"VIVIMOS EN CONFLICTO" (WE LIVE IN CONFLICT): UNIVERISTY-INDUCED DISPLACEMNT IN ISLA VISTA, CA

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PREFACE: A HISTORY MARKED BY EXCLUSION

One of the truest forms of freedom in the United States has been the ownership of land. It has defined citizenship, voting rights, and economic independence
- Stefan Bradley, 2009

Land is perhaps the single most important determinant of university development. Universities need access to land in order to expand their geographical scope. Today the existence of several campuses and universities in the United States can be attributed to the Morrill Act, also known as the Land-Grant Act, signed by President Abraham Lincoln in 1862. This act granted federal public lands to states, allotting 30,000 acres for members in their congressional delegation.[1] The public endowment of land follows a prevailing precedent of land speculation set by settlers during the 18th century. For example, passage of the Land Ordinance Act of 1785 and 1787 under the Articles of Confederation gave the government control over the division and distribution of land. These acts privileged whites by allowing them to purchase land while denying Blacks access to and ownership of land. That same year, 1862, Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Homestead Act, which stated that any current or future citizen could claim a homestead of up to 160 acres of public land for ten dollars or free after completing five years of continuous residence.[2] The Homestead Act gave non-Confederate whites the opportunity to acquire land, but denied Blacks the same opportunity. The immediate and enduring impact of the Homestead Act is evident in the millions of Americans that can trace their wealth to ancestors who acquired land under this act.[3] The asset building potential of this act allowed those who could access land to accumulate asset, especially in the form of home equity, which could then

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[1] Henry S. Brunner, "Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1862-1962," *U.S. Department of Health, Educational Welfare, National Institute of Education* (1966): 54-56.

[2] Harold M. Hyman, *American Singularity: The 1787 Northwest Ordinance, the 1862 Homestead Act, and Morrill Acts, and the 1944 G.I. Bill* (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 18-20.

[3] Thomas M. Shapiro, *The Hidden Cost of Being an African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 189-191.

be inherited to future generations.[4] The point here is that land-use legislation in the United States has historically and systematically perpetuated the large racial wealth gap that exists today.

The public endowment of land under the Morrill Act played a crucial role in the establishment of the University of California. Founded in 1868, UC Berkeley paved the way for the establishment of other UC campuses. On the 100th anniversary of the Morrill Act former UC president, Mark G. Yudof (2008-2013), commemorated the act by saying, "Call it the American way, if you want, but there is one thing that has set this country, and this state, apart, and it's this: our willingness to step up and take a stand for education and all that it brings, even when times are hard."[5] According to Yudof, the Morrill Act, "transformed not just California, but the entire United States, from a divided, underdeveloped society into one that is vigorously diverse, competitive, and advanced."[6] Embedded in these statements is the idea that the Morrill Act should be seen as a public good because higher learning institutions enable people to achieve socioeconomic mobility through education. History shows, however, that education systems across the United States have in some way or another followed the doctrine of segregation—separate and unequal. In this context, Yudof rightly pointed to the internal divisions in the United States.

Under the 1862 Morrill Act, Black students were not allowed to attend original land-grant institutions in southern states. Thirty-eight years later, the 1890 Morrill Act required each state to show that race was not an admissions criterion, or else designate a separate land-grant institution for Black students. While the 1890 Morrill Act attempted to prohibit racial discrimination in college admissions, it perpetuated racial segregation and denied Black students the same

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[4] George Lipsitz, *How Racism Takes Place* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2011), 1-10.

[5] Mark G. Yudof, "Beyond the Morrill Act UCOP Event: A Morrill Act for the 21st Century West Lawn of the Capitol Grounds Sacramento, CA," April 30, 2012.

[6] Ibid.

opportunities as whites. The work of W.E.B Du Bois, a prominent thinker and leader in civil rights literature, played an instrumental role in challenging the racial ideology that suppressed the rights of Black students. Du Bois commended the leadership of Booker T. Washington, a Black educator, who established Tuskegee University, but disagreed with Washington's philosophy on education and labor. Tuskegee University, which forms part of the historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), became a public land-grant institution under the second Morrill Act. In his essay, "The Economic Development of the Negro Race since Emancipation," Booker T. Washington stated:

> "I remember that for a number of years after the founding of the Tuskegee Institute, objection on the part of parents and on the part of students poured in upon me from day to day...They reminded me further that the Negro for two hundred and fifty years as a slave had been worked...I said to them that it was true that the race had been worked in slavery, but the great lesson which we wanted to learn in freedom was to work...I explained that there was a vast difference between being worked and working… Every sign of opposition against any form of industrial education has completely disappeared.[7]

It is important to note that the 1862 Morrill Act was passed with the intention to promote agricultural and industrial studies. Washington championed the idea that industrial education would allow Blacks to achieve material possession and social mobility. Du Bois believed that focusing solely on industrial education or labor would not liberate Blacks. Dubois stated, "the disfranchisement of the Negro, the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro, and the steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro."[8]

While the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, and the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments legally recognized the rights of Blacks, government-sanctioned racial oppression in the United States

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[7] Booker T. Washington, "The Economic Development of the Negro Race Since Emancipation," in *The Negro in the South, His Economic Progress in Relation to His Moral and Religious Development*, Booker T. Washington and W.E. Burghardt DuBois (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company, 1907) 48-50.

[8] W.E.B. Du Bois, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," in *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Company, 1903).

continued with the repressive Jim Crow laws in the South during the post-reconstruction era. In addition, de facto racial discrimination in jobs and housing maintained practices and patterns that disenfranchised Blacks. The 1896 court ruling in Plessey v. Ferguson spelled out what the 20th century would look like in terms of continuing patterns of racial segregation.

Limited access to land and homeownership continues to hold profound implications for people of color. The racial wealth gap in the United States persists in large part because of the legacy of racially discriminatory land-use practices during the 19th century, and the emerging land-use patterns during the 20th century. In the context of university-induced displacement, both the Morrill and Homestead Act are historically significant because they illustrate how land is inextricably linked to broader patterns of racial ideology in the United States. Given universities' history of exclusionary politics, it is important to examine the role of institutions in university-induced displacement. The case studies examined in this thesis reveal that working-class racial-ethnic minorities in campus-adjacent neighborhoods are by far the most negatively affected by university-induced displacement. It is important, then, to examine racial-ethnic relations in campus-adjacent neighborhoods to better understand the structural constraints and challenges faced by existing communities.

Racially Discriminatory Practices and Patterns in the 20th Century

The turn of the 20th century marked a paradigm shift in the creation of American cities and neighborhoods. The 20th century was characterized by congested living quarters, inner-city factories, polluted waterways among other uninhabitable conditions. These areas were commonly known as slums and perceived as a public nuisance. The introduction of zoning laws in the early 1900's facilitated the spatial segregation of people. Zoning has long been understood as the primary tool for regulating the use of land. Zoning allowed municipalities to divide land

into residential, industrial, or commercial areas. The prevalence of zoning acts adopted by various U.S. states, and the prospect of more prompted the U.S. Department of Commerce to issue the Standard State Zoning Enabling Act in 1924.[9] While some cities had already adopted zoning ordinances prior to 1924, this act gave states the legal authority to subdivide and control land as they saw fit. In the context of university-induced displacement, this act is historically significant because universities relied heavily on zoning ordinances and state intervention in the establishment and development of college campuses. In addition, zoning ordinances and other forms of land-use regulations, authorized the construction of buildings that led to the displacement of existing communities for the construction of university campuses.

University-adjacent neighborhoods across the United States all have a different history. Those in central cities in the Midwest and Northeast, such as Chicago and New York, tend to have a longer history of existing communities in urban cities. This is mainly because patterns of urbanization, in this case tied to industrialization, began in these regions of the United States. Millions of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe arrived in industrial cities, but given the lack of housing availability and high-paying jobs, they were forced to live in substandard living conditions. Discriminatory practices in housing, employment, and banking exacerbated living conditions in industrial cities by limiting socioeconomic opportunities. Municipal zoning ordinances were developed as a response to growing issues in cities. In some cases, zoning restrictions were used to deliberately control the spatial movement of Blacks and enforce residential segregation. This was largely because Black migration was seen as a threat to middle and upper class whites. Racist views perpetuated the notion that Blacks depreciated the value of

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[9] John M. Gries, "A Standard State Zoning Enabling Act," *Washington Government Printing Office* (1926): 111.

their property.[10] In *American Apartheid*, Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton note, in great detail, the lengths that white residents would go to in order to preserve the racial homogeneity of their neighborhood:

> They lobbied city councils for zoning restrictions and for the closing of hotels and rooming houses that attracted blacks; they threatened boycotts of real estate agents who sold homes to blacks; they withdrew their patronage from white businesses that catered to black clients; they agitated for public investments in the neighborhood in order to increase property values and keep blacks out of by economic means; they collected money to create funds to buy property from black settlers or to purchase homes that remained vacant for too long; they offered cash bonuses to black renters who agreed to leave the neighborhood.[11]

These organized efforts illustrate white residents' hostile fervor toward Black residents. More importantly, these actions demonstrate how Black residents were steered away from homeownership opportunities. Discriminatory housing practices by the Federal Housing Administration in the early to mid 20th century institutionalized racism and segregation. Mortgage insurance requirements and redlining practices determined mortgage eligibility based on race and ethnicity. The FHA opened housing markets to the middle-class by providing them with financial services that made it easier to purchase homes in the suburbs than to renovate inner city properties, which facilitated the flow of capital in middle-class neighborhoods. Given that about 75 percent of local revenue comes from local property taxes, these types of racially discriminatory practices force us to think about the implications of residential segregation and the concentration of poverty in cities and neighborhoods across the United States, including campus-adjacent neighborhoods.[12] While the 1968 Fair Housing Act outlawed discrimination in the sale, rental and financing of dwellings based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin,

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[10] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), 35-40.

[11] Ibid, 35.

[12] Mark Schneider, *The Competitive City: The Political Economy of Suburbia* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1989) 164-165.

de facto segregation continued to undermine fair housing rights. In 1988, the Fair Housing Act was amended to prohibit discrimination against families with children and persons with physical or mental disabilities. Discriminatory housing practices and racial zoning restrictions are historically significant in the context of university-induced displacement because of their long-term impact on the social and spatial structure of neighborhoods.

In the 21st century, racial discrimination is especially patent among racial-ethnic minorities who continue to have limited access to homeownership despite their class status. For working-class minorities, the prospect of homeownership is less feasible, especially for those in rental housing markets. For example, Black and Latino applicants are rejected for mortgages at higher rates and have the lowest homeownership rate in the United States.[13] Among Black and Latino homeowners, home prices remain depressed, especially in high poverty neighborhoods. In the rental housing market, the number of low-income Black and Latino renters are on the rise and projected to increase in the coming years. Studies have found that low-income renters are more likely to live in poorer quality neighborhoods, often trading off quality for affordability, and jeopardize their health by cutting back on nutrition and health care expenditures.[14] Despite the growing number of Latinos in the United States and the concentration of majority-Latino neighborhoods, relatively few studies examine housing characteristics among Latino renters and immigrants. Regardless of immigration status however, the FHA protects every person in the United States. This thesis attempts to situate the narratives of displacement among Mexican immigrant mothers in the context of exclusionary politics and discriminatory practices in the United States.

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[13] Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, "The State of the Nation's Housing," *Harvard University* (2014): 20.

[14] Ibid, 29.

INTRODUCTION

We condemn the discriminatory mass eviction of families with the purpose of renting to students for higher profits. We demand that the university take responsibility for its impact on the local community. We believe that the University of California, Santa Barbara, is the main driving force in drawing residents to Isla Vista. UCSB administrators must acknowledge the pressure that enrollment of college students is having on the housing market; they must acknowledge that without the University's presence, the current mass eviction would not be happening.

- Familia Contra la Discriminacion, 2006

On August 15, 2006, 55 Latino families residing in Isla Vista, a densely populated area adjacent to the University of California, Santa Barbara, were given a 30-day eviction notice.[15] In protest, several UCSB students along with other community members organized a campaign against the evictions. This was not the first or last mass eviction that has taken place in Isla Vista. Since 2002, over 300 hundred residents of Isla Vista have been evicted, the majority of whom have been low-income, long-term Latino residents. The social and economic vulnerability of Latino families positions them as the group most subject to evictions. The question, then, is why? To explore this question, this study examines the role of inequitable planning and development on the part of UCSB. Doing so requires careful consideration of the university-community relationship between UCSB and Isla Vista, as well as the role of landlords who issue the eviction notices. In demanding that the university take responsibility for the current mass eviction, students were asserting that there is a direct link between the growing presence of the university in Isla Vista and the displacement of existing long-term Latino residents. This assertion points to the longstanding conversation on the role of universities and their impact on immediate surrounding communities.

