Latino Lifestyle & the New Urbanism: Synergy against Sprawl

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ABSTRACT

With characteristics differing from majority households, Latino growth is occurring at a time California is conflicted between several urban development models; a choice between developing compact cities, preserving the environment or increasing urban sprawl and slums. A central argument of this thesis is that, given their household characteristics, the growing Latino population (the future majority population group) may become a key player in the construction of more compact cities in California.

This thesis demonstrates that the current views towards status quo development and assimilation ignore the opportunity to build upon Latino’s propensity for compact cities and negates the possibility to accommodate growth in California in a more sustainable manner. The thesis addresses city developmental policies that pressure Latinos to assimilate to the established U.S. notion of appropriate use of spaces and commuting patterns, and how they mitigate the economic, social and environmental benefits inherent in the Latino lifestyle. Research is presented that shows Latino assimilation of conventional lifestyles or what is referred to as "Latino Sprawl", could result in detrimental consequences not just for Latinos but also the general California population.

These implications imply policymakers should shift away from conventional models that perpetuate status quo results and towards policy alternatives that plan for the balance growth of regions and housing models that reflect the diversity and needs that exists within California. Therefore, "Latino New Urbanism", is presented in this thesis as a new development alternative that assesses the changing population dynamics in California and proposes a model that can increase the quality of life of all residents, reduce the amount of environmental impact, provide the home building industry a viable option to profit from the huge projected housing demand and enable local governments to accommodate growth in a more sustainable manner.

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**Latino Lifestyle & the New Urbanism: Synergy against Sprawl**

**Introduction**

More than twenty years ago, U.S. cities were faced with dramatic changes in household composition and lifestyle. Changes in the general population's composition and attitudes were transforming the urban landscape, and policy analysts like Arthur P. Solomon in his 1980 book titled *The Prospective City*, predicted cities would need to adjust and adapt to the new household composition and lifestyle to survive.¹

The population is no longer growing rapidly....In the United States the population growth rate is approaching zero. Thus, although some metropolitan areas will grow, many others – especially the larger older ones – will lose population; schools will close; investment in new housing, industrial plants, and shopping centers will decline; and public facilities will be underutilized. The larger, older metropolitan areas will have to adjust to these changes (Arthur P. Solomon, 1980).

These pessimistic predictions did not manifest due to the large influx of minorities and immigrants in major cities. In 1990, non-Hispanic Whites comprised 52 percent of residents in the 100 largest cities in the U.S.; however by the year 2000, their share of population had dropped to 44 percent in those same cities. Subsequently, these cities gained 3.8 million Latino residents, an increase of 43 percent from 1990 levels. According to the Brookings Institute’s report on metropolitan growth, many growing cities would have lost population if not for increases in Latino population. Of the 74 cities among the top 100 that grew by at least 2 percent during the 1990s, 19 cities would have lost population had they not added Latino residents (a significant portion of these cities were in California).²

Due to the vast increase in minority and immigrant populations many cities were not pressured to dramatically alter their development and service plans. Cities for the most part between 1980 and 2000 pursued planning functions as if they still were developing cities based on the characteristics of past population groups (primarily the average White household). The Brookings Institute, however, suggests if cities wish to achieve real growth over the next several decades they will need to provide a living environment that is attractive to families of varying races and ethnicities. Moreover, they suggest city services and plans should respond and adapt to the needs of increasingly diverse populations.³

**California’s Growth Trends in the New Millennium**

Consequently, differing from population trends during the 1980s, the most critical issues facing California today, is the ability to accommodate unprecedented population growth amid changes in household composition and lifestyle. By the year 2020, California is

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¹ Solomon, Arthur P., *"The Prospective City"*, The MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980.
³ Ibid.
estimated to add close to 11 million residents, which should create nearly 4 million new households. The California Department of Finance reports that by the year 2040, California could reach 58 million people, more than half of them born here. Moreover, the future of California is presently tied to that of the Latino community. California’s racial composition will significantly be altered in the next several decades. By the year 2020 Latinos will exceed Anglos in population numbers, and in 2040, Latinos will become the majority population group in the state at nearly 50 percent.4

Figure 1

The Changing California Household & Lifestyle

In California residential and city development, accordingly, can be expected to change considerably over the next two decades. As with many other California households, it will be Latino households not individuals that make residential and locational choices. However, Latino household characteristics and subsequent residential and locational decisions are different from that of nonLatinos. Compared to nonLatinos, Latino households tend to be larger, younger, multi-generational, and more supportive of compact city lifestyles. Therefore, the incorporation of the Latino lifestyle and household characteristics in development models represents a strategic opportunity to accommodate growth in a more sustainable manner.

Figure 2

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Due to household characteristics and cultural inclinations, Latinos for the most part participate in a lifestyle that significantly yields less environmental damage than non-Latino households in California. In terms of population growth, Latino households require fewer housing units and less acreage than non-Latinos. Latinos are also considerably more likely to be compact commuters than non-Latinos, allowing for a level of service in public transit that otherwise would not be available to other residents throughout California.

Latinos, additionally, are adapting the built environment to suit their needs, incorporating New Urbanist and Smart Growth techniques that promote family and community social interaction, and more efficient uses of space. Such demographic trends are shifting residential needs and choices in new directions, which implicate the necessity to recognize the benefit of maintaining and supporting Latino’s sustainable lifestyle behaviors during the policymaking process and development of cities and suburbs. However, many established patterns and preferences still remain; the majority of cities and suburbs are choosing sprawl type patterns that favor low-density, auto-oriented suburban development.

**Planning Cities for Status Quo & Assimilation Outcomes**

Despite changing population dynamics and preferences for lifestyles supportive of compact cities, many local governments and policymakers are still inclined to plan status quo schemes. In a recent report by the Davenport Institute of Public Policy at Pepperdine University “Rewarding Ambition: Latinos, Housing and the Future of California” even suggested that deviations away from conventional norms to address Latino’s housing needs and constraints in the California environment would be discriminatory in nature.\(^5\)

The current reality impels Californians to plan for the increasing “Latinization” of the Golden State. *This does not mean that there should be any special programs just for Latinos, as suggested by some. Such actions would be by their very nature, divisive and discriminatory.* Latinos represent just the latest of the earlier waves of migrants and, like them, will become critical to shaping California’s future. Over time, with rising rates of intermarriage and increased presences in the middle class, Latinos and their children can, and probably will, become less a distinct group and more reflective, even somewhat defining, of the American mainstream (Kotkin & Tseng, 2002).

**Purpose of Thesis Research**

Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that the current views towards status quo development and assimilation ignore the opportunity to build upon Latino’s propensity for compact cities and negates the possibility to accommodate growth in California in a more sustainable manner. The thesis addresses city developmental

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\(^5\) Kotkin, Joel & Tseng, Thomas, “Rewarding Ambition: Latinos Housing & the Future of California”, Pepperdine University, School of Public Policy, Davenport Institute. Malibu, CA, September 2002.
policies that pressure Latinos to assimilate to the established U.S. notion of appropriate use of spaces and commuting patterns, and how they mitigate the economic, social and environmental benefits inherent in the Latino lifestyle. Furthermore research is presented that shows Latino assimilation of conventional lifestyles or what is referred to as “Latino Sprawl” could result in detrimental consequences not just for Latinos but also the general California population.

Outline of Thesis Research

Chapter One

Chapter One accordingly, begins with the review of current development models and shows that due to the divergence of goals and objectives, existing models will be unable to accommodate growth, protect the integrity of the environment, and address Latino household characteristics and cultural values. As a result of these implications, it is suggested there is a need for the emergence of a new development model to address the contrasting preferences and interests in California. “Latino New Urbanism” is therefore presented as a new alternative that addresses the changing population dynamics and interests in California. Latino New Urbanism represents a synthesis of New Urbanism and Smart Growth principles that sustains and promotes the Latino lifestyle to create more equitable outcomes.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two, demonstrates that the Latino lifestyle is supportive of this new development model and it is argued through the incorporation of various residential types, architectural styles, and amenities, Latino New Urbanism also offers non-Latinos, the middle class, and upwardly mobile Latinos an alternative model consistent with achieving success in America. Therefore, Latino New Urbanism is viewed as having the capacity to promote the reverse assimilation of non-Latinos away from established environmentally harmful California lifestyles and characteristics to those more compatible with compact cities.

Furthermore, population analysis and environmental scanning are discussed in Chapter Two as useful techniques that can aid governments and business groups to question and analyze the socio-economic and cultural underpinnings of policies and business strategies. Such techniques are argued can enable them to create policies and development models that represent the needs of all residents in California, particularly those of emerging populations. The chapter proposes as the composition of residents in California changes, existing and proposed policies and business strategies should also simultaneously change. This is concluded based on the fact Latinos will eventually be the largest population group and their characteristics and actions will have a direct influence on all planning, and commercial consumption functions in California. It is recommended that policymakers and business leaders look beyond their perceived
conceptions of the average population member or market target and think prospectively of the desirable and positive results of incorporation of the Latino lifestyle into policy and business practices.

Chapter Two also illustrates that California has entered an era of multiculturalism, where the nexus between consumer consumption and ethnicity may have the ability to affect how some cities throughout California choose to develop in the future. Case studies are presented that reveal that the commercial real estate industry and some local governments are already realizing the profitability of multiculturalism and consumer consumption and are developing innovative initiatives to support it. These shifting dynamics in developmental policies infer that the next progression in consumer consumption perhaps is models like Latino New Urbanism that replicate the diversity that exists in the state. Accordingly, the chapter recommends that the homebuilding industry and local governments assess their role in creating more representative development models. It is assumed that the degree to which the industry is able to profit from the huge projected housing demand and the ability of local governments to accommodate population and job growth in California may be dependent on how fast and efficiently they are able to assimilate multiculturalism into new housing models like Latino New Urbanism.

Finally, the last section of the chapter further details the economic benefits of increased housing production in the state and outlines the potential consequences for the California economy by not providing affordable housing options, specifically for Latino immigrants. The chapter also exhibits that Latino New Urbanist type developments are an affordable alternative that can also meet environmentalists’ goals and objectives.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three, starts by arguing that as California is faced with significant changes in household composition and lifestyle, consumer housing preferences will become increasingly diverse and the housing market will need flexibility and room to adapt. The chapter infers that conventional planning schemes, however, may be incapable of achieving this, implying that California possibly will require a restructuring of the planning system to promote housing innovation, diversification, and market efficiencies. The restructuring is proposed to enable flexibility in the land market so that housing models like Latino New Urbanism can capture environmental, social, and economic benefits.

Therefore, Chapter Three concentrates on: (1) defining the main problems that inhibit the innovation of new housing models and (2) identifies policy interventions that could assist in creating a politically viable environment that provides incentives to local governments and the home building industry to plan for the balance growth of regions. The chapter details how these interventions may assist in allowing California to fully realize the next innovation in consumer consumption, housing models that reflect the diversity and needs that exist in the state.
In addition, the chapter argues, that if Latinos are to have a productive and historical significance, as they become the majority population in California, they should be the catalyst for the establishment of a new model that equitably develops cities and suburbs. They should assist in providing an environment that permits the establishment of alternative developments models, so that Latinos have something other than the suburban sprawl model to assimilate to. Moreover, the chapter suggests whereas culture influences Latinos’ propensity towards compact lifestyles, their historical experience, social composition, size and current political realities, may pressure them to revolutionize the planning system to challenge the irrational growth patterns and their subsequent consequences throughout the state.

**Overview of Thesis Research**

In sum, this thesis reveals due to the divergence of goals and objectives it is unlikely current development models can accommodate growth, protect the environment, and address Latino household characteristics and cultural values. The sustained discrepancy between models and agendas negates the capacity to combat urban sprawl and assist in accommodating the unprecedented population growth over the next several decades.

These implications imply policymakers should shift away from conventional models that perpetuate status quo results and towards policy alternatives that plan for the balance growth of regions and housing models that reflect the diversity and needs that exists within California. Latino New Urbanism, therefore represents a new development alternative that assesses the changing population dynamics in California and proposes a model that can increase the quality of life of all residents, reduce the amount of environmental impact, provide the building industry a viable option to profit from the huge projected housing demand and enable local governments to accommodate growth in population and jobs.
Figure 3
California Development Pathways

Unprecedented California Population Growth

Latino Growth
Future Majority Population

Development to Accommodate Projected Growth

California Planning System

Latino Lifestyle

Assimilation to Conventional Lifestyle Behaviors

Latino Sprawl
Irrational Growth

Divergence of Growth Models

Increased Housing Shortages

Reduction of Quality of Life Limited Lifestyle Choices

Latino New Urbanism
Sustainable Development

Promotion of Latino Compact City Lifestyle Behaviors

Synthesis of Growth Models

Increased Housing Production

More Balanced & Sustainable Regions

Higher Quality of Life Diverse Lifestyle Choices

Chapter One:
Latino New Urbanism a Sustainable Development Alternative

1.0 Population Analysis – Planning California for the Latino Baby Boom?

People are the core of a city and the foundation for its future prosperity. They are the successors who endure or benefit from the policy and planning decisions that are implemented today. Consequently, the implications of such decisions require policymakers to know the future clients (people) of the city and how their characteristics affect and are impacted by various policy outcomes. However, often policymakers are conflicted with enacting policies that serve the needs of today’s politically relevant population and those of emerging groups.

In California, the future of the state is unmistakably tied to that of the Latino population. California’s racial composition will significantly be altered in the next several decades. By 2020 Latinos will exceed Anglos in population numbers, and in 2040 Latinos will become the majority population group in the state at nearly 50 percent. However, the main focus of growth and development plans in the state has been centered on conventional land-use and transportation schemes and for the most part demographic analysis has been absent from the planning making process. Consequently, when demographic analysis is missing from the process, the state is unable to fully meet the diverse needs of emerging populations.

Traditionally, demographic analysis and the subsequent policy and allocational decisions of city services have been oriented to view all demographic groups as a single population. However, the increasing concern with social equity, coupled with the acknowledgement of differences in characteristics of client groups (women, families, children, the elderly, racial and ethnic minorities) advocates for a shift in the focuses from population totals to population characteristics. Thus, the dilemma of policymakers and local governments is to find innovative techniques that ensure growth and development policies serve the diverse needs of various emerging population groups amidst the preferences of the current electorate who is primarily concerned with the needs of past-demographic groups and today’s politically relevant population.

The standard practice of localities to plan for the “average” population member, moreover, overlooks the variations of household formation, home ownership, employment, park and transportation uses by age, sex, and ethnic origin. For instance, age is often perceived as an important measurement of population analysis due to its

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7 California Department of Finance, “County Population Projections with Age, Sex and Race/Ethnic Detail”. 1998
close association to service needs; differences in the needs of children, parents, and elderly people are obvious. However, overlaying age characteristics with race and ethnicity in rapidly changing populations often can yield even more apparent differences among subgroups.

The most common example of policymakers and the electorate planning for only the average population member is their inability to accurately plan for the potential impacts of the “baby boom” generation of the 1950s and 1960s. The actual size of the baby boom generation exceed previous generations at every age level and placed massive demand on schools, followed by a increase in the need for apartments and later, single-family homes. The enormous increase in apartment seekers is attributed with fueling the revitalization and gentrification of several inner-city areas. Additionally, the behavior of the baby boom generation also broke tradition of that of the general population member, the large increase of women’s participation in the labor force which created more job holders than population increases alone would have led conventional population analysis to expect.

Consequently, California currently encounters its self at a decisive moment similar to that experienced during the initial baby boom generation. The Latino Baby Boom of the 2000’s rivals the primarily White baby boom of the 1950s and 1960s. Based on birthrates of Latinos in California during 2001, they will constitute the majority of children entering kindergartens in the fall of 2006, the majority entering high school in 2014, the majority of workers entering the labor force in 2017; the majority of young adults eligible to vote by 2019; and the majority of home seekers and buyers in 2032. Thus, like the Anglo baby boom in previous decades, the Latino baby boom will place dramatic demands on service needs, particularly those associated with schools and housing. Latinos characteristics and actions will have a direct impact on all planning and land use patterns in California. Latino household needs are influenced by external variables that noticeably differ from nonLatino households, which suggest the level and type of services demanded will also vary from nonLatinos. However, in light of these variables, it still remains uncertain whether policymakers and voters will plan California for the Anglo or Latino baby boom.

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9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
13 In the third and fourth quarter of 2001, Latinos accounted for more than 50 percent of the California birthrate for the first time in the state’s modern history, according to the study by the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture at the University of California, Los Angeles (based on information filled in by new parents on birth certificates). Additionally, the UCLA study shows the growth of California’s Latino population as a native-born phenomenon, with only 15 percent of the growth coming from immigration.
2.0. Current Development Growth Models

As policymakers consider how to accommodate population growth, the issue of density of development materializes as a key element of the state’s future. The large projected population growth and compositional change, will pressure the state to modify the methods in which it develops cities and suburbs. California will need to create innovative initiatives to provide one of life’s basic necessities, housing to all segments of society.

The ability of the state to enact innovative policies that allow for the development of communities where individuals and future generations can achieve economic security, social-well being, and a higher quality of life, while preserving the ecological integrity of the region will principally be determined by how California selects to configure people into communities and housing units.

However, moving forward to accommodate population and environmental concerns within California is presently gridlock by policymakers and the home building industry caught between two competing development models: 14

- **Status Quo Model:** Sustained divergence between growth management and development needs, with inefficient piecemeal approaches that encourages sprawl and slums, or limits and delays construction;

- **Growth Management Model:** Enforcement of growth management and slow growth measures to limit and restructure urban land, organizing development with environmental and open space objectives.

California policymakers seem to be following conventional and historical thought as to how to house the state’s growing population, particularly low-income and immigrant populations. The majority of California cities and suburbs are engaging in the status quo growth development model, encouraging sprawl housing developments in the urban fringes for high-income households, while drastically limiting the amount of land for affordable housing through zoning regulations and growth management schemes. 15 These actions are degrading the environment, creating housing shortages and leaving a significant portion of the population in housing that is dilapidated and obsolete, i.e. slum housing. Such policies do not deviate far from U.S. housing policy at the turn of the last century. According to housing policy analyst Anthony Downs, slums have traditionally


15 Sprawl is defined as the expansion of auto-oriented, low-density and highly dispersed communities that increase traffic congestion, environmental impact, regional socio-economic inequalities, that subsequently reduces the quality of life of all residents.
been the preferred method U.S. cities have housed large in flows of immigrants and low-income residents.\textsuperscript{16,17}

Consequently “smart growth” and “New Urbanism” are emerging as the leading alternative models to combat the negative impacts of urban sprawl and accommodate population growth. However, there has been little research conducted whether these alternatives will promote or inhibit the unique characteristics and cultural values of the Latino household, the future majority population group in the state. Proponents of smart growth and New Urbanism include the Urban Land Institute, homebuilders groups, realtors and the Sierra Club. All these groups agree that smart growth and New Urbanism is better than “dumb growth”, but each group has different definitions and goals of what the alternative models entail.\textsuperscript{18} Therefore, if smart growth and New Urbanism are beneficial and relevant to such contrasting groups, it is uncertain whether they have the capacity to also address the needs and cultural preferences of Latino households.

Due to the divergence of goals and objectives it is doubtful existing models can accommodate growth, protect the environment, and address Latino household characteristics and cultural values. The sustained discrepancy between models and agendas negates the capacity to combat urban sprawl and assist in housing the 4 million new households expected in the year 2020 or the projected 58 million residents in 2040.

Moreover, status quo schemes and their subsequent divergence of agendas does not speak to the need for the production of more affordable housing in all regions of the state, specifically those in the suburbs where the majority of new housing production and job growth is taking place. These implications suggest that policymakers should move away from conventional models that perpetuate status quo outcomes and towards policy options that plan for the balance growth of regions and housing models that reflect the diversity and needs that exists within California. Hence, there is the need for the emergence of a third development model to address the contrasting preferences and interests in California.

- **Latino New Urbanism Model**: Builds upon and promotes Latino’s propensity for compact city lifestyles, endorses multicultural/diverse housing production and encourages the incorporation and assimilation of non-Latinos (reverse assimilation – assimilation away from established environmentally harmful California lifestyles) to the model.

\textsuperscript{16} Downs, Anthony, "Why California is Generating Large-Scale Slums". The Brookings Institute, Washington D.C. 2000.

\textsuperscript{17} According to the state Department of Finance, the annual housing need for California for the past 23 years; based on population growth, job creation and household formation demanded production levels over 225,000 units per year. However, between 1997 and 2001, only 132,000 housing units on average were built in California (see Figure 15). The state Department of Housing Community Developments reports, if such trends continue, California will build less than 60 percent of the new housing units required to meet projected 2020 population and household growth.

\textsuperscript{18} Downs, Anthony, "Why California is Generating Large-Scale Slums". The Brookings Institute, Washington D.C. 2000.
Latino New Urbanism represents a new development alternative that assesses the changing population dynamics in California and offers a model that can increase the quality of life of all residents, reduce the amount of environmental impact and provide the building industry a viable option to profit from the enormous housing demand projected in the next several years. This new model affords the opportunity for residents to pursue a variety of housing types and styles that reflect the diverse needs and preferences that exist within California. Moreover, Latino New Urbanism combines principles of New Urbanism and Smart Growth to more effectively capture the opportunities and realities that exist within California.

Accordingly, while the New Urbanist model concentrates mainly on the physical design of buildings, and neighborhoods, Smart Growth looks at broader polices that promotes regional equity, such as tax revenue programs, the relationships among local jurisdictions, and the economic, environmental, and societal consequences of land use. Though both growth models create equitable results, however, they overlook Latino household characteristics and fail to capture the full economic, environmental, and social benefits of the Latino lifestyle. Therefore, Latino New Urbanism represents a synthesis of these two models that sustains and promotes the Latino lifestyle to create more sustainable outcomes throughout California.

Housing comprises the bulk of developed land in the state; therefore, the production of housing presents a prime opportunity to develop California in a more sustainable manner. Population increase and the development to met projected growth in the state are inevitable, however policymakers have the option to think beyond the conventional housing development models and enact initiatives that address the diverse needs of the emerging populations and also protect the integrity of the environment. Thus, innovative housing models, like Latino New Urbanism perhaps could offer California a sustainable method to provide housing to all segments of society.

Accordingly, the reminder of this chapter details the forces influencing the creation of this new development model and provides evidence that much of the Latino population is participating in a lifestyle that significantly yields less environmental damage than nonLatinos. The chapter argues that Latino's lifestyle choices present a strategic opportunity to build more compact cities and a sustainable California. Additionally, the chapter hypothesizes the implications of Latino assimilation towards conventional lifestyles or what is referred to in this thesis as Latino Sprawl.

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19 A newly conceived development model created through the author's research and presented for the first time in this thesis.
3.0 Compact Cities and the Latino Lifestyle

With characteristics differing from majority households, Latino growth is occurring at a time the state is conflicted between several urban development models; a choice between developing compact cities, preserving the environment or increasing urban sprawl and slums. A central argument of this thesis is that, given their household characteristics, the growing Latino population may become a key player in the construction of more compact cities in California.

