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## From khaki to brown: Community formation, homeownership, and mobility in Santa Ana, California, 1950-2000

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FROM KHAKI TO BROWN: COMMUNITY FORMATION, HOMEOWNERSHIP,  
AND MOBILITY IN SANTA ANA, CALIFORNIA, 1950–2000

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the

**Master of Arts Degree in U.S. History  
Department of History  
College of Liberal Arts**

**Graduate College  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas  
May 2011**

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## THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

We recommend the thesis prepared under our supervision by

**Stefani Jan Evans**

entitled

**From Khaki to Brown: Community Formation, Homeownership, and  
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**May 2011**

## ABSTRACT

### **From Khaki to Brown: Community Formation, Homeownership, and Mobility in Santa Ana, California, 1950–2000**

by

Stefani Jan Evans

Dr. Greg Hise, Examination Committee Chair  
Professor of History  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

This thesis examines the first fifty years of a modest 1950 housing tract of one hundred thirty-nine houses and five commercial lots in Santa Ana, California. I analyzed deeds, maps, newspapers, powers of attorney, building permits, city directories, and promotional material and interviewed nearly one hundred former and current residents to determine who came to Santa Ana in the mid-twentieth century, why they came, and why they stayed or left. Contrary to what contemporary Los Angeles boosters might have thought, mid-century Santa Ana was not simply a suburb of Los Angeles. In 1950 Santa Ana, with 45,533 residents and forty manufactories, was the urban hub for El Toro Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) and for growing Orange County. By the end of the century the city's housing units were the most densely populated in the U.S. My research suggests that between 1950 and 2000 most new residents, including the hundreds of thousands of Marines who transferred to and through El Toro MCAS, followed their jobs to Santa Ana; others came in search of cultural community. My analysis of deeds and interviews indicates that high numbers of active-duty military homeowners altered the community landscape by stimulating frequent housing turnover and a high number of absentee-landlord rental properties that continued through the end of the century.

Historians Becky Nicolaides, Andrew Wiese, Greg Hise, and others who re-examine Kenneth Jackson's 1985 *Crabgrass Frontier* identify alternate forms of postwar suburbs that differ from the Levittown model of popular imagery. The Santa Ana tract in this study represents one such variation that was integrated into the city through mixed land use and public through-traffic. In *The Suburb Reader* (2006) editors Nicolaides and Wiese call for historians to investigate the extent to which the postwar suburban nuclear family accurately reflected the ideal image. Although the Santa Ana developer originally sold houses only to white married couples, most families in this tract did not fit the traditional nuclear family model in several ways. Notably, the tract's military families with often-absent husbands and fathers deviated significantly from the traditional ideal. However, death, marriage, divorce, migration, and economics affected nuclear family structure and homeownership for most families within the small tract from 1950, before the new houses closed escrow, through 2000, by which time the demographic and built profiles of the tract and the city had changed.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project endowed me with a heightened respect for people who unselfishly share their abilities and knowledge. It also left me with debts I hope one day I might repay. I am grateful to my advisor, Greg Hise; his guidance, wisdom, and patience enabled me to become a historian. I likewise thank committee members Todd Robinson and Maria Raquel Casas, who took me outside my ethnicity and showed me a richer, broader view; I am grateful to Andy Fontana, who graciously continued to accommodate me even in retirement. Lynette Weber, Department of History administrative assistant, unfailingly dispensed kindness, good humor, and treats. Interviews and photographs give this thesis its humanity; for allowing me to interview them, granting permission to use their words, and sharing their photograph and archival collections I thank current and former residents, property owners, and business people of Santa Ana's Tract 1415. Over the past twenty months the staff at the Santa Ana office of the Orange County Clerk-Recorder copied several hundred deeds from microfilm with skill and a smile.

I thank charitable scholars who stretched their job descriptions to accommodate my requests. John Elliott of the Local History Room at the Santa Ana Public Library and Susan Berumen and Chris Jepsen of the Orange County Archives offered expertise, humor, and insight into their valuable collections. Kira Gentry and Janet Tanner of the El Toro Marine Air Station World War II/Korean War Oral History Project at the Center for Public History at California State University, Fullerton, shared unpublished oral histories, archival material, and introductions. Colleen Fitzpatrick of Fountain Valley conducted preliminary research; her early spreadsheets enabled me to analyze, correlate, and organize data for each property through the course of this project. Attorney Richard L.

Spix of Huntington Beach contributed insight into the ways his immigrant client base faces housing challenges. Carlos G. Vélez-Ibañez, Director and Presidential Motorola Professor of Neighborhood Revitalization, School of Transborder Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, kindly shared his thoughts on revolving credit associations and housing.

Generous friends contributed talents that enriched my work just as their friendship enriches my life. Ruben Acherman donated his artistic and technical skills to create the original maps that grace this thesis. When I tried to describe Latino group house buying patterns Jeanne Larzalere Bloom pointed me to *cundinas*. Debbie Parker Wayne patiently tutored me long-distance on the finer points of Microsoft Word, and Aracely Favela juggled multiple schedules to accompany me to Santa Ana and assist with onsite interviews, translation, photography, and deed and archival research. Mommy, thank you for sparking my interest in Tract 1415 and giving me a lifetime of memories. Bicky and Carolyn, thank you for sharing your lives and bedrooms with me as we grew; thank you for continuing to share your lives and bedrooms now that you have a choice. Bill, Adrianna, and Erica, your faith in me never wavered, even when mine did. I will spend the rest of my life loving you and thanking you.

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## INTRODUCTION

Orange County, California, evokes wealth, whiteness, and walled communities. Yet the *Los Angeles Times* ranks Orange County's seat and largest city, Santa Ana, the nation's worst for "urban hardship" and calls it "the nation's toughest place to survive."<sup>1</sup> Ninety-one gangs claim turf in Santa Ana. The city has the highest percentage (seventy-five percent) of Latinos (ethnic Mexicans, Central Americans, South Americans, Spaniards, and Portuguese) among the nation's fifty largest cities and the second-highest number of foreign-born residents.<sup>2</sup> Santa Ana is also home to a significant Asian, mostly Vietnamese, population. Residents of Santa Ana live in the most densely populated housing units in the United States.<sup>3</sup> Santa Ana's crime, poverty, density, and diversity belie Orange County stereotypes. It wasn't always so.

Santa Ana is a site rich for research for three reasons. First, the city has declined. As Orange County's most populous city and administrative hub, it represents other county government centers that, due to local, state, and federal policies, have lost jobs, income, and middle-class population to more recently incorporated cities within their counties. Second, the city exemplifies demographic dynamism (change in populations over time) and the post-World War II urbanization of Orange County. Finally, Santa Ana matters because it represents hundreds of American cities dependent on federal dollars and whose proximity to military and government installations dictates that international factors influence city fortunes and private lives.

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<sup>1</sup> Mike Anton and Jennifer Mena, "The Hard Life—Santa Ana Style." *Los Angeles Times*, 5 September 2004, <http://articles.latimes.com/2004/sep/05/local/me-santaana5> (accessed 2 September 2009).

<sup>2</sup>This paper uses the descriptor Latino as defined above (rather than the term Hispanic) except when quoting from a source.

<sup>3</sup> City of Santa Ana, Community Development Agency, [Santa Ana Stats.], n.d., <http://www.ci.santa-ana.ca.us/cda/documents/SantaAnastats.pdf> (accessed 15 September 2009).

At mid-century Santa Ana's future looked bright. As the seat of government and urban hub of Orange County, Santa Ana promoted itself as the "the heart of Orange County" and the "Golden City of the Golden State." Despite proximity to Los Angeles, Santa Ana did not view itself as a Los Angeles suburb. The city profited from four Orange County military bases that pumped defense dollars into county coffers: El Toro Marine Corps Air Station, Santa Ana Marine Corps Air Facility, Los Alamitos Naval Air Station, and Seal Beach Naval Reservation.<sup>4</sup> Figure 1 illustrates Orange County in 1949.



**Figure 1. Orange County urban development 1949. Cities were confined to the flatlands near Los Angeles County, and leaders touted the county's balance of farming, oil production, industry, and modernity.** Source: Ruben Acherman, adapted from Associated Chambers of Commerce of Orange County, *The Majestic Empire of Orange County, California* (Huntington Beach, Calif.: Orange County Publicity Department, [1949]), unpaginated centerfold; File, Santa Ana, Description and Travel IC, Local History Room, Santa Ana Public Library.

<sup>4</sup> Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce, *Facts about Santa Ana, City of Opportunity: Heart of Orange County, California* (Santa Ana: Chamber of Commerce, 1957); File, Santa Ana, Description and Travel IC, Local History Room, Santa Ana Public Library. Also, Chambers of Commerce of Orange County, *The Majestic Empire of Orange County, California* (Huntington Beach, Calif.: Orange County Publicity Department, [1949]), unpaginated centerfold; File, Santa Ana, Description and Travel IC, Local History Room, Santa Ana Public Library.

My parents came to Santa Ana in 1950 after they purchased a house they had never seen in a newly built development roughly fifteen miles northwest of El Toro Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS). According to my mother, many of the tract's original male homeowners were, like my father, young, upwardly mobile members of the U.S. Marine Corps (USMC), whose career advancement depended upon regular and frequent transfer. Most male military homeowners in the tract deployed to Korea shortly before or after they moved into their new houses. In their absence their wives created a mutually supportive network, a female-dominated society organized by their husbands' military ranks that sustained the women until their husbands returned and transferred their families to the next duty station.<sup>5</sup> Military families organized their lives around frequent transfer. Families sold their houses when the military head of household transferred, or, like my parents, they rented their houses out for the duration and sold them later. As original Marine families sold or rented their houses, new residents, also mostly military, took their places.

My mother's recollections led me to seek answers to the following questions: Who were the migrant groups that came to Santa Ana between 1950 and 2000? Why did they select Santa Ana? How long did they stay, and why did they stay or leave? To answer my questions I examine the small, post-war, entry-level Santa Ana housing tract built in 1950 in which my parents were original owners. The micro scale allows for narrow focus on the tract (Tract 1415) in order to illuminate the larger macro scales that affected the lives of thousands of others. The tract exemplifies all five essential characteristics of postwar tract housing historian Kenneth T. Jackson identified in 1985.

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<sup>5</sup> Alice P. Broudy, Dana Point, Calif., interview by author, 7 August 2009.

In *Crabgrass Frontier* Jackson wrote that developers utilized inexpensive open land just within city limits, centered detached houses on their own plots, and built mass-produced, architecturally similar ranch-style houses that were easily affordable and did not suggest wealth; most importantly, original buyers were economically and racially homogeneous.<sup>6</sup>

Contractors broke ground on Tract 1415 in June 1950, the same month North Korea invaded South Korea. My study begins at that point to capture both events; it ends at the close of the twentieth century, in December 2000. The fifty-year span allows investigation of demographic shifts caused by the Korean War (June 1950 to July 1953) and the Cold War military-industrial buildup through 1975, when U.S. troops pulled out of Vietnam. The longitudinal perspective incorporates 1965 and 1986 immigration legislation that removed Eurocentric quota systems, stimulated Asian and Latin American immigration, and granted certain undocumented immigrants amnesty and a path to citizenship.

This study will contribute to literature on the urban West and postwar tract housing. It will examine urban decline. It will showcase how late-twentieth-century immigration altered cities of the Southwest. It will highlight issues that faced twentieth-century residents in cities proximate to military installations, and it will offer suggestions for future research. The study examines patterns of family and support networks (who came to Tract 1415), community formation (why they came to Tract 1415), and homeownership and mobility (how long they stayed in Tract 1415, and why they stayed or left). Throughout, the study examines themes of decline, dynamism, and dependency at the micro level and the macro level.

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<sup>6</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985; New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 238–241.

In chapter one I examine the people and families that came to Santa Ana. My research sample from Tract 1415 indicates that the largest wave of migrants who came to Santa Ana between 1950 and 1965 were a white mix of socio-economic classes who followed their employment to Santa Ana. By the end of 2000, all but seventeen Tract 1415 properties were owned by individuals and families with Spanish surnames. Tract 1415's military families and the realities of death, divorce, and remarriage challenge traditional notions of the nuclear family and suggest that the mid-twentieth-century suburban nuclear family, generally defined as "father, mother, and children in isolation," does not describe a significant number of postwar American families.<sup>7</sup> Tract 1415 suggests a narrative of economic decline and demographic dynamism as twentieth-century migrants to Santa Ana evolved from middle-class whites to working-poor and blue-collar Latino and Asian immigrants. These disparate migrant groups shared a common dependence on support networks. Postwar and Cold War military families on the move depended on other military families of similar rank for friendship, community, and stability. From the 1980s poor and working-class Latino immigrants with little or no credit or work history were able to become homeowners by purchasing Tract 1415 houses in common with trusted groups of like folk.

In chapter two I explore why people came to Santa Ana. This chapter considers community formation through the built environment and work. While holding to Jackson's description of housing Santa Ana's Tract 1415 was never intended to be Jackson's bucolic escape from urbanity.<sup>8</sup> Instead, Tract 1415 supports historians Greg Hise, Becky Nicolaides, Andrew Wiese, and others who have since revisited Jackson and

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<sup>7</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 47.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 272–82.

identified alternate forms of postwar tracts and suburbs.<sup>9</sup> As the population of Tract 1415 changed from 1950 to 2000, so did the built environment. This chapter examines the original tract designed by Lifetime Homes and the public-private partnerships that grew the tract's surroundings, and it analyzes alterations to the tract subsequently imposed from without by the City of Santa Ana and a tagging crew—changes that contributed to or exhibited decline. A 1999 redevelopment project that removed twenty-one Tract 1415 lots and replaced them with a parking lot is evidence that communities suffer when leaders do not value the social capital of resident families. The chapter also looks at ways the tract changed from within through housing modifications made by residents and resident reactions to those modifications; these changes speak to dynamism. Finally, this chapter illuminates macro factors that, over time, reflected Santa Ana's dependence on federal dollars and altered the work opportunities that brought white military and defense workers, semi-professionals, and professionals to Tract 1415 from mid-century to the mid-1970s and later brought Latino laborers and semiskilled and skilled workers.

Chapter three examines homeownership and mobility to ask why people stayed or left Tract 1415. This chapter explores the military personnel who purchased houses in Tract 1415 and transferred with regularity. Their voluntary leavings altered the urban landscape of the community by stimulating frequent housing turnover and absentee-landlord rental properties that continued through the end of the twentieth century. The temporary residents of Tract 1415 provide evidence that communities suffer when a large

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<sup>9</sup> Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (1997; reprint, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999). Also, Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). Also, Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century, Historical Studies of Urban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). Also, Becky Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, eds., *The Suburb Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006).



segment of resident families invest their social capital elsewhere. The chapter also explores the macro-economic factors that caused homeowners to involuntarily leave their Tract 1415 houses when banks foreclosed their mortgages. Homeowners that struggled and ultimately failed to keep their houses have always been part of suburbia, but they have been omitted from the standard narrative. The involuntary dispossessions of these homeowners urge policymakers to revisit the American Dream of homeownership. Similarly, this chapter probes macro factors that caused many homeowners to involuntarily stay in their aging Tract 1415 houses. These homeowners challenge tropes that middle-class white flight depleted urban treasuries. These middle-class homeowners did not leave the city, but their status did. Evidence of these formerly middle-class homeowners begs for more microhistorical studies on the realities of urban and suburban decline. Finally, the chapter examines stickiness and dynamism by locating long-time Tract 1415 homeowners of twenty years and more and recent owners of five years or less and by exploring the spaces of the three extant streets of Tract 1415. Tract 1415 suggests that space and place matter in the ways that residents use their streets; Magnolia Avenue differs physically from the other streets, and residents agree that it is different in terms of density and criminality.

The thesis concludes by summarizing why it matters that we know who came to Santa Ana in the second half of the twentieth century, why they came, and why they stayed or left. Tract 1415 demonstrates how the intersection of macro-level public policies and micro-level private lives shapes history. History illuminates the present.<sup>10</sup> Santa Ana's history informs the present of hundreds of cities—cities of the Southwest,

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<sup>10</sup> My advisor, Greg Hise, provided this phrase.

where demographic dynamism looks to a Latino future; cities near current or former government installations that must wean themselves from their dependency on federal dollars, and aging cities that face economic decline as middle- and upper-class populations take their tax dollars elsewhere.

My research also suggests areas for future study. Although career military personnel bought and sold houses in large numbers throughout the country extant historical studies of postwar housing do not examine how military homeownership affected the cities in which they temporarily lived. Military nuclear families of the mid-twentieth century did not fit the iconic ideal promoted by the media; women headed these families when their husbands were absent—sometimes for months or years at a time—but stepped aside when the men returned. These mobile families that depended on support networks for their long-term stability urge further study of other actual families of the mid-twentieth century. Extant studies of immigrant strategies to become homeowners do not include informal rotating credit systems; similarly, examinations of these cyclical savings groups focus on relatively small pools of money and do not extend to purchases of houses. Suburban foreclosures have made news since the current economic recession began in 2008, but historians to date have not examined foreclosure as part of the twentieth-century suburban narrative. California's Proposition 13 coupled with their eventual retirement caused elderly homeowners to lose their middle-class status and become frozen in place in their paid-for houses. Their decline in fortune and class begs historians to re-examine cities that “lost” middle-class population in the latter decades of the twentieth century; perhaps a significant segment of the population actually stayed but lost status. Above all, my research asks that historians revisit the American Dream of

homeownership as a universal goal; my research suggests that in some cases the pursuit or attainment of homeownership causes hardship to individuals, families, and communities.

## CHAPTER 1

### FAMILY AND SUPPORT NETWORKS

On Sunday, 25 June 1950, roughly 90,000 North Korean troops invaded the Republic of Korea. Five days later, on 30 June, President Truman pledged U.S. troops to defend the outmanned republic and enforce United Nations demands for North Korean withdrawal. These two seminal transnational events ultimately dictated who would purchase one hundred thirty-nine newly constructed, pastel-hued houses in Tract 1415 in Santa Ana, California.

This chapter considers the people and families that came to Santa Ana. It examines first the white mix of socio-economic classes that followed their employment to Santa Ana between 1950 and 1965. This chapter observes families that do not conform to the suburban ideal and suggests that historians revisit the trope of the mid-twentieth-century suburban nuclear family. It documents the demographic dynamism of Tract 1415 homeowners at times of key immigration legislation—the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986—as well as at the end of the twentieth century, when all but seventeen Tract 1415 properties were owned by individuals and families with Spanish surnames. Finally, it considers why Santa Ana’s, white, middle-class military families of the Cold War and poor and working-class undocumented immigrants of the late twentieth century depended equally on support networks.

#### White and Khaki 1950–1965

The First Provisional Marine Brigade, an air-ground team from El Toro and San Diego County’s Camp Pendleton, activated 7 July, shipped out 12 July, and arrived in

Pusan, Korea, 2 August 1950. As John Condon and Peter Mersky recall, “Camp Pendleton and El Toro were twin scenes of mad confusion as Marines arrived hourly by train, bus, and plane.”<sup>11</sup> Marines from all over the U.S. arrived with their families, and their families needed housing. However, the housing shortage that began with U.S. entry into World War II had not abated. Housing for military families was so scarce that El Toro housing officer, Major W. F. Ritchey, pleaded with Orange County residents to list all available rental properties with his office.<sup>12</sup> Marine wife Beverly Dienes found and purchased her Tract 1415 house after her husband deployed. “My husband was one of the first Marines sent to Korea. When he heard about the house he was already in Korea, but he said, ‘Buy it.’”<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Emma Dean Cave heard about the tract through the “Marine Corps grapevine.” She, too, purchased the house without her husband because he was in Korea and she needed shelter. “It was so fast we didn’t have time to make up our minds. The men were gone immediately, so we had to act fast.”<sup>14</sup>

Greg Hise explains how the micro level difficulty of finding housing during World War II led to macro level policy changes by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to alleviate it. In *Magnetic Los Angeles* Hise writes that these policy changes opened homeownership to lower-middle-class wage earners and enabled modern community planning that brought a massive influx of defense migrants to the West. Developers Marlow-Burns built the complete community of Westchester, in southeast

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<sup>11</sup> John P. Condon and Peter B. Mersky, “Corsairs to Panthers: U.S. Marine Aviation in Korea,” in Charles R. Smith, ed., *U.S. Marines in the Korean War* (Washington, D.C.: United States Marine Corps, 2007), 610.

<sup>12</sup> “Make Housing Plea for Marine Families,” *Santa Ana (Calif.) Register*, 9 August 1950, page B1.

<sup>13</sup> Beverly I. Dienes, Defuniak Springs, Fla., interview by author, 29 September 2009. Copies of notes for all cited interviews are held by the author and the interviewee.

<sup>14</sup> Emma Dean Cave, San Juan Capistrano, Calif., interview by author, 11 September 2009.

Los Angeles, including more than three thousand housing units, from 1941 to 1944.

Westchester's concentration of industry, nonunion workers, available land, and research institutions exemplifies the planned community. Westchester was economically but not racially heterogeneous, located near airframe contractors, and integrated into the Los Angeles metropolitan whole.<sup>15</sup> On a smaller scale, the post-World War II housing shortage and the Korean War transfer of thousands of military personnel to El Toro likewise proved beneficial to Lifetime Homes of Santa Ana.

On 1 July 1950, eleven days before the first El Toro Marines departed for Korea, Lifetime Homes announced construction of five hundred "tropical modern" three-bedroom houses in three Orange County tracts; the Santa Ana tract would be ready for occupancy by September.<sup>16</sup> Within months Lifetime Homes contractors converted thirty acres (approximately one-quarter square mile) of Santa Ana lima bean fields into one hundred thirty-nine residences and five commercial lots on four parallel north-south streets. Without benefit of sidewalks, driveways, or backyard fences Tract 1415 families began to occupy the northernmost houses on the 1300 block of Rosewood Avenue beginning in September 1950. Contractors poured sidewalks and driveways by the end of the month; families who wanted backyard fences provided their own.<sup>17</sup> For the next five months moving vans and trucks delivered beds, sofas, coffee tables, radio sets, television sets, floor buffers, and other essential middle-class goods to Tract 1415. By the last days

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<sup>15</sup> Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 142–49.

<sup>16</sup> Lifetime Homes, Inc., [Advertisement], *Santa Ana (California) Register*, 1 July 1950, page 12. Also, "500-Dwelling Program Begun," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 July 1950, page F4.

<sup>17</sup> Viola D. Withey, "Sept 25," handwritten annotations on photographs showing workmen pouring driveways and sidewalks on Rosewood Avenue. Harold E. Withey Jr., Saint Charles, Ill., photograph collection.

of February 1951 even the last houses completed on Bristol Street proudly wore the television antennae that announced the family had arrived.

Original homeowners of Tract 1415 included at least eighty males who served in the Korean War.<sup>18</sup> By 1960 Santa Ana was home to 2,820 Korean War veterans, some of whom yet lived in Tract 1415.<sup>19</sup> Military men who served in Korea represent more than one-half of the original homeowners of Tract 1415; these men were mostly Marines, but they included at least three members of the U.S. Navy (USN). The eighty military homeowners reflect only those for whom sources connect Korean War service with the Tract 1415 resident. Therefore, the actual number of Tract 1415 homeowners who served in Korea is likely more than eighty. Even so, the number supports what most military and civilian residents of Tract 1415 remember: “We were surrounded by Marines.”<sup>20</sup> Figure 2 highlights the tract’s Korean War veterans and supports social memories nearly sixty years distant. Civilian and military Tract 1415 residents were indeed “surrounded by Marines.”

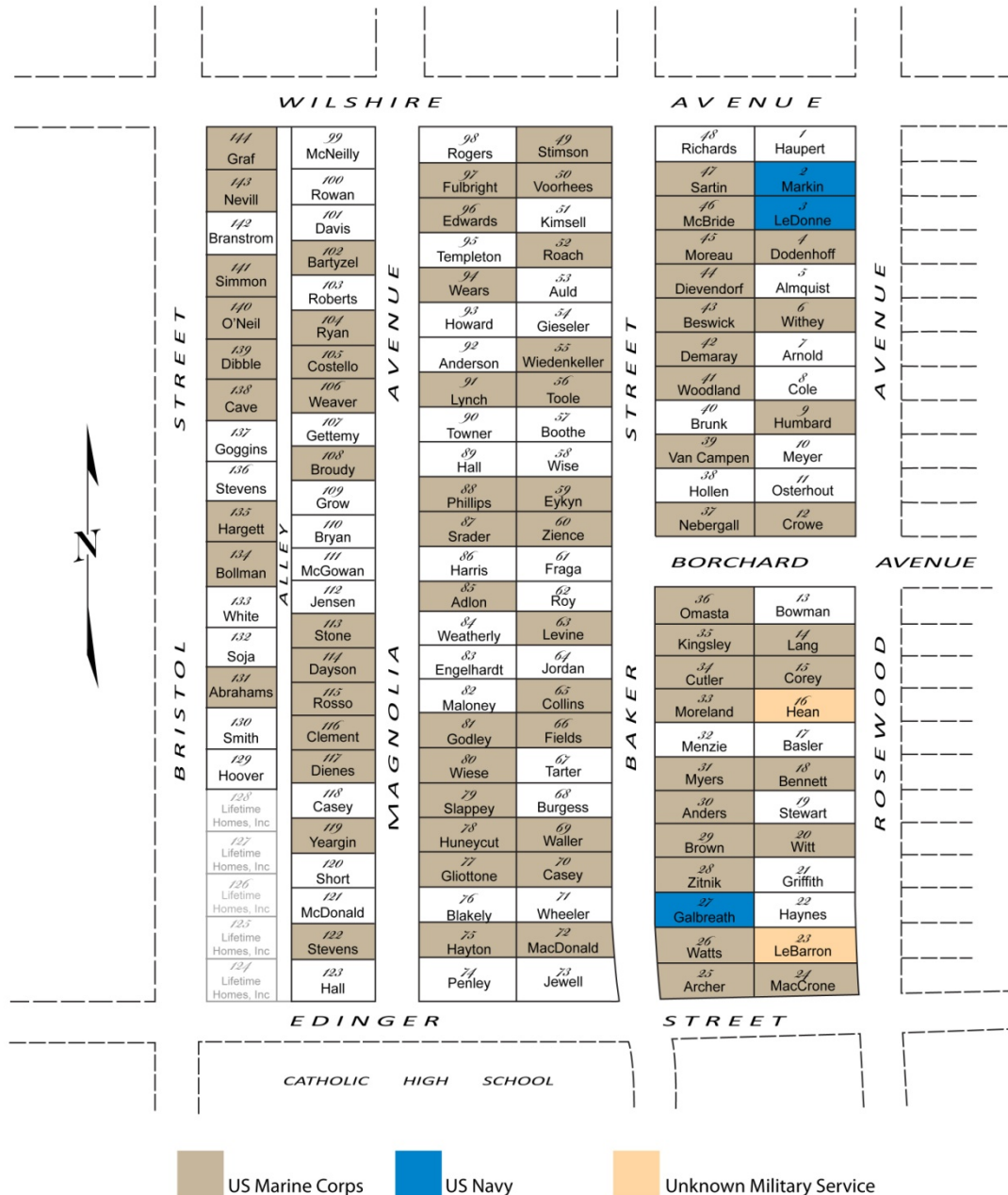
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<sup>18</sup> See Appendix 3, Korean War Military Service, Original Owners Tract 1415, Santa Ana, California, 1950–1953, for identified original homeowners who served in the Korean War and sources for their service.

<sup>19</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Housing: 1960, vol. II, Metropolitan Housing, Part 4, Kansas City—New Orleans Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), 6-281, Table 72, Social Characteristics of the population, for standard metropolitan statistical areas, urbanized areas, and urban places of 10,000 or more: 1960—Con.

<sup>20</sup> Paul T. Wise, Magalia, Calif., interview by author, 4 August 2009.

Tract No. 1415  
KOREAN WAR MILITARY SERVICE  
1950 - 1953



**Figure 2. These original homeowners served at least one tour of duty in Korea between June 1950 and June 1953.** Sources: Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. See Appendix 3, Korean War Military Service, Original Owners Tract 1415, Santa Ana, California, 1950–1953, for sources that establish service for each Tract 1415 Korean War veteran.



New homeowners moved in to their new Tract 1415 houses too late to be counted in the 1950 census. However, 1950 Santa Ana census statistics for numbers of persons that lived in owner-occupied dwelling units suggest that approximately three hundred eighty-nine persons originally occupied Tract 1415.<sup>21</sup> National policy administered locally ensured that these original Tract 1415 residents were white and had non-Iberian European surnames.

By 1960 Santa Ana's population reached 100,350; of that number about fifteen percent (15,372) had Spanish surnames. The Spanish-surname percentage in Santa Ana had risen only slightly since 1930, when it then represented twelve percent of the city's population.<sup>22</sup> In 1960 the ethnic Mexican population in Santa Ana included *braceros*, temporary agricultural workers from Mexico, and native-born Mexican American families; the two groups shared space in the city's three historic *barrios*. Many ethnic Mexican Santa Anans were World War II veterans eligible for the G. I. Bill. Figure 3, an undated promotion postcard for Santa Ana, was probably published in the 1950s. It shows a crowded Fourth Street in downtown Santa Ana that hints at consumption and prosperity. Close inspection of the group standing beneath the streetlight at the left suggests that not all the Fourth Street shoppers were white. The bottom half of the postcard displays the county's iconic Valencia oranges, but it does not portray the

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<sup>21</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Housing, 1950, vol. 1, General Characteristics, Part 2: Alabama-Georgia (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1953), 5-38, Table 19, Dwelling units by number of rooms, number of persons, and persons per room, for standard metropolitan areas and constituent counties, urbanized areas, and urban places of 10,000 or more: 1950.

<sup>22</sup> For 1960 racial and ethnic figures see Stacy Harwood and Dowell Myers, "The Dynamics of Immigration and Local Governance in Santa Ana: Neighborhood Activism, Overcrowding, and Land-Use Policy," *Policy Studies Journal* 30 (2002), 72-73. For Spanish-surname figures in 1930 and 1960 see Lisbeth Haas, "Grass-Roots Protest and the Politics of Planning: Santa Ana, 1976-88," in *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 257.

workers who picked the oranges, likely *braceros*, nor does it show the *barrios* where the *braceros* were barracked.



**Figure 3. Top, Fourth Street Santa Ana ca. 1950s. Postwar Santa Ana looked like most American cities, although Santa Ana had a significant ethnic Mexican population. *Braceros*, temporary contract laborers from Mexico, likely picked the iconic Valencia oranges, bottom.** Source: collection of author.

Although Latinos represented a significant proportion of the city's population, no original homeowners of Tract 1415 remember Latinos as original owners; likewise, they remember no Asians or African Americans. In November 1950 Lifetime Homes filed a Declaration of Establishment of Restrictions, Easements, Conditions, Covenants, and Reservations for their new tract; the document followed the law and contained no racially

restrictive language.<sup>23</sup> In 1948 the Supreme Court decided in *Shelley v. Kraemer* that courts could not constitutionally enforce covenants that restricted ownership or occupancy based upon race.<sup>24</sup> The legal decision did little to change popular prejudices against ethnic or racial “others,” however, and Lifetime Homes sought to create a white neighborhood in Santa Ana. Chief Petty Officer (USN) Kenneth Markin and his wife, Mary, purchased their new Lifetime Home on Rosewood Avenue in 1950, just before Markin shipped out for Korea. The couple witnessed one method Lifetime Homes used to ensure that Tract 1415 would be white.

The salesman told us we had come just in time because we got the last three-bedroom, and they had only two two-bedroom-homes left. A Hispanic couple came into the office while we were writing our paperwork. The salesman looked up from writing our contract and told the Hispanic couple that he was at that moment selling the last house in the development. I grabbed my wife’s leg under the table, but I didn’t want to risk losing the house by saying anything. The Hispanic couple left.<sup>25</sup>

The salesman’s action was part of a larger macro-scale trend rooted in national policy and administered locally. Lifetime Homes marketed their houses to World War II veterans eligible for the G. I. Bill. Kenneth Jackson explains how the G. I. Bill encouraged developers and real estate agents to discriminate against non-whites. The G. I. Bill guaranteed housing loans to veterans if the house met the standards set by the

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<sup>23</sup> Lifetime Homes, Inc., Declaration of Establishment of Restrictions, Easements, Conditions, Covenants, and Reservations, 14 November 1950, Deed Book 2101, pages 317-21, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.

<sup>24</sup> *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948).

<sup>25</sup> Kenneth J. Markin, Ashtabula, Ohio, interview by author, 6 August 2009.

FHA. The New Deal established the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933 to restructure loans that would enable homeowners to avoid foreclosure during the Depression. The HOLC introduced long-term, fixed-rate mortgages to replace at-risk, short-term loans.

To protect their investment HOLC appraisers standardized real estate appraisal criteria across the industry and mapped urban and suburban neighborhoods according to a four-tier system. Security rankings considered a neighborhood's age, condition, location, and racial infiltration. The highest tier consisted of newly built homes (usually in suburban areas) with homogenous Anglo American homeowners who were "professional men." This designation eliminated ethnic white residents, such as many who purchased in Tract 1415. The HOLC reserved the bottom tier for dense, non-white, low-income, or poorly maintained neighborhoods and did not refinance homes in bottom-ranked areas. The HOLC ceased operation in 1935, but the FHA adopted HOLC's "Residential Security Maps" as the industry standard in 1934. The FHA likely designated the modest Santa Ana tract with its second grade, "expected to remain stable for many years." The HOLC standards as practiced by the FHA promoted white middle-class suburbs like Tract 1415 while precipitating inner-city decline.<sup>26</sup>

The Hispanic couple that failed to obtain a Tract 1415 house likely met similar responses at other new developments. To historian Dianne Harris, modest postwar suburban houses such as those in Tract 1415 and the gardens that surrounded them symbolized the power of middle-class whiteness to whites and non-whites alike. European immigrants desired to "become white" and to assimilate as Americans.

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<sup>26</sup> Jackson, "Race, Ethnicity, and Real Estate Appraisal," 248, 247-253, *passim*.

Immigrants used their new suburban tract houses to teach them what they needed to know in order to fully assimilate, become white, and increase their distance over non-whites.<sup>27</sup> National policy administered locally ensured that the one hundred thirty-nine lots in Tract 1415 transferred from the white hand of the developer to the white hands of first purchasers, whose surnames suggest a mix of European ethnicities.<sup>28</sup> However, as Tract 1415 demonstrates, surnames do not predict ethnicity.

Wilhelmina “Willie” Rowan complicates the white profile of Tract 1415 as she illustrates the fallacy of generalizing ethnicities from surnames. Willie and Jerry Rowan owned their Magnolia Avenue house from 1950 until Willie and her four children sold it after Jerry died in 1973. Child of a wealthy Mexican family, Wilhelmina Dominguez came to Santa Ana as an infant with her parents from Sonora, Mexico; when she married Jerry Rowan, she “became white.”<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the salesman who helped the Markins and turned the unnamed Latino couple away was not working the day the Rowans bought or did not recognize Mrs. Rowan’s ethnicity. Or maybe the salesman cared less about Wilhelmina Rowan’s ethnicity than he did her Anglo American surname.

Even as white families settled into their new Tract 1415 houses, Latino parents in Santa Ana and the Orange County branch of the League of United Latin American

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<sup>27</sup> Dianne Harris, “Little White Houses: Critical Race Theory and the Interpretation of Ordinary Dwellings in the United States, 1945-60. Proceedings from the Warren Center for American Studies Conference on Reinterpreting the History of the Built Environment in North America,” Harvard University’s Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History, 29 and 30 April 2005, PDF, <http://warrencenter.fas.harvard.edu/builtenv/Paper%20PDFs/Harris.pdf> (accessed 29 November 2009).

<sup>28</sup> Surnames of original homeowners appear on each lot in Figure 2, Korean War Service, p. 14.

<sup>29</sup> Pamela D. Rowan Crow, Lake Forest, Calif., interview by author, 9 August 2009.

Citizens (LULAC) aggressively fought to desegregate the city schools.<sup>30</sup> The 1951 LULAC actions illustrate that segregation of Mexican-American students continued in Santa Ana after the 1947 Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals decision in *Mendez v. Westminster School District of Orange County*. The case began Santa Ana in 1945 when five hundred Mexican-American parents challenged the placement of their children in segregated “Spanish” schools in four Orange County school districts— El Modena, Garden Grove, Santa Ana, and Westminster. *Mendez* addressed pedagogical concerns only, because the districts claimed the children were segregated on the basis of their language; the case did not challenge the “separate but equal” standard later overturned by *Brown v. Board of Education*. Gonzalo Mendez personally hired attorney David G. Marcus to represent his children and the other students; LULAC later lent its support.<sup>31</sup>

The case eventually concluded in favor of the parents at the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1947 in a narrow decision that applied only in California. The *Mendez* case illuminates the systematic segregation of Mexican-American students in the four Orange County school districts. Four days before the Ninth Circuit issued the *Mendez* decision the California state legislature under Governor Earl Warren ended *de jure* racial school segregation in the state when it repealed laws that permitted the segregation of American Indians and Asians. Attorneys for several national civil rights groups, including LULAC, filed briefs on behalf of Mendez. Thurgood Marshall, writing for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), honed arguments he

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<sup>30</sup> “Latin American Parents Stand Pat on Zoning,” *Santa Ana (Calif.) Register*, 7 July 1951, page A3.

