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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE

Beneficial or Disruptive Change? Perspectives of Neighborhood Change in Santa Ana, CA

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Urban and Environmental Planning and Policy

by

Michelle E. Zuñiga

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Doug Houston, Chair
Professor Maria Rendon
Professor Walter Nicholls

2021

Dedication

To

My family and friends and the communities I have worked
with in Florida, Colorado, California, and El Salvador

in recognition of your sacrifice, love, and strength.

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Curriculum Vitae

Michelle E. Zuñiga

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<u>**EDUCATION**</u>

PhD Urban and Environmental Planning and Policy   June 2021
Chicano/Latino Studies Emphasis
Department of Urban Planning & Public Policy, School of Social Ecology
University of California, Irvine
Dissertation: Beneficial or Disruptive Change? Perspectives of Neighborhood Change in Santa Ana, CA
Committee: Dr. Doug Houston, Dr. Walter Nicholls, & Dr. Maria Rendón

Master of Urban and Regional Planning (MURP)   2014
Department of Urban and Regional Planning
University of Colorado, Denver

Bachelor of Arts in International and Cultural Studies   2010
Minor: Business Administration
University of Tampa

<u>**PUBLICATIONS**</u>
Peer Reviewed Journal Articles

Houston, D. & **Zuñiga, M.E.** (2021). *Perceptions of Neighborhood Change in a Latinx Transit Corridor*. Journal of Transport Geography.

Houston, D. & **Zuñiga, M.E.** (2018). *Put a Park on It: How Freeway Caps Are Reconnecting and Greening Divided Cities*. Cities. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2018.08.007

Co-Edited Book

Gonzalez, E., **Zuñiga, M.E**., & Hernandez, A. <u>The Urban Question: Gentrification, Displacement, and Alternative Futures</u>, Routledge. (under contract, expected Fall 2021)

Book Chapters

Zuñiga, M.E. & Houston, D. *Neighborhood Change in Near-Transit Latinx Communities; Challenges and Opportunities for Sustainable Development.* Accepted with Minor Revisions. In <u>The Urban Question: Gentrification, Displacement, and Alternative Futures</u>*.*

Works in Progress

Mendez, M. & **Zuñiga, M. E.** *Assessing General Plans for Inclusion of Environmental Justice.* In preparation for submission to the Journal of Urban Affairs.

Zuniga, M.E. *Illuminating Santa Ana's Sunshine Ordinance: A City's Development Process and Its Impact on Neighborhood Change.* In preparation for submission to the Journal for Planning Education and Research.

Other Publications

Zuñiga, M.E. (2020, March 20) How COVID-19 Confirms the Need for Housing Security in Orange County. *Voice of OC*.

Houston, D. & **Zuñiga, M.E.** (2017). *Millennial Travel Behavior Policy Brief*. University of California, Irvine, Institute of Transportation Studies.

FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, & DISTINCTIONS
- Eugene Cota-Robles Fellowship, University of California, Irvine, 2015-2020
- Division of Teaching Excellence and Innovation (DTEI) Fellowship, University of California, Irvine, 2020
- Dean's Spring Writing Dissertation Award, University of California, Irvine, 2020
- Urban Planning and Public Policy Summer Research Award, University of California, Irvine, 2020
- Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities & Southwest Airlines. Lanzáte Travel Awards Program, 2020
- Science in Action Fellowship, University of California, Irvine, 2019
- Planning, Policy, & Design Summer Research Award, University of California, Irvine, 2019
- Dean's Spring Advancement Award, University of California, Irvine, 2018
- Planning, Policy, & Design Summer Research Award, University of California, Irvine, 2018
- Ford Foundation Fellowship Honorable Mention List, University of California, Irvine, 2016
- UCCONNECT Research Funding, Institute of Transportation Studies, University of California, Irvine, 2016-2017
- Urban Planning & Public Policy Summer Research Funding, University of California, Irvine, 2016

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Graduate Research Assistant, University of California, Irvine   Present
PI: Dr. Michael Mendez
Project: Assessing Environmental Justice (CA SB 1000) in General Plans
Duties: Develop criteria for analysis of environmental justice components in California General Land-Use Plans, produce interview questions for public officials, and conduct content analysis of general plans and interview data
Major accomplishments: An article describing the findings from this study is in progress.

Graduate Research Assistant, University of California, Irvine   Summer & Fall 2019
PI: Dr. Doug Houston
Project: UCI-Neighborhood Change Study
Duties: Co-develop research questions, co-design survey tool, foster partnerships with community organizers, lead outreach and survey completion efforts with community members and undergraduates
Major accomplishments: An article describing the findings from this study is in progress.

Graduate Research Assistant, University of California, Irvine   Spring 2017
PI: Dr. Doug Houston
Project: Millennial Travel Behavior
Duties: Conduct literature review of millennial travel behavior in the US
Major accomplishments: Presented policy brief to the California Air Resources Board

Graduate Research Assistant, University of California, Irvine   Winter 2017
PI: Dr. Doug Houston
Project: How Freeway Caps Are Reconnecting and Greening Divided Cities

Duties: Co-develop research questions and conceptual framework, co-design criteria for analysis, & lead analysis of cap parks and their implications for environmental justice using content analysis of planning documents

Major accomplishments: Published this work in a peer reviewed journal article, *Cities*

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor, University of California, Irvine   Winter 2021
Course: Environmental Justice
Responsibilities: develop course material, lectures, and active learning activities, teach material (remote or in person), grade assignments for nearly 30 students, and hold office hours
Topics covered:
- Foundations of the environmental justice movement
- Racism, oppression, & the causes of environmental disparities
- The embodiment of environmental health disparities
- Research methods for identifying environmental, health, & social inequities including community based participatory research
- Environmental justice and its relationship with climate justice, sustainability, & eco-gentrification

Teaching Assistant at University of California, Irvine   2018 & 2020
Courses: Naturalistic Field Research, Introduction to Urban Studies (2)
Responsibilities: hold office hours with students, grade student weekly reflections
and final exams, and lead discussion sections to help students build qualitative data skills

Teaching Assistant at University of Colorado, Denver   2014
Courses: Disasters, Climate Change, and Health
Responsibilities: hold office hours with students and grade student weekly reflections and final exams

GUEST LECTURES

Environmental Justice, Health, and Environmental Gentrification. Lecture in UPPP 5 Intro to Planning and Public Policy. University of California, Irvine. Summer 2020.

Environmental Justice, Health, and Environmental Gentrification. Lecture in CHC-LAT 63 Intro to Chicanx/Latinx Communities. University of California, Irvine. Summer 2020.

Environmental Justice, Health, and Environmental Gentrification. Lecture in CHIC 338 Barrios and Health. California State Fullerton. Winter 2019.

Environmental Justice and Gentrification. Lecture in UPPP 100 Environmental Justice. University of California, Irvine. Fall 2018.

How Freeway Caps Are Reconnecting and Greening Divided Cities PPD 231 Transportation and Environmental Health. University of California, Irvine. Fall 2018.

Environmental Justice and Gentrification. Lecture in Social Science 189 Deconstructing Diversity. University of California, Irvine. Winter 2018.

Environmental Justice. Lecture in UPPP4 Intro to Urban Studies. University of California, Irvine. Fall 2017.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Perceptions of Neighborhood Change in a Latinx Transit Corridor. Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Virtual Conference, November 2020.

Illuminating Santa Ana's Sunshine Ordinance: A City's Development Process and Its Impact on

Neighborhood Change. Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Virtual Conference, November 2020.

Exploring Perspectives of Neighborhood Change in Santa Ana. Urban Affairs Association, Washington, DC. 2020. (Conference Cancelled)

Exploring Perspectives of Neighborhood Change in Santa Ana. American Association of Geographers, Denver, CO. 2020. (Conference Cancelled)

The Embodiment of Social and Spatial Inequality: How Environmental Disparities, Environmental Gentrification, and Illegality Impact Latinx Community Health. Urban Affairs Association, Los Angeles, CA. 2019.

The Embodiment of Social and Spatial Inequality: How Environmental Disparities & Illegality Impact the Health of Latinx Communities. Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Denver, CO. 2016.

Can Cap Parks Overcome the Environmental Injustices of Urban Freeways? Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Portland, OR. 2015.

Abstract of the Dissertation

Beneficial or Disruptive Change? Perspectives of Neighborhood Change in Santa Ana, CA
By
Michelle E. Zuñiga
Doctor of Philosophy in Urban and Environmental Planning and Policy
University of California, Irvine
Associate Professor Doug Houston, Chair

This study investigates the perspectives of neighborhood change that exist among residents from varying backgrounds in neighborhood associations and community-based organizations in Santa Ana, California, a predominately low-income and Latinx community in central Orange County, California. The objective of this study is to acquire a greater understanding of why some individuals oppose some neighborhood changes, while others withdraw from changes, and others come to accept them. This study further seeks to investigate what has given rise to their distinct perspectives of neighborhood change. Results contribute to environmental psychology and neighborhood change literature by highlighting the social and psychological aspects of sustainable urban development and neighborhood change by understanding how residents from varying backgrounds feel about the change they are observing and experiencing.

Individuals from neighborhood associations (NA) and community-based organizations (CBO) in Santa Ana are the focus of this study given their active opposition to urban development since the 1970s. In this study, I detail how individuals embedded in NAs, individuals embedded in CBOs, and individuals with no group affiliation vary in their perspectives and responses to observed change in the context of sustainable urban development taking shape in Santa Ana. With qualitative research methods, I draw from environmental psychology, urban sociology, and planning literature to investigate how individuals perceive change and respond to disruptions to place. Data collected include 41 semi-structured interviews, field notes from participant observations of city council and neighborhood organization meetings, and archival documents including local newspaper articles and city government meeting minutes.

Findings demonstrate that perspectives and responses to change vary by race, class, generation, and proximity to change. Whereas individuals embedded in NAs (consisting of mostly middle-class homeowners in their 60s) are more open to changes occurring in Downtown Santa Ana, they are more resistant of changes in the form of high-density apartment units occurring in their own neighborhoods given the threat they impose to the character of their single-family neighborhoods. Individuals embedded in CBOs (consisting of mostly renters in their 20s-30s, Latinxs, and low-income residents) are more likely to resist projects that impose a threat to their place identity, especially many changes occurring in Downtown Santa Ana. Individuals from both groups provide a critical reevaluation of what change means in this era of increased sustainable development in the shape of policies, investments, and projects. Such matters highlight the opposing views and tensions related to class and race that exist among those influencing change in a city like Santa Ana and are bound to come forward in planning processes and outcomes.

Chapter 1

Introduction to Study

This dissertation investigates the processes of place attachment and place-protective action individuals from both neighborhood association (NA) and community-based organizations (CBO) in Santa Ana, California (a predominately low-income and Latinx city in Orange County) take to influence neighborhood change in their city. My overarching goal with this study is to acquire a deeper understanding of local opposition (Devine-Wright, 2009) to sustainable urban development (i.e. high-density housing, transit-oriented development, light-rail transit) occurring in Santa Ana by learning how residents make sense of observed changes and how they respond to change. This research aims to highlight place attachment, interpretations of change, and its influence on place-protective action, but also how these dynamics have been shaped by issues of race and class among residents from varying backgrounds in Santa Ana. This research is important as the state calls for more sustainable development and housing goals to meet housing needs and reduce greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) and vehicle miles traveled (VMT), incurring drastic changes to historic cities like Santa Ana. This research is also important as opposition grows in cities where zoning and policy changes are facilitated to accommodate projects in neighborhoods that are marked by a history of segregation. This opposition to change is also often times dismissed as a barrier for progress by developers and public officials. However, it is important to study further why and how varying individuals come to accept some changes and oppose other changes or particular projects in order to transform planning processes that ensure equitable outcomes more rooted in community desires.

The perspectives of individuals from NAs and CBOs in Santa Ana are selected for this study given their active opposition to urban development since the 1970s and because they contrast greatly by age, race/ethnicity, homeownership, and level of education. NAs in Santa Ana are groups supported by the City of Santa Ana that plan for a variety of changes to their community. They focus on developing social events, partner with the police to fight crime, and work with the city to address parking issues, landscaping, housing, and much more. CBOs in Santa Ana range from non-profits to community coalitions and focus on a range of topics that include organizing residents to demand police reform, mobilizing residents to learn about housing issues, fighting for rent control, and addressing health concerns that disproportionately impact communities of color. Individuals from both groups have been involved in opposing/supporting changes to urban development in their city, however, they represent a sharp class divide where NAs are made up of a mix of Mexican Americans (3rd generation), Mexican immigrants, white residents, homeowners, voters, and retired individuals and CBOs are made up of majority renters, Mexican American (2nd generation), undocumented immigrants, and working-class individuals. In light of their differences, particularly related to race and class, individuals may perceive place attachment and interpret and evaluate change and disruptions distinctly, influencing how they respond to change brought on by sustainable urban development (i.e. opposition, acceptance, withdrawal, etc.). How their perception of place attachment and change vary given these differences, is what I hope to uncover with this research.

While perspectives of change and opposition to neighborhood change is often tied to research documenting the long history of urban revitalization and the struggle with gentrification and displacement for communities of color (Gonzalez, 2017; Patillo, 2010), I focus more specifically on an understanding of place attachment or the emotional bonds individuals from NAs and CBOs have with place and how it may shape the response individual's take to protect their community impacted by change. Place attachment theory states that individual's with strong place attachment are more likely to respond with place-protective action should their place attachment be disturbed (Devine-Wright, 2009). It is presumed that threats to place and protection of place will vary across different individuals embedded in different groups such as NAs and CBOs given their varying experiences in place and interests. In addition, though age, marital status, level of education may influence one's place attachment, race/ethnicity and class are not extensively discussed in the theory of place attachment and how it could influence one's response.

Race/ethnicity and class are important to consider since these dimensions have historically been used since the 1930s by public officials to segregate communities of color. Forced segregation by way of historic discriminatory policies and disinvestment has festered concentrations of poverty and violence (peaking in the 1980s-90s) in urban communities of color across the US (Massey, 2009). While whites were financially able to move out in the 1970s to escape growing conditions of blight across the city, Mexicans were not able to move if they wanted to given the cost, the lack of financial support and real estate covenants that prohibited them from purchasing homes in wealthier and whiter neighborhoods (Elattar & Pho, 2020). There were, however, white residents who stayed behind in the city or chose to move to Santa Ana, to live in affluent neighborhoods. Increasingly, upper class Latinxs also live in various neighborhoods of Santa Ana. Thus, though Santa Ana is predominately a working-class Latinx city, there is heterogeneity among its population, with pockets of affluence and pockets of poverty shaping residents experiences and perspectives of place.

With respect to how place may influence one's perspective, Mario Small (2002) in *Villa Victoria: The Transformation of Social Capital in a Boston Barrio* states:

> *Perceptions are filtered through a set of cultural categories that highlight*
> *certain aspects of the neighborhood and ignore others. These perceptions*
> *become part of an often-explicit narrative about the neighborhood's role*
> *and significance in residents' lives. Residents' framing of the neighborhood*
> *will, in turn, affect how they act in or toward it* (Small, 2004).

In this research, I focus on the perspectives of individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs who carry a variety of perspectives given their lived experiences (based on race and class) and involvement in an organization. Rather than concentrate on the differences across neighborhoods, I highlight the differences of place attachment that exist among residents within neighborhoods. Few studies have shed light on the concept of place attachment while also focusing on this history of segregation and the racial tensions that have unfolded when assessing perception and response to change. McAuley (1998) in *History, Race, and Attachment to Place Among Elders in the Rural All-Black Towns of Oklahoma* does elevate the importance of recognizing race, particularly the history of discrimination and white oppression that Blacks

lived in Oklahoma and focuses on how it has shaped their attachment to their Oklahoma neighborhoods. This study confirms the need to recognize the role of race and class in shaping place attachment (McAuley, 1998). Other studies, focus primarily on the relationship between one's place attachment and their response to particular projects such as wind energy (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010) without examining systemic racism and how it has molded what is place for individuals based on a racial hierarchy and thus may also shape the response residents take or are able to take.

I also focus particularly on a predominately Latinx community in Santa Ana undergoing increased investment towards sustainable urban development. Oftentimes urban sociology studies focus on a black and white divide rather than the Latinx experience to describe urban processes including segregation and gentrification. A perspective on the Latinx population is important to take into account as the Latinx community continues to grow in urban areas across the nation (González, 2020). In Santa Ana, Hispanics comprise 77% of the population, white (Hispanics) make up 33.8% of the population, Asians (non-Hispanic) consists of 11.4% of the population, whites (non-Hispanic) make up 9.42% of the population, and Black or African Americans (non-Hispanic) make up 1.4% of the population in Santa Ana ("Data USA Santa Ana," 2018). In studying perspectives of neighborhood change among Latinxs (undocumented immigrants, 2nd and 3rd generation Mexican Americans) and white (non-Hispanic) residents in the same city, I couch their perspectives with a recognition of the historical context of segregation low income Latinxs were historically subject to and the racial tensions that arise given a history of discrimination and anti-immigrant sentiment.

Granted the variation of individuals living in Santa Ana, there is also variation in the groups one chooses to join to represent the needs of their neighborhood and their grievances. Pertinent to this study is also the matter of groups or organizations individuals are in and how they may reinforce and perpetuate a sustainable discourse or perception of change in individuals. Lived experience including segregation may foment individual's perception and response to change, but groups may do so as well as individuals join spaces where they hear the perceptions of others in the groups they are affiliated with. Groups such as NAs and CBOs given their varying degrees of access to resources and political opportunities may influence individual's perception of change in different ways.

This variation is studied with a place attachment lens as sustainable urban development is increasingly supported by the state and implemented in different parts of the city (some areas historically poor and other areas considered as affluent neighborhoods), impacting a variety of residents who experience place differently, who are embedded in different groups, interpret and evaluate change differently, and thus may respond differently to neighborhood change. With qualitative methods, I examine place attachment in Santa Ana, CA a community undergoing increased investment in sustainable urban development. I investigate neighborhood change and responses through interviews, the review of archival documents, and participant observations. I also focus into two factions of the community, NA and CBOs, to understand variation within the community to these changes and I examine individual's place attachment of those who differ on class, race, and organization affiliation. In this study, I examine how these distinctions inform their place attachment, their perspectives of change, interpretation and evaluation of change, and how they respond to change. By doing so, I

highlight resident opposition to sustainable urban development which may be beneficial for urban planners as they strive to facilitate more equitable processes and projects.

Research aims for this dissertation are: (1) understand the emotional bonds individuals have with place and the conditions that give rise to their bonds, (2) examine how individual's perception of place informs their perception of change, and (3) investigate how individuals respond differently given their interpretation of change that has occurred in the last 10-15 years in Santa Ana, CA. Accordingly, research questions guiding this dissertation are:

(1) *How do perceptions of place and neighborhood change vary among individuals embedded in neighborhood associations and community-based organizations?*
   a. *What informs these perceptions?*
   b. *How does involvement in neighborhood associations and/or community-based organizations matter for place attachment? How does involvement influence individual perceptions of place?*

(2) *How do individuals in these different organizations frame neighborhood change (as beneficial or disruptive)?*

(3) *How do these perceptions and assessments of neighborhood change shape the protective actions they take?*

These research questions are answered with a qualitative research methodology and I draw from environmental psychology, urban sociology, neighborhood change, and planning literature to investigate how individuals perceive change and respond to disruptions to place. I have completed approximately three years of fieldwork in Santa Ana (2018-2020) with community-based organizations, advocating for tenant rights and against gentrification and displacement induced by increased investment. With the data collected (primarily semi-structured interviews), I analyze statements deductively with the Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time to understand how individuals make sense of the change in their city and respond to change while also recognizing the influence that race/ethnicity, class, and their organization affiliation have on shaping their perspective, interpretation, and response.

Background

The state has adopted and mandated several policies that would facilitate sustainable urban development projects in its cities to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and vehicle miles travelled and improve the quality of life for all residents. Thus, cities are encouraged to build differently, supporting the development of bike lanes, transit-oriented development, transit lines, and mixed-use development to follow sustainable development state guidelines. In parallel, the state has also required cities to build more housing given the great shortage of housing that exists in California. Cities, have thus, been pressured to build high-density apartment complexes in compact areas to meet the need for housing and to foster a more walkable environment while reducing car usage. While such mandates could be a way to ameliorate concerns related to the environment and housing shortage, the drastic changes they

incur have been disproportionally harmful on low-income communities and communities of color.

Sustainable urban development projects are presumed to carry a 'green' ethos and are recognized as a step towards improving the quality of life for residents, however, many times projects are a façade for economic revitalization and have displacement effects, drawing in middle-class residents to areas historically recognized as low-income (Checker, 2011; Rigolon & Németh, 2018). Such circumstances mirror a more aggressive experience that communities of color endured in the 1960s as freeways were built through their established neighborhoods in the name of progress yet exposed residents to heightened levels of pollution (Avila, 2014). Furthermore, increasingly, sustainable urban development projects are also perceived to disrupt the neighborhood character of long-time middle-class residents who seek to preserve single-family home values in their neighborhood. For both middle and low-class groups, there may also be disruptions to one's material attachment to place when residents see buildings or homes that helped anchor their memories destroyed to make way for development (Relph, 1985). Though sustainable urban development in the form of transit-oriented development and mixed use apartment complexes are widely recognized for the threat of physical displacement they may impose on low-income communities and communities of color without protective policies in place (Dawkins C, 2016; Hinners S, Nelson A, 2018), indirect displacement also bares emphasis as many residents feel disconnected with new development taking shape in their neighborhoods despite sustainability goals (P Marcuse, 1985; Rayle L., 2015).

Nevertheless, shaping the outcome of sustainable urban development projects in Santa Ana many times for various reasons are individuals from NAs and CBOs. NAs are "nongovernmental collectivities whose espoused purpose is to improve the quality of life and/or property values within a local residential area (Ruef & Kwon, 2016)." Cooper and Musso (1999), state that NAs can also be a means to moderate relations between residents, bureaucracies, and businesses (Cooper, Terry L.; Musso, 1999). They can play a mediating role in connecting residents with city government as they acquire information regarding their neighborhoods concerns and priorities to understand the most pressing issues (Wilhams, 1985). NAs can also be viewed as a local governance body determining the future development of amenities in a particular neighborhood, while also emphasizing trust and cooperation among residents (Stabile, 2000). Santa Ana has 63 NAs of which take a variety of forms and represent a multitude of neighborhoods (i.e. working-class neighborhoods, wealthy, and historic neighborhoods). Many of the NA leaders interviewed were white affluent homeowners, but there were also Mexican-American and Mexican immigrants representing working-class communities interviewed.

Common in Santa Ana are also hundreds of CBOs representing various community concerns related to housing affordability, displacement, anti-gentrification, over-policing, and health. CBOs may take the form of non-profits or community coalitions. Some may take a top-down approach to planning projects/campaigns, and others take a more grassroots focus to inciting change. Many times, CBOs have developed due to a lack of government support to fulfill a need for a group of people united by common grievances (Weisbrod, 1975). Whereas NAs are granted a working relationship with the City opening access to answers, resources, and political connections, many times CBOs are not directly associated with the City and at times

oppose the City. Individuals from CBOs interviewed were primarily low-income, renters, and Latinxs.

Individuals in both entities are greatly attuned to development and change occurring in the City and organize to influence the outcome of projects such as sustainable urban development. I study the perspective of change of individuals from these contrasting groups, the majority of whom are existing and longtime residents of Santa Ana. Their perspective taken together has typically been forgotten in neighborhood change literature that traditionally characterizes cities like Santa Ana as homogenous, consisting mostly of low-income, Latinx residents. However, there is much heterogeneity within Santa Ana (i.e. low-income and upper-middle class residents, white and Latinx). With a place attachment lens, I study how residents from NAs and CBOs—residents with varying backgrounds and experiences make sense of the changes they are observing and respond to sustainable urban development.

Place attachment originates from environmental psychology and is recognized as the process of attaching or enjoining oneself to a place (Giuliani, 2002). An outcome of this process is a positive emotional relation with place and its familiar locales such as one's home or neighborhood (Manzo, 2005). Place attachment demonstrates that people and place are closely linked (Seamon, 2013). Place-protective behavior transpires when place attachment is disrupted and can be recognized in the form of protest, boycott, talking to neighbors, resisting plans, organizing, or petitioning against or for a change (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009). Other times, a lack of an emotional connection to place could foment disinterest in place and a sense of withdrawal. The range of place attachment is understood through aspects of place identity and place dependence which can manifest in different ways depending on one's age, marital status, homeownership, and level of education. Apart from these factors, is place itself, the changes that incur in these places, and the active humans in relation to these places (Seamon, 2013).

While environmental psychology literature focuses extensively on individual factors influencing perceptions of place, it does not engage with underlying tensions in communities shaped by policies or practices that sustain race and class inequality. Little can be said in the place attachment literature about race and class that have been used historically to segregate and isolate communities of color and designate place for individuals. Policies based on race/ethnicity and discrimination such as redlining were used in the 1930s by public officials to designate what communities would be granted loans and investment to maintain their neighborhoods (Rothstein, 2017). Access to loans would then help one improve their neighborhoods or to leave to better neighborhoods. Access to these loans, however, was not and has not been equally allocated, as communities of color were barred from receiving such assistance. This history is important to acknowledge as cities like Santa Ana now undergo increased investment and processes of gentrification elevating issues of inequality.

Today, practices that sustain racial segregation and inequality persist and are important to acknowledge for assessing present day perspectives of neighborhood change. These practices are more covert actions that stem from implicit bias or a color-blind racism. Bonilla (2018) sheds light on the color-blind racism in *racism without racists*. Bonilla shares that many times whites take a stance against policies such as affirmative action and the racial-mixing of schools, neighborhoods, and relationships. They claim it is not due to a racist ideology, but because they just thought it was better that way in the end for all individuals (Bonilla-Silva,

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2018). In Orange County, Celia Lacayo in *Latinos Need to Stay in Their Place: Differential Segregation in a Multi-Ethnic Suburb*, states that white residents felt more threatened with the growing population of Latinos and preferred to share space with those similar to them and thus perpetuate segregation (Lacayo, 2016). Thus, racism continues to persist in Orange County and gives way to the places one feels safe in with the people they feel safe with and the isolating experiences they may live due to segregation.

Previous studies have highlighted the variation of perspectives that exist in Santa Ana or other *barrios* or neighborhoods with an emphasis on race and class. Gonzalez in *Latino City* (2017) highlights urban revitalization plans taking place in downtown Santa Ana since the 1970s and the contrasting discourses Latinx activists and city officials held over changes to the downtown area. Gonzalez further describes the influence racial and political-economic conditions had on urban planning initiatives facilitating segregation and white flight. While Latinxs established successful businesses in the downtown area for predominately Latinx clientele, city officials did not consider them lucrative enough and sought plans to revitalize downtown and welcome back white middle-class residents who had fled to the suburbs due to the influx of Latinx immigrants. Gonzalez's work describes how Latinxs hold a different discourse than city officials concerning neighborhood change and its implications which may come to shape how they respond to it through grassroots efforts. Latinx activists recognized the change in downtown as gentrification and city officials recognized the change as economic revitalization (Gonzalez, 2017).

Harwood (2002) describes how the City of Santa Ana transformed due to its increase in immigration and how the city responded to this change. Harwood more so shares how race and class tensions arose throughout the city with concerns of overcrowded neighborhoods that came with the increase of immigrants choosing to live in Santa Ana. Because of white flight, by 1980, Latinxs became the majority in Santa Ana. White flight and the growing immigrant population was presumed to generate issues and challenges for the city including crime, traffic, and increased demand for services. These changes since the 1970s helped fuel neighborhood-based protests in Santa Ana where working class and middle-class residents alike demanded the democratization of local governance in their city. Later, however, Harwood would describe how middle-class, and the working class also differentiated on their perspective of challenges. While middle-class fought against changes such as overcrowding, working class immigrant residents claimed it was the only way they could live in the city (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002).

Apart from Santa Ana specific research, Patillo (2010) highlights the internal variation within Black communities of Chicago and demonstrates race and class as factors for engaging middle-class Black residents in the planning process of new development in their neighborhood as they sensed an obligation to improving the livelihood of low-income Black residents. Patillo further describes that the differentiation between homeowners and renters, new residents and longtime residents, and public housing/non-public housing residents exhibits an economic order and a level of financial security or lack thereof among residents. These contrasting groups of people, based on class, then have an influence on the ways people organize and their motivations for getting involved with planning urban development projects in their community. Patillo particularly sheds light on newcomer vs longtime residents within the same race, but who have diverging interests and disagreements. Individuals from both groups reflect varying

perceptions of the meaning of shared public space, streets, housing, education, and other aspects that give meaning to place (Patillo, 2010).

Also, highlighting variation in perspectives of change is Small (2004). Small, in *Villa Victoria* investigates community participation in a predominately-Puerto Rican and low-income Boston *Barrio* called Villa Victoria*.* Small highlights the role of cohorts (i.e. older generation vs younger generation residents) in attributing to the changes in community participation, that was once high in the 1970s-80s. Small also examines cultural frames, the frames by which residents of these cohorts view their neighborhood and which Small states are what influences how residents respond to their "common structural conditions" (Small, 2004). Small finds that not all residents perceive the neighborhood they live in the same way and the varying perspectives shape how they respond and whether they "get involved" with their community. Small found that the two cohorts studied have a different frame of the neighborhood. While one cohort views the neighborhood as a success, the second cohort consider it the ghetto. Small finds that residents framed neighborhood change differently due to the historical experiences lived in Villa Victoria and these historical experiences are affected by the political/economic conditions residents lived through. While these political/economic factors at one time could influence one to engage in community participation, it may constrain others to participate (Small, 2004).

Together Patillo, Small, Gonzalez, and Harwood highlight internal variation in perspective and response to change. They shed light on the complexities of neighborhood change and highlight several aspects of it that go beyond gentrification. Political/economic factors, immigration, density, and overcrowding are also aspects of neighborhood change that incite disruptions, protests, and activism. The different discourses related to the change by different individuals raise questions regarding race and class and how the reinforcement of these perceptions have come to shape individual's place attachment and what they aim to protect a midst plans for neighborhood change.

Furthermore, while Devine-Wright (2009) has shed light on the role of place attachment among predominately white residents protesting environmental energy amenities in their backyard, Devine-Wright neglects a focus on race and class and how it may influence a variety of perspectives on place and threats to place attachment, and thus the place protective action one takes. In addition, with only examining the threat of place attachment, researchers have missed other threats such as the threat of displacement and the threat of being excluded from decision making processes that may invoke one to take place protective action. These additional threats often vary by class given decision making often favors homeowners (Patillo, 2010) and these threats are often racialized as communities of color are more likely to rent, bare the threat of displacement, and have been historically marginalized from planning processes.

For this dissertation, I have chosen to study individuals embedded in two entities, NAs and CBOs, to shed light on the internal variation of perspectives of change in the context of sustainable urban development in Santa Ana. NAs are defined as "nongovernmental collectivities whose espoused purpose is to improve the quality of life and/or property values within a local residential area (Ruef & Kwon, 2016)." Community based organizations assume a variety of different forms with the goal of organizing and advocating to influence policy (Leroux, 2007). These individuals were chosen given their prominent presence in the planning process of

urban development and/or opposition of development in Santa Ana and because of their contrasting characteristics (i.e. homeowners, renters, whites [non-Hispanic], Latinxs). They were also chosen because they are all long-time, existing residents in Santa Ana to explore their varying perceptions and responses rather than that of what is usually found in the literature (newcomer vs longtime residents). What is seen in Santa Ana are individuals from both groups organizing to influence neighborhood change, however, their perspectives of change and motivations for influencing change may vary and is the focus of this study.

Structure of the Dissertation

The following chapters expand upon the background information provided above to describe the context for which I carry this multiple-case study in Santa Ana. Below is a description of each of the subsequent chapters in this dissertation:

Chapter two is a literature review covering several concepts important to highlight in this study such as neighborhood change, gentrification, and urban governance. This is done with the purpose of sharing context with the reader on the planning processes that individuals may join in for change to occur or to learn about proposed changes. I also share literature on organizations and the perception formation that could transpire among individuals, demonstrating that individuals are influenced greatly by their social context. I also speak to how people are led to join groups and how their relations may influence their perception of change and their responses to change. In this chapter, I also share the conceptual framework called the Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time of which will be used to help me understand how people interpret, evaluate, and respond to change whether individually or collectively.

Chapter three describes the steps I took to carry out this study as well as how I analyzed data. I state why I chose to use interviews, participant observations, and the analysis of archival documents and I share how these methods helped answer my research questions. I also demonstrate how I acquired access with individuals from NAs and CBOs and with one specific organization that granted me the opportunity to engage in participant observations with them as they canvassed a local community concerned with a proposed development. I finalize with sharing the data analysis techniques used to provide the findings for this study. Methods used are recognized as adding validity to the study, as member check was also used to confirm the analysis of results (Birt et al, 2016). In this chapter, I also share the limitations of this study.

In chapters four through seven I share the findings guided by Devine-Wright's Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time and each chapter respectively highlights the findings related to becoming aware, interpretation, evaluation, and response.

In **Chapter 4** Findings: Historical Context and Perspectives of Place Attachment, I provide a preliminary stage, drawing from prominent Santa Ana researchers, I provide a historical context of the city. I also thread interviewee's earliest memories with literature to share perspectives and provide additional insights. In addition, I highlight how individuals perceive place and their attachment to place. The findings from this chapter help provide background information about the interviewees, how they feel about their neighborhood and city, their relationship with neighbors, and what they value about Santa Ana. In Chapter 4, I answer, *How do perceptions of place vary among individuals from neighborhood associations and*

community-based organizations? This chapter provides the 'emplacement' context that individuals experience and will be helpful for understanding the Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time described in the subsequent chapters. In this chapter, I also answer '*What informs these perceptions?'* by highlighting resident lived experiences in and beyond their communities.

In **Chapter 5** Findings: Motivations for Getting Involved and Acquiring Knowledge, I answer *How do perceptions of neighborhood change vary among individuals from neighborhood associations and community-based organization members?* In this chapter, I first highlight individual's motivations (or lack thereof) for joining an organization in efforts of sharing more characteristics of the individuals interviewed and elucidating the organizations that may have influenced their perspectives of changes after they joined. Findings show, an elusive process where some residents may have been motivated to get involved first then perceive changes and others may have perceived changes first and then chosen to get involved. In this chapter, I also answer the following questions: *How does involvement in neighborhood associations and/or community-based organizations matter for place attachment? How does involvement influence individual perceptions of place?* I do so by describing the different avenues for residents to acquire knowledge and build their perspective.

In **Chapter 6** Findings: Perceived Changes, I highlight residents observed changes that have taken place in Santa Ana in the last 10-15 years. I document the observed changes individuals from NAs and CBOs and those without a group affiliation have noticed in Santa Ana. This chapter shows that there are many similarities of the changes that individuals from both groups and with no group affiliation observe. Observed changes range from enhanced roadways to more high-density apartment complexes to the construction of the new Orange County (OC) Streetcar. While there were several observations to be made regarding sustainable urban development, there were also many observed changes mentioned that fell outside of the sustainable urban development realm. These changes included the transformation of downtown businesses and the shift in demographics of the people visiting and shopping in downtown.

In **Chapter 7**, Findings: Interpretation and Evaluation of Changes (Benefits and Disruptions), I share results that answer the following question, *How do individuals in these different organizations frame neighborhood change (as beneficial or disruptive)?* Results shared in this chapter highlight how individuals interpret and evaluate the change they are observing. Rather than focus on the observed change, this chapter highlights findings showcasing how residents make sense of the changes they see and assesses what increased development means to varying residents in their communities and for their city. I also provide findings that demonstrate what individuals from CBOs and NAs assess as disruptive or beneficial change in their communities. While individuals embedded in CBOs recognize perceived changes brought on by sustainable urban development as disruptions, individuals embedded in NAs have more varied opinions of the observed changes in their neighborhoods. Some members consider the changes beneficial, and others as disruptions. This chapter sheds light on their varying perspective and the rationale for their varying perspectives.

In **Chapter 8**, Findings: How individuals cope, adjust, and respond, I answer the final research question posed in this dissertation: *How do these perceptions and assessments of neighborhood change shape the protective actions they take?* In this chapter, I focus on the

responses individuals take given their place attachment and interpretation and evaluation of the changes they have observed and experienced as a benefit or disruption. This chapter builds on the previous chapters addressed and describes how individuals respond considering the changes they observe and how they interpret and evaluate change. Findings will also shed light on race/ethnicity and class, resources, and political mobilization that facilitates the way in which they cope, adjust, and/or respond to threats and benefits brought on by sustainable urban development in their city and community.

In **Chapter 9**, Significance of Findings, I elaborate on the implications for the findings of this study, and I discuss the overarching themes. Included in this chapter are discussions regarding emerging themes related to the variation of place attachment, perspectives of change, interpretation and evaluation of change, and response to change. I also discuss this variation based on race, class, generation, and proximity to change. I additionally elucidate the racial tensions that emerge when talking about developments in terms of diversity and race consciousness among varying individuals. I bring to light the class conflict that arises when assessing change particularly among homeowners and renters and young and older individuals. In addition, I focus on the notion of change itself and the varying perspectives that exist of change and how it has inclined residents to respond to change. I also emphasize the role of organizations and how they matter for influencing the sustainability discourse, shaping perspectives of change and responses. Finally, I conclude this chapter by including implications for planning, by providing suggestions on how to improve and enhance the planning process to foster more equitable involvement and results.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Sustainable Urban Development

A particular planning concept fueling debates regarding neighborhood change and gentrification is sustainable urban development. Sustainable urban development is recognized as an alternative form of planning practice that strives to mitigate and/or eliminate the negative consequences of urban sprawl by encouraging dense and mixed-use developments that offer to significantly reduce vehicle miles traveled, greenhouse gas emissions, conserve energy and natural resources, and improve the quality of life for residents. Projects of sustainable urban development today include bike lanes, transit, Transit Oriented Development (TOD) or high-density apartment complexes near transportation access with reduced parking, and mixed-use developments (commercial/retail on the first floor and residential on the top floors) that reduce vehicle miles travelled. Policies that aim to reduce car usage (i.e. fewer parking requirements) may also be used to carry out sustainable urban development. Sustainable urban development seeks to enact the goals proposed by the President's Council in 1993 that highlights a focus on healthy communities, where resources are taken care of, employment opportunities prosper, urban sprawl is reduced, neighborhoods are safe, educational opportunities abound, transportation is accessible, healthcare is attainable, and everyone has a chance at improving the quality of their life (Clinton, 1993).

Though the state has pushed for more sustainable development in cities to meet environmental goals such as reducing greenhouse gas emissions, sustainable urban development projects are also often implemented by cities with motivations to increase revenue (Loughran, 2014). In doing so, sustainable urban development may perpetuate and/or exacerbate existing inequalities. To increase revenue, the gentrification process is often encouraged, bringing in wealthier residents willing and able to pay higher property taxes (P Marcuse, 1985) and threatening existing longtime residents with displacement. In hopes of attracting wealthier residents, cities seek to approve projects that will provide job and recreational opportunities (Lees, L. & Slater, T., 2008), improve social conditions (Ellen, Horn, & Reed, 2019), and also foster an appealing place for people to live (Brown-Saracino, 2009), that which many times is also promoted with sustainable urban development. City officials and developers are particularly interested in developing amenities for millennials given their desire to live in urban environments and the large contribution they make in increasing tax revenue (Moskowitz, 2017). Local politicians may push for sustainable development projects such as light rail transit and live-work high-density housing to help appeal more millennials to the city. Sustainability or projects such as light rail transit then become a branding opportunity for cities to bring more millennials to move into the city (Hall & Stern, 2014), prioritizing economic benefits over environmental and equitable benefits. These projects could invoke drastic changes to one's neighborhood which could include negative implications such as gentrification and the physical displacement of low-income residents.

Gentrification and displacement occur when sustainable development projects such as TOD are capitalized in nearby housing prices and result in rent increases and/or higher income

households purchasing lower-income households for access to transit (Dawkins & Moeckel, 2016). Sustainable urban development investments could increase housing and property costs to adjacent properties and catalyze displacement and gentrification inciting concerns over equitable development for disadvantaged residents (Checker, 2011; Loukaitou-Sideris, Gonzalez, & Ong, 2017; Rigolon & Németh, 2018; Wolch, Byrne, & Newell, 2014).

Other studies have demonstrated no displacement taking place even with the increased investment in sustainable urban development (Delmelle, E. C., et al., 2020) signifying enhanced methods and approaches needed to assess neighborhood change and gentrification. Nevertheless, green infrastructure, as sustainable urban development is known to whiten adjacent areas that were historically made up of minorities, richen areas that were predominately low-income, and raise the rent for surrounding residents (Gould, Kenneth A and Lewis, 2017). Hence, low-income residents and communities of color, those in greater need of transit and environmental amenities, many times cannot benefit from these investments since cities do not incentivize affordable housing to ensure long-time residents can remain and use the services provided (Immergluck & Balan, 2018; Rigolon & Németh, 2018). On the other hand, homeowners may benefit from the implementation of sustainable urban development as implemented projects help increase the property value of homeowners (Duncan, 2011) and help create a walkable environment for people who can afford to stay in their neighborhoods.

With this lens, state mandated sustainability goals may be disturbing existing neighborhoods, exacerbating inequalities and altering neighborhoods for the worse. The benefits and implications of sustainable urban development for residents are also unequal causing some to gain and some to lose and these implications become more salient when comparing the middle class with the working class and homeowners with renters. The implications of neighborhood change such as gentrification and displacement should be further investigated while remembering the history of neglect and patterns of segregation imposed by government backed policies that may have also given rise to the emerging inequalities related to neighborhood change (Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2018). This knowledge is brought forward, not to deviate cities from sustainable urban development investment, but to understand the context of neighborhood change and to call attention to the urban governance of cities that may facilitate such effects.

Additionally, substantial research has assessed the impact of sustainable urban development as it relates to TOD. Scholars have found greater neighborhood satisfaction tied to increased walkability and accessibility and increased diversity of neighborhood establishments, but increased concerns regarding parking and noise (Brown & Werner, 2011) with the implementation of TOD. Other scholars have found positive perceptions of neighborhood change among immigrants, African Americans, new residents, transit riders, and residents without a car (Fan & Guthrie, 2012). In a study regarding neighborhood change in Charlotte, NC, residents are also positive about light rail transit as they perceive increased accessibility and less traffic and pollution (Nilsson et al, 2020). Fewer residents were concerned with gentrification, parking, and increased traffic, noise, and crime and increased traffic, noise, and crime (Nilsson et al, 2020). Other residents in Denver, have positive assessments of change with the implementation of new commercial development, increased accessibility, and increased property values. However, there are also concerns related to density, noise, traffic, and a loss of community (Jackson & Buckman, 2020). Generally, these studies show that

residents have a positive impression of sustainable urban development in the form of light rail transit, but there are still concerns regarding parking and traffic. Much more research is needed to assess other forms of sustainable urban development, especially when different forms of sustainable urban development are implemented simultaneously throughout the city.

Though there are many positive assessments of change, there are several community groups that oppose such investments. Sandoval (2018) finds opposition have arisen to such projects due to the threats residents sensed in relation to the disruption of their cultural identity and social cohesion among communities of color and due to poor community engagement in the planning process (Sandoval, 2018). Others sense the threat of gentrification and displacement with the implementation of TOD (Lung-Amam et al, 2019). Additional concerns among community groups also include affordability, disempowerment, and gentrification leading residents to advocate for equitable and transparent planning processes (Sarmiento & Sims, 2015).

These studies of community opposition demonstrate contradictions of sustainable urban development and their benefits. Amplifying this contradiction are also studies that show that gentrification and displacement has not occurred in the face of increased investment (Delmelle, E. et al, 2020). The Urban Displacement Project has noted that Santa Ana in particular has not experienced drastic displacement as some residents may perceive (Chapple, K. & Thomas, 2020), resulting in a great disconnect between data and organizer's objectives. This disconnect could be attributed to aspects of indirect displacement that are not fully captured in quantitative studies assessing neighborhood change (Delmelle, E., Nilsson, I., & Bryant, 2020; Nilsson, I. et al, 2020; Rayle L., 2015). Indirect displacement occurs when the place attachment residents have and their existing social networks are disrupted (P., 1985). Thus, with this study I take a qualitative approach to assess opposition and to better understand resident place attachment and how it may be disrupted with increased investment of sustainable urban development.

Neighborhood Change: Gentrification & Race and Class Tensions

Neighborhood change has been highlighted as a dynamic process reflecting the movement of people, the implementation of public policy, and investment (Zuk et al., 2015). It is typically measured by examining the changes in indicators such as neighborhood race, income, level of education, displacement, housing stock (Hwang & Sampson, 2014), and visual signs of changes to the built environment such as streetcar lines and high-rise apartment complexes that have come as a result of investment. The process of neighborhood change is complex and driven by many factors including people (i.e. demographics), place (i.e. the built environment), and policy (i.e. zoning changes) (Rigolon & Németh, 2019).

Historically, Burgess' (1925) theory of concentric circles characterized the population of neighborhoods as always in succession. Central city neighborhoods would bear processes of transformation as older immigrants acquired social mobility to move out of the inner circle, while newer lower socio-economic immigrants would take their place in less desirable areas (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925). Neighborhood change, however, has been discovered to come in different forms for different cities given each neighborhood's unique traits such as geography, industry, resources, policy, and political influence. Since the Chicago School's

description of neighborhood change, subsequent scholarship has detailed how racial discrimination, built environment projects such as the federal urban renewal program and interstate highway construction, and policies such as redlining would also come to influence neighborhood change in cities across the US. Such practices often altered the urban fabric of once tightly knit or flourishing communities by explicitly, intentionally, and maliciously segregating and isolating low-income minorities from financial resources and amenities (Massey, Douglas S.; Denton, 1998).

While predominately white residents, in the 1930s, were given the financial resources such as loans to leave their neighborhoods (i.e. white flight) to the suburbs where better schools, parks, and resources flourished, many African Americans, Latinxs, and other minorities were not able to do so and stayed behind in neighborhoods that were left with little resources to prosper. Due to the lack of financial assistance and systemic barriers that kept African American and Latinx neighborhoods from growing economically, homes were not maintained, and abandoned buildings were boarded up, leading many public officials to deem these neighborhoods as blight. This recognition facilitated the allocation of environmental hazards and highways to be constructed in their neighborhoods, disproportionately polluting communities of color. Communities of color also would acquire less investment in the provision of parks, safe streets and sidewalks to walk and bike on, and adequate schools and community programs in comparison to whiter and more affluent neighborhoods. City officials often claimed this was attributed to the low revenue generated due to the low property taxes accumulated among low-income residents (Massey, Douglas S.; Denton, 1998). Neighborhoods of predominately white residents, on the other hand, had higher property values eliciting more property taxes that would ensure more adequate environmental amenities, resources, and often times protection from the implementation of any environmental harm or nuisances. In this way, government mandated policies of the 1930s facilitated segregation throughout the country and fabricated the conditions for increased poverty and neighborhood decline in predominately communities of color. Inner city decline (i.e. increased poverty and violence) would peak in the 1980s and 1990s nationwide (M. G. Rendón, 2019). However, after the 1990s, there is a resurgence in revitalization plans and investment in areas once neglected, particularly in downtown areas across the country.

Gentrification

Though there are many elements that contribute to neighborhood change, gentrification has been brought to the forefront of urban sociology considering its prominence and transformation of many communities, particularly of low-income and communities of color. Gentrification is defined by Peter Marcuse (1985) as:

> *Gentrification occurs when new residents– who disproportionately are young, white, professional, technical, and managerial workers with higher education and income levels– replace older residents– who disproportionately are low-income, working-class and poor, minority and ethnic group members, and elderly– from older and previously deteriorated inner-city housing in a spatially concentrated manner, that is, to a degree differing substantially*

from the general level of change in the community or region as a whole.
The definition hinges on economic, social, and population changes that cause
physical changes to the neighborhoods (P Marcuse, 1985).

However, the process and definition of gentrification continues to be debated by scholars since the process unfolds and is evolving differently in every city. Though gentrification has been greatly focused on as a phenomenon occurring solely in poor and minority communities, it is also found that gentrification may also occur in areas less mentioned in the literature such as middle to higher income neighborhoods (Lees, 2003). Also, gentrifyers are no longer recognized as only white millennials. Increasingly, minority middle-class residents as they return to their hometowns and invest in their community can now be noted as part of the gentrification process (Hyra, 2015a; Pattillo, 2010).

The process of gentrification, nevertheless, is facilitated by what is known as the rent gap. According to the rent gap theory, investors and developers are more likely to purchase a property if there is a significant disparity between its current value and what it could possibly be worth (N. Smith, 1987). The historic implementation of policies such as redlining allowed for the property values of homes or vacant land in communities of color to reach an all-time low. The rent gap coupled with proximity to downtown, historic homes, proximity to transit, and the "back to the city" movement, motivated city officials to adopt plans and welcome developers and private investment that would help generate revenue for the city. Private investment only partly explains the gentrification occurring in cities. Local governments also allow for the process of gentrification to take place by invoking real estate and zoning policies that support the process (Moskowitz, 2017). Government officials working in partnership with private entities hold similar motivations of building capital through city planning efforts including sustainable urban development, following through with "the city as a growth machine" logic (Logan, J., & Molotch, 1987).

Race and Class Tensions

Processes of neighborhood change may also conjure race and class tensions. Harwood (2002) describes how race and class tensions arose throughout the city in the 1970s with concerns of overcrowded neighborhoods that transpired due to the increase of immigrants choosing to live in Santa Ana. Because of white flight, by 1980 Latinxs became the majority in Santa Ana. The growing immigrant population was presumed to generate issues and challenges for the city including crime, traffic, and increased demand for services. These issues helped fuel neighborhood-based protests in Santa Ana where working class and middle-class residents alike demanded the democratization of local governance in their city. Harwood also describes how the middle-class (mostly white) and the working class (mostly Mexican American, Mexican immigrants) also differentiated on their perspective of neighborhood issues. White middle-class residents primarily fought against changes such as overcrowding, while working class residents protested the demolition of their communities and against policies that would prohibit multiple families living in a single-family household. Harwood shares that there is a racial and class divide distinguishing opposing perspectives of neighborhood challenges (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002).

Gonzalez in *Latino City* (2017) also sheds light on the racial and class divide in Santa Ana among public officials and city residents. Since the 1970s, the City has planned to implement drastic changes to its downtown area. Plans for revitalization came as a threat to several shoppers and business owners who were predominately Mexican residents as they risked losing their businesses or the shops they frequented downtown. Since the Mexican population was not allowed in other areas of the city or county based on their race/ethnicity, they established their own stores and services in the downtown area. Public officials, however, in a quest to bring back white middle class families who had left the city to revitalize the economy, sought to improve the downtown area with newer establishments. Mexican residents opposed the changes, recognizing it as gentrification and public officials defended their plans as they saw it as a way to revitalize the economy and built environment (Gonzalez, 2017).

Gonzalez and Harwood highlight the variation in perspective of neighborhood change in Santa Ana. They demonstrate the clashing differences that exist between individuals of different race and class when change is perceived or when change is planned in their neighborhoods. It demonstrates that Santa Ana is not a homogenous city, but a city in which there are residents with varying perspectives of change. These perspectives also speak to their varying experience with place including segregation and wealth and/or poverty. Though Gonzalez and Harwood do demonstrate the race and class tensions that exist when discussing and planning changes to the city, they do not dive into the thought process residents undergo before deciding to act somehow. In this study, I intend to dig deeper into how residents perceive changes and the conditions that give rise to their perspectives.

Urban Governance

Given the impact of sustainable urban development projects on communities, the urban governance carried out to facilitate such projects is also important to discuss. Urban governance theory specifies that the principle "role of local political institutions is to coordinate agency across the local territory toward collective goals" (Pierre, 2014). While urban regime theory focuses on the working relationship between political and corporate entities to execute projects, urban governance theory narrows in on who manages assets crucial for governing and to what extent collective action is supported in governance (Pierre, 2014). In urban governance theory, authority and agency are presumed to be separated to ensure that decisions impacting the city are made with societal partners (i.e. neighborhood associations, non-governmental organizations, businesses, etc.). Urban governance (i.e. City government) recognizes the barriers to political control, thus strives for societal involvement in efforts to reach determined goals together. Public officials are responsible for decision making, but societal partners assist in providing resources and information for collective projects and their application.

Across the US, since the 1960s, local governments have developed programs to include residents in urban governance matters at the neighborhood scale (Fagotto, E., & Fung, 2006). Cities increasingly have enacted mechanisms and institutions for increasing community participation to include residents in a multitude and range of decisions regarding their neighborhoods. These actions show the shift of local governance from a hierarchal governance to more of a collaboration (Bingham, L. B., Nabatchi, T., & O'Leary, 2005). These shifts many times are called for after the great persistence of concerned residents seeking increased

involvement in decision making. Though increased collaboration has been granted, it has been described as tokenism where views from all including the marginalized are heard, but they are given little power to make decisions regarding the outcome of projects or policies (Arnstein, 1969). In addition, questions of unequal ability to participate and benefit from the process and outcome of collaboration also emerge (Schlozman, K.L., Brady, H.E. & Verba, 2018).

Planning literature has highlighted the planning process as a venue for city officials to collaborate with various stakeholders on matters of urban governance including the implementation of sustainable urban development projects. The planning process is best described as a process of practical deliberation consisting of dialogue, debate, and negotiation about a particular project, policy, event, or issue (Taylor, 1998). The planning process is often used as a method for empowering residents to make decisions regarding development in their community. However, the extent of opportunities for residents to exercise decision making in the planning process many times can be limited or unequal. Low-income residents and communities of color, for example, face more obstacles to the planning process, are less capable to participate in making environmental decisions, and are often excluded from the policy decisions that affect the distribution of environmental risks (Anguelovski, 2016). More affluent residents, on the other hand, tend to be more involved in the planning process and represent local governments, developers, real estate agents, and many home buyers that encourage new environmental practices, transforming urban spaces, producing new forms of social-spatial control, and fostering distributional and procedural inequalities (Anguelovski, 2016).

Involvement in the planning process is one-way individuals may become aware, interpret, evaluate, and/or respond to neighborhood change in their city. Individuals have used the planning process as a means for learning about new projects and policies that are being planned in one's city. Individuals have used the planning process to interpret and evaluate the changes they are observing or learning about as they engage in discussion with other neighbors and public officials. While urban governance promotes societal involvement in activities such as the planning process, many times these processes are not conducted in a just manner, possibly shaping the individual's perspective of change negatively (C. Gross, 2007). Therefore, various neighborhood organizations or businesses also push for changes to urban governance. Previous studies have described how CBOs advocated for local city officials to adopt a development process that would require more transparency in the planning process. Because of grassroots efforts, the City of Santa Ana then implemented in 2012 the Sunshine Ordinance that required developers hold meetings with residents living in close proximity to proposed developments (Beard & Sarmiento, 2014). In addition, Harwood (2002), documents how CBOs and NAs teamed up in Santa Ana in the 1980s to demand the democratization of local governance due to the cities destruction of historic homes, lack of affordable housing, and displacement of residents impacted by redevelopment projects (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002).

Unequal Involvement

However, not all individuals have the equal opportunity to engage in matters of urban governance to influence neighborhood change. Factors leading to one's involvement in political actions such as the planning process and organizing include one's access to resources

(knowledge and skills), money, and time (Schlozman, K.L., Brady, H.E. & Verba, 2018). Facilitating these resources and skills is often one's socio-economic status (SES). One's level of education, class, race or ethnicity, and gender also demonstrate inequalities as to who is more likely to participate in political processes or place-protective action against disruptions occurring in their neighborhoods. Such circumstances present inequities as not all individuals have the same access to the same resources, money, and skills to respond to changes. Involvement in basic structures such as family, school, work, religious institutions, and organizations help explain how people come to be engaged in urban governance. In these spaces, resources are accumulated, motivations are built, and networks expanded linking individuals to other individuals and resources. In addition, family and school help nurture basic political involvement such as the planning of development in their community, while experiences at work, religious institutions, and volunteer experiences with organizations may also provide resources and nurture one's understanding of engagement in politics.

The Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) also demonstrates how inequities stem from differences in one's access to resources such as time, money, and civic skills. Those with higher education, for example, are more likely to have numerous participatory factors influencing them to act. Higher education would have introduced them to developing civic skills through the numerous classes they attended. They may have a higher income because of their education and their social networks may facilitate connections that motivate them to take action (Schlozman, K.L., Brady, H.E. & Verba, 2018). In some cases, members of the elite (i.e. the wealthy, corporate, investors) leverage their resources such as money by investing in the campaigns of politicians who can also support the planning of proposed lucrative projects (Schlozman, K.L., Brady, H.E. & Verba, 2018), leaving little room for low-income residents to influence decisions. Those with more financial resources and stronger political ties may skew the planning process or decisions to benefit themselves.

