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Title: *The Workers' Camp versus Main Street: Then and Now in the Mexican-American Neighborhoods of the Non-Metro Midwest*

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores the physical landscapes associated with Mexican-Americans in small Midwestern cities, comparing landscapes of established communities with those of newly formed ones. The study primarily uses field observation to describe and categorize eleven cities in Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio as five landscape types. Demographic and economic factors also are considered. The primary finding is that landscape types associated with established Mexican-American communities differ in consistent and predictable ways from those associated with newly arrived Mexican-American communities. These findings have implications for landscape and planning practice as well as the changing impact of immigrants on American cities.

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Introduction

The Latina/o population of the United States continues to grow even as the headlines proclaiming them as the United States' new largest minority group fade (U.S. Census Bureau News 2003). The movement of Latina/osⁱ (people of Latin American, including Mexican, descent) into new regions of the U.S. magnifies the impact of this growth. The interaction between Mexican-Americans and the built environment remains largely unstudied, unlike non-spatial topics, such as economics and identity formation. The paucity of research is especially true of the Midwest's Mexican-Americans, who, including all residents of Mexican descent, comprise 75% of the region's Latina/os (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2006).

This article compares the landscapes, or physical environments in which people live, of established Mexican-American communities with those of newly formed ones. It addresses the landscape from city scale to individual lots, encompassing land uses from residential to commercial to industrial. I conducted a qualitative study describing and categorizing these landscapes in small Midwestern cities, creating a typology that focuses primarily on function and aesthetics at the city and neighborhood scales. These findings provide basic descriptive information about Mexican-American landscapes in the Midwest, and present the landscape types with their associated social and economic characteristics. This information forms a foundation for future studies of this increasingly important topic, and for practice within each of these landscape types. These findings also indicate differing levels of spatial inequality between the different types and between newly forming and established Mexican-American communities.

This investigation began with a research question: Are the non-spatial differences between small Midwestern cities with established Mexican-American communities and those

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with newly formed Mexican-American communities expressed through their physical landscapes in consistent "established" and "new" landscape types?

Background

This portrayal of difference incorporates several distinct areas of literature. Some discuss profound changes in immigration, communications, and transportation, allowing stronger transnational ties between Latina/o immigrants and their home countries (Durand, Massey, and Capoferro 2005; Portes 1996). Within the U.S., an increasing income gap between elites and others (Goldsmith and Blakely 1992) may hurt Mexican immigrants disproportionately due to their comparatively low average socioeconomic status and educational attainment. This large, especially disadvantaged group from one nation reportedly is unmatched in the history of U.S. immigration (Perlmann and Waldinger 1999). The destinations of immigrants also have changed, with Latina/o populations growing rapidly in many smaller Midwestern cities that previously were virtually all non-Hispanic (Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005; Aponte and Siles 1997; Millard and Chapa 2004).

Social inequality in the built environment is not often studied by landscape architects, as noted by Dianne Harris. She observes that such research is vital because contemporary racism may be disguised by institutions such as the landscape, because most people, including scholars in non-spatial disciplines, see the landscape as naturally occurring and therefore neutral in its influence (Harris 2007). This has certainly not been true in the historical formation of Mexican-American *barrios* and *colonias*. Discrimination and racism made residential segregation and other inequity in the landscape the norm in such neighborhoods both in the Southwest (Villa

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2000; Diaz 2005) and the Midwest (Valdés, 2000), including historical accounts of cities here studied (Cárdenas, 1958). Disparities in income and poverty levels between Latina/os and non-Hispanic white residents certainly remain, with a recently released report finding that U.S. Hispanics comprise nearly three in ten of those living in poverty, a rate well over twice that of non-Hispanic whites (Lopez, 2011). Beyond these dry statistics and the account of the social formation of place and identity within these neighborhoods, what is their physical manifestation within the built environment? How are these forces and histories expressed in physical form, the currency of those who shape cities and neighborhoods at a level beyond neighborhood place making? The picture is incomplete without the physical landscape.

Cultural geographers have studied comparable landscapes within the Southwest (Arreola 2002, 2004; Rojas 2006), emphasizing discipline-specific constructs such as homeland/periphery at the expense of consideration of shaping the landscape. The southwestern focus also limits application to other regions due to the Southwest's history as part of Mexico. With the transfer of this territory in 1848, its Mexican inhabitants became Mexican-Americans overnight, substantially different than arriving as immigrants in the Midwest.

An extensive interdisciplinary literature review found no existing literature focusing on Mexican-American landscapes in small Midwestern cities. My research responds to this gap and the literature above by describing these landscapes and defining landscape types, patterns in observed aesthetics and function shared by a number of places that are alike in non-spatial (such as economic or social) ways as well. In this research *typology* denotes a set of types as a whole, rather than its informal use as a synonym for *type* or *description*. Several extant landscape

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typologies use similar definitions (Levine, Inam, and Torng 2005; Torng 2001; Kandel and Cromartie 2004).

Existing portraits of Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes

As noted above, Mexican-American landscapes in small Midwestern cities are not the primary focus of any existing literature. The search for relevant information in more tangentially related literature creates a conundrum. Most information about Midwestern Mexican-Americans lies within humanities literature, which provides only occasional information about the built environment, while sources that focus primarily on the built environment rarely mention Mexican-Americans. A synthetic multidisciplinary approach melds these disparate sources into two competing portraits of Midwestern Mexican-American communities with hints about their landscapes.

The literature portrays cities with established Mexican-American communities as containing urban neighborhoods that housed many waves of domestic and European migrants, beginning in the early 1900s. Among these were those of Mexican descent, sometimes originating in the Southwest. These Mexican-American workers responded to the massive manufacturing boom in the Midwest after World War II. Some Mexican-American workers were already in the area, working as migrant agricultural labor and as railroad workers. Migrant workers settled permanently in the region from the 1930s onward, in both growing manufacturing cities and in cities with canneries. Mexican-Americans in these cities often formed new neighborhoods, initially temporary workers' camps, near the factories or canneries. The existing literature hints at the built environment of these new neighborhoods: substandard

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housing and infrastructure, with some dwellings little more than shanties, in locations made undesirable by their proximity to industry and railroads. These neighborhoods were semi-rural, often just beyond city limits and incorporating livestock and large gardens. This portrait draws on information provided by Valdés (2000; 1991), Cárdenas (1958), Abrahamson (1996), Wright (1981), and Ford (1994). The literature also names specific cities as examples: Adrian, Michigan (Cárdenas 1958; Rosenbaum 1997; Valdés 1991, 1992, 2000); Defiance, Ohio (Valdés 1991, 2000); Fremont, Ohio (Valdés 2000); and Holland, Michigan (Valdés 1991, 1992).

Far more recent work concerns newly forming Mexican-American communities in rural cities where new meatpacking or light manufacturing plants have opened. Key to this portrait is the presence of a new and large (relative to the size of the community) meatpacking or light manufacturing plant. These plants select rural towns for their operations that have few other employment options, creating a low-wage, low labor organization environment. In the case of meatpackers, this move is also part of a vertical integration strategy, moving processing closer to livestock and feed producers. The new plants recruit Mexican-American and immigrant workers, creating a sudden sharp increase in the minority population of the cities. Existing scholarship concerning these cities generally focuses on the economic and social consequences of the plants' arrival, so its mention of the built environment focuses on negative factors like inadequate housing and crowding. These works also mention the appearance of Mexican-American businesses, especially in the central business districts. Key sources for the information synthesized into this portrait are works by Millard and Chapa (2004), Gouveia (2005), and Grey and Woodrick (2005). These sources also identify specific cities as examples, including Frankfort, Indiana (Aponte 1999); Ligonier, Indiana (Millard and Chapa 2004); and Logansport, Indiana (Millard et al. 2004).

