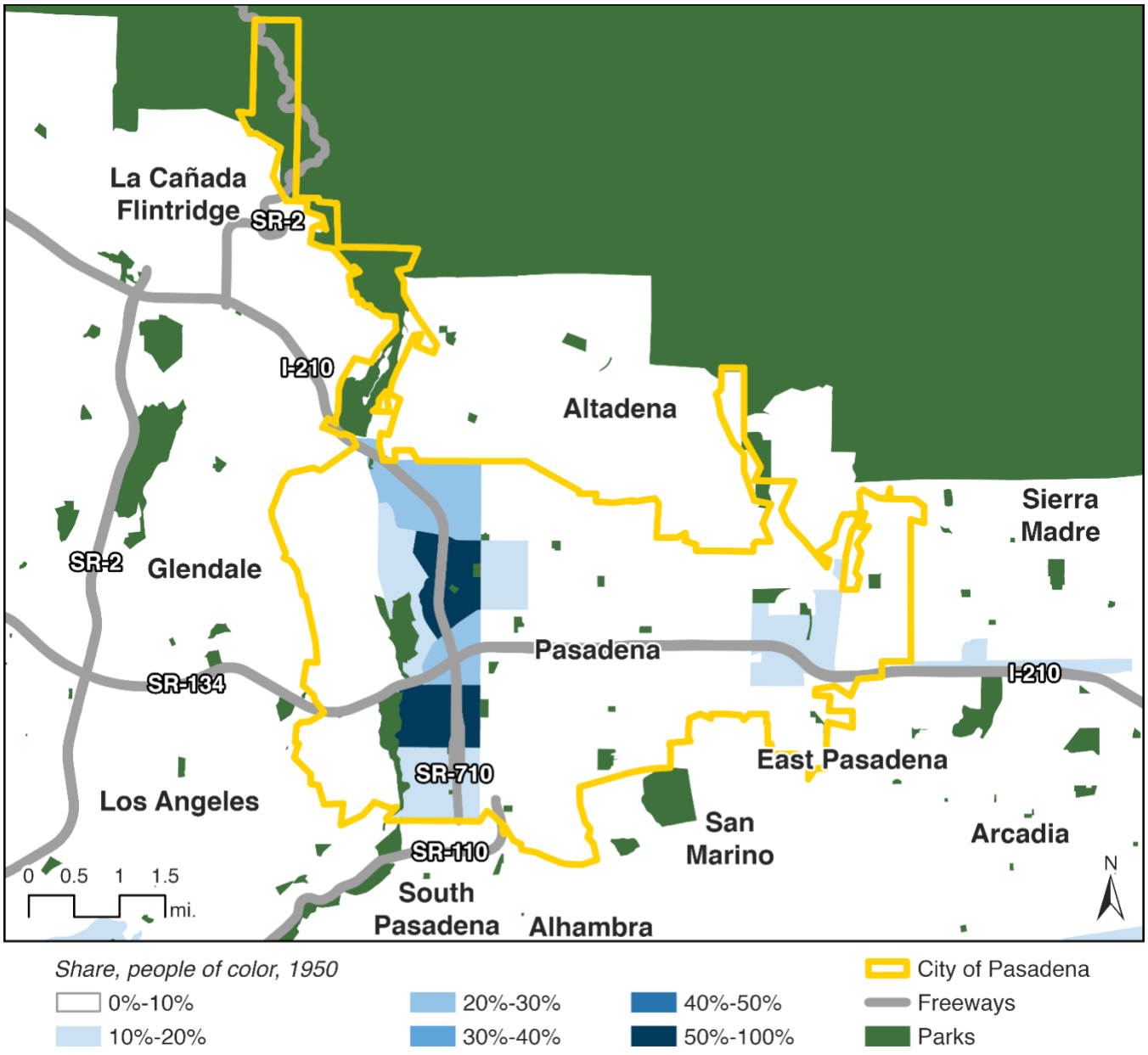
All of the factors described above serve as forms of empirical evidence, as illustrated through Schelling's (1971) two models. He also drew upon previous studies by researchers such as Grodzins (1958), Duncan and Duncan (1957), and Mayer (1960) to reinforce these empirical generalizations. Findings from these studies suggest that once neighborhoods tip, the changes tend to be irreversible. Moreover, these tipping scenarios appear more commonly—or are readily observed—in well-defined neighborhoods.

The dramatic changes during and after the construction of the North section of I-210 in the study area (See **Figure 2-2**) illustrate the tipping phenomenon in Pasadena. This area, which was predominantly white in 1950, became predominantly home to people of color by the 1970s (See **Figure 2-6**). The most significant shift occurred around the time the freeway path was selected (calculated by authors from 1950 and 1970 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970)). The planning and construction of the freeway likely started the exodus, which then sped up through tipping. This same process occurred in other neighborhoods in California, such as City Heights in San Diego (Ong et al., 2025).

However, this was not the only neighborhood to undergo such a transformation. As documented earlier, populations of color also moved into adjacent areas east of their historical concentration in northwest Pasadena (See **Figures 3-5** and **3-6**) (calculated by authors from 1950 and 1970 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970)).

Unlike the neighborhoods immediately along the freeway, these adjacent areas were not directly affected by freeway construction, making it difficult to conclude definitively that freeway development caused the demographic change. Nonetheless, the (prospective and actual) demographic shift made the area more vulnerable to placing the freeway through it during the planning stage, and the prospect of having a freeway made

Figure 3-5. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1950

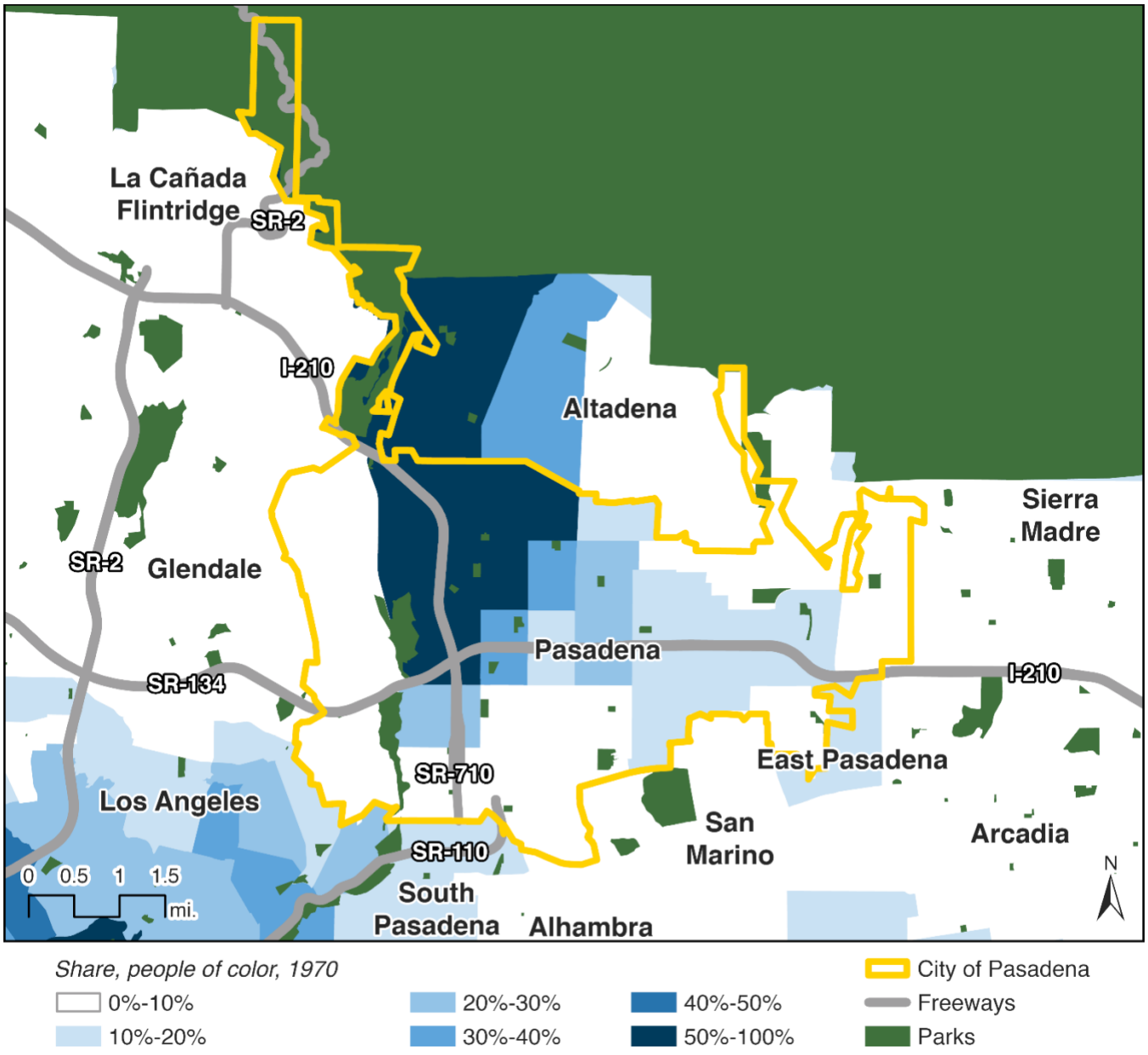


Data sources: calculated by authors from 1950 U.S. Census (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b)*;* U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

the surrounding area less desirable, cyclically contributing to the departure of white residents. By the time construction started, the neighborhood had tipped.

Another interesting change occurred in the South Center tract south of the eventual I-210/SR-710/SR-134 interchange (See **Figure 2-2**), which went from majority people of color to majority non-Hispanic white (See

Figure 3-6. Race/Ethnicity in Pasadena by Census Tract, 1970



Data sources: calculated by authors from 1970 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970)*;* U.S. Census Bureau, 2018; Caltrans, 2023; and Esri, 2024a

Figure 2-6) (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (Manson et al., 2024 and U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b, 1970, 1980)), a process associated with gentrification. Some of the causes for this are discussed in Part 4.

Part 4. Urban Renewal and Restructuring Projects

Freeway Construction and Urban Restructuring

The second part of the qualitative analysis of societal factors contributing to racial segregation focuses on redevelopment efforts in parts of the study area. There are four sites of interest in the area south of the I-210/SR-710/SR-134 interchange, which involved both public and private actions. These developments displaced a large number of households, particularly households of color, and consequently directly contributed to the increased racial segregation of the study area, as quantified earlier. The analysis also examines a major project north of the interchange, one that contributed to a continued concentration of people of color in that part of Pasadena. These cases provide concrete examples of how public and private development efforts reshaped Pasadena's demographic geography.

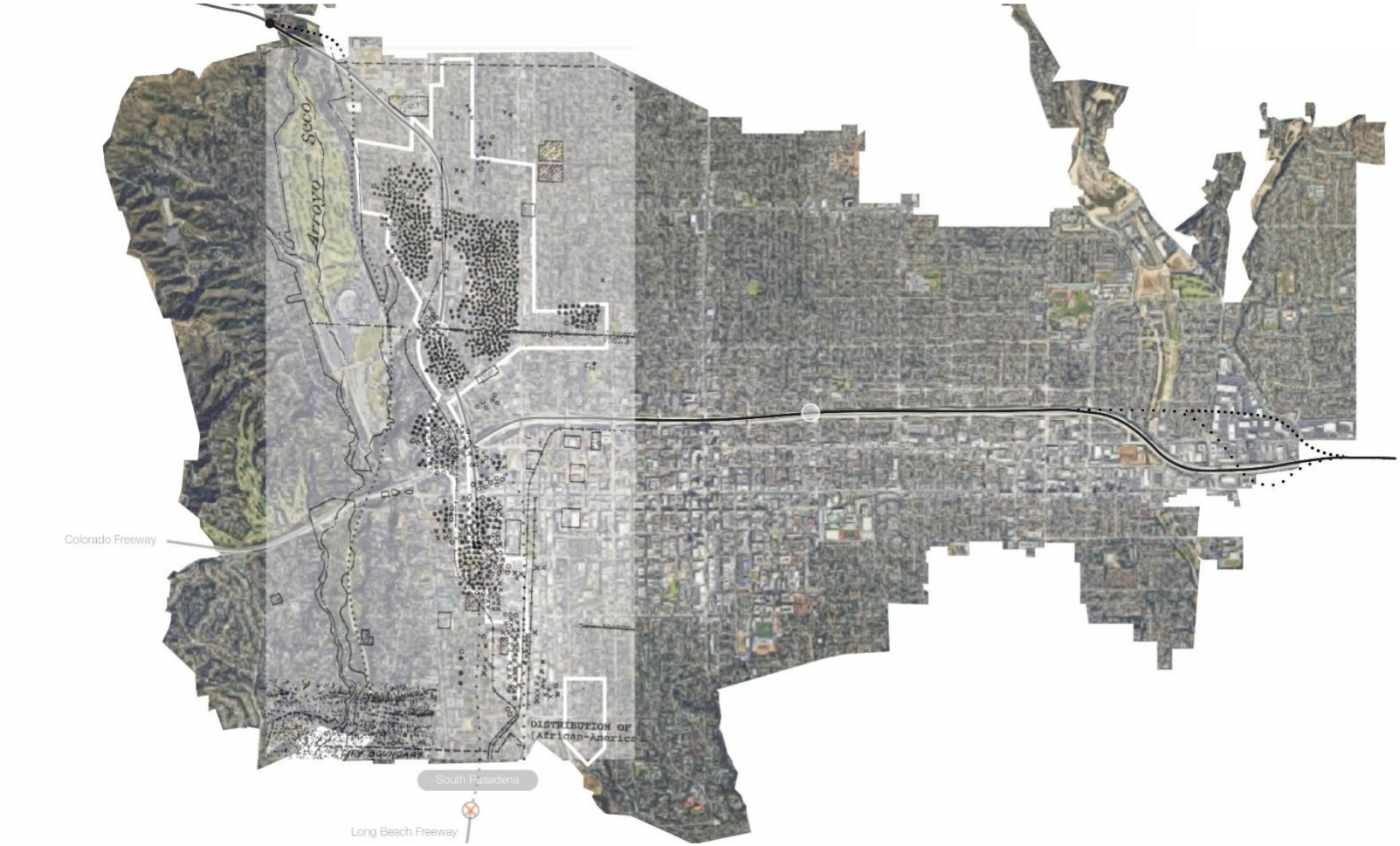
The development of the modern-day freeway system began in the mid-20th century, following a popular desire for more efficient transportation systems, the post-Second-World-War economic boom, and the establishment of the Federal-aid Highway Act of 1956 (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023). Not only did the creation and development of the SR-710 and I-210 freeways in particular facilitate suburban white flight thereafter but also led to the disproportionate displacement and continued segregation of the racial/ethnic groups that originally resided there.

As documented in this report, residential and school segregation catalyzed a wide range of racial disparities in Pasadena, which then exacerbated the preexisting factors behind segregation. In turn, freeways disproportionately impacted the city's marginalized communities, as suburban migration that followed highway expansion heavily contributed to the ongoing economic decline of central business districts. Although urban renewal efforts were intended to combat the "urban decay" that followed both freeway construction and white flight to the suburbs, they often inequitably targeted and displaced communities of color originally residing near these core business districts, only to replace them with commercial developments or freeways. This "war against blight" that aimed to clear "slums" only ended up reinforcing segregation (Baum-Snow, 2007; Mieszkowski and Mills, 1993; von Hoffman, 2008; Collins and Shester, 2013; Manvel, 1968; Carriere, 2011; Hanlon, 2011; and J. Brown, Morris, and Taylor, 2009).

The City of Pasadena saw the overlap between race and freeway construction, as the freeway timeline aligns closely with events such as racial tipping, white flight, and the passage of Proposition 14, as discussed earlier. Urban renewal efforts reinforced this process. The perceived need to revitalize and promote growth in allegedly "dilapidated" commercial areas often came at the cost of demolishing neighborhoods of color. Specious justifications for excluding certain racial groups or social classes were—and often still are—hidden behind the pretense of community improvement.