<sup>31</sup> Sylvia Mendez (location not recorded), transcription of audiotaped oral history interview by Richard Heinemeyer, April 2001, p. 4; audiotapes and transcriptions, Center for Oral and Public History Collection, Center for Oral and Public History Reading Room/Archives, Pollack Library South, California State University, Fullerton.

would later use before the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Earl Warren, Governor of California during the Mendez case, later became the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court who wrote the 1954 opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education*.<sup>32</sup>

#### Khaki and Beige 1965–1986

Kenneth and Mary Markin witnessed how Lifetime Homes tried to control for race and ethnicity by selling the tract's one hundred thirty-nine houses only to persons deemed white enough. By the end of 1965 Tract 1415 included eight households whose owners bore Spanish surnames. The long-aculturated Spanish-surnamed families that purchased in Tract 1415 by 1965 had mostly resided in the United States or in Santa Ana since or before the decade of the Mexican Revolution (1910 to ca. 1920). But these families, too, included complex ethnic mixes. Socorro "Cora" Martinez was the daughter of a Colorado Jicarilla Apache and an Arizona Chiricahua Apache, but her paternal grandfather immigrated to the U.S. from Chihuahua during the Mexican Revolution. Cora later met and married native-born Mexican-American, Emilio Yneges, in Santa Ana.<sup>33</sup> Willie Rowan and Cora Yneges of Tract 1415 illustrate the fallacy of assuming ethnicity based on surname. Interviews suggest that Latinos in Santa Ana's tract 1415 are mostly Mexican or Mexican-American; some are immigrants from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, and at least one homeowner is Cuban. With these caveats, this thesis uses Spanish surname to approximate the changing demographics of Tract 1415 over time.

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<sup>32</sup> Philippa Strum, *Mendez v. Westminster: School Desegregation and Mexican-American Rights* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 141–151, 174. Also, Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941–1978* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 59–60.

<sup>33</sup> Socorro "Cora" M. Yneges, Orange, Calif., interview by author, 4 August 2009.

In 1965 Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act that omitted quotas favoring European immigration and opened the U.S. to immigrants from Asia and Central and South America. In 1964, the *Bracero* program ended that had since 1942 brought temporary agricultural contract workers to the U.S. from Mexico. The *braceros* that had come to Orange County from 1942 to 1964 to pick Valencia oranges lived in the three Santa Ana *barrios* with Santa Ana's ethnic Mexican population. Figure 4 highlights Tract 1415 properties owned by Spanish-surnamed persons by the end of December 1965.



TRACT No. 1415  
SPANISH-SURNAME HOMEOWNERS  
31 December 1965



**Figure 4. Spanish-surnamed homeowners in Tract 1415 by the end of 1965, the year Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act.** *Source:* Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, deeds of sale, Orange County Clerk-Recorder’s Office, Santa Ana.

Willie Rowan, like many acculturated Latinos at mid-century, came to the U.S. during the Mexican Revolution. However, Ernesto Barreto took a more difficult path to the U.S. and to Tract 1415 that differed from paths taken by earlier Santa Ana migrants. Barreto left his native Jalisco, Mexico, for the U.S. in 1977 via a *coyote* (smuggler) in order to escape an abusive father. An uncle hired the *coyote* to smuggle seventeen-year-old Ernesto across the U.S. border from Tijuana and stipulated that the *coyote* would be paid only after completing a successful crossing. After eight to ten unsuccessful tries over twenty days, Barreto and his group finally made it by crossing the freeway one at a time. They stopped first under a house used by the *coyotes*. Barreto recalls, “We hid in the crawl space. Several groups came in, and we ended up about forty of us hiding beneath the house until morning.” Cars left with five or six migrants at a time to deliver them to various drop-off points. “The *coyote* took my group to La Puente, and my aunt paid him \$250. My aunt had already found me a job cutting ladies’ pants in a factory.” After three years in La Puente the twenty-year-old Barreto came to Santa Ana to join another aunt and uncle who owned a Tract 1415 house on Rosewood Avenue.

One year later Barreto bought his Baker Street house. He explains, “My uncle, my mother, and I purchased the house originally in 1981 at 14.5 percent interest.” Barreto details how he was able to make the down payment as a twenty-year-old immigrant: “I had one million *pesos* in Mexico, but that wasn’t enough for the down payment for the house. My mom said she had saved all the money in dollars that I had sent her every month. She had fifteen thousand dollars—in dollars.” The U.S. dollars Barreto purchased with his one million *pesos* combined with the \$15,000 his mother had saved from his

remittances gave Barreto his share of the down payment.<sup>34</sup> Fifteen months after the three relatives purchased the house on Baker Street Barreto's mother and uncle quitclaimed their interest in the property to Ernesto.<sup>35</sup> When Barreto purchased his first house jointly with his uncle and his mother he leveraged the financial resources of his family network. Another Tract 1415 immigrant homeowner, Betty Tobar, also relied on her family network.

In 1979 Tobar, a single woman, left her native El Salvador on foot. She walked from El Salvador to Guatemala in one day on the first leg of a journey that would take her across three international borders to the U.S. She had no particular U.S. destination in mind. In Guatemala she hired a *coyote* to smuggle her to the U.S. for \$1,300. She rode with a few other *mojados* (illegal immigrants) in the back of a pickup truck to a hotel in Mexicali, Mexico, where the *coyote* deposited them for a few hours. After more *mojados* gathered the *coyotes* herded about twenty of them into the back of a freight truck with strict instructions never to look at the driver. The *coyotes* piled boxes in front of the travelers so no one would see them and drove to Tecate.

We got across Mexico through bribes. We were being followed by the police. I could hear the sirens. The truck driver sped up

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<sup>34</sup> Ernesto Barreto, Santa Ana, Calif., interviews by author and Aracely Favela, 9 September 2009, 11 September 2009, and 15 October 2009. Also, Edward S. Jagla and Henrietta T. Jagla (husband and wife) to Juan Barreto (unmarried man), Guadalupe Barreto (married woman as her sole and separate property), and Ernesto Barreto (unmarried man) all as joint tenants, grant deed, 17 April 1981, Book of Deeds 14023, page 1716; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana..

<sup>35</sup> A quitclaim transfers any interest the grantor may have in the property, but it contains no warranties nor implies that the grantor actually has ownership. Quitclaims are often used in interfamily transactions. Juan Barreto (unmarried man) and Guadalupe Barreto (married woman as her sole and separate property) to Ernesto Barreto (unmarried man), interfamily transfer quitclaim deed, 26 July 1982, Instrument No. 1982-00257287; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana

and started swerving from side to side. I remembered the stories about when people crossed the border and how people died. I thought to myself, '*Aquí es donde voy a morir*' (Here is where I am going to die).

Tobar came to Santa Ana simply because the truck brought her there. She knew no one, and she had no job. She intended to stay only long enough to earn money to help her mother and then return to El Salvador. Ten years later, in 1989, Betty Tobar bought a Tract 1415 house on Baker Street jointly with two relatives she had funded to come from El Salvador.<sup>36</sup> In 2000 one of the joint tenants deeded her share to Betty and the third partner. Like Barreto, who relied on his uncle and his mother, Tobar and her family relied on each other.

Betty Tobar's temporary sojourn to the U.S. has lasted more than thirty years. She did not marry, she explains, because "I wasn't going to get married to somebody and go fifty-fifty. If he wasn't going to support me I might as well support myself. If I got married and my husband lost his job I would not support him." She elected not to learn English, a decision she realizes diminishes her in the eyes of her acculturated neighbors. She notes, "They are Hispanic but they don't want to speak Spanish. They don't even say hello." Tobar's English-speaking neighbors likely agree with current Magnolia Avenue homeowner, Frank Segura, and his former neighbor, Cora Yneges.

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<sup>36</sup> Rosa Betty Tobar, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author and Aracely Favela, 19 August 2009. Words in Spanish are as Tobar used them. Also, Mauricio Escobar Mejia and Maria Teresa Mejia to Rosa Betty Tobar (unmarried woman), Ana Hortencia Tobar (unmarried woman), and German O. Tobar (unmarried man) all as joint tenants, grant deed, 29 August 1989, Instrument No. 1989-00461080; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Ana H. Tobar (unmarried woman) to Rosa Betty Tobar (unmarried woman) and German O. Tobar (unmarried man) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 20 October 2000, Instrument No. 2000-00565972; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

Segura, a Santa Ana native born in 1928, bought his Magnolia Avenue house in 1966 in partnership with his mother. His parents were immigrants from Chihuahua, but Segura points out that “[m]y mother came young. She was bilingual because she got her schooling in Santa Ana.” He continues, “Now our neighbors are from Mexico and Central and South America; there are few native-born residents left on the street.”<sup>37</sup> As a young couple with four children Native American Cora Yneges and her Mexican American husband, Emilio, lived on Magnolia Avenue from 1967 to 1973, when they sold the house to their daughter and her husband, who kept it until 1978.<sup>38</sup> Yneges loves the “Mexican music and food and ways” that she learned from her in-laws. Although she “loved Magnolia Street [*sic*]” she says that “it’s now scary and reminds me of Mexico.” She explains, “The Rowans sold their house to Mexicans who kept a cow in the garage.” Yneges recalls, though, that before she and Emilio bought their Magnolia Avenue house in 1967 “[w]e tried to buy a house in Memorial Park, but a potential neighbor told the realtor . . . they didn’t want Mexicans in the neighborhood.”<sup>39</sup>

David Gutiérrez explains the long-simmering political and social divisions among the Latino community exemplified by Segura, Yneges, and Tobar’s frosty neighbors. In *Walls and Mirrors* Gutiérrez writes that dual perspectives shape identity debates between

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<sup>37</sup> Frank V. Segura, Santa Ana, Calif., interviews by author, 5 August 2009, 18 August 2009, and 9 October 2009. Also, Clarence J. Grannan and Irene E. Grannan (husband and wife) to Frank V. Segura (unmarried man) and Lucy Q. Gutierrez (widow) as joint tenants, grant deed, 7 January 1966, Book of Deeds 07810, page 315; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>38</sup> Socorro “Cora” M. Yneges, Orange, Calif., interviews by author, 4 August 2009 and 30 September 2009. Also, Edward C. De Parrie and Jeanne Marie De Parrie (husband and wife) to Emilio G. Yneges and Socorro M. Yneges (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 12 June 1967, Book of Deeds 5749, page 835; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Emilio G. Yneges and Socorro M. Yneges (husband and wife) to Danny Acosta and Diana Acosta (husband and wife) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 7 March 1973, Book of Deeds 10583, page 987; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>39</sup> Socorro “Cora” M. Yneges, Orange, Calif., interviews by author, 4 August 2009 and 30 September 2009.

Latino immigrants and Latino Americans. Increasing white hostility toward Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the 1920s and 1930s caused the two groups of ethnic Mexicans to adopt opposite viewpoints on immigration and the social, economic, and political future of Mexican Americans; these discourses shaped later debates over immigration and civil rights that are continually renewed as each new wave of immigrants arrives.<sup>40</sup>

Segura, Yneges, and Tobar's neighbors underscore their acculturation and their right to belong by separating themselves from recent immigrants. In Segura's view, "[W]e got a big influx of Mexicans legal and illegal. I hold allegiance to this country, but they don't. They claim they're citizens of both countries. How can you have allegiance to two countries?"<sup>41</sup> Yneges agrees, "The neighborhood now looks terrible and is full of illegals. I do not like the way they talk about the U.S. . . . [or] flaunt the Mexican flag [and say], '*México lindo y querido*'" (Mexico beautiful and beloved).<sup>42</sup> The Spanish quoted by Yneges is popular in songs that extol expatriate loyalty to Mexico. As Gutiérrez explains and as Tract 1415 exemplifies, long-acculturated residents like Segura and Yneges and first-generation immigrant residents like Barreto and Tobar may live side by side in houses that were originally built alike, but Latinos are socially, nationally, culturally, and politically diverse. And with each influx of new immigrants the debate and the diversity widen.

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<sup>40</sup> David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>41</sup> Frank V. Segura, interview by author, 5 August 2009.

<sup>42</sup> Socorro "Cora" M. Yneges, interview by author, 30 September 2009.

## Khaki to Brown 1986–2000

In 1986 Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) that granted amnesty to undocumented immigrants that qualified and established penalties for employers that knowingly hired undocumented foreign workers. The act did little to deter hopeful immigrants, who continued to cross from Mexico to the U.S. at increasing rates. Many undocumented immigrants found their way to Santa Ana, where they found an established community that catered to their work, shelter, and identification needs and allowed them to continue practicing the food, living, and language ways of their home countries.

Congress also passed in 1986 the Tax Reform Act that increased the home mortgage interest deduction for owner-occupied housing and established low income housing tax credits to encourage private investment in housing for low-income applicants. Both legislative acts impacted residents of Tract 1415. Houses became more densely populated as Santa Ana continued to attract immigrants who, like Betty Tobar, then sent for their relatives.

The nearly forty-year-old Tract 1415 houses showed their age. Termites infested the houses and weakened raised wood substructures and floors.<sup>43</sup> Galvanized pipes leached corrosion into the soils.<sup>44</sup> Original residents who remained had aged, and few could perform necessary home repairs themselves. As old residents aged and died younger immigrants replaced them. In 2000 the owner-occupied houses of Tract 1415 were more densely occupied, with approximately 6.31 persons per housing unit, than they

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<sup>43</sup> Charlene Almquist, Seward, Alaska, interview by author, 29 September 2009. Also, George Michael Rowan, East Linden, Utah, interview by author, 11 August 2009. Also, Mike Miller, Santa Ana, California, interview by author, 3 September 2009.

<sup>44</sup> Richard L. Spix, Huntington Beach, Calif., interview by author, 15 February 2011.

had been fifty years before, when the 6-room, owner-occupied houses held approximately 2.8 persons per housing unit.<sup>45</sup>

Low-income housing tax credits encouraged home buying by groups that previously could not qualify. By stretching their dollars and pooling their incomes these low-income earners could follow the lead of earlier aspiring immigrant homeowners and achieve the American Dream of owning a house. In 1982 historian Olivier Zunz described the “informal housing market” utilized by working-class immigrants at the turn of the twentieth century. In *The Changing Face of Inequality* Zunz writes that Detroit’s German and Polish immigrants in the 1880s viewed homeownership as their path to economic stability, and they leveraged social, familial, and economic capital to attain it. The immigrants of the 1880s owned houses at a greater rate than did native-born whites by employing several strategies: owner-building on unimproved land, purchasing jointly with extended resident family members, pooling the resources of the entire family, and resisting tax assessments to pay for civic improvements.<sup>46</sup>

Becky Nicolaides writes of similar tactics used in the 1920s by working-class whites in South Gate. In their quest to become homeowners, inter-war South Gaters self-built on unimproved land and expanded the use value of their properties by renting rooms

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<sup>45</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, American FactFinder, Census 2000, QT-H3: Household Population and Household Type by Tenure: 2000, Household Population, Population in Occupied Housing Units, Per Occupied Housing Unit, Matrices H11, H12, and H17, Summary File 1 (SF 1), 100-Percent Data, Census Tract 747.02, Santa Ana, Orange County, California, <http://factfinder.census.gov/main.html> (accessed 20 July 2009). Also, U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Housing, 1950, vol. 1, General Characteristics, Part 2: Alabama-Georgia (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1953), 5-38, Table 19, Dwelling units by number of rooms, number of persons, and persons per room, for standard metropolitan areas and constituent counties, urbanized areas, and urban places of 10,000 or more: 1950.

<sup>46</sup> Olivier Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880–1920* (1982; paperback edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 113, 154, 174, 220, 235.



and selling home-grown produce.<sup>47</sup> In *Places of Their Own* Andrew Wiese observes that African American homeowners before World War II generated income from their properties through taking in boarders and selling from their gardens; they also raised livestock, took in washing and sewing, and added extra rooms to accommodate more boarders.<sup>48</sup> Latino immigrants to Santa Ana before and after 1986 employed a different tactic based on the transborder cultural construct of *confianza* (mutual trust) as defined by anthropologist Carlos G. Vélez-Ibañez. In *An Impossible Living in a Transborder World* Vélez-Ibañez writes that *confianza* points to the “generosity and intimacy” between members and illustrates “a personal investment in others.” *Confianza* is the “psychocultural construct” that participants can depend upon as they offer their trust to their relatives and associates.<sup>49</sup> Deeds to Tract 1415 houses provide example.

On 16 November 1993 four men each purchased a share of a Tract 1415 house and thus became co-owners and joint tenants; the new homeowners were single men Saul Castillo, Eliseo Castillo, and Martin Castillo and a married man, Ramon Castillo, who purchased his share as his sole and separate property.<sup>50</sup> On the same day, Ramon Castillo’s wife, Josefina, filed an interspousal grant deed to her husband granting him any interest she might have in the house at 1414 S. Rosewood Avenue and acknowledging that the property belonged to him solely and separately. The house had been a rental property from 1988 until the Castillos purchased it in 1993; since 1993 it has been

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<sup>47</sup> Nicolaidis, *My Blue Heaven*, 29.

<sup>48</sup> Wiese, *Places of Their Own*, 85–6, 103–4.

<sup>49</sup> Carlos G. Vélez-Ibañez, *An Impossible Living in a Transborder World: Culture, Confianza, and Economy of Mexican-Origin Populations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 44, 45.

<sup>50</sup> Juan Garcia and Ignacia B. Garcia (husband and wife) to Ramon Castillo (married man as his sole and separate property), Saul Castillo (single man), Eliseo Castillo (single man), and Martin Castillo (single man) all as joint tenants, grant deed, 16 November 1993, Instrument No. 1993-00787547; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

occupied in turns by Josefina and Ramon Castillo and their sons, Saul, Eliseo, and Martin.<sup>51</sup> The multiple Castillo owners continued exchanging the property for nearly twenty years. These familial transactions speak to *confianza* (see full chain of transactions for this property in Appendix 2, Lot 16: 1414 S. Rosewood Avenue., pp. 143–44).

Similarly, on 10 March 1978 Pablo Huerta and Teresa Huerta, husband and wife, purchased as joint tenants the Tract 1415 house at 1342 S. Rosewood Avenue.<sup>52</sup> The day they recorded their purchase the Huertas jointly filed another deed in favor of Pablo Huerta, as a married man as his sole and separate property, in joint tenancy with Jesus Garcia, a single man.<sup>53</sup> “Jesus Garcia,” who acquired title in 1978 was actually Antonio Medina.<sup>54</sup> The deed to clarify Medina’s name hints at a mistake in recordation or perhaps a false identification. Nonetheless, the 1978 transactions between Pablo Huerta, Teresa Huerta, and Antonio Medina (aka Jesus Garcia) began thirty years in which members of the extended Huerta, Medina, and Campos families passed the Rosewood house back and forth. In 2004, on the same day that Alejandra Campos, a married woman, became one of the owners as her sole and separate property, her husband, Nestor Campos, filed an interspousal transfer grant deed in which he relinquished his claim to her (see full chain

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<sup>51</sup> Mike Miller, interviews by author, 3 September 2009, 5 September 2009, 25 September 2009, 8 October 2009, 9 October 2009, 21 March 2011. Miller was the mail carrier on the route from 1973 until he retired in 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Alan Eads and Doris Jean Eads (husband and wife) to Pablo Huerta and Teresa Huerta (husband and wife), as joint tenants, grant deed, 10 March 1978, Book of Deeds 12592, page 622; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>53</sup> Pablo Huerta and Teresa Huerta (husband and wife) to Pablo Huerta (a married man as his sole and separate property) and Jesus Garcia (a single man) as joint tenants, grant deed, 10 March 1978, Book of Deeds 12592, page 623; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>54</sup> Pablo Huerta (a married man as his sole and separate property) and Antonio Medina (who acquired title as Jesus Garcia, a single man) to Pablo Huerta (a married man as his sole and separate property) and Antonio Medina (a single man) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 23 June 1988, Instrument No. 1988-00299527; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

of transactions for this property in Appendix 2, Lot 11: 1342 S. Rosewood Avenue, pp. 141–42). The house generated income for the families as a rental property from their 1978 purchase to at least 2000.<sup>55</sup> These owners too depended upon *confianza* to share the rental income.

Because California is a community-property state, husbands like Pablo Huerta and Ramon Castillo and wives like Alejandra Campos can acquire property of their own during their marriage, but the nonparticipating spouse must relinquish claim to the property to clear the title, as did Teresa Huerta in 1978, Josefina Castillo in 1993, and Nestor Campos in 2004. Maria Raquel Casas explains how these transactions demonstrate the derivation of California's community-property law from Roman law. *In Married to a Daughter of the Land*, Casas assesses the “competing marital systems” of British common law and Spanish civil law that framed marriages between Anglo Americans and *Californiana* women of California between 1820 and 1880. British common law held that once a woman married she could no longer trade land or participate in the body politic on her own behalf.<sup>56</sup> However, California, like most community-property states, derives its law from Roman codes and traditions of eleventh-century Spanish *fueros* that, respectively, legally recognized and guaranteed the legal rights and privileges of women.<sup>57</sup> Although the late-twentieth-century purchasers in Tract 1415 were likely first-generation immigrants their intricate property transactions suggest

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<sup>55</sup> Mike Miller, interviews by author, 3 September 2009, 5 September 2009, 25 September 2009, 8 October 2009, 9 October 2009.

<sup>56</sup> Maria Raquel Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820–1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007), 14, 25.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 15, 30. Community-property states are Arizona, California, Idaho, Louisiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin.

that they well understood California's community-property laws that derived from Mexican and Spanish tradition.

Transactions of the Castillo family and the extended Huerta, Medina, and Campos family exemplify a pattern of buying houses as a group and systematically deeding the property over to other group members. Many Tract 1415 transactions after 1986 exhibit this pattern in varying degrees. Participants include married couples, married males and females buying as their sole and separate property, and single persons of both sexes. After the initial purchase, most grant deeds or quitclaim deeds between family members are marked by clerks as interfamily or interspousal transfers. Occasionally the pattern includes only two transactions—the initial group purchase followed by a transfer to the final owner. The Arambula family of 1346 S. Magnolia Avenue provides a glimpse.

In 1989 five individuals named Arambula bought as joint tenants a Tract 1415 house; purchasers included two married couples and Concepcion Arambula, a married man buying as his sole and separate property.<sup>58</sup> No interspousal transfer to Concepcion Arambula followed, because his wife and children still resided in Mexico. Three years after he purchased the house, in about 1992, Concepcion's wife, Carolina, and their children left their native city, Nochistlan de Mejía, Zacatecas, México, to join Concepcion Arambula and his extended family in the house on Magnolia Avenue. In 1999, ten years following the initial house purchase and seven years after Carolina's arrival, the other Arambula owners deeded their shares in the house to Concepcion and

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<sup>58</sup> Bartolo Valdez (single man) to Jesus M. Arambulo [*sic*] and Sandra U. Arambulo [*sic*] (husband and wife), Melesio M. Arambula and Xiomara A. Arambula (husband and wife), and Concepcion Arambula (married man as his sole and separate property) all as joint tenants, grant deed, 27 January 1989, Instrument No. 1989-00049703; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

Carolina.<sup>59</sup> Concepcion and Carolina Arambula raised their eleven children, now twenty-seven years to eleven years, in the Tract 1415 house they still own and occupy (see full chain of transactions for this property in Appendix 2, Lot 110: 1346 S. Magnolia Avenue, pp. 148–49).<sup>60</sup> This house too had been a rental for at least ten years prior to the 1989 Arambula purchase, but it has since been occupied solely by family members.<sup>61</sup> Richard L. Spix, Orange County attorney for immigrant-rights group Hermandad Mexicana Nacional, offers his perspective on the house-buying patterns of his client base.

Spix makes two key points. First, Santa Ana's Latino community "thinks of the world being organized on the basis of the family. That cultural emphasis allows for an ability to gain credit together. . . If they don't do right by each other, the families will often make it up." Spix notes that family members "buy the properties as groups because they cannot qualify on their own. With co-borrowers everyone is obliging themselves to buy that note." Second, according to Spix, "They buy the houses *serially*. The same group might do a series of these transactions until everybody has a place to live" (emphasis added).<sup>62</sup> Families trust each other and everybody, in his or her turn, gets a house.

For more than twenty years Vélez-Ibañez has examined Rotating Credit Associations (RCAs), or Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs), among

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<sup>59</sup> Jesus M. Arambulo [*sic*] and Sandra U. Arambulo [*sic*] (husband and wife), Melesio M. Arambula and Xiomara A. Arambula (husband and wife), and Concepcion Arambula (married man as his sole and separate property) all as joint tenants to Concepcion Arambula and Carolina Arambula (husband and wife) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 17 June 1999, Instrument No. 1999-00450994; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>60</sup> Carolina Arambula, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009.

<sup>61</sup> Mike Miller, interviews by author, 3 September 2009, 5 September 2009, 25 September 2009, 8 October 2009, 9 October 2009.

<sup>62</sup> Richard L. Spix, interview by author, 15 February 2011.

Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Informal RCAs outwardly resemble the *mutualistas* (mutual aid societies) of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that provided social and cultural support to Mexicans living in the U.S. However, in *Bonds of Mutual Trust* Vélez-Ibañez offers two distinctions: *mutualistas* were commercial RCAs (rather than informal), and in most areas, including the San Diego area, *mutualistas* “were strictly funerary associations.” Vélez-Ibañez defines an RCA as “a core of participants who agree to make regular contributions to a fund which is given, in whole or in part, to each contributor in rotation.” Names of RCAs vary geographically, but most Southwest Latinos know them as *tandas* (turns) or *cundinas* (from *cundir*, to spread). *Tandas* or *cundinas* are founded on two principles: *ahorro para ahorrar* (saving to save) and *confianza en confianza* (literally, trust in mutual trust; Vélez-Ibañez prefers trusting mutual trust).<sup>63</sup>

The RCA begins when a leader organizes a group of, say, four trusted associates or family members who agree to contribute, say, \$10 per week; one person will receive the pool each week. Members decide the method of determining order: drawing lots, dates they joined, etc. After five weeks each person will have contributed a total of \$40 and will, in turn, have received one payout of \$40.<sup>64</sup> RCAs flourish throughout the transborder Southwest and may be *pequeña* (small) and short-lived, as in the above example, or they might be *fuerte* (strong) and repeat over long periods of time with organizers inheriting their positions from older relatives. Vélez-Ibañez alludes to “*tandas*

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<sup>63</sup> Carlos G. Vélez-Ibañez, *Bonds of Mutual Trust: The Cultural Systems of Rotating Credit Associations among Urban Mexicans and Chicanos* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 2–5, 6, 24, 27.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, 1–2. Also, Carlos G. Vélez-Ibañez, *An Impossible Living in a Transborder World*, 36–37.

*de Casa*” and mentions that “one of our key informants occupied a house acquired by means of a house *tanda*.”<sup>65</sup>

Like Vélez-Ibañez, sociologists Ivan Light, Im Jung Kwuon, and Zhong Deng explore RCAs, called *kye* (contract or bond), among the Korean community in Los Angeles. *Kye* facilitate entrepreneurship and investment capital, saving, and lending among the groups that practice it, notably Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. Also like Vélez-Ibañez, these authors underscore the mutual social trust that has grounded these associations since their earliest Korean documentation in 1663 and through the “widespread” twentieth-century use of *kye* in Los Angeles for consumption, housing, and business.<sup>66</sup> In 1972 Light also profiled Chinese *hui*, Japanese *ko*, *tanomoshi*, and *mujin*, and Nigerian *esusu*, all variant forms of RCAs.<sup>67</sup> Finally, economist Giang Ho notes the long history of RCAs, *ho*, in Vietnam and other developing countries.<sup>68</sup> Tract 1415 Vietnamese buyers also exhibit this pattern, but numbers of these transactions in the tract are small (see sample, Appendix 2, Lot 95: 1313 S. Magnolia Ave., pp. 145-147). Tract 1415 group buyers that rotate ownership of a house in serial fashion may be participating in *tandas*. At the very least, these buyers exhibit the principal of *confianza* that undergirds Latino culture and makes *tandas* possible.

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<sup>65</sup> Carlos G. Vélez-Ibañez, *Bonds of Mutual Trust*, 22, 29.

<sup>66</sup> Ivan Light, Im Jung Kwuon, and Zhong Deng, “Korean Rotating Credit Associations in Los Angeles,” in John Sibley Butler and George Kozmetsky, eds., *Immigrant and Minority Entrepreneurship: The Continuous Rebirth of American Communities* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2004), 172–73, 176.

<sup>67</sup> Ivan Hubert Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 23-24, 27, 30.

<sup>68</sup> Giang Ho, “Rural Credit Markets in Vietnam: Theory and Practice,” Undergraduate thesis, 2004, Macalester College, 11; Ohio State University National Undergraduate Research Contest in Agricultural, Environmental and Development Economics; <http://aede.osu.edu/resources/docs/pdf/DS7C7NV6-KC9D-AV0O-PN7BPPG0KGTy7WWW.pdf> (accessed 2 February 2011).

The most important thread running through *tandas* is the mutual trust, or *confianza*, on which they are based. Family members that rotate possession of a house exemplify *confianza*. The members spread the financial risk among all participants; in this way, more people have benefit of the property and each assumes less risk. According to Vélez-Ibañez, the Mexican view of homeownership is more like usufruct, and it too relies on *confianza*.<sup>69</sup> The principle of usufruct (the right to use and enjoy a thing, the property of which is vested in another) grounded imperial Spain's Laws of the Indies, which held that the lands in the New World belonged to the King of Spain, but that the people of the New World had the right of usufruct.<sup>70</sup> This macro principle applies in micro form to the Mexican mother that insists to her children that they are all treated the same and that what belongs to one belongs equally to all: "*Todos hijos, todos entenados*" (All children, all stepchildren). If the Tract 1415 houses belonged to group members as usufruct based on *confianza* the question then arises, why would participants go to the trouble of changing the title.

Multiple changes in title do not negate *confianza* or usufruct. Homeownership can be detrimental to a person who wishes to qualify for need-based aid or his or her child for a need-based scholarship; in such cases the homeowner might elect to convey the property to other family members to qualify. On the other hand, a family group might wish to protect the property from seizure or sale if a joint-tenant homeowner neglected to pay income tax, intended to divorce, or faced other legal action. Similarly, a family

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<sup>69</sup> Carlos G. Vélez-Ibañez, Tucson, Ariz., interview by author, 2 March 2011.

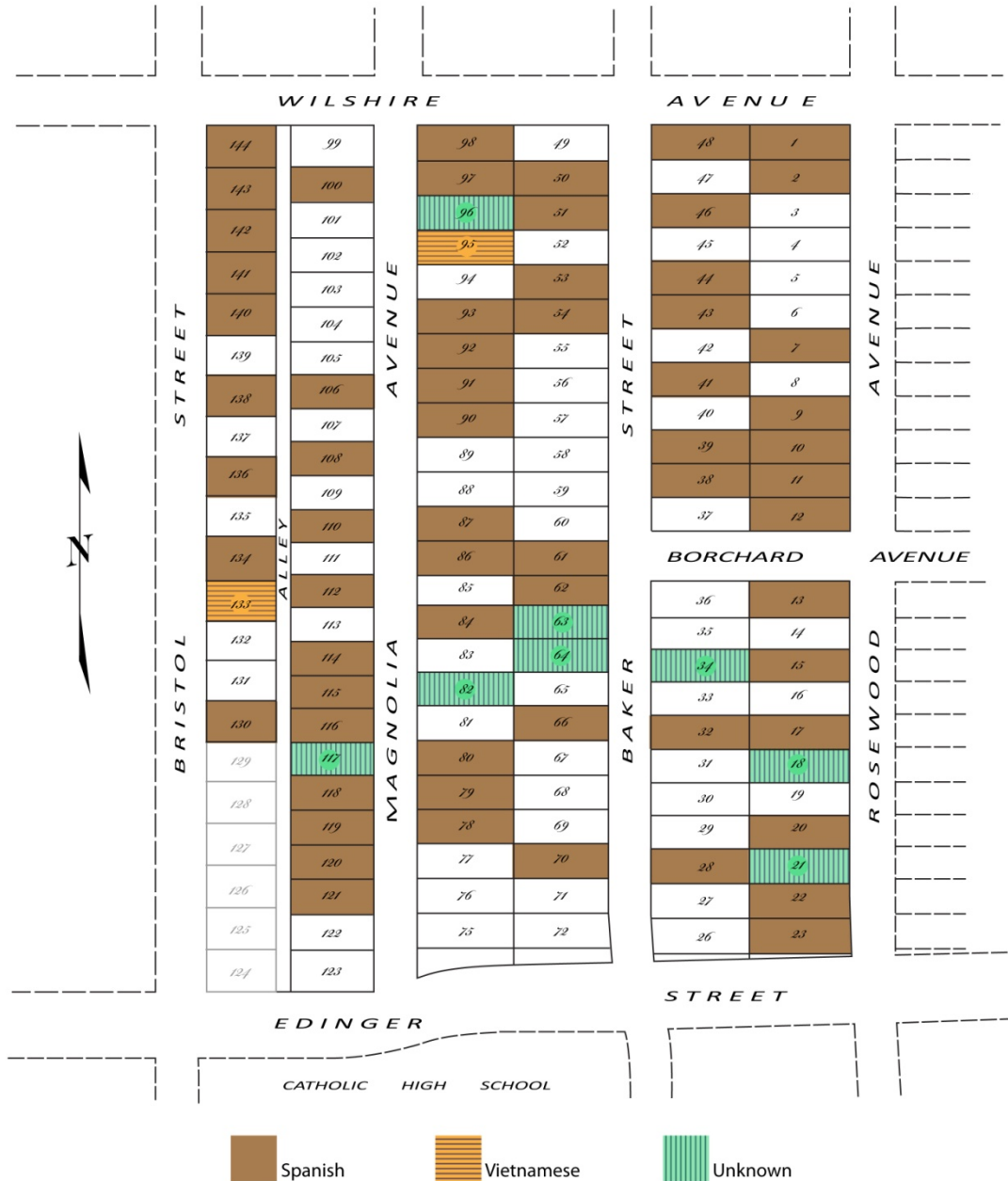
<sup>70</sup> Greg Hise, "Border City: Race and Social Distance in Los Angeles," Raúl Romero Villa and George J. Sánchez, eds., *Los Angeles and the Future of Urban Cultures, a Special Issue of American Quarterly* 56: 3 (September 2004), 51, 57. Also, Greg Hise, lecture, "Pre-Contact Cultural Landscape," 14 January 2009, History of Los Angeles, HIST 498/698, Spring 2009, University of Nevada Las Vegas.



member might wish to add his or her name to the deed to qualify for a loan or a job, send a child to a particular school, or have a documented stake in the community.

Tract 1415 housing transactions suggest that revolving credit associations may be a homebuying strategy among populations that have little access to credit, specifically *tandas* or *cundinas* in the Latino population and *ho* among the Vietnamese. While RCAs have been studied by sociologists, anthropologists, and economists, no historian has studied the significance of these institutions relative to housing; Tract 1415 house buying patterns recommend such a study. Tract 1415 also supports the suggestion that the *confianza* that undergirds *tandas* and *cundinas* combines with the history of usufruct that Spain transported to the New World to shape late-twentieth-century Latino house buying and homeowning practices. Tract 1415 deeds of Latino homeowners press for comparative microhistorical studies of other Latino housing areas in the late-twentieth-century transborder West to see if home buyers in other areas exhibit the same pattern that they do in Tract 1415 and to tease out the reasons why they do or do not. Figures 5 and 6, respectively, display the ethnic distribution of surnames in Tract 1415 in 1986 and 2000.

TRACT No. 1415  
SURNAME ETHNICITY  
6 November 1986



**Figure 5. Surname ethnicity of Tract 1415 homeowners 6 November 1986, the date that Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act. Lots designated “Unknown” represent those for which the author could not ascertain ownership on this date. Lots not marked were owned by persons with non-Iberian European surnames or by commercial real estate or investment companies. Source:** Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, deeds of sale, Orange County Clerk-Recorder’s Office, Santa Ana.

TRACT No. 1415  
SPANISH-SURNAME HOMEOWNERS  
31 December 2000



**Figure 6. Spanish-surnamed homeowners in Tract 1415 by the end of 2000. Lot 27 (not shaded) was bank-owned in 2000; the remaining fifteen unshaded properties were held by persons of non-Iberian European surname.** Source: Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, deeds of sale, Orange County Clerk-Recorder's Office, Santa Ana.

