# The Dynamics of Immigration and Local Governance in Santa Ana

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# The Dynamics of Immigration and Local Governance in Santa Ana: Neighborhood Activism, Overcrowding, and Land-Use Policy

*Stacy Harwood and Dowell Myers*

*This article examines the City of Santa Ana's responses to a changing urban landscape. We explore how the rapid growth of the immigrant neighborhoods called into question traditional ways of municipal governance and city planning. We pay special attention to how the local government used land-use policy to promote urban revitalization and bring substandard housing up to code. Initially the urban policy choices fueled neighborhood-based protest and exacerbated racial and class tensions throughout the city; however, more recently the neighborhood activism has created a space for government reform.*

Most of the discussions about immigration theory and policy occur on the national or international level, but immigration's effect actually manifests itself at the local level where residents live and receive services. The study of immigration at the local level adds an important dimension to these higher-level debates. Until recently, much theory and policy failed to acknowledge the local perspective—the day-to-day experience or the material consequences of immigration. Research indicates that immigration produces a net economic gain for the nation as a whole. This gain also results in a net loss for certain states, particularly California, and localities with large concentrations of new arrivals (Smith & Edmonston, 1997). Many of the positive economic contributions accrue at the federal level through income tax payments and the like, while at the same time the majority of public expenses fall to local school districts, health departments, and city government. The impacts of immigration, real or not, create a substantial amount of political turmoil in local jurisdictions (Clark, 1998).

This article examines the case of Santa Ana and the local government's evolving efforts to deal with immigration and turbulent urban change. By focusing on Santa Ana's local government responses to a changing urban landscape, we intend to explore how the rapid growth of the immigrant neighborhoods called into question traditional ways of municipal governance and city planning. Immigration to Santa Ana has created many challenges for city officials, particularly with respect to promoting a democratic planning process. This article pays special attention to how the city used land-use policy to promote urban revitalization and bring substandard housing up to code. In Santa Ana, the urban policy choices initially fueled neighborhood-based protest and exacerbated racial and class tensions throughout the city; however, later the neighborhood coalitions created a space for government reform.[1]

We envision this project as an important contribution to studies on immigration and urban planning for a number of reasons. Santa Ana is an excellent case study to examine the impacts of immigration because of the large

number of immigrants who have moved to or passed through the city. Santa Ana has been an important stepping-stone and destination point for immigrants from Mexico and other Pacific Rim countries, particularly in the last two decades. In 1990, Santa Ana became California's second densest city and had a population of over 50% foreign-born and one-third non-English speaking citizens. Santa Ana also provides a rich setting to study immigration and development policy because of its long history of community activism involving housing, land-use, and urban design issues. Over the last 25 years, activists and local officials have debated the best way to transform the city's physical, economic, and social blight. These debates focused on land-use zoning, neighborhood beautification, building standard, and other municipal codes, thus illustrating the importance of physical development in shaping and influencing the perceived impacts of immigration.

The case of Santa Ana holds many lessons for other local governments dealing with the perplexities of a diverse community, especially those incorporating large numbers of immigrants. This case illustrates the difficulties involved in accommodating immigrants. One of the most profound shifts has been making local government more transparent and "customer" friendly. The Santa Ana city government has moved away from top-down governance and toward building grass-roots linkages. Clearly, these responses alone do not control the impacts of migration flows and economic forces, but this case shows that policy choices in the face of dynamic urban change forced the city government to deal with difficult planning terrain. For example, it confronted the complicated task of addressing development and building standards with cultural tolerance and juggled the city's multiple voices in the overall planning process. Despite the improvements, the city still struggles to make their "invisible" immigrant population more central to city planning.

The article has four main sections. The first provides a demographic overview of Santa Ana, showing the changing structure of the population and development trends. The second and third sections discuss direct and indirect measures taken to address the impacts of immigration, particularly to reduce residential overcrowding in the city. The second section presents Santa Ana's experience in using land-use zoning and building and safety code enforcement to ameliorate the residential overcrowding problem. The third section discusses how the city staff addressed the public outrage through a community-based planning strategy. Finally, we outline the lessons learned from this case study and raise future challenges for public administrators, urban planners, and policymakers working in immigrant communities.

## Growth and Change in Santa Ana

### *Population and Economic Trends*

The township of Santa Ana was established in 1870, a year after William H. Spurgeon, who migrated from Missouri, bought 76 acres of Rancho Santiago de Santa Ana from the Yorba family. Santa Ana, because of its central geographic location and favorable farming conditions, became an important center for outlying agricultural settlements in what is now Orange County. Later, Spurgeon connected his land to the Los Angeles-San Diego stage line located about 3 miles from his property; Santa Ana quickly turned into the small urban center of a major

agricultural-producing county. After World War II, Santa Ana, like the rest of the region, experienced tremendous growth from an expanding industrial base. Since 1960 the city has continued to grow steadily, from 100,350 in 1960 to nearly 300,000 by 1990 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1990a). Today, Santa Ana is a diverse and densely populated 27 square miles; it is the financial and governmental hub of Orange County.

The suburbanization of Southern California coincides with major shifts in Santa Ana's demographic trajectories. As land was incorporated and developed around the city, Santa Ana found it difficult to compete with the newer communities, such as Irvine and Newport Beach to the south. The construction of Highway 55 solidified this difference by creating a physical demarcation between Santa Ana and the newer towns. As the 1970s unfolded, Santa Ana's White middle-class tenants and homeowners vacated the downtown, commercial, and residential areas for the newer cities with their abundant green spaces, modern schools, and infrastructure. Many felt that the African-American community would grow in Santa Ana because of "White flight." Between 1960 and 1970 the Black population more than doubled from 1,759 to 6,731 (1.8% to 4.3%). People sensed change in Santa Ana. At the time, nobody would have predicted that the Latino community would become the dominant population group, even as immigrants poured in all over Southern California.

Figure 1 shows a steady change in population composition from 1960 through 1990, with the most dramatic changes beginning between 1970 and 1980 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990a). In 1960, Whites predominated in Santa Ana, and other racial and ethnic groups made up less than 20% of the total population. In 1980, "the minority" population became the majority, and by 1990 the population makeup was 65% Latino, 23% White (non-Hispanic origin), 9% Asian, and 2% African-American. The U.S. Census in 1990 found Santa Ana to have the third highest concentration of Latinos for a city its size (from a 1993 issue of *Governing Magazine*, as cited in City of Santa Ana, 1997). Much of the ethnic and racial diversification came from the influx of foreign-born residents, as seen in Table 1. Foreign-born population surged from 9% to 31% between 1970 and 1980 and reached 51% by 1990. In 1990, Mexicans constituted 60% of the total population in Santa Ana, followed by Vietnamese (4.8%), Salvadoran (1.5%), Filipino (1%), and Chinese, Cambodian, and Guatemalan (all just under 1%).

