Mexican-American Landscapes in Small Midwestern Cities: Mixed Methods Development of a Typology

by

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To my immigrant ancestors and the places of my childhood

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ABSTRACT

**Mexican-American Landscapes in Small Midwestern Cities:
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Mexican-Americans have become increasingly visible in recent years in the Midwestern United States. Study of the Mexican-American experience consistently ignores landscapes outside the Southwest, despite the implications of these landscapes for design and planning context and the relationship of landscape to non-spatial change. This dissertation investigates the landscapes of Midwestern Mexican-Americans in small cities, connects these landscapes to social and economic variables, and creates a landscape typology.

A broad review of literature revealed isolated statements about Mexican-Americans and landscape in the Midwest. I synthesized these into eight types of landscapes, or the physical environments in which humans live, to provide a coherent structure for these facts and to reorient them toward the physical landscape.

I then used case studies of the Mexican-American landscapes in eleven small cities representing landscape types drawn from the literature to compare long-established communities with newly formed ones, through field observation and remote data collection. This phase found five types of landscapes, with one to three types predicted by the literature.

I then evaluated cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan to see if these landscape types would accurately describe Mexican-American landscapes there. Fifty-three small cities were classified, with 26 identified as Postwar Industrial Magnet, eighteen as Entrepreneurs and Workers, and nine as New Communities. Both phases exhibited a clear division between landscapes associated with well-established communities and those associated with newly formed communities. A final typology of Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes in small cities incorporated the distribution of these landscape types and their demographic, economic, and landscape characteristics. Statistical analysis also revealed that economic and demographic variables were correlated with landscape variables for these cities.

The study confirmed the presence of Mexican-American landscapes in small Midwestern cities and demonstrated that these communities differ in consistent and predictable ways. I used the findings to develop the first typology of Mexican-American landscapes in the Midwest, the first empirically-based descriptions of these landscapes and their current conditions, and advice for practitioners on shaping the built environment of similar cities.

Chapter 1:
Introduction

On a summer Sunday afternoon in 1999, I returned to a favorite kayaking spot along Wildcat Creek outside of Lafayette, Indiana. I had been away from Lafayette for three years, working as a landscape architect in other cities. In my memory this was a quiet overgrown park, frequented only by a few fishermen and canoeists. I was shocked to see it transformed: crowded and festive with large multigenerational family groups, picnicking, playing music, chatting in Spanish. This pleasant scene made me uneasy – in my recent design work for Lafayette's park system, everyone involved assumed the park patrons would be a few (non-Hispanic white) joggers and dogwalkers, with perhaps a few kids at the play area. Did the parks department have any idea that these shelters, playground, restrooms, grills, and trash facilities were stretched beyond capacity on this ordinary Sunday afternoon? Were my designs at all appropriate? I lived in Lafayette for four years during the 1990s, but I had no idea the city had even this many Latina/os. In the weeks following my visit to the park, I noticed Mexican-themed stores and restaurants, Spanish signs in store windows, and a car dealership with a Mexican flag on the sign. Something had changed in this city I thought I knew.

A few years later, this episode came back to me as I sought a suitable topic for my graduate research; perhaps park use by growing Latina/o communities in the Midwest would be a good topic. However, preliminary reading revealed little existing research about the interaction of Latina/os with any part of the Midwestern landscape. The literature was missing more basic research that could serve as a starting point for investigating the impact of this dramatic demographic change on the kinds of places where I had designed – parks, downtowns, neighborhoods, shopping areas – in the kind of cities where I had lived – ordinary smaller cities and towns in the Midwest.

Mexican-Americans and other Latina/os have become increasingly visible in recent years in many cities and towns in the Midwest. Various academic disciplines have studied many aspects of the Mexican-American experience, including migration flows, labor relations, health issues, history, demographics, and identity formation. However, this wide-ranging literature consistently ignores the landscapes that Mexican-Americans inhabit outside the Southwest, the physical environment that they shape and that is shaped by the reactions of others to this growing ethnic group. This changing landscape holds lessons for scholars about relationships between ethnic groups and the changing context for landscape design and planning. It may also reveal information about the ability of landscape to measure non-spatial change and the changing experience of immigrants to the U.S. This dissertation investigates the landscapes of Midwestern Mexican-Americans in small cities. It connects these landscapes to social and economic variables mentioned in the existing literature concerning Mexican-Americans, with the ultimate goal of creating a typology of Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes. In this chapter I offer background information for the reader, including terminology, a look at recent Mexican-American and Latina/o population growth, a brief history of Mexican-Americans in the Midwest, and the larger significance of this research. This chapter ends with an overview of the entire dissertation.

Terminology

This research involves several potentially confusing terms, which are defined here as they are used in this document. For my purposes, the term *Latina/o* refers to any person of Latin American descent living in the U.S. As a combination of *Latina* and *Latino*, it is a gender-neutral term. The alternative term *Hispanic* includes people from Spain and Portugal as well as Latina/os (Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary 1990). U.S. Census information from 2000 primarily uses *Hispanic*, so where these data are used, it is most correct to use *Hispanic* residents.

Latina/o is often used informally in the U.S. to refer specifically to people of Mexican descent. To avoid confusion, this research uses *Mexican-American* to refer to any people living in the U.S. who are of Mexican descent. This group is remarkably varied, including immigrants, both legal and undocumented, and the descendents of

earlier migrants, including those whose ancestors lived in the Southwest long before it became part of the United States. Other authors frequently study all Latina/os as one group, use *Latina/o* as an approximate synonym for *Mexican-American*, or refer to both native-born Americans of Mexican heritage and Mexican immigrants as *Mexicans* or *Mexicana/os*. Where I refer to these sources, I've retained their terminology when it is unclear to which sub-group the author refers.

The other ethnic group central to this research, and that to which I belong, is non-Hispanic people of European descent. I use the terms *Anglo* and *non-Hispanic white* interchangeably. *Anglo* [resident] is commonly used within relevant Latina/o Studies literature and is appealingly concise, but *non-Hispanic white* is arguably more accessible to the average reader from landscape architecture. It's also the more accurate term since it does not imply English ancestry.

I use two closely related terms to refer to people who have moved from another country or region to the Midwest. An *immigrant* is a person who moves across an international boundary, while people who move within a particular country are *migrants* or, more specifically, *domestic migrants*. I typically use *immigrant* to refer to a person who personally moved to the U.S., but the term is sometimes used to refer to their descendents, as in "In the United States, we are all immigrants."

I've used *Midwest* to refer to the U.S. Census-defined Midwest region, which includes Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, and Nebraska (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003). However, the study region for this research is substantially smaller, as detailed in Chapters 4 and 5.

In this dissertation *landscape* refers to the physical environment in which humans live, including buildings, constructed elements such as roads, landforms, bodies of water, and vegetation, either natural or planted. A *cultural landscape* is the portion of the landscape affected by a particular culture. *Built environment* is a related term referring to all parts of the landscape, including buildings, that were created by humans. One component of the larger landscape salient to this research is the *housescape*, or the

outdoor environment immediately surrounding a house – more or less synonymous with *yard*.

Finally, I've used the term *landscape type* to refer to sets of traits or patterns within the built environment that are consistent within a group of cities, neighborhoods, or housescapes. A group of types forms a *typology*.

Latina/o and Mexican-American population growth

In 2003, the U.S. Census revealed that Hispanic residents had become the largest minority group in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau News 2003). More recent information from the Census indicates that by 2007, Hispanic residents comprised over 15% of the nation's population (Bernstein 2008). This phenomenal growth is fueled partly by immigration, but also by a higher birthrate and a younger population than other U.S. ethnic or racial groups (Gonzalez 2000). The distribution of Latina/os throughout the U.S. is also changing. While a majority still live in the Southwest, other parts of the U.S., especially the Southeast and Midwest, are seeing substantial growth in the Latina/o population (Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005).

At a national level, people of Mexican descent are about 64% of the Latina/o population. The small numbers of every other Latina/o group accentuate this dominance; the next largest Latin American origin group, Puerto Ricans, are only 9% of the country's Latina/os. For the Midwest, these figures are 75% and 9%, respectively (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2006). Immigrants from other Latin American countries have also influenced the built landscape of the U.S (Abrahamson 1996; Curtis and Helgren 1984; Curtis 1980; Kent and Gandia-Ojeda 1999; Benedict and Kent 2004), but I've chosen to study Mexican-Americans exclusively due to their numerical dominance and the differing histories and cultures of individual Latina/o groups.

