

Stockton's Crosstown Freeway, Urban Renewal, and Asian Americans: Systemic Causes and Impacts

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16. Abstract This project uses mixed methods to examine the systemic causes and consequences of the construction of Stockton, California's Crosstown Freeway and of urban redevelopment for Asian Americans communities. Stockton underwent spatial restructuring in the decades after the Second World War, and state and local government contributed and responded to these changes by implementing connected freeway and urban renewal programs. Historical and contemporaneous xenophobia and racism placed Chinatown, Japantown, and Little Manila in their path, with these enclaves deemed blighted and subject to "slum clearance." The choice of freeway route was racially biased. The neighborhood surrounding an unchosen route was predominantly white, whereas that of the chosen route was predominantly home to people of color. Freeway construction during the 1960s and 1970s directly displaced hundreds of people and housing units downtown—mainly people of color, particularly Asians. The communities most harmed were the Asian American enclaves, where the housing stock declined by about three quarters between 1960 and 1970. The losses were not only physical, as the freeway and redevelopment eviscerated once vibrant ethnic commercial hubs. Because of long-standing economic and political marginalization, Asian Americans were relatively powerless to prevent the destruction; nonetheless, they fought to build affordable housing for their people, protect and in some cases relocate cultural institutions, and support surviving ethnic businesses. In the long run, Stockton failed to revitalize its downtown, while destroying its cultural diversity. The findings can help reform and improve professional practice within the transportation arena to ensure racial fairness and equity.					
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The UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge conducts basic and applied research on the socioeconomic formation and internal dynamics of neighborhoods and how these collective spatial units are positioned and embedded within regions. The Center for Neighborhood Knowledge works with a broad set of data and employs a range of analytical skills to examine neighborhood phenomena across time and space.

The Center for Neighborhood Knowledge is dedicated to translating its findings to inform actionable, neighborhood-related policies and programs that contribute to positive social change. We specialize in empirical spatial analysis and emphasize the study of diversity, differences, and disparities among neighborhoods, explicitly covering immigrant enclaves, low-income neighborhoods, and minority communities. We examine neighborhoods through multidisciplinary lenses and in collaboration with community partners.

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The UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies and UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge acknowledge the Gabrielino/Tongva peoples as the traditional land caretakers of Tovaangar (the Los Angeles basin and So. Channel Islands) and that their displacement has enabled the flourishing of UCLA. As a land grant institution, we pay our respects to the Honuukvetam (Ancestors), ‘Ahihirom (Elders) and ‘Eyoohiinkem (our relatives/relations) past, present and emerging. We also pay our respects and gratitude to the Yokuts people, who have stewarded the land now known as the San Joaquin Valley for thousands of years.

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Executive Summary

Executive Summary

The Crosstown Freeway in Stockton, California is one piece of a larger history and legacy. In Stockton as elsewhere, freeway planning and construction served as a part of the systemic reproduction and production of racial inequality, during a time of profound restructuring of the urban spatial system. Rather than being an isolated and independent effort, freeway building was embedded in the societal phenomenon of the suburbanization of cities and regions. This research project thus analyzes the historical impacts of Stockton's Crosstown Freeway on Asian Americans, a potentially overlooked group in the context of freeway history, along with the impacts from a parallel and interrelated urban redevelopment project.

Stockton developed as a major economic hub for California's agricultural sector. The city and the surrounding region had a racially and ethnically diverse population, with people of color restricted to the lowest rungs of society and residentially segregated. Asian Americans played a major role in the city's development but were socially, economically, and politically marginalized. Since the mid-1800s and into the 1970s, they were targets of multiple forms of discrimination and prejudices, some shared by other people of color and others unique to Asians, including xenophobic immigration restrictions, prohibitions against owning land, and mass internment. Residential segregation limited their housing options in Stockton, forcing many to settle in and around the city's downtown area. Despite facing racism and having limited resources, Asian Americans were able to form vibrant albeit low-income ethnic enclaves—Chinatown, Japantown and Little Manila, which served as the cultural and economic heart for Stockton's Asian American community in the decades before and after the Second World War.

Unfortunately, Asian Americans' forced settlement in and around the central business district eventually placed them in harm's way. Like most American cities, Stockton underwent a spatial transformation as white households abandoned the urban core in search for the American dream of single-family housing in the rapidly growing suburbs. Government policies and actions initiated, facilitated, and responded to this restructuring of the urban and regional landscape. Continued racism left many people of color trapped in the center city. A dramatic expansion of the freeway system, supported in part by national funding for the Interstate network, made way for urban sprawl. At the same time, Stockton responded to the commercial decline of its downtown by pursuing urban renewal. These two massive infrastructure programs were linked through a common agenda of "slum clearance" that sought the wholesale removal of what were considered blighted areas. These slum clearance efforts ran in parallel and were at times coordinated. Tragically, the Asian enclaves lay along the path of destruction of both.

This project explores the various facets and implications of this history through many lenses. We employ quantitative methodologies to investigate four questions: 1) whether the choice of freeway paths was racially disparate, 2) what were the number and the racial composition of the people and housing directly impacted (i.e., dislocated) by freeway construction, 3) what were the indirect impacts of freeway construction on housing units and housing costs over time, and 4) what were the associated losses from urban renewal.

The available empirical evidence shows that the choice of freeway path was racially biased. The neighborhood of a considered but unchosen freeway route we explored as a comparison was predominantly white, whereas that of the chosen route was predominantly home to people of color. Freeway construction during the 1960s and 1970s directly displaced more than 1,000 people and destroyed nearly 800 housing units in the downtown area—mainly people of color (67%), particularly Asians—and the communities most affected in our study area were the Asian American enclaves. The housing stock within the enclaves declined by about three quarters between 1960 and 1970. There were additional losses adjacent to the freeway, and much of the housing impact also occurred in the area cleared for urban renewal.

More broadly, the decline was a part of a larger urban spatial restructuring and suburbanization, but this was not just a simple market phenomenon. Government actions and investments contributed to and fueled the destruction. In fact, the combined losses under the Crosstown Freeway and within the urban redevelopment area made up an overwhelming majority of the area's total decline. Moreover, negative spillover effects most likely dampened the desirability of surrounding neighborhoods for new housing development.

We utilize qualitative methods as well to examine the human impacts on Asian Americans residents of the area and their political response. The losses went beyond the state-sanctioned destruction of physical structures and entailed the destruction of once vibrant, low-income Asian American neighborhoods, clearing people, demolishing places, and leaving few traces of the Chinese, Filipino/a, and Japanese enclaves. The social and cultural consequences affected not only the local residents but also Asian Americans in other parts of the region who utilized the downtown enclaves as central places for social interaction, bonding, and culturally anchored shopping. Many did not accept the attacks on their community. Instead, they attempted to preserve housing for their people, cultural institutions, and ethnic businesses. When that was not possible, they attempted to rebuild elsewhere. Victories were few, but their efforts were remarkable given their limited economic and political resources due to a legacy of decades of marginalization.

The freeway and redevelopment have implications for both Asian Americans and Stockton. The State of California and the City of Stockton failed to revitalize downtown as a vibrant commercial space, while destroying its cultural diversity. Remediating past harms from systemic racism requires restorative justice. The California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) and the State have taken initial steps to correct the past by acknowledging their prior historical wrongs through research such as this. The agency has also attempted to redress the damages done to Asian Americans by proposing the Stockton Downtown Transformation Project, which is intended to help revitalize the neighborhoods eviscerated by the Crosstown Freeway.

The project contributes both academically and practically. It complements the existing literature by its focus on an often-understudied group, Asian Americans, and by making the systemic dynamics of racism central to the analyses. The findings can also help reform and improve professional practice within the transportation arena to ensure racial fairness and equity.

Contents

Introduction

The Context of Freeway Development and Systemic Racism

The Crosstown Freeway in Stockton, California is one piece of a larger history and legacy. In Stockton as elsewhere, freeway planning and construction served as a part of the systemic reproduction and production of racial inequality, during a time of profound restructuring of the urban spatial system.¹ Rather than being an isolated and independent effort, freeway building was embedded in the societal phenomenon of the suburbanization of cities and regions.

As we document in this report, the history of racism placed Asian Americans at disproportionate risk from freeway construction through decades of economic and spatial marginalization. Asian Americans had frequently been the primary target of *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination, often in unique forms. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, white labor and politicians scapegoated Asian immigrants as unwanted competitors. They were confined to the least desirable jobs, residentially segregated, and prohibited from attending school with white children. They were the target of collective violence, including mass murder by white mobs. In addition, Asian Americans faced prohibitions on owning property, land-use restrictions (which became the foundation of zoning), denial of the right to become citizens, and mass incarceration. While other people of color also suffered from these forms of racism, Asian Americans were subjected to many unique racist practices which later affected other communities of color, including being the first to face racially motivated and biased immigration restrictions.

Over-concentrated in farm labor and domestic work, Asian Americans in California were relegated to menial, unstable, and/or low-wage jobs. Low pay in turn forced Asian Americans to seek housing in less desirable locations, while discrimination in housing markets further constrained their choice. In Stockton, the focus of this study, Asian Americans clustered in and around downtown as a result, along the eventual path of freeway construction and urban renewal. In other words, their vulnerability should be seen as the cumulative historical injustices embedded in the larger societal system.

1. We define systemic racism as a societal phenomenon related to pervasive racial inequality and stratification. Such outcomes are due to historical and contemporary factors, implicit and explicit discrimination and prejudices, individual and institutional behaviors, and private and public actions. Racism in multiple arenas interacts and reinforces itself in complex and complicated ways. Over time, the dynamics both reproduce older forms of inequality and produce new forms. Systemic racism is not assumed to be a given but instead serves as a hypothesis requiring empirical evidence; findings should be repeatable in different locations and for different marginalized populations. This research project, along with those from other studies of the racial impacts of freeway development, tests key assumptions. Furthermore, we do not assume that the system is overly rigid but rather that it can be challenged through countervailing actions taken by the oppressed and their allies. Positive social change for greater equality is fraught because of inherent disparities in power at play but is still possible. The results are contingent on conditions. One advantage of using the systemic framework is the ability to better understand the underlying and fundamental causes of racial inequality, which in turn helps identify the steps needed to address the problem.

This spatial restructuring in Stockton, like cities across the country, was tinged by race in the form of white flight from the urban core and continued entrapment of people of color in the older neighborhoods. One adjunct result, considered by those in power as undesirable, was the decline of the central business district. To counter this, decision-makers pushed Stockton's downtown revitalization agenda, which included "slum clearance." Both freeway construction and urban renewal shared this common objective, indirectly by embracing a common narrative and directly with coordinated actions. Absent in this narrative was any serious consideration of improving the existing neighborhoods and their residents nor helping re-establish disrupted communities elsewhere. These developments created an existential crisis for Asian American ethnic enclaves.

The threat of "slum clearance" was not accepted without resistance. What others stereotyped as slums were vibrant places despite all of the structural disadvantages suffered by the residents. Some of Stockton's Asian American community leaders fought against the destruction of their enclaves, but the very marginalization that made them vulnerable also minimized their economic and political power to stop or modify key decisions. The power imbalance contributed to the choice of freeway path over an alternative that would have gone through predominantly white and more affluent neighborhoods. The same pre-existing marginalization also precluded the ability to effectively participate and influence the course of urban renewal, illustrating the limits of action within a highly rigid racial structure of the era. At the same time, taking action regardless of outcome demonstrated that Asian Americans were not passive victims. Instead, they fought for justice, playing a small part in the much larger social movement for racial justice during the 1960s and 1970s.

Despite community efforts, the resulting outcomes were tragic. Together, the two infrastructure programs in Stockton destroyed about half of the housing in and around downtown. The level of destruction was even higher in the Asian enclaves: roughly three-quarters. The losses were not just to individual residents but extended to a wholesale destruction of communities. Despite efforts to maintain a semblance of what had been ethnic commercial hubs of Asian American populations, these groups were unable to counter the complete dismantling of their neighborhoods nor able to re-establish new ethnic enclaves. While there have been recent efforts to acknowledge this past wrong (including the funding of this research project), we are far from having meaningful restorative justice.

Study Purpose and Scope

This research project complements a previous study to which we contributed (conducted by the UCLA Institute of Transportation Studies, UCLA Center for Neighborhood Knowledge, and UC Davis Institute of Transportation Studies for the Pacific Southwest Region University Transportation Center), which examines the historical impacts of freeway construction on communities of color in Pasadena and Pacoima in the Los Angeles region, San José in the San Francisco Bay Area, and Sacramento in the Central Valley (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023). This study focuses on the impacts of the Crosstown Freeway that carries State Route 4 (SR-4) through Stockton, along with a parallel and interrelated program, the West End Redevelopment Project.

This research refines and extends the previous four-site project's effort (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023) in three ways: 1) by adding a focus on Asian American communities to the prior case studies of Black and Latino/a neighborhoods, 2) by developing a deep understanding of those impacted, providing details on the marginalization of the affected populations and communities, and 3) by placing freeway building in the context of large societal dynamics, as part and parcel of a systematic restructuring of urban space, which also included urban renewal. We can thereby supplement our understanding of the breadth of racism by covering a population less studied in the literature and can frame events within the root causes of systemic racial disparities, requiring an examination of urban renewal in conjunction with freeway construction.

As in Loukaitou-Sideris et al. (2023), we employ a mixed-methods approach and utilize many of the same research and analytical tools. The first is the ability to empirically test if there were racial disparities in the selection of freeway routes. This enables us to understand the systematic racism in the planning stages of the development of the freeway system. The choice of the freeway path set into motion the destruction that followed. The second empirical outcome is quantifying the number of housing units and characteristics of households directly displaced by freeway construction, within a researcher-defined set of neighborhoods. Previous freeway studies had to depend on piecemeal information provided by transportation agencies to the media or at public hearings at the time. That information often did not coincide with the boundaries of communities of color, nor was it always complete or accurate, thus not offering a full account of the freeway's direct impacts on these communities. We also examine indirectly impacted neighborhoods. While much attention has been given to those directly displaced, freeways generate spillover effects that have long-term economic, health, and quality-of-life impacts. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to trace those externalities in full, this project provides a partial view by estimating the number of nearby housing units affected and the associated characteristics of their households. Fourth, we carefully examine the role of urban redevelopment, which was a companion to freeway building. Lastly, we relate stories of housing loss, neighborhood destruction, and community opposition through the voices of some former residents.

To examine freeway impacts quantitatively, we employed newly digitized spatial information from historical documents specifically for this project and analyzed these data with geospatial analysis tools. We complemented this quantitative inquiry with qualitative research that included a review of area newspaper articles, university and local archives, planning documents, professional studies, maps, and correspondence. We also report on interviews with some civic leaders, residents, and community members who experienced the construction of freeways firsthand.

Organization

The rest of this report details the history and context behind freeway building and urban renewal in Stockton. Part 1 provides a historical, geographic, and economic overview of the region containing the case study area, San Joaquin County and the City of Stockton. This section also discusses Stockton's racial diversity and segregation. Part 2 provides details about Asian Americans, including information on the three largest groups (Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos). Part 3 summarizes the concept of spatial restructuring in the decades after

the Second World War and the role of freeway construction and urban redevelopment therein. This section examines how these factors played out in Stockton, particularly in and around downtown. Part 4 quantifies the physical impacts of the Crosstown Freeway and downtown redevelopment by examining whether the choice of freeway paths was racially disparate. We estimate the number and racial composition of the people and housing directly impacted (i.e., dislocated) by freeway construction and the associated losses from urban renewal. Part 5 illustrates the losses to Asian Americans, including social and commercial impacts beyond the state-sanctioned destruction of physical structures. This includes efforts by community leaders to preserve housing for their people, cultural institutions, and ethnic businesses. Part 6 includes concluding remarks focusing on lessons learned and a normative discussion of the need for restorative justice. The report also includes appendices that describe the qualitative and quantitative data and methods. The report does not include an explicit literature review; for that, see Loukaitou-Sideris et al. (2023).

1. Stockton Regional Context

This part provides an overview of the region containing the case study area, San Joaquin County and the City of Stockton. The section starts with a summary of its history, geographic characteristics, and regional economy. This is followed by a discussion of Stockton’s racial diversity and segregation.

1.A. History, Geography, and Economy

Before the arrival of Europeans, the Stockton region was home to the original populations of the Yatchicumne, a Northern Valley Yokut Indigenous people. One of their villages was located in what is today Stockton’s downtown area. The region came under Spanish rule in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, an era that saw the near cultural and demographic genocide of American Indians. Following the War of Independence, the region became a part of an independent Mexico after 1810. Like the rest of California, the Stockton region was transformed by the discovery of gold in 1848 in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, located to the east. Stockton grew as a jumping off point for the influx of would-be miners, with local merchants profiting through sales of equipment and supplies. This economic transformation coincided with a political one, the transfer of California from Mexico to the United States in 1848 after the

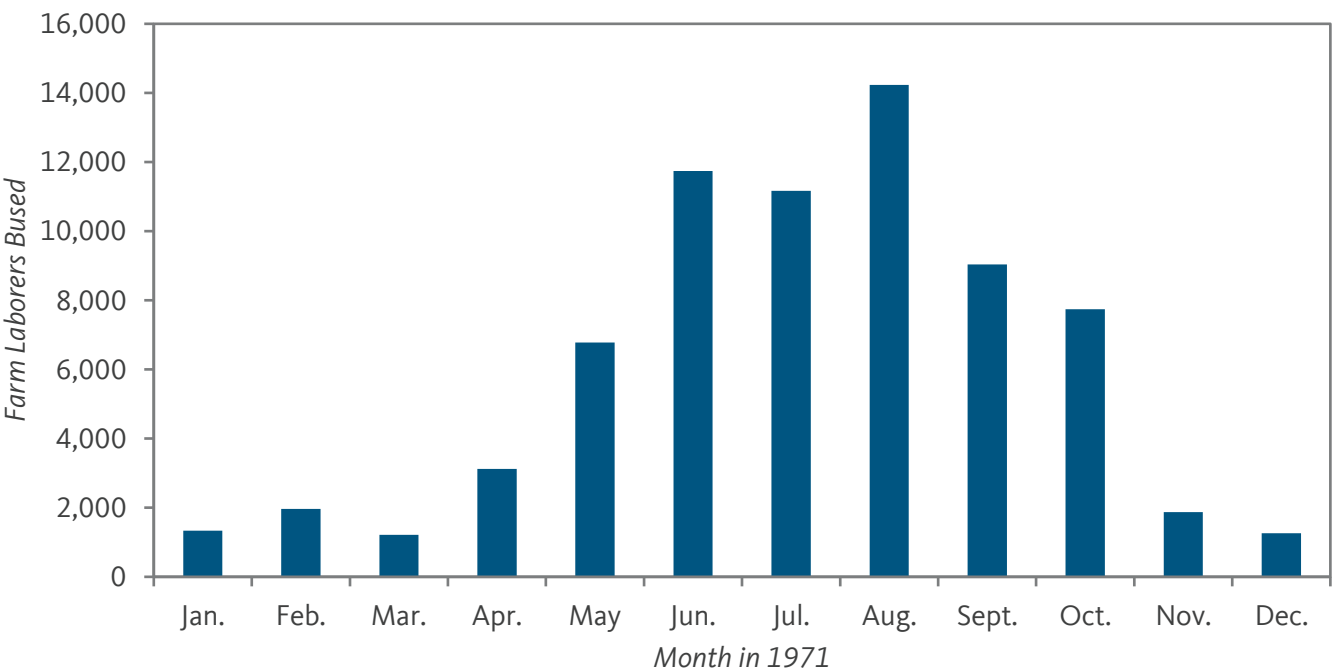


Figure 1-1. Stockton’s Seasonal Farm Fork: Farm Laborers Bused by Month, 1971.

Data source: Adelman and Durant, 1973

Mexican-American War. The City was officially incorporated in 1850 and recognized as the county seat of San Joaquin County (Camps, 2018; N. Smith, 2007; City of Stockton, 2016; and D. Walker, 1998).

In subsequent years, Stockton emerged as a shipping hub for California's Central Valley. This occurred in conjunction with the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta area by Stockton growing into a major agricultural region. By the twentieth century, the state's agriculture grew into a multimillion-dollar business, with the delta producing most of the world's supply of asparagus, strawberries, potatoes, and lettuce. The county continues to be an agricultural hub for the Central Valley, with dominant industries in both farming and crop processing. Stockton serves as the distribution center for these industries across the entire Central Valley and therefore has a disproportionate number of jobs concentrated in the transport and food sectors (E. Lee, 2015 and Ong, Pech, et al., 2021).

The magnitude of Stockton's agricultural base can be seen in the relative number of workers in the region's related industries, compared with the state. In 1960, the percent of workers in farming (farm owners, managers and foreman, and laborers) was over three times higher in Stockton than in California overall (12.4% versus

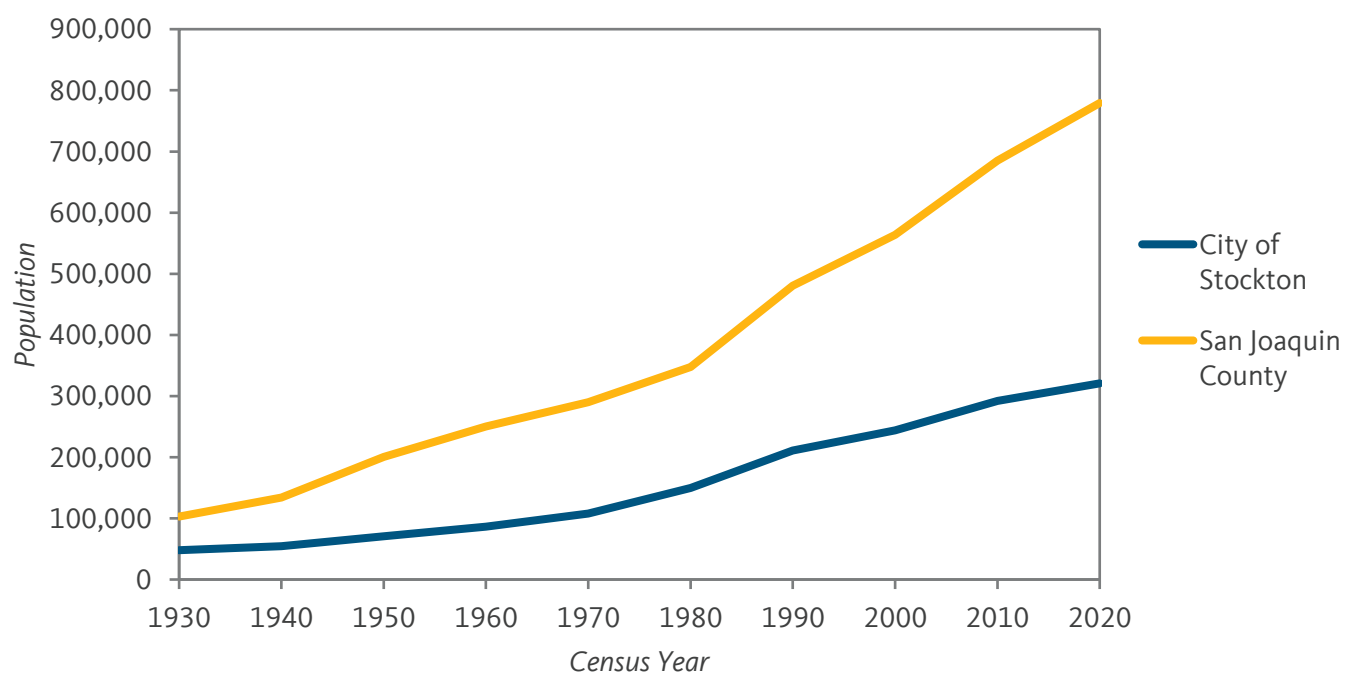


Figure 1-2. City of Stockton and San Joaquin County Population, 1930-2020.

Data sources: 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1943, 1950, 1963, 1973, 1980, 1990, 2000a, 2010, 2020b)

3.8%). The percent who were in canning was over four times higher (3.4% versus 0.8%).² Moreover, one in eight Californian longshoremen worked in San Joaquin County, although the region only accounted for 1.5 percent of the state's labor force (U.S. Census Bureau, 1963).

The agricultural economy was not constrained to the rural parts of the region; it relied on a farm labor system that included low-wage workers living in Stockton. These workers found relatively inexpensive hotel and lodging rooms in the city (also known as single-room-occupancy housing units), particularly in and around the downtown area. In 1960, one in six people in the labor force in our study area in Stockton (defined in Section 4.A) was a farm laborer or foreman (Manson et al., 2022). Work was highly seasonal, as shown in **Figure 1-1**, which shows the monthly number of workers bussed in 1971 by labor contractors from one pick-up site in the urban core (Adelman and Durant, 1973).

The expansion of the agricultural sector since the early twentieth century drove much of the region's population, as shown in **Figure 1-2**. Although the region experienced consistent growth, population growth patterns in San Joaquin County and the City of Stockton varied. Between 1930 and 1960, the county's population more than doubled (increasing by 143%), while the city grew but not quite as fast, increasing by 80 percent. In the subsequent three decades, Stockton experienced a larger growth (a 144% increase) than the county (a 92% increase). From 1990 to 2020, both continued to grow in absolute terms, but their rate of growth leveled off slightly (with population increasing by 62% in the county and 52% in the city).

Today, Stockton is home to around 322,000 residents and is the most populous jurisdiction in San Joaquin County. Geographically, Stockton is located in the center of San Joaquin County, which itself has the fourteenth largest population in California at just short of 783,000 residents in 2022 (California Department of Finance, 2023) (See **Figure 1-3**). The east side of the county, along the foothills of the Sierra Nevadas, has relatively low population density. Along Interstate 5 (I-5) and State Route 99 (SR-99), which run parallel to each other north/south through the county, are smaller urbanized places such as Lodi, Manteca, and Tracy. Immediately west of the city is the agricultural Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, discussed above.

2. Because the census was taken in April, the number of workers in these occupations was low because of the seasonality of the agricultural economy.

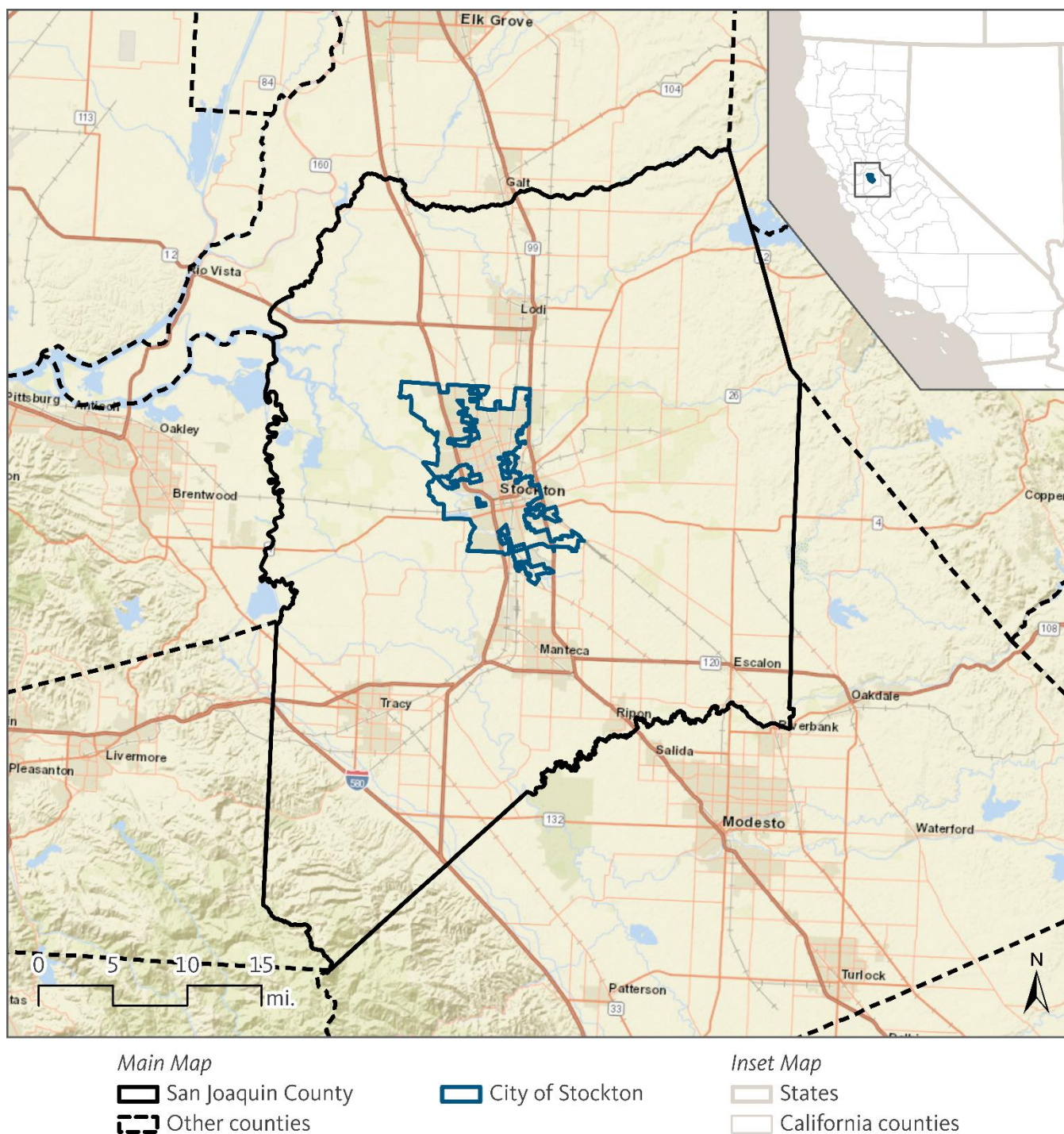


Figure 1-3. Stockton and San Joaquin County.

Data sources: San Joaquin County Community Development Department, 2023; California Open Data, 2019; and Hudson, 2022; base map: Esri, 2023a

1.B. Racial Diversity and Segregation

People of color formed the backbone of the region’s labor force, predominantly filling low-wage jobs. Many worked as farm laborers, backbreaking and brutal work that most white people were unwilling to do (McWilliams, 1999). The first migrant farmworkers were Asians, and by the 1920s and 1930s, Filipino/as and Mexicans became the majority workforce in the fields. Given this history, people of color became a significant population in Stockton, as shown in **Table 1-1**, which reports the city’s racial/ethnic composition from 1950 to 1980 and then in the latest census.

Table 1-1. Racial/Ethnic Composition, Stockton.

Racial/Ethnic Category	1950	1960	1970	1980	2020
White, including Hispanic ³	89.7%	84.2%	79.5%	65.4%	23.5%
Non-Hispanic white	no data	70.2%	63.1%	57.1%	17.1%
Black	4.4%	8.5%	11.0%	10.4%	12.6%
Hispanic or Latino/a	no data	13.9%	17.5%	22.1%	44.1%
Asian	5.9%	7.3%	9.1%	9.1%	22.0%

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1952, 1963, 1973, 1980, 2020a)

It should be noted that the census’ racial/ethnic definitions and categories vary from decade to decade (Pratt, Hixson, and Jones, 2015). In earlier decades, the Census Bureau did not consistently report Asians separately, but Asians comprised a majority of the “other race” category.⁴ The Hispanic population was also counted differently across decades. For example, in 1970, the Census Bureau counted those with a Spanish surname as Hispanic, whereas in 1980, the group included people of Spanish origin. In earlier decades, the Census Bureau only collected Hispanic ethnicity for the white population; therefore, there is no published information on the Hispanic ethnicity of non-white people, such as Asian and Black residents (See Appendix A, Section A.5).

Despite these limitations, the available census information provides a reasonable overview of populations of color. As a percentage, people of color made up approximately 10 percent of the city in 1950, growing to 30 percent in 1960 and hovering around 40 percent over the following two decades. Currently, Stockton is a

3. Unless noted, we use the term “white” to mean non-Hispanic white in the rest of the report after this table.

4. The Asian category, for the geographies we are studying, includes the following, by decade: from 1930 to 1970, Chinese, Japanese, and “all other” within “other race”; for 1980, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Asian Indian, Vietnamese. The Hispanic or Latino/a category includes the following: for 1960, Hispanic: white, Spanish surname; for 1970, Hispanic: person of Spanish surname; for 1980, person of Spanish origin, regardless of race.

majority-minority city: according to the 2020 census, Hispanic residents make up over two fifths of the population, Asian residents one fifth, and Black residents approximately one eighth.

Like many American cities, municipal policies and racist housing practices produced highly segregated neighborhoods in Stockton before the Second World War. This was accomplished through overt actions. For example, a white neighborhood organization submitted a petition in 1939 to prohibit “Africans, Negroes, Mexicans or members of the brown or yellow races from buying, renting, or leasing property in the district” (quoted in Woods, 2018, p. 979). Exceptions were made for domestic servants (Woods, 2018). Stockton, like many other cities, also had its share of racial restrictive covenants in the real estate market (Aviles, 2019). One such deed stated:

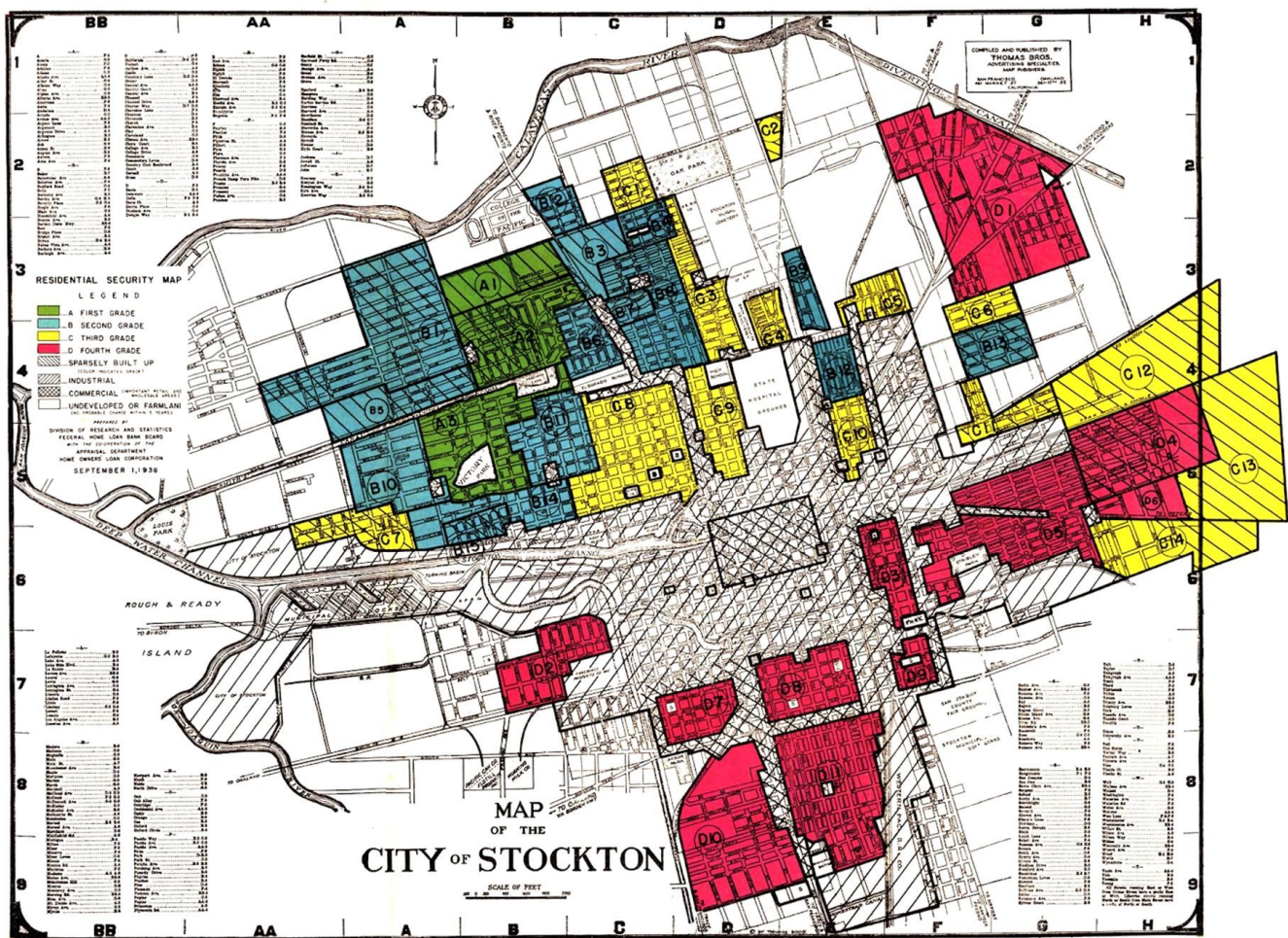


Figure 1-4. 1938 Redlining Map of Stockton.

Source: Nelson et al., n.d.

“No persons other than those wholly of the white Caucasian race shall use, occupy, or reside upon any part of or within any building located on the above described real property, except servants or domestics of another race employed by or domiciled with a white Caucasian owner or tenant” (quoted in Aviles, 2019).