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Method

To determine whether the differences between these cities divide into “established” and “new” landscape types, I first needed descriptive information about the landscape, such as its human function and the relative position of different land uses and neighborhoods. I collected this information through observation using fieldwork, aerial photos, and maps, informed by Census data. I studied cities specifically mentioned in the literature, which characterized them as home to either established (i.e. most Mexican-American residents were not new arrivals) or newly formed (i.e. many recent immigrants or domestic migrants) Mexican-American communities. The seven cities listed above and in Table 1 also met several selection criteria: location within northern Indiana, northwest Ohio, or southern Michigan; a 2000 Hispanic (the term primarily used by the Census) population of at least 10% or 1000 people minimum; an overall 2000 population of less than 50,000; and a location outside of a larger Census Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA). Taken alone, these seven cities would have constituted an undesirably small study. I therefore used local newspaper and historical reports (Horne 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d, 2000e; Evanoff and Lopez 2007; *About La Casa* 2007) to select four additional study cities, confirming that they met the selection criteria listed above. These additional study cities were Goshen, Indiana, as an “established” city, and Delphi, Indiana; Sturgis, Michigan; and Bremen, Indiana, as “new” cities. Table 1 shows all study cities by group with relevant selection criteria, and Figure 1 shows their locations.

(Table 1 about here)

(Figure 1 about here)

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Figure 1. Map showing all study cities.

Remote data collected for each study city included 1990 and 2000 Census data (www.census.gov); online data concerning largest employersⁱⁱ; Google maps for aerial photos, street maps, and locations of employers and other points of interest (<http://maps.google.com>); spatial data from Geolytics 2000 Census Dataset; each city's website and/or chamber of commerce's website; and additional street maps.ⁱⁱⁱ I recorded these data in a narrative and in graphic format on a field notes map for each city. This map also included each city's percentage of Hispanic residents by Census block group, highlighting the two most Mexican-American block groups in each city or all those with greater than 20% Hispanic residents. The field notes map also included the largest employers for each city, the general landscape character of each area of the city, watercourses, floodplains, railroads and railyards, Mexican-American/ Spanish-language businesses, churches, and institutions, Catholic churches, and disamenities such as landfills or prisons.

I then conducted field observations in each city, visually surveying the selected Mexican-American block groups, adjacent neighborhoods, retail areas, and main employers. I recorded these observations with an electronic voice recorder, digital photos, and handwritten notes on the field notes maps, driving during most observations. I especially focused on what was unusual and unexpected within each city, as well as similarities between the different cities I visited, in terms of landscape characteristics. A list of such characteristics, based on the literature reviewed above, informed these observations. This list was not the primary focus of data collection; rather, it served to add structure to this phase and to incorporate the views of Mexican-American scholars. Dismantling landscape character into these simpler components allowed for consistent

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comparisons between the study cities. I also recorded the strength or prevalence of each characteristic relative to the other study cities.

After each site visit, I transcribed the voice recordings into an extensive written narrative about each city, developing standardized codes for observed landscape, social, and economic characteristics. This allowed a more consistent comparison between cities and highlighted their shared traits. I prioritized these codes according to which traits made the strongest impression in each narrative, lending weight to characteristics that exhibited greater differences among the cities. I then combined these codes, the narratives, and the field notes maps in an iterative process that sorted the cities into groups based on economic, social, historical, functional, demographic, and built environment similarities. Finally, I abstracted and synthesized the schematic maps of the cities into a single schematic map for each landscape type.

Results and conclusions regarding individual types

The results of this study illustrate both the non-spatial differences and physical landscape differences between small Midwestern cities with established Mexican-American communities and those with newly formed Mexican-American communities. This study identified two landscape types consistent with established Mexican-American communities and three associated with newly formed Mexican-American communities, summarized with selected characteristics in Table 2.

(Table 2 about here)

Established landscape types

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Postwar Industrial Magnet

This landscape type includes Fremont, Adrian, and Defiance. Figure 3 shows a schematic diagram of this landscape type, with elements referred to by numbers within this description.

These cities' overall populations declined about 2% between 1990 and 2000, and economic disinvestment characterizes their larger landscapes, through vacant storefronts and broken curbs and sidewalks. Grand but faded older buildings, especially within the central business district (1, abbreviated "CBD" in the diagrams), reveal the bygone prosperity of local industry. Two major roads, one typically a truck route, pass through the central business district, but most traffic takes the truck route bypass around the town. At least one railroad also passes through the center of the town, forming one boundary of the central business district, with a watercourse forming a second boundary. Several concentric rings of housing from different eras (4, 5, 6) surround this core, on both sides of the watercourse/railroad corridor. Housing and neighborhoods are generally newer, in better repair, and appear more affluent as the distance from the central business district grows. The neighborhoods that appear the most affluent (7), marked by the largest houses, the highest level of landscape and lawn maintenance, and the most well-maintained streets and sidewalks, are at the edge of the city, often beyond the city limits. New retail and industrial development is largely confined to the bypass corridor, with an area of sprawl development (10) including the most thriving retail in the city.

Residential concentration of Mexican-American residents is relatively high despite the low numbers of immigrants (7% to 15% of their Mexican-American populations^{iv}). Mexican-American housing areas include those apparently evolved from workers' camps, as described by Cárdenas (1958) and Ford (1994). Figure 3 shows two such areas: a central neighborhood (9)

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isolated by prewar industry, a watercourse, and railroads, and an evolved workers' camp area (11) outside the city limits, also adjacent to industry. These neighborhoods have very modest housing and infrastructure (including the profile and paving condition of both sidewalk and street), limited road connections to the larger city, poor visual access (difficulty seeing into or out of the neighborhood), and "undesirable" locations: unincorporated areas, floodplain, ravines (see Fig. 2). Many Mexican-American residents also live in an area of early-1900s housing (3), now poorly maintained and divided into multi-family rentals, that surrounds both the central business district and its adjacent restored historic district (2). Other Mexican-American neighborhoods may be located within tract housing from the postwar era or at the edge of town (8). Together, these Mexican-American neighborhoods display moderate amounts of Southwest-style housescape characteristics, such as front yards used as social spaces (Rojas 2003), fenced front yards, Christian icons or shrines (Arreola 2002), and brightly colored house facades (Manger 2000). Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses cluster in retail corridors and reused neighborhood retail buildings, notably absent from the central business districts.

(Figure 2 about here)

Figure 2. A "workers' camp" neighborhood: very modest housing and infrastructure in a semi-rural setting, difficult to see or access from the outside. In this case, road access is via a single street hidden by an abandoned factory.

