RE/GENERATION BARRIO LOGAN: A PLACE-BASED AUDIO TOUR OF
TRANSITIONS AND CONTINUITIES FROM 2007-2013

A Project

Presented to the

Faculty of

San Diego State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Fine Arts

in

Art

by

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Summer 2014
SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY

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To the people and places that inspired this project.
Cutting a broad swath through central-city barrios, the juggernaut of Los Angeles’ postwar redevelopment effected the devastations upon a wide cross section of the Chicano community. For many contemporary writers and artists who grew up in the path or in the shadow of this voracious growth engine, lived experience provided raw material that they would later transmute into compelling barriological expressions.

— Raúl Homero Villa

*Barrio-Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture*
ABSTRACT OF THE PROJECT

Re/Generation Barrio Logan: A Place Based Audio Tour of Transitions and Continuities from 2007-2013
by
Jeannette Ibarra Shindell
Master of Fine Arts in Art
San Diego State University, 2014

Re/Generation Barrio Logan: A Place-based Audio Tour of Transitions and Continuities from 2007-2013 is an alternative walking tour tracing the process of urban development. I began this project in 2007 as a photo-essay aimed at documenting changes to the barrio’s urban landscape. After spending six years documenting the barrio and listening to the stories being told, I learned that the people of Barrio Logan live in a battle zone where longtime residents and new-gente alike want to root down in a community where their lived experience and history are embedded into the landscape. They are dedicated to regenerating the barrio, fighting for a safe and pollution-free zone mobilized and executed by gente for gente.

By 2013, this body of work was completed and defended as an M.F.A. thesis project. The end result is a site-specific mobile app walking tour using both Social Practice Art and Chicana/Feminist/Indigenous methodologies as artistic and theoretical frameworks. Community storytelling, photography, and social media come together to create an immersive, interactive, and educational user experience tracing the transitions and continuities of Barrio Logan’s local culture and its urban landscape. This written document is a testament to both the creative process and my own personal transformation during this journey.
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This project would not have been possible without the love, patience, and encouragement of my partner Matthew. Thank you a million times.

At SDSU, professors John Putman and Roberto Hernández generously opened their doors to me, and I thank them for allowing me to be honest and to speak without reservation. Richard Keely, thank you for your words of encouragement; your critique was always welcome. Irene Lara, mi comadre, thank you for being an example; your CuranderaScholarActivist mentorship program shifted my journey in ways I never thought possible. To Kim Stringfellow: I came to SDSU to work with you, and I am grateful to have had this incredible experience. And lastly, I want to thank the Clara De Escudero Scholarship committee for funding the photography portion of this project.

At UCSD, I want to extend my appreciation to professors Stefan Tanaka and Danny Widener; each has contributed to my journey.

Many thanks to the Shindell family for all your love and support. To my own family: ‘amá, ‘apá, my three siblings, baby Rigo, and RL2, no words can describe my deep appreciation and love for all of you. To both families, thank you for your generosity, time, and much needed laughter.
CHAPTER 1

PROJECT ORIGINS

The photographer having been there, feels she’s captured the place, but communicating that is another matter. — Lucy Lippard

Re/Generation Barrio Logan captures the regenerative process of urban development in the form of a place-based audio tour. It focuses on the transitions and continuities of the barrio’s built environment and cultural character. The area surveyed is the northwest portion of Barrio Logan, adjacent to Downtown San Diego’s revitalized East Village and the San Diego Padres’ baseball stadium, Petco Park. This project is a response to these two decade-old developments, which have impacted the barrio with its own wave of redevelopment.¹ Throughout the course of six years, I documented both the spillover of urban renewal into Barrio Logan, and also met those who have committed themselves to regenerating the barrio into a self-sustaining, Chicana/o, Latina/o space. I photographed and talked with locals as I watched and heard testimonies not being told outside the barrio. For this reason, this thesis project is an offering to both the barrio community and to those who seek barrio narratives in the form of an alternative walking tour.

This written thesis is as much a documentation of the creative process as it is a personal testimony of my own struggles, awareness, and maturation. At San Diego State University (SDSU), readings from Chicano Studies courses, and participating in the CuranderaScholarActivist mentorship program, provided me with a history, space, and language to construct both my identity and my approach to documenting the barrio. In this chapter, I discuss my personal transformation triggered by my struggle to document the barrio. I also discuss the Chicana/Feminist/Indigenous writings that were crucial to my own regeneration. Chapter 2 covers the history of the barrio’s political voice, materialized through

¹ I use redevelopment to define the process of revitalizing a blighted area into a commercially viable district. Cities and developers initiate these projects largely within marginalized communities.
art in response to land use rights. Chapter 3 discusses the process of the project, detailing my approach, influences, and what I learned once I began to record and reflect on my conversations. In chapter 4, I conclude by outlining the importance of giving back to the community that participated in this project. After all, it was those who shared their personal knowledge with me who taught me about the barrio and myself.

**RAZING GENERATIONS**

I began this project in 2007 while taking my first photography course as a graduate student at SDSU. At the time, I lived a few miles east of Barrio Logan and frequently had lunch at Las Cuatro Milpas on Logan Avenue. One day I noticed what seemed to be a mass exodus of Logan Avenue’s 1700 block. When I asked a few residents about their move, I learned of the redevelopment project happening there, an affordable housing project called La Entrada. The block’s 13 residential units and 5 commercial spaces were to be razed to increase housing by seven-times. While I listened to residents talk about the city purchasing their rental homes for this development project, I remembered back to when I was a child. I grew up in L.A. and remember family members sharing stories of developers declaring property values, and serving demolition notices to homeowners whose homes were “in the way” of constructing Interstate 5. As a child, I was taken-a-back while listening to these conversations, trying to understand how one’s home could be bulldozed for the sake of urban expansion. Later as an adult, learning about the City of San Diego’s plan to uproot this portion of Barrio Logan provoked a visceral response, prompting me to reach for my camera. Thereafter, I began to document changes to the area as they unfolded.

For three months, I concentrated on the transformation of this block. Questions that loomed in my head were: “Why is the city displacing working-class people only to replace their rental homes with low-income rental units? Is this a mono-cultural and mono-racial form of gentrification? This isn’t the typical effect of gentrification where middle-class whites displace a lower-income ethnic community. And why is the city creating dense housing projects in an area where industrial pollution is high?” I was confused, but continued to document what was an emotional reaction to seeing longtime residents being displaced, and remembering a time when my own extended family witnessed the uprooting of several Los Angeles communities for Interstate 5.
Transformations to the landscape were rapid, and my goal was to compare and contrast the weekly changes to Logan Avenue. As I witnessed the erasure of the street block, I managed to capture the initial process of redevelopment in four distinct phases: (1) The Barrio: its surrounding blocks and barrio elements, (2) Relocation: traces of displacement, (3) Construction: preparing to raze the land, and (4) Production Notes: a conceptualization of a gentrified barrio. These images were then compiled and published in a print-on-demand book as my final project for my advanced photography course.

I titled the book, *An Urban Development Project: A Look into San Diego’s Barrio Logan* (Appendix A, Plates 1-9). I refrained from labeling this first project as *gentrification*, since the 1700 block of Logan Avenue was razed to increase housing for the community, and used *urban development* for (what I thought at the time) its neutrality. For decades, barrio residents have advocated for more housing and less pollution, and some of the new development was in response to local needs. However, media outlets were quick to describe what I was documenting as gentrification. In 2007, signs of gentrification were taking shape: the Guild café, now closed; La Bohemia, a for-market condo development on National and Sigsbee; and the spillover from Downtown’s revitalized ballpark area. This did in fact begin to raise property values and displace local businesses in Barrio Logan, as seen with the closure of La Panadería National in 2007 and Patty’s Fruitland in 2013.

It was not until 2013 that I began to use the term *Re/Generation* to encompass the area’s multiple regenerative processes. For generations, there have been two types of forces that have altered land use in Barrio Logan: (1) the relationship between developers and city politics to land (exchange value), and (2) the relationship between citizens and place to create community (use value). Neil Smith (2008), professor of geography, describes the difference between these two value relationships: “use-values [usefulness of something] rather than exchange-values [the value derived from the market sale of something]” (p. 368). Ironically, low-income and middle-income housing projects fit into both of these categories. And historically, “newly created low-income housing projects were a mixed blessing; at first they seemed clean, modern, and spacious, but they soon showed signs of age and became plagued with crime and other social problems” (Chudacoff & Baldwin, 2005, p. 391). So even though they increase housing units in a time where affordable housing is low (use-value), they also promote exchange value, since developers economically benefit from constructing large-
scale housing projects promoted by the city. Re/Generation here signifies the dialectical relationship between use and exchange value in this process.

Typically, if an urban development project is said to be regeneration by the city and developers, they tend to mask the fact that they are actually community-destroying forces. For example, in Barrio Logan this type of development brought the Northgate González supermarket, the San Diego Public Market, and market-rate condos. These developments do regenerate the barrio, but compete with older forms of communal and commercial spaces. They symbolize exchange value, since these types of businesses stimulate economic activities for those who do not live in the barrio. As a result, they displace generations of families and local businesses; longtime artists, bodegas, and century-old single-family bungalows, compete with newer versions, which attempt to cater to a new consumer.