The poor on the other hand, are noted as less likely to participate in urban governance such as the planning process of sustainable urban development. Not only do they tend to lack enough time to attend meetings since many times they are working long hours, but they lack the resources such as transportation, child care, and interpretation/translation to attend as well (Neaera Abers, 2003). When low-income residents and those with little education do decide to participate, they elevate their concerns regarding their basic human needs, rather than focusing on aesthetics or neighborhood character. The inequity some residents speak of and face is connected to politically associated issues such as displacement, the need for affordable housing, contamination in one's neighborhood, the need for health amenities and the basic human need of paying rent (Fung & Wright, 2003). These issues are also many times more likely to impact poor, communities of color rather than white upper-class neighborhoods.

These circumstances reveal the implications of historic disinvestment and segregation, systemic issues and top-down governance structure that exist to foster and perpetuate inequalities in neighborhoods, cities, and the planning process. These inequalities are important to keep in mind as not everyone will have the same access to resources, influencing how they experience place and disruption, and how they think of ways to respond. It is assumed that individuals in NAs have more access to resources given their ties to the city, the number of affluent members participating in them, and their political connections. Whereas individuals in CBOs may have less resources at their immediate disposal given their lack of direct connection

with the city and large population of renters and low-income members. For immigrant communities, where many individuals may have not been able to acquire higher education, involvement in the planning process may come as a hindrance, making CBOs or NAs more important for one to join and acquire the skills needed to grow in leadership and engagement.

Organization Influence

Apart from being influenced by urban governance and the planning process of projects, individuals may also be influenced to have the perspectives they have because of their organization affiliations. Individuals may be drawn to a particular group (i.e. NAs or CBOs) due to their positions, grievances, or circumstances which also may reinforce their views. Given individuals may be involved in NAs and/or CBOs to oppose particular sustainable urban developments or to engage in their planning processes, it is important to understand what NAs and CBOs stand for, how they differ, and in general, how individuals come to join these organizations.

Neighborhood Associations

Neighborhood Associations have been institutionally designed to engage in urban governance (Fagotto, E., & Fung, 2006). NAs are "nongovernmental collectivities whose espoused purpose is to improve the quality of life and/or property values within a local residential area (Ruef & Kwon, 2016)." NAs can take the form of homeowners associations (HOAs) or groups that impose membership fees on residents (McCabe, 2011). They can also consist of tenant associations, neighborhood watch groups, or any other special interest group with free membership for local residents (Logan, John, 1990). NAs may also be grassroots, functioning as a locally based, independent, and volunteer run group (D. Smith, 1997). Voluntary neighborhood associations rely on residents to keep an eye on the neighborhood (Ruef & Kwon, 2016) and their goals often include neighborhood preservation and improvement (Meyer & Hyde, 2004). Cooper and Musso (1999), state that NAs can also be a means to moderate relations between residents, bureaucracies, and businesses. They can play a mediating role in connecting residents with city government as they acquire information regarding their neighborhoods concerns and priorities to understand the most pressing issues (Wilhams, 1985). NAs can also be viewed as a local governance body determining the future development of amenities in a particular neighborhood, while also emphasizing trust and cooperation among residents (Stabile, 2000).

The development of NAs as part of a city's institutional design was motivated out of concerns related to white flight, a spike in crime, and increasingly blighted conditions for urban neighborhoods. City government in the 1970-80s developed initiatives to control the growing concerns of urban communities and did so in a way where residents could hold the city accountable and coordinate with city officials over revitalization efforts (Fagotto, E., & Fung, 2006). NAs are typically viewed as a sign of good civic health in a city and their existence is urged (Brehm, J., & Rahn, 1997; Figueira-McDonough, 2001; Putnam, 2000). However, scholars have also documented the negative implications associated with NAs. Some NAs are also recognized as "private governments" with regulations that esteem property value more so than

building community with one another (Cohen et al., 2009). Such regulations are more common in HOAs that, for example, ban festivities in the neighborhood given their disturbance to some residents. In most extreme cases, neighborhoods may also be governed by a board of directors who are elected by other homeowners in the neighborhood. Trust and social capital also may be marred if some residents exert power over others in the same neighborhood in the form of enforcement of regulations and restrictions (Ruef & Kwon, 2016). Also, some NAs cater to particular demographic groups more than others with the advocacy and provision of exclusionary amenities such as a golf course or tennis courts or the inclusion of private police of which are also linked to the cost of living in the respective neighborhood. Developers and residents may also strategize exclusionary practice, placing a charge on the use of such amenities. It is through this practice in which racial segregation (Strahilevitz, 2006) and inequality manifests and propagates (Ruef & Kwon, 2016).

Previous studies have also highlighted issues of inclusion since many NAs are made up of primarily homeowners, affluent, and white residents, leaving out renters and minority populations. Homeowners are recognized to be more concerned about policies that influence their property value, whereas renters are assumed to have less at stake given their lack of ties to a property (Thomas, 1986). In some cases, NAs prove to cause more harm than good as they have been found to perpetuate inequalities in only meeting homeowner needs and not that of low-income renters (Bonjukian, 2016). In highlighting the strength homeowners have together and their emphasis on protecting property value, Mike Davis (2006) states, "the most powerful 'social movement' in contemporary Southern California is that of affluent homeowners, organized by notional community designations or tract names, engaged in the defense of home values and neighborhood exclusivity" (Davis, 2006).

Nevertheless, NAs do not function in every city given different cities have varying capacities and needs and their role in local governance varies from city to city and from neighborhood to neighborhood. Some NAs have been empowered to take part in allocating budget priorities (Fagotto, E., & Fung, 2006), promote civic participation, resolve community issues, and provide advice on policies (Li, Wen, & Cooper, 2019), facilitate communication, foster community, and serve to decentralize power at the local government (Cooper, Terry L.; Musso, 1999). Li et al (2019) conducts a survey with Los Angeles NAs and finds three factors influencing the effectiveness of NAs (specifically board members) in advising policy change are: internal capacity, external networking, and attention-action congruence. Other scholars classify NAs as successful if there is an existing city-wide system, access to resources, political backing, and encouragement to participate in urban governance (Berry, J.M., 1993). Commitment and leadership of NA members are also noted to be important factors for influencing urban governance (Andrews, Ganz, Baggetta, Han, & Lim, 2010). NAs have influenced urban governance by encouraging a city's budget be allocated for home improvement loans and grants and for the destruction of blighted homes (Fagotto, E., & Fung, 2006), the implementation of building and safety code enforcement (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002), and for halting large infrastructure developments from occurring in their neighborhoods.

Community Based Organizations

CBOs are organizations that represent a community and work towards meeting the needs of that community. Though they may work with local government, they are not directly associated with city government as NAs are. CBOs are typically described to provide much needed services and assistance to people in need, help build community, and support policy change (Marwell, 2004). CBOs can be public or private nonprofits, grassroots organizations or coalitions, and can focus on a range of issues representing business interests to immigrant rights to homeless advocacy. Many times, they have manifested due to the government's inability to meet the needs of the people (Weisbrod, 1975). This can be seen in groups that develop to advocate for renter's rights or through business owners collectively gathering to propose downtown improvements. There can be instances when CBOs work closely with government officials as partners, as contacts, or as opponents (Young 1999). There also have been instances where NAs have worked with CBOs on influencing urban governance. However, city officials are well aware of their opposing goals and question how much solidarity there is between them when they do come together (Gonzalez, 2017). This comes despite the City of Santa Ana's call for increased collaboration between NAs and CBOs.

Nevertheless, CBOs develop to build capacity, gather and organize resources, and to evaluate current community issues such as the development of new projects taking place in their community (Hum, 2010). CBOs are important venues for individuals to push for several policy changes, programs, and agreements to elevate the interests of residents and create new forms of accountability for public officials. In doing so, CBOs have influenced urban governance particularly as it relates to neighborhood change in Santa Ana. Gonzalez et al (2012) shares how a particular community coalition of Santa Ana, SACReD (Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development), has morphed from holding small strategies to the point of being included in negotiations with the city (Gonzalez, E. et al, 2012). In 2007-2010, the group was successful in altering neighborhood change plans that elicited threats of displacement of a predominately working class and Mexican community with historic homes and in close proximity to downtown and a train station, the ideal place for gentrification to occur. SACReD advocated for changes that would benefit the surrounding residents with the development of a Community Based Agreement (CBA, a contract between the city, developer, and community). In other movements throughout the city, CBOs have also advocated for Community Land Trusts (CLT), contracts that pass agency owned land to community governance.

Urban governance literature cites local governments dependence on local community-based organizations in order to meet public participation requirements and to acquire community thoughts on projects proposed in the community (North, 2000). Such efforts are thought to be a shift towards expanding democratic practice in decision making (Chaskin, RJ. and Garg, 1997). Whatever groups are represented in the urban governance process, however, may only be representing what a subset of the population desires (Martin, 2004). In addition, though CBOs may be included in urban governance procedures such as the planning process of projects, they may still have to contend with other powerful players (i.e. elite or in some cases NAs) involved in the process as well (Shatkin, 2000).

In terms of measuring the influence CBOs and NAs have had on urban governance with respect to sustainable urban development, often times Sherry Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation is cited. The ladder of participation is a conceptual tool aimed at assessing community participation and highlights the influence community members may have in urban

governance based on eight categories that range from manipulation to citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). Contemporary planning literature, however, have built off this concept by stating some individuals from groups may decide to 'jump off the ladder' in efforts to advance their insurgent planning tactics that are more fitting for their purposes (Laskey, A. and Nicholls, 2019). These tactics commonly go against local government plans and challenge their notions of sustainable urban development and inclusion.

How do people come to be involved and how does involvement influence one's perception?

When taking into consideration individuals and how their involvement in a particular organization may influence their perspective of place attachment, change, and their response to change, it is also worth investigating what leads individuals to organizations in the first place. From the field of social psychology, Hogg et al., (2008), have described why people join groups. They describe three theories as to how individuals decide to join: the sociometer model, terror management theory, and uncertainty-identity theory. The sociometer model refers to individuals who have a need to be social and included. Their self-esteem is built off a sense of belonging and inclusion, therefore they join groups (Leary, M. R. et al, 1995). The terror management theory suggests that people are motivated to join groups in hopes of reducing their fear of death. People are led to join a group where they can share the same values and worldview on life. With this perspective, individuals sense belonging when they are able to relate to others, decreasing their anxiety related to the notion of death (Pyszczynski, T. et al, 2004). The third theory as to how people come to join a group is the uncertainty-identity theory where people strive to reduce the uncertainties in their life including uncertainties related to place. Involvement in groups, "provide consensual validation for our perceptions, feelings, attitudes, and behaviors (Hogg, Hohman, & Rivera, 2008)" reducing the unpredictable circumstances individuals face. All three theories are recognized to influence one's decision to join a group, however, the uncertainty-identity theory is recognized as the most common.

Other scholars state that individuals are motivated to join and stay in groups when they see the fruition of results (Guiney, M. S., & Oberhauser, 2009), and are able to share space and perspectives with other individuals with similar values (McDougle, L. M. et al, 2011). These spaces also offer the opportunity for individuals to feel inspired, appreciated, and encouraged, motivating their participation in the group. Threats to place and the enjoyment of natural places are other motivating factors to sustain involvement or to motivate others to join a particular group focused on environmental concerns (Lukacs & Ardoin, 2014). Some people volunteer after observing visible changes and engaging in teaching/learning (Guiney and Oberhauser, 2009). Some people volunteer because of the connections or friendships they have developed (Ryan, R. L., Kaplan, R., & Grese, 2001). The stronger the connections with others in a group, the more one is likely to remain involved (Donald, 1995; McDougle, L. M. et al, 2011). However, residents may not become involved for many reasons. One reason is that some residents may assume they do not need to get involved given an existing group of residents are already working on solving the concerns they have (O'Brien, 1974). Another reason is that the costs of participating may outweigh the benefits (Rothenburg. 1989).

Olsen et al (1989), investigate what factors are linked to membership and participation of individuals specifically in NAs. They assess factors such as demographics, socioeconomic

status, political activities of residents, perceived neighborhood issues, neighborhood assimilation, NA viability, perceived community problems, and how one feels about their community. Neighborhood cohesion, status interest, and sociopolitical mobilization are found to have strong relationships with involvement in a NA. Neighborhood cohesion refers to the involvement of residents in social activities for greater interaction. Status interests involves middle-class residents seeking to preserve and protect status in their neighborhood such as property value (Olsen, 1989). Sociopolitical mobilization refers to individuals learning about the benefits of collective action, new skills, and how to build efficacy to meet their goals (Olsen, 1982). These factors, however, are dated and reflect the perspective of professional and well-educated neighborhood residents and not that of working-class neighborhood residents and their motivations for joining a NA.

Social movement literature shares that people are more likely to get involved with a social movement when they have similar grievances or central claims to others in the movement (Snow & Soule, 2010). Claims made by individuals are rooted in sentiments of collective identity where individuals are united for a common purpose. In addition, people come together to form social movements because of the opportunities and resources they have collectively for their common purpose (Klandermans, 2002). It is assumed that individuals would also join an organization due to having similar grievances or claims as others in the organization. Within an organization, collective action frames or "sets of beliefs that serve to create a state of mind in which participation in collective action appears meaningful" (Klandermans, 2002) are likely to influence perspectives and reinforce perspectives. Given the common grievances among members and organizing efforts carried out by individuals in select NAs and CBOs for issues regarding neighborhood change (i.e. housing and density), I would characterize NAs and CBOs and their grievances regarding neighborhood change as a social movement as well.

Furthermore, participation in an organization may create a social space mediating the link between change and place-protective action. Lukacs and Ardoin (2014) studied participants motivations for volunteering with a civic engagement organization known as a watershed group in the Appalachian Mountains. More specifically, researchers focused on what it is that leads volunteers to take place-protective action. Researchers found person-place relationships to be the main motivator for volunteers to participate in watershed groups. In addition, the social space and biophysical nature of the volunteering work helped foster place-protective action. Lukacs and Ardoin further suggest that, "Places motivate participation", a notion often neglected as many researchers focus on the group or individual to influence action (Lukacs & Ardoin, 2014). The relationship between place attachment and place-protective action, however, is not always positive (Lewicka, 2011). Mediating the relationship are social factors such as trust (Payton, M. A. et al, 2005), connections (Lewicka, 2005), and perceptions of changes to place (Devine-Wright, P. & Howes, 2010).

Apart from one's personal experience and neighborhood, an individual's organizational connection is important to learn how it may shape or reinforce a particular place attachment perspective that may influence individuals' interpretations, evaluations, and response to neighborhood change. Perceptions are greatly informed by one's social context (Masterson, S. S., & Tong, 2015). Charness et al (2007) builds off social psychology literature and finds that group membership has a strong effect on one's behavior and it increases as group membership

becomes more notable (Charness, G. et al, 2007). As such, group membership may catalyze individual's thinking, feelings, and actions (Turner, J. C., et al, 1987).

Individuals may come to perceive a threat as a threat and a benefit a benefit because of their involvement in a particular organization. Monthly organization meetings, for example, where different residents, business owners, developers, and/or public officials come together to discuss planned and proposed projects may come to be the venue where one develops their opinion regarding a particular change or issue such as gentrification. Residents may hear affirmations or fears regarding a sustainable urban development project that may trigger their interpretations and responses to change. When individuals socialize in groups with a particular cultural identity, the beliefs and values of the group may be processed and/or internalized. Culture may allude to belief systems and customs, but it also includes tools, media, and communication made through relational instances (Fogel, 1993). Organizations may help provide resources to those in need, but they can also help sustain and build aspects of community attachment (i.e. sense of community), politicize one's identity, and lead one to also claim political power (Espiritu, 1992). In this sense, the relational and cultural parts of organizations come to be important as they help mold the perspectives and reinforce individuals perspectives.

Furthermore, the group residents choose to be a part of may be due to racial motivations. Celia Lacayo (2016) sheds light on the segregation from Latinos that whites prefer as they seek to be around others of the same race because they are perceived as many times like minded individuals (Lacayo, 2016). Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2018), highlights the "white habitus" and speaks of it in terms of a segregated environment in which whites have fostered "attitudinal, emotional, and political implications." Their self-selected segregation then works to strain the development of empathy for communities of color (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). Apart from neighborhoods, habitus may also include the organization one is involved in and perpetuate a particular discourse that leads them to respond in a certain way. Latinxs may also seek to join organizations with other Latinxs, for example, as they aim to find a sense of solidarity and safety.

Conceptual Framework

To understand individual's place attachment and their response to neighborhood change, in light of the literature shared regarding sustainable development, organizational influence, a history of segregation, and urban governance, I draw from Devine-Wright's (2009) Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time. This framework is based on resident's perspectives of disruptions and threats which are carried out in stages that involve becoming aware, interpretation, evaluation, and response. This framework will be used to identify the place-related individual and collective action that observed disruptions may catalyze. Disruptions consists of changes to the environment, one's place, and routines. The framework focuses on the thought process, feelings generated, and place-protective behaviors residents take in response to disruptions. With Devine-Wright's framework, it is not so much the change that matters, rather it is how the change is interpreted and evaluated (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009). The response not only relates to the interpretations and evaluations residents make, but also their access to resources, leadership skills, and political clout

(Mihaylov, N; Perkins, 2013). With this framework, the psychological factors related to place are understood and detailed along with how they then trigger responses.

Place Attachment, Place Identity, and Place Dependence

Place, distinct from space and environment, emphasizes position or 'emplacement'— where physical and spatial factors are more than mere atmosphere to social and psychological circumstances (Bonaiuto, Carrus, Martorella, & Bonnes, 2002). Place attachment originates from environmental psychology (Gross, M.J. & Brown, 2008) and is recognized as the process of attaching or enjoining oneself to a place (Altman, I. and Low, 1992). Place attachment entails the interaction between people and place where both "impel and sustain" each other (Seamon, 2012). An outcome of this process is a positive emotional relation with place and its familiar locales such as one's home or neighborhood. However, negative emotions may also be related to a place (Manzo, 2005). Place attachment is important to understand given strong emotional bonds with place can lead to place-protective actions taken (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009).

Two components of place attachment are place identity and place dependence. Place identity alludes to the ways in which physical and symbolic features of particular locations impart a sense of identity (Proshanky, H; Fabian A; Kaminoff, 1983). Place has the potential of representing personal and social aspects of a person such as personal place identification (e.g. Santa Ana has become a part of me) and social place identification (e.g. I feel completely Santanerx) (Bonnes, M. Giuliani, M. V., & Bonaiuto, 1995). With place identity, people can come to identify strongly with a place (Twigger-Ross, C. L., & Uzzell, 1996) and there is an attachment with a place that reflects oneself (Proshanky, H; Fabian A; Kaminoff, 1983). Place dependence refers to the available resources that make enjoyable activities available (Lee, J.J., Kyle, G. and Scott, 2012) and fulfill services and support (George, B. P., & George, 2004) or functional goals (Lai, P.H., Hsu, Y.C. & Nepal, 2013; Moore, R. L., & Graefe, 1994).

Place Disruption

Place attachment has become an important role in the lives of many because people have experienced what it is like when place attachment is threatened or significantly changed. These grave changes or threats are recognized as disruptions. Disruption or any disruptive environmental stimulus (Mihaylov, N; Perkins, 2013), can take the form of a natural disaster (Cox, HM & Holms, 2000) or a human induced event such as an implemented policy, construction of a new train line, or forced displacement for purposes of urban renewal (Fullilove, 2004; Million, 1992). These disruptions are many times also bear disproportionate results as communities of color often bear the cost of natural disasters and urban renewal in comparison to white residents. Devine-Wright's stages of psychological response over time to place change is used to assess how perceptions of the disruption is formed by asking how individuals evaluate changes (whether as changes improving or worsening neighborhood conditions). Just as place attachment can vary person to person, so do perceptions of disruptions based on one's class, wealth, and social and cultural upbringing (Seamon, 2013).

Aspects of place attachment such as place identity and place dependence can be undermined with disruptions to place. When the places residents were attached to are altered,

various emotions may grow in a person. For some the disruption may come to their city, to their street, to their home, or to their neighborhood. Suddenly the place of refuge and security may not be the same after a significant change. A person may grow isolated, disconnected, mistrustful, or threatened with the degree of change or disruption to place (Seamon, 2013). Fullilove (2004) describes how residents who were forced out of their homes to make room for urban renewal projects, experienced an extreme sense of loss and grief. Fried (1966) elucidates the strong place-based affect residents held and how that was disrupted when residents were forcedly displaced from their neighborhood (Fried, 1966). Persons experiencing disruptions to place describe it as extremely distressful (Abramson, D., Stehling-Ariza, T., Garfield, R., & Redlener, 2008). Not only do disruptions affect physical changes, but social changes as well. One's sense of place and home may be altered if there is significant change in people moving in and out of the neighborhood (Savage, 2010).

Becoming Aware of Change

The first stage of the psychological response over time to place change is becoming aware. Previous research has documented that people become aware of disruptions to place attachment by experience (i.e. sudden natural disaster). However, in the context of sustainable urban development others may become aware at a slower pace given the longevity of planning processes that may endure years in approving a project. Rather than direct experience, residents may instead become aware of change by talking with friends, neighbors, attending planning meetings, or reading the news, city plans, and/or developer's proposals (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009).

Interpretation of Change

The second stage of the psychological response to place change is interpretation of change. Interpretation of changes moves beyond identifying the changes observed and highlights the socially constructed impacts of that change (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009). Interpretation is how people make sense of the change in relation to place. Often times people develop their interpretations in conversations with friends, neighbors, family, organization members, etc. (Mihaylov, N; Perkins, 2013) and exposure to media (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009). It is in the interpretation stage that narratives and rhetoric in a community take shape to make sense of the change occurring.

Changes to place may be easier to make sense of when changes are slow, where residents have time to talk about the change, think about the changes, and decide how to respond to the proposed changes. Interpretation may involve debate and dispute as different groups with varying objectives and positions choose to support or resist plans (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009). In this stage of interpretation, is where political and social aspects of place guide groups differently as the influence and clout varying individuals and organizations hold to resist change is often unequal (Dixon, J., & Durrheim, 2004; Manzo, 2005). For some, their interpretation could fall more on the physical rather than the social elements of a city, influencing how they make sense of changes (Hidalgo, M. C., & Hernandez, 2001). People may support a project, should they sense that the project would enhance what they appreciate

about place (Vorkinn, M., & Riese, 2001). In addition, interpretation may shed light on how residents perceive the changes implemented and if whether changes are even psychologically disruptive before the changes have even been implemented (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009).

Evaluation and Response

The third stage is evaluation. Evaluation of change occurs when people perceive of change as negative or positive or as threats/disruptions or opportunities. Evaluation is when residents think about whether they believe the perceived changes will improve or worsen the overall neighborhood conditions. Projects can be evaluated in two dimensions: the decision-making process and the outcomes (Walker, G., & Devine-Wright, 2008). Should the planning process of projects be interpreted as inadequate and the outcomes of the development unjust, stakeholder evaluations of the project could be negative (Breakwell, 1992).

The meaning one gives to place is also important to how one evaluates change (Devine-Wright, P. & Howes, 2010). Whereas one group may oppose windmills due to the sight nuisance they would impose with their implementation in an area valued for its vast landscapes, other groups would welcome it if they held contrasting meanings to place (Devine-Wright, 2011). Also, people who lean more on place identity or place dependence may also have opposing views of change; where one may feel changes impacting their identity as negative and others may feel positive about changes that improve function (Kyle, G. et al, 2004).

In the fourth stage, based on the disruptions, residents may then decide to cope, adjust, or respond in some way. Some threats/disruptions may trigger people to cope in different ways. Coping mechanisms include the denial of change or the negative impact it may bring (Bonaiuto, M. et al, 1996; Breakwell, 1986). Nostalgia can also be used as a coping mechanism for change. Nostalgia can help one adapt to change, restoring and connecting the past with the present (Manzo, 2003). Others may begin to take behavioral responses by withdrawing from interaction or moving away (Klinenberg, 2002; Simms, 2008). Others may be compelled to talk to their neighbors more about neighborhood issues. Some may decide to take place-protective action by working towards policy and planning changes (Alexander, K. S., et al., 2012), carrying out petitions, protests, or writing letters to political figures (Stern, 2000). One may choose to respond individually or collectively depending on their capacity to respond to the change (Manzo, L. C., & Weinstein, 1987). Others may respond by tapping in to social capital, reaching out to the politicians in power they may know, the lawyers they have, and the experts that can contribute to their cause (Perkins, 2002). On a collective level, residents may organize and engage in collective action (Devine-Wright, 2009).

The place protective behavior residents take hinges on the place attachment they sense for place (Manzo, L. & Perkins, 2006). However, it also hinges on self and collective efficacy that stakeholders are tied to (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009). If efficacy is lacking, place protective action may be minimal and people may choose to simply accept the change. Efficacy is also related to the social, political, and economic realm of each neighborhood and/or city. Economic hardships, for example, may also play a role in fostering or restricting place-protective action. If one needs to work to make money, they may not be able to make it to the planned collective action. Wealthy residents, on the other hand, may be more involved given they can afford to miss a day of work. Wealthy neighborhoods are found to be more vocal in resisting plans that

threaten their sense of place (Livingstone, M., Bailey, N., & Kearns, 2008). Race and class many times condition one's access to resources, whether financial or political, to facilitate responses one can take. This, however, is not mentioned extensively in place attachment literature and a gap I wish to fill with this dissertation.

Community Attachment

While cognitive aspects of place and emotional bonds may be more individualized, behaviors to protect or defend one's neighborhood or city may grow to become a collective effort. Building off the Devine-Wright framework, the Model of Community Place Attachment Leading to Collective Action, Adaptation, or Acceptance in Response to Environmental Disruption is used to show how residents respond to the disruption-interpretation process collectively. Like place attachment, community attachment is based on emotional bonds to place and/or people, but also to community identity and organized community involvement and neighboring. Community attachment also speaks to:

> *The complex place and social cognitions, emotions, and behaviors, in*
> *response to environmental disruptions or threats, that feed into an*
> *interpretive process at both the individual and community level and that*
> *lead to collective, community-level actions, adaptations, or acceptance of*
> *the disruption against their place attachment* (Mihaylov, N & Perkins, 2013).

The model acknowledges that place attachment is closely linked with community perceptions, emotions, and responses to change. Attachments to place serve as motivations for neighbors to talk to one another, to participate in informal or organized efforts to protect or improve one's community given their place attachment and perception of disruptions to place (Manzo, L. & Perkins, 2006). Perceptions and interpretations of change are greatly influenced by conversations with neighbors, involvement in organizations, or other networks of interactions. These experiences and interactions may also influence one's response in collective terms as opposed to only as an individual (Mihaylov, N; Perkins, 2013). A collective response may take the form of mobilization, adaptation, opposition, and/or acceptance of a particular project or policy. The response chosen by individuals and whether it grows to be collective hinges on interpretations of those around them and the capacity, political connections, and resources available to respond (Mihaylov, N; Perkins, 2013). It is also influenced by the location and scale of place that one refers to as their community, the level of attachment to place that exists among neighbors or residents in a given location, and the focus of attachment of which there may be great variation**.**

Summary of the Framework

The Devine-Wright (2009) framework for learning about Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time begins with an observation of changes that through interpretation and evaluation can be discerned as benefits or disruptions/threats to one's place attachment, triggering a response. Residents have their unique perception of place and assess

the changes by the degree of positive or negative impact the changes may incur to their perception of place. With this framework, I can also learn about the specific ways that race, class, relations, narratives, and memories come to shape perceptions among residents. Their evaluations on change could be closely linked to their distinct place attachment (i.e. place identity and place dependence) and lived experiences with community concerns such as gentrification and displacement. Their response, whether individually or collectively, could manifest into resistance to change, withdrawal, acceptance, or adaptation depending on a variety of factors (i.e. resources, political clout, finances) (Mihaylov, N; Perkins, 2013).
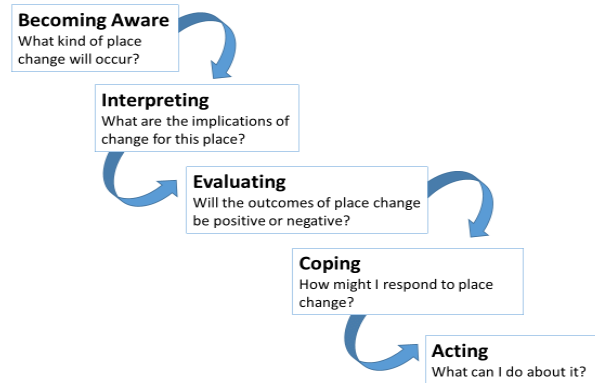
Figure 1: Stages of psychological response over time to place change (Devine-Wright, 2009).

This framework has not been embedded in previous literature discussed such as neighborhood change, gentrification, and urban governance, nor has it been discussed in the context of sustainable urban development. This framework has typically been used to assess perspectives of changes in relation to environmental energy production in rural areas. It has also been generally used with environmental psychology literature (Patrick Devine-Wright, 2009; Patrick Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010). Therefore, inclusion of this framework with the literature put forward, will broaden understanding of how individuals perceive changes imposed by sustainable urban development in more areas with much internal variation such as Santa Ana. This framework will also advance neighborhood change literature by shedding light on how different individuals in different groups perceive changes, how they interpret and evaluate change, how they respond to it differently, and what gives rise to this variation. The literature used in this study will also advance this framework by focusing on the urban environment (i.e. sustainable urban development, politics, policy, crime, downtown, transportation, etc.) and the underlying tensions of race and class that influence one's perspective of place, change, and shape how they respond.

Chapter 3

Methodology

To investigate individual's perspectives, interpretation, and evaluation of change, and place-protective action while also playing close attention to the underlying tensions of race/ethnicity and class in Santa Ana, various methods are used. In this next section the research approach, study design, data collection, and methods for data analysis are shared. Research for this study began in December of 2018 and finished in December 2019. However, to understand the context of neighborhood change in Santa Ana, I began volunteering for various local CBOs much sooner in the Spring of 2016.

Research Site

The context for this study is sustainable urban development taking place in Santa Ana, California. Santa Ana is a city in central Orange County, California, located just south of Los Angeles County, east of San Bernardino and Riverside County, and north of San Diego County. Neighboring cities include Anaheim, Garden Grove, and Tustin among many more in the metropolitan region. Santa Ana has a population of approximately 332,318 and is predominately Latinx, who make up 77% of the population (44% of which are foreign born and 33.8% are white-Hispanic). About 9% of residents identify as white (non-Hispanic) ("Quick Facts Santa Ana, California," 2019). In addition, about 81% of the population speak a language different than English (the most common language being Spanish). The median household income is about $61,895, more than the US average, however, less than the median household income in Orange County, $81,837. The largest group living below the poverty line are Latinos. The homeownership rate in the neighborhood is 44%, lower than the national average at 63% (DAT, 2016) and approximately 56% of residents are renters (may be an underestimate due to informal housing unaccounted for). Renters also are more common to have low-income households and to be rent burdened, where over 30% of their income goes to rent. Those who cannot make the rent, share the rent with multiple families in one household, leading to overcrowded housing in Santa Ana (Reyes, E.A; Menezes, 2014).

Santa Ana predominately consists of working-class Latinxs and many areas of the city are undergoing significant neighborhood change, like many working-class and non-white communities across the country. Santa Ana has undergone drastic neighborhood changes since the 1970s (Gonzalez, 2017), however, increasingly in the last decade the city has facilitated sustainable urban development investment in many parts of the city. These projects of which include transit and high-density housing have conjured up opposition among some residents and acceptance among others for various reasons. Rather than study the changes, I seek to study how individuals perceive the changes and choose to respond to changes while also considering dimensions of race and class that may have given rise to the variation in perspectives and responses.

In 2016, I began volunteering with a CBO in Santa Ana, conducting surveys that inquired what local residents would like to see on empty parcels of land in their neighborhood. I later volunteered with another local CBO in summer of 2018, acquiring signatures to place rent

control on the ballot. Soon after in 2019, I volunteered with another CBO working against the proposal of a mass development that would take away one of the last large open spaces of the city. This group helped introduce me to a lot of the issues low-income and communities of color were undergoing with respect to neighborhood change and increased investment into their neighborhoods (i.e. displacement and gentrification).

With this study, I first began to be interested in studying the perspectives of only one cohort, the perspectives of individuals embedded in CBOs who are predominately Latinx renters and extensively involved in the opposition of proposed high-density and market rate apartment complexes. However, as I volunteered and spent more time reading local Santa Ana news (i.e. The OC Register and The Voice of OC), I began to see that there were hundreds of other individuals as part of another group also opposing high-density/luxury apartment complexes elsewhere in Santa Ana. These individuals were part of NAs and primarily came from upper-class neighborhoods. Regardless of their motives and outcomes, individuals from NAs and CBOs demonstrate that they are part of this greater movement of opposition to some of Santa Ana's most controversial development projects that carry sustainability, housing, and profit maximization goals. By learning about the opposition of individuals in other groups, I discovered variation within the community that has been overlooked in the literature. This discovery led me to explore differences in place attachment between individuals embedded in CBOs and NAs. These differences among individuals in Santa Ana allow an opportunity to advance environmental psychology theory, bringing to light the influence of race/ethnicity and class and how they may shape the conditions for one to take place-protective action in their community.

Research Approach and Study Design

This research takes a qualitative, multiple-case study approach to learn about individual perspectives and responses to neighborhood change in Santa Ana, California. As part of this study, I conduct semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and the review of archival documents. The multiple-case study approach considers each person interviewed as a case, allowing for me to gather comprehensive descriptions of individual's place attachment and learn about the social-psychological process individuals undergo when observing changes and the conditions that give rise to their perspective. In this dissertation, 41 cases were studied consisting of individuals from NAs (17) and CBOs (15), individuals with no organization affiliation (6), and city planners (3). Cases were examined individually and then across cases for comparison where similarities and differences emerged.

Devine-Wright's (2009) Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time was used as a conceptual framework, guiding me to understand concepts, generate interview questions, and categorize interviewee responses in relation to the literature used. With this conceptual framework, I used deductive thinking to learn about individual's emotional attachment to place, perceived changes, interpretation and evaluation of change, perceived disruptions, and their response to change. In addition, given the nature of qualitative research, emerging concepts and categories transpired after each interviewee that were not previously considered. These emerging concepts and categories are recognized as findings that contribute to my study in new ways that I had not imagined (Saldaña, 2014).

Table 1 Research Question and Sub Questions

Research Question	Sub Questions

How do perceptions of place and neighborhood change vary among individuals embedded in neighborhood associations and community-based organizations?
   c. What informs these perceptions?
   d. How does involvement in neighborhood associations and/or community-based organizations matter for place attachment?
	• How do respondents perceive place?
	• How are these changes interpreted?
	• How are these changes evaluated (better or worse)?
	• How does involvement in organization influence individual perceptions of place?

How do individuals in these different organizations frame neighborhood change (as beneficial or disruptive)?	• What do individuals embedded in NAs consider as threats? • What do individuals embedded in CBOs consider as threats? • What do individuals embedded in NAs consider as benefits? • What do individuals embedded in CBOs consider as benefits? • How are disruptions experienced?
How do these perceptions and assessments of neighborhood change shape the protective actions they take?	• How do respondent's cope with change? • How do they adjust to change? • How do they respond to neighborhood change?

Data Collection

The data analyzed for this study include field notes from participant observations, archival data and interviews. Field notes from participant observations and archival documents were used to acquire a perspective on neighborhood processes. Interviews, my primary source of data, were used to assess the perspective of individuals in Santa Ana.

Participant Observations

A strength of this study is that I carried out participant observations. In this study, I volunteered for a local coalition made up of local residents and organization leaders since February 2019. The coalition was developed in response to a threat of gentrification and displacement perceived by local organizers. With plans for luxury housing and a stadium on a 102-acre site adjacent to a future transit stop in Santa Ana and adjacent to a predominately working class, Latinx, and Vietnamese community, organizers mobilized residents in the surrounding neighborhoods to oppose such efforts. I participated by going door to door with organizers to notify residents of the proposed projects and by asking them what they would like to see there, attending monthly coalition meetings, and speaking at city council meetings. The strength of this approach allowed me to engage with residents in their organizing efforts to better grasp how individuals in low-income and communities of color understand place, interpret change, and how they choose to respond to perceived threats. In addition, by participating with organizers and residents, I was able to gain trust and access to community members I interviewed who otherwise may not have opened up to me before. Participant observations was the best option for me since I sensed organizers were more open to researchers acting alongside them, rather than simply observing their actions.

Apart from, engaging in participant observations with CBO members, I observed a NA gathering called Comm-Link. I was told by an interviewee it was the monthly meeting where

many NA members attended to receive updates from the city and recommended I go. This meeting was open to the public and no permission was needed to attend. By attending this meeting, I was able to hear from residents affiliated with NAs and their perspectives of change. There were also instances where observations of NA and CBO members could also be noted at important meetings such as a meeting with the Orange County Supervisor. At these kinds of meetings, I could observe how NA and CBO members were reacting to issues raised in the meeting such as affordable housing, homelessness, and parks. I also initially observed city council meetings as they discussed controversial projects such as the large development proposed by a future potential stop of the OC Streetcar. Later as my involvement with the local coalition grew, I began participating by making a public comment at city council meetings in support of more transparent planning processes. These experiences allowed me to hear the multiple perspectives of neighborhood change, engage in responses taken, and experience interaction with city council members. Field notes were taken to document participant observations and saved as data for this study.

Furthermore, in Summer of 2019 I worked as the University of California, Irvine's Neighborhood Change Study Survey Lead. In this position, I conducted with a team of students over 300 door to door surveys in four neighborhoods (high income and low income) where a future potential stop of the OC Streetcar was planned in Santa Ana. The survey, conducted in English and Spanish, consisted of questions related to perspectives of neighborhood change. As I went door to door, I was able to hear from residents (most unaffiliated with CBOs or NAs) regarding their perspectives. The survey rated residents' perceptions on a scale of 1-5, but residents were quick to share more about why they gave the rating they did. They shared stories and pointed to new buildings or changes they did not like or liked. I was also able to observe the physical exterior environment of their homes, how they interacted with their family who was nearby, their neighborhood context, and I was able to observe their facial expressions and body language when particular concepts such as emotional attachment for one's city and change were asked. Such instances help reflect the social context residents experience daily and that come to inform their perspectives. Though I am interested in individuals from NAs and CBOs and their opposition to sustainable urban development, it was helpful to also hear the perspective of residents unaffiliated with either group to use as a point of contrast. Survey results are not discussed extensively in this study. However, I do cite a few key findings from this work.

Field notes were also taken and used as data for this study to analyze. When I recorded field notes from participant observations, I wrote about what happened, what were the main issues raised, how people responded to change, and the setting. Because participant-observations helped reveal how people act with others and how different issues are reacted to by different actors (i.e. individuals from CBOs and NAs, city officials, public officials), this data compliments the interview data collected that speaks to some of these similar experiences.

Interviews

A total of 41 formal interviews were conducted for this study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals from CBOs and individuals from NAs involved in matters of urban governance in various communities of Santa Ana. I am interested in the

opposition of sustainable urban development projects; therefore, I limited my interviews to those involved with groups that were prominent in opposing projects. These groups included NAs and CBOs. However, several members of these groups were also interviewed despite their opposition to projects to acquire their perspective to change and response to change. I was also interested in the internal variation that existed among individuals based on race/ethnicity and class, making my selection of individuals from the contrasting groups more fitting. At the onset of my research in December 2018, I conducted an informal interview with an individual from a CBO who is recognized as a key leader in the community. This person helped me understand the current issues residents were facing and educated me on the current projects they were fighting against and/or for. Other informal interviews with older residents who represented both NAs and CBOs also helped me understand the history of Santa Ana, particularly that of mobilization and segregation. Formal interviews were conducted from October to December 2019.

The interview questions (see Appendix A for interview guide) were designed with Devine-Wright' Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time conceptual framework (Devine-Wright, 2009) in mind. Questions for each interviewee for the most part were all similar, however, for each new case or interviewee, there were some new questions that emerged. Individuals (apart from planners) were asked about their emotional connection to place, the changes they have observed in the last 10-15 years, how they make sense of the changes, if they thought conditions were improving or worsening the overall conditions of their neighborhood, and how they respond to the changes. For those who expressed their involvement in the planning process as a response, I continued asking about their experience in the planning process with additional questions as their experience in the planning process may have also influenced their perspective of changes. The interview questions were also translated and interpreted to Spanish as a few respondents preferred their interview in Spanish (approximately 19% of interviews were in Spanish).

From the 41 individuals formally interviewed, 17 were individuals embedded in NAs and 15 were individuals embedded in CBOs. A total of six residents with no strong affiliation with either group were also interviewed. These residents were interviewed to understand the perspectives of change of those lacking involvement in an organization. It is assumed that their perspectives, interpretations and evaluation, and responses to neighborhood change would be drastically different considering they are less influenced by a group with a particular purpose and mission. These residents were identified through snowball sampling, starting with initial contacts in Santa Ana who knew of residents who were not involved in organizing efforts in their city. Individuals from NAs and CBOs interviewed, represented various neighborhoods with different characteristics (i.e. age, homeownership, education, class, and race/ethnicity) and concerns regarding development in Santa Ana. I contacted individuals from different organizations and different neighborhoods to assure a variety of responses to understand issues occurring in various areas. Whether individuals live in another neighborhood or are a part of another organization, they all represent a greater movement of opposition or support for neighborhood change in Santa Ana. In addition, to acquire context and more information on the city's perspective of change and how they have responded to the community's demands for changes to projects, three city planners from the City of Santa Ana were also interviewed.

Interviews with planners were unstructured and focused on the planning process of specific projects and their protocol for public participation.

Interviewees were selected through snowball and purposive sampling (Frankfort-Nachmias, C, 2000), targeting individuals involved in NA and CBOs or who had no group affiliation. Given my concentration on opposition, I was led to focus on individuals in NAs and CBOs, those who were actively involved in opposition to sustainable urban development in the City of Santa Ana. I also held interviews with individuals with no group affiliation and those who were a part of a NA or CBO but chose not to oppose projects to acquire a variation in perspectives. Snowball sampling was conducted after I had met some organizers through my volunteering experience with a local CBO. After interviewing individuals affiliated with CBOs, I made sure to ask respondents to refer me to someone they were not as close with, however, I may have still interviewed respondents with similar views. Nevertheless, this can help me understand the cultural context of individuals and the groups they are connected to.

In terms of contacting individuals affiliated with NAs, I first contacted a city planner in charge of working alongside NAs and shared with them my research interests. They then provided me with a contact list of 64 individuals who were NA participants. I emailed all 64 individuals on the list requesting for an interview. I mentioned the city planner's name who shared their contact information with me and 17 accepted to be interviewed. This impacted my sample in that mostly the people who were free enough to grant me an interview were interviewed, who over half of my NA interviewees were white (non-Hispanic). Others, particularly people of color, may have been working long hours and with little time available for an interview. Purposive sampling was also used to contact planners based on the urban development projects they were working on and their involvement with NAs. I contacted planners who were affiliated with contentious projects that were actively being opposed by residents. They were contacted with a simple email where I explained my research interests and shared a range of questions, I would cover with them beforehand.

Interviews ranged from thirty minutes to three hours, with the average interview one hour long. Interviews were also made at a time convenient for the interviewee. At the start of every interview, interviewees were asked for their permission to record the interview for transcription purposes. They were also assured that their name would not be associated with the recording and that the interview data would not be shared. Instead, I use pseudo names for them, and I leave out the name of organizations they are affiliated with to not identify the interviewees. All agreed to be recorded. Interviews were recorded using MacBook Pro and transcribed and stored with proper data management in place. At the end of the interview, individuals interviewed (except city employees) were each offered a $20 gift certificate to Target for compensation of their time thanks to funding from UC Irvine's Department of Urban Planning and Public Policy and UC Irvine's Institute of Transportation Studies.

Individuals embedded in CBOs interviewed were generally in their mid-20's with a handful that were in their 40's. Most individuals interviewed were Latinx (Mexican, Mexican American, Honduran, and Salvadoran American), and one interviewee was white. All the interviewees were renters, and the majority of interviewees were born and raised in Santa Ana, with the exception of older immigrants who migrated in later years to Santa Ana and the exception of one interviewee from out of state who moved to California for college. Most interviewees lived in different areas of Santa Ana. For many, displacement has forced them to

move throughout the city. A few have been able to stay in one spot, but this was rare. One interviewee was born and raised in Santa Ana, but lived in Anaheim, an adjacent city, at the time of the interview. She had moved to Anaheim given her brother could no longer live in Santa Ana due to a gang injunction. However, she still worked in Santa Ana. Another interviewee had moved to Riverside to continue his education, however, continues membership in a Santa Ana CBO. Many individuals embedded in CBOs are college educated with bachelor's degrees and some are hoping to pursue their master's degrees. One interviewee was a PhD student. Several older individuals affiliated with CBOs have a variation of education levels. Some have a bachelor's degree, others have less than a high school degree or a high school degree. Individuals interviewed also constituted a variety of positions in CBOs as community organizers, volunteers, and research fellows. In addition, the mission and focus of each CBO differs. Some CBOs concentrate on police brutality, and others focus on affordable housing and renter's rights.

Individuals affiliated with neighborhood associations (NA) interviewed were generally an older population with ages ranging from 39 to 85. The majority of those interviewed were in there 60s. About half of the individuals interviewed identified as white Caucasian and the other half identified as Mexican or Mexican American (2nd and 3rd generation). With such a small percentage of white (non-Hispanic) residents (9.42%) making up the Santa Ana population, yet over half of my sample of individuals embedded in NAs were white (non-Hispanic), confirms previous literature that describes NAs as predominately white organizations. Many white (non-Hispanic) residents interviewed were also retired, granting them more time to volunteer with their NA and to be interviewed.

Several of those interviewed had acquired masters and bachelor's degrees; one person interviewed had a PhD and worked as a professor at a local university. Another two individuals interviewed had a high school degree. All the interviewees except for one were homeowners. One interviewee used to be a homeowner, but due to their age decided to sell their home and to instead rent a condo. Nearly all of the interviewees have stayed in the same home in Santa Ana that they first moved in to. Very few interviewees were born and raised in Santa Ana. They also represent different neighborhoods of the city with different scales of development occurring near them. Several interviewees were retired, and their incomes ranged from <$20,000 to $240,000. Interviewees were affiliated with a variety of NAs across the city with a range of different needs, goals, and levels of involvement. Some NAs simply host potlucks for their residents to grow community, others focus on public safety, and others work to support public transit and oppose plans for high-density projects occurring in their neighborhood. Interviewees also had a range of roles. Interviewees were either previously or currently a president, treasurer, secretary, or board member of their NA.

There is a stark difference in age among individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs. Individuals affiliated with NAs tend to be older or "baby boomers" while individuals affiliated with CBOs tend to be in their 20-30s or in the age of "millennials" and "generation z". There is also a difference in race/ethnicity as many individuals from NAs interviewed were predominately white, with a few Mexican Americans (one 2nd generation and two 3rd generation interviewees) and Mexican immigrants (two interviewees) responding. Individuals from CBOs interviewed were predominately Latinx (Mexican American, Salvadoran American, and Mexican and Honduran immigrants). Education also varied by individuals imbedded in NAs

and CBOs. The majority of individuals embedded in NAs held a master's degree, however, there were also some that did not have higher education. Most individuals from CBOs had a bachelor's degree, but there were also several that did not have a higher education. In terms of household income, several individuals affiliated with NAs reported a $100,00+ average annual income for a household couple. Several individuals affiliated with CBOs mentioned making $100,000+ only after accounting for the income of various living in their household. There were a few individuals from both groups that made below the average annual household income. Another difference among individuals in both groups was their homeownership status. Individuals from NAs all owned homes except for one individual who chose to sell their home and rent. All individuals associated with a CBO were renting apartments apart from one who was renting a home and one who was living with their parents while renting out their condo in downtown.

Archival documents

Archival documents are used to provide some understanding of neighborhood changes and responses individuals take. Archival documents include newspaper articles from local newspapers covering issues of urban development in Santa Ana and official planning documents and meeting minutes. The local newspaper sources are The Voice of OC, The OC Register, and The LA Times. Documents were used to identify and verify the names of active organizations that were mentioned during interviews. Documents are also used to confirm what was mentioned by individuals as far as incidents or events. Information collected will help me understand how individuals shape their perspectives on change as well given the newspaper sources I review, are common news sources individuals also read to stay informed and interpret change. Archival documents were collected using the University of California, Irvine's newspaper data base which facilitated downloading numerous articles at no cost. Newspaper articles collected were limited to searches including the following words: urban development, gentrification, transportation, sustainable development, neighborhood change, and displacement. Newspaper articles collected were limited to the 2010-2019 time frame. After assessing archival documents, I dive further into two factions in the community through interviews: individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs to understand variation within the community to these changes.

Data Overview

Table 2 Research Question and Data Needed to Answer

Research Question	Participant Observations	Interview Data	Archival Documents

How do perceptions of place and neighborhood change vary among individuals embedded in neighborhood associations and community-based organizations?
  a. What informs these perceptions?
  b. How does involvement in neighborhood associations and/or community-based organizations matter for place attachment?
	• Reactions to proposed changes
	• Interactions with others within their organizations
		• Perspectives on place
		• Observed changes
		• Description of changes
		• Motivations for getting involved
			• Planning documents
			• Meeting minutes
			• Media reports

How do individuals in these different organizations frame neighborhood change (as beneficial or disruptive)?	• Reactions to proposed changes	• Define disruptions • Define benefits	• Media reports

		• Experience with disruptions	
How do these perceptions and assessments of neighborhood change shape the protective actions they take?	• Organizing efforts • Public comments • Door to door surveys and notification • Commenting at City Council Meetings	• How people cope • Adjustments made • Responses taken • Available resources • Existing connections • Involvement in other organizations	• Petitions • Written statements • Media reports

Data Management

A database was created to store interviews, archival documents, and field notes from participant observations. Each type of data had its own folder to maintain order. Recorded interviews were placed in the interview folder. Interviews were transcribed onto a word document and placed in an interview folder and each interview was labeled with numbers and the date of the interview (i.e. Interview 2 11/16/2019). Folders within the interview folder separated interviewees into four groups: 1) planners, 2) individuals from NAs, 3) individuals from CBOs, & 4) individuals with no group affiliation. Archival documents were placed in a separate folder and were separated by month and year. Field notes were placed in its own folder and organized by date and event.

Data Analysis

With the aim of investigating individual's perceptions of neighborhood change, interpretation and evaluation of changes, and responses, whether individually or collectively to neighborhood change, several qualitative data analysis tools were used. Tools prominent in qualitative data used include coding, memos, and constant comparison. Also, as part of multiple-case studies, cases were also assessed for similarities and differences across cases. In addition, qualitative data analysis software, ATLAS.ti, was used as a tool for the coding of interview data. Data is coded and searched for patterns and themes to acquire insight into the social phenomena being studied. Data collected was coded various times to acquire new information each time. As I coded, I asked myself, what are people doing? What strategies do they use? How do stakeholders characterize/understand what is going on? How is what is going on here different from other events? What surprised me (Saldaña, 2015)?

The Stages of Psychological response to Place Change Over Time was used to guide my approach to acquiring data and to assess data collected. I depended heavily on the framework to guide my coding and analysis. The place attachment theory, for example, helped shape research and interview questions for this study and yields areas of focus for analysis. Place attachment literature has claimed that residents with a strong place attachment to their neighborhood are more likely to respond by taking place-protective action (Devine-Wright, 2009). Thus, in analysis, I also looked for these claims and actions. Pre-determined codes are used as I looked for concepts related to place attachment theory in the data. For example, data was coded for place attachment, place values, perspectives of change, feelings with respect to change, coping mechanisms, and place-protective action. Codes were also placed into categories representing the framework such as the following: Becoming Aware of Changes,

Interpreting Change, Evaluation of Change, and Response to Change. I also conducted open-coding where I coded some quotes after new concepts emerged that I had not thought of initially. In addition, since I seek to contribute to place attachment literature by focusing on the underlying tensions of race/ethnicity and class, I also conduct open coding to assess statements that may have racial undertones. For example, some residents, particularly individuals involved in local CBOs are explicit about race and discomfort they sense with members of other racial groups. Others, however, particularly individuals from NAs are more subtle with comments related to race/ethnicity and class. Several times, NA leaders start by sharing, "it's not about race". These comments are further assessed for any possible racial ideology. Bonilla-Silva (2017), for example, demonstrates that comments that start off as "it's not about race" signal a new way to talk about race, a way that avoids seeming racist.

After my first round of coding, approximately 600 codes were generated. Codes were then assessed on their own and cleaned up. The final number of codes generated was 254. Some codes were combined, others were reworded, and some were deleted if they were duplicates. After the first cycle of coding was completed, I returned to my data and continued coding to see if new themes or patterns emerged from the narratives and observations (Scudder, 1997). Constant comparison was also conducted to analyze data. As data was examined, words, phrases, themes, and patterns were called out and categorized (Emerson, R., Fretz, R., & Shaw, 2011). Comparisons were made between other categories previously coded. As incidents were compared for what was similar among them, they were also compared for what made them different (Locke, 2001). This constant comparison helps develop theoretical properties associated with the categories, providing an explanation as to how things happened as they did (Saldaña, 2015).

Limitations

While I do raise concerns for gentrification and displacement in this research, I have predominately focused on the voices of those who have been able to stay within their neighborhoods and city. There are many more who were not able to stay within the city a midst challenges of affordability and forced displacement and whose voices I was not able to capture in this study. Though, I have spoken to several residents struggling with issues of affordability and have faced displacement, I spoke with individuals who have been able to remain in the community. Those who left Santa Ana after living there for some time, also provide a perspective worthy of exploring further given their response of leaving the city. Future studies should assess the perspectives of those who responded to neighborhood change by moving out of Santa Ana. However, these individuals are difficult to locate and follow up with given their departure from the city. Another limitation of this study is that among the NA members interviewed, half of them were white (non-Hispanic), despite Santa Ana being a majority Latinx city. These interviews highlight who is most active and available for interviews. However, the voice of those who are less active or less available due to work as common in a working-class city are not exalted among the NA interviews.

I also study the perspective of individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs, however, there are also several other groups involved in sustainable urban development and are not included in this assessment of perspectives of neighborhood change. There is the Santa Ana Police

Association, an association growing in influence in the city. There is also a downtown organization that has pushed for processes of gentrification in order to elicit changes in downtown and to increase property values. There are also many additional organizations focused on anti-displacement measures in Santa Ana. Given the time constraints of this study, I was not able to acquire the perspectives of individuals from varying organizations. For this study, I have acquired the perspectives of individuals from two influential groups of Santa Ana. However, much more research is needed regarding the additional perspectives that exist.

Chapter 4

Historical Context and Perspectives of Place Attachment

This chapter provides historical context of Santa Ana in which opposition to neighborhood change has persisted since the 1970s to better understand contemporary opposition and perspectives of place. Apart from historic context, individual's earliest memories of Santa Ana are described in hopes of elucidating how it was before historically for individuals in Santa Ana to then better understand that which has changed. To provide the findings of this chapter, interview and archival data including existing literature from prominent urban scholars, historical documents, and media coverage are used.

The Rise of Segregation in Santa Ana

Orange County, one of the wealthiest and most conservative counties of California, was founded in 1888. Land conquest, agricultural, and industrialization served as motivations for white settlers from other parts of the country to establish cities and displace existing indigenous populations of the region in the 1800s. Santa Ana was established in 1870 and up until the 1970s, it had been a majority white city. Before it grew to be the urban environment that it is now, Santa Ana was a rural town where residents farmed the land for walnuts, beets, and other vegetables. As the demand grew for farming goods and as white workers in the fields decreased, farm owners brought in Mexican immigrants for low-cost labor in the early 1900s. Throughout the years, the white and Mexican population grew as the city itself expanded. By 1930, the Mexican immigrant population increased greatly, surpassing the native indigenous population (Gonzalez, 2017; Haas, 1995).