**Table 1**
**Foreign-Born as a Percentage of Total Population in Santa Ana, 1960-90**

| | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Foreign-born | 6,959 | 13,918 | 62,159 | 149,445 |
| Total population | 100,350 | 156,483 | 203,713 | 293,742 |
| % Foreign-born | 6.9% | 8.9% | 30.5% | 50.9% |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990a.

**Figure 1**
**Population Makeup by Major Racial and Ethnic Categories in Santa Ana, 1960-90**

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Asian & Other % | 0.918784 | 2.66218 | 7.124729 | 9.534898 |
| Latino % | 15.31839 | 25.81146 | 44.49691 | 65.15343 |

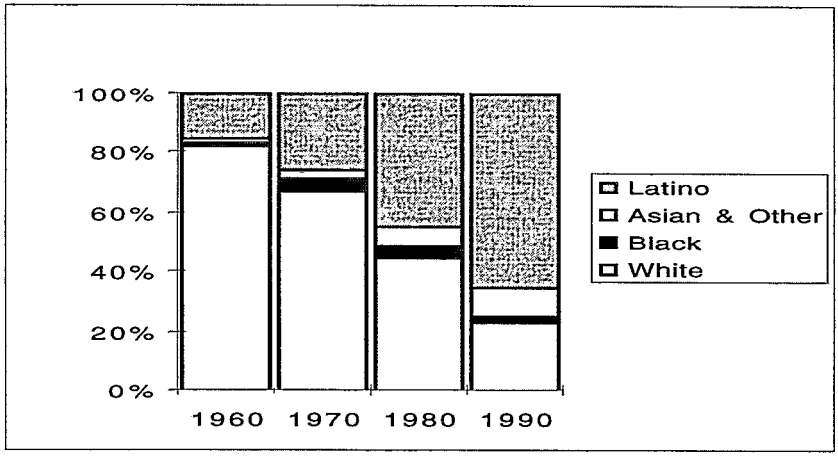


Table 2 indicates that one-third of the entire population in Santa Ana had entered the United States within the last 10 years, an extraordinary concentration of recent immigrant arrivals. Santa Ana ranks ninth for U.S. cities with the largest number of foreign-born persons and seventh for cities with the largest percentages of foreign-born persons (U.S. Census Bureau, 1998). The growing immigrant population presented, and still presents, the city with new issues and challenges.

**Table 2**
**Decade of Entry of Foreign-born Population in Santa Ana, 1990**

| | Foreign-Born by Decade | % of Total Population | % of Total Foreign-Born |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-1960 | 4,035 | 1.4 | 2.7 |
| 1960-69 | 8,417 | 2.9 | 5.6 |
| 1970-79 | 41,142 | 14.0 | 27.5 |
| 1980-89 | 95,851 | 32.6 | 64.1 |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990b.

For example, as outlined in Table 3, the increase in foreign-born population has meant that nearly half of Santa Ana's voting-age residents cannot vote because they are not U.S. citizens. Additionally, because many immigrants cannot speak English and/or have a low educational attainment, they become isolated from the mainstream.

**Table 3**
**Place of Birth and Citizenship Status as a Percentage of Total Population in Santa Ana, 1990**

| | 0-17 Years Old | 18 Years and Older | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Native-born | 21.9 | 27.2 | 49.1 |
| Foreign-born | | | |
| Naturalized | 0.9 | 8.0 | 8.9 |
| Not a U.S. citizen | 7.6 | 34.4 | 42.0 |
| Total residents | 30.4 | 69.9 | 100.0 |

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990b.

A difficult tension confronts local government officials. Myers and Menifee (2000) emphasize that, although a majority of residents (64%) in Santa Ana are Latino, they make up only 29% of the voters. As a consequence, the majority responded to by elected officials differs sharply in Santa Ana from the majority of all residents that planners and other government officials must serve. This fundamental departure of electoral and population majorities contributes to continuing tension within the local government.

At the same time as Santa Ana's population mix changed, so did the socioeconomic level of the community. County median family income increased, while Santa Ana's lagged behind. In 1960, the median family income in Santa Ana was just below 90% of the county's; by 1990 it dropped to below 70% (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1990a). The flight of the professional labor force and their subsequent replacement by low-skilled Latino immigrants explains much of the decrease in income levels. The poverty conditions in Santa Ana surprise those unfamiliar with the area because Santa Ana sits in the middle of a wealthy county. Orange County placed in the nation's top 10 based on median household income ($49,750) in 1990 (Sales and Marketing Management, 1994). Meanwhile, approximately 18% of the total population in Santa Ana live at the poverty level, and 80% of those people are Latino.

By the end of the 1970s and into the early 1980s the quality of life spiraled downward in Santa Ana, pushing those with the financial means to live or do business elsewhere. In 1976, the *Los Angeles Times* quoted a Santa Ana police lieutenant commenting about Santa Ana, "Name any problem of the inner city and we have it—poverty, the highest minority population, a heavy concentration of drug addicts, substandard housing....We really were in danger of losing the city" (Skolnick & Bayley, 1986, p. 15). Once a very prominent suburban community of Orange County, Santa Ana turned into the county's center of all social ills. At the

same time, it created a window of opportunity for immigrants who could not afford to live anywhere else in the county. Immigrants moved to Santa Ana and added their modest resources to many of Santa Ana's most blighted areas.

One ray of hope is that the assimilation of newly arrived immigrants will lead to upward mobility in economic conditions. One analysis showed that the majority of immigrants were settling in, not simply passing through, Santa Ana (Myers & Menifee, 2000). Between 1980 and 1990, both the English proficiency and poverty of settled immigrants improved. Yet the steady influx of new immigrant arrivals placed mounting pressure on both neighborhoods and service agencies of the city.

### *Land-Use Planning and Overcrowding*

Beginning in the 1970s, the city used redevelopment as a tool to renovate and remove blight from the downtown area. The early goal was to replace the old hotels, bars, and evening theaters with a new, attractive commercial district to consist of parking, office, and retail space. The City of Santa Ana removed hundreds of substandard single-family homes to make way for massive development projects, which would include high-density housing. Later, with the booming economy of the 1980s, the city continued to allow high-density housing as part of a gentrification strategy; consequently a significant proportion of Santa Ana's single-family homes were replaced with medium and large multifamily residential developments.