Simultaneously, urban renewal efforts in Barrio Logan also represent community involvement. In a comparative study between San Diego’s Barrio Logan and Ocean Beach (a predominantly white middle-class neighborhood), Billard and Le Texier (2008) noticed the relationship between land and community in the barrio:

Representations of barrio activists recall that their neighborhood is a product of common history whose memory has to be passed on to the next generations… Resistance to gentrification is indeed a defense of private homes against eviction and rent increase, but also a defense of the overall community. (p. 144-145)

This differs from an area like Ocean Beach, because these residents have access to “social capital, which allow then to build coalitions with other groups and to enter into formal politics, whereas entry into formal politics is strictly limited for Latinos” (Billard & Le Texier, 2008, p. 146). Without political resources, those who mobilize for change for Barrio Logan have had to rely on grassroots political activism. For generations, they have been committed to creating a safe and healthy neighborhood. For these reasons, my use of Re/Generation acknowledges generations of communal struggles, those who fight against gentrification and environmental injustice. At the same time, the process of redevelopment takes place, exercised by the City of San Diego and developers. Accordingly, my use of Re/Generation is derivative of documenting redevelopment efforts in Barrio Logan for six years.
MY “Path of Conocimiento”

When I first walked into the barrio with my camera and tripod, I quickly came to realize that I was as an outsider. Many of the people whom I encountered assumed I was a city developer, while others mistook me for an employee of the San Diego Police Department hired to capture suspicious activities. Constantly having to explain that I was a student from SDSU working on a photography project about urban development further confused residents, since camera lenses typically point towards Chicano Park and away from the neighborhood’s streets. Their verbal reaction was often “there’s nothing to see here.” However, once I began gaining local trust—since I was photographing the area daily—my intentions of photographing their community and its changes became less suspect. Local trust was further gained by sharing my own story with locals. Sharing that my grandmother and parents had lived in East L.A. as immigrants during the 1960s and 1970s was important, because not only did I connect with locals, but I also connected with the project on a personal level.

During this time, my thesis committee chair, professor Kim Stringfellow, suggested going deep into what Lucy Lippard (1997) describes as “the historical narrative as it is written in the landscape or place by the people who live or lived there” (p. 7), but for reasons I did not yet understand, I was unable to ask residents to audio record their personal accounts. I realized that I had no issues taking images of the changing barrio, but personally documenting the stories of Barrio Logan residents seemed impossible. Those moving out were eager to share their stories with me, but back then I did not know how to use art to empower the overlooked narratives of the barrio.

As I would walk around the barrio to photograph changes I would become emotionally charged. Being brown and not having experienced razed street blocks, polluting industries, and unjust city zoning was an emotional realization. Learning about the barrio’s history—its decades of fighting for socially just land use and overcoming racialized segregation—paralyzed me largely because of what critical race theory describes as survivor’s guilt. Realizing how different my lived experience was from that of those who lived in the barrio was difficult to comprehend.

By 2010, walking around the barrio was a different experience from earlier walks. As new facades and businesses reshaped the barrio, and a large influx of artist galleries and
studio spaces significantly modified the area’s overall look and feel, locals were worried about the introduction of a new class and race. Others spoke about land use in reference to Barrio Logan’s new Master Plan, which had not been updated since 1978; at the time residents were involved in the process of outlining a new zoning plan that would rezone polluting industries away from homes and communal areas. At this point, I finally felt ready to carry an audio recorder to capture what I was listening to in Barrio Logan. Yet, I was still uncomfortable recording most of my conversations. The feeling of gathering data was too mechanical and hierarchical, and this was not how I wanted to proceed. Unprepared on how to gather my conversations, not only did I need to learn appropriate methodologies, but I also needed to dig deep into myself. I needed to know and understand my own story before I could capture and share the stories of others.

This began to change in 2011 when I was introduced to Gloria Anzaldúa, a Feminist/Chicana/Queer/Borderland theorist. Through her work I learned that these early walks in Barrio Logan were the beginning of my “Path of Conocimiento” (Anzaldúa, 2002), Spanish for knowledge. Anzaldúa uses conocimiento to define the process of acting on knowledge gained, and unknowingly, it was these early walks that positioned me into a state of nepantla, Nahuatl for in-between space. Anzaldúa (2002) explained:

In nepantla you are exposed, open to other perspectives, more readily able to access knowledge derived from inner feelings, imaginal states, and outer events, and to “see through” them with mindful, holistic awareness. Seeing through human acts both individual and collective allows you to examine the ways you construct knowledge, identity, and reality, and explore how some of your/others’ constructions violate other people’s ways of knowing and living. (p. 544)

As I began to embody nepantla, a shift began to take place. I did not realize I was gaining knowledge from my inner feelings until I read what I was experiencing in Anzaldúa’s essay. Feeling more empowered than in 2007, I could no longer ignore the stories of the barrio. I began transforming during my “path of conocimiento,” dedicating myself to documenting the barrio as I broke “out of my mental and emotional prison” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 542).

I began digging deep into the history of the creation of barrios. This history is an unjust story of race restrictive covenants, with little political power, and endless displacement because of urban expansion. Learning this history while witnessing these historical forces first hand left me feeling vulnerable, as survivor’s guilt manifested into debilitating anxiety. I was documenting what seemed to be an ongoing cycle: one that my family had managed to
escape. However, having roots in the barrio, and subjectively reflecting on the current state of the barrio, while trying to reason through my emotional experience, allowed me to cultivate a “sensing/thinking” approach to my work, which Laura Rendón (2009) calls Sentipensante Pedagogy. I needed to release what I was thinking and feeling. I needed to fuse what I was witnessing in the barrio with my emotions.

One reading in particular was pivotal to my personal transformation. In an article written for Aztlán: A Journal for Chicano Studies, titled “Choosing Chicano in the 1990s: The Underground Music Scene of Los(t) Angeles,” Yvette C. Doss (1998) wrote:

They are the Chicano as in urban borderland dweller. They are a new breed of modern culture shifters who, approaching the turn of the millennium, share a sensibility shared by a love of alternative rock, hip hop and ranchera music. Thai food and tamales, Japanese animation and “Chavo del Ocho,” shopping trips to the Beverly Center and El Mercadito, with consistent voting records and fierce activist streak. (p. 195)

For the first time, at the age of 33, I saw myself on paper. Doss’ essay was an interpretation of my experience, a reflection of who I knew myself to be and how others defined me: full of “contradictions” and “chameleon-like.” Through this I realized I was a borderland kid experiencing my surroundings, and latched onto the idea of identifying as Chicana. Prior to this, the word Chicana/o was to me associated with a 1960s radical militant mentality. But through more exposure to Chicana/o studies, I began to understand Chicana/o not as a category or identity confined to a specific time and place, but as an evolving consciousness permeating endless boundaries.

My visceral response to this article led me to create my alter ego, the Virtual Chicana (Appendix A, Plate 10). When describing L.A.’s underground musicians, Doss (1998) borrows the term “Virtual Chicanos” from indie filmmaker Jim Mendiola, his “phrase of choice for this chameleon-like generation” (p. 195). My appropriation of the phrase simplified the multiple layers of my identity. Negotiating who I was and whom I was with within a given place or how I approached my work became liberating. Becoming the Virtual Chicana fostered dialogue with colleagues, family, and friends, and propelled me beyond the confines of Western ideology and into a holistic, unbounded existence. No longer at a crossroads, my newly constructed identity allowed me to confidently maneuver along multiple paths as I embodied a multicentered ontological self. Feeling an affinity towards the barrio was not enough to get me through this project, let alone grad school. Rather, my own
self-actualization and my exposure to Chicana/Feminist/Indigenous writers were necessary in order for me to acknowledge and write about my own transformation, and to document the barrio by focusing in on those whose stories get ignored.
CHAPTER 2

ART, LAND USE, AND RACE

Space defines landscape, where space combined with memory defines place.

— Lucy Lippard

The field of Social Practice Art as a contemporary art movement has much in common with the artistic modes used by the Chicano Movement. Within each movement, a combination of activism, politics, education, community, and place are applied to art and design to foster dialogue away from institutions where economics, policy, and media pontificate dominant ideology. As a center of Chicano activity since the 1970s, artists in Barrio Logan have historically used community-based art, primarily murals, as a form of social criticism and resistance. Local protest and a shift towards a collective barrio voice have resulted in a new communal narrative: redefining place, rejecting the status quo, and claiming the right to determine how land ought to be used within the space where they have historically been racially sequestered to live. Murals throughout the barrio purposefully continue to tell the tale of the ongoing Chicano Movement and its social agenda.

AN ONGOING HISTORY OF STRUGGLE AND RESISTANCE

The geographical location of Barrio Logan made it a prime location for trade and defense. On the bay and southeast of downtown, commercial industry and rail lines accommodated white settlement in the 1880s. Norris’ (1983) historical account described it as “the simple, semi-rural lifestyle” (p. 34), which quickly began to fade with the introduction of the San Diego Arizona Railroad line in 1907. By 1915, tuna canneries, lumberyards, and California Iron Works lined the bay, turning residential spaces and public bay access into capitalized spaces of production (Appendix B, Figure 1). These developments introduced the formation of ethnic spaces, while industrial activity introduced environmental risk. Longtime Anglo residents responded to mixed-use zoning by taking advantage of uptown's new housing developments. People of color did not have this option, since employment, cheap rents, and race restrictive housing covenants limited their housing
options throughout the county. Ultimately these forces transformed Logan Heights into a racialized space.

