Urban Conditions That Sparks A Riot
Revenge Fantasies Becomes Real

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This literature study aims to study the background to the black anger that sparked the riot in Los Angeles in 1992. When the trial verdict, not guilty of the four policemen accused for beating Rodney King were announced, African American citizens showed their fury against the police by starting a protest outside Parker Center, the Police headquarters. The protest turned into a riot and white people downtown South-Central Los Angeles got beaten and even murdered by black people. The historic demography of Compton will show how the urban conditions gave birth to the gang culture and the Hip Hop group, NWA (Niggaz With Attitude). The song *Fuck tha Police* from NWA speaks about police violence against a black minority and the study will look if the lyrics is lifelike.

Frontside: “Revenge Fantasies” *Ice Cube*, about lyrics that addresses the police directly (Rose, 1994, pp, 128).

Keywords: Riot, Hip Hop, Anger, African Americans, Compton, Police violence, Los Angeles
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1. INTRODUCTION

Los Angeles – the dream city, the city where dreams come true, the city where stars live, home of Beverly Hills and Hollywood, a dream factory. How could a riot in the city of dreams happen? Is there a side of Los Angeles that we don’t have access to?

The worst riot in USA modern time broke out in 1992 in Los Angeles, after the four policemen suspected of the beatings of the African American motorist Rodney King, where declared not guilty. The beating was recorded by a resident living next to spot were the beating took place with an amateur camera-recorder in hand and was later released in media.

The trial was held at Simi Valley, a mostly white neighborhood and the members of the jury were also mostly white and no presence of any African Americans. When the policemen were freed of all charges a year after the beating, masses started at the beginning a peaceful protest outside Los Angeles Police department, Parker Center. In the ghettos of South-Central Los Angeles, the African Americans felt mistreated by the authorities, and the anger was high after a chain of happenings and situations, where the outcome towards fellow African Americans were unjust. For example, the case with the 15-year-old African American girl, Latisha Harlins murder, where the Korean shopkeeper Soon Ja Du, shot Latisha in her head, and didn’t have to go to prison, because the white judge Joyce Karlin reduced the jury’s recommended judgement to community service. Later the judge said: “I know a criminal when I see one ...” (LA92, 2017).

The name you heard most frequently on people’s lips during the uprising was Latisha Harlins, the 15-year-old black girl killed by a Korean shop owner over a $ 1.79 bottle of orange juice last March. The shopkeeper was convicted, but let off with a $ 500 fine and some community service a much lighter sentence than homeless people arrested for curfew violations, who have to spend ten days in jail or somebody who looted some sunflower seeds who may get two years in jail (Callinicos, 1992).

At noon time, Wednesday, April 29, 1992, the protest turned violent as protesters started to throw rocks at the police and smashing the windshield on a parked Jaguar outside Parker Center, set ablaze a police car and turned it upside down. Parker Center was heavily protected by police and later it got reinforced with concrete barriers and this made the protesting masses turn their destruction to other buildings. The African Americans showed their fury against the Korean shopkeepers whose businesses took a lot of damage under the riots. The riot spread through Los Angeles and lasted for three days and by the time it was over:
...52 people died; 2499 people were injured; 249 of these injuries were critical. Over 16,000 riot-related crimes were reported and 9925 of them were categorized as serious; 6559 people were arrested for riot-related crimes. Over $446 million in property damage was sustained across 1120 buildings. Of the damaged buildings, 377 were completely destroyed and another 222 were seriously damaged. Overwhelmingly 94%, the damaged buildings were commercial and most 76% of them were retail stores. (DiPasquale, 1996).

The deaths and casualties in numbers from the riots in Los Angeles was as we can see, very violent. Fires were lit all over downtown South-Central and the material damage cost were staggering. News helicopters were filming the rioting taking place in downtown South-Central Los Angeles, and there are several available movie clips at YouTube. As an example, you can see how the helicopter recorded a white truckdriver being dragged out from his vehicle, getting a brick thrown at his head and then continually get beaten by passing black rioters. The rioters almost kill him just because he is white. The truckdriver, named Reginald Denny who was finally rescued by a fellow African American truckdriver and his three friends, who saw the beatings, filmed by the news-helicopters, on the TV. The outrages are brutal, and you can see how the helicopter record everything without being able to help the victims on the streets. You hear how the reporter who listens to the police radio, report how the police abandon whole blocks to their own destiny (LA News Archive, 2013). In the movie LA92 which shows new material from the riot, a clip, taken from an amateur hand-cam, we can see another white person beaten unconscious and spray painted black in the face. LA92 is a documentary that shows an unrated version from the riot in Los Angeles in 1992.

1.1 Aim and demarcation
This is a literature study that aims to research the background to the African American anger that sparked the riot in Los Angeles in 1992. The historic demography of Compton will show how the urban conditions gave birth to the gang culture and the Hip Hop group, NWA (Niggaz With Attitude). The songs from NWA raps about police violence against a black minority and the study will look if the lyrics is lifelike. This essay will look on the relationship between the riot in Los Angeles 1992 and the message in the music, in this case the Hip-Hop music from around that time made by young citizens of the community Compton. It will focus on how feelings amongst the citizens towards the authorities comes out in that music. The popularity of the Hip-Hop culture amongst young black people, and the lyrics hostility against the police and police brutality, speaks about an oppression against the black population. The riot was
multiethnic and complex, and I will demark the essay and only study African Americans and their role in the riot.

This study is significant because it shows that a special formula of treatment from society, spatial injustice, generalizing a whole group by color and take away their working opportunity and make them feel like outsiders of the system, and if society makes citizens feel like a second-class citizen, it can backfire in society just like the riot in Los Angeles in 1992 did (Sutterlüty, 2015).

By explaining the context of Compton and the African American relation to the police, we can learn the importance of spatial justice. If we listen to the media-channels from the youth like Hip-Hop and the band, NWA, listen to what they say in the music, we feel the pulse of the society, and if we learn to recognize the symptoms of an unfair society, maybe we will be able to correct it before it turns into riot.

The study is interesting because of the way that NWA promoted themselves as gangbangers and how they belonged to the gang-culture. NWA put Compton on the map and gave Compton a polished Hollywood-version of the gangbanger-life in Compton. The reality and the backside of the gang-life was much rougher. Marked by crack dealing and drive by shootings. The Los Angeles Police had declared war against gangs and gang-related crimes. In the music we can hear about police efforts being rough against the black minorities.