The practice of racializing spaces was not just limited to property ownership. Parts of the Stockton region also practice what is known as “sundown” restrictions, which prohibited the mere presence of people of color during the night, except live-in domestics (Hall, 2019 and C. Taylor, 2020). Collectively, such practices produced a stark racial divide in Stockton, with most of the northern section reserved for white inhabitants, and people of color restricted to the southern section and parts of the eastern edge.

Restrictive covenants worked together with redlining, the practice of lending institutions denying mortgages in areas designated undesirable or hazardous by federal authorities. The system codified racial segregation and was given political and legal authority by the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in the late 1930s (Nelson et al., n.d.). In Stockton, redlining created a clear north/south divide (See **Figure 1-4**). The red-colored areas in the city’s southern and eastern parts were deemed undesirable, largely because the residents were people of color and/or poor. The desirable areas (in green and blue) were overwhelmingly white. The consequences of the resulting discrimination, in Stockton as elsewhere, have contributed to a long-term racial inequality in homeownership and wealth building (Rothstein, 2017).

What the redlining map does not show is the fact that people of color were also concentrated in and around the city’s downtown, depicted in the crosshatched rectangular box in the center of **Figure 1-4**. These areas were not graded because they were not primarily residential neighborhoods but instead commercial, mixed-use, or undeveloped.

Racial segregation persisted in the era after the Second World War. **Figure 1-5** shows the estimated population of color in 1960 at the tract level. Patterns of racial segregation unsurprisingly coincided with the redlining map (**Figure 1-4**) but also divided up those spaces not graded in the middle of town, with the racialized north/south divide persisting. During the decades before and after the war, Weber Avenue served as a “Mason-Dixon” line marking where people of color could and could not reside (Fitzgerald, 2001 and Isetti, 2019).

To quantify the level of residential segregation of San Joaquin County, we use the dissimilarity index (DI) to measure the level of segregation of two populations. The DI has values ranging from 0 (complete integration) to 100 (complete segregation). The values can also be interpreted as the share of a minority population that would have to relocate to eliminate segregation. In 1960, Black residents of San Joaquin County were the most segregated (or isolated) from white inhabitants. Over four fifths of Black residents (DI value of 81) would have to have moved into predominantly white neighborhoods to achieve full integration. Asians were moderately segregated from white people (DI value of 56), and Hispanic residents were the least segregated (DI value of 48). These patterns were comparable to those in larger cities across the country (Sørensen, Taeuber, and Hollingsworth, 1975).

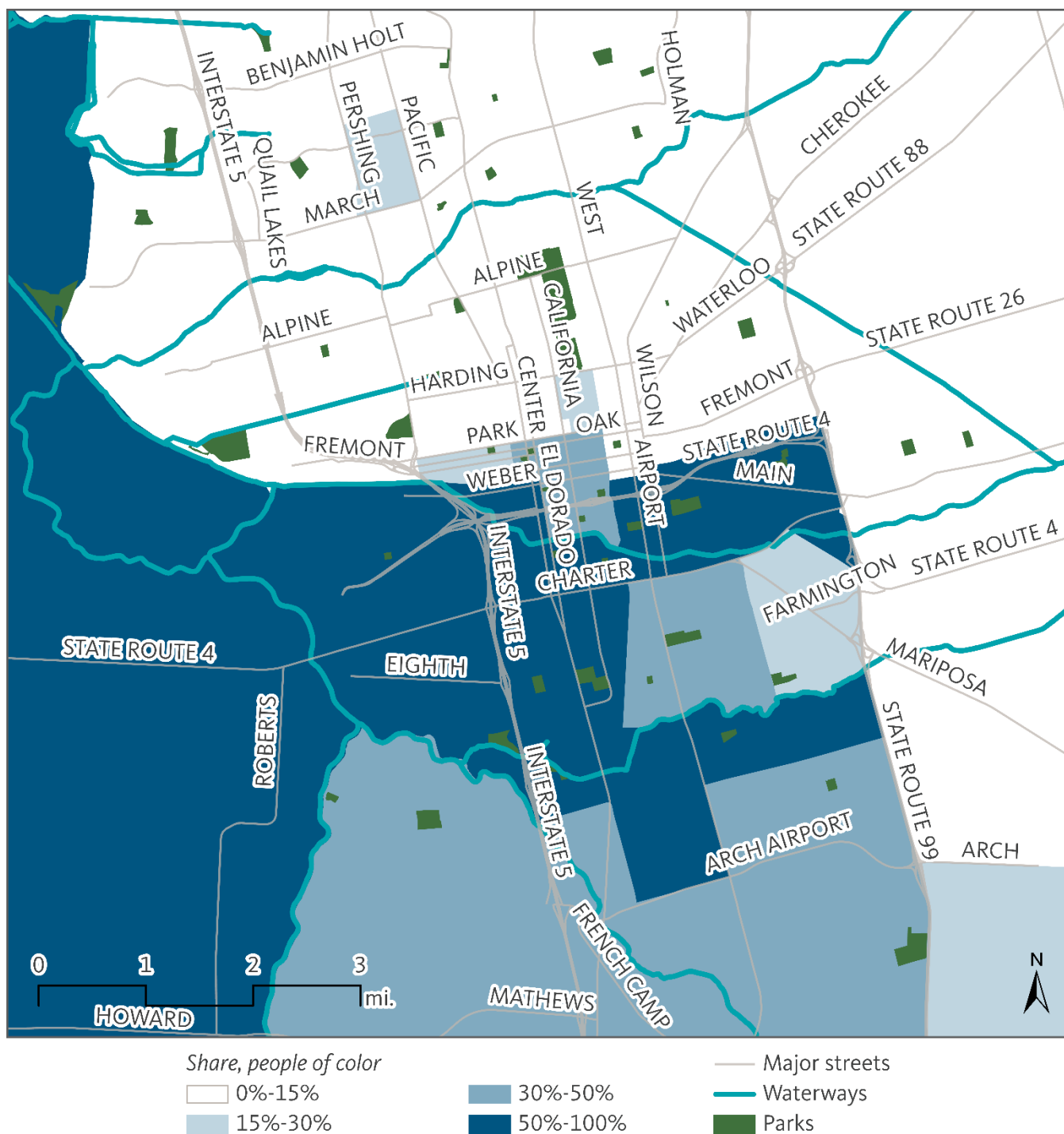


Figure 1-5. Share, People of Color by Census Tract, Stockton, 1960.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (Manson et al., 2022); City of Stockton, 2019; California Office of Emergency Services GIS Data Management, 2021; and Esri, 2010

1.C. Concluding Remarks

The Stockton region has been shaped by its geographic location, particularly its role in the Central Valley's agricultural economy. People of color played an integral part in this economic development, mainly by providing cheap labor. Because of economic marginalization and racial segregation, many farmworkers were concentrated in and around downtown during the 1950's and 1960's, living in older and cheap hotels. This socioeconomic geographic pattern would eventually place them in harm's way when the region developed its freeway system and pursued urban renewal in the 1960's and 1970's, two processes discussed in detail in Part 3.

2. Stockton's Asian Americans

This part provides additional information on Asian Americans in the Stockton area, the focus of this report. The first section disaggregates the population by ethnicity. The following provides historical overviews of the three largest groups (Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino/a residents), a past shaped by racism and xenophobia.

2.A. Demographics

The Asian farmworkers that made up a sizable share of Stockton and the Central Valley's agricultural workforce included Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and South Asian laborers. By the 1920's and 1930's, Filipino/as emerged as the single largest Asian workforce in the fields. With an economy dependent on Asian labor, the region's Asian population grew significantly (See **Figure 2-1**). San Joaquin County's Asian population was concentrated in Stockton, where the proportion of Asians were substantially higher than the state as a whole. In the middle of the twentieth century, Asians made up approximately a twentieth to a tenth of the city's population. The dip between 1940 and 1950 was due to the racially motivated mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during the war. The jump between 1980 and 1990 was driven by the in-migration of Southeast Asian refugees—

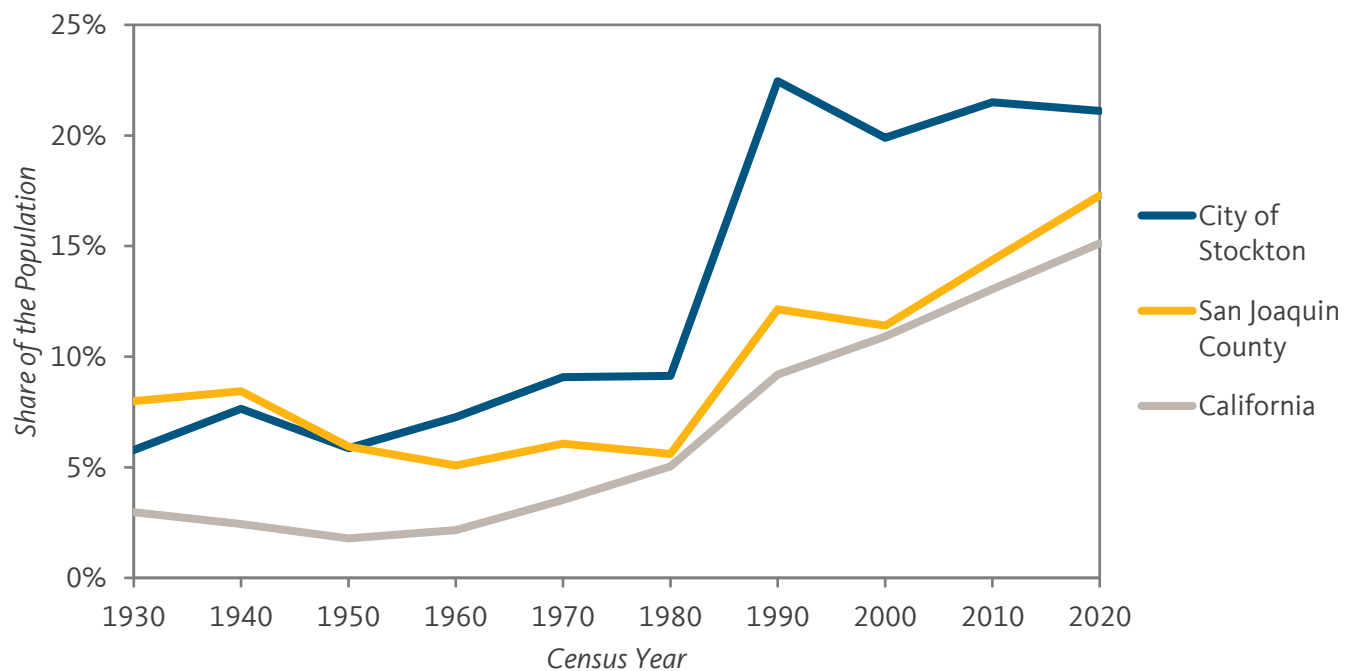


Figure 2-1. Asian Population in Stockton, San Joaquin County, and California, 1930-2020.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1943, 1950, 1963, 1973, 1980, 1990, 2000a, 2010, 2020b)

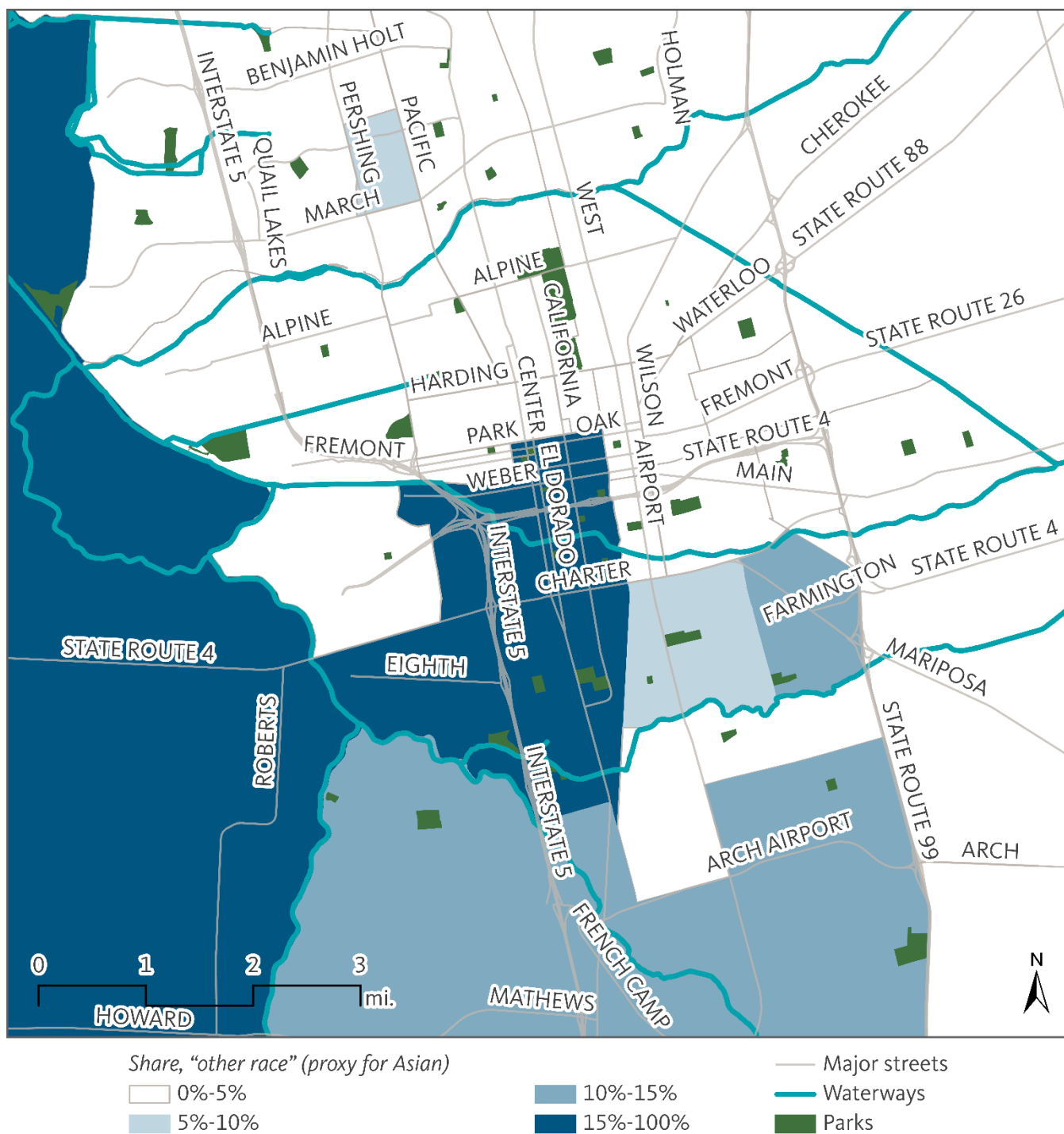


Figure 2-2. Share, Asian Residents by Census Tract, 1960.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (Manson et al., 2022); City of Stockton, 2019; California Office of Emergency Services GIS Data Management, 2021; and Esri, 2010

Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong migrants—following the Vietnam War. Cambodians, for example, were the second largest Asian subgroup, after Filipino/as, in San Joaquin County and Stockton in 1990.

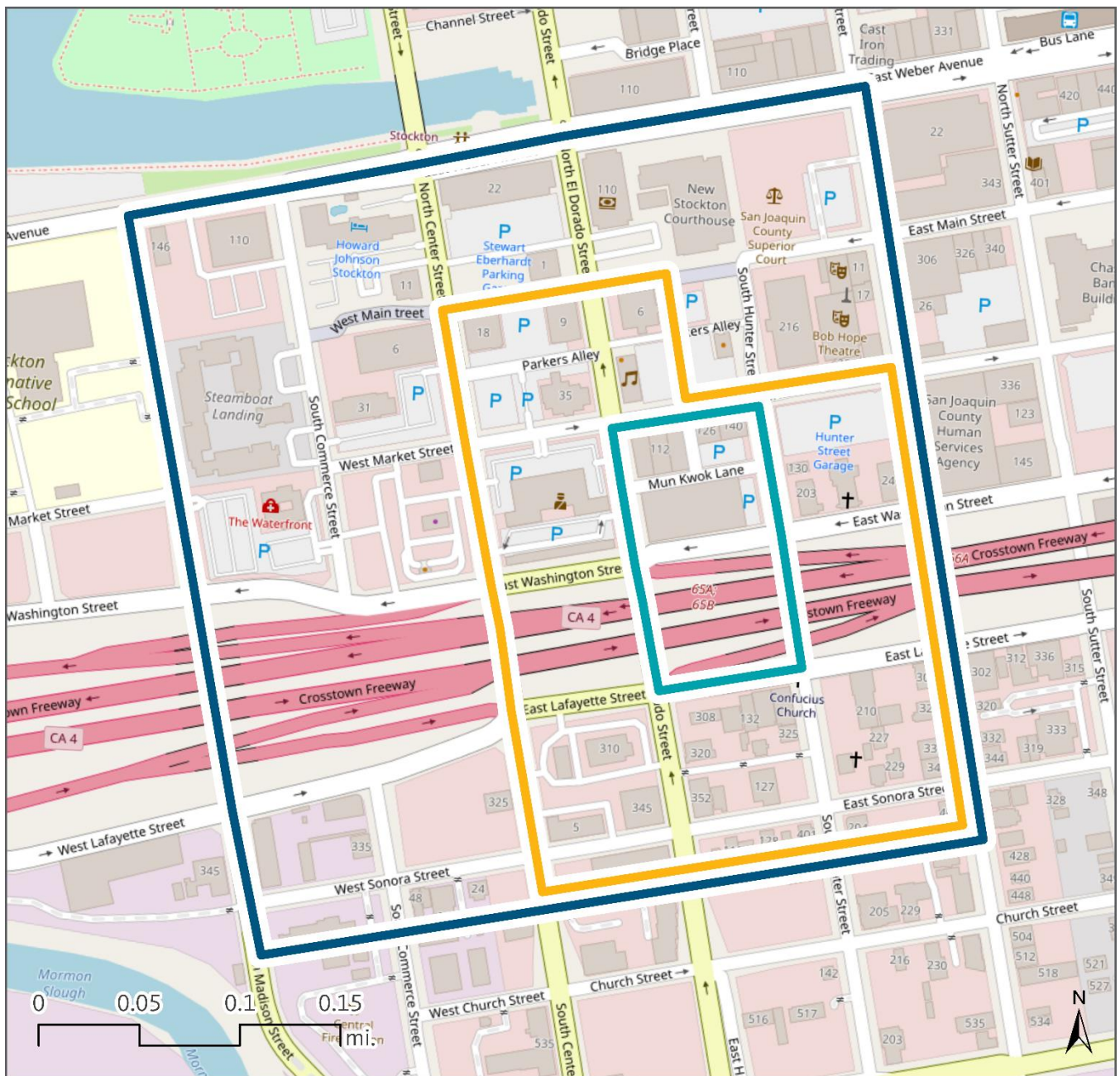
Like other people of color, Asians were residentially segregated. They were victims of *de jure* and *de facto* segregation mentioned earlier, racist practices that divided Stockton (Goldeen, 2017 and Minnick, 1988). Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino/a residents were kept south of downtown (Goldeen, 2017). **Figure 2-2** shows the areas with the highest concentrations of Asian residents. They were very present in the more rural areas west of the city, including a large number of farmworkers. Within Stockton, they resided disproportionately in the southwest quadrant, and in downtown and surrounding areas. As mentioned previously, Asians faced moderate segregation from white people in San Joaquin County (DI value of 56). Interestingly, they were slightly less segregated from Black residents (DI value of 52) and substantially less segregated from Hispanics (DI value of 37). One of the areas where Asians and other people of color cohabitated or lived in close proximity was in the old urban core.

Asians were very ethnically diverse, with Chinese, Japanese and Filipino/a residents making up the largest proportion of the Asian population in Stockton (See **Table 2-1**). The growth between 1960 and 1980 can be attributed to the enactment of the 1965 Immigration Act. By eliminating racially biased quotas, the new law opened the door to a substantial number of new Asian immigrants, along with significant changes within the Asian American population, to its class composition, and to its social structure (Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng, 1994 and Ong, Lucie, and Evans, 1992).

Table 2-1. Stockton’s Asian Subgroup Population, 1930-1980.

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Share, Asian	5.8%	7.6%	5.9%	7.3%	9.1%	9.1%
Asian residents	2,772	4,179	4,151	6,273	9,774	13,679
Chinese residents	991	1,052	878	2,291	3,050	3,456
Japanese residents	1,386	1,259	1,825	1,523	1,509	1,826
Filipino/a residents	no data	no data	no data	2,364	3,899	6,786
Other Asian residents	395	1,868	1,448	95	1,316	1,611

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1943, 1952, 1963, 1973, 1980)



 Inclusive Asian enclave

 Little Manila

 Chinatown

Figure 2-3. Stockton's Asian Enclaves.

Data sources: Mabalon, 2013; B. Pease, 2008; and Minnick, 1988; base map: OpenStreetMap, 2023

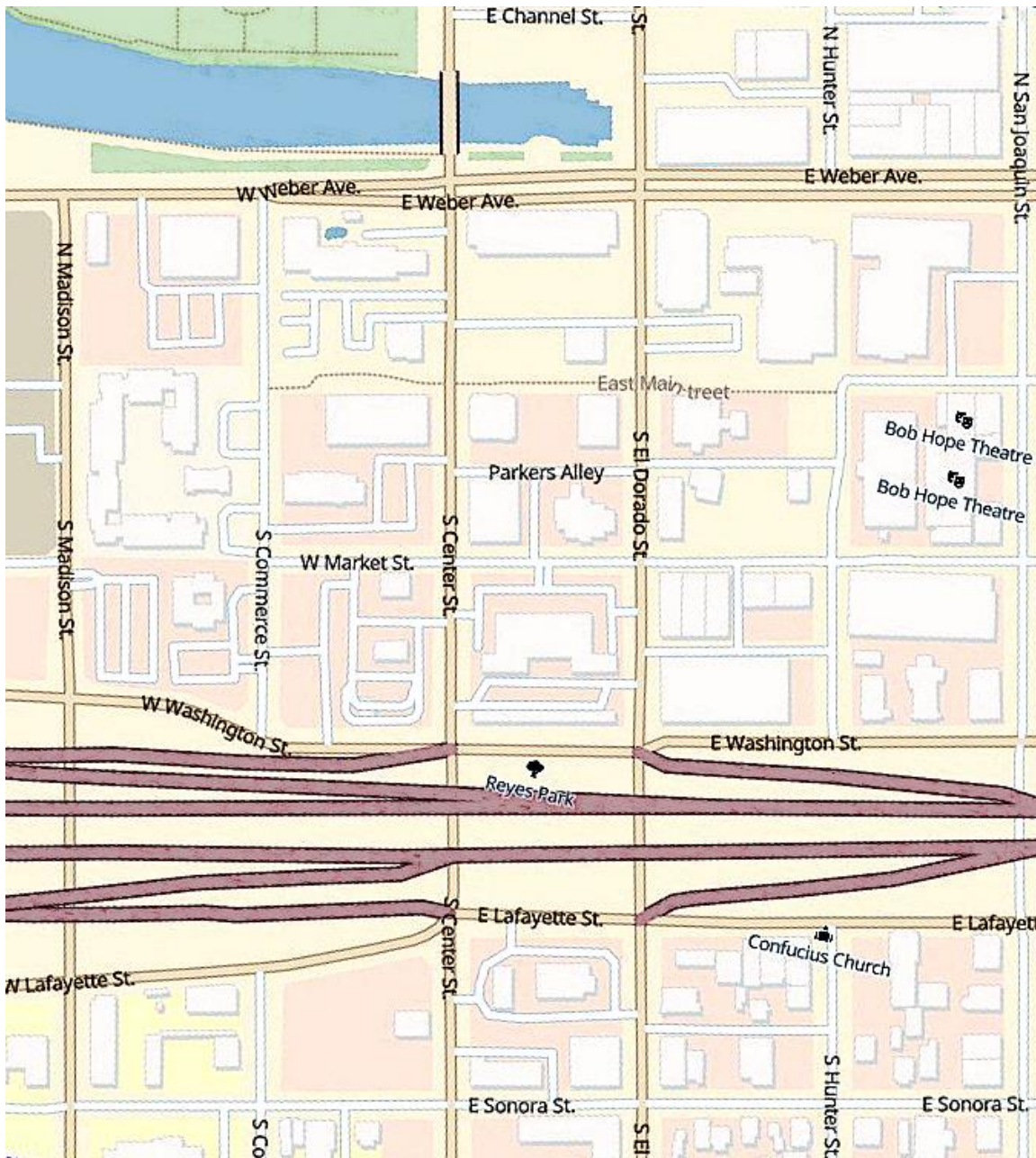


Figure 2-4. Streets in Stockton's Asian Enclaves.

Source: Old Maps Online, *n.d.*

Over several decades, these groups formed ethnic enclaves with high concentrations of Asian residents, businesses, and institutions. Within the urban core (areas within and adjacent to downtown), Asian subgroups

did not have distinct and sharp geographic boundaries. Instead, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino/a residents formed overlapping enclaves, creating communities with porous yet still real boundaries (See **Figure 2-3**).

Figure 2-4 provides a clear image of names of the streets in and around the Asian enclaves. The most inclusive boundaries of the area, going clockwise, were roughly Weber Avenue to the north, Hunter Street to the east, south of Sonora Street to the south, and Madison Street to the west. Within this area lies the intersection of Center Street and Main Street, the center of Stockton’s street numbering grid.

2.B. History of Stockton’s Asian Communities

Prior to the Crosstown Freeway, generations of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino/a families built businesses, started associations, and established institutions that kept the residents feeling connected to each other and their culture. The following provides a brief history of each enclave and their deep social and economic networks prior to the freeway disruptions.

Chinese Americans

The Chinese American community in Stockton, also known as Samfow (literally “third city”), denoting its ranking as the third-most important Chinese settlement in California, can trace its early history to the mid-1850s, with many Chinese men first coming to Stockton in the wake of the Gold Rush. Chinese residents were often limited to lower-paying jobs, from the railroads in the 1860s to farm labor through the 1880s to domestic work and cooks into the early 1900s (Minnick, 1988). Chinese labor was also instrumental in building the levees that transformed the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta into one of California’s most productive agricultural areas, thus critically contributing to the development of farming around Stockton (Chu, 1970). In the decades following the xenophobic anti-Chinese provisions in the 1882 Immigration Act, the Chinese community was primarily male, forming a “bachelor society” that sent remittances to support their wives and children in China. But over time, from the 1910s into the 1930s, the numbers of Chinese women slowly increased, enabling the community to move from simply being a “bachelor society” to one with families—and the emergence of a second generation (See **Figure 2-5**). To help financially, many of the Chinese women worked in canneries and garment factories (Davis, 1984 and Minnick, 1988).

Many Chinese residents had few options but to live in overcrowded boarding houses or hotels where rooms contained bunk beds and living conditions were poor. For example, the Kwong Chow Hotel at 223 South Hunter Street contained 54 rooms on the second floor and 51 rooms on the first floor, but only had two bathrooms per floor. Poor housing conditions stemmed from the discrimination Chinese residents faced by segregation in Stockton. White residents in north Stockton believed their property values and neighborhoods would deteriorate with an influx of Asian residents. Consequently, even as Chinese residents with American citizenship purchased property in the 1920s and 1930s, they were confined to south Stockton neighborhoods, primarily between Lafayette and Charter Way (Minnick, 1988).



Figure 2-5. Chung Wah School Portrait, 1925.

Source: Martin, 1925

As the Chinese population grew in Stockton, Chinatown as a place became solidified as an increasingly important center for employment and social interaction for Chinese residents (See **Figure 2-3**) (Minnick, 2002). Chinatown was a cultural hub where people could gather, speak their native language, and buy familiar foods at restaurants and markets. Chinese residents started businesses to support themselves and their community, finding ways to survive when they did not have access to the language, education, or opportunities afforded to white residents of Stockton (Goldeen, 2017). These growing clusters of Chinese businesses included restaurants, hardware stores, grocery stores, and gambling houses centered on East Washington Street between South Hunter Street and South El Dorado Street and bounded by East Market Street to the north, South Hunter Street to the east, East Lafayette Street to the south, and South El Dorado Street to the west in downtown Stockton (Davis, 1984; Goldeen, 2017; Henterly and Carpizo, 2016; Minnick, 1988; and Sauro, 2017). Chinatown's family associations welcomed newly arriving immigrants from China, helping them find jobs, housing, and access other resources (Mow, 2022). Places like Fook Chang, a soda fountain on the south side of Washington Street, and restaurants like On Lock Sam helped to make Chinatown the cultural and commercial center for Chinese residents in Stockton into the 1960s (Goldeen, 2017 and Henterly and Carpizo, 2016). For its residents, Chinatown was the Chinese version of Main Street (Goldeen, 2017).

Japanese Americans

Japanese residents of Stockton have also played a prominent role in Stockton's history and faced discrimination and racism like other people of color. Japanese migration to the United States and the Stockton area grew significantly at the beginning of the twentieth century, but the 1924 Immigration Act ended unrestricted entry from Japan and other Asian countries. Unlike the Chinese, a significant proportion of Japanese immigrants were women, which enabled this group to more easily form families. Japanese immigrants still faced restrictions that prevented them from owning property or land. On May 3, 1913, California enacted the Alien Land Law, barring

Asian immigrants from owning land (Suzuki, 2004). California tightened the law further in 1920 and 1923, barring the leasing of land and land ownership by American-born children of Asian immigrant parents or by corporations controlled by Asian immigrants. In Stockton, many Japanese residents settled just west of Chinatown on East Washington Street, between South Center Street and South El Dorado Street, and along El Dorado Street, setting up businesses and patronizing Chinese restaurants and shops (Minnick, 1988). During the early decades, residents faced anti-Asian discrimination and took low-paying jobs primarily in agriculture and housekeeping, replacing Chinese residents as the cheap source of agricultural labor (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970; Goldeen, 2017; and Kitahara, 2016). By 1942, there were an estimated 1,500 Japanese residents in Stockton (Roach, 2001).

Despite being economically and politically marginalized from the larger society, Japanese Americans made a place for themselves in Japantown (or Nihonmachi). Japantown had an extensive ethnic economy.⁵ At its peak in the 1930s, Stockton's Japantown was home to over 150 Japanese businesses, which intermingled with Chinese restaurants and shops (Kitahara, 2016 and B. Pease, 2008). A community formed around key cultural institutions like the Buddhist Church of Stockton, Calvary Presbyterian Church, and Nippon Hospital. The Buddhist Church of Stockton was particularly important as a Jodo Shinshu Buddhist Temple (Kitahara, 2016). Located at 148 West Washington Street, the church was established in 1906, and the temple was built in 1925, as its members filed for status as a religious group in California (See **Figure 5-3**). The church also housed a social hall on the adjacent property as a place for members (Buddhist Church of Stockton, 2021b).

Japanese internment completely overturned the position of Japanese residents in Stockton (See **Figure 2-6**). In spring 1942, under Executive Order 9066, Stockton's Japanese residents were forced to report to the San Joaquin County Fairgrounds. They were held there from May 1942 until October 1942, when they were relocated to Rohwer Japanese American Relocation Center in Arkansas (Davis, 1984). Most were imprisoned until the end of the war, enduring years of forced confinement and incarceration due to xenophobia and racism fueled by the Second World War (Diaz, 2021). Although later found to be unconstitutional (Irons, 1993), the internment destroyed the once thriving Stockton Japantown.

After the Second World War, the Japanese American community did not return in large numbers to the old Japantown area. The Japanese population in 1945 was only an estimated 500 residents, who returned to Stockton after years of internment to rebuild their lives. Many families stayed in the Buddhist temple's facilities while they resettled (Buddhist Church of Stockton, 2021b and Kitahara, 2016). Some older *nisei* (second-generation, born in the U.S.) residents returned to the Japantown area, settling mainly in the south side of the old Japantown, while *sansei* (third-generation, born to parents born in the U.S.) moved north to avoid the older and deteriorating housing stock (Kitahara, 2016). Less literature has been published about the condition of Japantown in the postwar years prior to redevelopment and construction of the Crosstown Freeway, though all sources indicate Japantown was much smaller than pre-war.

5. For a map of the area's local Japanese businesses, see Pease (2008).



Figure 2-6. Interned Second- and Third-generation Japanese Americans in Stockton.

Source: Lange, 1942

Filipino/a Americans

The presence of Filipino/a Americans in Stockton can be traced back to the 1920s and 1930s (Davis, 1984). At that time, Filipino/a migrants were not restricted in coming to the U.S. by the 1924 Immigration Act, as was the case with other Asian countries, due to the Philippines' being under American colonial authority at the time (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970 and Mabalon, 2013). In 1928, over 5,000 Filipino/as lived in the San Joaquin Valley, the southern part of the Central Valley, with many settling in Stockton. Due to racial segregation, Filipino/as were confined to south Stockton into what became Little Manila (J. Allen, 1977 and Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970).

While many Filipino/as in Stockton lived in Little Manila, some lived in other parts of south Stockton, with nearly half of the population living in McKinley Park, bordered by Charter Way to the north, today's Union Pacific Railroad tracks to the east, Clayton Avenue to the south, and I-5 to the west, in 1969 (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). That year, one in seven Filipino/as in Stockton lived in or immediately around Little Manila, with a majority being an aging, single, male population working as farmworkers (J. Allen, 1977 and Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). Filipino/a residents in both areas were forced to deal with substandard living conditions, like overcrowding, poor maintenance, and bare accommodations, because they did not have better low-cost housing options where they were allowed to live (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970 and Mabalon, 2013).

Notably, on July 2, 1946, the Luce-Celler Act removed racial exclusions on American citizenship for Filipino/a nationals, which enabled residents to naturalize and purchase property (Mabalon, 2013). The 1965 Immigration Act was another important historical development, and by 1970, the population of Filipino/as in Stockton was estimated to be roughly over 7,000, though the population fluctuated depending on the growing season (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970).

The first wave of Filipino/as in Stockton worked mainly as cheap farm laborers in Central Valley farms (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). Prior to the Second World War, Filipino/a laborers were at the bottom of the racial and economic hierarchy, often making less than other ethnic and racial groups and facing ongoing discrimination. Regional and linguistic differences also divided the community but strengthened the influence of fraternal, ethnic, and regional associations among different groups (See **Figure 2-7**). During the Great Depression, these organizations were pivotal for survival, offering mutual aid and support during a time when Filipino/as, as non-citizens, did not qualify for relief under the New Deal (Mabalon, 2013). The post war period saw a growing economic divide among Filipino/as. New employment opportunities became available, particularly for largely educated post-1965 immigrants (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). They were able to find jobs outside of the agriculture sector,⁶ while earlier first-generation immigrants remained trapped doing farm labor (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970; Ong and Azores, 1994; and Scharlin and Villanueva, 2011).⁷ In

6. See for example, the significant increase in the number of Filipino/a nurses and other medical professionals (Ong and Azores, 1994).

7. While older Filipino/a immigrants continued working menial agricultural jobs, they also fought against the exploitative conditions. Filipino/a leaders were instrumental in the campaign to unionize (Scharlin and Villanueva, 2011).

1970, for example, the average agricultural laborer made \$2,500 to \$4,000 per year in nominal dollars, while Filipino/a federal employees at the Sharpe Army Depot and Tracy Defense Depot provided an average of \$4,500 to \$7,000 per year (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). Poverty remained prevalent among the pre-Second-World-War wave of immigrants, whose housing choice was limited to the cheap hotels in and around downtown.



Figure 2-7. The Filipino Lighthouse Church in Stockton Little Manila.

Source: Filipino Lighthouse Church, 1950

The geography of Filipino/a settlement in the downtown area evolved with the socioeconomic changes. Initially, in the 1920s and 1930s, Filipino/as were only able to live south of Main Street, with explicit and implicit messages that Filipino/as were not welcome outside of labor camps and the West End (Mabalon, 2013). As a result, Filipino/as had to settle in what was then called the Oriental Quarter, the area west of the central business district in downtown that also included Skid Row, in the blocks around South El Dorado and East Lafayette Streets and encompassing blocks around Center and Hunter Streets and Washington and Hazelton Streets (Davis, 1984; Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970; and Mabalon, 2013). Filipino/a businesses proliferated along these blocks. Japanese internment in the 1940s created an economic void that Filipino/a

businesses filled, establishing a stronger presence in the area (Mabalon, 2013). From the 1920s until redevelopment and the construction of the Crosstown Freeway in the 1960s and 1970s, Filipino/a business grew to include pool and gambling halls, dance halls, grocery stores, lunch counters, barber shops, hotels, and restaurants that became the center of the community (See **Figure 2-3**) (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970 and Mabalon, 2013).