As ethnic communities were beginning to take shape, minorities were systematically deprived of land ownership, business ventures, and a political voice in land use policies. California’s Alien Land Laws prohibited those working and living on the land from owning the land they tilled, during the early 20th century. For instance, in Rancho Santa Fe, Chinese and Japanese farmworkers were excluded from ownership and land development (Kropp, 2006, p. 163). In Logan Heights, its predominantly Latino ethnic community burgeoned as a result of restrictive housing deeds:

Developers and homeseekers alike promoted a racially and residentially segregated vision of homogeneity through restrictive deeds... Such deeds provided legal underpinnings for a longstanding pattern of racial segregation in Southern California and pushed nonwhites into ghettos and barrios that still exist today. (Dear & Kropp, 2003, p. 62)

In *Chicano San Diego: Cultural Space and the Struggle for Justice*, Griswold del Castillo (2007) highlights how areas such as Logan Heights were considered alien, un-American, and substandard. For example, in the 1950s junkyards and residents became neighbors overnight as the City of San Diego modified its residential zoning to accommodate industry. Not uncommon, this uneven distribution of waste and polluting industries has been “invariably located in poor neighborhoods, far removed from middle-class suburbs” (Field, 1998, p. 81). It is vital to know and understand that the production of a racialized space was the result of local laws, boosters, and progressive businesspeople who had overlooked local needs, ignoring the concerns of those occupying minority space (Dear & Kropp, 2003, p. 48).

During World War II, Logan Heights experienced an increase in military activity, zoning for defense industries, and an influx of Mexican citizens. The warehouses and factories from the 1880s were transformed into facilities to dismantle and repair naval vessels. While land zoning was changing from light industry to heavy commercial industry, Mexican citizens were drafted into the U.S. economy because of labor shortages during the war. Under the Bracero Program of 1942, Mexicans came to work and live in Logan Heights, further increasing its minority demographics. By the 1950s, the population of Logan Heights reached nearly 20,000, making it the second largest Mexican American community in California (Delgado, 1998, p.50). Later, at the height of the barrio’s population boom, land
use rezoning and large infrastructure projects severed both the geography and social space of the barrio.

The construction of Interstate 5 in 1963 and the Coronado Bridge in 1969 literally and symbolically uprooted the barrio community. Kevin Delgado (1998) found that Logan’s population decreased to 5,000 by 1979, and explained:

These developments had a devastating effect on the community of Logan. Families and businesses found themselves displaced from the land that was now taken over for development. The constant clamor of the junkyards and construction crews made life miserable at times. Many Logan Heights residents resented these new developments, but were unaware that they had the right to protest or petition the city council. (p. 50)

By the time Interstate 5 and the Coronado Bridge were completed, the area to the east remained Logan Heights, while the area west of the freeway organically adopted the name Barrio Logan—a signifier and step towards reclaiming land.

**Reclaiming Land: The Formative Years of a Collective Voice**

Fed up with industrial zoning, a collective voice began to emerge during the late 1960s. This was a time when the Civil Rights Movement and the emergence of the Chicano Movement known as, *El Movimiento*, influenced social change within the barrio. An exemplary account was when residents reached out to city officials to designate what little open space was still available for a community park. Land was granted, but without consent and warning, it was then re-designated to support the Coronado Bridge. Later, on April 22, 1970, residents woke up to discover bulldozers preparing the land for a CHP Headquarters and Fleet Station. Once word got out, locals were eager and ready to die to reclaim their land. A Chicano consciousness quickly went into action, organizing a 24 hour-a-day human chain lasting 12 days, with over 250 protestors occupying the land, halting construction and demanding that it be rezoned back into a people’s park (Delgado, 1998). Persistence prevailed, securing the bleak open space of 1.8 acres back from city officials. With the

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2 On March 15, 2013, at an event to commemorate Chicano Park’s induction into the National Register of Historic Places, I was handed a copy of a newspaper clipping written by the *San Diego Union* on April 24, 1970 titled, “‘We’ll Have our Park,’ Chicanos say.” In it, one protester is quoted as having said, “We are ready to die” (p. B4).
takeover of the land, visions for an open and public Chicano space emerged. Soon after, residents transformed the land under the Coronado Bridge into a space that the community could eventually be proud to call their own.

The struggle for territory gave residents a fierce voice, which to this day has continued to play a critical role in Barrio Logan’s Chicano historical character and artistic reputation. Community leaders, residents, and artists joined together to construct a park where art and politics merged to create a “comprehensive public education system within the barrio” (Ybarra-Frasto, 1996, p. 165). This is also evident in an illustration of a future Chicano space rendered by local artist Victor Ochoa, where he depicts the cultural production of a people’s barrio (Appendix B, Figure 2). As of today, the community has fulfilled more than half of Ochoa’s Master Plan:

1. The Free Hospital is the Logan Heights Family Health Center.
2. Mercado was built in 2011-2012 as a mixed-use residential (Estrella Del Mercado) and commercial area (Mercado del Barrio) housing the only supermarket in area.
3. Universidad del Barrio has manifested in many forms including: The Barrio Logan College Institute, which prepares local students for college; the Woodbury School of Architecture satellite campus; and the redevelopment of the former San Diego Continuing Education – Cesar Chavez Campus, currently under construction two blocks west of its former location.
4. Both the Kiosco and Chicano Parque are the most recognized developments in Barrio Logan.

Pictorial visions such as Ochoa’s Master Plan “fortified and deepened understanding of the social issues being debated in Chicano communities” (Ybarra-Frasto, 1996, p. 165). Ochoa’s illustration acknowledges the social needs of the barrio, which is also a sign of reclaiming identity and land in reference to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo of 1848.

Visual representations of the Chicano experience rather than external histories were important to El Movimiento. In Barrio Logan, Chicano Park and its murals are internationally recognized for reclaiming land and rewriting their own post-colonial history onto the very structures that dismantled their community. “Chicanos felt the necessity of devising their own communication media,” and “murals addressed themselves to overcoming the ‘colonial mentality’” (Goldman, 1977, p. 125). Reclaiming Chicano Park was an act of reclaiming Aztlán. Adopted by the Chicano Movement, the concept of Aztlán is an inventive historical and geographic connection to the Aztecs. Edward Said (2002), in his essay “Invention,
Memory and Place,” points out “that invention must occur if there is recollection…” (p. 248). He later elaborates: “Every independent state that emerged after the dismantling of the classical empires in the post-World War Two years felt it necessary to narrate its own history, as much as possible free of biases and misrepresentations of that history” (Said, 2002, p. 250). Therefore, the inventive nature of Aztlán—reclaiming memory and renaming space—heals, because rewriting a collective history declares independence.³

In Barrio-Logos: Space and Place in Urban Chicano Literature and Culture, Raúl Homero Villa (2000) wrote about Salvador Torres during the late 1960s, and his vision for reclaiming space. While at the California College of Arts and Crafts, Torres’ home was torn down and replaced with a support pillar for the Coronado Bridge; upon his return, finding a support pillar rather than his home caused a mixed reaction (Villa, 2000). On the one hand, his childhood home was gone, but on the other, instead of seeing infrastructure he saw large canvases. Influenced by the Mexican muralists, Torres envisioned art directly on the bridge's pylons. He and his crew soon became visual educators, taking on “the important task of refining and transmitting through plastic expression the ideology of community striving for self-determination” (Ybarra-Frasto, 1996, p. 177). The murals of Chicano Park are as relevant today as they were then; they reflect the social drama of colonialization and the everyday struggles and pride of barrio life. After the rupture caused by the development of the Coronado Bridge and Interstate 5, claiming and transforming the land under these highways bridged a gap within the community, producing a communal identity. But the fervor once associated with the early Chicano Movement in Barrio Logan had become a celebrated memory.

**AN EVER-EVOLVING DYNAMIC SPACE**

Relived one day out of the year, Chicano Park Day is an annual celebration commemorating the birth of the park. This day of commemoration—fashioned with danza (Aztec dance ceremonies), lowriders, and a barrio aesthetic of the past (communal forms of social resistance)—has preserved the memory of a victory won by a previous generation. Over the years, murals have continued to appear on the walls, while local gangs and

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³ This is evident in the 1988 documentary, *Chicano Park.*
homeless have occupied the park alongside park goers. Chicano Park has also become both a tourist attraction and a mecca for muralists who seek to visit the place where art meets the memory of a communal Chicano victory.

In 2013, Chicano Park was inducted into the National Register of Historic Places, a program overseen by the National Parks Service (NPS). This recognition comes at the cost of romanticizing the Chicano experience. Expressed on the NPS website: “The peaceful occupation of the site and the subsequent successful struggle to turn the location into a vibrant community gathering spot is closely associated with the local Chicano Civil Rights Movement in San Diego” (National Park Services, 2013). Yet the occupation of space and the struggle for a “vibrant community” are issues still unresolved for the residents of Barrio Logan. These struggles are largely ignored, except when the residents become an economic threat to outside forces.