With the higher-density plan, city leaders envisioned "new demographics." A senior planner explained that, the goal of the plan was to attract all the "cute little yuppie couples" who had disposable income. The influx of wealthy people would fix "everything." The proportion of single-family (one-unit structures) housing stock decreased from 83% in 1960 to 59% in 1990. Such land-use policies changed Santa Ana's housing stock balance and contributed to the decline in home ownership to below 50% (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990a). At the same time, housing became more expensive all over the county and exacerbated the regionwide housing affordability problem. The roaring economy and wide-open system of zoning caused land and home prices to soar after the 1982-83 recession. But Santa Ana still continued to be affordable compared with other nearby cities. Santa Ana's median gross rents rose to just above 90% of the county median, and median home values remained flat in Santa Ana, as the county's median home values skyrocketed (U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990a, 1990b).

Many cities throughout Southern California faced similar circumstances. Santa Ana, like other municipalities, hoped that its redevelopment efforts would help the city recover from its economic downturn. Santa Ana's redevelopment efforts did turn the Civic Center and the downtown area back into a source of civic pride and reestablished Santa Ana as an important governmental and cultural center for the county. In retrospect, planners now believe that promoting high-density development was a mistake. At the time, local governments everywhere saw such a strategy as one of few options to remain competitive with the newer suburban communities. What planners did not count on though was a continuing and growing flow of immigrants moving into the area. Santa Ana's rapid population changes set in motion many local conflicts for which policymakers

were ill-prepared. In particular, urban planners responsible for the long-range physical and economic development of the city failed to coordinate these plans with a changing population base.

Paralleling the housing construction trends, Santa Ana's population density steadily increased, a result of population gains and increased household size, as shown in Table 4. Between 1980 and 1990, Santa Ana's population grew 45%, and persons per household increased by 38%. In other words, the average number of persons per household increased from 3.18 in 1980 to 4.10 in 1990, one of the highest in the state. By comparison, in 1990 the overall household average for Orange County was only 2.9 persons per housing unit. The increase in persons per household reflects both cultural and economic changes in the population.

From a cultural standpoint, the larger family sizes stemmed from increased numbers of Latino households in Santa Ana. But more significant was the changing socioeconomic status of the residents. Even though Santa Ana is considered to be one of the most affordable places to live in the county, many of the low-wage-earning immigrants "doubled-up" with other families and friends to "make ends meet." The 1990 Census determined that of the 71,611 occupied housing units in Santa Ana, approximately 37% of these were overcrowded (see Table 4). Further, the census found that 49% of all rental units were overcrowded, and 83.4% of the persons living in overcrowded units were Latino (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990b). These calculations use the traditional definition of overcrowding as more than one person per room, but that problem definition reflects an unstated cultural standard rooted in the practices of native-born White Americans who are non-Hispanic (Myers, Baer, & Choi, 1996). The City of Santa Ana's Code Enforcement Division, however, estimates that the figures are even higher, because immigrants, particularly the undocumented population, are often undercounted in the census and are most likely to be living in overcrowded conditions.

**Table 4**
**Population Growth and Density Indicators for Santa Ana, 1960-90**

| | Population | Persons per Square Mile | Housing Units per Square Mile | Persons per Housing Unit | Overcrowded Housing Units (%)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1960 | 100,350 | 4,480 | 1,392 | 3.22 | 10.4 |
| 1970 | 156,601 | 5,800 | 1,765 | 3.29 | 11.5 |
| 1980 | 203,713 | 7,435 | 2,337 | 3.18 | 18.2 |
| 1990 | 293,742 | 10,760 | 2,623 | 4.10 | 37.0 |

Note: *% of units with 1.01 or more persons per room.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990a.

The surge in overcrowded housing compounded Santa Ana's crime problems, traffic congestion, and demands for services. Many apartments instantly became "slum buildings" due to poor-quality construction and lack of

management and maintenance. These high-density areas, where mainly immigrants lived, became the focal points for crime and poverty. The combination of poorly built apartments and a deteriorating housing stock with massive immigration created a huge dilemma for local planners. The Mayor's Task Force on Neighborhood Standards and Preservation found that overcrowded housing caused a whole host of local problems. The report outlined the following as a result of overcrowding:

> exploding classroom size, high crime rates, displacement of long time residents, diminished appeal to prospective new residents, overloaded city services, rapid deterioration of buildings and public improvements, trash, graffiti, traffic and parking congestion and insufficient private outdoor space for children and families. (City of Santa Ana, 1990, p. 13)

### *Neighborhood Protest and Activism*

The demographic, physical and socioeconomic metamorphosis produced two decades of neighborhood-based protest and activism in Santa Ana. The issues ranged from residential overcrowding, absentee landlords, and gang violence to the destruction of historic neighborhoods, lack of affordable housing, and dislocation of residents from redevelopment projects. As described by Haas (1991), the protest against the Santa Ana city government developed in three phases between 1976 and 1988. First, the working-class neighborhoods organized into neighborhood associations in response to city redevelopment plans and to call for municipal reform. Later, the Latino immigrants and undocumented organized to protect renter rights. Hermandad Mexicana Nacional, an immigrant rights organization, organized the immigrant community for a series of rent strikes against landlords who failed to keep buildings in good repair. The strikes proved to be highly effective by bringing attention to the slum conditions that most thought only existed in Los Angeles or New York.

And finally, a coalition of residents was organized among tenants, neighborhood association leaders, and middle-class residents who united to call for a democratization of local governance. One of the key groups in this movement included the Santa Ana Neighborhood Organization (SANO), which was formed to oppose discrimination, discuss neighborhood problems, and improve living conditions in many of the low-income Mexican-American neighborhoods. SANO, like Hermandad, used "confrontation politics" to protest city development projects and raise awareness about other health and education issues. At one meeting, for example, SANO members threatened to release cockroaches at a city hearing on bug-infested housing. Over time, the local newspaper headlines shifted from "Mobilizing the Neighborhoods to Take on City Hall" (Hamilton, 1981) to "Santa Ana begins a new era in planning" (Mena, 1985). Community tension and outrage peaked around 1986 and set the stage for major policy changes that had rippling effects throughout the city and within the local government organization itself.[2]

Not only were Santa Ana residents upset about the growth, people all over the state of California formed coalitions to promote slow growth in response to the building trends. Fulton (1997) comments that by 1986, the politics of growth in California "pruned local development policies" in some cities; the 1986

elections marked the beginning of California's slow-growth revolution (p. 55). The Orange County slow-growth initiative "tapped into long-standing voter resentment about traffic congestion and lengthy response times for police and fire." But the initiative lost, because even though "the dynamics driving growth were regional...opposition to growth was local" (Fulton, 1997, pp. 61-62). As a result, homeowners started to look out for their own local interests and focused less and less on what was happening across the region.