Given the growing Mexican population in Santa Ana in the 1930s, whites used tools to define their social status, reallocating space in the city to differentiate race and class. Many cities throughout the US did this with forced segregation and by keeping wages low for communities of color. Mexican workers found low-cost land along the city limits, next to the farmland and in areas prone to flooding. Other Mexicans or working-class residents lived in close proximity to the rail road tracks at the intersection of industrial land use and the distribution of goods. By living in close proximity to noxious sources, residents had to endure the pollution and contamination disproportionately. They lived in Santa Ana, but in areas known as *barrios*, neighborhoods lacking proper sewage, flooding systems, and paved roads. Within these *barrios*, city planners condemned several homes with motivations to displace Mexicans from the neighborhood and shift the demographics. Mexicans in *barrios* also had Less resources and protections to overcome the housing discrimination or injustices they were facing. Living in different conditions were the white, wealthy, and educated land owners with homes on more expensive land and in better areas (Haas, 1995). Whites had several resources and protections such as political influence and real estate covenants to keep Mexicans from purchasing a home in their neighborhoods propagating segregation (Ruiz, 2003). While the predominately Mexican neighborhoods represented a working-class culture, white neighborhoods represented power with these tools at their disposal (Gonzalez, 2017).

Fred, an older community leader, now in his mid 80s, with involvement in one of the first organized efforts against unjust development in his community and in one of the first established neighborhood associations in Santa Ana in the 1970s, shared that he ended up living in one of the original *barrios* of Santa Ana, because it was the only place his father, being of Mexican descent had the option of living in in the 1930s. It was the ideal city for his family given the agricultural opportunities that existed for his family; they picked walnuts for a living. Later in life, the community leader would face these same barriers of finding a home of his own elsewhere in the City in 1958 due to his Mexican roots. He had dealt with the excitement of possibly owning a place early on after returning from serving in the military but was denied the home he originally wanted for being Mexican American. The landlord simply told Fred that no Mexicans were allowed to move into the home he wanted. Apart from housing segregation, there was also the segregation of public places such as schools and movie theaters (Rangel, J. C., & Alcala, 1972). Fred shared that whenever he went to the movie theatre, he had to be seated in the balcony because it was the only area where Mexicans were allowed. He also stated, "There was a little school, elementary, where I went to, for Mexicans only. Then I mixed with kids at junior high school." In the school system, Mexican children were separated from white children as the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) insisted it was necessary for the moral and mental development of their white children (Haas, 1995).

This discrimination persisted as the Mexican population grew. The availability for work in the fields increased and Mexicans were again recruited to work in the fields. In the 1940s, the Bracero Program was introduced permitting agriculture employers to contract Mexican agricultural labor for a low cost (Haas, 1995). Santa Ana and Orange County went on to grow greatly, from ranch pastures to holding an abundance of services and industries. The economy grew as well, however, unequally given the disparate living conditions Mexicans were succumbed to. During the 1950s, whites benefited greatly from the economic growth by working in service, manufacturing, and retail while Mexicans worked primarily in what remained of the agriculture sector at stagnant wages in Orange County (Haas, 1995).

In the 1950s, given the discrimination that existed in the city, Mexicans had established their own spaces of socialization in the downtown area. Mexicans had defined the east end of downtown as a bustling commercial district for them to enjoy and acquire services from without discrimination. They had several grocery stores, restaurants, and a theatre for the Mexican population. In addition, almost every year there were celebrations of Mexican culture with parades, dances, and other events to commemorate Mexican holidays. Though Mexicans and Mexican Americans were segregated into *barrios*, how they managed to turn their communities and spaces like the downtown east end into thriving economies and places of socialization, speak to the struggle they have had to face (Irazábal, C., & Farhat, 2008).

Santa Ana in the 1960-1970s

By the 1960s, the white population in Santa Ana decreased dramatically (i.e. white flight), a trend found in cities across the US. Many whites moved to the suburbs of the southern half of the county as new developments formed (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002). While whites were financially able to move out, Mexicans were not able to move if they wanted to given the cost, the lack of financial support and real estate covenants that prohibited them from

purchasing homes in wealthier and whiter neighborhoods (Elattar & Pho, 2020). In the 1970s, the cost of housing was found to be increasing in many parts of the county. The value of homes in Santa Ana, however, decreased substantially. Rothstein (2017) in *The Color of Law* states that when the whites fled the city, they took many resources with them and systemic racism in real estate devalued communities based on the resident's race/ethnicity (Rothstein, 2017). Though Rothstein focuses on the Black experience, some similarities can be made among the Latinx immigrant community in terms of segregation. However, much less can be said about the Latinx immigrant population and their experiences with segregation.

With the rise of white flight in the 1970s, came the rise of rentership in Santa Ana. Renters now outnumbered homeowners in Santa Ana (Gonzalez, 2017) where housing discrimination and additional barriers that Mexicans and Mexican Americans faced to owning a home may have also attributed to these trends. In the 1970s, homes were also condemned and replaced with apartment complexes for renters. By the 1970s one begins to also take note of Santa Ana as a predominately Latino City (Gonzalez, 2017). In noting the change of the population in the city, Gonzalez states:

> *Where once a handful of barrios throughout the city and a few affordable consumption spaces in the downtown area's east portion marketing to Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants were spatially segregated from majority White residential and consumption areas, they had now, by the mid-1980s, transformed rapidly within a decade or so to be commonplace in that Mexican immigrant working- class families were in almost every neighborhood and the downtown's historically busiest, bourgeois, and White commercial street, Fourth Street, now had a Mexican, working-class, and immigrant character.* -From *Latino City,* P. 21, Gonzalez, 2017.

The growth of the Latino population in Santa Ana, however, served as a threat to some public officials as they disliked the growing presence of Latinxs and the working class in downtown, and encouraged the return of white and middle-class residents. Motivations for a whiter population stemmed from the desire for an improved tax base and more purchasing power. Public officials had also deemed the downtown area blight as stores went out of business with the opening of shopping centers in other parts of the city and county. They were convinced that 4th street was not meeting its economic potential. Apart from blighted, it was also considered dangerous by public officials. Therefore, in the 1970s, redevelopment plans were drafted to revitalize the area (Gonzalez, 2017). Such redevelopment plans mirrored the revitalization efforts that grew in several cities across the US in the 1970s as they sought to turn blighted conditions into sites of attraction, accommodating the "back to the city movement" underway (Hyra, 2015).

Behind public officials plans for redevelopment, however, were racist undertones. Gonzalez (2017) in Latino City, extensively documents city development plans that envisioned erasing the existing Latino residents for a new class of residents. The city had developed plans with a discourse built around criminalizing Latinos in downtown and other parts of the city, classifying the Latinos as "illegal aliens" and the culture as low-class. Gonzalez further shares that "social blight" was synonymous with "minority population" and "illegal aliens" (Gonzalez,

2017). City officials defamed the existing Mexican and Mexican American culture as a way to legitimize the plans for redevelopment. In efforts to displace residents, city officials would deem homes blight. With racist policies in place, many homes would go blight without financial support to improve them. Fred, the community leader quoted earlier shares, "what the city did to our parents, way before we got involved, they changed the zoning from an R, Residential, to an M1-M2. What that meant, that the people couldn't get loans to fix their homes." Residents were not allowed to get loans if their area was zoned M1-M2 or light-heavy industrial. Such circumstances highlight environmental injustice, where communities of color are disproportionately located in industrial areas in comparison to whites. Communities of color were often zoned industrial out of malicious intent and due to environmental racism by public officials, keeping residents from living in safe and healthy communities (Bullard, 1993). Thus, the city was involved in systematically creating blight conditions. This practice and plans for redevelopment shed light on the vast race/ethnicity and class divisions that persisted in Santa Ana (Gonzalez, 2017).

Where city officials saw blight and abandonment, Mexicans saw opportunity and began businesses that thrived and served the local residents. Mexican culture in downtown spread throughout downtown and by the mid 1980s, Santa Ana's *La Cuatro* would be well known across the region drawing in many to shop for Mexican goods and services and to participate in the annual Mexican festivities. At this time, the population of Mexicans in Santa Ana nearly doubled, matching the amount of white people in Santa Ana of approximately 90,000 (Gonzalez, 2017). In addition, in defense of their neighborhoods, neighborhood organizations particularly neighborhood associations and the Santa Ana Neighborhood Organization (SANO) in the Logan Barrio began to emerge, claiming their power as residents and demanding representation in the decision-making process of urban politics (Haas, 1995). Many times, these were avenues for whites and working-class Mexicans to join in efforts to advocate for zoning changes that would facilitate their ability to acquire loans to repair their homes, fight against the condemning of homes in their neighborhood, and much more. Residents went from constantly marginalized, to calling for the City's attention to their demands related to the City's redevelopment plans (Gonzalez, 2017).

Santa Ana in the 1980-1990s

As typical in many urban areas of the US, by the late 1970s and early 1980s crime had increased in Santa Ana significantly. Santa Ana had become known as the city with a multitude of social problems in comparison to other cities in the affluent county. Yet, Santa Ana was also recognized as the most affordable among the cities in Orange County leading many immigrants to settle in the city. As the population grew, so did the number of people per household. The city then reached overcrowded proportions, straining neighborhoods services that the City could provide (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002). With regards to crime, individuals embedded in CBOs and NAs acknowledge that Santa Ana was not safe in the 1980-90s nor are some areas safe today. In reference to *La Cuatro* or downtown, many individuals, mostly white homeowners from NAs agreed with city officials that it was a dangerous area in the 1980-90s. A homeowner in her 50s mentions that downtown was absolutely abandoned and described it as a place for drug addicts and prostitution.

Younger Mexican Americans organizers in their mid 20s who were born and raised in Santa Ana recognize that Santa Ana had a "bad rap", but did not link it with *La Cuatro*, but rather with their neighborhoods. Many described their old neighborhoods as "the hood". Diana, a 30-year-old Salvadoran American woman embedded in several community-based organizations remembers a lot of gang activity in her neighborhood, growing up hearing gun shots, and watching the police chase down people running away from them in her neighborhood. She further shares about the time a random man fleeing the police ran into her family's home long ago to escape the police, as she and her family sat watching TV. The man eventually ran out the back door. Jorge, a Mexican American now in his 30s and an interviewee embedded in both a CBO and an NA remembers very well at 14 years of age watching the police chase down a young man running through his neighborhood widely recognized for its gang activity. Such descriptions seem to be what city officials did not like and were seeking to erase with redevelopment efforts rather than community driven solutions. Regardless of the "bad rap" Santa Ana received in large part due to issues of crime and gang activity in the 1980s, several individuals from NAs bought homes in the 1980-90s and were enamored by their neighborhoods. Many white and affluent residents refused to go to the suburbs of southern Orange County as they had too many regulations, lacked historic appeal, and were too far from their work. Such circumstances demonstrate that there are individuals embedded in NAs that do not live in the *barrios* alluding to class distinctions. This distinction shows that different individuals have different lived experiences in their cities and that there is not a homogenous experience among individuals. While some residents may have been more in touch with insecurity in their neighborhoods, others were sheltered from the dangers that persisted in the city. This comfort is many times bought for at a price and thus is not equally distributed.

Furthermore, during the 1980s and 90s, as part of redevelopment efforts put forward by the city, high-density apartment complexes were increasingly being implemented in the city and often times replacing single-family homes. Susana, an individual embedded in a CBO, Mexican immigrant, and mother renting in a neighborhood adjacent to downtown, recalls when a few homes in her neighborhood were deemed blight, condemned, razed, and later in the 2000s built into a multi-unit affordable housing development. In addition, Jerry, a 62-year-old white man from an NA claimed they remembered the city purposely letting spaces go blight, so that they could then destroy them, that which were antique homes, and develop apartment complexes in the future to take advantage of the rent gap generated.

With the rise of neighborhood issues such as crime and overcrowding and plans for redevelopment in the 1980s-90s, the city implemented opportunities for residents to get involved and engage with the city on neighborhood issues. In this way, for the first time, Latino leaders from various organizations were now engaged in meetings with the mayor at the time and other city officials to discuss issues of concern (Gonzalez, 2017). Race and class distinctions arose in these spaces of engagement as Latino residents advocated for protecting residents from displacement and other residents mostly whites, advocated against their protection especially if they were unauthorized immigrants (Gonzalez, 2017). Many homeowners began to organize against the overcrowding and the issues they saw associated with it (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002). The City's Neighborhood Improvement Program, the program facilitating NAs, was also started in the 1980s to meet the needs of each involved neighborhood given the growing concerns residents had (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002).

Figure 1 Race/Ethnicity Groups as Percent of Total Population (State of the Cities Data)[1]

Race/Ethnicity Groups as Percent of Total Population			Orange County, CA PMSA	Central city of: Santa Ana city, CA	Suburbs*
White, Non-Hispanic		1980	78.2	44.5	82.9
		1990	64.6	23.4	72.2
		2000	51.3	12.4	59.8
Black, Non-Hispanic		1980	1.3	3.9	0.9
		1990	1.6	2.3	1.4
		2000	1.5	1.3	1.4
Other Races, Non-Hispanic		1980	5.8	7.1	5.5
		1990	10.7	9.7	10.4
		2000	16.5	10.2	16.5
Total Hispanic (All Races)		1980	14.8	44.5	10.7
		1990	23.1	64.7	16.0
		2000	30.8	76.1	22.3

Though the city carried out more avenues to include residents for sharing their input on redevelopment projects, the city continued with its goals of redeveloping areas it deemed as blighted. Thus, protests against the city's community participation methods grew as neighborhood organizations continued to fight against the erasure of the Mexican population from the city through eminent domain. During this same time in the mid 1980s, several business and property owners united to push for what would be known as the Fiesta Market Place on *La Cuatro*. It would bring colonial architecture, a *Mercado*, and several businesses catered to the Latino population to the forefront of redevelopment efforts (Gonzalez, 2017). Several young organizers embedded in CBOs interviewed would add that it was the place for Latinxs to go to for Latinx music (i.e. cumbia and banda), local food (i.e. fruit and *elote* stands), shopping, and services essential for the Latinx community, all of which were also considered affordable by Latinx residents.

When referring to *La Cuatro* in the 1990s, today young organizers in their late 20s and early 30s also remember the businesses that were there before such as quinceañera, jewelry, and clothing stores. The Mexican American and Salvadoran women (2nd generation) interviewed in particular smiled in remembering shopping there for their or a family member's quinceañera dress for their quinceañera (a popular cultural event for Latinxs celebrating their 15th birthday). Sandra, a white woman in her mid 50s and embedded in a NA, thought there were actually too many quinceañera shops. Javier, a young Chicano organizer embedded in a CBO, remembers the first generation of immigrants like his parents and the cumbia clubs in the downtown area they would go to. He remembers accompanying his dad who performed in a cumbia band in different locales of downtown. Other young Mexican American organizers embedded in CBOs spoke about the variety of services that existed on *La Cuatro* including a travel agency for people to book their flights to Mexico and a shop where family members went to send money back to family in Mexico. Roxana, a Mexican American woman (2nd generation) in her early 40s and a homeowner born and raised in Santa Ana, embedded in an NA, described some services as illegal activities where one could get a fake ID and/or social security number as commonly found in informal markets of ethnic spaces (Lopez-Garza, 2001).

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[1] https://socds.huduser.gov/Census/race

Development in Santa Ana in the 2000s

Emerging planning concepts such as transit-oriented development (TOD) and sustainable urban development would set precedence in this time period's planning efforts. With these projects, threats of gentrification and displacement increased among working class communities and communities of color. A particular project catalyzing an appeal to the millennial population was an apartment complex in downtown called the Artist Village, built in 1994. Into the 2000s, additional plans such as the Renaissance Specific Plan (RP) and the Station District (SD) would also be proposed (Gonzalez, 2017).

The Renaissance Plan entailed revitalizing 421 acres in the downtown area and surrounding neighborhoods. Principles driving this plan included New Urbanist [1] and Transit Oriented Development[2], principles commonly found in white and lucrative environments. Though the Renaissance Plan was not carried out due to community resistance, the SD plan was carried out and adopted components of the Renaissance Plan. The SD, implemented in 2007, aims to enhance public spaces and streets as well as link neighborhoods and businesses with public transit. The SD has implemented affordable housing and a transit zoning code with the intentions of repairing and stabilizing the urban fabric of the area (City of Santa Ana, 2010). As part of the SD, is also the recently approved OC Streetcar with motivations to increase connectivity, reduce traffic on freeways and arterials, increase travel options, increase access to jobs, encourage pedestrian activity, serve transit-oriented neighborhoods, foster economic development, and improve community health (Cordoba Corporation, 2015). It will begin service in 2021, spans approximately four miles across, and consists of 12 stops. This project has also stirred interest in redeveloping the Willowick Golf Course, a potential future stop on the OC Streetcar, about four miles west of downtown. Such projects reflect substantial changes taking place in the area since the inception of the SD plan and has incited excitement in some residents and worry in various nearby residents threatened with gentrification and displacement.

Since 2007, community-based organizations such as SACReD (Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development) have mobilized and built their capacity to negotiate what they would like to see as part of the SD. One of their first negotiations was in regard to holding a community benefits agreement (CBA) with the City of Santa Ana. Though SACReD was able to negotiate some of their demands such as acquiring affordable housing and a park, the entire CBA was not approved. Through the process SACReD was able to increase community participation in the planning process, that which was lacking before, and they learned to negotiate and who to negotiate with (Gonzalez, E, Sarmiento, C.S., Urzua, A.S., Luévano, 2012). Entering negotiations served as a critical moment for them, giving them the potential to alter the outcome of the plan with public officials and members of growth coalitions, those who are motivated by economic development.

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[1] New Urbanism (NU) is an urban planning concept and practice seeking to increase mixed income residential areas and architecture respecting local history, culture and history. NU also strives to do so with motivations to mitigate sprawl in mostly white and wealthy neighborhoods (Day, 2003).
[2] Transit Oriented Developments is a smart growth strategy with the aim of developing residential and mixed-use areas in close proximity to transit.

Compounding the existing pressures residents endured with redevelopment efforts, was the recession of 2008. Many communities color around the country and in Santa Ana lost their homes to foreclosure many times due to subprime loans. People of color are more likely than whites to be given high-costs and high-risk loans when purchasing a home (Massey et al, 2016), ultimately leading to the families inability to pay back loans and to losing their homes. Individual, structural and mortgage discrimination are found to be used on communities of color within the US mortgage lending practice disproportionately (Massey, et al, 2016). Patricia, a Mexican American organizer explains she was in college in Boston when her family lost their house to the mortgage crisis. Since then, they have had to move all around the city renting at different places and sometimes in crowded conditions.

The battle against displacement and gentrification efforts comes in spite of having a majority Latino city council and a former mayor who fought against the eminent domain of his property at one point. One may have assumed that the all Latino city council would protect their Latino constituents from the threats of displacement. On the contrary, many working-class residents question the protection from fellow Latinos serving on council (Cortez, 2020). Apart from developers having a hand in influencing decisions with campaign donations to city council members, increasingly the police union has also had a role in influencing the outcome of winners for city council and decisions made. In 2018, the police union was found to be the largest fundraiser for city council elections. In return, council members supported by the police union have been found to vote yes on officer raises (Pho, 2019). Such circumstances not only call into question residents trust with the city council, but also with the police union as funding is allocated to officers and not on policy protections for working-class residents who are rent burdened and in need of essential resources, amenities, and services.

Today, in 2021, another generation of Latinxs, college educated community organizers are facing the same dilemma of not being able to find a place of their own in any part of the city they would like to live in as they endure increasing pressures of affordability and increased obstacles to being approved by landlords. Samantha, a Mexican American organizer in her mid-20s, as she wrestles with finding a place for her and her family in 2019 shares, "I called to inquire about an apartment that was for rent and they required everyone to have a background check, everyone to have a credit score check, everyone to have a source of income… you clearly don't want a specific type of person, which is why you put so much prerequisites and barriers." Though one could perceive of such standards as basic protocol, one could also presume them to be modern day policies designed to segregate communities. Such circumstances are linked with a long line of research documenting discriminatory practice, disproportionately impacting Blacks and Hispanics, in the housing sector that has fostered segregation (Hogan & Berry, 2011; Yinger, 1997). Such actions could also be described as exclusionary, where actions and practices exclude individuals from acquiring a resident of their choosing (Roscigno, Karafin, & Tester, 2009).

It is with this historical context of Santa Ana that this chapter seeks to illuminate how individuals perceive place and their attachment to Santa Ana. What follows answers the question of how individuals connect with place.

Individual's Embedded in Community Based Organizations Emotional Connection to Place

Upon interviewing individuals on their emotional connection to Santa Ana, three themes emerge from the data: one's unconditional love for the city, an acknowledgement of the place that initially received them, and the bubble of safety that Santa Ana is for many Latinxs.

Unconditional Love for the City

Evident in the majority of interviews with individuals embedded in different CBOs was their strong emotional connection to place. When asked about their emotional connection many used words such as "love", "strong", "roots" and stated phrases such as "Santa Ana is part of my identity", invoking dimensions of place attachment and more specifically that of place identity. Many young Latinos embedded in a variety of CBOs and who were born and raised in Santa Ana spoke of Santa Ana in almost a romantic manner, sharing that, "Santa Ana has a really special place in my heart and it always has" and "I wouldn't mind spending the rest of my life there". Isabel, a young Mexican American volunteer in her mid 20s for a local organization working on tenant's rights describes that her love for the city has grown to be strong since she has roots in the city, having gone to the public schools and followed her immigrant mother around as a kid throughout the city on work trips cleaning homes. Her mother now works as cleaning staff at Disney Land, not too far from Santa Ana. Isabel is a graduate student and lives with her mother and siblings in a small apartment in Anaheim. Though Isabel was born and raised in Santa Ana, she and her family moved to Anaheim, a neighboring city, after her brother was reprimanded for walking in a gang injunction area of Santa Ana. The gang injunction imposed was implemented in select neighborhoods of Santa Ana. These neighborhoods are predominantly Latinx and is essentially a restraining order against a particular group given high levels of crime in the area. In this case the restraining order was against young Latino men such as Isabel's brother. Regardless of the injunction, Isabel longs for the day she can live in Santa Ana again.

Magali, a Chicana in her early 40s who was also born and raised in one of the poorest areas of the city mentioned about her neighborhood, "it holds a lot of family history because my dad and his brothers grew up here and now my youngest daughter, she was actually born in the backyard, so really has a lot of emotional value." Magali works as a home school teacher for a few children in the community. She holds teaching lessons at her grandparent's home, where she has lived since she was a little girl. Magali was never able to acquire a home for herself and she never chose to attend college. She contemplated moving to northern California years ago, but after expanding her community and meeting like-minded individuals, she decided to stay in Santa Ana.

For others, their emotional connection with place draws them to learn more about the city and dedicate their life to it. Pedro, a Mexican American man in his early 30s works with local cultural centers focusing on the preservation of history. With respect to his emotional connection to the city states, "Its deep, overwhelming, and lifelong given all of the work that I have done, kind of like the career paths I have chosen and where I have started to spend my time. I actually decided to attach myself to the future and kind of present of the city." Pedro holds a degree in history, focusing primarily on Santa Ana's history and also completed a degree

in urban planning at a local university. Pedro found great joy sharing information on Santa Ana's history. He invited me to a talk he was doing at the Santa Ana library after the interview as well.

Their love for place proves to be unconditional as many individuals embedded in CBOs claim their love for the city, but also mention the reality of insecurity that exists in their neighborhoods. Javier, a young Mexican American researcher on policing in Santa Ana claims to feel comfortable in his neighborhood, but at the same time feels uncomfortable particularly in the evenings when some areas become dangerous with gang activity, burglaries, and suspicious activity. Javier works as a fellow researcher for a local organization, studying how the Santa Ana Police use excessive force. This was an interest of his that he carried on since graduating from a university in northern California where he also assisted in similar research and studied political science. Javier claims that the insecurity he senses is exacerbated by not knowing who to call when he finds himself in an emergency considering he does not feel safe calling the police. Javier is knowledgeable about police brutality and feels a bit uneasy knowing that the police know that he is doing research on them as well. With his research, Javier is pushing for an oversight committee to ensure police officers are held accountable for using excessive force.

Diana, a Salvadoran American woman in her early 30s, apart from having a fulltime job, volunteers for several CBOs focused on environmental justice and anti-gentrification and displacement efforts in her community. She shares pride in saying she has a strong emotional connection to the city, particularly because she recognizes herself as a product of the city. She reiterates that she is a product of the city which includes all of the good and all of the bad things of the city. Diana still lives in Santa Ana, but she now rents a home in a neighborhood different than the one she grew up in. Though she feels content to rent a home for herself, she shares that she often misses her old neighborhood. She misses it most of all because of all of the "sirens" and "the ruckus" and "the noise". The "ruckus" was not something that pushed her away, rather it was something she appreciated and felt helped shape who she is today. Diana shares that she often visits her mother in her old neighborhood to feel at home.

Samantha, a young Mexican American organizer for more affordable housing and park space, confirms the insecurity she senses by claiming:

> I feel Santa Ana is part of who I am, but also growing up I was really like, why are the living conditions that we are facing? Why is it that way? So sometimes I would you know, be just like, this isn't a safe place. You know, sometimes I don't feel safe, but, I always felt at the same time, I felt this is where a lot of, you know, people like my parents lived and therefore in that way, it always felt safe.

Though safety concerns exist, interviewees are able to feel safe knowing many others like their parents are close by to protect. She further shared that she has walked out to find the windows of her car smashed on several occasions. When she arrives late, her parents or siblings meet her in the alley where she parks her car to walk back home together safely. These questions of safety and insecurity emerged even as I went door to door with organizers informing residents about a future development. Though we often went in pairs and before nightfall to each home we door knocked, several residents warned us to not be out past sunset considering the crime they had witnessed in the area. At times residents would point to certain

homes and say that it was a drug house or share that they heard gun shots a couple nights ago. Many residents we door knocked on thought it was strange that two women such as myself and my door knocking partner would be there given the insecurity that existed in the area.

While individuals embedded in CBOs such as Javier, Samantha, and Diana acknowledge the crime that exists in their neighborhoods, many are also conscious of the stigma that Santa Ana has. Patricia, a Mexican American organizer in her mid 20s remembered days in high school when she had sports events with students visiting from schools in south county. These schools were located in significantly wealthier and whiter areas. At these school events in Santa Ana, Patricia often heard visiting students make racist comments about Mexicans. Such comments further divided young Santa Ana community organizers with outsiders. Regardless of the stigma associated with Santa Ana, many express they still are attached to their place. Isabel goes on to share, "And I take pride in all of that. All of it Yeah. Even when people would not want to go into downtown because of bad rap." The young Mexican American organizers I interviewed feel emboldened to be themselves in the face of those who consider Santa Ana a "bad place". Javier further shares, "I'm not afraid to say I'm from Santa Ana" when referring to the pride she had in their city despite the stigma. This came as many at his university in north California became interested in him when he mentioned he was from Orange County but laughed when he said he was from Santa Ana. Organizers of color, in this way, experience territorial stigma in their city that is commonly linked with crime in their city (Wacquant, 2008). Not only is their community stigmatized, but they themselves are stigmatized through acts of profiling (Rios, 2011).

This love for place despite its flaws seemed to also have intensified for Javier and Patricia after leaving Santa Ana to pursue their undergraduate degrees in cities such as Berkeley and Boston. For both of them, it was the first time living in a predominately white city for about four years. Being in environments of predominately white students and the experience of being misunderstood, excluded, or micro-aggressed reminded them of their love for Santa Ana and eventually brought them back to live and work in Santa Ana. Patricia who left for Boston shares that when she went away to Boston, that is when she became more conscious of how attached she was to Santa Ana and how grateful she was to have grown up in a place like Santa Ana. The experiences of Patricia and Javier follow research that describe youth of color to sense differential treatment when stepping out of their communities into predominantly white spaces (Anderson, 2012; Peguero, Anthony A., Edwardo L. Portillos, 2014). Their experience of feeling different in white spaces speak to one's home neighborhood's insulation from racism and prejudice (Rendón,M., et al, 2020).

The City that Received Me

For several immigrant women (5) interviewed, they were attached to Santa Ana because it was the first place they came and the place they stayed to raise their children. Martha, a Honduran immigrant, made the difficult decision of travelling north to meet her mother in Bakersfield, California due to a lack of opportunity in Honduras. On her journey north, she first stopped in Santa Ana to meet with an uncle who lived there and then continued on her journey to meet her mother. After two weeks in Bakersfield, however, she decided to return to Santa Ana to live because she enjoyed the social environment and the convenience of being close to Los Angeles to follow through on her immigration appointments. Nevertheless, life was still

difficult for her as the price of rent was high for her to manage. Soon after marrying her spouse, she had to resort to residing in a living room of an apartment with five others in Santa Ana.

Lucy, a Mexican immigrant and community leader, stayed in Santa Ana because it was the only place she could find affordable housing in and it was a place of refuge for her as she sought to restart her life after a broken marriage. Lucy further shared that Santa Ana is where she found community and resources for one of her children as well who had a disability. She found the support she needed with family and the local school. In addition, Santa Ana was not only a place to be received, but a place to reunite with people from their same region in Mexico or with other Latinx immigrants with a similar struggle. In many instances, Santa Ana came to be the place where immigrants arrived because they had family here and because there were many festivities celebrating their culture. Magali, a Mexican immigrant in her mid-forties, shares, "Sometimes in celebrating situations like the 16th of September, Cinco de Mayo, they make us think that we are part of it." Ethnic spaces literature highlights that the representation of ethnic immigrant history in public spaces through art, street names, and festivals can foster important aspects of "an immigrant community's sense of self" (Arreola, 1984; Chacko, 2003) and sense of belonging (Ehrkamp and Leitner, 2006; Fenster, T., 2005). In this way, one's ethnic identity is not only shared but also builds on ones attachment to place (Veronis, L., 2006).

Younger Mexican Americans (2nd generation) also recognize that Santa Ana was the city that received their parents and that their arrival and presence in this city is not without its struggle. Javier, inspired by the Chicano movement in Santa Ana shares, "You know, it's, it's very rooted in *lucha*, you know, like struggle. So, I feel, I carry that with me." Javier was referring to the struggle of Santa Ana once being predominantly white, and Mexicans having to reclaim their culture and reclaim the city. Individuals embedded in NAs do not appear to have this same struggle, nor do the Mexican Americans (2nd and 3rd generation) in NAs exalt this struggle. This may be attributed to varying levels of integration or assimilation among NA members. Patricia, a CBO member, related to the struggle by highlighting how different Santa Ana was in comparison to Los Angeles, as Santa Ana was recognized as a city surrounded by cities with anti-immigrant sentiment. Patricia further shares laughingly that Los Angeles and Santa Ana are not the same. Patricia states that they have a similar struggle, but that it's different in Santa Ana because of the conservative politics that have permeated throughout the county.

With this shared understanding of struggle, individuals embedded in CBOs have also come to understand place as the location where they can be comfortable being themselves. Apart from the struggle of Latinos reclaiming their culture, there is a bit of inner struggle with how one culturally connects. Patricia tends to make trips back to Mexico to visit her family during the holidays. She shares insight into her inner struggle:

Being, it's weird, having a transnational identity, thinking about your culture, Mexico, the culture the US, the one place that I feel more slowly comfortable in Santa Ana, that's where I grew up what I understand. I go to Mexico and it's very different because that immigrant narrative is not as present. And I come to US and it's different, but then I go to Santa Ana and it's a mixture of all of those things so for me, I'm attached to that.

Santa Ana comes to be the place Patricia feels free to be themselves as it is the place where her identities converge and are understood. For both younger and older individuals, immigrants and those born and raised in the city, a place where they can be themselves came to be extremely important. A way in which they felt they could be themselves is by speaking Spanish. Apart from just speaking Spanish, it was that one felt safe speaking Spanish. Patricia further shares:

> I think Santa Ana, was a place where you could just, it was like a safe haven. If you saw the surrounding cities. It was just completely different people spoke Spanish everywhere. It was, it was like you could go to the cashier and either language you'd be fine. You could probably go to Spanish all the time and it'll be okay.

This concentration on Latinx culture, the Spanish language, and festivities, is what made individuals embedded in CBOs so enthralled by *La Cuatro* in the past as it was the place for their Latinx families to go to and feel safe to be themselves.

"It was like this little bubble in Orange County"

For individuals interviewed as part of CBOs, especially the young Mexican Americans interviewed, not only were they attached to place due to the people they were around (mainly working-class immigrants and others who understood the struggle), but because of the people that were not around. Almost all of the young organizers mentioned they appreciated Santa Ana for being sort of a little bubble for Mexican immigrants and their families to feel safe from racism. Patricia passionately shouted, "White people didn't want to come to Santa Ana, but I was okay with it. Because I was like, hey, we get to just freely, you know, feel safe." Patricia's comments allude to why some residents are drawn to ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves are defined as: "a spatially concentrated area in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of enhancing their economic, social and political and/or cultural development (Marcuse, 1997)". Ethnic enclaves can have several functions including internal support and safety (Boal, 1976). Being around others like them (similar values, characteristics, and norms), could function as a defense and provide safety by creating a social and physical barrier (Peach, 1996).

Safety from racism was especially important for Santa Ana residents as they navigated pockets of extreme hate against immigrants in neighboring cities. The county has historically been known to be one of the most conservative of the state where predominately white and wealthy cities like Yorba Linda and Los Alamitos developed anti-immigrant policies such as California Proposition 187 in 1994 and took their stance against Sanctuary laws that would safeguard undocumented immigrants in 2016. While the undocumented immigrant population is considered low in Santa Ana (100,000) (Brazil, 2021), anti-immigrant sentiment still raises fear among families in Santa Ana. Santa Ana is a predominately Latinx city in Orange County and surrounded by cities pushing for anti-immigrant policies. Thus, this feeling of safety is important for individuals embedded in CBOs. This feeling of safety can be important in assessing where Latinos come to choose home (Asad & Rosen, 2019) and for their mental well-

being as they live in neighborhoods that can be protective or risk maximizing for individuals or groups representing a particular ethnicity (Vega, et al., 2011).

Particularly immigrant mothers who I interviewed feel safe and comfortable in Santa Ana due to community participation and after getting to know other residents in their community undergoing the same problems and worries around financial hardship, immigration, their children, and family back in their home country. Lucy, Magali, and Martha recognize the mutual struggle residents in their neighborhood have and it has increased their value of neighbors, community, neighborhood, and resources. Armando, a Mexican immigrant in his mid 30s and greatly involved with the community in organizing efforts against gentrification and displacement not only agreed with the struggle but expressed appreciation for Santa Ana's identity as an empowered community, a community of people who value their identity as being an immigrant or child of an immigrant.

Individual's Embedded in Neighborhood Associations Emotional Connection to Place

After interviewing individuals from NAs on their emotional connection to place, the following four themes have emerged: function matters, one's esteem for home is strong, individuals from NAs appreciate diversity, and concerns for place are growing.

Function Matters

Evident in many interviews with individuals embedded in NAs is an appreciation for the services and resources available in their city and because of their city. Several individuals interviewed, mentioned that they esteemed the fact that Santa Ana was a county seat where several county offices are housed. William, an older man in his 70s said having the county seat in one's city shows signs of "fidelity, power, and involvement of people in government." He was attracted to that when he was looking for a city to settle in after moving from Chicago in the 1970s. Clayton, another homeowner in his 70s and a retired military and postal worker, says that the county seat and its services generate great revenue in the city as workers from outside come into the city to work and spend money in the city. Many white older individuals interviewed found pride in the fact that plenty of government establishments were in the city such as the court house and the county's office. William goes on to share that these services and resources seem to also inform individuals that there is a community that cares to share their opinion and there is a city there to respond in some way. This may suggest greater trust in government.

In addition, several individuals found in Santa Ana a city that granted them central access to work. Its proximity to highways and centrality in Orange County facilitated travel for those who had work in other parts of the county. Jackie, a white, NA leader in a neighborhood in north Santa Ana, originally lived in the suburbs of south county. However, after getting remarried decided to live closer to her job located on the northside of the county. Margaret, another woman after graduating from California State University, Fullerton in the 1970s with her law degree, practiced in both Fullerton and Newport. Santa Ana came to be the prime in between location to minimize driving in between the cities she worked in. Not to mention the

great weather came to be noted as a perk by many residents as to what they enjoyed about their city.

Furthermore, individuals embedded in NAs also valued the downtown area and the multitude of great restaurants and jobs that have been brought to the area. They found in Santa Ana a sense of downtown, that which is very different in other suburban areas of Orange County. Scott, a white professor at a local university mentioned, "We love being able to walk to a coffee shop and being able to walk into downtown. My son walks to school, and my wife can walk to work when she wants to. It has the amenities of being in a city combined with density and trash and you know everything else that comes along with being a city." Both he and his wife were used to living in walkable environments as they grew up in urbanized settings like the Bay area and New York City and they were not attracted to the suburban culture that was offered in other parts of the county. That is why they chose to settle in Santa Ana. Jerry, a homeowner and retired county planner, on the other hand, disagreed with the changes of downtown. Jerry, a white man in his 60s, thought that city officials took a perfectly thriving downtown (that is when it catered to the Latinx population) and killed it with the introduction of new bars and restaurants. In his eyes, whereas many people from the Latino community use to go to downtown for entertainment and shopping, they no longer do so due to the new establishments and that is a great failure. Jerry was very attuned to the struggles Latinx residents were facing (i.e. gentrification and displacement) as he was also greatly involved with CBOs in the city where many Latinxs participated and vocalized their demands.

Several individuals from NAs also valued the fact that Santa Ana offers unique neighborhoods with historic homes dating from the 1880s. It is also part of the reason some of them were drawn to purchase a historic home in Santa Ana as they were committed to maintaining them. Jackie, in her 60s, enjoys learning about the history of the neighborhood and is saddened by the thought of the history not being retained as old neighbors pass away. She has made it her goal to learn the rich history that exists in her neighborhood and to host tours of historic homes to ensure the history is remembered. Jerry, who sits on the architecture review board of his neighborhood that is recognized as a historic preservation site, claims that the unique neighborhoods and historic homes dating from the late 1880s provide a sense of delicacy to the neighborhoods and must be cared for carefully.

Adding to the uniqueness of these neighborhoods are the NAs themselves that allow for, as Scott mentioned, "…people to kind of have smaller boundaries, so they don't feel like they're in this big ocean, right? So that maybe they have a better chance of being heard by a local neighborhood leader or by their Ward Councilman." In this way, NAs offer an opportunity to connect with neighbors and a councilmember, that which can be extremely difficult to do in other communities. Other interviewees, both men and women appreciated their NA for the friends they have made through the socials they have hosted and the leadership skills they have developed through workshops offered by the City of Santa Ana. These seem to be important mechanisms for individuals embedded in NAs to sense integration in their community and city. Individuals embedded in CBOs, on the other hand, value safety and the ability to connect with others like them.

Esteem Home, Mexican Culture, Diversity, & Community

Vanessa, a homeowner and a 3rd generation Mexican American woman in her 60s shared that her family is from Santa Ana. She shared that her mother was originally from Colorado and her father served in the military. The cold weather brought her parents to Santa Ana and her father worked in the nearby military base. Before beginning the interview, Vanessa emphasized that she was not a 1st generation Mexican like many others in Santa Ana and that she had been in Santa Ana since she was born so she has been able to witness drastic changes throughout the years. She also corrected me when I mentioned Santa Ana with a Spanish accent; she told me that Santa Ana was mentioned without a Spanish accent and that only people who are "hard core Santa Ana people", say Santa Ana with a Spanish accent. Though she was born and raised in Santa Ana, owned a home in Santa Ana, and raised her four children there, she did not feel connected to the "hard core Santa Ana people" group she spoke of. Many of the CBO members I interviewed mentioned Santa Ana with a Spanish accent and could be recognized as the "hard core Santa Ana" people Vanessa mentions not relating to. Apart from racial identity, this could allude to generational differences, where the politics and culture Vanessa grew up in was drastically different from 1st and 2nd generation Mexican Americans, influencing her emotional connection to place.

Nevertheless, Santa Ana has presented 3rd generation Mexicans in their 60s the opportunity to reconnect with their Mexican culture. Veronica and Adriana, two women serving as active and respected leaders in their community shared that Santa Ana meant a lot to them because it has been a place for them to reconnect with their Mexican roots they thought they had lost growing up. They were both told not to speak Spanish and to do away with their customs given the pressure their families had to assimilate to American culture a midst anti-immigrant sentiment. However, they found in Santa Ana a community where they could reignite their Mexican roots. Growing up in San Diego as a Mexican American, Veronica stated that she was not allowed to speak Spanish there. However, in moving to Santa Ana for work in the 1990s, particularly with a Latino non-profit organization where many other employees spoke Spanish, she was then able to embrace that side of her and called it a "rebirth" as she began to learn Spanish and partake in speaking Spanish. In addition, she was also able to participate in the Mexican festivities hosted in Santa Ana, that which she was not able to grow up with. She laughs as she recalls sharing with her sisters about the cultural things she has been involved in and them teasing her by asking, "did you remember you were Mexican?".

Offering a similar perspective but with more of an internal struggle with identity, Adriana, another 3rd generation Mexican American woman, born and raised in Santa Ana states,

> *For the last 20 years, I've been doing a lot of posadas and culturally kind of draws me back of who my grandmother was and where she came from. I really enjoy it, those things that I didn't have. I don't know if you understand, but being washed out has been, well that's what I call myself, has been not culturally engaged in the culture of where our grandparents came from and so I have been blended in to being an American which I'm very proud of being too. Sometimes, this is hard to say, if you're a blend, sometimes, you want a little bit of both of your culture and stuff.*

This internal conflict or even the joy of finding one's culture again, is representational of the historic racism that told Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans to assimilate the best they could, forgetting their language and customs. On the other hand, Roxanna, a 2nd generation Mexican American in her late 30s, born and raised in Santa Ana does not experience this internal conflict. She expresses a strong love for her community and culture. She is particularly fond of the smells of the food and for the ability to speak Spanish to neighbors freely. These experiences of embracing culture, especially if it had been suppressed for so long, are what attach these women to Santa Ana.

Meanwhile Vanessa, seemed to praise not being a 1st generation Mexican in Santa Ana and because of that she also mentioned she has a different perspective on home:

Our biggest investment is our home. You know, we can buy fancy cars or not, you know, we can fix up our home or not, you know, but it's still is our biggest investment and you know, in our lifetime, most people don't just buy and move up, but it's to the point where, I'm getting my home to how I like it.

Other individuals embedded in NAs apart from esteeming Mexican culture, esteem the diversity that exists in Santa Ana. Clayton, for example, having travelled to so many places before settling in Santa Ana in the 1970s, found that Santa Ana had it all. When I asked him what he liked about Santa Ana, he replied, "in 23 square miles, you have the same vibrant scene that you have in London, Paris, New York, Rome, Hong Kong. You have people of all different cultures, nationalities, foods, shops. It's just amazing how people come together and can live together." Clayton valued diversity and has even participated in several local festivities related to Mexican and Vietnamese culture. Clayton was originally from upstate New York, but after joining the military, he travelled all over the world. After retiring from the military, Clayton chose to retire and settle in Santa Ana because of the weather, but also because he was connected to the diversity of Santa Ana. Jackie, a homeowner in the northside of Santa Ana adds, "I don't think I've ever met anyone that I haven't liked. It's very much of an inclusive community. It is. My neighbors and neighborhood are wonderful. We work very hard to get that inclusiveness." Jackie goes on to say that you have to be able to afford where she lives though to enjoy that "inclusiveness". Though Jackie shares that her community is "inclusive", in some ways her neighborhood could be exclusive to many who cannot afford to live in her neighborhood located in north Santa Ana.

While there are many residents who feel a strong attachment to Santa Ana, there are also a few, mostly non-Hispanic white American women who share little attachment to Santa Ana. Margaret who works as a lawyer mentioned she lived in Santa Ana because she simply does not know where else she would live. Her family is scattered in other parts of the state, in places like San Luis Obispo which is quickly urbanizing as well and where she has no interest in moving to. In addition, because she prioritizes her work that is centrally located in Santa Ana, she chooses to stay in Santa Ana. Margaret further describes her lack of attachment to Santa Ana by saying, "I tried to kind of get into Santa Ana and some of the things, but I don't know that I have any particular affinity for Santa Ana, but I don't have anything against Santa Ana."

Sandra, a white woman in her late 50s who had just finished completing her master's degree in Leadership Development, had once lacked attachment to Santa Ana. She was born and

raised in Santa Ana and when she was a teenager she moved to northern California from 1980-1992. While there she lived in northern California and fell in love with nature and the mountains. She saw it as a way to get away from the busyness of the city that Santa Ana offered. But, a trip back to Santa Ana to visit family led her to meet her spouse and after marriage, her spouse insisted on staying in Santa Ana since he had a great career and recently bought a home. Sandra shared that it took a while for her to get use to the city again. Rather than share love for Santa Ana like other individuals embedded in CBOs and those who were born and raised in Santa Ana, she shares, "So we're here and I've really had a distaste in my mouth, so to speak...the traffic, the smog. I'm asthmatic, so smog's an issue...I don't like crowds and I feel claustrophobic and uncomfortable in crowds." However, after so many years, Sandra shares that Santa Ana has grown on her and that she has had to learn to see the positives in the city such the nature preserve that she has close to her home. Regardless of how she feels about Santa Ana, Sandra has fostered strong roots in Santa Ana, raising her children, taking an active and leadership position with her NA, fostering children, and providing a home for homeless youth in her home for those who need a place to stay as they transition into jobs.

Jerry admitted that it took him some time to develop an emotional connection to Santa Ana. He thought he was too busy or preoccupied in his own line of work in his early years of living in Santa Ana to notice what they liked about it. Jerry, previously worked as a planner for the county, making maps and trail plans. Jerry expressed that this work took up a lot of his time and attention. Before owning his home, Jerry owned a condo with his wife in downtown. Because it was so close to his work at a government agency located in downtown, he was able to simply walk to work. He initially thought of his condo as something of convenience, but he ended up falling in love with the city leading him to purchase a home in 1998 in the same neighborhood he had lived in. He enjoyed taking walks around the neighborhood and meeting his neighbors. Jerry now owns a historic home in a neighborhood near downtown known as a historic preservation site.

It also took Clinton some time to grow an emotional attachment to his neighborhood. Clinton, a white homeowner, moved to Santa Ana with his family in the 1980s. He was initially going to move to the Tustin area because he had heard Santa Ana was not as safe. However, his real estate agent showed him the neighborhood in which he lives now and thought it would be a nice place to live. Clinton initially worked as an operations manager for a nuclear generating station in Orange County. Before retiring recently, Clinton shares that he did not have much time to enjoy the city in his early days of living in Santa Ana. It was later, in retirement that he had more time on his hands and decided he would get more involved with his NA. In this way, he started to meet neighbors, many of whom were also retired, and discussed issues important to them in their community, increasing his emotional attachment for his neighborhood and city.

Concerns for Place are Growing

The growing concerns individuals embedded in NAs held seemed to go hand in hand with emotional connection. Vanessa and Henri, two Mexican American 3rd generation individuals in their 60s from two different neighborhoods went as far as expressing that they have lost fondness for the city and have grown disappointed in the city. Concerns leading to their disappointment in the city are experiences related to an increase in sales tax, issues of

homelessness, overcrowding, and parking issues. Henri, a man who lives in one of the poorest and most dangerous areas of the city remembers being racially profiled by the police himself in the 1970s as he drove through cities like Orange and Costa Mesa and was told that he did not belong in those neighborhoods. Henri also remembers growing up very close to his neighbors, mostly working-class immigrants and Mexican Americans. He said they saw each other as a family. Yet, throughout the years he has also seen a lot of his friends pass away at a young age, move away, go to jail, or overdose on drugs in his neighborhood. Though a few residents claim crime has decreased, Henri believes that its actually getting worse and at times contemplates moving. However, his wife then reminds him of the roots they have there and the new roots that are flourishing, that is their grandchildren. His grandchildren remind him to stay and be a part of their lives.

Vanessa is also growing disappointed in the city she was born and raised in and where she also raised her children. She has been disappointed in local government for a long time as she lost her job working for the city during the recession. Her job was to assist with neighborhood initiatives throughout the city as part of the NA program. When she was dismissed, she felt the city or supervisors she had did not have her back after all the work she had done for them. In addition, she has growing concerns related to the increase of unhoused individuals in the city and crime in the area. She considers the city to have an old mindset and to be inefficient in meeting these concerns. This ineptitude frustrates her and compels her to think about moving. But, like Henri, she too remembers how much she has invested in her home, the children she has raised there (though most have left to other states and cities), and the work she has done to improve her community. Thus, Vanessa remains in her home in Santa Ana.

Major Findings and Summary

Santa Ana has grown greatly since its birth as a city in the late 1800s. From ranches to a metro area, Santa Ana has grown to provide substantial growth to the region in terms of population and economic activity. However, this growth in the Mexican population was not always esteemed, nor was the economic benefits of growth equally distributed among the Mexican population. Similar to many other cities across the US, Santa Ana adopted policies to segregate and isolate communities of color from white and wealthy residents. One can argue that these policies have been dismantled, however, the effects of segregation, such as isolation and poverty persist and may speak to the experiences different individuals had in their neighborhoods. Segregation by race and poverty is considered even greater today for African Americans and Latinos than it was in the past. This segregation is also linked to other forms of inequality in educational opportunity (Orfield & Lee, 2006), and I would add the unequal outcomes of neighborhood change.

Individuals embedded in NAs (predominately white homeowners in their mid 60s) and individuals embedded in CBOs (predominately Latino renters in their mid 20s) have different perspectives of place attachment. While, individuals embedded in CBOs value place identity more, individuals in NAs value place dependence more. In terms of race/ethnicity, the majority of Latinos (Mexicans, Central Americans, and Mexican Americans), regardless of involvement with a NA or CBO felt pride in their culture and esteemed having a place to cultivate their culture. Individuals in NAs esteemed function over identity as many were appreciative over the

county services available to them in close proximity. There were also great differences among individuals embedded in CBOs and individuals embedded in NAs in how they perceived place in downtown, an important historic symbol for the City. Whereas individuals in CBOs grew nostalgic in how it was, individuals in NAs thought it was a dangerous place to be. Such differences are important to consider as they call attention to race/ethnicity and class distinctions.

Race/ethnicity and class are assumed to have played a role in shaping the varying perspectives of place attachment. Some interviewees were renters and others were homeowners, showing an important class distinction. In addition, many interviewees embedded in CBOs were Latino, whereas many interviewees embedded in NAs were white and 3rd generation Mexican American also showing racial and class distinctions. Several individuals embedded in CBOs described how they witnessed police chases in their neighborhood and 3rd generation Mexican Americans embedded in NAs also shared their perspective of safety concerns in their neighborhoods. These differences and experiences are important to acknowledge as they highlight an individual's environment and under what conditions they grew up with in their distinct neighborhoods. By first studying, the different ways in which individuals perceive place and how they think of the past of their city, I can begin to understand what changes are observed and how individuals embedded in both groups make sense of the changes.

In reference to place attachment, both expressed a strong emotional connection to place be it through their sense of community, the history of the place, and relationship to others in the city. Individuals embedded in CBOs, however, proved to have a stronger sense of place identity as they nostalgically and romantically described what they loved, valued, and esteemed about their city when asked about emotional attachment. They were quick to share that they identify strongly with the struggle and as someone from Santa Ana, common elements of place identity (Twigger-Ross, C. L., & Uzzell, 1996). Individuals embedded in NAs, on the other hand, exuded a stronger sense of place dependence as several described their emotional connection to place more in terms of function. Its proximity to the highway, its centrality to work, its walkability, and its county services were highly regarded when individuals described their emotional connection to place and were in line with what previous scholars have noted of place dependence (Butcher & Breheny, 2016).

Many individuals embedded in NAs who were predominately white, homeowners, and retired spoke with pride in the fact that county services were housed in Santa Ana. Individuals embedded in CBOs, on the other hand, did not exude the same pride. This difference speaks to the varying levels of integration various individuals from both groups hold. Given the NA's connection to the city and their homeownership status, individuals embedded in NAs feel more appreciative of the services. Individuals embedded in CBOs, who are predominately renters and 2nd generation Mexican American, however, may not feel comfortable with county services given historic disinvestment in their communities, cultural differences, or simply because they do not own a home which calls for more communication with the city. Furthermore, whereas most individuals embedded in CBOs appreciated the rich Latinx culture in Santa Ana, many individuals embedded in NAs exalted the diversity that existed in their city that served as a function for trying different foods and participating in different festivities. In addition, two 3rd

generation Mexican Americans embedded in NAs, were able to awaken the Mexican culture their family was once forced to eliminate, fueling their attachment to Santa Ana.

Individuals from both NAs and CBOs thought of Santa Ana's downtown when asked about their place attachment to Santa Ana but differed in their perspectives of what it means to them. Individuals who were younger, Latinx organizers and embedded in CBOs grew nostalgic remembering downtown as *La Cuatro*, highlighting its services for Latinxs that use to be there and the nice memories they had with their families growing up. Place attachment literature describes nostalgia as the "enabler" of place attachment and as the "bitter-sweet emotion defined as a mental return to the past" (Lewicka, 2013). Many young Latinx organizers described their time as a child going to *La Cuatro* and the carousel they use to ride in the Fiesta Market Place. Their childhood memories in relation to place are important sources of identity (Cooper Marcus, 1992; Knez, 2006). Experiencing place as a child may influence one's perspective of place in different ways in comparison to those who only experienced it as an adult (i.e. many individuals embedded in NAs). *La Cuatro* for many individuals embedded in CBOs was also a sort of 'Place Ballet' or a place to engage in interactions that was once a place important for interpersonal experiences, community, meaning and bonding (Lewicka, 2013). For many, this 'place ballet' consisted of the safety residents sensed with having only people like them around (Mexicans), instead of white people who carried judgement against Santa Ana and its people.

On the other hand, many individuals embedded in NAs or homeowners who moved to Santa Ana in the 1980s referred to downtown as a ghost town. Whereas Latino renters saw downtown as a place to run errands and acquire much needed services, several white homeowners thought it was nothing, but illegal activity that occurred there. Such distinctions are similar to Gonzalez' descriptions of the difference in discourse among Mexican working-class residents and city officials who had perceived downtown as blight and dangerous (Gonzalez, 2017). Nevertheless, individuals from both groups did recognize insecurity in the city as a whole. A young Latina organizer, at times questioned why there was crime in her city. However, despite the insecurity and bad rap Santa Ana was known for, several individuals embedded in CBOs still have an unconditional love for the city and it is hard for them to imagine living anywhere else. In addition, individuals embedded in NAs were inclined despite the insecurity and able to find a home in safe areas when they were searching for homes in the 1980s-90s. Other individuals embedded in NAs with Mexican roots grew up in areas with more racial discrimination and gang activity and struggled to find a home. Individuals embedded in NAs also acknowledged the violence they had witnessed in the past in their city, however, did not respond with a sense of unconditional love for the city as individuals embedded in CBOs had expressed.

Setting individuals embedded in CBOs apart is that they seem to have found solace in being in a place with others like them despite the insecurity. Not only do many, typically the young Mexican American organizers, take pride in hardships and bad rap and stigma their city has, but because of it they have an increased love for their city. Their unconditional love comes in spite of the stigma, but also because of the stigma. The stigma they faced growing up overhearing white school students from south Orange County (wealthier areas of the county) talk negative about their city and even to this day reinforces their place identity. Similarly, Broto et al (2010) found that stigmatizing factors such as environmental pollution do not break

the bonds between one's identity and place, showing that emotional bonds emerge due to positive and negative experiences in a place (Broto, et al., 2010). Stigma along with mutual support from friends and neighbors can even strengthen place attachment given the support shared (Manzo, 2005). This support can come to be especially important in Orange County where whites continue fostering segregation as they prefer to be among those they feel similar to (Lacayo, 2016). This segregation is exacerbated as social isolation is experienced among highly disadvantaged and highly advantaged neighborhoods considering two groups hardly spend time together in their communities (Krivo et al., 2013). Furthermore, for the individuals embedded in CBOs who had exposure to white spaces through college, their race consciousness has been reinforced (Anderson, 2012).

The meaning of place also brings to light a variety of perspectives related to inward and outward aspects of place (Seamon, 2013). Inward aspects of place involve a place that is the center of its own world and its residents control what parts of the larger world can enter into their little world. Outward aspects of place infer that one's home requires a connection with the outer world to fulfill basic and social needs (Moore, 2007; Morley, 2000). Both can be found in Santa Ana in examples such as CBO members only feeling comfortable around insiders and NA members feeling appreciative of place when there are more diverse populations coming into the city. Drawing this distinction between inwardness and outwardness in place attachment may be attributed to many factors. For example, years in the neighborhood and generational differences may be factors. Small finds in *Villa Victoria* that the older generation was more fond of its neighborhood, while the younger generation thought of the neighborhood as "the ghetto" (Small, 2004). In the context of Santa Ana, individuals embedded in NAs who moved in to Santa Ana in the 1980-1990s have been there probably around the same amount of time as many young organizers embedded in CBOs were being born, leading them to have the same amount of time in Santa Ana. However, setting them apart is the childhood years that several individuals from CBOs, especially the young organizers, lived in Santa Ana since many individuals embedded in NAs, apart from a few, did not grow up there. Considering many of the young organizers embedded in CBOs were born and raised in Santa Ana, what they accept to come into their world may be different. Many may feel a strong connection to the place since their childhood was lived there, where their sense of security, familiarity, and connections with place began to develop early on (Fried, 2000). Anything that comes inside, may be a threat to their sense of security.