The City's 1962 General Plan mapped areas deemed "blighted" for redevelopment. **Figure 4-1** maps the distribution of residents of color in 1935 and its overlap with redlined areas and freeway routes, and **Figure 4-2** depicts how all of those overlap with the General Plan's "blighted" areas (Pasadena Planning Commission, 1962;

Figure 4-1. Population Distribution of Pasadena Residents of Color, 1935, and Future Freeway Routes



Note: 1939 redlined areas demarcated by white lines; built freeways marked with solid black lines; unbuilt freeways marked with dotted black lines

Source: Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023, p. 101; data sources: Ethnic History Research Project, 1995 and Nelson et al., 2023; base imagery: Google, 2024

Figure 4-2. Pasadena Redlined Areas, Redevelopment Areas, and Freeway Routes



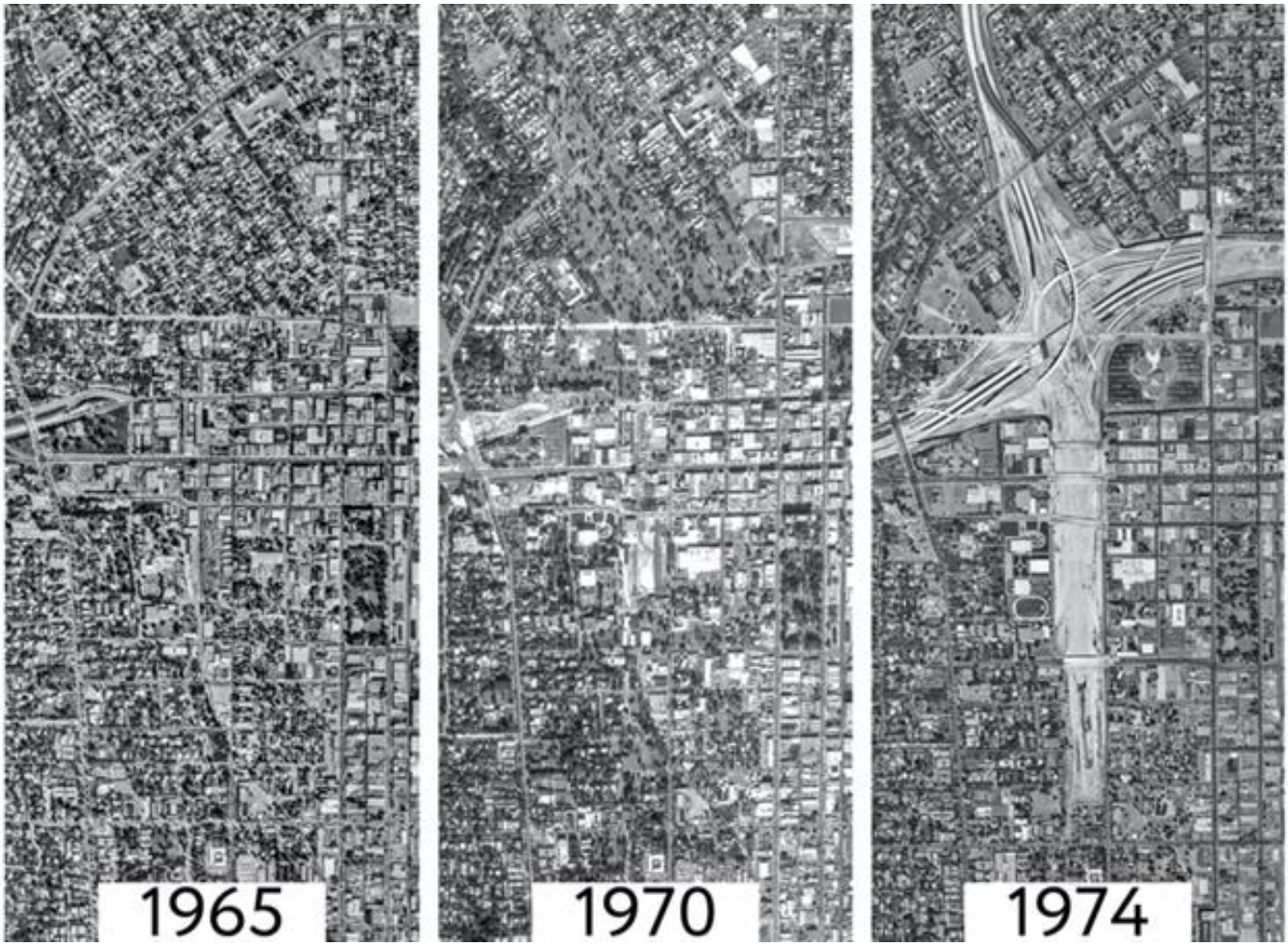
Note: 1939 redlined areas demarcated by white lines; redevelopment areas shaded; built freeways marked with solid black lines; unbuilt freeways marked with dotted black lines

Source: Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023, p. 103; data sources: Pasadena Planning Commission, 1962 and Nelson et al., 2023; base imagery: Google, 2024

Ethnic History Research Project, 1995; Nelson et al., 2023; Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023; and A. Ramirez et al., 2025).

The construction of the SR-710 stub had a profound impact on Pasadena, displacing over a hundred households (See **Figure 4-3**).[10] Additional large-scale developments along this corridor further shaped the area's housing landscape and racial demographics. Four major sites—the Norton Simon Museum, Parsons headquarters, Ambassador College, and Old Pasadena—significantly influenced neighborhood demographics and urban dynamics beyond the freeway's immediate impact. These redevelopments, driven by both public and private investments, reinforced patterns of racial segregation and contributed to broader urban restructuring.

Figure 4-3. Aerial Photographs of Changes in Land-use Patterns at the Central Pasadena Interchange

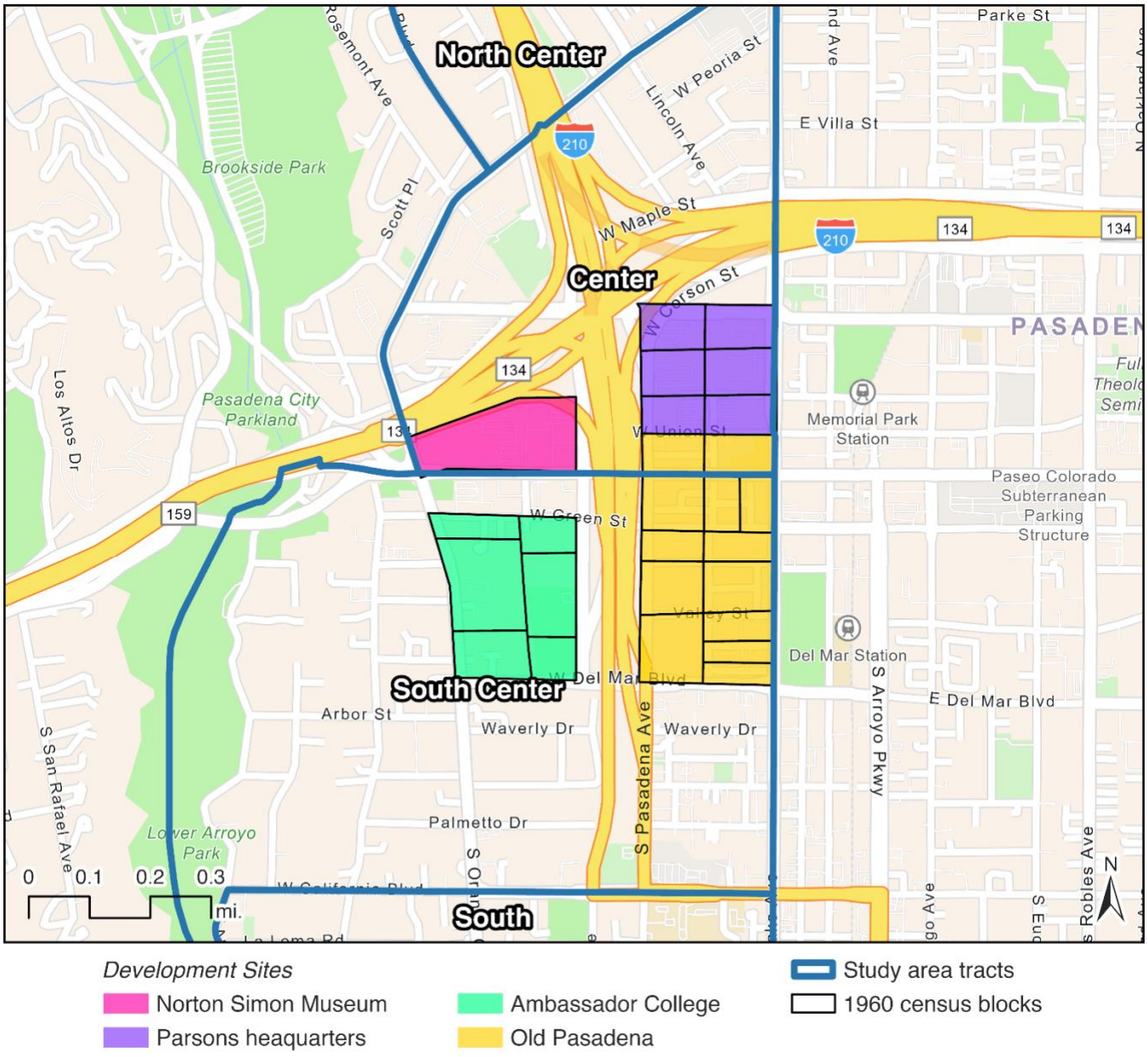


Source: Pasadena Office of the City Manager, 2024

10. This rough estimate is calculated from U.S. Census block-level data (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b), excluding the southern tip of the SR-710 stub, as the census blocks there did not align with the stub's footprint. This estimate is considerably lower than the number reported by the City of Pasadena (2023).

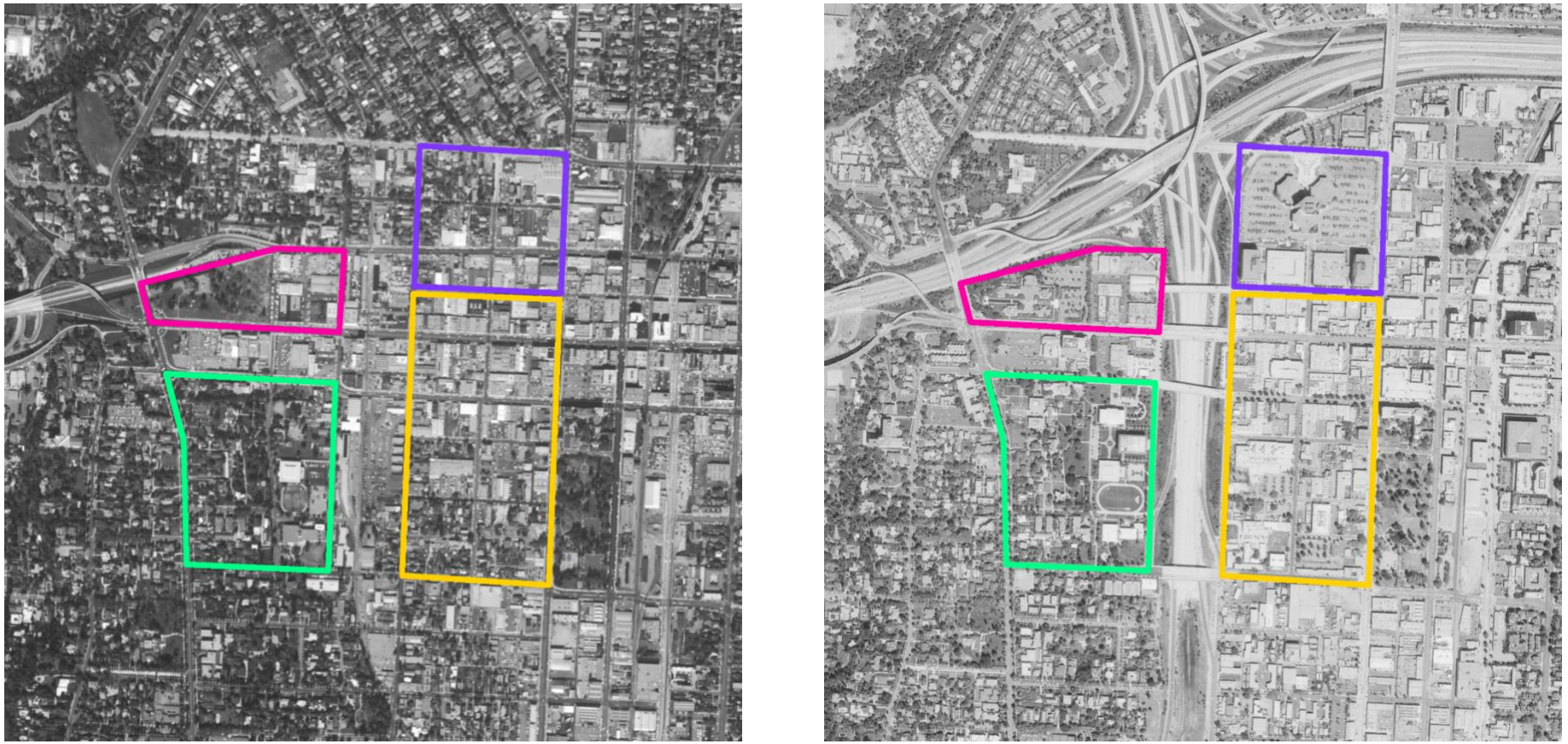
Figures 4-4 and **4-5** approximate the locations of these four sites based on 1960 census blocks (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961a). Positioned along the eastern and western edges of the freeway corridor, these sites offer a lens into how specific developments affected housing trends and racial composition, reflecting broader shifts in the community.

Figure 4-4. Major Development Sites near SR-710 Stub



Data source: 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1961a); base map: Esri, 2024b

Figure 4-5. Major Development Sites near SR-710 Stub, 1967 and 1989



Note: 1967 aerial image at left; 1989 aerial image at right; Norton Simon Museum outlined in pink; Parsons headquarters outlined in purple; Ambassador College outlined in green; Old Pasadena sub-area for analysis outlined in yellow

Sources: UC Santa Barbara Library, 2012 and 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961a)

We can get a sense of the impacts by estimating demographic and housing changes based on census-block data.[11] The four sites reveal a consistent pattern of housing displacement and demographic shifts, with communities of color particularly affected. While each site experienced a unique trajectory of change, the combined data underscores a broader trend: from 1960 to 1980, housing units across these areas declined sharply, largely due to freeway development and urban renewal initiatives. In 1960, non-white residents occupied over half of the housing units across the sites; by 1980, this figure had fallen to just 17 percent,[12] highlighting the profound displacement of people of color as a result of these projects. The residents in the Pepper Project to the north, on the other hand, were predominantly people of color. Each site is discussed in detail below.

Norton Simon Museum

The Norton Simon Museum is located in the southwestern corner of the Center tract, near I-210/SR-134/SR-710 freeway interchange (See **Figure 4-4**). The museum's site is situated just north of the Ambassador College area and is bounded by SR-134 to the north, Orange Grove Boulevard to the west, Colorado Boulevard to the south, and Saint John Avenue/SR-710 to the east.

Originally established as a private art collection, the museum grew to house an extensive selection of European and Asian works of art after industrialist Norton Simon stepped in to rescue the former Pasadena Art Museum (previously Pasadena Art Institute) from financial collapse in the late 1960s. At that time, the museum was facing substantial debts due to ambitious remodeling efforts. In redesigning the museum, architects leveled Carmelita Park—a historic site that was once inhabited by the Pasadena Indians—to make way for the new facility (Norton Simon Museum, 2024a, 2024b and Coplans, 1975).

From 1950 to 1980, the census block containing the museum had no housing units or population (calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1952a, 1961b and Manson et al., 2024)), meaning the development had no impact on housing availability or population displacement in Pasadena. While the museum did not affect the city's residential landscape, it contributed significantly to the neighborhood's redevelopment and cultural revitalization, transforming a historic site into a prominent artistic and cultural landmark.

Parsons Headquarters

The site containing Parsons headquarters is located in the southeastern part of the Center tract, positioned in the southeast corner of the I-210/SR-710/SR-134 interchange (See **Figure 4-4**). It is in an area bounded by Walnut Street to the north, Fair Oaks Avenue to the east, Union Street to the South, and Pasadena Avenue and SR-710 to the west. Parsons (known as Ralph M. Parsons prior to the mid-1970s) is a major global engineering and construction company, and its relocation from Los Angeles to Pasadena was considered a significant achievement for the city's urban renewal efforts. Developed in the early 1970s, the project occupied approximately a four-block area, with the company headquarters situated on the eastern half and other uses on

11. Census blocks are not always the same as physical city blocks (See Appendix for details) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022b).

12. The 1960 figure represents "non-white households" and excludes Hispanics, while the 1980 figure reflects people of color in the population, not households. This discrepancy makes a direct comparison challenging.

the western half. Additional development extended to the north, with multi-story parking structures to the south (*Los Angeles Times*, 1975 and Vincent, 2011).

In 1960, the area affected by the development (approximated by census blocks) had 147 occupied housing units, nearly a quarter occupied by non-white residents (including Black and other non-white groups, though Hispanic residents were not captured in this data). A decade later, only 37 occupied housing units remained, likely due to spillover impacts from the construction of the interchange and the City's desire to promote economic development near the central business district. Of these remaining units, over half (51%) were occupied by non-white residents. While the share of people of color increased, their absolute numbers decreased. By 1980, the U.S. Census reported no housing units in the area (See **Table 4-1**) (calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b and Manson et al., 2024)). These statistics are consistent with the interpretation that the removal of housing due to freeway externalities and the development of the Parsons project contributed to demographic shifts in the Center tract. Unfortunately, we lack data on the occupants of newly constructed housing units, though it is evident that new construction did not sufficiently offset the overall housing decline.