## Stretching the Nuclear Family

Tract 1415's original white homeowners included military officers and enlisted personnel as well as civilian blue-collar workers, proprietors, semi-professionals, and professionals. The socio-economic mix in Tract 1415 was similar to that of the postwar residents in the working-class Los Angeles suburb of South Gate, according to Becky Nicolaides. In *My Blue Heaven* Nicolaides argues that blue- and white-collar residents of South Gate willingly lived side-by-side because their identification as homeowners held primacy over their class identity.<sup>71</sup> Like the South Gate homeowners the enlisted and officer families and white- and blue-collar civilian families of Tract 1415 lived side-by-side. But Tract 1415's military homeowners diverge from the South Gate study. Even after sixty years they continue to observe military etiquette and exhibit great awareness of class when they remember only former military neighbors of similar rank or above, and they assign personal names almost exclusively to those of similar rank with whom they were allowed to socialize.<sup>72</sup>

The original white residents of Tract 1415 were mostly World War II veterans with non-Spanish surnames, married couples with children. Because Tract 1415 salesmen targeted married couples through their advertising and financing Tract 1415 should have reflected the white nuclear family ethos of the mid-twentieth century. Popular media in the 1950s promoted female domesticity and the ideal nuclear family through television programs like "Leave It to Beaver," "The Donna Reed Show," and "Father Knows Best."

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<sup>71</sup> Becky Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 61.

<sup>72</sup> When asked for names of military Tract 1415 neighbors, interviewees rarely mentioned military neighbors of lesser rank; the few times they did, they did not remember their names. Enlisted and officers alike generally remembered only those of similar rank or higher, and most respondents answered with names only when the neighbor's rank was similar to their own. If mentioned at all, the neighbor of lower rank was referred to only by rank, as in "a captain," or "a warrant officer."

Literature refers to the nuclear family model with the working father, stay-at-home mother, and children who lived in their mortgaged, single-family suburban dwelling.<sup>73</sup> However, Nicolaides and Wiese question the accuracy of the happy suburban housewife ideal. In *The Suburb Reader* they note the many mid-century women who found fulfillment working outside the home and cite a lack of historical literature that examines how closely the iconic ideal reflected actual families of the mid-twentieth century.<sup>74</sup> Tract 1415 women who worked outside the home support Nicolaides and Wiese and likewise appeal to historians to examine how well the image reflected reality. However, other family groups at mid-century also challenge the stereotype.

The intact military family exemplified in Tract 1415 stretches the nuclear family model of the mid-twentieth century. In 1956 William Whyte described the prototypical suburbanite as a World War II veteran who became an “Organization Man” in business, academia, and the military.<sup>75</sup> In 1985 Kenneth Jackson first exposed the macro to micro structural mechanisms that built white suburbs and solidified white hegemony, and he noted that the G. I. Bill codified the idea that World War II veterans “should return to civilian life with a home of their own.”<sup>76</sup> However, a significant number of surviving World War II veterans either postponed their return to civilian life or did not again work as civilians; instead, they made a career of military service. Many such men moved their families to Tract 1415. Only two of the eighty Korean War participants of Tract 1415

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<sup>73</sup> For references to the nuclear family ideal of the mid-twentieth century see Barbara M. Kelly, “Expanding the American Dream,” 1993, in Nicolaides and Wiese, eds., *The Suburb Reader*, 290. Also, Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 300.

<sup>74</sup> Becky Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, “Introduction to Chapter 9, Postwar America: Suburban Apotheosis,” in Nicolaides and Wiese, eds., *The Suburb Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 258.

<sup>75</sup> William H. Whyte Jr., “William Whyte Describes the ‘Organization Man’ in Suburbia, 1956,” in Wiese and Nicolaides, eds., *The Suburb Reader*, 295–97, *passim*.

<sup>76</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 233.

original homeowners proved to be discharged World War II veteran-reservists who were recalled to active-duty service in Korea and returned to civilian life shortly thereafter.<sup>77</sup>

Career military personnel throughout the country raised families and bought suburban houses. Despite outward appearances, the post-World War II active-duty, nuclear, military families of Tract 1415 did not conform to the popular image of the nuclear family. Their lives represent hundreds of thousands of post-World War II career military families who owned houses in American cities and suburbs. These families lived lives that appeared to follow the “Leave It to Beaver” ideal, but even intact mid-century military families did not live the lives they saw on television. Military service separated male heads of household from their families for months or years at a time; military combatants sent to war might not return; military aviators, even in peacetime, placed their lives in jeopardy in daily flight maneuvers, and military families on the move developed little sense of place. These macro scale concerns weighed on the eighty known military families of Tract 1415, and for these families the war in Korea was more than a daily front-page headline. Figure 7 illustrates how Lifetime Homes targeted military families and promoted female domesticity to advertise Tract 1415.

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<sup>77</sup> See Appendix 3, Korean War Military Service, Original Owners Tract 1415, Santa Ana, California, 1950–1953.



**Figure 7. Lifetime Homes advertisement, 1950, promoted female domesticity and targeted wives of World War II veterans that were eligible for the G. I. Bill.** *Source:* [Advertisement], *Santa Ana (Calif.) Register*, 26 July 1950, A2.

Tract 1415 military wives knew their absent husbands might not return from Korea. Two war-related casualties suffered by Tract 1415 reminded neighboring military families they could be next. The first occurred just as builders completed the final houses on Bristol Street. On 15 January 1950 Lawrence H. Simmon assigned his wife, Margaret Jean Simmon, his power of attorney before he left for Korea.<sup>78</sup> Less than three weeks later, First Lieutenant USMC Lawrence Henry Simmon was killed in action.<sup>79</sup> Widow Margaret J. Simmon became the only single female to purchase a Tract 1415 house

<sup>78</sup> Lawrence H. Simmon to Margaret Jean Simmon, Power of Attorney, 15 January 1951, Book of Deeds 2129, page 170; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.

<sup>79</sup> "Lt. L. H. Simmon," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 February 1952, page A31.

directly from the developer's affiliate, Monitor Homes.<sup>80</sup> The death of Margaret Simmon's husband shocked her new neighbors, including next-door neighbor and fellow military wife, Emma Dean Cave: "The sad thing was before the families could move in the men had gone. . . . One of the wives had [two] adorable little girls, and before we moved in she was notified her husband had been killed."<sup>81</sup>

The second Tract 1415 casualty happened 2 May 1951, when USMC Captain Byron H. Beswick of Baker Street was shot down in Korea and taken prisoner of war. North Korea released Beswick nearly two and one-half years later, on the final day of prisoner exchanges, 6 September 1953.<sup>82</sup> One year and four days following his release from Korea, his widow, Marianne, filed Major Byron H. Beswick's Kern County death certificate with the Orange County Clerk-Recorder.<sup>83</sup> Next-door neighbor Linda Demaray's father often spoke of Beswick: "The Koreans force-fed him gravel, and it tore his insides up. After he came back he was not himself. The Marines grounded him for a long time, but as soon as they let him start flying again his Corsair flew into Saddleback."<sup>84</sup> Neita Wiese of Magnolia Avenue was aware of the losses suffered by Simmon and Beswick. Her husband completed two tours in Korea and she found the separations difficult. "It was a sad time because my husband was gone a lot. . . . On the

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<sup>80</sup> Monitor Homes, Inc. to Margaret J. Simmon, widow, corporation grant deed, Book of Deeds, 2152, page 87; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.

<sup>81</sup> Emma D. Cave, interview by author, 11 September 2009.

<sup>82</sup> "Prisoner of War List Brings Joyous News to Southland," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 December 1951, page 2, ProQuest Historical Newspapers Los Angeles Times (1881 - 1986) (accessed 29 October 2009). Also, "List of Americans Released on Final Day of Exchange," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 September 1953, page 3, ProQuest Historical Newspapers Los Angeles Times (1881 - 1986) (accessed 29 October 2009).

<sup>83</sup> Marianne Beswick, affidavit—death of joint tenant, 10 September 1954, Book of Deeds 2814, page 497; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>84</sup> Linda M. Demaray, Portland, Ore., interview by author, 3 October 2009.



next street a woman lost her husband in the war,” she says. “Our husbands were coming and going and we were all very young.”<sup>85</sup>

Korean War casualties loomed large for Tract 1415, but even in peacetime nuclear military families did not resemble the television ideal. Bonnie Nevill lived on Bristol Street with her young son while her Marine husband was in Korea, and the Nevills sold their Tract 1415 house in 1954. As she looks back on her life as a Marine wife, Nevill reflects, “I learned a lot because of the military. I learned how to take care of myself; I learned how to take care of a stupid car, and I learned how to handle a checkbook. My husband took over the car when he came home, but he wouldn’t take back the checkbook.”<sup>86</sup>

In the absences of their husbands military wives developed strong support networks organized by the ranks of their husbands and comprised of families they knew from previous duty stations. The women provided mutual aid and structure for each other in much the same way historian Christine Stansell explains the associations of tenement women early 1800s New York. In *City of Women* Stansell writes that the tenement neighborhoods were “a crucial buffer against the shocks of uprootedness and poverty.”<sup>87</sup> Sociologists John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch also note the importance—the use value—of the security of a neighborhood. In *Urban Fortunes* they write, “Reassured by shared symbols, common cultures, kinship ties, and personal reputations, residents experience a sense of relative security.” They also note that “[n]eighborhood can provide the benefit of membership in a social place that is viewed as orderly, predictable, and

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<sup>85</sup> Nieta Wiese, Mount Pleasant, S.C., interview by author, 9 September 2009.

<sup>86</sup> Bonnie L. Nevill, Oceanside, Calif., interview by author, 9 August 2009.

<sup>87</sup> Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 55.

protective.”<sup>88</sup> By substituting “social network” in lieu of place references, Stansell and Logan and Molotch speak to the strength that military families drew from their network of like families. Active-duty military families invested in their long-term military social networks more than they did in the communities in which they temporarily resided.

Social networks matter, because large numbers of homeowners who invest their social capital elsewhere do not build strong cities. The network of military wives sustained Alice Broudy while her husband was in Korea. “The week before we would get our allotment checks we wives would pool our resources to feed the kids. One might have ground beef, another one had tomatoes, and somebody else had spaghetti noodles. We’d make a huge pot of spaghetti for everyone, and the other gals would bring bread and salad and wine.”<sup>89</sup> The military wives with whom Broudy shared spaghetti and wine on Magnolia Avenue included women she knew from previous duty stations in Edenton and Cherry Point, N.C., whose husbands of similar rank served in the same flight squadrons.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, Doris Wiedenkiller on Baker Street kept close with families from her husband’s Quantico and Cherry Point flight squadrons; friends from previous squadrons supported one another as they moved through later duty stations. “We wives had a bond; there is no question about that.”<sup>91</sup>

Interviews reveal that many Marine families in Tract 1415 knew other Marine families within the tract before they came to Santa Ana, that wives (and often, children) of enlisted Marines and officers seldom socialized, and that military families identified

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<sup>88</sup> John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (1987; 20th Anniversary Ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 105.

<sup>89</sup> Alice P. Broudy, interview by author, 7 August 2009.

<sup>90</sup> Carolyn Broudy, Orange, Calif., interview by author, 12 August 2009.

<sup>91</sup> Doris Wiedenkiller, Los Osos, Calif., interview by author, 12 August 2009.

themselves first by branch of the military and second as families of officers or enlisted personnel. The informal military support network eased transfers, fed families, gave comfort, and offered companionship. More importantly, the support network provided military families with a sense of long-term community and stability that had little to do with their temporary physical surroundings. Military families found nothing resembling their lives in the television programs of the 1950s or 1960s. A network of like families and friendships that remained stable through multiple transfers reassured transient military families who were separated from husbands and fathers that other families lived as they did.

Tract 1415 civilian homeowners also differed from the traditional nuclear family vision. Between 1950 and 1965 several Tract 1415 homeowners divorced, died, or married; these life changes affected their homeownership. One couple filed their deed jointly as part of their divorce agreement. Madaline Richards paid closing costs and all payments on the loan her husband, Jeffery Richards, secured with his G. I. Bill benefits and then deeded to her. Madaline Richards paid \$10,000 for her Baker Street house in 1950. By the time she sold it in 1978 she had raised two sons, painted every room twice, and installed a swimming pool and backyard landscaping on her telephone company salary.<sup>92</sup> Also, H. Fred Towner, a married man, purchased a new Tract 1415 house as his sole and separate property three weeks after filing a property settlement agreement with

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<sup>92</sup> Monitor Homes, Inc., to Jeffery and Madaline L. Richards, corporation grant deed, 5 March 1951, Orange County Deed Book 2152, page 589, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Jeffery Richards to Madaline L. Richards, quit claim deed, 2 August 1951, Orange County Deed Book 2212, page 246, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Madaline L. Richards, Irvine, Calif., interview by author, 1 October 2009.

his new wife, Dorothy.<sup>93</sup> The couple signed the agreement to keep current and future property separate within two months of marrying. For varied micro-scale reasons, Margaret Simmon, Madaline Richards, and H. Fred Towner purchased Tract 1415 houses as married persons, but by the time escrow closed each bore sole responsibility for payment. Likewise, her husband's 1954 death dictated that Marianne Beswick would assume the mortgage on her Tract 1415 property.

### Conclusion

In examining the people who came to Tract 1415 this chapter speaks to Santa Ana's demographic dynamism over time. By macro-level design original homeowners in Tract 1415 were white, and at least eighty were active-duty members of the armed services. In 1950 Santa Ana's ethnic Mexican population lived in three *barrios*, and the gulf between whites and ethnic Mexicans was underscored in 1945 when Gonzalo Mendez successfully sued Santa Ana and three other school districts for segregating Mexican children in separate schools. By 1965 eight Tract 1415 houses were owned by Spanish-surnamed persons. Between 1965 and 1986 immigration from Mexico and Central America increased, and the tract housed both acculturated Latino Americans and immigrant Latinos; these groups shared Tract 1415 space, but they held opposite opinions regarding immigration and acculturation.<sup>94</sup>

Dynamism also reflected in the ways Tract 1415 Latino families and white military families relied on support networks in separate ways. Latinos took advantage of

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<sup>93</sup> H. Fred Towner to Dorothy O. Towner, property settlement agreement, 19 January 1951, Orange County Deed Book 2140, page 74, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Monitor Homes, Inc. to H. Fred Towner, a married man as his sole and separate property, corporation grant deed, 6 February 1951, Orange County Deed Book 2140, page 78; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.

<sup>94</sup> David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*.

low-income housing tax credits that encouraged home buying by groups that previously could not qualify. Latinos began purchasing Tract 1415 houses as family groups, and members would periodically transfer ownership within the group in exchanges that sometimes continued for twenty or thirty years. These patterns of home buying reflect the cultural construct of *confianza* (mutual trust), and they may be examples of revolving credit associations (RCAs) called *tandas* or *cundinas*.<sup>95</sup> The serial home buying patterns suggest that Latino and to a lesser extent, Vietnamese, immigrant homebuyers in Santa Ana may have utilized RCAs as a strategy to become homeowners. This suggestion urges comparative microhistorical research to determine if RCAs are a recognized homebuying tactic, or if the group buying is more an example of *confianza*.

Tract 1415 military families speak to dynamism and decline. Military families and families that experienced death, divorce, and remarriage did not represent the ideal mid-twentieth century nuclear family. Because they did not have nearby support of extended family and they seldom expected to be in a place for any length of time, military families relied on each other for mutual support and long-term stability. They invested their social capital in these support networks rather than in their temporary place of residence. Detachment from place speaks to decline and asks for study on the impact to place when large segments of its population do not have a stake in its future.

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<sup>95</sup> Carlos G. Vélez-Ibañez, *Bonds of Mutual Trust*.

## CHAPTER 2

### COMMUNITY FORMATION: WHY THEY CAME

The military experience of commuting between private housing and military bases and between duty stations likely enabled the military families of Tract 1415 between 1950 and 1965 to establish a pattern of living and commuting within a network of cities. Such patterns of commuting further lessened their fragile dependence on their city of residence and fostered their embrace of the multicentered network of southern California cities described by Greg Hise. In *Magnetic Los Angeles* Hise revises the trope of revolutionary postwar southern California suburban sprawl; instead, the Los Angeles metropolitan area and its multinodal communities resulted from the visions of Los Angeles planners dating to the interwar years of the twentieth century and before that, to Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement. In metropolitan Los Angeles, though, "industry provided [the] economic base, jobs, and people" that then filled the houses.<sup>96</sup>

Like the workers who filled the housing tracts of metropolitan Los Angeles, Tract 1415 residents came to Santa Ana for jobs and for family. They did not seek to retreat in suburbia. Kenneth Jackson posited that middle-class Americans moved to the privacy of the suburbs to retreat from the public city, which caused cities to decline. Private suburbs drew middle- and upper-class residents from the city, depleting the city of the tax base it needed to fund and operate services.<sup>97</sup> However, historians Becky Nicolaides, Andrew Wiese, Greg Hise, and others who revisit Jackson's *Crabgrass Frontier* identify alternate forms of postwar suburbs—respectively, white working-class suburban towns, African

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<sup>96</sup> Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles*, 215.

<sup>97</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 272–82, *passim*.

American suburbs sited outside city limits, and “a planned dispersion of jobs, housing, and services throughout metropolitan regions.”<sup>98</sup>

This chapter examines reasons people came to Santa Ana through the lens of community formation. This chapter holds two views of community formation—the built environment and work. Tract 1415 was never intended to be Kenneth Jackson’s bucolic escape from urbanity. With regard to Hise, Nicolaides, and Wiese this chapter examines decline by viewing the landscape at three key points: the 1950 design by Lifetime Homes and street widening projects in ca. 1964 and ca. 1999. It also considers decline by labeling of Tract 1415 with graffiti. The people that lived in Tract 1415 changed from 1950 to 2000, and they altered their surroundings to suit their needs. Thus the chapter explores dynamism by considering modifications made by Latino residents to assert their culture that generated similar displays of whiteness and citizenship in response. Also, this chapter observes macro factors of decline, dynamism, and dependency that altered the types of work that brought residents to Tract 1415.

#### Built Environment: Original Plan 1950–1964

The Santa Ana tract in this study represents another variation of the small postwar tract that was integrated into the city through planned mixed land-use and public through-traffic. While Tract 1415 owners were solidly or newly middle class, they did not seek a private retreat. New arrivals to Santa Ana in 1950 mostly came because their work pulled them to the city; the postwar housing shortage allowed those who bought in Tract 1415

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<sup>98</sup> Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). Also, Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century, Historical Studies of Urban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). Also, Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (1997; reprint, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 4.

few alternatives. More than one-half of the original tract homeowners were Marines who quickly settled their families in Santa Ana as they deployed to Korea. Most of the tract's civilian homeowners lived near their work, and some worked within walking distance. Lifetime Homes followed the housing standards and racial guidelines of the FHA in order to qualify their houses and their buyers for FHA mortgages. However, the developer did not follow the Levittown suburban model of popular imagery that expanded the private sphere at the expense of the larger community.

Lifetime Homes ensured through various mechanisms that this small tract would be integrated into the city. First, Lifetime Homes made no attempt to craft a rural image by naming the tract. Instead, the builders accepted for their modest development the numerical designation assigned by the county—Tract 1415. Second, although the FHA prodded suburban developers to discourage public through-traffic by designing curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs, Tract 1415 developers simply extended existing city streets within the urban grid to create the tract's four, straight, parallel streets.<sup>99</sup> Third, developers situated the tract at the intersection of major intercity thoroughfares. Bristol Street took motorists south from the north end of Santa Ana through Santa Ana and Costa Mesa to Newport Beach. Drivers on the east side of Santa Ana could motor west on Edinger Avenue through Santa Ana and Fountain Valley to Huntington Beach.<sup>100</sup> Fourth, Lifetime Homes reserved the five southernmost lots on Bristol Street for commercial use. The builder's plan for mixed use on Bristol Street allowed locally owned businesses to

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<sup>99</sup> Kelly, "Expanding the American Dream," 290.

<sup>100</sup> Edinger Avenue is the correct name of the street. However, the 1950 tract map filed with the Orange County Clerk-Recorder labeled it Edinger Street. The maps that illustrate this thesis are derived from the 1950 tract map; they therefore display the name as Edinger Street. In text this paper uses Edinger Avenue except when referencing the maps.



occupy the lots and become part of the small tract. Fifth, Lifetime Homes provided no front automobile access to the Bristol Street residential lots; instead, the developers incorporated an alley to serve the Bristol Street houses and businesses, despite the fact that no nearby streets had alleys and most developers eschewed them after World War II.<sup>101</sup>

Lifetime Homes worked cooperatively with the City of Santa Ana; this public-private partnership developed the tract and the services and roads that surrounded it. On 29 July 1950 the Santa Ana city council applied for county gas tax funds to improve Bristol Street between Wilshire Avenue south to the city limit at Edinger Avenue, the block that incorporated Tract 1415 houses and businesses. The requested city improvement would coincide with county improvements to Bristol Street south of Edinger and make Bristol a major north-south artery.<sup>102</sup>

A pedestrian standing at the northeast corner of the intersection of Bristol Street and Edinger Avenue might walk north along Bristol Street away from Mater Dei High School on the south toward Wilshire Avenue. The pedestrian would pass the Shell service station on the corner and continue past Richie's Drive-In Restaurant, Pence Pharmacy, and Austin's Garden Supply and Hardware before reaching the tract's houses.<sup>103</sup> The businesses would remain stable through the mid-1960s and would employ Tract 1415 adults and teens, supply tools, materials, and fix-it advice to Tract 1415 homeowners, furnish Tract 1415 teens a place to socialize, and dispense medications to Tract 1415

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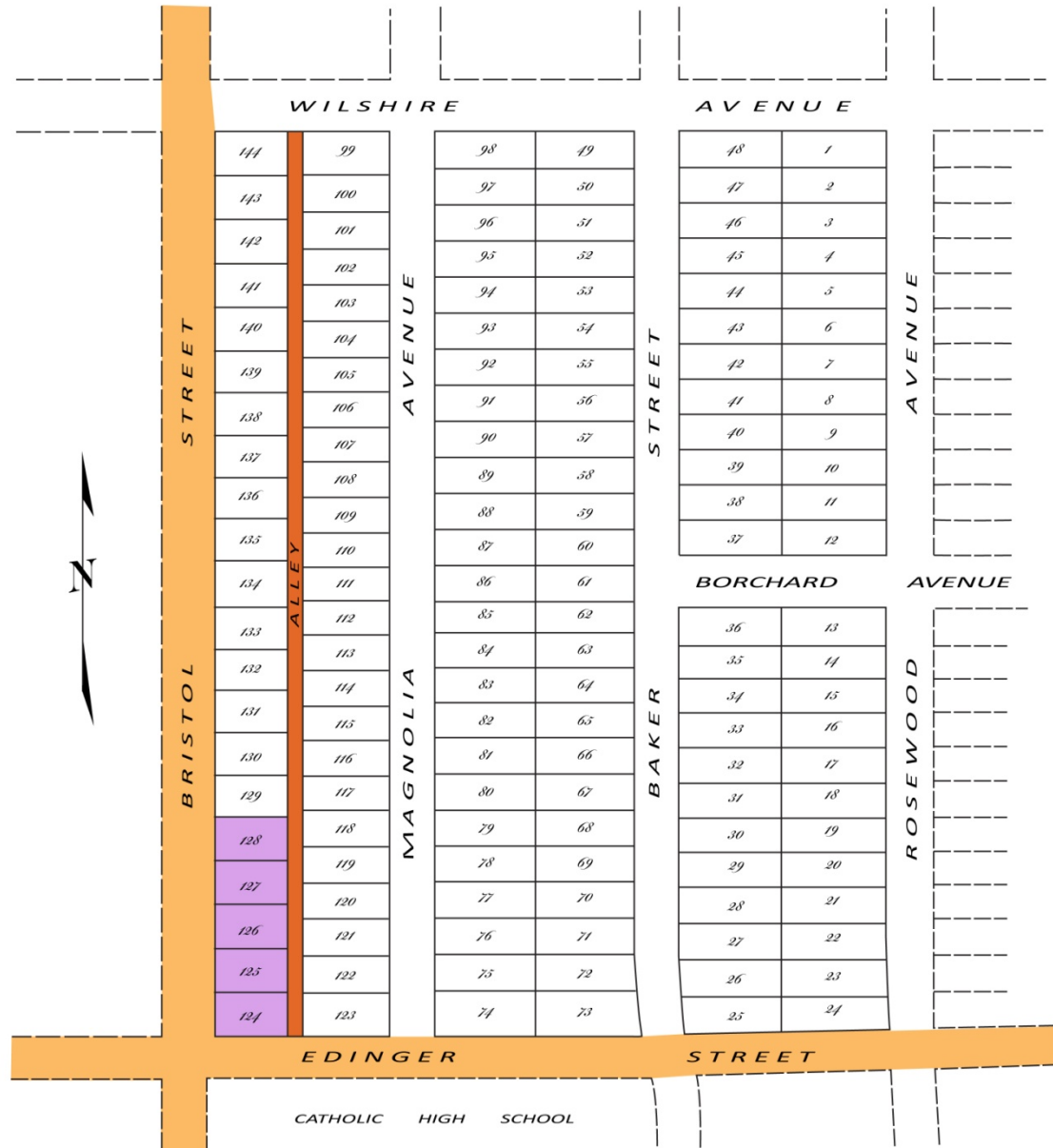
<sup>101</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 252.

<sup>102</sup> "Bristol Street Extension Asked of Supervisors," *Santa Ana (Calif.) Register*, 29 July 1950, page B1.

<sup>103</sup> *Luskey's Official Santa Ana and Tustin Criss Cross City Directory including Lemon Heights, 1956 Issue* ([Santa Ana, Calif.: The Directory Service Co., 1956]), 8. Also, *Luskey's 1962 Santa Ana, Tustin, and Lemon Heights Criss Cross City Directory and Home Blue Book Edition* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Luskey Brothers & Co., 1962), 12.

parents and Halloween candy to masked Tract 1415 children. Figure 8 illustrates the mixed-use character of the Bristol Street lots and demonstrates how Lifetime Homes integrated the tract into the city.

TRACT No. 1415  
URBAN CHARACTER AND MIXED USES  
1950



**Figure 8. Lifetime Homes integrated Tract 1415 into the city grid at the intersection of two major thoroughfares, set aside five lots for commercial use, and incorporated an alley that provided rear access to Bristol Street businesses and residences.** *Source:* Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

Mater Dei High School opened 11 September 1950 at the Southeast corner of Bristol Street and Edinger Avenue.<sup>104</sup> On 14 August 1950 the Santa Ana School District requested of the city planning commission a variance to build an elementary school on Wilshire Avenue at Towner Street “to serve the fast-growing southwest part of Santa Ana.”<sup>105</sup> The requested school, Glenn L. Martin Elementary School, educated the children of Tract 1415 from the time it opened 10 September 1951 with an enrollment of four hundred seventy students.<sup>106</sup> Alpha Beta supermarket opened by July 1951 at 1442 South Bristol Street, directly west across Bristol Street from the Tract 1415 businesses.<sup>107</sup> Lifetime Homes touted nearby amenities Mater Dei High School, Martin Elementary School, and the Alpha Beta supermarket in its advertising campaign.

#### Built Environment Changes from Without: City of Santa Ana 1965

Between 1960 and 1964 the City of Santa Ana acquired four Tract 1415 properties in the quest to widen Edinger Avenue into a major East-West arterial that would connect the Newport and San Diego freeways.<sup>108</sup> The city removed the houses from their substructures on the southernmost lots on the east side of Magnolia Avenue,

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<sup>104</sup> “History of Mater Dei,” Mater Dei High School, <http://www.materdei.org/> (accessed 28 November 2009). Also, “Schools Open to Thousands Tomorrow: New Mater Dei High Will Greet Students,” *Santa Ana (Calif.) Register*, 10 September 1950, page B1.

<sup>105</sup> “Hearing Scheduled on Zoning for Construction of New School,” *Santa Ana (Calif.) Register*, 15 August 1950, page B1.

<sup>106</sup> “Enrollment in City Schools Up,” *Santa Ana (Calif.) Register*, 10 September 1951, page B1.

<sup>107</sup> Alpha Beta, [Advertisement], *Santa Ana (Calif.) Register*, 5 July 1951, page B9.

<sup>108</sup> “Edinger Ave. Project Will Begin in August,” *Los Angeles Times*, 3 July 1964, Orange County Section, 9. Also, Earl Leland and Bertha Lorraine Edney to City of Santa Ana, grant deed, 22 July 1960, Book of Deeds 5340, page 527; Orange County Clerk-Recorder's Office, Santa Ana. Also, Charles A. and Mildred C. MacCrone to City of Santa Ana, grant deed, 30 November 1962, Book of Deeds 6342, page 902; Orange County Clerk-Recorder's Office, Santa Ana. Also, William C. and Ebba N. Jewell to City of Santa Ana, grant deed, 30 November 1962, Book of Deeds 6342, page 891; Orange County Clerk-Recorder's Office, Santa Ana. Also, Marcus G. Sr. and Dortha C. Lassiter to City of Santa Ana, grant deed, 9 April 1964, Book of Deeds 6342, page 902; Orange County Clerk-Recorder's Office, Santa Ana.

both sides of Baker Street, and the west side of Rosewood Avenue and sold them in a public auction shortly afterward.<sup>109</sup>

When the city permanently changed the landscape of Tract 1415 it reconfigured the space that surrounded tract residents. Residents had to readjust their mental maps. Margaret Beyer remembers, “We were the third house from the corner, but when they moved the houses at the end of the street we became the second from the corner.”<sup>110</sup> David R. Hayton was a child on Baker Street from 1951 until 1959; he did not witness the widening project and did not know until he was an adult that the landscape had changed. However, he too had to reorient his thinking: “About twenty years ago I visited and noticed they had taken the last house at Edinger, so our house had become the corner house.”<sup>111</sup> Interviews also suggest that dwellings, even modest tract houses, represent more to their occupants than simply spaces in which they temporarily live. Although he lived on Baker Street only from 1951 until his parents sold their house in 1954, Charles Archer views the Edinger project personally: “They took our house when they widened Edinger.”<sup>112</sup> Figure 9 illustrates the configuration of Tract 1415 in 1965 following the Edinger Avenue widening project that began in August 1964.

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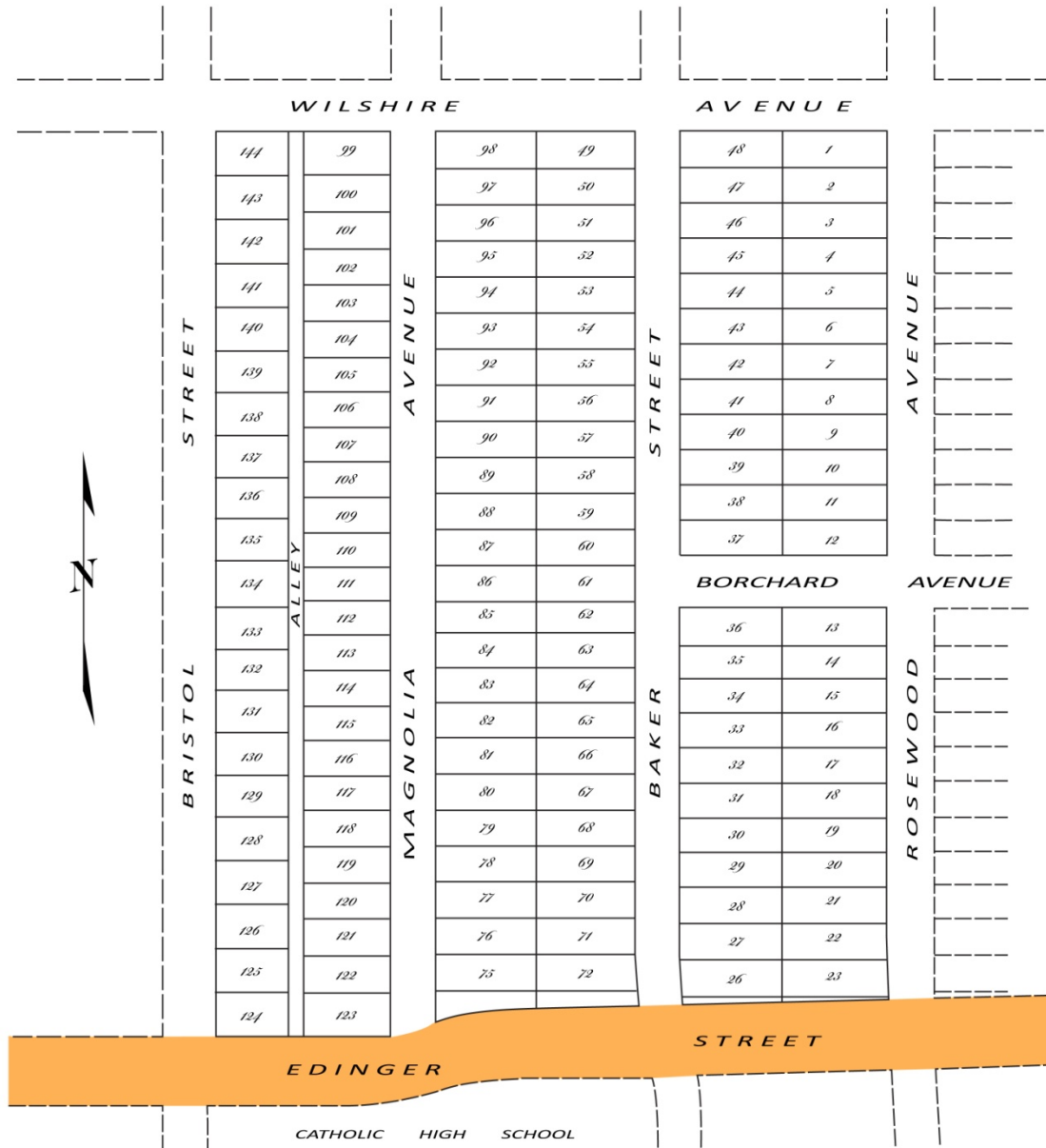
<sup>109</sup> “Santa Ana to Auction Houses,” *Los Angeles Times*, 4 August 1963, Orange County Section, 8. Margaret Beyer, Santa Ana, California, interview by author, 2 September 2009. Also, Rita M. Gliottone, Vista, California, interview by author, 5 August 2009. Also, Bruce McNeilly, Winnetka, California, interviews by author, 11 August 2009 and 1 September 2009. Also, Mike Miller, interview by author, 3 September 2009. Also, Diana Lee “Dee” Collins Perez, Orange, California, interview by author, 10 September 2009.

<sup>110</sup> Margaret Beyer, interview by author, 2 September 2009.

<sup>111</sup> David R. Hayton, Long Beach, Calif., interview by author, 25 September 2009.

<sup>112</sup> Charles M. Archer, Vacaville, Calif., interview by author, 2 October 2009.

TRACT No. 1415  
EDINGER STREET WIDENING PROJECT  
ca. 1964



**Figure 9. Edinger Street widening project ca. 1964. The project took lots 24, 25, 73, and 74 and altered mental maps in the minds of the residents who had known the tract before the project began.** *Source:* Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

Spared in the 1964 removal were the southernmost properties on the East side of Bristol Street and the West side of Magnolia Avenue. The Bristol Street corner property was a busy gas station from 1951 until it was razed in 1998 to widen Bristol Street.<sup>113</sup> In 1958 the owner of the Magnolia Street lot rezoned the residential property to commercial and changed its orientation to Edinger Avenue. Over time it housed such businesses as a barber shop, beauty shop, a dentist, and a real estate broker; at this writing (2011) Angie's Hair Hut and a homeopathic drugstore, La Purisima Casa De Salud Natural, share the former house.<sup>114</sup>

#### Built Environment Changes from Without: City of Santa Ana 1998

By 1996 the intersection one-half mile north of Bristol and Edinger had become in the minds of most Santa Ana residents "one of the worst crime areas in the city."<sup>115</sup> As early as 1960 the South Bristol Street Improvement Association had formed to alleviate traffic problems along Bristol.<sup>116</sup> But traffic became only part of the problems that Santa Anans identified with Bristol Street and that further contrasted Tract 1415 from Jackson's idyllic, suburban retreat. In 1984 about one hundred persons of unidentified ethnicity, residents of a high-crime area that abutted Tract 1415 on the west, petitioned the Santa Ana city council for more police protection from the "high rate of robberies, murders,

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<sup>113</sup> Bobby Gene Byrd, D.D.S., Tustin, California, interview by author, 4 October 2009. Also, Santa Ana Planning and Building Agency, Building Permit, 18 September 1951, Lots 124 and 125, Tract 1415; PDF, 1441SBristol.pdf, City of Santa Ana Building Permits, Santa Ana History Room Collection, Santa Ana Public Library.

<sup>114</sup> Bobby Gene Byrd, D.D.S., interview by author. Also, Santa Ana Planning and Building Agency, Building Permit, 19 July 1950, Lot 123, Tract 1415; PDF, 1227WEdinger.pdf, City of Santa Ana Building Permits, Santa Ana History Room Collection, Santa Ana Public Library.