2.C. Concluding Remarks

Asians have long had a significant presence in Stockton and San Joaquin County, being among the earliest non-native people of color to settle in the region. Immigrants came in successive waves: first Chinese immigrants, followed by Japanese, and then Filipino/a. They were exploited for their labor, met with prejudice and discrimination, and eventually restricted by racially biased and xenophobic laws from further immigration. During the early part of the twentieth century, they were a major source of cheap labor for the agricultural sector. As compared to Black and Latino/a Americans, the Asian American population is especially diverse along ethnic and nationality lines, differentiated internally by language, culture, and immigration history. Like other people of color, Asian Americans continued to face racial segregation during the 1950s and 1960s. Ironically, this was also a period of waning of the racist state, as social protest led to judicial rulings that ended *de jure* residential and school segregation and to the enactment of civic and voting rights laws (Ong, 1999). For Asians, it was also a period of a gradual relaxation of anti-Asian immigration restrictions, culminating in the 1965 Immigration Act which put Asian immigration on equal footing (Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng, 1994). Despite a history of economic marginalization, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino/a residents of Stockton were able to establish vibrant communities, including those in and around downtown, replete with ethnic businesses and institutions. This, though, put them in harm's way from freeway construction and urban renewal, as documented later in this report.

3. Spatial Restructuring, Freeways, and Redevelopment

This part examines the larger changes that reshaped cities across the country and transformed the Stockton region in the decades after the Second World War. The first section discusses suburbanization, including the role of the freeway system's development and urban renewal efforts to counter the resulting decline of central business districts. The next section examines how these processes played out in the Stockton region, followed by sections that provide more detail on the downtown section of Crosstown Freeway and Stockton's effort to revitalize its own central business district.

3.A. Spatial Restructuring in the U.S.

Like many U.S. urban areas, Stockton underwent a dramatic transformation of its spatial structure after the Second World War, characterized as suburbanization, also known as urban sprawl. This process coincided with an increase in homeownership, made possible by increasing income, the development and subsidization of desirable single-family homes beyond the old urban edge, and government support to make mortgages more accessible (Margo, 1992; Stone et al., 2020; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000b; Nicolaides and Wiese, 2019; Kim, 2007; Bekele, 2005; and Herold, Goldstein, and Clarke, 2003). As a result, after adjusting for income and home size, the relative price per square foot of a home in the U.S. declined (Comen, 2016).⁸

Another contributing factor to the shifting spatial structure was a decreasing cost of intra-regional travel, particularly for job commutes. Economic growth and higher wages made automobile ownership more accessible to the middle class and caused a concomitant decline in the utilization of public transit (Kopecky and Suen, 2010 and Yago, 1984). Massive infrastructure investments by the federal government, states, and local jurisdictions both responded to macroeconomic changes and contributed to them (Brown, Morris, and Taylor, 2009; Schwartz, 1976; and Weingroff, 2017). Most significantly, the federal government funded and state highway departments built an expanded and modernized freeway system in the three decades after the Second World War, justified by the net economic benefits and constructed through cities to high-speed and -capacity

8. While increases in home values parallel increases in income, the size of a typical home increased (Comen, 2016).

standards developed in rural areas (Keeler and Ying, 1988; Brown, Morris, and Taylor, 2009; and Wasserman et al., 2022).⁹

One of the most visible impacts on the urban landscape was a de-densification of metropolitan America, a process consistent with urban economic models (Kim, 2007 and Mieszkowski and Mills, 1993). As an increasing number of households abandoned the urban core, with business and jobs following suit, this spatial restructuring meant a decline in traditional downtown, which increasingly became more blighted (Kellerman, 1985). Baum-Snow estimates that freeway construction accounts for around a third of central cities' population declines in the era; without freeways, their population would have increased eight percent (Baum-Snow, 2007).

Pre-existing local business interests and governments responded to the decline by expanding urban renewal. The federal Housing Act passed in 1949 provided over \$1 billion in loans and grants to cities to acquire and clear "blighted" areas—a categorization meaning areas in economic decline but applied to areas that were racially mixed (Mabalon, 2013). Slum clearance, as implemented through urban renewal projects and urban freeway constructions themselves, did little if anything to improve the targeted neighborhoods of color for the existing residents nor to preserve their unique cultures, businesses, and functions. Instead, it produced simple banishment, often without adequate compensation and without any plans to rebuild the social foundation of the affected communities. Urban leaders of the era embraced this one-sided policy as an important tool to beautify and revitalize downtowns as commercial and civic centers (Collins and Shester, 2013; Talen, 2014; and Zipp and Carriere, 2013). Ironically, the freeway system failed to accomplish its goal of enabling outlying residents to visit the urban core for shopping, entertainment, and social gathering. Instead, the freeway system just dispersed both households and businesses, which became increasingly isolated from the urban core. In the end, government efforts to revitalize downtown, including the construction of freeways, was merely a tool to bulldoze over ethnic neighborhoods.

One negative and tragic consequence of urban restructuring is its role in reproducing inequality. The transformation was part and parcel of capitalist development (R. Walker, 1981). The new geographic patterns reflected and accentuated disparities in socioeconomic status through spatial stratification of the urban core, older residential neighborhoods, and the emerging suburbs (Guest and Nelson, 1978 and Logan and Schneider, 1981). Much of the segregation occurred along racial lines, with people of color left trapped in the declining urban core and white flight happening to the suburbs (Boustan, 2010; Frey, 1979; and Massey and Tannen,

9. Freeways played an exceptionally prominent role in California, enabling suburban dispersion and creating the quintessential image of suburban life. Many celebrated the freeway there as a democratization of transportation that enabled individuals to pursue their interests beyond their immediate geography. In *L.A. Freeway: An Appreciative Essay*, Brodsky describes the freeway in Southern California as "the cathedral of its time and place" (1981, p. 5); Banham (1971) dubs the freeway system "Autopia," as one of four titular ecologies. These admiring perspectives from the driver's seat gloss over superhighways' human costs (Bottles, 1991 and Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

During the postwar years, California helped set the pace and standard for U.S. superhighway planning. Called "freeways" in the state, California's highways were not tolled, unlike some routes in the East. The earliest and largest freeway plans came from California and especially Los Angeles: the state's 1959 plan called for 12,241 miles of freeways, equal to one-third of the total for the U.S. Interstate Highway System (Jones, 1989; B. Taylor, 1993; and Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

2018). The emerging configuration further disadvantaged people of color through a combination of spatial and transportation mismatch, where people of color became increasingly distanced from employment opportunities with relatively fewer transportation resources like private automobiles to overcome that distance (Kain, 1992; Blumenberg, 2017; and Blumenberg and Ong, 1998). Moreover, these marginalized communities were often in the path of freeway development and urban renewal, placing them at risk of bearing a disproportionate share of the cost of “progress.”

3.B. Spatial Restructuring of Stockton

Freeway development and urban renewal left an indelible impact on Stockton’s urban landscape. **Figure 3-1** (in 1960) and **Figure 3-2** (in 1980) show evidence of spatial restructuring in the Stockton region and illustrate the development and growth of north Stockton. Through the city council’s encouragement and support starting in the 1950s, the private sector developed the city’s northern section with suburban housing, which attracted mostly white residents in search of single-family homes (Luntao, 2014). New housing subdivisions such as Lincoln Village and Weberstown were built north of the Calaveras River (Mabalon, 2013). Commercial centers and malls also opened in these newly developed areas in north Stockton. Most commonly accepted histories of Stockton for this era paint Stockton as a city in the process of growth in its suburban areas that simultaneously grappled with urban decline in its center city (Davis, 1984).

However, not all sections of Stockton fared as well as the northern part. South Stockton neighborhoods, which were disproportionately composed of communities of color and low-income residents, were neglected and became increasingly disinvested as more affluent and white residents moved north (Davis, 1984) (See Appendix C). Worse was the impact in the downtown area, where population density declined by 29 percent, from 8,248 persons per square mile in 1960 to 5,881 in 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1980). Businesses in urban core neighborhoods either took flight following the population or went out of business (Balsas, 2018). Those left behind were predominantly the marginalized, people of color, and businesses that served them (Adelman and Durant, 1973).

Like other regions, the same mega-infrastructure processes of freeway development contributed and responded to the spatial restructuring of the Stockton region. Backed by federal and state support, Stockton became part of the emerging freeway system. **Figure 3-3** shows the area’s highways in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a period covering the majority of the freeway network’s development. The network forms a “H”-shaped pattern: today, I-5 runs north/south, along the western edge of town; SR-99 also runs north/south, along the eastern edge; and SR-4 runs east/west through the middle of town, passing near the central business district and civic center. SR-99 was originally U.S. Route 99, a pre-interstate federal route that became a modern freeway in the 1960s (Challenger, 2021 and Avery, 1995). The alignment of I-5, meanwhile, which became the West Side Freeway, was planned in late 1960, selected by 1965, under construction in the late 1960s, and opened around the mid-1970s (Challenger, 2021; Langsner and Cornelius, 1960; and Caltrans, 2020). The last freeway, the crosstown SR-4, took considerably more time to construct. It was proposed in the mid-1960s, with the western part completed in the early 1970s and the final eastern segment opening in the early 1990s

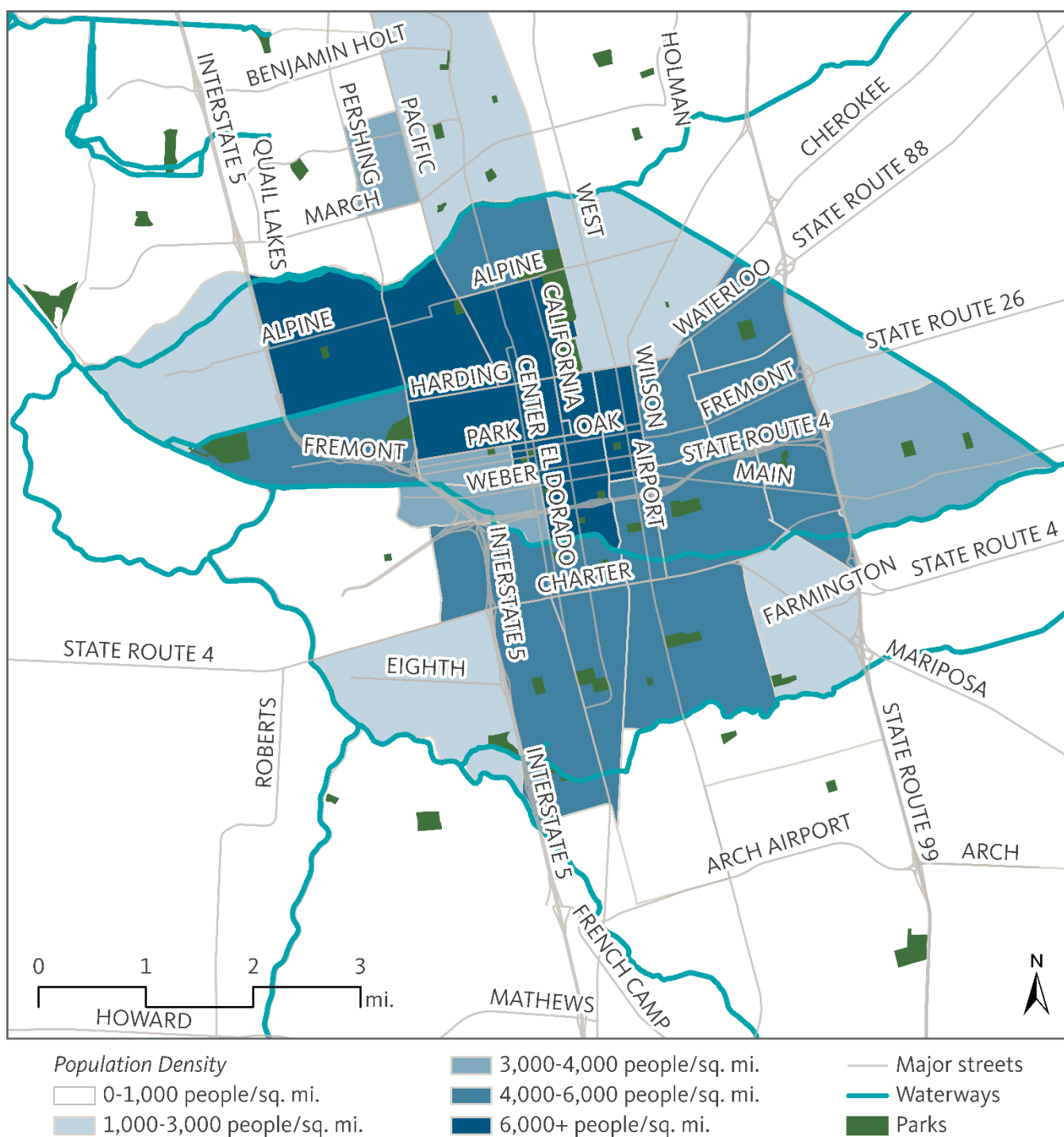


Figure 3-1. Population Density, Stockton Census Tracts, 1960.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960); City of Stockton, 2019; California Office of Emergency Services GIS Data Management, 2021; and Esri, 2010

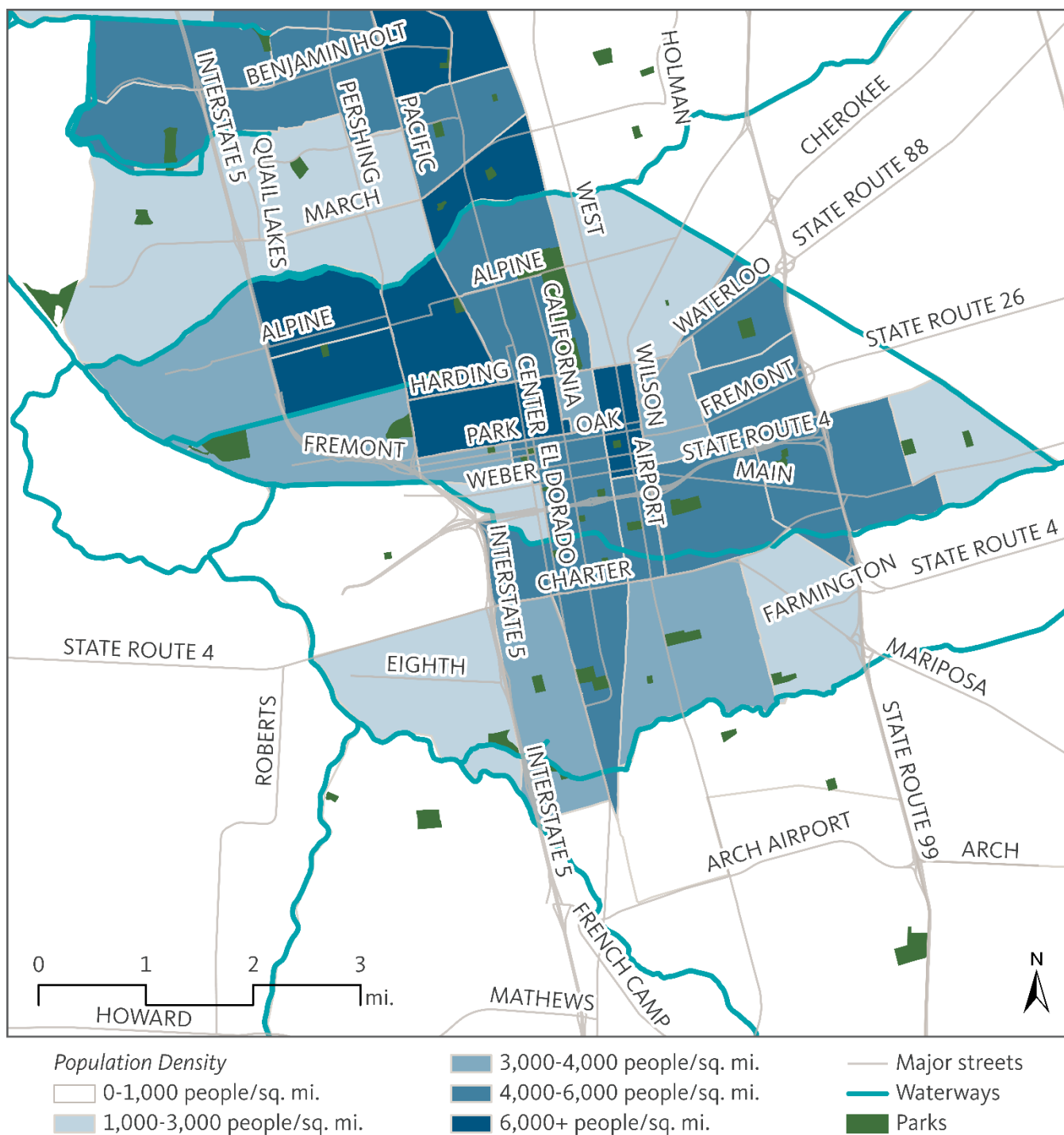


Figure 3-2. Population Density, Stockton Census Tracts, 1980.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1980 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1980; Manson et al., 2022); City of Stockton, 2019; California Office of Emergency Services GIS Data Management, 2021; and Esri, 2010

(Challenger, 2019). **Figure 3-3** shows that the original SR-4 was located about a mile south, along Charter Way (Caltrans, 1975).

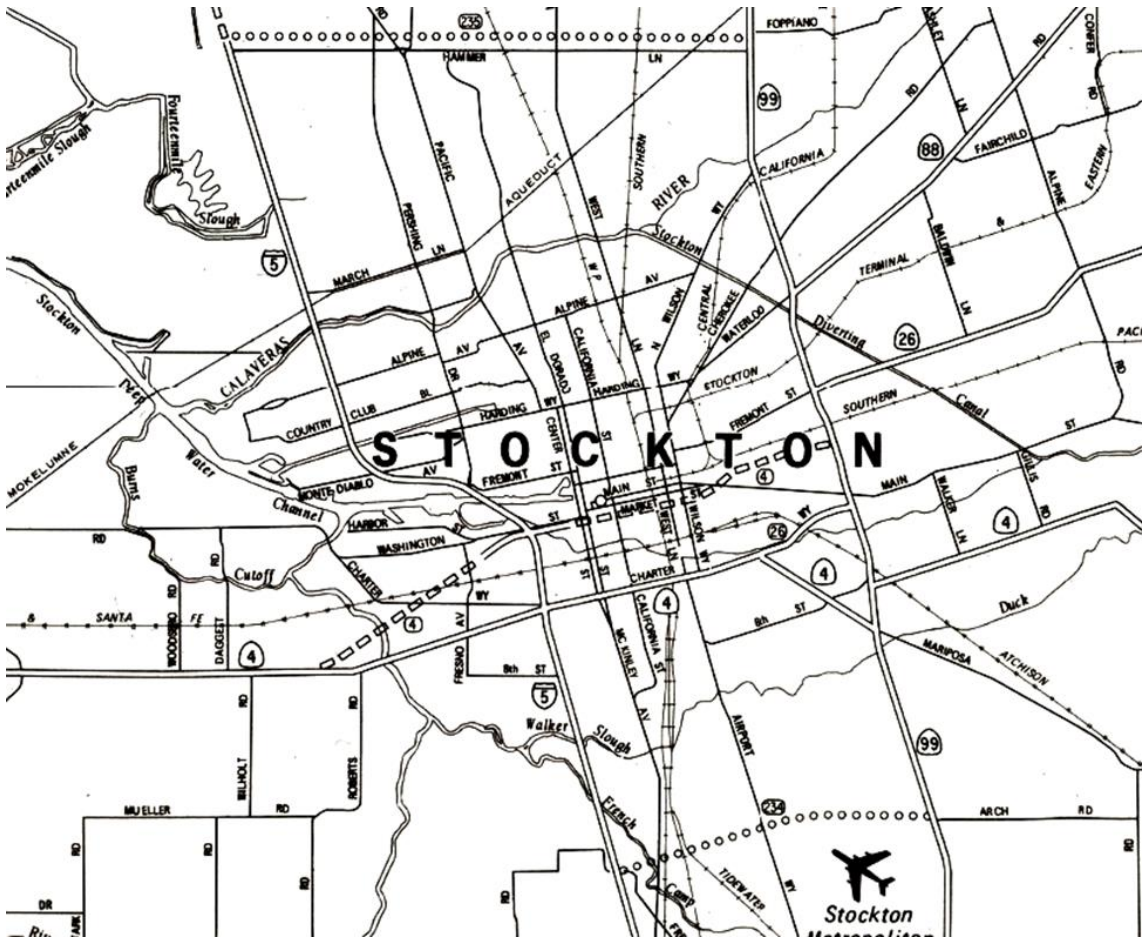


Figure 3-3. Excerpt of Caltrans Freeway Map, Stockton Inset, December 1975.

Source: Caltrans, 1975

3.C. The Crosstown Freeway

The Crosstown Freeway, which carries State Route 4, was conceived as a connection between I-5 and SR-99 (P. Smith et al., 1985). An east/west arterial was not a new concept: Charter Way, a multilane street, was designated as State Route 4 in 1937 and continued to be classified so into the 1950s (Challenger, 2021). That road, however, was deemed to be not sufficient to carry unimpeded traffic in a modern freeway system; consequently, plans were developed to create a new crosstown highway. A traffic analysis for the Master Plan of State Route 4 began in 1953 and was completed in 1958 (R. Wilson, 1958). A follow-up report of economic

effects and economic factors of the proposed freeway routes was submitted in 1960 (J. Wilson, 1960). Simultaneous planning and construction was occurring for the I-5 project in Stockton (*Modesto Bee*, 1971).

Several sets of alternative paths were considered for SR-4, north and south of downtown, as well as through the central business district (See **Figure 3-4**). The corridor between Washington Street and Lafayette Street, through Stockton's Asian neighborhoods and the middle set of east/west options in **Figure 3-4**, was part of three freeway system options analyzed by the Division of Highways (which later became the California Department of Transportation, or Caltrans), District 10. The set of options presented in 1958 were (R. Wilson, 1958):

- System A₃ (in purple in **Figure 3-4**): The Crosstown Freeway would run along the Washington/Lafayette corridor through downtown (I-5 would also run in a slightly different alignment from where it actually ended up.).
- System A₄ (in orange in **Figure 3-4**): The Crosstown Freeway would also run along the Washington/Lafayette corridor through downtown.
- System B₂ (in green in **Figure 3-4**): Two east/west connections:
 - A northern route between Flora Street and Park Street in north Stockton
 - A southern route in south Stockton generally between Worth Street and Anderson Street but cutting diagonally southeast away from downtown
- System C₂ (in pink in **Figure 3-4**): Two east/west connections:
 - A northern route that also used the Flora/Park corridor in north Stockton, with a turn northeast at the end
 - A southern route that cut across south Stockton diagonally, starting from the Washington/Lafayette corridor but quickly curving southeast
- System D (in yellow in **Figure 3-4**): An east/west connection bypassing the then-developed areas of Stockton to the south (This system was never seriously considered.)
- System E (in blue in **Figure 3-4**): The Crosstown Freeway would run along the Washington/Lafayette corridor through downtown (I-5 would also run to the east of where it actually ended up.).

These systems were evaluated based on both immediate and long-term costs and benefits to the government and freeway users (R. Wilson, 1958).

State highway planners selected a route for the Crosstown Freeway, from South Wilhoit Road to SR-99, on January 25, 1962: roughly the one drawn up as part of System A₄ (in orange in **Figure 3-4**). The chosen route ran along the Washington/Lafayette corridor at the center of our study area (P. Smith et al., 1985). The route, shown in **Figure 3-5**, was planned as a six-mile elevated highway, with linkages to various arteries in Stockton (White, 1983). Sixty-three acres of land for the freeway was to be purchased from Stockton's redevelopment agency after redevelopment was completed (Woodard, 1960). The project was initially predicted to cost \$39.2 million at the time, with the state paying for all but the City's \$62,000 contribution (*Tracy Press*, 1969).

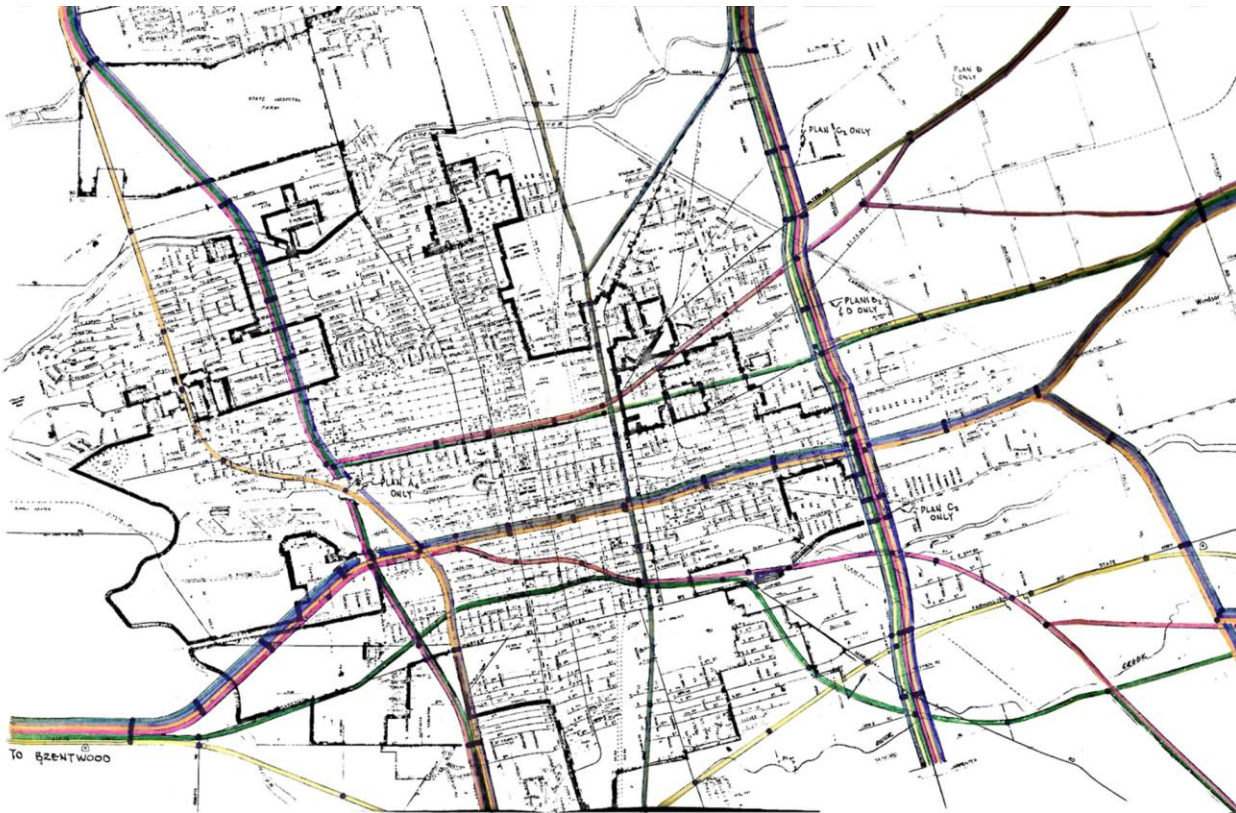


Figure 3-4. Stockton Freeway Master Plan Study: Map of Alternative Freeway Systems.

Source: R. Wilson, 1958

The first right-of-way purchase in the study area was dated August 3, 1965: Parcel 7634, located at the intersection of South Madison Street and West Washington Street, was bought from Victoria M. Robles (Caltrans, 1968). The last parcel in the study area was purchased from the Suey Foong Benevolent Association on October 22, 1971 (Caltrans, 1971b), though parcel acquisition beyond the study area continued thereafter. Demolition of the early freeway segments was estimated to begin in December 1967 or January 1968 (Mabalon, 2013). By July 25, 1971, in the first segment constructed, between South Madison Street and South Stanislaus Street, only 30 businesses and 139 residential units were left, including 98 single-room dwellings and 41 apartments (Ferris, 1971). This first section, which ran through our study area, received environmental clearance in 1972 (P. Smith et al., 1985). The segment opened to traffic on October 8, 1975, though it was only five-eighths of a mile in length (*Modesto Bee*, 1975).

Construction of the rest of the freeway, from South Stanislaus Street east to SR-99, was essentially paused from 1974 to 1986 due to “severe financial constraints” (P. Smith et al., 1985, p. 1–3). The Crosstown Freeway was called the “freeway to nowhere” by residents because the freeway remained unfinished for years, prompting 1,500 residents to protest the state’s refusal to finance the completion of the freeway on May 2, 1979 (*San Luis Obispo County Telegram-Tribune*, 1979). The estimated cost to complete the remaining 2.2 miles

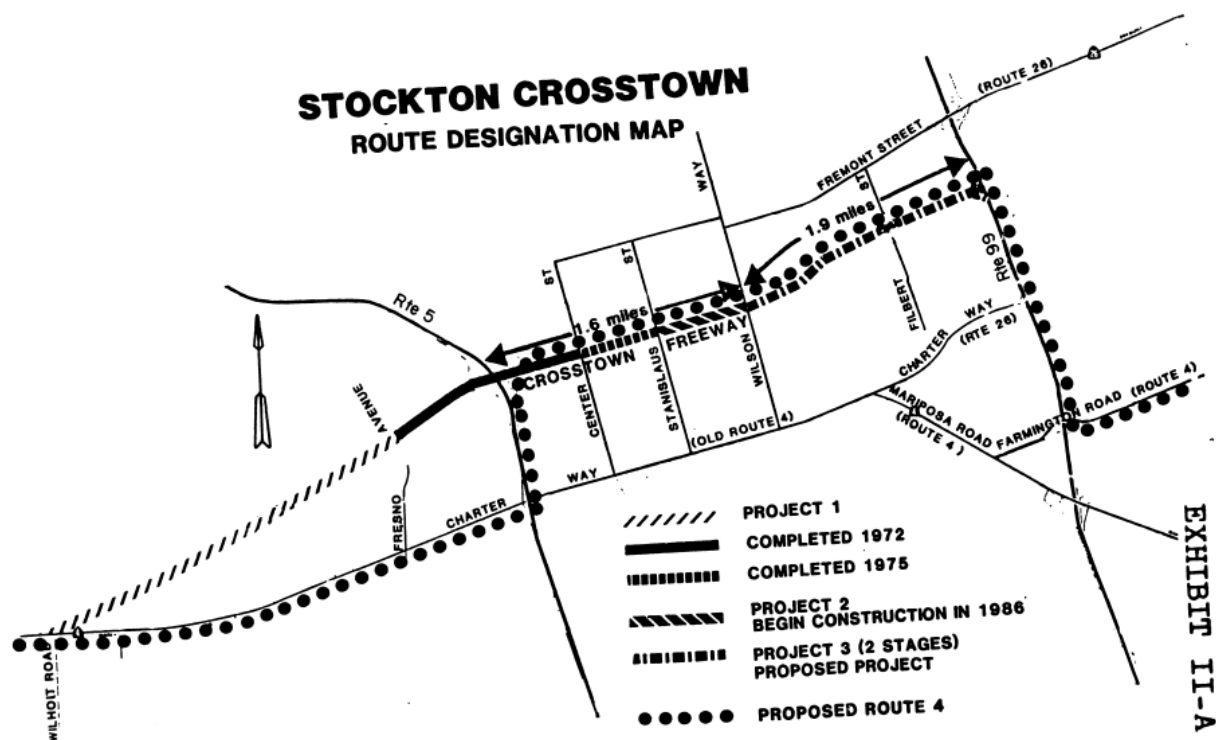


Figure 3-5. Stages of Construction of the Selected Route for the Crosstown Freeway.

Source: P. Smith et al., 1985

of freeway rose from \$37.5 million in 1975 to \$70 million by 1984 (White, 1983). Stockton city officials and residents pushed for the funding necessary to complete the freeway, including getting over 50,000 signatures on petitions and suing Caltrans in 1979 (Engellenner, 1979). This freeway segment remained incomplete until finally opening in 1993 (Mabalon, 2013).

Even after the Crosstown Freeway carrying SR-4 between I-5 and SR-99 was finished, the full planned freeway segment to the west of I-5 (marked as “Project 1” at left in **Figure 3-5**), through some industrial areas near the Port of Stockton, is still not built. Frequented by port truck traffic, the Crosstown Freeway until late 2016 ended somewhat abruptly at South Fresno Avenue in a residential neighborhood. That year, its western terminus was extended to Navy Drive—still not all the way to the once planned terminus at South Wilhoit Road (Caltrans, 2010; Johnson, 2013; Bowers, 2015; and San Joaquin Council of Governments, n.d.).

3.D. The Nexus between Freeway Construction and Stockton’s Redevelopment

As discussed earlier, the construction of the freeway system created conditions that adversely affected central businesses (See **Figure 3-6**), which in turn motivated vested interests and local jurisdictions to expand the use

of urban renewal to counter the decline. Stockton followed these patterns, where both the City's redevelopment agency and the Division of Highways, District 10 were concerned about commercial interests in the downtown area. For District 10, it was an opportunity to work in tandem with the City to clear what they perceived as Stockton's blighted areas in favor of increased traffic and to revitalize parts of the city, entailing massive slum clearance.

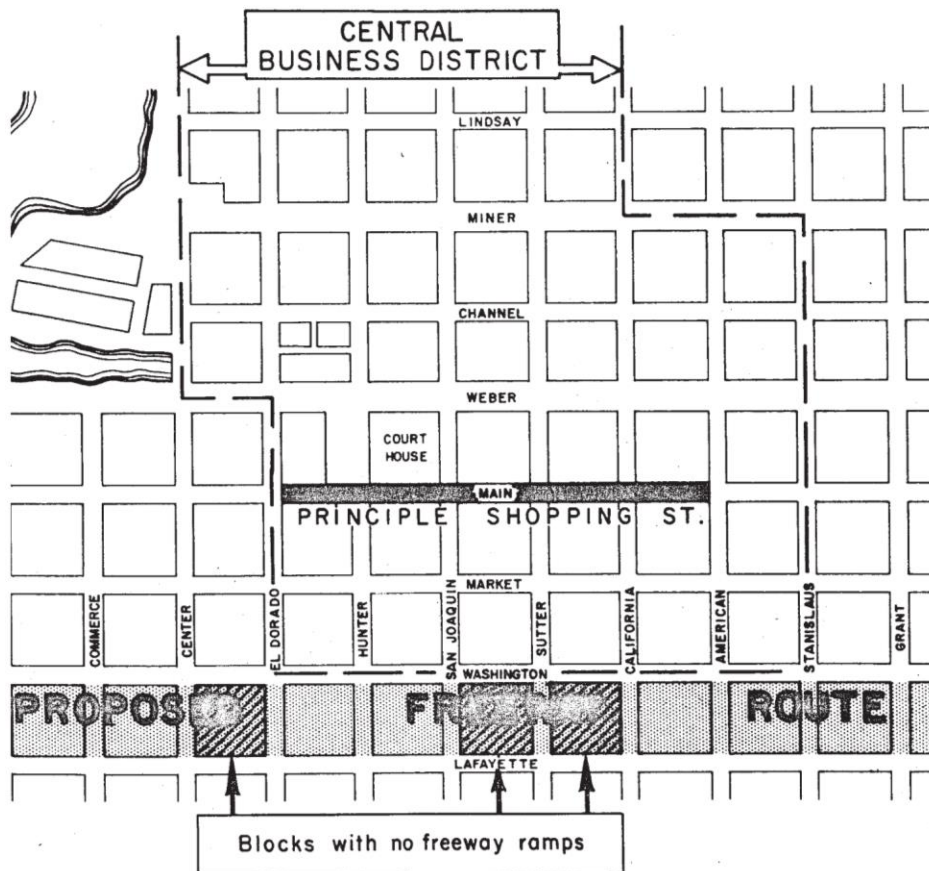


Figure 3-6. Stockton's Central Business District and the Crosstown Freeway's Route.

Source: Caltrans, 1962

Stockton's Housing and Redevelopment Department was established in 1955 and carried out much of the slum-clearance efforts (Mintier et al., 2007). The department's first redevelopment project was in east Stockton in the late 1950s and early 1960s, in an area just west of SR-99. Called the East Stockton Addition, the project entailed acquiring 189 acres of land and 1,200 "substandard eyesore buildings," demolishing or burning them, and then bringing in private developers to rebuild on the cleared land (Modesto Bee, 1960). Black and Hispanic residents together made up a majority of the population in the neighborhood containing the project and

adjacent to it.¹⁰ The project destroyed neighborhoods of color, like Barrio del Chivo, a once vibrant albeit poor Mexican neighborhood in the path of redevelopment (Madrigal-Lauchland, 2019). The demolition and relocation in Barrio del Chivo started in 1963, which “displaced and dispossessed migrant laborers, renters, and working-class families, many of whom could not afford to purchase the newly built houses the [C]ity offered as consolation” (Madrigal-Lauchland, 2019, p. 98). The East Stockton Addition project also reinforced racial boundaries around it. Just to the north was a predominantly white neighborhood,¹¹ and slum clearance created a buffer to reinforce a pre-existing racial divide. Finally, the East Stockton Addition project was linked to the modernization of SR-99, which also displaced large numbers of residents.

The next project was far more ambitious and larger in scale. Downtown Stockton’s West End was home to Skid Row and several ethnic enclaves (See **Figure 4-12**), including much of the Asian enclaves mapped in **Figure 2-3**, and was also seen as decaying and blighted. To revitalize its struggling downtown, in 1954, Mayor Dean de Carli appointed an Urban Blight Committee to study “slum” and “blighted” areas to address in the West End. The City then formed the West End Redevelopment Agency in 1956, which applied for redevelopment funds from the federal government in 1960 (Mabalon, 2013). Adelman and Durant (1973) provide insights into the scale of destruction, particularly pronounced in the number of hotel rooms, which served as housing for many low-wage agricultural laborers, eliminated:

“The West End Redevelopment Project of the 1960s razed 64 hotels and rooming houses, leaving only two hotel-type facilities in that area, the Holiday Inn and the Lee Center. The 3,500 to 4,350 low-cost rooms in that area then have been replaced by 386 rooms, at prices far beyond the reach of the population in question” (Adelman and Durant, 1973, p. 5).