The aim is to analyze if rap music, in this case NWA’s song *Fuck tha Police* and if the lyrics in the music could show the society that something was about to happen, something big, like a riot, like the one we had in Los Angeles three years after *Straight out of Compton*, by NWA was released. The aim of this essay is trying to figure out the factors and their connections that triggered the riot in Los Angeles 1992. Compton is used as an example of how this part of Los Angeles got segregated and turned into a ghetto. The study also looks at the Hip-Hop group NWA and how they put Compton on the map and made it known as a community filled with gangs and gang-related crimes. NWA, their gangster rap approach, their culture, the gang mentality, and their connection to the community is interesting. I concentrate on the black youth and the African-American community’s aggression against the LAPD (Los Angeles Police Department). The research will look closer at the LAPD and its leader at the time of 1992 and try to figure out what the aggression from the black community in form of rap-music was about. And how the music scene took its expression against the police through NWA’s song “*Fuck Tha Police*”. The title of the song released by the rap group NWA on the record *Straight Out of Compton* in 1989 from the record label *Ruthless*, was sprayed all over walls under the ongoing riot.
It is difficult to grasp and reproduce what happened almost thirty years ago, and the study will try to answer the issues by the material that I find in the literature I choose to study.

1.2 Issues

- How can the urban history of Compton explain the context behind the riot?
- What does the context behind the song *Fuck Tha Police* by NWA (Niggaz with Attitude) look like, and is the oppression that they rap about in the songs, lifelike?

The issues purpose is to explain the connection between the statements from the voice of the community, in this case from hip-hop and NWA, and their connection to the context of the spatial environment of Compton. The part of Los Angeles studied will explain the social complexity that set the context of the riot. When we understand the context of the demography of Compton, we see if the statements from NWA is lifelike. The connection between the issues is the African Americans in Compton and their attitude against the police.

1.3 Method

The method used is a literature study. The research started by searching the Internet where a lot of material were found about riots and the events that took place around riots. Before the essays aim became clear, the study looked through a lot of articles and books about riots all over the world and way back in history. Other media as movies about riots, the origins of hip-hop culture, and gangs in the USA, lead to the decision to study the riot in Los Angeles 1992. The music from NWA has a central role in this study where we investigate the hostility against the police in the song *Fuck tha Police* and the background to this hostile title. The study also looks to Hollywood and movies made about the area studied, like the movie *Boyz in tha Hood* and how this movie pictures the ghetto of Compton.

To understand the complex social situation of Los Angeles the study will use and refer to Mike Davis’s book *City of Quartz*. This book describes the events that took place before the riot. The book was published in 1990, two years before the riot took place. The study also uses scientific articles and books from authors like, Edward W. Soja and Tricia Rose amongst others.

Historically Compton is interesting because of the changing demography in its urban space. From a picturesque suburban white community in the beginning of the 20th century and the change to a colored community at the middle of the 20th century, at first with affluent black families employed in manufacturing companies in Los Angeles, to a poor black community high in unemployment and criminality at the end of the century (Sides, 2004). Scientific articles
as Josh Sides study from 2004, *Straight into Compton* describes Compton’s spatial history, what it looked like and the theories why it became the colored community like it is today. Brown, Vigil, Taylor in their study from 2012, *The Ghettoization of blacks in Los Angeles: The Emergence of Street Gangs* looks at the emergence of the street gangs in Los Angeles. DiPasquale and Glaeser study from 1996, *Journal of Urban Economics* looks at the outcome of the riots in Los Angeles in 1992. There is also a lot of studies on Hip Hop and the connection to the problems in society, one book that studies this is Trisia Rose’s book *Black Noise* (1994).

There are a lot of material and studies from the Los Angeles riots of 1992, and what happened in around this time in Los Angeles, at the beginning of the 1990’s and the time just before. The popularity of the hip-hop scene from Los Angeles made eye’s turn to the segregated community of Compton and Hollywood made movies about Compton and the gang related, violent society. The study will refer to a couple of movies from around that time and will even use movies made recently about Compton and what happened in Los Angeles in the 1990’s. This research uses the article database JSTOR. When we search JSTOR after articles on hip-hop we get 10,595 hits, and if we search hip-hop together with Compton we get 249 hits. If we search the word Compton we get 33,110 hits, and if we search Compton together with the word, gangs we get 298 hits. If we search the combination Compton, hip-hop and, gangs we get 51 hits. This is how the research began and found the first articles used in this study. Other literature used in this assay was found through the foot notes from the first scientific articles used. The scientific article *Straight into Compton*, by Josh Sides was the first hit amongst the 33,110 hits when we searched JSTOR on the word Compton, it was also the first hit when we searched Compton in combination with the other two words, hip-hop and gangs. This article describes Compton’s demographical history, how it looked like and the theories why it became the segregated, colored community like it was back in 1992. YouTube has been an excellent source to filmed material from the riot in Los Angeles 1992. There are whole episodes on YouTube when News-teams filming from helicopters during the riot, which has been painful to watch, because of its brutality of beating and killing people, uncut and uncensored (LA News Archive, 2013).
1.4 Positionality

By positionality, I mean that we all ...

"...view the world from different embodied locations. The partial situatedness of knowledge means whether we are researchers or participants, we are differently situated by our social, intellectual and spatial locations, by our intellectual history and our lived experience, all of which shape our understandings of the world and the knowledge that we produce." (England, 2015, pp. 364)

As a white researcher living in a suburban city, north of Stockholm, I have no personal experience of the African-American society that I’m about to write about. All the information about the black society that I know of, comes from books, news and media. To get a clearer picture I have looked closer into black culture and studied its music, and how it express oppression, police brutality and spreading the message about the will to change society.

I have never been to the USA, but it’s a country that fascinated me my whole life, and I have followed American culture closely and I picked up trends that formed me to the person I am today.

2. STORY

2.1 The maps of Los Angeles

The context of a riot is complex and the difficulties in the segregated parts of the rioting cities looks similar if you compare them and look at the political issues and how politics alienate an ethnical group and make them feel like a second-class citizen. In many riots we can see that the politics have failed to implement civic equality (Sutterlüty, 2015).

In his book, City of Quarts, Mike Davis explains how different classes inhabit different parts of Los Angeles. The access to different communities is controlled by what the citizen is worth, and invisible barriers hold citizens from the different classes apart. The wealthier parts of Los Angeles are often protected by private security guards,

The carefully manicured lawns of Los Angeles’s Westside sprout forests of ominous little signs warning: ‘Armed Response!’ … we live in ‘fortress cities’ brutally divided between ‘fortified cells’ of affluent society and ‘places of terror’ where the police battle the criminalized poor (Davis, 1990, pp. 223-224).