<sup>115</sup> H. G. Reza, "Cornering the Market: Drugs, IDs, Sex Sold Openly in Lot at Bristol and McFadden," *Los Angeles Times*, 21 April 1996, p. 1.

<sup>116</sup> "Bristol St. Traffic Jam Solution Sought," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 February 1960, p. D1.

drugs, prostitution, etc.” in their neighborhood.<sup>117</sup> In November 1985 the City of Santa Ana announced a large-scale plan to widen Bristol between First Street and Warner Avenue; acquisition of properties would begin in 1987 and actual construction in 1989. The widening project would be funded by federal highway funds and local monies.<sup>118</sup> As plans to widen Bristol Street moved forward, Santa Ana was publicized in November 1987 as the California city with the worst rate of unsolved murders, due to the “large presence of undocumented aliens” that “can make it difficult for police to investigate murders in that community.”<sup>119</sup>

In September 1987 the city urged local representatives to participate in an advisory committee for the Bristol Street plan in a series of meetings with residents to explain the proposed project.<sup>120</sup> The committee of residents and community organizations conducted more than twenty public meetings from late 1987 through 1988. Over the months that they met the advisory committee held three separate votes on whether they should recommend approval of the redevelopment plan; each time the committee voted against approval.<sup>121</sup> Despite the three negative votes by the advisory committee it had recruited and assembled, the city pressed on with its redevelopment plan for Bristol Street. Historian Lisbeth Haas explains that after California voters passed Proposition 13 in 1978 redevelopment was one of the few vehicles by which California cities could raise

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<sup>117</sup> G. M. Bush, “Police Patrols Beefed Up in Troubled Santa Ana Neighborhood,” *Los Angeles Times*, 7 January 1984, p. OC A4.

<sup>118</sup> “Bristol Street Widening to be Discussed,” *Los Angeles Times*, 10 November 1985, part II, p. 2.

<sup>119</sup> Lonn Johnston, “Survey Ranks Santa Ana Worst in State for Unsolved Murders,” *Los Angeles Times*, 17 November 1987, p. OC A3.

<sup>120</sup> “Nominations Sought for Advisory Committee,” *Los Angeles Times*, 14 September 1987, p. OC A2. Also, “Another Redevelopment Proposal Takes the Heat,” *Los Angeles Times*, 17 September 1987, p. AF1.

<sup>121</sup> *Gonzales v. City of Santa Ana Redevelopment Agency* (1993) 12 Cal.App.4th 1335.



revenue. Santa Ana's redevelopment agency, like others in the state, had grown in size and might since Proposition 13, and the agency had the power and the will to proceed.<sup>122</sup>

Most tract 1415 residents were pleased when they heard that the City of Santa Ana planned to widen Bristol Street by removing the Tract 1415 houses and businesses from the 1300 and 1400 block. By 1987 twelve Bristol Street houses remained as residential properties and had not been converted to commercial use; of the twelve at least eight had been purchased by a local realtor, who rented the properties until he could sell them to the city. Because the houses had no front vehicle access and cars could access only from the alley, the houses offered unusual privacy that attracted drug and criminal activity. For at least two of their properties the real estate-agents/landlords of the multiple Bristol Street residences faced a trustee's sale for delinquent mortgage payments and complaints by the city "to abate a public nuisance and violation(s) of the Uniform Building Code, Uniform Fire Code, Uniform Housing Code and/or Uniform Code for the Abatement of Dangerous Buildings as amended and adopted by the Santa Ana Municipal Code" for Lots 138 and Lots 140.<sup>123</sup> Carolina Arambula's house on Magnolia Street

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<sup>122</sup> Lisbeth Haas, "Grass-Roots Protest and the Politics of Planning: Santa Ana, 1976–88," in Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, eds., *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County since World War II* (1991; paperback, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 255.

<sup>123</sup> For notice of trustee's sale for Lot 138, Professional Foreclosure Corporation to Frank H. Gutierrez and Gloria G. Gutierrez (husband and wife) and Demetrio R. Gutierrez (single man), notice of trustee's sale, 14 March 1994, Instrument No. 1994-00174858; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. For Lot 138, City of Santa Ana v. Frank H. Gutierrez, Gloria G. Gutierrez, Demetrio R. Gutierrez and Does One through Fifty, inclusive, Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of Orange, Case No. 45-97-49, Lis Pendens, 28 May 1985, Instrument No. 1985-00192439; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also for Lot 138, City of Santa Ana v. Frank H. Gutierrez, Gloria G. Gutierrez, Demetrio R. Gutierrez and Does One through Fifty, inclusive, Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of Orange, Case No. 45-97-49, notice of withdrawal of Lis Pendens, 24 February 1992, Instrument No. 1992-00107871; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. For Lot 140, City of Santa Ana v. Frank H. Gutierrez, Gloria G. Gutierrez, Demetrio R. Gutierrez and Does One through Fifty,

backs up to the alley that had served the Bristol Street properties. When she first arrived in Santa Ana in about 1992 from Zacatecas, Mexico, “there was a *pandilla* (gang) called Magnolia . . . It was very bad on the street. Back then gangs would get together and go on Bristol Street and party all night.” She recalls, “It got better . . . after they tore down the Bristol Street houses.”<sup>124</sup>

Most of Arambula’s neighbors on the west side of Magnolia Avenue that backed up to the Bristol Street alley welcomed the initial redevelopment plans that included their houses.<sup>125</sup> Other Bristol corridor residents, however, faced hardship and could not find replacement housing for the rent they were paying. In February 1990 Robert P. Gonzales, an optometrist, and “Guadalupe Bugariv (phonetic),” a single mother and homeowner, filed a lawsuit against the city on behalf of the mostly Latino Bristol-area residents and business owners who would be displaced; they were supported in their lawsuit by the Santa Ana branch of Hermandad Mexicana Nacional, a Latino legal rights group.<sup>126</sup> At issue were the proposed inclusion of nonblighted properties that were not on Bristol Street (like the nonblighted houses on the west side of Magnolia Avenue) and the city’s

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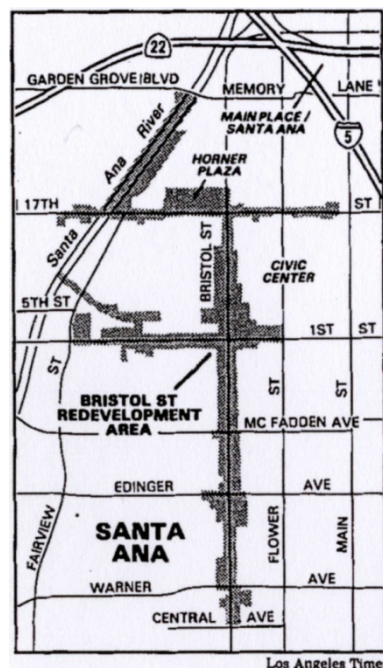
inclusive, Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of Orange, Case No. 45-85-89, Lis Pendens, 14 May 1985, Instrument No. 1985-00174253; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also for Lot 140, City of Santa Ana v. Frank H. Gutierrez, Gloria G. Gutierrez, Demetrio R. Gutierrez and Does One through Fifty, inclusive, Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of Orange, Case No. 45-85-89, notice of withdrawal of Lis Pendens, 25 February 1992, Instrument No. 1992-00109902; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>124</sup> Carolina Arambula, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009.

<sup>125</sup> Alice Sena, interview by author, 27 September 2009. Sharon Klobberdanz, Orange, Calif., interview by author, 15 September 2009.

<sup>126</sup> Names of plaintiffs appear here as written in *Gonzales v. City of Santa Ana Redevelopment Agency*. Also, Lily Eng, “Mall Proposed for Area City Seeks to Clean Up Redevelopment,” *Los Angeles Times Orange County Edition*, 2 February 1990, p. 8. Also, Lily Eng, “Santa Ana Latino Rights Group Sues City over Mall,” *Los Angeles Times Orange County Edition*, 2 March 1990, p. 3.

neglect to find specific replacement housing for the displaced. Bristol corridor residents were likely keenly aware of their rights due to highly effective grass-roots mobilization efforts in the Latino community for a 1984 rent strike that involved more than five thousand immigrant tenants.<sup>127</sup> Figure 10 illustrates the initial 1987 proposed Bristol Corridor Redevelopment Plan, which targeted Bristol Street from Center Street on the south to Twentieth Street on the north and several areas to the east and west from Bristol.



**Figure 10. Proposed redevelopment of the Bristol Street corridor in Santa Ana, 1987. Tract 1415 is at the northwest corner of Edinger Avenue and Bristol Street; it runs north approximately half way to McFadden Avenue and east approximately double the marked width of the redevelopment area. Source: “Nominations Sought for Advisory Committee,” *Los Angeles Times Orange County Edition*, 14 September 1987, p. A2.**

The case was decided by the California Court of Appeals Fourth District in January 1993; the decision allowed the redevelopment plan to go forward with two

<sup>127</sup> Lisbeth Haas, “Grass-Roots Protest and the Politics of Planning,” 254.

caveats: the city excluded the nonblighted properties that were not on Bristol Street and the city made available specific housing for the displaced.<sup>128</sup> According to Richard Spix, one of the plaintiff attorneys, “It was the first time that a court of appeals decision invalidated a redevelopment plan on the basis of failure to provide relocation housing.”<sup>129</sup>

The City of Santa Ana purchased or condemned the original twenty-one Tract 1415 lots along Bristol Street between 1992 and 1998, obtaining all properties but those originally zoned for commercial use by 27 July 1994.<sup>130</sup> On 9 July 1994 the Santa Ana Fire Department burned the vacant houses in the 1300 block of Bristol Street (lots 134 to 144) “to determine how overcrowded living conditions affect the spread of fire in a home.”<sup>131</sup> Lifetime Homes sold the original five commercial lots in the early 1950s to

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<sup>128</sup> *Gonzales v. City of Santa Ana Redevelopment Agency*.

<sup>129</sup> Richard L. Spix, interview by author, 15 February 2011.

<sup>130</sup> Harry Ralph Neudorffer and Evelyn Mary Neudorffer to City of Santa Ana, 14 May 1992, Instrument No. 1992-00322132; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. . Also, Paul Le and Ly Phan to Santa Ana City Community Redevelopment Agency, 3 July 1992, Instrument No. 1992-00451299; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Sam Sena and Alice Sena to City of Santa Ana, 22 October 1992, Instrument No. 1992-00717847; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, V. L. McGowan and Ava Ruth McGowan to City of Santa Ana, 4 November 1992, Instrument No. 1992-00751810; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Gordon G. Seibert and Helen I. Seibert to City of Santa Ana, 17 May 1993, Instrument No. 1993-00330225; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Thuy Trang Thi Che, Tuyet Bach Huynh Estate, and Huynh Mai Thi Che, Extr. to City of Santa Ana, 19 October 1993, Instrument No. 1993-00740816; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Mai T. H. Che to City of Santa Ana, 12 November 1993, Instrument No. 1993-00780590; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Frank H. Gutierrez and Gloria G. Gutierrez to City of Santa Ana, 27 December 1993, Instrument No. 1993-00897989; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Frank H. Gutierrez and Gloria G. Gutierrez to City of Santa Ana, 25 February 1994, Instrument No. 1994-00139666; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Ghanshyam and Sunita Lohiya to City of Santa Ana, 27 July 1994, Instrument No. 1994-00474223; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Astro Oil Co., Cecil A. Brockman, Tr., Charlotte W. Christian, Norman and Kay Eifer, Atia El Malki, Manmoud Radwan Elkenaway, Atia Manmoud Elmalki, First American Title Insurance Company; Carl Lewis, Atia El Malki, Fatima Radwan, and Safeco Title Insurance Co. to City of Santa Ana, grant deed, 15 May 1998, Instrument No. 1998-00302591; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Deeds for Siebert, Gutierrez, and Astro Oil Co., et al. are for multiple properties.

<sup>131</sup> “Fire Department to Burn Vacant Homes,” *Los Angeles Times Orange County Edition*, 9 July 1994, p. 6.

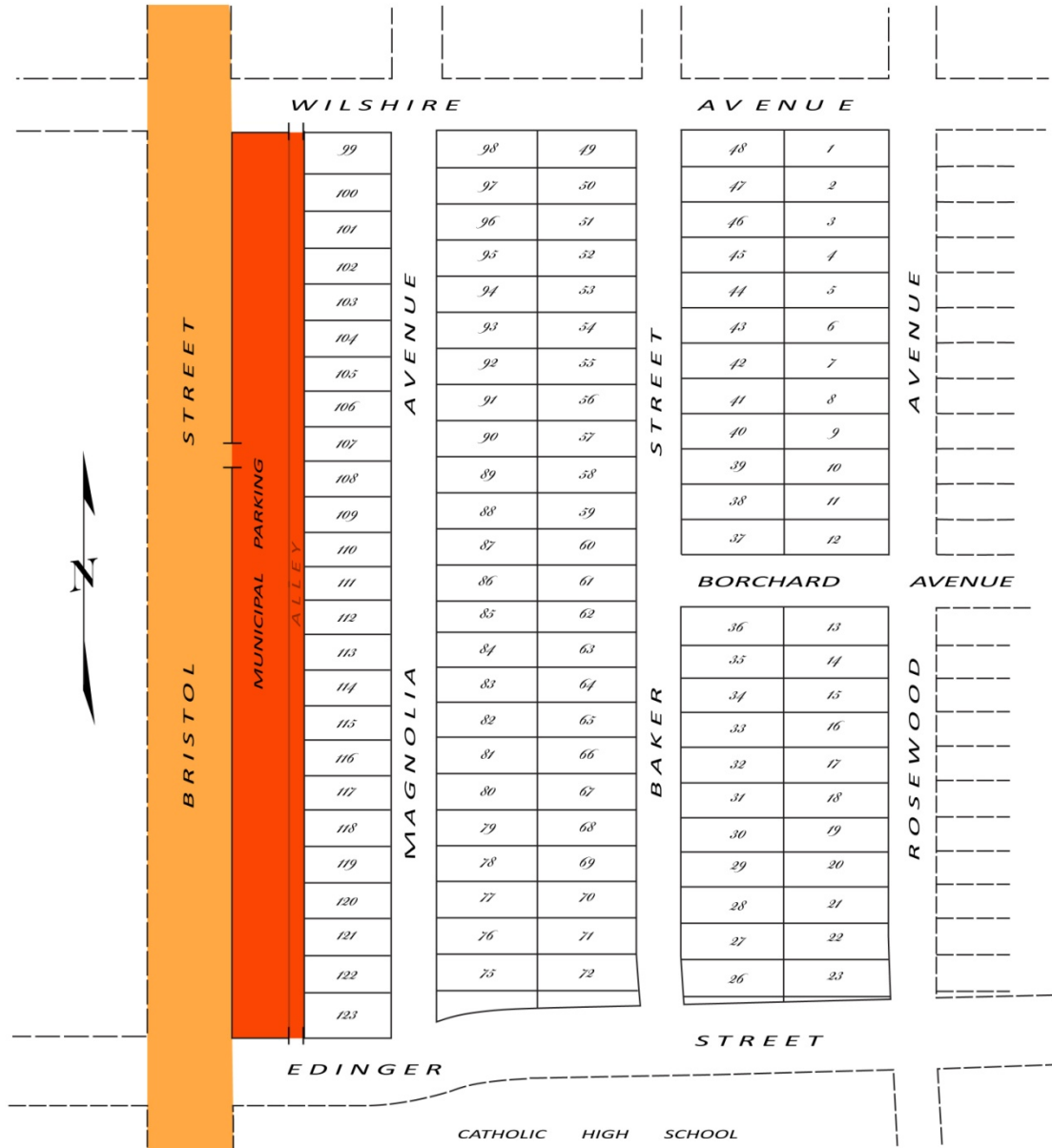
one investor, who in 1998 still held an interest in the southernmost three lots he had reconfigured into two properties. In 1998 the lots held a gas station at the intersection of Bristol Street and Edinger Avenue and a drive-in restaurant next door to the north.<sup>132</sup> The city spent more than it hoped to acquire the two (originally, three) properties; a successful lawsuit nearly doubled the purchase price from the city's offer of \$680,000 to \$1.35 million.<sup>133</sup> By the end of 2000 the twenty-one lots on Bristol Street that formerly housed Tract 1415 families and businesses had become a parking lot maintained by Santa Ana taxpayers but used almost exclusively by a private school. While the houses on the west side of Magnolia were not purchased by the city in the redevelopment project they were all given a cinder-block wall along the rear property line that backed up to the future parking lot. Figure 11 illustrates the change to Tract 1415.

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<sup>132</sup> Astro Oil Co., et al. to City of Santa Ana, grant deed, 15 May 1998, Instrument No. 1998-00302591.

<sup>133</sup> "Representative List of Cases," Nossaman LLP, [http://nossaman.com/Files/21495\\_Case%20Listing.pdf](http://nossaman.com/Files/21495_Case%20Listing.pdf) (accessed 20 February 2011), citing *City of Santa Ana v. Atia Manmoud El Malki*.

TRACT No. 1415  
BRISTOL STREET WIDENING PROJECT  
ca. 1999



**Figure 11. Bristol Street widening project ca. 1999. The project incorporated the alley and displaced residents and businesses from twenty-one original Tract 1415 lots.** Source: Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, photographs by author and Aracely Favela.

Mater Dei High School (MDHS), south of Tract 1415 across Edinger Avenue, opened in September 1950, as the first Tract 1415 homeowners moved into their new houses. The tract and the school share a long history. For nearly forty years, from 1960 to 1997, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Los Angeles (and later, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Orange) owned the property at 1430 S. Baker Street that housed the Sisters (and later, the priests) of the Holy Cross that taught at MDHS and ministered to the residents of the tract.<sup>134</sup> Like Tract 1415, MDHS is on the east side of Bristol Street. However, instead of taking properties on both sides of Bristol Street as it did north of Edinger Avenue, on the block south of Edinger Avenue the city removed a wider swath of properties on the west side of Bristol Street to leave the campus intact.

The private school is landlocked in Santa Ana and has long needed additional space. In 1990 principal John B. Weling, MDHS alumnus and Santa Ana native, noted pressure to move the campus “because the neighborhood has become increasingly poorer and run-down.” According to Weling, the school would stay in Santa Ana only if the campus could expand by about eight acres, and “[t]he best hope would be obtaining the land as part of possible city-sponsored redevelopment of the area.”<sup>135</sup> City officials responded. In ca. 1999 the City of Santa Ana built a municipal parking lot on Bristol Street from the twenty-one lots that were previously part of Tract 1415. Figure 12

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<sup>134</sup> Harry A. Smith and Peggy R. Smith to Roman Catholic Archbishop of Los Angeles, grant deed, 3 August 1960, Book of Deeds 5358, page 474; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Los Angeles to Roman Catholic Bishop of Orange, a Corporation Sole, corporation grant deed, 9 July 1980, Book of Deeds 13660, page 315; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Roman Catholic Bishop of Orange, a Corporation Sole to Nora H. Zaragoza, corporation grant deed, 1 August 1997, Instrument No. 1997-00366471; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>135</sup> Steve Emmons and Tony Marciano, “O.C.’s Mater Dei High Has Big Reputation, Even Bigger Ambition,” *Los Angeles Times*, 17 March 1990, p. 1.



illustrates how the cones and security inside and the fence outside make the municipal property appear private and not accessible.



**Figure 12. Municipal parking lot used and patrolled by Mater Dei High School. *Top left*, facing north on Bristol Street from the south end of the lot. *Top right*, security guard, and *bottom left*, coned off parking spaces for VIPs at south end of the lot. *Bottom right* shows concrete paving of former alley and new cinder-block wall behind houses on the west side of Magnolia Avenue. Although lot is owned and maintained by the City of Santa Ana, from within and without it appears to be private property. *Source:* Photographs 2009 by Aracely Favela. Used with permission.**

The lot is owned and maintained by the city but is used and patrolled on weekdays by MDHS. The lot has three entrances: one each at the north and south ends and one on Bristol Street about two-thirds the distance north from Bristol Street toward



Wilshire Avenue. Drivers not affiliated with the school are asked to park at the north end of the lot, while several spaces at the south end are coned off for school administrators and important visitors. The fence that keeps people out extends the length of the block and breaks at one opening for automobiles and two for pedestrians.

Current and former Tract 1415 residents assume that the city built the parking lot for the school. Rita Gliottone and her husband, Alex, were original Tract 1415 homeowners; they lived on Magnolia Avenue fifty-five years until they sold their house in 2005. She remembers, “Mater Dei threatened to leave Santa Ana if they didn’t get more parking. The city took over the Bristol Street houses for parking for Mater Dei.”<sup>136</sup> Frank Segura lives at the opposite end of Magnolia Avenue from the former Gliottone house; he uses nearly the same language when he describes how the parking lot came to be: “Mater Dei threatened to leave Santa Ana if they didn’t get more parking spaces, so the city built the parking lot on Bristol and took down all of those Bristol Street houses in the mid-1990s.”<sup>137</sup> Alice Sena, former Bristol Street homeowner, recalls, “From Wilshire to Edinger, that became a nice park with trees and parking for Mater Dei kids.”<sup>138</sup>

The built environment speaks to ownership. It matters that the parking lot looks private and inaccessible. It matters that a security guard in a red MDHS Security jacket driving an MDHS golf cart patrols the lot during the day. It matters that local residents pay to maintain a parking lot they believe is “for Mater Dei” but send their own children to public school. To Santa Ana redevelopment leaders what mattered was keeping the

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<sup>136</sup> Rita Gliottone, interview by author, 5 August 2009.

<sup>137</sup> Frank V. Segura, Santa Ana, Calif., interviews by author, 5 August 2009, 18 August 2009, and 9 October 2009.

<sup>138</sup> Alice Sena, Mission Viejo, Calif., interview by author, 27 September 2009.

alumni, donors, and administrators of Mater Dei High School happy by providing them with a new parking lot built with redevelopment funds and maintained by city taxes.

Residents of the Bristol Street corridor had to force the City of Santa Ana to honor its legal commitment to find suitable replacement housing for those it would displace. Yet, to provide free parking for private school students from Irvine, Newport Beach, Laguna Beach, and Coto de Caza the City of Santa Ana displaced its own residents and businesses from twenty-one urban lots. The parking lot and the ongoing Bristol Corridor Redevelopment Project conform to Marxian-based assessments by Logan and Molotch when they evaluate earlier urban renewal programs of the 1950s and 1960s in terms of use values and exchange values. In *Urban Fortunes*, they write, “[T]he urban renewal program became a device for protecting central city business and property investments (a massive rent redistribution) and the careers of white politicians.”<sup>139</sup>

Mater Dei High School was likely able to increase the exchange value of its property by leveraging alumni influence with the city hierarchy—some of whom may also have been MDHS graduates. Sam and Alice Sena sold to the city early; they were compensated adequately, and they were able to purchase in Mission Viejo. In contrast, city officials cared little for the use value of the places that temporary Bristol Street residents called home. Thus the clients of attorney Spix and other Bristol Street renters were removed from their residences and placed in equivalent spaces within Santa Ana’s “geographical pockets of poverty.”<sup>140</sup> Former Tract 1415 mail carrier, Mike Miller is astute when he observes, “The city moved a lot of people out to keep Mater Dei.”<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> John R. Logan and Harvey L. Molotch, *Urban Fortunes*, 168.

<sup>140</sup> Richard L. Spix, interview by author, 15 February 2011.

<sup>141</sup> Mike Miller, interview by author, 5 September 2009.

## Built Environment Changes from Without: Graffiti

Frank Segura, Tract 1415 homeowner since 1966, retired postal inspector, and Army veteran of World War II and Korea, is a member of Santa Ana's Artesia Street gang. Segura was born near Second Street and Daisy Avenue in the Artesia *barrio* of Santa Ana in 1928. In about 1941, when he was thirteen, he joined the gang. Segura remembers, "We protected each other and fought other gangs, like Delhi, Stanton, and Logan Street." Segura's gang ties endured. Nearly seventy years after he first joined the gang, he reflects, "I just buried two of my fellow members a few weeks ago."<sup>142</sup> Contrary to tropes of undocumented immigrants bringing gang violence to Orange County, youth gangs formed in the county as early as the 1940s, when Segura joined as a thirteen-year-old; Santa Ana's rising population density merely exacerbated existing gang activity.<sup>143</sup>

Santa Ana gangs have proliferated since Segura and his Artesia Street gang brothers fought Delhi, Stanton, and Logan Street; by 2004 the city had ninety-one gangs.<sup>144</sup> On 13 January 2008 occupants of the 1300 block of Magnolia Avenue in Tract 1415 witnessed the mid-day drive-by murder of seventeen-year-old Juan Luis Jr.<sup>145</sup> In keeping with Segura's observation that "every neighborhood has a gang," Magnolia Avenue residents took the shooting in stride. Segura notes that Luis "hid underneath a car, but they got him, anyway."<sup>146</sup> Pointing to lots 89 and 90 diagonally across the street, Carolina Arambula remembers the "boy [that] got shot there during the day." But she

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<sup>142</sup> Frank V. Segura, interview by author, 18 August 2009.

<sup>143</sup> Terry Bowers, *Down for the Hood: A Basic Guide to Orange County Street Gangs* ([Santa Ana, Calif.]: Terry Bowers and the Orange County Sheriff's Department, 1996), 27, 61, 147. Also, Frank V. Segura, interviews by author, 5 August 2009, 18 August 2009, and 9 October 2009.

<sup>144</sup> Mike Anton and Jennifer Mena, "*The Hard Life—Santa Ana Style.*"

<sup>145</sup> Denisse Salazar, "Gang killings take young lives in Santa Ana," *The Orange County Register*, Santa Ana, California, 1 February 2008, Local News, page [1].

<sup>146</sup> Frank V. Segura, interview by author, 18 August 2009.

adds, “Besides that shooting things are better now than it was when we came [in ca. 1992].”<sup>147</sup> The ninety-one Santa Ana gangs that allegedly included Juan Luis Jr. as a member do not include tagging crews.

While crews are not gangs, they engage in gang-like criminal behaviors and can push out an established gang; if crews become too powerful they can be forced to either disband or become an official gang and pay taxes to *La Eme*, the Mexican Mafia.<sup>148</sup> In Santa Ana the TSC (possibly “The Sickest Crowd” or “Total Street Control”) tagging crew, also known as TSCK (TSC Krew), claims turf that includes Tract 1415, and it has marked the tract as such.<sup>149</sup> Frank Segura, the long-time Artesia Street gang member, has little patience with tagging. In reference to the vacant house next door, Segura says, “It’s been vacant, and it got graffiti; someone wrote ‘Sleepy.’ I called the city and they removed [it].”<sup>150</sup> The City of Santa Ana Public Works Department provides graffiti removal service that often responds within one or two days.<sup>151</sup> Despite the efforts of Segura and the city, however, figure 13 illustrates only a few of the ways in which Tract 1415 remains labeled from without as the property of TSC tagging crew.

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<sup>147</sup> Carolina Arambula, interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009.

<sup>148</sup> Terry Bowers, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author, 19 August 2009.

<sup>149</sup> For TSC and “The Sickest Crowd” see figure 13. For TSC, “The Sickest Crowd,” and “Total Street Control” see Jackie Calderon, “bAbii KrAzY + k.R.a.Z.e.D = rIdErChIkS,” MySpace, <http://www.myspace.com/3538217hey> (accessed 15 March 2011).

<sup>150</sup> Frank V. Segura, interview by author, 18 August 2009.

<sup>151</sup> Santa Ana Public Works Department, “Graffiti Hotline,” <http://www.ci.santa-ana.ca.us/pwa/graffitiremoval.asp> (accessed 20 February 2011). Also, Jose Luis Lopez, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009.



**Figure 13. Graffiti on Magnolia Avenue in Tract 1415. The Santa Ana Public Works Agency painted over the tag, “Sleepy TSC,” on the utility box, *top left*, within one day. Tags on the stop sign, *top center*, and tree, *top right*, remained from before August 2009 through December 2010. Tag, *bottom*, “The Sickest Crowd Sleepy Loco” was painted over within one week. Source: Photographs by author.**

### Built Environment Changes from Within 1950–2000

The façade of my parents’ former house at 1338 S. Magnolia Avenue has changed little from what it looked like when Lifetime Homes first relinquished it. In 1951 pale green stucco set off contrasting darker green woodwork and siding that emphasized the horizontal lines and faux shutters of the high, rectangular center window of the master bedroom. In 1957 my parents returned to the house they had left as a rental in 1951; they

added a family room and a covered patio to the rear of the house before they sold it in 1959. The second owners wasted no time installing a swimming pool in 1960.<sup>152</sup> These substantial changes to the rear left the front of the house untouched. By 2000 the stucco had been painted pale yellow and the contrasting woodwork dark brown, but the façade was remarkably unchanged. By 2009 the house retained the pale yellow stucco but the wood trim and siding had been removed, likely because of termite damage; with it went the 1950 horizontal references that Lifetime Homes had installed on the exterior. Other than the white Christmas lights that decorate the perimeter of the roof the house reflects little of the culture or personality of its residents. Possibly the house remains nondescript because it has been a rental property since about 1979.<sup>153</sup> Figure 14 illustrates exterior changes in the house through four owners in nearly sixty years.



**Figure 14. 1338 South Magnolia Avenue in 1950, 2000, and 2009. Owners removed the contrast wood trim favored by Lifetime Homes, but the façade has otherwise changed little.** *Sources:* 1951 photograph collection of Alice P. Broudy, Dana Point, Calif. Used with permission. 2000 and 2009 photographs by author.

<sup>152</sup> Charles A. Broudy and Alice P. Broudy (husband and wife) to Gilbert E. Heinly and Ellen Heinly (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 3 February 1959, Book of Deeds 4572, page 79; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Santa Ana Planning and Building Agency, Building Permit, 19 July 1950, Lot 108, Tract 1415; PDF, 1338SMagnolia.pdf, City of Santa Ana Building Permits, Santa Ana History Room Collection, Santa Ana Public Library.

<sup>153</sup> Sharon Klobberdanz, interview by author, 15 September 2009. Also, Susan Gettemy Brown, Albany, Calif., interview by author, 3 December 2009.

My parents' former house on Magnolia Avenue illustrates similar changes that took place in other Tract 1415 houses. Old families left Tract 1415 and new ones arrived. As incoming residents altered their houses to suit the physical, cultural, and spiritual needs of their families the tract gradually changed character. At first the original pastel hues offered by Lifetime Homes gradually gave way to other palettes. Homeowners installed brick and stone facades, window air conditioners, and basketball hoops; they enclosed patios and added family rooms and bedrooms and back yard pools. They widened driveways and replaced white rock roofs with asbestos shingles. Changes were gradual and mostly minor, and many Tract 1415 houses even now evoke their original 1950 "tropical modern" designs. However, by 1960 residents of other Tract 1415 houses began to change their dwellings in other ways.

The Sisters of the Holy Cross came to Santa Ana in August 1960 to begin new assignments at Mater Dei High School. However, they did not move into their Tract 1415 house at 1430 S. Baker Street until October, because the house first had to be remodeled. Sister Jacinta Millán, one of four original sisters in the house, notes, "They made four bedrooms and added a chapel. The chapel was on the right side; it was a tiny room behind the garage." Millán found the house quite pleasant. "We had a little lawn in the front. We planted roses in the back. It was a lovely little house; it had hardwood floors." However, quarters were tight, Millán remembers, and "[o]ur rooms were very small." But after living in large convents all her adult life, Millán particularly enjoyed life on Baker Street: "It was my first time living in a neighborhood. It was a new experience." She cites in particular two benefits of living on Baker Street, "We got to know Peggy, and it gave us a flavor of ordinary life." "Peggy" was neighbor Margaret Fields. Peggy and her husband,

Clifford J. Fields, were original Baker Street homeowners; Clifford Fields was an active duty Marine. Peggy walked to her work at the Mater Dei High School office, and she was the primary caregiver for the couple's two sons. According to Millán, "[Peggy's] husband was away a lot. We were a community to her, and she drove, so she would take us grocery shopping." But Fields helped the sisters in other ways, because according to Millán, "The neighbors did not want us to move in."

As early as 1960, then, the residents of Tract 1415 resisted sharing their space with "others." The objects of fear were four white, educated women who worked at Mater Dei High School—two Spanish teachers, one business teacher, and the dean of women. However, to pave the way for the sisters Fields "canvassed the neighborhood on our behalf. She was our advocate." Millán admits the clothing worn by the sisters was different from what the neighborhood was used to seeing. "We wore habits that looked like museum pieces. Originally we wore a French peasant cap, so we were called the 'cupcake sisters' or the 'sunflower sisters.'" Fields succeeded in her public relations efforts on behalf of the sisters. Tract 1415 neighbors dropped their overt resistance and eventually got used to living near women who used their house as a place of worship and proclaimed their faith through the way they clothed their bodies: long, black, wool serge habits tied with blue cord cinctures about the waist and topped with pleated headpieces. Figure 15 depicts Millán wearing the habit of the Sisters of the Holy Cross. Laughs Millán, "They said the neighborhood quieted down after we moved in."<sup>154</sup> Millán left the Baker Street house in 1965 to take another assignment; the other sisters left a few years

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<sup>154</sup> Sister Jacinta Millán, Ventura, California, interview by author, 16 March 2011. Also, Harry A. Smith and Peggy R. Smith (husband and wife) to Roman Catholic Archbishop of Los Angeles, grant deed, 3 August 1960, Book of Deeds 5358, page 474; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.



later. However, the next group of “others” who moved to Tract 1415 and altered their houses to reflect their culture did not have an advocate like Peggy Fields.



**Figure 15. Sister Jacinta Millán of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in 1953, *left*, and in 1956, *right*. In 1960 Tract 1415 resisted when Millán and other Holy Cross sisters moved to 1430 S. Baker Street. Neighbors viewed as “others” the four women who walked to their work and proclaimed their faith through their clothing. *Source:* Collection of Sister Jacinta Millán, Ventura, Calif. Used with permission.**

Ernesto Barreto bought his house nearly thirty years ago, in 1981, but he vividly remembers his first two Tract 1415 encounters. On the day he purchased his house he was hosing the front lawn when the former owner drove up and yelled, “You motherfucker, what are you doing on my property?” The former owner refused to believe Barreto had purchased the house until both men went to the office of the real estate agent. Tract 1415 resisted Barreto a second time shortly after he moved in. Neighbors across the

street sent police to his house to arrest him for trespassing on private property; police pointed to Barreto's brother's truck parked in the neighbor's driveway. However, a Latina neighbor came over and explained to the police in Spanish, "I saw the [men and their sons] from 1441 and 1437 lift the car with car jacks and push it into the driveway of 1437." The police then apologized to Barreto and turned their attention to the white neighbors who had staged the trespass. Despite their resistance to his homeownership, Barreto chose to develop good relations with his neighbors. He philosophizes that Tract 1415 "was white people, old people. We come in . . . and they felt like they got invaded by a bad disease. They were older people with their own ways of thinking. I understand them."<sup>155</sup>

When Barreto purchased his house in 1981 the streetscapes of Tract 1415 bespoke a different narrative than they had thirty years before. Front-yard altars sheltered La Virgin de Guadalupe. Garages housed people instead of cars. Chain link fences corralled children and chickens and gradually gave way to wrought iron. To many long-time Tract 1415 residents the chain-link and iron fences installed by new residents spoke to rejection.

Margaret Beyer, who lived on Baker Street from 1951 to 1993, recalls, "The houses weren't fenced, but then people put up fences. That says, 'Stay out of here.'"<sup>156</sup> Diana "Dee" Collins Perez grew up on Baker Street; her parents, original owners, sold their house in 1994. Perez remembers "[t]hese 'fortress-like' fences" began to appear about the time her parents sold. She notes that "[w]e didn't have front-yard fences; we

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<sup>155</sup> Ernesto Barreto, interviews by author and Aracely Favela, 9 September 2009, 12 October 2009, 15 October 2009.

<sup>156</sup> Margaret Beyer, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author, 2 September 2009.

played in everyone's front yards. Each little place [became] a fortress—like keeping the enemy out.”<sup>157</sup> Also, Bruce McNeilly's mother still resides in the house she purchased in 1950 at the corner of Magnolia Avenue and Wilshire Avenue, where Bruce and his brothers spent their childhoods. Chain link now encloses the McNeilly front yard, but according to Bruce, “Mom's fence came much later—near the time my dad died [in 1994]. Fences keep people out.”<sup>158</sup>

Despite the nearly universal interpretation by white residents that the fences erected by their Latino neighbors signaled them to keep out, historian James Rojas offers a different view. Vendor carts and Latino residential modifications that include bright colors, Christmas lights, palm trees, wrought iron fences, displays of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and front-porch and front-yard seating evoke an “enacted environment.” In “The Enacted Environment of East Los Angeles” Rojas examines ways in which Latinos reconfigured postwar tract housing that, like Tract 1415, was originally constructed for white families.<sup>159</sup> Figure 16 illustrates Tract 1415 seating areas—formal and sophisticated to casual and informal—that suggest an “enacted environment” and beckon beyond wrought iron fences.