(Figure 3 about here)

Entrepreneurs and Workers

I included Goshen and Holland in this type, shown in the schematic diagram in Figure 4. Numbers throughout this description refer to elements in Figure 4. The cities in this landscape type are substantially more affluent than those in Postwar Industrial Magnet, and they appear to have been economically healthy over a long period of time, with both mid-20th century and thriving new industry. They have many economically healthy retail areas as well, including the gentrified central business districts (1). A major truck route bisects the adjacent restored historic district (2), but most traffic follows the truck route bypass around the outside of the city. A watercourse and two railroads mark the boundaries of the central business district and historic district. Bands of housing (3, 4, 5, 6, 7), which become newer and more affluent as the distance from the central business district increases, mark the fourth side of this city core. Prewar industry lines the railroads within the city's core, bordered by large areas of modest postwar tract housing (10). The most affluent and newest housing areas (8, 11) in the city are near or beyond the city limits, with abundant current construction at this edge. An area of newer industry, dating from the 1960s to the present, lies outside the bypass.

These cities seem to have relatively low residential concentrations of their Mexican-American residents (about 12% maximum of the local Hispanic population in a single block group), suitable to their more diverse socioeconomic status. The percentage of immigrants in their Mexican-American populations ranges from less than 40% to nearly 75%, substantial proportions, but still midway between Postwar Industrial Magnet and the New landscape types. Older and less-affluent central housing areas (3,4,5) have some of the highest percentages of Mexican-American residents in the city. Other Mexican-American neighborhoods may include evolved workers' camps (9) along the railroads, separated from the rest of the city by rail lines, major roads, and industry dating from before the 1940s. Mexican-American neighborhoods in

this landscape type lack Southwest-style housescape characteristics, a defining trait of this landscape type.

Cities in this landscape type are centers for current migrant agricultural workers, given the presence of signs and vehicles for relevant social programs at churches and schools. These seasonal residents may provide an additional market for the high percentage of Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses, a second defining characteristic of this landscape type. Less gentrified central business districts may contain high percentages of Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses. The businesses typically share the appearance standards of their neighboring non-Hispanic businesses, in terms of signage material and type, façade color and trim, and merchandise displays, and include more specialized retail (jewelry, formal dresses) and professional services (attorneys, physicians, realtors) than in other cities.

(Figure 4 about here)

Entrepreneurs and Workers may be seen as bridging the “established” and “new” divide, reflecting its more continuous influx of Mexican-Americans and more consistent economic health. This type may reflect a “two-tiered” Mexican-American community, where a smaller middle-class group of former migrant workers precedes the arrival of a larger group of working-class immigrants (Griffith 2005). Observed characteristics that support this idea include the very high percentages of Mexican-American/ Spanish-language businesses and institutions, their adherence to local non-Hispanic white appearance standards, the specialized businesses and professional services, the low residential concentrations of Mexican-Americans, the very low incidence of Southwest-style housescape characteristics, and their appearance in middle- to

upper middle-class neighborhoods. The presence of migrant workers may further strengthen the lower tier.

New landscape types

The remaining three landscape types share many characteristics: small rural towns economically devastated by the decline of family farms over the last few decades, now home to new large employers, either in meatpacking or light manufacturing, established in the late 1980s through the mid-1990s. Rapid population growth, mostly Mexican immigrants, followed these new employers. These towns have a generally low average condition of public infrastructure, including sidewalk and street conditions, and building maintenance throughout all land uses and neighborhoods.

New Tenants

This landscape type, depicted in the schematic diagram in Figure 5, included only Bremen, but it shares several characteristics with the other new landscape types: a large industrial park filled with contemporary industry, more factories than the apparent workforce could support, a lack of growth in the non-Hispanic white population (5% decline between 1990 and 2000), a newly established and rapidly growing (385% in the 1990s) Hispanic population, and a large percentage (over 60%) of Mexican-Americans who are new immigrants. The central business district (5) is economically depressed, as illustrated by abundant vacant storefronts, marginal businesses, and low levels of building maintenance. There appears to be ample affordable housing, both renter- and owner-occupied. However, the New Tenants type had the lowest population percentage

(12%) of Hispanic residents in the study. As of 2000, the decline in non-Hispanic white residents offset the growth of the Hispanic population.

Two truck routes serve the city, with a bypass around one edge. A rail line passes by one edge of the central business district, and a neighborhood of very modest multi-family housing (8) lies between this railroad and a truck route. Older (pre-1940s) industry lines the railroad through the center of the city. There is a clear “wrong” side of the tracks, with the other side of the railroad characterized by very modest semi-rural development (1). Other housing areas (2,3) occur only on one side of the central business district and form bands that become newer and more affluent as the distance from the central business district grows. An area of older, more ornate homes (6) lines one truck route immediately adjacent to the central business district. Few if any of these homes have been restored, but they are typical candidates for inclusion in a historic district – large houses with abundant architectural detailing, from the late 1800s through World War I. New development of all kinds clusters along the bypass corridor, including new (ca. 1990) industry, apartments (7), sprawl retail development (10), and new residential subdivisions at varying price levels. The most affluent housing areas (4) lie beyond the city limits. New construction at the city’s edge includes both middle class housing (9) and upper middle class housing (11).

This landscape type has few perceptible Mexican-American neighborhoods, making it difficult to gauge residential concentration, and there are few Mexican-American/ Spanish-language businesses. The incidence of Southwest-style housescape characteristics is fairly low, with houses and neighborhoods that do display Southwest-style housescapes also displaying an unusually high number of cars parked in and around the housescapes, up to five cars per approximately 1000 square foot house.

(Figure 5 about here)

New Homeowners

I included Delphi and Sturgis in this landscape type, shown in Figure 6. In this type, the central business district (1) appears to be in economic flux, with portions appearing mildly depressed or mildly gentrified. Several linear landscape elements intersect in this area: two truck routes, a watercourse, and one or more railroads. One railroad forms an edge of the central business district, and older residential neighborhoods are on the opposite side of the central business district, with the oldest housing (ca. late 1800s-early 1900s) divided into a small restored historic district (2) along one of the truck routes and a larger area of more dilapidated housing (3) that has been divided into multi-family units. Beyond these neighborhoods lies a somewhat more affluent area of postwar tract homes and 1970s subdivisions (4). This housing abuts one of the city's growing edges (6), composed mostly of lower middle class subdivisions, some of which may be manufactured housing. An area of sprawl retail (12) lines one truck route near the edge of town, and recently built industry, possibly in an industrial park, is nearby, close to one railroad. Older industry lines the railroad and watercourse through the center of town, The side of the railroad opposite the central business district is mostly modest housing, either semi-rural (10) or postwar tracts (9), with newer and more affluent areas (8) farther from the railroad. New subdivisions are under construction (7) beyond this housing, with noticeably larger houses than the other growing edge. These cities have large new industries, either meatpacking or manufacturing, drawing newcomers to town, in contrast to their older, often vacant, industry along railroads and watercourses.

Cities in this type have recently established, mostly immigrant (up to 90%) Mexican-American communities experiencing tremendous population growth (over 1000% during the 1990s). These new Mexican-American populations appear to be adapting to existing landscape inequalities, such as a strikingly bimodal housing stock – either affluent or very modest. The quantity and quality of the existing housing stock appears to have been key in the development of this landscape type. The modest neighborhoods are centrally located older housing converted into multi-family rentals (3) or vernacular housing (11) similar to the evolved workers' camps described above. Mexican-Americans are highly concentrated into these more modest neighborhoods, with up to 59% of the local Hispanic population living within a single block group. However, there is also a middle-class Mexican-American neighborhood (5) among the postwar subdivisions. A considerable percentage of the homes in the modest neighborhoods appear owner-occupied, given their better maintenance levels and greater amount of personalization of the houses and yards. Much of this personalization is in the form of Southwest-style housescape characteristics, especially in the vernacular housing areas. This landscape type has relatively few Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses, mostly within the central business districts.