In assessing one's attachment to place, it is important to also point out that not all feel equally connected to Santa Ana. Whereas all individuals embedded in CBOs proclaimed a strong emotional connection to place, a few individuals embedded in NAs stated they had no affinity to SNA. The lack of attachment to place or non-attachment as it is described in the literature can be characterized as alienation (i.e. negative attitude to place), placelessness (i.e. indifference), and place relativity (ambivalence and acceptance) (Hummon, 1992). Interviewees with little attachment, seemed as though they held place relativity and placelessness as some respondents seemed indifferent and accepting of the city they were living in. There were some individuals embedded in NAs, however, who despite sensing place relativity at one point, grew in appreciation for Santa Ana. These changes show that place attachment can change over time (Seamon, 2013). Some individuals embedded in NAs have had to learn to see the positives, whereas individuals embedded in CBOs see even the negatives as positives.

Unique among several individuals with a Mexican background, especially the younger organizers embedded in CBOs is that they seem to straddle more than one place attachment. Many spoke about their place attachment to Santa Ana, but many at least the Mexican and Mexican American interviewees emphasized how much they appreciated having others in their community that looked like them and spoke Spanish like them. Mexican interviewees spoke how they enjoyed Mexican festivities and being close to others from there same region in Mexico. In that way, Santa Ana offers them an attachment to the Mexico they or their parents migrated from. This becomes important to Mexican American individuals embedded in CBOs as many emphasized the complexity of growing up in the US as an American and yet having Mexican roots. They mentioned that Santa Ana is the place where they can fully live out transnationalism, the straddling of two countries they identify with. In this way, these individuals can handle many places of belonging and unite their old and new, far and present attachments (Christensen, A.D. & Jensen, 2011).

Despite the difference between individuals embedded in both NAs and CBOs, members of both groups agree on place realization or the unique essence of place. Individuals embedded in CBOs acknowledge Santa Ana as a unique place, even different then its influential neighbor Los Angeles. They esteem Santa Ana for being an immigrant community with a common struggle of reclaiming their culture. Adding to its uniqueness as described by several individuals from CBOs is that Santa Ana is a city surrounded by conservative cities all holding principles of anti-immigrant policy. Individuals in NAs have less of a political or cultural focus. They accredit Santa Ana's essence to the fact that it is a historic city with delicate neighborhoods and diverse families with rich histories to tell. They also appreciate that Santa Ana is different from all of the cities in south Orange County that require residents to have their home a certain style. They are not fond of the Home Owner Association fees found in cities like Irvine and appreciate the ability to upkeep their home in the way they would like to in their neighborhoods and Santa Ana allows them to do just that. In sum, the majority of individuals embedded in NAs did not regard stigma like individuals embedded in CBOs did.

There were a few, however, that recognized their Mexican heritage. Roxana, a 2nd generation Mexican American, esteemed the Mexican ethnic enclave she was a part of and had chosen to be a part of. Veronica, 3rd generation, had lost her Mexican identity growing up, but after moving to Santa Ana was able to rekindle her Mexican American identity. Adriana, a 3rd generation Mexican American, struggles with balancing her Mexican and American culture and slowly sees her Mexican heritage fading away in her. Daniel, a Mexican immigrant who moved to the US when he was 8 years old and lives in close proximity to his family and to downtown, is happy about seeing more diversity in his neighborhood of downtown. Thus, several Hispanics involved in NAs hold varying racial identities and ways in which they nurture their identity. All of them, including whites in NAs, were excited to see more diversity in their city and neighborhoods.

Chapter 5

Findings: Motivations for Getting Involved and Acquiring Knowledge

In addition, important to consider when assessing the conditions that influence one's place protective action taken is where one acquires knowledge from to shape their interpretation and evaluation of changes. This chapter elucidates where individuals embedded in both NAs and CBOs as well as those not embedded in any organization acquire their information. Also, individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs are motivated to join their respective groups for a variety of reasons. Some have been motivated due to direct experience, perceived threats, or to simply get to know other people. In this chapter, before assessing changes individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs perceive in the following chapter, I want to share themes found as to how one was motivated to join their respective organization and where residents acquire their knowledge. In this way, I can better understand the context that influenced one to join and the thought process they underwent to join.

Individuals' motivations for joining an organization

Invited to be Involved

Several individuals embedded in NAs were invited to join their neighborhood association. Adriana, a leader of her NA and a Mexican American in her 60s, was born and raised in Santa Ana and she lives in a neighborhood considered as one of the first *barrios* of Santa Ana. She grew up in a 2-bedroom home as the only girl with four brothers and though she was thankful for the home she was raised in, she recognizes that her family was poor and did not have the nicest home. At times, when she was a child, Adriana would drive over to wealthier neighborhoods of the city with her father and would question why her neighborhood did not have nice yards like the ones she saw in the wealthier neighborhoods. Nevertheless, Adriana shares that in the 1970s, the local church in her community was very involved with improving the surrounding neighborhood. One morning, she got a knock on the door from a priest from the local church, asking her, "Do you want to have it better in the neighborhood?" Adriana, a single mom at the time, said yes and started taking workshops on how to do just that with resources from the local church and local organizations. A range of issues were covered in the workshops from free lunch programs to housing and motivated her to stay involved.

William, an NA leader in his late 70s, who never married or had kids left his hometown of Chicago in the 1980s to work at a local university managing food distribution in Orange, California, a city in close proximity to Santa Ana. In his early years of living in Santa Ana, he was never involved with community work as he considered himself a workaholic, working long hours, never really paying attention to neighborhood concerns. He shares that for the longest time, nearby neighbors encouraged him to get involved with the NA, but he never joined because he did not have free time. It was not until he retired that he decided to finally take the invitation and join the NA. After getting involved he was then motivated by other members to be the president of his NA. It was the farthest thing from his mind as he had never done neighborhood work before and considered himself far too inexperienced to take on the task.

He did not feel capable, but then after the neighbors insisted, he thought it could be a worthwhile experience after all. He ended up loving the position so much that he remained president of his NA for seven years. The group's accomplishments and the opportunity to learn from others different then him, motivated him to stay involved.

Jerry, an older white man in his 60s and a retired county planner, shares that he and his wife became involved in their NA after meeting one of its former leaders. On their search for a home of their own in Santa Ana, Jerry and his wife met a woman at a booth representing the NA from the neighborhood they would later move into. The woman was there to promote the neighborhood, the historic homes, and the NA itself. After moving into the neighborhood, the woman was promoting, Jerry got involved with formalizing an architectural review committee, a committee that would ensure the historical character of the community would be preserved, within six months of moving into the neighborhood. He then became an officer within a year of joining the NA and has participated on the board of his NA for the last 20 years. The woman who introduced him and his wife to the neighborhood also presented them to the politics they needed to know about the city upon moving there. Jerry remembers the woman as "hell on wheels", "remarkable", and "knew how to work a political game to protect her neighborhood". She taught him who the mayor was, sharing that he was a democrat and a vegetarian, but that he was also corrupt. The retired county planner began to realize that on his own and saw "people turn a blind eye" to the corruption. This notion coupled with the planned development of a project infringing on his neighborhood in the early 2000s fueled his motivation to become even more involved in his NA and hold the city accountable.

Scott, a professor at a local university, at the age of 50, with his family moved into the same neighborhood in the early 2000s. On the first day of moving in to his neighborhood, Scott was approached by members of the NA. When asked how he was invited to join, Scott answered:

> When we arrived. Oh, yeah, there was no question. We were just bombarded [by NA members]. Here's what our meeting is, you know, we expect you to be there. And if we didn't come, they would have come around the next day, 'hey we missed you' because at that time, there was sort of an expectation that as newcomers to the neighborhood, well, that it makes sense to welcome newcomers to the neighborhood because you want them to be involved.

The NA's approach of inviting Scott and his wife to meetings helped them feel welcomed, encouraging them to join the NA. Adriana, Jerry, William, and Scott were all invited to join the NA by another leader in the NA as well. Many times, it involved leaders going door to door to inquire whether residents would like to join the NA. Adriana, Jerry, William, and Scott mentioned they joined because they felt welcomed, encouraged, and motivated. Whereas many studies mention people join groups after seeing results (Guiney, M. S., & Oberhauser, 2009) or because of the friendships they have built (Ryan, et al., 2001), Adriana, Jerry, William, and Scott did not have to see results and had not developed strong friendships yet to join the NA. In addition, though it was not mentioned explicitly initially, individuals embedded in NAs have similar values

of keeping property values high and homeownership which could also be motivating forces for residents to join the NA.

To meet people & a sense of security

Several individuals embedded in NAs were also motivated to join their NA or start up a NA because they simply wanted to meet new people. Roxana, a Mexican American (2nd generation) and Melissa, a Filipino immigrant first started their NA because they wanted to get their neighbors together for a chance to get to know each other. To do so, they have hosted children's events, Christmas parties, Easter gatherings, and a Fourth of July block party. Not only do these ladies build community in the process, but they also in a way develop their own security system. Melissa shares that in hosting events, you really get to know your neighbors and then are able to take care of each other. When one begins meeting with their neighbors, one starts to learn what car they drive, where they generally park, the number of people who live in their home, the number of kids they have, and the work they do, all adding a sense of security for the residents. For Roxana and Melissa, getting to know each other then becomes, "Hey, beware of this person," or "My car got stolen" or "My dog's lost" when they see something out of the norm or have a worry they want to share. Because they know their neighbors and what is typical, they then know what to warn each other about when they see things abnormal, creating a sense of community and security. Though such informal systems in place demonstrate a sense of social capital and security, it is important to also acknowledge the deadly impact that statements like "Hey, beware of this person" can cause. For example, the historic death of Trayvon Martin occurred after being racially profiled by a neighborhood watch volunteer (Alvarez, L. & Buckley, 2013).

Felt compelled to get involved after leaving home for some time

Several individuals embedded in CBOs felt compelled to get more involved with their community after having gone to another city for school. Javier, for example, a Mexican American (2nd generation) in his mid 20s, attended UC Berkeley to major in political science. Though Javier was among many students from Orange County in his university, he was usually the only one from Santa Ana and expressed feeling isolated on his campus. Others were from wealthier and whiter areas of the county like Laguna and Newport, areas he could not relate much with. Most of his political science classes were filled with predominately white students and he often felt like the only Latino in all of his classes. For this reason, Javier joined a program for Latino students where Javier was able to connect with other Latinos to share the pride they had for their history.

With the program, he was introduced to protests and organizing as a means to advocate for more resources for Latino students on campus and against racism and anti-immigrant sentiment. In Javier's first year as a student, he joined his first protest in 2013 against the newly appointed President of the University of California (UC) system, Janet Napolitano, for her prior position as head of Homeland Security. At the protest Javier connected with other organizers, who were older students that then opened the way for Javier to get more involved in organizing on campus and helped Javier navigate school. With this Latinx organizing community, Javier

grew in acknowledgement that he was not in Santa Ana anymore, a predominately Mexican immigrant city where he felt comfortable with others like him. He began to realize that he was at an institution of privilege, where Mexican themed parties were occasionally planned among white fraternities. However, Javier was now a part of a community who would fight back against these racist themed parties. This community Javier was a part of, though small at the UC Berkeley campus, ignited a passion in Javier to keep organizing both on campus and on issues of policing in the larger city of Berkeley. It was experiences in spaces with white students, that led him to race consciousness (Anderson, 2012) and motivated him to look for others like him.

In his last year of college, Javier was greatly involved in organizing with an established network. However, Javier desired to return home to Santa Ana to help in organizing efforts there. When Javier returned to Santa Ana for a summer before graduating, he attended a city council meeting alone to learn more about issues occurring in his home city. While at the city council meeting, Javier agreed greatly with the comments individuals from a particular local organization were making on housing and development as they spoke of their concerns with gentrification and displacement. After the council meeting, Javier went up to the individuals who spoke and shared appreciation for their public comments and that he felt the same way. He was then invited to join one of their meetings, which when Javier finally moved back to Santa Ana after graduating had attended. In addition, Javier sought out more organizations in Santa Ana that focused on policing issues in particular, that which he grew extensively interested in while at UC Berkeley. A friend of Javier's then helped connect him with another CBO actually hiring for a fellow to look more in debt into issues of police brutality. Javier applied for the position and was able to acquire the fellowship for which he has worked in for the past year. Javier also supports the work of other organizations he aligns with including pro-rent control campaigns, but works primarily with research and the development of policies that hold the police accountable in Santa Ana. Though Javier works towards results with his research, Javier is not motivated by results (Guiney, M. S., & Oberhauser, 2009), but by race consciousness, solidarity and shared values with other organizers.

Felt compelled to get involved after having experienced displacement

Patricia, a Mexican American (2nd generation) organizer, got involved with a local CBO focused on the provision of affordable housing because of her family's experience being displaced. Her family has been displaced on numerous occasions due to a foreclosure to their home in 2009 and rent increases pricing them out of apartment complexes. Patricia shares that while away for college in Boston on her first year of studying for her bachelor's degree in international studies, her family lost their home due to the mortgage crisis. This experience really impacted her family, leading her family to face a lot of issues related to housing insecurity including having to live in a one-bedroom apartment with her parents and two siblings. While in Boston, Patricia had also felt similar to Javier, alone in a predominately white city and university. She felt like she always had to defend her city and where she came from to privileged students who did not understand her. This experience elevated her race consciousness (Anderson, 2012) and attachment to Santa Ana as she realized what she

appreciated and missed about her city. It compelled her to return to her city upon finishing her degree and specifically help with the housing issues that existed given her family's personal experience of losing their home.

Upon returning to Santa Ana with her degree, Patricia worked in Los Angeles for two years and then for the Orange County (OC) District Attorney's office for another two years, but none of those jobs focused on housing, that which she always had on her mind. She then looked for volunteer opportunities on Facebook where she could help with issues related to housing insecurity in her city. She found posted by a distant friend in high school, Santa Ana's rent control campaign which was being pushed forward by local CBOs in 2018. When Patricia found information on how to join the campaign, she thought, "this is what I've been wanting to do here." Patricia volunteered with the campaign acquiring signatures that would help put rent control on the ballot. Rent control proved to be important to her as a renter given her own experience of having her rent increased substantially in previous apartments she has lived in with her family. Since getting involved, she was able to meet others including Karla, another young Mexican American (2nd generation) organizer who worked for a local CBO that focused on developing policies to facilitate affordable housing. Karla encouraged Patricia to apply for a position that had just opened up with her CBO. The timing was perfect for Patricia to apply for the organizing position as Patricia's position with the OC District Attorney at the time was finishing up. Patricia was motivated to join a CBO and later work for the CBO due to the common grievances she had with others enduring the same issues such as displacement. This follows social movement literatures that states that people are more likely to get involved with a social movement when they share the same grievances (Snow, D. A., & Soule, 2010).

Martha, on the other hand, did not feel compelled to join a CBO after being displaced per se, but because she was fortunate to have acquired an affordable housing unit in Santa Ana. Martha, a 31-year-old Honduran immigrant with three children considered it such a blessing to have a unit considering she knew how difficult it was to acquire (i.e. the strict regulations and extensive wait list). But because she was able to acquire a unit for her family, she wanted to be a part of a group that would help others acquire one as well. She came to know about the affordable housing program taking applications by listening to a local Spanish channel where they promoted the program. Martha called in for more information and then applied for a unit. Despite the strict regulations that come with living there such as the prohibition of playing loud music, children playing at off hours, or letting outside guests use services, she urges her family to respect the rules to safeguard their position there. Martha remembers how difficult it was to find an affordable unit previously as she lived in overcrowded conditions and at times did not have enough money to pay for food for her family to eat given the high cost of housing. Martha does not acknowledge race consciousness as a motivating factor for joining a group like Javier and Patricia did. Instead, Martha acknowledges the longing to give back and help others see results the same way she was able to see results with the provision of affordable housing. In this way, Martha is results driven (Guiney, M. S., & Oberhauser, 2009), but also grievance driven as she has experienced housing insecurity previously (Snow, D. A., & Soule, 2010).

Felt compelled to get involved after learning about a possible threat

Several individuals from both CBOs and NAs also got involved after learning about a possible threat or disruptions to their neighborhoods. These threats/disruptions many times came in the form of a major development such as high-density apartment dwelling units that are increasingly common as cities work to meet housing needs and to reduce GHG if they are built in compact settings. Though disruptions will be discussed more in depth in later chapters, it is important to state that threats have also been a motivating factor for individuals to join a NA or CBO or to remain involved.

Jerry, the retired county planner, for example, was motivated to remain involved in his NA due to future development planned in close proximity to his downtown neighborhood. He had been involved already helping on the architectural review committee of his NA, reviewing the design of proposed changes in his community to ensure a uniform architecture, but he found it worthwhile to get even more involved in legal matters and organizing as he learned about plans that a developer had for building a 30-story commercial space adjacent to his neighborhood. Jerry thought this development would alter the neighborhood character of his community by adding much more traffic, motivating him to get even more involved with his NA and with other CBOs made up of other residents impacted by the proposed development.

Margarita, a Mexican immigrant homeowner in her 60s on the west edge of the City, lives in a neighborhood considered low-income. She sought to get more involved with a local CBO after Samantha, a CBO organizer surveying the community, stopped at her home to inform her of a proposed new development. Margarita also learned from Samantha that the proposed development was proposed to occur in close proximity to her home and would have displacement effects. Margarita has lived in Santa Ana for 15 years, but in 2019 decided to join the CBO Samantha represented since she wanted to learn more about what was going on with the proposed development. She has never been involved with an organization in the past due to her work which did not facilitate much time for her to join one. She worked cleaning offices in south county several days a week, taking public transportation often times robbing her of her free time. She had been notified of meetings in the past with letters from the city, but did not pay attention to them since she way busy with work. It was not until Samantha arrived at her doorstep to explain what was being proposed and the ramifications of those decisions that Margarita decided to join. She thought it was particularly important for her to join the local CBO meetings because of her age. She feels she is much older now and not in the age to be forced to move to a new place and start over. Literature shows that it is much more difficult for older residents to accustom to living in a new place due to displacement (Domínguez-Parraga, 2020). Margarita feared the displacement effects of the proposed development and wanted to learn more about the proposed development. Margarita was motivated to join due to threats to place (Lukacs & Ardoin, 2014). Her motivations for joining also follow the uncertainty-identity theory where people strive to reduce the uncertainties in their life such as the threat of displacement (Hogg et al., 2008).

One of the oldest community leaders interviewed, Fred, first got involved in the 1970s after his father called him worried because the city threatened to take away their home and that of several others in one of the most historic *barrios* of Santa Ana for development purposes. Fred got involved with several meetings discussing these matters and met others

representing organizing groups where they trained organizers. The trainings followed a Saul Alinsky model and sought to foster leadership through faith institutions to incite a more just and equitable community. A series of additional issues would arise in the *barrio* related to zoning, barricades, and street lighting that elicited racial discrimination, disproportionately impacting his community made up of majority Mexicans, and motivated Fred to stay involved and receive training from these groups. It was grievances that led Fred to join the organizing groups he was a part of (Snow, D. A., & Soule, 2010), but also the threats to place (Lukacs & Ardoin, 2014) and opportunities he had to continue learning about how to organize (Guiney, M. S., & Oberhauser, 2009). Fred was also a part of starting one of the first established neighborhood organizations and the NA in his neighborhood that aimed to challenge development plans the city had proposed in the 1970s. Throughout the years Fred has maintained involvement in CBOs and his NA, however, due to his age, he is more selective of where he spends his time. Fred is generally sought after by many for his leadership, rich knowledge of history, and organizing skills. Though he is honored by many, he does not honor or subscribe to contemporary organizing tactics that he describes as "kicking and screaming and spreading racist messages and lies", therefore he only gets involved with select CBOs. This also represents a generational divide between the older generation of organizers and younger generation of organizers who espouse different strategies for confronting the negative implications of neighborhood change.

Motivations for particularly joining a NA or a CBO or both

While many individuals I interviewed responded to how it is they came to be involved, it was only for a few individuals that I was able to find out why it is they chose to be embedded in a NA over a CBO or a CBO over a NA, or in both. Karla, in her mid 20s, was also born and raised in Santa Ana. She states that she is involved with her CBO because she cares about her community, but also because it is actually her job to work for the CBO where she is getting paid for what she does. When asked why she did not join an NA instead, she emphasized the uncertainty of having similar interests with members of the group given many individuals making up NAs are homeowners and may have different interests then the renters she is advocating alongside. She further shares that NAs "do have the ear of the city" and are a function of how the city engages with residents. The city recognizes NA leaders as community leaders and have designated support staff to help them. However, the young organizer does not elaborate on why she did not join a NA instead to push for her goals of affordable housing. I can assume that it was because of her status as a renter and a payed employee with a local CBO.

Adriana, a Mexican American (3rd generation) woman in her 60s, representing an NA mentions she has been a part of both NAs and CBOs in Santa Ana since the 1970s. She has worked alongside several prominent CBOs in the community and worked on many organizing and policy efforts to ensure changes in how projects would be developed in the city. Sometimes she spends more time on a specific campaign with a particular group depending on the issue at hand. However, she also explains that it gets difficult to find time to focus on all of the issues different groups, NAs and CBOs, are focused on because she has to work to financially support herself and her family. She describes that her work often interferes with her passion for

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working on neighborhood issues of homelessness, development, and housing and the goals she has for her community. She further adds that she does not have the benefit of getting paid for her work on neighborhood issues like others do and therefore chooses where she spends her time wisely.

Motivations for joining groups with opposing goals

Veronica, a Mexican American (3rd generation) woman in her late 60s and homeowner, is the president of her NA and a committee/board member for several other organizations in her neighborhood of Downtown. Veronica was born and raised in San Diego, with two sisters and a mother and father. Despite living in a conservative area, she said she grew up an activist, boycotting grocery stores in support of the Cesar Chavez movement and volunteering at democratic conventions. Furthermore, growing up she was told not to speak Spanish and to assimilate as best she could to the American culture which Veronica shares that her family became very good at doing. In 1996, however, after years of living in several other cities in southern California, she moved to Santa Ana to work for a local non-profit with a large Spanish speaking and Latino serving population. While working with this organization, she had no choice, but to learn and speak Spanish with residents that attended organization meetings and received services. Veronica thanks members of the organization for granting her the opportunity to learn Spanish and practice her Spanish even though it was at a beginner level. In that way, Veronica sensed that she was acquiring her Mexican identity and started to also get involved politically in Santa Ana.

It was living in Downtown Santa Ana where she began to learn about unjust development occurring, the control developers held over the city and the wealth developers accumulated by doing so in her city. In learning about these issues, Veronica sought to get involved with a local CBO working against displacement and gentrification efforts. With the rise of redevelopment efforts in the 2000s, Veronica and the CBO she was involved in fought back and demanded benefits (i.e. park and a community center) for the low-income residents and primarily immigrant community who lived adjacent to the proposed projects. Veronica was vocal on her opposition to the city's plans for redevelopment which ultimately cost her a commission position for which she sat on for the city as well at the time. Veronica admits that she was younger and involved in two other CBOs at the time that revealed her "militant side", fueling this kind of behavior. She seemed to insinuate that CBOs carry a militant style in advocating for change.

While a part of a CBO with anti-gentrification objectives, she later became involved with an organization in downtown infamous for facilitating the process of gentrification. She describes them as, "they were complete opposite, complete opposite" from the other CBOs she had served in that were made up predominately of Mexican and working-class residents. She was hesitant at first to join the organization working to change downtown given their different interests, but she was motivated to join after a conversation with the president of the group inviting her to join. The president pleaded for her to join so that she could be the voice of the other CBOs she was involved in. Given this opportunity, her personal desires for the board to have more women, and due to the geographic area of focus for the organization (i.e. her neighborhood), Veronica decided to join. For purposes of full disclosure, she shared news about

accepting this new position with one of the CBOs she was a part of that had anti-gentrification objectives. While it was accepted at first, later younger and newer members of the CBO would give Veronica an ultimatum, telling her to choose the CBO with anti-gentrification objectives or choose the organization known for fostering displacement and gentrification in Downtown. At this point, she walked away from the CBO and got more involved with the Downtown organization making plans for changes in her neighborhood.

For Veronica, location mattered and motivated her to get involved with an organization doing work in her neighborhood (Lukacs & Ardoin, 2014). Veronica no longer shared the same grievances (Snow, D. A., & Soule, 2010) or solidarity with the CBO made up of younger organizers who forced her to choose one or the other. This along with the "militant style" Veronica referenced earlier, speak to also generational differences Veronica sensed with the CBO she was once a part of. She no longer shared the same values as they did (Fogel, 1993), leading her to leave the CBO and demonstrating that motivations change. "I went with the boogey man", is what she says as she recognizes she went from an anti-gentrification group to a group pushing for changes that could incite gentrification in Downtown. She does not like that she was given an ultimatum and it was obvious for her to choose the organization doing work in Downtown since she lives there saying, "I have to be a part of these changes." She further describes her time with CBOs that focused on anti-gentrification as a phase where she learned a lot, but quickly got burned out from because of the numerous meetings and fights with the City. She thought there must be other ways to be involved and therefore took a step away from the CBOs she was involved with. There is a bit of awkwardness now when she runs into members of the CBO she was once involved heavily in and who made her choose between them and the other organization.

In addition, she now sits on several advisory councils and is the president of her NA. In these spaces, she mentions that the residents get together to have fun and talk about social issues. She seems delighted to share that there is no fighting like there was in other groups she was in which motivates her to stay involved with the groups she is a part of. Furthermore, given her removal from the last city commission she was a part of, Veronica wants to be very careful with what she says to protect her position and keep herself involved. Veronica acknowledges that "you serve with a pleasure" on these commissions, otherwise, you can be dismissed from the position. Veronica adds, "I have learned that lesson through the hard knocks, as they say, I know very carefully, and this is one commission that I really enjoy being on, so I'm not going to say or do anything stupid that's going to jeopardize my advocacy to help."

A lack of motivation to join either group

While there were many individuals interviewed with affiliation to several organizations, there were a few individuals (6) who were not involved with a NA, nor a CBO. For example, Raul is 28 and has lived in Santa Ana since 1992. He is originally from Mexico and was brought to Santa Ana by his parents when he was only 8 months old. Raul shares that they had come to give their son Raul a better future. Raul graduated from high school and chose not to continue with college and is content with just having graduated from high school considering he knows many in his community were not able to acquire a high school diploma. He makes about $60,000 a year as a truck driver and continues to live with his parents renting an apartment.

Raul takes pride in his community despite its bad reputation because it connects him to his roots given his Mexican heritage. Raul is not a part of any organization and he also shares that he has never been invited to a community meeting. He does remember, however, a time in high school, nearly 10 years ago, where he attended and listened in on a meeting where suggestions were taken to improve the school district. That was his only memory of involvement in a planning meeting.

In terms of low-income and undocumented immigrants involvement in community matters particularly in government-led meetings, Raul says that there are many trying to keep a low profile especially in this Trump era of anti-immigrant sentiment and therefore, do not attend meetings. Raul further shared that involvement could jeopardize their whole status being here in the US and that many undocumented immigrants are focused on work to pay their bills to provide for their families. Therefore, the large population of undocumented immigrants in Santa Ana affects the likelihood for them to join an organization according to Raul. When asked if he could relate, he mentioned yes, but he is not too scared since he is protected under Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). He considers himself different from other undocumented immigrants as he was able to finish high school in Santa Ana and learned how to better himself without being "out there" too much.

While this sense of fear to join organizations may be true for many undocumented immigrants as noted in the literature (Abrego, 2011), it is not true for all undocumented immigrants (of which do not make up the majority in Santa Ana). I had the opportunity to also interview several who were greatly involved in organizations in their neighborhoods, and many may consider their status or circumstances more of a reason to join an organization to share their grievances (Nicholls, 2013; Snow, 2013). He goes on to mention that he is not trying to better the community in the same way others may be doing so at a community meeting. He sees that he can make a difference differently and that he has had to learn to do so considering he cannot vote like many others can. Raul also thinks for one to get involved with the community, it has to be born out of that person. Raul does not see that spirit of involvement in him, he sees only his routine which consists of going to work, going home, and that is it.

Another couple from Mexico, Angela and Tomás, have lived in their neighborhood since 1986 and also admit to not being involved with their community. Both are in their late 60s and came to the US to work, have a better life, and to help their parents back in Mexico financially. Tomás works in landscaping and Angela works odd jobs such as childcare and selling jewelry. When they first arrived in Santa Ana, they had no place to call their own; they stayed with some cousins they had in the area. Later when they were able to purchase a home of their own in the late 1980s, they described their neighborhood as "horrible" and filled with delinquency. Nevertheless, they were able to raise three children safely who are now adults and have their own successful careers. They also have a daughter that still lives in their home with them with her children. Throughout the years they have noted that the neighborhood is safer now then it was in the past (1980s-90s) and they attribute that to the troubled youth growing up.

The couple's attachment to their neighborhood throughout the years has increased since crime in the area has calmed down substantially and as they acknowledge the strong roots they have in Santa Ana including their three children and grandchildren. Regardless of their attachment to their neighborhood, they are not a couple who is interested in joining any organization. They simply state that if they were interested, then they would have joined

already. They consider themselves to be "in their own world", working for themselves and their children so that they can be well. The couple does, however, share that they have a neighbor that is involved in many organizations and keeps them informed about things going on in the neighborhood and the City. That appears to be enough for them. This approach may speak to why residents do not join organizations. Residents like Angela and Tomas may assume they do not need to get involved given others like their neighbors are already working on solving neighborhood concerns (O'Brien, 1974).

Jennifer, a Mexican American woman in her early 30s was not involved in any organization either at the time of the interview. Jennifer was born and raised in Santa Ana and continues to live with her parents. She works a part time job in Newport and is also currently working on her associates degree. Jennifer expressed great interest in political matters especially with respect to the city's budget in addition to the city council and the projects they approve. She also had a lot of questions in regard to the outcome of projects and how they came to be. Because of her questions, I thought she was a part of an organization, however, she mentioned that she was not a part of any organization. When asked why not, she mentioned she did not know what group to join or where she could go for monthly meetings. Though she found information regarding city projects online, she was not able to find how to join an organization or learn which one would be the best fit for her to join. Therefore, she has not joined any organization, NA or CBO.

Regardless of their race and status, Raúl, Angela and Tomas, and Jennifer, do not raise race, grievances, or shared values like others in CBOs and NAs that motivate them to join an organization. Nor, do they raise a politicized perspective on why they hope to join or not join an organization. They simply are not interested or are not sure how to go about joining. Their lack of involvement in a particular organization could also be a reason for lacking a critical perspective of place and the changes they observe.

How individuals embedded in NAs acquire knowledge

Developer Led Planning Processes: The Sunshine Ordinance

A key place where individuals from both NAs and CBOs get informed about the changes occurring in their community are by way of Sunshine Ordinance meetings. The Sunshine ordinance was adopted by the City of Santa Ana in 2012. This ordinance requires early community consultation for proposed city-sponsored development projects, large residential and non-residential projects, and development projects requiring a zoning change. It requires developers hold a community meeting within 20 days of submitting a site review plan, and that a meeting notice be provided (in English and Spanish) to all property owners within 500 feet of a proposed development site. It also requires open meeting calendars, budget outreach, and campaign finance disclosure (City of Santa Ana, 2012). It originated from a group made up of residents representing NAs and CBOs, the Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development's (SACReD) and their call for reforms to the planning process to ensure greater transparency, accountability, and public participation in the development decisions in Santa Ana (Sarmiento & Sims, 2015). The group also advocated for an oversight commission to monitor developers and their delivery on benefits they had committed to and a mandatory

lobbyist registry. However, they were not accepted as part of the proposal (Elmahrek, 2012). It took SACReD six months to get the law passed as they faced opposition to the plan by public officials and worker's unions claiming this law would burden developers and hold back work from workers.

Sandra, the vice president of her NA in one of the wealthiest areas of Santa Ana claims:

Oh, well this is one of the good things that's happened to Santa Ana over the years. The Sunshine Ordinance went into play maybe 10 years ago or so. Before that, developments would go in, in a really clandestine matter. A developer would come in and do it, get City Council approval to do it, and nobody knew about it. You'd just blink and suddenly there's a new development. "Who authorized that?" Now everything has to go through a very open process where they advertise it to the resident and so on.

Sandra went to her first Sunshine Ordinance meeting about a future development proposed in her neighborhood nearly two years ago in 2017. The meeting was held in a large community room of a local museum. Sandra describes the room as having been packed with 400 to 500 residents both from the neighborhood and the city. Here she learned that the proposed development in her neighborhood was going to be eight stories tall, with one floor underground. Such a change came to be especially shocking to nearby residents in a single-family residential area.

William, another NA leader from a middle-class neighborhood in another part of the city, attended the same meeting and shares that the developers had posters on display for residents to go around and look at the plans, but the posters were difficult to see since there were too many people. William claims to have gone as an individual and not as a NA leader given NAs are apolitical and should not pick sides. This was also one of William's first Sunshine Ordinance meetings that he has attended. Not only is this where William learned more about the project, but it is where he also experienced a "not so good process" as he describes it. This experience informed him of the developer's character and lack of consideration for accommodating the hundreds of residents that attended. Subsequently, William has also attended countless hours of meetings (of which he reiterates as an individual and not a NA member) with other neighborhood residents (approximately 200 residents) of which include NA leaders, sometimes until 1:00am. At these meetings, William also learned a lot with respect to organizing, politics, and legal action outside of the Sunshine Ordinance meetings.

City Resources: Comm-Link, City Staff, & Trainings

Apart from the Sunshine Ordinance meeting, individuals embedded in NAs also attend Comm-link to learn about the latest developments in the city and about additional Sunshine Ordinance meetings. Comm-link is a city-sponsored meeting set aside to bring all of the NAs together in a monthly meeting. There are about 63 NAs, and about 45 that are active. Several individuals embedded in NAs have attended meetings to learn about development projects, the city's budget, and newly implemented policies. Many times, these Comm-link meetings will have a time for residents to eat dinner together provided by a 4th street vendor of food such as

Tamales Veganas. The members that attend are NA members, are usually older and are very glad to meet with others there, greeting each other with strong handshakes, laughs, and questions as to how they are doing and what projects they are working on. The meetings are generally hosted in English and at times at the Santa Ana Police Department in their designated community room. At Comm-link meetings, city officials share power point presentations on future projects or on how voting in the city will change, city council members go to share updates on their campaigns and their goals, police officers attend to be recognized and update the community on public safety, veterans are honored for their service, and residents can share announcements with others.

NAs also have city staff designated to them who help provide individuals with information about projects and processes that would facilitate their goals. They also help connect them to resources and people including politicians and developers to answer their questions. For example, William shares how city staff assisted his NA with finding solutions to their neighborhood issues. William's neighborhood, which he describes as 70% Latino, had parking issues or congested parking on a popular arterial road of his neighborhood. With that, was also an excess of trash found near the cars such as beer bottles. William quickly went to the city support staff for NAs to ask what they can do about these issues of excessive parking and trash in his neighborhood. The City staff put William in touch with two to three different departments of the City that could help do something about the issues raised.

After connecting with them, William and his NA were able to put "No Parking" signs along the street to rid the road of parked cars. In the process, they also learned that the City was being pressured to implement bike lanes, and therefore William and his NA "planted that seed with the person in that department" that they would be happy to have bike lanes in their neighborhood. When funding was granted to the city, the bike lanes were also implemented on the roadway which also helped slow down traffic. Thus, working with city staff to acquire information on how to resolve issues has facilitated physical changes in William's neighborhood. This assistance also reinforced William's faith in city government to get work done. William adds, "The neighborhood initiative has been great for the neighborhood, because it has given us the resources of who to go to and how to address the issue and gives us information that we need of what's going on in the community." William's experience demonstrates the NA's role in urban governance and the partnership that has been facilitated between the city and neighborhoods to foster communication on neighborhood matters (Fagotto, E., & Fung, 2006).

Furthermore, individuals embedded in NAs acquire knowledge by way of trainings hosted by the city and other CBOs. Involvement in a NA opens up opportunities for its residents to join in city led seminars and leadership development workshops to increase their knowledge of how to be a better leader and learn how the city functions. William shares that these events hosted by the city, that last from 4-8 hours each time, is "where neighborhood people go to learn how to do neighborhood work and how to break down barriers and how to not be judgmental." Adriana, an individual embedded extensively in her NA and in several other organizations since the 1970s shares that she also has participated in several leadership experiences put on by both the city and CBOs. The CBO she was an active member in use to host workshops for the residents. In the CBO, there were different groups focused on different neighborhood issues such as housing, development, homelessness, and education. What

brought them together were workshops on the planning process and how they could work together to make change happen. Adriana was a part of the housing group and learned about the different housing programs that the federal government had such as replacement housing. She also learned about historical policies that fostered segregation and kept Mexicans from owning their own property in Santa Ana. She adds that it was more difficult for them to acquire loans to buy and make improvements to their homes. This knowledge spurred her and others from the organization to start to ask for more housing programs to help the Hispanic population own their own homes. Other non-profits also joined efforts to ask for assistance from the federal government. Adriana considers these workshops as part of her "formal education" since she was not able to go to college.

Adriana was also a part of a group called "Connect to Council" that she started with another resident in Santa Ana. The group's purpose is to educate residents of the community on how they can solve their neighborhood issues. Many times, they meet to learn about the City Council of Santa Ana, what the members stand for, what future candidates are running for, how the city's budget is allocated, and how to vote. Adriana further shares that this work is important because people need to know how to vote considering council members are the ones who make decisions regarding zoning, improvements to neighborhoods, and the budget that ultimately impacts residents. Leadership training programs are also built into learning these aspects of the city. Not only do these programs help educate Adriana and other residents on matters important to them, but they helped Adriana feel better about her work. The notion of Adriana feeling better about her work resonates with literature that speaks to self-esteem that is built off a sense of belonging (Leary, M. R., et al, 1995). Adriana's self-esteem is built with the more she learns and contributes to others learning.

In addition, to train herself, Adriana likes to conduct her own research on matters she is interested in. For example, there was a particular housing program called the "Civic Center Barrio". The program was intended to provide financial assistance to those in the central part of Santa Ana. However, the program has not resolved issues of improving the quality of homes and apartments. When she sees that things are not working as they should, as she has noted in the "Civic Center Barrio" program, Adriana takes on her own research to find out what is going on to then inform others concerned. To acquire her information, she often goes to the City's planning department where she can get the information she is looking for. Adriana adds, "When they [City officials] give us that information, if we don't do anything with it, it's our fault, not theirs, because they made us aware of it."

Next-Door App

Individuals embedded in NAs also frequently mentioned using the app known as Next Door to acquire knowledge about what was happening in their community. Next-Door is an app created in 2011 and it is used for residents to communicate with their neighbors about neighborhood issues. Neighbors can have discussions on their phone on the app about issues going on in their neighborhood without meeting in person. It is a platform where one can engage in discussion with friends and known neighbors, or with neighbors that one may not typically interact with. Residents share information about upcoming events or even suspicious behavior in their neighborhoods. They may take a picture of an odd object found in their

community such as a bike dumped on someone's yard, post it, and ask fellow residents in their neighborhood if they know about it. To become a user of Next-Door, users must provide their address and prove it with credit card statements and phone numbers linked with the address (Lambright, 2019). This can prove difficult for renters who do not have a fixed address and for those without a credit card.

In terms of other topics discussed, individuals embedded in NAs also mention that some people can be "kind of rude and obnoxious". Margaret seems disturbed when describing what she sees on Next Door in reference to her neighbor's complaints about the unhoused. She shares that the unhoused are portrayed in a threatening manner and have caused residents to grow scared of them. Margaret further shares, "I can see the level of frustration and anger [on the app]. The more the unhoused are unapologetic and forceful about their lifestyle. The more the residents are angry in return and resentful of the unhoused population." Not only do people vent about the unhoused on Next Door, residents also conspire to call the police on the unhoused if they see that they have not moved from their neighborhood.

Vanessa mentions people use the app to vent about different things and sometimes get too political. Vanessa does not think it is a good idea to get political on the app, "It doesn't violate any certain rules, but when they are public shaming on a website, you know, come on. That's not what it's about." Vanessa prefers to use it as a platform for sharing why something is occurring such as, "Why are helicopters circling [the neighborhood]?" or "Why are there shopping carts in the neighborhoods?" However, many times people do not answer with helpful answers. Many residents, many whom she does not know, answer with, "Why don't you just wait for the news?". Vanessa feels frustrated from these comments because it complicates how to acquire information about issues. This comes as she already feels frustrated that she is not able to acquire information from city officials or the police about issues in her neighborhood given the staff turnover.

Though Next-Door may prove helpful for some issues like finding a lost dog, other times users use Next-Door as a venue for racial profiling (Lambright, 2019). With the use of Next-Door, homeowners may be more prone to report issues based on one's appearance (i.e. race) and not on the actual crime that may be occurring. Next-Door has introduced measures to curtail "unconscious bias", however, it is limited. Additionally, in the context of racial tensions that exist among different racial groups, an app like Next-Door may serve to perpetuate racial tensions and the stigmatization of communities of color. Lambright (2019) shares that Next-Door limits user networks to small geographic areas where access is only granted to those with a viable address located in the area, restricting access to services and jobs to only the designated geographic area. In this way, Lambright argues Next-Door acts to facilitate community exclusion and racial profiling. Lambright states, "Racial profiling comes, in part, from the idea that particular types of people live in particular neighborhoods with people like themselves. It's based on the idea that a community is a private haven of safety in a world otherwise filled with untrustworthy strangers. By digitizing this concept of community exclusion, Next-Door necessarily energizes fear of the 'other'." It is this tool that has been increasingly been used to bring attention to issues in neighborhoods across the US.

Prior Experience Working with the Government

Apart from learning about issues in her neighborhood through the app, Vanessa has also learned about neighborhood development and how the city functions from having worked for the Neighborhood Initiatives Program with the City of Santa Ana. She worked very closely with two city officials responsible for assisting NAs with their meetings and goals. With the City, she learned about who to talk to about particular issues, what funding was available, and how to get neighborhood issues resolved. She was even acquainted with police officers from the Santa Ana Police Department and sought them for assistance on projects or on resolving issues at times. Not only did she learn who to go to for assistance on projects, but she also learned about issues with the city as she described as too slow, backwards, and stuck in the past. She was let go from her position eventually during the housing crisis around 2009, however, she continued participating with her NA. She grew resentful remembering city officials did not stand up for her to keep her job despite all that she had invested into the position.

Jerry, on the other hand, worked for the County of Santa Ana for over 20 years and understands greatly the importance of the general plan in influencing and halting development. Jerry is in his 60s, married, and sits on the architecture review committee for his neighborhood of which is recognized as a middle to upper class neighborhood in close proximity to downtown. He admits to having learned greatly from the county as he worked as a trails way planner. He worked extensively on the recreation element for trails and byways of the County's general plan. In the process, he learned to defend his contribution to senior staff, developers, and elected officials. Jerry recognizes that the general plan, the document guiding future development in the city, is the voice of the community and cannot be ignored and must be executed. While many residents may not know what a general plan is, Jerry had to constantly fight for it as a trails way planner with the county and this attitude has stuck with him ever since. He has continued to expect the same from city officials of Santa Ana in having a general plan inspired by community input that is then executed. Jerry further shares, "I think just kind of fighting for that really kind of cued me in. I have to live with myself, you know, and I'm not perfect, but at the end of the day, if I can't get the benefit of the public, then I'm going to measure myself against that."

Individuals embedded in NAs learn from other Individuals embedded in CBOs

Jerry also admits to having learned from local CBOs who focused on issues close to his neighborhood. Years ago, Jerry was also involved with the development of the Sunshine Ordinance that was pushed forward by local community efforts. To push the ordinance forward, Jerry worked closely with a local CBO. While working with them, he learned more about issues that were important to the local CBOs involved. His NA usually takes a historical and architectural perspective on issues, however, in joining forces with local CBOs, Jerry was able to learn about issues of displacement and gentrification, issues important to local CBOs working in close proximity to his neighborhood and with residents enduring the threat of displacement.

Though Jerry no longer attends local CBO meetings, he is happy to jump back in if he sees that the CBO needs support with their objectives. He had backed off as he saw the local

CBO had everything under control including organizing efforts, holding officials accountable, and the use of legal measures to ensure residents are protected. Clinton and Sandra, NA leaders and homeowners in the west side of the city also have attended a local CBO meeting led by predominately young Mexican American organizers to learn about their organizing efforts given their similar goals of halting a development in their respective communities. As mentioned previously, Veronica, a NA leader, has also attended local CBO meetings where she learned greatly about her Mexican identity and also on matters of gentrification and displacement. She considered this just a phase, but a learning experience nonetheless. While individuals from both groups may share meeting spaces, their motivations or objectives, however, may be very different from one another's. This can be made apparent as even public officials question their relationships given their diverging motives (Gonzalez, E, Sarmiento, C.S., Urzua, A.S., Luévano, 2012)

How individuals embedded in CBOs acquire knowledge

The Sunshine Ordinance

Several individuals embedded in CBOs, like individuals embedded in NAs, also acquire substantial information about a given project through Sunshine Ordinance meetings. Though Sunshine Ordinance meetings can be informative, there are, however, some downsides to the Sunshine Ordinance meetings. Organizers mentioned that written notification of the meeting will often only go to homeowners, and their home address may be in another city. Therefore, the renters of those homes and renters in apartment complexes nearby are not notified of the Sunshine Ordinance meeting that will take place. In this way, many renters who are predominately low-income Latinx immigrants may be unaware of the planning process and the projects that are planned adjacent to their community. Thus, the perspective of homeowners may be the only feedback acquired by planners for a large development project, causing the project to focus on their needs only, rather than on that of renters. This may raise procedural justice questions as renters are disproportionately neglected from planning processes for projects entering their community (Emami, 2015).

The organizers from local CBOs interviewed, however, find out about these meetings themselves by constantly checking in with the city's website to check on upcoming meetings as called for by the Sunshine Ordinance. Once acquiring the date and time of the meeting they are interested in, they circulate the meeting information among their networks on social media via Facebook and Instagram to invite residents who otherwise may have not known about it, to get informed and involved. In addition, organizers also frequently check city council agendas posted online because often times they feel that they are not readily informed about what will be discussed and when the issue they are interested in will be discussed for residents to learn about the issues at hand. If they do not see the topic they are looking for on the internet, they often email or call the city to inquire when a particular meeting about a specific topic will be so that they can then notify others on social media to attend and spread the word.

Karla, for example, in Fall of 2019 acquired knowledge regarding plans to remove a grocery store to make way for a high-density apartment complex in the downtown area that would be adjacent to a future potential stop of the OC Streetcar now under construction. The

local organizers knew nothing of this proposal until Karla found out about the Sunshine Ordinance meeting by reviewing the city's calendar on their website. Additional organizers such as the older Mexican immigrants interviewed that lived in the area were not informed of the meeting and only learned about it from Karla on what was being proposed. Karla and other organizers passed this news on to other residents in close proximity to the proposed project and to those who did not receive notification to get the most people there as possible. At the meeting, organizers and residents alike learned about the proposed project for the first time. Such a project was very important for local renters to attend given the grocery store they frequented was being proposed to be removed posing environmental justice concerns (Anguelovski, 2015). Had Karla not investigated the city calendar on her own, she would not have been able to share details with other residents who would be impacted by the proposed project to attend the meeting, learn more about the project, and share their opinion as local residents.

Magali, a Chicana and mother of two, shares that she went to the first Sunshine Ordinance meeting in her community to learn about the project that was being proposed in close proximity to her grandmother's home and in the community, she was born and raised in. She grew disappointed at the meeting as she learned about the plans the City in collaboration with the neighboring city had to develop the land next to a future transit stop with potentially luxury apartments and a stadium. Poster boards were available for residents to look at to learn about the design ideas and residents were divided into groups and invited to plan out what they themselves would like to see on that land. Magali did not approve of the timing of the meetings and the location as many working-class residents from her neighborhood would not be able to attend the meetings to learn about the proposed projects. Nevertheless, Magali did attend the meeting with her daughter to learn more about proposed ideas and to contribute her own ideas and thoughts. In subsequent meetings, Magali acquired knowledge that the consulting firm hired did not reiterate what community residents wanted (i.e. park space, affordable housing, and community resources), but rather what the consulting firm and cities prioritized (i.e. lucrative uses). She learned this by seeing that the community's original ideas were not carried on in future meetings.

Involvement with other local CBOs

Many individuals embedded in CBOs also mention they find their information by staying involved in other local CBOs. Karla's job as an organizer, for example, facilitates her involvement in a variety of groups with similar aims and in meetings that offer her the opportunity to learn about what is going on with regards to housing and anti-displacement efforts in Santa Ana. If she did not have this job as an organizer with a local CBO focused on housing issues, she thinks she maybe would never had found out about changes or things occurring in her city. She adds that if she had not been working as an organizer in her CBO she may have never had the time to learn about all the things she has learned to help resident's understanding of change in their community. Patricia also adds that it is because of her work that she is well informed about state policy and affordable housing mandates. Her job as an organizer exposes her to such mandates and requires her to stay informed to be able to inform other residents that she comes in contact with.

Regardless of working for an organization, many individuals from different CBOs in Santa Ana work together and touch base on their projects, keeping each other informed about the campaigns they are working on. Many volunteers also make up these organizations like Isabel, a twenty-four-year-old Mexican American who has acquired knowledge by witnessing how campaigns are carried out, having been in coalition meetings made up of other organization leaders and volunteers. In her experience working as a volunteer with a CBO, she has also acquired knowledge about the not so good side of non-profits where she also witnessed disorganization, a lack of communication, and a lack of accountability. This experience informed her to be careful with who to confide in and to bring these issues to light in order to have accountability and to improve organization and communication when carrying out campaigns.

José is a Mexican immigrant from Guerrero, the southern portion of Mexico. He is currently involved with a coalition made up of residents and organizations that focus on the preservation of public lands and on ensuring future development meets the needs of the local and long-time residents of Santa Ana. When he arrived in Santa Ana 23 years ago, José did not know Spanish as his principle language was an indigenous language. When he was making decisions on what to do with his life after a divorce, he sought council from God to guide him. José shares that he sensed God tell him to stay in Santa Ana and help the city. He was unsure of what to do seeing as he did not know where to start and he felt insecure about his language and limited abilities to serve in city matters. However, he was invited to a community meeting which helped him grow in knowledge on how to help his community. The meeting was in regard to the planning of the Sunshine Ordinance. He did not speak English and he was really shy at first, but after more meetings with various CBOs, he grew in confidence and understanding of development in the City. Since then he has been involved going to several meetings to learn about different initiatives with different CBOs. Given, José's involvement in several CBOs, all of which are interconnected, he claims to have grown as a person, especially in regard to his confidence of talking about planning issues. He too has also grown more selective of where he dedicates his time and involvement given the many CBOs and meetings that are available for residents to go and learn from.

Susana, a Mexican Immigrant in her 30s, also acquires information by way of the CBO she is involved in. Individuals from the CBO let her know when the Sunshine ordinance meetings will be so that she can attend and spread the word to others she knows. She adds, "If I were alone, I would not find out about the changes that exist or that are going to happen." Susana is a part of a group that meets weekly and undergoes constant communication about new projects to take on or be on the lookout for. Susana adds that she came from a community in Mexico that thinks that your vote does not count. Others often asked her, "why are you going to vote if they [city officials] are going to carry away with fraud anyway?" Susana further mentions that this invokes the notion that nothing she says matters and that politicians will do what they want to do, fostering a sense of defeat in her. But then she acquires information to see the other side of things where her vote counts. It is her involvement in a local CBO with other like-minded individuals where she is motivated to keep learning about the proposed projects and challenges related to them. This worry about whether her vote will be counted or not was not present in interviews with individuals embedded in NAs. This distinction may speak

to class differences and issues of trust with the government as NA leaders, those who typically own homes are more likely to vote (Highton, 2000).

Susana further shares that when she lived in Mexico she never got involved with anything in relation to civic participation. She said she never did because she never recognized her community in Mexico as home. Her parents also did not get involved and it was not looked well upon. However, her perspective on getting involved changed about 5 years ago when she moved into her current neighborhood in Santa Ana. It changed when she was able to acquire an affordable housing unit of which she also found out about on the radio. This was her first time ever finding out that affordable housing existed in this country. The DJ from the radio station shared news that there was new construction of affordable housing being built and that people could apply. The radio DJ also emphasized that there is a lot of help in this country and Latinxs do not take advantage of it or do not know what kind of help exists. When she acquired affordable housing, she was led to live in a neighborhood where there was an active neighborhood group working for the implementation of additional affordable housing.

It was curiosity that led her to want to learn more about the processes for providing affordable housing and the establishment of rent control. A neighbor started talking to her about neighborhood meetings, a new concept for her. She was later invited by the neighbor to a community forum at the local elementary school where the children of many mothers involved with the neighborhood group attended. In deciding whether to go or not, Susana said, "Well, let me learn" and attended the meeting. She further explained that in her household, she was never informed or discussed such matters. Susana assumed that one could only learn through school, but she found herself acquiring knowledge at the school meeting and additional neighborhood group meetings as well. She later became connected with other local CBOs working on similar goals, by working as an intern at a local CBO focused on promoting health and wellbeing among low-income and Latinx residents in the area.

At first, Susana could not understand what was being talked about at meetings about neighborhood issues and projects. This was not due to language, granted all spoke Spanish with each other at the meetings, rather it was the terminology used that was difficult to understand; terms related to development and politics and the planning process were used. She now knows about these terms due to her continuous involvement, but this experience makes her think that there may be many other residents who do not understand the concepts or terminology commonly used when they go to a planning meeting about the newly implemented streetcar, for example. Many will not understand what is being said if it is their first time. In addition, while many times planners and developers speak well of proposed projects and glamorize them, Susana seeks out information on how this project will impact the surrounding residents. She tells her friends, "I always like to hear two versions, both sides of the coin." She goes on to say she wants residents to acquire information regarding the pros and cons of proposed projects, not just the good. Susana considers it to be the best approach for residents to think about the project and develop questions that they otherwise may have not thought of.

Working with the City

Jorge, a 33-year-old Mexican American (2nd generation) works for a local non-profit focused on building leadership in kids in a neighborhood considered a gang injunction, or an

area where a group of individuals have been labeled as gang members with a civil court order, obtained by law enforcement and a city or district attorney. Jorge also acquires knowledge by working with the city. He is one of the few individuals embedded in CBOs that works in partnership with city officials. Jorge is also responsible for family and youth programming at the CBO he works for. Jorge hosts leadership meetings and workshops for the parents in the surrounding neighborhood. In this way Jorge is often learning about the challenges the residents are facing. The city is often included in these efforts as they inform residents about upcoming projects and parents also share their concerns with city staff. In addition, many of the youth Jorge works with, elementary, middle, and high school students, are very involved with planning changes to their built environment especially in regard to creating safe spaces to walk, bike, and skateboard.

Given their involvement, they are engaged with the planning process and attend city council hearings and meetings with city council members and planners to further their goals. In this way Jorge and the youth have acquired knowledge of what is required to make changes to the built environment such as the rezoning of a parcel to park space which the organized youth have attributed to. The youth who Jorge works closely with touch base with planners on a monthly basis to check in on the progress of projects they are concerned with. The youth's projects have also often times taken Jorge to city council meetings to learn about projects. Other organizers, however, have not had the same connection with city staff or council members to address their concerns. Though Patricia and Samantha (individuals from CBOs) along with other residents have pleaded for a meeting via email, phone calls, and public comments with council members to discuss the status of a project and to put forth their desires for a project, rarely is a meeting granted for them to acquire more information.

High School and University Education

Several young organizers also acquired knowledge about injustices through their prior education in high school or in college. Jorge straddles positions in both a CBO and a NA. However, his involvement with the NA is not as extensive considering the NA does not meet often and his involvement is based on him inviting surrounding residents to a NA meeting should there be one or to a city function given his vast connection with families in his neighborhood and who attend the center he works at. Jorge says he first became informed about the injustices in his neighborhood by experience, seeing men run away from police on his streets, but also in high school where one of his counselors, who was involved with MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan or the Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan), introduced him to the Chicano movement. He was inspired by the movement and when he went to college in the bay area, he decided to join the movement there and participated in labor and student organizing with the group. In this experience, Jorge learned greatly about injustices among communities of color, especially among farm workers that inspired him to work for social justice in his own city.