Back in 2007, the issue I took with Chicano Park was the general acceptance of the barrio as a static place of memory. Viewing the barrio peripherally, out from under the bridge, I sought to capture an ever-evolving space, re-altered constantly by communal needs and external forces. When I began documenting Barrio Logan, I was purposefully aware that my back was turned away from Chicano Park. In doing so, I was in no way dismissing or downplaying the importance of Chicano Park and its murals. I believed it was important to recognize that constant documentation of one victorious site was leading to a static representation of the area, rather than revealing it as a place still fighting an underrepresented land use war.

Today, the community’s recent success at creating a unifying voice, influencing a new Community Plan Update to rezone land use, has become a nuisance to the area’s working waterfront. In an editorial piece written by the San Diego Union Tribune in favor of the shipyards, Barrio Logan is described as if residents are the ones at fault for its current polluting businesses. The editorial reads: “This proud community has over the years been anything but a model of good municipal planning. Many of its streets are a mishmash of homes cheek by jowl with shipyard suppliers and the attendant noise and truck traffic” (San Diego Union Tribune Editorial Board, 2013). Referring to the community as planners would mean that those who have lived in the neighborhood would have had the political access, resources, and power to exercise municipal planning. Rather, the editorial fails to
acknowledge the City of San Diego who is responsible for the area's mishmashed land use and unwelcomed noise.

When dominant sources of information fail to contextualize the barrio—in this case, as a racialized space, resulting in low homeownership and city-imposed industrial zoning—we are unable to rely on them as credible sources of information. Therefore, we must become those who tell the stories of the marginalized community, in order to cease the perpetuation of racial assertions within prominent local newspapers. Today, we can learn from the muralists who have become a public voice through art.

The position of the Chicana/o artist was a self-imposed activist role, protesting against both outside forces and the larger narrative of contemporary Western art practices to cease the production of racial stereotypes. Art Historian and critic, Lucy Lippard (2009), challenges all artists to use visual culture as a means to educate and become activists. In her chapter titled, “Peripheral Visions” from *Land Arts of the American West*, she wrote,

…it does often seem that artists could be better informed and more integrally involved in these struggles. It is taken for granted that artists know (or should know) how to jolt perspective, how to frame issues and places, but they are rarely taught how to (or rarely chose to) use their talents for social change. (para. 8)

The Chicano artists of Barrio Logan have used their talents to visually transform the monstrously large bridge supports into enormous canvases to jolt perception and frame Chicana/o issues and social place. They did this out of necessity. To add to Lippard, one cannot simply walk into and out of a space to initiate social change. From experience, I have learned that we must become, experience, and live the change we want to manifest on the landscape. In order to jolt perspective, I had to practice art outside of the classroom, learn about the barrio, and develop a praxis inline with both Social Practice Art and the Chicano Movement.
CHAPTER 3

THE PROCESS

I do research so as to know what I do not yet know and to communicate and proclaim what I discover.
— Paulo Freire

My journey focused inquiry towards the production of a racialized space and the intimacy experienced while documenting such places. As an artist, the work I do is an attempt to reveal what Theresa Cordova (1998) refers to as the injustices committed against both ourselves and others. Time spent in Barrio Logan provided me with introspection as to why anxieties and insecurities came up to the surface, but interdisciplinary research and platicas (Spanish for group talks) on campus put many of the questions I had about race and place into perspective. Moreover, learning about Land Art, landscape photography, and Social Practice Art allowed me to interpret my own process and formulate my artistic approach to create an alternative neighborhood tour. The following is my attempt to reflect back and describe the process of documenting the barrio, what I learned, and how I applied my findings in the form of a place-based walking tour.

ON PHOTOGRAPHY

My intent as a photographer was never to capture “Mexicans” or “Mexicanness.” I am Mexican. Even though I have a historical and ethnic relationship to the barrio (insider-self), my higher education, middle-class upbringing (outsider-self) positioned me as a photographer documenting both other and self. This realization of a dual-self added many complex layers to my multiple identities, and it was not until my exposure to Chicana, Feminist, and Indigenous methodological approaches to research, that I began to understand the value of my own point of view. Internally, I was changing, and as I captured the barrio’s urban transformation my approach to photographing the barrio began to change. The questions then were: “How do I capture the barrio without exploiting residents? How do I restore dignity to a marginalized community?”
Pointing

I shot my first set of images with a consumer point-and-shoot digital camera, with fear that the barrio would quickly be erased. When I shared a few of these photos with professor Stringfellow, my thesis chair, she encouraged me not only to invest in a digital SLR camera, but also to take these images beyond snapshots. Back then I was using the camera as if pointing a finger at something upsetting. I borrow ‘finger pointing’ from William J. Mitchell (1994) who described the photographer as “more of a pointer than a painter. Just as the pointing finger indicates something real out there, so does the pointing camera” (p. 194). My reaction to the block’s transition was to give immediate attention to the situation—to the moment in time where I was bearing witness to the rapid changes of displacement. I wanted to persuade others to consider why local residents were being uprooted and displaced for a new set of residents, and what purpose there was to building an affordable housing unit in an area where city zoning allows industrial sites to pollute. Curious and extremely baffled by city development, I purchased my first DSLR and began to document methodically the area, while also searching for answers about urban development.

Going into the barrio with a larger camera on a tripod was a considerably different experience than walking around with a point-and-shoot. I felt like I had a responsibility to document the changes occurring in front of me, as if I had authority and agency. I was also treated differently. In my previous photo shoots I simply explored or investigated other areas of San Diego. While shooting La Jolla’s Infrastructure (Appendix B, Figure 3), a project in which I tried to find the hidden infrastructure behind this picture-perfect region.

Looking back at these photographs, they remind me of the Center for Land Use Interpretation (CLUI) approach to documenting hidden land use areas in the United States. CLUI photographers who contribute images of a given site are not glamorized; they are anonymous for the sake of “keeping it real.” In the Introduction to Overlook: Exploring the Internal Fringes of America with the Center for Land Use Interpretation, Matthew Coolidge and Sarah Simons (2006), founder and director of the center defined the intent and function of anonymity as “to let the image, as much as it can, stand for itself, as a document. It is not meant to be a record of an individual photographer’s point of view, but an institutionalized record of the appearance of a place” (p. 22). Having worked in La Jolla for four years, then having lived there for another, my function within that space was anonymous, and my
photography represented what was ignored: both myself and the structures in the background that support the city’s function. This was not the case when I photographed Barrio Logan. Issues of race, privilege, and my own agency were constantly on my mind during my photographic walks in the barrio.

**Walking**

Walking in Barrio Logan was a ritual, and became an important part of my process. However, I was not conscious of the effects these walks were having on my work until professor Stringfellow and Women’s Studies professor Dr. Irene Lara noticed how my daily strolls in the barrio were shaping my work. Each led me to a different source on the subject: professor Stringfellow introduced me to the Situationist International and professor Lara led me to Gloria Anzaldúa. The Situationist International began as an international group of artists, intellectuals, and theorists, active as social revolutionaries during the mid-twentieth century. As a means to explore the everyday of city life, they would use the *dérive* (to drift in French). The Situationists used the *dérive* “as a period of wandering through an urban area in order to understand the everyday life as an artform,” and to “achieve a psychogeographical reading of an environment” (Townsend, 2011, p. 6-7).

For me, walking was a necessity to fully understand Barrio Logan’s psychogeography as a place, a community, and a living, dynamic urban environment. Learning the lay of the land not only allowed me to understand everyday life, but the walks themselves became a part of my own lived experience. Daily walks revealed changes to the landscape as homes would become construction sites overnight. Construction sites would then slowly transform into new spaces that either served the community, such as low-income housing, or into spaces that catered to an outside crowd. Capturing these transformations was my main objective, but while documenting changes of the barrio’s physical space, I was ignoring the element that makes a space a place: people.

Cristina Fernández’s (2003) *Lavandería* series of photographs (Appendix B, Figure 4) explores “our inability to bridge the spaces between subject and artist” (para. 6). The space between the subjects of Barrio Logan and myself had been intentionally wide, precisely because I was unable to bridge this gap. Fernández’s photographs were chosen for the 2008 exhibition, *Phantom Sighting: Art After the Chicano Movement*, because her
images, and the work of the other artists in the exhibition, represent “social absence rather then [the] cultural essence” (Fox, Gonzalez, & Noriega, 2008, p. 13) of Chicana/o and Latina/o culture. During my walks, I have learned that to acknowledge and confront social absence, you have to be prepared for the healing process. Gloria Anzaldúa was instrumental to me for this. In *now let us shift... the path of conocimiento... inner work, public acts*, Anzaldúa (2002) teaches us that getting “over the bridge” heals, placing us into a realm of spiritual activism. She stated how our “identity is a filtering screen limiting your awareness to a fraction of your reality” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 542). As I mentioned in Chapter 1, witnessing changes to the barrio paralyzed me. Unknowingly, I hid behind the camera, providing myself with enough distance between the historical and ongoing struggles of the barrio, including my own herstory. It was not until I began crossing the bridge during my own transformation, that the gap began to lessen.