A brief history of Mexican-Americans in the Midwest

Despite the popular perception of Mexican-Americans as newcomers to the Midwest, Mexican-origin people have been residents of parts of this region since the early 1900s. The history of this ethnic group in the Midwest cannot be comprehensively

covered in this introductory chapter, but a brief overview follows for readers unfamiliar with this history.

Mexicans have been immigrating to the U.S. since at least the late 1700s, before the border had any meaning to local people, making them the second-largest nationality of immigrants to the U.S. of all time (behind Germans) (Gonzalez 2000). The proximity of Mexico to the U.S. means that economic or political cycles in either country affect the movement of people between them. Revolution and unrest in Mexico inspired many Mexicans to emigrate from 1910-1929, during which time they found American industry eager for their labor, especially in railroad, agriculture, and factory work. During ebbs of immigration from Europe, such as in World War I, greater demand for labor in U.S. industries increased the flow of migrants from Mexico (García 1996; Vargas 1993).

A second source of Mexican-American migrants to the Midwest is the Southwest. A large number of Mexican nationals became U.S. residents overnight with the granting of the northern part of Mexico to the U.S. at the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848. This area became the states of California, New Mexico, Nevada, and parts of Arizona, Utah, and Texas. The acquisition of the majority of Texas by the U.S., finalized in 1845, had also moved many Mexicans with their land to the U.S (Gonzalez 2000). These southwestern Mexican-Americans, especially those from Texas (*Tejana/os*), have followed the migrant stream to the Midwest, frequently serving in the region's invisible army of migrant agricultural workers. Over time, many of these migrant workers settled permanently in the Midwest. At times they have also been drawn to the same employers and places as Mexican immigrants, further blurring the line between "Mexican" and "Mexican-American."

The Mexican-American presence in the Midwest began around 1900 with workers recruited by the sugar beet industry. This workforce gradually broadened into railroads and manufacturing work, but it remained largely transient, mostly comprised of unattached single men expecting to return home, and was characterized by a seasonal cycling of workers between different kinds of work. The cessation of immigration from Europe due to changes in immigration law and World War I increased recruitment of

Mexican-origin workers, and their population in the Midwest grew (García 1996; Kerr 1992; Valdés 2000; Vargas 1993).

The Great Depression was catastrophic for Midwestern Mexican-Americans. Among the first to be fired, they were frequently denied public or private aid. In the worst years of the Depression, thousands of Mexican-Americans, including American citizens, were deported to Mexico when their labor was no longer wanted (García 1996; Vargas 1993), and the population of Mexican-Americans in the Midwest shrank dramatically. Those who remained were mostly families, thus Midwestern Mexican-American communities emerged from the Depression as somewhat more Americanized and more family-oriented (García 1996; Kerr 1992; Valdés 2000; Vargas 1993).

This pattern of political and economic ties to immigration continued during World War II, when American demand for Mexican labor led to the creation of the Bracero Program, a guest worker program designed to temporarily fill American jobs with Mexican workers (Kerr 1992). Under employer pressure, this program outlasted the war and remained in effect into the 1960s. The Bracero Program also created migration flows from the Mexican interior across the border to American cities and farmland, and it gave this mobile Mexican workforce a thorough knowledge of employment possibilities and transportation options within the U.S.. These conditions did not change with the end of the Bracero Program, so illegal border crossings surged (Calavita 1992). Most undocumented immigrants crossed in border cities and settled nearby, especially in Southwestern cities with substantial existing Mexican-American communities. California was an especially popular destination (Durand, Massey, and Capoferro 2005).

The Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was passed in 1986 in response to one of the public's periodic bursts of anti-immigration sentiment. This legislation granted amnesty to many undocumented immigrants already living in the U.S., while making crossings more difficult in border cities. IRCA dramatically reshaped the distribution of Mexican immigrants within the U.S.: newly legal immigrants were now free to pursue better working and living conditions across the U.S., and illegal border crossings shifted from cities into the desert. Migrants crossing in these desert areas were no longer funneled into Los Angeles and California (Durand, Massey, and Capoferro

2005); instead, they could follow restructuring industries to new regions of the U.S., especially the rural Southeast and Midwest (Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005). Other provisions of the law restricted the kind of public services that new immigrants could use, which may have resulted in more family members of immigrants emigrating to provide greater income and household help (Gouveia 2005).

At the same time, economic changes created new employment opportunities for immigrants in different places than in the past. Light industry and agribusiness in the rural Midwest recruited Mexican immigrants and smaller numbers of other Latina/os. The overall numbers of Latina/os in the rural Midwest remain small, but the rate of Latina/o population growth in the rural Midwest during the 1990s exceeded that of the urban Midwest (Millard and Chapa 2004). A particular driver of recent Mexican-American migration to the rural Midwest was the growth of industrial meatpacking and food processing in towns that relied upon agriculture before the farm-debt crisis of the 1980s. They have attracted new industry with a combination of low wages, little labor organization, and abundant tax abatements and subsidies. Typically, the local workforce could not staff the new industrial plants, despite the relatively high percentage of working poor in these towns (Gouveia 2005).

Additional immigration legislation in 1990 further favored family members of U.S. citizens, which led to even more immigration after 1996 (McKee 2000). In a marked change from earlier eras of immigration, in 2000, 78% of new immigrants came from outside Europe. A majority of the foreign-born population of the U.S. in 2000 was from Latin America. Mexico was the largest single sending nation, with 30% of the U.S. foreign-born population claiming Mexican birth (Malone et al. 2003).

This population growth and movement is fundamentally tied to several larger changes in national and global economics. The growth of service jobs and restructuring of U.S. industry, including a move away from organized labor, pull migrants from other U.S. regions and abroad (Fenelly and Leitner 2002; Fishman 2005; Gouveia and Stull 1997; Valdés 2000). New *maquiladoras* (factories built after NAFTA) along the Mexican side of the border pull workers from within Mexico to the doorstep of the U.S. (Lozano-Ascencio, Roberts, and Bean 1999). The need to compete with developing world labor

costs in a global economy has stimulated businesses within the U.S. to seek cheaper labor, including undocumented immigrants (Goldsmith and Blakely 1992). The increase in movement from Mexico to the U.S. may be part of a global trend of people moving from industrializing countries to postindustrial ones (Massey 1999). The connection between these larger changes and Mexican-American population growth underscores the size, permanence, and complexity of this phenomenon. These connections also accentuate the urgency of the need for thoughtful discourse concerning the rapidly growing Mexican-American population's effects on the built environment.

Significance of this topic

Readers will question the significance of any research that breaks new ground. Some might conclude, reasonably, that the topic is understudied because it is of little consequence. This is not the case with research about Mexican-American landscapes in small Midwestern cities.

For my home discipline of landscape architecture, as well as the related fields of architecture and urban planning, the findings of this research will help provide a new context for assumptions about public use of spaces. In every design project, the designers' assumptions are an invisible but potent influence, especially in the high-pressure world of design practice. Where time and budget are limited, comprehensive site inventory must often be supplemented with the designers' preconceived ideas about the neighborhood, its people, and their use of the built environment. It is increasingly important therefore for these assumptions to keep pace with the growing diversity of the U.S. It is not enough to simply design a space to be used by people just like oneself; truly competent design addresses the reality of the social and physical context of the site, especially when those circumstances differ from the designers' own backgrounds.

Landscape architecture, architecture, and urban planning also share an unfortunate history of viewing neighborhoods with high concentrations of people of color as sites for urban renewal and/or redevelopment, with negative consequences for the integrity of particular social and cultural dynamics (Villa 2000; Diaz 2005). Others have made tremendous progress in changing this view. My research contributes to this attitudinal

shift by presenting the landscapes associated with Midwestern Mexican-Americans as valuable and distinct cultural spaces from the perspective of a landscape architect. This more inclusive view extends beyond the better-known Mexican-American landscapes of the Southwest and the more urban ones of large cities like Chicago and Detroit. The places studied in this research are unremarkable, yet they, too, have Mexican-American cultural landscapes that are valuable and worthy of consideration.

This research has potential significance for other disciplines as well. The most comparable recent migration to today's Latina/o growth is the movement of African-Americans from the rural South to Midwestern cities during the early to mid 20th century. The subsequent years transformed these destination cities in both spatial and non-spatial ways, although the influence of southern African-American migrants is linked inextricably with the influence of concurrent economic and social forces. The impact of Mexican-American immigrants may combine with the impact of globalization and other current historical and economic trends in the same way to dramatically reshape U.S. cities and towns.