Many young organizers like Javier and Patricia also acquired knowledge on issues of race and inequality while they were students at their respective universities. Javier studied political science and Patricia studied international studies. Apart from acquiring knowledge in their field, they also acquired knowledge by way of experience at their universities. For example, for the

first time Javier and Patricia experienced exclusion and prejudice behavior towards them as they were many times the only Latinos in their programs. They never sensed this back in Santa Ana considering they always considered themselves as a part of a safe bubble filled with other Latinxs. They became racially conscious among predominately white students (Anderson, 2012). Javier, in addition learned about organizing protests at his university as he joined a group of Latinxs fighting against racism on his campus and demanding more resources to support them. While in the bay area, Javier, due to his interests in police oversight, also attended city council meetings to stay informed about what the city was doing to hold police officers accountable for their actions. In this way, Javier learned about what to expect in Santa Ana City Council meetings and what police oversight could look like in his own city. Isabel also shares that while in school for her bachelor's degree in Long Beach, she was introduced to topics of gentrification and displacement in her Intro to Chicanx Studies class. She did not know how to call the change she was witnessing and experiencing in her community until her professor introduced her to the concepts and motivated her to learn more about what was happening in her city through the gentrification lens. Since then, she has sought to pursue a master's in Urban and Regional Planning and read more about neighborhood change to understand what is occurring in her city.

Conducting their own research

In addition to using social media platforms such as Facebook or Instagram and the City website to acquire information, organizers from local CBOs conduct their own research that dives deeper into city records. Javier shares that he conducts research on police brutality in Santa Ana. Patricia, Isabel, and Karla all have also conducted research, but on issues of affordable housing and development in particular areas of the city. Many times, organizers conduct their research by making a Public Records Act (PRA) request as the information they desire is not readily available on the City's website. Under the PRA, residents have the right to request information from their government to monitor the functioning of their government (The League of California Cities, 2017). Thus, organizers have requested email exchanges between developers and city council members and the city manager in order to learn about the status of a parcel or site up for bid and the nature of their conversations. Javier has also requested the budget for the Santa Ana police department to investigate where the police are prioritizing their funds. Email exchanges and the budget is requested and reviewed to acquire information and to also provide oversight over the government and agencies such as the city and the Santa Ana Police Department and what they are focusing their efforts on. Once organizers submit a PRA, the city is required to answer the request in 10 days.

City Council Members

Younger organizers, to acquire knowledge on members of the city council also research where council members are from, their goals, and who they acquire their campaign funds from. In addition, they conduct a power analysis, researching who may have more influence over a decision the organizers are interested in. In this way organizers can acquire knowledge over who they should speak to about their mission and objectives in hopes of having a council

member support their cause. Working with council members, however, has proven difficult particularly for Mexican and Central American immigrants interviewed. When asking for a meeting with a councilmember, José learned that it was not sufficient to have only 20 people meet, but 100 people was preferred by the council member. If José could not organize 100 people to attend the meeting, the council member would not agree to schedule the meeting. This can prove difficult for a working-class neighborhood where residents are not able to attend the meeting or who may be intimidated or distrustful of local government.

This comes as organizers like Susana, a Mexican immigrant and mother of three, has also learned through experience that council members do not always have the resident's interests in mind. Susana felt shocked during a meeting with a council member this past year, 2019. While she and the other women were there to talk about housing and rent issues in their neighborhood, the council member shifted the topic to immigration and emphasized that no one should be in this country illegally. Another councilmember sent her and others in her CBO to "go study" if they wanted the community to be better. Susana and other members of the CBO felt as though they were called ignorant since they were asked by the council member to be more prepared the next time they met. Such comments are difficult to grasp as Susana and other members in the CBO are focused on distinct problems and on seeking solutions and benefits for the community as a whole.

How residents unaffiliated with an organization acquire knowledge

When I asked Raúl where he acquires his information from regarding projects or politics in his community, he mentioned that he turns to Facebook for news articles on what is going on in Santa Ana or he refers to his own opinions that he has generated given his experiences and observations. He does express, "It's mostly all opinion on what I see, which is not good because that's my opinion. It's not facts." Raul further shares that he is not that interested in politics, but occasionally will see an article on Facebook that catches his attention because the changes proposed may affect him. Most recently he read about a scandal involving one of the council members claiming they were from a given neighborhood, but in actuality were not, thus leading them to resign. While Raul is cognizant of changes that have occurred in his city as he drives through his community, he is left with questions regarding the outcome of some projects such as what has happened to the families that lived in the homes displaced from a street widening project. Raul is left with many questions wondering what happened to those families and if they were helped financially somehow to move or whether they were left to fend for themselves.

Another interviewee unaffiliated with a NA or CBO, Jennifer, says that when she started voting, she got interested in reading about city council meetings to learn what decisions were being made. However, she has still not gone to meetings considering she does not think that her involvement would change anything. Jennifer instead acquires knowledge about the city by checking on the City's website to learn about the budget or what the city is spending money on. Jennifer was quick to share about the recent tax increase that was voted into place in November of 2019. She grew disgruntled sharing the specifics of it and how it would be allocated. Nevertheless, she is not involved with any group to learn more nor does she attend city council meetings. She solely relies on the city website and her neighbors for information.

Jennifer lives with her parents in a home located in the corner of her neighborhood and adjacent to an apartment complex. Jennifer claims that everyone knows each other, and the neighbors are so close that they offer a sense of security, sharing information about neighborhood incidents such as hit and runs. In this way, knowledge is acquired by conversing with neighbors.

Regardless of the lack of involvement she has in any organization focusing on displacement issues, Jennifer is aware of displacement occurring in her neighborhood, specifically occurring adjacent to her home. Right before the interview, her mother had informed Jennifer about the displacement of a family friend along with other families from the apartment complex they live by. Jennifer is not sure if the apartments are under new management or if someone new purchased the apartments to bring in new people. Jennifer later found out that some residents were acquiring legal counsel to inquire whether they can take any kind of action to defend themselves. They learned that nothing could be done since they did not have a contract, and thus have to leave and find somewhere else to live. When asked about protections, Jennifer states that there is probably not much that the city can do to protect residents. They probably can only refer residents to a website for guidance. In addition, considering Jennifer would like to move out of her parent's home to live by herself, she is learning that rent is not cheap in Santa Ana, even for apartments in the worst of conditions. Jennifer acquires $60,000 a year, is a part time student studying for her associates degree and confirms that the median rent is too costly for her and many other families.

In addition, similar to Raúl, Jennifer also brings up concern regarding the homes that have been taken as part of a street widening project on Bristol Street, a major arterial road running North and South through Santa Ana. She is also left wondering, what happened to those families whose homes were taken away to make room for the street widening? When asked whether she had ever been a part of the planning meetings for the project or similar planning meetings for that matter, she mentioned she has never gone because she has never been informed about such meetings by anyone. However, she has some vague memory of community efforts to protect some spaces in the community after reading articles about nearby proposed developments. She says she learns about proposed projects and some community efforts, but does not stay updated on how projects turn out or how to get involved to learn more.

Furthermore, Elena, a renter and Peruvian American who has lived in Santa Ana for four years, states that she moved to Santa Ana to be closer to her church and to join the Santa Ana community. Her church was once located in Downtown Santa Ana in what is known as the Yost theatre. Considering she went to downtown on a weekly basis for church, she was able to see some changes occur there even in the short time she had been a resident of Santa Ana. For a year and a half, she had lived in a predominately Mexican and low-income community of Santa Ana when she first moved there. She very much enjoyed this considering she grew up in a predominately white suburb just outside of San Francisco. When Elena first moved to Santa Ana, Elena was very involved with her church, where she ultimately met her husband. After a year of living in Santa Ana she also enlisted into a master's degree program in Education which took up a substantial amount of her time as she also worked fulltime.

Most recently to grow aware of a particular issue in her community, Elena joined a neighborhood meeting where a city council member, police officers, and many residents

(predominately older white homeowners) attended. She is not a part of any CBO that would motivate her to attend, but she found a flyer at her door and decided to attend to learn more and to make a complaint on an issue concerning the need for a crosswalk at the intersection closest to her apartment. Her husband often has to park across the street (10 lanes of traffic) from the apartment complex due to parking congestion at their apartment. She describes crossing the road as a scary experience and therefore thought it would be best to attend the meeting and learn about what is being done to improve circumstances. Elena describes the meeting as "eye-opening" considering she learned about the grievances homeowners had and even racist complaints they made regarding people to the public officials. Race is an important topic for Elena as her husband is African American and she has previously worked in educational programs for Hispanic immigrants.

Major Findings and Summary

Motivations for Joining an NA or CBO

Several individuals who joined a NA were invited to be a part of the NA. Some joined from the onset of moving into their neighborhoods and others started attending their NA after retiring when they had more time on their hands. As individuals spent more time in the NA, they advanced into positions of leadership whether as the NA President or as part of a review committee. Many were motivated to join because of the sincere motivation and welcoming spirit of NA leaders that invited them to NA meetings. Others were drawn to their NA because they were interested in helping make their neighborhood a better place. Residents were also motivated to develop their own NA in order to get to know their neighbors and to foster a sense of security with neighbors. The NA became a platform for residents to join and host yearly events for neighbors to get to know each other. This inherently then created an informal system of security that residents use to report suspicious activity. Therefore, what motivates NA residents of a particular neighborhood to join and remain is the sense of community and security system that is fostered.

Unique to individuals embedded in CBOs is the idea of race consciousness that was awoken after they left to majority white spaces (Anderson, 2012) and inspired them to join organizations with like-minded individuals. In these spaces, Latinx organizers became more conscious to issues of race, strengthening their identities as Latinxs and growing their attachment for their city of Santa Ana. Experiences of race consciousness led them to engulf themselves in organizing efforts for the protection of Latinxs and their culture, ultimately drawing them back home to serve in organizing efforts on issues that impact communities of color such as housing and police brutality. This notion of race consciousness is not found common across individuals embedded in NAs. Whereas NAs are more focused on the protection of property value (Davis, 2006), individuals embedded in CBOs were more focused on the preservation of culture and protection of low-income communities and communities of color.

In addition, several individuals embedded in CBOs also felt compelled to get involved with their CBO after having experienced displacement themselves. Whereas others may have

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joined an organization because they have seen results, several individuals embedded in CBOs were involved because they no longer wanted to see displacement occur in families. Others sensed a perceived threat looming over them with the future development of luxury apartment housing planned in close proximity to their homes and the adjacent future potential stop of the OC Streetcar. Individuals embedded in both NAs and CBOs, both sensed the tremendous threat development would have on them and their sense of place, even if they are older in age. Studies have shown how much more difficult it is for the elderly to endure displacement. Processes of gentrification can have severe emotional, social, physical, and mental impacts on the elderly due to the impacts of neighborhood change (Petrovic, 2007).

While all individuals embedded in NAs were volunteers, there were several individuals embedded in CBOs that worked with the CBO as a paid employee. Individuals embedded in CBOs shared that they sought employment opportunities that would allow them to work full time on issues related to housing insecurity and police brutality. Dedicating their time to neighborhood issues comes as a challenge for volunteers from NAs and CBOs, however, who work fulltime in other settings as a nurse or teacher, for example. Other individuals made time to embed themselves in both NAs and CBOs to fight for changes in their community. Their involvement in both types of organizations fostered them with connections to different residents and officials and granted additional learning opportunities through training seminars and exposure to a variety of resident issues. There is the case of one individual who was embedded in both, but eventually left a particular CBO when she was faced with the pressure to choose a group. She chose to be a part of a group that was focused on changes in her given neighborhood, rather than an organization that was fighting against the changes in her neighborhood.

Those unaffiliated with any organization demonstrated that they lacked motivation and interest to join any group. Jennifer shared that she may be interested in joining an organization, but admits she knows little on how to get involved. Others interviewed, however, mention that they are not interested at all and that the spirit of getting involved, needs to come from that person. Raúl raised the issue of immigration status that could also be hindering residents involvement in organizations. However, shares that it is not a barrier for him and states that he makes a difference in his community in his own way. Others, like Angela and Tomas share that a close neighbor keeps them up to date on issues occurring in the neighborhood, therefore, they do not see a need to get more involved. Considering others are involved in groups advocating for changes and keeping them informed, they do not feel it is necessary to join an organization (O'Brien, 1974).

Acquiring Knowledge

Individuals embedded in CBOs and individuals embedded in NAs all agree that the Sunshine Ordinance meetings, that are now required by law have been especially helpful for residents to acquire knowledge. Not only do they acquire knowledge about the proposed project and what it will consist of, but they also acquire knowledge as to who is involved and who the project will impact. By participating in the Sunshine Ordinance meetings, individuals also acquire knowledge of how the process is run and begin to think about what they do not like about the process such as how notifications were sent, who notifications were sent to,

where the meeting was hosted, what time the meeting was hosted, and how the meeting facilitators responded to questions and concerns. In this way, individuals learn about the project, but also how understanding and sensitive the facilitators including the developer and city staff are to the concerns residents have regarding the project, the planning process, and the outcome of the project. This comes to be an important platform for shaping the sustainability discourse and how residents perceive proposed changes as they discuss with developers and residents in attendance at the meetings about the proposed projects. Their experiences in the development process may also influence their perspective of the outcome of projects, leading them to accept, withdraw, or oppose planned projects (Gross, 2007a).

Individuals embedded in CBOs and individuals embedded in NAs have diverging relationships with the City, therefore acquired information may be very different for individuals of each group. Individuals embedded in NAs have a direct connection with the City considering NAs are a function of the city (Li et al., 2019). Individuals embedded in NAs also have easy access to two city support staff who are assigned to work with NAs and the issues they are facing. In this way, individuals are linked to City staff that can help them address the issues at hand in their neighborhood and they can even be connected with council members who would attend one of their meetings or Comm-Link the monthly meeting for NAs to answer any questions residents have. On the other hand, individuals in CBOs do not have the direct connection with the City and sometimes may be at odds with the City. Acquiring meetings with council members have come to be a bit more difficult for them as they face barriers such as having to have 100 people available to have a council member visit their group for questions related to a project or policy. In addition, individuals in CBOs may not feel entirely comfortable with talking to council members as there have been cases where the immigrant population has felt disrespected by councilmembers previously. This confirms previous studies that list distrust of the government among the immigrant population (Gonzales & Chavez, 2012).

Thus, individuals embedded in CBOs rely greatly on what they learn from other CBOs they are connected with to acquire knowledge or information regarding issues they are interested in. Many CBOs are connected due to their focus on housing issues, and similar anti-displacement and anti-gentrification stances, therefore, individuals from CBOs connect to describe their campaigns, to learn from each other about current events, and political challenges they may be facing to support each other. A few individuals embedded in NAs are also tied to local CBOs efforts as they are drawn to learn more about local efforts to preserve housing for low-income residents and fighting unjust development. Individuals embedded in both NAs and CBOs also hold trainings and leadership meetings where individuals learn more about planning concepts, injustices, or city processes to equip residents with the knowledge they need to create change. Individuals embedded in NAs, however, may have more leadership trainings facilitated by city officials. As seen in previous studies, communities of color and low-income communities may be less inclined or drawn to engage in the city's training sessions given distrust with the city.

Individuals from both groups, but mostly from CBOs, share that they carry out their own research if they are not able to acquire the information they need regarding a particular issue in their neighborhood. Individuals embedded in NAs have direct access to city staff to direct their questions to and to acquire additional information. Individuals embedded in CBOs may also have access to city staff as well in regard to questions, however, the research they typically are

interested in includes acquiring data from email conversations between public officials and developers, that which city staff may not feel comfortable sharing or be able to disclose of. For this reason, many individuals embedded in CBOs utilize the Public Records Act (PRA) as a way to acquire knowledge about projects and public officials as a way to not only learn about the nature of conversations, how the budget is allocated, but also to create oversight over the government and their actions or lack thereof. Through these efforts, individuals embedded in CBOs dig deeper to find information and inconsistencies in urban governance matters related to issues and projects they are concerned with. Not only do they influence planning processes by advocating for more transparent planning processes (Santa Ana Collaborative for Responsible Development, 2012), but they also conduct their own investigation of issues.

Distinct to individuals embedded in NAs, is there use of the Next-door app to acquire more information on what is occurring in their neighborhood. The app is used for residents in a given neighborhood to share their concerns with a project or issue in the community. Many times, these issues are politicized by individuals such as the state of houselessness in the City. The app can be used to share useful information, but other times it is used to spread hate against particular populations like the houseless or does not solicit enough help to resolve issues. Previous literature has also highlighted the app's role in perpetuating racial profiling and community exclusion (Lambright, 2019).

Individuals lacking involvement in either organization were more common to not have a college degree and shared that they acquired their information by reading articles posted on Facebook or by checking out the city's web page for information on policies or updates in the city. Raul, in his late 20's, mentioned he refers to Facebook to read articles regarding issues that may impact him to stay attuned to what is going on in the City. Other than Facebook, he relies on his own experiences and opinions as the basis for his knowledge. Raul also states that this is not the best choice given his knowledge is not based on facts. For the moment though, he does not feel obliged or interested to engage in any group to learn more. Jennifer, on the other hand, mentioned that she was interested in learning more, but that she was not sure how to join or what group to join. Nevertheless, Jennifer was also swayed away from joining an organization to learn more because she did not think her opinion or voice would matter in the decision-making process. Angela and Tomas, another couple unaffiliated with an organization, shares that they are simply not interested in learning more about issues occurring in the neighborhood.

In sum, individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs provide varying reasons for joining an organization and varying methods for acquiring more information. Their involvement into diverging organizations in Santa Ana, demonstrate different reasons for joining an organization and different path ways for acquiring information. Their involvement in either organization has also channeled residents to different fountains of information. Individuals embedded in NAs are more connected to city, fostering more political opportunities and resources with the city. Individuals embedded in CBOs foster more connections with residents and develop methods for acquiring information without the city with resources such as the PRA. Involvement in either organization also demonstrate the varying approaches residents take to learn more about proposed changes in their community and highlight how they investigate further the negative implications of neighborhood change.

Chapter 6

Perceived Changes

Whereas chapter 4 highlights the historical context and how people relate to place and chapter 5 focuses on how individuals get involved, this chapter focuses on the perceived changes that individuals embedded in NAs and individuals embedded in CBOs perceive as part of the first stage of the stages of psychological response to place change framework. The perceived changes of individuals unaffiliated with any organization are also shared in this chapter. This chapter breaks down what changes, be it physical, social, or economical changes, different individuals have observed in their city in the last 10-15 years. The findings from this chapter are drawn from interview data, the review of archival documents (i.e. news reports), and field notes from participant observations. What is found is that several individuals from both groups and with no group affiliation, observe changes that go beyond sustainable urban development in their community. Observations consists of demographic changes, business turnover, increased cost of living, overcrowding, as well as political and organizational changes.

Changes to Downtown/*La Cuatro*

All individuals embedded interviewed notice the drastic changes that have occurred in downtown in the last 10-15 years. Veronica, a NA leader, who has lived in downtown Santa Ana since she first moved there in the 1990s, remembers *La Cuatro* as "dead". There was nothing to do there in the past and she remembers maybe two small restaurants and a little coffee shop that use to be where a new popular restaurant now is. Veronica goes on to share that you can still see the original coffee shop sign engraved on the wall of the new restaurant. She states that the downtown area, her neighborhood, has changed dramatically in the last 10-15 years. Veronica states:

> *All of downtown has changed. I mean, this place [coffee shop] that we're sitting in is fairly new. The Chapter One [name of bar and restaurant], even though they've been here for a while, but the majority of the restaurants are all fairly new. And within the last five, six years, maybe longer, time just kind of went fast, but I said, when I moved here in 99, there were only a handful of places to go to and then little by little, the Gypsy Den [name of restaurant] opened up, then the galleries, the Grand Central [art center] opened up, which is great because now they have students above and then more galleries started opening, the lofts got built. This parking structure that's right here right across from Chapter One, it's gonna be torn down. That's going to become an apartment complex and a hotel. There's another building on 4th that's called the American Title Company, the Toll Brothers are the developers. That's all going to be torn down and become apartments. You know? Retail on the bottom and apartments on the top.*

In terms of development, Veronica does not believe that there is a lot of development occurring right now in her neighborhood (downtown), but she sees a lot of new businesses and

the retrofitting of existing buildings. Veronica does perceive that eventually a great wave of development will occur as she began to share with me the parking structures that will be tore down in her downtown neighborhood to accommodate more mixed-use buildings, placing businesses on the first floor and apartments on the floors above. These developments foster compact developments and are also likely to be in close proximity to the future transit stations as commonly found in TOD.

On the other hand, Jerry, a NA leader and a retired county planner who lives in close proximity to downtown says that the downtown has changed in the sense of now looking like a ghost town considering there are less shops to cater to the Mexican population of Santa Ana. Whereas once it was thriving with music and activity, now days it is only lively on the weekends when tourists visit, according to Jerry. Jerry went on to say that the city is starting to plan for new apartments in the downtown area to draw in millennials and keep them there. Jerry further shares that millennials come, but only for the weekends, leaving businesses to not profit as much during the week as they did in the past when the stores served primarily Latinxs who visited throughout the week. Jerry also observes that in the last 10-15 years there has been an intensification of redevelopment in areas adjacent to his neighborhood which includes the outskirts of the downtown area. This goes against Veronica's perspective of change. According to Jerry, buildings have been taken down and buildings have adapted to new uses. For example, Jerry shares that there is a church from the mid 1960s that is going to be demolished and replaced with a 93-unit high-density complex. The church's congregation decreased dramatically influencing the decision to repurpose what would be on the site instead of the church. Such occurrences reflect a changing demographic or diminishing interest in religious services. One potential possibility could be attributed to a reduced interest of religiosity of young adults (Uecker, J. E., Regnerus, M. D., & Vaaler, 2007) or perhaps the displacement of members who once frequented the church.

Nevertheless, Jerry already perceives trees and a historic quality to the neighborhood that the church offered will be taken away due to the intensification of development. Historic quality is important to Jerry as he lives in a neighborhood considered a historic district and is part of a committee in his NA that reviews projects and their threats to the historical character of the neighborhood. The classification of Historic District to a neighborhood is a lengthy and cumbersome process that entails extensive community involvement (McCabe, B. J., & Ellen, 2016). Historic preservation is also noted to contribute to the economic development of downtowns as more funding is allocated to rehab buildings (Ryberg-Webster, 2014). Property value within historic neighborhoods are also higher than those outside the historic neighborhood (Been, V., Ellen, I. G., Gedal, M., Glaeser, E., & McCabe, n.d.). Individuals from CBOs did not represent any historic preservation sites, though many did fight for the preservation of historic spaces such as *La Cuatro* because of what it meant to them and their heritage and struggle.

Individuals not embedded in NAs or CBOs also alluded to the changes that have taken shape in downtown in the last 10-15 years. Jennifer, 30, and Raul, 28, say it appears more modernized, with more bars and restaurants. They also note the change in demographics, agreeing that there are less Latinxs and more whites and Asians that visit *La Cuatro*. They also agree that there are less community places for local residents and that there are more spaces for tourists instead. One-time Jennifer went to *La Cuatro* for a walk, she saw a group of people

very different than what she was used to seeing in *La Cuatro*. She said she saw a group of white people walking around downtown for a historical tour of downtown Santa Ana. She mentioned she had not ever seen something like that before in her city. In addition, Angela and Tomás, a Mexican immigrant couple who have lived in Santa Ana for 30 years share that they no longer visit *La Cuatro* since everything has changed so much in the last 10-15 years and most of the businesses are now catered to Americans and not the Mexican immigrants who use to shop there. Thus, though there is an emphasis in attracting people to learn about the history of Santa Ana, there are many residents who believe that the history is being erased with new development.

Displacement of Businesses

When asked to reflect on the changes he perceived to have occurred in the last 10-15 years in his city, Armando, a CBO leader, began to list verbally the restaurants and stores that are no longer on 4th street. Armando shares that approximately 40 Latinx owned businesses have been lost and considers the loss as greatly noticeable and a significant loss of Latinx culture to *La Cuatro*. Armando further shares:

> *One time, in two hours, I began to investigate the displacement of businesses, the loss of small Latinx businesses here on Fourth Street. I began a list of specific cases to document it because I see that that documentation does not exist. So, there was a bakery, Moya's Bakery that was there for many years, the San Romero store, the 99-cent store that is no longer there, the seafood restaurant where the Playground restaurant is, the movie theater where the Frida Theater is now, where the Fourth Street Market is now was the Indoor swap meet of Santa Ana where there was a minimum of 30 small businesses that were lost. A lot more have been lost throughout the years.*

Isabel, a Mexican American in her mid 20s and a volunteer for a local CBO, was born and raised in Santa Ana. She no longer considers *La Cuatro* the same given the displacement of numerous stores she once visited and as Armando noted in the quote just above. Isabel, use to go to *La Cuatro* often as a kid with her mother to run errands. When she looks at how it has changed in the last 10-15 years, she described it as, "Nothing like when I was little." She remembers as a child seeing families walk along 4th street and remembers the time she went to *La Cuatro* to plan for her quinceañera given the numerous quinceañera shops that once existed there. Isabel also remembers the area having more services available for Latinos such as a travel agency for Mexicans to buy tickets back home or businesses that would allow one to send money home to Mexico or another country.

Today, those services are no longer offered in *La Cuatro*, new restaurants and shops exist there instead. While the businesses that existed were long-time establishments and frequented by primarily Latinos, Isabel shares that the new businesses on *La Cuatro* often come and go. She laughs about this as she remembers having helped her mother with her car that stalled on *La Cuatro* recently. Isabel, to help her mom parked in front of what appeared to be a

new coffee shop. Upon seeing that the coffee shop did not have a name, she joked that the owners probably had not put up their name yet since they probably do not know if they are going to stay there for long. Isabel joked about their longevity because many other businesses have opened and closed quickly in the area. She later looked at the yelp page for the new coffee shop and saw that an ice coffee would cost her $5. This is a price she saw as too expensive for local low-income residents and different from what she and many other local long-time Latinx residents are used to paying for a coffee. In this way, not only have the businesses changed, but the prices for products at these businesses which have also led to a change in demographics of who is able to purchase those new products and services.

This resonated with many organizers embedded in CBOs as they further shared that the local Latinx population no longer shops on *La Cuatro* considering the culturally relevant services and shops they once enjoyed going to are no longer there and the new establishments that are there, are too costly for them to afford. Javier adds that he remembers the shops having been more accessible for families to enjoy and that there was a strong representation of *raza* or Latino culture. This is important to Javier as his attachment to place resonated more with place identity. But the *raza* Javier once sensed is no longer there, according to Javier. He also describes the new shops that have been implemented in the last 10-15 years as "bougie" food places that do not attract many people from the surrounding low-income neighborhoods considering how expensive they are.

Patricia, upon returning from college in Boston about five years ago in 2015 shares that she was very surprised and confused about the changes she saw on *La Cuatro*. Similar to Armando, Patricia when asked about her observed changes, began to share what every business use to be:

> What used to be Cafe Calacas is Cafe Cultura now and then right next to Starbucks, there's a good beer company that I never knew and there's a community office space, one of those high-tech office spaces where you can rent space for $300 and I think it's for like, a day or an hour. I'm not sure I'm being exaggerated. Yeah. I was just like, when did this all happen?

The changes Patricia observed upon returning from college in Boston conjured several emotions. She had not returned to find the same city she had left five years ago for college. Her attachment to place, sheds light on the emotional, affective, and symbolic aspects of her thinking and feeling for the downtown area. In addition, it shows a deep relationship with place (Rishbeth & Powell, 2013) or the downtown area as Patricia, Isabel, Javier, Armando, and many other individuals embedded in CBOs reflect on the representational value that downtown Santa Ana carried for them and its reminder of the past, local residents, and shared values (Altman, I. & Low, 1992)

Change in Prices and Change in Demographics

In the past, Latinxs would go downtown to run errands, buy a quinceañera dress, eat at a local and affordable Mexican restaurant, or just spend time with the family at *La Cuatro*.

However, today, as noted by individuals in CBOs there is significantly less of that. Several individuals embedded in CBOs mention that they have observed many more whites and Asians visiting Santa Ana on the weekends in the last 10-15 years. Samantha and Patricia, two Mexican American (2nd generation) organizers in their mid 20s, furthermore share that *La Cuatro's* new clientele are people who had never come in the past (late 90s and early 2000s) to Santa Ana and who had many times ridiculed Santa Ana for being a dangerous and poor area. Many whites considered Santa Ana and especially its downtown, as a place to be avoided in the past. Samantha suspects that this new group of visitors either work in downtown in one of the county or city buildings or work in the new stores of downtown.

Whites historically avoiding spaces such as *La Cuatro* or "white avoidance" speaks to the implicit biases or stereotyping that whites had toward communities of color molding their residential decisions (Hwang & Sampson, 2014). "White avoidance" would also pave the way for fostering residential segregation with "white flight" (Ellen, 2000), a concept describing when whites fled Santa Ana due to rising disorder in the 1980s-90s. Perceptions of crime and disorder are shaped by racial-ethnic composition alone and not that of actual crime rates or socio-economic conditions, suggesting a relationship built of neighborhood stigma rather than overt prejudice (Sampson, 2004). Perceptions rather than objective information then "cohere into a meaningful social property of an environment when reinforced through social interactions, institutional practices, and collective reputations"(Sampson, 2012).

In addition, Samantha grows sad thinking that her city has shifted from focusing on the community of Latinos and their needs to focusing on the needs and desires of outsiders and tourists (i.e. whites and Asians). Rather than providing affordable or culturally relevant options for the low-income community that made Santa Ana what it is, overpriced food options they cannot afford, and culturally irrelevant businesses are implemented, according to Samantha. Samantha first realized *La Cuatro* was changing when she saw an American Apparel store open in approximately 2010. When she went inside the store to check out the clothes, Samantha said, "No one can afford this." She questioned why that store was there on *La Cuatro* and later saw that it had closed, perhaps due to local residents unable to afford to shop there. Nevertheless, new businesses that deviate away from what the local community wanted or could relate to continue to open up in downtown according to Samantha. Samantha referred to these new stores, that took the place of mom and pop shops as hipster or stores for tourists rather than the existing local residents.

Patricia agrees that it is difficult to find an affordable place to eat in downtown now. She shares that her father a Mexican immigrant has called her before just to ask where an affordable place to eat anymore was on *La Cuatro*. She could not think of an affordable place to recommend it to her father. This process of altering the long time Latino established businesses to more costly options seems to be an intentional move on behalf of the city as Gonzalez (2017) describes; where the city implemented plans with a desire to change *La Cuatro's* clientele from a low-class clientele to a more middle-class clientele. Such actions are common across cities that use development and policies as a means to shift demographics that would incur an increase in revenue.

In terms of demographics, several individuals embedded in NAs mentioned they are seeing a lot more "diversity" in downtown and in their neighborhoods. Daniel, a 40-year-old Mexican immigrant who has lived in a neighborhood with other family members just outside of

downtown since he was eight years old shares that 4th street is a lot more diverse now than it had been in previous years. Whereas before downtown was frequented by mostly the Mexican population, according to Daniel, there is now a more diverse clientele. There are now Asians, whites, and African-Americans that go to Santa Ana for a visit. Sandra, a homeowner who visits downtown often to try the new restaurants and visit the art galleries with her husband agrees that there is more diversity as well and attributes this to the "so called gentrification process". Old stores such as the *quinceañera* shops are no longer there and in their position are more trendy shops. Sandra goes on to share, "It's more diverse in that sense, less of the Mexican American born, everybody." Sandra highly esteems diversity in the City and shares that it is what she loves about the city. She appreciates having a multitude of cultures represented in her city and having certain foods she loves from each region in the world such as Middle Eastern food and Tacos.

Roxana, a Mexican American (2nd generation) woman in her late 30s, shares that she is seeing more "diversity" in her neighborhood, the neighborhood she was born and raised in with her parents and where she chose to buy her own home with her husband. Roxana mentions she loved growing up with so much Latino culture and walking down the street smelling typical Mexican food. In the last 10-15 years, however, she mentions that she is seeing a lot more young, Asian and white families move in to her neighborhood. William, on the other hand, a single homeowner in his 70s, shares that he has seen more Latinos move into his neighborhood in the last 10-15 years. This comes as a drastic change considering William's neighborhood was primarily a white neighborhood when he first moved there in the 1980s. William shares that his neighborhood is now approximately 70% Latinx. William attributes this change to the fact that Santa Ana is a destination city, a place where many want to come and better themselves and their families, but also due to the lack of enforcement at the border. William also connects the increase of Latinos in his neighborhood to growing overcrowding concerns he has seen in his neighborhood. There are some homes that have doubled up or tripled up (families wise), according to William. Nevertheless, he considers the change a "blessing" as he is able to interact with people different then him and learn from them as he appreciates the "diversity" around him in Santa Ana.

The word "diversity", however, was not used by young organizers embedded in CBOs to describe the demographic changes in downtown. Young organizers mentioned they saw a lot more white people and Asians visiting downtown on the weekends. They were more race conscious when describing the presence of different races on *La Cuatro*. Literature demonstrates contention related to the use of the word "diversity". The use of the word diversity, offers the notion of "looking and feeling good" and distracts from any inequalities that may exist (Ahmed, 2009). Ahmed, further shares that "diversity" has become a marketing brand and a sense of pride for organizations exalting its presence. By rebranding spaces as "diverse", racism is obscured. This could in turn keep establishments such as organizations and institutions from fighting racism and lead individuals from these establishments to think they are beyond race (Ahmed, 2009). Because of this rationale, individuals from CBOs may be keener to acknowledge distinct races and the disparate treatment of communities of color, rather than exalt the shift in demographics as a step towards appreciating diversity.

Neighborhood Changes

Overcrowding

Magali, a Chicana and mother of two girls, has lived with her grandma in the neighborhood where she was born and raised for about 40 years. She is affiliated with various CBOs in her city striving to preserve public land for the public good rather than for solely the City's goals of profit maximization. When asked to describe what changes she has observed in the last 10-15 years, Magali shares that she sees a lot more overcrowded homes and ironically a lot more lonely people in her neighborhood. She mentions that the number of cars parked a long her street is an indication of the increased number of people living in each household. Because there are more adult individuals living in homes, there are more cars parked on the street. In addition, rather than seeing families in these homes as she once did, she now observes several individuals living in a home, where each individual (or more individuals) may have their own room or space and use a shared kitchen and bathroom as roommates or housemates. Since homes are overcrowded, she adds that she now sees individuals sitting in their cars looking at their phones or outside on the sidewalk having a meal by themselves just to escape the crowded conditions. Previous research has brought overcrowded conditions as a prime concern in Santa Ana in the 1970s and was attributed to the rise of the immigrant population in Santa Ana (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002).

While there is a focus on increased development in Santa Ana, pushing up prices, and threatening residents with displacement, there are also many who do not leave the city despite the financial challenges. They stick it out by staying in their city, sometimes in overcrowded conditions, because of their attachment to the city, jobs, and existing networks. Samantha, Patricia, Javier, and Martha, individuals embedded in CBOs, each share that they themselves have lived in or are currently living in overcrowded circumstances. Though they are with family, it is in overcrowded circumstances. Samantha and Patricia, for example, both live in a one-bedroom apartment with two other siblings and their parents. Javier lives in a single-family home with his family and his uncle's family. Martha, a Honduran immigrant, once lived in the living room of a one-bedroom apartment with their three children, however, her family of five are now living in a three-bed room affordable housing unit.

Many homeowners embedded in NAs also acknowledged that in the last 10-15 years, they have also observed many single-family homes in their neighborhoods turn into overcrowded homes with numerous individuals or families living in them. Individuals embedded in NAs share that they started to see a change in how many people were residing in homes when the recession hit in about 2009. Hilary, a white homeowner in her 60s, has lived in her neighborhood since the 1970s and works as an elementary school teacher. She said she began seeing the change around the time of the recession and assumes that the only way for homeowners to make ends meet was to open up rooms and rent them to others outside their family. Her neighbor, Margaret, further shares that she has seen that her neighbor's children are now adults and have children of their own, yet they continue to live with their parents at home, adding to overcrowded conditions.

Vanessa, a Mexican American (3rd generation) homeowner, who was born and raised in Santa Ana also agrees that she has seen homes in her neighborhood become more

overcrowded in the last 10-15 years. Vanessa confirms this given her work with the city in the past and observing changes in her neighborhood. She worked closely with city staff on neighborhood initiatives and mentioned that she learned about a study that spoke about "the hidden people" of Santa Ana. The study highlighted the population of Santa Ana, including homeowners, but also found an additional 100,000 individuals who had been unaccounted for in the original population count of approximately 300,000. Vanessa shares that it is common in Santa Ana to see an apartment made for four individuals, with eight people living there instead. She goes on to share that there are also many residents that live in garages and sheds that go unaccounted for. As I walked through some neighborhoods conducting surveys, I could also see numerous signs advertising for seminars that teach homeowners how to construct a granny flat in one's back yard or how to convert their garage into another housing unit in order for one to make additional profit. The issue of parking also served as an indicator for Vanessa to grow aware that her neighborhood was overcrowded. She sees that there is just not enough parking anymore for all of the residents or family members that live in the homes.

Henri, a Mexican American (3rd generation) was born and raised in Santa Ana. He lives in a predominately Mexican neighborhood considered one of the poorest and overpoliced. He too has seen an increase in overcrowding occur in the homes of his neighborhood in the last 10-15 years. He mentions he has seen a growth in Vietnamese and Salvadorans living in his neighborhood, many of which are living in overcrowded conditions. Henri says that there are four bed-room homes with up to 10 people living in one room. Henri learned about overcrowding conditions growing in his community as he helped a neighbor complete the last census in 2010. Henri went over to the neighbor's house and asked basic questions of the census such as, "How many people live here?". His neighbor told him 20 people lived there. Henri, surprised, asked, "How many rooms do you have here?". His neighbor responded, "Three". Henri went on to ask, "Where the heck do you put these people at?". His neighbor replied, "We sleep everywhere. We rent out the closet, we rent out the living room." Henri was surprised people were living this way in his neighborhood. Similarly, Henri mentions overcrowded homes have resulted in overcrowded parking. If there are 10 people renting a home, those 10 people have 10 cars to add to the street, according to Henri.

Displacement and Gentrification

While there are many living in overcrowded conditions and the costs of clothes, bars, and restaurants has increased dramatically in *La Cuatro*, rent in Santa Ana has also increased dramatically in the last 10-15 years according to individuals embedded in CBOs. Javier, Samantha, and Patricia currently live with their parents and siblings, but they have all expressed that they have wanted to live on their own. However, it has been difficult for them to find an affordable option in Santa Ana. They all have bachelor's degrees from well recognized universities from in state and out of state, however, they still contend with acquiring a job with enough income to pay for the median rent in Santa Ana. Javier shared with me his frustration in finding a new place, "I rarely know people, my age that have their own place or have a shared apartment and it is because of the increase in housing." Javier further shares that because of the lack of affordable housing, there is the possibility that he may not be able to live on his own in Santa Ana. While individuals embedded in CBOs notice that there has been increased

development of luxury apartments in Santa Ana in the last 10-15 years, many mention that they cannot afford to live in that kind of housing given the cost.

Samantha agrees that the price of homes has increased substantially in Santa Ana in the last 10-15 years due to land speculation and an increase in individuals flipping homes. The price increase has made it impossible for Samantha and her family to purchase a home of their own in Santa Ana. Samantha adds that homes in Santa Ana are now going for above $600,000 and those are considered the low-cost homes. Samantha also attributes the increase in the price of homes in the last 10-15 years to gentrification efforts that market Santa Ana as a central place with easy access to highways, great restaurants, and a diverse downtown. Samantha adds that it is also more difficult to even acquire an apartment considering the documentation that one now has to demonstrate. Residents now have to pay for a background check and provide a credit report and proof of their source of income. Samantha describes these changes as part of gentrification efforts as well that serve as barriers to keep a race and class of people from securing an apartment.

Regardless of providing these requested documents, Samantha reiterates that housing discrimination remains; one may still be denied an apartment, or their contract may not be renewed. Samantha has come to see that these new barriers serve to keep some residents out such as Mexicans and to welcome in new residents such as whites and Asians. Patricia also has faced barriers with renewing her apartment lease for an apartment she lived in with her parents and two siblings. On one occasion her lease was not renewed given the manager perceived an additional person living in the apartment and therefore, Patricia and her family had to move elsewhere. After months of having left the apartment complex, she returned to drop off some flyers as part of her job to inform residents about tenant's rights or another campaign she worked for at the time. She saw that the apartment complex had been improved dramatically with a new paint job and beautification enhancements. She also saw that the apartment complex had more single individuals living there or millennials moving into the apartments, rather than families like there had been previously. This experience made her think that the displacement of her family was intentional to facilitate gentrification. Such circumstances highlight the ways in which inequality persists and the ways it has grown greater, further dividing communities of color and low-income communities from white and higher income communities.

Roadways and the Destruction of Neighborhoods

Furthermore, while the development of communities is observed as a change, individuals embedded in CBOs also observe the destruction of some existing communities as a change. Patricia and Samantha recall that some neighborhoods have been destroyed through eminent domain in the last 10-15 years. Patricia use to go to a neighborhood along Bristol Street, a major vehicle and public transit corridor, to play with her sister and her friends. Together, they all use to play in abandoned lots that sat adjacent to Bristol Street. Patricia recounts that there was an opening on a brick wall that she, her sisters, and friends would squeeze through as a shortcut to enter and exit the neighborhood. She remembers vividly the businesses that use to be established along Bristol Street as well, such as "a computer science kind of shop", a party rental shop in the little plaza, a Kentucky Fried Chicken that she went to

often when she was little, and there was also a fish and chips place. She also remembers the homes that were there such as a home filled with statues in the yard. All these homes and businesses little by little, however, were taken away since the early 2000s to make way for a road widening project.

The road widening project or Bristol Street Improvements project, as described by the City's website were implemented to reduce traffic congestion and amend safety concerns. The City proposed to widen the street, add a bike lane, and improve the corridor of 3.9 miles. Complete streets protocol, or steps to ensure safety for pedestrians and bicyclists to feel safe while engaging in active-transportation have also been implemented. The changes included wider sidewalks and landscape buffers and are expected to help with reducing traffic and fostering safety among all roadway users. There are currently numerous improvements being made on Bristol street including the implementation of protected bike lanes and the slurry and resurfacing of street segments (City of Santa Ana, 2021).

Several individuals with no involvement in CBOs or NAs also recognize the same destruction and mention that they see a lot more improvement of roadways in their neighborhoods and city. Raul and Jennifer also mention that they have seen dramatic changes over the years to Bristol Street, a major arterial road running north-south in Santa Ana. The described Bristol Street as a two-way street in the early 2000s and very busy with traffic. Raul mentions that there use to be a lot of graffiti on the side walls where the street ran through. Throughout the years since its first enhancements made in the early 2000s, the walls that were once graffitied have been taken away and there are now lots of plants and greenery to make the sides of the street look more aesthetically pleasing. Apart from the removal of walls, Jennifer and Raul share that the homes that were adjacent to the road were also taken away to make room for the expansion. Raul, Angela, and Tomás, all mention they have also seen major improvements that have occurred in the last 10-15 years on the roads in their neighborhoods. Angela and Tomás share that their neighborhood now has several small roundabouts and bike lanes, which serve to reduce green-house gas emissions (GHG) and vehicle-miles traveled (VMT). Raul shares that the road his apartment complex sits on is being repaved. Though the streets are improving, he does note that they are also more congested with parked cars that constrain his view of traffic.

Single-Family homes are now a thing of the past.

Apart from overcrowding and parking issues, individuals embedded in NAs also see a slight change of life as they recognize single-family homes now a thing of the past. They perceive a shift in construction from primarily single-family homes to now multi-family apartment complexes in the last 10-15 years. Along with their construction is the spot zoning of their neighborhoods where parts of their community zoned as single-family residential, are changed to a zoning that accommodates high-density apartment units. William, a homeowner in a single-family neighborhood, states that not only are there more apartment complexes in Santa Ana, but the apartment complexes implemented are also built right next to single-family homes. This comes to be very difficult for many homeowners who invested in the single-family residential lifestyle. William was also involved in numerous meetings with another NA working against the development of a high-density apartment complex in their neighborhood given the

sight nuisance and perceived traffic it was expected to bring. Margaret and Hilary, neighbors in the same neighborhood for over 30 years also mention that with the implementation of new apartment housing, there is also increased concerns with parking and congestion in their neighborhood. They have also seen an increase in people moving in and out all of the time and an increase of furniture left in front of the dumpster for pick up as people move out constantly from the apartment complex. For this reason, Margaret, William, and many other NA leaders shared that the longevity that they once experienced in the single-family residential area is no longer there.

This longing for maintaining single-family homes also carry underlying tensions of race and may act to perpetuate inequality. Historically, white flight occurred because whites were drawn to the single-family residential areas with good schools, adequate resources, and fewer noxious sources. The origins of single-family housing also are built out of classism and a racist agenda and continues to foster segregation. Single-family residential zoning makes it harder for people to access areas where better opportunities may exist. In some areas, like Santa Ana, homeowners may be benefiting from the housing shortage. On the other hand, renters endure great costs with the housing shortage, finding it difficult to secure an affordable place to live (Manville, Monkkonen, & Lens, 2020). While homeowners esteem their single-family zoning and way of life, there is a movement in California to end-single family zoning in order to foster more compact development, mitigate the housing shortage, and break up segregation.

I see more crime. I see more homelessness.

Given the lack of housing in the area, many residents have struggled with making ends meet. While many are displaced or living in overcrowded conditions, there are also many who are unhoused. Sharing her concerns and detailing the extent to which she has noted an increase in unhoused individuals in her neighborhood is Vanessa. Vanessa, a mother of four, is now an empty nester with her husband. Her adult children all live in different cities and she wishes her adult children would come back to Santa Ana, but she understands that it is too expensive for them to afford a home on their own there. Vanessa would often attend her children's events, participate in school meetings, and take her children to the local park. She was also greatly involved with trying to improve the park bathrooms and fields for her children to have a better park to play in. Though Vanessa is not as active as she used to be due to a shoulder injury, she is still quick to call in a concern or to be on the lookout for odd circumstances in her neighborhood.

In the past 10-15 years, Vanessa states that she has seen an uptick in crime and in seeing unhoused individuals in her neighborhood. Vanessa shares, "It's not uncommon to drive by and see somebody sleeping right here. You know, or at the Taco Bell or just go here to the corner of Bristol and Warner. There's a homeless guy that's in front of the Cancun juice." Vanessa also shares that many of the houseless roam through her neighborhood because there is a local park close by for them to spend time in. She admits that the uptick in unhoused individuals roaming her neighborhood make her feel uncomfortable in her own home. When asked if she had ever had a personal conflict with an unhoused person or an incident that had occurred in her neighborhood to make her feel that way, she mentioned that she had not

personally. She does mention, however, that what comes to mind is that the unhoused are trolling through her neighborhood going on her property, stealing plants, mail, and packages.

While we were in the middle of the interview outside of a coffee shop, we were interrupted by a couple yelling insults at one another. They were carrying back packs and bags and as they argued they drifted apart, the female walking away in one direction and the male stopping to go in another direction, both still yelling insults at each other. We pause the interview to wait for the fighting to stop and once it stops, Vanessa, looks at me and says, "That's what I am talking about. It's things like that, that really upset me to the point where...". Just then we get another interruption from another person who says, "I hate to bother you, but any of you have a dollar to spare?". Vanessa looks irritated, but she replies to the person asking for change, "Come back, I'll go through my bag in a bit."

Individuals embedded in CBOs did not talk about unhoused individuals in their interviews. Patricia, an organizer from a CBO did talk about the conditions that may lead one to be unhoused such as the high cost of rent and eviction. When at a meeting with an OC County Supervisor about unhoused individuals, Patricia used it as an opportunity to promote affordable housing given the high cost of rent that may push one to being unhoused. Individuals embedded in NAs, on the other hand, commonly spoke of unhoused individuals as a nuisance and as a growing issue. Many thought the issue of unhoused individuals was growing out of hand, but did not connect the issue with other larger issues such as housing insecurity or joblessness or mental health.

Organization Changes: Change in Approach, Changes in Involvement, Reclaiming Space

Armando is greatly involved with his CBO that serves as a cultural center for local residents to engage with their heritage and roots. The organization has not had a set home since its inception considering many times the leaders of the organization have been forced to move out given the high price of rent and little income generated. Nevertheless, residents continued to follow the organization where ever it moved to in Santa Ana and membership has also increased throughout the years. Armando states that this is attributed to residents looking for a space to be and to become a part of the organization and its decision making. Though the organization is a cultural center, issues regarding anti-gentrification and anti-displacement efforts are also discussed among its members. In reflecting on the changes he has observed, Armando shares that he notices a change in community power. Armando states, "Today, that community power is not based on a unique organized structure. There are many different types of community organizing, there are many types of community power." Rather than following one traditional model for organizing, there are now different models for organizing, voting, and demonstrating for changes to be made. According to Armando, some groups have grown more radical and others have continued with their traditional models. Some residents may have grown tired of inconsistencies in the planning processes and have taken liberty to jump off the ladder and resort to their own kind of planning to disrupt traditional methods of the planning process (Laskey, A. and Nicholls, 2019).

Furthermore, when Armando and I spoke at a local coffee shop for the interview, across the street from us were youth skateboarding in a brand-new skate park. The park, however, was still closed and gated considering the grand opening had not been held yet. Nevertheless,

several teenagers hopped the fence to use the skatepark. After an hour or so, a few city officials later drove up to tell the youth they had to leave the skatepark. The teenagers left the skatepark since the city officials were walking around the park for inspections. This incident marks an observed change Armando has seen in the last 10-15 years. Apart from the park being a physical change in itself, Armando shares that he has observed a lot more youth on the streets, demanding spaces they could call their own. Armando shared that when he was a kid in the 1990s, he played soccer and danced, but he realizes that the youth today may not have those spaces where they can go to unwind and express themselves given the congestion, overcrowded conditions, and lack of park and community spaces in Santa Ana. However, increasingly he has seen that the youth are demanding their spaces.

In addition, youth in Santa Ana are increasingly more involved in the planning process of important projects taking place in their communities. These projects include the provision of skate parks, parks, safer streets to walk, bike, and skate on, and zoning changes to facilitate more community space such as gardens. Jorge, a Mexican American (2nd generation) working with youth on advocating for built environment changes to their neighborhood describes that several youth have led research work groups, organizing efforts, have set up meetings with council members, city planners, college professors, and residents from the community to plan for spaces where the youth and their families can engage in recreation and physical activity.

In addition, Patricia, who works for an organization advocating for more affordable housing, also shares that the CBO she works for has endured a mission shift in the last 10-15 years. Rather than advocate for policy changes themselves, members of Patricia's CBO and involved residents saw that it was important to organize residents around policy. From then on, Patricia and members of her CBO began extensively involving the community and supporting grassroots efforts towards policy changes. She with others now go door to door, make calls, and text local residents more often to engage them in organizing efforts. Given the increased interaction with residents, Patricia and others from her CBO were more engaged and understanding of the needs of the surrounding residents impacted by policy. This shift helped foster new areas of focus for her CBO such as tenant rights and land use.

In terms of changes in involvement, some individuals embedded in NAs shared that their groups no longer meet monthly as they use to in the past. The number of residents participating has decreased substantially throughout the years in NAs. Given the lack of participation, NA leaders have called off monthly meetings. Jerry attributes the decrease in participation to perhaps the busyness of everyone's lives in his neighborhood. Jerry further shares:

> *People were just really busy. Yeah. People are working hard. Families, people holding multiple jobs, long days, erratic hours. A number of people that were involved had moved away or passed away, so those folks that were there in the 80s and the 90s, that kind of helped reestablish the neighborhood, they've moved on, you know, for a variety of reasons and the influx of folks seem to have less time. You know, they're just really consumed.*

Scott, Jerry's neighbor agrees and further shares, that less participation means that there are less people to greet and guide the new residents to the neighborhood as he and

others in his neighborhood were once introduced by those in the NA. Jerry also shares that some of the older members of the NA no longer have the capacity to "indoctrinate" new residents into the goals and values of the neighborhood. Nevertheless, despite not meeting, Jerry shares that his NA remains active with an architectural review committee that consists of only a few members. At times, Jerry will start an email chain about a meeting for a concern in the neighborhood, but only two residents will show up. Therefore, Jerry sticks to trying to get things done himself or stays connected with the few regulars who he shares information with via email or a phone call. He has carried on "the political stuff" in his neighborhood, which was passed on to him from someone who moved from the neighborhood. However, Jerry shares that he is growing exhausted in this role. He goes on to share that he is retired and is getting tired of dealing with the political issues and enticing people to join the NA.

Scott also acknowledges that the activities they once gravitated to have changed. Scott shares that the previous leaders of his NA were more prone to host gatherings at their homes, inviting several residents from the NA and neighborhood to build community and get to know one another. The previous leaders have since moved on and no one has replaced them to host gatherings. Scott admits that he does not consider it his or his wife's style to host gatherings. Therefore, that tradition of getting the neighbors and members of the NA together has not carried on. Not only does this mean that the gatherings have paused, but interactions with neighbors have decreased substantially over the years. Scott goes on to share what other changes could stem from this lack of gathering or meeting with neighbors on a consistent basis:

> *I think that probably over the long term, you can really see how that would lead to changes, because of the extent that it leads people not knowing each other so well, and not being aware of who the new neighbor is or what have you. Most people know what's going on, maybe on their block, but the neighborhoods are often six blocks wide and eight blocks long or something. And so, something that's happening three blocks away, you're not really going to be aware of, if somebody is not playing a role of actually walking their dog and knocking on that door and making sure that person comes and introduces themselves. Yeah, and that sort of thing. So, our interactions with our neighborhood have definitely shrunk a lot to just our own couple of blocks, as opposed to extending to the whole boundaries of the neighborhood.*

Political changes: increased involvement of Police Association

Javier, an individual embedded in a CBO, given his involvement with researching the conduct of the Santa Ana Police Department, says that in the last 10-15 years the Santa Ana Police Officers Association (SAPOA) has increased their involvement in politics and influence in the city. Javier recognizes that throughout the years the SAPOA has been more aggressive with the power that they hold, particularly with that of the City Council.

> *Recently, they started pouring money into elections, specifically to support candidates that pass tough on crime policies and those that fund all their developments and projects. So, I think that's been a huge change that a lot of*

what's happening is really like how powerful the SAPOA has become, but also how they are using that influence and using that power to pass wages and pass development projects.

In 2019, the SAPOA attempted to recall their endorsed city council members because the two city council members they once supported did not vote for a salary raise for police officers of $25 million. One of the council members was asked by the Police Union Director to vote and approve the financial transfer needed to facilitate the raises. However, the two council members insisted on voting 'no' given they did not perceive the raises as financially feasible. Because they voted no again, they were perceived by the SAPOA as opponents of initiatives that would foster public safety and decided to recall their seats (Gerda, 2019). Javier was surprised that the two council members voted 'no' against the vote and considers it a great step. He believes that instead of funding the police, schools, community centers, libraries and other community assets should be funded. In addition, Javier does not believe that the police should be funded because he opposes the notion that police officers are the ones that need to be called to solve everything. Javier believes there are other ways to enhance public safety, and many times it does not have to be a police officer with a gun going to solve issues involving sex work or mental health.

Alberto, a Mexican immigrant in his 60s, used to live in Boyle Heights in his 20s before moving to Santa Ana to live with his extended family. The first place he moved to was a diverse neighborhood close to downtown Santa Ana with his cousin. Later when he married his wife who worked as a teacher, they moved to an area recognized as one of the poorest and polluted areas given its proximity to environmental hazards. They decided to move there since his wife wanted to move into a working-class neighborhood where the children need more support and resources. When asked about perceived changes that have taken place in the last 10-15 years, one of Alberto's first observations shared is that he thinks that the Santa Ana Police Officer Association has grown more corrupt. Alberto shares, "There's corruption within the elected officials. Corruption of the city staff, including the police."

On the other hand, Clayton and Henri, both individuals embedded in NAs, believe the police have done their part in improving public safety and think that Santa Ana needs more police. Clayton is a homeowner and has lived in Santa Ana since the 1970s. After retiring from the military, Clayton moved to Santa Ana where he worked as a US Postal Service worker before retiring. Clayton has lived in the same home since he moved to Santa Ana. He lives on a private street, with no streetlights or sidewalks and with the sound of roosters crowing every morning to wake him up. He lives alone and does not have to worry about paying for his home since his home is paid for already. He participates in Comm-Link, the monthly gathering with city officials and NA leaders and states he was motivated to join because of the lack of change he was seeing. At a Comm-Link meeting in late Fall of 2019 at the Police Department community room, Clayton honored police officers for their work and encouraged them to continue being strong in their line of duty.