Compact cities encourage the development of cities and suburbs that concentrate and cluster a mixture of higher-density development and land uses within existing boundaries. Such development patterns improves access to affordable housing, providing livable neighborhoods with local opens spaces and reduces transportation, distribution and infrastructure costs, facilitating the efficient delivery of both public and private products and services. Furthermore, compact cities allow for more efficient, accessible and affordable public transportation as well as better and safer access for pedestrians and bicyclists.20

Accordingly, research by Dowell Myers, Professor of Planning & Policy, University of Southern California provides evidence that even without the creation of high-density housing patterns, California’s Latino population is supportive of compact cities. Latinos, which comprises the greatest portion of future population growth, has a propensity for lifestyles consistent with compact cities. This is most apparent from three key indicators; multi-family housing, average persons per household and compact commuting.21

California is faced with several policy options to accommodate growth in the state, however, due to Latino’s natural and cultural progression toward a lifestyle supportive of compact cities, affords policymakers an alternative with a built-in consumer base. Therefore, the development and advancement of compact cities in California may be dependent on the ability of policy makers to sustain and support the Latino lifestyle.

The following two sections “Latino Household Characteristics” and “Latino Compact Commuting Characteristics” will assess several indicators to demonstrate that Latinos are inclined to engage in lifestyles that are considerably more compact than those of nonLatinos. Additionally, through the “Latino Sprawl Scenarios”, these sections will evaluate the assimilation of Latinos towards conventional lifestyles and determine their implications for growth and potential environmental impacts throughout the state.

3.1 Latino Compact Household Characteristics

Dowell Myers’ research has shown in terms of population growth, Latino households require fewer housing units and less acreage than nonLatino households. Latinos are

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achieving this through larger household sizes and a higher proportion of individuals living in multi-family housing. Larger household sizes are significant because they require less separate housing units to accommodate the same size population. High levels of occupancy in multi-family housing also imply fewer acres consumed by the same amount of people. When analyzing these two indicators, Latinos are engaging in a lifestyle that significantly consumes less land than other population groups in California.

Moreover, these propensities toward compact lifestyles may be associated with Latino’s cultural inclinations for close contact societies, where overcrowding or larger households is not seen as a negative problem. Latino cultural preference for larger households often even persists after several generations or improvement in economic status.

Consequently, among each culture, typically there is agreement between the values that are practiced and the ones the culture believes in. However, between cultures, dissonance can occur because the values of the cultures contrast. Accordingly, the housing standards of the established population and government may be in disaccord with those of Latino households. Therefore these implications perhaps propose the need to acknowledge the dissimilarities in cultural standards during the policymaking process.

3.2 Household Size

According to Myers’ analysis (see Table 1) household sizes were significantly larger for Latinos than nonLatinos, suggesting that Latino household formation requires more than one-third less housing units to house the same amount of Latino residents than nonLatinos. These differences held equally at the higher and lower income levels, suggesting that the household size and formation differential for Latinos is not a simple function of poverty. The average persons per Latino household in the income group $20,000-$25,000 is 3.98 persons versus 4.50 for the $50,000-$67,000 income group.22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1</th>
<th>Average Persons Per Household (California)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All Incomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Residents</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NonLatino</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>4.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
<td>4.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s immigrants</td>
<td>4.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s immigrants</td>
<td>4.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1970s immigrants</td>
<td>3.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dowell Myers, 1990 Public Use Microdata Samples (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993)

22 Ibid.
3.3 *Foreign-born and Native-born Household sizes*

When assessing differences among foreign-born and native-born Latinos, the foreign-born (4.57) had much larger household sizes than the native-born (3.21), and the most recent immigrants (4.77) had the largest size of all. Consequently, these differences did not decrease when income was controlled but actually increased. Foreign-born Latinos with incomes over $50,000 had an average household size of 5.45 (see Table 1).23

3.4 *Household size and Housing Tenure*

The 2000 U.S. census data also reveals that household size for Latinos is equally higher than non-Latinos even when controlling for housing tenure (see Table 2). Average household size for Latinos in owner-occupied housing is 4.25 versus 3.92 for renter households. Accordingly, non-Latino households have an average household size of 2.99 for owner-occupied housing and 2.53 for renter households.24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average Household Size by Housing Tenure (California)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner Occupied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NonLatino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Census 2000

3.5 *Differences in Overcrowding among Racial Groups*

In another study Myers, showed vast differences among racial ethnic groups concerning overcrowding25 and income. Latinos and Asians have the highest occurrence of overcrowded households (see table 3).26 Similar to the previous study, recent immigrants have the highest overcrowding rates of all. However, the native-born members of these two ethnic groups still have a much higher proportion of overcrowded households than compared to their native-born counterparts amongst Black or White households.27

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23 Ibid.
24 U.S. Census Bureau Census 2000
25 Overcrowding is defined as more than one person per room.
26 California Budget Project’s analysis also shows 27 percent of Latino renter households in major California metropolitan areas in 2001 as being overcrowded. “Locked Out 2002” Sacramento, CA, October 2002.
Table 3
Over Crowded Households by Race (Percentage)
More than 1.00 Person Per Room (U.S.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Households</th>
<th>Owners</th>
<th>Renters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>3.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>8.95</td>
<td>5.94</td>
<td>11.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian &amp; Pacific Islander</td>
<td>23.14</td>
<td>15.78</td>
<td>31.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>27.29</td>
<td>18.14</td>
<td>33.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dowell Myers 1990 PUMS-A (5%) file, subsampled at 1-in-5

These findings that Latinos are more likely than non-Latinos to live in overcrowded households is further supported by the high population densities of the six Southeastern suburban cities in Los Angeles county know as the “Greater Eastside”. All six cities in the Greater Eastside had an official population in the 2000 census over 80 percent Latino and all six cities are amongst the most crowded cities in California. More than three hundred thousand people live within the seventeen square miles that make up the Greater Eastside, which gives the region a larger population density than San Francisco, Chicago or Boston.  

Figure 4
Percentage of 4-person Households in the U.S. that are Overcrowded (PPR>1.000) by Race/Ethnicity & Income, 1990

Moreover, Meyers’ analysis shows exceedingly high levels of overcrowding for Latinos and Asians even when controlling for household size. Overcrowding in four-person Latino and Asian households do not significantly drop until incomes surpass 80 percent of the median level income. At levels twice the median income, 8 percent of Latino and Asian households still remain overcrowded. Contrarily, White, non-Latino households

never achieve high rates of overcrowding, and even the proportion of overcrowded African American and American Indian households are less than half those of Latinos or Asians (see Figure 4). This suggests, that at all income groups, Latinos particularly, have more favored uses for their money than consuming more housing space or is possibly related to Latinos cultural preference for dense household living.

Accordingly, the U.S. 2000 Census also shows that Latinos are less likely than any other ethnic group to reside in housing units occupied by only one person. Just 11 percent of Latinos live housing units occupied by only one person versus 29 percent and 28 percent for Whites and African Americans respectively (see Figure 4). Additionally, Latinos have the highest percentage of housing units occupied by a family than any other ethnic/racial group. 84 percent of Latinos live in households with their families; whereas only 62 percent of White and 66 percent of African American housing units are occupied by a family (see Figure 5).

Figure 4

Housing Units Occupied by Only One Person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>% of Housing Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: California Research Bureau based on Census 2000 Data

The sustained rates of overcrowding amongst Latino households infer they may not see it as an urgent or negative problem. Scholarship by Ellen Pader, Professor of Urban Planning, University of Massachusetts, supports this notion. She explains that immigrants from Latin America come from “close contact” societies where living in small accommodations is considered a voluntary act. Pader concludes that many immigrants may not consider high densities within the home something to prevent, even though it surpasses the housing standard of the established population and government. Furthermore, such cultural predilections can even be sustain over decades or generations.

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30 Myers et. al suggest that standards measuring overcrowding perhaps should be increased to reflect cultural differences in what is considered overcrowded households. His analysis shows if the standard of 1.00 Persons Per Room (PPR) was increased to 1.50 PPR, only 8.01 percent of Latino owner occupied households and 19.56 percent of Latino renter households would be considered overcrowded (see Table 3 to compare with >1.00 PPR standard). The conventional standard applied by local and federal governments to measure overcrowding in 1940 was > 2.00 PPR, in 1950 >1.50 PPR and >1.00 PPR in 1960 (current standard).
despite the partial convergence toward the dominant cultural attitude regarding space and configuration within the home.\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure5}
\caption{Family Occupied Housing Units by Race/Ethnicity}
\end{figure}

\subsection*{3.6 Multi-Family (apartment) Living}

Assessing Latinos' propensities for apartment living, Myers' research also showed that more Latinos lived in multi-family housing than non-Latinos (37.2 percent of Latinos versus 29.1 percent for non-Latinos). However, foreign-born Latinos were more likely to live in multi-family housing than native-born (43.4 percent and 28.6 percent respectively). Additionally, the proportion of Latinos in multi-family housing also differs sharply by income level. While 37.2 percent of all Latinos lived in apartments, 45.5 percent of lower-income households lived in apartments, but only 20.3 percent of high-income households lived in multi-family housing (see Table 4). This suggests that apartment living is perhaps less of a predilection and more a necessity for most Latinos. Accordingly, the following analysis hypothesizes what implications would occur if Latino's upward mobility pushed them towards assimilation of conventional household formation rates of non-Latinos and into auto-oriented low-density suburban housing units.

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Percentage of California Households in Apartments*}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline
            & All Incomes & $20,000-$25,000 & $50,000-$67,000 \\
\hline
All Residents & 30.5        & 41.2            & 19.9            \\
NonLatino     & 29.1        & 40.0            & 19.9            \\
Latino        & 37.2        & 45.5            & 20.3            \\
Native-Born   & 28.6        & 38.4            & 16.3            \\
Foreign-Born  & 43.4        & 49.4            & 24.7            \\
1980s immigrants & 63.2        & 66.3            & 45.2            \\
1970s immigrants & 41.6        & 47.0            & 22.9            \\
Pre-1970s immigrants & 25.2        & 28.7            & 14.0            \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

Source: Dowell Myers, 1990 Public Use Microdata Samples (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993)
* Householders 20 years and Older

3.7 Latino Sprawl Scenario – Household Formation

Given Latinos' low household formation rates, significantly less land for housing is required than non-Latino households. Between the years 2010 and 2020, Latinos will demand over 1.8 million additional housing units to accommodate for growth, constituting 51 percent of all demanded housing in California. Furthermore, by the year 2040, Latino Growth will demand an additional 2.7 million housing units, accounting for a majority (54 percent) of all demanded housing in the state. Conversely, White households, whom have much higher household formation rates, require nearly twice the amount of housing units that Latino households need to house the same quantity of people (see Table 5).

Consequently, another way of evaluating Latino household formation in the state is to ask what would happen if Latinos formed households at the same rate as Whites. The results presented here are dubbed “Latino Sprawl” scenario, due to the higher dispersion of Latinos in conventional auto-oriented low-density suburban housing units. While this scenario of “instant assimilation” of all Latinos is unrealistic, it is informative in demonstrating the benefits Latinos contribute by living in larger households.

Table 5
Projected California Housing Demand Year 2010 – 2040*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Size</th>
<th>Average Household Size</th>
<th>Housing Units Demanded in 2010</th>
<th>% of Total Housing Units Demanded in 2010</th>
<th>Housing Units Demanded in 2020</th>
<th>% of Total Housing Units Demanded in 2020</th>
<th>Housing Units Demanded in 2040</th>
<th>% of Total Housing Units Demanded in 2040</th>
<th>Total Housing Units Demanded 2010-2040</th>
<th>% of Total Housing Units Demanded 2010-2040</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>866,481</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>1,009,111</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>2,728,282</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>4,603,874</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>201,882</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>92,998</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>49,896</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>344,776</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Pacific Islander</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>418,575</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>369,555</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>833,683</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>1,621,813</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>78,819</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>103,462</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>166,246</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>348,527</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California**</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>1,894,364</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1,961,076</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>4,743,706</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>8,599,146</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Calculations do not include demand from replacement or rehabilitation of existing housing units.
**California includes Other race/ethnic group.

Accordingly, if Latinos formed households at the same rate as Whites, they would require an additional 509,694 housing units in the year 2010, 593,596 in 2020 and over 1.6 million more housing units in the year 2040. Moreover, under the Latino Sprawl scenario over 7.3 million housing units is needed to accommodate Latino Growth between the years 2000 and 2040 versus 4.6 million under the current Latino household formation rate (see Table 6). Thus, if even a much lower portion of Latino Sprawl takes place in California, the implications for affordability, supply of housing, and consumption of land within the state will be greatly exacerbated (an additional 2.7 million housing units are demanded under Latino Sprawl).
TABLE 6
Latino Sprawl Scenario – Household Formation Year 2010-2040 (California)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average Household Size</th>
<th>Housing Units Demanded in 2010</th>
<th>Housing Units Demanded in 2020</th>
<th>Housing Units Demanded in 2040</th>
<th>Total Housing Units Demanded 2010-2040</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latino**</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>10,688,752</td>
<td>1,376,175</td>
<td>4,333,154</td>
<td>7,312,036</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Calculations do not include demand from replacement or rehabilitation of existing housing units.
**Assuming Assimilation to average household size of Whites

3.8 Latino Household Characteristics and their Implications

Accordingly, assessing the indicators of overcrowding, multi-family living and household formation, demonstrates that Latinos are inclined to engage in a lifestyle that is considerably more compact than those of nonLatinos. Moreover, Latinos are more likely to be overcrowded than are White or Black households and remains so even controlling for income.

Furthermore, Pader and Myers’ findings show that even after decades in the U.S. Latino’s cultural preference for larger households still persist which implicates the necessity to recognize the differences in cultural standards during the policymaking process for the development of cities and suburbs.

4.0 Latino Compact Commuting Characteristics

Latinos throughout California are more likely to be compact commuters than any other demographic group in the state. Their higher propensity for travel by means of public transit, bicycle or walking assists in improving air quality and sustaining the mobility of regional transportation systems. However, the positive social and environmental benefits from Latino compact commuting behavior are often disregarded by the rest of California. The following research, therefore, demonstrates the key role Latinos are playing in promoting sustainable commuting patterns in California.

4.1 Latino Compact Commuting Rates

Assessing Myers’ compact commuting indicator (travel by means of public transit, bicycle or walking), Latinos were nearly twice as likely to be compact commuters as nonLatinos. 13.1 percent of Latinos commute to work compared to only 7.2 percent of nonLatinos. However, at a higher income of at least $50,000, Latino compact
commuting behavior declines to 8.6 percent, nevertheless it is still a higher proportion than the 5.3 percent for nonLatinos at the same income level (see Table 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of California Compact Commuters*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NonLatino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-Born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1970s immigrants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dowell Myers, 1990 Public Use Microdata Samples (U.S. Census Bureau, 1993)
*Workers 20 years or older who commute by public transit, bicycle or walking.

The 2000 U.S. Census also provides evidence that Latinos are twice as likely to be compact commuters as nonLatinos. 12.2 percent of Latinos are compact commuters, whereas only 6.4 percent of nonLatinos compact commute to work. Additionally, Latinos are also twice as likely as nonLatinos to carpool to work. 22.6 percent of Latinos carpool to work versus only 11.4 percent of nonLatinos (see Table 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Means of Travel to Work (California)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NonLatino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Census 2000
*Workers 16 years and older who commute by public transit, bicycle or walking
**Workers 16 years and older who carpool to work

However, it is important to mention that the census data only reflects commuting patterns to and from work and ignores the millions of other non-work related trips (leisure activities, shopping, educational, etc.). The Surface Transportation Policy Project estimates that walking alone as a mode of transportation accounts for between 8 and 10 percent of all trips in California. Accordingly, it may be assumed since Latinos have the highest proportion of compact commuting for work related trips, they presumably

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33 U.S. Census Bureau Census 2000
also have the highest rates of compact commuting for non-work related trips among all ethnicities in California.

Consequently, the sustained compact commuting behavior of Latinos even at higher income levels may be explained by recent reports by the Brookings Institute that show that 54 percent of all Latinos in the U.S. now live in suburban locations. The report, however, does not differentiate between the type and age of the suburban areas Latinos are residing in. Therefore, based on sustained behavior for compact commuting, it could be supposed that a majority of Latinos are living in high-density suburbs, specifically older inner-ring suburbs that are more supportive of compact commuting. Older inner-ring suburbs typically have stronger connections to regional transit, major job centers and a higher proportion of mixture of land-uses.

4.2 Foreign-born and Native-born Compact Commuting Rates

Furthermore, Myers' study also analyzed the differences between native-born and foreign-born Latinos, and found that foreign-born Latinos had much higher rates of compact commuting (17.1 percent and 6.8 percent respectively). The highest rate of compact commuting was that of the newest immigrants at 24.4 percent, 26.2 percent at the low-income level and 18.3 at the $50,000 income level. However, the longest settled immigrants' compact commuting behavior declined noticeably, but stayed higher than that of nonLatinos (see Table 7).35

According to the analysis, it can be concluded that Latinos' prevalence towards compact commuting is determined significantly by immigrants with residency of less than 20 years in the U.S. Departure from compact commuting behavior for longer settled immigrants may be related with increasing length of residence at the same income level.

4.3 Latino Immigrants Sustaining Regional Public Transportation Systems

A similar study by Yen and Myers, et al, shows that recent immigrants are much less likely to be solo car drivers and have higher rates of public transit usage. The report explained that recent immigrants accounted for a very large and growing number of all transit commuters, while their native-born counterparts shrank considerably. Recent immigrants made up 42 percent of all transit users in Southern California, despite that they only account for 12 percent of the population and between 1980 and 1990 immigrants' share of total transit commuters grew from 27% to 42% (see Figure 6).36

37 Myers, Dowell, Yen, Maria, & Vidaurri, Lonnie, "Transportation, Housing & Urban Planning Implications of Immigration to Southern California". Lusk Center Research Institute, University of Southern California. June 1996.
In terms of absolute numbers, the total number of transit commuters increased from 283,000 to 330,000, a growth of 47,000. Recent immigrants accounted for an increase of 62,000 riders and previous immigrants provided an additional 32,000 increase in total ridership (see Figure 7). Yen and Myers, et. al. analysis concludes that without the growth in immigrants, absolute transit ridership would have dropped significantly. Consequently, their analysis also demonstrates that as immigrants reside longer in the country and accumulate wealth, their transit usage drops and part of their assimilation process they begin to drive like Californians, subsequently increasing traffic congestion and environmental impact throughout the state.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{29}
Their analysis, additionally, hypothesized what would occur if immigrants assimilated to the commuting behavior of their native-born counterparts. The outcome of their research demonstrated that recent immigrants portion of all transit commuters would decrease from 42 percent to only 15 percent, and the absolute number of recent immigrant riders would decline from 140,000 to only 28,000 (see Figure 6 & 7).

4.4 Latinos, Compact Commuting and Pedestrian Safety – “Advance Assimilation”

Despite Latinos’ propensity for compact commuting, California cities and suburbs are not providing an environment where they can commute safely. The majority of neighborhood designs in the state are oriented toward the automobile, which offer little measures to protect compact commuters. The dangerous design of neighborhoods, accordingly, has the ability to accelerate assimilation of Latino compact commuters towards conventional travel patterns to prevent the risk of death or injury.

Consequently, due to the high level of compact commuting among Latinos in California, has resulted in an over representation of Latinos in pedestrian related injuries and fatalities. According to a study by the Surface Transportation Policy Project and Latino Issues Forum, a review of statewide hospitalization data reveals that Latinos were more likely to be injured relative to their share of California’s overall population. While 30 percent of the population of California was Latino in 1999, 37 percent of all hospitalized pedestrian fatalities and injuries were Latino (see Table 9). Furthermore, at the local level, race and ethnicity data also illustrated that Latinos were disproportionately represented as victims of pedestrian-vehicle crashes in nearly every one of the state’s most populous counties.

TABLE 9
Statewide Racial Breakdown of Pedestrian Injuries & Fatalities (1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Pedestrian Fatal Injuries</th>
<th>Hospitalized Pedestrian Injuries</th>
<th>Total Hospitalized Incidents</th>
<th>% Share of Total Incidents</th>
<th>Pedestrian Fatalities as % of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>2105</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>2247</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Pacific Islander</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown/Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Latino Issues Forum (2001); California Department of Health Service, Death Records; California Office of Statewide Health Planning & Development, Hospital Discharge Dataset; California Department of Finance

39 Ibid.
The disproportionate amount of Latino compact commuter fatalities and injuries, consequently, may push Latinos toward assimilation of conventional commuting behaviors, principally driving alone in an automobile. Studies cited by the Surface Transportation Policy Project (STTP) show that the amount of children who walk or bike to school has significantly decreased over the past several decades. While more than two-thirds of children were estimated to walk or bike to school 30 years ago, that figure has dropped to less than 10 percent currently. According to STTP, due to unsafe pedestrian conditions, more parents are now opting to drive their children to school. Likely, unsafe pedestrian conditions could also drastically reduce the amount of Latinos who compact commute to work and other activities over the next several years. The consequence of assimilation of Latino compact commuters can have negative environmental and traffic mobility impacts throughout the entire state. Accordingly, the following analysis hypothesizes the possible implications and environmental outcomes due to Latino assimilation of conventional commuting patterns of nonLatinos, principally driving alone in a car to work and other non-work related activities.

### 4.5 Latino Sprawl Scenario – Driving Alone

To assess the environmental impact of Latino assimilation toward conventional commuting patterns in California, the “Latino Sprawl” scenario is once again utilized. Under the Latino Sprawl scenario, it assumes the assimilation of all current Latino compact commuters (absolute number of 471,918 in 2000) toward driving alone in an automobile to work and other activities.

The findings of the Latino Sprawl scenario, shows that if Latino compact commuters assimilated towards driving alone in an automobile (compact car) alone, an additional 192,307 tons of pollution would be emitted into the atmosphere monthly. Furthermore, if assimilated Latinos choose to drive alone in a Sports Utility Vehicle (SUV) they would emit into the air an additional 757,373 tons monthly (see Table 10).

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42 U.S. Census Bureau Census 2000
Increases in air pollution (specifically ozone and particulate matter) caused by assimilation could further exacerbate asthma and other health-related risks in the state. Currently, seven counties in the state have asthma hospitalization rates for Latinos that meet or exceed the state rate of hospitalizations for Latinos. Additionally, due to high automobile usage, 49 counties in California currently do not meet state or federal ozone attainment standards. Therefore, the impact of Latino assimilation toward solo car driving could significantly affect asthma and ozone attainment rates throughout the state.

4.6 Latino Compact Commuting and their Implications

The assimilation of Latinos to conventional compact commuting behavior raises serious concern about the level of environmental impact it will cause in terms of regional air quality attainment and health-risks in the state, notwithstanding the potential increases in traffic congestion on regional transportation systems, specifically the highway (freeway) system. Moreover, recent immigrants’ (the majority who are presumably Latino) per capita use of public transit is four times greater than their native-born counterparts. These implications suggest that Latinos supply a significant client base of transit ridership, allowing for a level of service that otherwise would not be available to other residents in the region. Therefore, in Southern California regional public transit networks are primarily sustained through Latino immigrant ridership. These positive, social and environmental benefits, however, are seldom attributed to Latinos.
Chapter One Conclusion
Latino Sustainable Lifestyle Behaviors

Latinos and their lifestyle, consequently, provide a strategic opportunity to develop California communities in a more sustainable manner. Much of the Latino population is currently engaging in a lifestyle compatible with compact cities. This is most apparent through their household formation rate, compact commuting habits, and occupancy in multi-family housing.