Some scholars posit that the built environment itself embodies, reinforces, and perpetuates racism in U.S. society, a fact both hidden and exacerbated by the public's view of the landscape as naturally occurring and neutral. The general lack of research examining race and the built environment therefore hampers efforts to achieve societal change (Harris 2007). This research begins to fill this gap by orienting existing scholarship toward the built environment, by documenting several types of Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes in the field, and by providing a vocabulary with which to discuss these landscapes. Another group of scholars opine that the experience of immigration to the U.S. has fundamentally changed in recent years (Durand, Massey, and Capoferro 2005; Portes 1996; Pries 1999). If landscapes inhabited by people of Mexican origin have changed as well, they may be an excellent measure of the changing experience of immigrants to the Midwest.

All of the above reasons argue that this research is not only significant, but also urgently needed, since it concerns changes currently occurring. There is a unique opportunity to study this phenomenon as it occurs, and thus the potential to use these

findings to shape better futures for all inhabitants of changing neighborhoods and their cities.

Overview of dissertation

In Chapter 2, I review the extant literature related to Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes, and organize the salient information into a series of landscape types that I expected to find in the field, creating an initial literature-based landscape typology. In Chapter 3 I describe the qualitative research that comprises Phase I of this research and offer a landscape classification scheme based on the Phase I findings. Chapter 4 is an overview of the quantitative second phase of this research, which applies the landscape classification scheme to a larger set of study cities. Finally, in Chapter 5 I discuss the findings of both phases and their larger implications.

The remainder of this chapter presents the overall design of this research, its methods, and research questions. This section begins with a review of relevant methods models and the mixed methods design employed by this dissertation. I then discuss methods of data collection used, focusing on the difference between qualitative and quantitative viewpoints. The chapter ends with two research questions that span the two phases of this dissertation.

Review of relevant methods models

An extensive literature review revealed very few methods models, with almost none from landscape architecture. Several sources reporting studies of similar topics were frustratingly vague about their exact methods, perhaps due to differing disciplinary traditions. No extant landscape typologies focus on Mexican-American landscapes in small Midwestern cities. However, a number of studies create other neighborhood typologies, focusing primarily on quantitative methods.

Several of these studies are within planning literature, using methods created by Yan Song and Gerrit-Jan Knaap (Song and Knaap No year; Torng 2001; Levine, Inam, and Torng 2005; Krizek 2001; Gocmen 2006). Jonathan Levine et al extended their methodology in a separate publication to include small, illustrated case studies of each type within their neighborhood typology (2002). All of these studies share a focus on

classifying neighborhoods according to their rural or urban quality. Less-relevant studies have created typologies focused on economic factors.

An additional methods model is a typology of counties by William Kandel and John Cromartie. These authors classified non-metro areas of the U.S. based on the size and growth rate of their Hispanic populations (primarily Census data), then investigated trends in residential separation within each type. They found three types: Southern and Midwestern "High-growth Hispanic counties," with a relatively large and rapidly growing Hispanic populations; Southwestern "Established Hispanic counties," with relatively large but stable Hispanic populations; and "Other nonmetro counties," which included all other counties, including communities with rapidly growing Hispanic populations smaller than the threshold for the "High growth Hispanic county" category (Kandel and Cromartie 2004). Though a useful methods model, this study has two relevant limitations. The grouping of counties with virtually no Hispanic populations with those with small but rapidly growing Hispanic populations obscures the more meaningful distinction between areas excluded from Latina/o growth and those that are ascending to the "high growth" category. Also, the county-level geography of the typology hides cities with large and growing Hispanic populations located within overwhelmingly non-Hispanic counties.

The most comparable methods model from landscape architecture was Richard Westmacott's study of African-American gardens in the rural South (1992). His study used several of the same tools that I used, including an *a priori* typical landscape based on humanities literature, partial selection of study areas based on Census-type data, and a strong reliance on field observation and mapping. The main differences between Westmacott's approach and my own were his focus on a single housescape type instead of the creation of a typology, his inclusion of interviews and selection criteria involving the owners of individual housescapes, his focus on the housescapes at the expense of neighborhood or city level data, and his apparent lack of a strong overall research design with clear separation between qualitative and quantitative components. This last point is the main limitation of Westmacott's otherwise enlightening research. The reader may easily assume that the traditional strengths of either qualitative or quantitative work apply

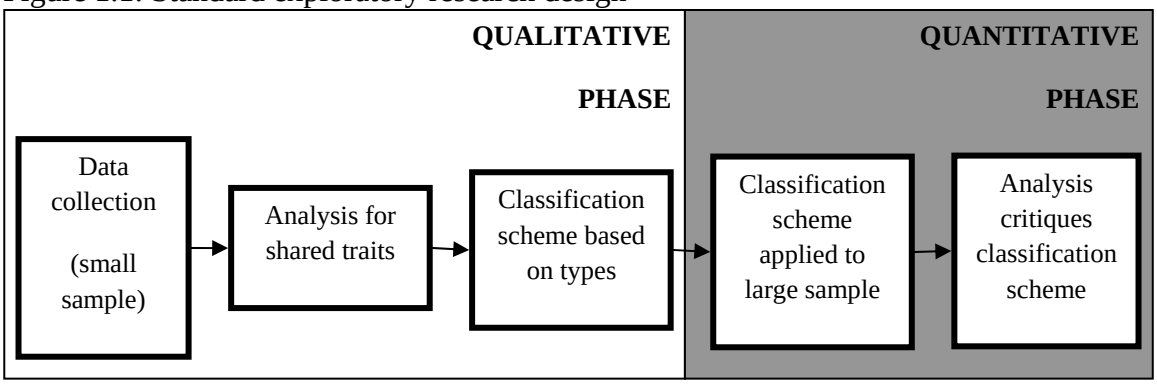
to this study, when in reality the somewhat confused design of the research means that neither may be true. In particular there appears to be no acknowledgement of the differing viewpoints of the researcher mandated by these two traditions – there is a lack of the objectivity and distance typical of quantitative work. This same lack of a clear organization also would make it difficult for a reader to repeat the study. These problems could have been remedied by either adopting a formal division between the qualitative and quantitative phases of the work, or moving the interviews of housescape owners to a separate study. Westmacott also provides no tool for the reader to use in identifying similar housescapes, a lost opportunity.

Westmacott's study displays a common characteristic of cultural landscapes research: studying the landscape through people, via interviews. This is ideal if one intends to study aspects of a given population that concern the landscape – their perception, their preferences, their values – but there is no compelling reason to study the landscape via its people if one intends to study the form and function of the physical landscape. In my research, the task was to study the landscape directly.

Methods overview

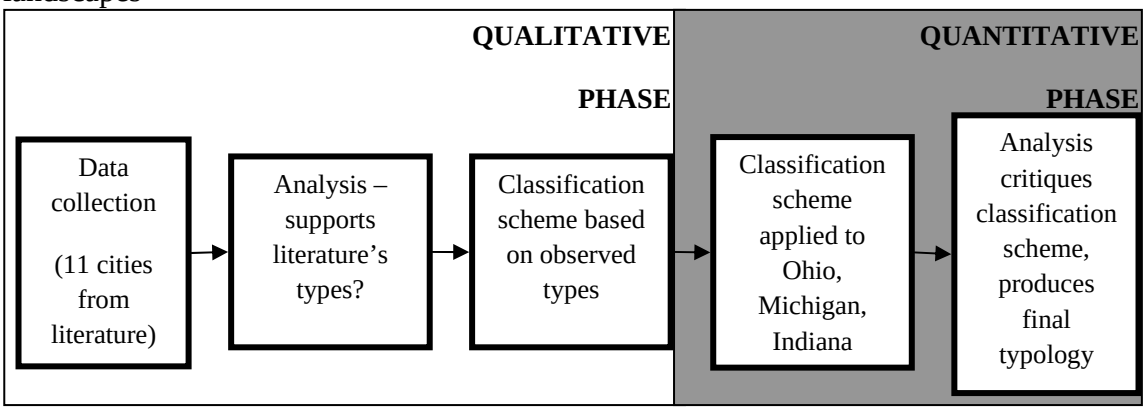
I adopted an exploratory design research method using both qualitative and quantitative methods, also called *mixed methods*. I based this design on one presented by John W. Cresswell and Vicki L. Plano Clark (2007). In their design, the first phase uses qualitative methods to gather a wide variety of information about the research subject. Qualitative analysis of this information reveals shared and unique traits present in the qualitative cases. These traits, with other results of this analysis, form the basis of a classification scheme for the research subject, which strives to sort additional cases into the types of the research subject found in the initial sample. In the second, quantitative phase, the classification scheme sorts a larger sample of the research subject in this fashion. Quantitative analysis of the results reveals their support or lack of support for the classification scheme, which may be revised as appropriate. Cresswell and Clark recommend that hypotheses or research questions for an exploratory design include a qualitative set for Phase I, a quantitative set for Phase II, and mixed methods questions that address both phases. Figure 1.1 shows this standard design in diagrammatic form.