(Figure 6 about here)

Community Succession

This landscape type, shown schematically in Figure 8, included Frankfort, Logansport, and Ligonier. These cities share tremendous Hispanic population growth, sometimes exceeding 1000%; a high proportion of recent Mexican immigrants (62% to 85%); and a lack of growth in the non-Hispanic white population offset by Hispanic population growth. They have numerous

new manufacturing or meatpacking plants located adjacent to the city, sometimes in industrial parks. These industries may dominate employment in the entire county, and appear to be larger than the local workforce could support.

These cities have low standards of building, landscape, and infrastructure maintenance relative to the other study cities, and abundant signs of economic disinvestment, such as that seen in the severely blighted central business district (5). The built environment retains remnants of railroad-era prosperity in the size, style, and detailing of the building stock, but there appears to have been a long period of economic decline between that era and the present. Railroads surround the central business district on two sides, and two truck routes and a watercourse run through it. Older industry lines this watercourse and the rail lines throughout town, with some vacant factories, characterized by broken windows, missing signage, and unkempt grounds and parking lots. Housing stock mostly dates from the early 1900s or before, with large areas of vernacular worker housing. The oldest housing areas are on only one side of the central business district, opposite the railroad. This oldest housing, from approximately 1900, is rather poorly maintained and divided into modest multi-family units (14). Other bands of housing (2,3) lie beyond this area, becoming newer and more middle-class as distance from the central business district increases. A bypass of one of the truck routes divides this housing area from additional new housing under construction, primarily additional subdivisions of manufactured homes (12). Other new construction includes industry (13) along the bypass and railroad. Sprawl (10) and strip mall (7) retail areas line the truck route near the intersection with the bypass. More housing areas are on the side of the railroad opposite the central business district, with areas nearer the railroad being modest semi-rural (1) or postwar tract housing (15), and more affluent and newer

housing further out. The most affluent housing (4) lies near the edge of town beyond this area, including some much larger houses currently under construction (11).

The Mexican-American population of these cities is readily visible within the built environment. Mexican-American residential concentration appears relatively low, although there are neighborhoods of older converted multi-family housing (14), evolved workers' camps (6) (described previously), and modest owner-occupied areas similar to Mexican-American neighborhoods in the other landscape types. These include recently constructed modular homes (manufactured housing that rests on site-built foundations) (9) and older middle-class neighborhoods (8). Both maintenance levels and the percentage and permanence of Southwest-style housescape characteristics strongly suggest that there are many Mexican-American homeowners in these cities. Southwest-style housescapes are common and widespread in this landscape type, including some of the most permanent and costly examples in this study. These cities had the widest variety of housescape characteristics of any landscape type in this study, including many in middle class neighborhoods.

Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses are very common and spread throughout the cities, including the sprawl retail areas. Some of these businesses may be branches of businesses in larger nearby cities, since I noticed businesses with identical names (eg: "Panaderia Ines") in several adjacent towns. The central business districts (the "Main Street" of the title) have a high percentage of Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses, generally more prosperous in appearance than their neighbors in these severely economically depressed retail areas (see Figure 7). The scope of this study did not include evaluation of ethnic tensions, but I heard reports of anti-Latina/o backlash in only these three cities out of the eleven.

(Figure 7 about here)

(Figure 8 about here)

These three “new” landscape types may be consecutive stages of development of a single type. The New Tenants type develops initially, where identifiable Mexican-American neighborhoods and other landscape characteristics have yet to appear, but other factors are in place: an economically depressed central business district, a lack of growth in the non-Hispanic white population, and massive new industry. As more time elapses, the landscape transforms into a New Homeowners type, as more non-Hispanic residents leave, and the Mexican-American population grows. As this new group becomes even larger and more established socially, economically, and spatially, the city becomes the Community Succession landscape type.

Conclusions regarding multiple types

These five landscape types support the research question, “are the non-spatial differences between small Midwestern cities with established Mexican-American communities and those with newly formed Mexican-American communities expressed through their physical landscapes in consistent ‘established’ and ‘new’ landscape types?” There are “established” and “new” landscape types, which are not only consistent and predictable, but appear to vary together with the non-spatial characteristics of these cities.

However, the findings are more complex than this brief summary. Postwar Industrial Magnets are places of the most spatial inequality, with the greatest concentration of Mexican-Americans into the most substandard of neighborhoods, paired with a local history and economic

base that make serious environmental concerns the most severe. These cities, so static in comparison to the dynamic New Communities, seem to be unchanging as well in terms of the landscape manifestations of old prejudice. In marked contrast, the New Tenants, New Homeowners, and Community Succession types are places of tremendous and rapid change that have become the front lines of globalization in a shockingly short time. Although they appear to be places of much more spatial equality, they are struggling to accommodate the arrival of their new large industries, large influxes of new immigrant workers, and the sometimes-hostile reactions of older residents. This hostility may grow as the visibility of the new Mexican-American population within the built environment reaches a threshold where it becomes noticeable to others. Entrepreneurs and Workers cities fall between these narratives, set apart by their continuous influx of Mexican-Americans, including seasonal migrant workers, and continuously healthy economies. Their landscape-related issues are the least urgent.

Practical recommendations

Practical recommendations for studying and shaping these landscapes naturally vary by type. Many of these recommendations are familiar goals in site planning and design projects, yet they remain unrealized in these neighborhoods. Their simplicity speaks to the extent to which the residents of these neighborhoods have been underserved by the current planning and design infrastructure. Unlike more sophisticated yet theoretical scholarly discourses, such simple and practical recommendations promise improved quality of life and more equitable life chances for actual residents of these communities. Even where current barriers to social equality have lessened, the landscape remembers, and the same real disadvantages of difficult access, lower

services, and the everyday difficulty of substandard infrastructure, continue to make life more difficult for their Mexican-American residents. These landscape disparities will remain until the neighborhoods where Mexican-Americans live, especially evolved camps, are seen by outsiders as places that matter.

Recommended interventions in the Postwar Industrial Magnet type revolve around their pronounced spatial inequalities. The hidden character of the evolved workers' camp neighborhoods enables inequality by hiding it and sends a powerful message that these neighborhoods are inferior or shameful. However, this same lack of visibility and access may provide residents with a stronger sense of privacy, security, and community. The workers' camp is likely to be a landscape of memory for the local Mexican-American community, significant in ways an outsider cannot comprehend without the insight of the residents themselves, through participatory design processes. Ideally a comprehensive plan for the neighborhood would incorporate this process as well as improvements such as enhanced physical access for both cars and the carless, visibility from the outside, mitigating poor drainage and environmental hazards (where present), and improving infrastructure and access to parks. While these cities will surely have additional urgent landscape concerns, the potential benefit to the Mexican-American community from improvements to the workers' camp is superlative.