Table 4-1. Housing and Demographic Changes in the Parsons Headquarters Area, 1960-1980

Statistic	1960	1970	1980
Housing units	166	43	0
Occupied housing units	147	37	0
Owner households	22	5	0
Renter households	125	32	0
Non-white (excluding Latino/a) households	36	19	no data
Share, non-white (excluding Latino/a) households	24%	51%	no data
Share, households of color	no data	no data	N/A

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b and Manson et al., 2024)

Ambassador College/Worldwide Church of God

The site of the former Ambassador College, which operated from 1947 to 1990, is located in the South Center tract, situated just west of the SR-710 stub (See **Figure 4-4**). The site is bounded by Green Street to the north, Saint John Avenue to the east, Del Mar Boulevard to the south, and Orange Grove Boulevard to the west. Established by Herbert W. Armstrong and the Worldwide Church of God, the college aimed to prepare youth for service in the church by offering a more formal education in religious studies. Over the years, the college expanded its campus by acquiring several mansions along South Orange Grove Boulevard (part of Pasadena's historic "Millionaires' Row"). These estates, including the Fowler, Sprague/Mayfair, Hulett Merritt, Lewis Meritt, and Jamieson/Terrace Villa properties, were converted into college facilities in the late 1940s and 1950s (Los Angeles Conservancy, 2024; Erdman, 2013; and Baker, 2023).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Caltrans purchased a number of parcels from Ambassador College to accommodate freeway construction, prompting the institution to expand in other directions within Pasadena (California Division of Highways, 1965–1969; U.S. Census Bureau, n.d., 1961c; and U.S. Census Bureau et al., 1972). As a result, the presently defined campus does not does not fully encompass the property once owned by the college and the Worldwide Church of God.

In 1960, the six census blocks encompassing the Ambassador College site contained 126 occupied housing units, with 25 percent occupied by non-white residents (again, including Black and other non-white groups, but not Hispanic residents). A decade later, in 1970, only 18 occupied housing units remained, likely due to the expansion of Ambassador College and property acquisitions by the state. By this time, non-white residents no longer occupied any of the remaining units. By 1980, the U.S. Census recorded just 16 occupied housing units in the area, almost all of which were rentals (See **Table 4-2**) (calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b and Manson et al., 2024)). This shift reflects a significant demographic change and a transition from a once-residential neighborhood to primarily institutional land use due to the college's expansion.

Table 4-2. Housing and Demographic Changes in the Ambassador College Area, 1960-1980

Statistic	1960	1970	1980
Housing units	137	18	24
Occupied housing units	126	18	16
Owner households	39	3	3
Renter households	87	15	13
Non-white (excluding Latino/a) households	32	0	no data
Share, non-white (excluding Latino/a) households	25%	0%	no data
Share, households of color	no data	no data	5%

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b and Manson et al., 2024)

Ambassador College closed its Pasadena campus in 1997, leaving some buildings abandoned, others demolished, others sold to churches and schools, and others redeveloped into housing and commercial space (Los Angeles Conservancy, 2024; Erdman, 2013; Blankstein and Pierson, 2006; Sandez, 2016; and Ayala, 2013).

Old Pasadena

This study examines the portion of Old Pasadena adjacent to the SR-710 stub. This area has been an integral part of the central business district and original commercial center since Pasadena's establishment in 1874. Located mostly in the northeastern part of the South Center tract, the area is generally bounded by Union Street to the north, Fair Oaks Avenue to the east, Del Mar Boulevard to the south, and Pasadena Avenue to the South (See **Figure 4-4**) (Old Pasadena Management District, 2024).

By the late 1940s, downtown Pasadena began showing signs of commercial decline, and by the 1970s, it had further fallen into a state of neglect (Marshall, 2013), prompting the City in 1971 to create and adopt a Central District Improvement Plan (Shigley, 2005). This plan is aimed to revitalize the area through redevelopment and eminent domain, assembling small lots for large corporate office buildings, such as the Parsons building. Over $400 million in public and private funds were invested in redeveloping and revitalizing Old Pasadena (Mann, 1978).

Urban renewal efforts in the late 1970s led to significant demographic shifts and housing challenges in Old Pasadena. Prior to the enforcement of eminent domain in the 1970s, the area included residential sections (City of Pasadena, 1975; Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023; and A. Ramirez et al., 2025). However, the Central District Improvement Plan and related construction, including the nearby freeways, resulted in the relocation of many downtown residents and transformed the area. Despite efforts to preserve historic buildings and revitalize the district, these redevelopment projects displaced residents and contributed to demographic changes and housing instability in the area (Pincetl, 1992).

In 1960, the 13 census blocks in Old Pasadena positioned along the eastern edges of the SR-710 freeway corridor (as distinct from the entirety of Old Pasadena) contained 223 occupied housing units, with 59 percent occupied by non-white residents (again, including Black and other non-white groups, but not Hispanic residents). By 1970, the number of occupied housing units had decreased to 161, accompanied by a notable demographic shift: only 29 percent of these units were occupied by non-white residents. By 1980, the census recorded just 54 occupied housing units in this area, almost all rentals (See **Table 4-3**) (calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b and Manson et al., 2024)). This transformation reflects the significant impact of redevelopment initiatives and the shift from a once-diverse residential neighborhood to a primarily commercial and institutional area.

Table 4-3. Housing and Demographic Changes in the Part of Old Pasadena to the East of the SR-710 Corridor, 1960-1980

Statistic	1960	1970	1980
Housing units	250	187	63
Occupied housing units	223	161	54
Owner households	48	15	5
Renter households	175	146	49
Non-white (excluding Latino/a) households	131	46	no data
Share, non-white (excluding Latino/a) households	59%	29%	no data
Share, households of color	no data	no data	39%

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b and Manson et al., 2024)

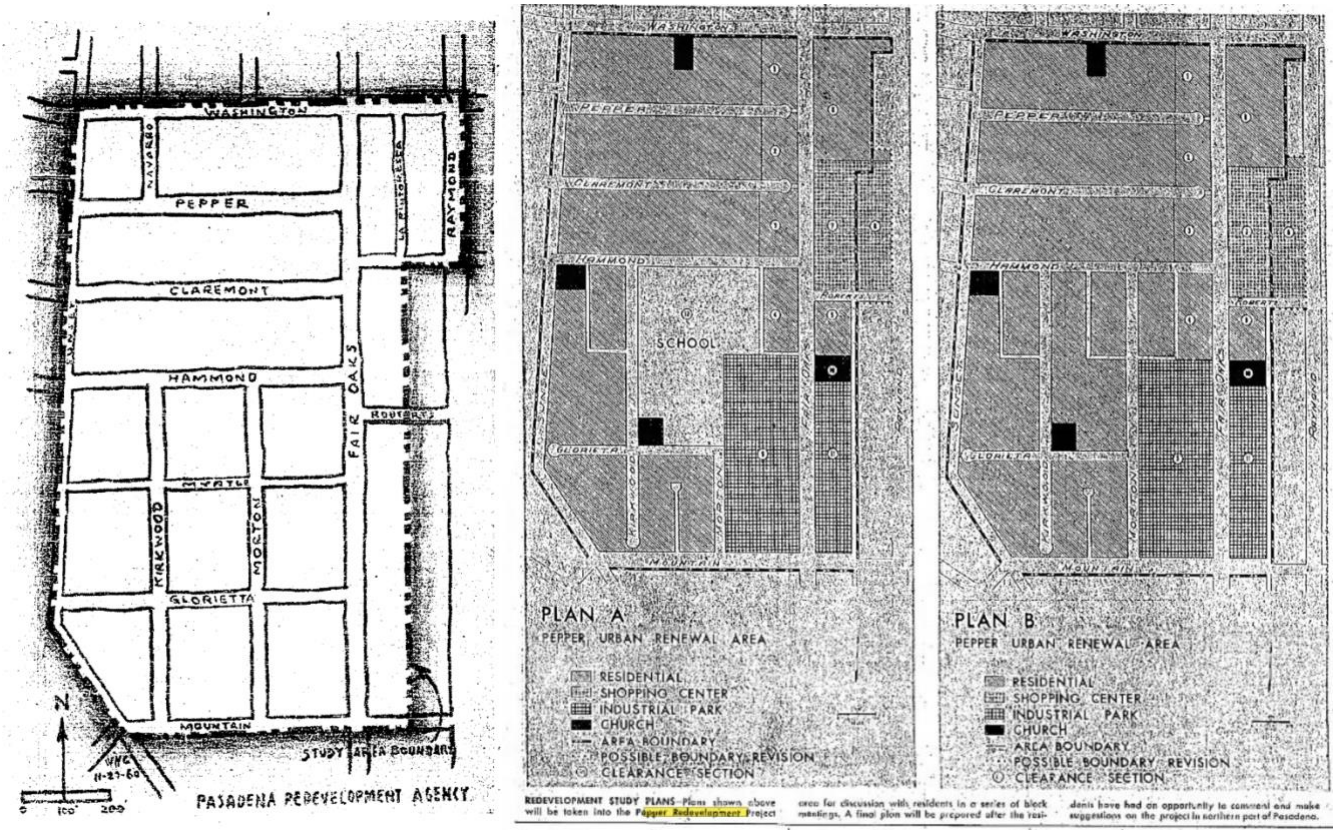
Ordinarily, state law required cities to dedicate a fifth of the tax increment generated from public redevelopment projects to subsidized low-income housing. However, a 1987 bill exempted downtown Pasadena, near our Old Pasadena study area, from this requirement, allowing the City to instead use the funds for police and fire

retirement funds (though the City promised at the time to backfill the affordable housing funds with other sources) (City of Pasadena, 2022; Shook, 2020; Mermell and Hawkesworth, 2017; Dunn, 1987; and Weiss, 1987).

Pepper Project

The Pepper Street Redevelopment Project, located north of the I-210/SR-710/SR-134 interchange, stands in contrast to the four developments along the SR-710 stub. Spanning 17 city blocks, the project was generally bordered by Washington Boulevard to the north, an eastern boundary composed of roughly Raymond Avenue and Wheeler Lane, Mountain Street to the south, and Sunset Avenue to the west (See **Figure 4-6**). This 102-acre site, situated about a mile north of the interchange and east of I-210, was Pasadena's first urban renewal project and first rent-supplemented housing project in Los Angeles County. Included in the area was the street on which Jackie Robinson, the first modern Black professional baseball player, grew up (B. Ramirez, 2021; Mann, 1971; C. Wilson, 1966; Turpin, 1970; and Nicolaides, 2024).

Figure 4-6. Pepper Project Urban Renewal Area Plans



Sources: Birkinshaw, 1960, p. G1 and Kreidt, 1962, p. 3

The original plans for the Pepper Project included a five-acre, cooperatively-owned commercial complex on the east side of Fair Oaks Avenue, north of Roberts Street, along a 15-acre industrial site adjacent to the residential developments. However, the project faced significant opposition due to the displacement of lower-income people of color and their businesses in Pasadena's predominantly black northwest area and shoddy construction of the

units themselves. The city classified this area, as well as other communities of color, as “blighted” and in need of redevelopment. As discussed in Part 3, the Pepper Project, located in the tract containing the I-210, offers insight into the challenges around housing and school integration/segregation (Kreidt, 1961; *Los Angeles Times*, 1964; Mann, 1969, 1972; Lee, 1970; Frieden and Sagalyn, 1991; B. Ramirez, 2021; and Blumberg, 1964).

Despite revitalization efforts, white Pasadena residents were uncomfortable moving into an area with a historically Black population, and thus, integration efforts for the housing project ultimately failed (B. Ramirez, 2021; Blumberg, 1964; and Pincetl, 1992). Additionally, white residents protested against the potential integration of Black Pepper Project schoolchildren into nearby predominantly white schools (Don Benito, San Rafael, and Sierra Mesa Elementary Schools), preferring to reserve vacant spaces in the school buildings for activities like audiovisual studies rather than accommodating Pepper Project area students. This exposed deep-seated resistance to integration efforts within the city’s educational system (Lee, 1970 and Blumberg, 1964).

The Pepper Project area included an estimated 524 families and individual households—94% of whom were non-white—when redevelopment plans were being formalized. By the time construction began in 1968, 299 of these families had been displaced, with the vast majority (91%) of those displaced being families of color and/or low-income families (Blumberg, 1964). Prior to redevelopment, the area was predominantly low-density residential (zoned as R2) and included many Black-owned homes. However, the redevelopment project led to the removal of residents and a decrease Black homeownership, as single-family homes were demolished to make way for multifamily, apartment-style complexes.

Due to funding limitations, the project ultimately produced only residential developments, through two separately sponsored projects: Washington West, with 163 housing units, and King’s Manor, with 255 housing units. By 1975, these developments were reported to be poorly constructed, under-occupied, and plagued by burglaries and vandalism. The project was never fully completed, as the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development foreclosed on both developments due insufficient bids. The land now contains four parcels from the 1960s and 135 parcels from the 1970s (Mann, 1975).

Conclusion

The developments of I-210 and SR-710, along with several city improvement projects in Pasadena during this time period, were marked by controversial and discriminatory practices that exacerbated racial segregation. The construction of the I-210 and the I-210/SR-710/SR-134 interchange resulted in the displacement of numerous households and contributed to a demographic shift marked by white flight, which increased the relative proportion of residents of color. Similarly, the development of the 710 stub to the south disproportionately displaced households of color. Under the policy of addressing urban blight—particularly in the downtown areas—the city and private developers, whether intentionally or unintentionally, engaged in practices that perpetuated racial erasure in and around renewal areas. The displacement of communities of color became an inherent consequence of these urban improvement initiatives. Of course, there were larger societal dynamics and institutional practices perpetuating racial segregation; nonetheless the evidence in this report reveals that freeway construction and related urban restructuring exacerbated racial segregation, deepening demographic and economic polarization in neighborhoods along I-210 and SR-710.

The impacts are not just historical. Mid-20th century freeway development in Pasadena left a lasting legacy of environmental and social inequality, particularly when comparing neighborhoods along different freeway segments. Data on air pollution and traffic density reveal stark disparities across the study area (See **Table A-1** in the Appendix for further details). Neighborhoods of color in the North and North Center tracts—through which the I-210 cuts (See **Figure 2-2**)—bear a significant higher environmental burden. These areas experience elevated levels of diesel particulate matter, traffic density, and pollution burden, according to CalEnviroScreen 4.0 (California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment, 2023) (described in the Appendix), leading to ongoing exposure to transportation-related air pollution.

In contrast, the South Center tract, which includes the SR-710 stub, and the South tract, where the unbuilt segment of the 710 was planned (See **Figure 2-2**), show somewhat lower pollution levels overall, though they still exceed city averages in some categories (California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment, 2023). These southern tracts, with a higher proportion of white residents, face less environmental stress compared to the northern tracts.[13]

This disparity highlights the uneven impact of freeway infrastructure: while neighborhoods directly bisected by I-210 in the northern part of the study area continue to bear the brunt of pollution and environmental hazards, southern areas near the unbuilt 710 segment have been spared some of these negative externalities. While both sets of areas lie near freeways and suffer from consequences such as pollution and traffic, this ongoing imbalance reflects the enduring effects of past infrastructure decisions on neighborhood health, quality of life, and environmental justice across Pasadena.

In addition to environmental disparities, there are also clear differences in access to opportunities across these tracts. Maps from the California Tax Credit Allocation Committee (CTCAC) and the California Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD) categorize the North and North Center tracts as “Moderate Resource” areas, indicating limited access to resources and opportunities. Meanwhile, the South Center and South tracts are designated as High Resource and Highest Resource areas, respectively (See Appendix for

13. We do not report data here for the Center tract at the interchange because of significant boundary changes since 1960.

further details). This contrast further underscores the legacy of unequal development, with southern tracts benefiting from better access to resources compared to the resource-limited northern tracts.

In deciding the future of the SR-710 stub after Caltrans relinquished the route to the City (Pasadena Department of Transportation, 2024), one major challenge facing the city's 710 Revisioning Project is how to address and redress the past and legacy harms caused by freeway development. The report's analyses broadly identify the nature, magnitude, and causes of the impacts, providing critical information that could inform discussions on potential remedies. Any proposed actions should be directly linked to specific damages and should reflect the values and priorities of stakeholders, especially those from communities that have been disproportionately harmed.

Appendix: Data and Methods

We used multiple quantitative and spatial data sources to study the geographic and temporal patterns of residential segregation. Some of the data are available in digitized form, while others require digitizing. Because definitions and boundaries for the information change over time, we reconcile and harmonize the data when feasible and necessary. Because of the enormous amount of time and resources required, we prioritized adjusting data for Pasadena and developing estimates of Hispanics, which are not available for early decades. We utilize several measures of residential patterns to examine segregation and diversity: the dissimilarity index, entropy score, and entropy index. Each of these metrics have advantages and disadvantages. Finally, we consulted metrics from two sources to assess the legacy of the freeways.