Henri, a Mexican American (3rd generation), agrees that police officers are needed to improve public safety especially when he sees prominent and long-lasting criminal activity taking place in his community. This comes as Henri has had his instances with law enforcement as he drove to nearby cities infamous for anti-immigrant sentiment such as Costa Mesa and

Huntington Beach in the mid 1970s. He remembers being told to not go around those parts anymore and he remembers the day he was pulled over by a police officer and searched for no reason. He was told to get out of his car and he was asked numerous questions he found irrelevant. He ultimately had his car towed for lacking proof that his vehicle passed the emissions test. Nevertheless, Henri esteems the police and thinks they have helped in some ways with a particular issue that has existed in his community for decades. Henri lives in a neighborhood at the corner of two major arterial roads, currently undergoing increased investment and road enhancements. At this intersection, in the late hours of the day and early hours of the day, sex workers are spotted. For years, sex work is solicited at this intersection and Henri claims there have been no changes. This occurs on a nightly basis and is in close proximity to homes, a future transit stop, and a proposed development on 102 acres of land. Henri mentioned the police helped enforce a curfew by putting up signs that say no right turn into this neighborhood from 10pm to 4am to help minimize the disturbance to local residents. However, residents still complain of the sex work that continues taking place at the intersection. Henri acknowledges that the Police can only do so much given the need for more officers and funding.

No Change: Lack of Change or "We Manage That Change"

While several individuals embedded in CBOs share their perceptions of that which has changed, there is also recognition that some things have not changed. Samantha has lived in many places in Santa Ana since she has been displaced numerous times. Though she has seen a lot of change occur in *La Cuatro* in the last 10-15 years, she also thinks that some areas of the city have not changed at all. She sees that some areas of the city are still the same, with the same people, facing the same issues as long ago (i.e. poverty, oversurveillance, crime, etc.). Some parts of Santa Ana are still very authentic and untouched according to Samantha. Though she is glad these neighborhoods have not changed drastically, she thinks this is attributed to the lack of investment and resources funneled into these communities. Should they begin to receive additional investment, they may be gentrified, she mentioned.

While plenty of change seems to be occurring around them, Jerry and Scott who live in the same neighborhood, a middle to upper class neighborhood adjacent to downtown, claim they have not observed drastic changes in their neighborhoods. They have both lived in their neighborhoods since the early 2000s. Drawing them both to the neighborhood was its historic preservation, proximity to downtown, and welcoming neighbors. When asked about what changes they each have seen in the last 10-15 years, they list what changes have occurred in adjacent neighborhoods or on the periphery of their community. Both share that the biggest change occurring around the neighborhood would be what is happening in downtown and on Santa Ana Boulevard which would carry the new OC Streetcar. However, in terms of their own neighborhood, both mentioned that they have not seen substantial changes. Whereas other communities may not see a change to their neighborhood due to a lack of investment, Jerry and Scott state that, change has not occurred because, "We [the NA] manage that change."

Jerry shares that development cannot just occur in his neighborhood without first going through the NA architectural committee. A building or old home cannot be demolished and nothing new can be opened up or constructed in their neighborhood. Jerry goes on to share

that some people have tried to implement changes. They have bought historic homes in the neighborhood and tried to remodel homes, altering wooden window frames to metal frames, but code enforcement then stops the work when called. Jerry admits that his neighborhood is in sort of "a status" and says that if I were to have walked through his neighborhood 20 years ago, it would look the same. The trees may have been a bit bigger, but the houses would look the same. Jerry adds, "You wouldn't see anything that's too totally different, no new apartment buildings." Since Jerry and Scott live in a neighborhood recognized as a historic district, many buildings have seen little change as they have been captured to represent the era they were built in. For example, the 1910 Craftsman House is preserved to how it was in 1910. Scott adds that, "It's all preservation and a lot of the neighbors are enthusiastic about preservation." Therefore, Scott further shares, there neighborhood, or portion of Santa Ana is unique in the fact that they are not seeing new development or construction.

Anticipated Changes: Development and What It Will Change

In addition to perceived changes to the physical and social environment, several individuals embedded in CBOs and NAs also described changes that have not yet occurred. A major project of concern is development on the Willowick Golf Course (adjacent to a future stop along the OC Streetcar line), located in the City of Santa Ana, but owned by the neighboring City of Garden Grove. In 2019, the City of Garden Grove proposed to sell off the 102 acres of land to make room for possibly luxury apartments and a stadium. The thought of these changes, that have not even occurred yet, are prominent in the minds of organizers Samantha and Patricia as they work in the western edge of the city, where the Willowick Golf Course is located. I assisted Patricia and Samantha going door to door to homes that sat around the perimeter of the Willowick Golf Course. On cold fall evenings or sometimes hot summer days we had conversations with residents to hear their thoughts on the proposed future development. Many began to think about what would change in their neighborhoods. They imagined traffic worsening, more parking issues, drastic rent increases, displacement, and exacerbated overcrowded conditions. These are observed changes that several have seen take shape already in the last 10-15 years in their neighborhoods and city.

Jerry, given his proximity to downtown, spoke of several future projects he was anticipating. He mentioned that he has heard of plans for a building that has been abandoned and shuttered shut with wood planks for a long time. The site is the former YMCA Building that lies in close proximity to downtown. The developer is set to develop the site as a hotel boutique. The development is presumed to preserve the historic character of the existing building and is expected to generate revenue for the city. A parking garage will also be implemented as part of the development (Pho, 2019c). Jerry also spoke of the One Broadway Plaza development that will take place also in downtown by the same developer renovating the YMCA building into a hotel boutique. The development is planned to include 14 floors of residential units and 23 floors of office and commercial space, making it the tallest building in Santa Ana. Another project Jerry shared as a perceived change was the First American Title Co. site in downtown. It is set to be developed into a mixed-use development containing commercial and residential units. Parking will be available on site and 5% of the units are set apart as affordable housing units. Clayton also shared excitement about the OC Streetcar that is

currently under construction and will run through downtown. He considers it an amenity that will raise Santa Ana as a high-class city. Such perspectives highlight the anticipation (whether positive or negative) residents have towards new development in their city.

Major Findings and Summary

There are several similarities and differences of the perceived changes that have occurred in the last 10-15 years among individuals embedded in NAs, those imbedded in CBOs, and individuals with no group affiliation. Individuals from both NAs and CBOs and those with no group affiliation all noted changes related to sustainable urban development, but there were also many changes perceived and shared that did not relate to sustainable urban development and instead related to other urban issues such business turnover, parking congestion, overcrowding, cost of living, and demographic shifts as commonly found in previous studies (Jackson, S. L., & Buckman, 2020). Many individuals from both groups and individuals with no group affiliation mentioned observing the most changes in the downtown area, where the majority of sustainable urban development investment has been made. However, sustainable urban development changes did not make up the bulk of their observations. Instead, individuals from both groups and with no group affiliation share that they have observed significantly less businesses catering to the Latinx population. Because of that, many individuals also mention they see less Latinxs shopping and eating downtown and more whites and Asians instead.

Different than most studies documenting perspectives of neighborhood change, Latinxs from CBOs offered a more racialized perspective of change claiming they observe more white and Asian tourists in the downtown area. On the other hand, whites, a few Mexican Americans, and a Mexican immigrant from various NAs, claim they see more diversity in the downtown area. Latinxs from CBOs did not use the word diversity at all in their interviews. This notion of increased "diversity", while widely used and esteemed across several institutions and groups, however, obscures any remnant of racism that may take place in processes of change in the city (Ahmed, 2009) and that are often racialized. This can be seen in a few individuals embedded in NAs who brush aside racial issues that may arise with changes in downtown. On the other hand, individuals from CBOs greatly racialize groups of people now frequenting the downtown area. Individuals from CBOs recount stories when they heard whites dismiss Santa Ana as an insecure and poor area to be avoided in the early 2000s. Such memories influence how individuals from CBOs perceive the increase in the number of white visitors to the downtown area. This increase in the number of white people in the downtown area is not looked well upon by individuals from CBOs, but it is appreciated by individuals from NAs as it has brought forth more diversity in their perspective. The varying perspectives on demographic shifts could also speak to inward and outward perspectives of place (Seamon, 2013). For many individuals embedded in CBOs, an inward approach to place identity is taken where residents control what parts of the outside world can come into their world. Individuals in NAs on the other hand take a more outward approach to place attachment, where outside aspects of the city including people are appreciated in one's community (Moore, 2007; Morley, 2000).

In addition, individuals embedded in CBOs mention that *La Cuatro* is no longer affordable to them or their families leading to the demographic shifts observed in the downtown area towards more white tourists. Individuals embedded in NAs speak little to the

price change. On the contrary, several claim to go to these new establishments to try the food and drinks themselves. While many individuals embedded in CBOs notice the change in who the city is aiming to customize the downtown to cater to, white (non-Hispanic) tourists, many individuals embedded in NAs are grateful for the change as many had considered it "dead" in the past, particularly in the 1990s. Not all individuals embedded in NAs thought the same, however. There was one well known leader of his NA who lived in close proximity to downtown, Jerry, that thought downtown was in actuality now a ghost town, considering he no longer saw the Latinx population that frequented the city seven days a week at all hours in a day previously. Today, Jerry sees the downtown area as only busy on the weekends and observes that businesses are not surviving seeing as they no longer attract Latinx shoppers.

Apart from changes in downtown, individuals from both NAs and CBOs also observe many more apartment complexes being built in the city, in downtown and outside of downtown, particularly in close proximity to transportation infrastructure such as freeways for easy access, future transit stops, and popular transportation corridors. Individuals embedded in NAs observe that these new high-density apartment developments are also being positioned in close proximity to their single-family homes. Many individuals embedded in CBOs also observe that these new apartment complexes are in close proximity to working-class, Latinx communities and that they are much more expensive for them to afford. Not only is the placement of apartment complexes in single-family homes a physical change for many residents, it is also perceived as a lifestyle change, as homeowners anticipate changes related to overcrowding and parking congestion. Individuals not involved in any group also anticipate changes related to parking congestion and overcrowding in areas that are already experiencing these issues. Individuals embedded in CBOs are similarly concerned with these issues, however, they are also anticipating gentrification and displacement as more market rate housing is planned in their city. Such perspectives of change confirm previous studies that shed light on the perspective residents have in relation to TOD (Jackson, S. L., & Buckman, 2020; Nilsson, I., et al., 2020). However, more specific changes are also perceived such as when individuals embedded in CBOs share that a perceived change of theirs is that there are many more barriers to renewing one's lease or acquiring a new apartment, that which has not been documented in perspectives of neighborhood change literature before.

Regardless of their place attachment focus on place identity or place function, common across several individuals was the anticipation of changes they sensed would come to their community, in addition to the changes they were already observing. This anticipation for changes fostered a sense of response in people as they talked about the proposed changes with others in their community. Several individuals from both NAs and CBOs talked about projects that have not been constructed yet, but are in planning phases when asked about their perceived changes. That is, before changes have even been made, residents were already thinking about how the projects will change or impact their community and city. Many individuals name several developments planned for their neighborhoods and share that they already sense that they will foster more traffic, parking congestion, overcrowding, and a rent increase, issues residents are already concerned about. Developments they anticipate include high-density apartment complexes occurring in downtown, in different ends of the city, and in close proximity to transportation amenities such as the future OC Streetcar. Thus, apart from issues of gentrification and displacement as commonly discussed, additional issues such as

overcrowding, and parking congestion are raised as concerns for individuals from varying backgrounds in Santa Ana.

In addition, both individuals embedded in NAs and individuals embedded in CBOs acknowledge that several neighborhoods have severe parking issues and relate them to growing overcrowded conditions. Apart from the increased development of apartments they observe in their community, individuals from both groups perceive that single-family homes now have multiple families or numerous individuals renting homes, adding to the parking congestion that exists in many neighborhoods across Santa Ana. This issue was not noted in former studies describing perspectives of neighborhood change in relation to sustainable urban development such as TOD (Jackson, S. L., & Buckman, 2020; Nilsson, I., et al., 2020). While several individuals embedded in CBOs state that they are living in a one-bedroom apartment with their family, several others embedded in NAs mention they see a lot more overcrowding in homes in their neighborhoods. Much of this overcrowding also comes due to the rent increase many face in Santa Ana, according to several individuals embedded in CBOs and NAs. A big change several young organizers sense is that they are no longer able to move out on their own due to the inability to afford to live on their own. This is not a change common across individuals embedded in NAs since all but one of them have their own home. Such circumstances shed light on the class differences that exist among homeowners who have their own home and renters who cannot afford their own home.

Furthermore, despite the numerous projects taking place in Santa Ana, there are several individuals from both NAs and CBOs who claim that they see no change occurring in their neighborhoods. One individual working on behalf of a CBO mentions that this is attributed to a lack of investment and resources in several neighborhoods of Santa Ana. On the other hand, two individuals embedded in NAs attribute the lack of change to their designation as a historic district and because they claim to manage the change that occurs in their neighborhood. They share that their neighborhood looks as it had years ago because the neighborhood ensures to capture the historical character of the neighborhood, and therefore those in the architecture review committee do not allow change to occur so easily. This ability to "control the change", however, is not a benefit all communities are able to exercise as many communities, particularly low-income and communities of color wrestle with developers and city officials on projects planned for their communities and may incur drastic changes. The designation of historic preservation vs non-historic preservation communities also raises concern regarding disparate treatment and neighborhood change. Though low-income, predominately Latinx communities are historic communities, they do not have the classification of a historic preservation site in comparison to the predominately white neighborhood that does have a historic preservation classification. This designation attributes to unequal outcomes where historic homes are destroyed in the low-income community, but preserved in other neighborhoods. Thus, this designation, marks where change can occur in the city and where it does not and the places and people that will be impacted by changes.

While much has been discussed regarding the physical changes residents observe, less can be said regarding changes that have occurred in organizations, where changes are also noted. Individuals embedded in NAs, for example, share that participation in their organization has decreased substantially within the last 10-15 years. Due to older participants moving away

and current participants growing tired of involvement and of enticing people to join, the number of participants involved has decreased. On the other hand, an individual embedded in a CBO shares that participation in their organization has increased throughout the years. This growth is attributed to the interest residents have in having a space to discuss issues and to be a part of decision making on important matters to them like strategies confronting the cost of living and displacement in their neighborhoods. In addition, an organizer shares that her and many others in her organization recognized the need to shift from solely advocating for policy changes to community organizing around policy changes. Furthermore, a few individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs mentioned the increased involvement of the Santa Ana Police Officer Association in matters of politics. Members from both NAs and CBOs acknowledged them as a corrupt group and as unnecessary, however there were also a few individuals from NAs that believed that the police have enhanced public safety throughout the years.

Finally, apart from physical changes, there has also been an observed change in the number of unhoused individuals in the city. Several individuals embedded in NAs raise their concerns for seeing more unhoused individuals walking through their neighborhoods. While some individuals understand the houseless situation and contribute it to the cost of living and drug use, others instead relate the unhoused population to crime in their neighborhood. Individuals embedded in CBOs did not raise the unhoused population as a prominent concern, but rather focused on the larger forces of the housing crisis that lead residents to be unhoused.

In sum, apart from solely changes related to sustainable urban development like trains and bike lanes, there are additional observed changes in parking congestion, cost of living, demographic shifts, high-density apartment units, increase in unhoused individuals and organizational changes. These changes go beyond issues of gentrification and displacement that are typically associated with sustainable urban development. They highlight that changes go beyond the downtown area where increased investment is made and elucidate the different layers of change that occur in a given city. Such changes may be related some degree to sustainable urban development, but they also may not be. Quantitative studies are needed to further assess. However, this work highlights the context in which sustainable urban development is placed and the existing issues that may be exacerbated due to their implementation if not addressed.

Chapter 7

Findings: Interpretation and Evaluation of Changes (Benefits and Disruptions)

While the previous chapter focused on individual's perceived changes, this chapter focuses more extensively on how individuals interpret and evaluate (whether for the better or worse) changes taking shape in their community in the last 10-15 years. I also place careful attention to the benefits and disruptions individuals from both NAs and CBOs and those without a group affiliation sense in relation to the perceived changes which have transpired through the phase of interpretation and evaluation. Findings shared are drawn from primarily interview data, a review of archival documents, and field notes from participant observations.

Change is natural or forced?

Several individuals embedded in NAs mentioned that the changes they observed, are just an observation of what is typical in cities, the economy, and life. They described the change as a natural part of the evolution of cities. Margaret, an attorney in her 60s, speaks of change as not only as natural, but as something you have to jump on board with or you will get left behind. She further states, "the world is not going to wait for you and the world is not going to change back to a way it was in the past." In thinking about change, Margaret acknowledges that a lot of what she grew up with such as single-family homes and longevity, does not exist anymore. She ties these changes to technology by suggesting that there are automatic cars now and people are not even cooking anymore due to innovative new services that allow you to get food to your door with one click on your phone.

Clayton, an individual embedded in a NA, also recognizes how the economy has influenced the changes he has seen in downtown. Clayton has seen many retail shops in the downtown area close and attributes it to individuals purchasing more from Amazon. Instead of going to the stores, people are now shopping on line and therefore, many of the local businesses are closing in downtown. Clayton claims that existing, long-time businesses in Santa Ana are not going to thrive or survive if the businesses that were there once before do not innovate their services. Clayton further shares, "you have to distinguish yourself from other businesses, you have to advertise." Clayton also recognizes the change in the economy and in demand for chains such as Macy's and JC Penney that are struggling to stay open. He also mentions that Barnes and Noble is fighting to survive because people do not buy books anymore, "people listen to books on their phone or the internet now." He recognizes that holding books and owning them was an attribution of his generation, but today's generation has changed dramatically, requiring different resources and amenities that ultimately drive business in downtown.

Veronica, a NA leader in her downtown neighborhood, agrees that change is a natural process. Veronica has seen her home neighborhood in San Diego change and now sees that Santa Ana is changing greatly. When talking about her neighborhood in downtown, Veronica shares, "Change is happening, and it is going to happen." Veronica adds that change is always happening, "today it is one style, tomorrow another style of clothing is trending." She says this in response to CBOs she used to be a part of that are against any projects that incur

gentrification and change in downtown. Veronica knows she is not going to convince leaders of CBOs to support the change and further states that they are not going to convince her not to accept the change either.

While Margaret, Clayton, and Veronica speak of change as a natural process, Armando, an active leader in numerous CBOs of Santa Ana describes change as more of a forced process. When speaking of a particular recreational facility outside the outskirts of *La Cuatro,* Armando speaks of the change as, "The same forces, economics, politics, that have looked to change the façade, change this zone of the city [La Cuatro]. They have provoked the loss of these spaces [community space]." Thus, Armando recognizes the observed changes as a "provoked" process rather than natural process. Statements such as "Change always occurs" or "Change is good" are used to normalize what is going on and could have negative implications for communities of color (i.e. gentrification and displacement). Individuals embedded in NAs speak about change as a "natural" process that has always occurred. Bonilla-Silva (2017), however, states that nothing is ever natural especially events related to racial matters. Gentrification, like segregation are produced due to social enacted processes (Bonilla-Silva, 2018).

Whether it was natural or provoked, Sandra states, "Well, we needed it. You don't want to be a slum. You don't want to have empty, abandoned buildings. There was a need for it." To defend her position, Sandra then goes on to mention the history of the region, that the Native Americans were the owners of the land at one time, then the Spanish took over the land, and then the land became California. Sandra raises this history as a way to affirm the "natural" process of change as she continues to talk about how the demographics of the region have changed substantially. Such comments shed light on a history of settler colonialism that inflicted forced displacement on indigenous groups in the Santa Ana area known as the Tongva and Acjachemen. Sandra further shares that she knows groups are protesting changes and attempts to sympathize with them, but reiterates that the change, particularly in downtown, was needed.

Cultural Erasure

Armando and several other individuals embedded in CBOs do not think the changes are for the better, they consider them for the worse as the changes have led to displacement and culture erasure. Armando further shares that this culture erasure has been systematic and planned and not natural as suggested by many individuals embedded in NAs. For example, Armando shares that the city created a new tax on local businesses that would go to a local business improvement organization promoting drastic changes to the downtown. This organization is controlled by a major developer in the area, Armando adds. As part of this group, Armando shares that this group shares the vision of gentrification and recognize gentrification as a positive for the city. Armando believes their mission is to conspire an economic strategy to attract tourism and transform Santa Ana's image into an attractive place where people from outside would want to go and spend their money. Armando does not consider this group to include working-class residents in this economic strategy. Armando thinks if their economic strategy were flipped to include local residents and if they invested in the people who live and consumed in Santa Ana already, the economic potential would be much bigger for the people a part of the business improvement organization. In this way, local

residents would spend their money in the city seven days a week at all hours, rather than have clientele from other cities that only come once a week for a few hours.

Isabel, a volunteer for a CBO, agrees and thinks the changes do not carry the interest of the local community. Isabel thinks the changes in downtown are for tourists and not the locals. She, like many other individuals embedded in CBOs, consider the changes negative and worsening the overall conditions of the neighborhood. The changes have made things more difficult for local residents particularly for those who had the dream of owning their own business in downtown. Isabel reiterates that people do not shop there anymore because they know that none of the businesses are locally owned and because it no longer reminds them of home. Though the city pushes for sustainable urban development in downtown, with the implementation of complete streets, the OC Streetcar (light rail), a train station, and more mixed-use development, Isabel does not consider the changes sustainable as they induce gentrification, displacement, and financial struggles for businesses. Isabel has grown greatly disappointed in the changes and thinks that these changes are occurring at the expense of existing, long-time residents. In this way, the changes to downtown have disrupted what Isabel perceives as home and what she can afford.

Patricia, an individual embedded in a CBO, agrees that the changes in her city have made overall conditions of her city worse. The changes invoke a mixture of emotions in her. Patricia has grown angry witnessing the changes and the lack of prioritization city officials have for the people who made Santa Ana what it is (i.e. long-time existing residents and the immigrant population). Patricia in remembering the community she feels is being ignored and displaced states, "That's what made Santa Ana. We gave it a New York Times article." Patricia also feels a sense of fear for the changes that are happening and that are being planned. She fears her family and others will be displaced and she fears that Santa Ana will no longer be the safe haven it was for her and the immigrant community as changes continue. She fears the disruption of the very things she esteemed about her city including the Latinx immigrant identity and culture.

Patricia thinks the changes are great, but wishes they had been made accessible for her community. For example, her parents tell her that *La Cuatro* in the past use to be dangerous. Therefore, she considers it a good thing that downtown Santa Ana is now a safer place to be. However, she questions why that change could not have been made for Latino families to enjoy. She is further saddened at the thought that her parents, who typically sale luggage at a local swap meet, will never be able to own a local business of their own on 4th Street/La Cuatro now like they had once dreamed of doing due to the high cost of rent. Patricia further shares that she is interested in trying breweries and in trying new foods such as Mediterranean food in restaurants that have opened up, but the changes continue to sadden her as she recognizes that these changes were not made for her and her community. Patricia agrees that many communities need investment, but she does not see it for the existing, long-time Latino/Mexican immigrant population. She expresses that she had a similar feeling growing up when she saw that good resources and amenities went to south county, the southern portion of Orange County considered wealthier and whiter, rather than Santa Ana, a predominately Latinx immigrant city. Instead of seeing the disparity between north and south county, she now sees the disparity growing in her own city between homeowners and renters and poor and affluent communities. Patricia adds that these are nice changes that have occurred in her city,

particularly downtown, but they are also places that, "we can't go and eventually we're going to have to leave."

"I am for anything that improves the neighborhood"

Regardless of existing threats of displacement and gentrification, Henri, a Mexican American (3rd generation) resident and an individual embedded in a NA, is in support of a major development that will take place in close proximity to his neighborhood made up of predominately Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Vietnamese residents. His neighborhood, recognized as one of the poorest and as a gang injunction, sits adjacent to a future stop along the newly constructed OC Streetcar. In conjunction with the OC Streetcar, are also plans to develop the Willowick Golf Course, 102 acres of open space. City officials have sought to rezone the land from open space to mixed use to accommodate residential and commercial establishments. Initial plans had been to implement high-density apartment living and a stadium next to the future stop. Close by, residents have already seen the increased development of high-cost and high-density apartment units. While many individuals embedded in CBOs interpret such changes as a major sign of the city's plans for cultural erasure and a threat to preserving one of the last green spaces in north central Orange County, Henri interprets the proposed changes as an effort to improve the neighborhood from blight and overcrowded conditions.

Contrary to the perspective of several individuals embedded in CBOs, Henri does not perceive that simply holding the 102 acres as open space would be sufficient to improve his community. Henri interprets and evaluates development as a positive for his community. Henri thinks that the development ideas that the City of Garden Grove (city adjacent to Santa Ana) is proposing, and the City of Santa Ana is supporting (since it is located in Santa Ana) will improve the overall conditions of the surrounding neighborhoods in both cities. His logic is that by putting new businesses and luxury apartments on the Willowick Golf Course site, surrounding businesses of which include mechanic shops will have to improve as well especially as they are related to additional plans of improvement such as the Harbor Corridor Plan adjacent to his neighborhood. He also thinks that the neighborhood will improve because increased development, will mean increased housing rent. Due to the increase in rent and inability to pay the increase, people will have to move out of the neighborhood, lessening overcrowded conditions, according to Henri.

Nevertheless, Henri at times contemplates leaving his own neighborhood since he has grown disappointed in it and thinks that many people do not take care of their homes. However, he has a lot of hope in the proposed developments and thinks it will improve his neighborhood. Henri goes on to share:

> *They have to improve it and it can't be ten tire places in one street or mechanics are all over the place. So, they're going to have to basically change the face of the building. They're going to have to improve it. The golf course when its improved its going to be a high value place so people are going to charge even more in rent because they want to improve their houses, so they will have to increase and those who cannot afford it will have to move out. Back to a family of six in one house rather than a family of 20.*

In the quote above, Henri shares his solution to the overcrowding concerns in the city. In his eyes, more development, does indeed mean rent will increase, like many individuals embedded in CBOs also believe. However, he as a homeowner, recognizes it as a good thing to decrease issues of overcrowding. Individuals embedded in CBO's, on the other hand, believe that the rent increase will in turn foster more overcrowding because people will not be able to afford to live on their own. Because it is such a safe haven and a city with a strong Mexican identity, residents may not want to move out of Santa Ana despite facing displacement.

Too much housing or not enough housing?

Sandra and Clinton, two homeowners and individuals embedded in a NA, upon hearing plans to implement a high-density apartment complex in their middle to upper-class neighborhood evaluated that this project would worsen overall conditions of their neighborhood. Together they think Santa Ana has too much apartment housing already and that the city will get more crowded with cars and people then there already is in Santa Ana. Santa Ana is considered one of the densest in the US (Governing The Future of States and Localities, 2017), trailing cities like New York City and Los Angeles. Santa Ana is also considered to have surpassed its affordable housing goals in comparison to other cities in the state (Pho, 2020b). Thus, Sandra and Clinton, thinks there is enough housing in Santa Ana. With the proposed development of a high-density luxury apartment in their neighborhood consisting of primarily single-family homes, Sandra and Clinton considered the development would also increase the population substantially, and exacerbating overcrowded conditions, traffic, and parking congestion in their neighborhood. Adding more high-density apartment complexes, whether market rate or affordable, would exacerbate urban complexities related to parking and overcrowded conditions. Sandra and Clinton further shared that the project planned for their neighborhood may be a good idea, but not for their neighborhood or city.

Sandra states that Santa Ana is not New York. While New York has substantial density, it has an abundance of park space for residents. Santa Ana, however, does not have the park space to accommodate its growing population, according to Sandra. Sandra at one point moved away in her early 20s from Santa Ana to live in the mountains of northern California because she considered Santa Ana too claustrophobic and polluted. She eventually moved back to Santa Ana and stayed after marrying her spouse who had just started a career and purchased a home in Santa Ana. Though she despised staying in Santa Ana at first, she admits that Santa Ana has grown on her and considers one of the natural reserves and parks close to her home a real draw for her to find contentment in staying in Santa Ana. This access to green space is rare to find, however, in other neighborhoods considered park poor in Santa Ana.

Apart from increased density, Margaret, a homeowner, is not fond of the impact that increased apartment developments have had on neighborhood character. She attributes the increase in apartment living to urban development that strives to create more mixed-use establishments. Margaret states that it is a hassle to search for an apartment because the numbers to find an apartment are so hidden and confusing. She describes apartment living as a maze where she usually gets lost trying to find someone's apartment. In addition, she thinks they have been built poorly, where you can hear every little thing such as doors slamming and

people yelling. Margaret considers mixed-used high-density apartment units to have made conditions in her neighborhood worse as they foster an environment where people move in and out all of the time. They do not offer stability the same way owning a home would. Since people are constantly moving in and out, Margaret shares that the dumpsters are also always filled with furniture residents were not able to take with them such as old mattresses and dressers.

William, a homeowner and president of his NA, agrees that too many high-density apartments are being built in Santa Ana. William does not understand why development is not implemented elsewhere in the county. William suggests development should be constructed in cities like Irvine, a master planned city in south Orange County with plenty of open space. William questions why developers do not go there instead to build high-density apartments. As developers continue to propose high-density apartment complexes in older cities like Santa Ana, William considers these actions as worsening the overall conditions of the neighborhood. He also infers that developers will also face growing resistance from home owners who do not want high-density apartments in their neighborhoods. William further shares that homeowners resent state demands that call for increased housing and resolving the housing crisis. William further shares, "by allowing granny flats and all these other things they will continue to have people rejecting that idea."

Clinton recognizes that there is a housing crisis and that something has to be done about it. He agrees in building more homes to meet the need, but thinks that the development of new housing needs to spread throughout the county and not just be located in Santa Ana. Clinton believes more housing needs to be implemented in neighboring cities, especially cities who are not doing their part in building more units. During the interview, Clinton shared a table showing Santa Ana as the second city with the highest density in California, the seventh highest density city in the nation, and the 58th most populist city in the country. Clinton further shares that he has been called a NIMBY (Not in My Back-Yard activist) by residents in neighboring cities. Nimbies are described as self-serving (Norton, B., & Hannon, 1998), indifferent to the public good, and to perpetuate forms of social injustice (Feldman & Tucker, 2010). However, Clinton reiterates that he opposes more high-density apartment units because he thinks other cities need to take on the charge. Once at a city council meeting, Clinton was confronted by neighboring residents from the City of Fullerton telling them in Santa Ana they need to do their part and build more. Clinton responds:

> *You're coming in from this really low-density area and telling us we need to do more? That's what's frustrating to me personally is people from the outside telling Santa Ana you need to do more.*

Sandra, who lives in the same neighborhood agrees with Clinton and insists that other cities across the county should take the burden of introducing high-density housing to meet the demand of housing. She grew shocked when she learned about the development of an eight-story high-density apartment complex by her neighborhood at a Sunshine Ordinance Meeting. She understands that there is a need for housing, but thinks there are already thousands of apartments currently under development within a half mile of her neighborhood. She told me that if I were to walk down the street from the café we were sitting at, I would see several

apartment complexes being developed. On top of that, Sandra shares that there are also more apartments planned as part of the renovations to the Main Place Mall in Santa Ana, which sits adjacent to her neighborhood. Sandra further states, "At what point do we say, 'enough is enough'? At what point do we say, "We're already the fourth largest, the fourth densest community in the nation. Is it that important for us to be number one? It's not to me." Apart from density, Sandra believes that density also fosters more problems such as smog, congestion and traffic, the very reason why she decided to leave Santa Ana long ago for north California.

From luxury apartment housing to homeless shelters, Sandra thinks that Santa Ana takes too much of the burden of building apartments and shelters. She considers these actions to be making the conditions of her neighborhood and overall city worse. Her concerns include overcrowding, traffic, and parking issues that would emerge with the development of high-density apartment complexes. Sandra shares that Santa Ana already has parking and traffic issues and considers the implementation of high-density apartment complexes as a way to exacerbate these issues. Sandra foresees that not just one family would move into an apartment, but multiple families given many apartments and homes in downtown have multiple families in one unit. Sandra adds, that "in Santa Ana, historically there's never just one family in an apartment in Santa Ana." Such comments do raise concerns for racial undertones as predominately Latinx immigrants make up the majority in Santa Ana and can be depicted as living in overcrowded conditions, in apartments and homes. With resistance to high-density apartment units, it could also seem like resistance to development that would bring in more Latinxs into their community, perpetuating segregation. Additionally, with more families in one unit, Sandra also thinks that there will be more cars since there is more than one driver in each apartment. Sandra and others from her NA knew that any proposed high-density apartment complex developed in their neighborhood would funnel excess parking over into her neighborhood.

Roxana, a Mexican American (2nd generation) and an individual embedded in a NA, agrees that there are multiple families living in homes in Santa Ana, particularly in her neighborhood. Whereas many may attribute this to the cost of living, she attributes overcrowding to culture. Roxanna is 2nd generation Mexican and lives in a predominantly Mexican neighborhood. She states, "We're not like, 'You're 18. Get out of the house.' We're like, 'You're 18. You can still stay home. You need help? Why are you going to rent a place? You can stay here for free'." Roxana portrays overcrowding as an outcome of family being overly supportive of their family by providing housing for them. However, there are also many that do not have their family close by to stay with and therefore stay in other homes with other people they do not know. While many residents believe the homes in their neighborhoods have become more overcrowded, few people have looked at the social and health impact of living in overcrowded conditions.

It is not about race

When individuals embedded in NAs talk about their opposition to the development of high-density apartments in their neighborhoods, many times residents defend their statements by stating, "it's not about race". William, thinks it is a question of different interests, claiming renters are different then homeowners and care about different things in their neighborhood.

William believes it's not a good fit for neither homeowners nor renters for high-density apartment complexes to be placed in close proximity to single-family homes. William goes on to say that when people own their home, they feel they have invested in their home and desire to be around others who have also invested substantially into their homes. On the other hand, William describes renters as typically young, without children, and with little motivation to invest in property. They feel that there is no reason to invest into a property since they are focused on school and do not have families yet, according to William. William reiterated, "They live a different kind of life." Such comments, however, foster segregation by fabricating differences that may exist among renters and homeowners, that often times is also distinguished by race and class.

With increased development occurring in his city, William perceives it as a way for the city, particularly planners, to merge renters with homeowners or more high-density apartment complexes near single-family homes. William does not agree with it and he defends his stance by insisting it is not about race, despite Latinxs making up the majority of renters in Santa Ana. William shares:

> And it's not because people are prejudice, it's because of the investment and with the other people that rent, it's because the lifestyle.

Ironically, when asked what he thinks has caused his neighborhood to change, William shares that part of it is attributed to a lack of oversight at the border. William states, "From day one Santa Ana was a magnet and with the Border Patrol not becoming patrolled it's just become more and more of a magnet." William thinks that Santa Ana has had an exponential level of growth and density due to the increase of immigrants. William further shares that while the census has documented the population of Santa Ana at 332,000, there is another 330,000 residents who have gone unaccounted given their status. William understands why the numbers would grow though. William shares, "Because human nature is human nature. And if you are trying to better yourself or better your family, find the route to do that, you are going to take it."

Clinton, further shares that it's not about race, but about responsible development that he does not want a high-density apartment complex built adjacent to his single-family residential area. Clinton shares that it is not about being a NIMBY, rather it is about responsible development. Clinton claims, "You really don't put in a nine-story structure next to single family homes." Clinton further shares that the property where the high-density apartment complex was proposed was zoned for professional use because that is what the city deemed most appropriate next to single-family homes. While the developer insists that the development is residential and should be compatible next to existing residential areas including single-family homes, Clinton disagrees. Clinton with frustration shares, "No, it's maximum height of 35 feet to a height of 98 feet. That's not compatible. Those people [residents of apartment complex] are going to be looking right down into the backyard of those people [residents of single-family residential area]." In this way, a sense of privacy is obscured when residents in the apartment complex can look down over into the yards of residents in single-family homes.

People need their space

Others think development should slow down because people need their space. Magali, an individual embedded in a CBO, also recognizes the overcrowding in her neighborhood, both in terms of people and cars. Magali states that she is fine with multiple people living in homes of her neighborhood because she realizes that is how people make ends meet. She also adds that she may also be on that same path one day of living with others or another family to make ends meet. Magali also realizes, however, that it is a really hard way to live because there is little space for one to just 'be'. She often sees people on their own, in their cars trying to take some time to themselves and to escape their overcrowded living conditions. Magali grows emotional seeing people in these circumstances as she sits on her porch people watching the road with a multitude of parked cars. Magali shares, "My heart breaks that we don't have enough space to be happy, healthy and free." In Magali's perspective, the overall conditions of her neighborhood are growing worse because there are less places to be healthy and free. The overcrowded conditions do not facilitate a healthy life for residents. Magali senses these emotions a midst plans that the City of Garden Grove and the City of Santa Ana have for developing market-rate housing in a low-income neighborhood, on one of the last open spaces of north Orange County.

Jerry, an individual embedded in a NA, also mentions observing heightened overcrowded conditions in his neighborhood. He thinks his neighborhood has worsened in the sense that there are fewer places for people to relax after a long day of work. Jerry shares that after a long day of work, residents simply want to go home and rest in a quiet place. Jerry considers rest as crucial for the state of mind. Jerry considers rest important for people to get a good night sleep, but not a lot of people get a break, leading many people to be angry, according to Jerry. While he feels close with his neighbors, he also feels the tension some residents embody given the hard circumstances they are living. Jerry walks his dog often in the neighborhood and stops to speak with many neighbors he sees along the way. Sometimes some residents do not have time to talk with him as they rush inside their homes to do what they need to do. Other times, Jerry senses conversations dominated by the negative aspects of their neighborhood or changes they do not like in relation to the nearby development. Rather than speak about the positive aspects of a neighborhood, conversations are filled with complaints about the neighborhood.

The City was Horribly Planned

When asked about what residents attribute to their neighborhood conditions, several individuals embedded in NAs all agreed that the city has been horribly planned. Sandra, for example, was very vocal in explaining where the city went wrong in terms of development. She along with others state that the city has undertaken a "piece-meal" zoning over the years that have worsened the conditions of her neighborhood and city. Sandra shares downtown Santa Ana as an example where she highlights that there were once beautiful Victorian homes of which were destroyed to develop box shaped apartments that lack character. High-rise apartment complexes, of which she considered "ugly", were also implemented in a piece-meal fashion, built adjacent to beautiful historic homes. She thought such development made her

city look blighted and horrible. While the city implemented high-rise apartment complexes, she questioned where the park space was going? She accredits these plans to a lack of a vision for the city and a lack of having a general plan to guide development in the city. Currently, Sandra sees a lot of spot-zoning in her city where zoning can be changed in select areas to accommodate different uses then what it was originally planned for. Sandra states, "You don't spot re-zone. You do the general plan, so you have a vision for what's best for the overall community." A city's general plan is an important document directing development in a city. Often times, the public is engaged in the development of the document. However, many times there are also many who are excluded from the process for many reasons including language barriers, lack of time, or because they are unaware of the process (Schlozman, K.L., Brady, H.E. & Verba, 2018). More than often, it is middle class, white homeowners who are able to attend meetings to develop an important such as the general plan of their city, setting the agenda and shaping concerns and recommendations.

Jerry, an individual embedded in a NA, agrees that the city has carried out irresponsible development without implementation of an updated general plan for guidance. Jerry shares, "It's tiring, because we can't get a cadence with the city. They just want to build anything, tear down anything and that changes these very delicate neighborhoods, and how much they should change." Jerry notices that the city supports several new developments occurring in different parts of the city, but with no general plan to refer to. Because the city lacks a general plan, Jerry senses these implemented projects may be making conditions of the neighborhood worse. Jerry adds that it is not even the development, it is the lack of thoughtful growth that concerns him. Jerry wants to keep pushing for the general plan's update because it should reflect the community's goals. Jerry goes on to say that if a general plan is not updated, there will be "tremendous discord" and the city will be putting "owners against renters and classes of people against each other." Jerry blames the city for setting people against each other, "So, it turns out to be a fight instead of cooperation."

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Corruption of Politicians

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Behind the intensification of development, several also recognize corrupt politicians and/or favoritism towards developers having a negative impact on the overall conditions of the city. Jerry thinks, the City is siding with developers on virtually all projects proposed in the City to please them instead of the existing long-time residents. Jerry has grown concerned over the "aggressiveness of the development community" and recognizes that more destruction would come to Santa Ana should developers be permitted to build more. Jerry recognizes that Orange County is low on arable land. Thus, if developers want to build something, they will have to demolish existing establishments and buildings. Jerry's concern is that many times, it is the historic homes and buildings that are threatened with demolishment first.

Jerry shares the example of One Broadway, a mixed-use development in close proximity to the Santa Ana Regional Transportation Center. It would consist of 37 floors and aims to foster a more walkable environment and bring in more millennials to live-work by downtown. With the development of this building, which would be considered the highest in Orange County with its construction, would infringe on a nearby historic *barrio* made up of majority Latinxs. These actions, according to Jerry, are happening throughout the city and are

permissible by the city. Peter Moscowitz (2017) states that developers cannot be blamed for processes of gentrification, but local governments as well have facilitated the process by allowing for projects such as One Broadway (Moscowitz, 2017). Jerry further states, "You know, the city is no longer your friend. Their client is the developer." Jerry considers this wrong and lacks a value for the existing neighborhoods. This kind of irresponsible development is also concerning and worries Jerry deeply. Such concerns highlight the "city as a growth machine" rhetoric, where politicians and developers or elite members generate projects with goals of profit maximization (Molotch, 1976). Several individuals embedded in CBOs would also agree. Many consider local officials to be more concerned about preserving their relationships with developers then tending to the needs of long-time and low-income residents.

Process Matters

Previous research has highlighted that process matters for shaping one's perception of change. Residents who can attest to a fair planning process, are more willing to accept the outcome even if their desired outcome did not pan out (Gross, 2007b). Apparent in several interviews with individuals from both CBOs and NAs, is the importance of process and their involvement in decision making processes. Though Santa Ana has taken steps to increase transparency in the development process, Jerry still considers the process unfair. In the last 10 years, Santa Ana has implemented the Sunshine Ordinance meetings which calls for developers and city officials to hold community meetings regarding projects they have proposed changes on. These meetings are meant to include residents early on in the project planning. However, Jerry does not find that his inclusion is invited early on. Jerry shares:

You know the city will meet with a developer or an applicant a year or two years in advance before the community knows about it. So, they've got 85-90% plans, which means plans are almost ready to be constructed, but by that time I have a two-week window to come up with my thoughts. Engage my community is critical. And then make some sort of coherent argument to the Planning Commission in the city council. That's terribly unfair.

Jerry considers this process does not allow him enough time to look at the project plans and develop questions and comments about it. He considers it "egregious" and hopes that urban planning does not continue going in that direction. He considers those processes to have a dark side that can be consuming. Jerry thinks that the ethics for development need to be set high for all communities, regardless of their class, age, or race/ethnicity and even if they are only renting. Jerry shares, "everybody needs to be given the same attention and treatment."

Several individuals embedded in CBOs do not think that everyone is given the same treatment. Diana, in her quest to resist plans on the 102 acres of land adjacent to a future potential stop of the OC Streetcar, noticed differential treatment as compared to a group of white, wealthy residents (several from NAs) resisting a high-density apartment complex in their neighborhood. Diana learned that the city council at the time was more accommodating and more open to meeting with white, wealthy residents, rather than the low-income, communities of color, she was advocating alongside. While white, affluent individuals had the opportunity to

meet and discuss with public officials their concerns for the proposed project, Diana feels that the group she worked closely with was sidelined. Ultimately, the project protested by white, affluent residents was rejected as desired by the group of predominately white, affluent residents, while 102 acres of land adjacent to a working-class neighborhood is still threatened by development. Apart from treatment, different outcomes may also be related to the more time and resources white residents have access to, to organize and resist changes in comparison to working-class, immigrant communities (Pho, 2019).

Benefits & Disruptions

Downtown Changes

Individuals embedded in NAs were more likely to state that they considered improvements in downtown as benefits to neighborhood change. Sandra, for example, shares that downtown needed the change. She and others embedded in NAs go on to share that downtown was once a ghost town and nothing, but quinceañera shops. Given there are less quinceañera shops or shops catering to the Latinx population, there are also less Latinxs in downtown and more diversity of clients. This growing diversity is also recognized as a benefit by several individuals embedded in NAs. While diversity can be highlighted as a step towards progress, it can also obscure implicit bias or racism towards Latinx immigrants in the downtown area. In addition, individuals embedded in NAs also appreciate that there are more restaurants and attractions that they view as benefits for the City in the downtown area. There are also others that believe that the OC Streetcar, the newly constructed train, will greatly raise Santa Ana to a world class city improving mobility efforts and tourism throughout the city. Some residents imbedded in NAs such as Clayton and Clinton are proud to say their city will have a train given they had traveled to other cities such as Paris and Tokyo and considered it a benefit to have a train system expand in the downtown area. Clayton also sees it as a benefit that the City is now capitalizing on tourism like neighboring cities of Anaheim and Garden Grove who cater to amusement park (i.e. Disney Land) tourists. Changes downtown are also perceived as beneficial since homeowners claim to have had an increase in property value.

Individuals in CBOs, on the other hand, found it difficult to mention many benefits from neighborhood change. Samantha half-heartedly shares, "I guess we have a few more bike lanes." In light of downtown changes, they notice new changes such as new restaurants and the OC Streetcar, but these benefits they quickly interpret as not for them and creates in them an inner tension or inner disruption. Samantha and Patricia agree that it is great to see the new restaurants in downtown, but they do not consider such changes for them. They consider these changes for tourists and to come at the cost of displacing existing long time Latinx and low-income residents. One of the biggest disruptions to organizer's 'bubble' are new visitors to the downtown area who are non-Latino.

Community Mobilization

One benefit that individuals from both NAs and CBOs emphasize is that increasing threats have led to increased community mobilization; residents feel more empowered to

defend their communities. They also feel more respected to some degree by the city as public officials recommend developers meet with individuals in distinct CBOs and NAs to share proposed plans with them first. For example, Martha shared that the City recommended a developer first reach out to her CBO since they have a strong influence in the community. Others, like Margarita, were inspired to be a part of a group focusing on issues important to them in their community. Margarita, a Mexican immigrant and woman in her 60s, in all of her years of living in her community, had not participated in any organization until she learned about the threats of displacement that would come with the implementation of luxury apartment housing adjacent to her low-income neighborhood on a site currently zoned as open space. In addition, Jerry, though he agrees that the city recommends developers reach out to his NA to talk about project ideas before submitting applications, Jerry shares that this developer-resident leader relationship has not always been beneficial. Jerry claims that he has undergone threats from developers for disagreeing with projects. He reached the point of having to pull out a loan to pay for legal assistance and almost faced a divorce with his wife as they reached financial concerns related to his legal measures taken against a particular developer.

Public Safety

Other benefits, as mentioned by individuals from NAs, include improved public safety in the city. Clayton, an individual from a NA, shares that he considers public safety to have improved in the city as they see statistics have dropped. Clayton and other individuals from NAs including Henri actually believe the city should invest more in the police for and increase the number of police officers in Santa Ana. On the other hand, Javier, an individual from a CBO, feels less safe with the expansion of the police force. Javier considers it a disruption to have more police involved in political matters including campaign contributions. Javier senses they are greatly expanding their power in an unjust manner. Their expansion does not help Javier feel safer, instead it makes him more frustrated as he thinks resources should be instead allocated to community resources.

Affordable Housing

Martha, an individual embedded in a CBO and lives in close proximity to the park, perceives the affordable housing she lives in as a benefit. Previously she lived in overcrowded conditions and was not able to find an affordable place to live in on her own. However, with learning about an affordable housing opportunity on the radio, she applied and was granted an apartment for her family of five. It was a tremendous benefit as it gave her family a place to live outside of crowded conditions, an affordable rent, and motivated her to keep organizing with her local CBO to bring more affordable housing opportunities to her city and neighborhood. On the other hand, individuals embedded in NAs consider affordable housing in the form of high-density apartment complexes a disruption considering they think that Santa Ana already has enough high-density apartment complexes. They perceive high-density apartment units will only exacerbate traffic, parking congestion, and create more density. They think other cities of the county should take on the task of implementing their share of affordable housing.

Benefits, But with a Bit of Uncertainty

Specific Establishments Catered to Specific Groups

There are particular establishments that Diana and Patricia, individuals embedded in CBOs, recognize as benefits and community assets because they are community oriented and they are places that they can go to and have a beer with other friends like them (i.e. Santa Ana locals, Latino residents). Many sensed that Santa Ana was missing a local bar where young Latinos can go to unwind. However, they also feel troubled by going to these places as they consider these spaces to be a part of the gentrification process. The changes in downtown have caused a disruption to how young Latinos embedded in CBOs perceive downtown. Santa Ana use to be a safety bubble for many of them. Today, the changes have disturbed their perception of downtown; they no longer see it the same. For Isabel, changes in downtown have disturbed relationships as well. When she hears of friends wanting to go to downtown, she distances herself and tells them she does not agree with going to downtown because of all of the changes that have not benefited them, the local Latino population. In addition, Patricia shares that the changes in downtown have disrupted how she feels about conducting meetings there in downtown. Sometimes when other organizers recommend meeting in one of downtown's new restaurants or coffee shops she suggests doing it elsewhere. Other times, because she relies on public transit, it's easier to simply consume a meal or wait at a restaurant or coffee shop in downtown. However, she only does so only if it is her last choice.

Veronica, while she sees the OC Streetcar as a benefit for the downtown area, she thinks it will also serve as a disruption to the local businesses. She thinks the OC Streetcar should have passed on another road rather the main street going through downtown to reduce traffic. She has heard from several business owners that their businesses are being impacted by the OC Streetcar construction. Veronica also feels that the city has not done enough to protect the business owners. Veronica shares that the city could have provided more signage to help promote the businesses being blocked due to construction to let everyone know they were still in service.

Park Development

Armando suggests that there is a park including skating ramp that has been built in a neighborhood adjacent to downtown, in front of a coffee shop and elementary school. It's a huge benefit as it was advocated for by local residents years ago and has finally been implemented. This park space is considered a benefit as the youth of the neighborhood do not have adequate park space or places to decompress given the overcrowded living conditions.

Development has also disrupted the manner in which residents look at green space and vacant space in their city. Some residents grow worried when they see vacant spaces as they think that developers will soon snatch them up and start to build on them. Others such as Armando and Jose perceive the vacant space as an opportunity for the City to implement community benefits such as park space, community gardens, and small community led markets. In addition, open space has also been disrupted in the sense that developers want to build on one of the last open spaces in central Orange County. However, on the other hand, individuals

embedded in CBOs also recognize the tremendous benefit that could come from keeping it as a park space for the community. For it to be rezoned and developed instead of serving as a park space for the predominately Latinx and park poor area, would be a threat to the community's wellbeing. Individuals embedded in CBOs agree that decisions made on public land today set precedence for decisions made in the future and ramifications for surrounding low-income and communities of color.

<div align="center">**Disruptions**</div>

Individuals embedded in CBOs also face disturbances as they fear making complaints about their homes that may result in their displacement. Others are forced to move a lot in their city and find it difficult to find an affordable place to live. This shows that disruptions are not only physical but mental as well as residents stress over circumstances that may happen to them. Others find that they cannot move even though they want to move out from living with their parents. In this way, they sense a disruption with having to move, but also the burden of not being able to afford to live in another place of their own. Their plans for marrying, going to school, and moving out are disturbed as young organizers cannot proceed in the way they wished they could due to the economic barriers. While the City seeks to implement urban development to accommodate more housing for younger residents, young residents in Santa Ana embedded in CBOs are not able to afford to live on their own in the luxury apartments being built across the City.

Disrupting Single-Family Home Residential Areas

While a few individuals embedded in NAs consider some high-density apartment complexes a benefit for the city, the majority consider them a disruption or threat to their single-family residential areas. They are seen as a threat especially when high-density apartment complexes that are located next to single-family homes as a disruption. Clinton shares that they are nice new developments, however, what makes them a benefit are that they are in a good location (i.e. not next to single family residential areas). Clayton shares that high-density apartment complexes become a disruption when they are next to single family homes.

Disrupting Neighborhood Cohesion

There have also been disruptions to neighborhood cohesion according to both individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs. Jerry, an individual embedded in a NA, as he goes out on a walk with his dog on a daily basis shares that he no longer feels the same cohesion with his neighbors. Jerry states that rather than talk about the good things in their neighborhood, residents now talk about development and traffic in their neighborhoods. Patricia shares that there are constant disruptions to her relationships with residents in her CBO and apartment complex. She mentions that it is difficult to retain relationships with neighbors when residents are constantly moving out of the apartment complex and city. Even their liberty to use space as renters is disrupted as they are aware that the spaces they have as renters, such as their living

rooms, back yards, and balconies are not fully theirs and therefore do not use them to invite neighbors over and talk. In addition, Margie shares that even her family dynamics are disrupted as family members no longer visit Margie and her grandmother considering parking is so difficult to find. Her uncle, for example, gets too frustrated driving around to find parking. After not finding parking for some time, her uncle just leaves. Studies have highlighted how increased development can increase concerns over the cost of rent, increased density, traffic, and also as Patricia, Jerry, and Margie sense, a loss of community (Jackson, S. L., & Buckman, 2020).

Disrupting A Sense of Food Security

Another major threat for predominately immigrant residents living in downtown is having their grocery store taken away. In a neighborhood adjacent to downtown with predominantly Mexican immigrant families, the owners of a grocery store sought to close their grocery store and implement instead a high-density apartment complex. This came as threat to local residents wellbeing as the grocery store that many families went to was being proposed to be shut down and converted into apartments. Karla, a local community organizer in the area asked, "where are all of the mom's going to shop?" Though high-density apartment complexes in the downtown area may induce a more walkable community, it takes away the walkable grocery store many low-income and Mexican immigrants counted on to purchase food for their family. This occurs in a neighborhood that has already historically undergone conditions of blight and destruction. Planners respond to resident's complaints by stating, "We cannot tell property owners what to do with their property. We can only make sure it is up to code." This approach facilitates a change of business where a grocery owner no longer sells groceries but is now a land lord. It also fosters a sense of food injustice, as the community made up predominately of Latinxs, now has less opportunities to purchase healthy and affordable groceries.

No Disruption

Residents with no affiliation to a group do not describe too many disruptions to their day to day activities. They experience occasional disruptions to traffic given new street paving projects, but for the most part do not describe drastic disruptions.

Main Findings and Summary

Individuals embedded in NAs and individuals embedded in CBOs varied in their interpretation and evaluation of perceived changes. On some aspects, individuals from both groups agreed, but other times individuals from both groups interpreted and evaluated changes distinctly. To begin with, individuals from both groups interpret and evaluate the notion of change itself in diverging ways. Whereas some individuals from NAs conceived of change as a natural process, a few individuals from CBOs thought of change as a forced process. Several individuals embedded in NAs shared that perceived changes were simply a part of the greater economic changes, technological advances, and a change in demand that the market was naturally undergoing. Individuals embedded in NAs called on businesses and people to adapt

with enhanced advertisement or by diversifying products and services in order to survive the changing market. Those who do not keep up or those who are not able to adapt, ultimately will not meet demand, and therefore will be displaced. Armando, an individual embedded in a CBO, counters these notions by suggesting that the change he has experienced and observed in his city is forced. Armando reaches this conclusion as he observes a lack of protection and investment by the city to ensure long-time, Latinx businesses grow on *La Cuatro*. This idea of change as natural or forced is important to grapple with as cities are led by the market, yet shaped by policies facilitating or halting particular types of development. These different perspectives of change are important to acknowledge as they help shape the responses one chooses to take.

Many individuals embedded in CBOs also interpret and evaluate changes they have observed as worsening the overall conditions of the neighborhood given the cultural erasure and displacement they have experienced and perceive to be associated with increased investment of sustainable urban development, but also a lack of protection for renters and additional taxes in place that hurt local, longtime Latinx business owners. Individuals embedded in CBOs do not consider the changes to carry the interests of the local Latinx immigrant community. Rather than include Latinx immigrant communities in the benefits of change, they are interpreted by individuals embedded in CBOs as marginalized or sidelined. It is in this stage of interpretation and evaluation, that threats or disruptions to place attachment become more evident. For Isabel, a volunteer for a local CBO, the changes to downtown have disrupted how she perceives home given the loss of sense of place and what she identifies with and what she can afford. Patricia shares that she worries the 'safe haven' she and the immigrant community relied on will no longer exists due to the changes on *La Cuatro* and threats of gentrification and displacement that disproportionately impact the Latinx, working class community. Several individuals embedded in CBOs consider the changes nice, but they do not see the changes as something the Latinx community will enjoy given the high prices and threats of displacement residents face on a daily basis. For these reasons, they believe that changes to the downtown area and investment in other areas of the city, will make conditions of their neighborhood worse.