Given this context, it is not surprising that Santa Ana neighborhoods pushed for local reform. One of the biggest community controversies was over residential overcrowding. Throughout the 1980s, residents (mostly homeowners) increasingly complained to city officials about both residential overcrowding and the people using garages, sheds, closets, and laundry rooms as living spaces. Many neighborhood leaders pressured the council to stop high-density housing, enforce an occupancy standard, and address other property aesthetic issues through code enforcement.

## Overcrowding and Land-Use Policy

> We live piled on top of each other, not because we enjoy living like this but because it is the only way we can have a place to live and food to eat—Santa Ana resident who lives with 12 other people in a two-bedroom house. (Reza, 1995)

Overcrowded housing became a major political issue in the mid-1980s, forcing city staff, commissioners, politicians, and residents to stop and ask themselves, "Where are we going?" The local government tried several strategies to control overcrowding. This section chronicles how the city staff and council used, sometimes unsuccessfully, land-use regulation to *directly* combat overcrowding and control growth in the city. We break this story up into four parts: the city's first overcrowding ordinance, down-zoning, the second overcrowding ordinance, and appeals to the state legislature and housing department.

### *Overcrowding Ordinance #1, 1984-89*

Overcrowding was a problem even before the 1980s, but the real crackdown on residential overcrowding did not begin until 1984 when thousands of one- and two-bedroom apartment units began to fill up with immigrants. Code enforcement inspectors typically targeted units overcrowded with male migrant workers. It was not unusual to find 20 people living in a small apartment or even a garage. The code enforcement inspectors enforced the State of California's standards for residential occupancy. The state's Uniform Housing Code, Section 503, requires every dwelling unit in California to have at least one room with at least 120 square feet of floor area. Other habitable rooms must have at least 70 square feet of floor area. The required floor area increases at the rate of 50 square feet for each additional occupant after the first two. The city council felt that the state code was too lenient. So in 1986, the Santa Ana city council passed an ordinance that interpreted the state's code more narrowly by defining "habitable rooms" as bedrooms only. This ordinance reduced the legal number of occupants of an average one-bedroom unit from 10 to 3 persons.

The new ordinance enraged many; others applauded the council's efforts to reduce overcrowding. The Latino and immigrant community protested at city council meetings. Nativo Lopez of Hermandad Mexicana Nacional argued that the ordinance discriminated against large low-income families, particularly recent immigrants and Latino families. Affordable housing advocates also claimed that the real problem was the lack of affordable housing in the county. Adding to an already emotional fight, children gave testimonials at the meetings. One stated, "we would like a big house with a lot of room, but we don't have the money" (Snow, 1986). The ordinance supporters countered that the ordinance was not racist. They argued that all people want a safe and clean neighborhood for their families, regardless of race. But race and class mattered and clearly played a role in the overcrowding controversy. A newspaper reporter covering the city council meeting wrote that the protesters heard shouts of "Go home!" and "Go back to Mexico!" from the audience (Snow, 1986).

In response to the new ordinance, two families sued the City of Santa Ana. Each family faced eviction from their apartment because they violated city code. Each of the families lived in a one-bedroom apartment, both couples with several children. Hermandad Nacional provided the legal support for the families to take the city to court. The Orange County Superior Court upheld Santa Ana's ordinance and found that the guidelines were neither unreasonable nor unconstitutional. The Briseño's, one of the families evicted for overcrowding in 1986, appealed the case to the Orange County District Court. In 1989 the court found the city's interpretation too restrictive and restrained the city from further prosecution under its interpretation of "habitable rooms." The ruling frustrated city officials, especially since complaints for overcrowding had reached almost 1,500 a year (Eng, 1990). The calls came from Santa Ana residents who suspected overcrowding (or other code infractions, such as illegal occupancy and illegal room additions) to the code enforcement office who filed the complaint and assigned an inspector to investigate the case.

### *The Down-Zone, 1987*

The combination of regional politics over growth management and local debates about the overcrowding ordinance pushed city officials to revise the zoning laws. The planning commission directed the city planning staff to hire a consultant to rewrite all of the city's legislation that governed multifamily housing.[3] Later the city council adopted the new legislation, setting in place new building standards for multifamily housing construction, which in effect would produce a higher-quality product. Two months later, the council decided "enough is enough" and adopted a general plan amendment that put a halt to all multifamily construction by rolling back the allowable housing density. Since the down-zone, the planning commission has not approved any new multifamily projects larger than a duplex.

The large majority of new apartment units, approximately 26,000, were already built by the end of the 1980s. What the Census does not tell us is the net result of the 1980s housing construction boom. We estimate that Santa Ana's housing stock is close to 50% multifamily units. The 1990 census counted only 4,400 new apartment units since 1980; however, between 1981 and 1990 the planning commission approved construction for nearly 8,000 apartment units

(City of Santa Ana, 1997). The effects of the overcrowding stood out in these newer structures. The apartment complexes built in the 1980s were part of a densification strategy with few design standards. In hindsight, planners admit that they approved many permits with little or no development standards or fixed density guidelines. For example, planners sometimes counted rooftops as open space. In historic neighborhoods, zoning codes allowed developers to squeeze large apartment buildings in between historic single-family homes, with zero set-backs and multiple stories. Such construction disrupted the architectural character of a neighborhood. As a result, both city council and staff have spent the last 12 years trying to undo their "planning disaster." For example, one strategy entailed buying out and demolishing substandard apartment complexes, then replacing them with higher-quality town homes or lower-density apartments, ensuring at the same time that some of the new units remained at affordable prices.

### *Overcrowding Ordinance #2, 1991-92*

With future high-density development effectively eliminated, the city now returned to dealing with its overcrowding problem. In 1991, the city passed a new ordinance that essentially limited the occupancy of an average one-bedroom apartment to five people. The code required 150 square feet for the first two people and 100 square feet for each additional person. This time the minimum square footage requirements only excluded stairwells, halls, closets, bathrooms, and the kitchen. In addition, violators would be subject to a fine or time in jail. Again the ordinance bifurcated city residents. Opponents asserted that over half of Santa Ana would be subject to eviction under the new ordinance. The city's neighborhood associations, made up mostly of home owners, supported the ordinance and began to rally around other code issues, such as banning pushcart vendors and open-air swap meets in the city. The push for new "neighborhood standards" polarized the community. One resident observed, "We've dropped our standards in Santa Ana. We are more like Tijuana than we are Santa Ana. The city used to be a lovely place to live" (Eng, 1991). In response to the discriminatory implications and much to the disappointment of those against the ordinance, Council Person Miguel Pulido said that

> overcrowding is overcrowding, and it does not matter where you come from or what your background is. If there is overcrowding, we have got to do something about it, and I think not to act and not to take a stand would be absolutely devastating for this community. (Martinez, 1991a)

Families like the Briseño's believed that "they don't want us in the city. They want to throw us out" (Martinez, 1991b).