Public agencies justified redevelopment as progress. These revitalization efforts, coupled with the suburbanization of north Stockton, allegedly transformed Stockton into a “desirable place in which to live, with new homes, new schools, new highways, recreational opportunities, and jobs for most” by 1965 (Davis, 1984, p. 89). As stated in the *Modesto Bee* in 1960, redevelopment was intended to make “a community of which its citizens can be proud, rather than apologetic” (*Modesto Bee*, 1960, p. C-1). In 1977, community development director Ed Griffith declared redevelopment more successful than anticipated (Wiley, 1977). The *Modesto Bee* stated in a 1977 article, “The winos are gone. The flop-houses are gone. And gone are the card rooms, the sleazy bars, and the decaying buildings that housed them” (Wiley, 1977, p. B-1). In this school of thought, as Minnick (1988) describes it, city officials saw the redevelopment efforts as a necessary way to address the problems of the West End; for them, “the bulldozer seemed the only way to cleanse the inner city rot” (Minnick, 1988, p. 301). Mabalon (2013) characterizes Stockton’s redevelopment as the city’s white elite’s effort to “transform downtown’s turn-of-the-century landscape and clear its ethnic and working-class neighborhoods, which members of the elite regarded as blighted slums” (Mabalon, 2013, p. 270). In either case, government

10. In Tract #20, Black residents made up 26% of the population, and those with a Spanish surname 28%, from 1960 U.S. Census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 1963).

11. In Tract #18, whites who did not have a Spanish surname made up 88% of the population, from 1960 U.S. Census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 1963).

agencies largely ignored the interests and well-being of Asian communities. As a result, they did not explicitly acknowledge the freeway's potential impacts on these ethnic enclaves nor incorporate these communities' considerations in analyses.

The Division of Highways, District 10 explicitly drew connections between the freeway placement and the concurrent West End Redevelopment, linking freeway siting to advance urban renewal efforts. According to the 1958 Master Plan Study of the freeway siting, District 10 took full consideration of the West End Redevelopment Agency's "[concern] with removing slums and blighted areas," noting that "this agency is very appreciative of the effect of a freeway upon community land-use patterns, and the location of certain of the systems studied would tend to complement the redevelopment work in certain areas of the city" (R. Wilson, 1958, p. 14). In the 1960 Traffic Analysis, the district analyzed the Washington/Lafayette corridor along with two other corridors (J. Wilson, 1960) (all relatively close variants of 1958's System A₄, with the more disparate systems proposed in 1958 by then removed from consideration (R. Wilson, 1958 and J. Wilson, 1960)). The Washington/Lafayette corridor was aligned and "well-coordinated with [the] City of Stockton[s] land use proposals [and] redevelopment plans" (J. Wilson, 1960, p. 9) to improve downtown's "deteriorating commercial, office, and industrial buildings" (Caltrans, 1962, p. 30). Traffic volumes also played a role, per documents from the district: in an analysis, the Washington/Lafayette corridor was deemed the most satisfactory alignment because it "would provide excellent traffic service for local users in addition to serving a high volume of through traffic" (Caltrans, 1962, p. 1).

3.E. Routing Decisions, Community Reactions, and Concluding Remarks

The great remaking of America's cities and metropolitan areas after the Second World War dramatically transformed the urban landscape through suburbanization and downtown decline. While several macro-level social and economic factors played key roles in this restructuring, governmental actions contributed to the changes, particularly the development of the modern freeway system and urban renewal. Frequently, people of color became victims to this "progress," bearing a disproportionate share of the cost, with loss of both homes and neighborhoods among the most direct consequences.

Stockton typified the U.S. urban restructuring. A study of the single-male population in Skid Row from the era concluded that, "with redevelopment and construction of a cross-town freeway under way, the physical community had disappeared" (Adelman and Durant, 1973, p. 2). Stockton's Asian enclaves, which were located in and around the city's central business district (See **Figure 2-3** and **Figure 3-6**), were also victims (White, 1983). Asians, along with other groups, fought against the West End Redevelopment for many years, but the Stockton City Council and the courts ultimately upheld it, and it moved forward.¹² The choice of the

12. Among other opposition, the West End Redevelopment was met with a lawsuit from 1961 to 1963 filed by a coalition of some city officials and West End business owners (Mabalon, 2013).

Washington/Lafayette corridor for the Crosstown Freeway was also met with strong opposition by Stockton residents, but the route was still approved by City Council and the state.¹³

Close to ten years after the routing decision was made, Lillian Galedo and Laurena Cabanero, both students at the University of California, Davis at the time and involved in a study about the development of a Filipino Center (See Appendix B, Section B.3 for interviewee biographies), pushed Caltrans staff on the Crosstown Freeway's impact on the Filipino/a community (Cabanero, 2022 and Galedo, 2022). In their conversation, they

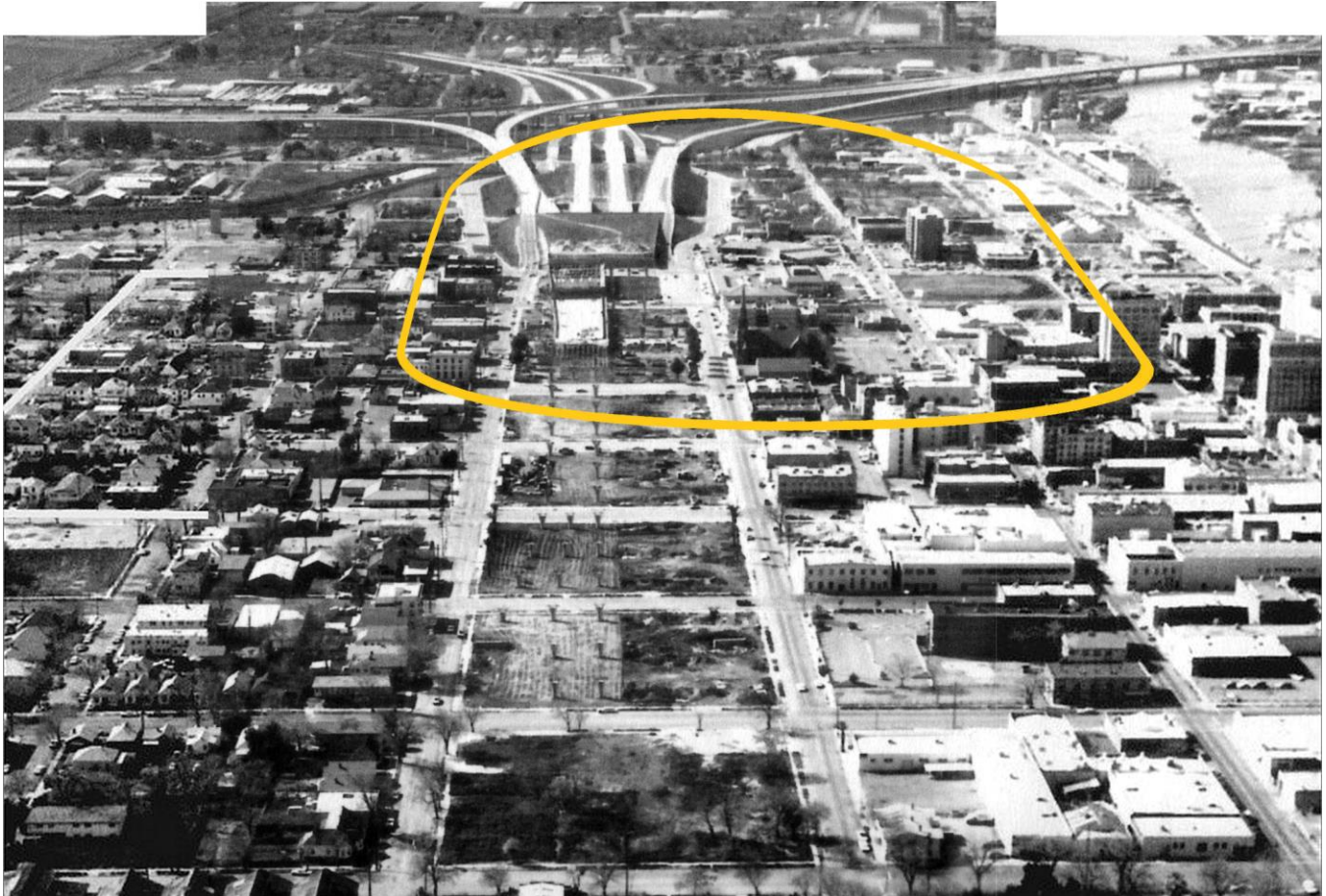


Figure 3-7. Stockton's Asian Enclaves (Circled) amidst Redevelopment Projects and the Crosstown Freeway Construction.

Sources: created by authors with composite of images from Overhead Shot of Little Manila and Freeways, n.d. and Photos of Little Manila, n.d.

13. At a June 1, 1961 public forum at the Civic Auditorium, an estimated 175 residents gathered to oppose the selected freeway routes. Notably, the Washington/Lafayette corridor was the subject of opposition from groups representing Chinatown and Little Manila, and the Stockton Buddhist Church voiced their concerns (Mabalon, 2013).

recall staff stating that it was too late to change the path of the freeway (See Section 5.C) (Cabanero, 2022). Public officials sited the Crosstown Freeway along the Washington/Lafayette corridor behind closed doors, demonstrating a lack of transparency and respect for the area's communities of color and the commercial hubs of Chinatown and Little Manila (See **Figure 3-7**).

Ultimately, those behind the freeway and redevelopment did not consider Chinatown and Little Manila as valid commercial interests to be preserved and revitalized, despite serving as the hubs of social and economic activity for Chinese and Filipino/a residents. For example, in assessing the possibility of elevating the freeway's first segment between South Madison Street and South Stanislaus Street in the study area, a state report initially determined, "High land costs plus high building costs indicate that area beneath freeway structures would be suitable for building construction only in areas of high demand and relative land scarcity. This section of Stockton is not such an area" (Caltrans, 1962, p. 10).

Asians, nonetheless, were able to extract some concessions, albeit minor ones. Community groups pressured Stockton's City Council to push back against the original design of the freeway, out of concern that it would create a wall separating north and south Stockton. City Council then communicated these concerns to the Division of Highways, and, despite state planners' earlier assessment, an elevated freeway design with space underneath was adopted (Mabalon, 2013). According to Davis' (1984, p. 105) history of Stockton, the Filipino/a and Chinese communities were also "given priority to rebuild" in the area, culminating in the opening of the Filipino Center and the Lee Center, respectively (discussed further in Sections 5.A and 5.C). Unfortunately, these accomplishments, which were made possible through the hard work and determination of some remarkable Asian American leaders, were too little relative to the losses imposed by freeway construction and urban renewal. The next two parts provide more quantitative and qualitative details on those losses.

4. Quantifying the Physical Impacts of Freeway Construction and Redevelopment

This part presents statistical profiles of the study area and the empirical findings from our analyses to answer key research questions: 1) whether the choice of freeway paths was racially disparate, 2) what were the number and the racial composition of the people and housing directly impacted (i.e., dislocated) by freeway construction, 3) what were the indirect impacts of freeway construction on housing units and housing costs over time, and 4) what were the associated losses from urban renewal. We define a study area based on census geographies that encompass the Asian enclaves of the era and nearby areas.

4.A. Study Area

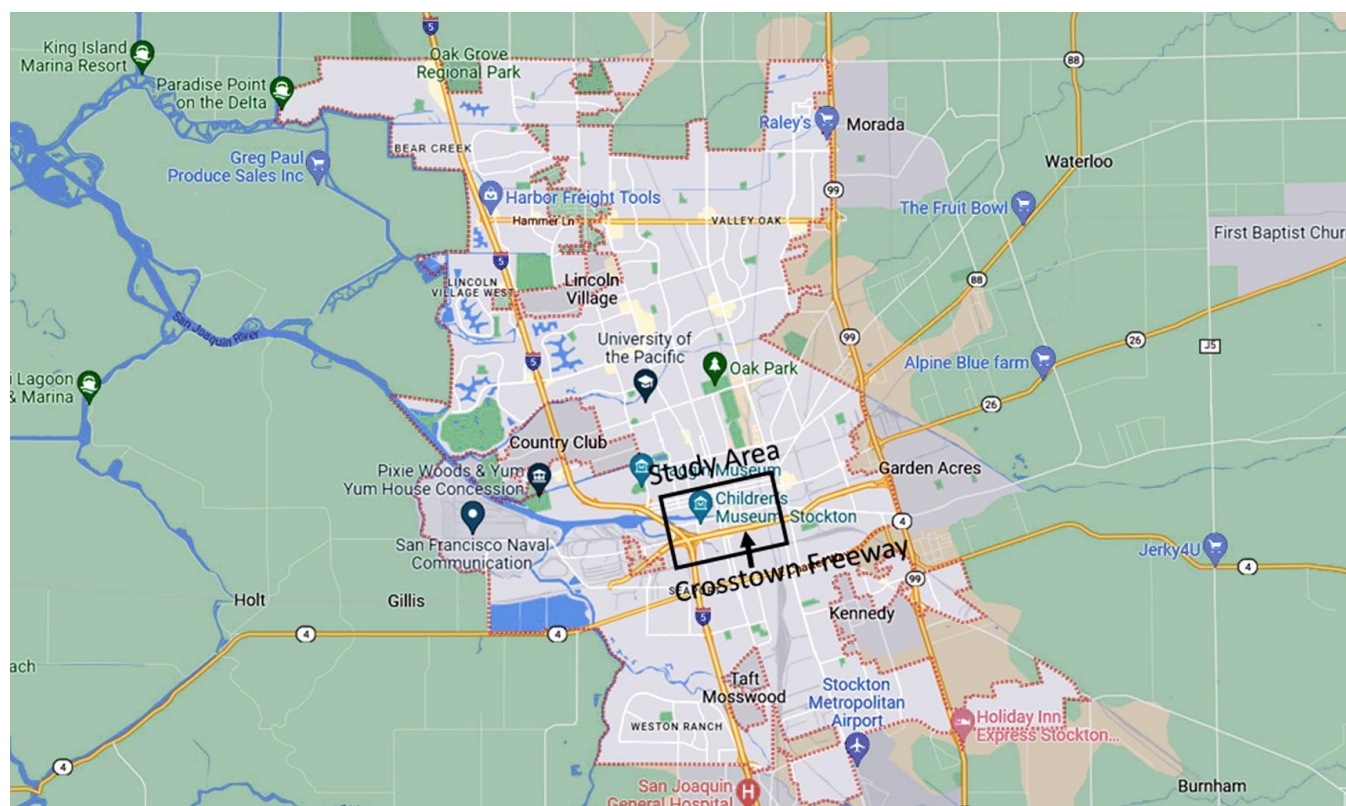


Figure 4-1. Location of Study Area.

Sources: Google, 2023 and authors

Our study area of analysis roughly encompasses the neighborhoods surrounding the western segment of the Crosstown Freeway, which was the first half of the freeway built, by 1975. It includes roughly the areas in the box in **Figure 4-1**, between I-5 to the west and the Union Pacific railroad tracks to the east.

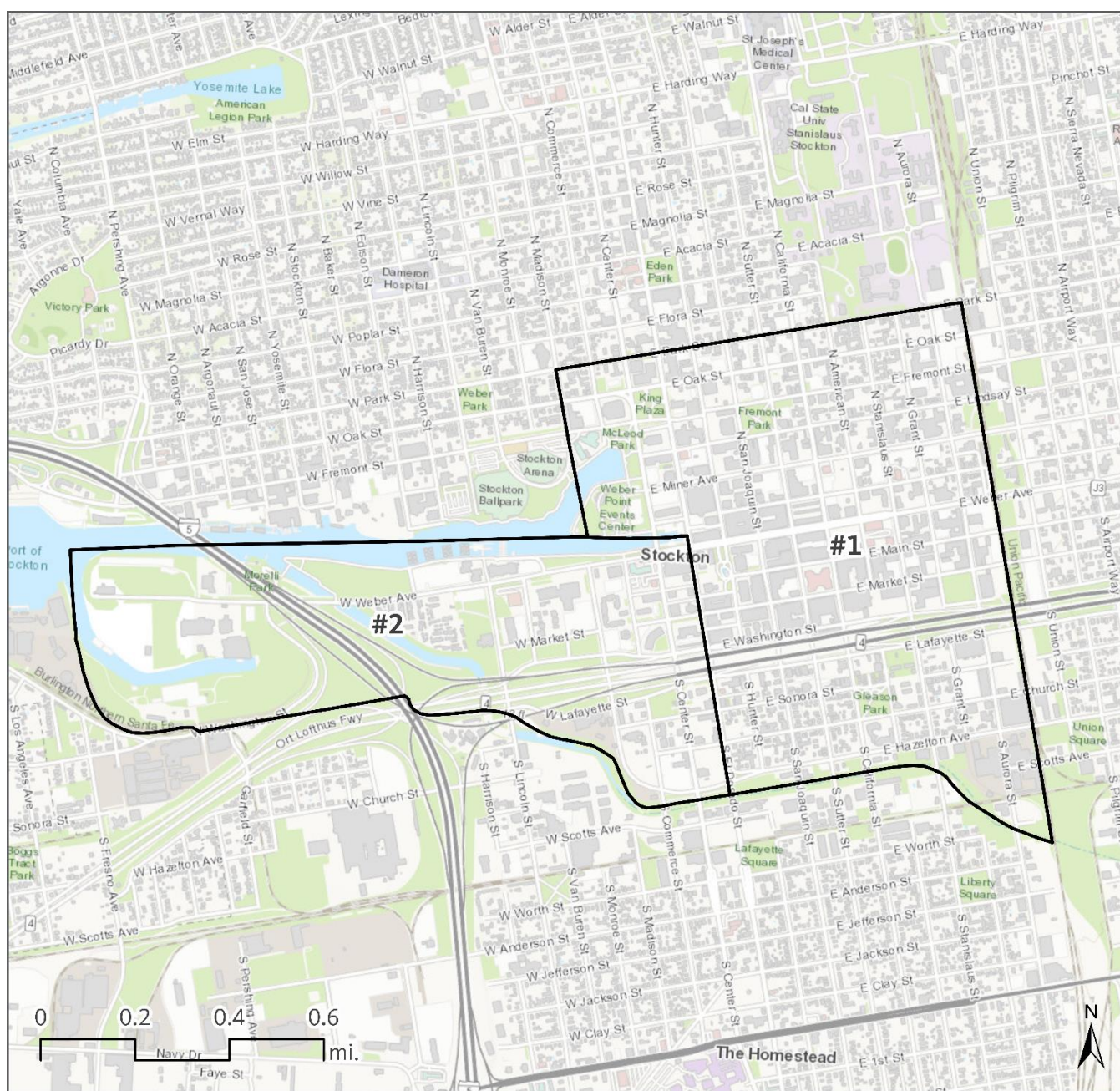
The eastern half of the Crosstown Freeway extends to SR-99, but, as discussed in Section 3.C, its construction was delayed because of funding until the 1990s. While this later segment disproportionately affected predominantly Black and Latino/a communities, the earlier segment to the west disproportionately impacted Asian neighborhoods.

To generate a statistical profile of the study area, we use available information for two census tracts, Tract #750001 and Tract #750002 (shortened to Tract #1 and Tract #2) (See **Figure 4-2**). The boundary for Tracts #1 and #2 remained the same between 1960 and 1970 but slightly changed by 1980, with the western border of Tract #2 ending at the I-5 freeway (See **Figure A-6** and **Figure A-7**). The areas in Tract #2 that eventually were excluded in 1980 had very few people, and therefore the change had minimal impact on our analysis across time. The tracts do not perfectly align with the areas affected by the freeway and urban renewal, covering a larger area that includes blocks to the north; nonetheless, the coverage is sufficient to provide acute and substantive analysis of the impacts on neighborhoods in its path. The county and city serve as geographic benchmarks to evaluate changes in the study area.

Table 4-1 provides information on the housing stock in the study area for the base year, 1960. The table also includes information for the two tracts separately and together, as well as statistics for the county and the city for comparisons. Compared to Stockton and San Joaquin County, the study area had disproportionately smaller units and significantly more units in poor condition. Over half of the housing stock in the study area consisted of one-room units. This was particularly pronounced in Tract #2, where three in four units were single rooms, primarily in hotels. These units were primarily occupied by single, low-wage laborers, mostly employed in the agriculture sector. Not surprisingly, about half of the housing stock also lacked complete plumbing, and a disproportionate share of all units were classified as dilapidated. Renters made up an overwhelming majority of the households in the study area, accounting for nine in ten households. Given the housing conditions, average rent was considerably lower than those for Stockton and San Joaquin County.¹⁴ Compared with the county and city, households in the study area also experienced considerably more overcrowding. While the study area had relatively high numbers of single-person households, it is important to note the presence of other types of households: about the same number of persons resided in non-single households, and there were a fair number of large households and families (e.g., 3 or more persons).

Table 4-2 reports and compares key demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the study area in 1960. Compared to Stockton and San Joaquin County, the study area was more racially diverse, lower-income, predominantly male, and older, with a greater share of agriculture workers. Stockton and San Joaquin County had a large share of white residents (78% and 70%, respectively). But when looking at the study area, the racial

14. Contract rent, the rent as specified in the lease, which may or may not include utilities or other fees depending on the unit



 1960 census tract

Figure 4-2. 1960 and 1970 Census Tracts in the Study Area.

Data source: created by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1962); base map: Esri, 2023b

Table 4-1. Housing Characteristics, 1960.

	San Joaquin County	City of Stockton	Study Area	Tract #1	Tract #2
All housing units	80,697	29,878	5,422	4,318	1,104
Share lacking other plumbing facilities (excluding hot water)	6%	9%	44%	38%	68%
Share dilapidated	6%	5%	9%	9%	9%
Share, 1 room	6%	10%	54%	48%	74%
All occupied housing units	74,657	27,742	4,600	3,521	1,079
Share, 1 person	18%	25%	70%	68%	77%
Share, 2 people	28%	28%	17%	18%	12%
Share, 3 or more people	54%	47%	13%	14%	12%
Share, 0.76 or more persons per room	39%	37%	52%	55%	84%
Share, renters	36%	44%	91%	91%	91%
Mean monthly contract rent ¹⁵	no data	\$50	\$38	\$40	\$30
Median monthly gross rent ¹⁶	\$58	\$55	\$37	\$42	\$30

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1962)

composition was quite different: the study area was composed of 47 percent people of color. The plurality of residents of color were classified by the Census as “other race” (20%), followed by Hispanic (17%) and Black (10%) residents. “Other races” included, among others, Filipino/a, Chinese and Japanese inhabitants (See Section 1.B). Economically, the study area was low-income. Median income was only three fifths of the median for the city, and the median income in Tract #2 was less than half. This lower average was due in part to the types of jobs held by residents of the study area. About 16 percent of employed people who lived there worked in the agricultural sector, higher than the county average of 12 percent. Again, Tract #2 had disproportionately more farmworkers, with nearly one of every three workers living there employed in agriculture. Because of low earnings, two thirds of study area households did not own an automobile, so few were able to take advantage

15. Mean contract rent for the combined study area, in nominal dollars, is estimated using a weighted average of the constituent tracts.

16. Median gross rent for the combined study area, in nominal dollars, is estimated based on linear interpolation of rent brackets (categorical data).

Table 4-2. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics, 1960.

		San Joaquin County	City of Stockton	Study Area	Tract #1	Tract #2
Population		249,989	86,321	7,980	6,058	1,922
	White	78%	70%	53%	60%	32%
	Black	5%	8%	10%	5%	25%
	Hispanic	12%	14%	17%	15%	23%
	“Other race” (including Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino/a)	5%	7%	20%	20%	20%
Gender	Male	52%	50%	67%	63%	79%
	Female	48%	50%	33%	37%	21%
Age	19 and under	38%	35%	17%	18%	13%
	20 to 59	48%	48%	52%	50%	58%
	60 and over	14%	17%	31%	32%	30%
Employment and Assets	Share employed in agriculture sector, among employed residents	12%	no data	16%	11%	32%
	Median family income ¹⁷	\$5,889	\$6,059	\$3,768	\$4,008	\$2,964
	Carless households	16%	24%	68%	64%	83%

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1962)

of car-oriented infrastructure. While the study area had a high percentage of men and older adults, there were also a fair number of women and children.

While the tract-level profiles describe the study area’s housing conditions and socio-economic characteristics, an analysis of residential patterns at smaller geographies reveals how the study area was spatially structured

17. Median family income for the combined study area, in nominal dollars, is estimated based on linear interpolation of income brackets (categorical data).

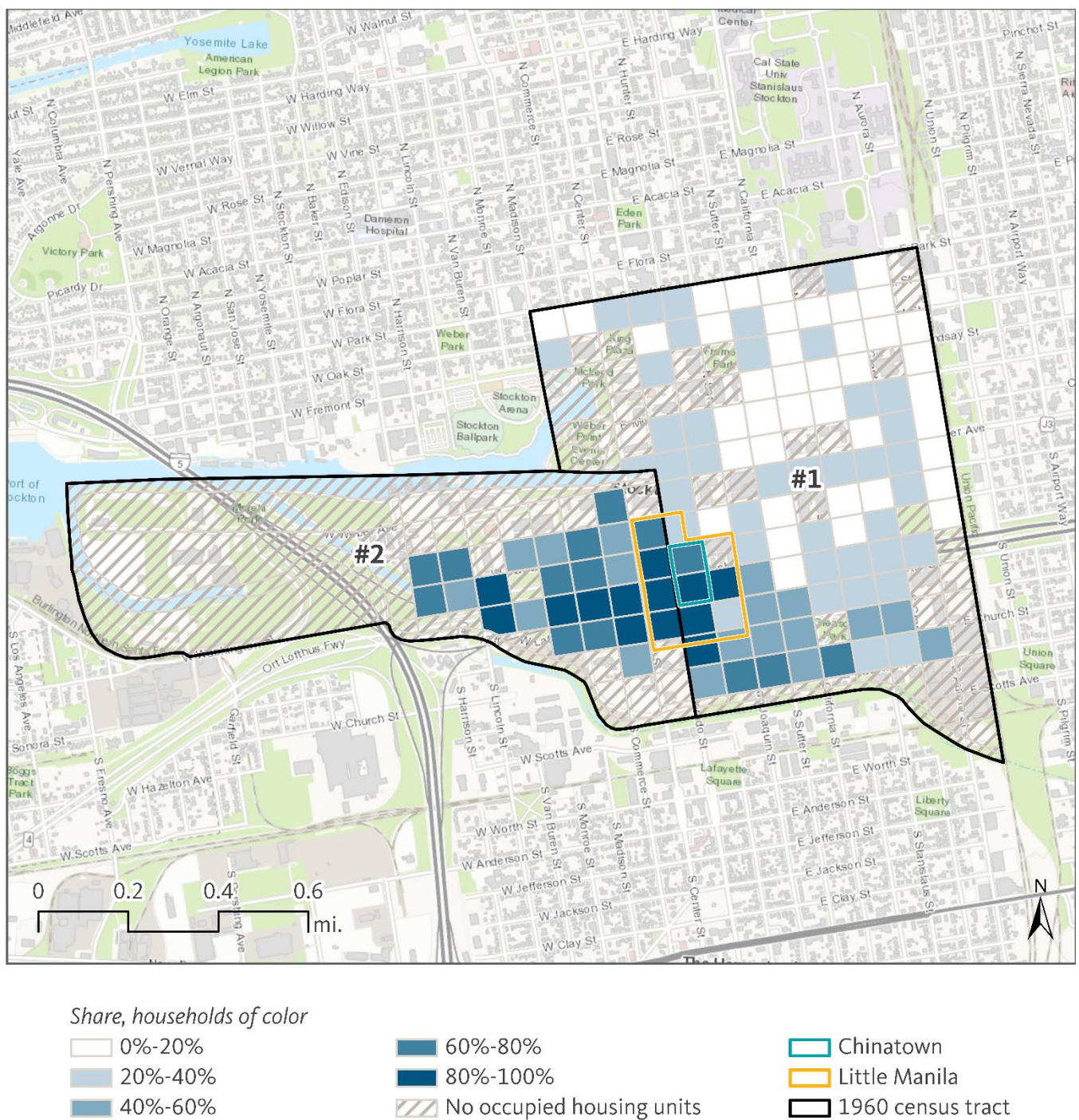


Figure 4-3. Households of Color by Census Block, 1960.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1962); Mabalon, 2013; and Minnick, 1988; base map: Esri, 2023b

along racial lines.¹⁸ **Figure 4-3** maps the estimated percent of households headed by people of color at the block level for 1960 (See Appendix A for details on how estimates of people of color were imputed at the block level).

Unfortunately, the U.S. Census Bureau did not disaggregate racially among non-white households at the block level nor report the number of Hispanic households; nonetheless, the available information shows a high degree of residential segregation. White residents were unevenly distributed within the study area, with 58 of the 138 blocks having 80 percent white inhabitants or higher. The predominantly white blocks were concentrated in the northern and eastern sections of the study area. People of color were heavily concentrated in and adjacent to downtown. There were 13 blocks where non-white residents made up a share of 80 percent of the population or higher, of which seven were in the thin corridor between Washington Street and Lafayette Street, right along the eventual path of the Crosstown Freeway.

The overall level of residential segregation in the study area can be summarized by the dissimilarity index described in Section 1.B. At the block level, the DI between white and non-white residents in 1960 was 0.69—meaning that over two-thirds of the households would have to have moved to achieve integration.

While the 1960 U.S. Census data do not have more detailed racial identifications, fully declassified 1950 U.S. Census records enable us to look at residential patterns by ethnicity, albeit a decade earlier (See Appendix A, Section A.4). We examine enumeration district 75-81, shown in **Figure 4-4**, a four-block area bounded by East Washington Street to the north, South Sutter Street to the east, East Lafayette Street to the south, and South Center Street to the west.¹⁹ This area includes three blocks in Little Manila and/or Chinatown, as well as a block (the easternmost block) that was majority white.

Figure 4-5 shows the racial/ethnic composition of the enumeration district. This small area contained an especially high share of people of color relative to the city and was very diverse within. White, Black, and Asian residents were within a short walking distance of each other. There was also ethnic diversity among the Asian inhabitants, with a roughly equal number of Filipino/a and Chinese residents. There were few Japanese people, though, as many did not resettle in this location after the end of wartime internment. Those who did move back resided south of Lafayette Street at the time. Within the four blocks of the enumeration district, we find both mixing and exclusivity. The 300 block of East Lafayette Street, between South San Joaquin Street and South Sutter Street, for example, was 44 percent white, 29 percent Asian, and 27 percent others (mostly Black, in addition to a few Hispanic residents). On the other hand, the 100 block of East Washington Street, between South El Dorado Street and South Hunter Street, was only Asian, with roughly equal numbers of Chinese and

18. The fact that the blocks with predominant populations of color straddled the boundary between Tracts #1 and #2 illustrates why tracts are not the most analytically useful geographic unit to measure residential segregation in the area. There were distinct and significant patterns of segregation within a tract.

19. The study area includes other enumeration districts, but we only examined enumeration district 75-81 because it was entirely in the path of freeway construction. See **Figure A-3** for a more detailed map of the enumeration districts in the study area.

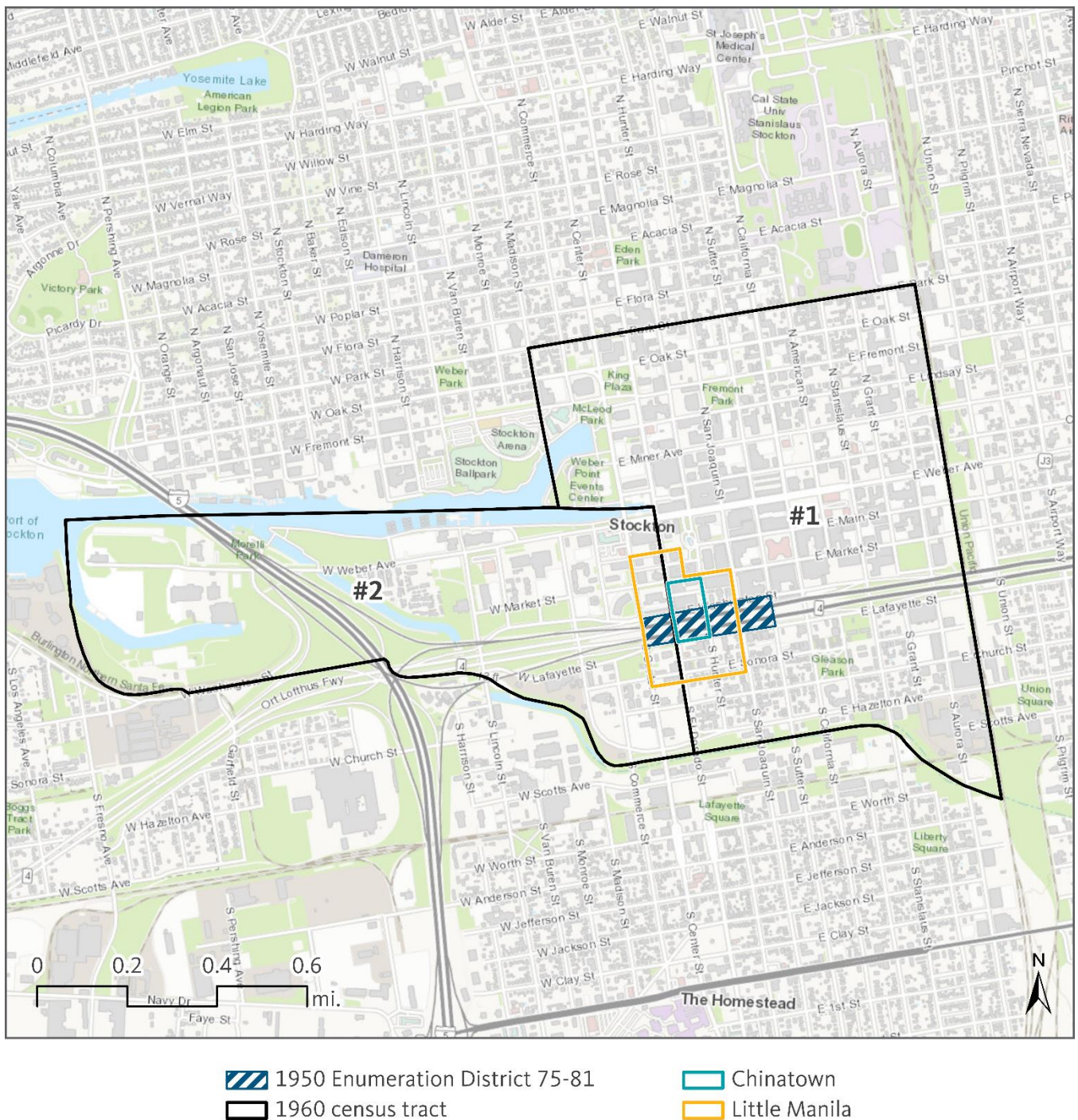


Figure 4-4. Enumeration District 75-81, 1950.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1950 and 1960 U.S. Censuses (Ancestry, 2023a; U.S. Census Bureau, 1947, 1962); Mabalon, 2013; and Minnick, 1988; base map: Esri, 2023b

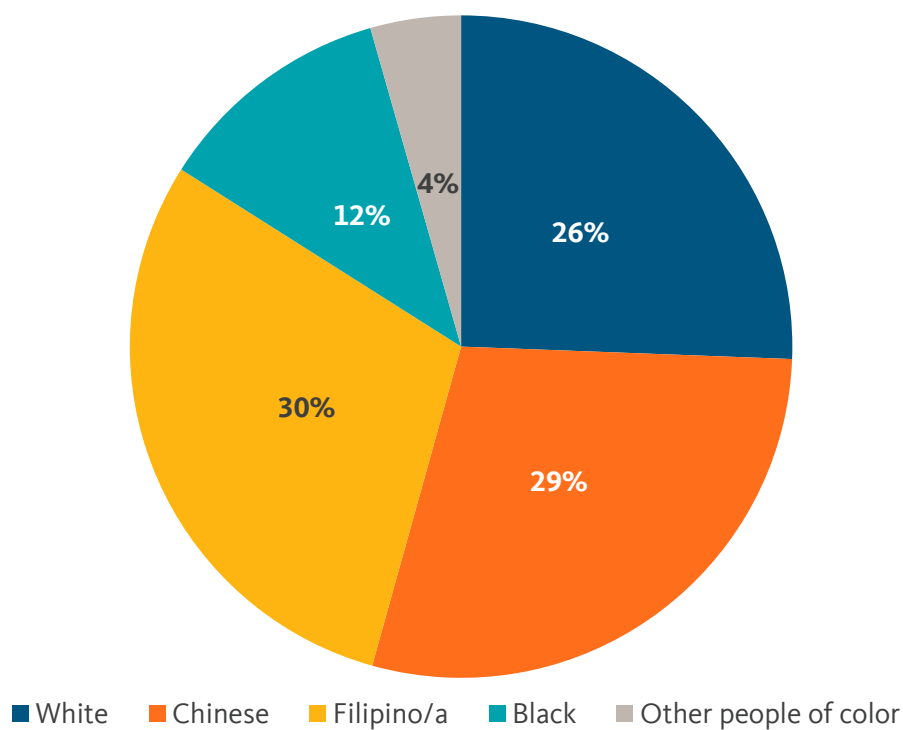


Figure 4-5. Racial/Ethnic Composition of Enumeration District 75-81, 1950.