Therefore, this evidence implies a clear conclusion that Latinos are participating in a lifestyle that significantly yields less environmental damage than non-Latinos. In terms of population growth, Latino households require fewer housing units and less acreage than non-Latinos. Latinos are also considerably more likely to be compact commuters than non-Latinos, allowing for a level of service in public transit that otherwise would not be available to other residents throughout California. Moreover, these cultural propensities for compact lifestyles sustain even after decades in the U.S. and controlling for income, which implicates the necessity to recognize the benefit of maintaining and supporting their propensities during the policymaking process and development of cities and suburbs.

Moreover, as shown through the Latino Sprawl scenarios, the implications of assimilation of Latinos to conventional lifestyle behaviors raises serious concern about the level of environmental impact it will cause in terms of regional air quality attainment and health-risks, traffic congestion, and consumption of land in the state. If Latino Sprawl fully manifests, it could result in detrimental consequences not just for Latinos but also the general California population.

California is confronted with several development models to accommodate growth in the state, however, due to Latino’s natural and cultural progression toward a lifestyle supportive of compact cities, provides policymakers a sustainable alternative with a built-in consumer base. Therefore, the development and advancement of compact cities in California may be dependent on the ability of policy makers to sustain and support the Latino lifestyle. Thus, the fate of the growing Latino community, its’ children and that of California are tied to the development decisions policymakers make today.

The following chapter addresses city developmental policies that pressure Latinos to assimilate to established U.S. notion of appropriate use of spaces and commuting patterns, and how they mitigate the economic, social and environmental benefits inherent in the Latino lifestyle. Furthermore, the chapter illustrates additional benefits the Latino lifestyle presents for developing a sustainable California. The chapter identifies the key role Latinos are playing in adapting and transforming existing neighborhoods to promote New Urbanist type landscapes and the subsequent potential for the emergence of a new development model.
Chapter Two: Synthesis of the Latino Lifestyle & the New Urbanism

1.0 Potential for Latino New Urbanism Growth and Development Model

Latino families, accordingly, have for generations been combining traditional values with more modern ones. The present-day Chicano or Latino American families are a fusion between the social and cultural heritages of Anglo and Latin America. The combined old and new ways are continually being redefined, creating something different from either the traditional or Anglo forms of action. The fusion of Anglo and Latin cultures creates manifestations compatible not only to compact cities (in terms of high-density housing and compact commuting) but also to New Urbanist and smart growth communities.

Myers’ analyses coupled with the following qualitative research argues that Latinos provide a built-in consumer base for the consumption of compact cities, New Urbanist communities and smart growth regions. The Latino lifestyle represents an untapped resource that can enable the development of more sustainable communities throughout California. Latino’s cultural inclinations for social interaction and their adaptive energies have perhaps created a de facto environment that currently supports compact city and New Urbanist lifestyles.

New urbanism, similar to compact cities, is an attempt to reform the sprawling pattern of suburban growth. Through a wide-ranging approach of architectural planning and design, new urbanism seeks to reconstruct community settings normally observed in cities like Charleston, South Carolina, and Old Town Alexandria, Virginia. New urbanism favors a notion of residential development that includes small lots, short housing setbacks, alleys, front porches, compact walkable neighborhoods with abundant public spaces/parks, and a mix of land uses. Additionally, through the mix of diverse housing styles, land uses, and accessibility to parks, New Urbanist developments seeks to construct a place that promotes social interaction and a strong sense of community.

Such New Urbanist principles are already present in many established Latino communities throughout California. Latinos have continually used adaptive methods to transform their communities to suit their needs and to promote social interaction. This is most apparent through their adaptive re-use of homes, parks and public spaces. The nature of Latinos to have strong inclinations for close social interactions and their subsequent adaptive re-uses has conceivably created a Latinized conception of New Urbanist communities.

1.1 Latino Evolution of American Homes

The adaptive re-use of homes is visible throughout California, but it is most evident in East Los Angeles, where a distinct spatial form represents the cultural, economic and regional solutions residents have developed to meet their set criteria of what the built environment should encompass. In East Los Angeles, the spatial form symbolizes as James Rojas, urban planner and advocate, describes, as a working peoples’ manipulation and adaptation over the environment, where Mexican-Americans live in small wooden houses, built by Anglos, which have evolved to what he calls the “East Los Angeles Vernacular.”

In East Los Angeles the urban landscape is a fusion of several architectural and cultural styles, which neither are entirely Mexican, Spanish or Anglo-American (See Figure 8). The transformation of homes according to Rojas, typically follow three stages:

1. **Minimal** changes in which the house is characterized by the use of the residents;
2. **Minor** changes, addition of chain-link fences, painting and stuccoing;
3. **Major** changes, investment in major structural changes, such as the addition or enlargement of the front porch (including changes in architectural styles), baroque style wrought iron fences, fountains and other amenities.

Furthermore, in East Los Angeles the Vernacular coincides with what Daniel Arreola, Chair of the department of Geography, Arizona State University, describes as the Mexican American housescape, which comprises a detached, single-family dwelling and its immediate surroundings in the urban barrio in the Southwest. The housescape is a complex of elements that includes the front yard up to the property enclosure (fence).

Moreover, the introverted American style homes are evolved to an extroverted Mexicanized or Latinized homes. Distinct from the typical middle-class suburban home, which draws itself in from the outside environment, the Latino house expands itself to all four corners of the lot. Thereby allowing for a more efficient and maximized use of space than the traditional suburban house. The evolution of American homes in East Los Angeles and other Latino communities in the Southwest presumably derive from attempts to emulate the traditional Mexican courtyard style home, which is built up to the street line and designed with a patio or courtyard in the center or in the front of the house. Unlike the American style home, the Mexican home as explained Ellen Pader’s research is not designed to induce privacy but rather to maximize social interaction among household members.

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In absence of courtyard-style homes in the U.S., the front yard has emerged as a heavily used social space, resulting in a housescape that is defined from the property line rather than the floor plan and wall of the house. Contrarily, in the American-style home, spaces for social interaction migrate inside the home towards the backyard (see Figure 9).

Likely, driveways and porches are also an important element in the housescape in Latino communities. In the Mexican courtyard-style homes, patios are used for social functions, consequently, in the U.S. the driveway is used as a substitute to accommodate parties, barbeques and other social festivities. Porches in the Latino housescape, specifically in East Los Angeles are often enlarged and expanded. The utilization of porches facilitates the reinforcement of the front yard as an integral spatial location for family and social interaction.51

According to Rojas, most porches in East Los Angeles are modified architecturally to suit the needs and preferences of the residents. The majority of porches in East Los Angeles were originally constructed in a Victorian or California Bungalow style, however residents have transformed their wooden banister and column fixtures to a Mexicanized version, entailing baroque-style wrought iron railings and Spanish arches and stuccoing. The evolution of front porches, assist in creating sociability within the home and surrounding neighborhood.52 Similar to the objectives of New Urbanist developments, the front porch in the East Los Angeles Vernacular, invites neighbors to gather, enhancing social interaction and a sense of place.

52 Ibid.
In New Urbanist developments, porches are a hub for leisure activities for the family and invited guests. According to Daria Price Bowman, author of "Pleasures of the Porch: Ideas for Gracious Outdoor Living", the porch is not quite in the home and not quite out of it. It is a neutral territory that provides a natural link to the neighborhood. Therefore, in New Urbanism and the East Los Angeles Vernacular (coupled with the use of the driveway), the porch is incorporated to increase living and entertaining options. A distinct social space utilized to reconnect with family members and the neighborhood.

Hence, the Latino housescape or the East Los Angeles Vernacular exhibits that Latinos are continually adapting the built environment to suit their needs and to specifically promote family and community social interaction. The adaptive energies of Latinos are expanding homes where all space within the housing lot serves a specific purpose (particularly for social exchanges) and are used on a daily basis, similar to the goals sought in New Urbanist designs. Such expansions and adaptations afford a more efficient use of space than the conventional middle-class suburban home. Moreover, the enactment of the Latino housescape may imply that current and past housing development patterns are not satisfying or meeting the needs of California’s emerging and fast growing future majority population.

1.2 Latinization of Parks and Public Space

Physical environments supporting social interaction among family members and friends are an important element of Latino culture. Therefore, the appropriation of park spaces to facilitate social activities provides another example of Latino's adaptive energies to transform the built environment to meet their physical and social needs.

Accordingly, there is an obvious carry over of preferences from Latin America to the U.S. for parks and plazas to serve as the core social setting of a community or city. Academic work has acknowledged the importance of plazas and parks (public spaces) for Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Social Historian, Charles Flaundrau awed by the significance of plazas and parks in Mexico wrote:54

There are city parks and squares in other countries, but in none do they play the same intimate and important part in the national domestic life that they do in Mexico...The Plaza is in constant use form morning until late at night...By eleven o'clock the whole town will, at various hours, have passed through it, strolled in it, played, sat, rested, or thought in it (Charles Flaundrau, 1964).

As a result, perhaps for Latinos the park in the U.S. serves as their primary social space outside of the home. Similar to the evolution of the Latino housescape, the neighborhood parks' supportive nature for social interaction affords a surrogate for the misplaced plaza, the nucleus of the built environment in Mexico and Latin America. Consequently, Latino cultural values influencing the built environment coincide with the objectives of many New Urbanist developments. New Urbanism attempts to create a greater sense of community by rethinking the “public realm”, especially public spaces and recreational facilities. The Congress of the New Urbanism, the leading organization for the movement, believes cities and towns should be shaped by physically defined and universally accessible public spaces and community institutions.55

Accordingly, extensive survey work by Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, Professor of Urban Planning, University of California, Los Angeles, of park usage among different ethnic racial groups in four parks in metropolitan Los Angeles show that Latinos are the most active and frequent users of parks. Loukaitou-Sideris' work revealed that Latinos place a high importance on public space, which led to a very intensive use of neighborhood parks. Furthermore, Latinos were observed in more social activities that involved larger groups. The majority of the Latinos at parks consisted of immediate and extended family members, which is likely since Latin American culture places the family at the center of both private and public spheres.56

The survey results observed Latinos at parks to be more involved in sociable uses including, parties, and celebration of birthdays, baptisms, communions and picnics. Their group behavior involved talking while sitting or standing, eating, breaking piñatas, playing sports and keeping an eye on their children. Maintaining the traditional uses of parks in Latin America, young Latino males were found to bring their dates to the park, men and women dancing or drinking beverages under the parks gazebo (similar to the Quiosco that is centrally located in plazas in Mexico) and brewing coffee in portable pots.  

Consequently, Latino's park usage is in great contrast to Anglos, whom primarily participated in mobile solitary activities such as jogging, walking, bicycling or dog walking. Loukaitou-Sideris concluded that Anglos valued the park more for its aesthetic qualities and natural elements than Latinos for its importance for social interaction.  

Latinos, however, were also observed to be more likely than other racial ethnic groups to develop adaptive methods to actively appropriate the neighborhood parks to suit the activities in which they were engaged in. Likely, if no soccer fields were present in the park, players normally would modify the space to their needs, bringing their own goal posts and portable goods with them. According to Lawyer Robert Garcia of the Center for Law in the Public Interest, the discrimination against soccer as an “immigrant sport,” resulted in the lack of soccer fields compared to fields for baseball and other sports.  

Moreover, when urban/recreational spaces are lacking in neighborhoods, Latinos implement their innovative adaptive re-use techniques to enact an environment that suits their needs. For example, for over 25 years in the Boyle Heights community of Los Angeles, hundreds of community residents have been using the 1.4-mile sidewalk, uprooted by ficus tress and cracked by hot weather conditions along the perimeter of the historic Evergreen Cemetery as a de facto jogging path on a daily basis. According to urban planner and founder of the nonprofit Latino Urban Forum, James Rojas, the Evergreen jogging path is a manifestation of the cultural significance and need of community spaces in the Latino lifestyle.  

The Evergreen Jogging path along the cemetery serves like a community plaza, where teenagers, the elderly, and mothers with baby strollers congregate to exercise, socialize and maintain connections to the community. Latinos have enacted a multi-use social space that serves beyond its intended use; it is a synthesis of Latino cultural values and their propensity for compact lifestyles (James Rojas, 2003).  

57 Ibid.  
58 Ibid.  
59 Ibid.  
The lack of recreational spaces in Boyle Heights, the disrepair of the sidewalk and the long history of the appropriation as a jogging path, consequently, led residents to organize a petition to the City of Los Angeles to develop a 1.5-mile community jogging path along the Evergreen cemetery. Through the overwhelming support of community organizations and residents, they were able to successfully pressure the city to formally develop the project.63, 64

Therefore, the adaptive reuse of parks and public spaces, as with the enactment of Latino housescapes, implies current development patterns and plans are not compatible with the needs of the future majority population. Few cities and suburbs are adapting plans to incorporate Latino’s cultural inclinations for community spaces. The Evergreen Jogging Path represents a unique case where, after 25 years of neglect and disrepair, community residents were able to successfully pressure the city to formally appropriate a community space that integrates the cultural values and needs of the Latino lifestyle.

1.3 Latinos, Parks, Housescapes and their Implications

In sum, in the Latino culture and lifestyle, housing and parks are much more than buildings and open spaces that function as refuge from the elements or valued for their aesthetic qualities. Parks and housing are a vital component of an individual’s social and ethnic identity. These spaces function to facilitate social interactions and activities. As the East Los Angeles Vernacular and park usage demonstrates, the fusion of Anglo and Latin cultures produce manifestations compatible not only to compact cities (in terms of high-density housing and compact commuting) but also to New Urbanist and smart growth communities.

The Latino lifestyle represents an untapped resource that can facilitate the progression of more sustainable communities throughout California. Latino’s cultural preferences for social interaction, their adaptive reuses, and lifestyle choices have conceivably created a de facto Latinized version of New Urbanism and smart growth communities. Therefore, the persistence that immigrants and minorities assimilate to the dominant U.S. notion of proper use of domestic and public spaces as a requirement to fully integrate into mainstream society mitigates the opportunity to utilize and build upon Latinos’ cultural propensity for compact and new urbanist lifestyles. Subsequently, intensifying the environmental impact and housing shortages within the state.

63 The Evergreen Jogging Path project, is scheduled for completion in June 2003, accordingly, represents the first major public sidewalk in Los Angeles designed to be multi-functional as an open recreational space, public right of way, and urban green space. The city allocated over $800,000 to convert the sidewalk to a community jogging path. Furthermore, the project is the first in the country to use rubberized waste tire product pavers for a complete city block. The formalized Evergreen Jogging path is also lending itself as a national demonstration model to assess the use of new sidewalk designs and materials for tree root management, storm-water runoff reduction, and pedestrian safety.

Moreover, the U.S. opposition towards Mexican and Latino culture can be best exemplified through Mexican Nobel Prize recipient of literature, Octavio Paz’s observations during his stay in Los Angeles in the late 1950’s:

...Los Angeles, a city inhabited by over a million persons of Mexican origin. At first sight, the visitor is surprised not only the purity of the sky and the ugliness of the dispersed and ostentatious buildings, but also by the city’s vaguely Mexican atmosphere, which cannot be captured in words or concepts. This Mexicanism – delight in decorations, carelessness and pomp, negligence, passion and reserve – floats in the air. I say “floats” because it never mixes or unites with the other world, the North American world based on precision and efficiency. It floats, without offering any opposition; it hovers, blown here and there by the wind, sometimes breaking up like a cloud, sometimes standing erect like a rising skyrocket. It creeps, it wrinkles, it expands and contracts; it sleeps or dreams; it is ragged but beautiful. It floats, never quite existing, never quite vanishing (Octavio Paz, 1961).

Thus, as it stands, Latino households, particularly those comprised of recent immigrants are engaging in lifestyles and activities that yield far less environmental damage than non-Latino households. Consequently, based on history, it may be likely that dominant society will continue to refute and disregard the Latino lifestyle despite the environmental benefits it may produce.

2.0 Latino Assimilation and Compact Lifestyles

Literature on immigrant adaptation and assimilation, are primarily based on the assumption, that there is a natural process in which diverse ethnic groups develop a common culture and achieve equal access to all the opportunities society has to offer. This process consists of slowly abandoning old cultural and behavioral patterns in favor of more modern ones; and once it has begun, this process moves inevitably and permanently toward assimilation. Thus, diverse immigrants groups, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds are expected to eventually discard their old ways of life and to become completely “melted” into the mainstream through residential integration and occupational achievement in a series of subsequent generations.66

Consequently, assimilation literature suggests that immersion into dominant society is a voluntary and effortless action, however, for many Latino immigrants in California it is often a forced proposition. California cities have adopted measures that are direct assaults at Latino cultural behaviors and lifestyle. These measures are designed to invoke an environment that is inhospitable to Latino’s propensities towards a compact city lifestyle.

Latinos, particularly recent immigrants have brought new life to derelict and improvised inner cities and suburbs in the metropolitan areas of California. Their efforts have created vibrant Latino versions of New Urbanist communities and have assisted in the revitalization of distressed commercial districts. However, their contributions are often reproached by local governments whom have chosen to invest large sums of tax dollars to implement redevelopment programs that encourage displacement of Latino residents rather than creating programs that support Latino’s revitalization efforts.

As urbanist Mike Davis has explained, throughout California there exists a “third border” which creates a labyrinth of laws, regulations and prejudices that inhibit, even criminalize Latino’s attempts to develop vibrant communities.67

...the worst enemies include conventional zoning and building codes (abetted by mortgage lending practices) that afford every loophole to developers who airdrop over-sized, “instant-slum” apartment complexes into formerly single-family neighborhoods, but prevent homeowners themselves from adding legal additions to accommodate relatives or renters. Although medium-density infill, with rental income accruing to resident homeowners, is obviously a better solution, even ecologically, for housing the rising low-income populations in Southwestern cities, it is hardly ever accommodated by law or building practice. As a result, there is a proliferation of bootlegged, substandard garage and basement conversions that keep Latino homeowners embroiled in costly conflicts with city building inspectors (Mike Davis, 2000).

Accordingly, the third border has also manifested itself in the form of nonresident user fees of up to $12 at City of San Marino parks (a wealthy suburban city in Los Angeles), presumably to discourage park usage by Latinos, many of whom were frequenting the park with their families prior to the implementation of the fee.68

Other border tactics have also included an effort by the city of Santa Ana in Orange County, to increase the square-footage-per-person standards, asserting that the existing regulations promoted overcrowding. However, the trial court, struck down the proposed change in regulation on the basis that the existing standards corresponded with state regulations, while the new one would discriminate against individuals living in the city, particularly many Latino families whom would not be allowed to live legally in their current homes.69

Similarly, the City of Anaheim, also in Orange County attempted to block the placement of the Latino oriented supermarket, Gigante (based in Mexico) from a mall the city wanted to redevelop, claiming the store was “too Mexican for the surroundings”.70 However, according to the 2000 U.S. Census, the Anaheim census tract where Gigante

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68 Ibid.
70 Yoshino, Kim, “Mexican Supermaket Meets Obstacles in Anaheim: Gigante’s bid to open a store has been rebuffed. City officials deny discrimination.” Los Angeles Times. August 5, 2002.
wanted to open, Latinos comprised more than 60 percent of the population, therefore an attractive market demographic for companies wishing to serve Latino communities.

The city, consequently, in a letter warned the owners of the mall that Anaheim could withdraw a city subsidy because Gigante was too specialized. The city letter stated that the supermarket “does not cater to the public at large...product selection is catered primarily to the Hispanic market...store signage and music are predominantly in Spanish.” The city, accordingly, urged the mall owners to seek more mainstream grocery store tenants.\(^\text{71}\)

Nevertheless, despite the city’s objections, Gigante was able to sign a lease at the mall. However, the Anaheim Planning Commission unanimously rejected the company’s application for a liquor license, a vital element for any major supermarket. Eventually, due to strong opposition by Gigante, Latino advocates and the accusations of market racial profiling and violations of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which prohibits cities from holding a Mexico-based company to different standards from their U.S. counterparts, the City of Anaheim finally agreed to grant Gigante a liquor license.\(^\text{72}\)

Hence, in California cities, the third border has been developed to separate non-conforming Latino communities from established Anglo communities. Assimilation into mainstream society dictates that immigrants abandon all their cultural inclinations, including their propensity for compact city lifestyles. However in many aspects, assimilation may produce detrimental consequences not only for immigrants but also for the future of all California residents.

### 2.1 Latino Assimilation and Implications on Planning

Latinos eventually will be the majority population and their characteristics and lifestyle choices will have a direct affect on all planning functions and land-use patterns in the state. Accordingly, this would infer that policymakers look beyond their prejudices and perceived conceptions of Latino’s characteristics and think prospectively of the desirable and beneficial outcomes of incorporating them into policy, specifically their propensities for compact city lifestyles. It is the role of policymakers to effectively enact policies that reflect the needs of residents within a jurisdiction and deter the use of third border type policies. Therefore, as the composition of residents in California changes, existing and proposed policies should also simultaneously change.

As stated prior in the chapter, population analysis is a useful technique to aid in the planning of cities and regions amidst changing and emerging population groups. Moreover, it provides an avenue to question and analyze the socio-cultural underpinning

\(^\text{71}\) Ibid.

of existing and proposed governmental policies. Population analysis allows the characteristics of emerging population groups to be understood and accepted as legitimate, and not as deviant. As with the case of Latinos in California, a stricter adherence to the principles of population analysis would allow policymakers to learn the difference between legitimate social constructs (propensity for compact city lifestyles) and aberrations to those of the established society.

As Myers explains in a state as diverse as California, multiculturalism ideally should enable Latinos and nonLatinos to pursue lifestyles that support a variety of housing developments and styles. Multiculturalism would argue that those who prefer compact cities should live so, while those who prefer low density should be allowed to pursue it...It brings into focus a fundamental philosophical question that all planners and policy makers must confront in themselves: Am I advocating a pluralist or assimilationist city? (Myers, 2001).

Therefore, despite the multicultural nature of California, it still remains uncertain if Latinos and others who favor compact city lifestyles will be allowed to freely pursue them. The development of a more sustainable and compact California is largely dependent on the enactment of policies that are representative of the preferences and needs of the current and future population groups.

3.0 Reverse Assimilation and Compact City Promotion

Research presented earlier illustrates that immigrants’ compact city behavior, principally mass transit usage is not a permanent characteristic of immigrants. Over time, as recent arrivals conform and assimilate to California society, they improve their economic status and begin to commute like their native-born counterparts. From the stand point, of upward economic mobility of immigrants this is an ideal result, but in terms of sustaining regional transportation networks, decreasing traffic congestion and air pollution, this poses major obstacles and implications for policymakers.

Accordingly, compact cities are primarily dependent on recent immigrants, however, in the next several decades newly arrived immigrants will comprise a smaller portion of California’s total population, and upward mobility will greatly decrease the current client base for compact cities. Such implications will require policymakers to expand the consumer base for compact cities through the reverse assimilation of the middle-class and native-born. Reverse assimilation promotes the assimilation of nonLatinos away from established environmentally harmful California lifestyles and characteristics to those more compatible with compact cities.