The high security of the wealthier neighborhoods was something that held the invisible barriers in place. As we look further we can see that these invisible barriers, had a function during the
riot, where the riot took place inside the invisible barriers. We look how the riot unfolded and in what areas of Los Angeles that suffered the most damage. The way the riot unfolded is interesting, because when we compare two maps of Los Angeles, we can see that the poorest parts of Los Angeles, suffered the most damage under the riot. *Figure 1* shows a map that spots out the most damaged buildings. *Figure 2* shows a map where you can see the household’s income. The wealthiest areas took the least damage and we can see that the invisible boundaries that Mike Davis wrote about in the Book *City Quartz* were present in the riots. The police abandoned South Central Los Angeles and its citizens under the riot. The rioters could run wild without resistance from the authorities. The third day of the riot, the National Guard helped the police to maintain the curfew and stop a continuing riot.
Figure 1 - http://www.latimes.com/local/1992riots/lame-riots-25-years-20170420-htmlstory.html

Figure 2 – The box shows the area of the map above: https://www.census.gov/geography/interactive-maps.html
2.2 Compton

Historically Compton is interesting because of the changing demography in its urban space. From a picturesque suburban white community in the beginning of the 20th century, it changes to black community in the middle of the 20th century, first with affluent white families employed in manufacturing companies in Los Angeles, to a poor black community high in unemployment and criminality at the end of the century. The African American was also longing for their own house with a garden, and when black families got stronger economy because both adults worked in Los Angeles’s, South Central factories, Compton’s small houses became affordable. But it would take some time before African Americans could feel welcome to the city of Compton (Sides, 2004). The city of Compton transformed in its urban environment from a white suburban utopia to an African American ghetto in a very short time span.

In the scientific article, “Straight into Compton” by Josh Sides, we can read about how the suburban community of Compton turned out to be a colored community. At the beginning, post second world war, Compton appealed white low middleclass factory workers. It was a picturesque neighborhood, “the ideal home city” and a “residential center for industrial workers”. Compton’s City Council worked hard for the maintenance of a white community and resisted to build public housing complexes in Compton because it was considered “Negro housing”. White mob worked hard to keep the black citizens out, or to scare them off from the white community of Compton, like for example: cross burnings, death threats, bombings and vandalism (Sides, 2004).

![Figure 3 – Map - Compton – Source: Google maps](image-url)
Some black families in the South Central black slums of Los Angeles, were looking for better households, and their eyes turned to Compton. Geographically Compton was close to black neighborhoods of South Central. Black families with two full time incomes were willing to pay more for the houses in Compton than whites where. Even as white mobs beat white neighbors who listed their properties with brokerage’s who sold properties to both white and black buyers. But the white mob had to capitulate when they were driven off in May 1953, by the “well-armed” black family Jacksons:

In 1953, a pair of Colt .45 Pistols, wielded by black Korean War veteran Alfred Jackson and his wife, Luquella, served as tools of the last resort for African Americans integrating a hostile white suburb. Jacksons' determination to defend themselves against the churning white mob, which had assembled in front of the Jackson home just as their moving van arrived, had the intended effect: when Alfred’s close friend stepped out of the house with a 12-gauge shotgun, the crowd dispersed. The Jacksons' victory in this unheralded "battle for Compton" precipitated a rapid recomposition of the population of this historically white suburb, allowing a relatively well employed segment of Southern California s black population to enjoy the benefits of the much-vaunted suburban California lifestyle of the 1950s and 1960s. Compton quickly became an anomalous beacon of hope, the pride of thousands of middle-class African Americans in Southern California through the 1970s (Sides, 2004, p. 583).

The white mob did eventually capitulate, and this opened Compton for other ethnic groups. Even if some white families fled from Compton, others stayed and during a period of ten years, Compton was an integrated community with white and colored people living together in the same neighborhood. “African Americans, who represented less than 5 percent of Compton’s population in 1950, represented 40 percent of its population by 1960” (Sides, 2004, p. 588). At first Compton stayed as a picturesque integrated community and low middleclass citizens of black and white people shared the community of Compton. When the Watts riots occurred in 1965, whites and blacks joined forces and defended the border into Compton from rioters. But the problems of Compton grew, after the industries left Los Angeles during the 60’s and a lot of the citizens became unemployed.

…the unemployment rate for African-American youth was a staggering 45%. The dramatic rise of gangs between 1978 and 1982 was most evident in Los Angeles, Compton, and Inglewood and was due in part to plant closures, which led to some 70,000 layoffs during this period (Brown, 2012, p. 223)

When many African American families lost their income and became poorer, many social problems raised in Compton, property prices fell, and the community became affordable for
even poorer families. The problems of the ghetto, unemployment, drugs and criminality was now the problems of Compton.

In the diagrams below (figures 4-5) we can see how the ethnic demographic looked like in Compton versus the USA in 1990. Compton was a colored city in 1990 and the white population had left the community and found other places to live. In USA the biggest ethnic group are white people and the colored group of citizens was all together 26% of the USA’s population. In Compton the same group was 98%, the white citizen was just 2%.

![Figure 4: Total population Compton 1990: 90454](source: www.ucrdatatool.gov)

![Figure 5: Total population USA 1990: 248700000](source: U.S. Census Bureau)

Compton’s great days had come to an end. The once integrated community was now very much segregated poor ghetto with high criminality. The reason why gangs turned on each other was drugs. The drugs became the youngster's new income and a part of the drug dealer’s job was to defend their business area against other drug dealers.

**2.3 Hidden America**

The freeway is mostly empty, there’s nothing to do but stare at new red, blue and black graffiti that says: “Fuck tha Police”, and “Fuck the National guard!” and “Kill whitey”. I try not to take it personal, while I aim the engine straight and go fast… (Gattis, 2015)

At first it was a relatively peaceful protest. The protesters were shouting “guilty” and the some of the signs held in their hands said, “Gates Must Go”, “No Justice No Peace”, “LAPD Anti Nigger Machine – License to Kill”, “It’s Called Racism” and some protesters had t-shirts with peace signs and others were printed with the text “Gates Must Go”. “Gates” was at the time of the riot, LAPD’s Police Chief. Protesters with megaphones appealed to the masses to “stay calm” and that it was a “peaceful protest”. The root to the anger amongst the African American rioters can partly be understood by the unfairness between different events and the outcome.
between different convictions. And the fact that African Americans claimed that “the King beating” was one of many police efforts where excessive force was used.

The King beating was considered by many to be a tragic and outrageous event but rare. However, many blacks claim that there are numerous Rodney King’s whose no one shares or acknowledges” (Krohn, 1995, pp, 146).

The book *All Involved* by Ryan Gattis, written in 2005, is a novel that portrays citizens during the riot of Los Angeles in 1992. Here we can follow the fictional gangbanger and how he takes advantage of the riot, taking on rival gangs and stealing from each other, starting fires and looting. The different characters are portrayed from different sides of the riot: The Gangbanger who sets buildings ablaze, the Korean who shoots the gangbanger in the face, the nurse who is taking care of the gangbanger at the hospital and who has a crush at the fireman arriving at the hospital with a wounded colleague. *All involved* is a well spun story and gives a possible, yet a fiction version of how the citizens inside the mayhem experience the riot. How a fireman exposing his thoughts in the book *All Involved*: 

*Figure 6 – Photo by Peter Turnley - Getty Images (1992)*
There is a hidden America inside the one we expose to the world and only a small group of people ever actually see it. Some of us are locked in by birth or geography, but the rest of us just work here, doctors, nurses, firemen, cops, we know it, we see it. We are not negotiating with death where we work because, that is just a part of the job, we see its layers, its unfairness, its unavoidability, still we fight that losing battle. (Gattis, 2015).