Figure 1.1: Standard exploratory research design



My research applies this exploratory design template to Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes in small cities. I use the literature review, in Chapter 2, to appropriate literature from several academic disciplines as a basis for this study, by organizing the relevant information from the literature into eight landscape types. I then begin to apply the Cresswell and Clark research design in Phase I, where qualitative methods of field observation examine eleven cities, representing five literature-based landscape types. Qualitative analysis assesses whether the findings from this phase support or dispute the five types drawn from the literature. These findings also are the foundation for a classification scheme for Mexican-American landscapes in Midwestern small cities. Chapter 3 explains Phase I in more detail. In Phase II, the method and paradigm of the research makes a marked shift into quantitative study. The classification scheme sorts all small cities with substantial Hispanic populations in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana, into the landscape types found in Phase I. The results provide a critique of the classification scheme, prompting revision of the scheme as needed. Quantitative analysis of the results determines whether they support or refute the landscape types from the end of Phase I and explores the relationships between spatial and non-spatial variables in the Phase II study cities. Chapter 4 explains Phase II in more detail. Figure 1.2 shows the exploratory design applied to this research in diagrammatic form.

Figure 1.2: Exploratory research design applied to Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes



I chose this research design because an exploratory design was appropriate for this exploratory topic, and because the design appeared to capitalize on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative traditions, while minimizing some of their traditional weaknesses. The mixed methods approach also suits a landscape architectural research topic, since this discipline uses both qualitative and quantitative methods. Mixed methods research therefore should have a wider appeal to readers than either tradition employed alone.

Methods of data collection

While methods for accomplishing this task were sparse in the literature, they abound in the practice of landscape architecture. My skill set from my experience in practice allowed me to collect data about the landscape directly, from observing the landscape through remote sources and on-site visits. Every professional design project involves this process, of mapping, photographing, documenting, and seeking to understand the function, form, history, and relationships within the physical landscape. I expanded it to address entire neighborhoods in the context of their cities. My qualitative data collection (Phase I) therefore became a large-scale, in-depth, comprehensive set of site inventories and analyses.

The quantitative methods were more straightforward in their development, in part because they are very simple. Quantitative methods of data collection employed included

use of U.S. Census data from 1990 and 2000, use of maps and aerial photos available through Google maps, and the use of data about employers by county or city through the Michigan Economic Development Corporation, Indiana Workforce Development, and the Ohio Department of Development. The manipulation of this data included both simple tabulation and comparison, including comparison with specific numerical thresholds used in the classification scheme, and standard statistical tests.

Qualitative and quantitative viewpoints

A challenge of mixed methods research is the difference in traditional viewpoints between qualitative and quantitative research. My viewpoint as the researcher is an essential part of the qualitative phase, and my gaze is as much a part of the findings as the maps or photos. I am a native Midwesterner and have lived most of my life in smaller towns and cities in Indiana and Michigan. In the discussion of Latina/os in the Midwest, many people fail to notice that there are two cultures involved – the Mexican-American **and** the non-Hispanic white Midwestern. I have the gaze of the latter, but I am also a landscape architect, educated and experienced in the design of parks, playgrounds, and various institutional grounds in the Midwest region. My graduate degrees have focused on the related skill set of a landscape architecture scholar. These experiences have given me a focus on the physical environment, both manmade and natural, in which we live. Landscape architects generally differ from geographers and humanities scholars in our view of the landscape as a medium to be shaped for aesthetic or functional reasons. We are intimately connected with construction, which gives us a deeply pragmatic and detailed view, but also an artistic emphasis on form and line and nuance in the landscape. In contrast to the view of many humanities scholars, we may see more abstract issues like the expression of identity and belonging through the landscape, or place as a social construction, as less fundamental.

Finally, I must confess that I am a lifelong xenophile. Social upheaval and tensions may arise from the arrival of large numbers of Latina/os in places like my hometown. Nonetheless, I am excited to see the world come to the rural Midwest. Having grown up in a place where “nothing ever happened,” I am fascinated with the dramatic phenomenon happening there now.

This personal involvement contrasts markedly with the second phase of this research, which employs the more detached and objective viewpoint characteristic of quantitative research. The research questions, selection criteria, independent and dependent variables, and analysis procedures were all determined in advance of the execution of this phase, increasing the objectivity of their choice. The design of the landscape type classification scheme used in this phase incorporates objective numerical or geographic variables in a logical and straightforward progression, so that anyone could identify the same city as the same type using this scheme. Additional analysis and findings in Phase II rely on statistical procedures, a classic tool of quantitative research.

Research questions

Three sets of research questions guided this research, including a subset for the qualitative phase (covered in Chapter 3), a subset for the quantitative phase (covered in Chapter 4), and a mixed methods set that relates to both the qualitative and quantitative data, spanning the entire study. These overall research questions are:

- Overall Research Question 1: Will the final landscape typology support the literature-based landscape types of Old Immigrant Gateway, Postwar Industrial Magnet, Mid-Century Cannery Magnet, Food-Processing Town, and Light Industry Town?

- Overall Research Question 2: Will cities that have newly formed Mexican-American communities have a consistently different landscape type that those with well-established Mexican-American communities?

The background information within this introductory chapter forms the foundation for the rest of this dissertation. I hope that the reader of this volume will discover new insights into both Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes and the research methods and design used herein to study them. I intend to show that Mexican-American landscapes exist in the non-metro Midwest, that there are several identifiable types of these landscapes extant in actual places, and that certain key characteristics can identify which landscape type appears in a given city. In the process, I also intend to demonstrate that landscape architectural scholarship can transcend the limits of our

discipline's existing literature by appropriating literature from other disciplines. I also wish to provide an example of how traditional scientific enquiry, both qualitative and quantitative, can add validity, rigor, and transparency to landscape architectural scholarship. Finally, I hope to use established scientific methods to demonstrate that spatial and non-spatial characteristics of a particular place influence each other in predictable ways. This ambitious agenda begins by reviewing what others have written about Mexican-American landscapes in the small cities of the Midwest, in Chapter 2.

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Chapter 2:
Literature Review

The comparison of the landscapes inhabited by Midwestern Mexican-Americans in both established communities and newly formed communities in small Midwestern cities is an important topic for current research. What existing literature forms a foundation for this research? A cursory review reveals how utterly undertheorized this topic is – the minimal literature available concerning Mexican-Americans and the built environment becomes virtually non-existent when one focuses on the Midwest, especially on places outside of Chicago or Detroit. No literature in an extensive interdisciplinary review focused on the landscape expressions of the established communities compared to the newly formed communities. Therefore I broadened the review to literature more obliquely related to Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes in small cities. This chapter describes this broader review.

Latina/o Studies literature has addressed many aspects of the Mexican-American experience– economics, health concerns, history, labor organization, and identity formation among them – but few sources address the interaction of Mexican-Americans with the built environment, and virtually none study it in the Midwest. This gap is not what it first appears. A broader review of literature obliquely related to this topic reveals isolated statements about Mexican-Americans and landscape in the Midwest. This chapter synthesizes these statements about the built environment while reviewing and critiquing the literature. The scope of this literature review is both narrow, in that it focuses on Mexican-Americans in the Midwest, especially outside of Chicago; and broad, in that it engages many disciplines, from traditional Latina/o Studies areas like history and sociology to those more narrowly focused on the built environment, such as landscape architecture and urban planning. Throughout, the review takes an inclusive

view, casting a broad net to catch what little literature addresses this undertheorized topic.

This broad literature review resulted in a collection of isolated statements and inferences about the built environment in different types of communities inhabited by Mexican-Americans. This differed from the traditional dissertation literature review, in that there are few comparable studies on which to build my research. Thus illustrating the place of my research within the extant literature is a more complicated task.