However, a diversity of residential choices in the environment must exist so that the middle-class and native-born will have something other than low-density housing to reverse assimilate to. Currently, due largely to political opposition and zoning regulations (caused by existing homeowner's desires to maintain high home values and the fiscalization of land use -see Chapter Three), most new housing production in California is low-density, thus inhibiting the prospect for individuals to assimilate to compact city lifestyles. Due to the durability of housing and zoning regulations, the residential choices of the future residents of California may be limited. These consumers likely will be forced to live in housing that was developed to meet the preferences of past population groups.\(^{74}\)

In sum, policymakers should take into account cultural preferences in housing since the majority of California cities in the future will be multicultural metropolises. Accordingly, the household characteristics of Latinos could become an attractive method to help address the irrational growth patterns in the state. However, as Myers suggests, for the planning of compact cities to be successful, other population groups most reverse assimilate to lifestyles consistent with the model.\(^{75}\)

For the planning of compact cities to be legitimate, participation will need to include nonLatinos White residents in the middle class. To do otherwise would be to build a divided city. In forging a new California lifestyle built from multiple cultures, nonLatinos will need to adopt a portion of the compact lifestyle of Latinos. What is required, in essence is a redefinition of what constitutes the desired middle-class lifestyle in California, so that when immigrants assimilate they have other models than suburban sprawl (Myers, 2001).

The creation of a new development model for California will require that multiple cultures and ethnicities assimilate a segment of the compact lifestyle. Accordingly, the development of compact communities for middle-class nonLatinos, must first overcome governmental regulations and perceptions that denser residential communities are associated with lower incomes, noise and crime. This can be partly achieved through more fashionable and innovative designs. More fashionable designs will perhaps assist in luring more nonLatino consumers and local governments towards compact housing and facilitate the redefinition of what is considered a middle-class lifestyle. The following section assesses the current preferences of Californians and evaluates if there is significant demand for the establishment of compact developments.

\(^{74}\) Such implications raise the question, whether preferences for newly built low-density housing are a function of consumers' tastes or one that is imposed upon consumers by governmental regulations?

\(^{75}\) Ibid.
4.0 Californian and Latino Preferences for Compact Cities

The survey results presented here assist in gauging the current opportunity to build more compact cities, particularly highlighting the attitudes among the general California population and Latinos. The survey data assesses California residents’ attitudes towards conventional norms for land use and suburban development in the state. Conventional thought dictates that most housing consumers prefer low-density single-family housing than to any other housing alternative. However, the survey results illustrates that the public’s view and values on housing and land use are often conflicting and are not reflective of various trade-offs encountered over a lifetime.

4.1 Housing Preferences – Mixed-use, Smaller homes/shorter commutes & High-densities

The Public Policy Institute of California’s (PPIC) recent survey of 2,010 adult California residents on “Growth, Land Use & the Environment” supported conventional thought and showed that the majority of California residents have strong preferences for suburban development than any other type of community. Sixty-five percent of Californians want to live in a single-family detached home (see Table 11).76 However, the same survey data also underlines a significant demand for alternative housing types under certain circumstances and tradeoffs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Want to live in a single-family detached home</th>
<th>All Adults</th>
<th>Renters</th>
<th>Live in Central City</th>
<th>Income Under $40K</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>86%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live in a single-family detached home</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source: Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) November 2002.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consequently, when housing consumers are faced with the trade-off between living in a smaller home and having a shorter commute, they are indecisive. Nearly half of all respondents, 49 percent say they would prefer a smaller house if it meant having a short commute. Similarly, 46 percent of Latino respondents say they prefer a smaller house and shorter commute (see table 12).77

77 Ibid.
TABLE 12
"How do you feel about the following tradeoff, other things being equal?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Residents</th>
<th>Latino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Would you choose to live in a small home with a small backyard, if it means you have a short commute to work?</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you choose to live in a large home with a large backyard, even if it means you would have a long commute to work?</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) November 2002.

Survey data also shows that California residents are equally divided between their inclination for mixed-use and residential only neighborhoods. Fifty percent of California respondents say they would rather live in a residential only neighborhood and drive to stores and services, versus 47 percent who say they would choose to live in a mixed-use neighborhood where local amenities were within walking distance (see Table 13). Latinos are more likely to prefer to live in a mixed-use neighborhood (52 percent to 46 percent) than non-Hispanic Whites, whom would prefer to live in a residential only neighborhood (53 percent to 43 percent).78

TABLE 13
"How do you feel about the following tradeoff, other things being equal?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Residents</th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Would you choose to live in a mixed-use neighborhood where you can walk to stores, schools, and services?</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you choose to live in a residential-only neighborhood, even if it means you have to drive a car to stores, schools, and services</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) November 2002.

Additionally, when it came to choosing to live in a high-density neighborhood, where public transit was easily accessible for local travel, Latinos were more willing to choose high-density neighborhoods with public transit than non-Hispanic Whites, 39 percent to 24 percent respectively. Nevertheless, both groups strongly favor low-density neighborhoods than any other type (59 percent for Latinos and 72 percent for Whites) (see Table 14).

78 Ibid.
TABLE 14
"How do you feel about the following tradeoff, other things being equal?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All Residents</th>
<th>Latino</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Would you choose to live in a high-density neighborhood where it was convenient to use public transit when you travel locally?</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you choose to live in a low-density neighborhood where you would have to drive your car when you travel locally?</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) November 2001

4.2 Conflicting Values of Housing Preferences

Californians’ preference for low-density single family homes conflict with other survey responses, which show almost half of all California and Latino respondents preferring to live in a mixed-use neighborhood with amenities within walking distance and living in a small house if it meant having a shorter commute.

Mixed-use and walkable neighborhoods, consequently, require higher densities and more intensive development within a neighborhood. Such neighborhoods cannot have various types of amenities within walking distance if they are not clustered relatively close together. Similarly, a smaller house and shorter commute times also entail higher densities and mixture of land uses within a neighborhood.

Therefore, the survey demonstrates that many people hold internally conflicting preferences when it comes to housing development and the formation of cities and suburbs within the state. Moreover, the standard preferences of California respondents may represent only ideal preferences, which are not reflective of various trade-offs encountered over a lifetime. Thus, ideal preferences are likely to differ when factoring in more practical and realistic conditions.

4.3 Shift in Preferences for more Compact cities

The PPIC survey of California and Latino respondents reveal that there exists a significant preference and client base to support compact cities, however based on current zoning regulations and development patterns, actual consumption for compact cities may be unlikely. Residential zoning regulations have a considerable influence on the distribution and type of homes in a community. Zoning regulations manipulate the supply of housing by instructing developers where and how they can build.
Accordingly, a visible supply of high-quality compact city models may be required to enable new opportunities for consumers to discover various appealing alternatives to the conventional low-density single-family home paradigm. Moreover, visibility is important because it can potentially stimulate even more preferences towards compact cities, particularly among the nonLatino and middle class population groups who are less likely to prefer such cities. The next section of this chapter will detail the methods to analyze the Latino housing market and create an appropriate housing model that captures the environmental, social, and economic benefits of the Latino lifestyle. Furthermore, it is argued that the development of a model that incorporates the characteristics of the Latino lifestyle can provide the home building industry with an alternative that can also be marketed to a wider range of demographic groups.

5.0 Marketing Latino New Urbanism to Latinos and the Home Building Industry

5.1 Latinos Drivers of California Housing Market Growth

The stimulus for an increase in a visible supply of high-quality housing models partly requires the home building industry to recognize that Latinos home buyers present the greatest driver for market growth than any other demographic group in California. In 2001, Latinos represented 15 percent of total purchases of resale homes in the state.79 By the year 2020 Latinos will demand over one million housing units (51 percent of the total market share in California – see Table 15) and by 2030 they will represent largest share of all prospective homebuyers (see Table 16).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 15</th>
<th>Percentage of Projected Housing Demand 2010 – 2040 By Race/Ethnicity (California)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of Total Housing Units Demanded in 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/ Pacific Islander</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's calculations based on Department of Finance Population Projections (1998)
*Calculations do not include demand from replacement or rehabilitation of existing housing units.

Thus, the above projections may pressure the home building industry to understand the unique characteristics of this burgeoning client base. Financial, insurance and real estate professionals are already changing product advertising and promotion by using

Spanish language to cater to the growing Latino housing market. However, more than Spanish language translations of documents and services are required. Builders interested in capitalizing from this potential lucrative market must first recognize the housing preferences and needs of Latinos and develop housing models accordingly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 16</th>
<th>Percentage of Prospective Homebuyers 2010-2040</th>
<th>By Race/Ethnicity (California)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Prospective Latino Home Buyers*</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Prospective White Home Buyers*</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s calculations based on California Department of Finance Population Projections (1998).
*Ages 30-39

Environmental scanning and monitoring, consequently, is a technique that the building industry could utilize to broaden its’ market potential by enabling it to move away from its immediate environment by perceiving and planning for future trends that could modify and alter business strategies. Environmental scanning methods represents an opportunity for the industry to recognize and plan for the impacts Latinos’ preferences and lifestyle choices could have on the housing market.

5.2 Environmental Scanning and the Latino Housing Market

Similar to population analysis for policymakers and local governments, environmental scanning is utilized by industries to predict environmental change in client markets. Environmental scanning refers to an early warning system that assembles and analyzes information concerning external forces that impact future business strategies of an organization. Environmental analysis and monitoring refers to the study of the external forces such as economic, social, cultural, political, ecological, and technological that cause environmental change. Once these variables are identified and analyzed, a firm is able to develop a wide range of strategic alternatives to successfully anticipate and adapt to changing environmental conditions and emerging target markets.

Accordingly, population dynamics are of great importance to businesses because people are the principal element of a market. Industries analyze population dynamics as a first step toward understanding the consumer market and the forces that help shape consumer purchasing decisions; as they are not made in a social vacuum.

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Moreover, purchasing decisions are molded and influenced by relationships and experiences. Nearly all, major economic decisions are made by the household unit. These decisions are influenced by various family members, cultural values, social class membership and by opinion leaders.\footnote{Ibid.} Therefore, such external forces have a great affect on home purchases and the housing industry. The external forces influencing the purchasing decisions of the Latino household considerably differ from non-Latino households. Likely, this may pressure the home building industry to change their business strategies to maintain a market share of this emerging consumer group. Changes in environmental conditions have in the past required the housing industry to utilize environmental scanning to effectively address the needs of shifting market dynamics.

The impact of the demographics of the 1970s and 1980s consequently, changed the dynamics of what was considered the traditional American family, the target demographic of the home building industry. During this period, the population explosion of pervious decade’s faltered, average household size diminished dramatically, dual income and single-parent headed households emerged, and the growth of the elderly population and young professionals forced the home building industry to change their strategies to reflect changing preferences and needs.\footnote{Solomon, Arthur P., “The Prospective City”, The MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980.}

As a result, the industry responded with a proliferation of affordable condominiums and town homes for the elderly and single parent household (these two groups typically have lower than average household wealth) with various luxury versions for the young professional. Additionally, larger homes with a diverse selection of amenities and fashionable designs were provided to satisfy the tastes of the dual-income household and their higher purchasing power.\footnote{Ibid.} Therefore, between 1970 and 1980, the building industry used environmental scanning to analyze, monitor and react to changing market demographics in the housing sector. Through this process they were able to adopt and change housing models to suit the needs of various household types.

Almost thirty years later, the concept of the traditional American family is once again changing, requiring the household unit to be considered a changing target market for the home building industry. The Latino market represents the largest share of future growth in the housing industry. However, Latino household purchasing decisions and needs are influenced by external variables, which significantly differ from non-Latino households. Therefore, the extent to which the industry is able to capitalize on this growth may be principally determined by their speed and effectiveness in producing housing models that address the unique characteristics and needs of Latino households.

\footnotetext{81}{Ibid.}  
\footnotetext{82}{Solomon, Arthur P., “The Prospective City”, The MIT Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1980.}  
\footnotetext{83}{Ibid.}
5.3 Analyzing the Latino Housing Market

When developing housing models and marketing approaches for Latinos, the building industry must understand the degree to which families play a dominant role in Latino society and are a strong influence over individual behavior. For Latinos, what is in the best interest of the family will dominate any decision, including home selection, school proximity, safety of the neighborhood; and projected monetary appreciation of a particular home.84

Such dominance is supported by recent survey research by the Davenport Institute of Public Policy at Pepperdine University, which found that nearly 40 percent of all Latino homeowners indicated that “more room for a growing family” was the main reason for purchasing a home. This greatly overshadowed the second strongest reason, homeownership as a form of financial investment, a view identified by only 22 percent of survey respondents.85, 86

Latino family dominance in consumer spending can best be explained by marketing analyst M. Isabel Valdes’ “ecosystemic” model, which approaches consumers from the perspective of the individual and his or her relationship with society. This model is a technique that enables one to evaluate how individuals from different cultures interact between and within the various layers of society. The model is described with a diagram representing a traditional working class Latino and middle class Anglo American (see Figure 10).87

The ecosystemic model reveals several important aspects of the Latino decision-making process. The first circle in the model represents the individuals’ associations with the family. The Latino individual attempts to make his or her decisions consistent with the needs of the family, whereas the Anglo individual tends to make decisions unilaterally. The second layer, explains, how an individual interacts within society. Latinos are more likely to focus on relationships, while Anglos are inclined to be task oriented. The last circle assesses how an individual’s cultural values intersect within society. For Anglos, individual achievement dominates, whereas Latinos, family interdependence takes priority.88

86 A Fannie Mae survey also cited that 65 percent of Latinos believed that homeownership is a “very important” to “number-one priority” and 75 percent believed it would positively impact their family. Fannie Mae, “National Housing Survey”. Jobs-Center-Housing Coalition. www.jobscenterhousing.com.
88 Ibid.
Therefore, the ecosystemic model demonstrates the necessity of the home building industry to acknowledge that interactions within the Latino family are different than those of Anglos. Latinos tend to emphasize interdependence within the family whereas Anglo Americans tend to emphasize autonomy. Family interdependency may explain why more Latinos have multiple generational households, adult children remaining at home longer than non-Latinos or why Latinos are physically adapting homes to facilitate social interaction.

5.4 Latino Housing Market Constraints

Correspondingly, since Latinos tend to form strong bonds with the family and are supportive of their community, housing developments could be produced to reflect their cultural values and preferences. Research presented earlier proves that Latinos are already engaging in methods to transform the built environment to maximize social interaction and activities consistent with compact city lifestyles. However, housing developments should also acknowledge all the external variables influencing Latino households, specifically housing affordability and develop methods to effectively address them in the model. Failure to address external variables could result in the inability to produce needed housing within the state. The following sections will look at the external elements influencing Latino housing consumption and provides techniques to address them in housing models. Furthermore a new development model will be presented that can capture and promote the benefits of the Latino lifestyle and provides the home building industry with a development style that is more appealing and satisfying for Latinos.
5.5 Latino Economic Constraints

Currently, there are various reports and publications citing the enormous purchasing power of Latinos. The Hispanic Business magazine reports that the purchasing power of Latinos in the U.S. reached $540 billion in 2002 and their purchasing power in the state has been estimated around $171 billion, with projected increases up to $260 billion by 2007. Though, these estimates of Latino purchasing power are impressive, they overlook the realities and constraints Latinos encounter in the home purchasing market in California.

At present, fewer than 15 percent of Latino families can afford to purchase the state’s median priced home of $321,121. On the contrary, 43 percent of White families are able to afford the state’s median priced home (see Figure 11).

5.5-1 Latino Home Purchasing Realities in California

- A Latino family earning the state’s median Latino family income of $35,000, would need an additional $64,500 in annual income to afford to purchase the state’s median-priced home of $321,131.

- In Los Angeles County, a family earning the state’s Latino family median income needs over $43,600 more in additional income to buy the median priced home ($260,000).

- To afford the median priced home in Orange County ($335,000), the state’s Latino median family income must be supplemented by $69,000 in annual income.

- It would require the accumulation of four Latino families earning the state median Latino family income to purchase one median priced home in San Mateo County ($533,000).

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89 Kotkin, Joel & Tseng, Thomas, “Rewarding Ambition: Latinos Housing & the Future of California”, Pepperdine University, School of Public Policy, Davenport Institute. Malibu, CA, September 2002.
90 In 1990 Latinos represented over 1.7 million households in occupied housing units in California, and in 2000 their numbers increased 86 percent to more than 2.5 million households. However, between the ten year-period, the Latino homeownership rate in California increased only 3.3 percentage points from 40.4 percent to 43.7 percent in 2000. This 3.3 percentage point increase did little to reduce the gap between Latino and White homeownership rates. The Latino homeownership rate is 21.2 percentage points below the rate of White households. Between 1990 and 2000, the gap virtually remained static, decreasing by only 0.2 percentage points. Additionally, in California the Latino homeownership rate also falls below the national rate of 47.6 percent for Latinos. Continued growth in both the state and national homeownership rates are dependent upon the ability of minorities to purchase their own homes. As Nicholas Retsinas of the Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, stated, “Unless we find a way to reach out to minorities, to Latino immigrants and the children of Latino immigrants, we will not be able to sustain the national homeownership rate.” In 1999 only 10% of conventional home loans from major lending institutions issued in California went to Latinos. Mendez, Michael, & Latino Issues Forum, “Achieving Equity: Realities & Prospects of Achieving Latino Homeownership in California”: San Francisco, CA. August 2002.
91 Ibid.
Furthermore, the Davenport Institute’s survey reports among Latino renters seeking to purchase a home within five years, more than 50 percent of them are projecting the price of their future home to be $150,000 or less, while 32 percent project the future price of their home to be greater than $150,000. Likewise, more than one-half of prospective Latino homebuyers are also projecting to provide a downpayment of $10,000 or less. Thus, based on these survey results and the Latino housing affordability rate, housing developments and home buying in California are strictly limited by the amount of home Latinos can afford to purchase.

The lower than average housing affordability of Latinos possibly will require the development of a housing model that is affordable for Latinos and profitable for the home building industry. However, the emergence of New Urbanism as an alternative housing model however, may provide an affordable option for Latino housing consumption. The next segment will detail the economic, social and environmental attributes associated with New Urbanism and its compatibility with the Latino lifestyle.

5.6 New Urbanism, Affordability and Latino Lifestyle

A development model that could address Latinos’ cultural values and economic constraints is, New Urbanism. New Urbanist communities provide affordable housing by developing single-family detached and attached homes on smaller lots, resulting in less land consumed and fewer resources utilized per unit than low density housing (less amount of home to purchase). The compactness of homes also increases affordability.

because fewer infrastructure is needed to provide basic services, such as sewers, streets and water. Accordingly, economic studies by legal analyst, Andrew Dietderich has shown a total cost savings of 24 percent from higher density construction of compact subdivisions and a 50% total cost savings from compact development of townhouses (see Table 17)\textsuperscript{93, 94}.

### TABLE 17
Cost Saving from Compact Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cluster Development</th>
<th>Cluster Townhouse</th>
<th>Garden Apartment</th>
<th>High-rise Apartment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Streets</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewers</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drainage</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas &amp; electric</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Improvements</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Andrew Dietderich, adapted from comparative cost information contained in MAILACH, supra note 7, at 60 (citing The Costs of Sprawl (Real Estate Res. Corp. 1974)).

Consistent with Latino housescapes and cultural values, new urbanism also encourages strong social interactions. A Study by social psychologist, Barbara Brown has shown that New Urbanist designs are in accordance with the behavioral and social goals, the designs are intended to support. Brown tested the behavioral and social interactions of residents in a New Urbanist Subdivision (NUS) and a more Standard Suburban Subdivision (SSS) in Salt Lake City, Utah. The results of the study validated most of the New Urbanist design goals. The NUS had gridded streets, smaller lots, homes with front porches, and back alleys with accessory apartments; the SSS lacked these and had cul-de-sacs and 47% larger lots. After controlling for income, price and age of homes, the NUS residents reported more neighboring behaviors, outdoor use and more positive reactions to alleys and apartments than SSS residents.\textsuperscript{95} Thus, Brown's study demonstrates that new urbanist design features facilitate certain ecological, behavior and psychosocial goals.

New Urbanist Designs additionally, are also consistent with Latino compact commuting characteristics through the incorporation of mixed use and transit-oriented development. These development types encourage walkable communities by reducing car impact with more accessible and pedestrian-friendly street forms.

Hence, New Urbanist communities provide the opportunity for the production of affordable homes that are consistent with Latinos propensities for compact city lifestyles. Moreover, new urbanism affords the home building industry the prospect of capitalizing off the enormous projected Latino housing demand that otherwise would not be possible under conventional housing development patterns.

\textsuperscript{93} Potential cost savings are shown as a percentage of the total per unit cost of a typical single-family subdivision home; the same amount of land is used in all columns.


5.7 *Latino New Urbanism: A New Housing Model*

Despite the opportunities New Urbanism brings to satisfy Latino housing demand, housing developers may not be able to completely satisfy demand if New Urbanism is marketed and presented to Latinos in its current manifestation, principally as the revival of New England and Victorian style town living.

As we have seen earlier, Latinos are evolving homes and communities to meet their set criteria of what the built environment should encompass. The Latino evolution of the built environment includes the architectural synergy of styles from Mexico and the U.S. This synthesis generates an environment that is more familiar and hospitable to Latinos.

Accordingly, a new development model may be needed that acknowledges Latino architecture and designs that maximize social interaction. Such a development form, could integrate California mission style or Southwestern adobe designs with courtyard/patios in the center of the home and verandas situated in the front of the residence. Incorporation of these designs would be consistent with the Charter developed by the Congress for the New Urbanism. The Charter states that urban places should be framed by architecture and landscape design that celebrate local history, climate, ecology, and building practice.\(^{96}\) Correspondingly, Latino motifs have historically been used and incorporated throughout the California landscape and presently remain popular facade options in newly built communities.\(^{97}\)

In addition, communities could be developed to enable sociability among residents by dedicating space for plazas and parks throughout the community. As described earlier, plazas play a pivotal role in the daily lives of residents in Latin America; it serves as the focal point of the built environment (also an integral component in New Urbanist designs).

Through the dynamics of what can be coined as "*Latino New Urbanism*"; an environment can be formed compatible with Latino preferences and customs. Latino New Urbanism facilitates the development of an alternative model that captures and promotes the environmental, social and economic benefits of the Latino lifestyle. Hence, this new synthesis can provide the home building industry with a development style that is more appealing and satisfying for Latinos.

The following section will demonstrate that the integration of Latino New Urbanism in housing development models can also provide the home building industry with an alternative that can be marketed to a wider range of demographic groups. This section will show that due to the high value associated with Latino motifs in California and the mixture of housing types and styles, Latino New Urbanism could be affordable to lower incomes and compatible with definitions of middle class lifestyles.

\(^{96}\) Fulton, William, "The New Urbanism: Hope or Hype for American Communities?". Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, Cambridge, MA. 1996.

\(^{97}\) These communities are conventional low-density suburban developments that only incorporate the Latino motif (i.e. Spanish red-tile roofs and stucco siding). They do not include any of the design principles of New Urbanism (which enhance sociability) or compact cities.
6.0 Reverse Assimilation: Targeting the NonLatino, Middle class & Generación Ñ

6.1 Targeting the NonLatino and Middle Class

The success of Latino New Urbanism will also require that multiple ethnicities and social classes consume a portion of this new development model. Accordingly, review of California’s development history reveals that Anglos for years have appropriated Latino motifs into the built environment, therefore making Latino New Urbanist designs complementary to the architectural landscape of California.