On the other hand, the majority of individuals embedded in NAs thought the changes to downtown improved the overall conditions of the neighborhood. They considered it a great thing for the downtown area to have less quinceañera shops and more diversity of individuals visiting the city. They thought it has been a great improvement to see that the downtown area is now a lively and attracting place for individuals from all over the county to visit and enjoy the atmosphere, restaurants, and bars. They also agree that the OC Streetcar will be a great benefit, bringing in more tourism and setting Santa Ana apart from other cities. While individuals embedded in NAs did not sense changes to downtown as a threat to their place attachment, the majority of individuals embedded in NAs, felt their single-family neighborhoods have been threatened with the development of high-density apartments in close proximity. Previous literature has also documented this as a common concern for homeowners (Manville et al., 2020). This did not come as a concern to individuals embedded in CBOs since many of them live in apartment complexes and many of them are pushing for more affordable housing that often comes in the form of high-density apartment complexes.

Resistance to high-density apartment complexes pits homeowners against renters and may work to perpetuate segregation. William, an individual embedded in a NA, thought that renters and homeowners have different interests and therefore should not have housing built close to each other. Sandra and Clayton, individuals embedded in NAs, think that Santa Ana already has too many high-density apartment complexes that are exacerbating existing issues such as parking and overcrowding. They consider that Santa Ana has already done more than enough to meet housing needs and charge other cities to build more high-density apartments rather than put the unequal burden on Santa Ana. Despite city officials and individuals embedded in NAs claims that Santa Ana has enough housing, individuals embedded in CBOs claim there is not enough housing, particularly for extremely-low income households

This resistance to high-density apartment complexes, however, does set up some discussion regarding race. Several individuals from NAs suggested that their opposition to high-density apartment complexes is not due to race. William says that their resistance to high-density apartments is more a matter of interest. According to William, individuals embedded in NAs are interested in protecting their homes, their biggest assets and do not consider renters, who are predominately people of color, to be wanting the same thing. William shares, "They live a different kind of life." Therefore, different uses such as single-family homes and high-density apartment complexes should be divided. Others like Clinton, state that it is more a matter of responsible development and not race that he does not care for having a high-density apartment complex next to his home. Clinton does not think that a high-density apartment complex is compatible with a single-family homes neighborhood. According to Clinton, the lines of privacy are blurred when residents in the eight-floor apartment complex can look over into the yards of residents in single-family homes. With this growing trend to meet housing needs and increase compact developments, individuals embedded in NAs consider that these developments worsen the overall conditions of the community. Such perspectives raise concerns for perpetuating not only urban sprawl and the housing crisis, but also that of racial and class segregation as homeowners resist living next to renters who are often divided by race and class. Bonilla-Silva also classifies this kind of rhetoric as racism without racists, where white residents give excuses for segregation to continue the practice (Bonilla-Silva, 2018).

Individuals embedded in CBOs stress that conditions in their neighborhood have worsened with respect to overcrowding as well. With rent increases and few affordable housing options available, homes that once catered to single-family households, now cater to multiple individuals or families. While one individual embedded in a NA recognizes this as a cultural practice such as Mexican moms not wanting to let go of their adult children, other individuals embedded in CBOs share that for many it is the only option they have to survive. Magali, an individual embedded in a CBO, further shares that it may be the path she may have to go one day to make ends meet. Magali further shares that overcrowding goes beyond the mere overcrowding of homes, but that it also has psychological and physical health impacts. Magali shares that people take more time alone be it in their car checking their phone or on the sidewalk eating dinner to take time to themselves before going into their overcrowded home. In addition, Magali shares that there is a significant lack of park space that does not permit those living in overcrowded conditions to stretch, run, and release negative energy. One individual embedded in a NA agrees that the overcrowded conditions are too much for one to

bare in Santa Ana. Jerry shares that after a long day's work, one just wants to go home and relax but often times cannot since the home is crowded with others.

In terms of what has caused such conditions (i.e. overcrowding, homes built next to single-family homes), individuals embedded in NAs mention that it is because there is a lack of a general plan for the city to adhere to. Jerry thinks the city wants to build and tear anything down without consideration of the fragile state of some of the historic neighborhoods. This is facilitated easily since there is no general plan to point the city to for direction, according to Jerry. A general plan would typically have different elements such as a housing element, transportation element, and safety element. Increasingly, more cities are including elements of environmental justice, sustainability, and climate resilience in their general plans as they update them. Such elements would help provide the city with a trajectory for what development will be allowed in the city and have been able to influence environmental justice, climate change, natural hazards in local jurisdictions (Bullard, 2007; Burby & Dalton, 1994; Mendez, 2015). Santa Ana is currently in the process of updating their general plan. Nevertheless, individuals in both groups observe an intensification of development throughout their city and worry about its direction. On the other hand, Henri, a Mexican American, homeowner, and individual embedded in NAs thinks that any development in his community, the OC Streetcar and high-density apartment included, are good development. Henri, for example, believes that his low-income, working class community will benefit tremendously from future development. The future development will raise rent prices, pressure businesses to change, and drive out residents who cannot afford the rent increase, leading to less overcrowded conditions in his neighborhood. These are the exact worries that many individuals from CBOs worry will occur.

Behind the intensification of development, several individuals from both NAs and CBOs also recognize corrupt politicians and their favoritism towards developers having a negative impact on the overall conditions of the city. The corruption of politicians and their favoritism towards developers rather than residents can also be experienced during the development process such as the Sunshine Ordinance meetings. Though the development process was created to increase transparency, many residents sense greater distrust with local officials given how meetings are facilitated in favor of developers and their plans for development. Rather than just the outcome, the process itself matters for how residents interpret and evaluate projects. If residents perceive an unfair process, residents will oppose projects no matter their sustainability goals (Gross, 2007). Residents from both groups shared that planning processes for numerous projects across the city have been disappointing.

In terms of benefits and disruptions, the majority of individuals embedded in NAs saw change in downtown as a benefit while individuals embedded in CBOs recognized changes to *La Cuatro* as disruptions to their place attachment. Individuals embedded in NAs saw that less quinceañera shops, more upscale restaurants, and coffeeshops as benefits. Individuals embedded in CBOs saw all of these changes as disruptions since they are considered too costly for residents to enjoy. In addition, individuals embedded in CBOs see the changes as a disruption to their sense of safe haven granted there are more white individuals and less Latinxs that visit *La Cuatro,* shaping how they feel about place. One benefit that the change has brought for individuals embedded in CBOs is that the changes have empowered them to act. There are particular establishments that individuals embedded in CBOs see as a benefit, such as

a new Mexican restaurant and bar catering to younger Mexican Americans of Santa Ana. They had not had a place like this before to have a drink with others like them in their community. But this benefit also comes with some inner disruption as some organizers recognize the bar to also be playing some role in the gentrification process. This experience may elucidate issues related to 'gentefication' occurring in Santa Ana (Delgado & Swanson, 2019).

Other built environment projects such as the OC Streetcar and parks are seen as positives by several individuals embedded in NAs. They recognize the OC Streetcar as a great new asset that will provide a means of transit to the community and increase tourism to generate revenue for the city. There are a few, however, who disagree with its alignment, claiming it will hurt businesses on 4th street and therefore should have been placed on another road. Other individuals embedded in CBOs did not speak much about the OC Streetcar. Many were concerned, however, with the cost it would be to ride it. They were concerned with whether they would even be able to afford it and thought it was another project meant for government workers of downtown, rather than the long-time Latinx immigrant population. This adds to previous studies related to perspectives of neighborhood change related to TOD as many have mentioned new changes such as increase in tourism and many have mentioned more concerns such as the cost of riding the train.

Individuals from both NAs and CBOs also agree that their neighborhood cohesion has been disrupted in the process of increased changes. Both individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs interpret that the transformations have incurred changes to their relationship with neighbors. Patricia, a Mexican American organizer from a CBO, shares that it is rare for her to follow up with neighbors considering there are new residents that come and go all of the time. Jerry, an individual from an NA, shares that instead of talking to his neighbors about new and interesting things happening in one's life, neighbors are now focused on talking about all of the neighborhood problems they are dealing with. Magali, a Chicana, mother of 2, and an individual embedded in a CBO, shares that she no longer has family over since it is so difficult to find parking in her neighborhood. Rather than stay to visit, her family gives up and goes back home. In these ways, neighborhood cohesion, that which many residents were drawn to in Santa Ana, has been disrupted.

In conclusion, individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs share opposing interpretations and evaluations of changes. What is a benefit for one, is a disruption for the other and begs the question: how are planners to decide who to please with projects? Will planners take into consideration the place attachments that are disrupted and/or that benefit from changes when making plans? Such questions are important to assess as plans are developed. While typically, politicians and developers are prioritized when making decisions regarding projects with a growth machine lens (Logan, J. & Molotoch, 2007), it is also important to acknowledge the interpretations and evaluations residents have in the planning process and for planners to be prepared to answer their questions, discuss their concerns, and provide ideas for mitigating their concerns. While many communities have been segregated due to historic policy, it is important to think of these new concerns with a justice lens to recognize interpretations and evaluations that may perpetuate segregation and sideline equity concerns.

Chapter 8

Findings: How they Cope, Adjust, and Respond

This chapter sheds light on the final stage of psychological response in the place change framework. This chapter describes how individuals embedded in NAs, CBOs, and those without group affiliation cope, adjust, and respond given their perception, interpretation, and evaluation of change. The findings in this chapter highlight the responses various actors have taken given their lived experiences and place attachment in Santa Ana. Findings were drawn from interviews, a review of archival documents, and fieldnotes acquired from participant observations.

Withdrawal from La Cuatro: A Moral Dilemma

Due to the drastic changes along *La Cuatro*, and its implications for gentrification and displacement for surrounding residents, several individuals embedded in CBOs have stopped visiting *La Cuatro*. They have chosen not to frequent new downtown establishments for moral reasons, mostly because of the costs associated with new businesses that they perceive displaced existing and long-time Latinx immigrants and businesses in historic neighborhoods or *barrios* of Santa Ana. Individuals embedded in CBOs have stopped visiting *La Cuatro* also because they feel that new businesses implemented are not made for them, but rather for another clientele made up of majority white, Asian and wealthier populations. They perceive that the changes are implemented purposely to drive out the existing Mexican immigrant population from the downtown area. In addition, individuals embedded in CBOs and a few residents unaffiliated with an organization have also stopped visiting *La Cuatro* because it is too costly for them to afford anything there.

Internal Struggle and Indirect Displacement

The response of no longer visiting *La Cuatro* by individuals embedded in CBOs also alludes to a sense of internal displacement (Rayle L., 2015) that may be related to their strong place attachment. That is, although individuals have not been displaced physically, the changes along *La Cuatro* (i.e., the displacement of Latinx businesses) were so drastic that individuals embedded in CBOs no longer feel it is home. Isabel who expressed a strong sense of place attachment and identity with Santa Ana states that the observed changes come with a "sense of loss" and shares that in her circle of friends, the loss is something everyone talks about. Isabel describes the feeling as, "that sense of, not knowing where you're from anymore." Apart from *La Cuatro*, Isabel shares that her sense of loss is exacerbated when she observes changes happening all over the city, learns of future projects being planned, and cannot get information about the progress of other planned projects.

While quantitative studies have not provided conclusive evidence that transit-included gentrification exists (Padeiro, Louro, & Marques da Costa, 2019) as increasingly presumed in near transit station neighborhoods such as downtown Santa Ana, existing studies have also not fully accounted for the impact of indirect displacement (Rayle L., 2015). Physical displacement

typically alludes to when residents from a household are forcedly led to leave the premises due to a rent increase or a change in ownership of the home/building that stem from increased development pressures. Indirect displacement is alluding to when the changes one experiences disrupt a person's sense of place, their social network, and access to community resources, identity, and power (Rayle L., 2015). Therefore, to better understand the impacts of sustainable urban development, perspectives of how residents feel about neighborhood change and how their perspectives vary by neighborhood, socio-economic status, race, and place attachment is important to assess.

I found that internal displacement comes to be a struggle for individuals embedded in CBOs as they learn to adjust to the changes made in *La Cuatro*. Patricia, for example, shares that she struggles with the idea of consuming from new stores and restaurants on *La Cuatro* as she shares she is more conscious of where she shops. As part of Patricia's job, she attends many meetings. When meetings are proposed at a café or restaurant in downtown, she will kindly ask to move the meeting elsewhere. On other occasions, she is not able to influence the decision around where the meeting will take place. She struggles mentally consuming anything at new businesses given her presumption of their ties to the process of gentrification and displacement of the very people she organizes with. She admits to having eaten at some of the new establishments out of convenience and shares her thought process for doing so, "I have to grab food, I don't know where to grab food. I'm like, I'm by [non-profit office in downtown]. I walk all the way to Jugos Acapulco [locally owned and longtime Latinx based business], but I need to catch the bus over here [downtown]." Because new businesses are centrally located, and she does not have a car to get to another place she would prefer to eat at, she purchases food at one of the new businesses that hits at her conscious. Others (such as many individuals in NAs) who do not struggle with the changes in downtown may not undergo the same thought process as they are open to consuming anywhere.

Patricia further describes the inner struggle and the physical struggle that she as an organizer without a car faces as she makes choices in downtown with respect to where she consumes or does not. However, there is a new business in downtown, a restaurant/bar, that she is more likely to go to with less worries. The establishment serves tacos, has a bar, and has a live DJ on most weekends, playing music for the young Latinx clientele. Patricia says that it is one of the things that she likes about the changes on *La Cuatro*, but she struggles mentally consuming there too because she sees it as *gentefication* or the process by which gentrification occurs due to the influence of Latinxs or *la gente* (Delgado & Swanson, 2019). Delgado and Swanson (2019) argue that though *gentefication* alludes to a more inclusive approach to urban change, *gentefication* can also play a part in the displacement of the poor (Delgado & Swanson, 2019). Patricia shares that in Santa Ana before, it was difficult to find a place for young Latinxs to go to for a drink or to go and hang out with friends. Patricia further claims that the Mexican restaurant/bar, though it is part of the changing downtown, is different because it is a place where other young Latinxs like her can go to for a drink. In this way, she feels the change benefits her.

Organizing Others to Stop Going Downtown/La Cuatro

Other individuals embedded in CBOs have sensed the same internal struggle and have stopped going altogether to La Cuatro and encourage others to stop going there too. James, an individual embedded in one of the same CBOs as Javier and Isabel claims that he had told his housemates that they should no longer go to downtown because of the gentrification that has occurred there. James, originally from Ohio, had only lived in Santa Ana three years when he began to sense an inner struggle with going downtown and living in Santa Ana as an outsider. James had moved to Santa Ana to go to school and in the process of working with a professor at his university in Orange County started conducting research with a grassroots organization fighting against gentrification in Santa Ana. James conducted participant action research with his professor and the grassroots organization, developing research questions and collecting data related to gang activity and gentrification. Because James was committed to the organization's organizing efforts, he decided to live in Santa Ana as a renter and involved himself more with the organization.

James shares that the organization he was embedded in influenced him to start thinking about what it means to go downtown and what it meant for the organization:

> There were always people who knew about what spaces were gentrified spaces [in Santa Ana]. It was always an internal conversation we had, but it wasn't an agenda for a really long time… But at one point in like 2014, 15, we started to say, 'Hey, we should actually call this out more. We probably shouldn't go to these spaces.' There isn't a rule within [organization name] that you can't go, but it's kind of like, among the majority of people, it's frowned upon if you go to those places.

James suddenly started feeling like it was wrong to go downtown and he started speaking up to his housemates, telling them they should not go either as they often went to downtown Santa Ana for social events. This created "some tension" among his housemates as several did not see things the same. James often got into heated arguments with his housemates when he would try to convince them not to go. He shared that they either did not understand or did not care about the displacement of residents in the downtown area and they continued to go to the bars and restaurants of downtown. James even suggested going to other cities to have a good night out, but his housemates were not open to it.

James further shared that he also "had a weird feeling" about living in Santa Ana, him being a white man who grew up middle class in Ohio and who just moved there a couple of years ago. James asked himself, "Am I part of the problem being in this community?" James shared that he had lived with this feeling for a long time while living in Santa Ana and recently moved from Santa Ana to a neighboring county to pursue his doctorate degree. James continues to work with the Santa Ana organization, though not as often. When James shared with others in the group about his internal conflict, he often received support from the other members who recognized that he was at least trying to do something about it.

Loss of Interest

In addition, residents such as Angela and Tomás, an older Mexican immigrant couple who have lived in Santa Ana for more than 30 years and who have no group affiliation, have also stopped going to *La Cuatro*. For Tomás and Angela, however, it is not an internal struggle they sense. They simply lost interest in going to *La Cuatro*. Tomás shares that he and his family used to go to *La Cuatro* a lot to hang out and sight see, but then they stopped going. It has now been several years since they last went to *La Cuatro* to simply walk around. Tomás shares that it is because *La Cuatro* no longer interests him anymore the same way it had previously. Tomás shares, "They changed everything. The parking lots, everything. There are barely any Hispanics in La Cuatro." Angela and Tomás further share that there have been many bars that have opened up in Santa Ana and since they are not interested in bars, they choose not to go to *La Cuatro* anymore. It does not make them feel good or bad to see the changes, they are content with going to restaurants in other areas far from *La Cuatro*.

Withdrawal from City: The Thought of Leaving

While some individuals embedded in CBOs struggle with internal displacement and respond by withdrawing from *La Cuatro*, a few individuals embedded in NAs have responded to observed changes by seriously contemplating leaving the city altogether. Jerry, for example, admits that he and his wife are planning to move to Palm Springs soon. Jerry shares that he is tired, and his wife is fed up with the politics in Santa Ana. He shares that they have been going to Palm Springs on the weekends to stay in a home they have out there, but that soon they will pack up their things and leave Santa Ana to live in Palm Springs permanently. Jerry, an older man in his mid 60s shares, "The skin, so to speak is thin, you know, it doesn't take much to wear me out." It seems Jerry could live in Santa Ana longer, but his wife is the one more ready to move. Jerry admits that she has contemplated divorcing him if he were to engage in more organizing efforts. Jerry has previously taken out loans to meet the cost of legal measures taken by his NA to mitigate development in close proximity to his neighborhood which set off threats of divorce from his wife. Nevertheless, Jerry continues to involve himself in development matters. At the time of the interview, Jerry was also involved with organizing efforts and legal measures taken in another wealthy neighborhood on the other side of the city. Jerry could relate to the neighborhood's complaints against the placement of a high-density apartment complex that would sit adjacent to a single-family neighborhood. Given his experience resisting similar projects adjacent to his community, he got involved to help the other NA resist proposed changes. However, Jerry is increasingly growing tired of fighting with the City on development issues and shares that he should be moving really soon from the neighborhood.

Contemplate Leaving, Yet Finding Reasons to Stay and Take Protective Action

Vanessa, a homeowner, also thinks about leaving Santa Ana. She shares that she has seen a lot of people move from her neighborhood, including her adult children. She attributes this to the high rents in Santa Ana. Vanessa has no issue with the rent herself since she and her husband own their own home, but Vanessa at times considers moving from Santa Ana because

she has grown fearful living in her neighborhood and she does not feel that the city has done enough to improve the conditions which make her afraid (i.e., homelessness, crime, overcrowding). Nevertheless, Vanessa takes a pro-active approach to resolving issues. For example, Vanessa shares that when she saw that the home across the street from her had become available for rent again, Vanessa went to speak to the land lord about the overcrowded issues she was observing. She told the land lord, "Can you please not rent out to more than one family?". The land lord responded by saying, "Renting to more than one family is the only way people can afford to rent here." Vanessa disagreed and shared that she lives in a home with her own family. Vanessa is concerned about the overcrowded conditions because of parking issues that transpire and also because homes for rent change families on an ongoing basis and she never gets to know who lives there. Its concerning to her to not know her neighbors since new neighbors come and go constantly. Other residents, unaffiliated with community organizations, also share the same worry about new renters moving into the neighborhood on a continuous basis.

Vanessa is known as the go to person in her neighborhood for issues that arise because having worked with the city before, Vanessa knows who to talk to to get problems fixed. However, Vanessa, now in her mid 60s, says she had to "hand back the reins" a year and a half ago because she was going to have shoulder surgery. Despite living in Santa Ana since she was born and her extensive involvement in the city and connection with long-time neighbors, she questions whether it is time to leave. Vanessa reiterates that her home is her biggest investment, but she also feels uncomfortable with issues of overcrowding and homelessness in her neighborhood. Vanessa shares that she is tired of seeing unhoused individuals roam her neighborhood, stealing packages, and starting fights in her neighborhood. She worries immensely that one day somebody will pull out a gun and start shooting on her block. Vanessa shares, "It happens way too often you hear about shootings random things. It's all, you know, acts of violence and I mean, it kind of consuming." When I asked Vanessa what protective actions she has taken given the threats she has sensed, she answered that she has implemented an alarm system and has pit bulls in her back yard to protect her. She says she lives her life in fear. However, Vanessa also shares that there has never seen an incident that happened to her to make her fearful. She says she gets this fear from things she reads, but also because she knows society and that "stuff always happens." Vanessa often thinks of her adult son who left Santa Ana to start a family and buy a house in Riverside County where they are happy and feel safe. She thinks about if her adult son and his family could just move back in with her or if she could move out there to be closer to them things would be better.

Henri, another homeowner and active NA member, has also contemplated leaving his neighborhood of Santa Ana to live in neighboring counties. Henri, a Mexican American (3rd generation) has lived in his neighborhood since a child and has grown up observing gang violence in his neighborhood. The persistence of gang-related activities, nearby prostitution, overcrowded conditions, parking issues, and unkept yards are what drive Henri to want to move out of the city. Henri adds that some areas do not look attractive such as the multitude of auto shops that border his neighborhood. His wife, however, encourages him to stay in the neighborhood because of increased investment they think will make the neighborhood look better. Henri is inclined to stay in his neighborhood after imagining that increased investment in his neighborhood will increase rent and force people who cannot take care of their yards or

afford the increased rent to move out the area. In addition, Henri starts to think about the new generation, his grandchildren and wants to be a part of their lives in Santa Ana. He knows that if he were to move, he would not have any family in his new location and he would miss having them close. Therefore, Henri despite contemplating leaving Santa Ana, chooses to stay.

Whereas a few individuals embedded in NAs contemplate leaving Santa Ana, there are no individuals embedded in CBOs who contemplate leaving Santa Ana regardless of the issues they face. The individuals embedded in NAs who contemplated leaving mentioned they were tired of not seeing improvements or because they were frustrated with the politics of Santa Ana. On the other hand, individuals embedded in CBOs, many of whom are fearful of displacement and observe corruption in the local government do not want to leave Santa Ana. Their desire to remain in Santa Ana has grown given the increase in disruptions and threats they have experienced. Instead of finding elsewhere to live, individuals embedded in CBOs express being more committed to the city and want to continue living there. Those who have moved away, such as Isabel, want to return as they remember the city that helped raised them.

Change Prompts Organizing Efforts

The Sunshine Ordinance, an ordinance requiring early community consultation for proposed development projects including large residential projects, has provided many in both CBOs and NAs a "starting point" to resist proposed changes. Sandra, an individual embedded in a NA, shares that after the disappointment of learning that an eight-story high-density apartment complex was proposed for her single-family residential area, she sensed a "sudden huge uptick in interested neighbors" who wanted to respond with opposition to the proposed project. There were hundreds of residents who opposed the development and urged Sandra's NA to do something to stop it. Sandra used it as organizing effort telling residents they needed to get involved in order to stop the proposed development. A sub-committee was then created to address the concerns of the project where residents from all over the city gathered to plan how to resist plans. Residents gathered several days of the week for numerous hours planning how they would resist projects and picketed at the intersection of the sited project protesting plans.

Margie, an individual embedded in a CBO and a renter in one of the poorest neighborhoods of Santa Ana shares that she was heartbroken to hear about the plans for a large development planned for her neighborhood on one of the last open spaces of central Orange County. At one of the Sunshine Ordinance meetings she attended to learn more about the project, she was saddened to learn about the proposed project ideas (i.e., stadium, commercial space, luxury apartment housing) that she felt could incite displacement by increasing the cost of living in the area for poor working-class residents. However, she also felt hopeful after seeing familiar faces at the meeting. In that way, she felt she was not alone in her thoughts and felt encouraged to organize with local residents and organizers to catalyze a change to the proposed project and advocate for protections for local residents.

Organize with others from other parts of the city

Disruptions were not only observed in downtown, but in other parts of the city causing individuals from different parts of the city to go and assist the efforts of both NA members and CBO members in other areas. In a few cases NA members were observed supporting CBO organizing efforts and vice versa. William, a 77-year-old NA member and homeowner in north central Santa Ana, for example, shared that he had never gotten involved with organizing efforts against a development project. However, he decided it was time to get involved recently as he saw a wave of high-density apartment complexes planned adjacent to single family neighborhoods. William admits he does not engage in organizing as a NA member, given the politics involved, but he does engage as a concerned resident. Javier, a young Mexican American embedded in a CBO, shares that he has coped with observed changes by being part of several organizing spaces focused on issues across the city. It is difficult for Javier to grasp all of the changes, but he also senses "power" in knowing that there are a lot of people in groups that are aware of changes and responding to protect residents impacted. Javier recognizes there are an increased number of connections from downtown neighborhoods to western edge neighborhoods because of the OC Streetcar that will run east to west and impact communities differently. Samantha, a community organizer, further shares that since the city has branched out of downtown and conducted more city-wide projects, her organization has also responded with a city-wide organizing response to projects planned.

Slow Down the Process, Demand Change to Projects, and Stop Projects

Armando, a renter and local community organizer shares that residents have slowed down the process of change in Santa Ana. The Sunshine Ordinance meetings, for example, have given residents a platform to slow down the process. Armando shares that developers involved in Sunshine Ordinance meetings continue to promote their vision for projects that do not include community input. However, if it had not been for the involvement of concerned residents in the Sunshine Ordinance meetings, Armando thinks that things would be worse with respect to displacement. Armando shares that though the community has been able to make significant changes to projects, he reiterates that "we have not been able to change the whole game." Thus, individuals in both CBOs and NAs have also filed lawsuits to slow down the process of development or stop developments (Pho, 2019b, 2020a).

Jerry has been to several Sunshine Ordinance meetings all over Santa Ana and has been very involved with organizing efforts to alter or stop developments. He mentions that residents learn about project proposals at Sunshine Ordinance meetings they do not agree with for one reason or another. Jerry shares that when residents sense developers harming an important asset to the community such as a historical site, "That's where sometimes the neighborhood will be like, well, hold on that protection is there for a reason we actually don't want that to happen." Projects that do not conform to the location or to the needs of the community can meet community resistance. One useful tool Jerry shares to stop proposed plans are lawsuits. Jerry shares that he mobilizes other organizations and entities that focus on issues important to the neighborhood particularly as they relate to legal violations or the destruction of historical assets. When Jerry was involved with halting a development that threatened to destroy a historical asset of Santa Ana, Jerry mobilized other organizations to defend the building and preserve it. Jerry shares, "of course you always have what I call the plan B in your pocket, which

is your ability to sue." Filing a lawsuit takes funds, however. Jerry, for example, as mentioned previously, took out loans to help fund legal guidance for carrying out a lawsuit.

Willowick Golf Course

A project several individuals from both NAs and CBOs discussed is the future development on the open space known as the Willowick Golf Course in Santa Ana. Plans for the 102 acres of land in a low-income neighborhood, initially included proposals for high-density apartment development, a tech center, and a stadium ("Envision Willowick," 2021). These projects would be built on land considered one of the last open spaces of north Orange County. The project would also be built in close proximity to a future proposed stop along the OC Streetcar. Samantha, Patricia and other active residents were able to stop the development of 102 acres of land where a stadium and luxury homes were being proposed. Given the threat of displacement, increased parking congestion, and gentrification related to the project, many residents organized to oppose the project. Organizers first commenced with a survey asking residents who lived on the perimeter of the 102 acres of land if they had heard of the proposed development, what they would like to see on that land instead, and if they had experienced any rent increases in the last year. Organizers learned that the majority of residents were worried about the development and were against the proposed project due to the likelihood of rent and traffic increasing in the area.

Given the experience of other organizers in other parts of the city, organizers investigated whether the Surplus Lands Act (SLA) was violated in disposing the 102 acres of land to developers. The SLA calls for cities to first consider open space and affordable housing on land cities wish to dispose of (Pho, 2019b). They felt the city was trying to circumvent these requirements and negotiate with developers on market-based housing rather than affordable housing as required by the SLA. Organizers mobilized residents from all over the city to hold the city accountable to the SLA by writing emails, calling the city, and speaking against the proposed project and process at city council meetings. The organization's represented filed a lawsuit against the city for their violation of the SLA. Organizers were thus able to stop the sale of the land to for-profit developers and assure that the city first engaged in good faith negotiations with affordable housing developers and agencies to provide open space. Samantha shares, "If we hadn't organized around this, I feel like they would have been sold off already. You know, it would have gone under the radar or it would have just gone unopposed." In doing so, Samantha and fellow organizers helped safeguard one of the last remaining open spaces of central Orange County by slowing down the process and demanding project changes.

2525 Main Street

In another neighborhood of Santa Ana, a wealthier community, individuals embedded in NAs grew worried with the proposal of an eight story, high-density apartment complex next to a single-family residential area. Clinton was shocked by the developer plans to build this complex given it would not conform to adjacent land use that was zoned for single-family use. In meetings with the developer, Clinton fought to do away with the project altogether, claiming it was a bad location for the project. Others simply wanted the developer to reduce the number

of floors the building would have. The developer of the project then conceded to reducing the number of floors the building would have given the substantial opposition they faced by residents. However, this act left many residents asking whether the developer purposely set the bar high in the number of floors their original proposal because they knew the residents would demand less and they wanted to see how much they could get away with, according to Clinton and several residents who attended the Sunshine Ordinance meetings with the developer.

Clinton stated that before getting into any acts of opposition to proposed project, the NA sought to gage how the community felt about the proposed development. Before any organizing efforts proceeded, a survey was conducted by the NA asking residents what they thought about the proposed development and whether residents wanted the NA to fight its development. Clinton shares that over 95% of residents surveyed in the neighborhood opposed the development of the high-density apartment complex that proposed adjacent to their single-family residential neighborhood. Sandra, Clinton's neighbor, further shares that residents of this neighborhood and members of the NA would engage in protests on the intersection close to the proposed site and speak at city council meetings against the proposed project. Several city council members supported the project claiming it would turn an abandoned site into a great project for the community and voted in support of the project. However, residents of the neighborhood did not see it the same and pushed for a referendum ballot measure where Santa Ana residents would vote on the project. A total of 19,000 signatures were collected, thus granting an election to vote on the project. City Council then could have called for the election or rescind their own approval for the project. After witnessing the number of signatures collected, two city council members rescinded their vote, ending the project plans (Pho, 2020).

Advocate for the General Plan

A few individuals embedded in NAs indicate a way to stop future development is by pushing for the city to carry out an update and adoption of the updated general plan. The general plan of a city is a guiding policy document helping shape future development with goals and policies for reaching those goals. The general plan typically includes goals and policies in elements focused on land use, circulation, housing, noise, open space, safety, and more. Elements of Santa Ana's general plan have been adopted in various years dating back to the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s. Santa Ana today, however, is in the process of updating their general plan.

Jerry, a homeowner and individual embedded in a NA, believes that the development and adoption of an updated general plan is the remedy to reducing sporadic development occurring in different areas of the city. Jerry describes the general plan as a "guidance document" where residents begin the conversation about what they want to see in their city. Without it, Jerry thinks that haphazard development and spot zoning will continue throughout the city, destroying the soul of Santa Ana in the process. Jerry further shares that Santa Ana is filled with delicate and historical neighborhoods that deserve careful planning. Thus, Jerry and several others embedded in NAs respond that that the city needs to work towards updating and adopting a revised general plan for the city to ensure developers adhere to its guidelines for future projects.

Embrace the Benefits: Property Value, Resist Less, & Run for Office

Others, particularly homeowners respond to change by embracing the changes they observe particularly as it relates to their property value. Veronica, for example, purchased her condo in downtown in 1999 when it was valued at $51,000, during a time when most NA members would say that downtown was dead. Given the extensive changes made in downtown with new restaurants and new businesses and the OC Streetcar, her property is now valued at $250-300,000. Veronica is very pleased with this substantial increase in property value. Pedro, the only individual embedded in a CBO who owned a condo in downtown, also claims he is benefiting by the increase in property value. Pedro had quit his job before the interview in November 2019. Therefore, he chose to live with his parents again to make ends meet and he was able to rent out his condo to ensure it pays for itself.

Veronica also takes in the benefits by not resisting observed or anticipated changes. Veronica claims she does not feel the need to protect her neighborhood from anything being planned or built in her neighborhood of downtown where the majority of changes are located. She shares that resisting change was a thing of the past, when she was a part of one of the most prominent CBOs opposing changes in downtown due to processes of gentrification and displacement of longtime Latinx residents. Veronica shares that while she was with the CBO that opposed change, she found herself constantly fighting with the city every time a new change was proposed. This constant state of fighting burned her out and led her to take a step back and change her philosophy. Previously Veronica would put her organizing work with the CBO above anything else. She often denied dinner plans with friends if they occurred during an organizing meeting. Today, she is more selective with the meetings she attends and would choose dinner with a friend over any meeting. She has embraced her new approach to neighborhood change, valuing her friends and family and embracing change instead of resisting change. She no longer wants to argue about what she and others agree on and she wants to be a part of the changes in downtown since it is her neighborhood. She sees the fighting with other CBOs including the one she was a part of as a lost conversation and recognizes that regardless of the fighting, her city is still going to change.

Pedro has taken a different approach to embracing the benefits of changes. While he is a part of several CBOs, he does support the changes as he believes he has benefited greatly from them. Apart from the benefit of increased property value, Pedro has benefited from the development in that his expertise and knowledge are in more of a demand. Pedro was born and raised in Santa Ana, is a trained urban planner, and is a historian of Santa Ana. Given the growing interest in Santa Ana, its history and trajectory in terms of development, Pedro has been sought out for his opinion, perspective, and insight. Local CBOs have acquired his support and cultural centers have invited him to give presentations recounting the history of Santa Ana. In addition, Pedro is well informed of planning practice and its influence on the city's development. After working for some time with a local municipality and given his growing support for his focus on history, Pedro decided to contribute in broader ways. He quit his full-time job and ran for a political position in Santa Ana. Pedro was not able to acquire the position he was running for, but felt motivated to run again in the future. Pedro shares that his attachment to Santa Ana has greatly influenced the responses he has taken and that it has motivated his political aspirations.

Survival Mode

Others are not able to embrace the changes or respond adequately to the changes observed as many interviewees embedded in CBOs, particularly those who live in low-income and communities of color, are in a state of survival. Margie shares that her and many residents of Santa Ana are "all struggling so hard". Margie admits she used to have a "top-down mentality", thinking that if a person was in a poor circumstance it is because they made poor decisions in their life and deserved it. However, since acquiring more involvement in organizations with similar values, she sees that issues such as poverty and drug use come from people not having their needs met. In her neighborhood, she has witnessed over-policing and sex work that has made her feel uncomfortable. However, she does not put the blame on the residents, she puts the blame on a system that does not help people excel. In addition, she does not see future developments such as one proposed in close proximity to her grandmother's home as helping the local population. She perceives that it will make matters worse by increasing the cost of living, causing displacement, and exacerbating parking concerns and fights with neighbors over parking. In terms of response, Margie does respond by organizing, however, she also thinks about the reality for a lot of individuals in her neighborhood, particularly those who have experienced trauma of some form and do not have the bandwidth to get involved.

Margie realizes that when there is trauma in one's life (i.e., abuse, displacement, loss, etc.), it is difficult to make sound decisions related to one's life and neighborhood because many residents are in survival mode as they try to make ends meet renting in Santa Ana. Because people are in survival mode, it does not give them the time to make things better since people are trying to get by, explains Margie. She shares that sometimes she is more concerned with how to put food on the table for her children or how she will get to where she needs to go. These questions bring her to frustration and anger and lead her to not operate as her best-self.

Armando, upon sharing all that he has seen change in his city, also shares the names of all of the buildings where residents have been displaced from previously. He states that many residents who participated with him in organizing efforts have been evicted from their apartment complex in the downtown area. Buildings have been sold and residents have been asked to leave those buildings. Because of eviction, Armando shares that a lot of people he knew have moved from Santa Ana and continue to leave the city. At times, he feels that the community displaced have just "barely" been able to defend themselves. Armando shared the story of a good friend and fellow organizer from the community who experienced displacement recently after living over two decades in the same house in her downtown neighborhood. The home Armando's friend rented with her family was sold to a developer. Armando and several others tried to reason with the owner, but the owner did not budge. Armando's friend had to pack her family's things and leave with her children to find a new home. That has been the case for many of Armando's friends who are majority working class Latinx immigrants. Armando shared that he offered to support and fight against the landlord who evicted his friend until the end, but Armando's friend responded, "No, right now my only priority is to find where we could live". Armando further shares, "Many times, that is the case, our people decide first to survive before getting into the fight to remain."

Anticipation

Many individuals from both NAs and CBOs also brace themselves for anticipated changes to come to their neighborhoods and city. Clinton shares that he and others he knows get a little nervous when they see an empty or vacant lot because there are expectations and fears that developers will plan something big there soon. Without an updated general plan in place, several individuals embedded in NAs (Jerry, Clinton, Sandra, William, and Clayton) agree that spot zoning or development with no restrictions in place to protect surrounding residents could continue. Veronica, despite significant changes in downtown already, shares that the big change in downtown will come when developers take away the parking structures to start building new high-density apartment complexes to attract people to live in downtown.

Some individuals embedded in CBOs anticipate a wave of displacement and gentrification given the amount of proposals for projects in low-income communities and communities of color that they have observed. Martha, an individual embedded in a CBO, shares that she is greatly worried about a recent rent increase that she received in the last year of $110 which means more of her income goes to rent and not to her family's additional needs. These fears are compounded with the threat of displacement as she remembers development plans that have been proposed around the corner from where she lives in the downtown area. Martha responds with anticipation and by getting involved with a local CBO to help mitigate the financial impact of the proposed development on low-income communities like hers. In this regard, to the proposed development of high-density apartment complexes, Martha shares, "They're pretty massive and they're not going to be affordable housing units. That's something that I'm looking forward to getting involved with in the new year. I can already see what the impact is going to be, so things like that I keep in mind."

This anticipation also leads many residents, according to Martha, to be fearful of changes. Even while residents pay their rent on a consistent basis there is the fear that they could experience a rent increase any day or that they would be asked to leave. Martha shares that people go around asking, "Did they increase your rent yet?" out of worry and anticipation. In addition, she shares that after complaining about maintenance needed in their building, many residents experienced a rent increase. After this, residents grew more fearful of future rent increases and hesitant to speak out because they have no protection as renters. When asked if they sense protection from the City Council, Martha also shares, "Why do city council members think of the benefit for the people who are rich instead of the [working class] people? That brings great sadness and sometimes one becomes aware of this when they get involved. They promise so much to the people to win their vote and at the end the ones who benefit are rich people, the people who own firms and the people with power." This lack of protection also elevates resident anticipation for poor outcomes including unjust rent increases and displacement.

Continue Loving the City

Individuals embedded in CBOs initially shared that they all had a strong attachment to Santa Ana because it was the place in which many of them were raised. They accepted the

insecurities that were present in their city. Although many are angered by the changes and the consequences such as displacement and although many have chosen to withdrawal from a place such as *La Cuatro*, individuals embedded in CBOs show that their love for the city is relentless. Armando, a leader who has witnessed great loss of residents in his city shares, "My feelings have not changed, my feelings for my community. I think that I maintain that same feeling of pride, of love for my community despite the challenges. I don't think that changes from my behalf." Others like Samantha, Javier, Patricia, Diana, and Isabel share that if anything, all that they have witnessed and experienced and that they know about injustice fuels them to continue fighting for their communities through organizing efforts.

On the other hand, it was rare for individuals embedded in NAs to share similar sentiments for their city. Some even thought about leaving the city because of their disappointment in changes or in the lack of change. Many individuals embedded in NAs were focused on their homes and in preserving the neighborhood character. Issues such as culture erasure, gentrification, and displacement which fueled individuals embedded in CBOs are not the same issues driving individuals in NAs to respond to change.

Major Findings and Summary

The responses of individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs are similar – they engage in organizing efforts, conduct community surveys, and protest – but their responses differ by how they respond to changes in downtown/*La Cuatro* where there has been great investment in sustainable urban development and revitalization efforts. Several individuals embedded in NAs shared that they embrace the change in downtown by consuming from restaurants, going to art shows, or supporting downtown projects. However, the majority of individuals embedded in CBOs indicated that they respond to downtown changes by boycotting businesses and avoiding the area altogether. In line with previous research, they respond to the changes in downtown with a sense of 'indirect displacement' as the places they used to go to and with a sense that the strong Mexican identity of the area has disappeared little by little (Rayle L., 2015).

Individuals embedded in CBOs also struggle with consuming at new businesses in the downtown area because they associate the new businesses with the displacement of working class Latinxs. This indirect displacement sensed by individuals embedded in CBOs cuts deep into moral concerns as they wrestle with themselves and others regarding the act of going to downtown to enjoy aspects of change or opting to stay home to avoid businesses that have spurred displacement. Individuals embedded in NAs do not express this indirect displacement at all. For some, the indirect displacement individuals embedded in CBOs feel is so strong that they encourage their friends not to go downtown or judge their friends for going downtown. Individuals embedded in CBOs insist that it is not right to go downtown given the ongoing gentrification and displacement process. Such convictions take shape for some like James, a researcher with a local Santa Ana CBO, from intense conversations within their respective organizations.

In this way, place attachment in individuals embedded in CBOs is not reduced because of their relentless love for Santa Ana. Their action of boycotting Santa Ana's downtown, a place they were greatly attached to given their childhood memories, may show a lessening of place attachment to the city. However, residents strong place attachment has shaped their response

of boycotting. Because of their great love for the city, the struggle, and the people who make it what it is (i.e. immigrant community), many have focused their anti-change activism away from downtown to send a message to the city that they are not happy with the changes and do not support the changes. In looking further into their response, it is not due to a loss of interest in place. Rather, their immense love for the Latinx immigrants and people being displaced motivates their actions and boycott. This demonstrates a story behind how place attachment leads one to respond to threats in their community (Devine-Wright, 2009) and deviates from previous research that states that strong neighborhood satisfaction leads to community action (Ciorici, P., Dantzler, 2019; Mouratidis, 2018).

The changes that most incited a response by individuals embedded in NAs were high-density apartment complexes planned outside of downtown and adjacent to their single-family residential neighborhoods. Whereas individuals embedded in NAs supported some development in downtown, many did not support it when it was adjacent to their neighborhoods showing that proximity to changes matter. Individuals embedded in NAs respond with frustration, and then organize, survey residents on their perspectives of the proposed project, and hold protests against the project that would infringe on their single-family residential way of life. Individuals embedded in NAs, such as William, Sandra, and Clayton, together sensed their place attachment disrupted when that which they esteemed (single-family homes) were disrupted by plans for high-density apartment complexes. They do not wrestle with an indirect displacement as individuals embedded in CBOs do. Nevertheless, their place attachment is impacted and has led several of them to respond with protests. This place attachment, however, does carry some racial tensions when homeowners seek to keep renters, who are predominately people of color, out of their neighborhood, perpetuating modern segregation (Manville et al., 2020). Therefore, the opposition from individuals embedded in NAs and those from CBOs is not the same. Thus, the story of how a disruption of place attachment leads to a response is different for many based on race, age, and homeownership.

In parallel, individuals embedded in CBOs also respond with frustration and great sadness when there are disruptions to their place attachment. They also respond by organizing, surveying residents on their perspectives of proposed projects, and staging protests against projects at city council meetings to voice their concerns. Individuals embedded in CBOs, however, do not oppose projects for the same reasons as individuals embedded in NAs do. Individuals embedded in CBOs protest high-density apartment projects when they threaten surrounding residents with displacement and when the units proposed are not affordable for extremely-low income residents. Whereas individuals embedded in NAs in different areas of the city unite against high-density apartment complexes when they infringe on their single-family residential areas, individuals embedded in CBOs from different areas of the city have united to resist projects that would invoke displacement and gentrification. Their efforts in opposing different projects in different areas of the city, have helped slow the process of change according to Armando, an individual embedded in a CBO.

Individuals embedded in NAs also respond by advocating for updates to the city's general plan, a document guiding development in the city. Because there is no up to date general plan, individuals embedded in NAs believe the city has not carried out sound and responsible development and instead has carried out a piece meal plan. Individuals embedded

in CBOs do not raise this same concern at the time of the interview. The lack of a general plan came as a concern for many individuals embedded in NAs especially as they anticipated new proposed projects in their community. Individuals embedded in CBOs also anticipated the impact of proposed projects on communities of working class, Latinx residents particularly in terms of gentrification and displacement, but they did not respond by advocating for general plan changes as its initial response. Later it was found, however, individuals embedded in CBOs would engage in the planning process of the general plan, advocating for environmental justice and affordable housing for existing residents to stay in the city. Residents may not be aware of what a general plan is, nor the parameters of a general plan, making it difficult to understand the importance of the document. Individuals embedded in NAs connection to the city may have granted them a better understanding of what a general plan is and how it could be used to influence development. Acknowledgement of the general plan demonstrates how informed residents are of how they can influence change. Currently, the approval of the Santa Ana General Plan has been delayed given concerns raised by advocates regarding environmental concerns (Cabrera, 2020)

Regardless, of opposition taken on by individuals of both groups, there are still many barriers and thoughts that individuals seek to cope with and adjust to as well. For example, three individuals embedded in NAs have contemplated leaving the city. One has decided to leave, but for the other two, leaving is an idea that comes and goes. It comes when they grow disappointed in seeing a lack of change in their neighborhood and seeing overcrowded conditions and the lack of upkeep with homes in their neighborhood. However, they adjust and cope when they think of their investment, they have made towards their home already and of their grandchildren. Henri, for example, could not live being far from his grandchildren in Santa Ana though he thinks of moving to neighboring counties, Riverside or San Bernardino County, where there are less concerns for overcrowding. There were no individuals embedded in CBOs interviewed who contemplated leaving Santa Ana despite the hardships they face. On the contrary, individuals from CBOs shared that when they experience hardships or are disappointed in the changes, it leads them to care more about the city, demonstrating their relentless emotional attachment to place. Missing in this study, are perspectives of those who ultimately made the decision to leave or were forced out due to the inability to pay for rent. However, this study highlights that even those with strong place attachment could be led to respond with withdrawal.

In addition, there are a few individuals embedded in CBOs who mentioned that there are several residents that they work with who do not have the luxury of getting involved and responding to change. Because many residents are facing displacement, many may be more concerned with finding their next place to live rather than organizing a protest. A few individuals embedded in CBOs described this process as survival mode, where they are not concerned about protests, but with just surviving. On the other hand, individuals embedded in NAs did not mention experiencing survival mode or highlighted it as a concern for other residents. One individual from an NA, Jerry, has sensed neighborhood cohesion change in his neighborhood and attributes it to overcrowded conditions and a lack of space to rest from a long day of work. According to Jerry, people are more focused on work and tasks that they have at home rather than staying to talk on street corners like he was used to in the past.

Also, individuals embedded in NAs, many times raised concerns for residents who were moving in and out of their neighborhood. Many complained about not having enough time to get to know one family before the next one moved in, raising concerns for who they are living next to each time a new family or various individuals moves in. Other times, they reiterated their concern for overcrowding and parking, but they did not relay a thought that residents renting may be in survival mode by living in overcrowded conditions. Vanessa, an individual embedded in a NA, given her place attachment to her home and wanting to protect her investment, responded to this situation by asking a particular land lord in her neighborhood to stop renting out to various families at a time and requested that the home be rented to one family instead to reduce overcrowding and concerns for who is living in a home. The land lord, however, stated that one family can no longer afford to rent a home and proceeded with plans to rent his home to multiple families if needed.

Because change is experienced and perceived differently by various individuals, there are also different responses to perceived changes. One individual embedded in a NA, Veronica, mentioned she embraces the changes in her neighborhood of downtown and chooses to no longer fight individuals in CBOs opposed to changes. While Veronica is a condo owner, many individuals embedded in CBOs are not home or condo owners, they are renters and therefore have a different stake in the game. Veronica gains economically, but several without property rights or protection may be displaced or priced out of their community. This may speak to why some individuals embedded in CBOs are in survival mode as they strive to keep up with paying their rent. Other individuals embedded in NAs who live in single-family residential areas embrace the changes in downtown but oppose the development of high-density apartment units in their neighborhoods outside of downtown, demonstrating that proximity to changes matter for the place attachment of individuals embedded in NAs.

The few individuals interviewed who had no organization affiliation, did not share any interest for engaging in a response that included organizing, protests, or boycotting. Tomás and Angela, for example, an older Mexican couple, simply shared that they stopped going to *La Cuatro* because they "lost interest" in going and prefer to visit other restaurants in other cities instead. Their loss of interest may stem from having less services and attractions for Latinx customers. Because they found other places to go instead, they did not feel the need to respond to the changes observed in downtown. Raul shares he did not respond to changes to *La Cuatro* because it is not "in him" to respond with organizing. He is very comfortable and does not feel the need to engage more. He feels he can contribute in his own way, not that of organizing, to contribute to his community. Raul also feels that one has to be born with that spirit of wanting to respond with an organizing effort. He confessed to not having that. Jennifer, a woman in her early 30s, on the other hand, expressed interest in responding, but did not know how to get more involved. Jennifer thus simply responded in her own way, by reading the city website to learn what was going on in her city.

In sum, not all individuals involved in NAs and CBOs respond with opposition. Some residents respond with withdrawal from the community or from a particular organization. Some withdraw from the places they use to love such as the case for many individuals embedded in CBOs as they withdrawal from *La Cuatro*. They may also refocus their attention on particular establishments where they can embrace who they are, however, this may also come with an inner struggle for individuals embedded in CBOs. Others come to accept the changes in their

community by embracing the changes no matter how drastic they are such as Veronica who lives in downtown. Others accept the changes because they are more focused on surviving then resisting changes such as the case of many working-class immigrants that Armando works with. Finally, there are others from both organizations, NAs and CBOs, who respond by resisting changes to their community by surveying the community, organizing residents, and protesting changes at city council meetings. For all of them, place attachment proved to be central to their motivations for their response as they all thought about what they appreciated about place and what they felt they could protect. For many individuals embedded in NAs, they sought to protect their single-family residential way of life. For individuals embedded in CBOs they sought to protect their city and moral compass by not investing in businesses that are entrenched in the gentrification and displacement process. Other individuals embedded in CBOs faced with displacement sought to protect themselves, by finding another place in Santa Ana to live and retaining their existing social networks. Others like Veronica protect their place attachment by surrounding themselves with people who will have similar goals of embracing change rather than fighting against it. Still others, with no group affiliation, do not respond to changes because they have found other avenues for supporting their place attachment or because they do not feel compelled to respond in any way.

Chapter 9

Significance of Findings & Conclusion

Purpose

This study investigates the perspectives of neighborhood change that exist among residents from varying backgrounds in NAs and CBOs. The objective of this study was to acquire a greater understanding of why some individuals oppose some changes, while others withdraw from changes, and others come to accept them. This study further sought to investigate what has given rise to their distinct perspectives of neighborhood change. Results contribute to environmental psychology and neighborhood change literature by highlighting the social and psychological aspects of sustainable urban development and neighborhood change by understanding how residents from varying backgrounds feel about the change they are observing and experiencing.

In this final chapter, I provide a discussion of the key findings that emerged from this multiple-case study approach to acquiring perspectives of neighborhood change in Santa Ana, CA and its implications for neighborhood change, urban governance, and environmental psychology literatures. I explain how findings from this study contribute to an understanding of resident responses to neighborhood change that highlights how place attachment or one's emotional bond with place is benefited or disrupted/threatened amidst the increased investment in sustainable urban development. I also bring to the surface the underlying tensions of race and class that have emerged with perspectives of neighborhood change in Santa Ana. This research steers environmental psychology research towards elevating issues of race and class that emerge, rather than sidelining these topics that are of major relevance to many low-income communities of color such as Santa Ana experiencing neighborhood change.

In addition, this research extends the work of previous scholarship on Santa Ana by diving deeper into assessing the internal variation that exist in perspectives of neighborhood change. I also share knowledge on how organizations influence resident's perspective on neighborhood change. In this chapter, I discuss theoretical and policy implications relative to existing literature by synthesizing perspectives of residents with lived experiences of neighborhood change in their communities. This is done with motivations to ensure residents impacted by neighborhood change are also included in theoretical and policy discussions.

The research questions for this study are:

1. *How do perceptions of place and neighborhood change vary among individuals embedded in neighborhood associations and community-based organizations?*
   a. *What informs these perceptions?*
   b. *How does involvement in neighborhood associations and/or community-based organizations matter for place attachment? How does involvement influence individual perceptions of place?*

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2. *How do individuals in these different organizations frame neighborhood change (as beneficial or disruptive)?*

3. *How do these perceptions and assessments of neighborhood change shape the protective actions they take?*

Discussion 1: Individual's place attachment, interpretation, and evaluation of and response to change varies across race, class, generation, and proximity to change.

The findings from this study highlight the internal variation of perspectives that exist within Santa Ana. The city is often portrayed as a homogenous group of predominately Latinxs and renters, but I found it contains heterogeneity in that subgroups such as homeowners, white residents, and second and third generation Mexican Americans offer a variety of perspectives on neighborhood change. Residents from various backgrounds are engaging in planning processes to oppose certain projects with goals of sustainable urban development. However, not all residents oppose or support changes for the same reasons.

The results of this study demonstrate a tension between individuals embedded in NAs and individuals embedded in CBOs regarding their place attachment, perspective of neighborhood change, and what they evaluate as improving the overall conditions of the neighborhood. While many other perspectives exist in this community that are not captured by this research, the perspectives collected for this study represent the dynamics observed within Santa Ana as residents and organizations face planned or constructed changes in their communities. These differences and experiences stress the importance of an individual's environment and the conditions of their distinct neighborhoods.

Place Attachment

Environmental psychology research has linked place attachment and opposition to change by claiming those with strong place attachment are more likely to take place-protective measures in response to projects threatening their identity (Stedman, 2002). While this may be true for many, it is also not the sole answer to place protective action. Place-protective action also has to do with the group or organizations that one is a part of. One may have strong place attachment and take no action if they are not a part of an organization that can politicize them or provide them with resources to respond. Others may have weak place attachment in terms of place identity, but still seek to respond because they relate to other homeowners who want to protect their community for its functional purposes. Thus, this research expands on the Stages of Psychological Response to Place Change Over Time, by adding that the group affiliation and reasons why one takes place-protective action varies.

I also found that individuals in NAs and CBOs took place-protective actions for different reasons. In line with previous research by Small (2004), residents framed neighborhood change differently due to historical experiences and the political and economic conditions one had lived through. Individuals from NAs, the older generation, remember Santa Ana as a dangerous place and therefore welcome change, particularly in the downtown area. Many also want to protect their neighborhoods, most importantly their investments and therefore take action

against developments that threaten to hurt their property value with overcrowding. Individuals in CBOs, on the other hand, remember their city as a Latino immigrant city, filled with struggle, and are against any development that threatens their racial identity, especially after having experienced anti-immigrant sentiment when they left their safety zone of Santa Ana, or when outsiders have come into their spaces of safety.

In addition, environmental psychology research claims that residents with strong place attachment have greater neighborhood satisfaction (Ciorici, P., Dantzler, 2019; Mouratidis, 2018). However, results from this study find that residents, both older and younger, from NAs and CBOs, both have high place attachment, but are dissatisfied with development trends in their community. These results indicate that emotional connection to Santa Ana did not play an important role in their satisfaction with development in their community. Shaping their dissatisfaction were concerns for how projects were carried out and the neighborhood challenges they anticipated such as gentrification, displacement, parking congestion, traffic, and overcrowding. In a survey regarding the perceptions of neighborhood change in Santa Ana, Houston and Zuniga (Forthcoming) find that 27% of respondents who indicated they had participated in a community action were associated with lower neighborhood satisfaction. This is contrary to what other scholars have described, that involvement in community action was linked with greater neighborhood satisfaction (Dassopoulos, A., Monnat, 2011; Jin, E., et al, 2018). I find that many residents took action not because they were satisfied with development, but because of their dissatisfaction with how development was occurring in their city. This dissatisfaction varies among residents, but generally revolves around perceived "irresponsible" planning processes, corrupt politicians favoring developers over residents, and an unclear vision for development in the city. The types of projects residents are dissatisfied with also varies. While individuals embedded in NAs tend to perceive high-density apartment units as a disruption to place attachment, individuals embedded in CBOs generally consider any investment or development associated with gentrification and displacement effects as a disruption.