Data source: calculated by authors from 1950 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950)

Filipino/a inhabitants. Together, these blocks were home to the racially and economically marginalized segments of society and became fully in the freeway’s pathway.

Table 4-3. Changes in Housing Stock and Population, 1960-1980.

Statistic	Year	San Joaquin County	City of Stockton	Study Area	Tract #1	Tract #2
Housing Units	1960	80,697	29,947	5,422	4,318	1,104
	1970	96,771	37,862	3,691	3,487	204
	1980	135,580	61,290	3,142	2,813	329
Total Population	1960	249,989	86,321	7,980	6,058	1,922
	1970	290,208	107,644	6,027	5,696	331
	1980	347,342	149,779	4,833	4,345	488

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1962)

The temporal changes to the housing stock and population before and after the freeway construction illustrate the mass displacement and destruction of neighborhoods in the area.²⁰ **Table 4-3** shows a dramatic decline in the study area between 1960 and 1970, while the county and the city overall experienced growth. The study area lost close to a third of its housing units; Tract #2, where the interchange between the Crosstown Freeway and I-5 was constructed, lost an astounding 82 percent between 1960 and 1970. The study area continued to experience a decline in housing units and population into the 1970s, with a partial recovery in Tract #2. The subsequent sections estimate the sources of the decline.

4.B. Analysis of Alternative Routes

This section reports the empirical findings of our analyses related to the research question of whether the choice of freeway path was *de facto* racially biased. That routing decision determined the effects of construction and destruction that last to this day. In freeway development, planners typically developed a set of alternative routes early on, particularly in cities, from which one was chosen (Smock, 1962; Turner and Miles, 1970, 1971; and Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023). Planners considered geological and design issues, roadway capacity, monetary cost, and neighborhood impacts, to varying degrees. The options developed drew feedback from elected leaders and the public, sometimes gathered in public meetings or other venues (Fielding, 1972). Planners proposed alternatives both at the regional and local level. In some cases, by virtue of geography or engineering, routing decisions made for one segment of a freeway limited or decided among possible routings in a subsequent section. Alternatives might differ by less than a mile from each other, with even a small shift changing the specific households displaced and their demographics (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023).

Power in the political, social, and economic realms determined the choice of routings, and marginalized people and places, structurally lacking this, ended up vulnerable (Ong and González, 2019). Spatialized racism in America led to systemic inequities that formed the foundation of freeway siting decisions. For instance, people of color faced restrictions in the labor market that depressed their incomes, preventing them from building wealth and owning homes at the rate of white Americans. The homes they could afford and were legally and socially able to purchase were often in disinvested neighborhoods undervalued by redlining. As a result, the land and property values in these areas made them prime candidates for freeway routing, when analyzed by cost.

Despite resistance to freeway construction in neighborhoods of color, the struggle for civil rights was nascent, at least when many freeway routes were developed. As planning and construction proceeded, the movement strengthened. Yet formal political power still remained entrenched and protected white neighborhoods, as documented by many case studies (Mohl, 2004, 2008; Avila, 2014; and Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023). We find in the Stockton Crosstown Freeway, as elsewhere, the literal concrete effects of racial inequalities.

20. The losses we calculated are lower than those given by Adelman and Durant (1973). This is probably due to some hotel rooms not counted by the Census Bureau as a part of the housing stock.

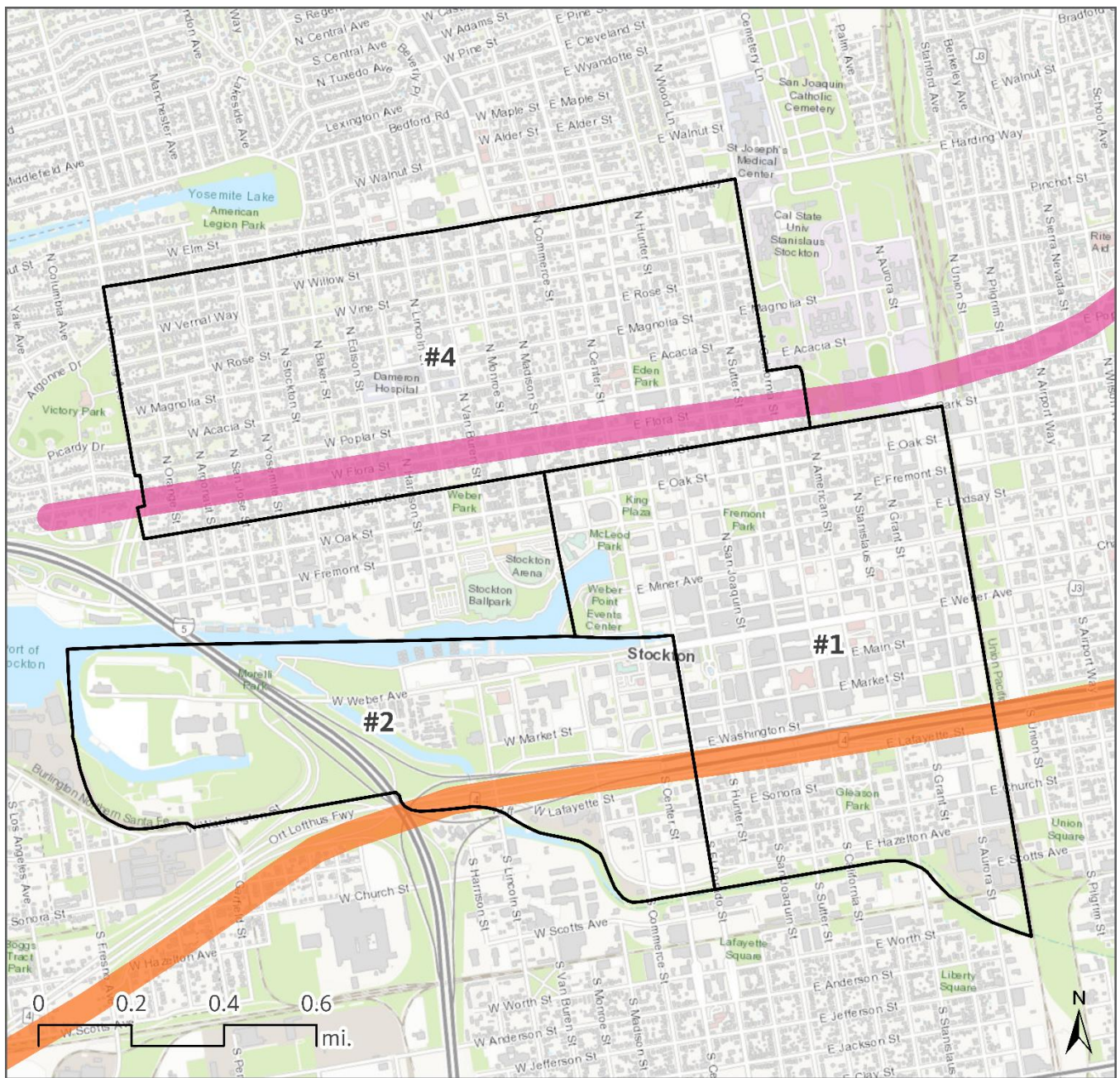
To examine potential inequities and biases in freeway routing, we compare the demographics of the neighborhoods underneath and near the path of the chosen route and of a route proposed but not chosen (See Appendix A, Section A.6). Of course, some possible routings may not even have been considered and developed by planners, so the set of proposed routes may already be the result of an initial racialized choice. With that said, we expected to find that the chosen route ran through areas with a greater share of people of color than the unchosen route. If the routing process was reinforced by economic factors and/or scale of required displacement too, we also anticipated differences in income and displaced households between the areas. To be sure, these quantitative findings alone reveal outcomes, but not intent and the degree to which various actors and structures played a role.

The route ultimately selected for the Crosstown Freeway, roughly what was part of System A₄ as proposed in 1958 (R. Wilson, 1958), is shaded in orange in **Figure 4-6** (as in **Figure 3-4**). Among the alternative routes laid out in 1958 (described in Section 3.C), we selected for analysis the northern of the two in System C₂, shaded in pink in **Figure 4-6** (as in **Figure 3-4**). We chose the northern pink route as our comparison first because it ran through predominantly white neighborhoods (discussed further below), offering a clear contrast, and also because it was functionally equivalent to another option (the northern green route of System B₂ in **Figure 3-4**), potentially indicating that the corridor was under at least somewhat serious consideration. On the 1938 redlining map of Stockton (See **Figure 1-4**), the orange route ran through mostly ungraded commercial areas and some neighborhoods graded red, while the pink route ran through areas graded blue and yellow. The chosen orange route ran through Tracts #1 and #2, while Tract #4 covers the neighborhoods ultimately spared from freeway construction when the pink route was not chosen.²¹

Figure 4-7 displays the estimated proportion of households of color at the census-block level in 1960 in tracts through which the chosen and alternative routes ran. The constructed Crosstown Freeway, in orange, cuts almost entirely through households of color, especially those residing in or near Chinatown and Little Manila. In comparison, the alternative route would have run exclusively through white households.

At the census-tract level, the same racial patterns are clear. **Figure 4-8** shows that the share of people of color in tracts with the actual Crosstown Freeway was much higher than in the tract with the unchosen route. Nearly 95 percent of residents in the tract with the alternative route were white, compared to just over half that share in tracts with the chosen route. The tracts with the chosen route disproportionately had more people of color, with a quarter of residents in the “other race” category which primarily included Asians.

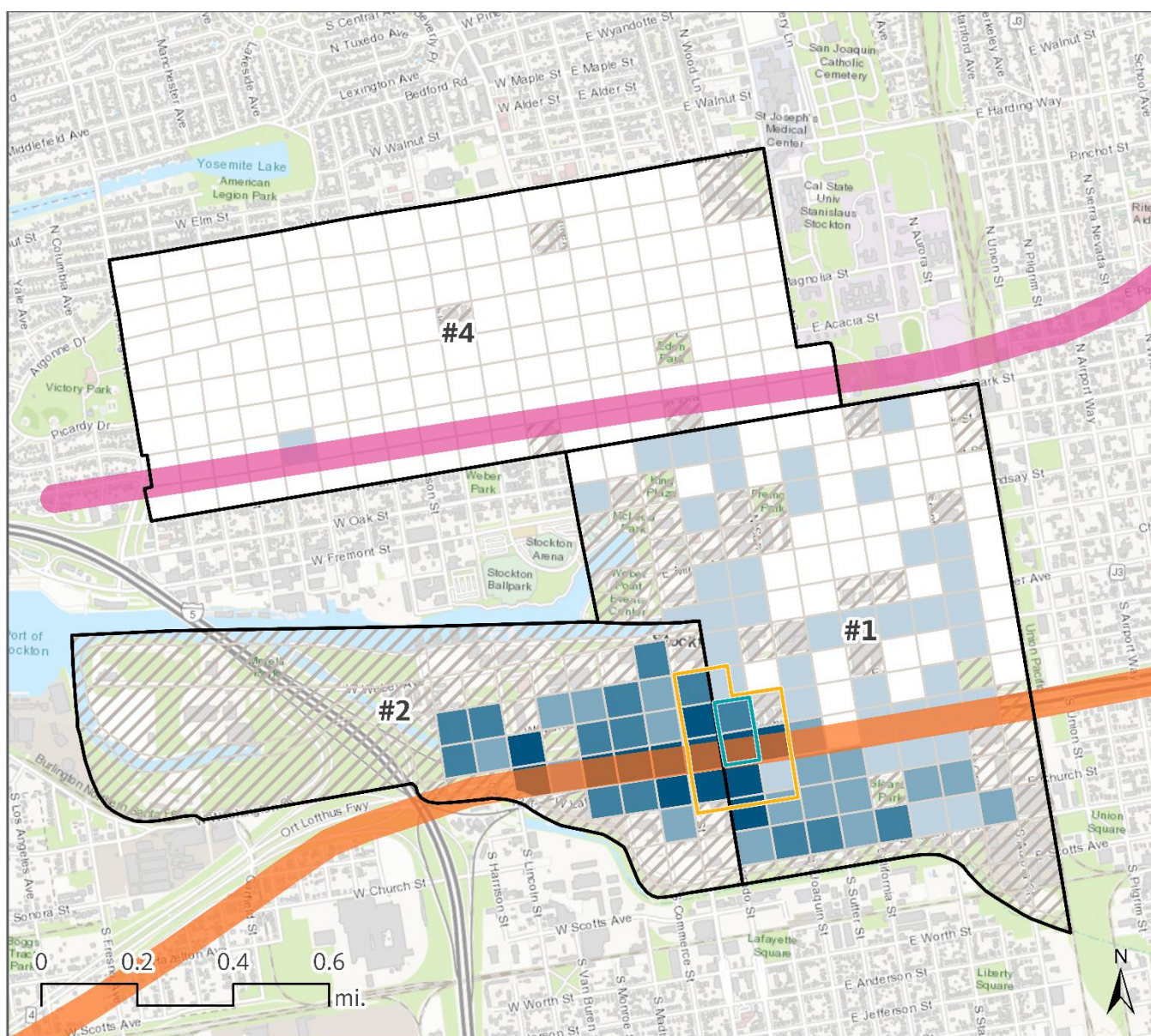
21. The area to the east of Tract #4 was not included in the analysis because it was the site of the Stockton State Hospital and did not include any permanent housing units at the block level.



Chosen route
 Alternative route
 1960 census tract

Figure 4-6. Stockton Crosstown Freeway Alternatives.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1962) and R. Wilson, 1958; base map: Esri, 2023b



Share, households of color

0%-20%

20%-40%

40%-60%

60%-80%

80%-100%

No occupied housing units

Chinatown

Little Manila

1960 census tract

Chosen route

Alternative route

Figure 4-7. Households of Color by Census Block, 1960, and Crosstown Freeway Alternatives.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1962); Mabalon, 2013; Minnick, 1988; and R. Wilson, 1958; base map: Esri, 2023b

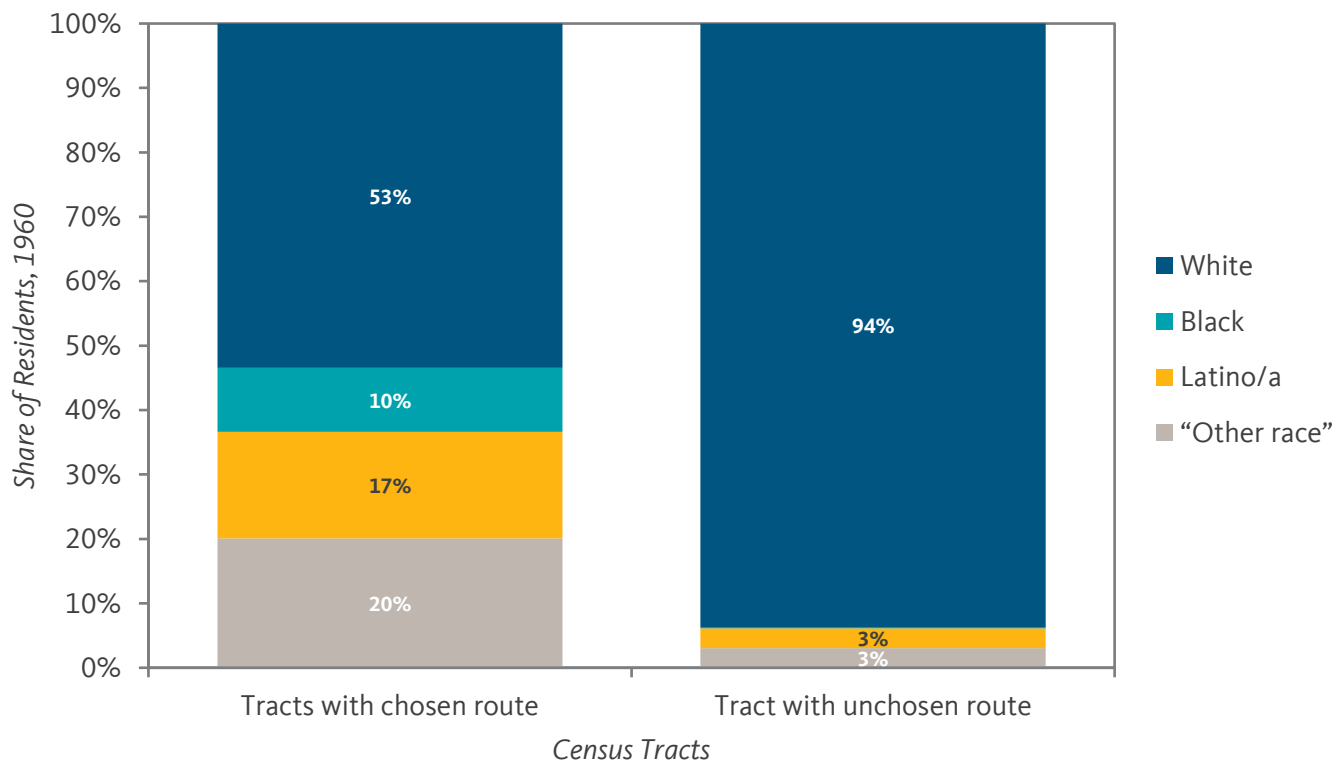


Figure 4-8. Stockton Freeway Alternatives: Residents of Color by Census Tract, 1960.

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1962)

We also find systematic differences in median family income for 1959, as shown in **Figure 4-9** (Income is reported for the year prior to when the Census was taken.) (See Appendix C). Median family income in the tracts with the chosen route was approximately three-fifths of the income for the tract containing the unchosen route. Furthermore, the median income in the tract with the unchosen route was slightly higher than that of Stockton and San Joaquin County overall—very much different from the tracts with the chosen route. Taken together, these data show that the freeway went through more lower-income neighborhoods and avoided a demonstrably higher-income neighborhood.

Given the differences in income, it is not surprising to find differences in mean 1960 home values. **Table 4-4** shows extreme divergences, where the average home value for the tract with the unchosen route was about one and a half times as large as for tracts with the chosen route. Average rent also showed wide disparities. The average rent for the tracts with the Crosstown Freeway was a third less than the average rent for the area with the unchosen route.

One of the most telling and novel comparisons we were able to calculate from U.S. Census data was estimating the number and characteristics of housing units that would have been destroyed and households displaced by each of the routing options (See **Table 4-5**). In short, the chosen route was more destructive. The orange route

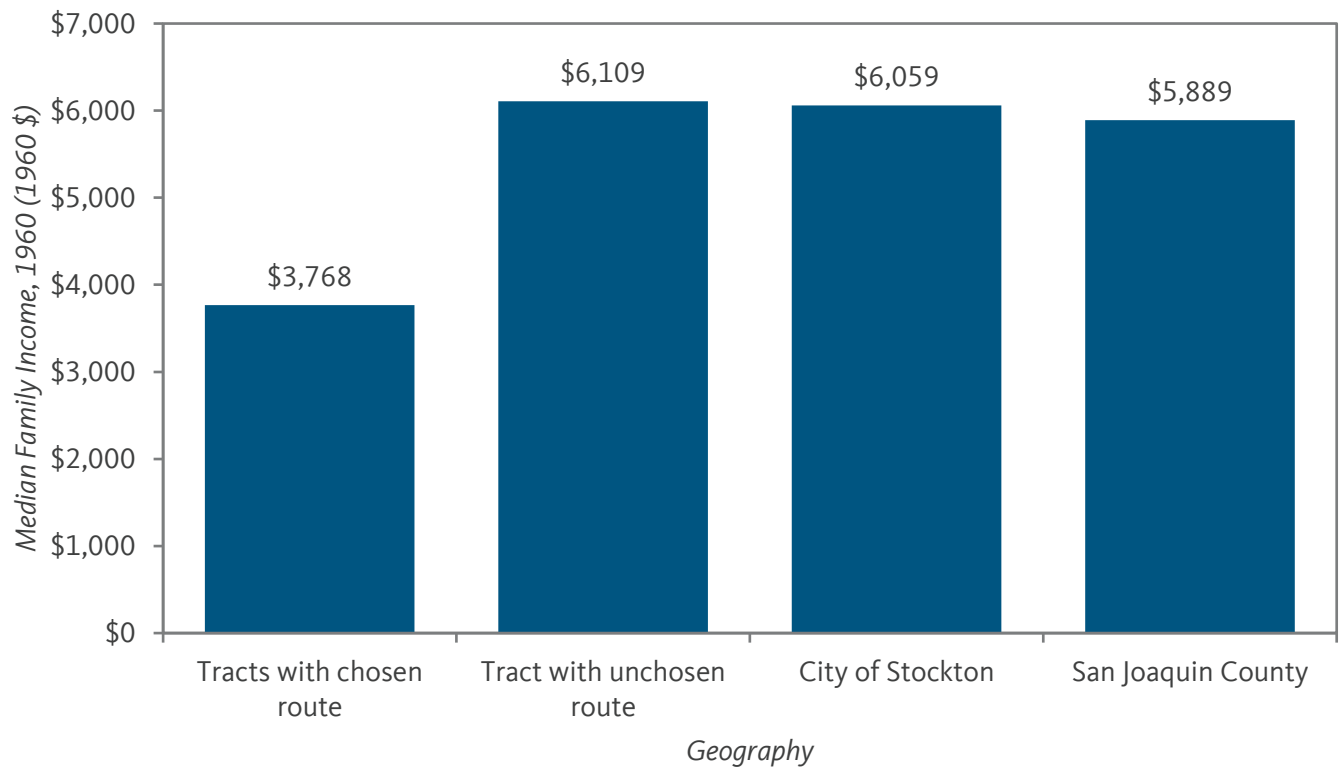


Figure 4-9. Stockton Freeway Alternatives: Median Family Income, 1960.

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1962)

Table 4-4. Comparison of Housing Costs and Values, 1960.

	City of Stockton	Tracts with Chosen Route ²²	Tract with Unchosen Route
Mean home value	\$12,200	\$8,163	\$12,000
Share of city average	N/A	67%	98%
Mean monthly contract rent	\$50	\$38	\$62
Share of city average	N/A	76%	124%

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961)

had over 800 housing units and over 1,100 people in its path. While still quite impactful, the unchosen route would have destroyed roughly half of the number of housing units and displaced over 900 people. An

22. Average home values and rent for tracts with the chosen route were estimated from a weighted average of the combined tracts.

Table 4-5. Comparison of Estimated Displacement, 1960.

	Chosen Route	Unchosen Route
Population	1,131	934
Housing units	813	424
Households	660	396
Non-white, non-Hispanic households	372	11
Share, non-white, non-Hispanic households	56%	3%
Households of color	438	24
Share, households of color	66%	6%

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961)

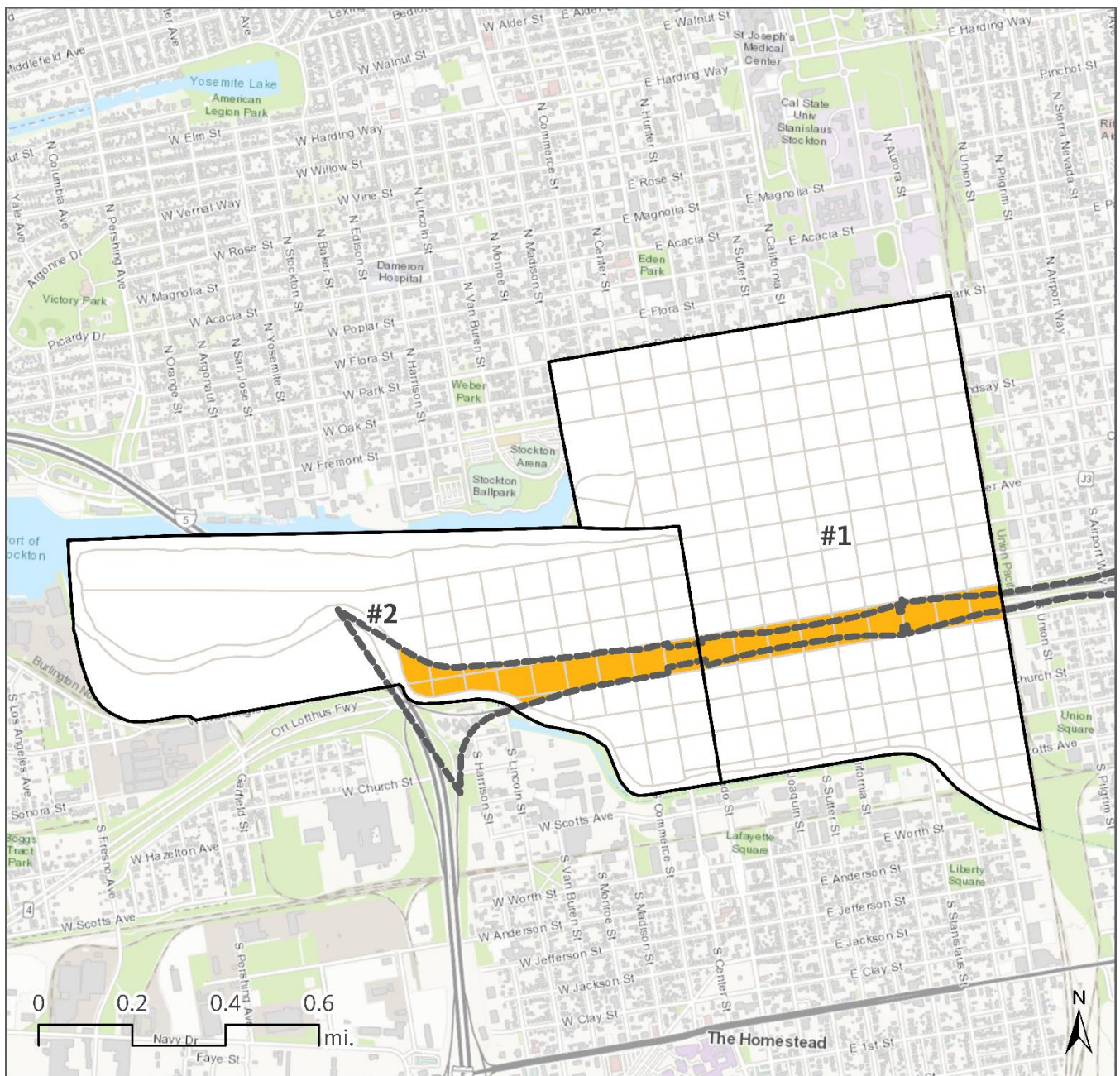
overwhelming majority of the homes under the chosen freeway path were occupied by people of color: 66 percent, a share 11 times higher than the unchosen route.

4.C. Analysis of Direct Impacts

This section reports empirical findings on the direct impacts of freeway construction: the homes and people in the freeway’s ultimate path. Our estimates of populations under the constructed freeway in this section differ slightly from the estimates of the chosen route in Section 4.B: here, we include actually constructed ramps and interchanges (See Appendix A, Section A.7), while in Section 4.B, we only used a hypothetical freeway path of a set width (See **Figure 4-6**), so as to fairly compare to the unchosen alternative route (See Appendix A, Section A.6). **Figure 4-10** shows the constructed footprint, the 1960 census blocks directly under it, and blocks beyond the footprint but still within the study area.

Our analysis in this section supplements other methods for assessing direct impacts, such as qualitative approaches (See Part 5), including images and photographs of the urban landscape before, during, and after the building of the freeway (See **Figure 3-7** and **Figure 6-2**). This provides visual clues to the scale and magnitude of the physical transformation but does not offer quantitative measures of what was lost. Another method is using counts provided by the transportation agencies, but those numbers may not be specific to relevant neighborhoods, differentiated demographically, nor necessarily accurate. By studying the census blocks directly under the freeway’s footprint, we quantify the freeway’s direct impact with greater precision, thus contributing more nuanced insights.

How many households were affected and how many belonged to people of color? First, we find that the Crosstown Freeway destroyed hundreds of homes: close to 800 housing units in the study area, home to more than 1,000 residents (See **Table 4-6**). The housing units destroyed represented 14 percent of the total housing



- Census blocks under freeway footprint
- Census blocks in remainder of study area
- Constructed SR-4/Crosstown Freeway footprint
- 1960 census tract

Figure 4-10. 1960 Census Blocks under the Freeway and in the Remainder of the Study Area.

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1962); base map: Esri, 2023b

Table 4-6. Housing Units Lost and Population Displaced, 1960.

	Study Area		
		Tract #1	Tract #2
Total housing units	5,422	4,317	1,105
Housing units destroyed under freeway footprint	783	578	205
Share of total housing units destroyed under freeway footprint	14%	13%	19%
Population displaced from freeway footprint	1,088	705	383

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961)

stock in the study-area neighborhoods. The bigger impact was in Tract #2, where the freeway destroyed a fifth of the total housing units.

The destroyed homes were mainly occupied by people of color. **Table 4-7** reports the racial/ethnic composition of households under the freeway footprint and households outside of the footprint but still within the study area. Freeway construction impacted a diverse set of households, including some white residents. Nonetheless, over two thirds of people displaced were people of color (including Hispanic households), and a majority of the impacted households were non-white and non-Hispanic.

Table 4-7. Racial Composition of Freeway Displaced Households, 1960.

Group	Portion	Study Area		
			Tract #1	Tract #2
Non-white, non-Hispanic households	Under freeway footprint	57%	50%	73%
	Remainder of study area	22%	15%	44%
Households of color	Under freeway footprint	67%	60%	85%
	Remainder of study area	40%	32%	68%

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961)

Unfortunately, it is not possible to disaggregate the statistics on households of color further by race (e.g., Asian) nor by Asian ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese, Filipino/a, and Japanese), because the U.S. Census Bureau did

not report these data at this geography (See Appendix A, Section A.5). However, data presented in Section 4.A indicate that Asians comprised a large majority of the people of color in the central area under the freeway footprint (See **Figure 4-5**)—mostly Chinese and Filipino/a residents but also a few Japanese people who resettled in the area after their unlawful incarceration. Also, as discussed in Section 2.B, many Filipino/a farm laborers resided in hotels located in and around the downtown area, including those in the Crosstown Freeway’s path. Based on this information, we approximate that Asians composed half of those displaced and even a higher proportion in Tract #1. But, from Caltrans right-of-way records on the properties purchased for the freeway project, we estimate that Asians owned less than a third of the property (See Appendix A, Section A.2)—far lower than their share of the dislocated population. This is not surprising given that most were renters and that legal and social constraints and limited economic resources limited their ability to own property.

4.D. Analysis of Indirect and Complementary Impacts

This section gives findings on the indirect impacts of freeway construction on nearby housing units and their costs and of the complementary impacts from urban renewal. Existing literature finds negative effects of freeways on surrounding areas, from emissions and pollution to noise to crashes. On the other hand, freeways of course provide mobility and can increase accessibility, broadening opportunities and amenities available to nearby residents. These externalities vary with distance from freeways and/or their exits, between single- and multifamily housing, and with the physical characteristics of the freeway structure (e.g., at ground level, elevated, in a tunnel, sunken, with or without sound walls, etc.) (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023). They cause a net albeit complex effect on property values (M. Allen, Austin, and Swaleheen, 2015; Anderson, 2020; Carey and Semmens, 2003; Higgins et al., 2019; Kocak et al., 2021; and Levkovich, Rouwendal, and van Marwijk, 2016), which can be investigated with hedonic pricing models or through repeat transactions for the same or comparable parcels over time. As awareness of negative externalities grew over decades, economic effects of freeway proximity also changed (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023). Unfortunately, we do not have all the required information to do this type of modeling, so our analysis must remain partial but nonetheless useful.

To study this spillover phenomenon associated with freeway construction in neighborhoods or color in our study area, we compare changes in nearby housing, focusing on home values and rent levels. This analysis, however, is far from being comprehensive, precise, or conclusive. Nevertheless, our analysis does provide a first-order approximation of the indirect impacts of the freeways, thus representing an original contribution to the study of how freeways affected marginalized communities. For the analysis, we categorize the blocks into two categories: blocks that are directly adjacent to or abutting the freeway and blocks further out but still within the two study-area tracts (See Appendix A, Section A.8). **Figure 4-11** maps the 1960 blocks by these categories.

The adjacent blocks suffered an initial loss of over half of their housing units in the 1960s, and did not fully recover in the subsequent decade (See **Table 4-8**). The blocks within and closest to the central business district saw particular losses. The blocks north of the freeway fared worse than the blocks south of the freeway, with

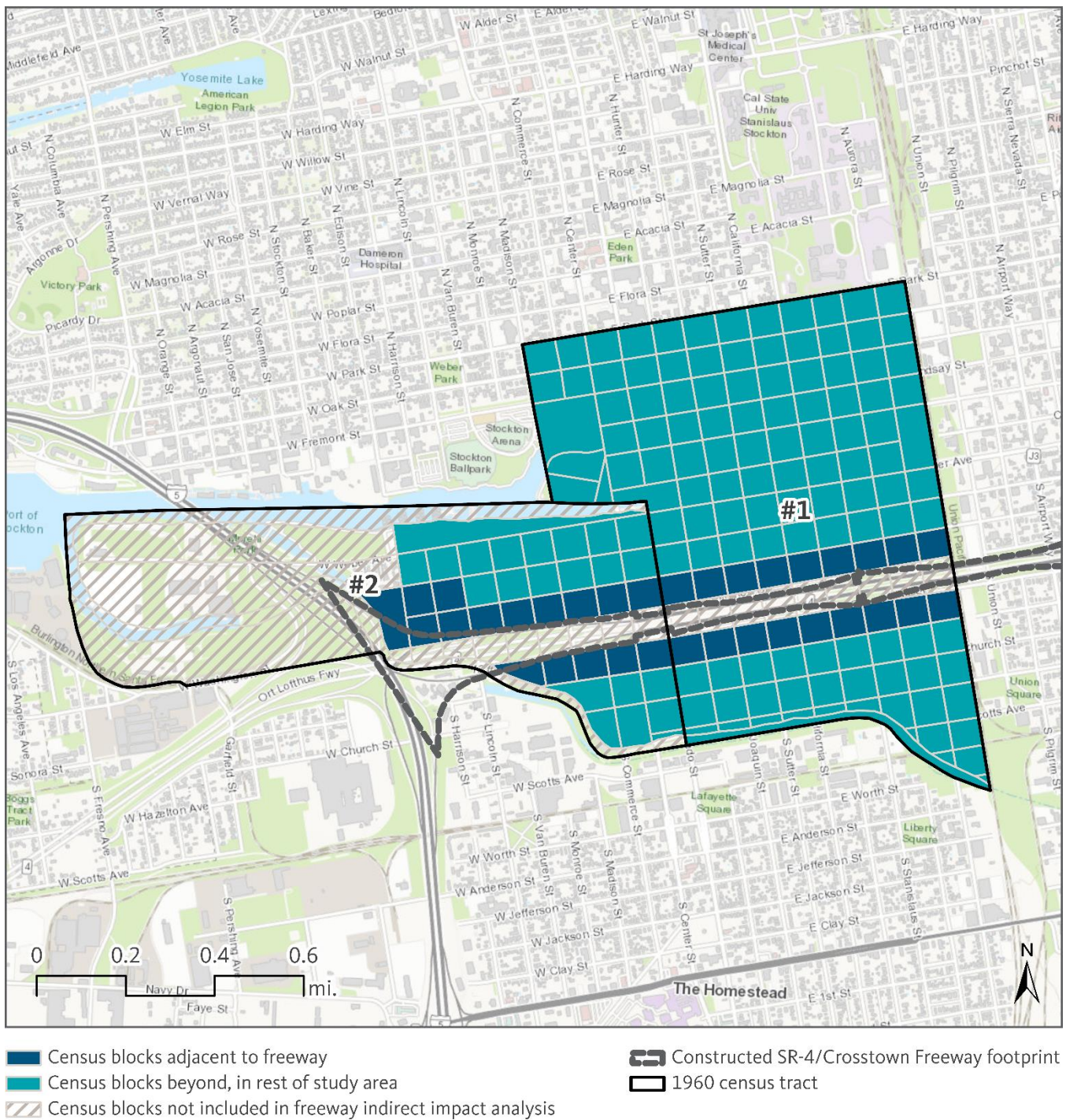


Figure 4-11. 1960 Census Blocks Adjacent to the Freeway and beyond it, in the Rest of the Study Area.

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1962); base map: Esri, 2023b

Table 4-8. Indirect Impact on Housing Units, 1960-1980.