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[15] Martha Sadler, "I.V. Uprooted 55 Isla Vista Families Served with Eviction Papers." *Santa Barbara Independent*, August 24, 2006.

While Isla Vista is predominately inhabited by students, it is also home to over 7,000 non-student residents, including a high concentration of working-class Latino families. In the past two decades there have been several instances of landlords evicting long-term residents, particularly Latino families, and leasing renovated units to students at rents almost always out of the reach of families. Housing insecurity among Latino families is indicative of the socioeconomic disparities in Isla Vista. Finding housing is particularly difficult for Latino families given the paucity of affordable dwellings, an increasing student housing demand, rising rents, and stagnant incomes. Although eviction is legal, it is important to note the limited bargaining position of tenants, structural constraints that impede housing mobility, and the long-term impact of eviction on Latino families.

The underlying problem and motivation for this study is the potential negative impact that UCSB's Long Range Development Plan, which calls for an annual one percent student enrollment increase to the year 2025, will have on long-term resident Latino families in Isla Vista. The study's central argument is that UCSB's growing presence in Isla Vista perpetuates housing insecurity among Latino families in the community. Past studies have found that eviction and housing insecurity (overcrowding, frequent moves, exposure to health hazards), contribute to a wide range of health concerns including increased levels of stress, depression, and anxiety among adults and children.[16] Mathew Desmond's work on eviction shows that eviction reproduces poverty by exacerbating housing insecurity within aggrieved neighborhoods, especially among low-income mothers and that these mothers are more likely to be depressed and to experience higher stress levels from housing insecurity, all of which negatively affect

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[16] Rebecca Levine Coley, Tama Leventhal, Alicia Lynch, and Melissa Kull, "Poor Quality Housing is Tied to Children's Emotional and Behavioral Problems," *MacArthur Foundation* (2013): 1-4.

children's cognitive, emotional, and behavioral well-being.[17] In thinking about residential instability and its deleterious effect on families and children, UCSB's Long Range Development Plan holds significant implications for the well-being of Latino families in Isla Vista. This study seeks to provide insight on the negative impact of university-induced displacement by presenting the narratives of displaced Latino families in Isla Vista.

Aside from local newspaper stories documenting evictions, there is little archival evidence of the mass evictions in Isla Vista or the present whereabouts of the evicted tenants. Most importantly, there is relatively little research on, or acknowledgment of, the impact that these evictions had on Latino families. One aim of this study is to move to a more comprehensive understanding of how UCSB's projected student housing demand perpetuates the displacement of Latino families. It is also an effort to document and hopefully ameliorate housing insecurity among these families in Isla Vista. The study holds significant implications for the quality of life of Latino mothers and the effects of eviction on their children's health and educational outcomes. Eviction may appear to be a merely inconvenient, finite event, but in the context of poverty and housing insecurity, it can have cumulative and continuing deleterious long-term consequences.

This study used a mixed-methods approach composed of archival research, content analysis of qualitative interviews and participant observation. The archival base includes content analysis of local newspaper articles and government records, which provided insight into community responses and public discourse on eviction cases in Isla Vista. Personal contact with several Latino families over the course of three years allowed me to gain insight into landlord-tenants relations and neighborhood change in Isla Vista. Interviewees were seven Latina

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[17] Matthew Desmond and Rachel T. Kimbro, "Eviction's Fallout: Housing, Hardship, and Health," *Social Forces* (2015): 295–324.

mothers, four of whom faced eviction in Isla Vista. Pseudonyms were given to each participant to protect their identity. To assess demographic changes, data was drawn from the 2000 and 2010 U.S. Census Bureau.

Latinos in Isla Vista

In her 1999 "Report on the Quality of Life of Latino Immigrants in Isla Vista," UCSB Sociology Professor Denise Segura reveals that housing insecurity among Latino families has been a longstanding pressing issue. Segura's study examined *Single Parent, Nuclear Family* (married/partnered and living with children), *Extended Family* (nuclear family plus one or more relatives or friends), *Multiple Family* (two or more related and non-related nuclear families), and *Non-family* households. Across all households, overcrowding, rent-burden, and stagnant incomes were widespread. Slightly over one-third of respondents (37%) lived in *nuclear family households* most of which (84%) lived in one-bedroom apartments with an average of 4.6 people and costing $604 per month in rent. The survey revealed children often sleeping in the same room as their parents or in the apartment living room. About 20% of respondents reported living in *extended family households* with an average of 6 people per household where multiple incomes helped ameliorate rent-burdens as well as childcare costs as adults or older children often shared childcare responsibilities. Over half of *multiple family households* (60%) lived in two-bedroom apartments with an average of 9 people and $725 per month in rent. A majority of *single parent families* (67%) lived in one-bedroom apartments paying an average of $460 per month in rent. The difference in costs reflects subsidized rent provided to one-third of the households in this category. For *non-family households*, the average number of people was 4.6 and rents averaged $616 per month in rent. These numbers suggest that non-family households also experienced overcrowded conditions due to financial constraints.

Segura's study points to the prevalence of overcrowding in Latino households and raises important questions about household instability and its effects on children's educational and health outcomes. In the context of eviction, these findings hold significant implications about how housing insecurity affects mothers and children, especially Latina mothers who receive government assistance and may find it difficult to secure housing. Segura's study is one of the very few that examine the socio-demographic profile of Latino residents in Isla Vista. The problems that Latino families faced in 1999 still exist today, exacerbated, perhaps, given the mass eviction of Latino families since 1999. The persistence of housing insecurity raises concern for the well-being of Latino families and their future in Isla Vista.

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Latinos in Isla Vista comprised 25% out of a total population of 18,000. Isla Visa contained 5,264 housing units, 95% of which were renter occupied households. The percentage of family households was 23% with an average median family income of $26,250. Census figures show that 340 families earned incomes below the poverty line. By 2010, the number of residents living in Isla Vista had grown by more than 5,000 with renter occupied households making up 97.4% of all households. Yet the total number of housing units had dropped to 5,091, a decrease of 173 units since 2000. One of the largest increases in 2010 was the number of nonfamily households, up 61% from the 2000 Census data, which may likely be attributed to student growth. While the number of nonfamily households increased, the percentage of family households decreased by 7%.

The 2013 American Community Survey (ACS) estimates the total population of Isla Vista is more than 24,600 residents composed of 97.8% renter occupied housing units. The number of families living in Isla Vista is estimated to be 835, of which 339 are Latino families, indicating a decrease in the number of Latino families since 1990. According to the 2013 ACS

data, an astounding 79% of residents in Isla Vista allocate more than 30% of their income to rent. According to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, a renting household or family is considered "rent-burdened" if they pay more than 30% of their household income in gross rent, and "severely rent-burdened" if they pay more than 50%. However, it is important to consider the degree to which tenants are "rent-burdened" relative to their gross income. While some residents may be able to afford to allocate such percentages of their income to rent, others may find it increasingly difficult to do so.

Perhaps the concept of university-induced displacement can be better understood by building on the concept of "studentification," a relatively new phenomenon introduced by Darren Smith to describe high concentrations of students in campus-adjacent neighborhoods in the United Kingdom.[18] Studentification provides a framework through which to examine student growth and migration patterns in towns and cities contiguous to universities. Studentification became a contentious topic given that many residents considered the rapid influx of students to be the underlying cause of major demographic shifts in established neighborhoods, transforming those areas into so-called "student hoods." According to Smith, the reconfiguration or restructuring of existing populations mirrors similar processes and patterns of gentrification, most notably displacement. Research suggests that changes in planning policies and new housing legislation could potentially ameliorate the displacement and/or relocation of existing communities as well as address demographic imbalances. Studentification can be understood as an emerging process of neighborhood change that can significantly alter the social and physical landscape of campus-adjacent neighborhoods. Smith's concept helps to illuminate planning and

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[18] Darren Smith, "Studentification: The Gentrification Factory?" in *Gentrification in a Global Context*, ed. Rowland Atkinson and Gary Bridge (London: Routledge, 2005), 73-91.

socioeconomic issues in the unincorporated town of Isla Vista, California, home to over 23,000 residents within a one-square mile radius.

The first two chapters demonstrate how the establishment and expansion of universities is based on their ability to acquire, control, and develop land. "The Genesis and Evolution of UCSB," demonstrates how access to land allowed the University of California to establish UCSB. University-induced displacement cannot be understood without examining the role of land-use regulation and development, "We'll Build Until We Run Out of Room," illustrates how zoning ordinances and variances favored private developers in Isla Vista. A focus on the role of planning and local legislation encourages us to consider how legislation can potentially ameliorate the negative impact of university-induced displacement.

"University-Community Relations at Columbia University and UCSB (1968-1970)," examines organized student protests on college campuses, as well as community responses to the role of universities. "Community Resistance to University-Induced Displacement at UIC and UCSB (1998-2014)," examines community responses and resistance to university-induced displacement, particularly cases of eviction in Isla Vista. This chapter is intended to provide a general overview of UCSB's relationship with Isla Vista.

"Somos Parte de Aqui," covers interviews conducted with seven former and current tenants in Isla Vista. The addition of an ethnographic component allows for a deeper understanding of landlord-tenant relations and current socio-demographic profile of Latinos families, and explores the lasting impact of university-induced displacement on campus-adjacent neighborhoods. This chapter considers the unfolding events leading to university-community tensions or partnerships. It underscores the possibility of university development without displacement.

Universities, whether they are public or private institutions are social, political, and economic agents of change. Universities have been long understood as a public good, yet they have also played a central role in various unsettling university-community disputes, and have had, at various times, even a negative impact on neighboring communities. Universities are human agglomerations and not simple abstract entities. It is important, then, to question the role key stakeholders in the establishment and development of universities, as well as their motives and actions as widely esteemed public benefactors. In thinking about how universities shape the social and physical landscape of surrounding localities, this study examines university-induced displacement—a prominent marker of neighborhood change. In particular, this study centers on the mass eviction of Latino families in Isla Vista, while drawing from different cases of displacement in other campus-adjacent. While each institution has different cases of displacement occurring in different places and times, these campus-adjacent areas illuminate the prevalence of university-induced displacement.

CHAPTER 1: LAND, POLITICS, AND POWER: HISTORICAL PARALLELS IN THE ESTABLSIHMENT OF UCSB AND UICC

> The role of speculator-developer is, in fact, integral and essential to the workings of a capitalist economy. Since the urbanization process relates to economic growth in general, the speculator-developer who is, in effect, the promoter of urbanization, plays a vital role in promoting economic growth...without a certain minimum of governmental regulation and institutional support; however, the speculator-developer could not perform the vital function of promoter, coordinator and stabilizer of land-use change.
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> - David Harvey, 1975

Prior to joining the University of California in 1944, the campus was formally known as Santa Barbara State College. Santa Barbara's state assembly member, Alfred Robertson, had long envisioned incorporating Santa Barbara State College into the University of California (UC).[19] With the support of state senators, Robertson pursued his vision by introducing a bill in the 1941 legislative session to establish Santa Barbara State College as a branch of the UC. The establishment of a university is no simple task; it is a rather arduous one that involves large amounts of economic and political support. Robertson knew this and therefore depended on the political and economic support of Thomas A. Storke, the owner and editor-in-chief of two well-known newspapers in Santa Barbara. Storke came from a wealthy family whose inherited wealth facilitated his path to becoming an influential political and social figure. Not only was Storke well known in the local Santa Barbara area, as a former U.S. Senator, Storke garnered political influence within and outside the legislative system. Storke's social networks and wealth would prove instrumental in the establishment and development of the UCSB campus.

Despite the political and economic backing of influential figures, the process to join the UC proved difficult. In the initial introduction of the bill, Robertson received stiff opposition from Dr. Walter Dexter, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and assembly member, Gardiner Johnson, who were concerned about the prestige of the UC. Their main concern was that

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[19] Jennifer H. Strand, "Evolution of a Boom Town, Isla Vista, California, 1915-1968 (Thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1987), 23-27.

acceptance of the Santa Barbara State College would set a precedent for other state colleges to request entry into the UC. It would take Robertson three years of employing strategic political tactics to convince legislative representatives to pass the bill. After the bill had failed to pass in the Senate, Robertson and Storke invited California legislators and their spouses to visit Santa Barbara for a weekend. According to Robertson, this was an "on the spot investigation to educate the legislators about the unique qualifications Santa Barbara offered to the University of California".[20] The weekend was filled with lavish receptions and pronounced a success when after a week, Robertson who reintroduced his bill in the next legislative session, gained support by an overwhelming majority in the House.