A traditional dissertation literature review provides background for the dissertation research that follows, as well as a connection to the existing literature and the current state of knowledge concerning its topic. In this case, the lack of comparable studies made a traditional literature review impossible, but the need for background and a connection to the existing literature and the current state of knowledge remained. I remedied this lack by creating an organization for the collection of relevant information taken from the literature review. This organization took the form of a set of categories that would reorient this information toward the built environment and Mexican-Americans while imparting some logical order. These categories, or landscape types, form the primary organization of this chapter.

An Introduction to Landscape Types

These landscape types do not merely provide background for this research, but are critical to the selection of study cities in Phase I. I wanted these study cities to represent the types of landscapes described in the existing literature, and thus needed to know what kinds of landscape were described by the existing literature. I judged there to be eight different types of landscapes described by the literature. These types organize this chapter. Their names are my shorthand descriptions of the portraits drawn from the literature.

I created these types by grouping information that described similar kinds of places. This sorting required a level of inference at times – for example, a given author might state that camps for sugar beet field workers were adjacent to the sugar beet fields, but give no indication where those beet fields were. A second author might never

mention camps or beet workers, but state that sugar beets were usually raised on drained wetlands located far from cities and towns. I would tie these two statements together with the inference that sugar beet worker camps were most likely located in drained wetlands far from cities and towns of that period.

The main determinant of these precise landscape types was the portrait of current landscape conditions and/or locations that I drew from the literature. I grouped places that would seem to have similar landscape traits in similar geographic locations in the same landscape type, even if they differed in terms of human history, migration waves, and other non-spatial factors. Several landscape types contained similar descriptions of neighborhood landscapes (such as "Camp-type landscapes," below), but these remain different landscape types because other information stated or implied that these similar neighborhoods would be found in different parts of cities, different cities, or different parts of the Midwest. The main local employers and historical eras in which local development took place appear in the landscape type names, because these features tend to be associated with different types of landscapes and because they were prominent features. Nonetheless, the current built environment was the main factor in determining these landscape types, not the main employers or historical eras of importance. The types are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In particular, larger cities might have one neighborhood or area of the city that fits one type, and other neighborhoods that fit other types. These landscape types are admittedly somewhat subjective, but this subjectivity does not compromise their practical role: to provide a bridge between the existing literature and Phase I of this research.

The eight sections of literature are arranged in approximate chronological order of the arrival of their initial Mexican-American residents. The first landscape type is Old Immigrant Gateway, an urban neighborhood that has experienced many waves of immigrants beginning at the end of the 19th century. The second type is Evolved Railroad Camp, neighborhoods that began as temporary housing for railroad workers in the early 1900s. Evolved Sugar Beet Camp, the next landscape type, has similar origins in temporary housing for early 1900s workers, but occurs in different geographical areas. The fourth type is Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet, places that drew migrant workers

to settled permanently beginning in the 1930s. Postwar Industrial Magnet, cities that drew factory workers during the 1940s through the 1960s, is the fifth type. Postwar Industrial Suburb, the sixth type, is similar in origin, but occurs in different geographical areas. The seventh type is Revitalized Rural Town, small towns that drew manufacturing and meatpacking workers beginning in the 1980s. The final landscape type is Global Service City, a contemporary urban type characterized by immigrant revitalization. Although the literature often focuses on historical conditions, this research and this review concern current landscapes. Within each section, the review moves from larger landscape scale to smaller scale, except where otherwise noted.

Old Immigrant Gateway

This landscape type consists of urban neighborhoods that have housed several different waves of newcomers, including European immigrants, migrants from other parts of the U.S., and Mexican-American migrants. As such, it is probably the oldest landscape type in this review, and has a relatively abundant literature. This section has the most truly interdisciplinary literature in this review, ranging from Latina/o Studies scholarship to architectural history to cultural geography.

Latina/o Studies historian Dennis Nodín (Dionicio) Valdés's statement that Mexican-Americans settled in cities near factory or railroad jobs in the early 1900s (2000) implies that these cities must have been located on railroads and/or on navigable waterways, the dominant modes of transportation for manufacturing around 1900. Sociologist Mark Abrahamson generally supports this statement, saying that immigrants usually settled near their employers in American cities (1996).

The literature also has implications for understanding the landscape of Old Immigrant Gateway cities. For example, Valdés's statement above implies that these cities must have experienced industrial growth in the early 1900s. The literature cited throughout this section describes urban Mexican-American neighborhoods adjacent to the downtown or central business district. This description implies a certain minimum population in these cities in order for *urban* to have any meaning. A city containing this landscape type would need to be large enough to have a recognizable central business

district and other neighborhoods. Also, authors' examples of this type of neighborhood typically are located in very large cities, such as New York and Chicago (Ward 1971; Abrahamson 1996; Wright 1981).

The literature provides important information about the landscape of Mexican-American neighborhoods in Old Immigrant Gateway, with two variations: filtered-down housing and camp-type housing.

Filtered-Down Landscapes

Geography and architecture sources describe the first neighborhood variation as urban and adjacent to the central business district (Kostoff 1987; Ford 1994; Ward 1971). A few other authors in these disciplines join architectural historian Spiro Kostoff in describing the built environment of these neighborhoods as housing from the 1920s or earlier with gridded streets, regular rectangular lots with narrow street frontage, narrow building setbacks, lots mostly covered by housing, and alleys with detached garages (Jackson 1985; Groth 1990; Kostoff 1987). Geographer David Ward and architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright describe the housing as detached units or rowhouses built as single-family housing, later divided into multiple housing units or boardinghouses. The small backyards and other open spaces were often filled with additional housing, further raising the population density (Ward 1971; Wright 1981). These neighborhoods were originally at least middle-class status, but became working-class immigrant through filtering. Planners W.D. Keating and J. Smith describe this process as the deterioration of aging housing stock and loss of residents to better, newer housing. Less affluent residents then move in, because the housing is in better condition than their former, more urban housing (Keating and Smith 1996). With the possible exception of Global Service Town (below), this housing type is unique in this literature review.

Camp-type landscapes

The second variation of this landscape type, the camp-type landscape, consists of semi-rural areas of mostly vernacular housing stock from 1940 or earlier on topographically or geographically undesirable land, originating in temporary worker encampments. Similar camp-type neighborhood descriptions recur in several other landscape types in this literature review. Although the descriptions of these

neighborhoods are the same across the landscape types in terms of housescapes, the neighborhood landscape, and some of the city landscape characteristics, there are important differences in the location of the camp with respect to the city, adjacent land uses, and the eras in which the camps were founded. Some camps allegedly housed other immigrants or temporary workers before their first Mexican-American residents, while Mexican-Americans reportedly built other camps. These differences require the division of the different camp-type neighborhoods into the landscape types presented in this review. However, this section includes one consolidated description of camp-type landscape features common across the landscape types. Other sections in this review refer to this camp-type description as necessary.

Cárdenas and Rosenbaum include common camp-type landscape traits concerning the camp's location within the city. Although these two authors write about a single city, Adrian, Michigan, their description fits the common profile of these camps given by others at other landscape scales. Cárdenas describes the camp location as just beyond the city limits and bounded by railroad tracks and multiple factories. Cárdenas profiles an area developed into a workers' camp due to the low cost of land and rent, the proximity to several factories, and the low local status of the neighborhood. He also says racism originally prevented Mexican-Americans from buying property within the city itself, but at his writing other Mexican-American neighborhoods had been established within this city (Cárdenas 1958). The description of this camp as lying just beyond the city limits both at its founding and at Cárdenas's writing implies that Adrian did not expand at all in this area in those two decades, despite a massive amount of postwar land development and proximity to defense plants. This may illustrate the severe undesirability of the camp's location, the motivation of local elites to keep it unincorporated, or the desire of adjacent factories to remain free of incorporation and its accompanying regulation. Regardless of the cause, a lack of development at this edge of the city would have dramatically shaped the current landscape and form of this city. Rosenbaum adds that while the population fell in the postwar years, most local Mexican-Americans still lived in this evolved camp decades later in the late 1990s (1997), a striking testament to the persistence of spatial separation in this particular city.