During the late 1800s, Los Angeles Times newspaper moguls and real estate boosters, Otis Chandler and Charles Lummis were able to successfully market and incorporate a Spanish/Mexican mission motif into the architectural landscape of Southern California. They achieved this by capitalizing off the popularity of the image of California created by Helen Hunt Jackson’s novel “Ramona” which depicted a romanticized state with a rich history and culture derived from the mission system.98

This romanticized image of California was highly consumed by the upper social classes, which demanded lavish homes, commercial and office buildings in the mission motif. Conversely, this image was also referred to by some critics as the “mission myth”, because it ignored the racial and economic history of the state (the subjugation of indigenous and mestizo peoples) and the irony that the mission motif was only obtainable in Anglo communities while descendents of the California mission system lived in drab, improvised and racially segregated housing.99

The fondness of Latino motifs, moreover, is still visible throughout the built environment of California. The legacy of the mission myth continues today; mini-malls, fast-food franchises and homes in suburban subdivisions are being produced with Franciscan arches, red-tiled roofs and stucco siding. Moreover, the appropriation of Latino motifs is a widely accepted architectural style in up-scale communities, such as Rancho Palos Verdes, Santa Clarita and ironically Ramona.

The incorporation of Latino motifs and designs in Latino New Urbanism, accordingly, does not dramatically deviate from architectural styles currently produced in California. Due to the high value associated with Latino motifs, the home building industry has the option of marketing Latino New Urbanism as being compatible with middle class living in California.

In contrast to the mission myth, Latino New Urbanism provides an opportunity for more socially inclusive neighborhoods through the production of diverse designs of homes, and the mixing of residential types and incomes. Thus, Latino New Urbanism could facilitate the development of communities where individuals of various, races, cultures, incomes and ancestries can interact and live near one another.

6.2 Targeting the Latino Middle Class and Generaciòn Ñ

Latino New Urbanism could also be an attractive and welcoming housing alternative to individuals of Generation Ñ (a generation symbolic of young, positive and energetic Latino professionals), an important and fast growing segment of the Latino market. Individuals of Generation Ñ are likely to be highly acculturated and tend to reinforce, not relinquish their ethnic identification as they gain economic security, which they commonly express through commercial consumption.100

As a result, marketing analyst M. Isabel Valdes describes Generation Ñ as an up and coming market demographic group valuing the importance of multiculturalism.

This is the generation inspired, groomed and supported by successful Latinos, and visionaries who have embraced the value of a multicultural society...This subsegment of the Hispanic market is growing steadily as the Latino middle class continues to grow (M. Isabel Valdes, 2000).

The growing importance of this market demographic has even been acknowledged by Newsweek magazine, which dedicated a cover story in 1999 to Generation Ñ. In the article they highlighted Ñs as a growing generation of truly bicultural Latinos, coming into their 20s and 30s with demographic influence, and educational skills never imagined in prior generations.101

Raised on rock and Ricky Martin, the Latin Gen X is cruising the American mainstream, rediscovering their roots and inventing a new, bicultural identity without losing anything in the translation (John Leland & Veronica Chambers, 1999).

Accordingly, such implications in California prompt many to believe that the extent to which people define what it means to be an American on the West Coast will dramatically change. Rudy Acuna, Professor of Chicano Studies at California State University, Northridge, describes Generation Ñ as a subgroup less likely to conform to the conventional norms of society.102

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102 Ibid.
Past generations have always assimilated. This time around, there are enough of them to say, “We aren’t going to make it your society. We want to make it on our own terms” (Rudy Acuna, 1999).

This emergence and strength of Generation Ñ perhaps can be explained by the continuous waves of Latin American immigration over the past century, resulting in a process of perpetual Latino integration. In contrast to European Americans who were able to move away from their immigrant and outsider status over time, Latinos, Mexican-Americans in particular, have always been confronted with the presence of newly arrived immigrants (unassimilated newcomers). The continual presence of unassimilated Latinos, consequently, enabled generations of native-born and assimilated Latinos to rediscover and value their cultural heritage and have the confidence to express it freely in mainstream society.

As a result, real estate developers have taken notice of the market potential of Generation Ñ and have targeted efforts toward attracting their business. Various real estate boosters in Baja California, Mexico (an area know for its’ beautiful beaches and vistas) are advertising in Latino-oriented media outlets to attract the millions of Southern California Latinos whom flock each year to Baja hotels and resorts for vacation or a rediscovery of their Mexican roots to invest in the region. They are attempting to entice U.S. Latinos to purchase beachfront homes starting as low as $30,000 (financing is available). 103

Accordingly, the Mexican real estate industry understands the dynamics of this market subgroup, and has provided an option for them to purchase affordable vacation homes in Baja. Consequently, the consumption of vacation homes in Baja, California also represents another opportunity for Generation Ñ to assert their multiculturalism in society.

In view of Generation Ñ’s’ propensity for lifestyles consistent with multiculturalism, the consumption of Latino New Urbanism provides Ñs with an alternative housing model that is more reflective of their values and enables them to further assert their cultural heritage in society.

Alternatively, to Dowell Myers’, Professor of Urban Planning, University of Southern California view of Latino upward-mobility as a process that conflicts with the visions of compact city formation, Generation Ñ provides a prime opportunity to maintain and reinforce Latino’s cultural propensity for compact lifestyles without retarding their integration into the middle class. 104

103 La Opinion, Spanish Language Newspaper –(Advertisements)
104 Meyers believes upward-mobility can conflict with the progression of compact cities, as his research shows (based on 1990 U.S. Census data) immigrants tend to abandon their compact-city lifestyles as they live longer in California, regardless of changes in income. He describes, at present compact-city living is highly dependent of the large share of new immigrants in the population. However, as the next section “Market Adaptations to Multiculturalism”, the emergence of the nexus between consumer consumption and ethnicity in the late 1990s and the critical mass of Latinos in the overall population of California are creating an environment were individuals like those of Generation Ñ can maintain their cultural identity without retarding their upward-mobility. Such implications are discussed in the next section as having the capacity of changing the developmental policies and business practices of cities and the home building industry. Myers, Dowell, “Demographic Futures as a Guide to Planning: California’s Latinos & the Compact City” American Planning Association (APA) Journal. Autumn 2001, Vol. 67, No.4.
This is probable because Latino New Urbanism is designed to reflect the cultural values of Latinos and provides upwardly mobile Latinos an alternative to live in a diverse environment with various residential types and amenities to satisfy their needs and income. Hence, Latino New Urbanism permits middle class Latinos to define their ethnicity in a way that is compatible with achieving success in America.

However, for the consumption of Latino New Urbanism by Ñs to take place, may require the U.S. home building industry, like their Mexican counterparts to first acknowledge the potential benefits of targeting this growing market demographic group. The U.S. home building industry ideally needs to analyze and environmentally scan this growing market subgroup and tailor marketing strategies and housing models accordingly.

6.3 **Latino New Urbanism: Implications for NonLatinos, Middle Class Latinos and Affordability**

The integration of Latino New Urbanism in housing development models in California provides the home building industry with a housing model that can be marketed to a wider range of demographic groups. The high value associated with Latino motifs in California, consequently, could make Latino New Urbanism affordable to lower incomes and compatible with definitions of middle class lifestyles. Latino New Urbanism, accordingly, can facilitate incorporation into the middle class since it provides for a diverse setting that also satisfies the needs of higher income groups.

Latino New Urbanism, moreover, affords the home building industry the prospect of capitalizing from the vast projected housing demand in California that otherwise would not be accessible through traditional housing development models. The development of housing on smaller lots, results in less land and resources utilized per unit, subsequently decreasing the amount and cost of housing to be purchased. Such implications have the potential of creating a model that enables the opportunity for more socially inclusive neighborhoods. Therefore, Latino New Urbanism could allow for the progression of communities where individuals of various cultures, incomes and ancestries can intermingle and live next door to one another (Figure 12 illustrates the synthesis of the elements developing the innovation of Latino New Urbanism).

California has entered an era of multiculturalism, and as a result, housing patterns should reflect that diversity. The home building industry and governments need to assess their role in developing more reflective housing models. However, the degree to which the industry is able to profit from the enormous projected growth in the California housing market, and cities ability to accommodate growth maybe dependent on how swiftly and efficiently they are able to incorporate multiculturalism into new housing development models.
Currently, the development of ethnic marketing has enabled some businesses and local governments to collect large profits from emerging target markets and has allowed individuals to express their cultural identity through commercial consumption. The next segment of this thesis details three case studies in which the synthesis of ethnicity and commercial consumption is influencing how some cities and businesses choose to develop and market their services.
Figure 12
Synergy of the Latino Lifestyle & the New Urbanism

Latino Growth
Future California Majority

Latino Lifestyle

Supportive of Compact City Lifestyle

Household Formation
Adaptive Reuse of Homes, Public Spaces & Parks
Compact Commuting

Latino New Urbanism

Synthesis of New Urbanism & Smart Growth Models

Alternative that addresses Preferences & Needs of Changing Population Dynamics
Encourages Assimilation of nonLatinos away from Environmentally Harmful Lifestyles

Development Model that can be Marketed to a wider range of Demographic and Income Groups

Strategic Opportunity to Accommodate Growth in a more Sustainable Manner
7.0 Market Adaptations to Multiculturalism in California

Many industries and including some local governments are beginning to understand the dynamics between ethnicity, commercial consumption, and marketing. These groups are using environmental scanning methods to analyze changing consumer dynamics and subsequently are adapting business models to profit from emerging target markets. The nexus of business and ethnicity, moreover, is commencing to be viewed as the hottest consumer development of the future. This synthesis is already manifesting itself in the form of global shopping centers and retail outlets, franchise ethnic supermarkets, to even suburban cities touting their comparative advantage in multiculturalism.

Therefore, it appears that the strategy of these groups is shifting away from schemes that utilize third border tactics to suppress nonconforming cultures to ones that adapt to changes in the environment. Accordingly, the result of a wider acceptance of the link between economic self-interest and cultural dynamics has the ability to transform the entire basis of business and city development in the state.

7.1 Las Americas Shopping Complex – Gateway to Multiculturalism

The synthesis of ethnicity, culture and consumer consumption is no more apparent than in San Ysidro, California, the dividing line between the U.S. and Mexico, the busiest land border crossing in the world. Over a quarter of a million people cross at San Ysidro every day from Tijuana, Mexico, 86 million a year. Many of the individuals crossing are Mexicans traveling to work or to visit family. However, many of them are also crossing to shop, and it is this lucrative demographic group real estate developers and city officials are targeting.105

The public-private partnership of LandGrant Development and the City of San Diego Redevelopment Agency, accordingly, has developed “Las Americas”. Las Americas, is a huge retail and entertainment complex, estimated at $225 million, aimed at attracting Tijuana residents that spend over $3 billion a year in the United States.106 In California alone, it is estimated over $100 million in taxes is received from their purchases and these figures are projected to increase, given that Tijuana is Mexico’s fastest-growing city, with a rising middle class.107

Accordingly, Las Americas, touted as the “International Gateway”, attempts to create a unique and welcoming shopping experience for international tourists on both sides of the border. The project was developed to create an urban village atmosphere, similar to that experienced in Latin America, where people can meet, shop and socialize.

The first phase of project, which opened in 2001, provides a wide variety of themed shopping districts, each with distinctive architecture styles. Las Americas, design amenities include festive public plazas and intimate courtyards with covered arcades, pergolas and trellised porticos. Additionally, as customers shop throughout Las Americas, they encounter soothing Spanish music playing on overhead speakers, and are assisted by an all-bilingual retail staff. Retailers of the 625,000 square-foot open-air mall include Prada, Gucci, Banana Republic, Polo Jeans, Nautica, Tommy Hilfiger and many other well-known American, European and Mexican retailers.

Moreover, the multicultural nature of the project is a key marketing tool used by the developers to differentiate themselves from other commercial centers, and lure shoppers to the complex.

Las Americas – The Future...The Shops represent the first-phase of a world-class, retail, entertainment and cultural experience. The Las Americas complex is planned as a monumental gateway between the United States and Mexico, with a proposed pedestrian bridge linking the two countries – the two cultures, additional retail, a hotel and conference center, a library and cultural center, and a state-of-the-art port of entry facility (Las Americas – Print Advertisement, August 2002).

The Las Americas complex, consequently, represents more than a shopping center; it is a synergy of two countries and cultures. Las Americas symbolizes the emergence of a new global consumer market where culture plays a pivotal role in business development and marketing. The Las Americas complex has blurred the traditional borderline between culture and commercial consumption. The commercial real estate industry is the first business group to value the profitability of multiculturalism and develop innovative initiatives to support it. The commercial success of Las Americas would suggest that similar models would be emulated by the industry throughout the state.

7.2 Latino Supermarkets – Satisfying Consumer Appetites

The blurring of borders, cultures and consumer markets, has found its way two hours north of the U.S.-Mexico border to metropolitan Los Angeles. The rising surge of Latino shoppers who are estimated to spend over 17 percent of their income on food compared to 13 percent for nonLatinos are a prime reason behind the success of midsize locally-owned Latino supermarkets and why franchises like Mexican-based Gigante and U.S. Latino owned Vallarta are establishing themselves throughout the region along side mainstream stores such as Albertson’s, Von’s and Ralph’s. The establishment of

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109 Moraga, Frank, “County may be Site of Mexican Markets: Latino Shoppers have lots of Clout”. Ventura County Star, September 22, 2002.
franchise Latino stores is posing a challenge to mainstream supermarkets catering to the Latino community.

Accordingly, Gigante, a $3 billion Mexican corporation with more than 260 grocery stores in Mexico, set its marketing efforts towards the fast growing Latino market in California. Building off its high name recognition in Mexico, it targeted its efforts toward immigrants who grew up with the Gigante name, and subsequently opened its first store in the high immigrant community of Pico Rivera. Gigante currently has four stores in Southern California, and plans to open a dozen more throughout the region in the next several years.\(^\text{110}\)

Similarly, U.S. Latino owned Vallarta with 16 stores throughout Southern California, bases its locational decisions on a mixture of density, demographics and purchasing power. The owner of the company explains that they seek communities with a diverse population of customers that are willing to embrace multiculturalism.\(^\text{111}\)

> We are looking for an area that has Latino traditions, Mexican, Central and South American, and of course our American clientele is very important to us. We couldn’t survive without them.

Accordingly, the designs of Vallarta stores are a fusion of Latino and American architecture and customs. From the outside of the supermarkets, dozens of American and Mexican flags are situated atop the Spanish red-tiled roofline and stucco buildings. Inside, soothing Spanish music is heard throughout the stores, which is filled with brand name products from Mexico and the United States. Furthermore, understanding Latino’s propensities for compact commuting, Vallarta also offers free shuttle trips home to customers who spend $35 or more.

This successful link between economic self-interest and cultural dynamics, consequently, is influencing companies throughout California. According to Mark Schniepp, Director of the California Economic Forecast Project in Santa Barbara, major supermarkets are diversifying their products and marking efforts to keep a market share of the growing lucrative Latino market.\(^\text{112}\)

Accordingly, mainstream stores like Albertson’s Food and Drug, has expanded selection of Latino products at 100 of its 200 stores in California. Additionally, the company posts bilingual signs throughout their stores and hires bilingual workers.

Consequently, the value of multiculturalism as a strong element of business development is a trend that perhaps will eventually be incorporated into all marketing strategies throughout California. According to Schniepp, major companies will be forced to see the potential lucrative benefits from targeting multicultural markets.

\(^\text{110}\) Ibid.  
\(^\text{111}\) Ibid.  
\(^\text{112}\) Ibid.
...this is definitely a trend you will see. It's not a culture (Latino) that will be suppressed. It will be accommodated (Mark Schniepp, 2002).

Such implications suggest that consumer development patterns are coming full circle. According to Marilyn Halter, research associate at Boston University's Institute for the Study of Economic Culture, states that consumers now shop, as a way of distinguishing themselves from the masses instead of integrating into the confines of established society. She views the ethnic marketing of goods and services as an opportunity for individuals to express a unique identity amidst the mainstream generic middle-class paradigm.113

Accordingly, California like many other states in the U.S. is immersed in a commodity-driven consumer culture that shapes how individuals define themselves. However, due to California's multicultural composition, could result in different manifestations of how individuals on the West Coast define themselves.114 The reformulation and synthesis of cultural borders subsequently may affect how some local governments choose to develop and market their cities in the future.

The subsequent case study represents a unique situation where adherence to principles of Latino New Urbanism has facilitated an opportunity for residents to maintain their cultural identity in a well functioning community that is consistent with achieving success in America. Furthermore, this case study will show that the enactment of developmental policies that promote multiculturalism appears to have given the case city a comparative advantage over other localities in the region. Chapter Two, however, will detail the factors that allow the city council in the case study to pursue developmental programs more consistent with the principles of Latino New Urbanism and identifies the elements that prevent other Latino city councils in California from enacting similar programs.

7.3 City of San Fernando – The “Mission Reality”

The synthesis of cultural borders and consumer development, subsequently, has manifested itself in one of the oldest communities in the state. Similar to real estate boosters Otis Chandler and Charles Lummis, officials of the City of San Fernando are marketing the art, history and culture of this California mission city (the Mission San Fernando del Rey was founded in 1797) to attract business and create a higher quality of life for its residents.

However, in contrast to Chandler and Lummis’s “mission myth” marketing strategy, San Fernando city officials’ efforts are aimed at creating an equitably developed community

that acknowledges the contributions and culture of the descendents of the California mission system. As a result, the efforts by the City of San Fernando can perhaps be viewed as the “mission reality” marketing approach.

The mission reality approach of the City Council coincides with the emergence of a new generation of young Latino leaders subscribing to the values associated with Generation N. For the first time in San Fernando’s modern history all the City council members are not only Latino, but they also all hold college degrees. The transformation of politics occurred four years ago when Cindy Montanez was elected to the City Council at the age of 25 (she now serves as a State Assembly member), steered the city away from status quo approaches and toward more equitable schemes. Currently, Montanez’s sister Maribel Del la Torre, serves as Mayor Pro-tem.

As a result, the efforts of this progressive fresh face City Council to revitalize the city, has even been acknowledged in major newspapers in metropolitan Los Angeles, such as the Los Angeles Times and the Los Angeles Daily News. Both newspapers in a series of articles have touted the small community as the “Model Latino City” in the region.

Accordingly, San Fernando, a compact city encompassing approximately 2.4 square miles, completely surrounded by Los Angeles, with 25,000 residents, a Latino population of 89 percent (44 percent of which are between 10-34 years of age) and an average household size of 4.33 (higher than the state average of 3.96), was also acknowledged by their fellow peers for their innovative development approaches.

The City of San Fernando was one of the few select cities in Southern California chosen to host the “Creating Vibrant Neighborhoods for our Growing Latino Population: Leadership Effectiveness Seminar for Latino Elected Officials” in December 2002. The seminar was sponsored by the Local Government Commission, League of California Cities Latino Caucus, Latino Issues Forum and Southern California Transportation & Land Use Coalition among others, and was intended to provide Latino local elected officials with the tools to successfully address smart growth and quality of life issues in their communities. Moreover, in accordance, with the city’s motto “Historic & Visionary”, city officials are strong proponents of development projects consistent with the values of Latino New Urbanism and historic preservation.

The first major Latino New Urbanist project, Library Plaza opened two year ago. Library Plaza is a redevelopment project on the main downtown thoroughfare, Maclay Avenue that expanded and modernized the county library, and provided an additional venue for new businesses to locate within the city. Keeping with the city’s history and Latino New Urbanism principles, the design of Library Plaza incorporated mission motifs in the

115 The newest members Steve Veres, Nury Martinez and Julie Ruelas’ policy agendas range from increasing senior and affordable housing, construction of community health clinics, improvement of parks, enforcement of living-wage and rent-control laws, enhancement of HIV-AIDS testing, counseling and educational outreach to local schools, collaborations between government agencies and private institutions to improve the delivery of public services, and the establishment of programs for youth and small business development. Haynes, Karima, A. “San Fernando Elections: Council Candidates Outline Their Hopes”, Los Angeles Times. February 28, 2003.

architecture of the building and dedicated a large public plaza and water fountain in the center of the complex.

The incorporation of the plaza as the focal point of the complex facilitates an atmosphere where consumers and residents can shop and socially interact. On nights and weekends the Latino themed coffee house “House of Brews” holds musical and cultural events in the public plaza. Some of Library Plaza’s other tenants include, a yoga studio, florist, Mexican restaurant and a barbershop.

Building upon their “mission reality” or multicultural marketing approach, the city is also in negotiations to acquire a satellite of the Latino Museum of History, Art and Culture and plans to develop a Heritage Park to assist in acknowledging the contributions and histories of indigenous and mestizo peoples in the San Fernando Valley region of Los Angeles. It is the view of city officials, such as former Mayor Montanez, that through the recognition of histories and cultures they will be able to attract business and transform the city into the cultural arts hub of the Valley.

Accordingly, the city is also scheduled to complete the Cesar Chavez Memorial Transit Plaza next year. The plaza will include a memorial for the farm worker hero, a rest area for Metrolink and bus riders, and a bikeway connecting to the transit-oriented development of Village Green at the Sylmar/San Fernando Metrolink commuter rail station. The Village Green development currently, includes a childcare center and 109 energy-efficient, affordable compact homes, which offered prospective homebuyers Location Efficient Mortgages when it opened in 2001.

The next natural progression for San Fernando, according to Community Development Director, Paul Deibel, is mixed-use development projects featuring retail shops on the ground floor and housing units above.

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117 A recent Los Angeles Times article described the House of Brews as being “owned independently by a new generation of community-oriented Latino entrepreneurs who reflect the demographic they serve -- many are bicultural, descendants of immigrants, with college degrees and disposable income (Generation N). In creating cafes as bilingual cultural spaces, they’ve tapped into two formidable forces: the demand for strong, flavorful coffee and the need for outlets for Latino artistic expression, pent up for years like the compressed steam in an espresso machine.” The emergence of Latino coffee houses is referred as being the result of a growing grass-roots alternative to corporate coffee chains that refused to locate in minority neighborhoods. The success of Latino coffee houses, however, has pushed chains like Starbucks to view the Latino market as a new target demographic. Recently a Starbucks has opened several blocks away from House of Brews in San Fernando and the interior design of the store has incorporated Latino motifs. Gurza, Agustín, “Culture con Coffee”, Los Angeles Times. April 17, 2003.


More mixed-used developments should be the next step for San Fernando. One of the main objectives is to improve and add to the livability of the area for residents of San Fernando...and have new developments be positive additions to the community as a place to live as well to shop (Paul Deibel, 2002).

Accordingly, the city would like to provide condominiums targeted towards attracting and retaining young professionals within the city. An important development strategy, perhaps since many Latino cities typically suffer from "brain drain", the flight of upwardly mobile educated young professionals. Such flights often can have detrimental effects on the local economy and community stability.

In San Fernando, consequently, the only vital component missing from the mission reality approach is quality public schools. The city council is currently demanding that the nation’s second-largest school district improve schools in the East San Fernando Valley, whose academic performance is among the worst.

Consequently, the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) after several years has acquired 16 acres in the city for a proposed high school. However, the type and logistics of the proposed school has yet to be determined.¹²⁰

In a pro-active maneuver, the progressive city council appeared at a school board meeting held at the LAUSD downtown Los Angeles headquarters in February 2003, to demand that the board allow San Fernando to participate in the new high schools’ design, construction and curriculum. The San Fernando City council envisions a performance arts and high-tech school that mirrors the history, culture and architecture of the historic city. ¹²¹

This tactful endeavor, which was never attempted by previous councils, resulted in the school board members, including Julie Korenstein, who represents the East San Fernando Valley all promising to work jointly with the city.¹²²

I am happy they had come forward and made their request. That’s a very good thing, that we do a joint venture together (Julie Korenstein, 2003).