Robertson faced new opposition, this time from the UC Regents and Governor Earl Warren. Warren considered vetoing the bill given the reluctance of the UC Regents. However, after individual calls from Storke, Robertson, and a prominent Santa Barbara attorney to talk Governor Warren out of the veto, the bill was signed into law in 1943. The passage of the bill was predicated on the considerable economic assistance from Thomas Storke. Because acceptance to the UC was contingent upon approval from the UC Board of Regents, Robertson drove up and down the state to visit each regent. In hopes of alleviating fears over the potential precedent of state colleges requesting to join the UC, Robertson assured each Regent that he would oppose any other State College. This pitch in conjunction with other persuasive tactics ultimately convinced the majority of the UC Regents and in June 1944, the Regents voted 14-4 to accept Santa Barbara into the UC system.

Robertson overcame major legislative hurdles in the process of joining the UC, however, the establishment of what is now the UCSB Main Campus introduced new barriers, especially given that the UC Regents were considering relocating the Santa Barbara campus to a new site

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[20] Ibid, 28.

by the city of Goleta, which included the Isla Vista mesa, a 408-acre parcel. This site was located in what was then an army base. Since World War II had ended, the War Assets Administration offered first to resell the land to the Bishop Company who had owned the land prior to the Marines. Uninterested in purchasing the 408-acre parcel, the land was then offered for sale in the open market. Storke did not want to risk losing the land to another buyer, so while the UC Regents made their decision, Storke took advantage of his political connections with army officers to reserve the property until the regents announced their intention to move the campus in 1948. That same year, the UC Regents confirmed the transfer of property and the Isla Vista mesa was sold to the UC Regents for the nominal amount of ten dollars.[21] Such a transfer of property for so little amount of money raises questions about the political and economic power of influential figures, such as Thomas Storke and the UC Regents. The fact that Thomas Storke could reserve such as large tract of land for the potential development of a newly established campus speaks volumes of the amount of political and social leverage that he had. This land transaction is reminiscent of the 1862 Homestead Act, which allowed white settlers to purchase a homestead of up to 160 acres of public land for ten dollars. In the 1950s, UCSB was in its initial stages, yet held a great amount of influence in the development of immediate surrounding locality. The fact that UCSB was now part of the prestigious UC system meant that local land values and population would increase.

In 1955, Thomas Storke was appointed to the UC Regents serving until 1960. At the time, Storke owned 89 acres adjacent to the UCSB Main Campus. During his appointment, though it is unclear what year, Storke took part in the university's long-term plan to increase student enrollment from 10,000 to 25,000, which soured all property values in the immediate Isla Vista

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[21] Carmen Lodise, *Isla Vista A Citizen's History* (California: Create Space Publishing, 2008), 10.

and Goleta Valley periphery.[22] In the late 1950s, the university would end up purchasing a large tract of land from Thomas Storke for $1.15 million of which he donated half to the university.[23] In recognition of Storke's gift, UCSB commemorated Storke's contribution by naming a bell tower, a building, and a prestigious academic achievement award in his honor. Thomas Storke's wealth combined with his political influence was without a doubt what made him a key stakeholder in the establishment of UCSB.

The acquisition of the Isla Vista mesa by the UC Regents went largely uncontested by local community members mainly because the political tactics and maneuvering by Thomas Storke and his colleagues were mostly done behind closed doors. Nevertheless, news regarding the relocation of the Santa Barbara campus to the Goleta site led existing residents of Isla Vista to form the Isla Vista Improvement Association to guide the future of Isla Vista. Out of the total population in Isla Vista, about 25 residents formed part of the Isla Vista Improvement Association.[24] While the members of the Isla Vista Improvement Association represented a relatively select few, the formation of the organization can be interpreted as a precautionary move.

It is noteworthy to highlight the historical parallels in the creation of the Isla Vista Improvement Association the creation of "improvement associations," such as the Harlem's Property Owners' Improvement Corporation in New York, which was a group of whites that organized to stop black migration in predominantly white neighborhoods in early 20th century. Existing Isla Vista residents did not necessarily fear displacement given that Isla Vista was an open parcel of land with little urban development. Instead, many of the existing residents were wary of the vested interests of out-of-town property owners. Foreseeing population growth, a

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[22] Ibid, 11.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Strand, "Evolution of a Boom Town," 44.

growing number of Santa Barbara area property owners organized interest groups to oversee the development of Isla Vista, but most importantly, to invest in the development of Isla Vista.

The post-war years played a significant role in the establishment and expansion of university campuses across the United States. In 1946, the University of Illinois established a temporary campus on Native Pier, which turned to be an inconvenient location for the class setting given the pier's crowded and narrow corridors as well as noise nuisances from nearby ships. In response to student protests against the site of the temporary campus, in 1954, the Trustees of the University of Illinois announced that a permanent campus would be constructed to serve the metropolitan area. News about the location and construction of this campus swept local newspapers. While the establishment of the university in a permanent location would bring stability and structure to the campus, the pressing question was not how, but where it would be located. Richard J. Daley who was the Mayor of Chicago during this time, made sure to highlight that locating a site for the development of a new Chicago campus of the University of Illinois was among his top priorities. Unlike Isla Vista, which during the 1930s and 1940s remained inhabited by a relatively small population, the surrounding Chicago metropolitan area was home to a mass population with residents from ethnically and socioeconomically diverse backgrounds. Moreover, many long-term Chicago-area residents feared displacement from their homes.

Residents from the Far West Side of Chicago—West Garfield Park—welcomed the campus. In 1957, residents of this area began a campaign to "trade" Garfield Park in exchange for the university for two reasons. First, residents saw the establishment of the campus as a potential driver of economic prosperity for the neighborhood west of the campus. Increased economic activity in the local area would serve as a mechanism to improve the physical upkeep of the neighborhood given the lack of funding from the city government. Second, champions of

this campaign sought to disrupt the block-by-block westward migration of Black residents. In other words, residents of the Far West Side were in support of racial segregation in the Chicago metropolitan area. Prior to the 1950s, Garfield Park was seen as an exclusively white area; however, by the 1950s residents of this area began to think that Garfield Park "had fallen in a severe state of decay".[25] West Siders emphasized the importance of keeping Black residents out of West Garfield Park and preventing any further westward migration. White residents were seen as an asset and nonwhite residents as a burden. Another reason was that the increasing presence of Blacks on the east side of the park would depreciate the value of the nearby housing stock.

The racist rationales for the removal of Garfield Park and the establishment of the university were alarming because they positioned one group as superior and one as inferior on the basis of race. White residents believed that Black residents or neighbors should not live in exclusively white areas because of their race, and that their increasing presence in the local area would bring the neighborhood into decay. West Side residents argued that removal of the park and the establishment of the campus would encourage middle-class whites to settle into the surrounding area and lead Black residents to move elsewhere.[26] This thinking is in line with what is now commonly understood as gentrification—the process by which the "renewal," "revitalization", or "rebuilding" of a neighborhood brings an influx of middle-class or affluent people into areas that often displaces residents with lower incomes. Far West Siders wanted to preserve a homogeneous white neighborhood and surrounding area. In addition, the reasoning of these Far West Side residents points to universities as anchor institutions, that is, universities as

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[25] Armanda I. Seligman, *Block by Block Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 100.

[26] Ibid. 100-103.

incentives for economic development.[27] Anchor institutions have become widely known for their implicit "revitalization" efforts of key stakeholders and the surrounding communities.

The organized efforts of Far West Side residents in support of the establishment of the university and the removal of Garfield Park succeeded in persuading university trustees to consider their plan.[28] However, this plan went against Mayor Richard J. Daley's vision for a campus in downtown Chicago. Mayor Daley wanted to locate the campus in the downtown area in part as larger efforts to "revitalize" and "redevelop" the city. Mayor Daley received support from The Metropolitan Housing and Planning Council, and in 1959 created a Joint Action Committee, which blocked alternative locations, especially acquisition of Garfield Park.[29] To the dismay of Chicago's Far West Side residents, Mayor Daley considered a second site located in the Harrison-Halsted area, which was on the west side of the campus. West Siders interpreted Mayor Daley's vision as a plan to revitalize the downtown and industrialize the Far West Side. Seeing that the university was being built elsewhere, many middle-class Far West Side residents moved and placed their homes up for sale. As more middle-class residents left, a growing number of low-income Black residents moved into Garfield Park.

The University of Illinois Chicago Circle (UICC) campus would eventually be located in the Harrison-Halsted area in the mid-1960s. Before development began, this neighborhood was one of the few racially integrated neighborhoods in the city. This neighborhood was home to various racial-ethnic groups including, Italians, Greeks, Mexicans, and Blacks.[30] The fact that the Mayor was interested in establishing the university in this area raises several questions about his intentions of serving the immediate surrounding communities. The Mayor was aware that the

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Eugenie Birch, David C. Perry, and Henry Louis Taylor, "Universities as Anchor Institutions," *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement* 17(2013): 7-8.

Seligman, 100.

Ibid, 114.

Ibid, 104-105.

proposed site of development would displace several long-term residents, so why was he interested in establishing the campus in an area where the majority of the community opposed the plan? Urban renewal policies had become increasingly prevalent across major cities in the United States and with the end of World War II universities expanded in order accommodate veterans. UICC was established as an anchor intuition not only to bring additionally state funding into the Chicago metropolitan area, but also to strategically and systematically displace racial-ethnic groups in the central area of downtown Chicago.

Mayor Daley recognized that university-induced displacement would occur, but in order to promote his vision of the university as a public good for the Chicago metropolitan area, Daley ensured that displaced residents would be compensated.[31] Material compensation for the thousands of residents and businesses that were uprooted was not what Daley had in mind. Mayor Daley was referring to the money that would be generated in the local economy as the result of the establishment of the university. Supporting the establishment of the campus as a branch of the state university system meant that the university would bring more state money to the city of Chicago. However, that did not necessarily mean that displaced residents would benefit. Some researchers have interpreted Mayor Daley's vision of the UICC campus as an "urban mission," broadly defined as a "university's social and moral responsibility or obligation to serve the city in teaching, research and service".[32] Florence Scale, director of the Halsted-Harrison Community Group Inc., hotly protested the establishment of the UICC campus. Scale has been referenced as the individual who coined the term "urban mission." According to Scale, the UICC campus represented, "a high brick wall that isolates the campus from the people who

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31 Carol Severino, "An Urban University and its Academic Support Program," *Journal of Basic Writing* (1996): 43.
32 Severino, 40.

live on the Near West Side. It means that the power for urban renewal is the most divisive political weapon that can be used against our communities to gain political ends".[33]

To Scale and many other displaced residents, the university served a contradictory purpose. Mayor Daley claimed that the university would give residents access to a wide range of resources and services. If seen in these terms, the university did and continues to provide services to the local and wider communities within and outside the Chicago metropolitan area. However, when examining the process by which the university pursued its vision, it becomes clear that the university contributed to the marginalization of existing local communities without properly mitigating or compensating the displacement of its immediate neighbors. In the Harrison-Halsted neighborhood more than 14,000 residents and 800 businesses were displaced.[34] In the first stage of construction, several families received eviction notices. The Italian community, which was largely situated in the Taylor-Street-Little Italy area, was the largest displaced population. Between the 1950s and 1960s two-thirds of the housing in the Our Lady of Pompeii, which was home to a large concentration of Italian residents was uprooted.[35] Neighboring Halsted Street was Maxwell Street created by the passage of a city ordinance to create a public market where there were various types of commercial activity with vendors from various racial-ethnic backgrounds. In the wake of the Mexican Revolution, many Mexicans fled to the United States and found jobs in steel mills, factories, and railroad work in the North. In the 1950s and 1960s, urban renewal and the building of UIC uprooted a large Mexican population. Many Mexicans in the Near West Side migrated to the adjacent Lower West Side area,

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[33] Ibid.
[34] John Paulette and Ron Gordon. *Forgotten Chicago*. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publication, 2004), 98.
[35] Kathy Catrambone and Ellen Shubart. *Taylor Street: Chicago's Little Italy*. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publication, 2007), 99.

commonly known as Pilsen. Other ethnic groups followed the same path; some migrating to different areas within the city of Chicago while other chose the suburbs.