Landscape interventions for the "new" types (New Tenants, New Homeowners, and Community Succession) focus on soothing ethnic tensions over changing use of public (park) and semi-private (retail area and front yard) spaces and on mitigating the negative aspects of the new industry. Local ordinances need to acknowledge Mexican-American landscape practices, such as the social front yard and gatherings in parks, as legitimate. Policies governing the look and use of retail areas, especially in the central business district, can move beyond mere

tolerance of Mexican-American characteristics, such as sidewalk displays of merchandise and signs painted directly on building facades, to capitalizing on this revitalizing influence in their moribund retail areas. The new industries, particularly meatpackers, are notorious for environmental hazards, such as waste lagoons and noxious odors, and all new industry brings an increase in heavy truck traffic, effects with clear implications for the built environment. Negative impacts of the industry must be mitigated, and truck routes through or around town need to be carefully considered and planned. The combination of heavy truck traffic with large numbers of workers lacking access to car transportation is an impending tragedy, inspiring improvements to bike/pedestrian routes. If possible, a comprehensive bicycle/pedestrian plan for the city could be a great advantage for all residents. It is especially urgent to make the newcomers feel welcome, especially in concrete built environment ways, because their attachment to these places is vital to the future of these cities. Although meatpackers select cities that have few other options for employment, Chapa et al report the factories to be surprisingly transient (2004), which begs the question: what happens when/if the plant leaves?

Advice for intervening in the built environment of Entrepreneurs and Workers cities includes some similarities to that for the other types. There are workers' camp neighborhoods just as in Postwar Industrial Magnets, and recently arrived manufacturers and workers just as in the "new" types. The abundance of Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses in these cities is an asset improvements should take care not to disrupt. There may be opportunities to develop adjacent public spaces using Mexican-American or Southwest site elements (such as masonry walls, decorative metalwork, and murals). The combination of elements recognized by Mexican-Americans as "Mexican" with those typical of the city as a whole (such as industrial or agricultural materials) and references to authentic local history could make for inspired designs.

The potential gentrification of the central business district carries familiar drawbacks of gentrification in general, including displacement of previous residents and local businesses and loss of authentic landscape character. The migrant agricultural workers present in these cities are likely to face extreme spatial inequality, although this is beyond the scope of this research. Land relevant to their living and working conditions is likely to be in private ownership. However, improvements still could include better provision for bicycle/pedestrian transportation throughout the city, including links to migrant housing and workplaces; improved physical access to parks and recreational facilities for migrants; and sufficient bilingual signs and wayfinding for those new to the community.

The presence of five landscape types means that practical solutions like those above and research questions involving the built environment and Mexican-Americans in this region should not be one size fits all, nor completely unique to each place. Rather there are likely to be five types of questions, problems, solutions, etc. Future hypotheses about Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes also should consider these five types.

Other implications

These findings also have clear value for scholars concerned with social and environmental justice. In all of these landscape types at least some of the most Mexican-American neighborhoods are among the cities' most modest areas, in terms of both private investment in housing size and conditions and public investment in infrastructure such as streets and sidewalks, a finding consistent with depictions of social inequality in Harris (2007) and Lipsitz (2007) . The location and number of Mexican-American businesses may be another expression of inequality

in the landscape. In some landscape types, like Community Succession, these businesses appear to occur wherever there is vacant retail space. In others, like Postwar Industrial Magnet, these businesses are absent from some moribund retail areas like the central business districts, clustering together or near Mexican-American residential areas.

Many measures of racism, bias, and social relationships can be subjective, difficult to quantify and too vulnerable to dismissal by those with competing agendas. In contrast, the landscape is refreshingly concrete. Without doubt the inequality in these landscape types is the result, to an unknown extent, of discrimination and bias against immigrants and Latina/os by others, particularly non-Hispanic white elites. Those who deal in the shaping of the built environment - planners, landscape architects, and architects – must bear special responsibility for inequities in the landscape, because that is our realm.

The ultimate significance of these findings is the question they imply – do more established Mexican-American communities face greater inequalities than newly forming Mexican-American communities do, at least in new immigrant destinations like the non-metro Midwest? Could this be true for all immigrants to the U.S., or perhaps just those who are sufficiently “other” in some way (differing in appearance, language, etc.) or just those characterized by the relative poverty and low educational attainment of Mexican immigrants? The impact of this possible trend is both positive and negative. While the apparent lessening of inequality in the “new” types is encouraging, it is profoundly troubling that the Postwar Industrial Magnets’ inequalities are persisting over decades. Also of note is that the “new” types seem to show less of integration of old and new residents, but more of a succession of community groups, from non-Hispanic white to Mexican-American. If these trends hold true across all immigrant groups, or even just a significant number of them, they have serious

implications for many aspects of American society, our ability to get along with each other, and the perpetuation of inequality in the built environment.

Beyond the neighborhood, the realm of placemaking and “enacted environments” celebrated by previous scholarship regarding Mexican-American landscapes, the larger city landscape also exists in dialectic relationship with these neighborhoods. In this study landscape types transcend the neighborhood to include larger city form and land uses beyond residential and places beyond Mexican-American. This expands the impact of Mexican-American landscapes to those with any interest in these cities and other cities like them. In short, it is not solely a Mexican-American topic, but an American one.

Study of non-spatial aspects of the Midwestern Mexican-American experience continues to outpace that regarding interaction with the built environment, especially outside of the region’s largest cities. This research begins to fill this gap, describing five types of landscapes inhabited by Mexican-Americans in small Midwestern cities, some of which are characteristic of established Mexican-American communities, while others are associated with newly formed Mexican-American communities. This research has great potential to aid in the effort of landscape architecture to engage with issues of inequality in the built environment regarding Latina/o communities in the Midwest (and possibly other regions) in its gathering and documenting of basic descriptions of Mexican-American landscapes and in its creation of a language and mindset by which to talk and think about them. This study’s findings lay the groundwork for future scholarship, which could explore whether these types apply outside the Midwest and whether similar “established/new” differences exist in landscapes associated with other immigrant groups. Future work also might involve collaboration between landscape

architectural and environmental justice scholars in exploring the impact of environmental ills on Mexican-American neighborhoods in similar cities in spatially aware ways.

For both scholars and practitioners, additional significance lies in a rather basic finding: that Mexican-American landscapes do exist in small Midwestern cities, and are worthy of landscape architects' attention and study. Familiarity with these types may begin to build a body of assumptions about landscape context and public use of built works that more accurately incorporates people who differ from the majority of landscape architects – non-Hispanic whites from middle-class backgrounds. This also might help expand the ethics of responsible landscape architecture to include the creation, preservation, and promotion of an equitable built environment, an increasingly urgent priority in an increasingly diverse country. Studies like this one, written by and for landscape architects, architects, and planners, can help effect this change by speaking to the appropriate audience – those who not only study, but shape environments for people.

Notes

ⁱ This manuscript primarily uses the term *Latina/os*, but preserves the term *Hispanic* [resident] when referring to information from the U.S. Census Bureau, since it is the term that institution uses.

ⁱⁱ Sources for largest employer data:

Ohio: <http://www.odod.state.oh.us/research/files/s0.htm>

Michigan: <http://www.michigan.org/medc/miinfo/places/>

Indiana: <http://www.hoosierdata.in.gov/nav.asp?id=197>

ⁱⁱⁱ Street maps included locally available city street maps, where possible, and the following state atlases:

Indiana Atlas & Gazetteer. 1998. Yarmouth, ME: DeLorme.

Ohio Atlas & Gazetteer. 2004. Yarmouth, ME: DeLorme.

Michigan Atlas & Gazetteer. 2001. Yarmouth, ME: DeLorme.

^{iv} All numeric demographic data within “Results” is derived from 2000 U.S Census Bureau data.