Census Data

The main source of population data is the decennial enumeration conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau and its predecessors. The once-every-ten-year count, conducted since 1790, is a constitutional requirement (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021c, 2023 and National Archives, 2015), as stated in Article I, Section 2: “The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct” (National Archives, 2015). The counts are used to assign seats for the House of Representatives to account for population changes—i.e. to reapportion congressional seats among the states and to allow for redrawing of congressional boundaries (redistricting). Along with collecting basic demographic information (the data required for reapportionment and redistricting), the decennial census also collects information on housing and economic characteristics. The amount of non-basic information and method of collecting that information varied from decade to decade. Over time, definitions for key characteristics changed to reflect the evolving social and economic context of the times. This is particularly true in the categories of racial and ethnic groups. The U.S. Census Bureau stopped collecting non-basic information in 2010, replacing it with the American Community Survey (a continuous sampling and collection effort that produces annual demographic, housing, and economic data). One problem with the U.S. Census is differential undercount—that is, the enumeration and survey tends to disproportionately miss disadvantaged groups (U.S. Census Bureau, 2021c, 2021d, 2024b; Pratt, Hixson, and Jones, 2015; and Kennel, 2021). Unfortunately, it is impossible to make adjustments for this within the project’s scope and resources. One of the consequences is the potential of underestimating the number of people of color impacted by the freeway and related developments.

Census Geographies

The primary geographic units used in our analysis are census tracts and census blocks. These small-area geographies, designed and maintained by the U.S. Census Bureau (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022b), provide critical demographic and spatial data that can reveal neighborhood-level impacts.

Census tracts are the most widely used small-area geography used by the U.S. Census Bureau, average about 4,000 residents. Their boundaries are typically defined by prominent physical features, such as major streets, waterways, and legal borders. Developed initially for major cities in the 1940 Census, coverage expanded in subsequent decades, with tracts covering the entire nation by 1990. Boundaries are adjusted each decade to

account for population changes. Census tracts generally have relatively homogeneous populations and are often used as proxies for neighborhoods by researchers (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022b, 2024a; National Archives, 2021; and Snow, 2011). Consequently, tract data is useful in examining how the freeway and urban renewal impacted within and near the developments.

Census blocks are the smallest geographic area used by the U.S. Census Bureau and exist as subdivisions within tracts. Defined by features such as streets, railways, and natural boundaries, blocks allow for detailed analysis and are particularly useful in studying population displacement resulting from infrastructure projects. Block data also facilitates tracking changes in tract boundaries (and the road network) over time, providing further precision in neighborhood-level analysis. However, due to privacy concerns, fewer variables are available at the block level in published census data than at the tract level (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022b, 2024a and Snow, 2011).

Digitizing Data

While historical census-tract data are available in electronic format from the U.S. Census Bureau or data redistributor (e.g., the National Historical Geographic Information System (Manson et al., 2024), Social Explorer (2024)), block data are not readily available. To conduct analyses, it is necessary to transcribe printed reports into digital files. **Figure A-1** provides an example of a page from a 1960 census publication for Pasadena (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b). We verify the entries by comparing the totals of the blocks in a tract against the numbers reported for the tract.

Figure A-1. Page of 1960 U.S. Census Data from Pasadena

Table 2.—CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING UNITS, BY BLOCKS: 1960

["Total population" contains no persons in group quarters unless preceded by asterisk: one asterisk (*) denotes less than 10 percent; two asterisks (**), 10 percent or more]

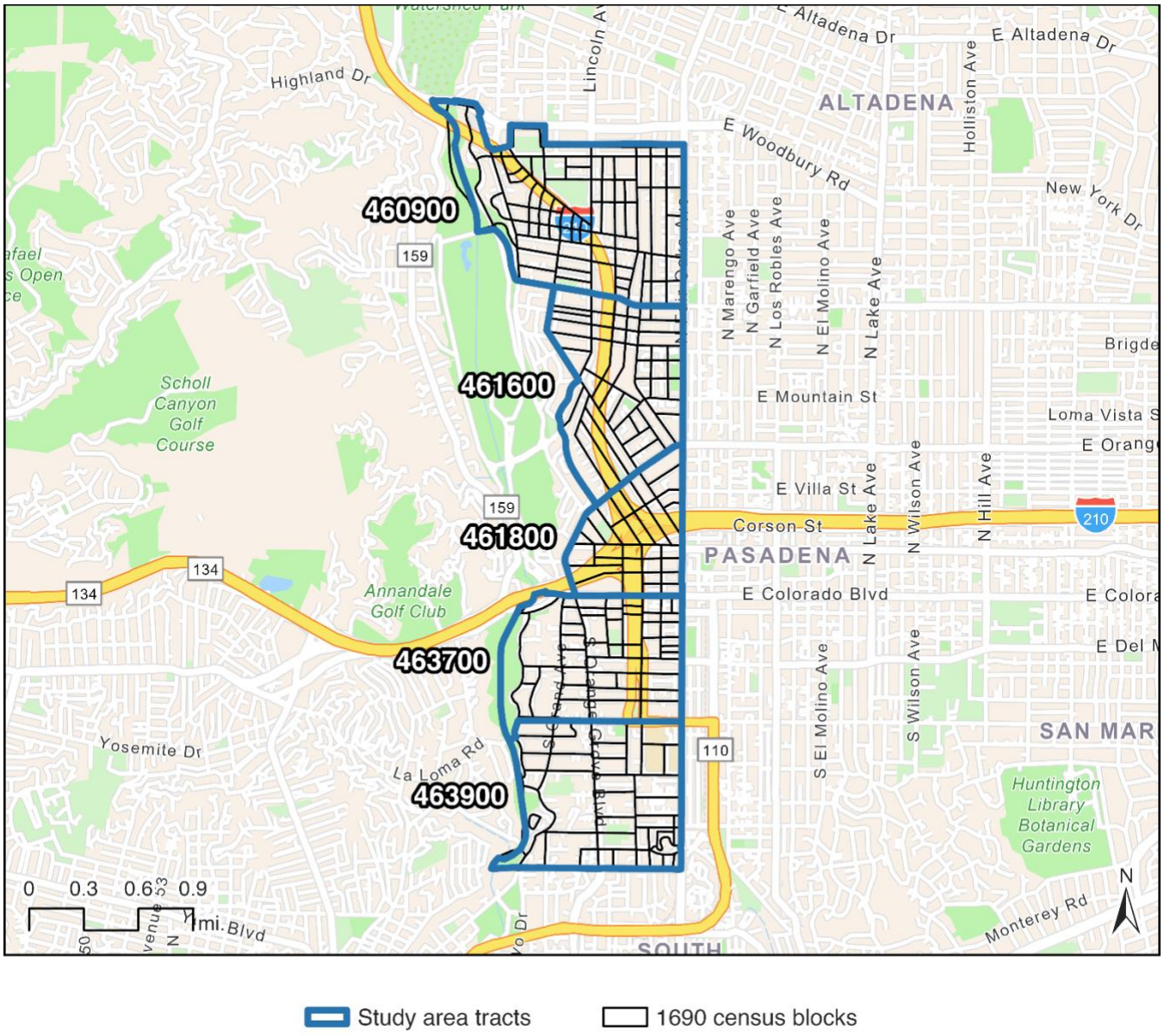
Blocks within census tracts	Total population	All housing units by condition and plumbing									Occupied housing units							
		Total	Sound			Deteriorating				Dilapidated	Owner occupied			Renter occupied			Occupied by nonwhite	1.01 or more persons per room
			Total	With all plumbing facilities	Lacking some or all facilities	Total	With all plumbing facilities	Lacking some or all facilities			Total	Average value (dollars)	Average number of rooms	Total	Average contract rent (dollars)	Average number of rooms		
								With flush toilet	No flush toilet									
4600	4249	1087	1086	1086	***	1	1	***	***	***	1052	27000	5.9	25	168	5.3	2	38
1	146	42	42	42	***	***	***	***	***	***	40	39000	6.3	***	***	***	***	***
3	101	32	32	32	***	***	***	***	***	***	32	41000	6.3	***	***	***	***	***
4	58	14	14	14	***	***	***	***	***	***	14	39000	6.7	***	***	***	***	1
5	76	20	20	20	***	***	***	***	***	***	19	41000	6.6	1	***	***	***	***
6	89	25	25	25	***	***	***	***	***	***	25	31000	6.1	***	***	***	***	***
7	58	13	13	13	***	***	***	***	***	***	13	28000	5.8	***	***	***	***	1
8	32	9	9	9	***	***	***	***	***	***	9	39000	6.2	***	***	***	***	***
9	219	60	60	60	***	***	***	***	***	***	59	29000	5.8	1	***	***	***	3
10	179	47	47	47	***	***	***	***	***	***	47	40000	7.0	***	***	***	***	***
11	23	6	6	6	***	***	***	***	***	***	5	37000	7.2	1	***	***	***	***
12	166	42	42	42	***	***	***	***	***	***	42	38000	6.8	***	***	***	***	1
13	146	35	35	35	***	***	***	***	***	***	35	22000	5.6	***	***	***	***	3
14	69	17	17	17	***	***	***	***	***	***	17	22000	5.5	***	***	***	***	***
15	182	44	44	44	***	***	***	***	***	***	42	22000	5.8	2	***	***	***	2
16	159	36	36	36	***	***	***	***	***	***	36	22000	5.8	***	***	***	***	2
17	210	58	58	58	***	***	***	***	***	***	56	23000	5.6	1	***	***	***	2
18	95	24	24	24	***	***	***	***	***	***	23	22000	5.4	***	***	***	***	1
19	159	40	40	40	***	***	***	***	***	***	40	22000	5.6	***	***	***	***	2
20	69	22	22	22	***	***	***	***	***	***	20	22000	5.4	1	***	***	***	***
21	115	28	28	28	***	***	***	***	***	***	27	22000	5.9	1	***	***	***	***
22	141	34	34	34	***	***	***	***	***	***	31	22000	5.6	3	***	***	***	1
23	162	40	40	40	***	***	***	***	***	***	38	22000	5.7	1	***	***	1	1
24	148	39	39	39	***	***	***	***	***	***	36	22000	5.6	***	***	***	***	2
25	106	26	25	25	***	1	1	***	***	***	24	23000	5.5	2	***	***	***	***
26	192	47	47	47	***	***	***	***	***	***	47	22000	5.8	***	***	***	***	1
27	143	34	34	34	***	***	***	***	***	***	32	23000	5.9	2	***	***	***	2
28	121	31	31	31	***	***	***	***	***	***	31	25000	5.8	***	***	***	***	1
29	99	24	24	24	***	***	***	***	***	***	24	30000	5.9	***	***	***	***	1
30	97	23	23	23	***	***	***	***	***	***	23	28000	5.7	***	***	***	***	2
32	58	15	15	15	***	***	***	***	***	***	14	26000	5.9	1	***	***	***	***
33	206	50	50	50	***	***	***	***	***	***	47	25000	5.7	2	***	***	***	5
34	67	17	17	17	***	***	***	***	***	***	17	22000	5.9	***	***	***	1	***
35	103	27	27	27	***	***	***	***	***	***	25	23000	5.8	2	***	***	***	1
36	127	30	30	30	***	***	***	***	***	***	28	23000	5.6	2	***	***	***	2
37	60	19	19	19	***	***	***	***	***	***	18	22000	5.5	1	***	***	***	***
38	29	7	7	7	***	***	***	***	***	***	7	23000	5.4	***	***	***	***	1
39	39	10	10	10	***	***	***	***	***	***	9	21000	5.7	1	***	***	***	***

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1961b, p. 1

Digitizing Maps

While there are shapefiles for historical tracts, no shapefiles for historical blocks (before 1990) are readily available. To conduct spatial analyses, it is necessary to digitize and georeference map files. **Figure A-2** provides an example of the map containing the blocks in the project's study area in the 1960 U.S. Census. We verify the boundaries by comparing tract boundaries against the block boundaries that should coincide (that is, the relevant segments of the blocks along the edge of the tracts).

Figure A-2. 1960 Census Blocks for Pasadena Study Area



Data source: 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1961c); base map: Esri, 2024b

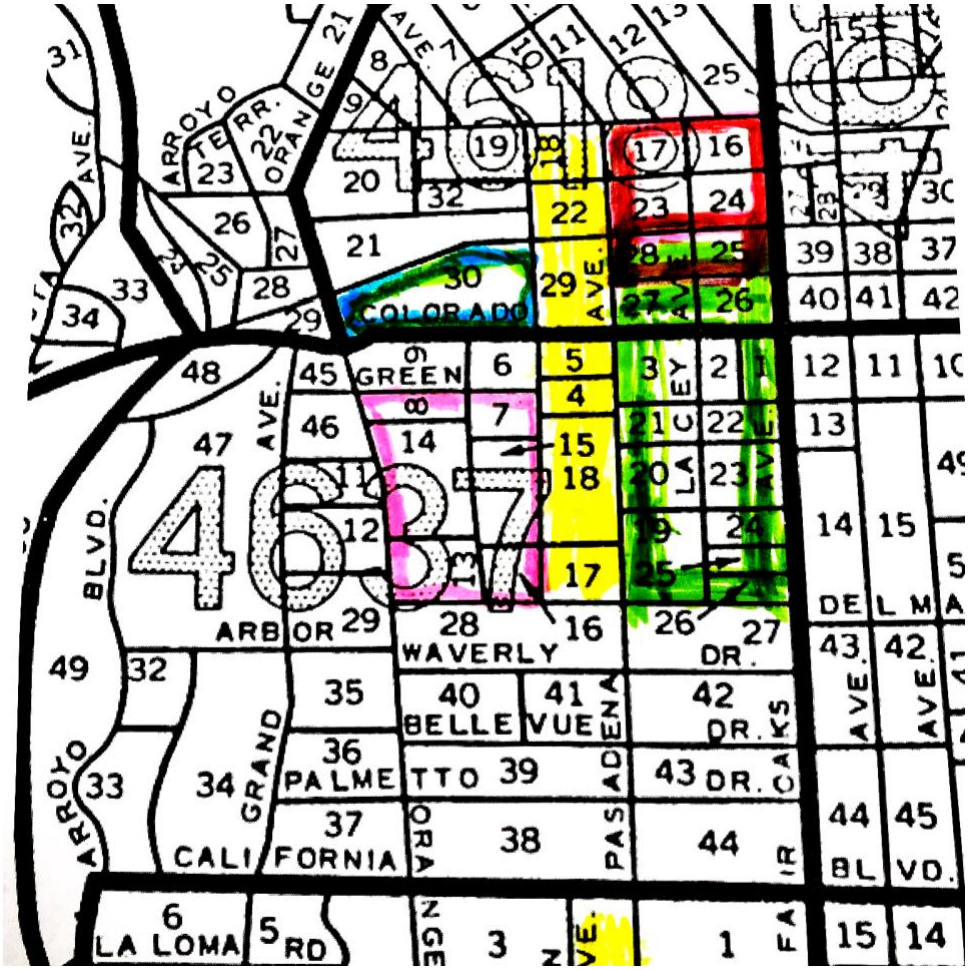
Spatial Assignment and Allocation

Spatial allocation is the assignment of data from one geographic area to another, such as assigning demographic information from the census to a project area, such as the footprint of a freeway or a redevelopment area. For example, we can examine the population and its characteristics for the 710 stub by first identifying the relevant

blocks and then aggregating. This is not a problem if the source geographies data are entirely within the target geography; however, this is often not the case, because source geographies can be only partially in the target geography. There are several ways to address these cross-boundary inputs, depending on the geographic scale and the desired degree of precision. When the number of inputs is very large, the simplest approach is to determine if a block is included based on whether its centroid is within the larger geography. While this is not highly precise, it is reasonable and takes advantage of the law of large numbers. A second alternative is to allocate the input by the proportion that is in the target. For example, if a third of a block is in the final geography, then a third of the population is assigned. This assumes that the population is randomly distributed in the block, but this is often not true. A third method is assigning based on population weights observed from information available below the input geographies. For a block, this can be based on parcel data. Unfortunately, this is difficult or impossible because of the lack of historical data for such micro-level geographies.

Figure A-3 shows the block assignments to major areas of interest. The map is from our initial manual step in assigning blocks, using a combination of information from multiple sources. When we developed reasonable

Figure A-3. 1960 Census Block Map, with Four Development Sites Highlighted



Sources: 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961c) and authors

assignments, we then digitized and georeferenced the map. We do not spatially divide up blocks but instead assign whole blocks that best approximate the major features. The yellow are the blocks along the stub based on examining georeferenced images. We do not highlight further down the stub because the blocks south of Del Mar Boulevard were not well-aligned. The four major developments of interest—the Norton Simon Museum, Parsons headquarters, Ambassador College, and Old Pasadena—are clustered along the eastern and western edges of the stub. We have selected census blocks that most closely align with these development sites based on aerial images, historical maps, and historical documents. For our analysis, Old Pasadena is the section that is adjacent to the stub, although there are additional blocks beyond that were included in the redevelopment of the central business district. The central question is how these developments impacted housing and the racial composition of residents between 1960 and 1980. The accompanying map illustrates the initial effort to define development sites with 1960 census blocks.