The City of San Fernando efforts is even leading the way for nonLatino communities in the San Fernando Valley in terms of historic preservation. A recent survey found that 228 properties in the city maybe eligible for historic landmark designation (215 are residential). The City is currently working with local residents to draft a historic preservation ordinance.¹²³ As a result, no other community in the San Fernando Valley including the wealthier communities of Tarzana and Encino are attempting historic preservation at the magnitude of the City of San Fernando.

¹²¹ Ibid.
¹²² Ibid.
History and culture, moreover, are a vital factor of the city's success and former historical commissioner, and now city council member Steve Veres, believes that preservation will ensure the future prosperity of San Fernando.  

This is really a special place that people can feel connected to; preservation tells you something about the history and the direction of where the town has been and perhaps where it can go (Steve Veres, 2002).

Accordingly, the city of San Fernando functions through the strength of the community, which is founded on the traditions maintained from generation to generation. These traditions are sustained through the rich cultural history associated with the San Fernando Mission. Due to that rich history and influence has enabled the development of a compact city that facilitates social interaction and maintenance of traditions.

In San Fernando, similar to Latin America, Roman Catholic churches are centrally located throughout the city. The centrality of the churches provides residents a place for social gatherings and celebrations. Accordingly, sustaining Latino tradition, the churches of San Fernando ring their bells (as in small towns in Mexico), calling thousands to masses, many of whom walk from nearby homes to celebrate mass in Spanish and English each weekend. This strong tradition attracts churchgoers from throughout the San Fernando Valley, establishing the city as the Latino religious hub in the region.

The churches and their centrality also lead to other types of social interactions and compact city behavior. Many individuals assemble after mass at nearby parks or at the local mall. For example, directly across the Saint Ferdinand church, lies the San Fernando Mall where many people often go after mass to shop or stroll through the open-air shopping center. Such traditions have evolved from Mexico where churches are situated adjacent to plazas and major commercial districts.

The maintenance of traditions, moreover, has become a form of cultural expression for residents and provides a basis for celebrating and renewing the cultural heritage of San Fernando. The festivals of San Fernando, such as Heritage Days (which take place throughout the month of June), the Mayor's Menudo Cook-off & Fall Fiesta and the Cesar Chavez Commemoration Day, all provide opportunities for residents to further assert their culture and history.

Thus, the maintenance of history and embracement of multiculturalism appears to have contributed to the City of San Fernando's success and its subsequent dubbing as the “Model Latino City”. Multiculturalism, perhaps has given San Fernando a comparative advantage over other cities in the region, allowing it to create an adaptable environment that permits residents to express their cultural identity and fulfill their needs.

124 Ibid.
126 Ibid.
San Fernando’s adherence to principles of Latino New Urbanism apparently has facilitated an opportunity for residents to retain their cultural identity in a well functioning community that is consistent with achieving success in America. Therefore, multiculturalism may have the ability to affect how some cities throughout California choose to develop in the future.

7.4 Market adaptations to Multiculturalism: Implications for City and Business Development

The U.S. is immersed in a commodity-driven consumer culture that shapes how individuals define themselves and what is marketed. California, consequently, has entered an era of multiculturalism, which is further changing how individuals on the West Coast identify themselves. Moreover, the development of ethnic marketing by businesses and cities has blurred the conventional borderline between culture and commercial consumption. It has enabled companies and local governments to collect large profits from emerging target markets and has provided the opportunity for individuals in California to express a distinctive identity from that of mainstream society.

This synthesis of cultural borders and commercial consumption could also subsequently affect how some cities choose to develop and market their services in the future. Currently, some local governments are shifting away from schemes that utilize third border tactics to suppress diverse cultures and are realizing comparative advantages in promoting multiculturalism. These cities are creating environments that allow residents to express their cultural identity and needs in a well functioning community that is compatible with notions of a high quality of life in California.

Accordingly, the increasing acceptance of the linkage between economic self-interest and cultural dynamics has the capacity to alter the entire basis of business and city development in the state. The commercial real estate industry is the first business group to assess the profitability of multiculturalism and develop innovative initiatives to support it. Perhaps the next natural progression in consumer consumption, is housing models that reflect the diversity that exists within California.

Such a progression, however, would require the home building industry and the local governments to assess the changing dynamics of target markets. The Latino market represents the largest share of future growth in the housing industry. However, Latino household needs and purchasing decisions are influenced by external variables, which considerably vary from non-Latino households. The utilization of environmental scanning and population analysis, likely, would be needed to assist in developing a wide range of strategic alternatives to successfully anticipate and adapt to changing environmental conditions in the market.
Moreover, environmental scanning can also enable the home building industry to analyze all possible constraints in the market that could inhibit new housing production models such as slow growth and exclusionary zoning practices. The successful forecasting for these constraints and the planning of housing models that increase the quality of life of all residents, may allow the industry to more effectively lobby for the production of additional housing throughout California. The reminder of this chapter outlines several possible constraints that can inhibit increased housing production and innovation. This section, further details the economic benefits of increased housing production in the state and outlines the potential consequences for the California economy by not providing affordable housing options, specifically for Latino immigrants. The section also suggests that Latino New Urbanist type developments are an affordable alternative that can also meet environmentalists’ goals and objectives.

8.0 Latino New Urbanism: Prospect to Satisfy Environmentalists and Capitalists

8.1 Economic Benefits of Housing Production

Population increase and the development to meet projected growth in the State are inevitable. Over the past few years, the home building industry has debated policy makers and environmentalists over the question of what pattern of development is better for the state to accommodate housing demand; conventional suburban development or compact cities. The home building industry currently seems inclined towards conventional suburban development, ignoring the shifting dynamics and emerging target markets that environmental scanning is revealing.

Consequently, the industry has lobbied state and local governments for an increase in conventional housing production based on the economic benefits it amasses for the California economy. The recently released report “The Economic Benefits of Housing in California” by the Sacramento Regional Research Institute at California State University, Sacramento and the Sacramento Area Commerce & Trade Organization cites the multiplier effects housing construction contributes to the state economy. The effects listed in the report include business generated from materials makers serving the home-building industry, as well as goods and services used by new-homeowners. The report estimates that every dollar spent on new housing construction generates approximately $1.95 in total economic activity, and contributes $40 billion a year or 13 percent of all economic activity in California.127

In a time when the state is struggling with a large budget deficit and slowing economy, the home building industry believes increasing new housing construction could be a viable and attractive strategy for stimulating economic growth in the state. The California Building Industry Association estimates that each new home generates $19,000 in direct revenue to state governments and housing related state taxes and fees totaled $2.8 billion in 2001. The trade association also estimates that the industry contributes over 350,000 jobs annually.128

Accordingly, the industry claims that increased housing production could also attract more industry to California and help reverse the state economic slowdown. Higher supplies of affordable homes they assert can influence companies’ decisions whether to locate in the state. Regions with high housing costs can detour industry and jobs away to more affordable areas in the country. These claims are also supported by housing analyst Anthony Downs, who says cities that seek to increase their tax bases on the industrial side must also provide opportunities for affordable housing on the residential side.129

High housing costs...discourage middle-class and working-class people from living in California...Such people are not willing to accept tiny rooms and overcrowding the way the very poor are. In February 2000, the median price of new homes sold in California was $230,000, which was 76 percent higher than the U.S. median. But per capita personal incomes in California are only 4 percent higher than the U.S. average (Anthony Downs, 2000).

Downs, predicts due to the lack of affordable housing in California, many cities with high housing costs and congestion will have difficulty in attracting new industry and jobs. Both the housing industry and Downs view the high housing cost in the state as an impediment to California’s overall economic growth.130,131

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128 Ibid.
130 Historically, homeownership has often been associated as the greatest attributer to wealth accumulation for millions of working and middle class families. However, the reality is that many California families, a large proportion of those Latino, are unable to further accumulate wealth through homeownership. Housing wealth is a vital issue for Latinos because of its emergence as a principle variable of consumer spending. Manuel Pastor a professor at UC Santa Cruz notes, “We kind of think of it as a critical shelter issue, but it’s really a matter of intergenerational wealth transfer...home equity allows you to do things like borrow money to put your kids through college, or start a business.” Accordingly, increased home equity would also enable Latino families to trade up to better homes, build financial resources for retirement, purchase major goods and services, and provide downpayment assistance to their children for home purchase. Mendez, Michael, & Latino Issues Forum, “Achieving Equity: Realities & Prospects of Achieving Latino Homeownership in California”. San Francisco, CA. August 2002.
131 Recent analyses by the Federal Reserve Board suggest that about 20 percent of all consumer spending is associated to changes in household wealth. The FED estimates that every $1,000 gain realized from a home purchase increases spending by as much as $150. Alternatively, every $1,000 stock market gain produces only $30 to $50 in additional spending. National Association of Hispanic Realtors Professionals, “2002 Harvard Study Shows Maintaining Homeownership Gains is Key to Strong Economy”, San Diego, CA. 2002.
8.2 Housing Shortages, Affordability and Immigrant Labor

Accordingly, the lack of affordable housing may push new waves of immigrant labor away from California to more affordable regions of the country. As sociologists Kristine Zentgraf and Manuel Pastor, Professors in the University of California system, research shows that immigrants in the Los Angeles region were central to the rapid growth of the Southern California economy in the 1980s and to its dramatic recovery from the recession in the 1990s.¹³²

The availability of a large pool of immigrant labor and presence of highly skilled workers, in the context of economic restructuring, have made it possible to compete with foreign production by combining First world funding and management with Third World Southern California – based immigrant labor (Kristine Zentgraf, 2001).

### TABLE 18
Undocumented Mexicans as a Percentage of Labor Supply in Occupation (Southern California)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation (ranked by % Undocumented)</th>
<th>Undocumented Mexican as % of All Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Textile mill &amp; finished textile products</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers &amp; related occupations</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine operators &amp; tenders, expect precision</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction laborers</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry &amp; fishing occupations</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other handlers, equipment cleaners, &amp; helpers &amp; laborers</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabricators, assemblers, inspectors, &amp; samplers</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Undocumented workers comprise a significant portion of those in occupations related to textile production, agriculture, machine operators and building and home construction. Undocumented Mexicans immigrants alone represent between 24 and 17 percent of all workers in such occupations in Southern California (see Table 18).¹³³

¹³² Pastor and Zentgraf explain according to international trade theory, low-wage industries such as garment assembly should have migrated south from Los Angeles to Mexico in search of cheaper labor. Instead, labor migrated form Latin America and Asia to meet labor demands in the U.S., thereby keeping wages low and slowing the outflow of production and jobs. Zentgraf, Kristine, “Through Economic Restructuring, Recession, & Rebound: The Continuing Importance of Latino Immigrant Labor in the Los Angeles Economy” and Pastor, Manuel, “Economics & Ethnicity: Poverty, Race & Immigration in Los Angeles County”, in Diaz, David, & Lopez-Garza, Marta’s (Eds.) “Asian & Latino Immigrants in a Restructuring Economy: The Metamorphosis of Southern California”, Stanford University Press. 2001.

¹³³ Ibid.
Accordingly, high housing cost perhaps is already pushing Latino immigrants to other states near California. A recent report by the Brookings Institute on Latino growth shows “Established Latino Metros” (contemporary immigrant gateways with longstanding and historical Latino communities) with the highest concentration of Latinos in California experienced markedly slower Latino growth in the 1990s than in the 1980s. In Los Angeles for example, the Latino growth rate fell from 60 percent to 28 percent, and in San Jose and Ventura, they decreased from 36 percent and 55 percent in the 1980s to 31 percent and 44 percent respectively in the 1990s (see Figure 13).

![Figure 13: Latino Growth in Established California Latino Metros](image)


However, faster growing cities in nearby states saw significantly higher rates of Latino growth between 1980 and 1990. Las Vegas, Nevada, grew from 129 percent to 272 percent, and in Portland, Oregon, the Latino growth rate increased from 58 percent in 1980 to 137 percent in 1990 (see Figure 14). Brookings infers, these data suggest that Established Latino Metros, like Los Angeles could be approaching a saturation point where shortages of housing and jobs may be slowing Latino growth and redirecting it towards other regions in the country.

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135 According to Brookings, the metropolitan areas that experienced the fastest Latino population growth in the U.S., also substantially overlap with the cities with the fastest total population growth. Conversely, the metropolitan areas with the slowest overall growth recorded unusually slow Latino growth. Furthermore, cities with larger proportions of immigrants also grew more rapidly than cities with fewer foreign born residents. Cities with less than 3 percent foreign-born residents in 1990 grew on average only 5.3 percent between 1990 and 2000. However, cities with 3 percent or more foreign-born residents grew over 10 percent. Glasser, Edward L. & Shapiro, Jesse M., “City Growth and the 2000 Census: Which Places Grew and Why”, Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy, The Brookings Institute, Washington D.C. May 2001.

Acute housing shortages, consequently, have caused major employers in some regions across the country to provide high housing subsidies to attract workers. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Harvard University and other Boston area universities use combinations of cash, home equity-sharing, and low-interest and contingent-interest mortgages so that professors can purchase homes and pay for rents in markets under conditions where their base salary would not support current asking prices. According to MIT Provost Robert Brown, such programs are necessary to attract and retain new faculty.137

The housing market in Boston makes the need for a more aggressive housing program inevitable...For those of us already established in the housing market, these numbers are music to our ears, because they constitute growth of our investments. But for new members of our faculty or colleagues in transition from one type of housing to another these increases (housing costs) are a tremendous hardship (Robert Brown, 2003).

Accordingly, it is doubtful low-wage industries in California, particularly in Southern California can supply such housing subsidies to compensate for the high housing costs in the state.138 Increases in housing affordability likely will continue to push Latino immigrants towards more affordable regions of the country, subsequently causing industries to relocate to other states or developing countries to seek cheaper labor pools.139 Such implications perhaps will exacerbate the current declining California economy and prevent a fast recovery as during the 1990 recession.

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137 Housing prices in the Greater Boston, Massachusetts area increased by almost 74 percent between 1997 and 2002, with an increase of more than 10 percent last year, the median single-family home in the area cost $396,000. Campbell, Kenneth, D., “MIT Studies Faculty Housing Subsidies” MIT TechTalk, Volume 47 – Number 25 April 9, 2003.

138 The emergence of Post-Fordism (discussed in Chapter Three) allows mobile industries to easily move from one region or country to another.

139 According to the California Association of Realtors, the median price of an existing single-family detached home in California during February 2003 was $327,600, an 11.1 percent increase over the $294,860 median last year. In Los Angeles and Ventura Counties, home prices increased 17 percent and 13 percent respectively over last year.

Despite these predictions and data, the full economic potential and benefits of increased housing production continues to go unrealized as annual housing production remains well below the state’s needs. According to the state Department of Finance, the annual housing need for California for the past 23 years; based on population growth, job creation and household formation demanded production levels over 225,000 units per year. However, between 1997 and 2001, only 132,000 housing units on average were built in California (see Figure 15). The state Department of Housing Community Developments reports, if such trends continue, California will build less than 60 percent of the new housing units required to meet projected 2020 population and household growth.

![Figure 15](image_url)

**Figure 15**

California Housing Production and Projected Housing Need until Year 2020

- 1990-1997 (average) = 91,000
- 1997-2001 (average) = 132,000
- Projected Annual Production Need until 2020 = 220,000

Source: California Department of Housing & Community Development

Measured by single and multi-family permits

8.3 Environmental Concerns of Increased Production of Conventional Housing

Consequently, the underproduction of housing in California may be partly due to local government’s reactions to decades of irrational growth patterns caused by conventional suburban development. Conventional models support urban sprawl; the expansion of auto oriented, highly dispersed communities that increase traffic congestion, and pollution and subsequently reduce the quality of life within a community. Such impacts on quality of life have made many, particularly environmentalists cautious of increases in conventional housing production. Many environmentalists agree that additional housing is crucially needed in the state to meet population and job growth. However, environmentalists such as Tim Frank, legislative representative for the Sierra Club, would instead like to see more innovative housing development models, similar to Latino New Urbanism produced in California that create livable communities.

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141 Other variables that inhibit increased housing production, such as Proposition 13 and the fiscalization of land use will be discussed in Chapter Two.
...it matters what kind of housing and where. The builders' answer is to build anything anywhere. We'd like to see more neighborhoods, with mixed uses, close to transportation. There's a difference between subdivisions and communities (Tim Frank, 2002).142

Based on the constraints imposed by local governments and environmentalists to reduce the impacts of sprawl (such as growth management and exclusionary zoning), the large projected population growth in the state, and the potential economic benefits of increased housing production, may pressure the housing industry to seek alternative models to help sway local governments to zone more land to accommodate the huge projected housing demand.

As a result, the home building industry could entice more local governments and environmentalists to allow increased housing production through Latino New Urbanism. Latino New Urbanism, as mentioned earlier, is a housing alternative that moves away from the auto-oriented suburban model by developing more pedestrian and transit oriented communities with a greater mixture of land uses at the neighborhood level. This compact development model could greatly decrease the sprawling development patterns associated with conventional low-density suburban housing production.

The American Farmland Trust predicts that conventional suburban development could cause the loss of over one million acres of Central California farmland by the year 2040, while compact, New Urbanist-style development models could decrease that amount by 53 percent. Additionally, computer analysis by traffic engineers has estimated that compact development can also reduce total vehicle miles traveled measurably, due to gridded street systems and mixture of land uses. The California Air Resources Board estimates that, in comparison to conventional suburban development, New Urbanist type developments could reduce annual household travel-related emissions of carbon monoxide from 700 lbs. to 400 lbs., and nitrogen oxides from 55 lbs. to 30 lbs. 143

Furthermore, a study by EPA in Atlanta, Georgia found conventional suburban development creates 0.28 acres of water imperviousness per dwelling unit compared to a New Urbanist design of 0.03 acres/dwelling unit. 144 New Urbanist designs in turn, help reduce storm water runoff volume (including reduction in transport of non-point source pollutants) and protect groundwater recharge. 145

144 As urbanization spreads, streets, driveways, parking lots, sidewalks, and structures drastically change land cover. Surfaces become much more impervious – they are not easily penetrated by water. The hard surface can lead to major environmental degradation, especially to water resources. Ibid.
145 Groundwater recharge is the replenishment of an aquifer with water from the land surface (water that precipitates, flows on ground surface (surface runoff) or seeps through soil first, then flows laterally, into the soil. This body of water will eventually reach a saturated zone and replenish or recharge groundwater supply). Ibid.
8.4 Implications of Increased Housing Production & Latino New Urbanism

In sum, the promotion of Latino New Urbanist models, accordingly, could allow the home building industry to more effectively lobby for more housing production throughout the state. Latino New Urbanism provides a housing model that can increase the quality of life of all residents, accommodate population and job growth, and reduce the amount of environmental impact in California. Currently, a few communities are already beginning to understand the benefits of New Urbanist-like models and have adopted additional set of zoning regulations that permit higher densities and the mixing of uses in areas officially designated as a “traditional neighborhood”.

Therefore, Latino New Urbanism appears to provide the home building industry with an environmentally less harmful alternative and a viable model to profit from the enormous housing demand projected in California in the next several decades. Latino New Urbanism also enables local governments to sustain and increase economic activity in the California economy, that otherwise would be deterred to other regions due to housing shortages. However, it is uncertain whether the industry will continue to support conventional housing development models or if more local governments will zone additional land for Latino New Urbanist developments, in spite of the economic, environmental and social benefits they could create.
Chapter Two Conclusion
Latino New Urbanism and its Implications for Future Housing Development

In the next several decades, racial diversity will dramatically alter the physical and cultural landscapes of the state. California will become a multi-ethnic society with few comparisons nationally. By the year 2040 Latinos will comprise nearly 50 percent of the state’s total population. These projections suggest that the future of California is unmistakably tied to that of the Latino community.

The Latino population boom will place dramatic demands on services, particularly those associated with housing. This large projected population growth and change, likely will pressure governments and industries to modify the methods in which they develop cities and suburbs. California will need to create innovative initiatives to provide one of life’s basic necessities, housing to all segments of society. However, the ability of the state and housing industry to create innovative models to support a sustainable California will principally be determined how they choose to configure people into communities and housing units.

Consequently, the persistence of governments that Latinos assimilate (principally through the use of third border tactics) to the established U.S. notion of appropriate use of spaces and commuting patterns as a condition to incorporate into mainstream society mitigates the prospect to leverage and build upon Latino’s cultural propensity for compact and New Urbanist lifestyles. Assimilation of Latinos could increase environmental impact and housing shortages throughout the state. As a consequence, the ordinary path of assimilation could produce detrimental costs not only for Latinos but also for the future of all California residents.

Population analysis and environmental scanning, accordingly, are techniques that can aid governments and business groups to analyze, and understand, the socio-economic and cultural underpinnings of policies and business strategies. Such techniques could enable them to create polices and development models that reflect the needs of all residents in California, particularly those of emerging populations.

As the composition of residents in California changes, existing and proposed polices and housing strategies should also simultaneously change. As shown, Latinos will eventually be the majority population and their characteristics and actions will have a direct impact on all planning and commercial consumption patterns in California. Policymakers and business leaders, accordingly, should look beyond their perceived conceptions of the average population member or market target and think prospectively of the desirable and beneficial outcome of incorporating the Latino lifestyle into policy and business practices.

Consequently, in a state as diverse as California, pluralism ideally should enable Latinos and nonLatinos to pursue a variety of housing developments and lifestyles. Adherence to principles of multiculturalism would argue that individuals who wish to live in compact
or low-density communities should be provided the option to pursue it. Moreover, pluralism argues that compact lifestyles should be encouraged not just allowed.

However, despite the multicultural nature of California, many individuals who favor compact lifestyles may not be allowed to freely pursue them. Currently, due largely to political opposition and zoning regulations, most new development in California is low-density, thus hindering the possibility for individuals, particularly nonLatinos and the middle class, to consume or assimilate compact city lifestyles. The development of a more sustainable and compact California is mainly dependent on the support of policies and development models that are reflective of the predilections and needs of the current and future population groups.

As a result of unreflective policies and models, Latinos are adapting existing neighborhoods to their own definition of New Urbanist communities. Their adaptive methods have assisted in the transformation of derelict commercial centers and residential neighborhoods into attractive pedestrian-oriented districts. The Latino evolution of communities is, consequently, enacted to meet their set criteria of what the built environment should include. The evolution of the built environment consists of the architectural synergy of styles and models from Mexico and the U.S. The synthesis produces an environment that is more familiar and supportive of the Latino lifestyle.

Accordingly, the production of Latino New Urbanist communities provides an affordable development model that acknowledges Latino architecture and designs that maximize social interactions and compact lifestyles. Latino New Urbanism also permits individuals to pursue their propensities for compact cities in a way that is compatible with achieving success in America.

Latino New Urbanism, moreover, offers nonLatinos, the middle class, and upwardly mobile Latinos an opportunity to live in an alternative environment with various residential types and amenities to satisfy their needs and income. The incorporation of Latino motifs and designs in Latino New Urbanism, does not radically digress from architectural styles currently produced in California. Throughout California, a high value is associated with Latino motifs and its appropriation is a widely accepted architectural style in up-scale communities. As a result of wide preferences for Latino motifs, allows for the marketing of Latino New Urbanist communities as compatible with California middle class lifestyles plausible. Therefore, the integration of Latino New Urbanism in housing development models provides the home building industry and local governments with a housing alternative that can be offered to a wider range of demographic groups than conventional models.