Several authors provide common camp-type landscape traits with respect to the landscape of the neighborhood itself. Ward describes the camp-type neighborhood as a solution to the frequent situation of having more immigrant workers to house than could fit into the filtered-down neighborhoods in the first variation of Old Immigrant Gateway (1971). Ford describes classic "minority" neighborhoods as semi-rural (1994). He includes unpaved streets in this description (Ford 1994), connecting to Ward's implication that evolved camps' road layouts would be noticeably different from the adjacent gridded streets, since a central authority did not plan them (1971). The topography of such an area might also have shaped the roads, meaning that even gridded streets may have a different alignment or scale than the prevailing one. Other infrastructure might also be substandard in the camp-type neighborhood, noted by Valdés, Ford, and Latina/o Studies historian Zaragosa Vargas (Valdés 2000; Ford 1994; Vargas 1993). This could include substandard or absent utility and service coverage, especially municipal water and sewer, as well as sidewalks and garbage collection. Another possible landscape characteristic resulting from this history is utility upgrades clearly installed later. These authors also note that the camps originally had a common water source, either surface water or a well, and that even the installation of private septic systems lagged behind local standards. Cárdenas noted that at his writing, few houses in his profiled camp-type neighborhood had indoor toilets (1958). This is extremely substandard for a suburban area in the late 1950s. The irregularity and rural character created by this substandard infrastructure could be reinforced by the irregular lots Ford describes (1994), a type of spatial division that tends to persist in the landscape.

Some authors also note the presence of pollution and its sources within these camp-type neighborhoods (Ward 1971; Ford 1994; Rosenbaum 1997). This historically included both bad-smelling businesses such as slaughterhouses and breweries, and manufacturers that created genuine health concerns through air, soil, or groundwater pollution. Although modern zoning ordinances typically prohibit such noxious land uses in residential neighborhoods, their buildings and infrastructure likely would persist in these neighborhoods today, and some businesses might be grandfathered. Vargas and Rosenbaum also report Mexican-themed or Spanish-language businesses and institutions in these neighborhoods (Vargas 1993; Rosenbaum 1997).

The literature describes a variety of housing in the original camps with the common traits of being extremely substandard, small, and only marginally weatherproof (Valdés 2000; Cárdenas 1958; Valdés 1991; Salamon 2003). These authors describe housing as including reused structures, often not originally intended to house humans, and as incorporating salvaged materials. They mention different kinds of structures, including company-built bunkhouses, shanties made of salvaged materials, boxcars, boardinghouses, reused farm buildings, and World War II barracks. These differing housing types would be likely to have produced different kinds of camps, a fact not addressed by the literature in this review. Vernacular, worker-built or –modified buildings would likely be more informal in layout and architecture, but also perhaps more likely to have endured. In contrast, company-built buildings on company land, like bunkhouses, likely would have been demolished by the company. Despite their temporary character, these camps could be quite large – Valdés mentions camps up to 700 people (2000). The variety of structures suggests that there would be little uniformity in the housing or its siting and orientation in any given section of the camp.

Current housing in these evolved camps could be expected to vary as much as the original camp housing did, since the inadequacy of the original housing makes it clear that improvements, additions, and wholesale replacement would have happened over the years, but these changes would not have been made by any central authority. Changes instead would likely have been made by individual households, resulting in a wide variety of vernacular architecture. However, given the limitations of average income and lot size in these neighborhoods, it seems unlikely that any house would be particularly large.

Valdés is the primary source for information about the housescapes of the original camps, and he provides a wealth of details. He mentions entry steps or porches added to reused dwellings; the makeshift insulation of walls with earthen berms, newspaper, and tar paper; vegetable gardens; and livestock, including pigs, cows, goats, and chickens. Illustrations show a beaten earth yard used as a workplace, for laundry and firewood chopping and storage (Valdés 2000). Vargas seconds several of these details, but adds chicken coops and dog houses (Vargas 1993). The stated economic importance of these

vegetable gardens makes it likely that they were quite large where space allowed. The lack of refuse collection and the presence of livestock suggest that camp vegetable gardens would have benefited from compost or manure piles, also located within the housescapes. Fences would likely have protected these precious vegetable plots from roving livestock, perhaps made of found materials as pictured by Valdés (2000). This system of free-range livestock and fences to exclude them from certain areas is reported by several other authors, in history, geography, and American studies, to have been the norm in the U.S. in the past, when livestock ownership was nearly universal (Gothein 1966; Groth 1990; Jenkins 1994). The description of lack of municipal water and sewer (above) suggests that evolved camps may today have septic systems and wells, as well as the occasional derelict privy in a backyard. The heritage of large gardens and livestock may have persisted in evolved camps, resulting in the inclusion of chicken coops, livestock pens, and vegetable gardens in individual housescapes. These farmstead-style artifacts would be especially noticeable where evolved camps are now adjacent to newer suburban development.

Valdés and Vargas generally provide the landscape details above to enhance their depiction of the appalling living conditions in the camps and the resourcefulness of the camp residents. However, this description echoes the portrait, in environmental science, American studies, and history, of the typical European-American yard before affluence, leisure, and technology allowed the adoption of the ornamental lawn (Jenkins 1994; Bormann, Balmori, and Geballe 2001; O'Malley 1999; Jackson 1985; Schroeder 1993). This comparison emphasizes how utterly substandard the living conditions in 20th century workers' camps were, and yet how universal this kind of landscape was earlier in U.S. history.

Both variations of these Mexican-American neighborhoods might currently be adjacent to freeways or other urban renewal or revitalization projects. Planner David R. Diaz describes the destruction of Southwestern Mexican-American neighborhoods by urban renewal and revitalization projects, from the 1950s through the present (2005). Latina/o Studies scholar Raul Villa focuses on the negative impact of urban renewal projects on similar *barrios* in the Southwest (2000). Urban Mexican-American

neighborhoods in the Midwest, including camp-type landscapes engulfed by later development, may have been affected in the same way, although this literature review found only Valdés's examples of neighborhoods displaced, wholly or partially, by freeway construction (2000). However, the similar destruction of the neighborhoods of other disempowered groups is so well-documented as to be common knowledge in urban planning – see for example (Jacobs 1993). Abrahamson notes that barriers like freeways are often constructed in order to "fence in" immigrant enclaves (1996). Sociologists Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton discuss urban renewal and its disproportionate impact on urban African-American neighborhoods (1993); Diaz argues that literature like this about the urban African-American experience should be extended to cover the similar experiences of Mexican-Americans (2005). Several sources place these types of neighborhoods adjacent to factories (Valdés 1991, 2000; Vargas 1993). Abrahamson and Ward echo this in statements about all immigrant neighborhoods (Abrahamson 1996; Ward 1971).

Only one source in this literature review addresses Mexican-themed or Spanish-language businesses and institutions in these neighborhoods. Valdés's anecdotes about various neighborhoods of this type list past and present businesses such as restaurants, Mexican groceries, tailors, sweet shops, bakeries, chorizo makers, and *tortillerías* (tortilla makers) (2000).

Information about the housescapes of these neighborhoods may also be found in a small body of literature describing Mexican-American housescapes in the Southwest. While the Midwest Mexican-American experience is distinct from that in the Southwest, the Southwestern housescapes could provide interesting context for these Midwestern neighborhoods. My earlier research on a related topic found some support for the theory that housescapes in Midwestern Mexican-American neighborhoods share landscape characteristics with those described in the literature about the Southwest (Dieterlen 2004).

Logically, Old Immigrant Gateway neighborhoods might be expected to have a high percentage of these Southwest-style housescape characteristics relative to other Mexican-American landscape types in this review. This is potentially the oldest

landscape type, so residents of these neighborhoods could have had the most time to express themselves via the landscape. The long tenure of residents in these neighborhoods might also be more similar to the Southwest experience than that of residents in the newer landscape types (below), many of whom are recent immigrants from Mexico.

The Southwestern housescapes literature is almost entirely the work of geographers, especially Daniel Arreola, with one architect, Lawrence Herzog, also contributing. This literature is typically in narrative form, with very few empirical studies. The most common housescape characteristics mentioned are enclosure (usually chain link fence) of the front yard, distinctive use of the front yard as a social space, vivid colors on house façades, Christian icons or shrines, and extensively personalized and room-like front porches (Manger 2000; Rojas 1999, 2003; Diaz 2005; Herzog 1999; Arreola 1988, 2002). Individual sources name additional housescape characteristics, such as secular yard art and surname plaques (Arreola 2002), functional furniture in the front yard and swept earth yards (Manger 2000), and potted plants, fake flowers, and fountains (Herzog 1999). Photos of housescapes included by Herzog and Curtis show strings of lights and decorative metalwork, but there is no discussion of these characteristics (Curtis 2004; Herzog 1999).