Under the new ordinance, the Briseño family again surpassed the maximum number of allowable occupants for a one-bedroom apartment. The Briseño's returned to court to fight the new ordinance. Their attorney, Richard Spix, argued that state law prohibits the city from setting occupancy limits unless special geographic, topographic, or climatic conditions warrant a change. The city attorney claimed that the state law was unconstitutional because the courts ruled in a prior and unrelated case that the definition of family adopted by the Uniform Housing Code was unconstitutional. Therefore, the city attorney concluded that Section 503 must be unconstitutional as well.[4] Thus, without a valid state code,

localities could set their occupancy limits. The court agreed with the city. The city attorney called it a "landmark decision" because it would remove legal obstacles preventing other California cities from adopting stricter crowding standards. Legal experts considered Santa Ana's ordinance a test case with statewide ramifications. Shortly after the ruling, the Briseño family appealed and the court approved an injunction that prohibited enforcement of the new ordinance.

In May of 1992, the California Court of Appeal reversed the Superior Court's judgment on two grounds. First, the California State Legislature clearly states that local agencies can make changes in the state code only if special climatic, geological, or topographical conditions exist. The city made no finding regarding any of these conditions in the ordinance. The ordinance only stated that overcrowding increased noise pollution, traffic congestion, unsanitary conditions, and so on. Therefore, the state law preempts local regulation in this case. Second, as to the constitutionality of the state's Section 503 of the Uniform Housing Code, the court found that the argument did not hold. The court said the term "family" has no relation to Section 503, which deals only with the number of people that can live in a dwelling unit and makes no reference to family. Even if "family" was in the section, any reference to family can easily be "severed" without destroying the statute. The city ignored the severability test, which whenever possible preserves the validity of the remainder of a statute. The court agreed that "overcrowding is a serious problem," but the ordinance "would criminalize a level of occupant density that the state has determined as safe" (Briseño v. City of Santa Ana, 1992). Despite pleas from 60 California cities, the Supreme Court of California denied Santa Ana's petition for a review. The court denied the city's request for a review without comment. This action essentially meant that the Court of Appeals' opinion set a legal precedent.

### *Final Efforts, 1994-96*

With their defeat in court, the city made several attempts to put a crowded housing bill up for a vote in the California State Legislature. Their last hope was to persuade legislators to pass a bill based on a public safety rationale.[5] The city showed legislators a video about fire hazards associated with overcrowding.[6] The fire department performed a test burn on a vacant three-bedroom, two-story home, crammed with clothes and furniture to simulate overcrowded conditions. Under these conditions, the fire ignited and spread faster than rooms filled with "normal fire load." Within 2 minutes, everything in the house exploded into flames, blocking the main exit out of the home. Despite the dramatic video, and a number of fire deaths attributed to overcrowded conditions, all bills dealing with a stricter occupancy standard have failed to become law.[7] The state housing authorities also rejected a proposal to allow localities to set more stringent occupancy limits than the state's Uniform Housing Code. State officials argued that not enough empirical evidence existed to deem the current regulation as unsafe.

Even though the city lost the overcrowding case in court, city officials believe the high-profile legal battle educated the public about overcrowding. Santa Ana's City Manager Dave Ream also sees the negative publicity as doing some good as well. He believes that every time the city received negative press

coverage about the overcrowding controversy "...the voters in town, they would see that article and they would get it....If they didn't see us try and fail, then the assumption would be we didn't get it." Public administrators working for other California municipalities also watched the City of Santa Ana test the legal limits of a locally defined overcrowding ordinance. At the time, some were critical of Santa Ana's strategy, but as more California cities confront overcrowding themselves, they now look to Santa Ana for advice on how to proceed.

## Neighborhood Protest and Community-Based Planning

> We can only create opportunities. The residents must take advantage of those opportunities and build upon them....Neighborhood Improvement is about empowerment, giving neighborhoods the opportunity and tools to make them viable, safe and quality areas to live. If our City Council keeps an open heart, an open ear, and open mind, and provides sufficient staff to respond to residents in a timely manner, neighborhoods and government can work effectively together to make Santa Ana a good place to live—a Santa Ana neighborhood association leader. (Cate, 1994)

While the city attempted to directly reduce overcrowding through land-use legislation, the city politicians and staff still had to answer to an unhappy public. This predicament compelled the city leadership to reevaluate how it governed. As discussed in the overview section, many people perceived the neighborhood decline as a result of the influx of immigrants, which then drove residents to protest at city council meetings and complain to city staff. In hindsight, the city administration and planners say that the combination of macro-forces (immigration, private development, and the economy), "bad planning practices," and the lack of communication between the residents, council, and staff drove residents to protest, organize, and to advocate for their neighborhoods. In this section we present three interrelated ways the City of Santa Ana has *indirectly* dealt with both immigration and the overcrowding problem through a customer-driven and community-based philosophy. The first part describes the creation of the Neighborhood Improvement Program (NIP). The second and third parts provide a few examples of how the city has restructured its programming and planning to cope with the symptoms of overcrowding.

### *The NIP*

With the new demographics pushing administrators into crisis mode, the idea of working with individual neighborhood groups looked to be an effective way to "feel the pulse of the city." The idea of the NIP started in the early 1980s. City staff worked with several neighborhoods to create a sense of identity by officially recognizing them as "neighborhoods" and installing monument signs at neighborhood entry points. A few years later, neighborhood planners based in the city manager's office started meeting with neighborhood groups. They spoke with the residents and brought information on city programs; the resident turnout was enormous. Staff learned that residents wanted more control over their environment. The neighborhoods already organized from their experiences with SANO or historic preservation were the first groups recognized by the city council

as "Neighborhood Associations." Between 1986 and 1992 the "neighborhood movement" boomed. The neighborhood association movement exploded largely because the city administration and later the council became more responsive to resident concerns, particularly of those who belonged to a neighborhood association. Initially the city manager's office housed the program and provided both a direct line to the city hall and legitimized the city's effort. The staff working on the program had considerable administrative clout and easily followed through with issues raised by the residents. In 1986 the program was named the Neighborhood Improvement Program and was moved to the Community Development Agency. Today the City of Santa Ana has 52 officially recognized neighborhood associations that cover nearly all of the residential areas.[8]