The founders of UCSB and UICC exerted their political and economic power to pursue their vision of the university. Without the political and economic will power of influential figures, such as Thomas Storke and Mayor Daley, UCSB and UICC might have followed different trajectories. For example, UCSB may have very well continued as Santa Barbara State College with a much smaller student population, and its adjacent town, Isla Vista, might have never seen a majority student population. This supposed history, is of course, far from the truth. UCSB and UICC are today key stakeholders. Any new development is built around them and in many cases because of their close proximity. As aforementioned, universities are powerful social, political, and economic agents of change. The neighborhood change brought by the establishment of UCSB and UICC whether positive or negative, shaped the social and physical landscape of their immediate surrounding localities. An examination of university-induced displacement in surrounding university-adjacent neighborhoods requires a close look at urban planning policies to fully understand how universities impact their neighboring communities. Given the degree of politics involved in the establishment of universities, it is necessary to examine the politics of the university as an urban developer in the context of university-induced displacement. Examination of the role of urban planning and policies is necessitated given the unique planning provisions in Isla Vista, which would pave the way for many of the pressing issues in Isla Vista then and now.

CHAPTER 2: "WE'LL BUILD UNTIL WE RUN OUT OF ROOM"

University-induced displacement cannot be understood without examining the role of land-use regulation and development. The establishment and expansion of universities is based on their ability to acquire, control, and develop land. Among their many roles and functions, universities are land proprietors and developers. As such, it is important to examine the process by which universities acquire and develop land. In an era where universities are constantly expanding, it is crucial that close attention be given to the impact of university development on community-adjacent neighborhoods, especially when it involves the displacement of existing communities. The objective of this chapter is to elucidate how university-induced displacement is rooted in land-use control, particularly in the meticulous passing and amending of zoning regulations that typically favor private property owners and university officials. Projected student growth in the early 1950's made Isla Vista and the surrounding City of Goleta a lucrative site of development. UCSB's plan for student enrollment growth and the prospect of capital investment fueled private developers' interest in Isla Vista.

By the 1950's the Planning Commission had received more than five zoning requests from Isla Vista and Goleta Valley. The County Planning Department responded by creating a single-zoning ordinance to be implemented countywide. Richard Whitehead, the County Planning Director and Percy Hecendorf were tasked with developing this ordinance, which was estimated to take three years to complete.[36] As an engineer and planner, Whitehead's background allowed him to provide advice on what zoning regulations would work best in different county localities, especially in the unincorporated Isla Vista and Goleta Valley jurisdiction. Foreseeing population growth and taking into consideration the peculiar subdivisions in Isla Vista, Whitehead advocated for low-density zoning regulation. By contrast, property owners in Isla

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[36] Strand, "Evolution of a Boom Town," 47.

wanted high-density zoning. With the nearly 500 property owners in Isla Vista in the late 1940's, it became ostensibly clear that property owners and Isla Vista residents sought zoning regulations with the intention of making profit.[37] Despite the fact that property values were very likely going to increase, several Isla Vista resident owners expressed interest in high-density zoning as well. In spite of encouraging low-density zoning, Whitehead, submitted to the County a zoning plan, which called for R-4 multiple residential zoning for nearly half of Isla Vista, allowing lots closest to the campus to support four or more units. In 1954, the Board of Supervisors approved the ordinance. This ordinance projected future growth in Isla Vista for a total population of about 13,000 residents. That was an "average of more than 43 people per acre, a density that did not exist anywhere west of the Mississippi River."[38]

In 1953, the Santa Barbara County Health Department found that about 50 percent of the dwellings in Isla Vista were considered "substandard," with about 10 percent as "very substandard."[39] That same year, 1953, the County of Santa Barbara established "D" zoning designation to regulate the design of buildings. After the 1925 earthquake, the SB County saw an opportunity to rebuild Santa Barbara, and decided to follow a Spanish colonial theme. Architectural uniformity was not a decisive factor in Isla Vista until 1956 when word about a non-resident property owner's plans to move a large building from a Santa Barbara suburb to Isla Vista received strong opposition by the Isla Vista Improvement Association, which consisted mainly of local private property owners. The design and overall appearance of the building did not suit the individual stylistic taste of the Improvement Association, and while the building was not in violation of building codes, the Improvement Association sought to request a zoning amendment that could halt the move. The Board of Supervisors passed an emergency zoning

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[37] Ibid, 50.
[38] Ibid. 55.
[39] Ibid, 70.

regulation applying the "D" throughout Isla Vista. The ordinance stated: "It is necessary...to prevent the construction, alteration or moving in of buildings in the vicinity of the University of California, Santa Barbara campus at Goleta, which buildings would be in conflict with the type of development desired of said area..."[40] The passage of this ordinance is significant because it illustrates how zoning became a tool by which private developers could regulate development in Isla Vista.

During the 1950's, the SB County Board of Supervisors had set a precedent for loose variance granting. From 1954 to 1958, the SB County Board of Supervisors granted eleven of twelve variances, which were to hold precedent over requests regarding zoning regulations.[41] In particular, private property owners were requesting permission to build more units in an apartment complex than what was allowed. The value of land in Isla Vista was the underlying motive for these requests since dense construction was needed to realize profit. Rather than abiding the plan outlined in the zoning ordinance, developers began continuously asking the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors for variances, the majority of which were granted.[42] Variances allowed developers to use their property in a way that was forbidden by the zoning ordinance. The objective of these variances, however, remained the same, namely to facilitate the development of buildings that would suit the vested interests of property owners.

By 1958, UCSB student enrollment rate were projected to increase by three times its number from 1954.[43] The task of constructing university housing became increasingly urgent. Yet, the high value of land in Isla Vista deterred the UC Regents from purchasing land in Isla Vista. The UC Regent's treasurer estimated that a purchase of twenty acres on the university's

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[40] Ibid, 74.
[41] Ibid, 82.
[42] Ibid, 98.
[43] Robert Kelley, *Transformations UC Santa Barbara 1909-1979* (California: The Associated Students University of California, Santa Barbara, 1981), 15.

boundary would cost $400,000 with an additional $35,00 in sewer assessments.[44] In addition, the purchasing of land in Isla Vista was complicated; some owners were unwilling to sell land. This accentuated the need for private capital to fill the gap in student housing. Initially, the University intended to be a small liberal arts college with an enrollment of 3,500 students. By 1958, that enrollment had skyrocketed to include an additional 6,500 students over the next few years. That same year, 1958, UCSBC dropped "college" and henceforth became known as the University of California, Santa Barbara, indicating that like its counterparts at Berkeley and UCLA, it would offer undergraduate and graduate studies, which meant that UCSB would likely expand in size and scale.[45]

In 1958, UCSB's Vice Chancellor, Dr. Elmer Noble, had sent a letter to the Board of Supervisors to take a stance on the university's position on zoning variances. Noble made it clear that while the Isla Vista Improvement Association advocated for variances in order to support the growing student housing demand, this "should in no way be construed to mean University endorsement of substandard housing or hasty, unjustifiable variances in zoning regulations... the university is vitally interested in planned and orderly development of the community which surrounds this campus."[46] Notwithstanding development in Isla Vista seemed to keep pace with UCSB student enrollment growth. In the 1962-1963 academic year there were 4,780 UCSB students increasing to 5848 in 1963-1964, reaching 9378 by fall, 1965.[47] In 1960 building permits totaled about $250,000. By 1963, a total of $6,736,200 in building permits had been approved. In that year alone, 1963, developers built 953 apartment units. By 1964, eighty percent

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[44] Strand, 84.
[45] Ibid, 18.
[46] Ibid, 98.
[47] Kelley, 22.

of the residential land in Isla Vista had been developed.[48] Developers showed little sign of slowing down. Apartment units were being built at an astonishing rate; by 1967, there were 4,040 dwelling units in Isla Vista.[49] During the early 1960's, the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors facilitated development with the introduction of Student Residential "SR" Zoning, which exempted R-2 (duplexes) and R-4 (multi-story apartments) in Isla Vista from conforming to certain planning regulations.[50]

In the early 1960s, most UCSB students lived on campus or in the surrounding Goleta Valley, though students residing in Isla Vista began increasing in greater numbers as housing became more readily available. As UCSB grew in scale, the number of UCSB students residing in Isla Vista increased as well. It became clear that UCSB's plan for student enrollment growth fueled private developers' interest in Isla Vista due to the prospect of capital investment. While high-density zoning expanded the geographical scope of development in Isla Vista, it paved the way for a number of pressing issues in the area. Narrow streets, traffic jams, lack of sidewalks, and closely built apartment buildings, and high rents were all the product of unstructured zoning regulations and development. This was compounded by the fact that there was no comprehensive plan outlining the future growth and development of Isla Vista. The next chapter discusses how Isla Vista and other campus-adjacent universities transformed into a site of contested space, in part due to the legacy of zoning regulations in the immediate surrounding area.

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[48] Jennifer H. Strand, "Maximum Freedom and the Limits of Community: Isla Vista, California, 1925-1975" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1994): 13.

[49] Ibid, 14.

[50] Lodise, 14.

CHAPTER 3: UNIVERSITY-COMMUNITY RELATIONS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AND UCSB (1968-1970)

The university acted as not only an institution of higher education but also a landowner and landlord in the surrounding area.
- Stephen Bradley, 2009

In the late 1960s, organized student demonstrations disrupted college campuses across the United States. The Vietnam War and Civil Rights Movement prompted students to mobilize and shape the political climate at their campus. Stefan Bradley's book *Harlem vs. Columbia* University provides insight into how residents in the neighborhoods of West Harlem and Morningside Heights in New York and Columbia University students organized to halt the university's expansion project into West Harlem, a predominantly Black and Latino neighborhood. Student protestors brought attention to the university's underlying urban renewal agenda and its racist undertones, arguing that the project would displace residents and destroy hundreds of affordable housing units by demolition. In addition protestors argued that the project would increase housing pressure to the area, which many city officials and outside residents considered "blighted" and subject to demolition. Protestors were not necessarily against expansion efforts as much as they were against the university's inequitable expansion project. In Isla Vista, UCSB student organized anti-war protests. Student demonstrations during the 1960s are historically significant because not only did they bring attention to pressing social issues, but they also questioned the role of universities.

Following urban renewal agendas set by federal, state, and municipal agencies in the 1950s and 1960s, Columbia University purchased land and property with the intention to eradicate "ghettos" in the Morningside Heights and Harlem, neighborhoods populated by mostly Black and Puerto Rican communities.[51] As the number of Black and Puerto Rican residents

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[51] Stefan M. Bradley, M. *Harlem vs. Columbia University Black Student Power in the Late 1960s*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 1-5.

grew, an increasing number of apartment buildings were converted into single-room occupancy (SRO) buildings. SRO residents, many of whom received government assistance, made an average of $3,000 or less and paid about $60 per month in rent.[52] While the introduction of SRO buildings lowered rent, SRO conversions drove land and housing values down, making it feasible for Columbia University to purchase land and property at a lower cost. The increasing presence of the university and the lack of affordable single-family homes made it less accessible for SRO residents to own property in these neighborhoods.

Supporting the institutional expansion of Columbia University was the Morningside Renewal Council, which consisted of university officials, politicians, and community members that advocated for the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan for Morningside Heights and West Harlem. According to a study conducted by the Faculty Civil Rights Group of Columbia, one of the university planners, Stanley Salmen, stated, "We are looking for a community where the faculty can talk to people like themselves. We don't want a dirty group."[53] In the eyes of university officials and planners, these neighborhoods were crime ridden and uninhabitable for a community of faculty and university students. Members of the Morningside Heights Inc. (MHI), composed of other institutions established the Morningside Community Patrol in 1962 in response to safety concerns in these areas. With the help from Columbia University, MHI members hired security guards for $150,000 a year. These efforts served to further criminalize existing residents in these areas. Being a predominantly white institution, Columbia University was criticized by various community members for its expansion projects that privileged upper-class whites and disadvantaged the predominantly lower-income Black and Puerto Rican communities in Morningside Heights and Harlem.

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[52] Bradley, 27.
[53] Ibid, 28.

In order to build more campus buildings, university representatives evicted tenants from university-owned SROs in the Morningside Heights neighborhood at alarming rates. In 1957, there were 466 SRO tenants, by 1968 the number of SROs declined to 146 units. A report by the Columbia College Citizens Council found that the university displaced about 9,600 people, approximately 85 percent of whom were Black or Puerto Rican. As a landlord, the university failed to provide adequate heat supply during cold winters and respond to other maintenance requests, forcing tenant to vacate buildings. Relatively few low-income housing units replaced the vacant units once occupied by low-income tenants. Instead, these units were often renovated and rented at much higher rates. Limited relocation assistance and access to lawyers left tenants with very few resources to contest the evictions. While the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan for Morningside Heights and West Harlem was revised in 1965 to restrict Columbia's expansion, the university continued to purchase land and property. In that decade alone, the university purchased 150 housing units in Morningside Heights.