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<sup>157</sup> Diana “Dee” Collins Perez, Orange, Calif., interview by author, 10 September 2009.

<sup>158</sup> Bruce D. McNeilly, Winnetka, Calif., interview by author, 1 September 2009.

<sup>159</sup> James T. Rojas, “Los Angeles: The Enacted Environment of East Los Angeles,” *Places* 8: 3 (1993), 42–53; PDF, eScholarship, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/84x3x9t2> (accessed 2 February 2011).



**Figure 16.** Tract 1415 fenced houses offer outdoor seating that welcomes visitors to semi-private living space on the front lawn. Formal arrangement, *left*, is on Rosewood Avenue; informal seating, *right*, is on Baker Street. *Source:* Photographs by author.

Fences thrust private spaces of the houses outside to the property line. Front-yard gates at the sidewalk declared new thresholds to semi-private space and converted public streets and sidewalks into plazas. The unplanned and individual revisions at each house accumulated over time to create a style Rojas terms “East Los Angeles vernacular.” The changes described by Rojas do not say that the dominant culture must keep out, but the adaptations of postwar tract housing nonetheless loudly assert Latino culture and vividly mark Latino space.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> James Rojas, “Latino New Urbanism: Lessons Learned from the Southwest,” Latino Urban Forum, 19th Congress for the New Urbanism, 1–4 June 2008, Madison, Wis.; PDF, Latino Urban Forum, <http://www.cnu.org/node/2009> (accessed 2 February 2011).

Reconfiguring houses as sites of Latino identity proclamation also reflect what historian Robin D. G. Kelley calls “infrapolitics.” In “We Are Not What We Seem” Kelley borrowed from the work of political scientist James Scott to explore daily acts of resistance masked by appearances of acquiescence that Kelley argues exemplify the “hidden history of unorganized, everyday conflict waged by African-American people.” These unorganized acts of defiance link to organized political struggles.<sup>161</sup> Kelley’s analysis of everyday African American acts of resistance—such as pretending not to understand, working slowly, or engaging in industrial sabotage—applies equally to other groups that struggle against a culturally dominant society. For Latino immigrants to California the act of turning a house designed for whites into a proclamation of Latino space and Latino culture becomes an act of political significance.

Hatted vendors that sell roasted corn, icy treats, and fresh tacos sport city licenses and contribute to the sights and sounds that reinforce Latino claims to Tract 1415. Most Tract 1415 houses exhibit some of the features of the enacted environment as described by Rojas. However, no Tract 1415 house displays all of the vernacular features. Likely, the reason is time. East Los Angeles has housed a predominately Latino population since World War II. Its houses have had more than sixty-five years to accumulate cultural changes made by generations of Latino immigrant homeowners. In contrast, Tract 1415 houses have had less than half that time—at most, roughly thirty years—to accumulate such changes. Therefore, Tract 1415 demonstrates a modified form, perhaps transitional, that nonetheless exhibits infrapolitical protestations while it displays selected

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<sup>161</sup> Robin D. G. Kelley, “‘We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South,” *The Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993), 78.



characteristics. Figure 17 shows two examples of the modified form of East Los Angeles vernacular revealed in Tract 1415.



**Figure 17. Modified form of East Los Angeles vernacular in Tract 1415. The trellis marks the threshold, *left*, the number plate displays the Virgin of Guadalupe, and chairs and carpet on the front porch and seating on the lawn welcome visitors to this unfenced house. The vibrant blue house, *right*, extends its semi-private space to the sidewalk as delineated by the elaborate wrought iron fence, while the front gate signals the threshold. Source:** James T. Rojas, “Los Angeles: The Enacted Environment of East Los Angeles,” and “Latino New Urbanism: Lessons Learned from the Southwest.” Photographs by author.

Despite the subdued expression of the Tract 1415 Latino style, the cultural alterations wrought in the tract may nonetheless have inspired pushback by Tract 1415 whites, who likewise used their houses as canvases to declare their whiteness and/or their citizenship. By the end of 2000 all but seventeen Tract 1415 properties were owned by persons with Spanish surnames. Five houses remained in original hands; one was owned by a bank, and eleven were owned by persons with non-Iberian European surnames who had owned the houses since the 1950s and 1960s. By 2010 non-Latino homeowners had

dropped to eight, of which four were original homeowners. In 2010 three of the eight white-owned houses fly large American flags; one house installed a full-sized flagpole in the front yard (it does not bear a flag), and one house displays U.S. and USMC flags with other Americana. In response to cultural adaptations that surround them these Tract 1415 homeowners similarly use their houses to assert their whiteness. Figure 18 illustrates one response to Latino changes that eventually surrounded Tract 1415 white homeowners.



**Figure 18. Assertion of whiteness and citizenship in response to Latino housing adaptations in Tract 1415. American and U.S. Marine Corps (USMC) flags flank the center window. Mobile hanging to the viewer's left of the window contains the circular USMC logo. A red, white, and blue wreath decorates the porch column. *Source:* Photograph by author.**

### Changing Work in Santa Ana

Contrary to what contemporary Los Angeles boosters might have thought, mid-century Santa Ana was not simply a suburb of Los Angeles. In 1950 Santa Ana, with

45,533 residents and more than forty manufactories, was the urban hub for El Toro MCAS and for growing Orange County. Against the backdrop of the Korean War Lifetime Homes planned for Tract 1415 to become part of the 1950 Santa Ana urban community that worshipped at area churches and enjoyed direct travel service to other cities via the Southern Pacific Railroad, the Santa Fe Railroad, the Pacific Electric Railway, and local and national bus companies. Besides being the administrative seat of Orange County Santa Ana in 1950 claimed fifteen metal works, four bottling works, three citrus by-products plants, two food canning plants, a frozen foods plant, a sugar refinery, a woolen mill, two mattress factories, two glass factories, five cabinet works, three garment manufacturing plants, a perfume manufactory, a dehydrating plant, and a weed-killing spray plant.<sup>162</sup> These industries attracted residents to the city.

The U.S. Marine Corps was the largest employer of Tract 1415 homeowners and tenants from 1950 to 1965, but it was not the only employer. Tract 1415 also housed a mix of mostly blue-collar workers, proprietors, and semi-professionals augmented by a few professionals who worked in Santa Ana or nearby. Interviews reveal that the tract included a husband and wife who were real estate agents and brokers, a self-employed clown with a mobile merry-go-round (Oldest Performing Clown, 2006 *Guinness Book of World Records*),<sup>163</sup> a baker for Weber's Bakery, a butcher, a veterinarian, proprietor of a television repair shop, a lube specialist who later owned a Chrysler dealership, a writer and editor for the *Los Angeles Times*, a deliveryman for the *Los Angeles Times*, a

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<sup>162</sup> Santa Ana Chamber of Commerce, *Spotlighting Facts* (Santa Ana: Chamber of Commerce, 1950), 7, 11-12, 17, 20; File Santa Ana Description and Travel IC, Santa Ana History Room, Santa Ana Public Library.

<sup>163</sup> Craig Glenday, ed., *Guinness World Records 2006* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2005), 21. Collection of Andrew and Margaret Beyer, Santa Ana.



telephone company operator, a construction supervisor at a cabinet shop who later became janitorial supervisor for the county hospital, an insurance agent, owner of a nursery, a fireman, a drapery cleaner, teachers, building contractors, Post Office carriers and inspectors, and project manager for the ironworkers' union that installed ornamental iron work on rides at Disneyland and Knott's Berry Farm. These mostly male civilian residents brought their families to Santa Ana for a variety of factors that ranged from the micro to the macro.

Tract 1415 women that earned a wage or salary mostly held traditional female jobs. In most cases, their jobs did not bring them or their families to Santa Ana; instead, they secured work after they arrived in the city. However, one group of women did come to Santa Ana in 1960 expressly to work, and they came to Tract 1415 because the tract was within walking distance of their work. The Sisters of the Holy Cross (and later, the priests) lived at 1430 S. Baker Street and walked to their teaching jobs at Mater Dei High School. Sr. Jacinta Millán was one of four original sisters that lived in the Baker Street house. Millán explains that she and the other sisters came to Mater Dei from St. Agnes High School in South Central Los Angeles. The church closed St. Agnes because the building was not considered fire-safe. Millán notes, "Cardinal McIntyre [then Archbishop of Los Angeles] wanted to keep the same number of high school sisters, so we were asked to go to Mater Dei High School." When the sisters came to Santa Ana in 1960, she says, "[w]e didn't have permission to drive until a year or two later, so we had to live within walking distance to the school."<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Sr. Jacinta Millán, interview by author, 16 March 2011.

Other Tract 1415 women worked retail at Pence Pharmacy, the Wet Seal boutique, and the Army-Navy Store in Anaheim; they did clerical work for the County of Orange, the U.S. Marine Corps, and Mater Dei High School, and they worked as nurses and teachers and telephone operators. Some women, like the sisters, held jobs they found within walking distance at Pence Pharmacy, Mater Dei High School, and a real estate office on Bristol Street. Another Tract 1415 woman highlights the significance of Tract 1415's integration into the city in which she lived.

Alice and Sam Sena became the first Latino homeowners in Tract 1415 when they purchased their house in 1954 from a Marine Corps family who transferred. Alice Sena worked at least forty years in a non-traditional field beginning shortly after she moved into her Bristol Street house. "I was a jack of all trades," she says, "I always worked around machinery. . . I'd work a year, five years, and the company would go broke or move away. It was easy to get a job; I could get laid off on Friday and have a job by Tuesday. They were all places near the neighborhood."<sup>165</sup> Like the other Tract 1415 women who enjoyed work outside the home, Sena found her jobs after she arrived in Santa Ana. These Tract 1415 women and the Sisters of the Holy Cross challenge tropes of female domesticity at mid-century.

Some blue-collar and white-collar civilian residents of Tract 1415 before 1966 came to Santa Ana because jobs closed in their former places of residence or offered prospects in Santa Ana. The perceived opportunities may not have realized their promise, but the new residents stayed. Echo McNeilly still resides in the Magnolia Avenue house she purchased in 1950 with her husband, Richard. "Dick" McNeilly brought his family to

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<sup>165</sup> Alice Sena, interview by author, 27 September 2009.

Santa Ana from Fort Dodge, Iowa, to continue the factory work he had pursued there. His former employer had relocated to Santa Ana and offered McNeilly a job in his new California factory. However, by the time McNeilly brought his family to Santa Ana the promised job had fallen through. McNeilly “pounded the pavement” in search of a job to feed his family. Although he was not a trained baker, he eventually found work as a baker at Weber’s Bakery, where he remained until he retired.<sup>166</sup>

Mervill and Edna Pence operated Pence Pharmacy in one of the Tract 1415 commercial lots on Bristol Street. Their business remained there through the mid-1960s, and during the 1950s they housed their family in at least two of Tract 1415’s rental houses.<sup>167</sup> Bertil E. Branstrom moved his family to Tract 1415 in 1950 to be closer to his new job. His son Bruce recalls, “My dad was in civil service. He was a civilian, head of public works at El Toro. He had moved from the Long Beach Naval Shipyard—he applied for the job when the shipyard closed.”<sup>168</sup> Likewise, veterinarian Paul Wise returned to his hometown of Santa Ana in June 1950 after his discharge from the Veterinary Service attached to the Air Force. Wise bought his new Tract 1415 house on Baker Street because he drove past the houses under construction every day on his way to work at the Santa Ana Veterinary Hospital.<sup>169</sup> David Schleith moved with his parents to Baker Street in 1958; his family came to Santa Ana for a combination of health and work reasons: “We lived in a suburb of Minneapolis, Columbia Heights. We moved because

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<sup>166</sup> Bruce McNeilly, Winnetka, Calif., interview by author, 1 September 2009.

<sup>167</sup> *Luskey’s Official Santa Ana & Central Orange County Criss Cross City Directory . . .* (Santa Ana, Calif.: The Directory Service Co, 1952), 48. Also, *Luskey’s Official Santa Ana and Tustin Criss Cross City Directory . . . 1956*, 4.

<sup>168</sup> Bruce W. Branstrom, Payson, Ariz., interview by author, 30 September 2009.

<sup>169</sup> Paul T. Wise, Magalia, Calif., interview by author, 4 August 2009.

my younger sister and I had eczema one step short of asthma. My father worked in the Post Office; he had options of Santa Monica and Santa Ana, and he chose Santa Ana.”<sup>170</sup>

Most of Tract 1415’s residents came to the tract to be closer to their work. Others came to be closer to friends and family. Madaline Richards came to Santa Ana because her brother was a teacher and coach in Santa Ana; he watched the houses going up and urged her to buy one.<sup>171</sup> Charles Boothe worked for his father as a plumber’s apprentice in Laguna Beach. After he married a Santa Ana woman, the couple bought their first house in 1950 in Tract 1415 “to be closer to her friends.”<sup>172</sup>

Helen and Ray Soliani were born and raised in New York and Connecticut, respectively. The couple followed family to Santa Ana in about 1958. The Solianis elected to buy on Bristol Street because Helen did not drive. The tract’s proximity to the Alpha Beta grocery store and Mater Dei High School enabled Helen and her daughters to walk to the places they needed to go. Ray Soliani was a carpenter and millwright who worked for the union. His skills enabled him to purchase and maintain a residence and two rental houses on Bristol Street that generated additional income from home.<sup>173</sup> The Solianis came to Santa Ana to join family; they purchased in Tract 1415 because Lifetime Homes integrated the tract into the city.

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<sup>170</sup> David A. Schleith, Uncasville, Conn., interview by author, 3 August 2009.

<sup>171</sup> Madaline L. Richards, interview by author.

<sup>172</sup> Charles M. Boothe, Mission Viejo, Calif., interview by author, 13 August 2009.

<sup>173</sup> For Lot 141 (residence) see Berenice S. Adams (widow) to Raymond R. Soliani and Helen Soliani (husband and wife), grant deed, 8 September 1959, Book of Deeds 4871, page 483; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. For Lot 140 see Arthur E. Bishop (single man) to Raymond R. Soliani and Helen Soliani (husband and wife), grant deed, 8 April 1964, Book of Deeds 6994, page 880; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. For Lot 144 see David P. Graf and Ethel P. Graf (husband and wife) to Raymond R. Soliani and Helen Soliani (husband and wife), grant deed, 10 January 1962, Book of Deeds 5970, page 127; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Pamela Rowan Crow, interview by author, 9 August 2009.

Migration stories vary among original and later residents of Tract 1415 about the paths they took to Santa Ana, but both sets of migrants mostly came to be closer to work or family. Herculano Palacios purchased his house on Rosewood Avenue in 1962 and owned it until about 1972. Palacios, a World War II Army veteran, was born at home on South Euclid Avenue near Whittier Boulevard in East Los Angeles in 1926; his mother had come from Guadalajara in about 1915 to flee the Revolution, and his father had come from Torreon for the same reason. After Palacios's father died in 1931 his mother brought her young children to Santa Ana, where her brother worked as a tailor. Despite the Great Depression, Palacios recalls, "There must have been rich people in Santa Ana, because [my uncle] brought down tailors from L.A. to work who had apprenticed in Mexico. My uncle always had work. He got a paycheck every month, and we did not go hungry in Santa Ana like we did in East L.A." Palacios's wife, Mary, came from Villa Jimenez as an infant; her parents worked in the fields in Colorado and Wyoming before they came to Santa Ana during World War II to work at CalShip near Long Beach. An upholsterer for forty-one years, Palacios worked as a barber after he retired. But now, he says, "I own rentals, a four-plex and a house, and they're always rented. I have carpet layers, painters, [and] carpenters, and I do simple repairs."<sup>174</sup>

Manuel Leon's parents brought him to the San Fernando Valley as an infant from his birthplace of Guanajuato, Mexico, during World War II. They arrived with visas, obtained green cards, and shortly after the war brought their growing family to Santa Ana, where Manuel's father opened a restaurant. Manuel Leon married Teresa Canales in Orange County in 1971, and in 1973 the couple bought their first and only house at 1418

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<sup>174</sup> Herculano Palacios, Santa Ana, Calif., interviews by author, 11 August 2009 and 27 October 2009.

Baker Street in Santa Ana. At the time of the purchase, Leon notes, “I worked for a fiberglass company for \$4.00 per hour.” But, he continues, “I retired as foreman from Jezowski & Markel Construction Company.” The company that pays Leon’s pension grew out of the Walter J. Markel Company that in 1950 poured curbs, gutters, sidewalks, and driveways for Tract 1415.<sup>175</sup> While Manuel Leon worked construction his wife, Teresa, operated a hair salon out of their house. Their two incomes allowed the Leons to send their four children to private schools: St. Anne from kindergarten through eighth grade and Mater Dei High School.<sup>176</sup>

Undocumented Tract 1415 homeowners also came to join family or to find better opportunities for work. Their migration stories differ sharply from those of 1950 original owners or those who purchased later, like Manuel Leon and Herculano Palacios, because undocumented immigration narratives include transborder smuggling and fears of rape or death. Once in the U.S. these Tract 1415 residents hid behind false identities and feared deportation for themselves or family members. Undocumented immigrants that met the criteria and applied for amnesty under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) no longer worried about deportation for themselves. However, their relatives that did not qualify for amnesty or arrived later had no such protection.

Two Tract 1415 homeowners explain why they came to Santa Ana in the late 1970s as undocumented immigrants. Ernesto Barreto and Betty Tobar live at opposite ends of Baker Street. Each has a different reason for coming to Santa Ana, but their overarching motivations to immigrate are universal. Like Barreto and Tobar, other

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<sup>175</sup> Manuel C. Leon, Santa Ana, Calif., interviews by author, 9 October 2009 and 12 March 2011.

<sup>176</sup> Claire L. Myers, Yorba Linda, Calif., interview by author, 29 September 2009. Also, Diana “Dee” Collins Perez, interview by author, 10 September 2009.

undocumented residents of Tract 1415 likely arrived in Santa Ana via *coyote* as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Barreto, a native of Jalisco, Mexico, found work at an Irvine tool manufacturing plant, where he trained as a machinist to make drill bits. By the time he retired in 2005 he owned his house on Baker Street free of mortgage.<sup>177</sup> Tobar, a single woman formerly of El Salvador, found work immediately after arriving in Santa Ana in 1979 via *coyote*. She sewed at the home of “a lovely American lady who owned a t-shirt factory.” When her boss sold the business a few years later Betty quickly secured a job at a printing company. Like Barreto, Tobar had paid off her mortgage by the time she retired from the printing company. “If it weren’t for the pension from that job,” she notes, “I would not have my house. Now I live off of my retirement check.”<sup>178</sup> Tobar came to Santa Ana because that is the place the *coyote* brought her. She came to the U.S., she says, “for the obvious reasons—for a better life. But not for me. I’m here because in El Salvador they were going to take my mom’s house away. My intentions were to come here to help my mom and to go back.” Although Tobar did not return to El Salvador, she explains, “I worked long hours and I kept money only for my roof, my food, and my bills. Everything else went to my mom. There were times I would send her up to \$250.”<sup>179</sup>

Barreto and Tobar challenge stereotypes of “illegal aliens” who abuse social services and do not pay taxes. These two Tract 1415 homeowners found unskilled or low-skilled work after they arrived in Santa Ana and they upgraded their jobs to steady, long-term employment with retirement benefits. Both worked for low pay by U.S. standards,

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<sup>177</sup> Ernesto Barreto, interviews by author and Aracely Favela, 9 September 2009, 12 October 2009, 15 October 2009.

<sup>178</sup> Rosa Betty Tobar, interview by author and Aracely Favela, 19 August 2009.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

but they paid off their mortgages even as they sent regular remittances and supported relatives. Barreto married and raised four children on Baker Street, citizens who were born in Santa Ana; Tobar never married but raised to adulthood three citizen-children, also born in Santa Ana. Barreto came intending to stay, and Tobar arrived with plans to return to El Salvador. Barreto highlights the fallacy of nativists who demand that immigrants show documentation to prove their right to be in the U.S. Barreto clarifies, “I’ve paid my taxes since I arrived. I purchased a green card and a Social Security card for \$75.00, and with those I got a drivers license.” He continues, “With those first false documents I was able to file for my taxes.” Although Barreto received amnesty through IRCA in 1986, he confides, “I could never work under my correct Social Security number. My company would have fired me, and my insurance, my 401K, was all tied to the first Social Security number.”<sup>180</sup> Together Ernesto Barreto and Betty Tobar, long-time Tract 1415 homeowners and residents, provide a snapshot of the individuals some insist on calling “illegals.” Together they challenge tropes of “illegal aliens” that fail to pay their share and drain public resources.

### Conclusion

The built environment of Tract 1415 complicates the concept of postwar tract housing and supports historians who suggest alternate models from the private retreat. Tract 1415 houses fit the suburban tract model because to qualify their houses for financing builders had to comply with FHA specifications. However, developers planned myriad ways to incorporate the tract into the urban setting of the city. Lifetime Homes integrated Tract 1415 into the city so thoroughly that no later residents could mark tract

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<sup>180</sup> Ernesto Barreto, interviews by author and Aracely Favela, 9 September 2009, 12 October 2009, 15 October 2009.



boundaries. The latest alterations to the tract from its original configuration by outside sources—the City of Santa Ana and a tagging crew—evidence the city’s decline. Internal modifications by residents demonstrate Santa Ana’s demographic dynamism—each change to house or street contributes to the accumulated alterations that speak to the cultures of its residents.

The City of Santa Ana twice sacrificed Tract 1415 houses for street widening, first in 1964, when it took four houses to widen Edinger Avenue; this modification to the tract was minimal, and it bespoke a city accommodating growth and modernity. The redevelopment project of the 1990s that removed twenty-one lots to widen Bristol Street, however, speaks to a different narrative. California’s tax structure renders redevelopment as one remaining tool whereby cities may receive large amounts of funding. The Bristol Street widening project represents a massive local removal of blight and poor immigrant residents at federal expense. The project instigated a successful lawsuit by an immigrant-rights group on behalf of persons who would be displaced to force the city to find replacement housing. The Tract 1415 segment included construction of a municipal parking lot that is maintained by Santa Ana taxpayers, although local residents believe the lot was constructed for the private MDHS. Prime users of the lot are MDHS students, faculty, and administration. The school claims the lot as its own by hiring security personnel to patrol it and setting off spaces with traffic cones. The lawsuit and the parking lot together suggest that redevelopment at the turn of the twenty-first century reflects the same exclusionary racial and economic motives that stimulated urban renewal projects at mid-twentieth century. My research of Santa Ana’s Bristol Street widening

project suggests similar scrutiny of other late-twentieth-century redevelopment projects to determine the ways they impact urban low-income and immigrant residents.

Graffiti on trees, traffic signs, cinder-block walls, and utility boxes mark Tract 1415 as turf claimed by a tagging crew and also points to the city's economic decline. The graffiti is a change from without—even though some crew members may reside in the tract. Tract 1415 homeowners likely did not consent to share ownership with an entity that did not contribute to the cost and upkeep of their properties, and instead, lowered the values of their properties by branding them.

Latino alterations to Tract 1415 houses that reflect elements of the “East Los Angeles vernacular” described by James Rojas evidence Santa Ana's dynamism. By claiming their cultural space and proclaiming their presence they exhibit the infrapolitics of the powerless, as described by Robin D. G. Kelley. White Tract 1415 residents have long resisted the efforts of “others” to share their space, as they demonstrated in 1960 with the Sisters of the Holy Cross and in 1981 by their treatment of Ernesto Barreto. Latino modifications to Tract 1415 houses likely inspired a few of the remaining eight white homeowners in 2010 to use their houses to assert their whiteness and citizenship.

The changing work that brought people to Tract 1415 also reflects Santa Ana's changing demography. Macro and micro factors of work and family that pulled residents to the tract from 1950 to 1965 suggest an expanded concept of postwar tract housing. Residents that came from 1965 to 1986 responded to the same calls of work and family that brought earlier migrants, but they arrived via different routes. Many that came from the 1970s through the end of the century came without documentation from Mexico or Central America to join family or because they were delivered by smugglers. Santa Ana

became a locus for immigration in the 1980s because immigrants could find jobs, housing, and community and obtain the false documents they needed to begin life anew. They came to better their lives and to secure better-paying work than they could in their home countries; they mostly came without jobs.

Tract 1415 homeowners Ernesto Barreto and Betty Tobar put faces on Santa Ana's changing demography and challenge tropes of non-taxpaying "illegal aliens." After arriving in the U.S. via smugglers they re-established extended family ties, secured long-time jobs with pension benefits, became homeowners, and paid off their mortgages while raising American-citizen children. These homeowners point to a different narrative: that late-twentieth-century Latino immigrants, like their European predecessors of the late-nineteenth century, sacrificed to attain the American Dream of homeownership. Immigrant homeownership in Tract 1415 suggests other comparative microstudies to ask if immigrants in other places or from other places exhibit similar rates of homeownership.

CHAPTER 3  
HOMEOWNERSHIP AND MOBILITY: WHY THEY LEFT  
AND WHY THEY STAYED

Viola Withey's husband, Hal, was a Commissioned Warrant Officer in the First Marine Division who shipped out for Korea in July 1950. Viola purchased her new house at 1322 Rosewood Avenue by herself with her husband's power of attorney. Hal had never seen the house, and Viola wanted him to know it. She carefully labeled a series of photographs to send him in Korea. She noted bedrooms, living room, and dinette. She photographed contractors pouring driveways and her son standing in the unfenced back yard. She proudly pointed out special features, such as the illuminated house number and the light oak hardwood floors so her husband could see the house he owned.<sup>181</sup>

This chapter examines mobility and homeownership through three themes to determine why original homeowners like Viola and Hal Withey stayed or left Santa Ana—voluntary leavings, possession and dispossession, and stickiness and dynamism. First, most of the tract's military residents, like the Witheys, voluntarily transferred away; their frequent moves exemplify the dynamism that has characterized Tract 1415 since the first residents arrived. Rentals and sales within the tract demonstrate that high numbers of active-duty military homeowners who transfer with regularity alter the urban landscape of a community by stimulating frequent housing turnover and absentee-landlord rental properties. A continuing pattern of rental activity in Tract 1415 through the end of the century suggests that a pattern of rental housing, once established, continues.

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<sup>181</sup> Viola D. Withey, handwritten annotations on photographs, Harold E. Withey Jr., Saint Charles, Ill., photograph collection. Also, Harold E. Withey Jr., Saint Charles, Ill., interview by author, 3 August 2009.

This chapter also looks at personal decline through the possession and dispossession of housing. Foreclosures have not been part of the traditional suburban narrative, but Tract 1415 suggests that they should be. This chapter explores macro factors that contributed to personal dispossession of at least twenty Tract 1415 homeowners between 1951 and 2000, and it points to ways that race, space, and place continue to matter in housing finance. Similarly, people who involuntarily remained in possession of their Tract 1415 houses—homeowners who could not afford to move—suggest that demographic change in Tract 1415 challenges tropes of white flight. Rather, macro level policies limited the financial mobility of many white homeowners, who remained and aged with Tract 1415. Latino and Vietnamese residents took their places; the Vietnamese moved on, and the Latinos remained.

Finally, the chapter explores demographic stickiness and dynamism by locating two sets of Tract 1415 houses: those that were purchased by their 2010 owners more than twenty years before and those that changed hands after January 2005. Tract 1415 exhibits startling stickiness: nearly one-half of the extant houses have been owned by the same owner or owners for more than twenty years. At the same time, the tract displays dynamism through homeowners that have held their houses less than five years and via the tenants of boarding and rental houses. This chapter also “visits” the three extant Tract 1415 streets to discern how they appear on the ground and the ways their residents use them; my research suggests that place and space influence the ways homeowners use their houses and residents use their streets. Two streets challenge tropes of transient immigrant renters, while one street both reinforces and disabuses these images. My research suggests that immigrant boarding houses serve a necessary function, and they

should be recognized as a valid part of the urban housing mix in order to ensure the safety of the residents and the neighbors.

Three mobility factors—voluntary leavings through transfer, involuntary disposessions through foreclosure, and involuntary possession through reduction in economic status—influenced the residential landscape of Tract 1415. These factors were rooted in macro level policies that affected other tracts in other cities nationwide. The tract's stickiness reveals stable, long-time homeowners; its dynamism is characterized by two sets of residents in approximately equal numbers—young homeowners with young children who inject energy and commitment to Tract 1415 and short-term immigrant boarders who have no reason to commit to the tract. The reasons people left or stayed in Tract 1415 matter, because they suggest explanations for why other U.S. places exhibited demographic change or economic decline in the second half of the twentieth century.

#### Voluntary Leavings

When Hal Withey returned from Korea he did not have much time to enjoy living with his wife and two children in the house on Rosewood Avenue. The Marines soon transferred him to the Marine Corps Air Station at Mojave for two years. Rather than rent or sell the family house Withey lived in the Bachelor Officer Quarters (BOQ) at Mojave and commuted to El Toro about one or two weekends per month while his family remained in Santa Ana. When Withey subsequently received transfer to Cherry Point, N.C., Viola and her children again lived without him until she could sell the Rosewood Avenue house, pack the family's 1949 Buick Roadmaster, and drive across the continent

to join Hal in the Cherry Point married officer quarters.<sup>182</sup> Because she purchased her house with no down payment and low-interest G. I. Bill financing, Viola Withey likely invested less than \$2,400 in the house by the time she sold it for a new set of tires. Major (USMC) Ed Bush and his wife, Enid, assumed the Withey mortgage and bought the Withey house as a rental property in January 1955. Bush contracted with a real estate company to rent the house out, and he kept the rental house nearly thirty years. He remembers the previous owners as a Marine and “[h]is wife [who] wanted to get back to the East Coast to be with her husband. She said she would sell the house to us for the price of new tires for her car.”<sup>183</sup>

Like Viola Withey, Beverly Dienes selected and purchased her new Magnolia Avenue house while her husband, John, was in Korea. Dienes walked away from the house and left it with a realtor as a rental property less than two years later. “I was out shopping on a Monday in February. I was seven months pregnant with two little boys under the age of five, and I came home and my husband had left me a note: ‘We have been transferred. We have to move and we have to be in Memphis on Wednesday’ . . . We had bought a huge freezer, and we had to walk off and leave a freezer full of food.”<sup>184</sup>

Beverly Dienes and Viola Withey selected and purchased houses on their own because macro-level factors dictated that their husbands would go to war. The careers of John Dienes, Hal Withey, and Ed Bush depended upon a combination of factors at the

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<sup>182</sup> Viola D. Withey, handwritten annotations on photographs, Harold E. Withey Jr., Saint Charles, Ill., photograph collection. Also, Harold E. Withey Jr., Saint Charles, Ill., interview by author, 3 August 2009.

<sup>183</sup> Elwood D. “Ed” Bush, Ontario, Calif., interview by author, 11 October 2009. Also, Harold E. Withey and Viola D. Withey (husband and wife) to Elwood D. Bush and Enid Irvine Bush (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 28 January 1955, Book of Deeds 2939, page 182; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>184</sup> Beverly I. Dienes, interview by author, 29 September 2009.

macro and micro scales that resulted in frequent and sudden transfer to duty stations around the world. Beverly's freezer full of food and Viola's new tires exemplify micro-level effects of macro-level decisions made by military commanders and the federal government.

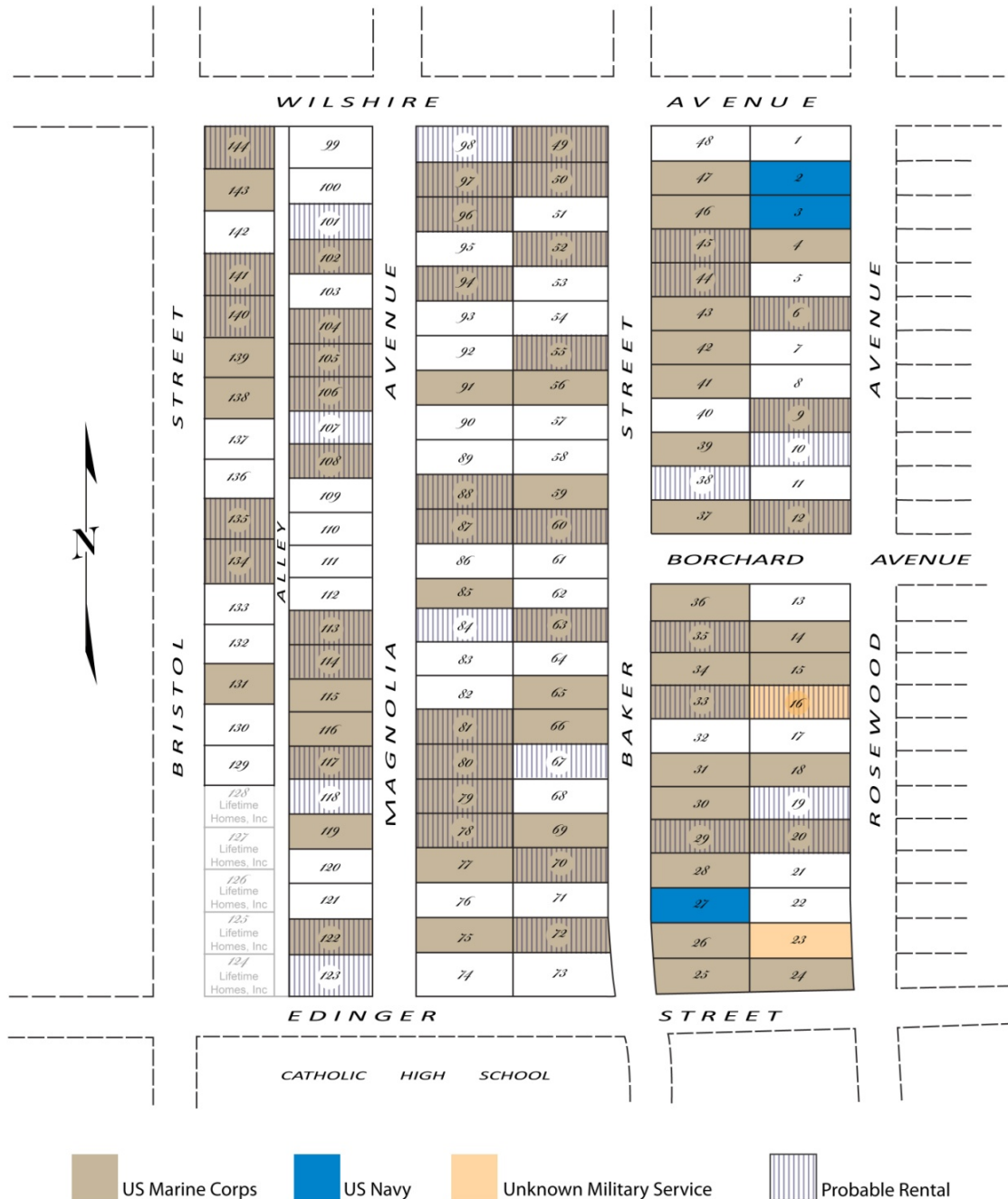
Beverly Dienes, Ed Bush, and Viola Withey illustrate how macro-scale factors of war and the military system of transfer changed the landscape of Tract 1415. Because the Marine Corps transferred Hal Withey to Cherry Point and John Dienes to Memphis, two Tract 1415 houses became long-term rental properties with absentee landlords. Most military owners like the Dienes and Withey families lived in their houses temporarily or intermittently, because Marines under orders to transfer had to dispose of their houses quickly by sale or by rental. Like Viola Withey, Marines often rented or sold to other Marines. Della F. Dayson and her husband, then-Captain (USMC) Patrick Joseph, kept their Magnolia Avenue house as a rental long after he returned from Korea and they left the West Coast. She remembers that "some friends rented it. We also rented it to service people. We rented it out for several years before we finally sold it. I can't remember even why we sold it."<sup>185</sup> Figure 19 juxtaposes probable Tract 1415 rental houses over the map of military households.

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<sup>185</sup> Della F. Dayson, interview by author, 2 September 2009.



Tract No. 1415  
PROBABLE RENTAL HOUSES  
1950 - 1955



**Figure19. Probable rental houses Tract 1415, 1950–1955.** Source: Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

Marines who transferred owned the majority of Tract 1415 rental houses, but they did not own all of them. Civilian carpenter Ray Soliani bought two houses on Bristol Street as rental houses. Jeanne Kopas, a Marine widow, purchased a Magnolia Avenue house in 1959 after the 1956 death of her husband. She and her three children lived in the house until about 1963, when they moved to another part of Santa Ana to be closer to her parents. Kopas kept the house as a rental for several years after she and her children moved out.<sup>186</sup> Inconsistencies in the names assigned to each dwelling across deeds, even-year voting lists, extant Santa Ana criss-cross directories, building permits, and interviews indicate that between 1950 and 1965 owners of about sixty-five (nearly one-half) of the one hundred thirty-nine houses rented their dwellings at some point. Transient military families also rented in Tract 1415. Shirley F. Paxson rented from a military owner on Baker Street for less than two years. “My husband was transferred overseas to Okinawa and I went back to Miami, Florida, to stay with my mom. The Marines said if they wanted the men to have a wife they would have issued them one.”<sup>187</sup>

The transient military lifestyle took its toll on Tract 1415. Fifty-nine original owners sold their houses within five years, before 31 December 1955. Between five and ten years after they first purchased, between 1 January 1956 and 31 December 1960, twenty-six more original owners sold their Tract 1415 houses. By the end of 1965 only twenty-three original homeowners remained in Tract 1415. While Military families did not sell their Tract 1415 houses at a significantly higher rate than their civilian neighbors, they nonetheless impacted the neighborhood by renting their houses at a much higher

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<sup>186</sup> Marleigh Kopas Mooney, Sandpoint, Idaho, interview by author, 14 August 2009.