Year	Housing Units			Share of 1960 Housing Units		
	Blocks Adjacent to the Freeway	Blocks beyond, in the Rest of the Study Area	City of Stockton	Blocks Adjacent to the Freeway	Blocks beyond, in the Rest of the Study Area	City of Stockton
1960	1,307	3,339	29,947	N/A	N/A	N/A
1970	587	2,166	37,862	45%	65%	126%
1980	684	2,436	61,290	52%	73%	205%

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1980; U.S. Census Bureau et al., 1971; and Manson et al., 2022)

the northern adjacent areas experiencing a 62 percent reduction in the housing stock. The area beyond fared relatively better, first losing a third of its housing and then marginally recovering. Compared to the trajectory for the city, both portions of the study area, however, suffered a long-term decline while other parts of the city grew.

As shown in **Table 4-4**, the study area started with lower home values and rents than the city overall (and in 1960, average family income in the study area was about 62% of that for Stockton (See **Figure 4-9**)). The disparities in home values and rents persisted throughout the study period (See **Table 4-9**). Homes adjacent to the freeway were more adversely affected over time compared to homes further away from the freeway in the study area, although home values in both areas remained significantly lower than the city throughout.

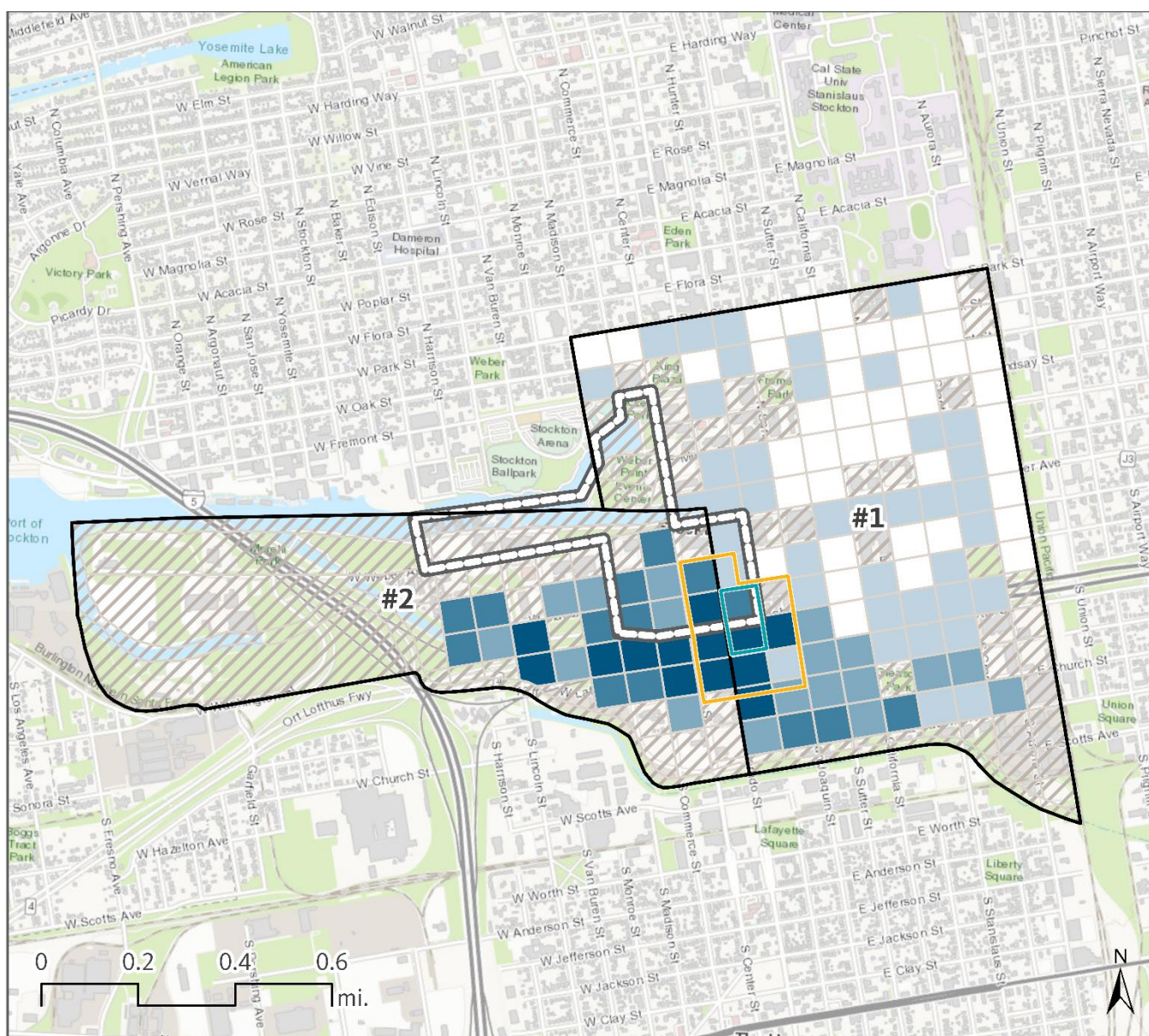
Changes in home values relative to the city over the following two decades fluctuated (See **Table 4-9**). Average value in the freeway-adjacent areas increased from 43 percent of the city average in 1960 to 53 percent in 1970 and then declined to 32 percent. The slight uptick in relative home value in the 1960s could be attributed to the acquisition and removal of lower valued homes, leaving only those homes that were higher in value. Changes in rent relative to the city demonstrated continued decline. Rent in the freeway-adjacent areas fell from 66 percent of the city average in 1960 to 56 percent in 1970 and then to less than half in 1980. These analyses reveal the net-negative economic impacts on housing stock in both areas adjacent to the freeway and, to a lesser extent, those beyond but still in the study area.

Table 4-9. Indirect Impact on Housing Costs, 1960-1980.

Statistic	Year	Average Value			Share of City Average	
		Blocks Adjacent to the Freeway	Blocks beyond, in the Rest of the Study Area	City of Stockton	Blocks Adjacent to the Freeway	Blocks beyond, in the Rest of the Study Area
Mean home value	1960	\$5,267	\$7,506	\$12,200	43%	62%
	1970	\$10,288	\$10,553	\$17,900	57%	59%
	1980	\$17,083	\$25,467	\$53,245	32%	48%
Mean contract rent	1960	\$33	\$41	\$50	66%	82%
	1970	\$54	\$66	\$96	56%	69%
	1980	\$91	\$107	\$188	48%	57%

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. Censuses (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1980; U.S. Census Bureau et al., 1971; and Manson et al., 2022)

Urban renewal contributed to negative housing effects north of the freeway. As documented in Sections 3.B and 3.D, freeway construction and redevelopment were complementary components of a larger process of urban spatial restructuring. They were governmental actions and investments to reverse downtown decline, an effort to revitalize and remake the commercial core and increase transportation accessibility to those who moved to the suburbs. In an effort to accomplish this goal, Stockton decision-makers pursued massive removal of existing housing as part of major infrastructure projects, justified as slum clearance. We have already documented the freeway’s contribution to this objective, and we can use the same data to estimate the role of redevelopment. **Figure 4-12** outlines the blocks within the West End Redevelopment Project area. Over a thousand housing units lay within its boundaries in 1960, but that number fell to less than 200 in the subsequent decade. There was a minor net gain of 42 units between 1970 and 1980, due in part to some government-supported housing projects, such as the two discussed in Sections 5.A and 5.C. Overall, redevelopment destroyed approximately the same number of housing units as the freeway. In other words, there was no downtown revitalization in terms of housing. Instead, this section of the city became relatively lifeless.



Share, households of color

0%-20%
20%-40%
40%-60%

60%-80%

80%-100%

No occupied housing units

West End Redevelopment

Chinatown

Little Manila

1960 census tract

Figure 4-12. West End Redevelopment Project and Households of Color by Census Block, 1960.

Data sources: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1962); Mabalon, 2013; Minnick, 1988; and P. Smith et al., 1985; base map: Esri, 2023b

4.E. Concluding Remarks

The available empirical evidence shows that the choice of freeway path was racially biased. The neighborhood of the unchosen freeway route was predominantly white, whereas that of the chosen route was predominantly home to people of color. Freeway construction during the 1960s and 1970s directly displaced more than 1,000 people and destroyed nearly 800 housing units in the downtown area, again mainly people of color, particularly Asians. Areas adjacent to the freeway also suffered, and concurrent slum clearance efforts in the urban renewal area contributed to the overall impact on housing.

More broadly, the decline was a part of a larger urban spatial restructuring and suburbanization, but this was not just a simple market phenomenon. Government actions and investments contributed to and fueled the destruction. In fact, the combined losses under the Crosstown Freeway and within the urban redevelopment area made up an overwhelming majority of the area's total decline. Moreover, negative spillover effects most likely dampened the desirability of surrounding neighborhoods for new housing development.

The empirical evidence provides details on the community most hurt, the Asian enclaves. Historical racism forced them to settle in and around the urban core, which then put them in the freeway's and redevelopment's path. While only 22 percent of housing in the two-tract study area in 1960 was located in the two postwar enclaves, Little Manila and Chinatown (See **Figure 2-3**), they experienced 40 percent of the net loss in housing units over the next two pivotal decades. Other statistics also show the devastation: the housing stock within the enclaves declined by 74 percent between 1960 and 1970. Unfortunately, we do not have readily available quantitative data on commercial and institutional losses atop these, but it is likely that the impacts there were equally devastating. The losses from the freeway are clear, and quantifying this impact makes evident the magnitude and gravity of the freeway's effects on communities in its path. The following section situates our quantitative analysis in the actual lives of residents experiencing the freeway's transformation.

5. Resistance, Adaptation, and Loss

This section examines the losses to Asian Americans that extended beyond the state-sanctioned destruction of physical structures. Urban restructuring entailed the destruction of once vibrant, low-income Asian American neighborhoods, clearing people, demolishing places, and leaving few traces of the Chinese, Filipino/a, and Japanese enclaves. The social, cultural, and economic impacts affected not only residents directly displaced by the Crosstown Freeway and downtown redevelopment but also those who used the downtown enclaves as central places for social interaction, bonding, and culturally anchored shopping. Many did not accept passively the leveling of community and cultural places. Instead, they attempted to preserve housing and spaces for their people, cultural institutions, and ethnic businesses. When that was not possible, they attempted to rebuild elsewhere. Although victories were few, the efforts to persevere are remarkable given the limited economic and political resources of Asian Americans, a legacy of decades of marginalization discussed earlier. To understand the impacts on communities and the struggles they faced, we draw on interviews with Asian Americans who have direct knowledge and experience of this time or second-hand insights through family ties (See Appendix B).

5.A. Chinatown

Chinatown was more than just a commercial center; it was the center of what it meant to be Chinese in Stockton (See Section 2.B). Washington Street prior to the freeway was remembered as thriving and bustling, offering restaurants, soda fountains, poultry shops, markets, hardware stores, and card rooms (Henterly and Carpizo, 2016 and Sauro, 2017). The Chinese shops and restaurants along Washington Street became known as the Chinese version of Main Street, “the heart and soul of Chinatown” (Goldeen, 2017). Generations of Chinese Americans grew up going to these shops; Valerie Lee Acoba (2022) remembers, “the whole of Stockton got their children’s white Oxfords from Marty’s Shoes” (See Appendix B, Section B.3 for interviewee biographies). Others found refuge in a place where immigrants could speak their language among friends, peers, and neighbors in an otherwise harsh and unfriendly world (Mow, 2022). The loss of these businesses was devastating to business owners, the customers who frequented them, and the communities that formed around them.

The loss of Washington Street to the Crosstown Freeway and redevelopment was felt acutely and is still felt to this day. Victor Mow (2022) felt that the freeway “wiped out” Chinatown (See Appendix B, Section B.3 for interviewee biographies). Acoba (2022) reflected, “It does seem like a terrible thing to get rid of a cultural community, to just throw it aside.” One resident who grew up near Chinatown told the *Stockton Record* that Chinatown “had culture like we don’t have any more” (quoted in Goldeen, 2017). The destruction of Chinatown was deeply personal for many residents. These restaurants, shops, markets, card rooms, and soda fountains were part of the bonds and ties that brought Chinese residents together, and the loss of them was deeply

saddening. To date, members of the community are engaged in a battle to preserve the memory of Chinatown and all that it meant to the Chinese community of Stockton (Sauro, 2017).

However, for city officials and Caltrans, Chinatown became simply a node in the Crosstown Freeway system, reduced to a freeway off-ramp for drivers to access a redeveloped commercial business district. Acoba (2022) saw redevelopment and the Crosstown Freeway as almost a force to annihilate the Chinese community:

“I felt that they were trying to kick them out—you know, kick the bums out. And I don’t think that they cared about these Chinese businesses, you know, since they knew there was gambling and ‘evil things’ going on. I think they just wanted to disperse the culture,...and it wasn’t a good thing, I mean, to annihilate a whole community within a community” (Acoba, 2022).

It was clear to residents that city officials held a complete disregard for the Chinese community. But residents were not deterred by the city’s plans for redevelopment and the Crosstown Freeway. In the following subsections, we show how residents sought to demonstrate their roots and identity in Chinatown by establishing the Lee Center. Chinese business owners adapted and endured in the face of displacement and traumatic changes.

The Lee Center

The Lee Center opened in 1970 to replace the housing and commercial space in Chinatown lost to the Crosstown Freeway and West End Redevelopment (See **Figure 6-1**). As noted in the *Modesto Bee* in 1963, former property owners²³ in the West End Redevelopment Project area were given options to repurchase sites and rebuild in certain blocks (J. Pease, 1963). The Lee Center became a 4.5-story mixed-use development with commercial space for restaurants and shops on the ground floor and housing for 190 senior citizens (Mow, 2022). Acoba’s father, Tommy Lee, was president of the Lee Family Association at the time and led the effort to build the Lee Center (Acoba, 2022). In a dedication of the Lee Center, Tommy Lee (1970) wrote, “[The Lee Center] stands as a monument to the Chinese citizenry deeply rooted in the social and economic environs of this community whose wish is to return something meaningful to a city which has been good to its people.” The Lee Center was intended to be a symbol of Chinese presence and a way to re-establish a Chinese identity in the area after losing much of Chinatown. In fact, Acoba (2022) commented that her father hoped the Lee Center “would create a better image of Chinatown and the Asian community” as a way to counter the narratives of blight and decline about the Washington Street area (See **Figure 5-1**).

In spite of the efforts of Tommy Lee and the Lee Association, the Lee Center closed only after a few years due to financial difficulties attributed to dependence on grants and lack of revenue from the senior housing (Acoba, 2022). The Lee Center attempted to be the beginning of a new Chinatown, but it could not replace what was

23. Though there is no specific indication of which former property owners were given priority to repurchase and rebuild for West End redevelopment, Tommy Lee is listed as an owner of a 10,201-square-foot parcel that was acquired by the state under the freeway right-of-way on January 18, 1967 for the Crosstown Freeway (Caltrans, 1968).



Figure 5-1. Lee Center Opening Ceremony, 1970.

Source: Chinese—Stockton: Dedication of the Lee Center, Washington St. and El Dorado St., 144 Mun Kwok La, 1970

lost. While it closed soon after its establishment, the Lee Center represented the efforts of Chinese residents to reformulate the Chinese presence in Stockton and proactively address the loss of low-income housing and commercial space. Chinese residents were not passive recipients of redevelopment and freeway policies but active participants who made claims about their identities and citizenship in Stockton.

An Example Business Displacement

Mow's father owned a noodle factory, known as China Noodle Factory, located in the path of the freeway; his father was forced to relocate (Mow, 2022). When asked about how his father reacted to the freeway, Mow (2022) expressed the general disposition of Chinese people from his father's generation: while they may be upset, their experience as immigrants has forced them to "[roll] with the punches":

"When you look at some of these folks that immigrated and the challenges they face to get here, stay here, and thrive here,...they pick their battles. And they knew how to exist and work within the framework of the world that

they live in....These people were amazing in rolling with the punches, accepting it, moving on, and hopefully doing better” (Mow, 2022).

His reaction to the displacement caused by the Crosstown Freeway should not be mistaken as support for the freeway. Chinese residents of Stockton continually dealt with challenges and struggles, from immigration to acclimating to a new country. The Crosstown Freeway was one of many battles Chinese residents faced, but they learned to adapt. In fact, Mow’s father took the relocation money and moved his noodle business to a better facility, which was possible as his business did not depend on immediate proximity to the restaurants and shops he supplied (Mow, 2022). Mow’s father embodies the resilience of the Stockton Chinese community to the barriers and obstacles they faced.

5.B. Japantown

Though we were not able to speak to Japanese residents who had more knowledge of the broader community in the West End area, the small community of Japanese residents in Japantown were undoubtedly affected by redevelopment and the freeway. The freeway’s route tore through key cultural institutions like the Buddhist Church of Stockton (See Section 2.B). Nonetheless, the temple organized and adapted to meet the challenge of losing their original temple site, a reaction showing that Japanese residents refused to lose their place and community in Stockton.

The Buddhist Church of Stockton

In 1963, the Buddhist Church of Stockton was informed that it needed to vacate its property for the Crosstown Freeway (See **Figure 5-2**). Only by way of hearing from a public announcement did Reverend LaVerne Sasaki learn about the mandate to leave (See Appendix B, Section B.3 for interviewee biographies). As the assistant minister of the temple at the time, Reverend Sasaki and his family lived in the residences of the Buddhist

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CASE NO.	NAME OF GRANTOR	TYPE OF DEED	DATE OF DEED	AREA OF TAKE	RECORDING DATA		
					VOL. NO.	O.R.	PAGE
7587	City of Stockton	Grant	2-15-67	45,904 s.f.	3180	OR	288
7588	Thomas Lee, et ux	Grant	1-18-67	10,201 s.f.	3110	OR	645
7589	Edward T. Taylor	Grant	4-4-67	10,201 s.f.	3123	OR	531
7590	Jack Y. Matsumoto, et al	Grant	5-4-67	10,201 s.f.	3137	OR	38
7591	Gilbert F. Lee, et al	Grant	5-18-67	2,542 s.f.	3135	OR	584
7592	Pelogan Simon	Grant	1-13-67	2,551 s.f.	3108	OR	492
7593	Jack Y. Matsumoto, et al	Grant	7-23-67	10,201 s.f.	3329	OR	235
7594	Warren Susumu Nitta, et ux	Grant	7-20-66	2,550 s.f.	3074	OR	378
7595	Frances Takemoto, et vir	Grant	5-13-66	2,550 s.f.	3066	OR	43
7596	Michael Eadie, et ux	Grant	12-8-65	7,651 s.f.	3016	OR	80
7597	Buddhist Church of Stockton	Grant	11-21-67	35,704 s.f.	3126	OR	692
7598	Jack Y. Matsumoto, et ux	Grant	4-3-67	5,100 s.f.	3125	OR	491
7599	Rev. J. C. Jenkins, Bishop L. E. Cleaver, and Bishop B. R. Stewart, Trustees of the Church of God in Christ	Grant	2-9-66	5,100 s.f.	3051	OR	677

Figure 5-2. Property Acquisition of the Buddhist Church of Stockton for the Crosstown Freeway.

Sources: Caltrans, 1968 and authors

Church. Almost 500 families from Stockton and the San Joaquin Valley belonged to the Buddhist Church, and soon they would lose a cornerstone that brought their faith community together for over six decades (Sasaki, 2022).

Reverend Sasaki did not recall any protests and posits it was due to language barriers and the difficulty of building up a powerful force within a smaller-sized community (Sasaki, 2022). However, underlying the community response was the experience of the state-sanctioned incarceration of Japanese Americans in the then-recent past. Reverend Sasaki shared:

“[Japanese people] will go along with it as long as we can live with them. And I think that in this day and age, I don’t know whether we would do that, or young people would do that. But we know, we had no power. Our language was the older generation or Japanese-speaking. Remember, we had already gone to camp, and we were



Figure 5-3. Original Buddhist Church of Stockton Building.

Source: Stockton Buddhist Church, 1932

already sent someplace. And so, we were kind of small compared to the larger, basic American community” (Sasaki, 2022).

The memory of the unfettered power of the state reinforced a sense of powerlessness for many Japanese residents. Yet, Japanese residents of Stockton found support and strength in their community to organize around relocating the temple. The original 35,704-square-foot property at 148 West Washington Street (See **Figure 5-3**) was purchased by the Division of Highways in 1967 (See **Figure 5-2**) (Caltrans, 1968). The community and church made an intensive effort to raise funds for the relocation, as compensation from Division of Highways for the original temple was not sufficient to cover the acquisition and development of a new temple site (Sasaki, 2022) (on its current location at 2820 Shimizu Drive (See **Figure 5-4**) (Buddhist Church of Stockton, 2021b)). Reverend Sasaki and Reverend Shibata, the lead minister at the time, contacted over 400 families as part of a church-wide fundraising drive to cover the additional costs (Sasaki, 2022).



Figure 5-4. Current Buddhist Church of Stockton Building.

Source: Buddhist Church of Stockton, 2021a

The Crosstown Freeway reduced the original Buddhist Church of Stockton, a cultural asset integral to the growth of the Japanese community there, to what Reverend Sasaki (2022) called “a pile of dirt right there, right in the heart of the freeway.” While the church was able to raise the funds to relocate, it moved beyond its original neighborhood of Japantown (Sasaki, 2022). The Crosstown Freeway uprooted an institution of the Japanese community in Stockton and an important tie to the origins and experiences of Japantown.

5.C. Little Manila

Prior to demolition for the Crosstown Freeway, Little Manila was the heart of the Filipino/a community in Stockton (See Section 2.B). El Dorado Street was vibrant and bustling: it was a place to get Filipino food, go to the barbershop, get Filipino groceries, go out and dance after a long week of work, and see friends in the street or at social events (See **Figure 5-5** and **Figure 5-6**) (Rochita, 2021). It was a place where Filipinos were accepted and allowed to gather in a city that did not welcome Filipino/as. Walking down El Dorado Street from the 1930s to the 1960s, residents remembered it was booming with life and full of Filipino/as speaking different languages and dialects (Mabalon, 2013). Little Manila was overall the commercial and cultural center of Filipino/a life in Stockton.

Growing up in and around Stockton, Little Manila holds a special place for Lillian Galedo, Laurena Cabanero, and Luna Jamero (See Appendix B, Section B.3 for interviewee biographies). For Galedo, a second-generation Filipina American born and raised in south Stockton by Filipino/a immigrants, Little Manila was a place where she belonged, noting, “I think [it] was important in terms of our sense of identity...that we had a community that we felt comfortable in” (Galedo, 2022). Galedo’s uncle had close ties in Little Manila, often socializing with friends or fellow farmworkers in the street. Galedo’s father had even opened a soda fountain and candy store in Little Manila, though it was not ultimately successful, and he returned to farm work (Galedo, 2022).

Cabanero, a second-generation Filipina American who grew up in south Stockton, often helped her father out on weekends doing farm labor. Both her parents were actively involved in St. Mary’s Church and Filipino/a organizations (Cabanero, 2022). She remembers “everything was centered around Little Manila,” from going out to eat to activities and social events (Cabanero, 2022). She fondly remembers the almost daily ritual of dropping off her father in Little Manila so he could hang out with his friends.

Growing up in the predominantly white town of Livingston, Jamero remembers Little Manila as the place to understand and connect with her Filipina identity. She later moved to Stockton after graduating from California State University Stanislaus in 1967 in the midst of redevelopment, working as a social worker initially and then becoming active in Filipino/a community organizations. She has fond memories of seeing her uncles in Little Manila, who would spoil her and her siblings with money for treats and sweets (Jamero, 2022). She recalls that, for a lot of Filipino/as, “it was like going home,” because they could reconnect with old friends and socialize together (Jamero, 2022).



Figure 5-5. Dodoy Market in Little Manila.

Source: Dodoy Market, 1951



Figure 5-6. Heart of Little Manila.

Source: Rochita, 2021

Residents of Little Manila were among the first major generation of Filipino/as who arrived in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s (See Section 2.B). Like many Filipino/a Americans, Jamero (2022) applied the term *manongs* to this generation, from a northern Philippines dialect Ilocano, that embodies affection and respect; it is best translated as “older brother” (Arguelles, 2017). Jamero (2022) remembers Little Manila as a gathering place for *manongs*, leaving their field work and field clothes behind to find rest and community. *Manongs* were a visual presence (See **Figure 5-7**), socializing in the streets and contributing to the vibrancy and life of the neighborhood.

But Jamero (2022) recalled, “White people didn’t like the fact that, ‘Oh, there’s too many of them hanging out. It’s not a good influence.’” The City and state planners agreed when they decided to run the Crosstown Freeway through the community to remove what they considered blight and slums. Jamero recognized *manongs* made up the character and landscape of Little Manila and reflected on the sudden loss that came with their removal:

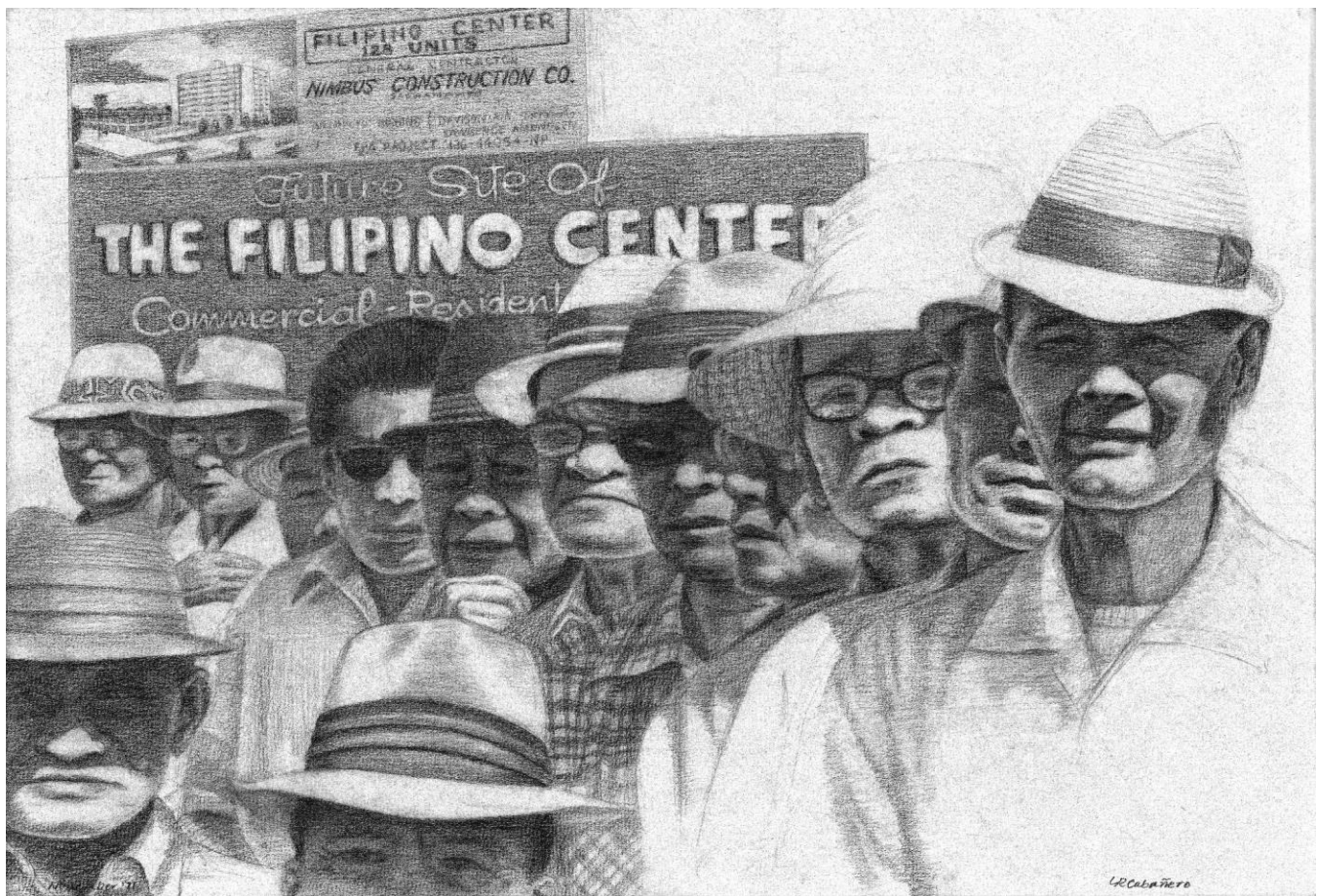


Figure 5-7. Stockton’s *Manongs*.

Source: charcoal drawing by Laurena Cabanero (Cabanero, 1971)

“The City successfully removed the visual image of [manongs] standing on the corners....And when [the neighborhood] was gone...it was shocking to not see, you know, the familiar—our manongs or uncles, standing on the street” (Jamero, 2022).

The destruction of Little Manila was also devastating to Filipino/as because the destruction of the cultural center and hub of Filipino/a life left a huge void in the community. Galedo (2022) observed, “I think it created a certain sense of hopelessness and lack of care about that community.” Filipino/as who used to frequent the restaurants, pool halls, and gathering spaces of Little Manila lost the nucleus of their community. In a way, many Filipino/as lost the place they called home: the place where *manongs* reunited with their friends, kids could get spoiled by their uncles, and people felt safe and accepted in a city that otherwise did not welcome them. Even today, the harm is experienced and remembered. Jamero (2022) remarked that “a lot of folks in their heart never forgave” the lack of consideration and devastating effects caused by the city’s planning decisions. Galedo (2022) still “feels badly” that Filipino/as were not able to prevent the destruction of Little

Manila and Chinatown. Little Manila was a central part of the Filipino/a experience in Stockton, and its legacy and loss continue to be felt.

Not only were residents displaced, businesses shut down, and community spaces destroyed, but, as discussed in Section 3.C, delays in the construction of the freeway left the area empty for years, adding even more resentment from community members toward the city. Galedo (2022) believed this situation created a level of hopelessness but at the same time facilitated greater political consciousness among Filipino/as in Stockton:

“I think it triggered a little bit of political development in the community to try to, at least, be heard, to be represented” (Galedo, 2022).

Little Manila represented belonging to Filipino/as, but its destruction did not leave residents idle with loss. Filipino/as, along with other Asian Americans and people of color, organized to demand more political power and advocate around issues most pressing for their communities. A surge of Filipino/a community activists arose during this time, organizing around political campaigns, taking leadership roles in the Community Action Council (the county’s anti-poverty agency), and forming services and programs supporting the low-income seniors hit hardest by the freeway’s construction (Jamero, 2022). The development of local mutual-aid efforts illustrate how Filipino/as demonstrated a commitment to maintaining social bonds and commitment to each other beyond the family.

The Filipino Center

A coalition of Filipino/a organizations and activists gathered together to push for the development of the Filipino Center as a means to cement the place and status of the Filipino/a community in Stockton in the midst of the freeway construction (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). Organizing was not about stopping the Crosstown Freeway but about providing a place both symbolic and in service to the Filipino/a community (Galedo, 2022):

“Their target wasn’t necessarily to stop the destruction but to leave something behind that marked that this was an important place to our community and to kind of provide a place for all the folks who got displaced” (Galedo, 2022).

The Filipino Center began construction in July 1971 at a site located roughly at the northwestern edge of old Little Manila (See **Figure 6-1**) and officially opened in August 1972. It provided 128 units of low-income housing open to people of all races and ethnicities and 26,000 square feet of commercial space (Mabalon, 2013). The Filipino Center became the community’s new gathering place, with its commercial space catered toward Asian residents of the area. The Center restored a sense of identity to the Filipino/a community and continues to be a tribute to Filipino/as in Stockton today (See **Figure 5-8**) (Jamero, 2022).

However, the project faced many obstacles, including obtaining funding. Ted Lapuz and Jose Bernardo began the campaign for a Filipino Center, in partnership with Chinese American real-estate consultant Ted Lee, in March 1968. They organized different groups and interests in the Filipino/a community to garner support for a



Figure 5-8. Filipino Center Plaza, 2022.

Source: photograph by author (Ong, 2022)

community center while they sought land located in the West End Redevelopment area and funding from the FHA. Not only was the process for acquiring FHA funding difficult and complicated, the Redevelopment Agency responsible for the West End Redevelopment Project acted as gatekeepers, being a liaison between FHA and the project's advocates (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). The project leaders and researchers like Cabanero and Galedo gathered evidence of how the freeway would affect Filipino/as in Stockton. They made their case to public officials for the need for some semblance of redress through funding the Center (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). Cabanero (2022) recalled one meeting with U.S. Representative John McFall, Ed Griffith of the Redevelopment Agency, and County Supervisor Carmen Perino at the home of Bernardo. They presented a map of downtown Stockton with the locations of Filipino/a-owned or -frequented businesses, including those recently closed, and an overlay of the Crosstown Freeway path layered atop, showing how it

cut straight through the Filipino/a community. These officials, almost a decade after the Crosstown Freeway's route was confirmed, were surprised by this revelation:

“And at that meeting, it was almost as if the community members didn’t fully realize what effect the Crosstown Freeway was going to have on the Filipino community. They knew that the Filipino Center would provide housing to the manongs who were going to be displaced. But when the map was presented, it was as if the whole room gasped. They saw that Little Manila was in the direct path of the freeway, and it was then they realized the magnitude of the situation” (Cabanero, 2022).

Even if officials could not change the path of the freeway at this point in time, they made no effort to facilitate an easier process to fund the Filipino Center. The application for the Center was denied multiple times, but through persistence, the project finally received FHA approval for funding (Galedo, Cabenero, and Tom, 1970). The Filipino Center provided stability for those who lost their businesses and homes in the path of the freeway and today stands as an homage to Filipino/a resistance to erasure.

Filipino/a Organizing to Assist *Manongs*

In addition to the Filipino Center, activists organized around providing programming and services for *manongs* living in the path of the Crosstown Freeway. Loneliness, health issues, and safety concerns were issues facing elderly *manongs* in the aftermath of freeway construction. One program focused on providing information on housing and health to *manongs* living in three hotels set to be demolished. About 200 residents lived in these hotels, most of whom were in their late 60s and 70s and single with no families to support them and provide access to health and senior services. Many were also ill or disabled, including one Filipino man living in the Fox Hotel who was blind and cooking for himself unassisted before Jamero helped connect him to social services (Jamero, 2022). In tandem, a visitation program organized students and community members to provide company and a sense of safety for residents, as the area had ironically become more dangerous despite the City's plans for revitalization. Volunteers visited *manong* residents of the hotels to provide needed company, run errands, and accompany residents on visits to the doctor or walk around the neighborhood (Cabanero, 2022).

Manongs ultimately displaced by the freeway found housing and support in Filipino/a board-and-care homes. These homes took the place of the lost affordable, low-income housing for *manongs* while also taking care of *manongs* as they aged. The board-and-care homes made arrangements for *manongs* without families when they fell ill or passed away (Jamero, 2022). Members of the Filipino/a community filled a familial role for the elderly *manongs* of Stockton and came together to ensure the most vulnerable in their communities received care and services to live out dignified and healthy lives.

5.D. Concluding Remarks

The Crosstown Freeway uprooted hundreds of Stockton's Asian residents and businesses, and its construction is remembered today as a moment of sadness and tragedy. But it did not leave residents helpless. Rather, we

witness resistance in various forms: rebuilding, persevering, and adapting. There are many other untold stories of the businesses that survived despite depopulation and diminished ethnic commerce (i.e., a loss of external economies of scale). All were struggles to maintain community, a sense of cultural belonging, and a rightful and dignified place in Stockton.

It is possible to understand the continued deep connections through the attachment that people still have today to the few surviving businesses, as of writing, from the pre-freeway era. As with other cultures, food provides a window into social networks and membership. On Lock Sam, a restaurant founded over a century ago, was “a place where movers and shakers have sat alongside common folk” (Echeverria, 1998). Originally located at 125 ½ East Washington Street (See **Figure 5-9**), it was one of the main gathering places for both neighborhood residents and the larger Stockton Chinese American population. The restaurant survived by relocating out of the path of the freeway to just south of it (Echeverria, 1998 and *Chinese—Stockton: On Lock Sam Restaurant on 125 ½ E. Washington St. at the Time of Area Redevelopment*, 1967). As of the writing of this



Figure 5-9. Original On Lock Sam location.

Source: Chinese—Stockton: On Lock Sam Restaurant on 125 ½ E. Washington St. at the Time of Area Redevelopment, 1967

report, it is considered “practically a cultural heritage treasure by now” (Catyron, 2022). Some remained loyal for decades; as one patron put it: “Long-time business; still serves high quality product, and excellent service. Been going here since my childhood over 40 years” (Crowder, 2022).

Yet Bun Heong Bakery, which first opened in 1924, continues to operate in a storefront within the Filipino Center, serving a combination of Chinese dim sum and Filipino/a snacks, a lingering testimony of the overlapping Asian cultures that was a trademark of Stockton’s enclaves (Romias, 2020). As with On Lock Sam, remembrances and attachments span time. According to former Stockton resident,

“Wow! What can I say? A Stockton Institution, and definitely a one of a [kind]! Dim sum bakery. I can remember going in there when I was five and getting a box or two to take to family. Really miss those days and my pops! We remember when they were in the old Chinatown before the Crosstown Freeway” (Likong, 2011).