While residents of Harlem and Morningside Heights organized against the mass evictions and the racially discriminatory practices by the university, their efforts focused on stopping the university from building a gymnasium. In 1958, Columbia University expressed interest in purchasing an area in Morningside Park, located in the neighborhood of Harlem, on which to build a gymnasium. Two years later, the university declared that it would lease an area to build the gymnasium with a portion dedicated for public use. The university's plan went uncontested for a few years because university officials rarely communicated with local residents about its plans or intentions. News about the university's plan became widespread in late 1965 and early 1966 when various local city organizations challenged the university's acquisition of public space for private use. For many local Harlem and Morningside residents, the construction of the

gym in an area predominated by Black residents was more than just an issue of the expropriation of a public park. Reminiscent of the punitive and oppressive Jim Crow Laws in the South, construction of the gym was referred as "Gym Crow." Local residents felt strongly that the university felt entitled to the space and assumed that it would go unchallenged. As Bradley Stefan put it, "why was it possible for white institutions to take land and power from minority populations, particularly black people, without consulting populations?"[54] Columbia officials failed to recognize that the university systematically and deliberately displaced existing residents.

Students on the UCSB campus during the 1960s also engaged in political movements and protests. In the fall of 1968, the Black Students' Union (BSU) occupied the UCSB Computer Science Building. Like other college campuses across the U.S. Black students created a list of demands in response to the lack of representation of Black students and Black Studies curriculum in predominantly white institutions. While UCSB was a relatively new university in the late 1960s, its student population was comprised of students who came from mostly middle and upper class backgrounds, pointing to the lack of diversity and representation for students of color. In a state where more than 22 percent of its population was Black at the time, less than .001 percent attended UCSB, a public university.[55] On February 3, 1969, Santa Barbara County sheriffs raided the Isla Vista apartment of seven UCSB Black Student Union students, alleging non-payment of rent. Upon search of the dwelling, they were arrested on drug-connected charges. Thousands of UCSB students protested this event. The criminalization of UCSB students in Isla Vista was evident in the public commentaries by Isla Vista realtors who alleged that Educational Opportunity Program, a retention based program for first-generation and/or low-

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[54] Bradley, 3.
[55] "Chanting Whites Support Blacks," *El Gaucho*, October 15, 1968, 8.

income students, were the principal source of defaults in rent payments.[56] In response to plans proposed by the UC Board of regents, UCSB Chancellor Cheadle stated: "The needs of the times and the tremendous resentment, particularly of our minority groups…I just want to know that when Armageddon comes, I think maybe the administrators are going to be on the sidelines watching the faculty and the students fight it out with the regents."[57] University-community disputes were largely tied to racial discrimination and rising opposition to the Vietnam War and the military draft.

On the night of February 25, 1970, the Isla Vista branch of the Bank of America, a symbol of capitalism, was burned down to the ground. What began as a nonviolent protest, rapidly escalated to a full riot bringing in waves of police authorities from the Santa Barbara and Los Angeles area and garnering national media attention. To understand the casualties and events leading up to the civil unrests, the UC regents organized seven-person committee called The Commission on Isla Vista to make a series of observations and recommendations for the future of Isla Vista.[58] In the opening statement of the report, the commission stated: "If there is one thread running through all our deliberations and recommendations, it is that the university can no longer ignore, if it ever could, the condition under which the bulk of its students live and spend the greater part of their time while at the university… The university cannot act in Isla Vista just as it acts on its own campus; but neither can it refuse to act there at all."[59] The commission believed that the existing high concentration of students raised several challenges and undermined the well-being of residents in Isla Vista, and was surprised to see a lack of communication and partnership between the university and county. In response to the

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[56] Kelley, 41.
[57] Ibid.
[58] The commission consisted of lawyers, psychology, sociology, and city planning professors from UC Berkeley, San Francisco State College, and the University of Southern California.
[59] Martin Trow, "Report of the Commission on Isla Vista," *University of California*, (1970): ii.

university's lack of involvement in the physical and social landscape of Isla Vista, the commission stated:

> The seeming lack of concern for 'what goes on in Isla Vista' as evidenced by the study plan's lack of indication of land uses, circulation patterns, and current state of building development in this area, should be corrected at once. The campus obviously has a great stake in Isla Vista's growth coupled with and complementary to the campus itself for it is the campus' only residential neighbor.... UCSB is the most powerful "citizen" in Isla Vista, yet...it has refused to assume its proportionate civic responsibility.[60]

The commission recommended that the university include Isla Vista in its Long Range Redevelopment Plans. Given overcrowding and landlord-tenant disputes with the handful of realty management firms that managed most of the 9,000 students living in Isla Vista, the commission recommended that the university the present size of the UCSB be maintained until further evaluation.[61] Despite the Commission's recommendations, UCSB continued to increase student enrollment. Although the university built and purchased new residential buildings to accommodate students, vacancy rates in Isla Vista were consistently low throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a trend still prevalent today.

The major findings in these case studies show that university expansion projects can have deleterious consequences in surrounding neighborhoods. It is important, then, that university-led planning processes be carried out in dialogue with the community members in areas where construction will take place. In the absence of university-community discourse, university administrators will likely find resistance to their planning and development initiatives. On the other hand, university-community engagement and participatory planning might strengthen the assume leadership role that universities claim. The next chapter examines community efforts to resist university-induced displacement.

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[60] Martin Trow, 76.
[61] Ibid, 97.

CHAPTER 4: COMMUNITY RESISTANCE TO UNIVERSITY-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT (1998-2014)

In the summer of 1998, 36 Latino families were evicted from the Colonial, Balboa, and Cortez apartments (CBC) in Isla Vista. Eviction notices read, "Due to rental renovation plans, you and your family must leave this apartment in 25 days! If you do not comply, we will physically remove your family and your belongings from the premises."[62] Students and community members organized a walk out and marched over to the CBC apartments. Those who were not evicted were harassed so much that they could no longer live and raise their kids in such a hostile environment. Tenants reported that the management would refuse to hear any complaints about the apartments, uttered racial slurs, and constantly screamed at the children. Students argued that it was as if the management's sole purpose was to intimidate the Latino families.[63] In response to these evictions and other landlord-tenant issues, the UCSB Associated Students created the Isla Vista Tenants Union (IVTU) to advocate for tenants' rights in Isla Vista through education and community organizing.

Eight years later, on August 15, 2006, 55 Latino families living in Cedarwood Apartments located at 6626 Picasso Road were given thirty-day eviction notices.[64] Among those who received 30-day eviction notices were 13 residents with Housing Choice Vouchers. These are tenants whose rents are subsidized by the federal government and are entitled by law to a 90-day eviction notice. These residents were given new Notice to Quit the Premises on August 26, 2006, per federal housing guidelines; however, the remaining families were asked to comply

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[62] I.V Monopolies are Hurting Families, Staff, Daily Nexus, 1998

[63] Harley Agustino, "Discrimination in IV Worsens While Latino Family Eviction Continues, The Standard of Living is Going Down as the Rent is Raised for UCSB Students," *Daily Nexus*, November 16, 1998

[64] Martha Sadler, "I.V. Uprooted 55 Isla Vista Families Served with Eviction Papers," *Santa Barbara Independent*, August 24, 2006.

with the 30-day notice.[65] In protest, several UCSB students, along with other community members, organized a campaign against the evictions.[66] In October of 2006, students wrote a letter to UCSB Chancellor Henry Yang in support of the evicted families stating the following:

> We demand that the University take responsibility for its impact on the local community. We believe that the University of California, Santa Barbara, is the main driving force in drawing residents to Isla Vista. UCSB administrators must acknowledge the pressure that enrollment of college students is having on the housing market; they must acknowledge that without the University's presence, the current mass eviction would not be happening.

In demanding that the university take responsibility for the current mass eviction, students were attributing the displacement of existing long-term Latino residents to the growing presence of the university in Isla Vista. During that same month, UCSB students organized "Tent City Jam Fest," an event inviting local community members to camp out in front of the campus tower in support of local causes, including the mass evictions.[67] Students also demanded that the University contribute to their campaign by soliciting support from donors or alumni. In particular, students asked that the University actively look for replacement housing in or near Isla Vista given that several of the families worked nearby and had children enrolled in local schools. In their search for housing, many families were asked for a minimum income and a security deposit of at least three times the rent amount, which made it increasingly difficult for them to secure housing. The students demanded that the "University put pressure on the landlords in Goleta and Isla Vista to exempt these families from these arbitrary standards."[68]

UCSB Chancellor Henry Yang collaborated with campaign organizers to solicit funds for evicted families by establishing an account, "Families of Cedarwood Apartments," helping raise over $25,000. These funds would help pay for unexpected expenses such as security deposits and

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[65] Santa Barbara Board of Supervisors Agenda Letter. 2006. Retrieved July 14. 2012.
[66] Familia Contra La Discriminacion, "Message to UCSB," 2006.
[67] Jessica Mullen, "Students Camp Out for Causes," *The Daily Nexus*, October 17, 2006.
[68] Familia Contra La Discriminacion

first and last months' rent. Despite these efforts, Chancellor Yang did not acknowledge the role of the University in the mass eviction of Latino families. Recognizing the role of the County, UCSB students demanded that Chancellor Yang put pressure on Third District Supervisor Brooks Firestone (whose jurisdiction then extended to Isla Vista) regarding the implementation of a Just Cause Eviction Ordinance.[69] Firestone responded: "The question is, 'what can we do? We cannot find anything else to do that we can do—even though we want to."[70] County Supervisor Firestone was pointing to the lack of local tenant rights policies. Despite limited legal authority, the County formed a task force "to assess the situation and determine what could be done within the County's authority, and in conjunction with other agencies, provide assistance to the residents of the complex."[71] Members of the Board of Supervisors wrote to Governor Schwarzenegger in support of AB 1169, a bill that required that landlords give 60 days notice before terminating the lease of a tenant who has lived in a unit for one year or longer, or 30 days notice for a tenant who has resided in the dwelling for less than one year. AB 1169 was signed and put into law on January 1, 2007.[72] This act gave all local Isla Vista evictees extended time to secure housing.

The tenants, with the support of IVTU, filed a lawsuit against Conquest Student Housing, a company that provided student housing in Isla Vista. On November 1, 2006, evicted Isla Vista tenants accepted a settlement that consisted of return of their full security deposit, no eviction shown on their records, and a one month extended period of time to relocate. The attorney representing the evicted families in Isla Vista argued that the evictions were a case of housing

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[69] David Ferry, "Evictions," *The Daily Nexus*, October 4, 2006.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Santa Barbara Board of Supervisors Agenda Letter. 2006. Retrieved July 14. 2012.
[72] Barney McManigal, "Evicted Cedarwood Tenants Find New Homes," Santa Barbara News Press, December 7, 2006.

discrimination given that more than 90% of the tenants were Latino families.[73] John Greenwood, the lawyer representing Conquest Student housing, said that "several people have investments in the remodeling of the apartments and Conquest needs to begin construction before the rain starts in January… Conquest has a responsibility to its banks and investors."[74] Luz Silvia, one of the evicted tenants told the lawyer, "December 30, all we're asking for is 30 more days…where are we going to find a place? Think about the children, think about what you're doing to the families."[75] Greenwood responded, "This is a business decision only, and we need possession by December 1st. It is sad that people have to move, but they do and we can offer no more time."[76] Eviction notices issued by Conquest Student Housing were also widespread in the neighborhood surrounding the University of Southern California (USC) where long-term working-class residents have also experienced eviction and displacement.[77]

In April 2012, Platler Capital Management purchased the apartment complex located at 781 Embarcadero Del Norte in Isla Vista and gave existing tenants a notice that rent would increase by 10% by May 1, 2006.[78] That same month, 16 low-income Latino families, after having received a rent increase notice, also received eviction notices. Multiple tenants had offered to pay the construction costs of remodeling their apartments as well as the increased rent; however, Platler refused and proceeded with the evictions.[79] A local reporter who interviewed evicted tenants found that they were severely distressed, which negatively affected their health

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[73]Lauren Crecelius, "Cedarwood's Tenants Settle With Conquest." *Daily Nexus*, November 2006.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Roger Vincent, "University Gateway Student Housing Complex Near USC Sold, " *Los Angeles Times*, November 18, 2012.
[78] Staff Report, "Tenants removed From Isla Vista Apartment Building in Mass Eviction," *The Daily Nexus*, January 29, 2013.
[79] Ibid.

and living conditions.[80] For example, Lorena Garcia who had lived there for almost 17 years with her 84 year-old husband who suffered from Alzheimer's moved to a garage because they couldn't find housing within the allotted time given their financial constraints. Garcia noted that the eviction caused her stress and anxiety. Garcia's story raises questions about the hidden costs that eviction levies on tenants, such as unexpected or unintended healthcare costs.