The Fireman character tells a story of how he saved the life of a 10-year-old gangbanger-kid that had been stabbed in a gang fight and how he, a couple of months later finds the same kid shot dead. He recognizes him by the scars from when the kid got stabbed. After this he tells the story of the “hidden America”.

In John Singleton's movie Boyz n the Hood from 1991 which shows the community of Compton and some of its gangs. We get an insight from the side of Los Angeles that we don’t have access to. The movie shows an environment where every citizen is affected by street gangs and how the act of a brother or a cousin gets you in trouble, or even kills you. The Hollywood version of Compton may give you a hint of the reality in Compton.

Furious: Well how do you think the crack rock gets in to the country? We don’t own any planes, we don’t own no ships. We are not the people that are flying and floating that shit in here. I know every time you turn on the TV – that what you see. Black people, selling the rock, pushing the rock, pushing the rock, yeh, I know… But that was not a problem, as long it was here. It wasn’t a problem until it was in Iowa and it showed up on Wall street, were there are hardly any black people. And if you want to talk about the guns. Why is it, that it’s a gun-shop in every corner of this community? … Furious: I tell you why. At the same reason that there’s a liqueur store in almost every corner in this black community. Why? They want us to kill ourselves. You go out to Beverly Hills, you don’t see that shit. But they want us to kill ourselves. Yeh… the best way you can destroy a people, you take away their ability to reproduce them self. Who is it that die on this street every night? You all, young brothers like yourself (Boyz n the Hood, 1991).

In Furious’s lecture, you can discern a conspiracy theory about how the ones in control make the African American kill each other in making guns and drugs available to them in the community. There is a perception amongst the black community that there are the ones with power behind all the bad things in the community, it can be a further explanation behind the anger against the authorities, especially in the Hip Hop lyrics. The movie Boyz n the Hood was released the same year when Rodney King was beaten by the four police-officers, the year before the riot in Los Angeles 1992. The movie shows a Compton where the gangs have a central role in everybody’s life, and were the different characters try to do anything for a ticket
out from Compton. The ticket out from Compton for the youngsters in the movie is getting in
to college and get an education.

If you compare the movie Boys n the Hood and the book, All Involved, you can see a much
ger rougher side of the Los Angeles gangs and how the gangbangers operate without any
consideration, often under the influence of drugs. So, the movie and book expose a side of Los
Angeles, and gives us a fictional version, but non the less a hint of the “Hidden America”, the
backside of the more easily seen Los Angeles.

2.4 From Black Panthers to street gangs

The black movement had a strong leadership in the middle of the 1960’s, in the Black
Panthers to the early 1970’s. Black youth turned under that period to the leaders of the Black
Panthers. Before the Black panthers, street gangs formed, and the black youth were in gangs to
defend themselves from the white mob and oppression from outside the neighborhood (Sides,
2004, pp, 593). The strong leadership of the Black Panthers frightened the government, maybe
because in the way the Black Panthers acted, to prevent police-brutality. The Black Panthers
followed police-cars around and when a black fellow citizen was pulled over the Black Panthers
was nearby, heavily armed with firearms fully visible, ready to engage, if the police showed
any signs of police brutality. The Black power movement was strong all over the USA, in the
late 1960’s, and the FBI and the LAPD joined forces to take down the Black Panthers in Los
Angeles. Many of Black Panthers leaders got imprisoned, some of the leaders escaped abroad,
and some of them even got assassinated. This effectively brought down the Black Panthers and
the leadership of the black movement (The Black Panthers, 2015). So, when the leaders against
the oppression vanished, the black youth turned to other raw models and joined gangs:

A generation of Black teens in Los Angeles saw their role models and leadership decimated in the late
1960s, and African-American youth were now desperately searching for a new identity which they would
quickly find in the mobilization of street gangs (Alonso 1999, p. 111).

When the African American civil right movement leaders were gone the gangs were a way to
give the youth an identity especially when the unemployment in the city became high and there
was nothing for the youngsters to do.
Far more troublesome, however, than Compton teenagers’ tendency to "hang their heads," was their propensity to join street gangs. Coinciding, and undoubtedly fueled by, the decline in legitimate employment opportunities was the explosive rise in black street gangs in Compton and throughout black Los Angeles during the early 1970s. Although the initial black gangs of the 1940s were largely defensive - protecting black youth from marauding gangs of white, segregationist teens - by the late 1960s, gang warfare had become a purely internecine affair, pitting black youth against black youth based simply on the neighborhoods in which they lived (Sides, 2004, p. 593).

Street gangs who from the beginning united ethnic groups to defend their neighborhoods against outsiders and against the violence towards their neighbors was now turned against each other, gang to gang, holding their neighborhood and defending the streets from other black street gangs, "gang warfare" (sides, 2004). The youngster’s new way of living, being a “gang-banger”, standing up for other gang-members and doing business for the gang, was dangerous and exiting, involving shooting at other gangs and being shot at, and selling drugs.

By the 1980s, gangs were fully entrenched. Most of the ghetto youth had relatives or friends who were active gang members. (...) The youth lacked jobs and were undereducated needed money. In many instances, gangs provided the only opportunity for youth to gain respect and make money. The pursuit of money often involved selling drugs, committing burglaries, and robberies (Brown 2012, pp, 223).

The drug crack became rapidly popular, and the drug business recruited young kids that could sell the drugs. The drug business also made a lot of money and the possibility to make money made the life of being a gang-banger attractive for kids from poor families.

By the mid-1990s, there were almost 300 African-American gangs operating in Los Angeles with an estimated membership of some 350,000 spreading in all directions from Compton, Inglewood, and Long Beach to Pomona, Santa Monica, and the San Fernando Valley (Brown 2012, pp, 224, Alonso 1999).

The backside of the gang criminality, the violent truth was that a war against gangs also shows the crimes in numbers. The table below (Figure 5) shows how the crimes in Compton looked in numbers in the year 1990. This table only shows the violent crimes and does not show other crimes like theft and other type of materialistic crimes. The table shows that the crime-rate in violent crimes was high in Compton. The table shows that there was 1,5 murder every week in Compton where the population was only 90,454 citizens in 1990.
2.5 Hip Hop and NWA

Hip Hop is a music art form where you mix the sounds from different records and get a whole new song. DR Dre was exceptional in this artform and it was he who made the music behind the rappers in NWA. At first, critics said that Hip Hop was stealing other musician’s music because the instrument used, were two record players mixing the sounds of other musician records into a whole new song. Hip Hop became very popular, maybe because how the DJ mixed the coolest sounds from several albums and with a bombastic backbeat made the music very danceable. The new art form became easy to dance breakdance and electric boogie to. Hip Hop came from the African American parts of New York, where there been a truce between gangs in the end of the 1970th. Gangs were doing dance battles on the dance floor instead of shooting each other in the streets. The lyrics in the Hip Hop was often about the problems in society and about the oppression against the minorities.