<sup>187</sup> Shirley F. Paxson, Biloxi, Miss., interview by author, 27 September 2009.

rate.<sup>188</sup> Table 1 synthesizes rentals from 1950 through 1955 and sales from 1950 through 1965.

**Table 1. Tract 1415 sales and rentals 1950 through 1965.** *Source:* Deeds of sale, Orange County Archives and Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

	1950	1951 to 1955	1956 to 1960	1961 to 1965
Houses owned by original owners	139	80	54	23
Houses sold by original owners	0	59	26	31
Houses sold by military original owners	0	≥ 37	≥ 16	≥ 18
Houses rented or vacant owned by original owners	0	≤ 53	n/a	n/a
Houses rented or vacant owned by military original owners	0	≥ 43	n/a	n/a

Despite the high numbers of rental properties from 1950 through 1955, Tract 1415 also demonstrates stickiness. In 1960 nearly ten percent (9,949) of Santa Ana residents out of a total of 100,530 city residents had lived in their houses between seven and ten years (moved into their houses between 1950 and 1953).<sup>189</sup> Original Tract 1415

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<sup>188</sup> To determine likely rental houses in Tract 1514 between 1950 and 1955 the author compiled spreadsheets that cross-reference names of homeowners as shown on recorded deeds and names of homeowners or rental agents from Santa Ana building permits with names of actual residents based upon information from the following: interviews; names of Tract 1415 residents per address listings in extant 1952, 1956, and 1962 Santa Ana criss-cross city directories, Santa Ana Public Library; and names of registered voters at Tract 1415 addresses in Indexes to the California Great Register of Voters, Orange County, 74th Assembly District, Santa Ana Precinct No. 10 (1952); 74th Assembly District, Santa Ana Precinct No. 91, (1954); 74th Assembly District, Santa Ana Precinct Nos. 90, 91 (1956); 74th Assembly District, Vol. 3, Santa Ana 1 thru [sic] Z, Santa Ana Precinct Nos. 90, 113 (1958); 74th Assembly District, Vol. 3, Santa Ana 1 thru [sic] Villa Park 2, Santa Ana Precinct No. 90 (1960); 70th Assembly District, Vol. 4, Santa Ana 4 thru [sic] Santa Ana 222, Santa Ana Precinct Nos. 90, 209 (1962); 70th Assembly District, Vol. 6, Santa Ana 50-180, Santa Ana Precinct No. 90, and Vol. 7, Santa Ana 181-Seal Beach 34, Precinct No. 209 (1964); [No index for 1966]; and 70th Assembly District, Vol. 18, Orange Park Acres-Santa Ana, Santa Ana Precinct No. 68-121 (1968), Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.

<sup>189</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Housing: 1960, Vol. II, Metropolitan Housing, Part 4, Kansas City—New Orleans Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1963), 6-281, General Social and Economic

residents that remained in their houses in 1960 fell into this category. Original Tract 1415 residents and those who purchased by the end of 1953 held their ten-year-old houses at a greater percentage (more than thirty-eight percent) than did homeowners in the rest of Santa Ana. By 2010 four Tract 145 houses remained in original hands. Two of these houses belonged to Marine families that returned to the houses after renting them out for several years while they were on active duty. The stickiness of the tract and the lengthy homeownership by the two Marine families complicate tales of military rentals and absentee landlords.

Interviews reveal that Tract 1415 homeowners who sold their houses between 1951 and 1965 overwhelmingly sold because the military transferred them away from El Toro or because they wished to return to their home states after they left the armed services. One Marine sold his Tract 1415 house after he retired; he wanted to be closer to his new job with Marquardt Corporation in Reseda doing research and development on the ramjet engine.<sup>190</sup> Some original families increased the square footage of their houses as their families grew but eventually sold their Tract 1415 houses and moved to newer, larger houses within the extended network of north and central Orange County cities, including Garden Grove, Orange, Santa Ana, and Tustin.

The pattern of rental housing established from the beginning by military homeowners remained a feature of Tract 1415 through 2000 and long after most military families departed. Deed research reveals that many Tract 1415 houses were owned for several years by real estate firms or investment groups that rented the properties; other

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Characteristics, Table 72, Social Characteristics of the Population, for Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Urbanized Areas, and Urban Places of 10,000 or More: 1960—Con.

<sup>190</sup> Leslie A. Dievendorf Jr., Canoga Park, Calif., interview by author, 14 August 2009.

owners, like Ed and Enid Bush and Ray and Helen Soliani, purchased houses expressly to rent them out. Renters in Tract 1415 over time reflect the demographic dynamism of the city. In the first fifteen years of the tract, 1950 to 1965, renters were mostly native-born white military families and Latino families, but toward the end of the century renters and boarders were increasingly single Latino immigrants, male and female. The white and acculturated Latino residents of Tract 1415 noticed the change, especially when the cultural ways of the temporary immigrant residents differed from their own.

In about 1960 Ed Bush received a telephone call from the realtor that handled the rentals for Bush's Rosewood Avenue house (the former Withey house). According to Bush, "[The realtor] had some Mexican renters there that barbequed a pig on the driveway. He knew about it, so the neighbors likely complained to him."<sup>191</sup> Pam Rowan Crow grew up on Magnolia Avenue and remembers when her back-alley neighbor, Ray Soliani, suspected that the Samoan tenant in one of his Bristol Street rentals had "barbequed pigs in the bathtub." Crow also remembers when former Magnolia Avenue neighbors told her husband that "the people who moved into our house slaughtered animals in the garage."<sup>192</sup> The unnamed neighbor spun a different story of animals in the Rowan garage from Cora Yneges, who recalls that "[t]he Rowans sold their house to Mexicans who kept a cow in the garage."<sup>193</sup> Sharon Kloberdanz of Magnolia Avenue lived next door to Rosario "Rosie" Hernandez, a Latina who made her living by boarding newly arrived immigrants. Kloberdanz remembers when Rosie's tenants "slaughtered a

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<sup>191</sup> Elwood D. Bush, interview by author, 11 October 2009.

<sup>192</sup> Pam Rowan Crow, interview by author, 9 August 2009.

<sup>193</sup> Socorro "Cora" Yneges, interview by author, 4 August 2009.

goat in the back yard—the kids saw them do it over the fence.”<sup>194</sup> White neighbors who bought precut meat from the butcher or supermarket were shocked by the slaughter of live animals in their tidy postwar housing tract. Whites also noticed when large numbers of immigrant adults moved in and out of neighboring houses.

Sharon and Leonard Kloberdanz purchased their Magnolia Avenue house in 1971. In 1977 George and Manuela Valenzuela became the fourth owners of the house next door, which Valenzuela continues to own.<sup>195</sup> The Valenzuelas lived in the house briefly but before 1979 they had moved out and rented the house to Rosie Hernandez. According to Kloberdanz, “Rosie rented rooms and they brought in illegals . . . It was at its worst in 1978, 1979, and 1980.” Rosie’s tenants “would get drunk and they’d end up knocking each other into our crawl space. At one time there were hookers going in and out of that house.” When the Kloberdanzes sold their Magnolia Avenue house in 1989 they moved to a house in Orange they bought from Sharon’s parents.<sup>196</sup>

Ronald Nystrom’s mother lived opposite Rosie from Kloberdanz. Without naming Rosie or her tenants, Nystrom notes, “After our mother died we tried to fix the house up. It was full of fleas because 1338 next door had feral cats living all over it, and the pool [was] half full of algae.”<sup>197</sup> Nystrom does not discuss Rosie, boarders, renters, crowding, immigrants, or immigration when he talks about the house and the tract in which he was raised. However, like Kloberdanz he points to ways in which high numbers of transient residents impact place. Historians can estimate the number of rental properties in a place

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<sup>194</sup> Sharon Kloberdanz, interview by author, 15 September 2009.

<sup>195</sup> Anthony Sessa (married man) to George Valenzuela and Manuela Valenzuela (husband and wife) as joint tenants, 3 October 1977, Book of Deeds 12400, page 1153; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>196</sup> Sharon Kloberdanz, interview by author, 15 September 2009.

<sup>197</sup> Ronald L. Nystrom, San Juan Capistrano, Calif., interview by author, 14 August 2009.

over time by cross-referencing names of residents with names of owners, but the technique fails when residents do not leave a paper trail or the chain of ownership breaks through foreclosure or after owners deed the house to a trust. However, Mike Miller offers an avenue by which historians may identify former rental properties or possible immigrant status in the years before the U.S. Postal Service automated mail forwarding.

Miller carried Tract 1415 mail from 1973 to his retirement in 2004; for more than thirty years he visited every house on Baker Street, Magnolia Avenue, and Rosewood Avenue five days out of every week (Bristol Street belonged to a different route). Miller knew the residents on his route, and he liked Rosie: “I’d go in and have a soda with her every day. She was still there when I retired. She always had three or four men around; they’d be out front drinking beer when I’d come around.” The men Miller saw did not include those boarders who worked or slept while he stopped on his route. According to Miller, “[Rosie] rented spaces; her whole house was candles and books inside. She was pretty religious; she had crosses everywhere.” Miller notes that Rosie’s tenants would “come and go, [but] they never turned a change of address. That’s how you knew they were illegal.” Rosie ran one of several Tract 1415 immigrant boarding houses, and Miller knew most of them. “I was out there when the census takers came around—1980, 1990, and 2000. . . [Census takers] couldn’t go in the garages and the back houses to count people. They could only take the word of the person who answered the door.”<sup>198</sup> First-generation immigrant homeowners also notice Magnolia Avenue’s boarding houses.

Adalberto Marin lives on the opposite side of Magnolia Avenue from the house Rosie Hernandez operated. Marin prefers living next to a crowded boarding house over

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<sup>198</sup> Mike Miller, interview by author, 3 September 2009.

living next to a drug house. He explains that cash-strapped homeowners of Tract 1415 rent rooms and sleeping spaces to newly arrived immigrants because the need is there and because providing the spaces adds to the family income. His next-door neighbors do it so they can make their house payments. Marin paid \$80,000 for his house in 1980, with a monthly mortgage payment of \$800. In contrast, Marin notes that his neighbors next door, a young husband and wife that work full-time as a waiter and a housekeeper in a hotel, paid \$370,000 for their 1,000 square-foot house just before housing prices fell in 2008. They now “rent rooms to at least fifteen to twenty people” in order to meet their \$3,000 monthly house payments.

Like most Tract 1415 houses, the boarding house next door to Marin has only its original three bedrooms and one bathroom, “plus the big bathroom that is the back yard.” Marin points out that the renters’ cars crowd the streets: “We have to put our trash cans out there to hold the spot for when we come home from work.” He also notes that the renters “don’t have an interest in keeping up the community.” Even so, Marin prefers his current neighbors and their tenants “over the drug people,” that previously owned the house and lost it through foreclosure. Marin also points across the street to a two-story house that “has a lot of renters.”<sup>199</sup> Marin’s next-door neighbors on his other side agree.

Jose Luis Lopez and Cecilia Lopez immigrated from Michoacán, Mexico, and lived in Garden Grove before they bought their house 1979. They live next to Marin opposite from the young couple that runs the boarding house. While Lopez supports Marin’s estimate regarding the number of renters on the other side of Marin, he focuses instead on the two-story house across the street. He agrees with Marin that it is a

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<sup>199</sup> Adalberto Marin, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009.



boarding house and guesses that it has “easy twenty or thirty renters.”<sup>200</sup> Neither Marin nor the Lopezes are acculturated. Marin struggles with English, but he chooses to use it; the Lopezes do not. These long-time next-door neighbors view the boarding houses differently than do former white and acculturated Magnolia Avenue residents. Cecilia Lopez does not like the large weekend parties routinely held at the two-story house, but neither Marin nor the Lopezes object to the boarding houses or the boarders. However, they do not like the way the *numbers* of boarders impact their street.

Predictably, white and acculturated residents view the immigrant boarding houses on Magnolia Avenue differently than do immigrant homeowners. Whites and acculturated Latinos comment on behaviors; immigrant homeowners comment on numbers. Even allowing for prejudice or hyperbole, however, Tract 1415 exhibits a continuous pattern of transient residency that began by late 1951, when the first of the original military owners returned from combat in Korea, transferred to the next duty stations, and rented out their houses. By 1955, when Viola Withey sold the Rosewood Avenue house she had documented so carefully with her camera, the Tract 1415 rental pattern had set. The military families of Tract 1415, who rented their houses out at a far greater percentage than civilian owners, in turn rented to other military families that also came and went with frequency. The brown immigrants that rented spaces in Tract 1415 at the end of the twentieth century had much in common with their white military predecessors from fifty years before; they differed mainly in skin color and cultural ways. Both groups of renters came and went quickly, sometimes in large numbers, sometimes with families, and sometimes without leaving a paper trail. The newer renters, like the

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<sup>200</sup> Jose Luis Lopez and Cecilia Anna Lopez, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009.

military tenants before them, impacted houses and housing tracts simply by the act of moving in and out. Like their white military predecessors, the brown renters had little interest or motivation to invest their social capital in the places they only temporarily called home.

New immigrants seek places where they can speak their language, find a job, and find a place to live. Many arrive without their families and send for them later. They come to make a better life, and they sacrifice their living situations to do it. Some that arrive without families, for example, the tenants of Rosie Hernandez, behave like many people do when they are away from home—they act in ways they normally would not. Some stave off loneliness with alcohol or sex they purchase with dollars left over from remittances and living expenses. Because of their great numbers, however, both groups of renters—white mid-twentieth-century military families and brown late-twentieth-century immigrants—changed the places they passed through. The history of Tract 1415 renters and boarders throughout the second half of the twentieth century recommends similar microhistorical studies of other cities near military installations and of cities with large immigrant populations to see how those cities were impacted by large numbers of transient residents.

### Possession and Dispossession

The involuntary disposessions of Tract 1415 homeowners that struggled and ultimately failed to keep their houses urge policymakers to revisit the American Dream of homeownership. Tract 1415 suggests that foreclosure has long been part of suburbia and that it should be incorporated into the suburban narrative. Complete chains of title for one hundred three Tract 1415 lots—more than two-thirds of the original one hundred forty-

four properties—reveal at least twenty stories of dispossession between 1951 and the end of the century. In one Tract 1415 case, fourteen years of repeated loans, defaults, judgments, rescissions, and finally foreclosure reveal details of a young family dispossessed of their house after their toddler suffered brain damage from meningitis. Four years after the child was placed in a state mental hospital at a cost to the parents of \$20 per month, the parents owed the state nearly \$1,000 for her care. Six years after that, in 1966, they lost their house.<sup>201</sup> At least three foreclosed Tract 1415 houses were sold by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) within one year. At least thirteen foreclosures occurred between 1991 and 2000. Table 2 displays the distribution of foreclosures in Tract 1415 from 1951 through 2000.

**Table 2. Tract 1415 foreclosures by decade, 1951–2000.** *Source:* Chains of title from 1950 through 2000 compiled from individual deeds of sale for one hundred three out of one hundred forty-four original Tract 1415 properties.

	1951– 1960	1961– 1970	1971– 1980	1981– 1990	1991– 2000
13					
12					
11					
10					
9					
8					
7					
6					
5					
4					
3					
2					
1					

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<sup>201</sup> Socorro “Cora” Yneges, interview by author, 4 August 2009. Also, Richard W. [redacted] and Dorothy R. [redacted] (husband and wife) to Home Savings and Loan Association, grant deed, 14 July 1966, Book of Deeds 7990, page 56; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. In citing deeds of foreclosure the author redacts surnames to protect the privacy of foreclosed homeowners; other citation details are correct and complete and will lead researchers to the deeds in question.

Broken down by ethnicity the foreclosed homeowners accurately reflect the ethnic proportions of Tract 1415 residents at the time they lost the houses. White homeowners foreclosed eight times: 1959, 1963, 1966, 1971, 1976, 1977, 1997, and 1998. Latino homeowners foreclosed nine times: 1985, 1991, 1995, 1996 (x 3), 1999 (x 2), and 2000. Three repossessions of unknown ethnicity resulted in bank or HUD sales in 1995, 1997, and 1999. The numerous repossessions of Tract 1415 houses that have occurred since 2000 are outside the scope of this project, but they should be chronicled for the macro-economic policies they will reveal. The preponderance of repossessions in the 1990s—two to whites, three to unknown homeowners, and eight to Latinos—speaks less to the credit worthiness of the borrowers than it does to macro-economic policies of the 1980s and 1990s. The totality of the Tract 1415 foreclosures in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s manifest the “possessive investment in whiteness,” as defined by George Lipsitz.

In his book by the same name Lipsitz maintains that macro level local, state, and federal policies fueled by micro level private racial prejudices built and strengthened our nation’s racial power structure and invested white skin with “cash value.” Lipsitz argues that public policy continues to disadvantage people of color in order to maintain the value of whiteness.<sup>202</sup> The macro level actions that created the economic conditions of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s produced visible results on the ground throughout the U.S. Research in Tract 1415 supports Lipsitz and illustrates how the possessive investment in whiteness dispossessed twenty Santa Ana houses of their owners.

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<sup>202</sup> George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (1998; revised and expanded, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), vii.

In the early 1980s two Congressional actions—the Institutions Deregulation and Monetary Control Act (DIDMCA) of 1980 and the Garn-St. Germain Act of 1982—effectively deregulated usury laws, encouraged risky lending, and allowed savings and loans institutions to finance mortgages. Interest rates climbed, and housing prices rose with them. Priced out of the market, first-time buyers and middle-class buyers ceased to buy. At the same time, legislators who wished to counteract past discriminatory lending practices passed the Alternative Mortgage Transaction Parity Act (AMTPA) of 1982. This act encouraged lenders to create alternative financing plans that might allow more low-income-earners to qualify for home mortgage loans. Innovations included adjustable-rate mortgages (ARMs, that fluctuated with market interest rates), balloon-payment mortgages (lower initial payments with a large payment at the end of the loan), and interest-only mortgages that allowed the borrower to pay only the interest on the principal balance for a set period at the beginning of the loan.<sup>203</sup> These mechanisms allowed buyers who would not otherwise qualify to become homeowners. However, lending policies were quickly manipulated by lenders who wished to protect the possessive investment in whiteness.

The lending policies that led to more than thirteen Tract 1415 foreclosures in the 1990s grew out of a long history of housing policies crafted by whites to protect white privilege. Deregulating the lending industry in the 1980s and the 1990s followed the same race-driven ideology that guided Lifetime Homes when it refused to sell a Tract 1415 house to a Latino couple in 1950. Lifetime Homes followed FHA racial guidelines that were modeled in the 1930s. Lipsitz traces housing policies created to protect the

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<sup>203</sup> Dan Immergluck, *Credit to the Community: Community Reinvestment and Fair Lending Policy in the United States* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), 42-43, 261.

possessive investment in whiteness back to the Homestead Act of 1863 that effectively eliminated black applicants.<sup>204</sup>

Predatory lending practices of the 1980s and 1990s continued the tradition of protecting the cash value of whiteness by targeting minority populations, low-income earners, and purchasers of aging housing stock—often the same groups—for creative financing. Unscrupulous lenders encouraged these targeted groups to assume subprime loans that carried unfavorable terms, charged high interest, and labeled borrowers as high-risk. The subsequent “mismatch between assets and liabilities” caused more than one thousand lending institutions that held more than \$500 billion in assets to fail from 1986 to 1995.<sup>205</sup>

The mortgages that failed in the 1990s reinforced the value of whiteness while inhibiting the life chances of the borrowers (mostly immigrants and people of color) in four ways. First, lenders that assumed little financial risk dispossessed low-income owners of their largest investment. All thirteen Tract 1415 foreclosures were resold within approximately one year, all to Latino buyers. One Magnolia Avenue house foreclosed twice within three years (1993 and 1996) to different sets of Latino buyers. Second, white policymakers stigmatized as poor credit risks the subprime borrowers and foreclosed homeowners of the 1990s, thus reducing their abilities to purchase real estate in the future. Third, repossessing the house accomplished two goals that enhanced the possessive investment in whiteness: it delayed the borrower’s ability to accumulate capital assets, and it frustrated his or her ability to pass inherited wealth to heirs.

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<sup>204</sup> George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, 106.

<sup>205</sup> Dan Immergluck, *Credit to the Community*, 42-43.

Finally, foreclosed and empty houses blighted neighborhoods and reduced nearby property values by inviting crime, squatting, and vandalism. The foreclosed house at 1333 S. Magnolia Avenue provides example. Two Magnolia Avenue residents speak to vandalism at the house in the eight months since it foreclosed in January 2009.<sup>206</sup> Frank Segura comments, “Our next-door neighbor lost his house to foreclosure and it is now for sale at \$275,000.” Significantly, he continues, “It’s been vacant, and it got graffiti.”<sup>207</sup> Carolina Arambula agrees as she gestures to the foreclosed house next to Segura and across the street from her; she observes that “*los jovenes se juntaban* (young people gather) at the empty house that’s for sale. They broke the windows and police were called and made them leave.”<sup>208</sup> Depressed valuations in turn inhibit the ability of neighbors like Segura and Arambula (also members of target groups) to leverage the equity in their properties.

The possessive investment in whiteness exhibited in the Tract 1415 repossessions of the 1990s also inspired the macro events that set up the foreclosures of Tract 1415 houses in 1971, 1976, and 1977. Deeds reveal three stories of dispossession: two houses were foreclosed rental properties (1971 and 1977) that were subsequently purchased by owner-residents who remain in possession and residency after for more than thirty years. The 1971 foreclosure dispossessed a white husband and wife of a rental property; eight months later the current Latino owner purchased the house from HUD. The 1976 foreclosure was the home of a white husband and wife for seventeen years; the paper trail

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<sup>206</sup> Danny R. [redacted] Sr. and Corinne G. [redacted] (husband and wife) to Ronald P. Beard, Trustee, Trustee's Deed, 15 January 2009, Instrument No. 2009-00017826; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>207</sup> Frank V. Segura, interview by author, 5 August 2009.

<sup>208</sup> Carolina Arambula, interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009.

ends with their foreclosure and picks up again in 1989, when the house was a rental owned by husband-and-wife Latino real estate agents. The 1977 foreclosure dispossessed two white married couples of a rental property; the house was purchased in 1979 by a white husband (now deceased) and wife, the current owner and resident.

Dispossessions of the 1970s reflect macro factors of contests over race, space, and power that began in California in the 1960s, spread nationwide, and gave birth to the conservative political movement. California property taxes rose quickly in the 1970s and, as Tract 1415 illustrates, foreclosures increased. Historian Robert O. Self examines how California's 1978 "tax revolt" exposed debates over how cities would distribute "the assets *and debts* of postwar affluence" (emphasis added).<sup>209</sup> In *American Babylon*, Self examines stereotypes of urban decline and white flight through the racial contest for space in urban Oakland and its East Bay suburbs. Through Oakland, Self speaks to similar contests in Santa Ana.

According to Self, three interconnected factors at different political scales grew white suburbs and withered Oakland's vision of becoming a postwar metropolitan center: federally subsidized loans to white homeowners; public and private partnerships that created segregated suburbs, and white homeowners who bought in suburbs. Suburban homeowners expected low taxes, racial segregation, and growth in property values. They viewed their property as capital, and they feared rising property taxes that threatened it. The 1978 California tax initiative targeted race but coded it as homeownership; it provided voters a referendum over who pays and who benefits. White suburban taxpayers won and black urban beneficiaries lost. Self concludes that "white flight" from Oakland

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<sup>209</sup> Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3.



was not white flight; rather, white suburban growth in the East Bay was the result of micro- to macro-level processes of state building. Self's analysis of Oakland supports Lipsitz; the state-building processes he reveals protected the possessive investment in whiteness for former Oaklanders that moved to the East Bay suburbs.

Like Oakland, Santa Ana from 1965 to 2000 lost much of its middle class to newer and unincorporated suburbs within the county. In the 1960s massive public-private partnerships altered South Orange County as they did the East Bay. The University of California campus at Irvine (UCI) opened in 1965, and Orange County's first master-planned communities began selling houses at about the same time: Irvine (1960s), Laguna Niguel (1961), Rossmore Leisure World (1963), and Mission Viejo (1965).<sup>210</sup> Also, in 1969 construction was completed on the southernmost section of the San Diego Freeway, I-405, from the Los Angeles County line south through Orange County to the I-5 (Santa Ana Freeway) merge at Irvine. The new interstate highway provided an alternative North-South route for drivers anxious to avoid traffic on the older I-5. Like nineteenth-century cities that pinned economic hopes on railroads, the economic fortunes of cities of the twentieth century rose and fell with highways. The new, wide I-405 introduced drivers to new, expansive suburbs in South Orange County as it bypassed the I-5 and the older, denser cities it served.

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<sup>210</sup> For Irvine see the City of Irvine, "History of the City," <http://www.cityofirvine.org/about/history.asp> (accessed 18 February 2011). For Laguna Niguel see City of Laguna Niguel, "History & Statistics," <http://www.ci.laguna-niguel.ca.us/index.aspx?nid=388> (accessed 18 February 2011). For Rossmore Leisure World see Terry Baker, "The History of Leisure World 1963-1975: Chapter I, Background, Ross Cortese," *The Historian*, Historical Society of Laguna Woods, PDF, <http://lagunawoodscity.org/images/lagunawoodscity/Historian%2009%20Jul-Aug.pdf> (accessed 18 February 2011). For Mission Viejo see City of Mission Viejo, "About Mission Viejo: Mission Viejo History." <http://cityofmissionviejo.org/History/> (accessed 18 February 2011).

Tract 1415 demonstrates that Santa Ana, like Oakland and hundreds of other cities in the 1970s, did indeed lose middle class population to newer, whiter areas nearby. However, microhistorical study of Tract 1415 offers two caveats to the standard narrative of decline. First, several middle-class residents that left Tract 1415 from 1951 through 2000 did not leave Santa Ana; they instead moved to a different part of the city; this group of homeowners points to Santa Ana's decline. Second, other Tract 1415 middle-class homeowners did not leave the tract, but they lost their middle-class status; this group of homeowners illuminates a narrative of personal decline and offers nuance to the master narrative of urban decline and the rise of suburbia.

Former Tract 1415 homeowners that moved to a different part of Santa Ana support historian Mary Lisbeth Haas, who points to the ethno-racial geography that traditionally separated white Santa Ana from brown at Seventeenth Street. In "The Barrios of Santa Ana" Haas illuminates the three *barrios* south of Seventeenth Street—Artesia, Delhi, and Logan—that housed Santa Ana's early-twentieth-century Mexican and Mexican American populations. Tract 1415 lies south of First Street and is thus well south of Seventeenth Street. More significantly, the tract is at the linear and geographic center between the Artesia *barrio* to the northwest and the Delhi *barrio* to the southeast; Logan *barrio* is due northeast.<sup>211</sup> Tract 1415's geographic placement below Seventeenth Street offers underscores how Lifetime Homes integrated the tract into the city and had no intent to build a 1950 retreat from urbanity. By 1982 the city's ethnic divisions held; Santa Ana Police Department's Barrio Program identified sixteen *barrios* south of

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<sup>211</sup> Mary Lisbeth Haas, "The Barrios of Santa Ana: Community, Class, and Urbanism, 1850–1947," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 1985, xiii.

Seventeenth Street but located none north of that ethnic border.<sup>212</sup> In Santa Ana, as in Oakland, race, space, and place matter. However, Tract 1415 also offers another explanation for Santa Ana's loss of middle-class population that similarly applies to other U.S. cities.

California's Proposition 13 not only created race- and class-based communities to enhance white privilege. Tract 1415 demonstrates that Proposition 13 also disadvantaged older, middle-class homeowners of all races. Like many long-time Tract 1415 residents, these formerly middle-class, older residents owned their houses free of mortgage. Once they retired from their careers their fixed incomes easily covered their property taxes and living expenses. However, Proposition 13 ensured that property taxes on housing units built or purchased after 1978 would be assessed at higher rates. The fixed incomes of Tract 1415 homeowners would not stretch to cover the increased taxes and the likely house payments they would face if they sold their aging houses and bought anew. The effects of Proposition 13 combined with their subsequent retirement to cause the older homeowners of Tract 1415 to lose their middle-class status; they had no choice but to remain in place. They stayed in the tract and the city because they had no choice, but they were no longer middle class. These middle-class homeowners did not flee Tract 1415 or Santa Ana; their narrative of personal decline and involuntary possession suggests another permutation of the trope of middle-class flight and urban decline.

#### Stickiness and Dynamism

In the 1970s and 1980s many young Orange Countians who grew up in the older cities of Anaheim, Fullerton, Garden Grove, Orange, Santa Ana, Tustin, and Westminster

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<sup>212</sup> Lisbeth Haas, "Grass-Roots Protest and the Politics of Planning," 276, n. 15.

moved to the new communities in South Orange County to attend UCI and pursue work opportunities after graduation. Their parents, however, like many who remained in Tract 1415, often stayed in their houses in the older cities. Tract 1415's stickiness withstood the effects of rising tax rates in the 1970s and unscrupulous lending practices in the 1980s and 1990s. That stickiness speaks to the resilience of the homeowners, white and Latino, that worked, raised families, and continued to care for their aging Tract 1415 houses. In 2010 nearly one-half of the tract homeowners (fifty-seven out of one hundred nineteen extant properties) had owned their houses for twenty years or more. Yet Tract 1415 also speaks to demographic dynamism; twenty-five tract properties were held by their 2010 owners for five years or less. Figure 20 shows the distribution and longevity of Tract 1415 homeowners.

TRACT No. 1415  
YEARS OWNED BY CURRENT HOMEOWNERS  
2010



**Figure 20. Years owned by current homeowners 2010. Numbers on white lots represent the number of years (twenty or more) the 2010 owner has owned the house; original owners with sixty years of ownership are in orange. The newest owners, with five years or less of ownership, are in blue; all others, in pink, have six to nineteen years of ownership. The north half of Baker Street has the highest concentration of long-time owners.** *Source:* Ruben Acherman, original map adapted from Kemmerer Engr. Co., Tract No. 1415 in the City of Santa Ana, California, April 1950, Miscellaneous Maps Book 42: 29–31, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, real estate deeds, Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

Three extant streets containing one hundred nineteen lots now form Tract 1415 and offer divergent experiences. Rosewood Avenue, like Baker Street is bisected at Borchard Avenue into two separate blocks. The 1300 block of Rosewood Avenue north of Borchard Avenue and the 1400 block to the south are more in community with houses across the street than they are with the Tract 1415 houses on the other side of Borchard. Of the twenty-three houses on the west side of Rosewood Avenue seven houses were in the hands of their 2010 owners five years or less; twelve houses were held for twenty years or more by the current homeowners, including one original owner. Long-time owners are evenly split between Rosewood Avenue's 1300 and 1400 blocks, but newer owners are mostly north of Borchard Avenue. The lone original owner is white; all other 2010 owners are Latino. The Rosewood houses are the best kept of the three Tract 1415 streets; most are recently painted; several display elaborate but tidy landscaping, and others showcase the fine work of master brick and stone masons.

In Tract 1415 Baker Street is impacted the most by traffic and parked cars because it shares a traffic signal with Edinger Avenue and Mater Dei High School. Visitors driving east on Edinger from Bristol Street that wish to go to Magnolia Avenue must drive north on Baker Street to Wilshire Avenue before doubling back to Magnolia. Despite busy traffic and parking problems Baker seems the safest of the Tract 1415 streets during the day, perhaps because residents use their street as a plaza, as Rojas describes. They visit in yards and at gates; children skate on the sidewalk; homeowners chat while they hose their yards, and at least twelve houses have installed greenhouse windows that add charm to the 1950 designs and allow residents wider street views.

Borchard Avenue bisects Baker Street, as it does Rosewood Avenue, into two social units. The social division is most visible on the unbroken west side of the street. On this side of the street the owner-residents of lot sixty have held their house twenty-one years; they orient to the north.<sup>213</sup> Lot sixty-one was a former foreclosure purchased by its owners in 2008; this lot visually aligns to the south.<sup>214</sup> Longtime residents dominate Baker Street on the 1300 block north of Borchard Avenue, where sixteen of the twenty-four houses have had the same owners for more than twenty years, and only two houses are held by owners of less than five years. Most houses north of Borchard Avenue on the 1300 block are unfenced. The 1300 block of Baker Street is the only Tract 1415 place where young children play together in the public spaces outside.

In contrast, most houses south of Borchard Avenue have fenced front yards. In 2010 the 1400 block south of Borchard Avenue has three lots owned and occupied by whites; all other owners are Latino. The 1300 block of Baker Street north of Borchard Avenue has the largest concentration of long-time owners and it is largely unfenced; this block suggests that the accumulated changes that result in the “East Los Angeles vernacular” take more than two or three Latino housing turnovers to accomplish. Figure 21 illustrates the difference in appearance between the two blocks of Baker Street on the unbroken west side of the street.

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<sup>213</sup> Aulay P. MacAulay and Mildred R. MacAulay (husband and wife) to Alfonso Gutierrez (single man) and Jesus Gutierrez and Marta Gutierrez (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 8 February 1989, Instrument No. 1989-00067521; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana. Also, Alfonso Gutierrez (single man) to Jesus Gutierrez and Marta Alicia Gutierrez (husband and wife) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer quitclaim deed, 3 October 1989, Instrument No. 1989-00530958; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

<sup>214</sup> Deutsche Bank National Trust Co., Trustee, to Romulo Garcia (single man) and Margarito Garcia (single man) as joint tenants, trustee’s grant deed, 2 July 2008, Instrument No. 2008-00317867; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.



**Figure 21. Two views of the west side of Baker Street anchored by the same block wall. The block wall separates lots 60 and 61. View, *left*, looks north from Borchard Avenue beginning at lot 60. View, *right*, looks south from Borchard Avenue beginning at lot 61. Breaks in the shadows on the sidewalk represent unfenced driveways. Source: Photographs by author.**

Connie Chapman and her husband, Frank, a retired USMC Master Sergeant who served in Korea and Vietnam, are the second owners of their house in the 1300 block of Baker Street north of Borchard Avenue. They bought the house from the original military owners in 1964. Chapman is philosophical about Baker Street. She has seen the street change as old owners left and new ones arrived and she notes that for now, “my part of the street is all owner-occupied.” However, she adds, “It might go in cycles; for twenty years it’s good, then the owners sell and move on to bigger or smaller homes, and then it gets bad. Then it gets good again. Right now it’s nice.”<sup>215</sup>

The 1400 block of Baker Street has three owners of less than five years and eight owners of more than twenty years, including one house occupied by heirs of original military homeowners. This block is as well-used by its residents as the 1300 block, although its children are older. This block too is mostly Latino-owned except for three houses with elderly white owner-residents. Baker Street during the day presents a

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<sup>215</sup> Connie Chapman, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author, 18 September 2009.



different picture than it does after dark. Baker Street mothers bring their children inside when they hear sirens or helicopters or when they hear *los juvenes* (teens or young adults) gathering in the parking lot on Bristol Street; these mothers know that gang activity on Magnolia Avenue is only one block away.

Magnolia Avenue is more prominently marked by tagging than Baker Street or Rosewood Avenue. As Chapman says, “Magnolia is a whole different story [from Baker Street].” She speculates that the difference “could be the age group of the children on the street. Maybe it’s because there are a lot of young people on Magnolia.” Chapman and others note that Magnolia Avenue is home to young men and women that grew up on the street, attended local schools, and allegedly engage in gang behaviors. Mike Miller, former mail carrier, remarks that many of the Tract 1415 children he knew on his mail route that joined gangs now “lie in the Santa Ana cemetery; they’re buried there with their pictures on their headstones.”<sup>216</sup> These native-born young Americans are a different population from their tenant-immigrant neighbors. Significantly, no residents associate boarding-house tenants with gang activity.

Place and space dictate the ways Tract 1415 homeowners use their houses and residents use their streets. Magnolia Avenue has always varied physically from Baker Street and Rosewood Avenue, and the differences continue. From the beginning Magnolia was the only Tract 1415 street that was one unbroken block on both sides; it is now the only Tract 1415 street that backs to an alley. Until 1992, Magnolia Avenue shared the alley with the “dope houses” and criminal activity on Bristol Street. The alley is now part of a municipal parking lot that is visible from Bristol Street and closed to cars

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<sup>216</sup> Mike Miller, interview by author, 3 September 2011.

at night. However, the lot is occasionally the site of spontaneous celebration—for example, when Mexico wins sporting events. Magnolia Avenue is the only extant Tract 1415 street that includes an officially designated commercial property: the house on the west side of the street at Edinger Avenue was converted to a commercial property with an Edinger Avenue address in 1958; it now houses a hair salon in the rear and a homeopathic pharmacy at the front. Figure 22 shows the commercial property that, despite its signage, brick trim, and concrete front yard, still looks like a Tract 1415 house.