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Table 1: Study cities and relevant selection criteria

<i>Study city</i>	<i>% Hispanic (2000)</i>	<i>Total population (2000)</i>
Established cities		
Adrian, Michigan	16.99%	21,574
Defiance, Ohio	12.75%	16,465
Fremont, Ohio	12.32%	17,375
Goshen, Indiana	19.33%	29,383
Holland, Michigan	22.21%	35,048
New cities		
Bremen, Indiana	12.02%	4,486
Delphi, Indiana	12.17%	3,015
Frankfort, Indiana	13.53%	16,662
Ligonier, Indiana	33.30%	4,357
Logansport, Indiana	12.58%	19,732
Sturgis, Michigan	13.28%	11,285

Note: Data source: (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000)

Table 2: Landscape types and selected characteristics

Characteristic	Postwar Industrial Magnet	Entrepreneurs and Workers		New Tenants	New Homeowners	Community Succession
<i>Demographics</i>						
70% or more of Hispanic residents arrived since 1990				x	x	x
Few recent immigrants	x					
Many recent immigrants				x	x	x
Overall population static or declining since 1990	x			x		
Overall population growing since 1990		x			x	x
Substantial Hispanic population growth since 1990		x		x	x	x
<i>Overall landscape</i>						
Blight throughout overall landscape	x			x	x	x
Central business district blighted	x			x	x	x
Central business district economically healthy		x				
Central business district economically neutral					x	
Largest employers include mid-20th century industry	x	x				
Largest employers include new industry/meatpacking		x		x	x	x
<i>Mexican-American landscape</i>						
Evolved camp neighborhoods	x	x			x	x
Older multi-family rentals	x	x			x	x
Modest owner-occupied neighborhoods		x				x
Middle-class neighborhoods		x			x	x
High residential concentration of Mexican-Americans	x				x	
Low residential concentration of Mexican-Americans		x				x
Presence of migrant agricultural workers		x				
Businesses: high overall number		x				x
Businesses: low overall number				x	x	
Businesses in central business district		x			x	x
Businesses in corridors and neighborhoods	x					
Businesses in sprawl areas						x
Southwest-style housescapescapes: abundant amounts						x
Southwest-style housescapescapes: moderate amounts	x				x	
Southwest-style housescapescapes: few		x		x		

Note: Table is for illustrative purposes only, and not the sole basis for determination of landscape types.



Figure 1. Map showing all study cities



Figure 2. Very modest semi-rural neighborhood with possible “workers’ camp” origins, showing very modest housing and infrastructure. Road access to this neighborhood is via a single street behind an abandoned factory.