The neighborhood associations vary considerably by interest, structure, characteristics of participants, and political influence. In general, a neighborhood association covers an area with 400 to 1,000 residents. Typically, major arterial streets, highways, or other geographic markers bound the neighborhood. The association is completely voluntary and depends on a small and dedicated core of volunteers. Most residents do not participate in the association meetings; the average meeting draws 20 to 40 people. When important neighborhood issues arise several hundred may attend. The associations attract a diversity of people from different ethnic and racial backgrounds, but the majority of those who participate are middle-class, homeowners, and U.S. citizens. Some associations attract a large following of renters and apartment managers, many of whom are immigrants. Another association is comprised of apartment building owners. Most associations draw upon the programs offered by NIP. For example, associations can request staff support and assistance to organize neighborhood meetings, dumpsters for neighborhood cleanups, tools from the tool-borrowing program, infrastructure improvements, neighborhood street signage, and so forth. The main difference between the associations is the degree to which they can do things on their own, particularly when it comes to influencing key people in the city administration, council, or boards.

In the formative years, residents voiced their concerns about code enforcement, crime, pavement, sidewalks, gutters, trees, perimeter wall repairs, and traffic mitigation; usually the city staff responded immediately. As one high-level administrator explained, neighborhood improvements "were probably distributed by who yelled the loudest" in the more affluent areas of town. In the last 10 years, more neighborhoods, particularly in the more marginal areas of town, have started to incorporate themselves into these decision-making processes. Although the neighborhood movement started out as a "north of 17th Street" phenomenon,[9] today more immigrant neighborhoods are tapping into this resource as well, and forcing Santa Ana's power brokers to make resource allocation more transparent. Those who shout the loudest do not always get their way, but they still control many of the political levers.

The neighborhood improvement approach offers an assortment of opportunities and programs that have evolved in response to neighborhood issues. The program has successfully reduced the number of angry residents at city council meetings, which was the program's initial goal. But later, staff found the neighborhood associations to have created a sense of pride and civic identity both within the neighborhood and throughout the city. Most city officials agree that

neighborhoods with associations are consistently more attractive and overall a better place to live compared with 5, 10, or 15 years ago. Such results have solidified the city council and staff's commitment to the neighborhood associations. The city manager says the associations are "given the highest possible priority."

### *Customer Service Approach*

Community outrage from all parts of the city pushed departments to rethink how they operate and interact with the community. By the end of the 1980s and into the early 1990s, many of Santa Ana's city departments had taken steps toward becoming open, participatory, and neighborhood-based. This entailed treating the resident as a customer with demands. Over time, each agency found it necessary to develop procedures to deal with requests from neighborhood associations and other community groups. Some examples include neighborhood traffic planning, the graffiti removal hotline, the reforestation program in the Public Works Agency, and the establishment of the police department as a Community Policing Agency.

One of the biggest changes came in the midst of extreme conservative backlash and political outrage fed by the tension between the White, middle-class, native-born residents, and the largely Latino immigrant populations. The city staff found themselves in a dilemma with its diversifying population base. City staff struggled to meet the needs of the majority while the minority White population still controlled government (Myers & Menifee, 2000). As a result City Manager Dave Ream decided in 1988 that all new hires for city positions would be bilingual. The new policy mandated that personnel fill all entry-level, public contact positions with a bilingual employee. That included police, fire, library, parks, receptionists, and so on. Ream adds that such a policy "lends itself to diversity...and has changed the character of the city's work force substantially." A long-time Santa Ana police lieutenant agrees, "it was a breath of fresh air...[because] we make house calls." The new policy sent a very clear message to the community-at-large that the nature of Santa Ana had changed, and it was time to catch up.

Another significant transformation occurred in the Community Preservation Division of the Planning and Building Agency in 1994. The division reorganized to reduce response time to complaints, among other things. This was an important issue with residents since they felt that most of their complaints went unanswered. The division turned itself sideways: the chain of command shifted from a vertical to a horizontal structure. Inspectors now work 10 hours 4 days a week, and every inspector covers a Saturday or Sunday shift, increasing coverage to 7 days a week. The extended coverage gave inspectors more opportunity to catch people at home in the early morning, evenings, and weekends. Inspectors liaison with neighborhood leaders to "trouble-shoot" potential problems, for example by identifying neighborhood nuisance properties and illegal construction or businesses. The division also added a special "hot-line" number to take all complaints and created a database to better manage and track the progress of investigations.

Inspectors describe the old enforcement style as "brutal" and admit that they were "insensitive." The old code enforcement focused on condemning

apartment complexes and giving out citations. The bad press and protests from Latino activists nearly shut the program down. A senior community preservation inspector compares the old style with the new, "we come get 'em, write them [a violation] and kick them down [figuratively]...now we try to work with you. It's a more human approach to code enforcement." Also besides completely restructuring code enforcement to be customer service driven, the name of the group changed from "Code Enforcement" to "Community Preservation." The community preservation manager described the name change as a philosophical shift in operations. "Code enforcement does not give you a chance to be friendly and work with people; whereas community preservation does." The city encourages the inspectors to help residents keep their buildings up to standard by offering advice. With a diverse community, inspectors find themselves in an educator role to teach the public about acceptable and allowable standards. Inspectors often go so far as to suggest simple plans for renovations that are affordable yet adequate. Most cities frown on this type of assistance for fear of opening themselves up to potential liabilities. With the alternative of ignoring slum landlords and endangering residents, the city prefers to assume the risk of lawsuit.

### *"Keep It Safe, Keep It Beautiful,"[11] 1991 to the Present*

The best example of the way that the associations have influenced land-use policy is through building and safety code enforcement. This also is an example of how planning practices valorize a middle-class vision of how people should live and do business. The city council's willingness to write and enforce new legislation that dealt with the symptoms of overcrowding significantly reduced tension between many active neighborhood leaders and the council. The associations considered pushcart vendors, garage sales, balcony storage, property maintenance, inoperable vehicles, and yard parking as important aesthetic issues directly linked to the overcrowding problem. Those associations that had a high number of immigrants participating tended to shy away from these issues and instead focused on other neighborhood concerns such as youth activities, street beautification, crime, and gangs. But after years of complaints by the most politically connected association leaders, the city council passed a dozen new municipal ordinances throughout the 1990s that were part of an overall plan to encourage neighborhood standards and preservation

One of the first things to go was Santa Ana's outdoor swap meet. The residents living near the swap meet complained about the trash and excessive traffic the swap meet created on the weekends. Later the council banned pushcarts from residential areas because the noise and litter they generated encroached on surrounding neighborhoods. The city took major steps toward regulating mobile food and grocery vendors by defining new health, traffic, and safety guidelines. For example, the ordinance required vehicle vendors to carry a $1 million insurance policy and obtain a permit to do business in the city. In addition, the council limited garage sales to four times a year, or the first weekend in March, June, September, and December. Inspectors estimated that previously Santa Ana had had 300 to 500 garage sales on any given weekend. Many of the garage sales were small businesses operating out of driveways and parking lots. Many people spoke out against the ordinances because they believed them to be

unfair and "anti-Latino." The activists explained that the swap meets, street vending, and garage sales provided a valuable service to low-income immigrant families, since many immigrant families in Santa Ana do not own cars, cannot afford the prices in commercial establishments, and need opportunities to earn extra cash.