Data Estimates of Hispanic and Non-Hispanic White Residents

The classification of Hispanics in U.S. Census data has varied across decades, as outlined below.[14] For this project, we defined Hispanics based on the available U.S. Census classifications, adjusting methods as needed to maintain consistency as best we could across time periods (Pratt, Hixson, and Jones, 2015):

- 1940: Defined by IPUMS
- 1950: White, Spanish surname (estimated for some tracts using foreign-born population from Mexico or other Latin American countries)
- 1960: White, Spanish surname
- 1970: White: count of persons: number of persons classified in any of the five Spanish categories of the question on “origin or descent”
    - Project-specific approach: For 1970, we first used the count of persons classified in any of the five Spanish categories from the “origin or descent” question if the resulting non-Hispanic white count, described below, was greater than or equal to zero. If non-Hispanic white count was negative, we used “Spanish origin or descent” data to ensure a non-negative non-Hispanic white count. In cases where both calculations yielded a negative non-Hispanic white count, we set the non-Hispanic white population to zero. This approach was only applied at the tract level, not for larger geographies like city or county.
- 1980-1990: Persons of Spanish origin
- 2000-2010: Hispanic or Latino (of any race)

Beginning in 1980, the U.S. Census reported the non-Hispanic white population directly (Pratt, Hixson, and Jones, 2015). For the earlier decades, we estimated non-Hispanic white populations by subtracting those classified as white Hispanic (or white Spanish) from total white counts. In some tracts, however, the U.S. Census did not report Hispanic (or Spanish surname/origin) populations directly, necessitating estimates using place-of-birth

14. For details, see Pratt, Hixson, and Jones (2015). There are also other ways the U.S. Census Bureau defined Hispanic in earlier decades, including mother tongue.

information. To improve accuracy, we matched the sum of Hispanic populations (both reported and estimated) at the tract level to county totals reported by the U.S. Census.

Dissimilarity Index

The dissimilarity index is a widely used measure of residential segregation. It compares the percentage of one group's regional (or city's) population residing in each neighborhood (e.g., census tract) with the percentage of another group's regional (city's) population residing in the same neighborhood (Massey and Denton, 1988 and U.S. Census Bureau, 2021b). If both groups are present in each neighborhood in equal proportions (e.g., 10% of each group resides in a tract), that neighborhood is considered fully integrated. If this balance holds all neighborhoods in a region, then the entire region is deemed fully integrated.

At the other extreme, if each neighborhood is exclusively occupied by one group—such that half the neighborhoods house only members of one group and the other half only members of the other group—the region is fully segregated. The following is the formula used to calculate the dissimilarity index value, quantifying the degree of residential segregation across the region:

$$\mathbf{DI} = 0.5\left(\sum_{j=1}^{n}\left|p_{1,j} - p_{2,j}\right|\right)$$

Where:

- $p_{1,j}$ is the proportion of the first group residing in tract "j" divided by the group's total regional population
- $p_{2,j}$ is the proportion of the second group residing in tract "j" divided by the group's total regional population

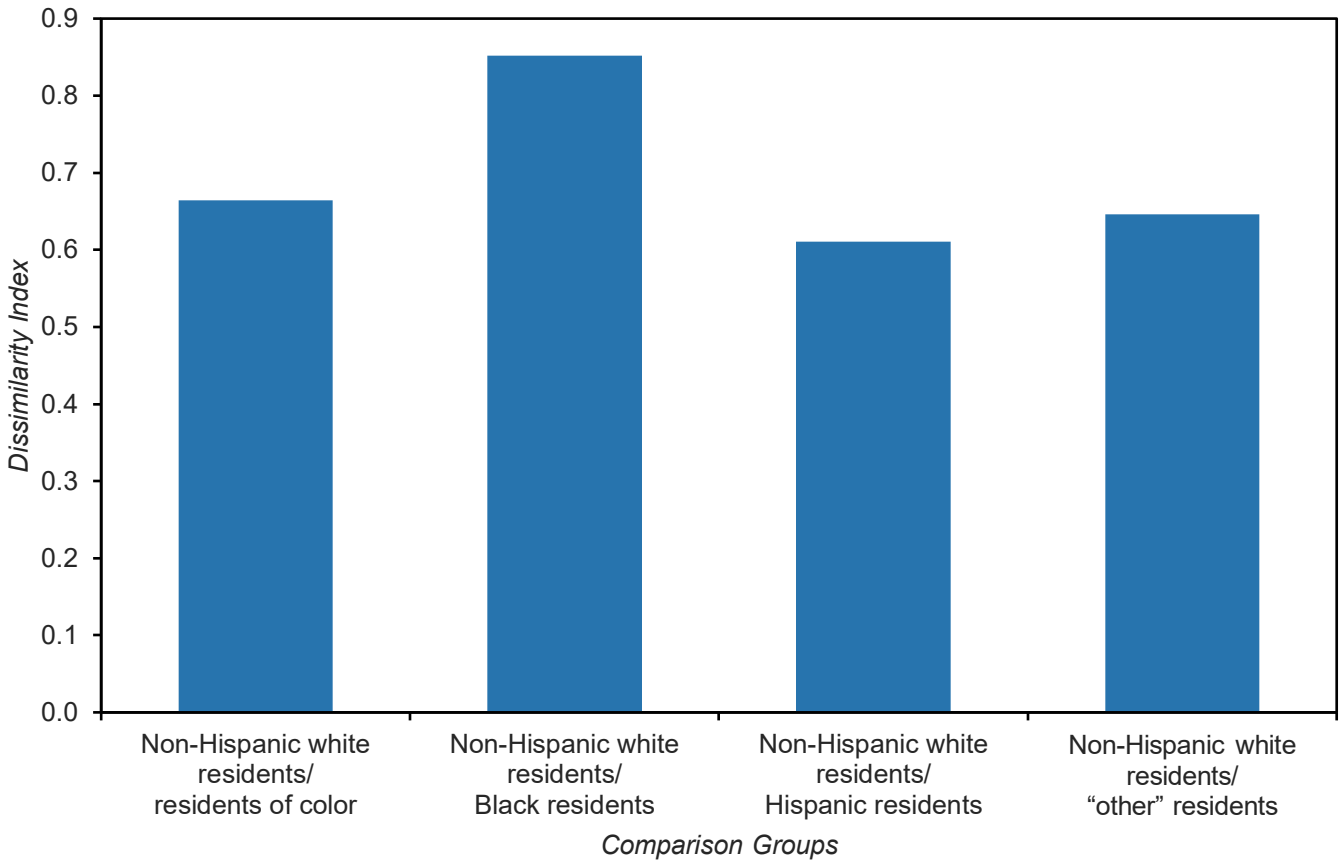
The formula takes the absolute difference between $p_{1,j}$ and $p_{2,j}$ for each tract to ensure positive values. These absolute differences are summed across all tracts in the region, from j = 1 to j = n. The sum is multiplied by 0.5 (or divided by 2) to normalize the index, yielding values between 0 and 1:

- A value of 0 indicates complete integration, with both groups proportionally represented across neighborhoods.
- A value of 1 indicates full segregation, where each neighborhood is exclusively occupied by one group.

The value is often scaled from 0 to 100, which represents the percentage of one group (usually the smaller group) that would need to move from areas where they are overrepresented to areas where they are underrepresented to achieve full integration.

The dissimilarity index has two limitations. First, it only compares two groups at a time. This is adequate for regions with only two racial groups, but it does not capture the complexity when there are three or more groups. In such cases, the analysis can be simplified by combining minority groups into a single category, allowing a comparison between the majority group with all minority groups collectively. However, this approach may mask differences in segregation levels among minority groups. For example, as shown in **Figure A-4**, Black residents are generally more segregated from non-Hispanic white residents than Hispanic residents or other groups (predominantly Asians) (calculated by authors from 1950 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b and Manson et al., 2024)).

Figure A-4. Dissimilarity Indices, Los Angeles County, 1950



Data source: calculated by authors from 1950 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950, 1952b and Manson et al., 2024)

The second limitation of the dissimilarity index is that it does not account for differences in the relative sizes of the groups within a region. Two regions can have the same dissimilarity index value, even if one has relatively few minorities and the other has a much larger minority population. However, the challenges of integration are different in each case. Similarly, this issue can arise when comparing the dissimilarity index for the same region over different years, especially when the racial composition has shifted significantly.

Entropy Score

The entropy score is commonly used to measure the diversity of a place. Based on information theory, it calculates the degree of randomness (entropy) within a population. This metric is especially useful in multiracial regions, as it captures the level of diversity in each place (e.g., in a tract) (Massey and Denton, 1988 and U.S. Census Bureau, 2021b). A low entropy score indicates a lack of diversity, as seen when one group is highly concentrated in a neighborhood. For example, in a region with four population groups, a neighborhood housing only one group would have low diversity and a high concentration of that group. In contrast, a neighborhood with a more equal distribution across all groups would have a higher entropy score, reflecting greater diversity.

The following formula is used to calculate an entropy score for a neighborhood (or tract):

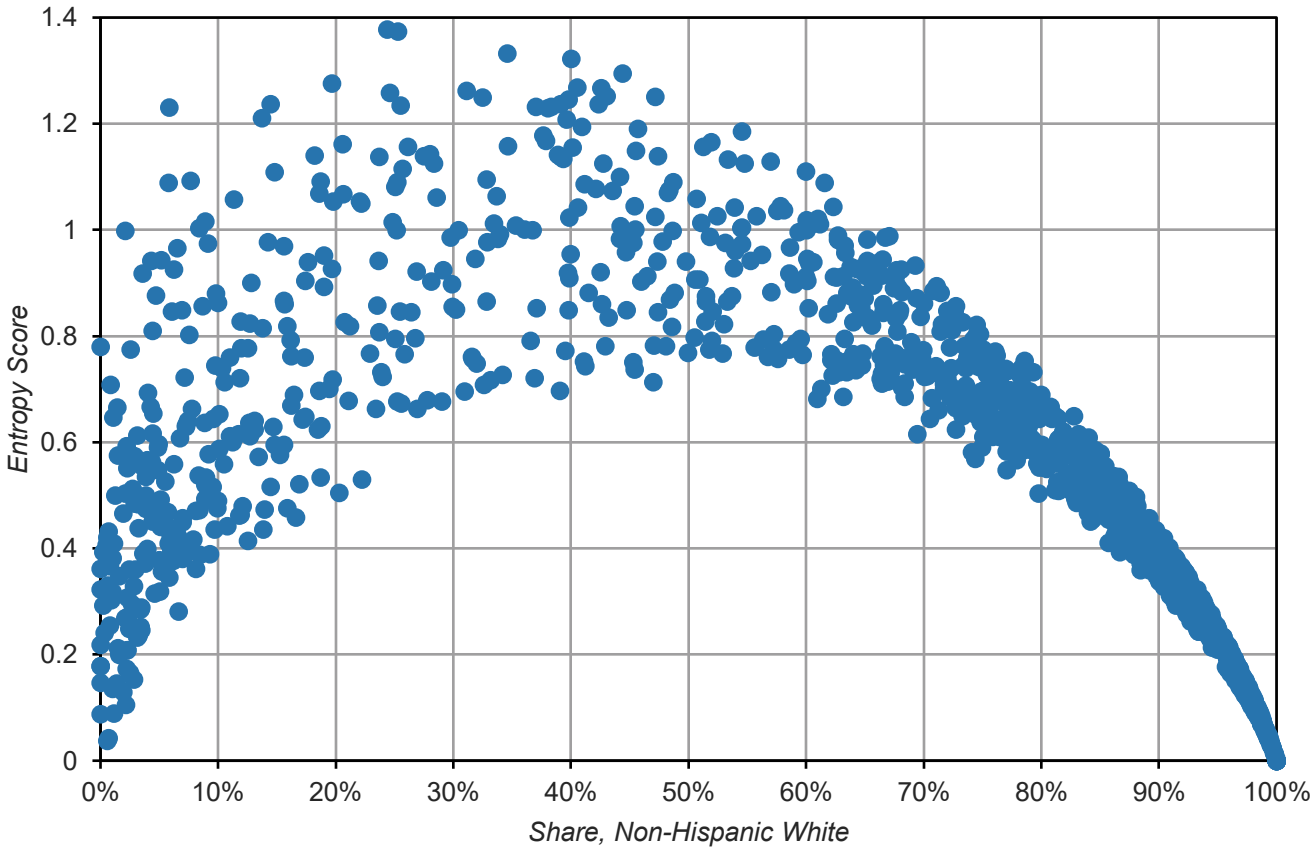
$$\mathbf{E} = \sum_{k=1}^{m} p_k \left(\ln \left(\frac{1}{p_k} \right) \right)$$

Where:

- p_k represents the proportion of group k's population relative to the total population in the tract
- ln is the natural log function. For any group with zero population, its value is set to zero to avoid the issue of an undefined $1/p_k$ value.

The entropy score is calculated by summing for all groups in the tract, from k = 1 to k = m. A score of zero indicates a perfectly homogenous area, with residents from only one group. As the score increases, so does the level of diversity or heterogeneity. The maximum possible score depends on the number of groups present; for example, in a neighborhood with four groups, the upper bound is 1.38, achieved when each group is equally represented.

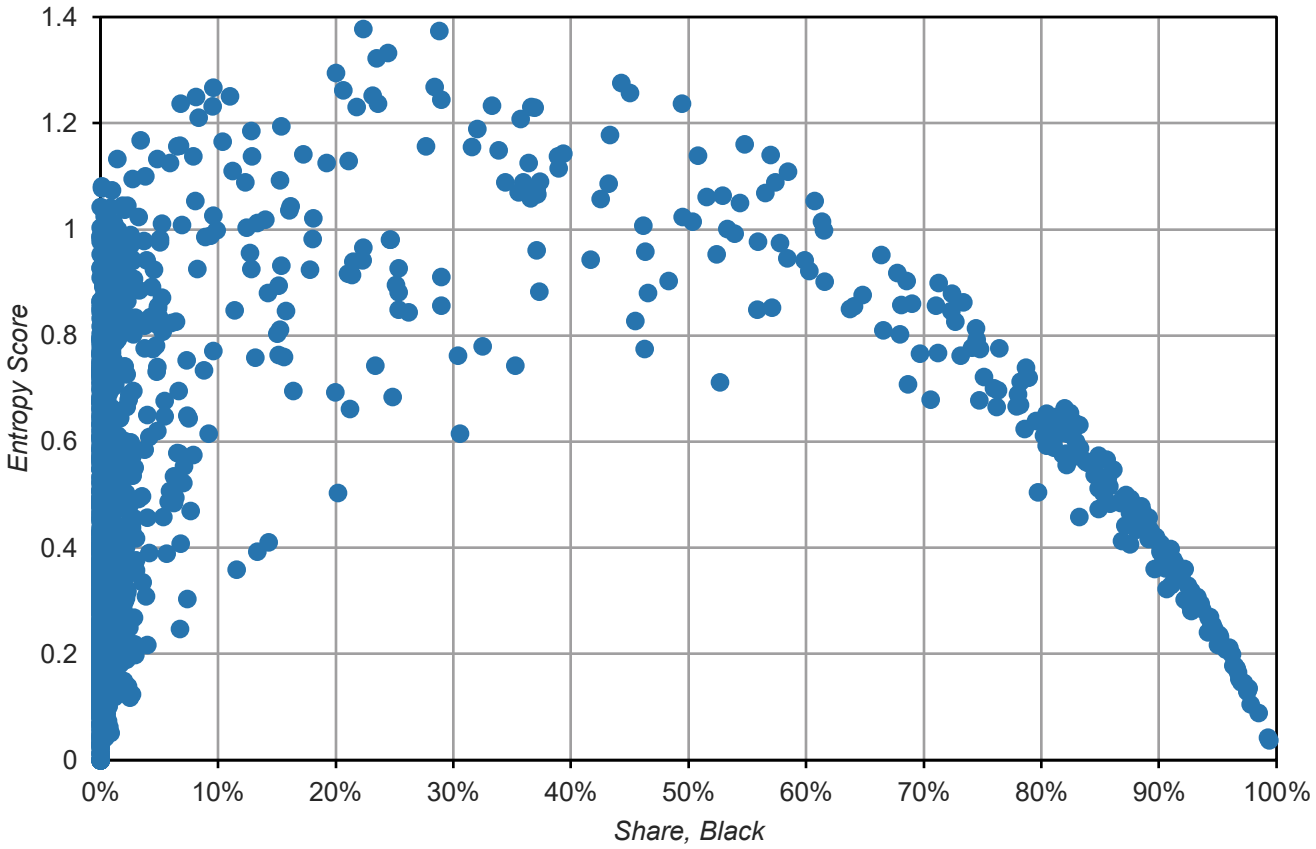
Figure A-5. Entropy Score and Percent Non-Hispanic White, Los Angeles County Census Tracts, 1970



Data source: calculated by authors from 1970 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970)

Figure A-5 illustrates the relationship between the tract-level entropy scores and the percentage of the non-Hispanic white population, using 1970 data for Los Angeles County. When a tract is predominantly non-Hispanic white, the entropy score is very low, indicating low diversity. As the non-Hispanic white percent decreases and shares of populations of color increase, entropy rises, reflecting greater diversity. However, as the non-Hispanic white percentage approaches zero, the relative absence of this group lowers the entropy score again. A similar pattern emerges when comparing the entropy score to the percentage of the Black population (See **Figure A-6**), although many tracts show a substantial clustering with very few Black residents (calculated by authors from 1970 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970)).