In sum, California has entered an era of multiculturalism, and as a result, housing patterns should mirror that diversity. The commercial real estate industry and some local governments are realizing the profitability of multiculturalism and consumer consumption and are developing innovative initiatives to support it. Therefore, shifting dynamics of target markets and population members infer, the next progression in
consumer consumption, perhaps is housing models, like Latino New Urbanism that replicate the diversity that exists within California.

Such a progression, however, would require the home building industry and governments provide a housing model similar to Latino New Urbanism that can increase the quality of life of all residents, accommodate population growth, reduce the amount of environmental impact and offer developers a viable model to profit from the enormous housing demand projected in the next several decades. However, it still remains vague as to whether or not the industry will continue to sustain conventional housing models or if additional cities and suburbs will zone more land for Latino New Urbanist developments, in spite of the advantages they could produce. The following chapter will discuss the main factors that can influence the innovation of housing models and the unique role Latinos may play in politically enacting measures that promote models that equitably develops California.
Chapter Three
Beyond Latino New Urbanism: Political Realities & Opportunities

Introduction

As California is faced with dramatic changes in household composition and lifestyle, consumer housing preferences will become increasingly diverse and the housing market will need flexibility and room to adapt. Conventional planning schemes, however, may be incapable of achieving this. California possibly will require a restructuring of the planning system to promote housing innovation, diversification, and market efficiencies. The restructuring is needed to allow flexibility in the land market so that housing models such as Latino New Urbanism can capture environmental, social, and economic benefits.

Therefore this chapter focuses on: (1) defining the main problems that inhibit the innovation of new housing models and (2) identifies policy interventions that could assist in creating a politically viable environment that provides incentives to local governments and the home building industry to plan for the balance growth of regions. These interventions may assist in allowing California to fully realize the next innovation in consumer consumption, housing models that reflect the diversity and needs that exist in the state.

Furthermore, this chapter argues, that if Latinos are to have a productive and historical significance, as they become the majority population in California, they should be the catalyst for the establishment of a new model that equitably develops cities and suburbs. They should assist in providing an environment that permits the establishment of alternative developments models, so that Latinos have something other than the suburban sprawl model to assimilate to. Moreover, whereas culture influences Latinos' propensity towards compact lifestyles, their historical experience, social composition, size and current political realities, may pressure them to revolutionize the planning system to challenge the irrational growth patterns and their subsequent consequences throughout the state.

1.0 Defining the Problems

1.1 Tax Revenue vs. Balance Growth

As mentioned in Chapter One, the profitability realized from the incorporation of multiculturalism in consumer consumption, could change business development throughout California. The increasing acceptance of the linkage between economic self-interest and cultural dynamics is causing some cities and the commercial real estate industry to create innovative approaches to sustain and increase demand for multicultural retail developments. This incorporation suggests that the next innovation in consumer consumption is multicultural housing developments that satisfy the increasingly diverse
housing preferences of Californians. However, the existing California environment, is only accepting of development that yields the highest tax revenue for local governments. Cities and counties are perhaps encouraging a nexus between consumer consumption and ethnicity in retail development because of the high tax returns such developments produce for their general funds to finance public services and projects.

The passage of Proposition 13, enacted in 1978 produced a scarcity of tax revenue; in which cities compete with one another for high tax yield and low service development projects. The effect of Proposition 13 on local governments was significant. Not only had cities and counties lost half their property tax revenue to build needed infrastructure (schools, roads, sewers, etc.) for their communities, they had no real viable method to increase taxes on existing houses and businesses.

This effect forced local governments to manipulate urban planning to take advantage of the financial opportunities, still permissible under Proposition 13. Property tax may have been restricted under Proposition 13 but sales tax was not covered under the measure. Therefore, local governments directed their planning efforts toward attracting retail sales tax to sustain their general funds. This process encouraged certain types of development and rejection of others based on financial considerations (See Figure 2-1). In particular, big shopping malls and auto dealerships were favored. Housing subdivisions, which produced only a minuscule amount of property tax revenue and cost much more to serve, became undesirable. Such implications cause local governments to no longer presume planning for a healthy balance of growth (houses, apartments, offices, stores, industry, etc) will result in a healthy balance in the city budget.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 18</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tax Revenue &amp; Cost of City Services by Type of Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Acre Housing Subdivision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Acre Shopping Center</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result, many cities now use planning to principally pursue sales tax revenue, and to discourage revenue-draining developments, such as housing. This phenomenon is causing many communities to zone large tracts of land for tax-rich commercial and industrial development even though they are in urgent need of additional housing.

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146 Proposition 13 reduced property tax rates in the state by two-thirds and then imposed an annual cap of one percent of assessed value of property. Furthermore, this measure permitted reassessment only when property was sold and increases in tax rates to support bond issues through a two-thirds voter approval. Fulton, William, "Guide to California Planning", Solano Press Books. Point Area, CA. 1999.

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid.
This tax structure gives many cities an additional reason not to pursue housing policies that could drain revenues, such as compact development or Latino New Urbanism.

Therefore, the nexus between commercial consumption and diverse housing models seems unlikely under the current California planning and tax system. The current political realities imply that the development of alternative housing models, like Latino New Urbanism may be difficult to implement throughout California. Proposition 13 has pushed local governments to act like business corporations, valuing their financial vitality and the bottom line rather than providing redistributive programs that improve the quality of life of their residents.

Figure 2-1

Revenue Benefits of Retail Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shopping Center</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>Single-Family Home subdivision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pays Higher Property taxes on less land</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Pays lower property taxes on more land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generates sales tax revenue</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Generates NO additional revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requires minimal fire and police protection</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Requires extensive fire and police protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generates no new children to be educated</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Generates many new children to be educated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Revenue PRODUCING project = Revenue DRAINING project


1.2 Economic Cities and the Fiscalization of Land Use

Proposition 13 has caused cities to act like business corporations; local governments main objective now is to sustain and increase their economic or market standing. Localities like private firms compete with one another to expand their economic position in the region.

Cities align their policies to developmental programs that yield the most economic benefits and protect the city’s financial resources (such as redevelopment or infrastructure development). Such policies attempt to give the local government a

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competitive advantage in the production and distribution of certain commodities over other localities.  

Moreover, cities use the economic resource or commodity over which they have the greatest control, land, to increase their economic position in the region. Through zoning laws, cities are able to plan for the type and intensity of use in an area, have the power of eminent domain to assemble land and have the ability to provide public services (infrastructure) and subsidies to encourage certain kinds of land uses. 

The consequences of Proposition 13 coupled with the emergence of post-Fordism, has created the unbalanced development of cities and competing economic interest by shifting large amounts of public capital and resources (i.e. land,) into private development, where industry and businesses are able to skillfully exploit cities by placing one jurisdiction against the other to accumulate maximum public subsidies or policymaking influence.

As a result, concerns for growth and development dominate decision making. Cities are engaged in an intense competition for resources with one another as sources of wealth can move easily from one city to the next. Most cities in metropolitan areas choose not to engage in redistributive programs for fear it will affect their property values, tax revenue and attractiveness to business.

Consequently, even in suburbs in Los Angeles, where Latino succession (a group that has been historically disengaged from decision making through discriminatory and anti-immigrant practices) has transferred power from Anglo to all Latino city councils, competition for capital accumulation (tax revenue) and the subsequent regional inequities still persist. Latino assimilation of the suburban lifestyle and conventional growth models are enabling regional imbalances in Los Angeles and are inhibiting the development of Latino New Urbanist type projects. Whereas, the major newspapers in Los Angeles have touted the City of San Fernando as the “Model Latino City” (see Chapter Two), cities in the in Southeast Los Angeles County are described as everything except model cities.

In less than a decade, local officials and rivals in such cities as Bell, Bell Gardens, Cudahy, Huntington Park, Lynwood, Maywood and South Gate have been indicted, jailed, wiretapped, bribed, recalled, threatened, firebombed and shot. In January (2003), the recalled mayor of South Gate whacked a fellow council member in the face... The spectacle of wrongdoing and ineptitude offers a civics demonstration on what happens when democracy is practiced with too few checks and balances (Los Angeles Times, 2003).

151 Ibid.
153 These implications are causing many cities to function without any responsibilities for redistributing public resources to communities to sustain city services and housing.
Fernando Guerra, director of the Center for the Study of Los Angeles at Loyola Marymount University describes the environment in Southeast Los Angeles County as a result of a convergence of major forces, similar to a perfect storm. The dramatic change that took place within a generation, where an overwhelming White population became more than 90 percent Latino (with many immigrant newcomers) coupled with the loss of thousands of high-paying blue-collar jobs as manufacturing industries (post-Fordist industries) fled to other districts or countries, placed the region at a high risk for disinvestment and instability.\textsuperscript{155} However, due to the financial incentives remaining under Proposition 13, cities in the Greater Eastside became what journalist and urban planner William Fulton calls "suburbs of extraction".

\textit{...suburbs catering to businesses that mined the remaining wealth from their towns. In essence, the small islands of self-government in the Southeast area became little Nevadas, seeking to exploit the powers of sovereignty in whatever way they could for the closely entangled economic benefit of both the city treasuries and local businesses of urban extraction (William Fulton, 1997).}\textsuperscript{156}

Consequently, the corruption and social injustices that cultivated the seeds for a Latino revolution more than a generation ago, where Latinos forced a recall election in Bell Gardens to oust an Anglo city council promoting anti-immigrant and slow growth measures to become the first all-Latino city hall in Southern California\textsuperscript{157}, still remains alive today. Those seeds of political revolution again seem to be growing due to the current political realities in Latino suburbs; they are awaiting nourishment by the Latino community. Hence, the forces afflicting Southeast Los Angeles may have the capacity to influence the Latino community to force the current Latino political establishment in power to revolutionize the planning system and enact an environment where alternative models like Latino New Urbanism are rooted and can flourish to grow a sustainable landscape.

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{156} Fulton describes urban extraction as an environment where the main goal of businesses is to extract the remaining economic vitality of a community and where local governments help businesses with zoning changes, pro-business ordinances, police protection, and subsidies, in return for the tax revenue needed to sustain city general funds. Fulton, William, \textit{"The Reluctant Metropolis"}. Solano Press Books, Point Area, CA. 1997.
\textsuperscript{157} The city council attempted to rezone many residential areas for commercial use and redesignate many apartment districts to single family or other low-density homes. The effect of the plan would have affected a third of Bell Garden’s nine thousand parcels of land. Latinos in the community organized a coalition called the "No Zoning" group that was successful in halting the plan and getting their political slate into the city council. Subsequently, after the Bell Gardens election in 1991 a similar Latino political revolution took over other cities throughout Southeast Los Angeles County. Ibid.
1.3 Assimilation toward the Status Quo and Realities in Latino Suburbs: The Greater Eastside Example

As a result of developmental policies and post-Fordism, according to Rodolfo Torres, lecturer of urban political economy, University of California, Irvine, conflicts between capital accumulation and the formation of local political institutions can be a fair representation of the Greater Eastside. The Greater Eastside is a suburban region in Southeast Los Angeles County, where its actors, capitalists, residents and local political bureaucracies compete for strategic advantages. Torres describes that the volatile conditions of the marketplace influence the existing social and political institutions in the region and thus shape the landscape’s spatial and political dimensions. Moreover, the marketplace, the industrial/commercial center, and the residential neighborhood are defined by their distinctive role as producers or consumers.  

Map 1
“The Greater Eastside”


Though localities in the Greater Eastside are tied to each other by regional economics they have been developed as independent political jurisdictions so that the electorate represented by the workers and consumers of these cities cannot influence policies taking place in the cities where they work or shop, no matter how close they live to the residential areas. This form of exclusionary politics is evident throughout the Greater Eastside, where suburban districts populated by working class Latinos have been reduced to powerless jurisdictions that function as worker and consumer communities for the various prosperous neighboring cities.  

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159 Ibid.
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The effect of Proposition 13 and the emergence of post-Fordism, consequently, have created a spatial formation of urban landscapes that progress from the center moving outward beyond the periphery of previous phases of industrial and commercial development. Eventually, the older urban landscape is allowed to weaken (disinvestment in the locality as business moves to the next city) as each succeeding growth ring moves the benefits of capital further from the original urban core.161 Likely, the Greater Eastside can be viewed as socially and economically differentiated Latino suburban sectors, manufacturing zones, and commercial districts that move eastward from the original urban core (East Los Angeles). Freeways link the center to the expanding edge, assisting the movement of goods, people, and information. At the edges, privileged suburban cells infringe upon areas developed by older forms of capital accumulation. Torres' research describes that the newer suburban cells closely linked to global capital develop more hospitable landscapes, whereas those linked to archaic forms of production lose control of the ability to shape their neighborhoods.162, 163

Accordingly, the Greater Eastside continues to be shaped by the destructive and creative energies caused by competition between older and newer forms of capital accumulation and the resulting rivalry between landscapes. Proposition 13 has manipulated the process of urban planning, mitigating the opportunity to create more equitable landscapes. Therefore, the arrival of Latino majorities in suburban cities and assimilation of conventional growth models are thus, perpetuating the same inequities that existed prior to their succession. Moreover, the outcomes in the Greater Eastside serve as a case study in this thesis to acknowledge the impacts of Proposition 13 in regions, and the opportunity to circumvent similar circumstances throughout California as Latinos become the majority population in cities and political establishments.

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160 California tax revenue law and redistribution is based on a point of sale transaction. One cent is returned to the local government based on the location where the retail sale occurred. Therefore, if a resident of Bell Gardens purchases a radio in South Gate for $100, then South Gate receives $1 in sales tax revenue and Bell Gardens collects nothing.
161 Latino settlement in the Greater Eastside is comprised of traditional blue-collar suburban housing tracts bordering the three great corridors of industrially zoned land along Interstate 5, the 60 (Pomona) Freeway, and the Los Angeles River (see map). The dramatic geographic shift in ethnicity has been referred by urbanist Mike Davis as the “browning” of Los Angeles’ industrial working class. Moreover, Latino ethnic succession in Los Angeles is occurring principally at the bottom of the post-Fordist occupational pyramid. Latino succession adheres to principles of economic restructuring, as Latinos have become the majority in low-tech manufacturing, home construction and tourist leisure services. During the past 30 years, Latinos have replaced blue-collar Anglos (who have moved inland in large numbers to western San Bernardino and Riverside Counties) in the industrial suburbs of downtown Los Angeles.
163 Mike Davis portrays many of the Greater Eastside suburban cities, such as Vernon, as resembling the maquiladoras (low-tech, garment industries, etc.) along Mexico’s northern border, while others such as Santa Fe Springs are affluent, Latino middle class enclaves sustained by post-Fordist manufacturing. Moreover, the Eastside’s older forms of capital accumulation have remained near the urban center and newer and more flexible modes of capital have developed on the fringes (Montebello, Monterey Park). William Fulton describes the suburban cities in the region as a “place where upwardly mobile Latinos buy a house and put down roots, and where new immigrants are warehoused in the remaining space, occupying overcrowded houses, apartment buildings and even garages.”
1.4 Extracting the Latino Suburb: Heirs of a Broken City Government System

The description of the Greater Eastside as a clustering of post-Fordist suburbs challenges the conventional view of assimilation of the suburban lifestyle as achieving success in America. In the Greater Eastside the status quo model of suburban development has created an environment where assimilation creates clear winners and losers. The lack of alternatives similar to Latino New Urbanism is sustaining the assimilation of conventional growth models that continue to create regional inequities that drastically affect Latino communities; however the only difference now is the racial composition of cities councils. In effect, Latinos have inherited a broken city government system that continually perpetuates the regional inequities that existed when the city councils were primarily Anglo. As Mike Davis describes the pride and enthusiasm of electing Latino officials transforms to disappointment when the fiscal realities of local government are factored in.

In the fifteen or even twenty-year gap between emergence of Latino demographic majorities in the 1970s and the election of Latino city governments in 1990s, real political competition virtually disappeared as the good ole boys manipulated the fears of elderly white voters (a majority of the electorate even when they constituted less than 10 percent of the population) entrenched their control over city budgets and redevelopment agencies. They shaped a plantation politics of town bosses and life-long council members. When the revolution came, their Chicano successors were stunned to discover that civic fiscal resources had been systematically squandered and that the new majorities were now saddled with huge bonded debts for generally worthless redevelopment initiatives. Voter morale waned as it became clear “empowerment” meant little more than a Spanish surname on the paychecks to the police and municipal creditors (Mike Davis, 2000).64

Accordingly, major spending efforts throughout the Greater Eastside are targeted at resource acquisition, and redevelop projects continue to be favored over redistributive programs, such as projects consistent with Latino New Urbanism. William Fulton describes in the Greater Eastside it became clear that race alone would not change the inequities and the developmental policies that existed in the region for decades.165

A century of parochialism had sliced the political landscape into odd little pieces. Those pieces, in turn, had served as the foundation of a tight-knit world in which the extractive businesses and small-town politics were closely intertwined. And a mere change of race at City Hall was not enough to disentangle them (William Fulton, 1997).

Therefore, the presence of numerous cities, mobile businesses and commercial interests, and a taxing system that authorize cities to maintain taxable resources promote these inequitable patterns and preferences.166 Such forces create divisive city councils, which

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166 Savitch, H.V. & Vogel, Ronald (Eds.), “Regional Politics: America in the Post-City Age” Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA. 1996
prevents them from being proponents of redistributive policies. The following case study highlights a situation where these forces do not capture developmental policies and the subsequent capacity for a united Latino City Council to engage in Latino New Urbanist type development.

1.5 “San Fernando is Surrounded but not Captured”\textsuperscript{167}

The City of San Fernando described as the “Model Latino City” in Chapter Two, contradicts the description of the Greater Eastside. San Fernando, a suburban city in Northeast Los Angeles County, similar in population characteristics to cities in the Greater Eastside, has been able to engage in redistributive programs that transfer economic resources from those who have gained the most from economic development to those who have gained the least. The city of San Fernando is functioning under the same political and economic system, however, it may be their locational and historical advantages that differentiate them from cities in the Greater Eastside and allows their city council to pursue developmental programs more consistent with the principles of Latino New Urbanism.

According to policy analyst Paul Peterson, some small cities such as San Fernando are able to redistribute income without suffering undue economic hardship because the advantage their location gives them.\textsuperscript{168}

Aspen sits in a beautiful valley; San Mateo and Pacific Palisades are nestled in hills overlooking the Pacific Ocean; Berkeley’s hills overlook San Francisco bay; and Cambridge holds hostage both the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. If these towns wish to control rents or impose burdensome taxes, they can do so without incurring a significant economic penalty. Citizens will accept these costs as part of the price of obtaining access to the special advantages the community provides (Paul Peterson, 1995).

Though San Fernando is not engaging in redistribution at the level of the City of Berkeley or Cambridge (or is as wealthy), it still is able to do so through its locational comparative advantage. The city of San Fernando is the one of only two incorporated cities in the entire San Fernando Valley (a region with a population over 1.7 million and 44 percent Latino).\textsuperscript{169} San Fernando is completely surrounded by the City of Los Angeles, thereby decreasing the amount of competing interests in the region (see Map 2). Conversely, in the Greater Eastside, several cities are surrounded by up to three or four localities (population in the region is over 300,000 and close to 90 percent Latino).\textsuperscript{170} According to Peterson, the smaller the territorial reach of a local government, the more open its economy and the less its capacity for redistribution.\textsuperscript{171}

\textsuperscript{167} Historian Lawrence Jorgensen’s remarks of the City of San Fernando’s 1911 annexation from Los Angeles County. The San Fernando Valley: past and Present. Los Angeles; Pacific Rim Research, 1982.
\textsuperscript{169} Census 2000, U.S. Census Bureau
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{171} Many of the cities in the Greater Eastside measure less than a square mile.
The lack of numerous cities in the region perhaps has allowed San Fernando to more freely choose the pattern of development that addresses the needs of the community. The absence of the intense competition between cities enables San Fernando to market the art, history and culture associated with the Mission San Fernando del Rey to create a higher quality of life for all residents (the mission reality approach - see Chapter Two). The latitude of freedom from competition most likely permits the city to assume the planning for a healthy balance of growth will result in a healthy city budget.

Accordingly, the rich history and influence of the mission, possibly is providing the city another advantage over other communities. The association with the mission permitted the development of a compact city that facilitates social interaction and maintenance of traditions. This facilitation attracts Latinos from all over the region that value strong connections to Latino cultural traditions. The incorporation of Latino New Urbanist principles in development practices is largely absent from the environment surrounding the city of San Fernando. The use of third border tactics to force assimilation toward conventional lifestyles inhibits the ability of the adjoining communities to provide a community that can freely develop neighborhoods that address the socio-cultural and physical needs of Latino residents. As a result of the absence of reflective environments, Latinos are attracted towards San Fernando, creating the city into a de facto Latino regional hub in the San Fernando Valley for the consumption of culture, art, history, and goods.

Therefore, the lack of dominant forces that capture developmental policies in the Greater Eastside is perhaps enabling the San Fernando city council to lead the way for working-class Latinos communities to engage in progressive policies throughout the San Fernando Valley region. The outcomes in San Fernando represent the direction Latino political
establishments are able to take when the impacts of Proposition 13 are not as prevalent. Such instances infer if the consequences of Proposition 13 are mitigated, similar results may be achieved throughout California cities as Latino succession occurs.

1.6 The Seeds of Change: Opportunity to Grow an Equitable Landscape

The vast differences between San Fernando and cities of the Greater Eastside in their growth and development approaches highlight the impact Proposition 13 and post-Fordism has had on cities. The presence of many cities, mobile businesses, and a taxing system that allows cities to retain taxable resources promotes inequitable patterns. Accordingly, city officials in the Greater Eastside are pushed to focus on internal city concerns and conflict among cities and between local governments are steadily increasing. Cities are no longer able to plan for balance growth for fear it will affect their financial resources and attractiveness to business.

These social, economic and political trends in California imply that assimilation and maintenance of the status quo is only enforcing competition among groups for scarce resources. As wealth has declined and general funding sources have become more constricted, local governments have turned inward in their worldview for new resources and to defend themselves from their neighbors. Therefore, the current political and economic realities, greatly decreases the likelihood of enacting Latino New Urbanism growth models throughout California. Mayor Richard Loya of Huntington Park, who wore a recording device last year in a federal investigation after a businessman attempted to bribe him in exchange for support of a $110-million shopping center, believes that the inequities and corruption in the region are a result of the public not being vigilant over local politicians.

In some cases, you could say the voters got what they deserved...What voters got were “kingdoms”. I think voters have to examine when people are running for office: Who is paying for their elections? What strings are attached? Are we electing a bunch of puppets? (Richard Loya, 2003)

The very forces that constructed such agglomerations as the Greater Eastside, accordingly, contain the foundation to establish networked communities that could politically validate their economic linkages with new jurisdictional boundaries to encourage more equitable landscapes. The potential political power and clout of the massive Latino population in the Greater Eastside could allow cities in the region to pursue larger agendas that empower Latinos to plan for the balance growth of the region. This could be achieved through the promotion of initiatives that focus on decreasing the

172 Savitch, H.V. & Vogel, Ronald (Eds.), “Regional Politics: America in the Post-City Age” Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA. 1996/

competition between cities and enables the capacity for the development of a new political arena, where communities historically disengaged from controlling the functions of economic government can renegotiate their power to create more equitable and redistributive urban landscapes. Such initiatives could result in the creation of landscapes that is accepting of development models like Latino New Urbanism to effectively address the diverse needs and lifestyles of all Californians.