The council passed ordinances that required homeowners to trim their lawns and paint their homes when the exterior paint started to peel. Another ordinance banned clutter and unkempt property. The city prohibited clothes-lines from public view, trash cans on the curb except on regular trash-collection days, the use of balconies for storage of furniture, mattresses, and refrigerators, among other restrictions. Walls, fences, and hedges must also appear neat. Again opponents claimed that the ordinances could adversely affect low-rent areas where Latinos predominate. The Santa Ana city council held its ground given that other Orange County cities had passed similar, and even more stringent, codes (something Santa Ana wanted to avoid because, although not said outright, Santa Ana had to balance the demands of political constituents with the day-to-day survival needs of their low-income majority population).

The council also approved the creation of a Pro-Active Rental Enforcement Program (PREP) for the city's 37,000 rental units. PREP required rental property owners to pay $17.50 per unit for an annual inspection, and stipulated that a building must meet all codes to receive a rental permit. Landlords who do an exceptional job receive a Golden Seal Award and receive the following three inspections for free. In the French Park Historic Neighborhood, with 689 properties, inspectors found over 10,000 violations and referred 26 cases to the city attorney. Even though renters and owners appreciated the information about dangerous conditions in the home, the major complaint against the property maintenance ordinances was that many people could not afford to make the improvements. The residents living in French Court neighborhood, another targeted area, claim that the program seems to have "substantially reduced crime" by forcing negligent property owners to maintain their homes or apartment buildings and consequently sending a message to local gang members that vandalism, graffiti, and general neglect of neighborhood will no longer be tolerated.

## Lessons and Conclusions

> We have to keep our eyes and ears open, to be able to pick up little tell tale signs that will enable us to make sure we are doing our planning, that we've thought about that silent majority. (A senior Santa Ana planner)

Santa Ana now has lower crime rates, cleaner neighborhoods, and community pride, but immigrants are still regarded as Santa Ana's biggest challenge despite all of the accomplishments over the last two decades. The steady influx of newcomers continues to feed the overcrowding problem and constantly threatens the delicate balance in many neighborhoods. The City of Santa Ana found immigration impossible to control through legal measures, which left them with few effective tools. Santa Ana tried to reduce overcrowding through stricter housing codes and lost. Nobody in the city dares to take on that

case again. Clearly, Santa Ana's legal experience illustrates that immigration is truly bigger than a local government issue. While direct attempts at controlling overcrowding yielded few results, we can draw three main lessons from this case.

### *Issues of Race, Ethnicity, Class, and Citizenship*

First, we see that urban planning and overcrowding are more than about the health, safety, and aesthetics of a city. The experience of Santa Ana shows that it is difficult to separate social and cultural constructions from land-use regulation and control. Everyone wants clean, healthy, safe living and working environments; we all agree on this end goal, but how we go about this is the point of contention. In Santa Ana, community activists charged that the ordinances smacked of racism because they unfairly targeted low-income Latino immigrants, who lived primarily in the high-density neighborhoods. Supporters, who were a mix of Anglo, Asian, and Latino, but predominantly home owners and native-born residents, contended that the new ordinances were "human standards" and not "racial standards." Further complicating the issue of overcrowding are fears that Santa Ana will become a Third World City or a haven for the undocumented. Public statements plainly suggest these concerns. For example, one man commented about Latinos being unable to recite the Pledge of Allegiance at a city council meeting, and another resident announced that "there are no wetbacks here. I want you all to know we're all citizens" (Housing Code Backed by Santa Ana Council, 1986). Difficult as it may be, today we must reflect on how nationality and cultural factors influence public response to local policy choices.

### *The "Invisible Population"*

Second, city employees and politicians ignored the demographic realities in the early redevelopment and gentrification plans, even as immigrants moved into Santa Ana. As a result, the growing immigration population created a spiral of increasing density. This suggests that immigration was secondary to planning decisions in "the creating or re-creating" of Santa Ana with the construction of high-density apartments and the subsequent demolition of apartments and enforcement of codes. This disjunction between the immigrant masses and those in power remains unquestioned as community leaders from the neighborhood associations work their way up into the city's decision-making circles through appointments to powerful boards and commissions.

This unequal distribution of power was evident in the 1998 election that yielded a council with a majority of its members coming from the associations. Even though more Latinos have become involved in local politics, balanced representation remains problematic in Santa Ana. Simply put, even though the Latino population (a mix of recent arrivals, second-, and third-generation immigrants, as well as low-income native-born residents) clearly dominates Santa Ana demographics, the minority native-born middle-class rule at the polls. Non-citizenship status and voter apathy cost Latinos, particularly the first-generation immigrants, their political voice in local policymaking (Myers & Menifee, 2000). This is true throughout Orange County, which is 25% Latino (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990a). According to one exit poll, Latinos made up only 5% of all voters in Orange County for the November 1994 elections (Martinez, 1994).

Even if more Latinos voted, the immigrant population is so much in flux that they are difficult to organize for longrun planning. Some neighborhoods have an average tenant turnover of every 3 to 6 months, and local elementary schools see half of their classes turn over 4 times in 1 year. Encouraging Latinos, particularly immigrants, to participate in civic activities is key to political integration. Haas (1991) found that the past community-organizing efforts by the Latino and immigrant population added an important civil rights component to urban politics by questioning the economic and political implication of urban development. At the same time, this front remains difficult to maintain when immigrant neighborhoods are in constant flux. Further complicating the matter is that immigrants and Latinos are not a unified front. For example, Miguel Pulido, a council member who supported the overcrowding ordinances, is an immigrant himself and later became the first Latino mayor of Santa Ana, which further complicates this White/Latino, native-born/immigrant dichotomy that runs through much of this story.

