ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN URBANISM AND THE CITY

Latino City

Urban Planning, Politics, and the Grassroots

Erualdo R. González

ROUTLEDGE

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
www.routledge.com

an **informa** business

ISBN 978-1-138-82054-8

Latino City

Erualdo R. González

Routledge

Latino City

Urban Planning, Politics, and the Grassroots

Erualdo R. González

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2017 Erualdo R. González

The right of Erualdo R. González to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Names: González, Erualdo R., author.
Title: Latino city : urban planning, politics, and the grassroots / Erualdo R. González.
Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2017. | Includes index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016038457| ISBN 9781138820548 (hardback) | ISBN 9781315743806 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: City planning—Social aspects—California—Santa Ana. | City planning—Citizen participation—California—Santa Ana. | Urban renewal—Social aspects—California—Santa Ana. | Urban renewal—Citizen participation—California—Santa Ana. | Hispanic Americans—California—Santa Ana—History. | Santa Ana (Calif.)—Social conditions.
Classification: LCC HT168.S238 G66 2017 | DDC 307.1/2160979496—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016038457

ISBN: 978-1-138-82054-8 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-74380-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by diacriTech, Chennai

MIX
Paper from responsible sources
FSC® C013604

Printed and bound by CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

Latino City

American cities are increasingly turning to revitalization strategies that embrace the ideas of new urbanism and the so-called creative class in an attempt to boost economic growth and bring prosperity to downtown areas. These efforts stir controversy over residential and commercial gentrification of working class, ethnic areas.

Spanning forty years, *Latino City* provides an in-depth case study of the new urbanism, creative class, and transit-oriented models of planning and their implementation in Santa Ana, California, one of the United States' most Mexican communities. It provides an intimate analysis of how revitalization plans re-imagine and alienate a place, and how community-based participation approaches address the needs and aspirations of lower-income Latina/o urban areas undergoing revitalization. The book provides a critical introduction to the main theoretical debates and key thinkers related to the new urbanism, creative class, and transit-oriented, models of urban revitalization. It is the first book to examine contemporary models of choice for revitalization of US cities from the point of view of a Latina/o-majority central city, and thus initiates new lines of analysis and critique of models for Latina/o inner city neighborhood and downtown revitalization in the current period of socio-economic and cultural change.

Latino City will appeal to students and scholars in urban planning, urban studies, urban history, urban policy, neighborhood and community development, central city development, urban politics, urban sociology, geography, and ethnic/Latina/o Studies, as well as practitioners, community organizations, and grassroots leaders immersed in these fields.

Erualdo R. González is Associate Professor in the Department of Chicana and Chicano Studies at California State University, Fullerton, USA. His research and teaching interests are community development and participation, urban politics and governance, urban planning and health equity, and Latino urbanism. He examines the intersection of these topics with race, ethnicity, class, and immigration, with an emphasis on Mexican, Chicana/o, and Latina/o communities.

Routledge Studies in Urbanism and the City

This series offers a forum for original and innovative research that engages with key debates and concepts in the field. Titles within the series range from empirical investigations to theoretical engagements, offering international perspectives and multidisciplinary dialogues across the social sciences and humanities, from urban studies, planning, geography, geohumanities, sociology, politics, the arts, cultural studies, philosophy and literature.

For a full list of titles in this series, please visit www.routledge.com/series/RSUC

1 **Shrinking Cities**
Understanding Urban Decline in the United States
Russell C. Weaver, Sharmistha Bagchi-Sen, Jason C. Knight and Amy E. Frazier

2 **Mega-Urbanization in the Global South**
Fast Cities and New Urban Utopias of the Postcolonial State
Edited by Ayona Datta and Abdul Shaban

3 **Green Belts**
Past; Present; Future?
John Sturzaker and Ian Mell

4 **Spiritualizing the City**
Agency and Resilience of the Urban and Urbanesque Habitat
Edited by Victoria Hegner and Peter Jan Margry

5 **Latino City**
Urban Planning, Politics, and the Grassroots
Erualdo R. González

6 **Rebel Streets and the Informal Economy**
Street Trade and the Law
Edited by Alison Brown