Another resident, Victor Balbuena, an employee at local Isla Vista and Goleta Subway. Restaurants, reported that he and his children (ages 9 and 12) who were raised at the property were traumatized by the experience. Despite being entitled to 60-days notice, Balbuena stated that Platler consistently urged the tenants to leave before their scheduled lease termination. Jorge Avila, who lived with his cousin and father, noted that a month after Platler had purchased the apartment complex, their rent increased from $975 to $1,300. Tenants also received notices requiring residents to purchase $50 parking permits. Avila, an employee who worked late night shifts at a local restaurant in Isla Vista mentioned that the construction was a great disturbance, often forcing him to sleep in his bathroom due to the noise nuisance. Gloria Silva, who had been offered $500 to leave her home of 8 years before her scheduled lease termination, notified IVTU of her eviction notice and reported that she would often find construction workers inside her apartment unit when she got home from work.

IVTU informed Platler Management that evicted tenants were entitled to relocation compensation in accordance with County Ordinance 4444, amended in 2010 by the Santa Barbara Board of Supervisors, in response to community organizations that advocated for policies that would strengthen the rights of tenants, especially considering the mass eviction patterns in Isla Vista. Prior to 2010, Ordinance 4444 only provided relocation assistance when a

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[80] Kelsey Gripenstraw, "Families Evicted From IV Property at Embarcadero Del Norte," *The Bottom Line*, November 28, 2012.

tenant was displaced due to health and safety violations. Amendments to 4444 expanded "relocation assistance in situations where there is a demolition of any rental unit on the lot, when the planned alteration or rehabilitation requires a permit and reduces the number of rental units on the lot, and when there is a change from a residential use to a nonresidential use."[81] In response to the evictions, several families and student residents of Isla Vista held rallies outside of the apartment complex and circulated petitions to protest the evictions.

In August 2014, six low-income Latino households located at 6754 and 6764 Abrego Rd. were given 60-day notices to vacate their units. Abrego Apartments issued the eviction notices for property owner Majestic Asset Management, an out-of-town private company. All of the units were renovated and leased to students who were paying over 50% more in rent than former evicted tenants.[82] The evicted tenants were informed by IVTU that their eviction could be in violation of County Ordinance 4444, which entitles evicted tenants to relocation compensation. The evicted tenants asked Majestic Management for relocation benefits in accordance with Ordinance 4444. Their request was denied. The tenants then filed a lawsuit against Majestic Management. Three months after the eviction notices were issued, Majestic Management retracted the eviction notices for three of the units; however, the tenants could not afford to pay the higher rent. In addition, evicted tenants had already secured housing.[83] Majestic's attorney said that although the company prefers student renters, it does not discriminate because it welcomes anyone who pays market price.

While the Ordinance enabled the evicted tenants to take legal action, it is important to note its limitations. After months of negotiations, the tenants and Majestic settled, giving

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[81] Chris Meagher, "Renter's Rights Boosted." *Santa Barbara Independent*, 2010.
[82] Peter Mounteer, Supriya Yelimeli, and Jackson Kerr, "IVTU Fights for Evicted Tenants," *The Daily Nexus*, January 22, 2015.
[83] Kelsey Brugger, "Isla Vista Tenants Union Pickets to Highlight Evictions," *Santa Barbara Independent*, February 2, 2015.

relocation compensation (an undisclosed amount) to five of the six tenants. The one household exempted from this settlement was the only one not within the same apartment complex as the other evicted households. The tenants' attorney stated that according to the Ordinance, "eviction of less than two units from any apartment is considered legal because it does not force multiple groups of people to search for a limited number of available houses at once."[84] In order to avoid triggering Ordinance 4444, Majestic Management was selective and deliberate in the number of tenants they evicted and ensured that the renovations they initiated did not require permits.

"Maxwell Street Condenado Por UIC" (Condemned by UIC)

In the early 1990s, the University of Illinois at Chicago announced that it would expand its domain south of the intersection at Roosevelt Road to include a College of Business, student residences, a performing arts complex, and playing fields.[85] However, this required that the Maxwell Street market be relocated east to Canal Street to make way for university development. Like in the 1960s, local vendors (many of whom were recent immigrants), residents, historians, and other community member organized to protest the university's plans. Having attempted to eradicate Maxwell Street Market despite its thriving economy and racially diverse community, preservationist nominated local buildings along Maxwell Street to the Illinois Historic Sites Advisory Council in hopes of stopping the university from buying and demolishing buildings in the area. Like in Harlem, New York, residents of Maxwell Street saw the encroachment of the university as a threat to the livelihood of residents and their sense of community. Maxwell Street had served as a port of entry for immigrants and migrants and had undergone various waves of racial and ethnic transitions.

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[84] Peeka Zimmerman, "Evicted Abrego Villas Apartment Households Reach Settlement," *The Daily Nexus*, April 2, 2015.

[85] Lori L. Grove and Laura Kamedulski, *Chicago's Maxwell Street* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 104.

In the early 1990s, UIC began to buy property in the area through eminent domain. Foreseeing university-induced displacement, many owners stopped investing in their properties. What residents did not know was that the Department of Planning had deliberately neglected Maxwell Street Market for 25 years.[86] UIC expansion projects had contributed to the physical neglect of the area by enabling private developers to use tax revenue to subsidize upscale housing that replaced local business and demolished low-cost housing units.[87] Residents and businesses accused UIC and the city of systemically contributing to the physical neglect of the area. Dilapidated buildings and "blighted" areas made it easier for UIC to claim the area with the purpose of "revitalizing" the area. Residents in neighboring Pilsen, a predominantly Mexican-American neighborhood opposed the Roosevelt-Halsted TIF (tax increment financing), worth $55 million, which UIC had applied for in the area.[88] The university sought to invest in the area by purchasing property to increase real estate taxes and thus pay for infrastructure improvements and developer subsidies.[89] That same decade, the city council voted 34-10 to endorse the South Campus expansion plan, the relocation of the market to Canal Street, and to grant UIC eminent domain power.

The impact of university-induced displacement was widespread. ABLA residents (Adams, Brooks, Loomis, and Abbot public housing) residents were displaced, some 400 vendors and 40 businesses were removed from the Maxwell Market, longstanding building were demolished, and hundreds of residents were uprooted from their homes.[90] In protest, several hundreds of local community members occupied streets, churches, and demonstrated outside of city council meetings that pertained to the future of the Maxwell Street neighborhood. Blues musicians well

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[86] Ibid, 110.
[87] Ibid, 118.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid, 112.

known in the area protested university-induced displacement by going on hunger strikes. Other community members joined local artists in creating public art and performance spaces at the corners of Maxwell and Halsted Streets. Despite these efforts, by the year 2000, it was evident by the number of demolished buildings and displaced residents that UIC has taken over Maxwell Street. The few businesses that remained had to fight in court to stay in the area. One building that went uncontested by UIC was the old 7th District Police Station. The people that inhabited Maxwell Street and neighboring streets were more than just attached the space, but to the long and rich historical that characterized Maxwell Street market and Harrison-Halsted. City planning policies and practices played a direct role in facilitating university-induced displacement in these areas. Countering claims that the university expansion was for the public good, the experiences of displaced residents said otherwise. Residents took note of UIC's white privilege, remarking the university's racially discriminatory policies and practices in the 1960s and again in the 1990s.

Residents in West Harlem, New York also experienced a resurgence of university-induced displacement. In 2014, the Columbia Student Coalition Against Gentrification (CAGe) published a report detailing university-induced displacement by Columbia University. According to the report, in 2007, the NYC Department of City Planning approved Columbia's proposal to rezone 35 acres in the neighborhood of Manhattanville. According to city-data, in 2008, Manhattanville's population reached 32,000 people, with 70% of its residents Latino, 25% African American, and the remaining 5% Chinese, South East Asian, or White.[91] The following year, Columbia was granted legal permission by New York State's highest economic planning agency to demolish privately owned demolished. Zoning ordinance allowed the university to displace an estimated 298 residents from 135 affordable housing units in the 35-acre area in

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[91] "Columbia Student Coalition Against Gentrification, Understanding Columbia University's Expansion into West Harlem: An Activist's Guide," *Coalition Against Gentrification* (2014): 1-2.

order to build the new campus. It is projected that by the time Columbia completes the new campus in the year 2030, the existing Black and Latino communities will be replaced with largely white residents.[92] As highlighted by CAGe, "the real crisis, the danger of gradual displacement threatening 32,000 New Yorkers through increases in property value affecting the entire neighborhood, is effectively concealed by the University, and seldom mentioned on Columbia's campus."[93] Unlike UCSB and UIC, public institutions, Columbia University is a private institution. Whether public or private, these institutions with the support from planning agencies, politicians, and university officials have furthered university expansion projects despite the possibility of directly or indirectly contributing to university-induced displacement.

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[92] Ibid, 4.
[93] Ibid, 3.

CHAPTER 5: "SOMOS PARTE DE ISLA VISTA" (WE ARE PART OF ISLA VISTA)

All interviewed tenants, seven former and current Latina mothers living in Isla Vista, immigrated to the United States from Mexico. Like many immigrants, these mothers migrated in hopes of a better quality of life for their families, as articulated by Susana: "Our country's disparate socio economic situation forces us to immigrate as a means of survival." When asked why they chose to reside in Isla Vista, all respondents noted that they did not necessarily choose to live in Isla Vista. They came to live there because they had a family member who provided them with housing and a job within or near the area. Finding housing in Isla Vista is no simple task given the limited amount of available and affordable apartment units. These Latina mothers all faced several challenges securing housing in Isla Vista, especially given that the majority of them are undocumented.

When Amalia first arrived in Isla Vista, she rented a closet for $200 with just enough space to lie down and sleep. Finding housing was particularly difficult for her because many landlords required proper legal documentation of citizenship, which Amalia could not provide. While Amalia had a brother already living in Isla Vista, she did not move in with him because at the time, he lived in an overcrowded two-bedroom apartment with more than 15 people. Amalia explained that they lived in severely overcrowded conditions because it was expensive to live on their own and many wanted to save money to send back to their families in Mexico. To be able to secure housing in Isla Vista, Amalia worked two jobs; she would get off one job at 6:00AM and ride her bicycle to get to her other job at 7:00AM, sometimes working more than 18 hours a day. After five months of saving money and searching for housing, Amalia was able to secure the unit where she rented the bedroom to her nephew, while she and her son slept in the living room.

Vicky moved to Isla Vista in 2004 where she found a job in the same local restaurant where Amalia worked. Like Amalia, Vicky also had a difficult time securing housing because she could not provide legal documentation. In addition, property managers asked her to provide proof of income. Vicky knew that if she told management how much she made per month earning minimum wage at the time, she would not qualify and therefore lose the apartment. In desperation, Vicky asked her manager at the restaurant to lie about her earnings in case the apartment manager called him, which he did. Vicky was able to secure the apartment where she rented the bedroom to another resident in order to afford rent. Vicky lived in this unit for ten years until she received an eviction notice. Vicky explained that she and the other tenants who received an eviction notice asked for an extension; however, the manager was reluctant to grant the extension and told her to look for housing in the Goleta Valley area. A few months after receiving a 60-day eviction notice, Vicky was told that if she wanted to, she could apply to stay, but would have to pay market price, $1,500 for a one-bedroom apartment. This was nearly a 50% increase from what she previously paid $1,025. While Vicky was given the option of applying for an apartment unit, she could not afford to pay the increased rent.

Discriminatory Housing Practices

Questions of discrimination arise given that the majority of previous mass eviction cases in Isla Vista have targeted long-term, working-class Latino families. Do landlords engage in discriminatory housing practices? Do Latino families face discrimination based on their household size or citizenship status? When Amalia found a one-bedroom unit, the manager told her that she had to pay a month and a half more in rent because she could not present a social security card. While the manager typically asked for $850 in rent and security deposit, Amalia had to pay $1,250, more than 40 percent of the initial cost. The fact that the landlords ask for

proof of citizenship or residency calls into question how landlords go about choosing tenants. Landlords in Isla Vista have significant leverage because they know that housing is a scarce resource. Speculative student housing demand only compounds housing insecurity for Latino families because landlords are aware that student housing represents fixed capital despite being a transient population. However, the same could be said about long-term Latino families who, unlike students, tend to live in Isla Vista for several years. When asked why they thought this was the case, one interviewee, Beatrice, responded:

> Students, some, not all, come from families who have money, and secure housing more easily. Many leave in a year and the owner gets the apartment back, renovates it, and increases rent. It is not convenient for owners to lease to families because we are long-term residents. This only makes it even more difficult to secure housing.