Figure A-6. Entropy Score and Percent Black, Los Angeles County Census Tracts, 1970



Data source: calculated by authors from 1970 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1970)

There are two limitations of the entropy score worth noting. First, it does not reveal the specific composition of a population within a place. This means that two neighborhoods with identical entropy scores can have very different population makeup. For example, a tract that is half Black and half Hispanic would yield the same score as a tract that is half non-Hispanic White and half Asian.

The second limitation is that the entropy score does not indicate how integrated a neighborhood is relative to the broader population distribution in a region. While a score of 0 clearly indicates a segregated neighborhood, a high entropy score might still signify segregation if people of color are a small minority in the overall population. In such

cases, a high score could indicate an overconcentration of people of color relative to their relative presence, suggesting that the neighborhood, while diverse, is still segregated relative to the region's demographic composition.

Entropy Index

The entropy index, also known as Theil's H, measures the degree of segregation in a region with three or more groups. This metric is based on the information theory index, which evaluates "evenness" across tracts. The entropy index calculates the weighted average deviation of each tract's entropy score from the overall regional entropy score (Massey and Denton, 1988 and U.S. Census Bureau, 2021b). If every tract has the same group composition as the region, their scores will match the region's score, indicating no deviation. This scenario reflects a fully integrated region. However, when a tract's score differs from the regional score, the deviation signifies a degree of segregation, indicating that the region is not fully integrated.

The following formula is used to calculate the entropy index:

$$\mathbf{H} = \sum_{j=1}^{n} \frac{t_j(E - E_j)}{E(T)}$$

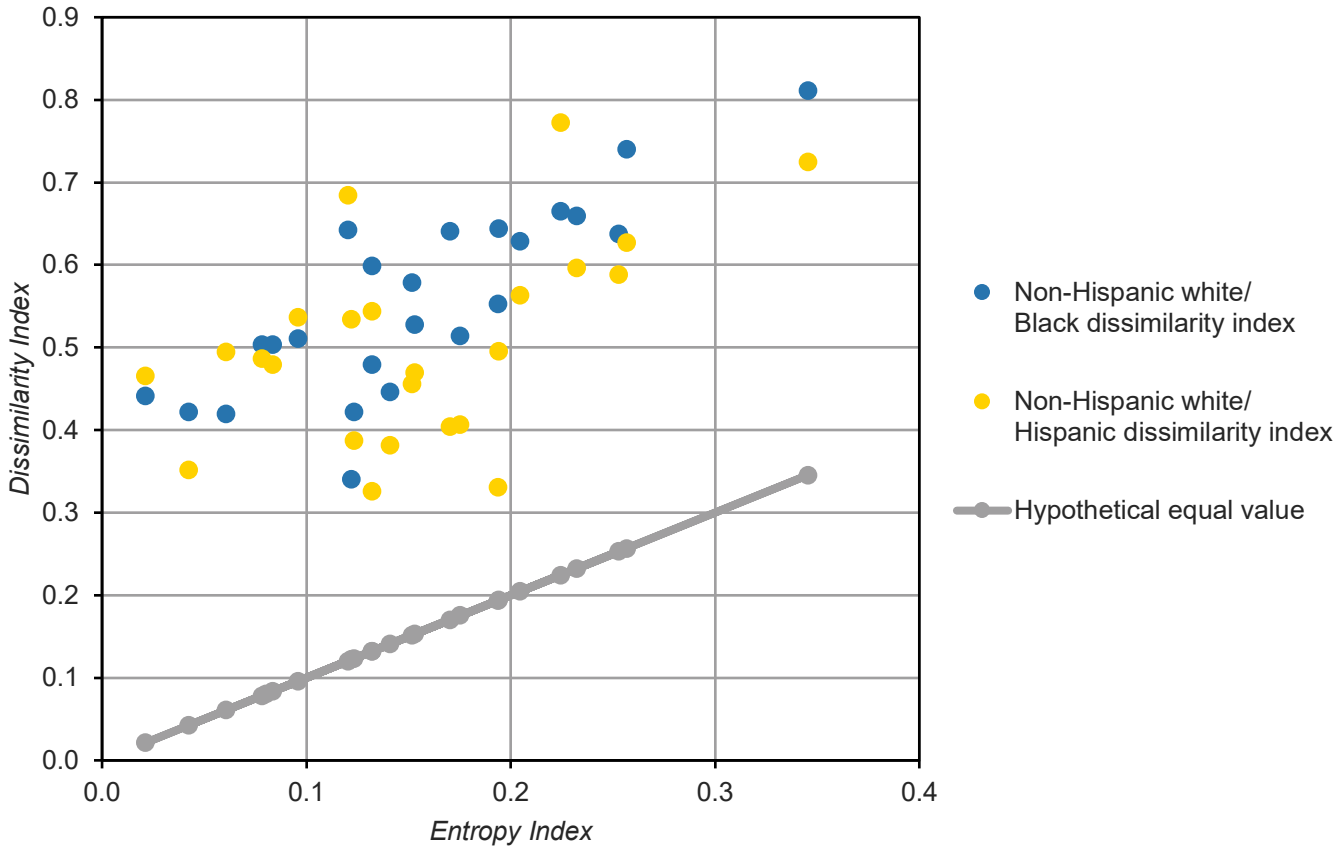
Where:

- E is the entropy score for the whole region
- E_j is the entropy score for tract j
- t_j is the population in that tract
- T is the total population of the region

The entropy index is calculated by summing the values for each tract (from j = 1 to j = n). An index value of zero indicates maximum integration, while a high value of one represents maximum segregation, where all tracts contain only one group (i.e., all $E_j = 0$).

A key feature of the entropy index is that it is unaffected by the relative size of each group, as it measures the evenness of group distribution across tracts. However, similar index values can arise even when tracts differ in their specific compositions. Additionally, the entropy index values tend to be lower than those of the dissimilarity index, as shown in **Figure A-7**, which compares the 1980 entropy index with the non-Hispanic white/Black and non-Hispanic white/Hispanic dissimilarity indices for California's metropolitan areas. All dissimilarity index values exceed the corresponding entropy scores, with observed values above the gray line, which represents hypothetical equal values (calculated by authors from 1980 U.S. Census (Brown University Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences, n.d. and U.S. Census Bureau, 2021a)). Although the two indices are not directly comparable, their trends can indicate whether segregation has increased or decreased over time.

Figure A-7. Comparison of Dissimilarity and Entropy Indices California's Metropolitan Areas



Data source: calculated by authors from 1980 U.S. Census (Brown University Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences, n.d.)

Legacy Assessment

In the conclusion section of this report, we assess the current environmental status and access to opportunities within the study area using two key datasets.

The first is CalEnviroScreen 4.0, developed by the California Environmental Protection Agency Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment (2023). This tool identifies and ranks census tracts across California based on pollution burden and population vulnerability and is widely adopted in state legislation, policies, and programs. CalEnviroScreen provides a composite metric that measures the relative environmental, health, and socioeconomic disadvantages of neighborhoods (California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment, 2023 and August et al., 2021). Among the indicators we analyze from CalEnviroScreen 4.0 (California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment, 2023) are:

- Particulate matter ($PM_{2.5}$): $PM_{2.5}$ refers to tiny airborne particles with a diameter of 2.5 micrometers or smaller, about one-thirtieth the width of a human hair. These particles are a blend of organic compounds, dust, soot, and metals and originate from sources like vehicles, industrial activity, and wood burning. Due to their small

size, $PM_{2.5}$ particles can penetrate deep into the lungs, posing significant health risks (California Air Resources Board, 2024; U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 2024; and August et al., 2021).

- Diesel particulate matter: Diesel particulate matter consists of solid particles released from diesel engines, such as those in trucks, buses, ships, and trains. This exhaust contains a complex mix of harmful chemicals. Areas close to ports, rail yards, and highways typically have the highest concentrations of diesel particulate matter, which can have serious health impacts on nearby communities (August et al., 2021).
- Traffic density: Traffic density measures the concentration of vehicles on roads within an area. California's extensive freeway network and high urban traffic levels often mean higher vehicle emissions, particularly in areas where communities of color, low-income residents, and non-English-speaking populations frequently live (Wasserman et al., 2022).
- Pollution burden score: This score reflects the cumulative impact of multiple pollution sources in an area, summarizing exposure to pollutants such as particulate matter, ozone, and toxic chemicals (California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment, 2023 and August et al., 2021). It helps identify areas facing high environmental challenges.
- CalEnviroScreen 4.0 composite score: This overall score combines the pollution burden score with population vulnerability metrics (such as socioeconomic factors and health risks) to assess the relative disadvantage of each neighborhood (California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment, 2023 and August et al., 2021). A higher CalEnviroScreen composite score indicates greater environmental and health-related challenges for residents.

Table A-1 documents these values for the study area tracts and the City of Pasadena.

Table A-1. CalEnviroScreen 4.0 Pollution Burden Indicators by Study Area Tracts in Pasadena

Geography		$PM_{2.5}$ Emissions ($\mu g/m^3$)	Diesel Particulate Matter (Tons per year)	Traffic Volume per Road Kilometer	Pollution Burden Score	CalEnviroScreen Composite Score
Study area census tracts[15]	North	11.44	0.38	1,099.47	5.89	34.16
	North Center	11.45	0.50	1,460.27	6.33	39.13
	South Center	11.30	0.43	1,413.08	6.59	20.85
	South	11.22	0.32	1,029.79	6.66	21.30
Pasadena		11.25	0.30	1,155.32	5.86	23.57

Data source: California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment, 2023

The second data source is the opportunity area maps from the California Tax Credit Allocation Committee and the California Department of Housing and Community Development (CTCAC, 2024a). These maps identify areas in

15. We do not report data here for the Center tract at the interchange because of significant boundary changes since 1960.

California with characteristics linked to positive outcomes for low-income families, including access to economic opportunities, educational resources, and health benefits. Neighborhoods are categorized into five primary resource levels:

- Highest-resource: Areas with the strongest indicators of economic stability, quality education, and health resources, offering the greatest opportunities for positive outcomes.
- High-resource: Areas that provide good access to resources and opportunities but may have slightly lower indicators than highest-resource neighborhoods.
- Moderate-resource: Areas with a moderate level of resources, offering some support but not as many benefits as high-resource areas.
- Low-resource: Areas with fewer economic, educational, and health opportunities for residents.
- High segregation and poverty: Areas characterized by high levels of racial segregation and concentrated poverty, indicating significant social and economic challenges.

These classifications are based on various indicators, including economic, educational, and environmental factors, to assess the level of opportunity available in each area. The methodology and criteria for these classifications are detailed in CTCAC and HCD's methodology document (CTCAC, 2024b).

References

Primary Sources

Agreement on Race Restriction [(1612 Glen Avenue, Pasadena, California)] (1947, November 12).

Anderson, T., and Lee, E. (1965, June 1). The 1964 Election in California. *Western Political Quarterly*, *18*(2–2), 451–474. https://doi.org/10.1177/106591296501800 2-204.

August, L., Bangia, K., Plummer, L., Prasad, S., Ranjbar, K., Slocombe, A., and Wieland, W. (2021, October). *CalEnviroScreen 4.0* (V. Cogliano, J. Faust, A. Hirsch, and L. Zeise, Eds.). California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://oehha.ca.gov/media/downloads/calenviroscreen/report/calenviroscreen40reportf2021.pdf.

Ayala, M. (2013, June 24). *Ambassador College, June 24th, 2013*. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from https://vimeo.com/69403707.

Berg, G. (1974, July 16). *Factual Summary of Desegregation Process in Pasadena California*. Massachusetts Research Center. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://repository.library.northeastern.edu/downloads/neu:m039m3104.

Birkinshaw, J. (1960, December 1). Pasadena's Urban Renewal Unit Moves for First Project: Study Site Announced by Agency. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 26, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/167835558/.

Blankstein, A., and Pierson, D. (2006, September 26). In Pasadena, Little Landmarks Pushed Aside. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2006-sep-26-me-pasadena26-story.html.

Brown University Spatial Structures in the Social Sciences (n.d.). Diversity and Disparities. *Diversity and Disparities*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://s4.ad.brown.edu/Projects/Diversity/Data/Data.htm.

Buchanan v. Warley (1917, November 5). 245 U.S. 60 (U.S. Supreme Court). Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/245/60/.

California Division of Highways (1965–1969). *R/W Map[s in Pasadena]*. California Division of Highways.

California Fair Employment Practice Act (1959, April 16). Labor. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/california-fair-employment-practices-act-1959/.

California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment (2023, May 1). CalEnviroScreen 4.0. *OEHHA: California Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://oehha.ca.gov/calenviroscreen/report/calenviroscreen-40.

Californians against Proposition 14 (1963). *Vote "NO" on 14* (flyer). Californians against Proposition 14. California Historical Society, American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California records, MS 3580, Carton 22, Folder 450. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.teachingcalifornia.org/inquiry-sets/12ad-3-the-rumford-fair-housing-bill-and-the-dangers-of-majority-rule/source/12ad-3-7-californians-against-prop-14-5719/.

Caltrans (2023, August 30). *SHN Lines*. California State Geoportal. Retrieved May 3, 2024, from https://gis.data.ca.gov/datasets/77f2d7ba94e040a78bfbe36feb6279da/explore.

City of Pasadena (1975). *Preliminary Pasadena Comprehensive General Plan*. City of Pasadena. Retrieved from Pasadena Museum of History, Research Library and Archives.

Civil Rights Act of 1968 (1968). Pub. L. No. 90-284, 82 Stat. 73. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-343/pdf/COMPS-343.pdf.

Committee for Yes on Proposition #14 to Abolish Rumford Forced Housing Act (1964). *Yes on Prop. #14* (flyer). Committee for Yes on Proposition #14 to Abolish Rumford Forced Housing Act. California Historical Society, American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California records, MS 3580, Carton 22, Folder 450. https://www.teachingcalifornia.org/inquiry-sets/12ad-3-the-rumford-fair-housing-bill-and-the-dangers-of-majority-rule/source/12ad-3-6-yes-on-proposition-14-5717/.

Coplans, J. (1975, February). Pasadena's Collapse and the Simon Takeover: Diary of a Disaster. *Artforum*, 28–45. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://s3.amazonaws.com/eob_texts-production/texts/64/1321667449_Coplans_John_Artforum_Feb_1975_pp28-45.pdf.

CTCAC (2024a). *CTCAC/HCD Opportunity Area Maps*. California State Treasurer: Fiona Ma, CPA. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.treasurer.ca.gov/ctcac/opportunity.asp.

CTCAC (2024b, October). *Draft 2025 Methodology for Opportunity and High-poverty and Segregated Area Mapping Tools*. CTCAC and HCD. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.treasurer.ca.gov/ctcac/opportunity/2025/Draft-2025-Opportunity-Map-Methodology.pdf.

Dunn, A. (1987, July 16). Assembly Panel OKs Pasadena Bailout Bill. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1987-07-16-ga-4501-story.html.

Esri (2024a, October 14). *USA Parks*. Esri. Retrieved November 19, 2024, from https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=578968f975774d3fab79fe56c8c90941.

Esri (2024b, April 25). *World Navigation Map*. Esri. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=63c47b7177f946b49902c24129b87252.

Fairchild v. Raines (1944, August 31). L.A. No. 18735; 143 P.2d 528 (California Supreme Court). Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://law.justia.com/cases/california/supreme-court/2d/24/818.html.

Google (2024). *Google Maps*. Retrieved June 20, 2024, from http://maps.google.com/.

Hopkins et al. v. City of Richmond (1915, September 9). 86 S.E. 13 (Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals). *Virginia Law Register*, *1*(7), 519–527. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://www.jstor.org/stable/1105494.

Independent Star-News (1965, March 14). Status of $10 Million Pepper Project in Air. *Independent Star-News*. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from https://www.newspapers.com/image/31769197/.

Jordan, F. (1964). *California Statement of Vote: General Election, November 3, 1964; Special Elections 1963-1964*. California Secretary of State. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31158002558053.

Kreidt, L. (1961, August 27). City Officials Hail Approval of Pepper Project Survey: Redevelopment of Blighted Area Aids Economically, Sociologically, Says Mayor. *Independent Star-News*. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from https://www.newspapers.com/image/31788518/.