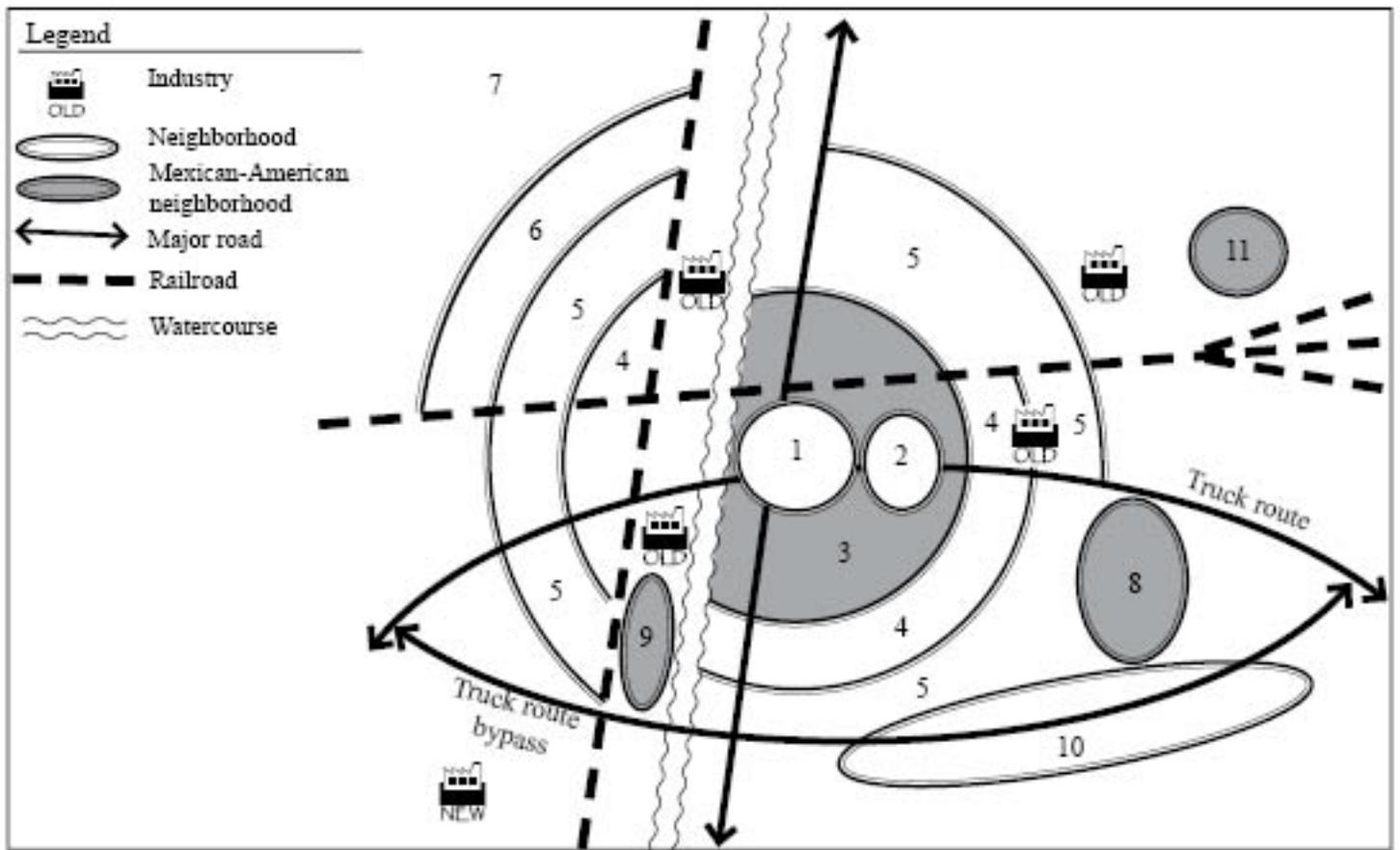


Figure 3. Postwar Industrial Magnet type schematic diagram

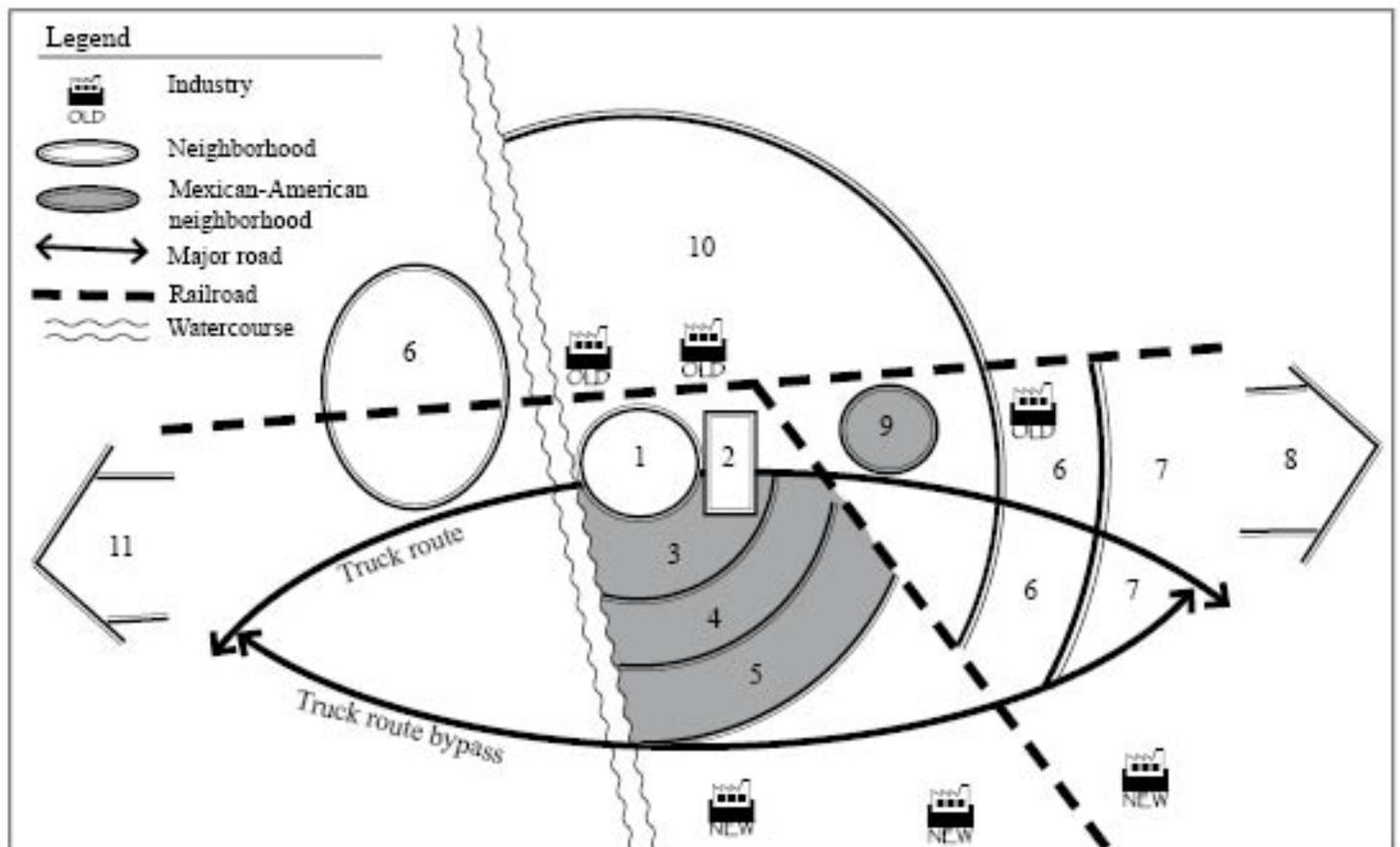


Figure 4. Entrepreneurs and Workers type schematic diagram

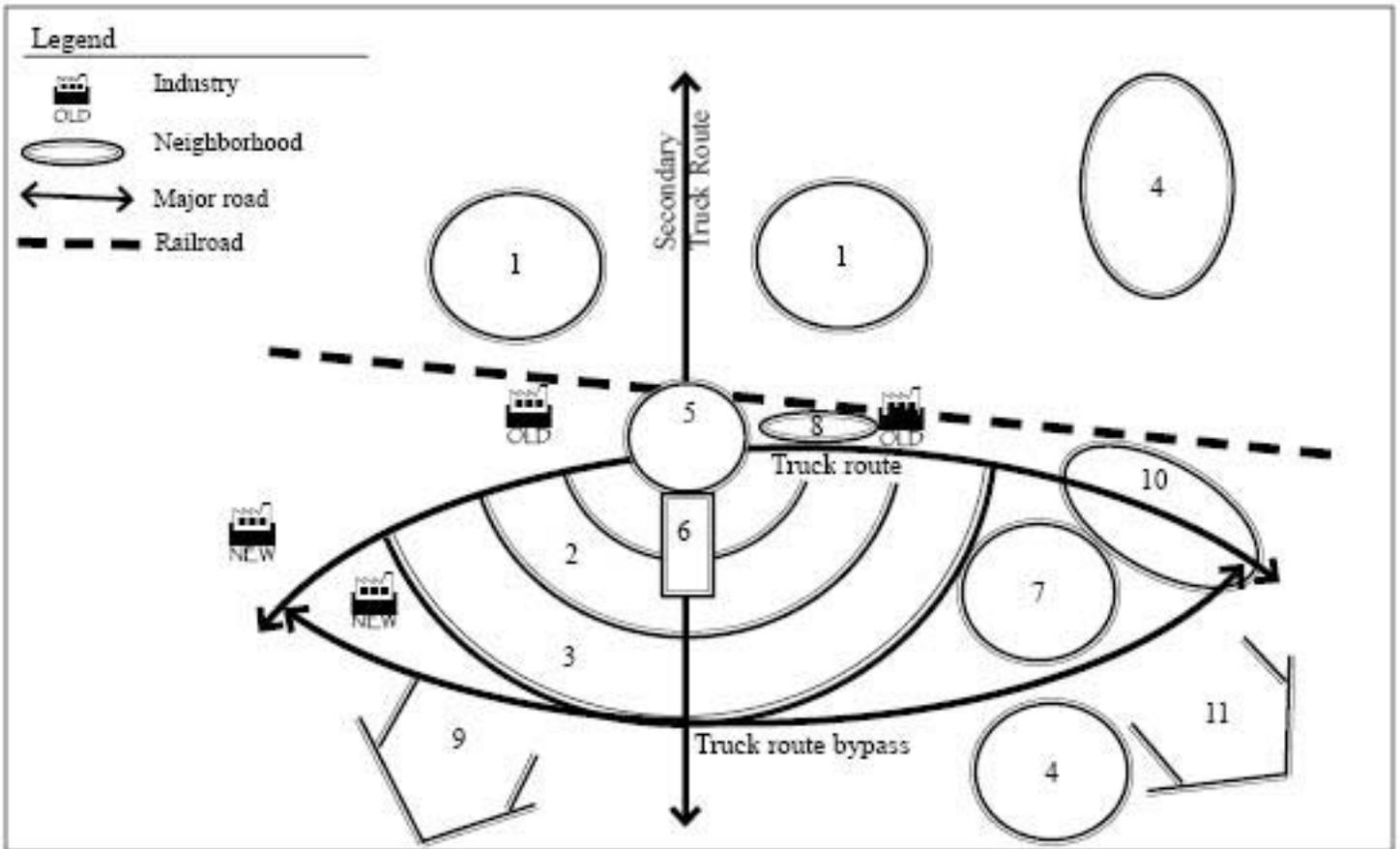


Figure 5. New Tenants type schematic diagram