**Figure 22. House at 1446 S. Magnolia Ave. was rezoned commercial in 1958, when the address was changed to Edinger Ave. Magnolia Avenue is the only extant Tract 1415 street that contains a commercially zoned property. Traffic signal at Bristol Street is visible, left.** Source: Photograph by author. Also, Santa Ana Planning and Building Agency, Building Permit, 19 July 1950, Lot 123, Tract 1415; PDF, 1227WEdinger.pdf, City of Santa Ana Building Permits, Santa Ana History Room Collection, Santa Ana Public Library.

Two houses on the west side of Magnolia Avenue are the only Tract 1415 houses that have a second floor added above; these are likely boarding houses. Many Magnolia Avenue neighbors do not know each other, and several properties, including those of

long-term owners, are rentals or boarding houses. Of the three Magnolia Avenue houses owned by whites in 2010, two are original owner-residents and the third is the commercial property at Edinger Avenue. Residents of Magnolia Avenue and Baker Street speak equally of crime, gangs, and gunshots on Magnolia Avenue; they agree that Magnolia is different from Baker Street, and they speculate that the ages of the young people on Magnolia Avenue contribute to the crime on the street. However, the configuration of Magnolia Avenue as an unbroken block with alley access has always rendered Magnolia unlike the other Tract 1415 streets of Baker and Rosewood; the officially recognized commercial lot and the unofficial boarding house businesses add to the ways that Magnolia Avenue differs. In Tract 1415 space and place contribute to the ways that the residents use their streets.

### Conclusion

Most Tract 1415 homeowners came to Santa Ana because their work brought them there, and many left because their work took them away. Tract 1415 exhibited dynamism from the beginning. Military homeowners came and went quickly; they sold or rented their houses as they left. The high numbers of rental properties among military homeowners suggest that high numbers of active-duty military homeowners who transfer with regularity alter the urban landscape of a community by stimulating frequent housing turnover and absentee-landlord rental properties. The military homeowners of Tract 1415 established a pattern of rental activity that continues today in Magnolia Avenue boarding houses. The rental housing that characterizes Tract 1415 suggests that policymakers revisit the American Dream of owning a house. It also urges potential homebuyers to

consider the socio-economic impact to the neighborhood if they know they will never reside in or will soon vacate the house they presume to buy.

Between 1951 and 2000 twenty Tract 1415 homeowners left involuntarily when they were dispossessed of their houses. Tract 1415 demonstrates that foreclosure is part of the suburban narrative. The Tract 1415 pattern of foreclosures suggests that macro-economic policy continues to favor whites as lenders and borrowers in order to maintain what George Lipsitz calls the possessive investment in whiteness. These macro factors contributed to the personal dispossession of twenty Tract 1415 homeowners and demonstrate that race, space, and place continue to matter. Demographic change in Tract 1415, as in Oakland and other cities throughout the U.S., was influenced by macro level policies of state-building that grew white communities in South Orange County.

However, Tract 1415 also highlights homeowners who remained fixed in place and aged with their houses. These homeowners challenge tropes of white flight and urban decline in another way. My research suggests that the policies that grew the white, walled, and wealthy communities in South Orange County by drawing tax dollars and middle-class population from the older cities also trapped formerly middle-class older homeowners in aging houses in aging cities. The Tract 1415 homeowners who were involuntarily dispossessed of their properties or who involuntarily stayed in their properties raise further questions about the universal benefits of homeownership. My research appeals to legislators and voters to consider the unintended consequences—the micro effects—of the macro laws and initiatives they pass. The dispossession through foreclosure of Tract 1415 houses and the reduction in middle-class status that fixed other

Tract 1415 homeowners in place begs for comparable research in other cities to see if these conditions existed in other cities.

Tract 1415 exhibits both stickiness and dynamism through its balance of long-time homeowners of more than twenty years, new homeowners of five years or less, and homeowners that have held their houses between six and nineteen years. The three groups of homeowners increase the odds that the tract will evolve rather than undergo abrupt change. Most Tract 1415 homeowners reside in their houses and defy tropes of immigrant neighborhood instability. The extant streets of Tract 1415 suggest that place and space continue to influence the ways homeowners use their houses and residents use their streets. The gang activity that residents associate with second- and third-generation *jovenes* on Magnolia Avenue speaks to urban decline that threatens all Tract 1415 residents. However, the fact that no residents have linked gang crime to immigrant boarding-house tenants challenges stereotypes of low-rent boarding-houses and immigrant criminality.

Magnolia Avenue boarding houses are full because new immigrants go to places where they find community and a place to stay. If they arrive without families they likely behave in ways they would not if they were at home. Tract 1415 suggests that today's boarding house tenants will be tomorrow's homeowners. Officials of Santa Ana and other cities with large immigrant populations should recognize that boarding houses serve a valid need within the residential mix of the city and should establish minimum, reasonable health and safety standards by which they should operate. Official pretense that the houses do not exist encourages unhealthful conditions, places tenants and neighbors at risk of fire and disease, and leaves tenants vulnerable to their landlords.

## CONCLUSION

Santa Ana's Tract 1415 is small—now just one hundred nineteen houses. Even when it was new, Tract 1415 was not pretty; it was simply one hundred forty-four lots arranged on four, straight, parallel streets within the Santa Ana urban grid. Tract 1415 did not house the famous or the infamous. Nonetheless, Tract 1415 matters. As the focus of microhistorical research Tract 1415 enables on-the-ground examination of Santa Ana's decline, dynamism, and dependency from 1950 to 2000. Santa Ana matters to urban and suburban research because it shares traits common to many U.S. cities: it has suffered from urban decline, it is demographically dynamic, and it was long dependent on defense dollars. I explore these themes to some degree through each chapter.

Santa Ana's economic decline reflects problems suffered by other aging cities that lost middle-class population and tax dollars and saw a correspondent rise in poor and immigrant residents. Tract 1415 residents speak to the city's economic decline as they evolved from native-born middle-class military, semi-professionals, and professionals in 1950 to working-poor and blue-collar immigrants. Both groups shared a common dependence on support networks. Postwar and Cold War military families on the move depended on other military families of similar rank for friendship, community, and stability. From the 1980s poor and working-class Latino immigrants with little or no credit or work history were able to become homeowners by purchasing Tract 1415 houses in common with trusted groups of like folk.

My research into the built environment of Tract 1415 speaks to a larger socio-economic decline suffered by cities across the U.S. Lifetime Homes planned a modest housing development and partnered with city leaders to ensure the tract's integration into

Santa Ana. Subsequently the city twice removed people and land from Tract 1415. The spatial decline of Tract 1415 through the latter redevelopment project principally benefits students and staff of a private high school. The massive redevelopment project that generated lawsuits from displaced immigrant residents highlights how communities suffer when leaders do not value the social capital of its residents. The twenty-one lots that were removed from Tract 1415 were sites of drug and criminal activity that evidence the city's decline.

My research into homeownership and mobility asks why people stayed or left Tract 1415. The reasons people left or stayed in Tract 1415 matter, because they suggest explanations for why other U.S. places may have undergone demographic change or gained or lost population in the second half of the twentieth century. Answers to these questions point to civic and personal decline that speak to other U.S. places.

My research suggests that the military personnel who purchased houses in Tract 1415—and also purchased houses in many other U.S. cities proximate to military installations—altered the urban landscape through their frequent transfer; their voluntary leavings stimulated frequent housing turnover and absentee-landlord rental properties. My research into boarding houses on Magnolia Avenue suggests that the pattern of rentals established by military transfer in the early 1950s continued through the end of the twentieth century. The temporary residents of Tract 1415—transient military families and immigrant boarders—populate many U.S. cities; together these groups suggest that communities suffer when large groups of residents invest their social capital elsewhere.

Research into homeownership and mobility also examined macro-economic factors that caused personal economic decline for many U.S. homeowners. In the years of

this study least twenty Tract 1415 homeowners involuntarily left their houses when banks foreclosed on their mortgages. Foreclosed homeowners have been omitted from the standard suburban narrative, but my research suggests that, while foreclosure is a personal tragedy, it is also a macro problem. Macro-economic policies of the 1980s and 1990s caused the bulk of the Tract 1415 dispossessions. The extraordinary number of Tract 1415 foreclosures after 2000 are outside the scope of this project, but their numbers suggest that they, too, are due to macro-economic factors. My research further suggests that homeowners became trapped in their mortgage-free houses by macro factors that caused them to lose their financial mobility and their middle-class status. Comparative microhistorical studies might reveal if aging, retirement, and loss of status and economic mobility contribute to urban decline and mask as middle-class white flight. My research into transient residents, foreclosed homeowners, and fixed-in-place homeowners queries whether the American Dream of homeownership is a universal good if homeowners become absentee landlords, houses affix owners to place, or mortgages lead to financial ruin.

Santa Ana is also significant to urban and suburban research because it exemplifies the demographic dynamism that has come to characterize most cities of the Southwest. Migrants to Tract 1415 speak to the dynamism that characterizes Santa Ana. In 1950 Lifetime Homes created an all-white enclave because macro-level policy favored financing new housing construction for white families of World War II veterans. My research into Tract 1415's military and other nuclear families speaks to dynamism in other U.S. cities by suggesting that the mid-twentieth-century suburban nuclear family, generally defined as "father, mother, and children in isolation," does not describe a



significant number of postwar American families.<sup>217</sup> Tract 1415 did not originally reflect the population of Santa Ana, which was roughly 15 percent Latino. However, by 1979 Santa Ana had become an important destination for immigrant smugglers because the community accommodated immigrant needs for work, shelter, and documentation. By the end of 1986, when Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), at least sixty-three Tract 1415 houses belonged to persons with Spanish surnames, and at least two were owned by Vietnamese immigrants. By the end of 2000, all but seventeen Tract 1415 properties were owned by individuals and families with Spanish surnames, and the tract more accurately reflected the dynamism of the city.

My research into family and support networks highlights distinct first-generation Latino immigrant homebuying practices that differ from those of the dominant culture. This research is significant to any cities with large immigrant populations and suggests comparative microhistorical studies into these homebuying patterns to determine if they reflect a type of rotating credit association, if they are unique Latino manifestations of the cultural construct of *confianza*, or if they are the result of a different, unexplored factor.

My research into community formation through the built environment speaks to the city's dynamism and the way residents react to change. Demographic change did not come easily Tract to 1415; white homeowners resisted "others" as early as 1960, when they objected to the Sisters of the Holy Cross, and in 1981, when residents falsely accused immigrant homeowner Ernesto Barreto of trespass. My research into the way homeowners changed their houses suggests further Tract 1415 resistance to "others"; Latinos that used their houses to assert Latino space and culture inspired a few remaining

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<sup>217</sup> Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 47.

white Tract 1415 homeowners to use their houses in a similar manner to proclaim whiteness and citizenship. These examples are specific to Tract 1415 but they speak to dynamism and reaction to it—issues faced by many demographically dynamic places. My research into the reasons people stay or leave also suggests that immigrant boarding houses—prevalent in many cities with immigrant populations—exist because they fill a need; they should be recognized as a valid part of the urban residential mix, and they should be held to minimum standards of health and safety.

My research into the changing work in Santa Ana illuminated macro factors that, over time, reflected Santa Ana's dependence on federal dollars and altered the work opportunities that brought white military and defense workers, semi-professionals, and professionals to Tract 1415 from mid-century to the mid-1970s and later brought Latino laborers and semiskilled and skilled workers. My research into the work performed by Tract 1415 residents challenges stereotypes of “illegal immigrants” who avoid taxes and abuse social services. Instead, my research suggests that some who arrived as undocumented workers took unskilled or low-skilled work, upgraded their skills and their work, and retired with benefits while raising children, sending remittances, and paying off mortgages. This research also recommends comparative research in other immigrant communities. Examining why people stayed and left Tract 1415 suggests that space and place matter in the ways that residents use their streets—concepts for planning that are significant beyond Tract 1415 and Santa Ana.

Santa Ana's decline is significant for all cities of the twentieth century that lost jobs, income, and middle-class population to nearby cities. In fifty years Santa Ana fell from its mid-century vision as “the Golden City of the Golden State” to being the “the

nation's toughest place to survive."<sup>218</sup> Santa Ana's demographic dynamism makes the city significant to all cities of the Southwest as Latino immigration and high birthrate predict a future Latino-dominant population. Finally, Santa Ana's financial dependence upon El Toro and federal government dollars matters because it exemplifies most cities of the twentieth-century West that boomed during the postwar defense buildup. In 1962 the "City of Marines" at El Toro MCAS contributed more than \$80 million annually to the economies of Santa Ana and Orange County, but macro-scale factors caused the base to close, thus ending the flow of federal defense dollars to the city.

It matters that we know who came to Santa Ana in the second half of the twentieth century, why they came, and why they stayed or left. Santa Ana's history informs the present of hundreds of cities—cities of the Southwest, where demographic dynamism looks to a Latino future; cities near current or former government installations that must wean themselves from their dependency on federal dollars, and aging cities that face economic decline as middle- and upper-class populations take their tax dollars elsewhere. Microhistorical research in Tract 1415 provides the lens that allows on-the-ground focus of Santa Ana's decline, dynamism, and dependence.

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<sup>218</sup> *Luskey's 1962 Santa Ana, Tustin, and Lemon Heights Criss Cross Directory*, 6. Also, Mike Anton and Jennifer Mena, "The Hard Life—Santa Ana Style."

## APPENDIX 1

### INTERVIEWS

- + Arambula, Carolina, Santa Ana, Calif., interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009
- Archer, Charles M., Vacaville, California, interview by author, 2 October 2009
- Archer, Ruby A., Mission Viejo, California, interview by author, 2 October 2009
- + Barreto, Ernesto, Santa Ana, California, interviews by author and Aracely Favela, 9 October 2009, 11 October, and 15 October 2009
- Beyer, Margaret, Santa Ana, California, interview by author, 2 September 2009
- Boldt, Antoinette Keimel, Midlothian, Virginia, interview by author, 2 September 2009
- Boothe, Charles M., Mission Viejo, California, interview by author, 13 August 2009
- Bowers, Terry, Santa Ana, California, interview by author, 19 August 2009
- Branstrom, Bruce W., Payson, Arizona, interview by author, 30 September 2009
- Broudy, Alice P., Dana Point, California, interviews by author, 1 August 2009 and 7 August 2009
- Broudy, Carolyn, Orange, California, interview by author, 12 August 2009
- Brown, Susan Gettemy, Albany, California, interview by author, 3 December 2009
- Burton, James N., Dana Point, California, interview by author, 13 August 2009
- Bush, Elwood D. "Ed," Indio, California, interview by author, 11 October 2009
- Byrd, Bobby Gene, D.D.S., Tustin, California, interview by author, 4 October 2009
- Cave, Emma Dean, San Juan Capistrano, California, interview by author, 11 September 2009
- Chapman, Connie, Santa Ana, interview by author, 13 September 2009
- Chenail, Lucille O. Lebanon, Oregon, interview by author, 28 October 2009
- Crow, Pamela D. Rowan, Lake Forest, California, interview by author, 9 August 2009
- Dayson, Della F., Greenville, North Carolina, interview by author, 2 September 2009
- Demaray, Linda M., Portland, Oregon, interview by author, 3 October 2009
- Dennis, Deni S. Levine, Dallas, Texas, interview by author, 11 September 2009
- Dibble, Wanda B., Santa Maria, California, interview by author, 14 October 2009
- Dienes, Beverly, Defuniak Springs, Florida, interview by author, 29 September 2009
- Dievendorf, Leslie Jr., Canoga Park, California, interview by author, 14 August 2009
- Dievendorf, Louise E., Canoga Park, California, interview by author, 14 August 2009
- Dodenhoff, George H., Seminole, Florida, interview by author, 1 August 2009
- Duff, Raymond Audley, Santa Ana, California, interview by author, 15 September 2009
- Duff, Sarah, Santa Ana, California, interview by author, 19 August 2009
- Edwards, Madelon, Riverside, California, interview by author, 5 November 2009
- Emry, Kenneth L., Placentia, California, interview by author, 29 September 2009
- Gieseler, Barbara J., Santa Cruz, California, interview by author, 30 September 2009
- Gliotone, Alexander P. Jr., Lancaster, California, interview by author, 3 August 2009
- Gliotone, Rita M., Vista, California, interview by author, 5 August 2009
- Godley, Richard O., Yuma, Arizona, interview by author, 25 September 2009
- Goggins, James T., Whittier, California, interview by author, 3 August 2009
- Gurovich, Carla Phillips, Littleton, Colorado, interview by author, 8 September 2009
- Kloberdanz, Sharon, Orange, California, interview by author, 15 September 2009

Law, Carmen Y. Edwards, Riverside, California, interview by author, 5 November 2009

Leon, Manuel C., Santa Ana, California, interviews by author, 9 October 2009 and 12 March 2011.

+Lopez, Jose Luis and Cecilia Anna, Santa Ana, California, interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009

Macdonald, Dennis P., Merced, California, interview by author, 30 September 2009

Marin, Adalberto, Santa Ana, California, interview by author and Aracely Favela, 18 August 2009

Markin, Kenneth J., Ashtabula, Ohio, interviews by author, 1 August 2009 and 6 August 2009

McNeilly, Bruce, Winnetka, California, interviews by author, 11 August 2009 and 1 September 2009

Millán, Sr. Jacinta, Ventura, California, interview by author, 16 March 2011

Miller, Mike, Santa Ana, California, interviews by author, 3 September 2009, 5 September 2009, 25 September 2009, 8 October 2009, 9 October 2009, 21 March 2011

Mooney, Marleigh Ann Kopas, Sandpoint, Idaho, interview by author, 14 August 2009

Myers, Claire L., Yorba Linda, California, interview by author, 29 September 2009

Neely, Charleen F., Albuquerque, New Mexico, interview by author, 29 September 2009

Neudorffer, Harry R., Vassar, Michigan, interview by author, 3 October 2009

Nevill, Bonnie, Oceanside, California, interview by author, 9 August 2009

Nystrom, Ronald L., San Juan Capistrano, California, interview by author, 25 August 2009

Palacios, Herculano, Santa Ana, California, interviews by author, 11 August 2009 and 27 October 2009

Paxson, Shirley F., Biloxi, Mississippi, interview by author, 27 September 2009

Perez, Diana Lee "Dee" Collins, Orange, California, interview by author, 10 September 2009

Quirk, Gloria Herndon, Rancho Mirage, California, interview by author, 15 September 2009

Richards, Madaline L., Irvine, California, interview by author, 1 October 2009

Rosso, James L., Marana, Arizona, interview by author, 27 September 2009

Rowan, George Michael, Linden, Utah, interview by author, 11 August 2009

Rowan, Jerry Lee, Eagle Mountain, Utah, interview by author, 11 August 2009

Roy, Margaret M., Huntington Beach, California, interview by author, 15 September 2009

Schleith, David A., Uncasville, Connecticut, interview by author, 3 October 2009

Segura, Frank V., Santa Ana, California, interviews by author, 5 August 2009 and 18 August 2009

Sena, Alice Mission Viejo, California, interview by author, 27 September 2009

Spix, Richard L., Huntington Beach, California, interview by author, 17 February 2011

Stevens, Ernestine "Ernie," Nacogdoches, Texas, interview by author, 11 September 2009

+Tobar, Rosa Betty, Santa Ana, California, interview by author and Aracely Favela, 19 August 2009

Van Campen, Allen, Tucson, Arizona, interview by author, 4 September 2009

Vélez-Ibañez, Carlos G., Tempe, Arizona, interview by author, 2 March 2011  
 Voorhees, Edward H., Dallas, Texas, interview by author, 5 August 2009  
 Voorhees, Helen B., Dallas, Texas, interview by author, 5 August 2009  
 Wears, Irma L., El Cajon, California, interview by author, 28 September 2009  
 Weber, Doris E. Virginia Beach, Virginia, interview by author, 3 October 2009  
 Wiedenkiller, Doris E. Los Osos, California, interview by author, 12 August 2009  
 Whitebread, Lorette M., Arlington, Texas, interview by author, 9 November 2009  
 Wise, Paul T., D.V.M., Magalia, California, interview by author, 4 August 2009  
 Withey, Harold E. Jr., Saint Charles, Illinois, interview by author, 3 August 2009  
 Yeargin, Loretta, Carrollton, Texas, interview by author, 11 September 2009  
 Yneges, Socorro "Cora" M., Orange, California, interviews by author, 4 August 2009 and  
 1 November 2009  
 Zience, John A., Carmel, Indiana, interview by author, 5 November 2009.

+ Interviews by author simultaneously translated into Spanish by Aracely Favela

## APPENDIX 2

### SAMPLE CHAINS OF TITLE

Lot 11: 1342 S. Rosewood Avenue



1. Monitor Homes to Bruce N. Osterhout and Mary L. Osterhout (husband and wife) as joint tenants, corporation grant deed, 10 January 1951, Book of Deeds 2125, page 240; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
2. Bruce N. Osterhout and Mary L. Osterhout (husband and wife) to Edward S. Norris and Evelyn L. Norris (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 15 September 1952, Book of Deeds 2382, page 527; Orange County Archives.
3. Edward S. Norris and Evelyn L. Norris (husband and wife) to William F. Mezurecky and Mary R. Mezurecky (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 12 December 1963, Book of Deeds 6842, page 162; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

4. William F. Mezurecky and Mary R. Mezurecky (husband and wife) to Ronald E. Mansur and Nancy C. Mansur (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 15 September 1967, Book of Deeds 8375, page 773; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
5. Ronald E. Mansur and Nancy C. Mansur (husband and wife) to Alan Eads and Doris Jean Eads (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 12 April 1973, Book of Deeds 10640, page 53; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
6. Alan Eads and Doris Jean Eads (husband and wife) to Pablo Huerta and Teresa Huerta (husband and wife), as joint tenants, grant deed, 10 March 1978, Book of Deeds 12592, page 622; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
7. Pablo Huerta and Teresa Huerta (husband and wife) to Pablo Huerta (married man as his sole and separate property) and Jesus Garcia (single man) as joint tenants, grant deed, 10 March 1978, Book of Deeds 12592, page 623; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
8. Pablo Huerta (married man as his sole and separate property) and Antonio Medina (who acquired title as Jesus Garcia, single man) to Pablo Huerta (married man as his sole and separate property) and Antonio Medina (single man) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 23 June 1988, Instrument No. 1988-00299527; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
9. Pablo Huerta (married man as his sole and separate property) to Anita Huerta Rosas (unmarried woman), Omar Medina (single man), and Antonio Medina (single man) as joint tenants, quitclaim deed, 11 August 2004, Instrument No. 2004-00729323; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
10. Anita Huerta Rosas (unmarried woman), Antonio Medina (single man), and Omar Medina (single man) to Anita Huerta Rosas (unmarried woman), Omar Medina (single man), and Alejandra Campos (married woman as her sole and separate property), interfamily transfer grant deed, 11 August 2004, Instrument No. 2004-00729322; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
11. Nestor Campos (spouse of grantee) to Alejandra Campos, interspousal transfer grant deed, 11 August 2004, Instrument No. 2004-00729325; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
12. Alejandra Campos (married woman as her sole and separate property) and Anita Huerta de Medina estate, affidavit, 23 January 2007, Instrument No. 2007-00044148; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
13. Alejandra Campos (married man as his sole and separate property) to Nestor Daniel Campos (single man), interfamily transfer grant deed, 15 May 2008, Instrument No. 2008-00232257; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.



Lot 16: 1414 S. Rosewood Avenue



1. Monitor Homes to Howard L. Hean and Julia E. Hean (husband and wife) as joint tenants, corporation grant deed, 13 February 1951, Book of Deeds 2142, page 484; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
2. Howard L. Hean and Julia E. Hean (husband and wife) to John C. Adams and Evelyn F. Adams (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 15 January 1957, Book of Deeds 3769, page 536; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
3. John C. Adams and Evelyn F. Adams (husband and wife) to Herbert Terreri and Sandra A. Terreri (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 28 November 1961, Book of Deeds 5924, page 780; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
4. Herbert Terreri and Sandra A. Terreri (husband and wife) to Daniel J. Fiola and Kathleen A. Fiola (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 6 November 1969, Book of Deeds 9130, page 952; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

5. Daniel J. Fiola and Kathleen A. Fiola (husband and wife) to Betty Ahart (single woman), grant deed, 18 May 1972, Book of Deeds 10131, page 836; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
6. Betty Ahart (single woman) to Raymond Ghiliotty and Wanda Ghiliotty (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 21 March 1975, Book of Deeds 11361, page 1318; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
7. Raymond Ghiliotty and Wanda Ghiliotty (husband and wife) to Juan Garcia and Ignacia B. Garcia (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 14 July 1988, Instrument No. 1988-00338634; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
8. Juan Garcia and Ignacia B. Garcia (husband and wife) to Ramon Castillo (married man as his sole and separate property), Saul Castillo (single man), Eliseo Castillo (single man), and Martin Castillo (single man) all as joint tenants, grant deed, 16 November 1993, Instrument No. 1993-00787547; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
9. Josefina Castillo (spouse of grantee) to Ramon Castillo, interspousal transfer grant deed, 16 November 1993, Instrument No. 1993-00787548; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
10. Ramon Castillo (married man as his sole and separate property), Saul Castillo (single man), Eliseo Castillo (single man), and Martin Castillo (single man) to Ramon Castillo (married man as his sole and separate property), Saul Castillo (single man), and Eliseo Castillo (single man) all as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 20 April 1995, Instrument No. 1995-00165713; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
11. Saul Castillo (single man), Ramon Castillo (married man as his sole and separate property), and Eliseo Castillo and Olga Lidia Castillo (husband and wife) to Eliseo Castillo and Olga Lidia Castillo (husband and wife), and Saul Castillo (single man) all as joint tenants, quitclaim deed, 21 May 2000, Instrument No. 2000-00286361; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
12. Eliseo Castillo and Olga Lidia Castillo (husband and wife), and Saul Castillo to Saul Castillo and Maria de la Luz Castillo (husband and wife) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 16 September 2004, Instrument No. 2004-00834147; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
13. Saul Castillo and Maria de la Luz Castillo (husband and wife) to Ramon Castillo and Josefina Castillo (husband and wife) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 27 June 2008, Instrument No. 2008-00309434; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.



Lot 95: 1313 S. Magnolia Avenue



1. Monitor Homes to Robert Louis Templeton Jr. and Verna Elizabeth Templeton (husband and wife) as joint tenants, corporation grant deed, 10 January 1951, Book of Deeds 2126, page 298; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
2. Robert Louis Templeton Jr. and Verna Elizabeth Templeton (husband and wife) to Lucien R. Sirois and Pauline M. Sirois (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 20 August 1956, Book of Deeds 3617, page 515; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
3. Lucien R. Sirois and Pauline M. Sirois (husband and wife) to Marvin Alexander Gibert and Frances Pardue Gibert (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 22 June 1967, Book of Deeds 8288, page 35; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

4. Marvin Alexander Gibert and Frances Pardue Gibert (husband and wife) to Raymac Realty Corporation, grant deed, 10 July 1974, Book of Deeds 11192, page 731; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
5. Raymac Realty Corporation to Alexander P. Gliottone and Rita M. Gliottone (husband and wife) as joint tenants, corporation grant deed, 18 September 1974, Book of Deeds 11245, page 1105; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
6. Alexander P. Gliottone and Rita M. Gliottone (husband and wife) to John Allen Holmes and Margaret Patricia Holmes (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 30 March 1977, Book of Deeds 12124, page 1320; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
7. John Allen Holmes and Margaret Patricia Holmes (husband and wife) to David Andrew Kile and Dorene Jan Kile (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 24 February 1978, Book of Deeds 12576, page 1601; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
8. David Andrew Kile and Dorene Jan Kile (husband and wife) to Nguyen Thi Hung (married woman as her sole and separate property), grant deed, 14 August 1980, Book of Deeds 13701, page 675; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
9. Nguyen Thi Hung (married woman) to Phong X. Tran and Nancy T. Tran (husband and wife) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 26 July 1984, Instrument No. 1984-00307361; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
10. Phong Xuan Tran and Nancy Tran (husband and wife) to Thai Pham and Kim Dung To (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 26 November 1985, Instrument No. 1985-00477048; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
11. Thai Pham To (who acquired title as Thai Pham) and Kim Dung To (husband and wife) as joint tenants to Miguel Rodriguez and Lourdes Rodriguez (husband and wife), Monica Orozco (single woman), Miguel Rodriguez (single man), and Jose Arturo Miranda (single man) all as joint tenants, grant deed, 26 May 1995, Instrument No. 1995-00225426; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
12. Miguel Rodriguez and Lourdes Rodriguez (husband and wife), Monica Orozco (single woman), Miguel Rodriguez (single man), and Jose Arturo Miranda (single man) all as joint tenants to Miguel Rodriguez and Lourdes Rodriguez (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 7 August 1995, Instrument No. 1995-00338140; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
13. Miguel Rodriguez and Lourdes Rodriguez (husband and wife) as joint tenants to Armando Martinez and Monica Martinez (husband and wife) and Juanita Orozco (married woman as her sole and separate property) as joint tenants, interfamily transfer grant deed, 15 April 1997, Instrument No. 1997-00171715; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

14. Roberto Orozco (husband of grantee) to Juanita Orozco (married woman as her sole and separate property), interspousal transfer grant deed, 22 July 1998, Instrument No. 1998-00472421; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
15. Armando Martinez and Monica Martinez (husband and wife) and Juanita Orozco (married woman as her sole and separate property) as joint tenants to Armando Martinez and Monica Martinez (husband and wife) as community property, grant deed, 29 May 2002, Instrument No. 2002-00452033; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
16. Armando Martinez and Monica Martinez (husband and wife as community property) to Eduardo Ortiz and Gloria Ortiz (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 30 March 2005, Instrument No. 2005-00239512; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.



Lot 110: 1346 S. Magnolia Avenue



1. Monitor Homes to David J. Bryan and Mary Bryan (husband and wife) as joint tenants, 21 February 1951, Book of Deeds 2147, page 322; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
2. David J. Bryan and Mary Bryan (husband and wife) to Arthur Gordon Eldred and Genevieve I. Eldred, grant deed, 3 November 1951, Book of Deeds 2252, page 258; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
3. Joseph J. Duffy and Frances E. Duffy (husband and wife) to Jeanne J. Kopas (widow) subject to deed of trust recorded 21 February 1951, Book of Deeds 2147, page 332, securing payment of note in favor of Coast Federal Savings and Loan Association of Los Angeles, individual quitclaim deed, 1 July 1959, Book of Deeds 4781, page 297; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
4. W. W. Cowles, Trustee of estates and effects of Arthur Gordon Eldred, Bankrupt, Genevieve I. Eldred, Bankrupt, and A. G. Eldred & Co., a copartnership consisting of Arthur Gordon Eldred and Genevieve I Eldred, Bankrupt, to Jeanne

Kopas (widow), trustee's deed, 1 July 1959, Book of Deeds 4781, page 298; Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.

5. Jeanne J. Kopas (widow) to Charles Gomez and Estella Gomez (husband and wife) as joint tenants, grant deed, 9 May 1969, Book of Deeds 2952, page 466; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
6. Charles Gomez and Estella Gomez (husband and wife) to Rafael C. Villasenor and Solidad Villasenor (husband and wife) as joint tenants, joint tenancy grant deed, 17 February 1977, Book of Deeds 12074, page 1203; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
7. Rafael C. Villasenor and Soledad Villasenor (husband and wife), who acquired title as Rafael C. Villasenor and Solidad Villasenor (husband and wife) to Elias Cardenas (unmarried man) and Francela Valdez (unmarried woman) as joint tenants, grant deed, 3 November 1980, Book of Deeds 13817, page 703; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
8. Elias Cardenas (married man) to Francela Valdez (married woman as her sole and separate property), interfamily transfer quitclaim deed, 17 November 1982, Instrument No. 1982-00169205; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
9. Francela Valdez (married woman as her sole and separate property) to Ezequiel Gonzalez and Maria Teresa Gonzalez (husband and wife) as joint tenants, individual quitclaim deed, 22 October 1982, Instrument No. 1982-00372711; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
10. Ezequiel Gonzalez and Maria Teresa Gonzalez (husband and wife) as joint tenants to Bartolo Valdez (single man), individual quitclaim deed, 3 April 1984, Instrument No. 1984-00138277; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
11. Bartolo Valdez (single man) to Jesus M. Arambulo [*sic*] and Sandra U. Arambulo [*sic*] (husband and wife), Melesio M. Arambula and Xiomara A. Arambula (husband and wife), and Concepcion Arambula (married man as his sole and separate property) all as joint tenants, grant deed, 27 January 1989, Instrument No. 1989-00049703; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.
12. Jesus M. Arambulo [*sic*] and Sandra U. Arambulo [*sic*] (husband and wife), Melesio M. Arambula and Xiomara A. Arambula (husband and wife), and Concepcion Arambula (married man as his sole and separate property) all as joint tenants to Concepcion Arambula and Carolina Arambula (husband and wife), interfamily transfer grant deed, 17 June 1999, Instrument No. 1999-00450994; Orange County Clerk-Recorder, Santa Ana.

### APPENDIX 3

#### KOREAN WAR MILITARY SERVICE ORIGINAL OWNERS

L ot	Addres s	Name	Branch*	Sources for Korean War military service
2	1306 Rosew ood	Markin, Kenneth J	USN	Kenneth J Markin, Ashtabula, Ohio, interview with author, 1 August 2009; homeowner, Chief Petty Officer USN (Retired), World War II, Korea. Also, Kenneth J. Markin to Mary M. Markin, Power of Attorney, 19 March 1951, Deed Book 2159, page 560, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
3	1310 Rosew ood	LeDonne, Edward	USN	Kenneth J Markin, Ashtabula, Ohio, interview with author, 1 August 2009; next-door neighbor, USN, World War II, Korea.
4	1314 Rosew ood	Dodenhoff, George H.	USMC	George H. Dodenhoff, Seminole, Fla., interview with author, 1 August 2009; Colonel USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea, Vietnam, Congo. Also, George Henry Dodenhoff to Muriel Bernadette Dodenhoff, Power of Attorney, 15 August 1950, Deed Book 22056, page 530, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
6	1322 Rosew ood	Withey, Harold E.	USMC	Harold E. Withey Jr., St. Charles, Ill., interview with author 3 August 2009; Chief Warrant Officer 4 USMC (Retired), World War II, Korea. Also, Harold Edward Withey to Viola D. Withey, Power of Attorney, 5 February 1951, Deed Book 2139, page 312, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
9	1334 Rosew ood	Humbard, James H.	USMC	"U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798-1940," database, Ancestry.com, <a href="http://www.ancestry.com">http://www.ancestry.com</a> (accessed 28 August 2009), entries for James H. Humbard December 1938 to December 1940; citing National Archives Microfilm Publication T977, 460 rolls, Records of the U.S. Marine Corps, Record Group 127, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Also, James H. Humbard to Mildred Reynolds Humbard, Power of Attorney, 8 January 1951, Deed Book 2125, page 111, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
12	1346 Rosew ood	Crowe, Norman W.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Norman W. Crowe; Sergeant Major USMC, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1913-1987, buried Fort Gibson National Cemetery, Fort Gibson, Okla. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Dorothy Ann Crowe; wife of Norman W. Crowe, 1922-1990, buried Fort Gibson National Cemetery, Fort Gibson, Okla.