2.0 The Solution – Policy Interventions:

2.1 Latino Influence and Regionalism

Assimilation of conventional models and policies only reinforces the status quo. It encourages competition between cities for scarce resources, creating regional imbalances. However, due to the current size of the Latino community, social composition, historical experience, and current political realities (specifically the corruption and scandal) Latinos have the unique opportunity to challenge existing forms of economic government and conventional growth models by redirecting their energies to shape the construction of a sustainable California.

If Latinos are to have any real productive and historical significance in the Greater Eastside or more importantly in California (the future majority population in the state), they should be perceived as the catalyst for the establishment of a new model of development for the increasingly diverse California, that embraces regional approaches and cuts across jurisdictional boundaries of cities to provide redistributive and equitable benefits to all residents.

Therefore, the strategic shift could be towards new strategies that enable flexible politics of networked communities and cities. This is a feasible strategy according to Rodolfo Torres, Professor of Political Economy, because Latinos are the workers, consumers and residents of many of the communities that make up the Greater Eastside. In addition, this is a viable concept because many of the local politicians in the region are Latino. Therefore, efforts could be focused on developing new politics that crosses districts and jurisdictions. This type of strategy possibly can facilitate the formation of networks of politics that enable residents and officials to recognize they are part of a larger system of localities in the region.174

Accordingly, the Latino community has the capacity to assist in creating landscapes that promote adaptable forms of economic growth that can tackle social and regional housing needs, that specifically address the impact of unequal economic development in the suburbs. The promotion of methods that decreases the intense competition and corruption between cities and redistributes economic resources to those who have received the most from economic development policies to those who have received the

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least. This can be achieved through (1) regionalism (2) coalition building and (3) revenue-sharing programs. (a subset of regionalism).

2.2 A Regional Eastside: Suburbs of Equity

A method to gain control over unbalance growth is a form of regionalism that pools city revenue resources to pay for services and encourages the innovation of development models. Revenue tax sharing initiatives advocate for the grouping of neighboring city sale tax bases so that revenue for services are more equitably redistributed. Moreover, because tax bases are pooled, regionalism can diminish the destructive competition between neighboring cities in attracting businesses and sales tax revenue, allowing cities to more freely engage in policies that encourage balance growth and real democracy in the region.

Likely, to encourage regionalism, Latino politicians who hold numerous offices throughout the state and community based organizations (i.e. Community Development Corporations, advocacy groups) can develop a grassroots dialogue on balance growth policies for the Greater Eastside and California. Latino umbrella political organizations such as the National Association of Latino Elected & Appointed Officials (NALEO) or the Mexican Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF) could organize conferences with labor unions and community based organizations to educate and develop a public debate on the impact of Proposition 13 and the fiscalization of land use on Latino communities.175

Moreover, the conferences can specify the significance of the Greater Eastside as laboratories of democracy, test cases for the rest of California to see how easily suburban political power can be reallocated from one race to another. These conferences can help reveal to residents in the area, that they no longer have the Anglo old guard to blame for problems and injustices but must now look towards the Latino establishment and pressure them for revolutionary changes. Such dialogue can help residents question and define the elements that have prevented the region from enacting the progressive changes promised a generation ago when Latino succession occurred. According to Fulton, nothing other than a revolution of the planning and tax system can decrease the inequities that have existed in the region for generations.176

The politics of extraction is a dirty business in any declining urban area, creating an alliance between municipal fiefdoms, in search of power and money, and nefarious or noxious businesses looking for a safe haven in which to operate. Once a community becomes a suburb of extraction, only a political revolution can change things. And in a critical sense, the sequence of events in the Hub Cities (Greater Eastside) has been far from revolutionary, however dramatic that sequence may have seemed (Latino succession). So the bonfire of political vanities goes on, deeply intertwined with the narrow economic interests that have traditionally ruled.

(William Fulton, 1997)

175 Due to their size and resources, they both have the organizational capacity to address regional issues.
Therefore, the outcomes of these conferences can expose residents and political leaders to the realities in the region. Subsequently, coalitions could be established to produce substantial support for state legislation that creates revenue sharing programs for the Greater Eastside. Additionally, such efforts can possibly serve as a catalyst for the enactment of similar legislation throughout California.

Therefore, initiatives like state Assembly Bill (AB) 680 introduced by Assembly member Darrell Steinberg in the 2002 assembly session (bill withdrawn by Assembly member) can be introduced for the Greater Eastside. AB 680 type legislation could be enacted to help encourage balance growth and counteract the financial bias toward commercial development (currently, one percent of all sales tax dollars are returned to the city where the tax is incurred, creating an environment where sales-tax generating businesses are highly desirable). AB 680 was a proposed pilot tax-sharing program in the Sacramento region that would continue to allocate the amount of sales-tax revenue local governments are currently generating but would redistribute any incremental increase in revenue into three portions. The incremental sales tax revenue would have been distributed as follows:

- One-third would be redistributed on a per capita basis,
- One-third to the city and county where the tax was collected and
- One-third to cities that meet “smart growth” criteria, including providing for its fair share of affordable housing and social services, open space acquisition and planning for infill/mixed use development.

Furthermore, AB 680 would have created a “Regional Projects Fund” to be managed by the Sacramento Area Council of Governments (SACOG) comprised of outstanding tax revenues from jurisdictions that did not qualify for the third of sales tax revenues linked to smart growth criteria. This fund would have supported smart growth projects, (possibly including projects similar in nature to Latino New Urbanism principles), such as affordable housing, infill development, transit-oriented development and regional transportation initiatives throughout the region.

The intent of AB 680 type legislation is to encourage the alignment of local planning efforts with regional objectives and priorities. Through support of such legislation, localities within the Greater Eastside may have the opportunity to regionally grow in a manner that is more balanced, sustainable, and addresses the future needs of residents and businesses. Moreover, if Latinos are successful in enacting such a measure in the Greater Eastside, they may be viewed as the catalyst for encouraging other metropolitan areas in California to enact similar initiatives to tackle the fiscalization of land-use and to create incentives for more balanced growth.

The analysis of AB 680 is based on the initial legislation introduced into the Assembly in January 2002.
2.2 The Move Forward: A Grassroots and Organic Effort

The move forward to implement such an initiative and agenda, however, may be halted by state and local government representatives. Currently, it appears the political establishment; including many Latino politicians are opposed to revenue-sharing measures. Darrell Steinberg, author of AB 680 was forced to withdraw the measure in August 2002 for lack of political support from members of the Senate Local Government Committee, which reviews and hears all proposed legislation before it reaches the Senate floor for a vote. In particular, Senator Nell Soto, (Democrat – Senate District 32) who represents the San Bernardino County region, was adamantly opposed to the legislation for fear it would have a catalyst effect throughout California. The largest shopping and retail outlet mall in the world, “Ontario Mills”, is located in Senator Soto’s district.

Additionally, review of the February 2002 Latino Legislative Caucus’ Housing Summit proceedings and their 2002 Legislative Policy Agenda, contains no analysis of AB 680 and its implications for Latino communities; both documents also lack the Caucus’s position on the measure. Furthermore, local politicians also strongly opposed the bill. The League of California Cities and the Latino Caucus (an official affiliate of the League), which lobbies the state legislature on behalf of local governments, opposed the bill because of the precedent of giving control to the state over major local government revenue funding sources.

These implications infer that the current political establishment for the most part will be unsupportive of future revenue-sharing bills. Moreover, as Latino political incorporation increases over the next several years, it appears based on current trends; the Latino political establishment will assimilate to status quo schemes, despite their impacts on the overall Latino community. Therefore, the move forward to implement revenue-sharing agendas will require the development of strong coalitions and grassroots efforts that pressure the political establishment to enact revenue-sharing programs. The political realities require that the political agenda for equitable initiatives in California to be generated organically; developed from the bottom up by community-based organizations, and advocacy groups.

Consequently, the massive Latino population in the Greater Eastside has the power and clout to promote innovative initiatives that redirect land use decisions to reflect the overall needs of the region, such as housing and tax revenues. The maintenance and

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178 In January, 2002 AB 680 passed by 41 votes (the requisite number needed for passage) in the Assembly. After passage the bill was forwarded to the Senate Local Government Committee for review.

179 According to the Caucus’ website, the “Latino Caucus is dedicated to developing advancement opportunities and promoting progress in the workplace, educational arena, and instilling family values by ensuring an equitable allocation of resources...The Caucus serves as a clearinghouse of statewide information key to Latino issues throughout California...Prepares reports and position papers for the League and the Legislature on issues important to the vitality of the Latino Community.”

180 The October, 2002 “Latino Policy Agenda” lead by the William C. Velasquez Policy Institute and eight other state-wide Latino organizations held regional workshops to unify a process that leads to a consensus Latino Policy Agenda for California. The outcome of the workshops resulted in the creation of the Latino Policy Agenda. The Policy Agenda, subsequently did recommend in their Housing section, support of AB 680 to increase affordable housing throughout the state. However, it is important to mention that the regional workshops were sparsely attended.
assimilation of the current growth and tax models generates biases for sales tax generating developments, thereby perpetuating irrational growth and land use decisions (Figure 2-2 illustrates the implications of Proposition 13 and the choices Latinos are faced with).

Regional approaches, such as AB 680 provide incentives for jurisdictions to balance growth and development more equitably. They can reduce the biases for retail development and intense competition among cities for sales tax by altering the sales tax distribution system, so that only a third of new sales tax revenues is distributed based on point of sale transactions; while the remainder would be more equitably allocated on a per capita basis and based on objectives consistent with Latino New Urbanism and smart growth.

Latino majorities in the Greater Eastside, moreover, have the unique opportunity to allow communities historically disengaged from controlling the function of economic government to renegotiate their power to create more equitable outcomes. The initiatives Latinos develop within the next several years may determine how rapidly they transform their population numbers into real political empowerment and incorporation. Latino succession in cities like the Greater Eastside and throughout California, have created the possibility for the development of a new class of politics and growth models. The enactment of politics and models that are inclusive, instead of exclusionary and reinforce the status quo. Moreover, whereas culture has influenced Latinos’ predilections towards compact lifestyles, their historical experience, social composition, size and current political realities, may compel them to revolutionize the current planning system to transform the unbalance growth and the resulting consequences they cause throughout California.
Figure 2-2
The Broken City Government System & the Process of Housing Production & Innovation

**Implications of Proposition 13**
Tax Revenue vs. Balance Growth

- California Planning System

- Manipulation of Urban Planning to Sustain City General Funds

  - Retail = Revenue Producing Project
  - Bias towards Commercial Development

  - Housing = Revenue Draining Project
  - Bias against Compact Development

- Increased Competition and Corruption among Cities for Sales Tax Revenue

- *Housing Production & Innovation*

- Regional Inequities, Environmental Impact & Unbalanced Growth

- **Latino Growth**

  - Assimilate to Status Quo Schemes

  - Increased Housing Shortages, Environmental Impact & Sprawl

  - Revolutionize Planning System
  - Enact Revenue Sharing Programs

  - Catalyst for Sustainable Regions & Latino New Urbanism
Chapter Three Conclusion
Towards an Equitably Developed California

Over the next several decades California will encounter vast changes in household composition and lifestyle. The emergence of a multicultural society will pressure the housing market to adapt to increasingly diverse consumer housing preferences. However, incorporation of new housing models like Latino New Urbanism to satisfy preferences may require the restructuring of the California planning system. The existing political environment appears to accept only development that yields the highest tax revenue for local governments. Passage of Proposition 13 and the manifestation of post-Fordism have forced local governments to learn to manipulate urban planning to take advantage of the financial opportunities still accessible in an increasingly competitive urban landscape.

Accordingly, developmental policies now dominate policy agendas, as cities are pushed to compete with each other for sales tax revenue that can move easily from one jurisdiction to the next. These variables are making many cities operate as private wealth producing machines, without any responsibilities for reallocating public resources to communities to accommodate services and housing.

Cities are choosing to pursue revenue-producing projects like shopping malls and auto dealerships. While, using their land use powers to zone out housing subdivisions because they provide a small amount of property tax revenue and are revenue draining projects. The current political and economic landscape has pushed cities officials to concentrate on internal city interests, and as result the divergence between local governments is steadily increasing. The intense competition and corruption is inhibiting local governments' ability to plan for the balance growth of cities and regions.

Latino assimilation of the suburban lifestyle and conventional growth models, consequently, are also sustaining regional imbalances in California and are inhibiting the development of Latino New Urbanist type projects. Latino majorities in suburban cities like the Greater Eastside are perpetuating the competition for capital accumulation and intensifying regional inequalities that existed prior to their emergence as the dominant ethnic group in the region. Furthermore, the upward mobility of Latinos to the suburbs as in the Greater Eastside example, under the implications of Proposition 13 disputes the view of suburbanization as a symbol of achieving success in America. Assimilation in this context continues to create regional inequities that significantly impact Latino communities regardless if they are living in the inner city or the suburbs. Assimilation of the suburban lifestyle under Proposition 13 also perhaps infers that irrational growth can persist no matter if Latinos or Anglos are the principal policymakers in the region.

However, the very same elements that erected contested landscapes like the Greater Eastside possess the capacity to create networked communities that could politically corroborate their economic linkages with new jurisdictional boundaries to promote more sustainable landscapes. This could be achieved by assembling the massive Latino
population and their political clout in the Greater Eastside region to promote initiatives like AB 680. Such measures concentrate on diminishing the competition among cities, the fiscalization of land use and facilitate the capacity for the development of a new class of politics and development models. AB 680 type legislation can assist communities historically disconnected from directing the functions of economic government to renegotiate their power to construct more equitable and redistributive urban landscapes that are more aligned to development models consistent with Latino New Urbanism and smart growth principles. However, to achieve this, Latinos must first develop a dialogue on the consequences of Proposition 13 and post-Fordism in the region and subsequently create strong coalitions to politically support revenue-sharing legislation for the Greater Eastside.

In conclusion, the social, economic and political trends in California infer that assimilation and maintenance of the status quo is only enforcing competition among groups for scarce resources. As wealth has declined and general funding sources have become more constricted, local governments have turned inward in their worldview for new resources and to defend themselves from their neighbors. Therefore, the current political and economic realities, greatly decreases the likelihood of enacting Latino New Urbanism growth models throughout California.

The enactment of AB 680 type initiatives, consequently, can renegotiate the imbalances throughout California. However, this process should be initiated by Latinos, who have the most vested interests in regional imbalances due to their status as the future majority population group in the state. If Latinos are to have any real productive and historical significance in California, they should be the catalyst for the establishment of a new model of development for the increasingly diverse state. The catalysts for the establishment of models that embrace regional approaches and cuts across jurisdictions of cities to provide redistributive and equitable benefits to all residents.

The initiatives Latinos acquire within the next several years may determine how swiftly they are able to convert their population numbers into real political empowerment and incorporation. The Latino majorities in cities like the Greater Eastside contain the seeds for the progression of new patterns of growth and development. The progression of an environment that is inclusive rather than exclusive and reinforces the status quo. Moreover, whereas culture influences Latino’s inclinations towards compact lifestyles (as described in Chapter Two), the size of the Latino community, composition and their long history of being disengaged from controlling the functions of economic government, may pressure them to revolutionize the current tax distribution system and change the irrational growth patterns to enact more equitable outcomes throughout California.
Thesis Conclusion

Latino Lifestyle & the New Urbanism: Synergy against Sprawl

The most critical issues facing California today, is the ability to accommodate unprecedented population growth amid changes in household composition and lifestyle. By the year 2020, California is estimated to add close to 11 million residents, which should create nearly 4 million new households. The California Department of Finance reports that by the year 2040, California could reach 58 million people, more than half of them born here.

Moreover, in the next several decades Latinos will become the state’s majority population group. These implications infer that the future of California is tied to that of the Latino community. Racial diversity will dramatically alter the physical and cultural landscapes of the state. California will become a multi-ethnic society with few comparisons nationally. This large projected population growth and change, will pressure the state to modify the methods in which it develops cities and suburbs. California will need to create innovative initiatives to provide one of life’s basic necessities, housing to all segments of society.

The new Latino majority in the state, moreover, will have a direct influence on all planning and commercial consumption functions in California. Latino growth is occurring at a time the state is conflicted between several urban development models; a choice between developing compact cities, preserving the environment or increasing urban sprawl and slums.

A central argument of this thesis is, that given their household characteristics; the growing Latino population can become a key player in the construction of more sustainable and compact cities in California. However, the ability of the state and housing industry to create innovative models to support a more sustainable California will principally be determined by the policy decisions enacted today that establishes how people are configured into communities and housing units.

The move forward to accommodate growth, protect the environment, and address Latino household characteristics, is presently gridlock by policymakers and the home building industry caught between contrasting goals and objectives. Sustaining current models and agendas negates the capacity to combat urban sprawl and assist in housing the unprecedented population growth and change in the next several decades.

Moreover, status quo schemes and their subsequent discrepancy of agendas does not allow for the production of more affordable housing in all regions of the state, specifically in the suburbs where the majority of new housing production and job growth is taking place. This fact suggest that policymakers should move away from conventional models that perpetuate status quo outcomes and towards policy options that plan for the balance growth of regions and housing models that reflect the diversity and needs that exists within California.
Accordingly, this thesis has argued that policymakers and business leaders need to think of the desirable and beneficial results of the incorporation of the Latino lifestyle in housing development models. Latino’s natural and cultural progression toward a lifestyle supportive of compact cities, affords policymakers and business leaders an alternative with a built-in consumer base that can also satisfy the diverse interests and preferences of non-Latinos and the middle class.

The Latino New Urbanism model, presented in this thesis therefore, provides an opportunity where neighborhood-building principles can capture economic, social, and environmental benefits. The model focuses on design with regions in mind since they represent the basic environmental, cultural, and economic unit within which individuals all live and work. The model builds upon the natural and cultural characteristics of residents in the state to reveal their inherent potential to establish a more equitably developed California. Furthermore, Latino New Urbanism provides current and future residents with meaningful choices about where and how they live, acknowledging that residents have a wide range of needs, values and goals for themselves and their communities.

Case studies, accordingly, were presented throughout the thesis that demonstrates that the progression towards Latino New Urbanist principles is already present to some degree in many established Latino communities in California. Latinos have continually used adaptive methods to transform their communities to suit their needs and to promote social interaction. This is most apparent through their adaptive re-use of homes, parks and public spaces. In the Latino culture and lifestyle, housing and parks are much more than buildings and open spaces that function as refuge from the elements or valued for their aesthetic qualities. Parks and housing are a vital component of an individual’s social and ethnic identity. The Latino lifestyle, therefore, represents an untapped resource that can facilitate the progression of more sustainable communities throughout California.

The purpose of this thesis was to demonstrate that the current views towards status quo development and assimilation ignore the opportunity to build upon Latino’s propensity for compact cities and negates the possibility to accommodate growth in California in a more sustainable manner. Latino households, particularly those comprised of recent immigrants are engaging in lifestyles and activities that yield far less environmental damage than non-Latino households. As this thesis illustrated, city developmental policies that pressure Latinos to assimilate to the established U.S. notion of appropriate use of spaces and commuting patterns can mitigate the economic, social and environmental benefits inherent in the Latino lifestyle; subsequently decreasing the client base for Latino New Urbanist developments. Furthermore research showed that Latino assimilation of conventional lifestyles or what is referred to as Latino Sprawl could result in detrimental consequences not just for Latinos but also the general California population.

Assimilation of Latinos to conventional lifestyles, accordingly, raises serious concern about the level of environmental impact it may cause throughout the state, in terms of regional air quality attainment and health related-risks, consumption of land, and traffic.
congestion on regional transportation systems. These implications suggest that to prevent potential increases in environmental impact, California policies should be developed to maintain and promote the sustainable lifestyle behaviors of Latinos.

Consequently, in a state as diverse as California, pluralism ideally should enable Latinos and non-Latinos to pursue a variety of housing developments and lifestyles. However, despite the multicultural nature of California, many individuals who favor compact lifestyles may not be allowed to freely pursue them. Currently, due largely to political opposition, zoning regulations and the fiscalization of land-use, most new development in California is low-density housing or retail oriented, thus hindering the possibility for individuals, particularly non-Latinos and the middle class, to consume or assimilate compact city lifestyles. Due to the durability of housing, the residential choices of the future residents of California may be limited. These consumers likely will be forced to live in housing that was developed to meet the preferences of past population groups.

Therefore, incorporation of new housing models like Latino New Urbanism to satisfy preferences of Latinos and non-Latinos may require the restructuring of the California planning system. The existing political environment appears to accept only development that yields the highest tax revenue for local governments. Passage of Proposition 13 and the manifestation of post-Fordism have forced local governments to learn to manipulate urban planning to take advantage of the financial opportunities still accessible in an increasingly competitive urban landscape.

These implications have caused cities to pursue revenue-producing projects like shopping malls and auto dealerships, while using their land use powers to zone out housing subdivisions, specifically compact housing because they produce a small amount of property tax revenue and are revenue-draining projects. This thesis has demonstrated as wealth has declined and general funding sources have become more constricted, local governments have turned inward in their worldview for new resources and to defend themselves from their neighbors. As a result, intense competition and corruption is inhibiting local governments’ ability to plan for the balance growth of cities and regions. Therefore, the current political and economic realities, greatly decreases the likelihood of enacting Latino New Urbanism development models throughout California.

The enactment of AB 680 type initiatives, consequently, can renegotiate the imbalances throughout California, and provide an environment conducive to Latino New Urbanist developments. Such legislation focuses on diminishing the competition among cities, the fiscalization of land use, and facilitates the capacity for the creation of a new class of politics and development models, so Californians have something other than the suburban sprawl model to assimilate to.

However, in review of current political realities, the political establishment for the most part will be unsupportive of future revenue-sharing bills. Moreover, as Latino political incorporation increases over the next several years, it appears based on current trends; the Latino political establishment will assimilate to status quo schemes, despite their impacts on the overall Latino community. Therefore, the move forward to implement revenue-
sharing agendas will require the development of strong coalitions and grassroots efforts that pressure the political establishment to enact revenue-sharing programs. The political realities require that the agenda for equitable initiatives in California to be generated organically; developed from the bottom up by community-based organizations, and advocacy groups.

In conclusion, this thesis has shown that as dramatic changes in household composition and lifestyle take place in California, the state will be pressured to create innovative initiatives to accommodate unprecedented population growth and housing demand. However, the current divergence of models and agendas is inhibiting California to accommodate projected growth, specifically Latino growth in a sustainable manner. Thus, the fate of the growing Latino community, its’ children and that of California are dependent on the development decisions policymakers make today.

Likely, population increase and the development to meet projected growth in the state are inevitable, however policymakers have the option of enacting initiatives that address the diverse needs of the growing population and also protects the integrity of the environment. The Latino New Urbanism development model, accordingly, represents a strategic opportunity to accommodate growth in a more sustainable manner that assesses the changing population dynamics in California and proposes a model that can increase the quality of life of all Californians.
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