Rap artists articulate a range of reactions to the scope of institutional policing faced by many young African Americans. However, the lyrics that address the police directly – what Ice Cube has called “revenge fantasies” – have caused the most extreme and unconstitutional reaction from law-enforcement officials in metropolitan concert arena venues. The precedent-setting example took place in 1989 and involved Compton-based rap group NWA (Niggaz with Attitude) that at that time featured Ice Cube as a lead rapper. Their album Straight Outta Compton contained a cinematic, well-crafted, gritty, and vulgar rap entitled “___the Police,” which in the rap itself filled in the f.u.c.k. at every appropriate opportunity. This song and its apparent social resonance among rap fans and black youths in general provoked an unprecedented
official FBI letter from Milt Ahlerich, an FBI assistant director, which expressed the FBI’s concern over increasing violence (indirectly linking music to this increase) and stating that, as law-enforcement officials “dedicate their lives to the protection of our citizens … recordings such as the one from NWA are both discouraging and degrading to the brave, dedicated officers.” He justifies this targeting of NWA by suggesting that the song allegedly advocates violence against police officers (Rose, 1994, pp, 128).

The album “Straight Outta Compton” spread like “wild fire” and sold platinum. The magazine Rolling Stones put the album on their list of the five hundred greatest albums ever made. The members of NWA where all from Compton. After the NWA’s success, Compton got a lot of attention and the new genre of Hip Hop the West Coast genre, performing gangster rap, gave Compton a reputation of a gangster community with a lot of shootings and crimes. Compton was far from the worst community high in crimes, even if the crime rate in Compton was high. NWA gave a picture of the black man oppressed by the police, this was something other African Americans across America could identify themselves with. In the song “Straight out of Compton” from NWA we can hear the starting phrase “When something happens in South Central Los Angeles, nothing happens …”. In the riot we can see how it took three days for the Police to get control over the situation with help from the National guard.

When the West coast rap group NWA (Niggaz with Attitude) released Fuck tha Police” (1989), a song that vividly describes the police brutality witnessed and experienced by these and other young men during their youth in Los Angeles, it sparked tremendous criticism from local and national law enforcement agencies. Between real instances of gang violence in the City of Los Angeles and elsewhere in the United States, NWA’s lyrics offer a pragmatic narrative that explicitly explore common-sense issues and concerns about real events and activities happening in many Black neighborhoods in Compton, CA and other areas of the United States. Representing a sizeable population of young African American males over the intensity of corrupt policing practices in the “ghetto”... (Stephens, 2000, s.3)

The FBI tried to stop the song by writing a “ominous” letter to NWA’s record company, Ruthless. But the record company claimed to have the law on its side by the “First Amendment”, freedom of religion, press and expression2 (U.S. Constitution). The record company showed media the letter from the FBI, and the album “Straight out of Compton” got after that even more promotion and the record became very popular (Gray, 2015). In a 2015 interview by Billboard, the text writer of the song, Ice Cube, said that the reaction to the FBI letter should be different today: “When we got the letter, I was 18 years old, so I was real naive to the FBI, I didn't care at all. I didn't know what they did” (Billboard, 2015).
A scene from the movie Straight out of Compton (2015), the movie about the group NWA, shows how the band got arrested, taken for gang-bangers, when recording songs in a part of Los Angeles where gangs did not belong. This is also the movie-version of how Ice-Cube came up with the idea to the song *Fuck tha Police*. NWA and Compton got a lot of publication because in the way that NWA reflected Compton as a rough city, a “Gangster City” with its gangster ways, in their music. This reflection made Compton and its gangs, interesting and kids from all over the world wanted to be “gangster” and to copy the Compton style. A lot of white youngsters bought NWA's music because the gangster way of living appealed to them. The sales figures indicated that the white kids bought most of the NWA's records (Billboard 2015). Even though we must consider that it was very easy to copy the album on a cassette recorder and it was very common in the eighties to copy your friend’s newly bought albums. So even if the white kids had a better economy and could buy more records, you can’t say that the listener mostly were white kids.

The Swedish lexicon “*Bra Böckers Historia*” seemed surprised that the American authorities wasn’t better prepared for the riot in 1992.

The ravages in Los Angeles should not have come as a surprise. During the 1980s hip-hop and rap culture had described an inflamed ghetto world just waiting for the sparkling sparkle to explode: social distress, family dissolution, alcohol abuse, violence and hatred (translated from Swedish: Simensen, 1995).

According to the Swedish “*Bra Böckers Historia*” and their sum up about Los Angeles Riots, that the riot shouldn’t be a surprise.

### 2.6 The Los Angeles Police Department war on gangs

In Mike Davis book, City of Quarts we can read about “Operation HAMMER” and how LAPD put in “A thousand extra-duty patrolmen backed up by elite tactical squads and a special anti-gang taskforce…” to fight down the gang related crimes. “Kids are humiliatingly forced to ‘kiss the sidewalk’ or spreadeagle against police cruisers…” “…Tonight we pick ‘em up for anything and everything”. Operation HAMMER operated at South Central in 1989 and resulted in 1453 arrests. The brutality of Operation HAMMER shows how LAPD generalized the masses as one threat and treated the second-class citizens of South Central all as criminals. This issue made the marginalized citizens of South Central feel unequal to other citizens and maybe this could be the one of causes behind the riot in Los Angeles 1992.

The LAPD was criticized for their use of excessive force towards non-whites and as it seems didn’t get any better when the LAPD got a new police chief.
Since the days of the legendary Chief William Parker in the early 1950s, the LAPD has been regarded by L.A.’s Black community as a redneck army of occupation. On the eve of Daryl Gates's appointment as chief in 1978, the so-called 'Masked Marvel', a white ex-cop who had served five years in 77th Street's 'Fort Apache', appeared in disguise on a series of local television shows to luridly chronicle the pathological racism and trigger-happiness of the 'blue knights' towards ordinary blacks. Gates, the third Parker protégé in a row to command the LAPD, ridiculed these charges and the ‘liberals’ who listened to them. Soon afterwards came the police killing of Eulia Love, a 39-year-old Black widow in default of her gas bill. Community outrage was so great that Watts Assemblymember Maxine Waters demanded, ‘Chief Gates, we want you out!’ As Gates defended the twelve 38-caliber holes in Mrs. Love’s body before a cowed Police commission, several hundred Black clergymembers petitioned the Carter administration to intervene. They asked the Justice Department to probe a pattern of systematic abuse of non-whites, including 'more than 300 police shootings of minority citizens in the last decade’ (Davis, 1990, pp. 271-272).