### *Building a Home for Immigrants*

Finally, embracing immigrants remains politically hazardous. From the interviews, we sensed that city staff would like to build a "home" for the immigrants. Though not an outright strategy, maintaining a diverse population with respect to race, ethnicity, and class is regarded as key to Santa Ana's viability. However, "when push comes to shove," the city balks when it comes to publicly advocating for the immigrants. As one staff member explained, "some of the city departments in this city are still living in the 1970s. They haven't quite understood the change." Part of this resistance comes from the long-standing tension between the established middle class and the growing and politically weak immigrant populations over the appropriate use of the built environment.

All over California, many native-born and long-time residents associate urban blight with the influx of immigrants, even though both residents and local government profit from the "critical mass of immigrants" feeding the local economy (Millman, 1997). Immigrants provide many economic advantages for cities. Immigrants feed the local economy by spending money in the multitude of businesses that support the immigrant community. They also buy homes, use public transportation, make cultural and social contributions, and bring people, energy, and economic growth to depressed areas (Andrews, 1997; United States Conference of Mayors, 1994). Because of these positive contributions, cities should also focus on creating a more livable and immigrant-friendly city to stabilize tenancy. For example, providing more affordable housing, controlling crime in high-density areas, beautifying run-down neighborhoods, pressuring apartment owners to maintain their buildings, and so forth.

Santa Ana has already begun to do many of these things, as we have briefly described in this article. It is also worth mentioning the City of Santa Ana's decade-long campaign to improve the quality of public education for Santa Ana residents. Since 1986, the city has invested over $30 million of redevelopment funds to reduce the overcrowding in Santa Ana schools through land acquisition, construction, and property improvements.[12] In the last 7 years, 12 new schools have been built. The city manager boasts, "it's a phenomenal success story for the city. The poorest kids in the city go to brand new elementary

schools." Ream believes that such investments encourage immigrant families to stay and will turn Santa Ana into a destination rather than a stepping-stone or a revolving door for immigrants to pass through. Santa Ana leaders hope that as immigrants settle and as their economic situation improves, the overcrowding will lessen too.

Future research should compare how municipalities have reacted and adjusted to the recent waves of immigration through comparative studies of local policies used in other cities with similar problems to Santa Ana. Just within Southern California, many cities have experienced similar community tension and political controversy over the impacts of demographic change and the appropriate direction and design for development. For example, Monterey Park, known as the "First Suburban Chinatown," was transformed from a predominantly White middle-class bedroom community of Los Angeles into an important economic center and home for Asian-Americans and Asian immigrants (Fong, 1994). We also need to compare the results of policies in these cities with those places without any policy in place to deal with the local-level effects of Latino and Asian immigrants on the social, cultural, economic, and political landscape. And from here, we may begin to develop a set of indicators that can be used to determine the success of local policy choices and programs.

In sum, Santa Ana provides a local-level window on immigration's effects that may be invisible from the state or national level. Rather than emphasize immigrants' relationship to the economy, the case of Santa Ana reveals the stresses and strains on the residential environment. The major challenge faced by local government today is to learn how to plan for and with diversity how to maneuver through such politically charged planning terrain. That challenge entails developing a planning process that allows for community debate and negotiation as well as for making policy decisions that both reduce community friction and facilitate beneficial coexistence at the neighborhood level. The lessons of Santa Ana extend well beyond Orange County.

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## Notes

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possible. We alone are responsible for all shortcomings. This article was given in an earlier draft at the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Conference in Chicago, Illinois, October 1999.

[1]This article draws from open-ended interviews with 20 neighborhood leaders and community activists, 17 city staff members from various departments, and 5 local politicians between April 1996 and January 1999. Based on the reaction from city staff to an earlier draft, most of the names and community groups are not identified in this article because immigration still remains a politically charged topic in Santa Ana. The exceptions are the names of public figures, the city manager, and quotations from previously printed sources. The neighborhood leaders and city council members interviewed represent different geographic areas of the city as well as various cultural and economic backgrounds. Interviews with city staff include the city manager, executive directors and managers of the Planning and Building Agency, Community Development Agency; and long-time planners, engineers, police officers, and neighborhood-improvement specialists. The interviews focused on what the interviewee considered to be the significant turning points in city policy, demographic trends, and neighborhood activism over the last 25 years in Santa Ana. The primary author recorded and transcribed the interviews. Interviews lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. Additionally, this article uses local news articles to confirm particular events and provide further details about the court cases and neighborhood protests. We draw primarily from the Orange County edition of the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Orange County Register*. Articles from Santa Ana-based newspapers also provided additional documentation about particular events. They include the *Latin Voice*, *El Internacional*, *El Quetzal*, *Santa Ana Journal*, *Neighborhood News*, *Azteca*, *Santa Ana Eye*, and *CityLine*. The people interviewed and the Santa Ana Public Library supplied many of the local articles about neighborhood activities. In addition, the primary author draws upon personal experience and knowledge gained while working for the City of Santa Ana in 1993-94 and 1996-97.

[2]For a much more thorough discussion of the urban movements in Santa Ana, see Haas (1991). She describes the mobilization of thousands of Latinos in Santa Ana from 1976 to 1988 who opposed redevelopment practices and politicized substandard living conditions.

[3]The consultant later became the manager of the Planning Division.

[4]City of Santa Barbara v. Adamson, cited in Briseño v. City of Santa Ana (1992).

[5]In 1994 the California League of Cities sponsored the Crowded Housing Bill. Sen. Marian Bergeson (R-Newport Beach) carried and later shelved the bill in fear of defeat. In 1996, the California State Firefighter's Association sponsored a new bill written by Assembly Member Bill Marrow (R-Oceanside). That bill failed to become law.

[6]The Santa Ana Fire Department made the video in conjunction with the National Institute of Standards and Technology, a division of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

[7]Before the test, between December 1991 and January 1993, Santa Ana had 13 fire deaths that fire officials attributed to overcrowded conditions.

[8]NIP has a one-half million dollar a year budget for administrative costs. The program's funds come from the Redevelopment Agency as well as State and Federal housing sources.

[9]This is where many of Santa Ana's White middle- to upper-income homeowners live and by no coincidence where the strongest voting blocks are located.

[10]The agency made these changes based on the recommendations of a consulting legal assistant who spent 5 months studying the city's municipal codes.

[11]Title of a City of Santa Ana brochure that describes various code violations and the associated agency responsible for enforcement.

[12]In 1990, Santa Ana had one of the highest numbers of students per capita in the United States, second only to El Paso, Texas (from a 1993 issue of *Governing Magazine*, cited in City of Santa Ana, 1997). The primary cause of the growth in enrollment was the advancement of the age cohorts combined with a steady net migration to the city.

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