The work of photographer Mark Klett gave me further insight into how images, coupled with one’s own lived experience can manifest into a deeper understanding of the self to define a sense of identity. In the book, *Third Views, Second Sights*, he stated, “the longer I work, the more important it is to me to make photographs that tell my story as a participant, and not just an observer of the land” (Klett et al., 2004, p. 182). Observing urban renewal through my lens was not enough for healing the land’s wounds, its people, nor myself. I feared objectifying anyone with the power of photography to produce an image for a viewer’s gaze. This was an issue I had to overcome in order to properly dignify, without exploiting the experiences of those I encountered on foot.

**Gazing**

As a socially committed artist, my goal has been to tell the story of my experience and the stories of the barrio without objectifying my observations of locals and their lived experience. Linda Nochlin’s work on objectification uses Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism to discuss how nineteenth-century Oriental paintings reinforced European power structures throughout the Near East. She argued “Orientalism was its attempt at documentary realism,” in “a world without change, a world of timeless, atemporal customs and rituals, untouched by the historical process” (Nochlin, 1982, p. 33-34). These pictorial scenes in Oriental paintings were in contrast to life in Western societies, ignoring modernization. They
depict a false and romanticized portrayal of the Near East, objectifying them with the Western gaze.

Nochlin’s (1982) interpretation of Jean-Léon Gérôme’s The Snake Charmer (Appendix B, Figure 5) illustrates how these paintings are dependent on those who participate as viewers. Viewers are outsiders, literally. First as they stand outside of the picture frame gazing from afar to consume its content. Second, Westerners are not depicted as either colonialists or tourists viewing the snake charmer, so as not to spoil the illusion of an untouched landscape. Nochlin (1982) argued “…one of the defining features of Orientalist painting is the dependency for its very existence on a presence that is always an absence: the Western colonial or touristic presence” (p. 37). When I was documenting Barrio Logan, I was reluctant to take images of locals, because I did not want to objectify them. But after acknowledging that it is people that make a place, I needed to put a face and voice to those in the middle of the barrio’s turf battle. To have positioned myself as Gérôme did—to have only concentrated on portraits of those who live in the barrio, without a voice—would have been like using my camera to point a finger at someone, rather than tell a socially just and critical story.

One photographer who managed to depict harsh living conditions with a socially just intent was Dorothea Lange. Largely known for her Depression Era photographs, she was employed by the Works Progress Administration to document the era’s living conditions. Her images of the Great Depression were and still are shocking to the Western gaze, since they portray the fall of Western trailblazers. Later, the War Relocation Authority hired Lange to photograph the evacuation process of Japanese Americans: Executive Order 9066, the interment of Japanese and Japanese American citizens after the events of Pearl Harbor in 1941 (Appendix B, Figure 6). These photos met a different sort of reception.

According to the Library of Congress (n.d.), the government—the very agency employing Lange and executing the evacuation order—censored these photographs from the public. They were later unveiled when the California Historical Society sponsored the 1972 exhibition of her work in Executive Order 9066: The Internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans, providing a glimpse of the undignified act. According to the Library of Congress’ (n.d.) website, Lange was affected during the process of documenting the relocation process:
Lange’s earlier work documenting displaced farm families and migrant workers during the Great Depression did not prepare her for the disturbing racial and civil rights issues raised by the Japanese internment. Lange quickly found herself at odds with her employer and her subjects’ persecutors, the United States government.

Lange’s reaction to photographing the interments, hints to the unequal relationship between image creator and subject also seen with nineteenth-century Oriental paintings. This helped me to address my own inability to deal with race-place politics through photography, as I did not want to be complicit in the act of objectification.

I understood that my point of view was different from Gérôme and traditional landscape photographers, such as the work of Ansel Adams—who purposefully excluded both the built environment and native peoples to preserve the majesty of the natural world (Solnit, 2001, p. 101). When I leaned that landscape photography deals with conscious “selective framing and cropping… through use of camera angles in which foreground objects occlude unwanted background objects” (Mitchell, 1994, p. 201), I understood that it was important for me to include barrio locals alongside the area’s built environment. Furthermore, learning about the work of Land Art conceptualists through artist and writer Rasheed Araeen (2002) propelled me even further away from what could be applied to Gérôme’s and Adams’ mindset:

If a land appeared, particularly through the camera eye, as a wilderness it was only because they did not want to see or allow their eyes to penetrate beyond what they wanted to see. Thus the people who inhabited the land either disappeared from their gaze or became objects. (p. 452)

Focusing on the built environment provided me with a time-lapse view of six years of urban transitions. However, as Camilo Jose Vergara (2005) describes, I was able to “use photography as a means of discovery, as a tool with which to clarify visions and construct knowledge about a particular city or place” (para. 2). Without photography, a medium I was comfortable with, I may not have been able to penetrate beyond the lens and connect with locals. This would have placed me into a position where I was ignoring, or even erasing the people of Barrio Logan. To refer back to Lippard (1997): I needed to listen and record the historical narratives of the barrio. It was time for me to place the barrio’s everyday sounds and stories into the foreground.
COUNTER NARRATIVES

Barrios are fragile and elusive spaces, but conversations and people’s stories are one way to grasp what makes a barrio a barrio. I will acknowledge that this project could have adopted institutional methodologies had this been a formal oral history project. However, the use of multiple methodologies, including the nature of this being a fine arts project, allowed me to extend beyond the traditional confines of academia. Taking from various fields of study provided me with a socially engaged praxis to capture the state of the barrio. Artists’ work, such as Susan Lacy’s *Behind the Door and the Street*, and the collaborative project between Amy Balkin, Kim Stringfellow, and Tim Halbur in their *Invisible 5* audio tour, actualize the use of social engagement with art, turning their artistic practice away from themselves and towards the stories of others.

Recording everyday conversations required me to use methodologies that allowed me to develop this project as an opportunity to heal. I use the word *conversation* instead of *interview* to acknowledge the hierarchical relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. In *Reflections on Oral History: Research in a Japanese American Community*, social historian, Valerie Matsumoto (1996), described the ethics of her research role as a third-generation Japanese American collecting oral history accounts from three generations of Japanese Americans living in California’s Central Valley. In her essay she acknowledged her own insider/outsider identity as a Japanese American, including the hierarchical relationship between interviewer/researcher and interviewee/subject for her research project. For me, becoming aware of this unequal power relationship was crucial when it came time to record stories for the audio tour.

Preparing

During my time in Barrio Logan, I met many residents, community activists, and business owners whom I later approached for the audio portion of this project. (See Appendix C, Tables 1-10 for a list of tracks, participants, and descriptions.) Recording the stories of people I met was conducted in much the same manner as capturing a still image. I revisited the *dérive* with the intent to capture the everyday voices of the barrio on the subject of land use. It was important to record a variety of perspectives, and I sought those who live and work in the barrio, as well as those who do activist work for Barrio Logan. Those who
agreed to participate in the project were asked to volunteer for a 20-30 minute recorded conversation (many lasted over an hour) in a location of their choice. Each participant was informed that our recorded conversation would be used for my final thesis project, the public walking tour, and any literature related to the project.

Most of the conversations contained in this project were recorded in 2013, with the exception of a formal interview with Maria Moya from the Environmental Health Coalition (EHC) and one informal street conversation with Roberto (who worked at a local body shop), each recorded in 2010. Conversations were scheduled through email, though scheduling with older participants was done in person days or weeks in advance. Sets of questions were not provided, since these were informal conversations where details organically generated. However, during the scheduling process, participants did want know what to discuss. They also wanted to know why they were chosen. Each email was then tailored to each individual, informing them why they were chosen and what I wanted to discuss. For example, in an email sent to lifelong resident, artist, and activist Hector Villegas I wrote:

> It would be great to interview you and discuss your views about Barrio Logan's gentrification/revitalization/redevelopment. I have found these words to be controversial during this interview process, but since you and your family have been there for generations, maybe you could shed light on what “urban development” means to the community. (personal communication, April 30, 2013)

Prior to these conversations, the word gentrification was thrown around to understand and interpret the area’s redevelopment, and the email message quoted above points to how my own understanding of gentrification changed during this process.

While recording, I was certain I would hear stories criticizing gentrification or the racialization of Barrio Logan, but this was not entirely the case. Rather, only two participants (each lifelong residents), Hector Villegas and Georgette Gómez, spoke against redevelopment, characterizing it as gentrification. Gómez acknowledged that if they and their community are not actively involved with the renewal process, gentrification could become a reality (personal communication, May 15, 2013). Others were cautious with calling redevelopment efforts in Barrio Logan gentrification, since low/middle-income housing and new-gente (Spanish for people) were additions to the barrio. As my conversations seemed to highlight, the phenomenon at work in Barrio Logan was something more than just gentrification. How locals talked about and characterized new development in the area
emerged organically and became a major theme in my conversations. Despite my own perceptions of the barrio, what I learned from these conversations was how Barrio Logan is a contested space with a variety of views even from within.

**Recording**

For the audio tour, I recorded a total of thirteen conversations. Four of those conversations were with lifelong residents, two with new residents, seven with workers/business owners (including gallery owners), and five with community activists. Some participants fell into more than one category. All were people of color, but this was not intended. Three non-people of color were approached, but they were either not interested or were unable to participate. There were also two women of color who after attempting to schedule an interview declined to participate. The purpose of recording these conversations was to capture stories that were not told in the media, and not coming from local politicians or “official” sources of information. These conversations represent counter narratives only heard by those who seek to listen in carefully to the barrio. Careful listening also tunes you to other sounds that usually get ignored.