Figures

1.1 Map of California. Source: Data from the U.S. Census Bureau; map created by Lorena Guadiana. 18

1.2 Map of Orange County and Santa Ana. Source: Data from the U.S. Census Bureau; map created by Lorena Guadiana. 19

1.3 City of Santa Ana population by race/ethnicity and immigration, 1960–1980. Source: Data from the U.S. Census, 1960. Table 32–Summary of Social Characteristics, For Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Urbanized Areas, and Urban Places of 100,000 or More: 1960. SOCDS Census Data Output: Santa Ana City, CA; The Arroyo Group, ERA, PBQ & D, POD, Inc., and Melvyn Green and Associates. 1981; Santa Ana General Plan Revision Program: Problems and Opportunities Report. Figure created by Cara Gafner. 22

1.4 West Fourth Street, circa 1955. Source: Courtesy of the Santa Ana History Room/Santa Ana Public Library. 23

1.5 West Fourth Street, circa 1965. Source: Courtesy of the Santa Ana History Room/Santa Ana Public Library. 24

1.6 Downtown Santa Ana Development Plan "Social Profile." Source: Courtesy of the Santa Ana History Room/Santa Ana Public Library. Figure created by Kelly Donovan. 29

1.7 West Fourth Street in 1983. Source: Courtesy of the Santa Ana History Room/Santa Ana Public Library. 34

3.1 Map of downtown redevelopment projects. Source: U.S. Census Bureau. 61

3.2 City of Santa Ana population by race/ethnicity and immigration, 1990–2010. Source: Data from U.S. Census Bureau, 2011. American Fact Finder, Selected Social Characteristics in the United States, 2011 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates, Santa Ana, California; U.S. Census, 2007. SOCDS Census Data Output: Santa Ana City, CA. Figure created by Cara Gafner. 62

3.3 The Santora Building at the Artists Village in 2008. Source: Author's personal collection. 64

3.4 Pasarela Bridal. Source: Author's personal collection. 73

3.5 Storefront posters in protest of the Property Based Improvement District (PBID). Source: Author's personal collection. 81
3.6 Fiesta Marketplace looking north in 2002. Source: Courtesy of the Santa Ana History Room/Santa Ana Public Library. 84
3.7 Fiesta Marketplace kiosk looking north in 2008. Source: Author's personal collection. 84
3.8 East End looking north in 2011. Source: Source: Author's personal collection 85
3.9 Street vendor on *La Cuatro's* Fourth St. and Main St., the area's busiest intersection. Source: Author's personal collection 86
3.10 A business employee hands out flyers. Source: Author's personal collection. 86
4.1 SACReD negotiates for a Community Benefits Agreement with the city and Station District developer. Source: Permission granted by Taylor & Francis to use the photograph published in González, E. R., Sarmiento, C. S., Urzua, A. S., and Luévano, S. C. "The grassroots and new urbanism: a case from a Southern California Latino community." *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 5 (2–3), pp. 219–39. 96
4.2 SACReD and allies at a City Council meeting making a final attempt to halt the Station District (SD) and persuade the city and developer to re-enter into Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) negotiations before the council votes on the SD. 97
4.3 Process map of SACReD's community-based planning. Source: Permission granted by Taylor & Francis to use the photograph published in González, E. R., Sarmiento, C. S., Urzua, A. S., and Luévano, S. C. "The grassroots and new urbanism: a case from a Southern California Latino community." *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 5 (2–3), pp. 219–39. 98
4.4 More than one hundred residents, allies, SACReD members, and others begin to fill up the parish gymnasium for a community forum days before the City Council was set to vote on the Station District. Several city officials attended the forum and expressed that they would not support a CBA. Many who were in attendance disagreed with the city officials' lack of support and responded loudly in unison with the chant "CBA all the way, CBA all the way!" 100

Preface

"El centro de la ciudad de Santa Ana emula a muchas ciudades de Mexico. La Calle Cuarta, entre la Main y Broadway, es el area más comercial de esta urbe de Orange … y donde la marca es: Hecho en México." [Downtown Santa Ana emulates many cities in Mexico. Fourth Street, between Main and Broadway, is the largest commercial area of this Orange metropolis … and where the slogan is: Made in Mexico] (Almada 2005).

– From *La Opinion*, the largest Spanish language newspaper in the United States based out of Santa Ana's neighboring Los Angeles.