Chief Gates was directly criticized when he got the post as the new police chief. It seemed that the police could do almost anything to the non-whites and get away with it:

In 1982, for example, following a rash of LAPD ‘chokehold’ killings of young Black men in custody, he advanced the extraordinary theory that the deaths were the fault of the victims’ racial anatomy, not excessive police force: 'We may be finding that some Blacks when [the carotid chokehold] is applied the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do on normal [sic] people.’ (Davis, 1990, pp. 271-272).

This quote shows that police chief Gates defended LAPD’s excessive violence with a prejudice about how there are a difference in human’s physics, depending on the “racial anatomy”. This also shows an example of a racist side of the LAPD and how some of the police, in this case, police chief Gates looked at citizens of the Black community. The LAPD also had methods like the “School-buy program”, youthful undercover cops, in fact, who infiltrated high schools, enticing students to sell them drugs (Davis, 1990, pp, 287).

“… African-American males from South Central Los Angeles are three times more likely to end up in prison than at University of California campus” (Davis, 1992).

The producer of several blockbuster movies, Brian Grazer writes about a lunch-meeting he had with Police Chief Daryl Gates in his book A Curious Mind. The meeting was booked several months in advance and it turned out to be on the second day of the riot, at Police Chief Gates’s office inside Parker Center. Brian Grazer was stunned that Gates didn’t cancel the meeting, because of the situation Los Angeles was in. Grazer describes Parker Center as a fortress, reinforced with concrete barriers in front and a line of police officers behind the barriers.
…the most chaotic moment in Los Angeles in thirty years, since the Watts riots in 1965. The Los Angeles Police Department was at the center of the chaos—it was the reason for it, and also responsible for stopping it. Chief Gates completely embodied the militaristic approach that led to the Rodney King beating in the first place (Gazer, 2016).

So, according to Brian Grazer the police were the reason causing the riot. In what way were the police responsible for the riot? And in what way was Chief Gates involved?

The reason for the meeting, was that Brian Grazer was researching interesting characters that he could use as an inspiration in the movies that he produced.

I had been working for months to get to this spot—to meet Daryl Gates, the legendary chief of the LAPD, a man renowned for inventing the modern police SWAT unit, and for showing big-city police departments across the country how to function more like paramilitary units (Grazer, 2016).

Police Chief interested Grazer because he had been Police Chief since 1978 and was a strong leader who had changed and militarized the Police Force. “In Los Angeles in the 1980s and early 1990s, no one wielded power like Chief Gates. I was fascinated by that power, and by the personality that was able to accumulate it and use it” (Grazer, 2016).

Daryl Gates was a protégé of William H. Parker, the man for whom the old LAPD headquarters, Parker Center, was named. Early in his career, as a young patrol officer, Gates was assigned to be Chief Parker’s driver, a job in which Gates got to see up close the everyday acquisition and use of authority. Later, Gates was Parker’s executive officer. Parker was the longest-serving LAPD chief, at sixteen years (1950 to 1966); Gates is the second-longest-serving chief, at fourteen years. (Grazer, 2016, pp, 295)

Gates was the man behind the police’s rougher approach against gangs and gang-related crimes. Grazer was intimidated by the situation around the “lunch meeting” and could barely eat the tuna sandwich that he’d been served.

As we sat there, Gates’s chief lieutenant suddenly burst into the office, totally adrenalyzed, shouting, “Boss! Boss! You’re on TV again right now, the city council says you’re out, they say they are firing you!” Gates turned to me. He didn’t flinch. Nothing in his biochemistry changed at all. He appeared totally calm. He said, to me and to his lieutenant, “No chance. I’ll be here as long as I want to be. They’ll never get me out.” … His ego, his arrogance, was just completely imperturbable. He had been in intense situations all his life. He wasn’t acting—for him, it was the sum total of it. He had accumulated all this authority, the ability and the willingness to use it. He was totally acclimated to it. He had become unflappable, impervious to the possibility that anything outside his own will could change his life. In fact, the city council had announced his replacement just two weeks before the Rodney King riots broke out. Gates had been vague about when
he would leave—and got more stubborn after the riots. His cool cockiness with me notwithstanding, six weeks after our lunch he formally announced his resignation, and he was gone as chief two weeks after that (Grazer, 2016)

So finally, Police Chief Gates had to capitulate and resign, and his plans of being governor failed. Grazer's lunch meeting shows a side of Police Chief Gates that even in the most chaotic times, there was always time for publicity. Grazer thought that the meeting was not cancelled because Gates thought Grazer would do a movie about him.

When I searched LAPD's homepage for information about Police Chief Gates and the Los Angeles riot in 1992, I came across a statement from the following Police Chief Charlie Beck about Operation Hammer and the war on gangs:

And there were deployments such as "Operation Hammer," when we brought in all the gang units in the city and all the extra patrol units and just tried to get as many arrests as possible. It was untargeted, it didn't matter what it was. It was a declaration of war. It was supposed to be a declaration of war on gangs, but people saw it as a declaration of war on the community. (LAPD, 2009)

As we can see, Police Chief Beck thinks that Operation Hammer wasn't the right approach towards the gang criminality, and how the police treated the whole black community.

2.7 Spatial Justice

Edward Soja writes about what the riots have done for the spatial justice and how the after match changed Los Angeles. Soja calls the Los Angeles riots in 1992, the "Justice Riot of 1992" and explains how the citizens perception of the spatial room changed and how the consciousness of security and justice sharpened.

… what are now being called the Justice Riots of 1992 in Los Angeles. It was followed by a period of intensified surveillance and an accelerated retreat by those who could afford to move into more defendable spaces such as gated communities and high-security buildings. At the same time, however, it also stimulated grassroots coalition building and the translation into practice of specifically spatial theories of justice and injustice. The uprising and riots of 1992 marked a turning point for labor and the working poor in Los Angeles, stimulating a growing recognition that government was unlikely to respond effectively, and that new methods and strategies were needed in the struggles for greater social and economic justice. (Soja, 2010, pp. 114)
Soja also identifies how the politics have changed, and how the old liberalism regulating society no longer worked. Instead there was a new political era called neoliberalism where the poor were left to their own destiny.

As Davis (and many others) recognize, this old liberalism and its mode of regulating urban society are no longer in force. In its stead is a new post-liberal, or to use today's more common term, neoliberal political culture that closes off progressive reform through what Davis calls a “rhetoric of social warfare” rather than welfare, a more militant rhetoric backed by a political calculus that demonizes the poor in a zero-sum game they cannot possibly win (Soja, 2000, pp. 302).