14	1406 Rosewood	Lang, Frank C.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Frank Christian Lang; Major General USMC, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1918-2008, buried Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego, Calif. Also, Marine Corps Aviation Association, "Frank Christian Lang," <i>Chronolog 1955-1996: Eagles in Green</i> . (Paducah, Ky.: Turner Publishing, 1997), 103; digital image, Google Books, <a href="http://www.books.google.com">www.books.google.com</a> (accessed 4 September 2009). Also, Frank C. Lang to Joyce Dillinder Lang, Power of Attorney, 12 September 1950, Deed Book 2070, page 250, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
15	1410 Rosewood	Corey, Lester W.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Lester W. Corey; First Lieutenant USMC, World War II, Korea, 1917-1999, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Frances H. Corey; wife of Lester W. Corey, 1918-2003, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif.
16	1414 Rosewood	Hean, Howard L.	Unk	Howard Luke Hean to Julia Emma Hean, Power of Attorney, 4 August 1950, Deed Book 2051, page 370, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana; "In case I become Missing in Action."
18	1422 Rosewood	Bennett, Carl W.	USMC	Carl W. Bennett to Angeles Bennett, Power of Attorney, 1 March 1951, Deed Book 2151, page 204, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana; Staff Sergeant USMC.
20	1430 Rosewood	Witt, William T.	USMC	John P. Condon and Peter B. Mersky, "Corsairs to Panthers: U.S. Marine Aviation in Korea," in Charles R. Smith, ed., <i>U.S. Marines in the Korean War</i> (Washington, D.C.: History Division United States Marine Corps, 2007), 637; William T. Witt Captain USMC. Also, William T. Witt Jr. to Ortrud Lewis Witt, Power of Attorney, 16 August 1950, Deed Book 2057, page 380, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
23	1442 Rosewood	LeBarron, Lawrence Coates	Unk	Lawrence Coates LeBarron to Mary M. LeBarron, Power of Attorney, 5 September 1950, Deed Book 2066, page 378, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. "In case I become 'Missing in Action' in the Naval parlance."
24	1446 Rosewood	MacCrone, Charles A.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December

				2009), entry for Charles A. MacCrone, Major USMC World War II, Korea, 1910-1987, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Mildred C. MacCrone; wife of Charles A. MacCrone, 1913-2000, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, Charles Adolphe MacCrone to Mildred Clara MacCrone, Power of Attorney, 21 August 1950, Deed Book 2059, page 312, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
25	1445 Baker	Archer, Charles M.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 2 October 2009), entry for Charles Murphy Archer; Master Gunnery Sergeant USMC, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1923-2007, buried Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Va. Also, Ruby A. Archer, Mission Viejo, Calif., interview with author, 2 October 2009.
26	1441 Baker	Watts, Archie Winfield	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Archie Winfield Watts; Master Sergeant USMC, 1904-1960, buried Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego, Calif. Also, Dennis P. MacDonald, Merced, Calif., interview with author, 30 September 2009.
27	1437 Baker	Galbreath, Ralph J.	USN	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Ralph J. Galbreath; Regional Maintenance Center (Retired) US Navy, Korea, Vietnam, 1925-2002, buried Northern Nevada Veterans Memorial Cemetery, Fernley, Nev. Also, Margaret Beyer, Santa Ana, Calif., interview with author, 2 September 2009.
28	1433 Baker	Zitnik, Robert J	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Robert J. Zitnik; Colonel USMC, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1921-2007, buried Fort Logan National Cemetery, Denver, Co. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Catherine Rita Zitnik; wife of Robert J. Zitnik, 1920-2007, buried Fort Logan National Cemetery, Denver, Co. Also, Robert J. Zitnik to Catherine R. Zitnik, Power of Attorney, 13

				March 1951, Deed Book 2157, page 385, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
29	1429 Baker	Brown, William E.	USMC	Santa Ana Planning and Building Agency, Building Permit, Lot 29, Tract 1415, Santa Ana; PDF, 1429SBaker.pdf, City of Santa Ana Building Permits, Santa Ana History Room Collection, Santa Ana Public Library. Permit #1786, 11 September 1950, "Range for Capt. Brown." Also, Gerald R. Pitzl, <i>A History of Marine Fighter Attack Squadron 323</i> (Washington, D.C.: History and Museums Division Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1987), 16.
30	1425 Baker	Anders, Charles	USMC	Charles Anders to Dixie Nile Anders, Power of Attorney, 16 July 1951, Deed Book 2136, page 633, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Claire L. Myers, Yorba Linda, Calif., interview with author, 29 September 2009; Gunnery Sergeant USMC World War II, Korea. Also, Diana "Dee" Collins Perez, Orange, Calif., interview with author, 10 September 2009.
31	1421 Baker	Myers, Charles R.	USMC	Claire L. Myers, Yorba Linda, Calif., interview with author, 29 September 2009; Master Sergeant USMC World War II, Korea. Also, Diana "Dee" Collins Perez, Orange, Calif., interview with author, 10 September 2009.
33	1413 Baker	Moreland, Edward H.	USMC	Lorette M. Whitebread, Arlington, Tex., interview with author, 9 November 2009; Lieutenant Colonel USMC, World War II, Korea.
34	1409 Baker	Cutler, Thomas Herbert	USMC	Diana "Dee" Collins Perez, Orange, Calif., interview with author, 10 September 2009; USMC. Also, Raymond Audley Duff, Santa Ana, Calif., interview with author, 15 September 2009; USMC. Also, Thomas H. Cutler to Jewell B. Cutler, Power of Attorney, 15 December 1950, Deed Book 2116, page 513, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, "U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798-1940," database, Ancestry.com, <a href="http://www.ancestry.com">http://www.ancestry.com</a> (accessed 28 August 2009), entries for Thomas H. Cutler, March 1931 to December 1940; citing National Archives Microfilm Publication T977, 460 rolls, Records of the U.S. Marine Corps, Record Group 127, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
35	1405 Baker	Kingsley, Daniel R.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Daniel Richard Kingsley; Major USMC World War II Korea, 1921-1996, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, Raymond Audley Duff, Santa Ana, Calif., interview with author, 15 September 2009.
36	1401 Baker	Omasta, Carl	USMC	Eldamae Omasta, interview with author, 3 August 2009; Captain USMC. Also, "Carl Omasta, at 80;

				California Lawman,” <i>Union-News</i> , Springfield, Mass., 6 March 1997, database, GenealogyBank.com, <a href="http://www.genealogybank.com">www.genealogybank.com</a> (accessed 2 September 2009). Also, Carl Omasta to Elda Mae [sic] Omasta, Power of Attorney, 25 September 1950, Deed Book 2077, page 541, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
37	1345 Baker	Nebergall, Max	USMC	Max Nebergall to Patricia Nebergall, Power of Attorney, 11 August 1950, Deed Book 2055, page 22, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, “U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798-1940,” database, Ancestry.com, <a href="http://www.ancestry.com">http://www.ancestry.com</a> (accessed 29 August 2009), entries for Max Nebergall August 1940 to December 1940; citing National Archives Microfilm Publication T977, 460 rolls, Records of the U.S. Marine Corps, Record Group 127, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Also, Dr. Russell Conkling, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, interview with author, 24 September 2009. Also, Maxine Nebergall Raycroft, e-mail to author, “RE: Nebergall 1345 Baker St., Santa Ana,” 25 September 2009.
39	1337 Baker	Van Campen, Heil L.	USMC	Allen M. Van Campen, Tucson, Ariz., interview with author, 4 September 2009; Colonel USMC. Also, Heil Leslie Van Campen to Abbiegail D. Van Campen, Power of Attorney, 17 January 1951, Deed Book 2130, page 280, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, “H. L. Van Campen,” Marine Corps Aviation Association, <i>Chronolog 1955–1996: Eagles in Green</i> (Paducah, Ky.: Turner Publishing, 1997), 130; digital image, Google Books, <a href="http://www.books.google.com">www.books.google.com</a> (accessed 4 September 2009).
41	1329 Baker	Woodland, Douglas G.	USMC	“Douglas Woodland,” <i>Daily Courier</i> (Prescott, Arizona) January 24, 1997, page 5A; photocopy, Prescott Public Library, Prescott; Major USMC, World War II, Korea, Vietnam. Also, Douglas George Woodland to Lloydine H. Woodland, Power of Attorney, 11 September 1950, Deed Book 2069, page 376, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
42	1325 Baker	Demaray, Harry M.	USMC	Linda M. Demaray, Portland, Ore., interview with author, 3 October 2009; Captain USMC World War II, Korea. Also, Harry M. Demaray to Blanche Catherine Demaray, Power of Attorney, 25 July 1950, Deed Book 2046, page 179, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
43	1321 Baker	Beswick, Byron H.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Byron Herbert Beswick; USMC, 1922-1954, buried Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Va. Also, “Crash Kills El Toro Flier,” <i>Long Beach Independent</i> (Long Beach, Calif.), 29 June

				1954, page 1; Ancestry.com, www.ancestry.com (accessed 2 September 2009). Also, Leslie A. Dievendorf Jr., Canoga Park, Calif., interview with author, 14 August 2009. Also, Linda M. Demaray, Portland, Ore., interview with author, 3 October 2009.
44	1317 Baker	Dievendorf , Leslie A.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Leslie A. Dievendorf; Chief Warrant Officer 2 USMC, World War II, Korea, 1915-1981, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 February 2010), entry for Louise Elizabeth Dievendorf; wife of Leslie A. Dievendorf, 1917-2009, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, Leslie A. Dievendorf Jr., Canoga Park, Calif., interview with author, 14 August 2009.
45	1313 Baker	Moreau, Gerald A.	USMC	<i>Independent Press-Telegram</i> (Long Beach, California), 21 November 1954, page 1; digital image, Ancestry.com, <a href="http://ancestry.com">http://ancestry.com</a> (accessed 31 October 2009); Master Sergeant USMC, World War II, Korea. Also, Gerald A. Moreau to Ann M. Moreau, Power of Attorney, 25 August 1950, Deed Book 2062, page 232, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
46	1309 Baker	McBride, James W.	USMC	James Wallace McBride to Juanita Randolph McBride, Power of Attorney, 23 January 1951, Deed Book 2133, page 362, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, David A. Schleith, Uncasville, Conn., interview with author, 3 October 2009.
47	1305 Baker	Sartin, Hervie L.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Hervie Lee Sartin; Master Sergeant USMC World War II, Korea, 1922-2004, buried Hillsboro Memorial Cemetery, Hillsboro, Tenn. Also, Hervie Lee Sartin Jr. to Lessie Lucille Sartin, Power of Attorney, 12 September 1950, Deed Book 2070, page 229, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
49	1302 Baker	Stimson, Elwyn M.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Elwyn M. Stimson; Colonel USMC World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1911-1991, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, Database, under Veteran Services, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Marian M. Stimson; Colonel USMC

				World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1912-1987, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, Elwyn M. Stimson to Marian M. Stimson, Power of Attorney, 2 October 1950, Deed Book 2081, page 345, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Wanda B. Dibble, Santa Maria, Calif., interview with author, 14 August 2009.
50	1306 Baker	Voorhees, Edward H.	USMC	Edward H. Voorhees, Dallas, Tex., interview with author, 5 August 2009; Colonel USMC (Retired). Also, Edward H. Voorhees to Helen B. Voorhees, Power of Attorney, 8 August 1950, Deed Book 2057, page 489, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
52	1314 Baker	Roach, Luther J.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Luther Jackson Roach; USMC, 1918-2000, buried Alamance Memorial Park, Burlington, N.C. Also, "Luther Jackson Boyd Roach," <i>Greensboro News &amp; Record</i> , Greensboro, N.C., 7 October 2000, database, GenealogyBank.com, <a href="http://www.genealogybank.com">www.genealogybank.com</a> (accessed 2 September 2009); Sergeant Major USMC. Also, Richard O. Godley, Yuma, Ariz., interview with author, 25 September 2009; "Luther 'Curley' Roach lived on the second street [Baker]; we served together in MAG-15 at Cherry Point, El Toro, and Korea."
55	1326 Baker	Wiedenke- ller, Paul Theodore	USMC	Doris E. Wiedenkeller, Los Osos, Calif., interview with author, 12 August 2009; Major USMC, World War II, Korea. Also, "Theodore Paul 'Ted' Wiedenkeller," <i>Tribune</i> , San Luis Obispo, Calif., 8 May 2003; database, GenealogyBank.com, <a href="http://www.genealogybank.com">www.genealogybank.com</a> (accessed 2 September 2009). Also, Paul Theodore Wiedenkeller to Doris E. Wiedenkeller, Power of Attorney, 7 September 1950, Deed Book 2068, page 13, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
56	1330 Baker	Toole, James Horace	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for James Horace Toole; Master Sergeant USMC, 1919-1957, buried Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego, Calif. Also, Doris E. Wiedenkeller, Los Osos, Calif., interview with author, 12 August 2009. Also, Constance Chapman, Santa Ana, Calif., interview with author, 13 September 2009.
59	1342 Baker	Eykyn, Richard Gerard	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Richard G. Eykyn; Colonel USMC World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1921-1999, buried

				Holy Cross Cemetery, Charleston, S.C. Also, "Sally Eykyn," <i>The State</i> , Charleston, S.C., 23 April 2009; PDF, The Citadel, <a href="http://photo05.citadel.edu/pao/newsclips/archive20082009/24685.pdf">http://photo05.citadel.edu/pao/newsclips/archive20082009/24685.pdf</a> (accessed 31 October 2009). Also, Richard Gerard Eykyn to Selma Cleo Eykyn, Power of Attorney, 10 January 1950, Deed Book 2126, page 276, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
60	1346 Baker	Zience, Walter J.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 5 August 2009), entry for Walter J. Zeince; Captain USMC World War II, Korea, 1915-1955, buried Arlington National Cemetery. Also, John A. Zience, Carmel, Ind., interview with author, 5 November 2009.
63	1406 Baker	Levine, Samuel	USMC	Deni S. Levine Dennis, Dallas, Tex., interview with author, 11 September 2009; Reservist Lieutenant USMC World II, Korea. Also, "Flying Cross Symbolizes Easter," <i>Dallas Morning News</i> , Dallas, Tex., 9 April 1950, page 1; digital image, GenealogyBank, <a href="http://www.genealogybank.com">www.genealogybank.com</a> (accessed 2 September 2009); Second Lieutenant USMC.
66	1414 Baker	Collins, John Francis	USMC	Diane "Dee" Collins Perez, Orange, Calif., interview with author, 10 September 2009; Master Sergeant USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea.
67	1418 Baker	Fields, Clifford J.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Clifford J. Fields; Chief Warrant Officer 4 USMC World War II, Korea, 1911-1989, buried San Francisco National Cemetery, San Francisco, Calif. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, Database, under Veteran Services, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Margaret Fields; wife of Clifford J. Fields, 1917-2007, buried San Francisco National Cemetery, San Francisco, Calif. Also, Diane "Dee" Collins Perez, Orange, Calif., interview with author, 10 September 2009.
69	1430 Baker	Waller, Wilbourn	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for "Lucky" Waller; Major USMC World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1922-2000, buried Florida National Cemetery, Bushnell, Fla. Also, Lawrence A. Waller, Jacksonville, Fla., interview with author, 6 March 2010. Wilbourn Waller legally changed name to Lucky Waller on military carrier.
70	1434	Casey,	USMC	"Obituaries Orleans Parish Louisiana," LAGenWeb

	Baker	Lloyd Andrew		Archives, volunteer transcription, <a href="http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/obits/1/c-07.txt">http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/obits/1/c-07.txt</a> (accessed 31 October 2009), entry 001916 for Casey, Lloyd A, citing <i>Times Picayune</i> , New Orleans Parish, La., 31 August 1996; Sergeant Major USMC, World War II, Korea, Vietnam; wife, Eileen B. Casey. Also, Lloyd A. Casey to Eileen B. Casey, Power of Attorney, 17 January 1951, Deed Book 2130, page 293, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
72	1442 Baker	MacDonald, Ernest J.	USMC	Dennis P. MacDonald, Merced, Calif., interview with author, 30 September 2009; Master Sergeant USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Brona Julia MacDonald; wife of MSGT USMC Ernest Joseph MacDonald, 1921-2009, Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego, Calif.
75	1441 Magno lia	Hayton, Robert G.	USMC	Thomas Hayton, Hemet, Calif., interview with author, 4 August 2009; Major USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, "Eunice Emerson Hayton, December 18, 2005," database, <i>Idyllwild Town Crier</i> , <a href="http://www.towncrier.com/obituaries/obits9.html">http://www.towncrier.com/obituaries/obits9.html</a> (accessed 8 November 2009); husband Major USMC (Ret.) Robert G. Hayton.
77	1433 Magno lia	Gliottone, Alexander P.	USMC	Rita Gliottone, Vista, Calif., interview with author 5 August 2009; Master Sergeant USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, Alexander P. Gliottone Jr., Lancaster, Calif., interview with author 5 August 2009. Also, Alexander P. Gliottone to Mrs. Rita M. Gliottone, Power of Attorney, 10 October 1950, Deed Book 2086, page 7, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
78	1429 Magno lia	Huneycutt, Gaines B.	USMC	Ronald G. Huneycutt, Village of Palmetto Bay, Fla., interview with author, 30 September 2009; Master Sergeant USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, Gaines B. Huneycutt to Lillie B. Huneycutt, Power of Attorney, 8 July 1952, Deed Book 2353, page 568, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
79	1425 Magno lia	Slappey, Wallace J. Jr.	USMC	Gregory Jay Slappey, Manhattan Beach, Calif., interview with author, 13 August 2009; Colonel USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, "Appendix C, Command and Staff List 1st Marine Division (Reinforced) and 1st Marine Aircraft Wing March 1952-July 1953," in Pat Meid and James M. Yingling, <i>U.S. Marine Operations in Korea 1950-1953, Vol. V Operations in West Korea</i> (Washington: Historical Division Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1972), 572; Maj. Wallace J. Slappey Jr. Commanding Officer Marine Observation Squadron 6 (VMO-6)



				from 11 May 1952 [to 10 September 1952].
80	1421 Magno lia	Wiese, Edward F.	USMC	Neita Wiese, Mt. Pleasant, S.C., interview with author, 9 September 2009; Captain USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, Mary Wiese Axetell, Amelia Island, Fla., interview with author 9 September 2009.
81	1417 Magno lia	Godley, Richard O.	USMC	Richard O. Godley, Yuma, Ariz., interview with author, 25 September 2009; Chief Warrant Officer 2 USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, "Enlisted Naval Aviation Pilots (NAP) USN, USMC & USCG 1916-1981," database, Bluejacket.com, <a href="http://bluejacket.com/sea-service_nap_d-g.htm">http://bluejacket.com/sea-service_nap_d-g.htm</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), Godley, Richard O, USMC, 1947.
85	1401 Magno lia	Adlon, Leo Charles	USMC	"Local Pilot Killed Today in Marine 'Copter Crash," <i>The Free Lance-Star</i> , Fredricksburg, Va., 23 September 1955, page 1; digital image, Google News, <a href="http://news.google.com">http://news.google.com</a> (accessed 31 October 2009); Master Sergeant USMC. Also, Richard O. Godley, Yuma, Ariz., interview with author, 25 September 2009; Godley funeral escort for enlisted pilot "Zoom" Adlon of MAG-15, who died in helicopter crash in mid-1950s. Also, Leo Charles Adlon to "Cathreine" Adlon, Power of Attorney, 30 January 1951, Deed Book 2137, page 577, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
87	1345 Magno lia	Srader, Steven Lee	USMC	Torrey Harris, Desert Hot Springs, Calif., interview with author, 30 September 2009; Gunnery Sgt USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, "U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798-1940," database, Ancestry.com, <a href="http://www.ancestry.com">http://www.ancestry.com</a> (accessed 28 August 2009), entries for Steven L. Srader November 1928 to December 1940; citing National Archives Microfilm Publication T977, 460 rolls, Records of the U.S. Marine Corps, Record Group 127, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
88	1341 Magno lia	Phillips, Floyd G.	USMC	Carla Phillips Gurovich, Littleton, Colo., interview with author, 8 September 2009; Major USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, Floyd Gordon Phillips to Mildred Phillips, Power of Attorney, 13 April 1951, Deed Book 2175, page 370, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
91	1329 Magno lia	Lynch, Walker Robert	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Walker Robert Lynch; Captain USMC World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1920-1998, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, Walker Robert Lynch to Dorothy E. Lynch, Power of Attorney, 24 August 1950, Deed Book 2061, page 477, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.

94	1317 Magno lia	Wears, Leo G.	USMC	Irma L. Wears, El Cajon, Calif., interview with author, 28 September 2009; Major USMC (Retired), World War II, Korea. "U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798-1940," database, Ancestry.com, <a href="http://www.ancestry.com">http://www.ancestry.com</a> (accessed 28 August 2009), entries for Leo G. Wears, October 1936 to December 1940; citing National Archives Microfilm Publication T977, 460 rolls, Records of the U.S. Marine Corps, Record Group 127, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
96	1309 Magno lia	Edwards, Donald H.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Donald H. Edwards; Major USMC World War II, Korea, 1922-2002, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, Donald Hicks Edwards to Madelon L. Edwards, Power of Attorney, 11 December 1950, Deed Book 2114, page 158, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Madelon L. Edwards, Riverside, Calif., interview with author, 5 November 2009.
97	1313 Magno lia	Fulbright, James H.	USMC	Richard O. Godley, interview with author, 25 September 2009. "Fulbright was Sergeant Major of the outfit [MAG-15 in Korea]; he lived about three or four houses from Wilshire."
10 2	1314 Magno lia	Bartyzel, Henry R.	USMC	"6 Countians Win Commissions as Marine Officers," <i>The Register</i> , Santa Ana, Calif., 10 August 1951, page B1. Also, "U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798-1940," database, Ancestry.com, <a href="http://www.ancestry.com">http://www.ancestry.com</a> (accessed 28 August 2009), entries for Henry R. Bartyzel, October 1938 to December 1940; citing National Archives Microfilm Publication T977, 460 rolls, Records of the U.S. Marine Corps, Record Group 127, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
10 4	1322 Magno lia	Ryan, Norman	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Norman Ryan; Sergeant Major USMC, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1922-1990, buried Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego, Calif. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Mary J. Ryan; wife of Norman Ryan, 1923-2002, buried Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego, Calif.
10 5	1326 Magno lia	Costello, Keith W.	USMC	"Keith W. 'Mike' Costello," <i>Orange County Register</i> , Santa Ana, Calif., 27 October, 1999; database, GenealogyBank.com, <a href="http://www.genealogybank.com">www.genealogybank.com</a>

				(accessed 2 September 2009); Colonel USMC. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Keith W. Costello; Colonel USMC World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1923-1999, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Martha M. Costello; wife of Keith W. Costello, 1923-1996, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif.
106	1330 Magno lia	Weaver, James Richard	USMC	“Col. James R. Weaver,” <i>Glasgow Daily Times</i> Glasgow, N.C., 23 March 2008; database, Glasgow Daily Times.com, <a href="http://www.glasgowdailytimes.com/obituaries/local_story_082134212.html/resources_printstory">http://www.glasgowdailytimes.com/obituaries/local_story_082134212.html/resources_printstory</a> (accessed 1 October 2009); Col. USMC World War II, Korea, Vietnam. Also, Della F. Dayson, Greenville, N.C., interview with author, 2 September 2009.
108	1338 Magno lia	Broudy, Charles A.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Charles A. Broudy; Major USMC World War II, Korea, 1919-1977, buried Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Va. Also, Alice Broudy, Dana Point, Calif., interviews with author, 5 August 2009 and 7 August 2009. Also, Carolyn Broudy, Orange, Calif., interview with author, 12 August 2009. Father of author.
113	1406 Magno lia	Stone, John R.	USMC	Richard O. Godley, interview with author, 25 September 2009; Major USMC Korea with MAG-15, killed at El Toro in air crash, possibly summer or fall 1951. Also, “Enlisted Naval Aviation Pilots (NAP) USN, USMC & USCG 1916-1981,” database, Bluejacket.com, <a href="http://bluejacket.com/sea-service_nap_s-u.htm">http://bluejacket.com/sea-service_nap_s-u.htm</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Stone, John R, USMC, 1943.
114	1410 Magno lia	Dayson, Patrick Joseph	USMC	Della F. Dayson, Greenville, N.C., interview with author, 2 September 2009; Lieutenant Colonel USMC (Retired) World War II, Korea. Also, U.S. Congress, <i>Register of Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps</i> (1 January 1951), 82nd Cong., 1st sess., House Document 110 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), 567; Marine Corps First Lieutenants, entry for Dayson, Patrick Joseph, 039707.
115	1414 Magno	Rosso, James P.	USMC	James L. Rosso, Marana, Ariz., interview with author, 27 September 2009; Sergeant Major USMC (Retired)

	lia			World War II, Korea. Also, James Paul Rosso to Edith Stephens Rosso, Power of Attorney, 18 September 1950, Deed Book 2073, page 240, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
11 6	1418 Magno lia	Clement, Nelson V.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Nelson Virgel Clement; Captain USMC World War II, Korea, 1922-1986, buried Golden Gate National Cemetery, San Bruno, Calif. Also, David L. Godley, Yuma, Ariz., interview with author, 23 September 2009.
11 7	1422	Dienes, John W.	USMC	Beverly I. Dienes, Defuniak Springs, Fla., interview with author, 29 September 2009; Warrant Officer I World War II, Korea. "U.S. Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1798-1940," database, Ancestry.com, <a href="http://www.ancestry.com">http://www.ancestry.com</a> (accessed 28 August 2009), entries for John W. Dienes, June 1938 to December 1940; citing National Archives Microfilm Publication T977, 460 rolls, Records of the U.S. Marine Corps, Record Group 127, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
11 9	1430 Magno lia	Yeargin, Richard L.	USMC	Loretta Yeargin, Carrollton, Tex., interview with author, 11 September 2009; Reservist Lieutenant USMC World War II, Korea. Also, Richard L. Yeargin to Helen S. Yeargin, Power of Attorney, 12 July 1951, Deed Book 2117, page 634, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
12 2	1442 Magno lia	Stevens, Harland L.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Harland Lee Stevens; Technical Sergeant USMC World War II, Korea, 1922-2008, buried Fairview Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Tex. Ernestine "Ernie" Stevens, Nacogdoches, Tex., interview with author, 11 September 2009.
13 1	1409 Bristol	Abrahams, Charles W.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Charles Willis Abrahams; Major USMC World War II, Korea, 1922-1980, buried Riverside National Cemetery, Riverside, Calif. Also, Charles Willis Abrahams to Ethyle C. Abrahams, Power of Attorney, 2 March 1951, Deed Book 2152, page 113, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
13 4	1345 Bristol	Bollman, Howard W.	USMC	"Silver Star Award," <i>Santa Ana (Calif.) Register</i> , 13 August 1951, page B1; Major USMC, Korea. Also, Howard W. Bollman to Gladys E. Bollman, Power of Attorney, 26 January 1951, Deed Book 2135, page 542, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.

13 5	1341 Bristol	Hargett, Ernest C.	USMC	"Danger-Defying Marine Hero on 30-Day Furlough," <i>Santa Ana (Calif.) Register</i> , 12 July 1951, page B8; Lieutenant USMC, Korea. Also, Ernest Claud Hargett to Drucilla Mae Hargett, Power of Attorney, 17 October 1950, Deed Book 2088, page 506, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
13 8	1337 Bristol	Cave, Thomas F.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Thomas Fawcett Cave Jr.; Colonel USMC World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1918-2000, buried Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego, Calif. Also, Emma Dean Cave, San Juan Capistrano, Calif., interview with author, 11 September 2009. Also, Thomas Fawcett Cave Jr. to Emma Dean Cave, Power of Attorney, 5 March 1951, Deed Book 2153, page 44, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
13 9	1323 Bristol	Dibble, John G.	USMC	Wanda B. Dibble, Santa Maria, Calif., interview with author, 14 October 2009; Colonel USMC, World War II, Korea.. Also, John Goodwin Dibble to Wanda Baily Dibble, Power of Attorney, 16 October 1950, Deed Book 2088, page 197, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
14 0	1319 Bristol	O'Neil, Francis Joseph	USMC	Francis J. O'Neil to Kathleen Jean O'Neil, Power of Attorney, 9 November 1950, Deed Book 2099, page 292, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana.
14 1	1315 Bristol	Lawrence H. Simmon (Margaret J. Simmon, widow, completed the purchase)	USMC	"Lt. L. H. Simmon," <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , 10 February 1952, page A31, ProQuest Historical Newspapers <i>Los Angeles Times</i> (1881 - 1986) (accessed 31 October 2009). Also, Lawrence H. Simmon to Margaret Jean Simmon, Power of Attorney, 15 January 1951, Deed Book 2129, page 170, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Monitor Homes, Inc. to Margaret J. Simmon, widow, Corporation Grant Deed, Orange County Book 2152, page 87, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Bruce Branstrom, Payson, Ariz., interview with author, 30 September 2009.
14 3	1305 Bristol	Nevill, Harry Eugene	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Harry Nevill; Major USMC World War II, Korea, 1922-1998, buried Fort Rosecrans National Cemetery, San Diego, Calif. Also, Bonnie Nevill, Oceanside, Calif., interview with author, 9 August 2009.
14 4	1301 Bristol	Graf, David P.	USMC	U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for David P. Graf; Lieutenant Colonel USMC World War II, Korea, Vietnam, 1921-2006,

				<p>buried Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Va. Also, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, database, Nationwide Gravesite Locator, <a href="http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov">http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov</a> (accessed 1 December 2009), entry for Ethel P. Graf; wife of David P. Graf, 1919-2007, buried Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Va. Also, David Paul Graf to Ethel Pauline Graf, Power of Attorney, 19 January 1951, Deed Book 2132, page 199, Orange County Archives, Santa Ana. Also, Madelon L. Edwards, Riverside, Calif., interview with author, 5 November 2009.</p>
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\*Branch refers to U.S. Marine Corps (USMC) or U.S. Navy (USN); Unk designates Korean military service for which sources do not specify branch.

## APPENDIX 4

### METHODOLOGY

In order to examine micro-scale factors of who came to Tract 1415 and when and why they stayed or left I utilized county land deeds in the conventional manner in order to determine the names of the first Tract 1415 purchasers. The deed for the sale to my parents gave me the name of the affiliate that originally marketed and sold the houses, Monitor Homes, Inc. The deed referenced the county tract map and the Declaration of Establishment of Restrictions, Easements, Conditions, Covenants, and Reservations. Ruben Acherman referenced the original tract map to create the original maps that illustrate this thesis.

I searched grantor (seller) indexes for the developer (Lifetime Homes, Inc.) or its affiliate (Monitor Homes, Inc.) in 1950 and 1951 and secured each deed so I could place original purchasers on their correct lots. I then searched grantor indexes for the original owners to determine when and to whom they sold their Tract 1415 properties. I continued to search grantor and grantee indexes in this manner in an attempt to assemble a complete chain of title for each of the lots; I was able to complete chains of title for more than two-thirds of all the properties. Deed and index books prior to 19 March 1953 are held at the Orange County Archives. Indexes from 19 March 1953 through December 1969 are on microfiche at the Orange County Clerk-Recorder's Office at the Hall of Records. The Clerk-Recorder's Office also maintains onsite database indexes for conveyances from 1970 to the present. The microfiche and database indexes reference deeds on microfilm from 19 March 1953. Most deeds from 1982 to the present have been scanned and are available via the onsite computers; those not scanned are available on microfilm. I used

information from interviews to guide me to approximate dates of sale when I did not have documentation.

Analyzing and correlating the information from hundreds of deeds allowed me to compile the chains of title, which in turn allowed me to see patterns in buying and foreclosures. Group buying patterns among Latino and Vietnamese immigrant groups led me to seek information on how these immigrant groups may have leveraged rotating credit associations and the traditions of community property and the principle of usufruct that derived from Spanish colonial laws. Foreclosures revealed economic fluctuations and strategies that homeowners use to protect their assets.

The recorded tract map defines each residential lot and the borders of the tract, and consecutive lot numbers indicate the order in which contractors built the houses. The combined information from deeds and the tract map allowed me to point to an existing house and identify the street address, owners, and other data regarding the property.

I also utilized deeds, voting lists, criss-cross directories, and building permits within my time frame in a non-conventional manner. I compared names assigned to each address in the original deeds and subsequent deeds, if relevant, to voting registers (even years 1952–1968), extant Santa Ana criss-cross directories for 1952, 1956, and 1962, and contemporary entries in city building permits. I sought inconsistencies in names between the records that might indicate a rental property. Building permits sought by real estate companies on behalf of an owner also suggest possible rentals. According to the building permits one company in particular handled several rentals in the tract.

In order to determine Korean War military service I examined grantor deed indexes to determine which original purchasers filed powers of attorney, such as are



commonly filed by active-duty members of the armed forces before they leave for combat duty. Original purchasers in Tract 1415 filed at least forty-one powers of attorney from husband to wife in Orange County from 1950 through 1952, suggesting or stating outright that they were leaving for overseas military duty in Korea. In a few cases these documents verified that the man was going overseas into combat but did not state the branch of the military to which he belonged. To determine men that served in Korea but did not file powers of attorney I had to prove that a person by that name served and that the person who served was indeed the Tract 1415 homeowner. In some cases I found veterans' cemetery entries for husband and wife that matched the names of the husband and wife as entered in the purchase deed; I considered that a probable connection to the tract. If I could find no survivors, obituaries, veterans cemetery entries, or other records that connected military service to the Tract 1415 resident I did not enter the Tract 1415 man as a Korean War veteran. Therefore, the actual number of Tract 1415 men who served in the Korean War is likely much higher than the eighty I have identified.

In order to assess macro-scale factors of why original owners came and why they stayed or left I conducted a series of semi-structured telephone interviews with original and subsequent homeowners, renters, or business owners or their adult children for whom I could find contact information. I began with names on original deeds and utilized genealogical databases and online directories to find names of family members and their contact information. I expanded my contacts by employing the snowball technique of asking interviewees if they would refer me to other current or former Tract 1415 residents or their surviving adult children. My family's early, brief residence in the tract established credibility with residents and allowed me to ask questions they might not

otherwise answer. I interviewed at least one representative from forty-four of the original one hundred thirty-nine original families. I also interviewed at least one representative from forty subsequent families that purchased or rented in Tract 1415 from 1951 through 1965.

As a *güerita* (colloquial for light-skinned or light-haired female), my ethnicity proved to be a larger handicap than my limited Spanish ability with the current population of Tract 1415. A colleague, Aracely Favela, was able to engage current residents in conversation, but others were reluctant to speak with her because we came from an official institution (the university), and because she was with *la güerita*. One woman commented, “People here think you work for the city. You’re one of us but you’re walking with *la güerita* and they think you’re trying to get information that will hurt them. . . . They think you’re going to report the way we live. Please don’t. Because where will we go?”<sup>219</sup>

Unfortunately, Ms. Favela was unable to make a final research trip with me to Santa Ana, so my research into revolving credit associations and *confianza* contains no interviews of local residents. Homeowner interviews would add layers of nuance and clarity and may validate or refute my conjectures. This section is thus based on archival research, published literature, and interviews with an Orange County housing and immigrant-rights attorney and the anthropologist that specializes in Latino RCAs in the Southwest. However, because the questions involve private family financial transactions I doubt homeowners would trust us with that information. My research urges comparative work in other locations that includes homeowner interviews regarding these types of

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<sup>219</sup> Carmen [surname withheld], Santa Ana, California, interview by Aracely Favela, 20 August 2009.

house buying patterns; likely historians that share the culture of the population they study will have more success.

Memories collected nearly sixty years after the fact are incorrect in many details and tempered by how an individual wishes to present himself or herself to an interviewer. Despite the flaws associated with interviews about events of the past, the social and cultural memories collected in the interviews contain rich information about mid-century Santa Ana by former Tract 1415 residents, some who resided a few months and some who remained for decades. This thesis is richer for them.

## APPENDIX 5

### IRB APPROVAL



### Social/Behavioral IRB – Expedited Review Approval Notice

#### **NOTICE TO ALL RESEARCHERS:**

*Please be aware that a protocol violation (e.g., failure to submit a modification for any change) of an IRB approved protocol may result in mandatory remedial education, additional audits, re-consenting subjects, researcher probation, suspension of any research protocol at issue, suspension of additional existing research protocols, invalidation of all research conducted under the research protocol at issue, and further appropriate consequences as determined by the IRB and the Institutional Officer.*

**DATE:** December 22, 2010

**TO:** **Dr. Greg Hise**, History

**FROM:** Office of Research Integrity - Human Subjects

**RE:** Notification of IRB Action by /Lori Olafson/ Dr. Lori Olafson, Co-Chair  
Protocol Title: **From Khaki to Brown: Community Formation, Homeownership, and Mobility in Santa Ana, California, 1950-2000**  
Protocol #: 1011-3637M  
Expiration Date: December 21, 2011

This memorandum is notification that the project referenced above has been reviewed and approved by the UNLV Social/Behavioral Institutional Review Board (IRB) as indicated in Federal regulatory statutes 45 CFR 46 and UNLV Human Research Policies and Procedures.

The protocol is approved for a period of one year and expires December 21, 2011. If the above-referenced project has not been completed by this date you must request renewal by submitting a Continuing Review Request form 30 days before the expiration date.

#### **PLEASE NOTE:**

Upon approval, the research team is responsible for conducting the research as stated in the protocol most recently reviewed and approved by the IRB, which shall include using the most recently submitted Informed Consent/Assent forms and recruitment materials. The official versions of these forms are indicated by footer which contains approval and expiration dates.

Should there be *any* change to the protocol, it will be necessary to submit a **Modification Form** through ORI - Human Subjects. No changes may be made to the existing protocol until modifications have been approved by the IRB. Modified versions of protocol materials must be used upon review and approval. Unanticipated problems, deviations to protocols, and adverse events must be reported to the ORI – HS within 10 days of occurrence.

If you have questions or require any assistance, please contact the Office of Research Integrity - Human Subjects at [IRB@unlv.edu](mailto:IRB@unlv.edu) or call 895-2794.

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