Implied in Beatrice's response is the notion that landlords do not want to rent to long-term families because they can increase profit if they rent to students where the turnover is high. When asked the same question, Carla stated that while she knows that there is tension between students and families who often are forced to compete for housing, she understands that students, like Latino families, also face housing insecurity.

Housing insecurity among Latino families is compounded by the fact that many have month-to-month leases. All interviewed tenants noted that their apartment managers did not provide them with the option of yearly leases. When asked if she had been offered the option of a yearly lease, Beatrice said no, "It was monthly lease or no lease at all." When asked if she felt that she has to compete with students for housing, Beatrice noted:

> Students who attend the university know they have to secure housing. There are students who come from wealthy backgrounds and then there are students who come from less wealthy backgrounds. For landlords, it doesn't matter whether you are rich or poor. All those who have money and those who have no money have to search for a place to live.

Latino families in Isla Vista rely on rich social networks. In the case of eviction, Latina mothers like Vicky drew from their social networks to secure housing. For Vicky and other mothers, displacement disrupts social networks, especially when families are forced to move to an unfamiliar neighborhood. Susana noted:

> Isla Vista has its advantages and disadvantages, but in terms of housing, rent is very expensive, we have to live in overcrowded conditions in order to afford rent. However, here [in Isla Vista] there are jobs. If you move away from here it's like starting from zero; one has to look for work, new schools for your children and new friends.

Like Susana, other mothers made observations of the importance of social capital. Beatrice who has lived in Isla Vista for more than two decades depends on her social networks in order to be able to sell her tamales. For Yvette, social capital has allowed her to engage in mutually beneficial support systems. As a mother of six children, Yvette emphasized the importance of having people she can trust in case she ever needs childcare. Moreover, social capital is regarded as an asset that these Latina mothers can draw on and benefit from in various situations.

Landlord-Community Ties

Common among the mothers who faced eviction was the fact that their eviction was in large part due to change of management. These mothers did not have a previous landlord-tenant relationship with the new landlord who issued the eviction. On the other hand the mothers who have not experienced eviction have been under the same management for years. The point worth examining here is the relationship between landlords and tenants. Three of the mothers I interviewed currently live in the same apartment complex among other Latino families. In August of 2015, a YouTube video had surfaced on the web to promote the sale of the apartment complex. The title of the video consisted of the address of the apartment complex followed with "for sale." All tenants in the apartment complex were aware that the building was up for sale

prior to the video. Given the prevalence of eviction among Latino families, these tenants feared being displaced. Interviewees mentioned that private owners interested in purchasing the building would often visit the apartment complex. For many Latino families in Isla Vista, like Carla's, their apartment unit has been their home for years. Their unit represents more than just a commodity, it is place where they have created many memories and therefore have attached meaning to the space. Carla mentioned that she among other neighbors were grateful to have a landlord who allowed them to rent the unit despite knowing that they lived in overcrowded housing conditions, and did not discriminate against them.

> The owner is an excellent person. I think all who live here are very grateful to have him as a landowner. Yes, he did increase rent—$200 this January—but there are other places where you pay a lot more rent and it only keeps increasing. It is a place filled with families. Many landowners no longer want to lease to families. Isla Vista is becoming a place for students only. However, this is one of the very few places where I see that families still live. We are happy, but also concerned that many places are pushing families out of Isla Vista. It is clear that many landlords do not want to lease to families with children when they can lease to students at much higher rents.

Carla has lived in Isla Vista for over three decades. During her time in there she has lived in this apartment complex with the same landlord for 25 years. According to the tenant, this particular landlord is different from the rest in Isla Vista because the landlord understands that "the majority of Latino families in this apartment complex cannot afford to pay such high rents and are forced to live with more people to afford housing." More than one respondent expressed relief that this landowner has not evicted families, especially given that many investors have shown interest in purchasing this apartment complex. As suggested by Carla, this landlord may have decided to not evict his tenants precisely because he understands that this is one of the few buildings and streets where there is a high concentration of Latino families. The YouTube video posted by an unknown user is no longer online and the tenants did not receive a notice of eviction as feared. Instead, all tenants of this apartment complex received a notice detailing a ten

to fifteen percent rent increase.

Latino families are keenly aware that irrespective of their housing tenure, their home, at least the physical space, is not their own. Carla emphasized this point when she said that like her neighbors, she appreciated the fact that their landlord raised rent instead of evicting the families in her apartment complex. Nonetheless, the rent increase exacerbated housing insecurity concerns for Carla who earns about $1,050 per month, but must pay $1,550 in rent. To supplement her income, Carla works additional late night shifts. Carla was previously paying $1,350; this rent increase clearly contributed to her economic burden. This is the case for all interviewees the majority of whose money goes to rent. In the context of long-term housing insecurity, any slight rent increase has the potential to significantly and negatively impact tenants. Carla's experience provides insight on the importance of building social ties with landlords. While tenants in this apartment building experience landlord negligence, for example, dismissal of complaints or maintenance requests, they nevertheless consider him to be a "good" landlord because of their long-term landlord-tenant relationship. Furthermore, exploring and working toward building community ties between landlords and tenants in Isla Vista may have a positive impact on the overall sense of investment and commitment to ameliorating housing insecurity in Isla Vista.

The Impact of Housing Insecurity on Tenants' Health

A prevailing sense among all respondents was the negative impact of housing insecurity on their health. This finding is in line with studies that have linked eviction and housing insecurity to a wide range of health concerns including increased levels of stress, depression, and anxiety among families and children (Coley, Leventhal, Lynch and Kull 2013; Desmond et al. 2015). The threat of eviction alone negatively impacted tenant's health. Eviction disrupts every

aspect of daily life including having to find the time to look for housing, which is especially difficult during the academic year when the vacancy rate in Isla Vista is at its lowest. When asked if the threat of eviction impacted her health, Carla responded:

> It was stressful. I kept asking myself what I was going to do. Where would I find housing? My children told me not to worry. If I could not find housing in Isla Vista, I could always move to Lompoc or Santa Maria, but it is not that simple. I work late at night and as a woman I always have to be aware of my surroundings. I could not sleep because I was so frustrated and stressed.

Another challenge that Latina mothers face in securing housing in Isla Vista is the difficulty of finding a landlord willing to lease an apartment unit to a large family household. Because private developers built to accommodate students, the majority of buildings in Isla Vista are one or two-bedroom apartment units. For a family of eight, such as Yvette's, finding adequate and affordable housing that will accommodate her family is particularly difficult.

When Yvette first moved to Isla Vista in 2001, she didn't have much trouble finding housing for her family of five. A year after moving to Isla Vista, Yvette received a 30-day eviction notice. At the time, Yvette had just recently given birth to twins. The eviction notice came as surprise to her because she and her husband had always paid their rent on time. Yvette was fortunate enough to find a unit in a nearby apartment complex, the same apartment building where Carla and Beatrice live. Yvette had lived in this apartment complex in a one-bedroom apartment with her family of eight for more than a decade. Like Carla, Yvette, received an eviction notice. When asked how the threat of eviction impacted her, Yvette said that she worried for her children, "Where am I going to find an apartment that accepts my family?" Having faced eviction before, Yvette feared that she would experience severe depression as she did when she received her first eviction notice in 2002. In addition, Yvette worried that her children would need to move from their current school.

Like Yvette, Vicky also experienced depression after being evicted. As an undocumented mother, Vicky faced additional challenges when looking for housing in Isla Vista. Having had her son deported to Mexico few years ago, Vicky longed to see him again. However, Vicky expressed that while she aspires to return to Mexico, she does not plan to go anytime soon because she needs to work to pay off her medical bill expenses. Vicky shared:

> At the root of my concerns was the thought of where I was going to live and with whom I was going to share a room, a house, or an apartment. All these concerns negatively affected my health... I had insomnia, it was all very stressful...It wasn't until my face was paralyzed that I was able to sleep again after taking medication. It was like the bomb that exploded. I feel better, a little calmer, but it took me an entire year.

After the eviction, Vicky's health deteriorated, however, because she does not have access to healthcare. Vicky has to pay out-of-pocket for medical services. Currently her medical bill is more than $2,000, which only contributes to her stress. Vicky would like to seek medical services more often but fears adding to her debt. For Vicky, her first priority is to pay rent.

> Working-class Latinos try to save up money in order to pay rent despite not having enough money for other expenses. We do it because we want to fulfill our commitment as tenants. I would much rather have money for rent and survive on what I have left in money. To this day, I always ensure that my rent is paid first before anything else.

Tenants fear that a late payment will provide sufficient reason to be evicted despite having a longstanding good tenant record. All respondents stated they prioritize paying their rent before any other living necessities because they are aware that Latino families are increasingly vulnerable to eviction.

While default on rent is in fact a legal reason for evicting a tenant, it is not the underlying factor driving the mass eviction of Latino families in Isla Vista. The question, then, is why are Latino families being evicted in large numbers? Part of the reason lies in the fact that landlords have the right to evict a tenant. However, the landlord who, for example, collects rent with no regard to the socioeconomic background of tenants is of great concern for various

reasons. Rent, as defined by David Harvey is "a payment made by a user for the privilege of using a scarce productive resource which is owned by somebody else."[94] Rent is the primary factor linking landlords and tenants; it's a transaction based on capitalistic principles. A landlord's primary concern is to collect rent from tenant every month with the expectation that tenants will pay on time and in full. How residents go about securing the funds to pay rent is less of a concern to landlords. This, however, is a social element worth examining.

Priced Out of the Market

Since the last mass eviction in 2014 there have been no reported cases of mass eviction of Latino families. However, drawing evidence from participant observation since then, Latino families have continued to be displaced. Monica, an undocumented mother noted that after her apartment complex changed managers she received a notice of rent increase. The new out-of-town private owner of the apartment complex has several properties across the state of California. Monica's rent initially increased by $500, but she was later told that because the manager wanted to make renovations to the apartment, rent would increase by $800. Unable to afford the rent, Monica and her family had to find another apartment unit. Because this apartment complex is located on a street where there is a high concentration of Latino families, Monica and her families were able to secure a month-to-month lease with a different company in a building right across the street. Month-to-month leases leave families with significantly less leverage by subjecting them to potential sudden rent increases from one month to the next or termination of their lease. In this instance, eviction was not prevalent; however, the mechanism used by landlords to vacate their unit contributes to the displacement of Latino families.

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[94] David Harvey, "Class-Monopoly Rent, Finance Capital and the Urban Revolution, Regional Studies," *Regional Studies* (1974): 240.

CONCLUSION

While eviction is legal, it is important to note the limited bargaining position of tenants, structural constraints that impede housing mobility, and the long-term impact of eviction on Latino families. Evicted families are in a competitive disadvantage when looking for housing in Isla Vista. Finding substitute housing within their budgets is particularly difficult. Thus, many look in other housing markets, such as Lompoc and Santa Maria where it is possible that they may encounter varying aggregate levels of discrimination. Eviction and rising rents force Latino families to prioritize housing and give less weight to other household and neighborhood characteristics. The key point here is that eviction undermines the "geography of opportunity" by giving Latino families little say in where they would like to live.

Equally important is how housing insecurity or residential instability affects children's educational outcomes, especially considering that past evictions have taken place during or weeks before the start of the school year for the children of evicted tenants. The narratives of evicted Latino families in Isla Vista illustrate how housing insecurity negatively affects their health and disrupts their children's education. In addition, this study points to the prevalence of overcrowding in Latino households, which raises additional significant questions about household instability and its effects on children's educational and health outcomes. Recent research shows that "poor housing quality is the most consistent and strongest predictor of emotional and behavioral problems in low-income children and youth."[95] In addition, gender wage gaps may compound the negative cumulative effects of eviction.

Although respondents were able to find housing within or near Isla Vista, displacement may lead evicted tenants to relocate to new neighborhoods where they might not necessarily have the social or community networks that they had in their former neighborhood. Additionally,

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[95] Levine et al, 1.

financial constraints, in many cases, force evicted tenants to live in inadequate conditions, sometimes in worse conditions than they formerly did. While evicted tenants may secure housing within the same neighborhood, others are forced to find housing in different neighborhoods due to high rents, limited availability, or specific eligibility requirements. These findings hold significant implications for the impact of eviction on low-income Latina mothers, especially when considering legal constraints experienced by undocumented single mothers in Isla Vista.