"Hay palabras que duelen, especialmente cuando se dirigen contra nuestra raza. Aqui se ha dicho que se piensa traer gente buena y yo me pregunto si los Latinos, especialmente los Mexicanos, '¿Somos gente mala?' " ["There are words that hurt, especially when they are directed toward our people. It has been said here that the idea is to bring good people [to the downtown] and I ask myself if Latinos, especially Mexicans, 'Are we bad people?'"

– Daniel Estrada, downtown business owner (Semanario Azteca 1984).

What began as a protest against police brutality in downtown Santa Ana in Southern California on the evening of August 15, 2014 exploded into a heated gentrification confrontation between protesters and barbers from American Barbershop on 4th Street—pitting "Mexicans against Mexicans," said the *OC Weekly* (San Roman 2014). The activists, leaving a rally they held at Sascer Park, were returning to the eastern part of downtown where the group had originally assembled, right across from the barbershop. Their path had taken the activists by a concentration of businesses that have since the 1970s served Mexican working-class immigrants and newer restaurants and hip boutiques geared for the upwardly mobile. Some activists were chanting "Gentrification sucks!" and "Sell-outs" at patrons at one of the newer restaurants when a near-melee happened in front of the barbershop (ibid., p. 1). Some activists, many of whom were Mexican and native born of Mexican descent, or Chicana/o, maintain that some of the barbers had flicked cigarette butts at them and yelled "Wetbacks!" (ibid., p. 1). George Mendoza, owner of the barbershop, denies this account, saying that protestors taunted without provocation, "'Fuck American Barbershop. Fuck you and your little hipster haircuts" (ibid., p. 1). "We are all Mexican here! For God's sake!," he told the

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

O.C. Weekly, adding that his parents came to the U.S. "illegally." He called the protestors "a bunch of dumbshit, fucking ignorant people," concluding "it makes me embarrassed for my own people" (ibid., p. 1).

Events like this echo and amplify the rhetoric I heard four years earlier in city hall. On the evening of May 20, 2010, members of the Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development (SACReD) assembled in Santa Ana City Hall to negotiate twenty-eight demands for a legally mandating community benefits agreement (CBA), between the city, a developer, and the community for a portion of the downtown area. The meeting was with city officials, of which two were city councilmembers, and a developer. About sixty people attended: over thirty SACReD members and ten of their allies, attorneys for both the city and the collaborative, and Community Development Agency senior staff, among other city staff and community members.

About a half hour into the start of the meeting, Sal Tinajero, a member of the first all-Latina/o City Council of a major city in the United States, abruptly and lamentably dismissed himself. The councilmember said he had not been able to review the collaborative's revisions to the CBA draft and was therefore unprepared to discuss them, the meeting had too many people, and speaking too much could potentially create negative consequences for him or the city. The collaborative had provided him the demands about a week prior. Yet, he also acknowledged that the negotiations were very important because no grassroots community group in the city's history had ever worked on neighborhood planning so proactively and thoroughly to negotiate a proposed legally binding agreement between the city, developer, and the community. He and other councilmembers had acknowledged this in other public settings before.

But, there was also a high level of discomfort in the room tied to a history of racial and class tensions between some SACReD activists representing two neighborhoods. Councilmember Michelle Martinez pointed out, authoritatively and confused, that some SACReD members' personal agendas go against SACReD's demand for more affordable housing units catering to a lower-income population than the city and developers had planned for. "They don't want affordable housing. They don't want stuff on lot 1 and that is majority for [proposed] low income housing and that should tell you that they don't have interest in your purpose," she said. Most in the room understood that she was referring to a historic neighborhood group in a majority White middle-class neighborhood that had relatively recently joined SACReD. In the end, these negotiations were tabled for another and smaller meeting.

Ethnic, class, and political tensions have long encompassed battles over community development in Santa Ana. This book explores how city redevelopment plans and related city documents, as well as broader media and local publications, socially construct problems and imagined communities, erase existing populations from redevelopment thought, and create a set of practices prioritizing future communities, using Santa Ana as a case study. It also addresses how the grassroots and residents go about challenging rather than accepting such processes,

the differences that some of these efforts make, and challenges and contradictions that they encounter along the way. That is, this book is also about showing how the grassroots goes about identifying and narrowing what Brenner (2012) refers to as the disjunction between the actual and the possible.