One who remained in Stockton has continued to frequent the store: “I’ve been coming here since I was a little girl, 46 years old now. My absolute favorite place to get *siopao* or *manapua*. I also love their *biko*!” (S., 2018).

The Stockton Poultry, established well before the Crosstown Freeway, was one of the few places where Asians could buy freshly killed chicken but also where they could buy *bak gai* (specially grown white chicken).²⁴ Today, they serve a diverse set of patrons (Chinese, Filipino/a, Laotian, and Hmong, as well as non-Asians) by offering “varieties and cuts of poultry [that match] this customer base” (B., 2014).

Despite the collective victories in critical battles (such as the Lee Center and Filipino Center) and individual surviving businesses, Asian communities only reconstructed or saved a small fraction of the enclave, pre-existing institutions, and people. The continued attachment to what remained hints at what might have been if not for the destruction: a much more viable ethnic-anchored place. Even what remains is in jeopardy. Many of the commercial activities are struggling to hang on because of a decline in patronage.²⁵ The dismantling was not any one act but the systemic outcome of Stockton’s larger urban restructuring. The less physically tangible consequence of the freeway and redevelopment was a tragic and irreplaceable loss of what had been the vibrant heart and soul of these communities.

24. Recollections by author, Paul M. Ong, who worked there in the early 1970s

25. From field work by Paul M. Ong

6. Conclusion

We conclude this report by first summarizing the role of government actions in reproducing racial inequality and producing new forms within urban restructuring. A combination of historical and contemporaneous systemic marginalization limited the ability of community leaders to counter the destruction of Asian enclaves. The next section discusses the current implications and speculates on what was lost not only to Asian Americans but to the city. The State of California and the City of Stockton failed to revitalize downtown as a vibrant commercial space, while destroying its cultural diversity.

This project both contributes academically and practically. It complements the existing literature by its focus on an often-understudied group, Asian Americans, and by making the systemic dynamics of racism central to our analysis of freeway development. The findings can also help reform and improve professional practice within the transportation arena to ensure racial fairness and equity. This part concludes with a discussion of initial and promising efforts to remedy the past wrongs.

6.A. Summary

Overall, the qualitative and quantitative evidence we have uncovered reveals an underlying finding: freeway planning and construction in Stockton contributed to urban spatial restructuring that negatively impacted Asian Americans during the transformative quarter-century after the Second World War. This conclusion mirrors the findings from Loukaitou-Sideris et al. (2023) from Pasadena, Pacoima, San José, and Sacramento, as well as from other studies in the existing literature. Our analyses of freeway development in tandem with urban renewal demonstrate the systemic nature of the production and reproduction of racial inequality, compounded by xenophobia. Historical marginalization made communities of color structurally vulnerable to the massive infrastructure programs, and contemporaneous racism and discrimination created barriers to any meaningful and fair engagement in the decision-making process. These neighborhoods bore a disproportionate share of the cost in the name of supposed progress for the greater good, suffering significant housing losses and other disruptions to their social, cultural and commercial institutions. Such concentrated losses in communities of color are consistent with the argument that the disparate impacts were not isolated events but instead part and parcel of larger societal dynamics.

By examining the Crosstown Freeway's impact on Stockton's Asian ethnic enclaves, we observe a multifaceted relationship between freeway development and urban renewal and the historical context of racially segregated places. **Figure 6-1** provides an overview of these spatial dynamics. The ethnic enclaves, themselves the products of prior racialized marginalization, straddled the Crosstown Freeway's path and overlapped with the redevelopment area. As documented above, a significant share of the housing there was single-room units occupied by low-wage laborers. The locations of hotels, motels, auto courts, and lodging houses are

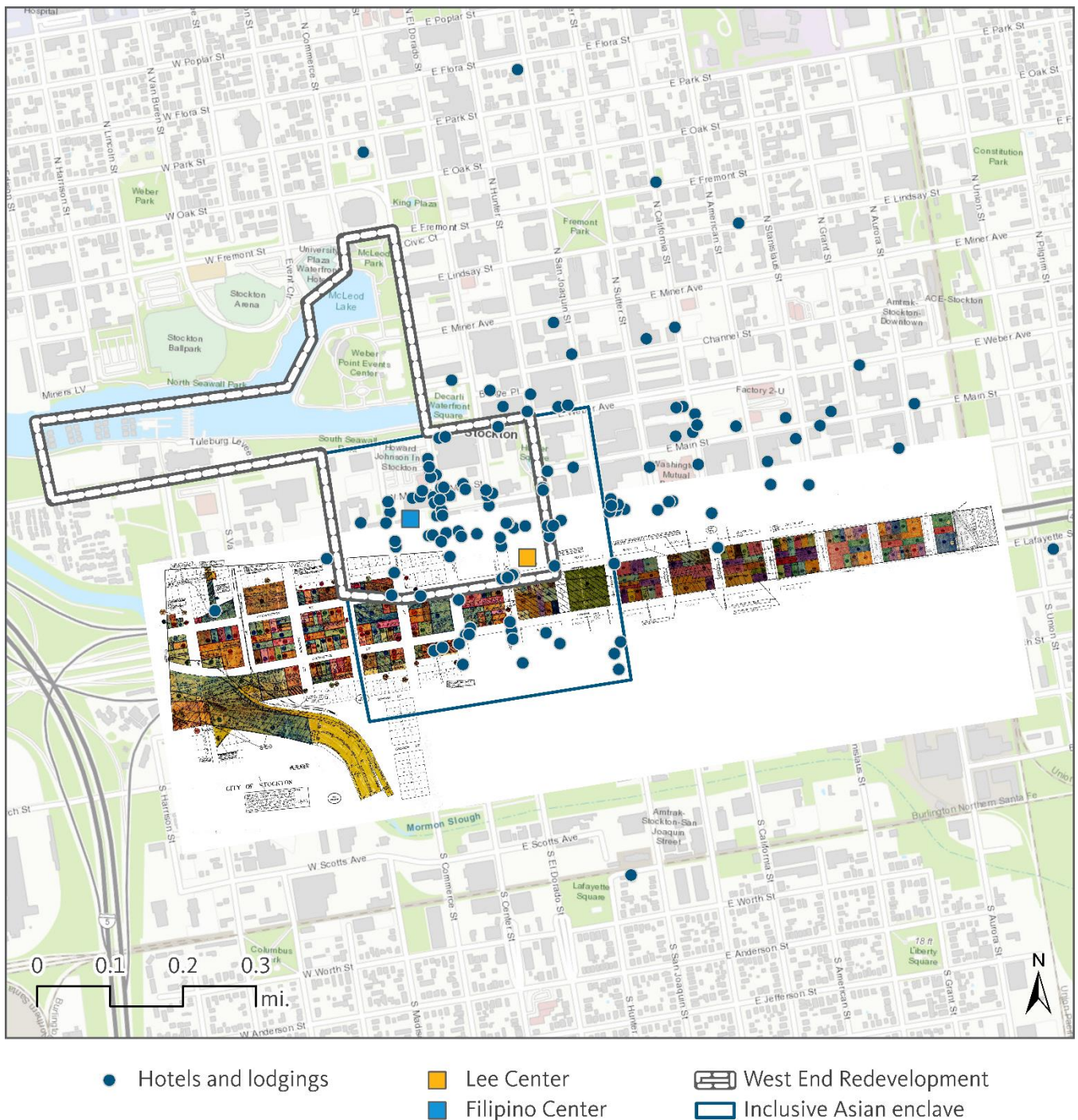


Figure 6-1. Hotels and Lodging in 1960, Parcel Takings, Urban Renewal, and Asian Enclaves.

Data sources: Polk and Company, 1960; P. Smith et al., 1985; Mabalon, 2013; B. Pease, 2008; Minnick, 1988; and Caltrans, 1971a, 1979a, 1989a; base map: Esri, 2023b

demarcated by the dots in **Figure 6-1**, based on 1960 city directories (See Appendix A, Section A.1) (Polk and Company, 1960).

The empirical evidence unambiguously reveals that the first-built half of the Crosstown Freeway (the western segment, along the Washington/Lafayette corridor) most impacted Asian Americans, despite other proposed alternatives avoiding their enclaves (See Sections 3.C and 4.B).

The Stockton case study also reveals a much stronger indirect and at times explicit connection between freeway construction and urban renewal. Both government programs shared a common narrative and agenda that vilified residents and their communities, painting them as “slum-dwellers” who needed to be removed. As documented, the two projects at times overtly coordinated their efforts to remove what was depicted as urban blight that they justified as necessary for the larger good. As a result, Stockton’s Asian communities were almost completely erased, except for extremely small vestiges that remain today of what were once vibrant ethnic enclaves.

6.B. Implications for Today

It is impossible to say what might exist today absent the Crosstown Freeway and redevelopment. Ideally, we would like to compare Stockton’s Asian American enclaves to other California cities that did not undergo freeway construction and redevelopment. Unfortunately, there are no reasonable counterfactual examples. Central-city Asian enclaves also developed in two other Central Valley cities (Sacramento and Fresno), but they, too, were victims of freeway construction or redevelopment or both (Lango, 2018; Calvarese, Osborne, and Moulton, 2016; and Tobias, 2020). The similarity testifies to the broad systemic history of racial disparities that impacted not only Stockton but these other places.

One could argue that many of the Asian enclaves would have waned over time because of spatial assimilation of Asian Americans (i.e., greater residential integration), which accompanied their improved socioeconomic status. However, Asian enclaves have continued to thrive in other cities, serving as ethnic commercial hubs. Given this alternative possibility, it is plausible that Stockton’s historical Asian enclaves could have remained functional ethnic places if not for their destruction through governmental action. Moreover, the dismantling of the enclaves occurred during a period of renewed Asian immigration after the end of racially biased quotas, with a substantial number settling in Stockton. Enclaves would have been valuable social, cultural, and commercial resources for the new arrivals.

The government’s urban renewal efforts razed Asian enclaves not only to make way for the freeway expansion but also to revitalize Stockton’s downtown. The massive infrastructure projects have maintained the area as a job center for government and related activities; however, downtown never recovered as a commercial hub. The once vibrant ethnic enclaves are gone and were never replaced by the mainstream commercial space the government and developers hoped for. With few retail and daily entertainment venues and with wide and uninviting major arterials, downtown today lacks both daytime and evening vibrance (See **Figure 6-2** and



Figure 6-2. Aerial Photograph of Contemporary Downtown Stockton.

Source: Google, 2022

Appendix A, Section A.3). In the end, the region lost the opportunity to create an inclusive, ethnically diverse urban landscape.

6.C. Contributions to the Academic and Professional Fields

The project makes important contributions to the academic literature by examining Asian Americans, a group that had been understudied in this context. The project also demonstrates the usefulness of analyzing events within a systemic framework and the use of quantitative and spatial tools. There are, nonetheless, conceptual and methodological limitations. For example, as renters comprised a large majority of the study area populace (See **Table 4-1**) and the displaced, more information is needed on what, if any, relocation assistance was provided, in order to better estimate the freeway's impact.²⁶ Additionally, the analysis of the commercial and institutional impacts is very incomplete.

Beyond contributing to the academic literature, the findings from this project have practical value. It is a part of the most recent iteration of a movement for racial reckoning within the transportation field. Transportation agencies are beginning to grapple with what it looks like, in policy and practice, to acknowledge and remedy historical and contemporary state-sanctioned discrimination against communities of color. The principles of

26. Caltrans staff were not able to locate requested relevant information on this matter in extant archives.

restorative justice²⁷ can move transportation agencies closer to repairing the historical harm and trauma they have caused on the individuals and communities most impacted by their projects. The State of California has taken a step towards acknowledging past harms through funding and supporting this study, the prior four-site study (Loukaitou-Sideris et al., 2023), and ongoing work on other case study sites. There are lessons from these research endeavors that should be integrated into the training of transportation planners and decision-makers, especially those tasked with helping site transportation investments. Those in the transportation field should be more knowledgeable about the overt and implicit racial flaws within their institutions, as a step to addressing biases and ensuring equity in current and future planning and allocations (Ong, Bryant, et al., 2021). Finally, government agencies and other researchers can adopt the project’s analytical tools to better assess the racial ramifications of proposed plans and alternatives. While these changes may improve current practices, they are only a part of fully recognizing past racial harms.

6.D. Correcting the Past

Remedying past wrongs is another necessary element of restorative justice—not a new idea, albeit often a controversial one. The Asian American experience provides an insightful example of partially correcting blatant racism. In particular, we can look to the movement of redress that sought reparations for Japanese Americans falsely profiled as potential enemies and incarcerated based solely on their race during the Second World War (See Section 2.B). The majority of the more than 120,000 Japanese Americans at the time were U.S.-born. In response to demands from community activists to remedy that injustice, Congress enacted the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which was signed by President Reagan, who gave a formal apology. The Act gave surviving Japanese Americans \$20,000 in reparations (Tateishi and Yoshino, 2000). While assigning a financial value to both tangible and intangible losses is extremely difficult (Tateishi, 2022),²⁸ the redress effort can be seen as an example of restorative justice at the group level, which is applicable to other historical racial harms.²⁹

Redress within the restorative justice process can come in various forms, but these are not without their limitations. In the criminal legal system, where restorative justice is most often applied, the common approach

27. The restorative justice process typically includes the following elements: willingness of parties to engage, acknowledging past wrongs, accepting responsibility, making restitution, and implementing changes to prevent future occurrences. This practice has been most frequently used in the criminal system, but there are examples of the practice at the group level, such as in the case of post-apartheid South Africa (Fronius et al., 2016 and South Africa Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2023).

28. John Tateishi (2022), National Redress Director of the Japanese American Citizens League, notes, “I was often asked by public audiences and congressional enquiries what [was] the specific impact on the individual lives of those affected by the government’s policies. Anything I could offer in response was always anecdotal. The calculation of the impact was never available, and even with all the research that’s been done post-redress, this is still a missing piece.”

29. Japanese American redress should not be and is not just an isolated and ethnic-specific demand. Many of the advocates and supporters of Japanese American redress see their campaign being connected to the larger movement for racial justice. As the National Nikkei Reparation Coalition wrote, “Many Japanese Americans who fought for J[apanese] A[merican] Reparations were inspired by the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movements and leaders like Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Rev. Martin Luther King” (Tsuru for Solidarity, 2022). In all, dozens of Asian American organizations have publicly supported reparations for the slavery of Black Americans (Samson, 2022).

to redress compensates individuals within the population but does not address the damage done to the community as a whole through the destruction of the social networks, cultural institutions, and ethnic economy. One promising avenue to remedying the harm done by freeway construction (along with urban renewal) centers around place-based community development focusing on the most vulnerable neighborhoods. One place-based project by Caltrans explicitly seeks to revitalize neglected Asian enclaves in Stockton harmed by the Crosstown Freeway and demonstrates potential efforts, while not explicitly stated, to move through the process of restorative justice (Caltrans, 2023). Called the Stockton Downtown Transformation Project, it intends to:

“transform portions of the corridor under the SR-4 Crosstown Freeway in Stockton, CA, providing improvements that will help restore the once vibrant cultural identity and community [and] reconnect the community north and south of the Crosstown Freeway which bisected this community when it was constructed....It is also proposed to collaborate with the downtown communities such as the Downtown Stockton Alliance and Little Manilla Rising” (Caltrans, 2023).

As the Stockton Downtown Transformation Project is still underway, we have yet to observe the extent to which the project takes tangible steps toward remediating the harm caused by the Crosstown Freeway.³⁰ Yet, the project stands as an example of potential efforts by state agencies to move closer to restorative justice. Efforts like this, along with others by community groups and businesses, represent a potential strategy to redress decades of misguided and racially biased freeway construction and urban redevelopment, but much more will be needed to be successful.

30. Another example of reckoning with the legacy of past wrongs is addressing the continuing negative externalities of mobile air pollution created by freeway traffic. The California Strategic Growth Council’s Transformative Climate Communities Program uses revenues from the state’s cap and trade program to provide grants to improve environmental quality and climate resilience. One award has gone to the city-led Stockton Rising project, which includes Asian Americans groups among its partners and encompasses the old Asian American enclaves (Stockton, 2023).

Appendices

Appendix A. Quantitative Data and Methodology

A.1. City Directories

Information on the locations of hotels, motels, auto courts, and lodging houses were extracted from historical city directories available from Ancestry.com (Ancestry, 2023b). The website hosts an extensive collection of

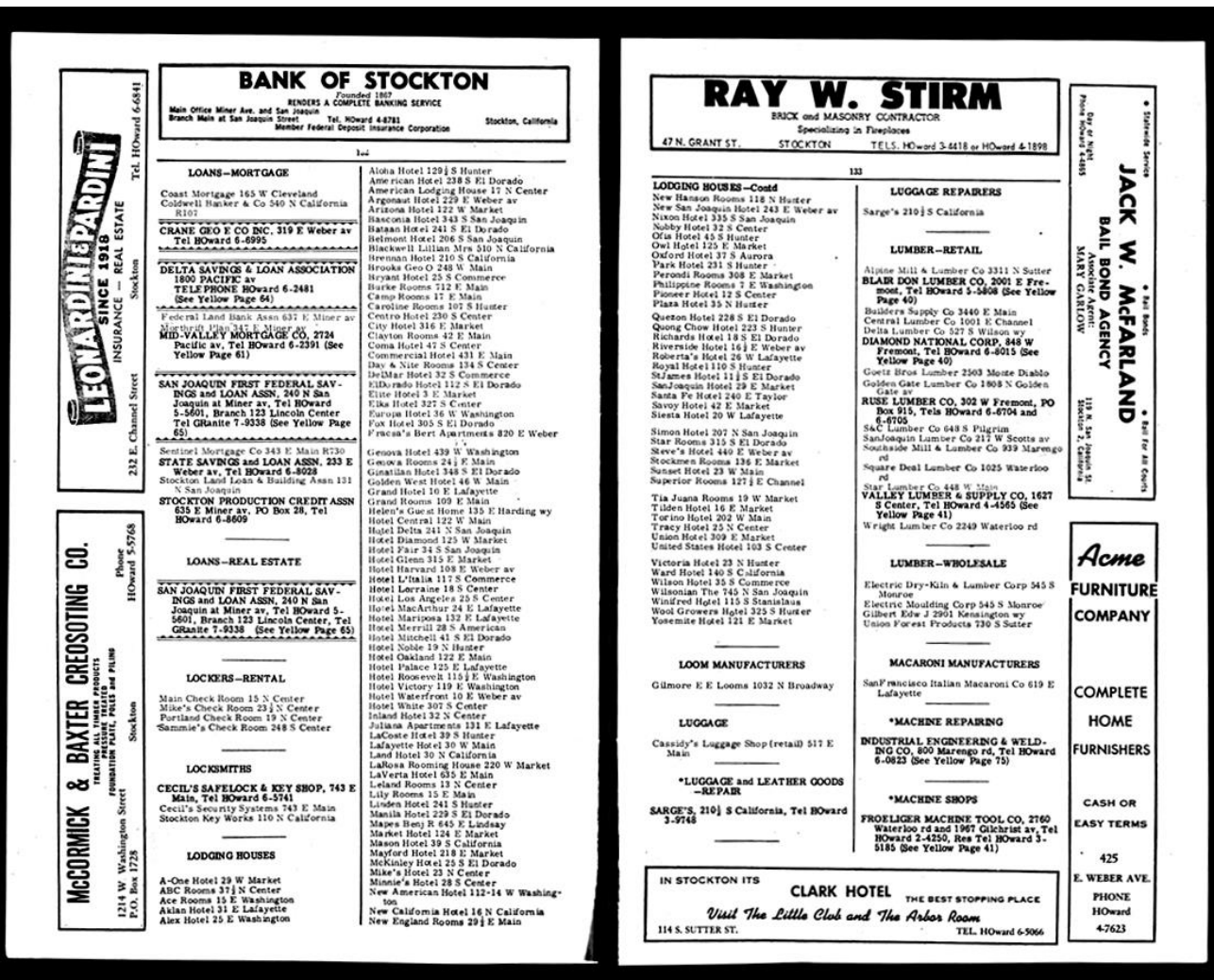


Figure A-1. Example Pages from 1960 City Directory.

Source: Polk and Company, 1960

city directories for different time periods. City directories typically contain information on people (e.g., name, occupation, and home addresses), businesses (e.g., name and addresses), and other types of organizations (e.g., churches and charitable organizations). These records are helpful in identifying businesses that existed in a specific location and in a particular year. We relied on Stockton's 1960 city directory for information on the location of hotels, motels, auto courts, and lodging houses (See Section 6.A) (Polk and Company, 1960). **Figure A-1** shows illustrative pages, which include a list of "Lodging Houses" and their addresses. We transcribed the information into Excel spreadsheets and geocoded the locations based on street addresses using ArcGIS geospatial analysis software. Ideally, we would like to have geocoded the information to historical street layers, but these data are not available. Instead, we used a current street layer to geocode the information. Street names can change over time, and so can address numbers, which can lead to inconsistencies in some locations. However, Stockton's downtown area uses a street grid system that does not appear to have changed over the decades.

A.2. Right-of-way Data

Right-of-way documents contain records kept by the state listing the properties purchased by the Division of Highways needed to build the freeway. For freeway construction, right-of-way refers to a legal doctrine that establishes the state's right to build along a specific route through buying properties along the path. The state can exercise powers of eminent domain (the right of a government to expropriate private property for public use with compensation) but is expected to pay fair market rate. **Figure A-2** is an example of the right-of-way document, which includes both information on the properties and a reference map.

The right-of-way information can be used to identify patterns of ownership of both parcels with housing and commercial parcels. Moreover, it is possible to impute ethnicity by interpreting the surnames of owners. The probability of imputing Asian and Hispanic ethnicity is fairly high because of their unique surnames. However, it is difficult to reasonably separate white and Black people because they share common surnames. The one exception here for Stockton are those with Italian names, and this group played a significant role in Stockton's economy. In the study area, available information suggests that most of those with Spanish surnames were Filipino/as. **Table A-1** shows the estimates for the properties acquired for segments of the Crosstown Freeway.

CASE NO.	NAME OF GRANTEE	TYPE	DATE	TAKE	VOL. NO.	O.R.	PAGE	DATE	REMARKS
8224	LUNG ON LOUIE, ET AL.	GRANT	3-21-71	5100 Sq. Ft.	3574	O.R.	202	8-31-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 40844.
8225	WILLIAM H. WOOD, a widow.	GRANT	5-12-71	2550 Sq. Ft.	3567	O.R.	165	8-11-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 37327.
8226	AARON A. YINGLO, ET AL.	GRANT	7-1-71	25,574 Sq. Ft.	3576	O.R.	462	9-7-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 41838.
8227	JOHNNIE CHUNG, ELSIE LEE CHANG, Husband and Wife.	GRANT	9-6-70	5,132 Sq. Ft.	3444	O.R.	267	10-2-70	Buy-out, Inst. No. 41045.
8228	JOHN FRANCIS MARY A. FRANCO, his wife.	GRANT	12-12-64	10,200 Sq. Ft.	3114	O.R.	368	3-31-65	Buy-out, Inst. No. 12,260.
8229	ROBERT M. FRANCO	GRANT	3-6-70	5,100 Sq. Ft.	3413	O.R.	81	7-15-70	Buy-out, Inst. No. 27,113.
8230	ROBERT M. FRANCO, SHIRLEY O. FRANCO, his wife.	GRANT	12-12-64	7,450 Sq. Ft.	3114	O.R.	296	3-31-65	Buy-out, Inst. No. 12,152.
8800	THE SALVATION ARMY, a Calif. Corp.	GRANT	6-22-66	24,010 Sq. Ft.	3078	O.R.	24	9-21-66	Buy-out, Inst. No. 42374.
8811	VALLEY LAUNDRY, INC., a Calif. Corp.	GRANT	5-18-67	18,700 Sq. Ft.	3131	O.R.	492	5-11-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 23871.
9222	EMMA G. MOSE, ET AL.	GRANT	8-11-68	5,100 Sq. Ft.	3201	O.R.	89	4-10-68	Buy-out, Inst. No. 16,801.
9458	BANK OF STOCKTON, as Conservator of the Estate of BEATRICE CHRISTINE ALMART.	GRANT	5-6-68	10,200 Sq. Ft.	3226	O.R.	679	7-25-68	Buy-out, Inst. No. 31,184.
9703	KONG ON BENEFICENT ASSN.	GRANT	10-6-70	6,120 Sq. Ft.	3465	O.R.	781	12-2-70	Buy-out, Inst. No. 52695.
9704	YEONG WOO ASSN.	GRANT	12-28-70	4,080 Sq. Ft.	3496	O.R.	222	3-1-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 9192.
9705	SUEY FONG BENEFICENT ASSN.	F.D.R.	10-22-71	3,815 Sq. Ft.	3589	O.R.	370	10-22-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 418477.
9706	SUN ON, an unincorporated Assn.	GRANT	1-12-71	7,185 Sq. Ft.	3497	O.R.	466	2-4-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 9161.
9707	W. J. BERNARD, ET AL.	GRANT	1-12-71	10,200 Sq. Ft.	3511	O.R.	465	2-18-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 52888.
9708	CONFUCIUS CHUNG, a Stockton.	GRANT	12-27-67	10,200 Sq. Ft.	3213	O.R.	488	7-11-71	Buy-out, Inst. No. 23413.
9709	SARIE RAY VETTER, a widow.	GRANT	4-16-67	5,100 Sq. Ft.	3322	O.R.	43	7-25-67	Buy-out, Inst. No. 31763.
9710	FLORENCE LUM FONG, who acquired title to LUM BOW YUM and S. L. FONG, Husband and Wife.	GRANT	9-26-67	7,650 Sq. Ft.	3346	O.R.	467	10-28-67	Buy-out, Inst. No. 45796.
9711	JAMES ONG, ET AL.	GRANT	11-5-67	3,825 Sq. Ft.	3363	O.R.	695	1-13-68	Buy-out, Inst. No. 1112.
9712	ROSE LEE FONG, ET AL.	GRANT	1-20-70	3,825 Sq. Ft.	3369	O.R.	560	4-12-70	Buy-out, Inst. No. 18303.
9713	ALAN P. ROEDER, ALMA ROEDER, his wife.	GRANT	9-15-67	5,100 Sq. Ft.	3346	O.R.	251	10-28-67	Buy-out, Inst. No. 45803.
9714	CHARLIE HEINEMAN, ET AL.	GRANT	12-12-69	5,100 Sq. Ft.	3363	O.R.	278	1-30-70	Buy-out, Inst. No. 4010.
9715	ADELENA JACKSON, an unmarried woman.	GRANT	7-13-70	5,100 Sq. Ft.	3438	O.R.	244	9-28-70	Buy-out, Inst. No. 38323.
9717	PAUL L. CATTERINE, a widow.	GRANT	10-29-69	10,300 Sq. Ft.	3362	O.R.	80	1-2-70	Buy-out, Inst. No. 66.

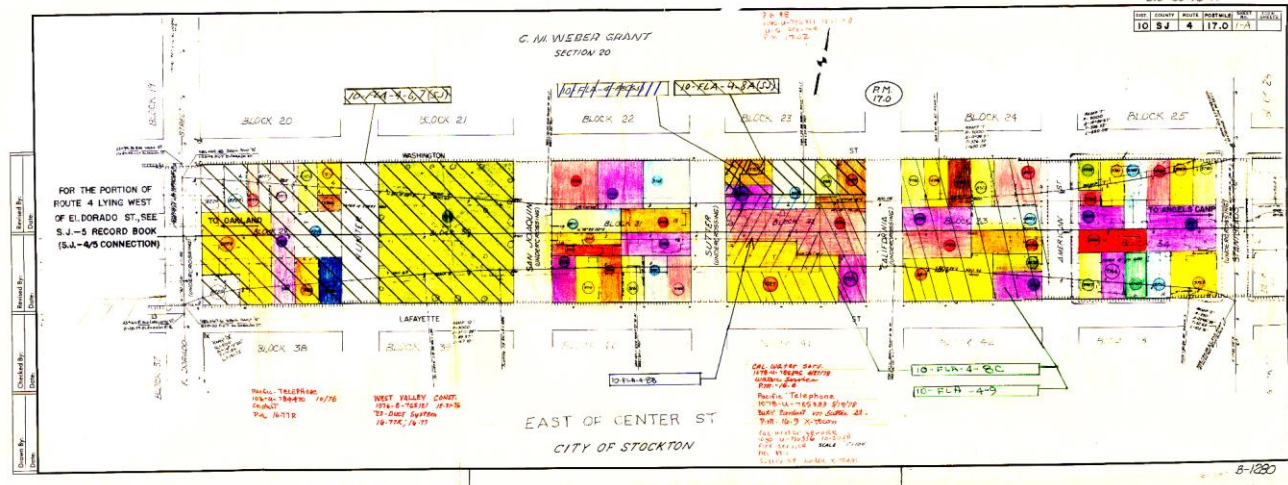


Figure A-2. Example Right-of-way Document.

Source: Caltrans, 1971b

Table A-1. Imputed Ethnicity of Owners of Right-of-way Parcel Purchases, Based on Surname.

Segment	Parcels Owned					Share of Parcels Owned		
	Asian Owners	Hispanic Owners	Italian Owners	Other Owners	Total	Asian Owners	Hispanic Owners	Other Owners
South Lincoln Street to South El Dorado Street, Sheets 54A and 54B	14	12	13	23	62	23%	19%	37%
South Lincoln Street to South El Dorado Street, Sheet 54C	0	0	1	21	22	0%	0%	95%
South El Dorado Street to South Stanislaus Street	10	0	7	8	25	40%	0%	32%
South Stanislaus Street to South Aurora Street	2	6	2	22	32	6%	19%	69%
Total	26	18	23	74	141	18%	13%	52%

Data sources: Caltrans, 1968, 1971b, 1979b, 1989b

A.3. Employment Data

The U.S. Census Bureau’s Longitudinal Employer-household Dynamics (LEHD) Program collects the locations of jobs and employees’ residences from federal and state sources, and the LEHD Origin-destination Employment Statistics (LODES) reports them and the flows between them. LEHD data include more than just primary jobs but excludes a few categories of work, including self-employment, informal employment, and the military and federal government. LEHD data also face issues with workplaces that have multiple worksites but are not reported as such (e.g., they report their address at a singular headquarters). Nonetheless, LEHD data are the most comprehensive source of employment information (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019; Graham, Kutzbach, and McKenzie, 2014; Ong et al., 2018; Ong, Pech, et al., 2021; and Ong et al., 2023).

We use 2019 LEHD data to examine the most recent information on employment in and around Stockton’s downtown. This area (Tract #1 and Tract #3) serves primarily as a center for employment in government and utilities. Public-sector employment accounts for 62 percent of all downtown jobs, and those downtown public-sector jobs account for 38 percent of government employment in Stockton. What is missing are private-sector jobs in retailing, food, and accommodations. Less than 4 percent of Stockton’s private jobs in these sectors are located downtown, proportionately far fewer than downtown’s share of all Stockton jobs (17%). Most of the retailing, food, and accommodation jobs are located in shopping centers and malls, mostly in north Stockton. The relative paucity in downtown can be seen in the fact that one commercially oriented tract (33.05) in north Stockton has three times as many jobs in retailing, food, and accommodations than in downtown. Being relatively few in numbers, it is likely that the downtown retailing and food establishments mainly serve the daytime population of workers. In other words, the area is not a regional destination for eating, shopping, and entertainment.

A.4. 1950 Census Data

Data from the 1950 U.S. Census were transcribed and analyzed from the original manuscripts completed by federal enumerators as they went from household to household collecting information on individuals and their households. The records were released on April 1, 2022, after the information met the 72-year legal restriction on access to the private records (National Archives, 2022). The manuscripts are organized by wards, which are equivalent to census tracts. Each ward is divided into enumeration districts, each containing multiple blocks. **Figure A-3** is an example of these geographies in and around downtown Stockton. The ward numbers are in

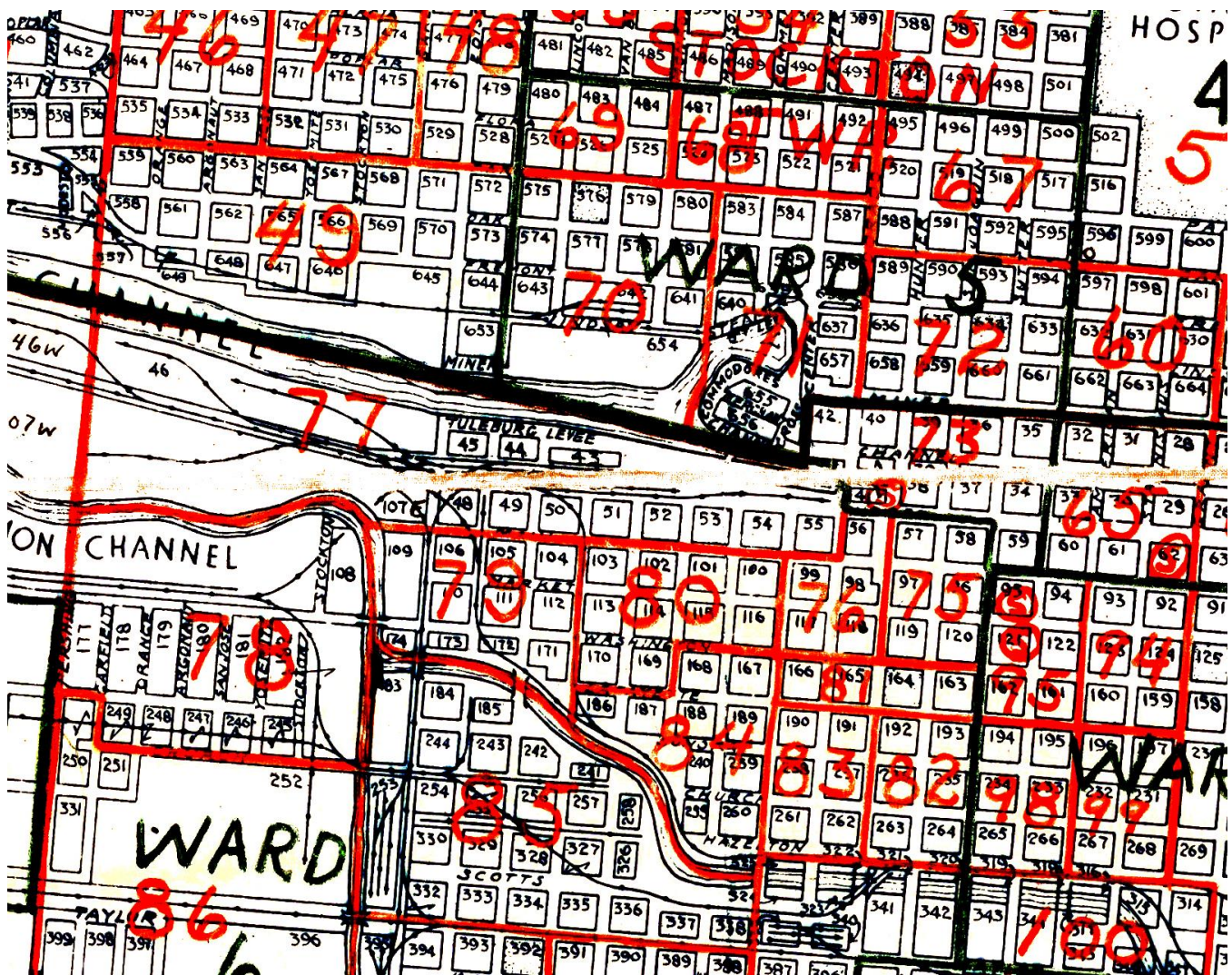


Figure A-3. Excerpt of Census Geographies in Central Stockton Used for 1950 U.S. Census.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1947

large black font, the enumeration district numbers are in red, and the block numbers are in small black font (U.S. Census Bureau, 1947).

Figure A-4 is an example of the top section of one of the pages from census manuscript for Stockton (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950). One of the columns reports the person's race in seven categories (white, Negro, American Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and other). The record also identifies whites who were of Spanish origin and records the country of birth (This enables researchers to identify second-generation and subsequent generations of Asian Americans.). Because the manuscripts include street addresses, it is possible to assign persons to individual block faces (e.g., those residing in the 100s block of Lafayette Street). The raw data were tabulated to profile the racial composition for the small geography used in this report; however, the project only transcribed a limited amount of information because digitizing data of this sort requires extensive efforts.

Figure A-4. Example Page from 1950 U.S. Census Manuscripts.