Barrio Logan’s acoustic culture may be recognized for lowrider hydraulic sounds and the bell of a *palettero* selling frozen treats, but another less “stereotypical” barrio sound is white noise. These are environmental sounds that are a sonic reminder of mixed zone land use and its invisible production of pollutants. For example, during my recoded conversation with Georgette Gómez outdoors near Chicano Park, listeners are exposed to vehicles traveling on the Coronado Bridge. The sounds of traffic serve as background noise, and also make reference to the particulate matter produced by cars. In Part 2 of Track 7, I highlight the working waterfront with shipyard noise to allude not only to its noise pollution, but to the toxic chemicals emitted into the air. In Track 3: Tres Generaciones, I layered sounds of truck traffic and the train to get a sense of the area’s daily acoustics, while Delia Chavez describes Barrio Logan’s soundscape. Throughout our conversation semi-trucks are audible in the background, which captures the reality of the area’s white noise.

In Villa’s (2000) *Barrio-Logos* he refers to freeways and transportation in the barrio as a form of “social death”, rather than social progress.

The railroads, historically, and the freeways, more recently, have held an aura of positive, democratic freedom of movement in the American popular imagination.
However, not all people have equal access to the promises of transportation and travel... the historical presence of these technologies of mobility have physically and psychologically aggravated the hegemonic constraints on social mobility in the barrio community. (Villa, 2000, p. 163)

His use of “social death” also refers to the direct relationship between “the grim mechanical sounds” of transportation and those whose voices are drowned by technology, movement, and production. Layering these found sounds with voice not only points out the area’s noise pollution, but also the air pollution caused by outside forces.

On another note, music was an added component for each audio track. In Track 5, both Parts 1: Public Market and Part 2: Voz Alta, feature live music recorded from their respective locations. Original music was also recorded for the remaining tracks. In post-production, conversations, a voice over script, music, and found sounds were then layered similarly to what you would hear in This American Life—an inspiration and model for editing these audio tracks.

Listening

Originally, I had titled this project, Gentrification Barrio Logan. Though after recording some of my conversations, I realized that the word gentrification was too limiting in scope. Had I used gentrification to define the entire project, it would have diminished the work done by a community that typically gets ignored for its victories against gentrification. Despite the effect of urban development, which typically causes gentrification, gentrification was not the correct word to define the many layers of the renewal efforts in Barrio Logan. Instead, the word Re/Generation was appropriate to define how the barrio’s current generation was continuing the work done by previous generations. For example, in Track 7: Environmental Justice, we learn about the new Community Plan Update to rezone polluting industries away from residential areas. This is an important mission for the people of Barrio Logan, especially if the City of San Diego is going to continue placing affordable housing projects in an area where pollution is high.

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4 I composed six out of the nine musical pieces (Tracks 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7), and my sibling, Freddy Ibarra, created two of the tracks (Tracks 8 and 9).
While researching other barrios for this project, it came to my attention that one of
East L.A.’s barrios, Boyle Heights, was also in the middle of its own Re/Generation. They
called it “gente-fication.” Here is an excerpt from Track 1 to contextualize how this word has
become a barrio phenomenon (Medina, 2013). The word gente-fication is:

a modification of the word gentrification, with the Spanish word, gente, meaning
people. Gentrification is the process of dismantling a poor and working-class
community, culture, and way of life, into a middle-class (typically white)
neighborhood. This is usually by way of revitalizing deteriorated areas, with low
home ownership, and lack of political power and financial means. But in the case
of Barrio Logan and other southwest barrios, the recent influx of gente moving
back into areas where we were once racially sequestered to live, adds another
layer of complexity to the situation... Whose barrio are we entering when we step
into this space? And how do new gente and gentrifiers redefine the barrio.
(Re/Generation Barrio Logan, Track 1: La Entrada, 2013)

The phenomenon of gente-fication and Re/Generation has been occurring in more than one
barrio. This is due in part to the placement of affordable housing projects in the barrios,
coupled with an overall increase of the Latino population within the US.

THE WALKING TOUR

This mobile app walking tour takes you out of the museum and into the actual site to
understand how people use space and give it meaning (Appendix A, Plates 11-14). The
project is a site-specific place-based audio tour, with over 75 images contextualized by 9 sets
of audio tracks. There are 9 points of interest, and the entire walk is 1.5 miles long. The
themes associated with the tour are: history, land use, culture, art galleries, and
environmental justice. The tour is free and accessible as a mobile website at
www.regenerationbarriologan.net to those with a smartphone. Creating a free mobile tour
was an important decision, and I have no intention to sell this tour as a payable native Apple
or Android app. I programmed the tour with HTML, JavaScript, and JQuery Mobile to
design an interface that mimics a native app for ease of use. Each image is viewable with a
gestural finger swipe, to allow the user to overlap the image on their mobile device with the
actual site for a time-lapse view (Appendix A, Plate 15).

5 A desktop version is also available for those who are unable to be on location, even though participants
are encouraged to be in Barrio Logan for the full interactive experience.
Layering

The mobile site serves as several layers with sounds and images to be experienced by the user on location, immersed within the local landscape. While listening to a track, users can overlap the images from the mobile site onto the existing landscape to get a sense of the barrio’s changing identity. Another layer is created by the audio tracks, which are uploaded onto soundcloud.com, a site that enables users to add text-based comments onto the tracks’ online soundwaves. This social media platform allows users and artists to engage with each other remotely, adding a rich layer of information as commentary to the stories and perspectives presented on the tour. The tour’s multiple layers come together to “generate information that broadens our understanding of the situation” (Barrera & Vialpando, 1974, p. 3). The situation that Barrera and Vialpando refer to is the ongoing struggle of land use rights by barrio residents throughout American history.

Barrera and Vialpando were an inspiration for this audio tour. Their 1974 pamphlet titled, Action Research: In Defense of the Barrio, is a collection of interviews told by three different community leaders, from three different California barrios. Its purpose was to address the processes that “fragment and dislocate the barrios that exist in and around metropolitan areas, displacing the Chicano population and acting as a source of disruption and instability in the community” (Barrera & Vialpando, 1974, p. 1). The interviews in Action Research captured a time and place when displacement and outside forces posed a threat to barrios. For me, this became an initial layer of information and research for my own project, allowing my tour to become a second layer of the same conversations captured in Action Research.

As a tool, Action Research allowed me to interpret the form of a written pamphlet and its collected interviews as a means to deliver my mobile walking tour. Literature such as this allowed me to revisit the same issues that exist in today's barrio (Appendix A, Plate 16), and to acknowledge how this project is now another layer of information accessible through multimedia art practices. Similarly, we see the use of political strategies outlined in Action Research in the New York-based collective REPOhisotry. Their use of activism with urban art bridges the “gap between official history, and a re-reading of the past overlapping narratives, forgotten figures, and repressed events” (Sholette, 1999, p.4). Merging methodologies gained from both Action Research and the work of REPOhistory’s political
strategies provided me with examples of how to engage with the field of Social Practice Art, allowing me to create critical work that is both art and research.

**Reframing**

This tour, in the form of a mobile app multimedia project, reframes my photographs outside of gallery walls and onto the barrio itself. Direct engagement was first and foremost the idea for the walking tour in order to situate outsiders within the barrio. I recognize that this could be problematic, bringing outsiders into the barrio as “tourists,” but my role as an artist is to critically engage the user, to take Barrio Logan out of the background and expose misconceptions. This walking tour is also not as a celebration of a vibrant barrio, or a critique of gentrification based on a knee-jerk reaction. As an alternative walking tour, I present the barrio I encountered while walking and documenting the neighborhood, and highlight the voices and good deeds exercised by the community.

Recently, we have seen a trend where artists use intervention with the intent to remediate neighborhoods in need. Last year, for example, the U.S. International contribution to the 2012 Biennale, *Spontaneous Interventions: Design for the Common Good*, explored such themes as gentrification, guerrilla gardening, and pop-up art as intervention in neighborhoods in need of remediation. Tom Angotti (2012) of *Architect Magazine* sheds light on some of the art projects that attempted to reframe gentrification outside of the gallery walls and on to the streets.