I focus my analysis on Santa Ana in Southern California from the early 1970s to the early 2010s. I take a critical and temporal look at the extent of historical specificity of community development discourse and practice and how it helps us to understand, or not, recent events in Santa Ana. This temporal and critical approach provides a useful lens for examining how discourse and practice may be reinvented in relation to racial and political-economic conditions and urban redevelopment trends, and may maintain core intentions. At the grassroots level, this approach lends to examining the types of conflicts in the broader community provoked from redevelopment discourse and practice and how the broader community responds via community-based approaches to change. I show how activists have waged a number of community-based struggles over proposed and actual community development and taken on Santa Ana city hall and developers.

Through four decades and changing forms, from an open-air mall cultural-themed redevelopment to attracting the creative class and embracing new urbanism, this book traces how the discourse and practice of redevelopment in Santa Ana have routinely spatially alienated Latina/o, the working class, and immigrant residents. Instead of viewing redevelopment plans, controversies, and grassroots struggles in isolation, I analyze them critically as connected and part of a larger narrative over race and ethnicity; immigration, especially from Mexico; class; privilege, community redevelopment, and political economy; and grassroots activism. *Latino City* provides an in-depth and interdisciplinary case study that weaves these concerns together.

How I Came to Write This Book

I grew up in Santa Ana. I began this research in 2007 out of an interest in the city's ongoing redevelopment of the downtown. The subject first garnered my active interest in the mid-1990s when local newspaper stories began endorsing the city's inaugural Artists Village, a cultural-led redevelopment project, which consisted of rehabilitated historic buildings, building work-live loft development, and a few art studios, galleries, and cafes. The Artists Village is situated one block adjacent from the downtown's busiest and largest commercial street, Fourth Street, which locals call *La Calle Cuatro*, or *La Cuatro* for short, a very different commercial and cultural world—jewelry stores, shoe stores, bridal/quienceañera stores, clothing stores, and a few restaurants and other amenities marketed to the city's and region's Mexican, working-class, and immigrant community. *La Calle Cuatro* means Fourth Street in Spanish. These are the stores the activists passed in 2010. I spent a lot of my childhood and youth in *La Cuatro*, visiting or spending whole days with my mother at the shoe store that she managed. The area was a very busy place at the time, and everyone I knew valued it as a site of cultural pride

and connection. We all feared that the city was planning to crowd that culture out of *La Cuatro*. Quietly, I wondered, who in city hall was making redevelopment decisions and how was the broader Santa Ana resident community incorporated in these redevelopment decisions?

My interest in the questions about the Artists Village deepened when I obtained a degree in urban planning. The ambitious redevelopment projects that followed stoked out my fears. Some of the stories that ran in the local newspapers and on the Internet about redevelopment plans that began to crop up in city government in 2007 explicitly criticized the current redevelopment vision, the Renaissance Specific Plan (RP), in a way 1990s coverage of the Artists Village never had. State actors, locals accused, were aggressively and enthusiastically drafting redevelopment proposals and carrying out redevelopment activity that extended to purchasing and boarding up homes in the downtown area with a primary intention to gentrify and displace the majority Mexican, working-class, and immigrant residents and small businesses that market to them.

I joined SACReD in 2007, joining its fight against the RP. I was a recently minted Ph.D. in Urban and Regional Planning, had just started my position as an Assistant Professor at nearby California State University, Fullerton, and was still living in my native Santa Ana. I was now asking questions resembling those I had discussed a decade earlier with reference to the Artists Village, but with a more fine-tuned theoretical perspective. I believed I could find the answers with SACReD. But my participation was also serving my interest in being an active resident of Santa Ana. I was eager to bring my ten years of experience with community-based and applied research and evaluation to bear in the city I love. I had worked side-by-side with community organizers and community leaders across California on a host of topics, such as environmental justice, community development, and community building. Certainly, some of these experiences and skills could be useful. How could I not try to figure out how?

At first, I wasn't sure how I might apply my academic and community-based research background in SACReD, but I was committed to merging my activism and scholarly publications. As I made the transition to full-fledged Ph.D. and principle investigator of my own original contribution to the field, I understood that SACReD was not a "community research project" where I would enter and collaborate to perform a research task to be completed by a specific deadline or under a particular research grant mandate.