Source: 1950 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1950)

A.5. 1960, 1970, and 1980 Census Data

We created a timeline of freeway routing and construction, from initial planning to opening, and of urban renewal, to the best of our ability given available sources, for the entire Crosstown Freeway and its segments. From this, we compiled U.S. Census data from 1960 (before construction), 1970, and 1980 (after construction

of relevant segments). We digitized and geocoded these data, to analyze at both the tract- and block-level.³¹ While some tract-level data are available online, other tract-level information and all block-level information in

Table 2.—CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING UNITS, BY BLOCKS: 1960

["Total population" contains no persons in group quarters unless preceded by asterisk; one asterisk (*) denotes less than 10 percent; two asterisks (**), 10 percent or more]

Blocks within census tracts	Total population	All housing units by condition and plumbing									Occupied housing units							
		Sound				Deteriorating				Dilapidated	Owner occupied			Renter occupied			Occupied by non-white	1.01 or more persons per room
		Total	Total	With all plumbing facilities	Lacking some or all facilities	Total	With all plumbing facilities	Lacking some or all facilities	With flush toilet		No flush toilet	Total	Average value (dollars)	Average number of rooms	Total	Average contract rent (dollars)			Average number of rooms
5-1.....	*5983	4317	2873	1805	1068	1037	463	574	...	407	321	8500	5.1	3199	40	2.1	699	248
2....	43	16	15	14	1	1	1	...	...	...	5	8000	5.4	10	45	3.8	...	2
3....	*65	27	27	21	6	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	5.0	20	41	3.4	1	1
5....	34	23	19	19	...	4	4	...	...	...	2	...	...	20	34	2.6	...	...
6....	62	43	35	35	...	4	2	2	...	4	4	...	...	34	47	3.5	...	...
7....	*49	26	26	19	7	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	17	44	2.8	...	1
8....	22	14	14	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	9	58	3.7	1	...
9....	32	29	25	18	7	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	44	2.2	1	...
10....	40	42	42	4	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	37	1.1	1	2
11....	64	50	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	40	62	2.7	...	1
12....	48	21	14	14	...	7	7	...	...	...	4	...	...	15	51	4.5	...	4
13....	29	9	7	7	...	2	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	5	51	4.4	1	1
16....	13	9	9	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	57	2.3	...	1
17....	42	28	20	9	11	8	8	...	...	...	1	...	...	26	38	2.5	1	2
18....	69	38	35	35	...	3	3	...	...	...	2	...	...	32	55	3.1	...	4
19....	84	56	56	47	9	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	53	59	2.3	1	1
20....	55	37	19	18	1	16	16	...	...	2	8	...	4.5	21	61	3.2	...	1
21....	77	36	27	27	...	9	9	...	...	...	4	...	...	30	50	4.4	...	...
22....	67	35	20	18	2	13	13	...	...	2	10	6000	5.2	21	50	3.9	...	...
23....	21	11	6	4	2	3	3	...	...	2	2	...	...	8	33	3.3	...	3
25....	11	5	1	1	...	4	4	...	...	...	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
26....	54	31	9	9	...	14	14	...	...	8	4	...	...	26	43	3.3	...	3
27....	71	48	33	33	...	15	15	...	...	...	10	10000	4.6	37	50	2.7	...	...
28....	43	19	15	15	...	4	4	...	...	...	5	10500	5.8	13	55	4.2	2	1
29....	67	49	26	26	...	23	23	...	...	...	3	...	...	43	39	2.8	...	1
30....	72	66	66	66	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	59	48	2.4	1	...
33....	25	23	15	15	...	8	7	1	...	...	3	...	...	19	35	2.1	1	...
39....	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
40....	16	12	12	10	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	11	34	2.9	...	...
41....	38	27	8	8	...	19	19	...	...	...	2	...	...	25	47	2.5	...	...
42....	33	22	3	3	...	15	15	...	...	4	...	...	...	17	40	3.1	...	...
43....	10	9	5	5	...	4	4	...	...	...	2	...	...	5	42	3.2	...	...
44....	7	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
45....	32	14	9	9	...	5	5	...	...	...	3	...	...	11	46	3.6	...	...
46....	61	39	19	19	...	20	16	4	...	...	7	9500	4.9	30	42	3.1	...	1
47....	59	41	18	18	...	22	22	...	...	1	4	...	...	27	46	3.5	1	2
48....	30	23	2	2	...	21	21	...	...	...	1	...	...	13	52	3.2	...	2
49....	17	10	5	5	...	5	5	...	...	...	5	8000	5.8	4	...	...	1	...
50....	59	50	40	40	...	10	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	47	53	2.2	...	2
51....	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Figure A-5. Example of 1960 Block Data from a Census Report.

Source: 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, p. 1)

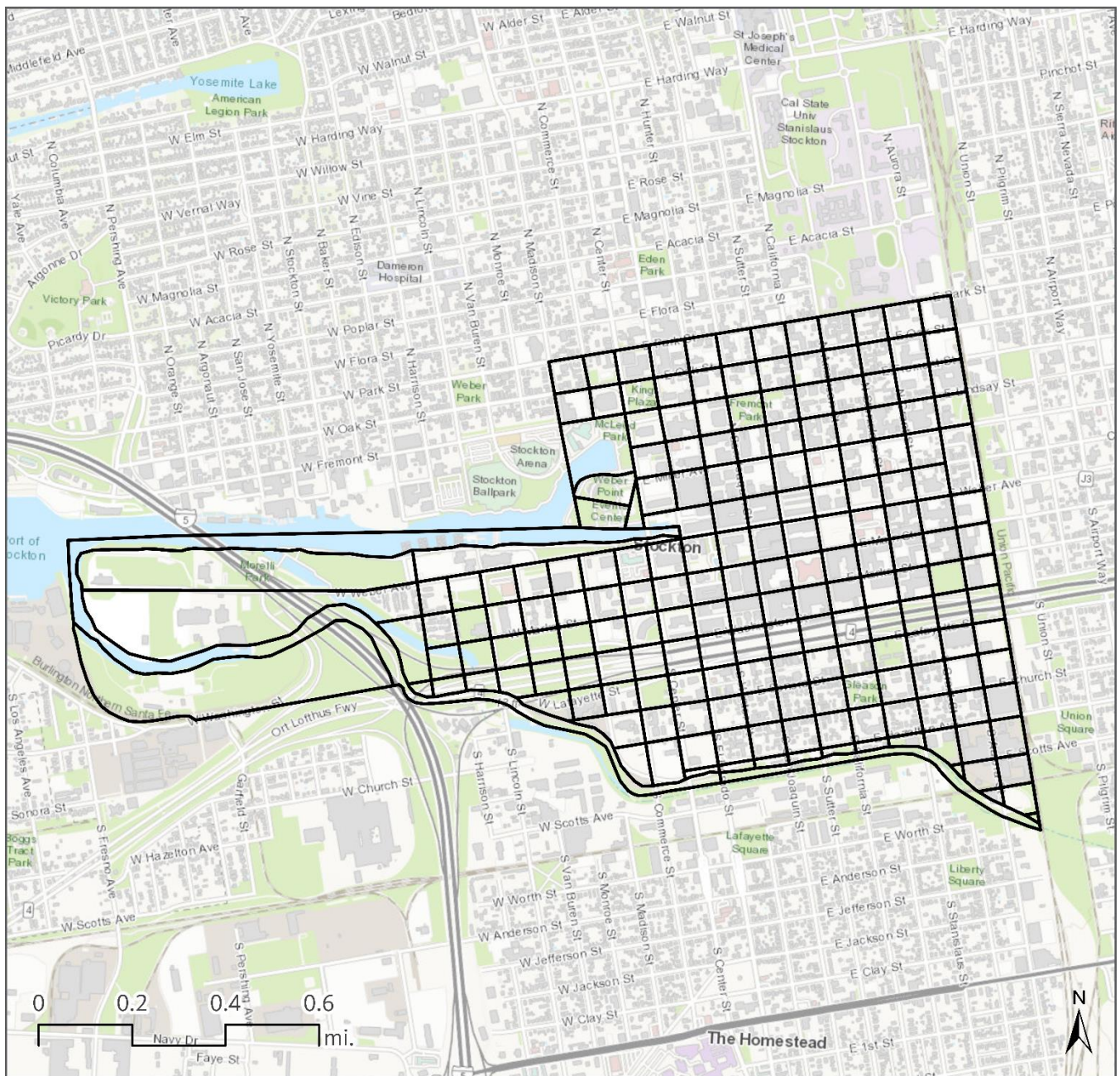
31. Tracts created by the U.S. Census Bureau usually hold a population of between around 1,200 and 8,000 persons, with an ideal of 4,000 people. Blocks, smaller units within tracts, are the smallest geographic level for which data are published publicly by the Census Bureau; they usually represent actual city blocks in urban areas and areas bounded by streets and other features in suburban and rural areas. The Census Bureau may revise boundaries of each every decade (U.S. Census Bureau, 2022 and Rossiter, 2011).

1960 and some in 1970 required manual transcription and data entry. For later censuses, we drew from the IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information System (Manson et al., 2022) and *Social Explorer*.

Figure A-5 gives a page of block-level information from the 1960 U.S. Census from Stockton. Unfortunately, optical character recognition of the PDF file did not work consistently, so we entered the figures manually. We tasked multiple researchers with entering and verifying the data entered, and we checked sums from the blocks within a tract against the tract-level data (though data suppression by the Census Bureau of low-population blocks led to some slight differences even here).

As race is socially constructed, classifications asked in the U.S. Census and answered by residents have changed over the decades (Pratt, Hixson, and Jones, 2015). Section 1.B describes some of those changes, with respect to Asian and Hispanic populations. In 1960, block-level statistics divided “non-white households” into “Blacks” and persons of “other races,” with people of Hispanic or Spanish origin counted as white. Therefore, to estimate Latino/a households, we applied the ratio from population data at the tract level, which did disaggregate these residents from white residents, to households in blocks within each tract. This assumes that Hispanic and white households had similar numbers of people in them and that there was an even distribution of each ethnicity within each tract; we do not have information to test biases in these assumptions.

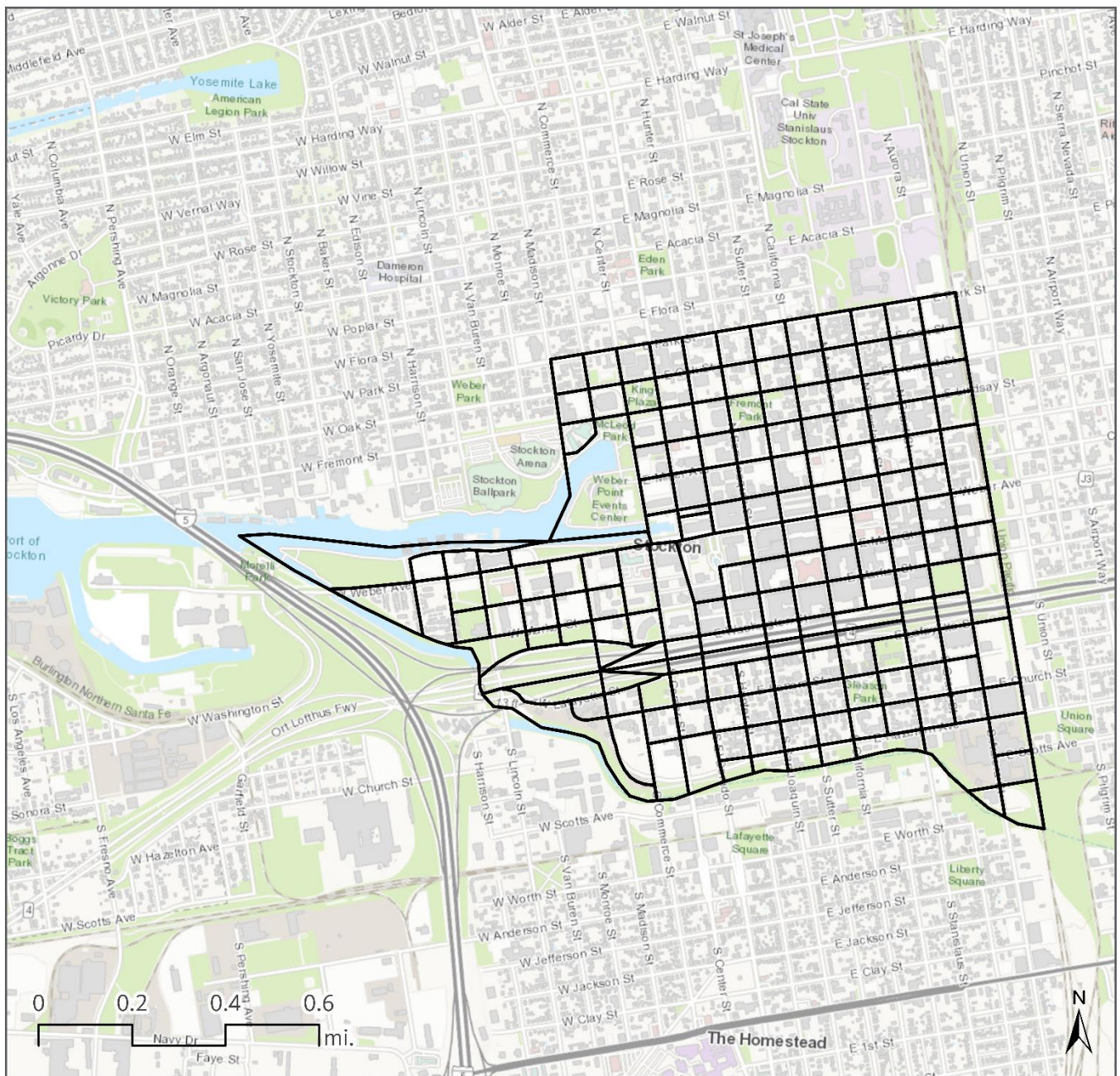
We also created geospatial files of census blocks, as these were not available online, based on printed or PDF maps that we georeferenced. Block shapefiles from 1990 (Manson et al., 2022) helped guide this process. But census blocks and tracts change over the decades with population shifts and new roads. **Figure A-6** and **Figure A-7** illustrate such differences over time in our study area, with the effects of the Crosstown Freeway on the urban fabric conspicuously showing up in the block boundaries by 1980. Thus, we used allocation methods described below to address changing boundaries.



1960 census block

Figure A-6. 1960 Census Blocks in Stockton Study Area.

Data source: created by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961); base map: Esri, 2023b



1980 census block

Figure A-7. 1980 Census Blocks in Stockton Study Area.

Data source: created by authors from 1980 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1982); base map: Esri, 2023b

A.6. Analysis of Alternative Routes Methodology

In Section 4.B, we compare the impact of an alternative route relative to the chosen one on neighborhood demographics, socioeconomics, housing costs and values, and displacements (units lost, households displaced, and their racial composition). To do this, we created shapefiles for the constructed and unchosen freeway paths, based on planning documents and maps. In the analysis in Section 4.B, we used hypothetical paths of the same set width, excluding interchanges and ramps, in order to best compare the chosen and alternative route (given that the alternative route did not reach the stage of design to have had its interchanges drawn up). We used property lines from a property/parcel dataset from San Joaquin County (San Joaquin County Community Development Department, 2023) and imagery from Google Maps (Google, 2023) to help draw the actual path. We used the present-day freeway's width, due to lack of consistent historical imagery, and applied this average width to the unchosen route as well (See **Figure 4-6**).

A.7. Analysis of Direct Impacts Methodology

In Section 4.C, we look at the actual freeway footprint, including ramps, and estimate housing units lost and the demographics of those displaced. For the few census blocks partially under the actual footprint, we areally allocated households when splitting each block, assuming out of necessity a uniform distribution of housing and people within the block (See **Figure A-8**).

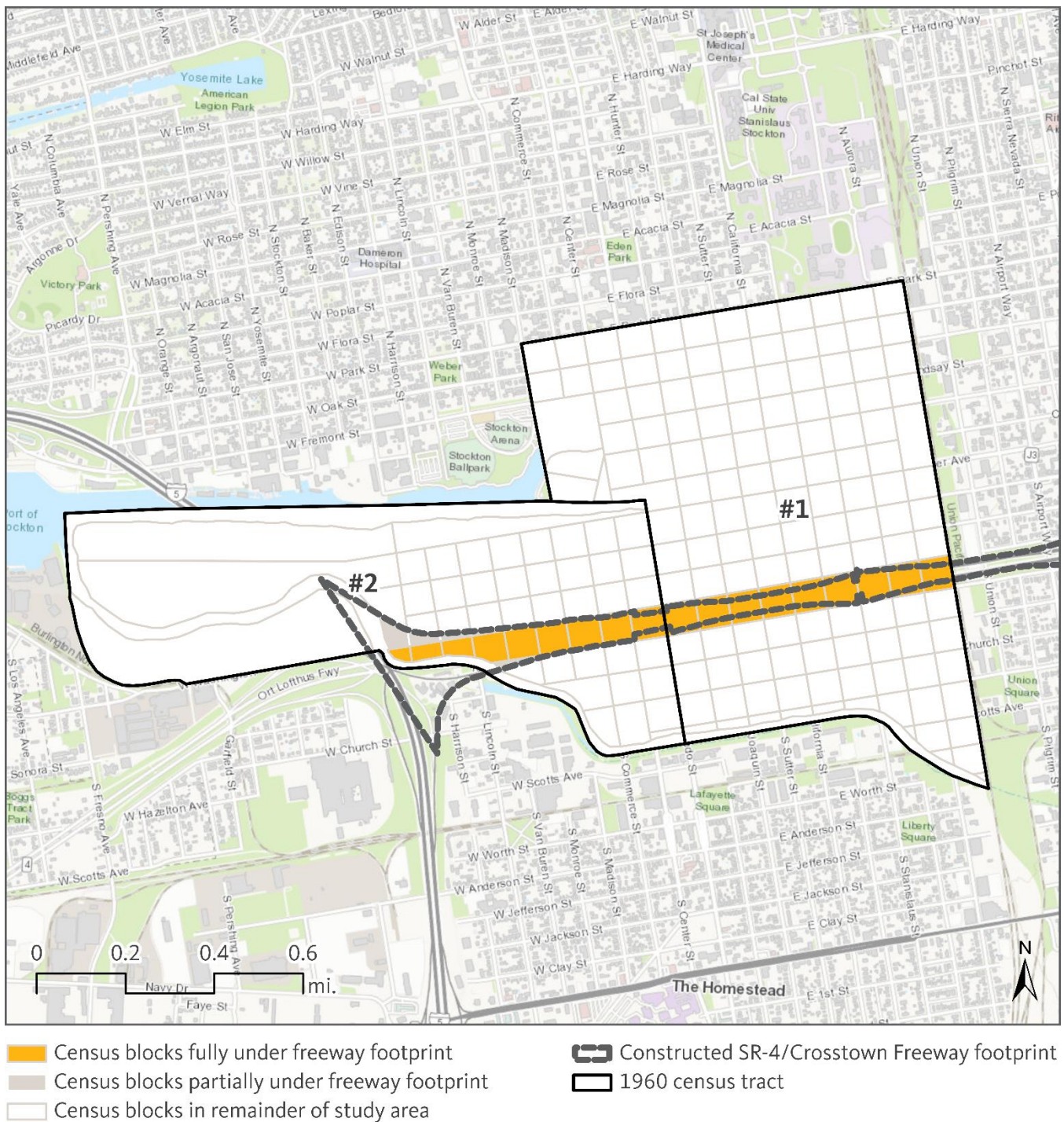


Figure A-8. 1960 Census Blocks under the Freeway Footprint Fully and Partially.

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1961, 1962); base map: Esri, 2023b

A.8. Analysis of Indirect Impacts Methodology

In Section 4.D, we examine changes in the housing stock, home values, and rents between areas adjacent to the freeway footprint (within 150 meters) and those beyond but still in the study area (See **Figure 4-11**). We compare both to the city overall as a benchmark. If freeway proximity provided a net positive effect on those metrics in either area, we would expect an increase in those statistics relative to the city, and the opposite for a net negative. We separate the freeway-adjacent sector and the sector beyond but still in the study area because the balance of freeway-provided amenities (e.g., greater mobility on the regional transportation network and thereby access to jobs and opportunities) and disamenities (e.g., pollution, noise, etc.) differs with distance. We recognize that this analysis does not account for a whole range of other factors that may influence the housing statistics studied and therefore present results as patterns foremost.

Appendix B. Qualitative Methods and Sources

B.1. Overview

We both supported and expanded upon our quantitative analysis with qualitative ethnographic and archival research. We consulted historical documents, government reports, and newspaper articles. We were particularly interested in gaining an understanding from the Asian American point of view. To accomplish this, we conducted interviews with six Stockton residents who were impacted by the construction and development of the Crosstown Freeway. We conducted outreach to community groups in Stockton, including the Chinese Benevolent Association, Filipino American National Historical Society, San Joaquin County Historical Society and Museum, Buddhist Church of Stockton, and the Japanese American Citizens League, as well as residents recommended by other residents. With their permission, we are sharing the names of residents who participated in this report. Lillian Galedo, Laurena Cabanero, and Luna Jamero grew up in Filipino/a families in the Stockton area during the demolition and construction of the Crosstown Freeway. Valerie Lee Acoba and Victor Mow grew up in Chinese American families in Stockton, and the late Reverend LaVerne Senyo Sasaki was Assistant Minister of the Buddhist Church of Stockton when it was relocated due to the Crosstown Freeway.

We structured this report and our findings in alignment with the experiences of these interviewees. We present a chronology and picture of the community that existed before the freeway, how the Crosstown Freeway became known to community members, and the impacts that the freeway had on their lives and the communities to which they belonged.

B.2. Interview Template

Background

- Can you tell me more about where you were born and how you grew up?
- Where were your parents from? Where is the rest of your family from?
- Where have you lived before?
- Where are you living now?
- What is your connection to Stockton?
- Where have you lived in Stockton?
- What places come to mind when you think of your experience in Stockton?
- What organizations, churches, groups, or communities were you a part of?
- *Where relevant:* What was it like growing up as a Filipina woman in Stockton?

Little Manila

- What is your recollection of the area called “Little Manila” in the 1960s?
 - What did it look like? What condition were the buildings in? Did anything stand out visually?
 - Were there any distinct smells or sounds that you remember?
- Did you have any connection to the shops, restaurants, pools, lunch counters, or anything else in the area?
- Who frequented the area?
- Who lived in the area?
- What was the relationship between Filipino/as and other groups in the area?
- How did people you knew talk about the area? What did people say about it?
- What did the area mean to you? What does it mean to you now?

Japantown

- What is your recollection of Japantown? Following World War II? Was it re-established or not following the war?
 - Where was the area located?
 - What businesses, stores, organizations, community spaces, etc. made up Japantown?
- What did it look like? What condition were the buildings in? Did anything stand out visually?
 - Were there any distinct smells or sounds that you remember?
- Who frequented the area and spent a lot of time there?
- Did anyone live in the area?
- What was the relationship between Japanese Americans and other communities in the area?
- Did you have any connections to the area?
 - What were your perceptions of the area?
 - How did people around you talk about the area?
- What did the area mean to you? What does it mean to you now?

Chinatown

- What is your recollection of Chinatown in the 1960s before redevelopment? Was it growing in the aftermath of the 1965 Immigration Act?
 - Where was the area located?
 - What businesses, stores, organizations, community spaces, etc. made up Chinatown?
- What did it look like? What condition were the buildings in? Did anything stand out visually?
 - Were there any distinct smells or sounds that you remember?
- Who frequented the area and spent a lot of time there?

- Did anyone live in the area?
- What was the relationship between Chinese Americans and other communities in the area?
- Did you have any connections to the area?
 - What were your perceptions of the area?
 - How did people around you talk about the area?
- What did the area mean to you? What does it mean to you now?

Crosstown Freeway

- Could you tell me more about the Crosstown Freeway and its construction?
 - Do you remember the first time you heard about it?
 - What were your reactions to the freeway being built?
- Did you participate in any meetings or discussions about the freeway construction or location?
- What was communicated to you about the freeway and through what medium?
- What was the response from the people around you to the freeways?
- Did you know any businesses or anyone living in the area that were displaced by the freeway?
- Do you remember when demolition began?
 - Do you remember when government officials began acquiring properties?
- How did it affect the surrounding areas of Chinatown/Little Manila/Japantown?
 - How did it affect your relationship and other people's relationship to the area?

Impacts on Community

- What happened to the community after demolition began?
- What were the impacts on businesses?
- What were the impacts on housing for community members?
- To where did businesses relocate?

Redevelopment

- What was the involvement of the community in the redevelopment process?
- What was the community response to redevelopment?

Planning in Asian American Communities

- Describe the city planning for Asian American communities in the 1960s and 1970s.
- What role did Asian American communities play in city planning for their neighborhoods and communities?
- How active were residents in the pushback against redevelopment and the Crosstown Freeway?

B.3. Information about Interviewees

We interviewed the following people with knowledge of the communities impacted by the Crosstown Freeway:

1. *Victor Mow* is a second-generation Chinese American who was born and raised in Stockton. His father owned a noodle factory located in Chinatown, which was relocated for the freeway. He currently is a board member for the Chinese Benevolent Association. He was elected to Stockton City Council for eight years and served as Vice Mayor. He has also been elected to the San Joaquin County Board of Supervisors and served two terms as Chairman. Mow also served on Stockton's Economic Advisory Commission, Park and Recreation Commission, Planning Commission, and Redevelopment Agency.
2. *Valerie Lee Acoba* was born and raised in Stockton, growing up in the 1950s era before redevelopment and the freeway. Her parents were first- and second-generation Chinese Americans. Her father, Tommy Lee, was the president of the Lee Family Association that opened up the Lee Center. She attended elementary, middle, and high school in Stockton and went on to the University of the Pacific in Stockton before becoming a teacher for the Stockton Unified School District. She connects her passion for teaching and theater through Red Phoenix Rising, which puts on plays honoring Chinese, Filipino/a, and Mexican American culture with young students of color.
3. *Reverend LaVerne Senyo Sasaki* was a second-generation Japanese American born and raised in Stockton, the only one in his family born in the United States. He identified as *nisei* and came from a lineage of twenty-six generations of Buddhist ministers. His first assignment after receiving his degree in Japanese Buddhism from Tokyo University was in Stockton in 1959, and he was involved in community and interfaith activities at the regional and national level. He and his wife were living at the old Buddhist Church of Stockton at 148 West Washington Street before moving to El Dorado Street and finally to the new Buddhist Church of Stockton while he was assistant minister. Reverend Sasaki sadly passed away between our interview and the publication of this report (Kawamoto, 2023).
4. *Lillian Galedo* is a second-generation Filipina American born and raised in Stockton. She grew up in south Stockton during the 1950s close to El Dorado Street and her father's soda fountain and candy store before moving to another part of south Stockton. She went to Hazelton Elementary School, Taylor Elementary School, Edison High School, San Joaquin Delta College, and finally UC Davis to finish college. She conducted a research project with Cabanero and Brian Tom at UC Davis titled "Roadblocks to Community Building: A Case Study of the Stockton Filipino Center Project," in which they followed the efforts to organize and develop the Filipino Center for almost two years.
5. *Laurena Cabanero* is a second-generation Filipina American born and raised in south Stockton. Growing up in the 1950s in southeast Stockton, her family was deeply involved in Filipino/a organizations and activities in Little Manila. Her father was a farmworker foreman, and during the summers, he would take his older children to work in the fields during the summers. She worked with Galedo on the "Roadblocks to

Community Building” project and helped organize a visitation program for the elderly Filipino *manongs* who lived in Little Manila hotels while she studied at UC Davis.

6. *Luna Jamero* is a second-generation Filipina American who grew up outside Stockton, in Livingston, and was connected to Little Manila through her parents and their fraternal organizations. Upon moving to Stockton in 1967, she became involved in organizing with Jose Bernardo, one of the co-founders of the Filipino Center, and worked as a social worker for the San Joaquin County Public Assistance Department. She became involved in the Community Action Council, to address poverty and the issues facing communities impacted by the Crosstown Freeway. For example, she worked on the project to help *manongs* living in hotels in the path of the Crosstown Freeway to connect them to social services and health care.

Appendix C. Economic Racial Stratification in California, 1959

Although there is insufficient information on the economic status of people of color in Stockton and San Joaquin County during the critical decades of freeway development and urban renewal, the racial disparities there likely mirror the pattern for California. From the U.S. Census Bureau’s 1960 enumeration, in which annual income of persons was collected for 1959, we hoped to calculate the metric of the median income of people of color in California relative to that of whites. Unfortunately, we were not able to locate published statistics for non-Hispanic whites, the desired reference group. Instead, we did find published census data for whites including Hispanics, per the categorization at the time (See Section 1.B and Appendix A, Section A.5). To overcome this limitation, we estimated the non-Hispanic whites using the following method. First, we calculated the distribution of non-Hispanic white male workers by income categories by subtracting out the distribution of white, Spanish-surname male workers by income categories. Second, we calculated the median income of non-Hispanic white male workers by interpolation of the results. It was about three percent higher

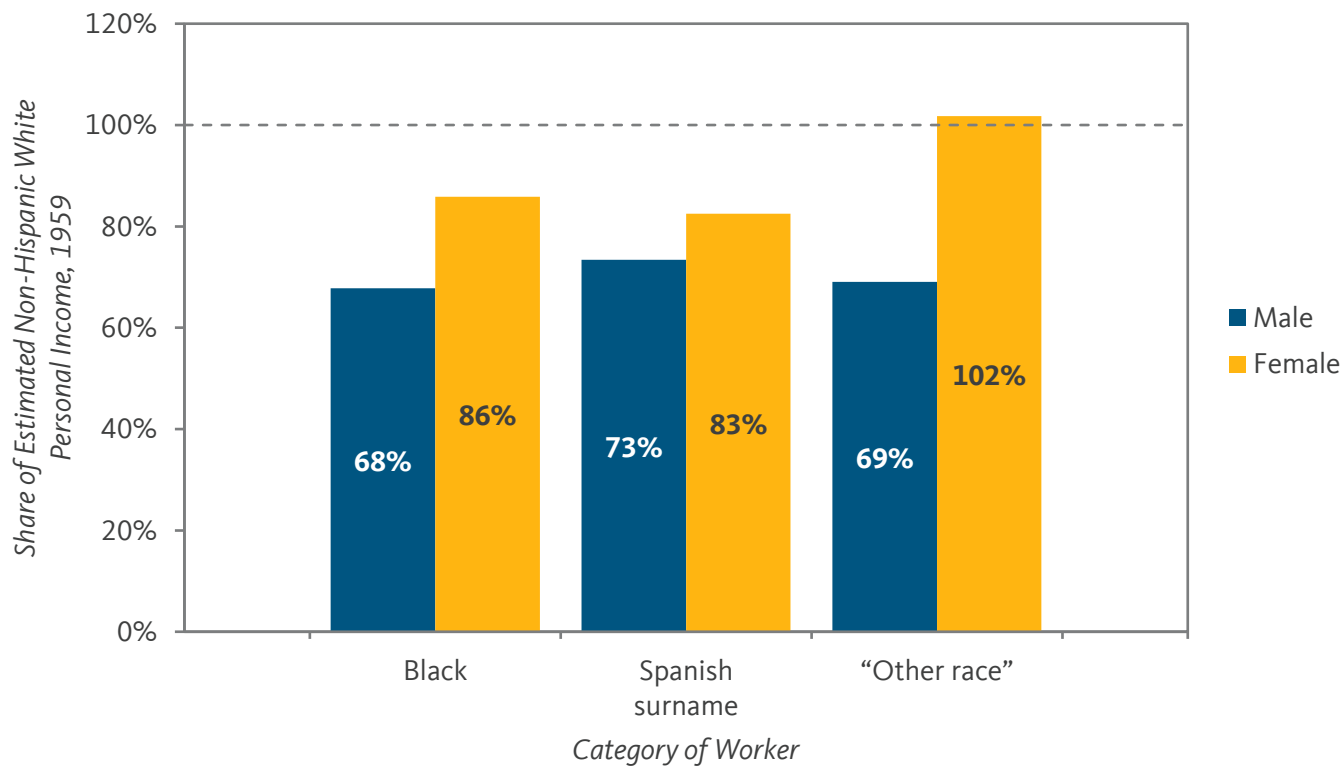


Figure C-1. Racial Disparities in Personal Income in California, 1959.

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1963, 1965a, 1965b)

than the median for all white male workers. We verified this interpolation method by also interpolating the median for all white male workers from categorical data and comparing our estimate with the median reported by the Census Bureau; our calculation produced an equal value.

We disaggregated our metric by sex, given gender inequality; women’s median annual income was only a third of men’s. The same interpolation method could not be used to estimate the median income for non-Hispanic white female workers, because the required information was not available. As a first-order approximation, we assume that the median income for non-Hispanic white female workers was higher than that of white (including Hispanic) female workers by the same percentage difference for men.

Figure C-1 reports the median personal income by race and sex relative to the estimated median income for non-Hispanic whites. Asian Americans made up an overwhelming majority of the “other race” category. Although there were variations among men of color, all earned significantly less than non-Hispanic white men—approximately between two thirds and three quarters of their income. This indicates that the major dividing line among men was between non-Hispanic white men and men of color, although Black workers were more disadvantaged here than white-categorized workers who had a Spanish surname. There were racial disparities among women workers, although not as wide a gap with non-Hispanic white workers as that for

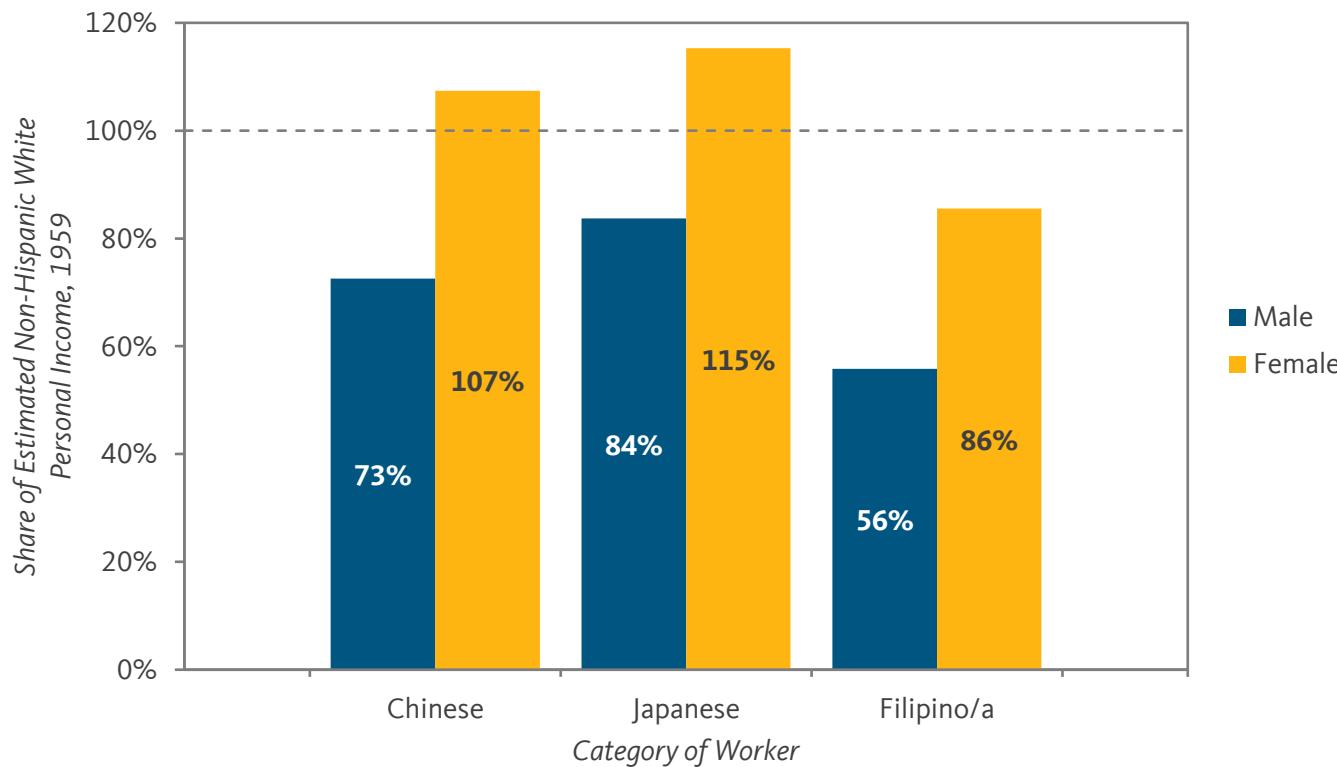


Figure C-2. Asian Ethnic Disparities in Personal Income in California, 1959.

Data source: calculated by authors from 1960 U.S. Census (U.S. Census Bureau, 1963, 1965a, 1965b)

men. Black women and women with a Spanish surname earned about a sixth less than non-Hispanic white women. Interestingly, women in the “other race” category were on par with non-Hispanic white women.

Figure C-2 reports the median earnings by Asian ethnic groups, disaggregated by sex, relative to the estimated median earnings for non-Hispanic whites in California. Asian American men earned significantly less than non-Hispanic white men, but there were substantial differences by ethnicity. Filipinos fared the worst and earned less than three fifths of what non-Hispanic white men did, followed by Chinese men, who earned less than three quarters. Japanese men experienced the smallest gap but nonetheless still earned one sixth less. They were probably less economically disadvantaged because they had a disproportionate number of U.S.-born and educated adults, thus having relatively more human capital than Chinese men and Filipinos. Similar to the patterns for other women of color, Asian women experienced less disparities relative to their non-Hispanic white counterparts. In fact, Chinese and Japanese women earned more, which may be due to a higher level of labor-market attachment. As with Filipinos, Filipinas fared worse than Chinese, Japanese and non-Hispanic white women.

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