To some extent, this Spontaneous Interventions exhibition honors gentrifiers by giving them a prominent place at the prestigious Biennale. Missing from the stage are the local residents and businesses who, over decades and with little fanfare, improve their communities through many brilliant and creative actions. Their many gradual, small steps have to be analyzed and understood for their role in shaping the urban environment and creating livable cities. (para. 5)

These interventions fail to holistically address areas undergoing gentrification, because of their quick pop-up timeframe. For me, engaging with the barrio holistically, beyond frequenting the area just for lunch or for Chicano Park Day was crucial. Attending city-planning meetings, talking to those affected by displacement, and engaging with newcomers illuminated my understanding of attempting to create a self-sustaining barrio community. My insider/outsider relationship to the barrio made me acutely aware of Barrio Logan’s remediation, which is why I frame this project as a healing tool using a
Chicana/Feminist/Indigenous perspective to acknowledge the “gradual small steps” taken by those who remediate their own community.
CHAPTER 4

GIVING BACK

We need to be careful, in doing historical research about oppressed communities, to see that the active ingredients get back to the people whose ancestors generated our work.
— Aurora Levins Morales

My agenda with Re/Generation Barrio Logan has been not only to document the everyday lives of the barrio, but also to create a substantive masters thesis project for the existing community, and to use this written thesis to document my own methodological and pedagogical framework. This has involved placing myself and the restoration of my fragmented identity during my graduate school experience into my work. My motivation is best expressed by Aurora Levins Morales (1998) in Medicine Stories, where she discussed how her own experience was woven into her book, Remedios (published later in 2001). Self-described as a “socially committed historian,” she included herself within the larger history of women in Puerto Rico with the agenda of healing the trauma of colonization, making herself “…visible not only as a historian with an agenda, but also as a subject of this history and one of the traumatized seeking to recover herself…” (Levins Morales, 1998, p. 25). In many ways, the process of working on this project was just as important as the final product. I needed to heal my own uncertainties in order to fully understand and document the barrio’s fragile state, and later, to give back to the community that inspired this work.

While working on this project, I learned that the history of the barrio’s past and present, and also our own personal process, ought to be documented for further research, because if we have documentation we are then able to “to adopt new orientations and perspectives on the Chicano situation” (Almaguer, 1971, p. 8). According to Almaguer, minorities in academia need to take on the responsibility of writing their own history free of distortion. Therefore, as a socially committed artist, Re/Generation Barrio Logan is an offering to the Chicana/o, Latina/o community, and a new layer of research through art to understand the “Chicano situation.”
Creating art that matters, and that makes more than an aesthetic impact on an audience, has been my endeavor. Positioning my work as Contemporary Art within the field of Social Practice Art opened up the opportunity to embed activism, education, and place into this multimedia project. Multimedia art faculty and my thesis committee chair, Kim Stringfellow, provided guidance and a template for my walking tour. Her collaborative work on *Invisible 5* highlights the hidden infrastructure, politics, and social injustices unseen by drivers on Interstate 5. It covers a day’s drive between San Francisco and Los Angeles, and *Re/Generation Barrio Logan* can be positioned on the south end of *Invisible 5*. So it is with this project that I add to the discussion, through art, about the state of unjust land use in the State of California.

Lastly, I want to point out that the scope of this project is geographically limited. When I walked into Barrio Logan in 2007, I captured the transformations of the barrio’s built environment north of Chicano Park. This area is not representative of the entire barrio. But at the time, it was the area where urban development was spilling into the barrio from downtown’s own redevelopment. The images from 2007 provided me with a large enough sample to document and shed light on an area where ballpark encroachment and displacement was altering the barrio landscape. Today, these changes are now occurring south of Chicano Park, and I hope that this walking tour and written thesis will inspire a holistic approach to documenting and understanding urban transformations for community-based work beyond the boundaries of this project.
REFERENCES

WORKS CITED


WORKS CONSULTED


APPENDIX A

PLATES

AN URBAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
A LOOK INTO SAN DIEGO’S BARRIO LOGAN

BY JEANNETTE IBARRA
Plate 2. Example from *An Urban Development Project*, Chapter 1: Barrio Elements, 2007
Plate 3. Example from *An Urban Development Project*, Chapter 1: Barrio Elements, 2007

*ALLEY BETWEEN SIOSBEE & BEARDSLEY*

CORNER OF NATIONAL AVENUE & SIGSBEE STREET
Plate 8. Example from *An Urban Development Project*, Chapter 4: Project Notes, 2007
Plate 9. Example from *An Urban Development Project*, Chapter 4: Project Notes, 2007
Plate 10. Video still from *Becoming the Virtual Chicana*, by Jeannette Ibarra Shindell, 2011
Plate 11. User on location ready to begin the walking tour on mobile device, 2013
Plate 12. Map of Walking Tour with 9 Points of Interest (POI). Each POI is Programmed as a Hyper-Link Assigned to its Given Track, 2013
Plate 13. View of tracklist, 2013

1. LA ENTRADA
   3:05

2. A LOCAL’S HISTORY
   4:12

3. TRES GENERACIONES
   4:27

4. TAKE IT AS IS
   2:59

5. VOZ/PUBLIC
   4:57 (2 Parts)

6. ERASING LOCAL C...
   2:48

7. ENVIRONMENTAL J...
   13:00 (3 Parts)

8. THE SPOT
   5:08

9. THE FUTURE
   8:22
Plate 14. Example of the User Interface, 2013

LOCATION: Begin at the corner of Sigsbee and Logan and walk halfway down the block. Please do not disturb the tenants.

ABOUT: We are standing on the block where the Chavez family have made their home for three generations. Second generation resident Delia and her son Richard share their photo album with me. We get a glimpse not only of their lives but of the changing environment. The barrio has seen mass displacement of residents since the construction of Interstate S and the Coronado Bridge, but the Chavez family is one family whose roots have remained in place. They tell us their reasons of wanting to stay despite the fact that the area has gone from being a quiet neighborhood, to being disrupted by noises night and day from the freeway, trolley, and trains. Not even multiple offers by developers eager to get hold of their property, can convince them to leave their lifelong home.
Plate 15. This is an Example of a User Listening to a Track. Standing on the Corner of Cesar E. Chavez and Newton Avenue, the User Layers an Image from Track 9 onto the Urban Environment to Create a Time-Lapse View. The Image Viewable on her Mobile Device Was Taken in 2011, Capturing the Initial Phase of Building El Mercado, 2013.
Plate 16. This Image Captures the Multiple Layers Depicting Years of Retrofitting the Barrio. It Has also Become the Poster Image for the Walk Tour, 2010
APPENDIX B

FIGURES
Figure 3. La Jolla’s Infrastructure, by Jeannette Ibarra Shindell, 2006.
APPENDIX C

TABLES
### Table 1. List of Tracks, Participants, and Their Barrio Affiliations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Track List</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Barrio Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. La Entrada</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A Local’s History</td>
<td>Hector Villegas</td>
<td>Lifelong barrio resident, artist and former gang member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tres Generaciones</td>
<td>Delia Chavez, Richard Chavez</td>
<td>Lifelong barrio residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Take It As Is</td>
<td>Miki Iwasaki</td>
<td>Co-founder of The Bakery and Sherman Heights Resident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a. Voz/Public (Part 1: Public Market)</td>
<td>Georgette Gómez</td>
<td>Former Resident and Associate Director of the Environmental Health Coalition’s (EHC) Toxic-Free Neighborhoods Campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b. Voz/Public (Part 2: Voz Alta)</td>
<td>Carlos Beltran</td>
<td>Gallery Curator for Voz Alta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Erasing Local Culture</td>
<td>Dago Arias</td>
<td>Owner of Ye Olde Town Pump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a. Environmental Justice (Part 1: Race &amp; Place)</td>
<td>Maria Moya, Georgette Gómez</td>
<td>MM: Environmental rights advocate and former EHC employee GG: See track 5a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a. Environmental Justice (Part 2: Shipyards &amp; the Buffer Zone)</td>
<td>Gary Leslie, “Roberto”, Maria Moya</td>
<td>GL: Shipyard Worker and Former Resident R: Local Auto Shop Employee MM: See track 7a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b. Environmental Justice (Part 3: Sensing Toxicity)</td>
<td>Hector Villegas</td>
<td>See track 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track 8. The Spot</td>
<td>Milo Lorenzana, La Bucky</td>
<td>ML: Owner of The Spot LB: Gallery Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Track 9. The Future</td>
<td>Brent Beltrán, Georgette Gómez</td>
<td>BB: Current Resident and Activist GG: See track 5a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2. Information about Track 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Title:</strong></th>
<th>La Entrada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Duration:</strong></td>
<td>3:05 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Images:</strong></td>
<td>12 images, spanning from 2007-2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location:</strong></td>
<td>Begin at the corner of Logan Avenue &amp; Beardsley Street.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Description:** | Prior to this project, I frequently came to Barrio Logan to eat lunch at a local institution, Las Cuatro Milpas taqueria. On my way to lunch one day I noticed multiple families from this block moving out of their homes. I learned of the block’s upcoming transition, and I began photographing the changes. Since then, many pockets between Chicano Park and 16th Avenue have changed significantly, transforming the barrio into a new neighborhood.

With my camera and equipment, locals mistook me for a city developer: Why would I be interested in the area’s changes rather than Chicano Park? Barrio Logan is known for Chicano Park and the stories expressed in the murals on the bridge supports. Recognized and well documented, Chicano Park was and has been in the background of my journey. My focus was not on the murals, however, but on what changes were occurring around the park.

What I learned from spending time in the barrio is that it is a contested space. Barrio Logan, under the forces of urban development and ballpark encroachment, has been in a state of constant change and redefinition. As an outsider looking in, my challenge has been to capture the multiple narratives of those who inhabit this multilayered place.