Kreidt, L. (1962, May 6). Pepper Residents to Have Voice in Redevelopment: Block Meetings Slated to Discuss Study Plans. *Independent Star-News*. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from https://www.newspapers.com/image/31756959/.

Lee, A. (1970, January 16). Segregation a Problem Even before Pepper Project Opens. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/156346348/.

Los Angeles Times (1964, June 6). Pasadena CRA Ends Pepper Project Hearing: Agency Will Decide on Adoption at Special City Hall Meeting Wednesday. *Los Angeles Times*. https://www.proquest.com/docview/168602100/.

Los Angeles Times (1975, June 29). Pasadena Success Story: Urban Renewal on a Shoestring Pasadena Renewal. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/157772352/.

Mann, B. (1969, August 7). U.S. Gives $2.2 Million to Finish Pepper Work: Extra Funds Will Insure Completion of Low-cost Housing in Northwest Pasadena. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/156241740/.

Mann, B. (1971, December 9). Pasadena Will Open Bids for Pepper Project. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/156866944/.

Mann, B. (1972, May 13). Pepper Project Tenants Say Units Deteriorating: Pasadena Development Residents Bypass Agent, Send Rent to HUD to Protest. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/156949942/.

Mann, B. (1975, November 9). Part of Pepper Project Doomed. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/157864643/.

Manson, S., Schroeder, J., Van Riper, D., Knowles, K., Kugler, T., Roberts, F., and Ruggles, S. (2024). *IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 19.0*. https://doi.org/10.18128/D050.V19.0.

Marugg, J. (1968, October 22). Residential Segregation Held Top Urban Issue. *Independent*. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from https://www.newspapers.com/image/64990254/.

Mulkey v. Reitman (1966, May 10). L.A. 28360 (California Supreme Court). Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://caselaw.findlaw.com/court/ca-supreme-court/1818993.html.

National Archives (2015, November 4). The Constitution of the United States: A Transcription. *National Archives*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/constitution-transcript.

Nelson, R., Winling, L., Marciano, R., and Connolly, N. (2023). Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America (R. Nelson and N. Ayers, Eds.). *Digital Scholarship Lab*. Retrieved June 21, 2024, from https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/.

Pasadena Planning Commission (1962). *General Plan*. City of Pasadena.

Post, A. (1974). *California Voters Pamphlet, General Election, November 5, 1974*. California Secretary of State. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://repository.uclawsf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1803&context=ca_ballot_props.

Reitman v. Mulkey (1967, May 29). No. 483; 387 U.S. 369 (U.S. Supreme Court). Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/387/369/.

Rumford Fair Housing Act (1963). Chapter 1853; Assembly Bill No. 1240. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://archive.org/details/00-00-rumford-fair-housing-act-of-1963.

Rumford, W. (1970–1973). *Legislator for Fair Employment, Fair Housing, and Public Health: William Byron Rumford* (J. Henderson; A. Fry; and E. France, Interviewers). Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb8n39p2g3&query=&brand=oac4.

Sales and Rentals of Residential Real Property (Proposition 14) (1964). Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://repository.uclawsf.edu/ca_ballot_props/672/.

Sandez, L. (Dir.) (2016, February 26). *Hall of Administration Demolition—The Old Ambassador College Campus in Pasadena, CA*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yFO-017ZADs.

Shelley v. Kraemer (1948, May 3). 334 U.S. 1 (U.S. Supreme Court). Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/334/1/.

Social Explorer (2024). *Social Explorer*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/.

TIME (1964, September 25). California: Proposition 14. *TIME*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://time.com/archive/6813882/california-proposition-14/.

TIME (1967, June 9). The Supreme Court: Saying No to Proposition 14. *TIME*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://time.com/archive/6890572/the-supreme-court-saying-no-to-proposition-14/.

Tucker, W. (1966, April 24). Pepper Project: Urban Development Enigma. *Independent Star-News*. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from https://www.newspapers.com/image/31766601/.

Turpin, D. (1970, January 4). Pasadena's Pepper Redevelopment Project: Co-op Venture First in Country. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/156394539/.

UC Santa Barbara Library (2012, February 10). California Aerial Photography: By County. *UC Santa Barbara Library*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.library.ucsb.edu/geospatial/airphotos/california-aerial-photography-county.

U.S. Census Bureau (1950). Census 1950 Census Tract Only. *Social Explorer*. Retrieved August 9, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/C1950TractDS/.

U.S. Census Bureau (1952a). *1950 United States Census of Housing: Block Statistics, Pasadena, California; 1950 Housing Census Report* (Vol. V: Block Statistics; Part 138; H. Brunsman, Ed.). U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved November 19, 2024, from https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/housing-volume-5/15870149v5p6ch13.pdf.

U.S. Census Bureau (1952b). *1950 United States Census of Population: Census Tract Statistics, Los Angeles, California and Adjacent Area; 1950 Population Census Report; Selected Population and Housing Characteristics* (Vol. III: Census Tract Statistics; Chapter 28; H. Brunsman, Ed.). U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved November 18, 2024, from https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/population-volume-3/41557421v3p2ch07.pdf and https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/population-volume-3/41557421v3p2ch08.pdf.

U.S. Census Bureau (1960). Census 1960 Tracts-only Set. *Social Explorer*. Retrieved August 9, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/C1960TractDS/.

U.S. Census Bureau (1961a). *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960; City Blocks: Los Angeles, Calif.* (Vol. III, City Blocks; Series HC(3), No. 46; W. Daugherty, Ed.). U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.d0001533710.

U.S. Census Bureau (1961b). *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960; City Blocks: Pasadena, Calif.* (Vol. III, City Blocks; Series HC(3), No. 56; W. Daugherty, Ed.). U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1960/housing-volume-3/41994949v3p3ch1.pdf.

U.S. Census Bureau (1961c). *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960; City Blocks: Pasadena, Calif.* (Vol. III, City Blocks; Series HC(3), No. 56; W. Daugherty, Ed.). U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved November 19, 2024, from https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435029884731.

U.S. Census Bureau (1963). *Census of Population: 1960* (Vol. I: Characteristics of the Population; Number of Inhabitants, General Population Characteristics, General Social and Economic Characteristics, and Detailed Characteristics; Part 6: California; H. Brunsman, H. Shryock, D. Kaplan, P. Glich, and S. Schor, Eds.). U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved November 12, 2024, from https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1960/population-volume-1/vol-01-06-d.pdf.

U.S. Census Bureau (1970). Census 1970. *Social Explorer*. Retrieved August 9, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/C1970/.

U.S. Census Bureau (1980). Census 1980. *Social Explorer*. Retrieved August 9, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/C1980/.

U.S. Census Bureau (1990). Census 1990. *Social Explorer*. Retrieved August 9, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/C1990/.

U.S. Census Bureau (2000). Census 2000. *Social Explorer*. Retrieved August 9, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/C2000/.

U.S. Census Bureau (2010). Census 2010. *Social Explorer*. Retrieved August 9, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/C2010/.

U.S. Census Bureau (2018). Cartographic Boundary Files—Shapefile. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 19, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/geographies/mapping-files/time-series/geo/carto-boundary-file.html.

U.S. Census Bureau (2020). Census 2020—PL94 Redistricting Data. *Social Explorer*. Retrieved August 9, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/C2020/.

U.S. Census Bureau (2021a, November 21). Housing Patterns and the Multi-group Entropy Index: There Are Three Sets of Residential-Pattern Indicators for 1980, 1990, and 2000. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/topics/housing/housing-patterns/about/multi-group-entropy-index.html.

U.S. Census Bureau (2022a). ACS 2022 (Five-year Estimates). *Social Explorer*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.socialexplorer.com/tables/ACS2022_5yr.

U.S. Census Bureau (n.d.). *Pasadena, California, by Census Tracts and Blocks: 1950*. U.S. Census Bureau.

U.S. Census Bureau, Josowitz, A., Krevor, N., and Coe, P. (1972, February). *1970 Census of Housing; Block Statistics: Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif. Urbanized Area* (Series HC(3), No. 18; A. Young, Ed.). U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved November 19, 2024, from https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435066933748.

Weiss, J. (1987, March 27). *Support for SB 481 (Russell)—A Bill to Provide Retroactive Reimbursement of Costs Incurred on Behalf of Redevelopment and Used to Fund the Police and Fire Retirement System* [M. Bradley and V. Kaleta, Eds.].

Wicker, T. (1973, April 27). Integration in Pasadena. *New York Times*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.nytimes.com/1973/04/27/archives/integration-in-pasadena-in-the-nation.html.

Wilson, C. (1966, August 4). First Families Leaving Pepper Area: CRA Gets Report on Project's Gains. *Independent*. Retrieved May 1, 2025, from https://www.newspapers.com/image/65037047/.

Wilson, L., Schrade, J., and Snell, R. (1964). *Argument in Favor of Proposition No. 14* (Proposition 14: "Sales and Rentals of Residential Real Property"). Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://repository.uclawsf.edu/ca_ballot_props/672/.

Secondary Sources

Aaronson, D., Hartley, D., and Mazumder, B. (2020, August). *The Effects of the 1930s HOLC "Redlining" Maps* (WP 2017-12). Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago. Retrieved July 30, 2024, from https://www.chicagofed.org/publications/working-papers/2017/wp2017-12.

An, B., Orlando, A., and Rodnyansky, S. (2019, September 1). *The Physical Legacy of Racism: How Redlining Cemented the Modern Built Environment*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3500612.

Baker, C. (2023, January 30). Worldwide Church of God and Ambassador College. *Historical Marker Database*. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=151831.

Ballotpedia (n.d.-a). California Proposition 7, Rights of Citizens Amendment (1974). *Ballotpedia*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_7,_Rights_of_Citizens_Amendment_(1974).

Ballotpedia (n.d.-b). California Proposition 14, Right to Decline Selling or Renting Residential Properties to Persons Initiative (1964). *Ballotpedia*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://ballotpedia.org/California_Proposition_14,_Right_to_Decline_Selling_or_Renting_Residential_Properties_to_Persons_Initiative_(1964).

Baum-Snow, N. (2007, May 1). Did Highways Cause Suburbanization? *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *122*(2), 775–805. https://doi.org/10.1162/qjec.122.2.775.

Black, C. (1967, November). Foreword: State Action, Equal Protection, and California's Proposition 14. In The Supreme Court, 1966 Term (pp. 69–109). *Harvard Law Review*, *81*(1), 69–262. https://doi.org/10.2307/1339220.

Blumberg, L. (1964, Winter). Segregated Housing, Marginal Location, and the Crisis of Confidence. *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture*, *25*(4), 321–330. https://doi.org/10.2307/274099.

Brilliant, M. (2010, October 21). *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown, J., Morris, E., and Taylor, B. (2009, March 27). Planning for Cars in Cities: Planners, Engineers, and Freeways in the 20th Century. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *75*(2), 161–177. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944360802640016.

Brown v. Board of Education (1954, May 17). 347 U.S. 483 (U.S. Supreme Court). Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/brown-v-board-of-education.

Brown, W. (1972). Access to Housing: The Role of the Real Estate Industry. *Economic Geography*, *48*(1), 66–78. https://doi.org/10.2307/143016.

California Air Resources Board (2024). Inhalable Particulate Matter and Health ($PM_{2.5}$ and PM_{10}). *California Air Resources Board*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://ww2.arb.ca.gov/resources/inhalable-particulate-matter-and-health.

Carriere, M. (2011, February 1). Fighting the War against Blight: Columbia University, Morningside Heights, Inc., and Counterinsurgent Urban Renewal. *Journal of Planning History*, *10*(1), 5–29. https://doi.org/10.1177/1538513210392882.

Chen, A., Mickey, R., and Van Houweling, R. (2008, October). Explaining the Contemporary Alignment of Race and Party: Evidence from California's 1946 Ballot Initiative on Fair Employment. *Studies in American Political Development*, *22*(2), 204–228. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0898588X08000084.

Chou, C. (2013, Fall–2014, Spring). Land Use and the Chinatown Problem. *UCLA Asian Pacific American Law Journal*, *19*(1), 29–75. https://doi.org/10.5070/P3191024222.

City of Pasadena (2022, July 18). *2021-2029 Housing Element*. City of Pasadena. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.cityofpasadena.net/planning/wp-content/uploads/sites/30/2021-2029-Pasadena-Housing-Element.pdf.

City of Pasadena (2023, September 6). Historic Report on the 710 Displacement. *OpenGov Procurement*. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://procurement.opengov.com/portal/pasadena/projects/47897.

City of Pasadena (2024). Heritage: A Short History of Pasadena. *City of Pasadena*. Retrieved November 15, 2024, from https://www.cityofpasadena.net/about-pasadena/history-of-pasadena/.

Cohen, W. (1967, November). Pasadena. *Law and Society Review*, *2*(1), 42–52. https://doi.org/10.2307/3052867.

Cole, R. (2021, May 29). How a Black Pasadena Family's Challenge to White-only Real Estate Covenants Culminated in the U.S. Supreme Court's Landmark Ruling Outlawing Them across America. *Pasadena Now*. Retrieved November 18, 2024, from https://www.pasadenanow.com/main/how-a-black-pasadena-familys-challenge-to-white-only-real-estate-covenants-culminated-in-the-u-s-supreme-courts-landmark-ruling-outlawing-them-across-america.

Collins, W., and Shester, K. (2013, January). Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal in the United States. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, *5*(1), 239–273. https://doi.org/10.1257/app.5.1.239.

Colorado Boulevard (2022, February 16). South Pasadena Condemns Its History as a Sundown Town. *Colorado Boulevard*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.coloradoboulevard.net/south-pasadena-condemns-its-history-as-a-sundown-town.

Duncan, O., and Duncan, B. (1957). *The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Durlauf, S. (2011, October 16). Groups, Social Influences, and Inequality. In S. Bowles, S. Durlauf, and K. Hoff (Eds.), *Poverty Traps* (pp. 141–175). New York City: Russell Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press.

Easterly, W. (2003, June). *The Racial Tipping Point in American Neighborhoods: Unstable Equilibrium or Urban Legend?* https://users.nber.org/~confer/2003/si2003/papers/efbdg/easterly.pdf.

Easterly, W. (2009, June 17). Empirics of Strategic Interdependence: The Case of the Racial Tipping Point. *B.E. Journal of Macroeconomics*, *9*(1). https://doi.org/10.2202/1935-1690.1492.

Ely, J. (1998). Reflections on *Buchanan v. Warley* Property Rights, and Race. *Vanderbilt Law Review*, *51*(4 (Colloquium: Rethinking *Buchanan v. Warley*)), 953–974. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/vanlr51&i=973.

Ely, J. (2018). Buchanan and the Right to Acquire Property. *Cumberland Law Review*, *48*(2), 423–461. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://scholarship.law.vanderbilt.edu/faculty-publications/1035/.

Erdman, A. (2013, March 14). Mystery History—Solved! *Ann Erdman*. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://annerdman.blogspot.com/2013/03/mystery-history-solved.html.

Ethington, P. (2000, September 13). *Segregated Diversity: Race-ethnicity, Space, and Political Fragmentation in Los Angeles County, 1940-1994*. Haynes Foundation. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://web.archive.org/web/20170812142829/http://www-bcf.usc.edu/~philipje/Segregation/Haynes_Reports/FINAL_REPORT_20000719g.pdf.

Ethnic History Research Project (1995, March 1). *Report of Survey Findings*. Ethnic History Research Project. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from http://pasadena.cfwebtools.com/images/other/EthnicHistoryResearchReport(1995Version).pdf.

Felker-Kantor, M. (2013, November 2). Fighting the Segregation Amendment: Black and Mexican American Responses to Proposition 14 in Los Angeles. In J. Kun and L. Pulido (Eds.), *Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition* (pp. 143–175). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520275591.003.0006.

Fishback, P., Rose, J., Snowden, K., and Storrs, T. (2021, September). *New Evidence on Redlining by Federal Housing Programs in the 1930s* (Working Paper 29244). National Bureau of Economic Research. https://doi.org/10.3386/w29244.

Fishback, P., Rose, J., Snowden, K., and Storrs, T. (2024, May 1). New Evidence on Redlining by Federal Housing Programs in the 1930s. *Journal of Urban Economics*, *141: Race, Social Justice, and Cities*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2022.103462.

Frieden, B., and Sagalyn, L. (1991, July 1). *Downtown, Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Galster, G. (1990, January 1). Racial Steering in Urban Housing Markets: A Review of the Audit Evidence. *Review of Black Political Economy*, *18*(3), 105–129. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02717878.

Gelb, M., and Frankfurt, J. (1983, May 1). California's Fair Employment and Housing Act: A Viable State Remedy for Employment Discrimination. *Hastings Law Journal*, *34*(5), 1055–1105. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://repository.uclawsf.edu/hastings_law_journal/vol34/iss5/3.

Goetz, E. (2021, January 1). Democracy, Exclusion, and White Supremacy: How Should We Think about Exclusionary Zoning? *Urban Affairs Review*, *57*(1), 269–283. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087419886040.