A good thing that came out from this riot was the recognition of the need of other political strategies to help the poor through methods leading to a “greater social and economic justice.” “This peak moment of urban unrest in U.S. history was one of the earliest examples of violent protests against the negative socio-spatial effects of neoliberal globalization and the New Economy of flexible capitalism” (Soja, 2010, pp. 35).

3. DISCUSSION

So how can the urban history of Compton explain the context behind the riot in Los Angeles 1992? When Compton got integrated with Black citizens it was not a process without resistance. The African American’s had to struggle to get access to a sub-urban community and houses of their own, with a backyard garden. Many black families had tried to move to Compton to live there but had been chased away by the white mob. During the post-war period, Compton gave black people a hope of integrating into a society that was not slum. When African Americans earned money in Los Angeles industries in the 50's and 60's, several black families got a stronger economy and they could compete in the housing market. Black families with two permanent incomes were prepared to pay more for the small houses in Compton. Fear and racism were, however, widespread among white people in Compton and a white bully ensured that the first blacks who bought houses in Compton were hunted away. Whites who set up their houses for sale at brokerage firms selling to black families were threatened. What opened Compton to Black families was that the Jackson family chased away the white mob with weapons. Yet, once the struggle was won, it didn’t take long before the factories shut down in Los Angeles and the jobs disappeared. The community of Compton transformed over a short time-span, from an integrated sub-urban community to a low-income slum. When the city shut down the factories in Los Angeles in the end of the 1960’s that employed the African Americans and that once made the community flourish with diversity. When the working opportunities
disappeared the rest of the white citizen moved away from Compton and the houses became cheaper and this made it possible for a low-income citizen to buy houses in Compton. The crime rates became higher and working opportunities got lower, Compton turned into a Ghetto. The Black citizens had long been fighting for equal rights and the Black movement got interrupted when the CIA took down the leaders in the Black Panthers. The Black youth who had turned to and followed the black political leaders in Black Panthers now turned to other role models. The Black youth turned to join gangs and the gangs gave the colored youth a possibility to be protected, and an opportunity to make money selling drugs.

When we look at Compton and its demographic history, we can see how the people was knocked out of society, how the jobs and opportunities for a developing lifestyle were decimated. And if we add how the police and the authorities treated black residents, in the war of the police against the gang, we can understand that there was a frustration among the residents. To systematically face encroachment from the police for a long time, the black minority lost the hope of a fair society. It has long been written in the hip hop lyrics about the oppression from the police by the black minority and how to get even. “Whites steel their culture from blacks, they stole blacks, they brought us here... I'm not an African American, you have to call it what it is – I’m a stolen African” (Blackin Up, 2016). To understand the rage from the African American and to better understand the context today we must look back in history. The oppression against the African American goes way back in history, and we must look at the reason why the African American came to America – Not by their own choice, but as slaves.

Davis writes in the book City of Quarts about how LAPD acted against crime by generalizing the black minority and not making any distinction of a gang member and other young blacks. Operation Hammer was the war on the gangs but was perceived as a war against the entire black community. The introduction of NWA's song Straight out of Compton "When something happens in Los Angeles South Central, nothing happens - it's just another nigga day" becomes interesting when we look at how the police abandon the poor parts of Los Angeles and the riot and its inhabitants to their own destiny.

When Davis describes the way, LAPD killed multiple black men in custody by chokehold and how police Chief Gates defended the deaths with a racist statement: “We may be finding that some Blacks when [the carotid chokehold] is applied the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do on normal [sic] people.” (Davis, 1990, pp. 271), we see that the excessive abuse of African Americans in Los Angeles in the 1990s was real. The accusations of racist assault reported by the masked police in the media when Daryl Gates's became the new police chief, could been real. Gates had the intention of becoming governor and did attract media
attention by leading the LAPD to have a hard strategy of brutally fighting gang crime. The fact that innocent people got hurt in the war against the gang did not seem to concern Police Chief Gates much.

A riot is a complex happening that involves a combination of many different events. Sutterlüty writes about the factors in his study that lead a group of people towards an uprising. The LAPD solution on the gang-problem was to go hard against all citizens in the black community. Police brutality in 1990’s Los Angeles was a part of the black man’s everyday living. When we look at Operation Hammer and how Police Chief Gates and his crew took care of the gangs and the gang related crimes, like the crack-industry, we see that the police efforts made no difference between a gang-member and an ordinary black teen. The gang related crimes made it difficult for the police to operate, but the way Police Chief Gates choose to approach the gang problem and made the police officers use excessive force in every police effort. The music, like NWA’s song *Fuck tha Police*, and the success of the song reflects the feelings in the society, the title of the song where used as a cry from the masses, written on the walls under the riot. This shows that there was an anger against the police methods cleaning up the gang related crimes affecting the whole community. Police made no distinction if you were a gang member or not. The police took precautions and assumed that everyone was a gang member. "Revenge Fantasies" was an expression that the Ice Cube came up with, when he described the texts that spoke directly to the police. Like for example the lyrics MC Ren raps the lines “I’m a sniper with a hell of a scope – Takin out a cop or two …” (*Fuck the Police*, 1988). Rap about getting even and revenge the police, is unnecessary and even if we now can understand where the hatred came from, the NWA “*revenge fantasies*” taking out a police officer is unnecessary, because it targeted all cops.

Rough methods like choking were used under police efforts. If we listen to the black community, the Rodney King beating was just one of many, the difference was just that the Rodney King beating got caught on tape, and now there was proof. So, part of the Hidden America was police violence against the black minorities, done on daily basis. The crime rates in Compton and Los Angeles were high and if we look to the numbers we can understand that the police were busy making arrests. But if we listen to what is said about Police Chief Gates and his methods making the arrests, we see that he did everything to make the arresting numbers to go up. One example is tricking schoolkids in high school to buy drugs from youthful police officers pretending to be drug dealers.

The character “Furious” in the movie *Boyz in the Hood* and his monolog about how everything in the hood was a setup, composed by outsiders just to get the black man to kill each
other is interesting if we look to how the riot folded out and which parts of Los Angeles took
the most damage. The police abandoned South Central Los Angeles and its surrounding low-
income areas to its own destiny and did not stop the rioters to do crimes against other citizens
in that area. It also took a long time for the city Los Angeles to get any help from the National
Guard. It was said that the ammunition hadn’t reached the military.

Even if the riot in Los Angeles in 1992 was a multiethnic unrest in its sum character, the
spark to the riot was lit by the African Americans. The anger that sparked the riot came from
the verdict from the case, Rodney King and the verdict from the case, Latisha Harlins and other
events that made the African Americans feel unjustly treated by the justice system. This
together with harassment from the police in LAPD’s war on gangs and Operation Hammer that
didn’t make a difference between a gang member and an ordinary schoolkid. The Rodney King
trial was not just the start of the riot, but the police violence against the Afro Americans also
got attention. Soja calls the riots the Justice Riots of 1992 and he finds the change in politics
from a Liberal society to a Neo-liberal global society.