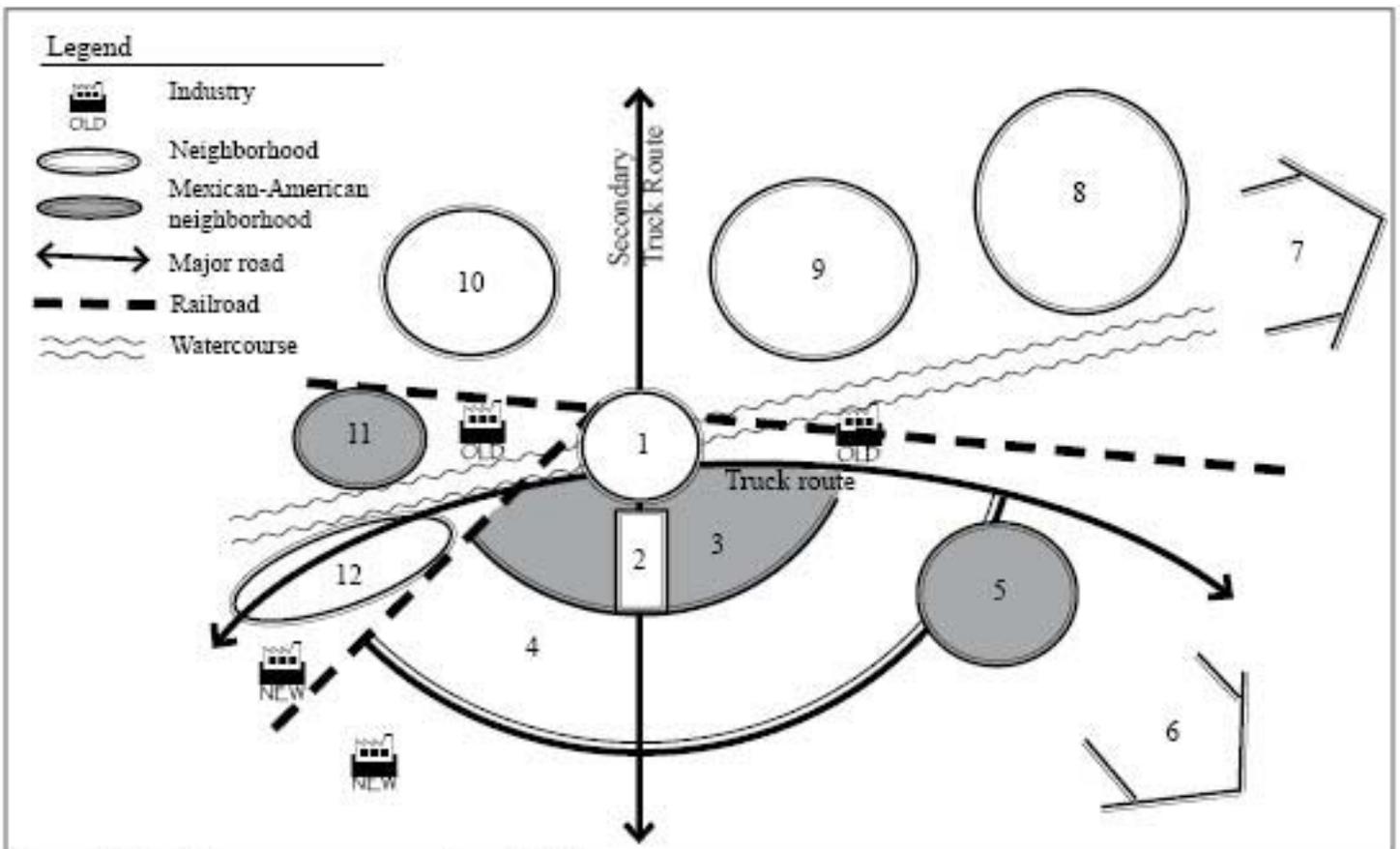


Figure 6. New Homeowners type schematic diagram



Figure 7. Mexican-American/ Spanish-language business in the blighted downtown of a Community Succession small city.

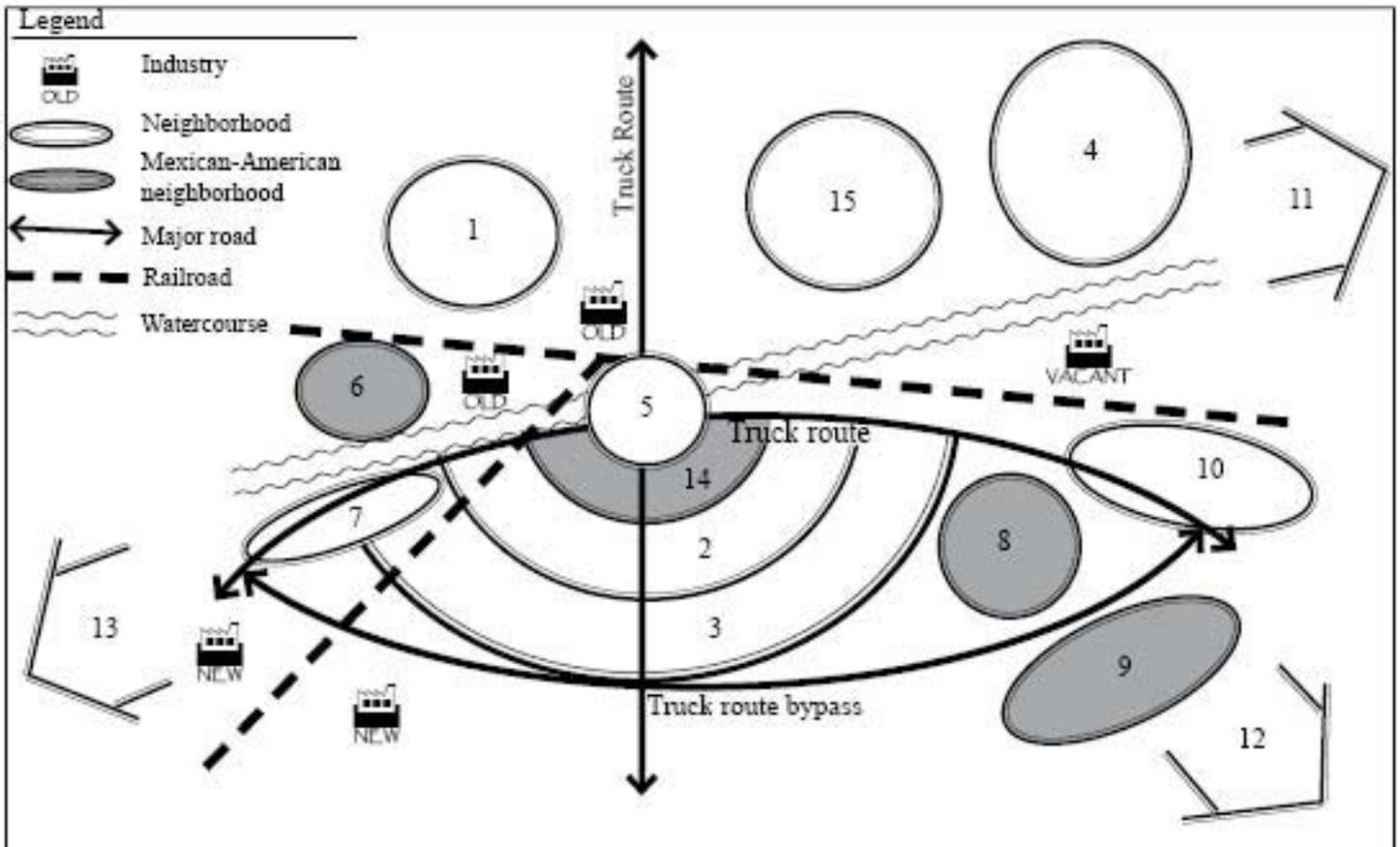


Figure 8. Community Succession type schematic diagram