Race and Class

Place attachment is linked to race and class because these dimensions set context for how residents experience place, their access to resources and political opportunities and their perspective of how they evaluate change. In this study, I assess different perspectives of individuals from groups that vary by race and class. Similarly, sociologist Small has previously shed light on how it is that individuals from two different cohorts framed their neighborhood differently. One cohort viewed the neighborhood a success and the other considered it a failure. These different perspectives arose due to varying historical experiences influenced by political and economic conditions residents experienced (Small, 2004). Findings from this study show that individuals from NAs and individuals from CBOs in Santa Ana hold contrasting perspectives of place, benefits and disruptions, yet have several similarities in their responses.

Giving rise to this variation are also political and economic factors based on race and class. Whereas I found white individuals were predominately attached to place because of its function or their place dependence (the emotional connection residents have to place more in terms of function) (Butcher & Breheny, 2016), Latinxs were also connected with place because

of their identity and sense of safety related to political factors. This safety is very important as throughout history and even currently, communities of color have experienced anti-immigrant sentiment and hate crimes, drawing them to seek areas of refuge for which Santa Ana was and is for them. This is especially important to recognize because as individuals take place-protective action, they are not only protecting themselves to have a place to live, but they are protecting the safe haven that immigrants before them created when seeking opportunities to better themselves. In this way, place protective action is not only about physical changes (Patrick Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010) and the cost of living, but it is related to the life history of racism that individuals embedded in CBOs and their family and friends have experienced as working class, Latinx immigrants (Lacayo, 2016). Whites, on the other hand, did not have this same history and did not relate to place due to the safety it provided from racism. Rather, the city provides their functional needs such as having government institutions close by, jobs close by, and their homes.

Exacerbating race relations is the segregation residents experience in their city. Statements of individuals embedded in NAs support separating renters from homeowners. In contrast, individuals embedded in CBOs expressed a growing sadness related to seeing more whites in downtown which pointed to underlying racial tensions. Individuals from both groups confirm Bonilla-Silva's acknowledgement of habitus. Bonilla-Silva's (2018) notions of "white habitus" where whites have been confined to live with others with similar values carries implications for attitudes, emotions, and policy (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). I would also add that there is a "Latinx habitus" where other Latinxs are drawn to others with the same struggle and values, which also carries implications for attitudes, emotions, and policies. Rarely do these two habitus converge given their diverging goals and motivations. Bonilla further shares that "white habitus" has little empathy for communities of color. This lack of empathy can be seen in acts where predominately white NA leaders, for example, were more prone to share little sympathy for issues of gentrification and displacement, claim that change is natural, and believe Santa Ana has too much affordable housing already.

There are also clear class distinctions among individuals embedded in CBOs who are primarily renters and individuals embedded in NAs who are primarily homeowners. Patillo states that the differentiation among homeowners and renters speaks to an economic order and sense of financial security among residents (Patillo, 2010). Resident's homeownership or lack thereof serves as an important factor influencing their perspectives, interpretations, and responses to changes. Individuals embedded in CBOs exhibited an economic struggle when talking about their experience with change in Santa Ana. Many were living with family members, in overcrowded conditions, facing threats of displacement, and have moved constantly in their city due to not having the economic means of living on their own in a stable place. Many have the greatest desire to own a home of their own, but do not believe they will ever have that in Santa Ana as the starting price for a home is $600,000. On the other hand, homeowners in NAs did not demonstrate the same economic worries. They demonstrated a longing to protect the economic means they had already and their investment in their homes. Many sought to protect the property value of their homes and oppose any project that was perceived to threaten to decrease their property value such as the presence of high-density apartment complexes. This is commonly found in literature highlighting the goals of NAs tend to be very focused on protecting property value (Davis, 2006).

Whereas individuals embedded in CBOs are largely supportive of high-density apartment units if they contain a high percentage of affordable housing units because it will provide much needed housing to the working-class community, individuals embedded in NAs are opposed to any high-density apartment units, especially in areas outside of downtown claiming the city has enough high-density apartment housing. This opposition to high-density apartment housing may be attributed to a resistance to density, traffic, parking congestion, but as confirmed by other scholars, implicit bias may be at play as well (Lacayo, 2016; Manville et al., 2020). Implicit bias or racial and class discrimination, though denied by individuals embedded in NAs as a motivating factor for resistance to high-density apartment units, is important to raise as a potential issue given the history of segregation and redlining that fostered spaces of isolation and poverty based on one's race and class (Douglas S.; Denton, 1998). With the opposition of high-density apartment units by primarily white homeowners, come also concerns for acts that may perpetuate modern day segregation, such as the intentional division of renters and homeowners from each other. This is also important to consider as more cities implement high-density housing in areas historically zoned for single-family homes to foster more compact developments and generate revenue.

While sustainable urban development policy may have goals of improving the environment, I found such projects are often implemented with little recognition of the race and class tension that arises with them. More specifically, NA members are more likely to approve of the changes in downtown and oppose high-density apartment units that could possibly house affordable housing units near their homes. On the other hand, CBO members are more likely to resist the changes in downtown and support high-density apartment units if they contain affordable housing. In this way, opposing views from Latinxs and whites, may lead to disagreements on future development in the city.

In the process of change in Santa Ana, the implementation of sustainable urban development in the form of high-density apartment housing may perpetuate segregation, hurting race relations within the city. Segregation may be perpetuated given the opposition white homeowners have to high-density apartment complexes and the exclusivity they create with high-property values that many low-income communities and communities of color cannot afford to live in. High-density apartment complexes, whether market rate or affordable housing, will draw renters of which homeowners have insisted hold different values from homeowners. Renters in Santa Ana are primarily Latinx residents and thus resistance to compact development may exacerbates race relations in Santa Ana, hindering opportunities for more interaction among different groups of people in a given area.

Generational Differences

Findings also demonstrate generational differences among individuals embedded in NAs and individuals embedded in CBOs. The majority of individuals embedded in NAs were in their 50s, 60s, and 70s and individuals embedded in CBOs were primarily in their mid to late 20s. This presents a generation gap and window of differences among interviewees. Individuals from both groups demonstrated varying perspectives of change, interpretations of change, and responses to change. In this study, I found that people of all ages take place-protective action, but they do so for different reasons. Whereas older individuals were more keen to take care of

their property value and single-family residential neighborhoods, younger individuals spoke against changes in the downtown area and development that erased their culture and induced gentrification and the displacement of existing working class, Latinx residents. Several older homeowners dismissed the needs of younger individuals claiming they did not have similar goals or interests in owning a home and asserted youth were ignorant of how downtown used to be as they defended the changes in downtown that individuals embedded in CBOs are disappointed in. For example, William claimed he did not want renters living in high-density apartment complexes next to his home because he claimed that the majority are still in school, have not started families, and are not sure of what they want in life. In another example, Sandra, dismissed young leaders' opposition to change in downtown claiming they have no idea how bad the downtown area was in the early 1990s, before many of today's young leaders were born. Contrary to William's point, many young leaders expressed they wanted a home of their own and to pursue higher degrees and better paying positions, but just could not find opportunities given their present economic struggles. In addition, many young leaders claim they do remember how Santa Ana's downtown used to be and they grew nostalgic thinking about the good times they had with their family there regardless of safety issues.

While city officials plan for sustainable urban development for millennials, many individuals embedded in CBOs in their 20s and 30s are not able to enjoy the increased investment due to the increased cost of meals and services they cannot afford and because of the internal struggle they have with consuming at places that may be a part of the gentrification process in Santa Ana. Older individuals from NAs, on the other hand, do enjoy the increased investment in downtown without inner struggle or sense of indirect displacement. Older individuals in NAs are excited about the OC Streetcar and also encourage younger individuals resisting changes to accept the changes they see as it is a sign of the market. They advise that if one does not accept the change, they will be left behind. However, younger individuals do not feel they are benefitting from the changes. They feel the changes are not for their benefit but rather are a disruption, and therefore they oppose changes by organizing, protesting, and boycotting changes.

Proximity to Change

Proximity to change did come to be an important factor for individuals embedded in NAs as many individuals outside of the downtown area resisted plans for high-density apartment units next to their homes. Older individuals from NAs were quick to encourage younger individuals from CBOs to accept the change that was happening in the downtown area, yet older individuals from NAs were much slower to accept the changes when they were developed in their own neighborhoods, outside of downtown, as they were considered a threat to their single-family residential area.

Individuals embedded in CBOs were not only resisting built environment projects such as high-density apartment units that would infringe on their neighborhood and bring threats of gentrification and displacement. They were also motivated to resist projects occurring in different parts of the city. For example, many individuals in the downtown area where the bulk of investment was occurring organized to resist changes occurring in their community. Later as more threats of gentrification and displacement arose due to the newly constructed OC

Streetcar crossing through Santa Ana, many organizers moved outside of the downtown area to areas where the threat of gentrification and displacement was arising.

Individuals embedded in NAs also were supportive of the organizing efforts in other neighborhoods across the city. For example, Jerry lives in the downtown area, but made sure to help another neighborhood given their current battles resisting high-density apartment units and his experience with doing so in his own neighborhood. Thus, proximity to change matters, but it does not deter residents from mobilizing resistance to projects in other parts of the city. In this way we see that individuals from NAs and CBOs represent a movement against sustainable urban development occurring throughout their city. Resistance is no longer rooted in the downtown area where the bulk of changes have been made, but it has transcended to other parts of the city where investment is being made, particularly in areas where TOD is being supported by developers and city officials. The OC Streetcar itself is representational of the changes moving from downtown to across the city as it triggers the potential for new development from east to west near its future potential stops. In addition, individuals embedded in CBOs share that they must think beyond one's proximity to a change and state that they now have to look at the city with a bird's eye, because that is what the city is doing when planning for changes.

Discussion 2: Organizations matter for influencing sustainability discourse.

Studies have documented the varying ways individuals in CBOs and NAs have influenced urban governance (Gonzalez, E, et al, 2012), but few studies have focused on comparing and contrasting how the perspectives of individuals in these groups is formed. Few studies have highlighted how their responses to neighborhood change may converge or diverge to shape decisions made in urban governance (Harwood, S., & Myers, 2002). Much less is known about how individuals embedded in these two organizations may act as a vehicle for shaping place attachment and for assessing threat.

My research also contributes to the field of urban governance as I assess how various individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs develop a sustainable discourse based on their relationships, lived experiences, political influence, and available resources to influence the planning process and outcomes of development processes. I also expand on place attachment literature, sharing insight on how organizations also matter in how one develops place attachment and decides to take place protective action. By doing so, I show that place-protective action does not simply develop in individuals but is shaped extensively by the groups one becomes a part of. The perceptions acquired through interviews reflect the group individuals were attached to. Individuals did not learn on their own, but were greatly influenced by others in the groups they were involved in. Together they talk about what is good and what may be harmful for their community. Others raise issues of racial inequality in their conversations, while others refrain from talking about racial inequality.

Homeowners as part of NAs, for example, discuss issues or proposals that may threaten to devalue their home and thus their social class. These conversations are likely to include others holding the same class position. For example, most individuals from NAs interviewed were homeowners, college educated, and middle-upper class residents. Renters, on the other hand, represented another class which was primarily low-income, undocumented, and had

previously faced displacement. Renters unite to discuss issues that are impacting them such as rent increases and threats of eviction, distinct topics compared to those discussed by homeowners. In these groups, NAs and CBOs, people find spaces to share their grievances with others who have similar grievances related to development and in these spaces, people talk similarly about issues, sharing struggles, desires, and frustrations with one another.

There are some individuals who are or have been involved in several groups; groups that may have opposing views from one another such as Veronica who was involved in an anti-gentrification organization and an organization promoting changes in downtown. There are some individuals who can be immensely involved in one world, developing and internalizing perceptions, and can then go into another world that conflicts with the other group one is or was a part of. Pierre Bourdieu (1999) describes this as split habitus, where individuals face contradicting experience and expectations in different groups. Many times, split habitus can foster a sense of inner-struggle having a foot in different groups, however, many interviewees seemed to be thriving from either transitioning completely from one group to another or maintaining involvement in two groups or more (Bourdieu, 1999). In whatever group one is involved in, individuals will internalize schemas and their involvement will also form their habits, how they see things and how they feel about different things. Individuals are also given agency to filter the schemas they are learning while involved with particular groups.

When residents unite with others in their respective organizations of interest, they further interpret and evaluate proposed and observed changes in their community. When they unite with others, political and social dimensions of place influence groups differently and foster different responses as the information and resources they are exposed to are also unequal (Dixon, J., & Durrheim, 2004; Manzo, 2005). Though NAs and CBOs focus on helping meet community's needs, their motivations, objectives, and members vary greatly as well. NAs are supported by the City with two dedicated planning staff to help meet their needs, answer any questions they have, or point them towards people to talk to. NAs also have direct access to trainings from city officials that can help educate them on working with the city towards changes. They also are greatly connected to the police department to discuss matters of public safety. Involved in the group are also many affluent residents who have access to broad understandings of how to face threats to their community given their experience working with local government, law, and filing lawsuits. CBOs, on the other hand, may not have a strong relationship with the City to obtain answers to issues so quickly. Such differences shed light on the resources and political opportunities that NAs are more likely to have granted their connection to the city. CBOs have access to residents, primarily consisting of low-income, working class, immigrant residents, who may have few resources including time and money to invest towards organizing efforts. However, many individuals in CBOs advocate for changes from a state of exclusion, of not being included in planning processes.

There were clear differences for those who are not involved in a particular cohort. Those who do not have a group affiliation did not respond with place-protective action at all. They simply accepted the changes in the downtown area they saw regardless of how drastic they sensed the changes to be. This comes even as many expressed a strong place attachment to Santa Ana, demonstrating that place-attachment is not sufficient for one to take place-protective action and that organization affiliation is also important for individuals. Scott, an individual embedded in a NA, shares that he appreciates being in his NA because it fosters

smaller boundaries in Santa Ana which may then open up opportunities for one to meet with councilmember to discuss issues you are interested in. On the other hand, Martha, an individual embedded in a CBO, recalls how difficult it is for her organization to meet with a councilmember to discuss issues of gentrification and displacement with them. Given the connections the NA has with the city, the NA is exposed to substantial resources including access to councilmembers to influence or speak with them regarding topics of neighborhood change in their community. Other groups, however, such as Martha's CBO has a much harder time meeting with a councilmember. Not only is access to councilmembers more restricted, individuals in CBOs also feel more discriminated against as some have felt judged for their immigration status and lower educational attainment.

Regardless of the group affiliation, individuals from both groups sense appreciation for their other group members. They appreciate the friends they have made and the leadership and organizing skills they have acquired while participating. The City of Santa Ana provides numerous training sessions for residents in NAs to learn how to engage in the planning process for projects in their community and how to organize to influence changes in their community. Individuals embedded in CBOs also have training sessions, but not necessarily with the City. They go about developing their own training sessions on how to organize and speak at city council meetings to resist changes. These contrasting groups, that vary based on race and class, influence the ways in which people organize and shape member motivations to get involved with the sustainable development planning process in their city. For example, one NA group in Santa Ana focused on historic preservation discusses projects with a historic preservation lens. They have been able to halt any project from development that does not fit their standards. When asked what changes he has observed in their community, a prominent leader in the organization shared, "There has not been any big changes here, because we manage the change." On the other hand, several individuals embedded in CBOs indicate many residents they work with cannot participate in resisting plans to influence change because they are in survival mode. Individuals embedded in CBOs mention they have been able to slow down the process, but not stop it totally.

Such circumstances foster different environments and conversations within organizations that shape one's perspective on sustainable urban development. The different groups consist of different individuals with different goals and motivations. Their distinct goals set the stage for agenda setting and conversations about future development and place-protective action to minimize threats in their communities. While individuals embedded in NAs perceive high-density apartment units as threats to their single-family homes, individuals embedded in CBOs consider high-density apartment units a benefit should they contain affordable housing units for residents. They have these distinct perspectives because of their diverging goals. Individuals embedded in NAs seek to preserve the investment of their homes and perceive high-density apartment units will impact their property value. They also encourage more investment in downtown to change establishments, improve public safety, increase diversity, and foster a tourist destination. These are also often shared as goals from local developers and the city.

Previous studies also confirm the city's desire to transform the downtown into a tourist attraction (Gonzalez, 2017). Individuals embedded in CBOs perceive there is a great need for additional housing, especially for extremely low-income residents. They disagree with

individuals in NAs and public officials who claim there is enough affordable housing in Santa Ana and with their goals of making downtown Santa Ana into a tourist attraction which threatens residents with displacement and cultural erasure (Gonzalez, 2017). Their lived experiences give rise to such perspectives and their involvement in different CBO organizations help bolster their perspectives as they relate to other individuals and establishments with similar goals and grievances. The perspectives elevated raise tensions between individuals embedded in CBOs (mostly renters) and individuals from NAs (mostly homeowners), that highlight a group's (renters) longing to preserve their cultural identity in downtown and through the city and foster more housing opportunities for low-income and working class Latinx immigrants and a group's (homeowners) longing to decrease density, preserve single family neighborhoods, and increase diversity in the downtown area.

Discussion 3: Change as natural or change as forced?

The interpretation of the causes of neighborhood change also differs between individuals embedded in NAs and individuals embedded in CBOs and influences the change they choose to accept or oppose. A key finding among interviewees is the contrasting perspective of change that exists among young CBO members and older NA members and whether change is driven by market forces or systematically driven by individuals intentionally hurting local Latinx businesses.

Several individuals embedded in NAs stated they thought that the change they were seeing was normal and a sign of the market at work. On the other hand, individuals embedded in CBOs interpreted changes as a forced process pitted against working class, Latinx immigrants. Sociologists offer an important perspective on how to assess these comments. Statements such as "Change always occurs" or "Change is good" are similar to what sociologists have documented white residents having said in relation to segregation. White residents have defended segregation by stating, "that is just the way it is" or "it is better this way". These statements are often used to normalize discrimination and obscure racial inequality taking place (Bonilla-Silva, 2018). These statements also reflect attitudes and may also speak to one's response to a particular change or treatment.

Other residents may be harmed by policies, projects, treatment, or change that is being referenced by the phrase "Change is good". The change imposed could have negative implications for communities of color and low-income communities particularly, as they often bear the costs of increased investment in their city and face threats of gentrification and displacement. In addition, many individuals from NAs spoke of change as a "natural" occurrence. Describing neighborhood change processes such as segregation and gentrification as a natural process, however, can be problematic. Segregation, for example, was far from natural as public officials intentionally prohibited communities of color from loans that could help them live in more affluent white neighborhoods. Events or processes that invoke unequal outcomes among different racial groups is not "natural" (Bonilla-Silva, 2018).

The contrasting perspectives of change also shed light on racialized experiences in place. Whereas individuals embedded in NAs are largely inviting of the change occurring in downtown, individuals embedded in CBOs see the change as a forced process that is intentionally working to systematically displace Latinx businesses. Armando, an organizer with a CBO, states than an

additional business improvement tax placed on downtown/La Cuatro businesses has disproportionately hurt Latinx businesses leading to their displacement. Long-time, existing Latinx businesses such as quinceañera shops are connected to the strong place attachment individuals embedded in CBOs have for La Cuatro. These were establishments that many individuals like Armando and Patricia frequented and helped them feel safety and provided a sense of place and home. The perceived systematic, forced changes caused by sustainable urban development and investments such as the OC Streetcar and high-density apartment units provoke a sense of erasure of Latinx businesses and residents and have spurred activists to resist changes. Such occurrences have confirmed Santa Ana scholars' work in documenting the displacement of Latinx businesses in downtown Santa Ana (Gonzalez, 2017).

With the increased investment of high-density apartment units adjacent to the OC Streetcar stops in the downtown area, there will be increased contention between what individuals perceive as forced change and natural change and how they decide to respond to observed changes. Some individuals from NAs may be more supportive of the changes (which will likely include the closing of Latinx businesses) because they think it is simply a response to the changing market and a natural shift in customer interests. This too is an important assumption to monitor as there may be shifts in demand that draw residents to shop at new businesses. Others, such as individuals embedded in CBOs, may resist changes because they consider the changes to be systematically planned to push the Latinx population out. This is also important to monitor as historical policies have disadvantaged communities of color in the planning and development process. These distinct perspectives are racialized as individuals from both groups contrast by race, but also view the downtown area distinctly given their racialized experiences.

While strides have been made to foster platforms for discussion among whites and communities of color, more recognition of historical discrimination is needed in planning processes to understand why groups may supports or dislikes particular projects. Many individuals embedded in NAs embrace the change they see in downtown in all its forms, while other individuals embedded in CBOs resist the changes in downtown/La Cuatro because of what the place has meant for them. During times of immense overt racism in Orange County, La Cuatro was a place of refuge for many Mexican/Latinx families to shop, eat, and enjoy time with their families (Gonzalez, 2017). As more investment is made in downtown and in other parts of the city, many individuals embedded in CBOs sense their safe haven threatened. Many neighborhoods in downtown continue to be predominately Latinx, however, many individuals embedded in CBOs mention that they no longer visit *La Cuatro*. Though attention has been given to the buildings and businesses that have changed, little is said in the planning and development process regarding the importance of preserving a sense of safe haven that many connect with the downtown/La Cuatro area. There is the sense of indirect displacement residents feel, but the feeling of insecurity due to the disruption of one's safe haven is distinct in that it cuts further into notions of safety from threats towards them as a person. While some individuals have boycotted establishments, others have mobilized to ensure downtown is remembered as *La Cuatro*, placing street signs in Spanish along *La Cuatro*. In doing so, residents acknowledge the historical and Mexican influence of the downtown area and call for others to remember as well. Thus, calling changes in downtown "natural" comes with great sadness to individuals embedded in CBOs as they see the change as far from "natural". They see the

displacement as intentional and with motivations to erase their Latinx immigrant culture and space.

There are, however, others who believe that change can be managed or mitigated. Two individuals embedded in NAs in the same historic neighborhood said they observed no change because they managed the change in their neighborhood. They mentioned their community was a historic preservation site and therefore nothing new could go into their neighborhood without first consulting the architectural review board. When residents or developers sought to change the façade of their homes, code enforcement was quickly called to report them and make sure they were following the design guidelines.

On the other hand, CBO leaders from adjacent neighborhoods, unofficially recognized as historic barrios, do not claim to also have the right to manage the change in their communities, though they also work to preserve their community identity. They mention that much has changed including the demolition of several historic homes. They indicated the city was very much involved in shaping the changes in the community given they let several historic homes decay and razed them to develop high-density apartment complexes. Amidst revitalization efforts in the early 2000s, however, individuals embedded in CBOs sought to control the change by pushing for guaranteed community benefit agreements that would come with transit-oriented development surrounding the Santa Ana Regional Transportation Center. They sought to increase the number of affordable housing units, the provision of a park, and a community center (Sarmiento & Sims, 2015). Hence, many of the new housing units developed in a particular neighborhood close to downtown are affordable units. This comes even as residents share they are not adequately consulted or included in the planning process to provide their input to what development could look like in their community. Given this contradiction, it is important to ask whether redevelopment is providing the affordable housing that is "needed" in the community.

Individuals from both groups provide a critical reevaluation of what change means in this era of increased sustainable development in the shape of policies, investments, and projects. And such matters highlight the opposing views and tensions related to race that exist among those influencing change in a city like Santa Ana and are bound to come forward in planning processes and outcomes. While several individuals embedded in NAs see change as simply the natural evolution of cities, several individuals embedded in CBOs saw the change as forced and systematically designed to displace low-income residents and communities of color in Santa Ana. Because of these varied perspectives of change itself, several individuals embedded in NAs supported changes in downtown and several individuals embedded in CBOs resisted changes in downtown/La Cuatro. Several individuals embedded in NAs, however, did not support changes when their neighborhoods were sited for new development projects. They appreciated the changes in downtown, but not near their neighborhoods where developments such as high-density apartment units threatened their single-family neighborhoods.

Discussion 4: Diversity versus Racial Consciousness

Individuals embedded in NAs and CBOs both shared that they observed changes in the demographics of downtown clientele. However, individuals from both groups differed in their interpretation of these changes. While individuals embedded in NAs praised the changes in

demographics in downtown as "increased diversity", individuals embedded in CBOs refer to the demographic changes as attracting more white and Asian tourists to the downtown area. They are also put off by the growing number of white and Asian residents that are now living in some communities and visit downtown/La Cuatro. They are put off because they consider whites and Asians to be a part of a group that held negative and discriminatory views of Santa Ana and who previously stayed away from Santa Ana because of its crime and poverty.

Demographic shifts in the downtown area threaten the place identify of individuals embedded in CBOs because it was based on the strong Latinx presence and identity and not due to the "diversity" that existed in the downtown area. Latinxs from CBOs were connected with downtown not because of the increased investment and improvements, but because of the presence of people similar to them with shared struggles and experiences. Downtown offered a place to bond with others over place and interpersonal experiences (Lewicka, 2013). A large portion of this bond with place came from the ironic security Latinxs faced in the downtown area from being around others like them amidst high crime rates in the 90s. Disruption to this sense of place attachment is very difficult to individuals embedded in CBOs as they have faced racial discrimination in the past and acknowledge the racism that exists in Orange County (Lacayo, 2016) and in parts of Santa Ana. Today, individuals embedded in CBOs largely see whites and Asians as being from groups that once shunned Santa Ana and its people and now are infringing on their safe haven. On the other hand, individuals embedded in NAs, are hailing the increased "diversity" that now exists in Santa Ana, particularly in the downtown area where they thought it consisted of predominantly Latinxs prior to increased development in the 1990s and early 2000s.

These contrasting perspectives raise race tensions and diverging approaches to change given different experiences and interpretation of change. While individuals embedded in CBOs are more race conscious (Anderson, 2012), more focused on how they connect or disconnect with others in relation to racial identity and culture, individuals embedded in NAs are less likely to frame their views of change in terms of racial consciousness. They speak more of their appreciation of diversity as opposed to singling out the racial identity of individuals like individuals embedded in CBOs do. This echoes the approach used by many education, commerce, and planning institutions that emphasize "diversity" and its importance. The term diversity, however, may be a term that means little to individuals with heightened racial consciousness. Instead, it may serve as a distraction from understanding and addressing existing inequalities (Ahmed, 2009). If one recognizes increased diversity by having more residents from various ethnicities, one may neglect to look at systemic inequalities that could be inducing a shift in demographics. By focusing on diversity, there is no longer a focus on racism or inequality and may keep individuals, residents and public officials, from confronting issues related to race (Ahmed, 2009). In looking at only the increased diversity in downtown, there is less attention on the people who are no longer visiting and working in downtown such as local, working-class Latinx residents.

Discussion 5: Conflicting Views of Sustainable Urban Development

Though sustainable urban development purports to improve quality of life and advance principles of equality, it also compounds existing disparities and may foster additional

inequalities. Scholars have stated that sustainable urban development, also known as green development, whitens historic communities of color (Checker, 2011). While sustainable urban development aims to produce compact development to foster more walkability and access to alternative transportation options, it is important to note that these enhancements may not be shared equally or even perceived equally by residents. Based on the interviews I have acquired with this research, no organizers in their 20s mentioned benefitting from sustainable urban development in their city given the issues of gentrification and displacement in their community, whereas individuals in their 60s claimed to benefit from the changes in the downtown area.

At the center of many sustainable urban development improvements is a city's desire to be recognized as a world class city and to increase revenue for a city. To increase revenue, cities often push for sustainable urban development to attract the creative class or millennials who are in their 20s and early 30s and who are attracted to living in areas with a growing downtown center, enhanced transportation, and increased walkability. However, in Santa Ana, we do not see many of the existing millennial population interviewed benefitting from such changes. One interviewee acknowledged benefits from increased property values for a condo they own in downtown that they rent out while they live with their parents. For many others, however, they are not able to benefit from the projects that developers claim will attract the millennial population to stay and live in downtown. Several millennials embedded in CBOs, consisting of majority renters and Latinxs, claim to instead be pushed out from the downtown area because they cannot afford to live in the new apartments and imagine not being able to afford to use the future streetcar once it is open for the public.

Sustainable urban development is in many cases implemented to attract the millennial population as they are purported to be able to afford to live in the market rate apartments and are attracted to living in a downtown setting with increased walkability, light rail, and attractions. However, many millennials, particularly Latinx individuals embedded in CBOs, claim to not be able to enjoy those resources because they cannot afford the improvements. Additionally, many do not want to consume or be in these establishments in downtown because of the increased gentrification and displacement they associated with these projects and businesses. Such differences highlight class distinctions between millennials that can afford to live there and millennials who cannot afford to live there.

Older individuals embedded in NAs, however, report they enjoy the changes that are occurring in the downtown area. Given the majority are homeowners outside of downtown, they do not benefit from the apartments placed in the downtown area or perceive any benefits from apartments placed in their neighborhoods, but they claim to benefit from the enhanced safety and attractions such as restaurants and art galleries in the downtown area. In addition, homeowners and renters have contrasting views of how future change in the city should be carried out. While homeowners are supportive of sustainable urban development, many oppose it when it infringes on their property value. Renters may also be supportive of sustainable urban development, but not if it means displacing them from their community.

This differentiation between millennials who can afford to live in new market rate apartments, between homeowners and renters, and between whites and Latinxs demonstrates an economic order and sense of financial security among those who can enjoy new amenities and those who cannot (Patillo, 2010). Given their varying positions, these groups also have

different approaches to responding to projects (i.e. withdrawal, acceptance, opposition). Their responses to observed changes may also go against local government sustainability goals. While local government and state policy may push for drastic changes to accommodate development that can reduce vehicle travel and associated greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) and foster more walkable environments and housing opportunities, residents may resist these changes given their sense of place attachment. Not all development, however, is opposed and it does depend greatly on location, cost of living, fears of displacement and gentrification, and concerns of overcrowding and parking congestion. While opposition may be based on concerns for physical changes, there are some concerns focused on social and cultural changes that relate to underlying tensions of race and class between white homeowners and low-income, communities of color.

Given the issues of race that arise and the perceived threats of high-density apartment housing to single-family neighborhoods, how will homeowners be incentivized to support such projects near their homes? Regardless of the potential of these projects to increase revenue for the city and to foster compact environments to reduce GHG, homeowners are largely not supportive of such developments in their communities (Devine-Wright, 2009; Mcclymont & O'hare, 2008). They often described such projects as "good projects, but bad locations." Are these good projects, but in bad locations? How can homeowners be incentivized to live adjacent to renters? Several cities have now done away with single-family zoning in hopes of fostering more density and housing opportunities. Findings call attention to the nuances of sustainable urban development and associated neighborhood change and demonstrate a need for additional research investigating how cities make the transition to abolishing single-family zoning to accommodate high-density apartment complexes and to implementing sustainable urban development goals in the face of underlying racial and class tensions between homeowners and renters. These findings strengthen the need for a shift in sustainable urban development policies to acknowledge that existing practices often obscure or mask inequalities as they arise in the planning process. There is a need for sustainable development processes to engage, respond and intercede when opposition is due to racial issues. Otherwise, outcomes will only perpetuate historic racial equality and discrimination and mask these concerns under the banner of sustainable urban development. It has been observed that equality should make up one of the largest components of sustainability (Saha, D., & Paterson, 2008).

Conclusion: Implications for Planning for Sustainable Urban Development

This study also has several implications for the planning practice in communities experiencing increased investment towards sustainable urban development. The recommendations listed below highlight the importance of assessing the negative implications that could result from increased investment in the form of sustainable urban development. They also push for more recognition of the underlying tensions of race and class that arise when discussing sustainable development planning due to the history of planning including often-used tools such as redlining and zoning that upheld a racial hierarchy (Rothstein, 2017). Golub et al. (2013), when assessing sustainable development, argues that intergenerational equity matters and emphasizes that injustices endure and remain embedded in the socio-economic and political spheres (Golub, et al., 2013). This can be true for development in Santa

Ana where injustices have compounded due to increased investment in sustainable urban development. Intergenerational equity is very important to assess moving forward with increased investment into communities that have previously faced divestment, isolation, and poverty. These recommendations also speak to the importance of addressing implicit and racial bias spurred when discussing new proposals or projects in the planning process. Those involved in the planning process, public officials, planners, developers, and residents should critically analyze the implicit bias that may stem from projects and the unintended consequences that may spur and exacerbate existing issues such as traffic and parking congestion. The recommendations listed below focus on steps planners can take to foster more equitable planning practice.

1. **Recognize and address implicit bias/racism in discussions related to increased investment.**
   As development increases, residents may make comments in the planning process that may illicit implicit bias, racism, or discrimination**.** Given their varying perceptions and experiences with race and racism, particularly between renters and homeowners and between communities of color and whites, it is important for planners to know how to facilitate such conversations where race and racism may emerge. Planners are ill equipped, however, to take on such conversations as they often lack the capacity to take on additional tasks, the proper training to cover such topics, and could lack the funding for training sessions to learn how to address such issues. Increasingly, consultants consisting of people of color are specializing in teaching staff how to engage in topics of race and racism that may emerge in the planning process. Cities should research existing consulting services that specialize in facilitating discussion on race and class and inquire their services for the benefit of their staff, but also the residents they engage with, especially when there is a history of segregation present in the community.

2. **Assess when change is natural and when it is forced. How will traditional Latinx businesses benefit or hurt from new policies?**
   Given many Latinx businesses on 4th Street in downtown/La Cuatro have been displaced according to individuals interviewed, it is recommended the city inventory the change in businesses in the last 10-15 years and examine how Latinx-owned businesses may be negatively impacted by increased investment in downtown, new policies, and taxes on businesses. Long-time and existing Latinx owned businesses may be disproportionately impacted with threats of displacement, leading them to close their business at a faster rate in comparison to other businesses. While market forces and a laissez faire approach may be leading long-time Latinx businesses to leave their shops, it is also important to question the policies and taxes put in place and that have caused disparate outcomes among Latinx owned stores along 4th Street or other areas where there is increased investment. To study how it is that Latinx businesses have been disproportionately displaced on 4th Street, an audit is recommended by an outside entity as well as policies of protection for longtime, Latinx businesses. In this way, the city can recognize inequality in its policies and take steps towards protecting long-time, Latinx owned businesses.
   The city should also work with local long-time businesses to develop programs of support for long-time business owners since they contribute to the unique character of Santa

Ana. City programming that listens, identifies, and supports long-term businesses could be a vital element of economic revitalization in Santa Ana. Existing and long-time businesses such as quinceañera shops should not be assumed to slow down economic opportunities, but more attention should be given to preserve these spaces as they draw in visitors and retain existing clientele from the surrounding neighborhoods. Such businesses need targeted assistance and tax breaks to support them through economic transitions in the city and to acknowledge their contribution to the city's character and economy.

3. **Assess whether high-density apartment complexes are indeed increasing walkability and reducing green-house gas emissions or exacerbating current transportation (i.e., traffic and parking congestion).**

   Development of high-density apartment buildings is one strategy being used to foster compact environments that increase walkability and decrease vehicle miles travelled and greenhouse gas emissions. In parallel, there are also motivations for economic growth and profit maximization. However, given resident concerns with parking congestion and traffic associated with them, are high-density apartment complexes living up to their goals of sustainability? Or could they be exacerbating concerns related to other transportation issues such as parking congestion and traffic? Cities should undergo studies to assess the negative transportation implications that come with the development of high-density apartment units. Though they purport to reduce vehicle miles travelled by building compact developments, placing people next to their work or entertainment, they could be exacerbating traffic conditions for neighborhoods such as single-family neighborhoods and induce tensions among residents of complexes and residents in nearby single-family homes. In addition, it is important to assess whether such projects are meeting greater state goals related to sustainability, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and reducing vehicle miles travelled. If they are not, it would be important to reconsider planning efforts and refocus energy and resources into projects that will indeed help reduce GHG and VMT, rather than solely profit maximization that stems from the implementation of high-density apartment units.

4. **Evaluate whether doing away with single-family housing is feasible and appropriate for Santa Ana given the needs and desires of homeowners and renters.**

   With the two cities of California, Berkeley and Sacramento, doing away with single-family housing, it is important to consider whether similar actions would be suitable for Santa Ana. Though there are many homeowners opposed to the idea of ridding cities of single-family housing, there are also many renters who are for the development of high-density apartment housing if it means the provision of more affordable housing. Despite the varying perspectives, it is important to consider if doing away with single-family housing would be an option for Santa Ana as other cities may follow Berkeley and Sacramento in efforts to ameliorate the housing crisis and overcrowded living conditions. It is recommended that Santa Ana brace itself for this possible movement that seeks to place renters next to homeowners, a circumstance many homeowners have opposed. It is important to assess whether doing away with single-family zoning in Santa Ana would be beneficial. Would it exacerbate racial tensions? Would it mitigate racial tensions and foster

more mixed income and diverse communities? What works in one California city may not work in another city. However, it is important to study what the outcomes could be as cities increasingly invest in high-density apartment complexes and increasingly spot zone, placing complexes next to single-family homes.

5. **Foster spaces for interactions between individuals from NAs and CBOs to help address concerns.**

Given the diverging interests of individuals from CBOs and individuals from NAs and their involvement in shaping future development in the city, it is recommended planners foster spaces for interactions between individuals from NAs and CBOs to help address concerns. Individuals from both organizations present varying grievances, political opportunities, and resources that open up discussions in planning processes. However, often times how individuals from distinct groups converge and work together to influence change has not been documented. Planners are encouraged to facilitate dialogue between the two, to not necessarily reach consensus, but to share lived experiences and one's emotional bonds with place, that which is quite rare in planning processes. In this way, perhaps there would be more understanding of each other's perspectives and more of a focus on community benefits. Granted a history of redlining and racial covenants has rendered great segregation throughout urban cities, when there are opportunities to link individuals from different racial and class identities in the planning process, it is important to make note of individual's histories in Santa Ana and how proposed projects impact varying groups differently. More should be done to improve the communication between individuals from both groups and to enhance capacity of these organizations, to engage with each other on different topics related to development and place attachment.

6. **Require built in benefits from all development projects (market rate or not).**

An important tool used by SACReD to protect renters threatened with displacement by the implementation of the Station District in 2007 was a Community Benefits Agreement. A Community Benefits Agreement contains commitments that a developer makes to acquire support from residents for a development (Cummings, 2007). Though SACReD was able to negotiate some of their demands such as acquiring affordable housing and a park through their proposed community benefits agreement, there were also many other elements not approved as part of the community benefits agreement. Nevertheless, SACReD demonstrated that it is possible to acquire community benefits with proposed sustainable urban development projects such as Santa Ana's Station District. In addition, Legacy Square, a development project consisting of 93 units in Santa Ana proved to be a development project conducted differently. No community benefit agreement was made, but the project was premised on objectives to fulfill the community need of affordable housing. In partnership with Mercy House, the development also was passed with the understanding that the development would provide services centered on supportive services to advance resident families (i.e. child development, youth development, senior wellness) ("Legacy Square," 2021).

Such cases show that benefits can be acquired with each development proposed, but there is potential for many more benefits for communities where sustainable urban

development projects are being planned in the shape of high-density apartment homes and transit-oriented development. Though the notion of sustainability is considered a benefit in itself to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and vehicle miles travelled, many existing and long-time residents claim they are not able to enjoy those benefits. Thus, developers and planners should dig deeper to inquire what benefits are needed as part of proposed projects. Rather than only focusing on affordable units, developers and planners should work to ensure that resident have built in benefits from all development projects (market-rate or not). In this way addressing inequality goes beyond increasing participation, but also focuses on community benefits such as widened sidewalks, crosswalks, bike lanes, community centers, etc.

In Atlanta, Georgia, the Beltline- a multi-use trail that circulates the city has threatened many residents with gentrification and displacement with its implementation. Given the threats and community mobilization, the City of Atlanta has agreed to 12 principles to assure that the community benefits from the Beltline's implementation. Included among the agreements are: implementation of mixed income housing, development of transportation infrastructure for bikers and walkers, provision of greenspace, implementation of multi-use development, extend job opportunities to surrounding residents first, enhanced public safety, more public gathering spaces, advanced technology, and improved accessibility for persons with disabilities, handicap, and/or senior citizens ("Beltline Community Benefits," 2010). Such projects demonstrate that sustainable urban development can attach community development agreements to foster more equitable outcomes. Future projects implemented in Santa Ana should adhere to community benefits agreements as well to ensure benefits extend to social, physical, and environmental dimensions of the community. Cities are also encouraged to require community benefits agreements with each development to ensure surrounding residents benefit considering many residents do not believe they will benefit from increased development and to acquire more community acceptance of projects.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Interview Questions	
How long have you lived in Santa Ana?	Cuanto tiempo ha vivido en Santa Ana?
What brought you or your family here?	Que le trajo a Santa Ana?
How was it like in Santa Ana in the year you first came?	En que año fue eso, como era Santa Ana cuando llego?
When you think of Santa Ana, how do you think of its boundaries? Neighborhood? Block? City?	Que son los límites de Santa Ana que piensa usted? Solo el vecindario? Solo la cuadra? La cuidad entera?
How would you describe your emotional connection to Santa Ana and your neighborhood, if any?	Como describirías su conexión emocional a Santa Ana y su vecindario?
What is it about Santa Ana that you really identify with?	Que tiene Santa Ana para que se identifique tanto con?
How rooted are you in Santa Ana?	¿Que raizes tiene en Santa Ana?
What do you value about Santa Ana?	¿Que valora usted de Santa Ana?
How would you describe your relationship with your neighbors or others from your community? Can you share an example of your interaction?	¿Como describirías su relación con sus vecinos o otros de su comunidad? ¿Puede compartir un ejemplo de su interacción?
What do you like about your neighborhood? What are the challenges that exist in your neighborhood?	¿Que le gusta de su vecindario? ¿Que son los desafíos que existen en su vecindario?
Tell me a bit about what you do in (name organization).	Cuéntame un poco de lo que hace en su organización?
What is the overall mission of the org and who do you represent or work for?	¿Que es la misión de la organización y quien representa o para quien trabajas?
Are you a part of any other organizations?	¿Esta involucrada en organizaciones de la comunidad? ¿Cuales?
What motivated you to get involved?	¿Que le motivo involucrase mas?
How did you get connected?	¿Como se conecto con el grupo?

What keeps you from getting involved?	¿Que le detiene involucrase mas?
Can you tell me how Santa Ana was before? What are some of your earliest memories of Santa Ana and how you experienced it as a kid or when you first moved there? What year was that? -If they state crime, ask how did they cope with it? Have you observed changes in your neighborhood in the last 5-10 years? Can you describe particular changes and where they are located? -Changes in crime? Transportation? Physical environment? Greenery? Social environment?	¿Ha observado cambios en los últimos 5-10 años? ¿Me puedes describir cambios particulares y donde están localizados? -cambios en crimen? -cambios en transito? -cambios en el ambiente físico? -cambios en el ambiente social?
If they did notice changes: How do you make sense of the changes you are observing? How do you get your information? If they did not notice many changes: If you don't think Santa Ana or your neighborhood has changed drastically, what makes you think it hasn't changed?	Si reconocieron cambios: Como les da sentido a las cosas/cambios que esta observando? Si no reconoce cambios: ¿Si no piensa que ha cambiado mucho su vecindario, por que piensa que no ha cambiado?
What does more development in your neighborhood and city mean to you? Prompt: Do you see things changing for the better or for the worse? How so?	¿Que significa mas desarrollo en su vecindario y cuidad para usted? -Ve cosas para lo mejor o lo peor? ¿Como así?
Have you been affected by the changes in any way? Can you share an example of how?	¿Le ha afectado los cambios de una manera? ¿Puede compartir un ejemplo?
How have these changes affected how you feel about your community? Can you share with me what has triggered these feelings or emotions?	¿Estos cambios han afectado como usted siente sobre su comunidad? ¿Puede compartir conmigo que ha pasado para que siente estos sentimientos o emociones?
What are the changes you think about most?	¿Que son los cambios que piensa mas de? ¿Que es el cambio mas fuerte?

When did you first start to notice the neighborhood changing?	¿Cuándo comenzó a fijarse que el vecindario estaba cambiando?
How would you describe the stages of neighborhood change that you see or foresee in your city and what stage would you say you are in now?	¿Como describirías las etapas de el cambio de vecindario que ha visto? ¿Ha sido un cambio lento o acelerado? ¿Esta comenzado a cambiar? ¿Esta en lo mas alto?

Have changes caused disruptions to your neighborhood or sense of community?
   • If so, what changes have been disruptive? How so?
 	
Have changes caused disruptions to your day to day life?
   • If so, what changes have been disruptive? How so?
 	
Have some changes been beneficial?
   • If so, what changes have been beneficial?
	¿Han causado los cambios interrupciones a su vecindario o sentido de comunidad?
	-En caso de que si, ¿que cambios han interrumpido?
	
	¿Han causado interrupciones los cambios a su vida cuotidiana?
	-En caso de que si, ¿que cambios han interrumpido?
	
	¿Han sido de beneficio unos cambios?
	-Que cambios han sido de beneficio?

What do you think has caused your neighborhood or city to change?	¿Que piensa que ha causado que su vecindario o cuidad cambie?
How do you perceive the political climate and economic reality in Santa Ana and how it may influence the type of changes you are observing in the city?	¿Tomando en cuenta la política en Santa Ana y la realidad de que hay gente que no puede con la renta, que significa eso para los cambios qua ha visto?
Have you made any changes in your life to adjust to or cope with the changes you have observed? How have you coped?	¿Ha hecho cambios en su vida para adaptarse o lidiar con los cambios que ha visto? ¿Como ha liderado?
Have you sensed the need to protect your community? Protect them from what? If so, what steps have you taken to protect you and/or your community from changes that are occurring?	¿Ha sentido la necesidad de proteger a su comunidad? ¿Protegerlos de que? En caso de que si, que pasos ha tomado para protegerse y/o su comunidad los cambios sucediendo?
How do you perceive the city council's protective action for protecting residents against the negative implications of neighborhood change? Has it evolved? How so? What actions, whether government led, or community led, have you found to lessen the negative effects of neighborhood change?	¿Como percibe o que piensa sobre el concejal de la cuidad y que han hecho para proteger a residentes contra las implicaciones negativas del cambio de vecindario? ¿Ha cambiado? ¿Como les recuerda usted? ¿Que acciones, sea de parte del gobierno o de la comunidad, piensa que ayudaría reducir los afectos negativos?

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What role should planning and community organizations play in reducing the negative impacts?	¿Que rol debe tener planeación (la cuidad) y las organizaciones comunitarias en reducir los impactos negativos?

The Planning Process	
What projects have you and your organization worked on? [If more than one project is mentioned, I will state: Let's focus on the most recent one…then let's focus on one of the earlier projects you have been involved in]	¿Que proyectos ha usted y su organización trabajado en?
What was your motivation or goals to get involved with the project?	¿Que fue la motivación o metas para involucrarse con el proyecto?
Are you familiar with the Sunshine Ordinance? What are your thoughts on it? Has it been beneficial or challenging for you? In what ways?	¿Conoce al Ordenanza de Sunshine? ¿Que son tus pensamientos de la Ordenanza? ¿Que son tus pensamientos de la ordenanza? ¿Ha sido de beneficio o un desafío?
Have you worked closely with either or both planners and developers to further your goals? Can you share an example of how you worked or neglected to work with them?	¿Ha trabajado cerca con planeadores o desarrolladores para llevar a cabo sus metas? ¿Puede compartir un ejemplo sobre como has trabajado o negado trabajar con ellos?
How do you organize to influence the outcome?	¿Como organiza para influir el resultado?
For you, where does/did the planning process begin and end for this project? [If they are not sure what the planning process is, I can state: Planning processes you describe may be community led or government led. The planning process may broadly involve any action that you believe to aid in making decisions about a project etc. Your perspective may be based on what you have experienced in the planning process or opinions you have developed outside of the process be it through reading about it in the news, watching the news, or talking to friends etc.] What words would you say best describe the planning process for the project mentioned?	Para ti, donde comienza/comenzó el proceso de planeación y donde termina para este proyecto? ¿Que palabras derias que mejor describe el proceso de planeación para el proyecto mencionado?

Appendix B: Characteristics of interviewees from NAs and CBOs

Individuals Embedded in Community Based Organizations

Interviewee	Type of Organization	Position	Age	Race	Highest Level of Education	Homeowner or Renter	City of Residence	Annual Household Income (estimated)
1	Community based non-profit, Coalition of residents and organizations	Community Organizer	24	Mexican American	Bachelors	Renter	Santa Ana	$130,000 (for whole family)
2	Community based non-profit	Fellow	24	Latino	Bachelors	Renter	Santa Ana	$100-150k
3	Community based non-profit, Coalition of residents and organizations	Community Organizer	26	Latina, Mexican American	Bachelors	Renter	Santa Ana	$70,000
4	Coalition of residents and organizations, Community Land Trust (a nonprofit corporation)		40	Chicana	Some College	Renter	Santa Ana	$12,000
5	Cultural center, Center for the Arts	Affiliate, Board Member	33	Mexican American, Latino	Masters	Renter and condo owner	Santa Ana	Previously $65k, currently $0
6	Neighborhood Association, Neighborhood organization group	Community Organizer, but not so involved anymore due to age	85	Mexican American, Chicano	High School, 8 years in Military	Rent, use to own a home	Santa Ana	Did not answer, (Retired)
7	Coalition of renters and community organizations	Volunteer	24	Mexican/Latina	Bachelors	Renter	Anaheim	$45-50,000
8	Coalition of residents and organizations, 501(c)4 multi-cultural, multi-ethnic environmental justice organization	Volunteer	30	Salvadoran American	Bachelors	Renter	Santa Ana	Did not answer
9	community development non-profit, neighborhood association	Director of Family and Youth Engagement	30	Mexican	Bachelors	Renter	Santa Ana	$100-110k combined
10	Volunteer-based organization	Volunteer	26	White	PhD Student	Renter	Riverside	$25-30k
11	Neighborhood group of residents	Community Organizer	40	Mexican	High School	Renter	Santa Ana	$27k
12	Neighborhood group of residents	Volunteer	32	Honduran	Less than High School	Renter	Santa Ana	$32k
13	Community Land Trust (a nonprofit corporation)	Community Organizer	33	Mexican	Bachelors	Renter	Santa Ana	$15-20k
14	Neighborhood group of residents	Volunteer	41	Mexican	Bachelors	Renter	Santa Ana	$42

15	Neighborhood group of residents	Volunteer	42	Mexican	Less than High School	Renter	Santa Ana	$28k

Individuals Embedded in Neighborhood Associations

Interviewee	Type of Organization	Age	Race	Highest Level of Education	Homeowner or Renter	City of Residence	Annual Household Income
1	Neighborhood Association (NA)	62	White/ European	Masters	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$200k (Retired)
2	NA	50	White	PhD	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$200k
3	NA	60	Mexican American, 3rd generation	Did not answer	Homeowner	Santa Ana	Did not answer
4	NA	77	White	Bachelors	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$80-90k
5	NA	60s	White	Masters	Homeowner	Santa Ana	Did not answer
6	NA	68	Mexican American, 3rd generation	Associates	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$30k
7	NA	69	White	Masters	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$240k
8	NA	62	Hispanic, 3rd generation	High School	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$65k
9	NA	73	White	Bachelors	Homeowner	Santa Ana	<$20k (Retired)
10	NA	85	Mexican American, 3rd generation	High School, 8 years Military	Renter, use to own home	Santa Ana	Did not answer
11	NA	40	Mexican, 1st generation	Bachelors	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$45k
12	NA	56	White	Masters	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$100-120k
13	NA	43	Asian, Pilipino	Bachelors	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$80k
14	NA	39	Mexican American, 2nd generation	Bachelors	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$120k
15	NA	65	White Norwegian	Associates	Homeowner	Santa Ana	Did not answer, (Retired)
16	NA	62	Mexican	Masters	Homeowner	Santa Ana	$150k
17	NA	60s	White	Masters	Homeowner	Santa Ana	Did not answer

Appendix C: How I Came to Write this Dissertation

Before shifting my research to neighborhood change in Santa Ana, my work was on environmental and procedural justice in Denver, Colorado. There, I had studied for my master's in urban and regional planning and worked there for three years as a community organizer in a predominately Mexican immigrant and working-class neighborhood facing various environmental injustices including air pollution and water and soil contamination. I was set on returning to Denver in my 3rd year of my program to carry out research. Meanwhile, I also volunteered several instances in Santa Ana because I wanted to learn more about organizing and the issues residents were facing. I felt drawn to Santa Ana because of some of the similarities I saw with the community I worked with in Denver. They were both predominately Mexican communities, both experiencing hardships on a multitude of levels including environmental injustice, threats of displacement, threats of gentrification, and anti-immigrant sentiment. Since I could not be in Denver at the time, I wanted to be in Santa Ana and learn by participating with other volunteers and organizers.

In my first year as a PhD student, I set out to downtown Santa Ana on my own because of the love I have for cumbia music. I googled where to go for cumbia classes and I discovered a well-known cultural center. I quickly went and began taking dance classes. While there dancing, I had no idea that I would come to participate in survey training sessions, community organizing meetings, and tenant rights conferences hosted by that same center I was taking dance classes at. To learn more about Santa Ana, I also went to city council meetings to hear what was going on and to learn about the different groups that existed and how they were describing issues of gentrification and displacement and what they were saying about proposed urban development projects. In these environments, I was able to connect with some individuals who invited me to volunteer with their campaign for rent control and attend press conferences of important organizing tactics to learn more about what was being done to fight gentrification.

Regardless of my participation in Santa Ana, I was still set on returning to Denver to carry out my research. However, as time went by, I realized my contact with organizers in Denver was not as strong given the distance and busyness we all found ourselves in. I felt that with carrying out a great dissertation, I had to work closely to residents. I knew I could not acquire the data, the connections, and the perspectives I needed to really highlight the concepts I wanted to elucidate without the guidance of residents. I was growing worried of this as my contacts in Denver were dwindling, and yet strengthening in Santa Ana.

In 2018, while a 3rd year in the PhD program, my advisor then informed me of potential research in Santa Ana concerning neighborhood change related to sustainable urban development. We talked about my involvement and how there could be the possibility of drawing from the data for my own dissertation given the magnitude of the project. I reassessed the project I had thought about carrying out in Denver, my expenses, and my connections in Denver and I thought maybe it was best to shift to a project where I was already presently involved with in some way. I then shifted my topic to study in Santa Ana, where I then focused more of my time and energy learning about Santa Ana. While it was a hard decision to sideline the Denver study, I thought I had engaged in building many connections already in Santa Ana that take a while to acquire. I know if I were to have gone to Denver, I would have to started

over with making connection with residents which would have taken more time, as trust takes time to cultivate.

Given my decision to focus my dissertation in Santa Ana, I quickly met with a respected community leader to tell them about my project, but to also ask if there is a way I can get plugged in to help. I was referred to another community organizer working in another area of the city, organizing residents to stop the sale of a 102-acre open space to developers. This 102-acre open space is recognized as one of the last open spaces of the Santa Ana area and sits adjacent to a future potential stop of the OC Streetcar, and its development threatened the surrounding residents with gentrification and displacement. I thought it would be a great opportunity to learn more and to participate. The organizers invited me to every meeting, to go door knocking, to conduct a power analysis, and speak at city council meetings. Though grateful for them opening their doors to me, I felt like I should not have been there at times since I was an outsider and an academic. I was honest with the organizers and a few other volunteers at a smaller meeting where I shared my hesitation. They did acknowledge that academics sometimes simply want to observe, however, they reiterated that it was also important to have someone like me there to help think about some of the planning. I then stayed to join them in their organizing efforts.

Fortunately, at the time, the University of California, Irvine, Research Justice workshops by the Newkirk Center for Science and Society were hosted by Dr. Victoria Loweson and Dr. Connie McGuire offering spaces for students engaged in community based participatory research to discuss how they can conduct research differently and with a justice lens. The workshops helped serve as a platform for listening to others with the same challenges and a place to offer advice to students undergoing the same issues of entering organizing spaces as an academic.

In sum, a series of events, opportunities, and connections led me to focus my dissertation on Santa Ana. What started as a place for me to go and enjoy music, turned into a place I would learn about the hardships residents underwent on a daily basis through conversations and accompanying organizers embedded in ensuring public lands are used for the community's benefit.