My involvement with the collaborative helped me understand my pathway to writing this book. In the mid-1990s while 35 miles away at college at Loyola Marymount University (LMU), Los Angeles, I nonetheless monitored the creation of the Artists Village. One morning, visiting home for the weekend, I picked up the *Orange County Register* newspaper from my parents' driveway and learned that several councilmembers, local businesspeople, and community leaders were taking trips out of the state and around California to tour similar artist-related redevelopment projects to learn what ideas they could apply locally. None of the coverage seemed to explain the questions that would naturally precede the

development itself. Who came up with this vision and why? Who participated in its development?

The deeper roots of this book precede the Artists Village however. My mother grew up near the historic downtown in the late 1960s. My family and my extended maternal side of the family continued to live in Santa Ana when I was a child. Most of us lived within three miles connected by one major street, McFadden. The full scope of my positive memories of *La Cuatro* exceeds what I can express here. My mother, Margarita Romero González, worked in downtown on and off, from the 1970s to the early 1990s, even before the street came to be popularly called *La Cuatro*. The decision to work in and around downtown was an easy choice. My maternal grandparents, Miguel Romero Jimenez and Sara Castro Romero, had brought my mother and her siblings from Mezquital del Oro, Zacatecas, México when she was 12 in 1966. The move was a return for my grandmother, who had been born blocks from Santa Ana's downtown in 1924, although she was raised in Mexico. As a young teen, my mother worked at the Santa Ana Library located in the Civic Center adjacent to downtown and at a record store on *La Cuatro*. My mother routinely references a late 1960s downtown largely frequented by White consumers and by the early 1970s many vacancies in the area.

When I was a school-aged child in the late 1970s, my father, Lucilo González Ramirez, and I visited my mom frequently at *Calzado Canadá*, informally known as *La Canadá*, a Mexican shoe store she managed on the corner of Fourth Street and Main Street, the heart of downtown. My father had crossed the border several times, once in the trunk of a car, about a decade earlier from Huisquilco, Jalisco, in his late teens. He would carry me on his shoulders, and together we would be a giant navigating the sidewalks, providing me a bird's eye view of storefronts, pedestrians, consumers, and streetscapes. By the 1980s and early 1990s, especially during summer periods, I spent a good deal of time with my mother on *La Cuatro*—at the shoe store where she was an employee and manager, the two clothing stores she owned for a short period, and other businesses of employment. When I was not preoccupied drawing palm trees, pyramids, and beaches behind the register counter or playing my favorite records, I would regularly help with general upkeep, organizing shoes in the massive window display and using excessive Windex to clean windows. I took little notice of the sidewalks filled with people, many coming into the store, and the windows reverberating from the loud music from a nearby record store. I assumed *La Cuatro* would always be busy.

During different hours of the day my mother and I would walk the busy sidewalks and she would interact with business owners in the area. There was Pedrini's Music, a large music store where I enrolled in piano classes, owned by Tom and Rosita Pedrini, and Joyeria Latina, owned by Juan and Cecilia Portillo (El Señor y la Señora Portillo), among others. There were also a few eating establishments that we would frequent. Los Panchos, the largest Mexican restaurant in the area, is where my family and I would eat often when my mom was out of work, and Rancho Mendoza is where my mom and I would especially enjoy visiting during lunch for what we believed were the best *sopes de carnitas* in the area. As a boy,

I had little interest in the countless jewelry stores and bridal shops, but they were part of the fabric of the downtown that I treasured.

Just before my teenage years, my time on *La Cuatro* expanded, but by the age of 17, this began to fade. My older cousin, Benjamín Romero Vázquez, and I would meet up during his break from working at Joyeria Latina, which was across from the shoe store. We would walk around, passing by *discotecas* (record stores) playing loud Spanish pop music, often visiting one of the area's last standing mainstream store—Woolworth's—to buy Whoppers candy and eat delicious BLT sandwiches. By the late 1990s, my mother found work opportunities elsewhere and her era on *La Cuatro* ended. To this day, my mother talks about the fondness that she had for *La Cuatro* and the friendships that she created there. When I asked my mother about some of her best memories about working on *La Cuatro*, she recalled: "Los viernes nos ibamos a cenar a Avilas El Ranchito por la calle primera. Ibamos amigas del trabajo y que trabajaban en tiendas de joyería, novia, y ropa, Fue algo bien bonito. ["The girls from work and I, along with other friends who worked in jewelry stores, bridal shops, and clothing stores would meet up and go out to dinner Friday nights. Those were very nice times"]. These early experiences immersed in the sites, sounds, and culture of *La Cuatro*, at what I eventually understood was the area's height, drive my research.