These observations and lessons became the defining questions for this place-based audio tour: Who is displaced? What comes and goes and who decides? How do changes in land use dictate a sense of place and identity, or (re)construct a community? Why does culture, nationality and race predict how and where we live and spend our time?
Table 3. Information about Track 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title:</th>
<th>A Local’s History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration:</td>
<td>4:12 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Images:</td>
<td>10 images, spanning from 2007-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location:</td>
<td>Begin on Logan Avenue at La Entrada, and continue to walk northwest to Sigsbee Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description:</td>
<td>You are standing between the freeway and La Entrada. You may find the noise of the freeway distracting, but it is just a part of life for the residents of this neighborhood who constantly find themselves in the way of “progress.” Hector Villegas gives us a brief history of the barrio and his own life in the neighborhood. A lifelong resident, former gang member, and current activist/artist. Villegas talks about the historical forces that racialize this neighborhood; the claiming and defending of turf; and the new wave of what he calls “gentrification infiltrators.” Historically, suburbanization and race-restrictive housing covenants created a shift in demographics in San Diego. These and other outside forces geographically separated people of color from whites. Up until the 1970s, people of color were not allowed to purchase land, let alone live outside of areas such as Logan Heights, where the majority of the minority population worked. This created the barrio, a community where Chicano and Latino immigrants planted their roots, claiming both space and identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 4. Information about Track 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong></td>
<td>Tres Generaciones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Duration:</strong></td>
<td>4:27 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Images:</strong></td>
<td>11 images, spanning from 2007-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location:</strong></td>
<td>Begin at the corner of Sigsbee and Logan and walk halfway down the block.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong></td>
<td>We are standing on the block where the Chavez family have made their home for three generations. Second generation resident Delia and her son Richard share their photo album with me. We get a glimpse not only of their lives but also of the changing environment. The barrio has seen mass displacement of residents since the construction of Interstate 5 and the Coronado Bridge, but the Chavez family is one family whose roots have remained in place. They tell us their reasons of wanting to stay despite the fact that the area has gone from being a quiet neighborhood, to being disrupted by noises night and day from the freeway, trolley, and trains. Not even multiple offers by developers eager to get a hold of their property, can convince them to leave their lifelong home.</td>
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</table>
Table 5. Information about Track 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title:</th>
<th>Take It As Is</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration:</td>
<td>2:59 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Images:</td>
<td>8 images, spanning from 2007-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location:</td>
<td>The corner of Sigsbee and National.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description:</td>
<td>The majority of the changes happening in Barrio Logan are just south of Petco Park. Standing here, you can see the ballpark, and you can see the gentrified East Village. As the development has spilled into the barrio, the corner you are standing on has been completely transformed. During the recent recession, the barrio became a sort of land grab, and abandoned storefronts and warehouses attracted working artists seeking large and inexpensive workspaces to rent. Miki Iwasaki, Co-founder of The Bakery, talks to us about turning this former Mexican bakery, La Panadería Nacional, into a studio collective. Typically, art studios and galleries are the first wave of gentrification: artists have been known to create favorable and trendy communities, and in effect, the area becomes ripe for development. Miki is well versed and aware of potentially being fazed out by future development.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6. Information about Track 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Title:</strong></th>
<th>Voz/Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Duration:** | Part 1: Public Market, 2:48 minutes  
| | Part 2: Voz Alta, 1:39 minutes |
| **Images:** | 8 images, spanning from 2007-2013 |
| **Location:** | Walk south from Sigsbee and National to the middle of the block. |
| **Description:** | This block is an example of how new establishments reshape daily life in the community. Take the San Diego Public Market. This space, where San Diegans can now purchase organic fruits and vegetables and other farmers’ market fare, was formerly the home of Fraser’s Boiler Service. Fraser’s, labeled one of Barrio Logan’s top 10 polluting industries, moved to National City’s industrial zone in early 2011, where it continues to meet ship-repair demands. The move had little to do with the Environmental Health Coalition’s criticism of their use of toxic chemicals (note that on the other side of this block is Perkins Elementary). Rather, the move was the result of the property owner’s plan to build market-rate condos on the site. While local residents are happy to have the pollution moved out of their community, many criticize the Public Market for not attempting to become a part of the community or adapt to its circumstances.  
Across the street, the Voz Alta art gallery has hosted Thursday Night Jazz since 2010, giving local musicians a place to showcase their talent. It’s a space where you can walk in any Thursday night and chill. The crowd is welcoming to people from all walks of life and the music never disappoints. Voz Alta was displaced from downtown’s East Village. Their former locale was sold to accommodate San Diego City College expansion, so naturally they migrated down to where cheap rental spaces were available.  
While these two spaces both provide the area with what Lucy Lippard calls a “basic central place of functions,” consider how one space is considered out of place while the other caters to the local community. We’ll hear from gallery curator Carlos Beltran about the significance of this space. Georgette Gómez, associate director from the Environmental Health Coalition will share her opinion on how spaces like the Public Market may actually threaten the local community. |
### Table 7. Information about Track 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title:</th>
<th>Erasing Local Color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration:</td>
<td>2:48 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation:</td>
<td>Spanish recording read and translated by Jose Alfredo Ibarra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Images:</td>
<td>6 images, spanning from 2007-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location:</td>
<td>The corner of National and Beardsley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description:</td>
<td>Cheap is relative. Even as Voz Alta and the Public Market take advantage of lower rents than they would find elsewhere in the city, their presence and the development of the area are bringing property values up. So while new businesses set up shop, others are relocating because they can no longer afford to do business in the changing neighborhood. In this track, Dago, mechanic and owner of Ye Olde Town Pump, talks about the loss of the local businesses that use to be his neighbors. Look around you as you stand on this corner. How different is this corner now from what you can see in the pictures that accompany this track? The demolition of buildings for redevelopment, or the exchange of ownership, has displaced families and businesses. At times, what “authentic” barrio elements remain cease to be objects of culture and become instead objects of memory. Other elements, like the Indio mural that stood for years on the side of the Amador Market, don’t even remain to remind residents of what came before.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Table 8. Information about Track 7</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Title:</strong></td>
<td>Environmental Justice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Duration:**                       | Part 1: Race & Place, 4:27 minutes  
|                                     | Part 2: Shipyards & the Buffer Zone, 5:07 minutes  
<p>|                                     | Part 3: Sensing Toxicity, 2:53 minutes |
| <strong>Translation:</strong>                    | Spanish recording read and translated by Rigoberto Lara II. |
| <strong>Images:</strong>                         | 7 images, spanning from 2010-2013 |
| <strong>Location:</strong>                       | The corner of National and Beardsley. |
| <strong>Description:</strong>                    | On this stop, you will walk around the areas adjacent to Perkins Elementary School. Georgette Gómez, Associate Director of the Environmental Health Coalition (EHC), and Community Organizer Maria Moya explain the dangers of toxic industries in the Barrio and the work that has been done to clean up Barrio Logan and educate the community. They discuss a recently proposed plan to separate industrial sites from residential and communal areas. I also interview local workers and residents about the struggle to find a balance between the necessary industries and maintaining a healthy environment in which to live. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Title:</strong></th>
<th>The Spot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Duration:</strong></td>
<td>5:08 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Images:</strong></td>
<td>6 images, spanning from 2012-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location:</strong></td>
<td>Begin at Main and Beardsley, and walk to Cesar E. Chavez street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong></td>
<td>When it comes to urban development and gentrification, locals often see artists as the enemy. It is artists, after all, who seem to be the first to arrive to a gentrifying neighborhood, and their activities in turn help to make the neighborhood ripe for development. The situation is more complicated in a place like Barrio Logan, since the Chicano Park muralists and their murals have been recognized as an artistic and creative hub for the Chicano Movement for decades. Today, with the help of new galleries, the barrio has evolved into a thriving space for the arts in San Diego. Young new talent, like Milo Lorenzana, founder of The Spot, have made Barrio Logan their home. While locals may complain to Lorenzana that he and his gallery have helped to “bring the hipsters” to the Barrio, he and his collaborators have also become the go-to source for young and up-and-coming artists in the area for advice and direction. They see the art scene as part of a movement to carry on the fight for the community. Change is inevitable, according to Lorenzana. “If you ain’t ready for the change, then you’re going to get left behind.” What the next change will be, and whether or not it will include The Spot or bigger businesses, remains to be seen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10. Information about Track 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Title:</strong></th>
<th>The Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Duration:</strong></td>
<td>8:22 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Images:</strong></td>
<td>9 images, spanning from 2010-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location:</strong></td>
<td>Begin at Newton &amp; Cesar E. Chavez and walk east around the Mercado or Chicano Park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description:</strong></td>
<td>For this last track, I invite you to enjoy the Mercado del Barrio. The 2012 opening of El Mercado—an event 20 years in the making—demonstrates how community, city planners, and commercial developers can come together to negotiate the development of a mixed-use space. It also seems to make the case that development doesn’t have to result in simple gentrification, with all of its uncomfortable baggage. Development can in fact contribute to a form of regeneration. In a way this isn’t so different from gentrification, but with additional dimensions. In Barrio Logan, at least for the moment, urban development has not only caused a regeneration of Chicano art and culture, but it has also given rise to a new generation of activists. Considering the increase of the Latino population, what isn’t getting removed from the barrio is Chicano-Latino-Barrio culture. Listen as Brent Beltrán and Georgette Gómez, the new generation of Barrio activists, discuss the work it has taken to steer development toward making life more livable while maintaining local culture, and highlight the difference between gentrification and regeneration in a Barrio.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>