Presenting the perspective of long-term Latino families is important, as they are key stakeholders in the community of Isla Vista. As aforementioned, universities are powerful social, political, and economic agents of change. The neighborhood change brought by expansion of UCSB, whether positive or negative, shapes the social and spatial structure of Isla Vista. Planning and housing legislation in Isla Vista has a history of working in favor of the developers and property owners, while undermining tenants' rights. However, UCSB is uniquely situated to not only mitigate but also prevent inequitable planning and development in its immediate surrounding locality. A focus on the role of planning and local legislation encourages us to consider how social inequalities are institutionally upheld, but also how changes in legislation on all levels of government can ameliorate social inequalities and improve the quality of life of Latino residents. The idea that UCSB is uniquely positioned to ameliorate housing insecurity among Latino families is informed by the notion that questions of inequitable development and housing discrimination cannot be viewed independently from their context. University-induced displacement is not an inevitable phenomenon.

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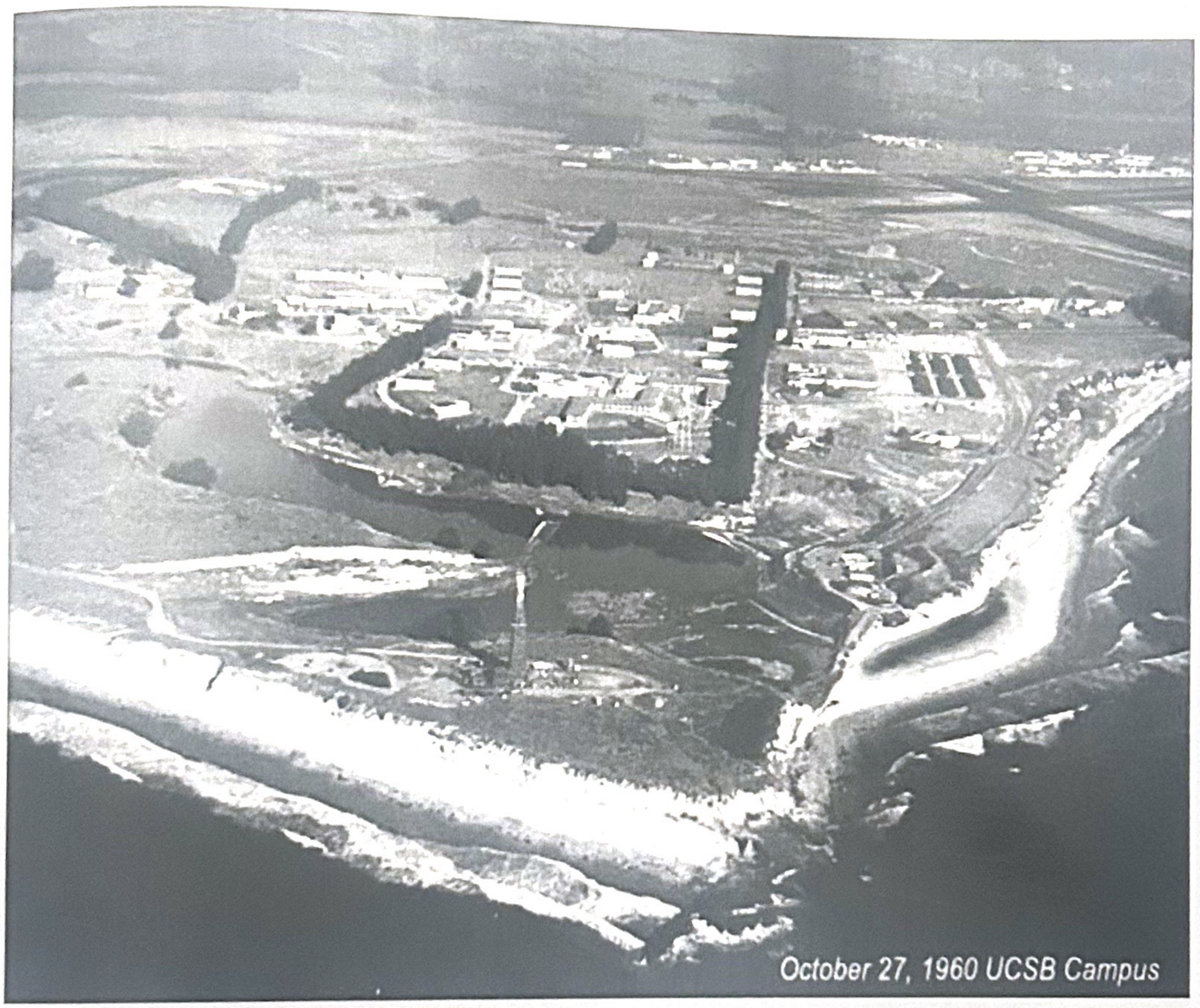
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APPENDIX



Document: Photo of Thomas Storke



Document: UCSB Aerial Map, 1960



Document: Isla Vista/UCSB Aerial Map, 1968

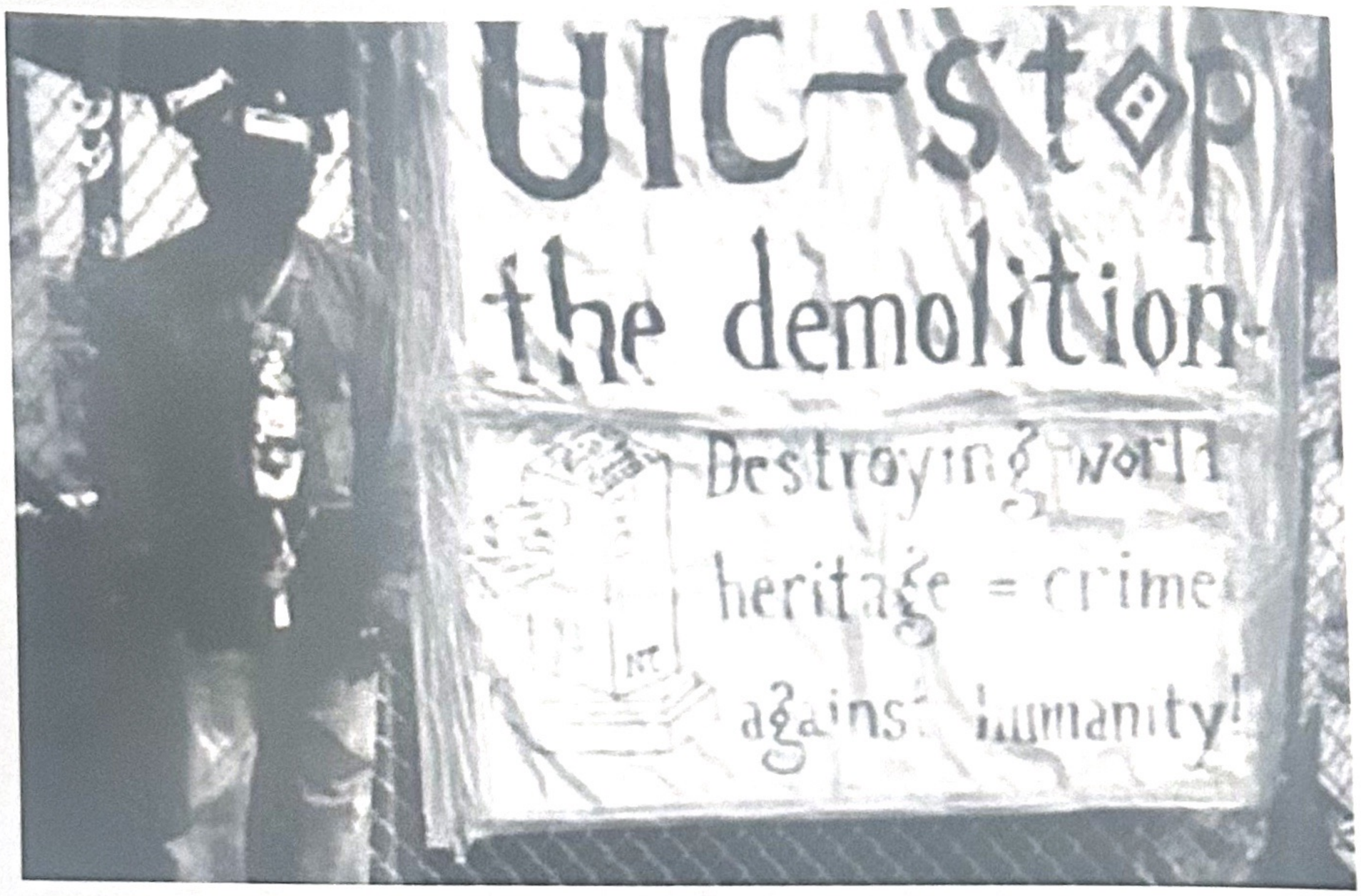
SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR COLUMBIA

The Ivory Tower has been shattered. No longer can anyone maintain the illusion that Columbia University is detached from the conflicts of the world. With the collapse of the Ivory Tower will also come a substantive transformation of the relations between the University and society. No longer shall the boast: 'We own New York' be accompanied by the aggressive expansion of Columbia, the eviction of whole communities, the profiteering in slum properties, and the theft of park land. Columbia's institutional support for militarism and social manipulation must be terminated; and the educational process must be made responsive to the human needs of the students and to the people of the world.

Document: Student Message, Columbia University



Document: Protest Against the Construction of a Gym by Columbia University



Document: Demonstration Against University-induced Displacement in Maxwell Street, 1994.

Carroll, Jerry Cornfield,
Chipp Winston

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the News



Tenants Threaten Lawsuit Over Evictions: Tenants at three Isla Vista apartments on El Colegio Road protested last week against their new landlords, Isla Vista 100, who a month ago gave them 30 days to get out. The 14 Latino families who received eviction notices retained Ron Perry of Legal Aid, who has threatened to file a discrimination lawsuit against the landlords in federal court. It's against the law to discriminate against tenants with children, Perry said, charging that the new landlords have moved to evict all families from the buildings. Perry said he met with the new owners, Arthur Novak of Montecito and Philip Miller of Los Angeles, and they have given the tenants an extra week before they have to leave. Perry said he hopes to use that time to negotiate. But given the tight housing market, what can he hope to get? "Ordinarily, more time and a little money would be sufficient," Perry said. "But now, with all the money in the world, these people can't find a new place to rent."

Document: 1998 Isla Vista Eviction Protest



The Colonial is one of three complexes where rents have been raised and eviction notices sent.

I.V. tenants allege racism

A number of soon-to-be evicted Latinos say the landlord plans to bring in white students

By BARRY BORTNICK
NEWS-PRESS STAFF WRITER

A fresh coat of white paint to mask the only apparent cleansing taking place at a trio of Isla Vista apartments, according to a group of Latino tenants who say they are being forced out to make room for college students.

In the last two months, the owners of The Colonial, The Harbor and The Curlew apartments have raised rents by as much as $200 and sent eviction notices to about 20 Latino families, some of the Latino workers have lived in the El Colegio Road apartments for seven years.

The soon-to-be evicted tenants call the law "racist" and believe the new owners want to move out dark-skinned laborers to favor of young, white college kids.

"It's unfair to discriminate against one group to accommodate another," said Mariscal Juarez Moreno, a penniless school custodian who must move out in two weeks. She has not found a new place for herself, her two children and three live chickens.

Juarez Moreno, who earned a junior high school diploma from Mexico, is still none of the evicted families have found housing. She fears the tight rental market in Santa Barbara County will force her to look for a home in Oxnard.

"This robs us of a place to live and it robs the students of a chance to live among families," Juarez Moreno said Wednesday, while several Latino neighbors gathered in the



Among the tenants and their families who have to move are Mariscal Juarez-Moreno, left, Gloria Ocampo and Laura Garcia.

kitchen of her one-bedroom apartment. "There has to be a less racist way of doing this."

One of the owners, Arthur Novak of Montecito, declined to comment. He referred calls to his attorney, Jim Carroll Graham. Carroll could not be reached for comment on Wednesday.

The apartments manager, Sharon Lozano, also refused to discuss the evictions or move notices of tenants.

The recent action is not the first time Novak and his fellow investors have moved against the tenants who live in the 140 unit complexes to have the residents tried to evict more than two dozen families that received eviction notices to bump rent next

Originally housing officials got convinced. They informed the owners that if they evicted tenants who had lived on the property for less than a year

The homeowners allowed such families to stay at least until they expired the year limit. The remaining families had to leave.

The same rule would apply for Juarez Moreno and the other Latino households who would be able and have built new apartments within the Colonial, Harbor and Curlew complexes.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE B-3)

Document: 1998 Isla Vista Housing Discrimination



Document: 2006 Isla Vista Eviction Protest



Document: 2012 Isla Vista Eviction Protest



Document: 2014 Isla Vista Eviction Protest



Document: 2014 Isla Vista Eviction Protest