Even at the time, I developed some insights that some Orange County kids perceived Santa Ana in a negative light. For instance, playing sports for my Catholic K-8 school, Immaculate Heart of Mary, required that our team travel to Catholic Schools in more well-off areas of the County and I learned that most opposing teams thought of us, pejoratively, as the Mexicans from Santa Ana. I then had the opportunity to attend Mater Dei High School, the most distinguished school in the County where many of the kids are from economically well-off families from the region. I learned further that many of my new friends and classmates always commuted quickly after school, fearing danger and an unfamiliar city. While my personal experiences in school were overwhelmingly positive, I never got used to the disdain that others who lived outside the city felt for my hometown.

In 1995, I took a summer job for the city of Santa Ana during college as a counselor as part of the workforce development program. I placed youth from working-class and predominant Mexican immigrant neighborhoods like mine in summer internships with city, state, and federal offices located in the Civic Center. I was excited to have a formal work connection to the city. My mother, knowing of my interest, had spoken with city personnel about me, and Roger Kooi, downtown development manager at the time, who would patrol downtown, tipped me to the job after she told him about me.

As an undergraduate at LMU, I took classes focused on city politics, race/ethnicity, community psychology, and program evaluation. The classes focused on city politics routinely included politicians, community organizers, and scholarly guest speakers who covered Latina/o urban questions pertaining to Los Angeles County. Decentralization, deindustrialization, demographic shifts, political representation, activism, applied research, and social justice, among other topics, were common in those classes and I wondered with each passing guest speaker and

class lectures how these topics applied to Santa Ana. Those academic questions remained with me for years. By my senior year, I volunteered as an evaluation research assistant to Dr. Cheryl Grills in the Psychology Department. I bridged coursework with community-based evaluation research and continued to work with non-profits and community organizers throughout California from poor and working-class African-American, Native American, and Latina/o urban and rural neighborhoods after graduation. I was exposed to their work around school reform, race relations, and community health, among other topics, and at the core of their efforts was community organizing, leadership development, and advocating for city or school district resources. This education and research experience sparked my interests to analyze cities through critical race and systems perspectives and to understand and question the extent local politics and grassroots organizing could make cities better.

These interests deepened during my Ph.D. training when I continued to live in Santa Ana. My training in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of California, Irvine prepared me in the areas of community development, public policy, community participation, evaluation research, and Chicana/o Studies. As a research assistant to professors on various projects, I had the opportunity to work with numerous working-class communities of color throughout California and other states. The common element to my work was developing community-based research methods and researching or evaluating the ways in which resident leaders and groups were carrying out environmental justice campaigns and community health projects and any difference these efforts were having on residents and local public policies. My master's thesis topic also focused on the grassroots, examining fear of deportation as a potential barrier to community participation. This factor, which I had observed in non-systematic ways through other community research experiences, was missing from the general community participation literature and by this stage in my academic and my community-based research and evaluation tenure, I had developed an intuitive sense that this may be the case among some undocumented Mexican immigrants. My city lived experiences informed this suspicion and collecting data in my city was an obvious choice. Santa Ana was and continues to be Orange County's most Mexican immigrant city. About half of the City's more than 330,000 residents are foreign born, the vast majority from Mexico, and about half are unauthorized (U.S. Census 2015). Santa Ana has maintained relevance for anti-immigrant discourse and activities. Indeed, in 2008, a *U.S. News and World Report* article characterized Santa Ana as the "poster child" for national immigration issues (Schulte 2008). My dissertation broadened to the non-profit level and examined the extent to which community-based organizations with different missions, those with an advocacy orientation versus those with a consensus mission, were more likely to include resident participation in planning of their projects and share decision-making power with residents when they carried out general community projects.

I joined SACReD in 2007 one year after completing my Ph.D. I had gained a faculty position at CSU Fullerton that same year and this allowed me to live in Santa Ana and make an easy commute to campus. I began reading academic

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com