Evolved Railroad Camp

This landscape type consists of temporary railroad worker housing that developed into Mexican-American neighborhoods. It is primarily based on the work of Latina/o Studies historians, especially Valdés. However, context is also provided by other scholars studying the vernacular built environment of the U.S., and to a lesser extent, by a diverse group of scholars studying the place of the lawn in American culture.

The literature provides few insights about which cities in the Midwest had this type of Mexican-American landscape. Valdés and fellow Latina/o Studies historian Juan R. García report that railroad worker camps formed during the 1910s and 1920s in the Midwest. They housed Mexican-American workers employed by the railroads, usually near the rail corridors, especially at railyards or junctions (García 1996; Valdés 2000).

Much more information exists within the literature about where evolved railroad camps were located within individual cities. This information includes two divisions, descriptions and histories from Latina/o Studies of specific camps or neighborhoods and analyses of cities by urban planners and geographers. Taken together, these disparate sources create a more comprehensive image of the landscape.

The descriptions and histories are mostly the work of Valdés, with a few additional statements by other historians. Cárdenas suggests that this neighborhood type is likely to occur in conjunction with another landscape type, an assertion supported in general terms by Valdés (Cárdenas 1958; Valdés 2000). These authors imply different reasons for these multiple neighborhoods, including the lessening of housing discrimination over time, allowing Mexican-Americans to move into other neighborhoods, and the development of different Mexican-American neighborhoods associated with different employers. Valdés provides several different locations within the city for these camps, all adjacent to railroads, ranging from next to the station in the city center to the wrong side of the tracks to beyond the city limits. He also includes several insights as to the neighborhood location and character of these camps. He describes the camps as not readily seen by outsiders, implying poor road and visual access. Valdés even describes camps within the city as separated and isolated, sometimes on floodplain, in ravines, or other marginal land (2000). This isolation suggests that today the housing stock within the evolved camps would be older than the surrounding neighborhoods.

Analyses of cities from geography and planning offer abundant descriptions of these surrounding suburban neighborhoods, especially the massive wave of postwar residential development. Kostoff and historian Kenneth T. Jackson thoroughly describe the development of postwar suburbs outside many towns. They portray these suburbs as low-density, detached single-family houses with one-fifth to one-tenth acre yards, typically tract Cape Cods, split levels, or ranches (Jackson 1985; Kostoff 1987), an environment that differs strikingly from the evolved railroad camps.

The literature contains a wide variety of statements concerning the landscape of the evolved railroad camp neighborhood itself, mostly incorporated into "Camp-type landscapes," above.

A key question about the railroad camps is their fate at the end of the railroad worker era. The portrait of these camps is of temporary housing created by the railroads for a temporary workforce, yet Valdés claims that some camps survived to evolve into more permanent Mexican-American neighborhoods (2000). It seems likely that camps that persisted shared landscape traits that made them valuable to their residents (proximity to subsequent employers or lack of seasonal flooding, for example) and traits that limited their value or visibility to others, preventing the destruction or redevelopment of the camp. The literature provides few answers to this question. Valdés does mention that later waves of Mexican-American workers came to the region to work on the railroads, often settling in established Mexican-American neighborhoods from earlier eras (2000). Presumably some of these new migrants helped sustain those railroad camps that were evolving into permanent Mexican-American neighborhoods.

Evolved Sugar Beet Camp

This landscape type consists of Mexican-American neighborhoods that evolved from temporary camps of sugar beet workers in the early 1900s, one of the first Mexican-American settlement types in the Midwest. It focuses primarily on the work of Latina/o Studies historian Valdés.

The literature provides a small amount of information about where these evolved sugar beet camps might occur within the region. Logically, the camps would only have been located where sugar beets were grown. Valdés provides a good description of these areas. He relates that increasing sugar consumption around 1900 inspired Midwestern agriculture colleges to promote sugar beet cultivation within the region. Beets could grow where land was too infertile or poorly-drained for the prevailing cash crop, grain. Valdés states that major sugar beet growing areas in the early 1900s included southern Michigan and adjacent portions of Indiana and Ohio. He also claims that sugar beet fields were typically far from larger towns. Valdés, the only author in this literature review to delve

into the sugar beet era in such detail, transitions the end of the sugar beet era into later migrant labor periods, but he suggests that the sugar beet boom was largely over in Michigan by the 1950s (1991). His account does not focus on the landscape, but these details imply several regional scale facts about this landscape type. Evolved sugar beet camps should be found in fairly large areas of low-lying, naturally poorly-draining land, likely now drained and in cultivation. Areas of prime agricultural soils would be unlikely to host sugar beet camps, as would those near cities settled before 1900. The literature describes these sugar beet camps as isolated and far from cities or towns. Those that have persisted to become current Mexican-American neighborhoods are likely to be unincorporated, and they may lack access via any major road.

There is far more information available in the literature about the neighborhood landscapes of Evolved Sugar Beet Camp, mostly included above in "Camp-type landscapes." Valdés includes some details specific to sugar beet camps, such as the characterization of them as carless communities, where workers stayed within the compact world of beet fields and worker camp (1991). This condition would likely result in a camp built at human scale, not at the automobile scale that most of the U.S. exhibits. A neighborhood evolved from such a camp might still carry traces of this walkable origin in its narrow streets with a lack of shoulder or sidewalk, a narrow setback of buildings from the street, and a lack of driveways. Valdés does note that automobiles were used in the later part of this period to transport workers from the camps to the beet fields, which in that period could be up to forty miles away (1991).

Most of Valdés's narrative about the beet camps is via a series of example communities, one of which was a 300-person camp outside of Blissfield, Michigan, in the late 1930s (1991). In this anecdote, Valdés's writing overlaps with another account of this camp, written by Cárdenas. This account includes several details that have implications for the physical landscape of the camp. Cárdenas states that children in the camp walked to public schools outside the camps, but that there was a company general store for workers, apparently within the camp itself. Cárdenas states that the camp had housed European immigrant beet workers before Mexican-Americans arrived around 1940 (1958).

All information available within the literature about the housescapes within Evolved Sugar Beet Camp neighborhoods is included in "Camp-type landscapes," above.

The landscape type of Evolved Sugar Beet Camp relies upon the assumption that some of these camps persisted beyond the sugar beet boom to evolve into current Mexican-American neighborhoods. It seems more likely that no trace remains of these cultural landscapes today, short of the soil types and water sources – the camps were presumably on sugar company or grower land, so when sugar beet cultivation ended in an area, the land would be sold or put to other use, the camp destroyed. The deliberate siting of the camps away from existing towns also argues for their disappearance – once the beet fields disappeared, what reason would there be for someone to live in the camps? However, the literature makes a few claims to the contrary, describing individual Mexican-American neighborhoods that had their beginning in sugar beet camps. Valdés hints at one way that some camps might have persisted: by the infusion of new Mexican-origin agricultural workers who arrived in the 1950s and later (2000). Cárdenas states that at his writing in the late 1950s, some Mexican-Americans still lived in the Blissfield camp in the same camp housing, although they were now commuting to factory jobs in nearby cities and towns (1958). This specific camp community had survived the transition of its residents from beet workers compelled to live in the camp to factory workers who continued to live there, at least partially by choice. Cárdenas gives no reason why this camp was unique, so there are probably other Evolved Sugar Beet Camp surviving as Mexican-American neighborhoods, undetected by the literature.

Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet

This landscape type consists of towns and neighborhoods where large numbers of Mexican-American migrant agricultural workers "settled out," to take more stable jobs in factories or canneries, from the 1930s onward. This landscape type overlaps considerably with Postwar Industrial Magnet and Postwar Industrial Suburb, and to a lesser extent with the "two-tiered" variation of Revitalized Rural Town (see below). Literature specific to Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet is quite limited, with only two authors, Latina/o Studies historian Valdés and sociologist Sonya Salamon, providing most of the information.