4. CONCLUSION

The historic demography of Compton shows the context of how this spatial area became a
ghetto. And yes, the historic demography of Compton can explain the context of a riot. The
gangs and the criminality, how the LAPD treated the black citizens in their war against the
gangs, and how the city took away the job-opportunities, this was the foundation in the spatial
environment where the context of a riot could grow in.

The African-American community had long claimed that the police's arrests contained
excessive violence. The lyrics in *Fuck tha Police* speak about the police's abuse and how the
police get away with almost anything, when it comes to abuse of the Black minority.

NWA was one of several hip-hop bands trying to draw attention to the police brutality that
the black minority had to face in its daily life in Los Angeles's ghetto. “Since the days of the
legendary Chief William Parker in the early 1950s, the LAPD has been regarded by L.A.'s
Black community as a redneck army of occupation” (Davis, 1990, pp. 271). The police's task
of combating crime was difficult to solve, and if we make a conclusion from this study, LAPD
was using unnecessarily hard and doubtful methods, which included elements of racism up to
the riots in Los Angeles 1992. We can understand the revengeful texts in NWA's rap songs by
looking at the violence from the police “… systematic abuse of non-whites, including ‘more
than 300 police shootings of minority citizens in the last decade’” (Davis, 1990, pp. 272). This
essay shows that the context behind the song *Fuck tha Police* is the abuse from the police of a
black minority, there is a lifelikeness in the song, and there was excessive violence from the police. So, is the oppression against the black minority, that NWA rap about in the song *Fuck tha Police* lifelike? Absolutely!

It’s been a kind of conflagration waiting for a spark. It’s been particularly fanned by the systematic harassment and repression of black youth, as part of Chief Gates’s “Operation Hammer” war on gangs, which has criminalized black youth almost regardless of socioeconomic group or gang membership (Katz, 1992).

The connection between the two issues gives an understanding why the riot took place. Even if the African Americans from the ghettos in South Central set ablaze the riot, reacting on the Rodney King verdict, other ethnical groups joined along the riot and fought the injustice in their spatial environment, and the riots of Los Angeles in 1992 became the *Justice Riots of 1992*. 
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F*ck the Police, NWA, Straight Outta Compton (1988) Lyrics:

Right about now NWA court is in full effect.
Judge Dre presiding in the case of NWA versus the police department.
Prosecuting attorneys are MC Ren Ice Cube and Eazy muthafuckin E.
Order order order. Ice Cube take the muthafuckin stand.
Do you swear to tell the truth the whole truth
and nothin but the truth so help your black ass?
Why don't you tell everybody what the fuck you gotta say?
F*ck tha police
Comin straight from the underground
Young nigga got it bad cuz I'm brown
And not the other color so police think
They have the authority to kill a minority
F*ck that shit, cuz I ain't tha one
For a punk muthafucka with a badge and a gun
To be beatin on, and throwin in jail
We could go toe to toe in the middle of a cell
F*ckin with me cuz I'm a teenager
With a little bit of gold and a pager
Searchin my car, lookin for the product
Thinkin every nigga is sellin narcotics
You'd rather see me in the pen
Then me and Lorenzo rollin in the Benzo
Beat tha police outta shape
And when I'm finished, bring the yellow tape
To tape off the scene of the slaughter
Still can't swallow bread and water

I don't know if they fags or what
Search a nigga down and grabbin his nuts
And on the other hand, without a gun they can't get none
But don't let it be a black and a white one
Cuz they slam ya down to the street top
Black police showin out for the white cop
Ice Cube will swarm
On any muthafucka in a blue uniform
Just cuz I'm from the CPT, punk police are afraid of me
A young nigga on a warpath
And when I'm finished, it's gonna be a bloodbath
Of cops, dyin in LA
Yo Dre, I got somethin to say
Fuck the police (4X)
M. C. Ren, will you please give your testimony to the jury about this f*cked up incident.>
F*ck tha police and Ren said it with authority
because the niggaz on the street is a majority.
A gang, is with whoever I'm stepping
and the motherf*ckin' weapon
is kept in a stash box, for the so-called law
wishing' Ren was a nigga that they never saw
Lights start flashin behind me
But they're scared of a nigga so they mace me to blind me
But that shit don't work, I just laugh
Because it gives em a hint not to step in my path
To the police I'm sayin fuck you punk
Readin my rights and shit, it's all junk
Pullin out a silly club, so you stand
With a fake assed badge and a gun in your hand
But take off the gun so you can see what's up
And we'll go at it punk, I'ma fuck you up
Make ya think I'ma kick your ass
But drop your gat, and Ren's gonna blast
I'm sneaky as fuck when it comes to crime
But I'm a smoke em now, and not next time
Smoke any muthafucka that sweats me
Or any assho that threatens me
I'm a sniper with a hell of a scope
Takin out a cop or two, they can't cope with me
The muthafuckin villian that's mad
With potential to get bad as fuck
So I'm a turn it around
Put in my clip, yo, and this is the sound
Ya, somethin like that, but it all depends on the size of the gat
Takin out a police would make my day
But a nigga like Ren don't give a fuck to say
Fuck the police (4X)
Police, open now. We have a warrant for Eazy-E's arrest.
Get down and put your hands up where I can see em.
Just shut the fuck up and get your muthafuckin ass on the floor.
[huh?]>
and tell the jury how you feel about this bullshit.>
I'm tired of the muthafuckin jackin
Sweatin my gang while I'm chillin in the shackin
Shining tha light in my face, and for what
Maybe it's because I kick so much butt
I kick ass, or maybe cuz I blast
On a stupid assed nigga when I'm playin with the trigga
Of any Uzi or an AK
Cuz the police always got somethin stupid to say
They put up my picture with silence
Cuz my identity by itself causes violence
The E with the criminal behavior
Yeah, I'm a gansta, but still I got flavor
Without a gun and a badge, what do ya got?
A sucka in a uniform waitin to get shot,
By me, or another nigga.
and with a gat it don't matter if he's smarter or bigger
[MC Ren: Sidle him, kid, he's from the old school, fool]
And as you all know, E's here to rule
Whenever I'm rollin, keep lookin in the mirror
And there's no cue, yo, so I can hear a
Dumb muthafucka with a gun
And if I'm rollin off the 8, he'll be the one
That I take out, and then get away
And while I'm drivin off laughin
This is what I'll say
Fuck the police (4X)
The jury has found you guilty of bein a redneck,
whitebread, chickenshit muthafucka.
Wait, that's a lie. That's a goddamn lie.
I want justice! I want justice!
Fuck you, you black muthafucka!>
Fuck the police (3X)

2 Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. (https://www.usconstitution.net/xconst_Am1.html)