Gotham, K. (2000, September). Urban Space, Restrictive Covenants and the Origins of Racial Residential Segregation in a U.S. City, 1900-50. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *24*(3), 616–633. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00268.

Grodzins, M. (1958). *The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015002602459.

Hahn, H. (1968, September 1). Northern Referenda on Fair Housing: the Response of White Voters. *Western Political Quarterly*, *21*(3), 483–495. https://doi.org/10.1177/106591296802100310.

Hanlon, J. (2011, September 1). Unsightly Urban Menaces and the Rescaling of Residential Segregation in the United States. *Journal of Urban History*, *37*(5), 732–756. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144211407744.

Hartley, D., and Rose, J. (2023, August 4). *Blockbusting and the Challenges Faced by Black Families in Building Wealth through Housing in the Postwar United States* (WP 2023-02). Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.chicagofed.org/publications/working-papers/2023/2023-02.

Hernandez, J. (2009). Redlining Revisited: Mortgage Lending Patterns in Sacramento, 1930-2004. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *33*(2), 291–313. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00873.x.

Historical Research Center, CSU Bakersfield (2024). Rumford Fair Housing Act. *Historical Research Center, CSU Bakersfield*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://hrc.csub.edu/housing-history/rumford-fair-housing-act/.

History and Social Justice (n.d.). Sundown Towns. *History and Social Justice*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://justice.tougaloo.edu/sundown-towns/.

Joshi, A., Horn, B., and Berrens, R. (2024). Contemporary Differences in Residential Housing Values along Historic Redlining Boundaries. *Real Estate Economics*, *52*(2), 514–551. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6229.12458.

Kain, J., and Quigley, J. (1970, June 1). Measuring the Value of Housing Quality. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, *65*(330), 532–548. https://doi.org/10.2307/2284565.

Kain, J., and Quigley, J. (1972, June). Housing Market Discrimination, Home-ownership, and Savings Behavior. *American Economic Review*, *62*(3), 263–277. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://www.jstor.org/stable/1803375.

Kennel, T. (2021, December 16). The Post-enumeration Survey: Measuring Coverage Error. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/newsroom/blogs/random-samplings/2021/12/post-enumeration-measuring-coverage-error.html.

King, A., and Mieszkowski, P. (1973, May-June). Racial Discrimination, Segregation, and the Price of Housing. *Journal of Political Economy*, *81*(3), 590–606. https://doi.org/10.1086/260060.

Li, M. (2009, June 1). Is There “White Flight” into Private Schools? New Evidence from High School and Beyond. *Economics of Education Review*, *28*(3), 382–392. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2008.07.004.

Loewen, J. (2005, September 29). *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism*. New York City: New.

Los Angeles Conservancy (2024). Ambassador College. *Los Angeles Conservancy*. https://www.laconservancy.org/learn/historic-places/ambassador-college/.

Loukaitou-Sideris, A., Handy, S., Ong, P., Barajas, J., Wasserman, J., Pech, C., Garcia Sanchez, J., Ramirez, A., Jain, A., Proussaloglou, E., Nguyen, A., Turner, K., Fitzgibbon, A., Kaeppelin, F., Ramirez, F., and Arenas, M. (2023, March 3). *The Implications of Freeway Siting in California: Four Case Studies on the Effects of Freeways on Neighborhoods of Color* (PSR-20-40; J. Wasserman, Ed.). Pacific Southwest Region University Transportation Center. Retrieved May 2, 2024, from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7mj2b24q.

Lozano, R. (2007). Brown's Legacy in the West: Pasadena Unified School District's Federally Mandated Desegregation. *Southwestern University Law Review*, *36*(2), 257–290. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/swulr36&i=263.

Mann, B. (1978, March 23). Study Sees End to Downtown Pasadena Slump. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/158504694/.

Manvel, A. (1968, January). *Housing Conditions in Urban Poverty Areas* (Research Report No. 9). National Commission on Urban Problems. Retrieved September 9, 2022, from https://www.huduser.gov/portal/sites/default/files/pdf/Housing-Conditions-in-Urban-Poverty-Areas.pdf.

Marcus, N. (1970). Exclusionary Zoning: The Need for a Regional Planning Context. *New York Law Forum*, *16*(4), 732–740. Retrieved November 26, 2024, from https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/nyls16&i=750.

Marshall, C. (2013, November 12). A Los Angeles Primer: Old Pasadena. *PBS SoCal*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.pbssocal.org/history-society/a-los-angeles-primer-old-pasadena.

Maryland Law Review (1967, January 1). California's Proposition 14 and the "State Action" Concept: *Reitman v. Mulkey*. *Maryland Law Review*, *27*(3), 291. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/mlr/vol27/iss3/6.

Massey, D. (2015, June 2). The Legacy of the 1968 Fair Housing Act. *Sociological Forum*, *30*(S1), 571–588. https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12178.

Massey, D., and Denton, N. (1988, December). The Dimensions of Residential Segregation. *Social Forces*, *67*(2), 281–315. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/67.2.281.

Mayer, A. (1960). Russell Woods: Change Without Conflict: A Case Study of Neighborhood Racial Transition in Detroit. In N. Glazer and D. McEntire (Eds.), *Studies in Housing and Minority Groups* (pp. 198–220). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Mermell, S., and Hawkesworth, M. (2017, February 7). *Comprehensive Annual Financial Report Year Ended June 30, 2016*. City of Pasadena. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://ww2.cityofpasadena.net/2017%20Agendas/Mar_13_17/AR%2015%20ATTACHMENT%20A.pdf.

Meyerson, M., and Banfield, E. (1955). *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest: The Case of Public Housing in Chicago*. Glencoe, IL: Free.

Mieszkowski, P., and Mills, E. (1993, September). The Causes of Metropolitan Suburbanization. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *7*(3), 135–147. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.7.3.135.

Nardone, A., Casey, J., Morello-Frosch, R., Mujahid, M., Balmes, J., and Thakur, N. (2020, January 1). Associations between Historical Residential Redlining and Current Age-adjusted Rates of Emergency Department Visits due to Asthma across Eight Cities in California: An Ecological Study. *Lancet: Planetary Health*, *4*(1), e24–e31. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2542-5196(19)30241-4.

National Archives (2021, August). Descriptive Handout: Census Tract Data, 1940-1970. *National Archives*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.archives.gov/research/census/census-tract-data.html.

Nicolaides, B. (2024). *The New Suburbia: How Diversity Remade Suburban Life in Los Angeles after 1945*. New York City: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197578308.001.0001.

Noel, A., and Cheng, P. (2009). Through Struggle to the Stars: A History of California's Fair Housing Law. *California Real Property Journal*, *27*(4), 3–12. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://clkrep.lacity.org/onlinedocs/2011/11-0262_misc_2-8-12e.pdf.

Norton Simon Museum (2024a). About Norton Simon. *Norton Simon Museum*. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://www.nortonsimon.org/about/about-norton-simon/.

Norton Simon Museum (2024b). Museum History. *Norton Simon Museum*. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://www.nortonsimon.org/about/museum-history/.

Old Pasadena Management District (2024). History of Old Pasadena. *Old Pasadena*. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://www.oldpasadena.org/about/history-of-old-pasadena/.

Ong, P. (1981, Winter). An Ethnic Trade: The Chinese Laundries in Early California. *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, *8*(4), 95–113. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://www.proquest.com/docview/1300555687/.

Ong, P., Ong, J., and Pech, C. (2024, August 12). *Lessons from California's Historical Alien Land Law: Racial Xenophobia and Home Ownership*. UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://www.anderson.ucla.edu/sites/default/files/document/2024-08/2024-15wp.pdf.

Ong, P., Pech, C., Wasserman, J., Ramirez, A., Loukaitou-Sideris, A., Ullmann, L., and Riley, M. (2025, February 1). *Further Implications of Freeway Siting in California: Freeway Development and Communities of Color in Colton, Fresno, and San Diego* (UCLA ITS-LA2234). UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies and UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge. https://doi.org/10.17610/T66C8R.

Oppenheimer, D. (2010, October 7). California's Anti-discrimination Legislation, Proposition 14, and the Constitutional Protection of Minority Rights: The Fiftieth Anniversary of the California Fair Employment and Housing Act. *Golden Gate University Law Review*, *40*(2). Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://digitalcommons.law.ggu.edu/ggulrev/vol40/iss2/1.

Park, K., and Quercia, R. (2020, January 2). Who Lends Beyond the Red Line?: The Community Reinvestment Act and the Legacy of Redlining. *Housing Policy Debate*, *30*(1), 4–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2019.1665839.

Pasadena Department of Transportation (2024). State Route 710 Northern Stub Relinquishment. *Pasadena, California*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.cityofpasadena.net/transportation/transportation-improvements/710-northern-stub/.

Pasadena Office of the City Manager (2024). 710 Revisioning Project. *Pasadena Office of the City Manager*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.cityofpasadena.net/city-manager/710-revisioning-project/.

Pincetl, S. (1992, September 1). The Politics of Growth Control: Struggles in Pasadena, California. *Urban Geography*, *13*(5), 450–467. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.13.5.450.

Pollak, S. (2000, February 1). 1968 and the Beginnings of Federal Enforcement of Fair Housing. *Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice*. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://www.justice.gov/crt/1968-and-beginnings-federal-enforcement-fair-housing1.

Pratt, B., Hixson, L., and Jones, N. (2015, September 4). Measuring Race and Ethnicity across the Decades: 1790-2010. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/data-tools/demo/race/MREAD_1790_2010.html.

Radkowski, P. (2006). Managing the Invisible Hand of the California Housing Market, 1942-1967. *California Legal History*, *12*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://www.law.berkeley.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/radkowski-paper.pdf.

Ramirez, A., Proussaloglou, E., Loukaitou-Sideris, A., and Wasserman, J. (2025, February 1). Exposing Freeway Inequalities in the Suburbs: The Cases of Pasadena and Pacoima. *Journal of Planning History*, *24*(1), 5–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/15385132241265974.

Ramirez, B. (2021, March 15). Black History in Pasadena. *A Noise Within*. Retrieved December 5, 2024, from https://www.anoisewithin.org/black-history-in-pasadena/.

Rice, R. (1968, May). Residential Segregation by Law, 1910-1917. *Journal of Southern History*, *34*(2), 179–199. https://doi.org/10.2307/2204656.

Rose, C. (2016). Racially Restrictive Covenants—Were They Dignity Takings? *Law and Social Inquiry*, *41*(4), 939–955. https://doi.org/10.1111/lsi.12192.

Rose, C., and Brooks, R. (2015). Racial Covenants and Housing Segregation, Yesterday and Today. In A. Brown and V. Smith (Eds.), *Race and Real Estate* (pp. 161–176). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schelling, T. (1971, July). Dynamic Models of Segregation. *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, *1*(2), 143–186. https://doi.org/10.1080/0022250X.1971.9989794.

Shertzer, A., Twinam, T., and Walsh, R. (2016, July). Race, Ethnicity, and Discriminatory Zoning. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, *8*(3), 217–246. https://doi.org/10.1257/app.20140430.

Shigley, P. (2005, June). Leading the Parade: It's Ten Minutes past Noon on a Gorgeous Thursday, Pasadena Has Become a Model of Smart Growth for Other California Communities. *Planning*, 28–30. Retrieved November 24, 2024, from https://web.archive.org/web/20200927223216/http://www.des.ucdavis.edu/faculty/handy/ESP171/Readings2/LeadingTheParade.pdf.

Shook, J. (2020, June 23). Pasadena's Racialized History. *Making Housing and Community Happen*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://makinghousinghappen.net/2020/06/23/pasadenas-racialized-history/.

Silver, C. (1991). The Racial Origins of Zoning: Southern Cities from 1910–40. *Planning Perspective*, *6*(2), 189–205. https://doi.org/10.1080/02665439108725726.

Silver, C. (1997). The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities. In J. Thomas and M. Ritzdorf (Eds.), *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows* (pp. 23–42). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://www.asu.edu/courses/aph294/total-readings/silver%20--%20racialoriginsofzoning.pdf.

Snow, M. (2011, September). *Delivering What Users Want: the Evolution of Census Bureau Small Area Data*. U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://web.archive.org/web/20220121041904/https://www.census.gov/history/pdf/evolution-of-small-area-data09212011.pdf.

South Pasadena City Council (2022, February 2). *A Resolution of the City Council of the City of South Pasadena, California, Condemning the City's History as a Sundown Town and Past Practices of Institutionalized Racism* (Agenda Item 13). South Pasadena City Council. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://web.archive.org/web/20230430212345/https://www.southpasadenaca.gov/home/showpublisheddocument/28110/637793267443100000.

Spiegel, H. (1960). Tenants' Intergroup Attitudes in a Public Housing Project with Declining White Population. *Phylon*, *21*(1), 30–39. https://doi.org/10.2307/273732.

Squires, G. (Ed.) (2017, October 16). *The Fight for Fair Housing: Causes, Consequences, and Future Implications of the 1968 Federal Fair Housing Act*. New York City: Routledge.

Swope, C., Hernández, D., and Cushing, L. (2022, December 1). The Relationship of Historical Redlining with Present-day Neighborhood Environmental and Health Outcomes: A Scoping Review and Conceptual Model. *Journal of Urban Health*, *99*(6), 959–983. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11524-022-00665-z.

Turner, M., and Mikelsons, M. (1992, September 1). Patterns of Racial Steering in Four Metropolitan Areas. *Journal of Housing Economics*, *2*(3), 199–234. https://doi.org/10.1016/1051-1377(92)90001-7.

Tushnet, M. (1988, January). *Shelley v. Kraemer* and Theories of Equality. *New York Law School Law Review*, *33*(3), 383–408. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from https://digitalcommons.nyls.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2541&context=nyls_law_review.

Tushnet, M. (1994). *Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1936-1961*. New York City: Oxford University Press.

U.S. Census Bureau (2021b, November 21). Housing Patterns: Appendix B: Measures of Residential Segregation. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/topics/housing/housing-patterns/guidance/appendix-b.html.

U.S. Census Bureau (2021c, November 23). Census in the Constitution: Why Jefferson, Madison and the Founders Enshrined the Census in Our Constitution. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/census-constitution.html.

U.S. Census Bureau (2021d, November 23). Decennial Census and American Community Survey (ACS). *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/census-acs.html.

U.S. Census Bureau (2022b, April 11). Glossary. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 14, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/geography/about/glossary.html.

U.S. Census Bureau (2023, December 14). Questionnaires. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://web.archive.org/web/20240119134112/https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/questionnaires/.

U.S. Census Bureau (2024a, September 3). History of Census Tracts and Blocks. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/about/history/historical-censuses-and-surveys/census-programs-surveys/geography/tracts-and-block-numbering-areas.html.

U.S. Census Bureau (2024b, October 22). American Community Survey (ACS). *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs.

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (2024, June 20). Particulate Matter (PM) Basics. *U.S. Environmental Protection Agency*. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://www.epa.gov/pm-pollution/particulate-matter-pm-basics.

Vargas, R. (2020, October 9). Glendale Becomes First CA City to Recognize History as Sundown Town. *Spectrum News 1*. Retrieved November 21, 2024, from https://spectrumnews1.com/ca/southern-california/news/2020/10/09/glendale-becomes-first-ca-city-to-recognize-history-as-sundown-town-.

Vincent, R. (2011, July 5). Parsons Sells Pasadena Headquarters for $320 Million. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved November 22, 2024, from https://www.latimes.com/business/la-xpm-2011-jul-05-la-fi-parsons-20110705-story.html.

von Hoffman, A. (2008, November 1). The Lost History of Urban Renewal. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, *1*(3), 281–301. https://doi.org/10.1080/17549170802532013.

Vyas, N. (2014, Fall). Book Review: *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California*, by Daniel Martinez HoSang. *Kalfou: A Journal of Comparative and Relational Ethnic Studies*, *1*(2), 237–240. https://doi.org/10.15367/kf.v1i2.44.

Wasserman, J., Garrett, M., Ding, H., Pinski, M., Rios, N., Gahbauer, J., and Taylor, B. (2022, March 29). *What's Driving California?: The Past, Present, and Future(s) of Transportation in the Golden State; An In-depth Analysis of the Facts, Origins and Trends of Transportation and Urban Planning in California* (H. Brady, L. Maple, and A. Calanog, Eds.). California 100. Retrieved November 25, 2024, from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/13j1g5mm.

Whittemore, A. (2021, April 3). Exclusionary Zoning: Origins, Open Suburbs, and Contemporary Debates. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *87*(2), 167–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2020.1828146.

Wolf, E. (1963, August 1). The Tipping-point in Racially Changing Neighborhoods. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, *29*(3), 217–222. world. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366308978066.

Wolfinger, R., and Greenstein, F. (1968, September). The Repeal of Fair Housing in California: An Analysis of Referendum Voting. *American Political Science Review*, *62*(3), 753–769. https://doi.org/10.2307/1953428.

UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies

3320 Public Affairs Building
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1656
uclaits@ucla.edu
its.ucla.edu
© 2025