Most of the information the literature provides about this landscape type concerns which areas or cities within the region might contain this landscape type. Unlike several of the other landscape types in this literature review, Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet drew mostly migrant workers who had worked in the Midwest's farm fields for years and were familiar with the region. The literature says these workers were usually Tejana/os (Texans of Mexican descent). Two sources claim that migrant workers usually settled in cities surrounded by crops using migrant labor, with many continuing to work in the fields intermittently (Valdés 1991; Carlson 1975). Not all crops grown in the Midwest use migrant labor; areas with a history of growing fruits or vegetables such as cucumbers, onions, and tomatoes would be more likely to host this landscape type than those areas raising grain or corn, for example. Valdés specifically mentions north central Indiana around South Bend and northwest Ohio near Toledo (1991). He mentions Tejana/os forming new Mexican-American neighborhoods instead of settling in established ones. These new neighborhoods typically were located near factories or canneries processing crops raised with migrant labor, including pickling and sugar refining operations (Valdés 1991). Carlson claims that government programs encouraged migrant workers to settled in certain areas, including northwest Ohio, and that personal preference led the migrants to select smaller rural towns with large affordable houses within commuting distance of urban factory jobs (1975). Salamon's account of an unspecified town supports most of Valdés's statements, including the local Mexican-American migrant workers drawn to stable jobs in the local cannery, the surrounding migrant labor-grown crops, and the time frame of this initial settling out. Salamon's account emphasizes the continuing presence of current migrant workers in the area, at least seasonally. She also offers a view of the larger landscape setting of the one profiled town – isolated and far from main roads (2003). She provides no reason to generalize this isolation to the rest of this landscape type, however.

The only information about city landscapes in this type comes from Salamon, although her profile of a single city might not be typical. A few inferences about the city landscape may be drawn from literature at other scales, however. The city would have had a cannery or other growing industry during this time period, from approximately 1940 through the present, not necessarily during the entire period. Salamon's profiled

town has an economically healthy central business district, including both Anglo and Mexican-American businesses. The railroad platted the town in the late 1800s, as evidenced by the gridded, late 1800s center typical of those towns. She claims that one end of the city has the cannery, while the opposite end has newer subdivisions (2003). This implies that the cannery likely has a strong smell, which has led the more affluent residents to flee to the far side of the city. Odiferous industry is often, but not always, located downwind from the city in prevailing winds – typically to the east. The profiled town has had vegetable canneries since its founding, according to Salamon, to process the crops grown in the area. Prior to the arrival of the Mexican-Americans, there was a wave of southern white migrants in the early 1900s. As noted above, the city hosts an annual surge of Mexican-American migrant workers, far fewer than in the late 1960s. Salamon states that the settling out of Mexican-Americans in the town began during this period, also the town's peak overall population. She portrays the town as currently declining, both in population and the economic viability of the local economic base (2003).

Other literature describes the neighborhood landscapes of this type. The literature cited above suggests that the Mexican-American neighborhoods would be located near the canneries or factories within the city. Valdés again is the primary source for information at this landscape scale. His description of the new neighborhoods founded by settled agricultural workers is surprisingly similar to "Camp-type landscapes," above, with the primary distinction being the era of their founding and the adjacent factories or beet fields. Salamon's details about the neighborhood landscape are rather inconsistent. For example, she states both that at press there was no particular Mexican-American neighborhood in town and that there were some clusters of Mexican-American housing. She also shows that Mexican-American homes in town have a lower average value than the overall average (Salamon 2003), which strongly suggests that the less affluent neighborhoods have more Mexican-American households. She states that newly settled Mexican-Americans tend to live in older dilapidated housing near the cannery, then move into owner-occupied homes as soon as possible, implying that there are at least two types of neighborhoods housing Mexican-Americans: older rental housing close to the plant, and modest starter homes farther from the plant. These starter homes apparently include some in a new modest subdivision (2003).

One difference between the camp-type landscape (above) and these settled migrant worker communities highlighted by Valdés is that the settled workers tended to remain in place once settled. He attributes this to the strong social network of current and former Mexican-American migrant workers in the region. Perhaps as a result of this greater stability, he also states that additional Catholic parishes were developed for these Mexican-American Midwesterners (1991). Therefore these neighborhoods likely would have a Catholic church established in this era serving the local Mexican-American community, perhaps through Spanish masses or a focus on the Virgin of Guadalupe. Salamon found such a Catholic church in her studied town, with Spanish masses (2003).

This literature review contained no information specifically about housescapes within this landscape type beyond the general depiction of "Camp-type landscapes" above. It also is plausible that settled migrant neighborhoods might today be quite similar to other working class neighborhoods, given their common employers. This would likely be fairly modest housing from the 1930s or earlier in gridded neighborhoods, somewhat similar to the Old Immigrant Gateway description above.

Postwar Industrial Magnet

This landscape type consists of cities where factory jobs drew Mexican-American workers in the massive manufacturing boom beginning after World War II. Logically, this could be extended through the 1960s, as Midwestern manufacturing generally thrived throughout this decade. As in several other sections of this review, the work of Latina/o Studies historian Valdés dominates the relevant literature. Several other authors, ranging from geography to architectural history to planning, supplement his work here.

The literature provides a moderate amount of information about where this landscape type might occur within the region. Valdés characterizes these new locations of Mexican-American neighborhoods as smaller cities and suburbs with prominent industry, with settled Tejana/o migrant workers replacing previous waves of southern white migrants and second-generation European immigrants (2000). Factories that were growing enough to draw large numbers of new workers in this era would have the dominant mode of transportation for industry in the postwar years – railroads and/or

highways. Therefore cities with this landscape type would be located along these linear elements.

This literature review lacked any information about city landscapes within this type. Midwestern cities that experienced industrial growth in the postwar years are often stagnating economically today, so this might well characterize the landscape of these cities with urban blight, a general lack of affluence and maintenance, and other physical indicators of economic trouble.

Most information within the literature about this landscape type concerns the neighborhood landscape, which describes a camp-type landscape as detailed above. In this case the camps were often adjacent to industry. Valdés and Carlson mention that more Mexican-Americans were able to buy homes in the postwar years (Valdés 2000; Carlson 1975). Overall home ownership rates soared to new levels in the postwar years across the country, a product of several government programs to promote home ownership and new development (Kostoff 1987). The higher rates of home ownership might well have contributed to the greater stability Valdés describes in these neighborhoods (1991). The literature includes a few additional hints about the character of these neighborhoods specific to this type. Valdés mentions that festivals and events were sometimes held outdoors in parks - he includes a 1950 photo of a Catholic procession on a snowy residential street (2000) - intriguing insights about the use of public spaces in these communities.

The literature describes two major trends affecting these neighborhood landscapes since their establishment: urban renewal and redevelopment projects and new arrivals during the 1990s. Valdés states that urban renewal destroyed some enclaves, particularly those that had relatively poor housing conditions, had industry mixed with their land uses, and had housed a succession of different immigrant groups. Sometimes the "undesirable" locations of these enclaves were used as the reason for their destruction (Valdés 2000). This kind of neighborhood destruction is well-documented in the Southwest (Diaz 2005; Villa 2000); apparently this phenomenon occurred in the Midwest's smaller cities as well.

Valdés describes several signs within the landscape of the growth of Mexican-American communities within the Midwest during the 1990s: population growth in existing enclaves, increased numbers of Spanish-language Protestant churches, a resurgence in murals and mosaics, growth in sports leagues, *quinceañeras* (coming of age celebrations for girls), outdoor Mexican holiday celebrations, and customized car gatherings (2000). These statements suggest an increased and distinctively Mexican-American use of public spaces. Valdés also describes growth in the number of Mexican-American small businesses during the 1990s, although he contends that this rate is still below other regions of the U.S. He describes typical businesses as Mexican grocery stores, Spanish records and videos, bakeries (*panaderías*), tortilla makers (*tortillerías),* restaurants, and theaters, as well as street vendors. He notes that Mexican-American neighborhoods, new or established, typically have fewer chain stores and more small businesses, often in older reused retail buildings (2000). Architecture and planning authors support this observation, with studies of Latina/o and Asian immigrant reuse of strip malls and commercial strip properties left empty by the economic decline of inner suburban areas (Loukitou-Sideris 2002; Ford 1994).

The literature mentions these two trends in connection with this landscape type. However, the influence of urban renewal could logically be present in any Mexican-American neighborhood that's urban and present at least since the 1950s, such as Old Immigrant Gateway. The "undesirable" locations and poor housing conditions could apply to virtually all camp-type landscapes; however, only the more urban neighborhoods would be likely to be near urban redevelopment of any kind. Signs of 1990s growth could logically be present in any landscape type in this review.

The literature provides little information about housescapes within this landscape type beyond "Camp-type landscapes," above. The additional note from Valdés that these communities were less transient, along with the higher home ownership rates, implies that there may be a relatively high level of personalization in the housescapes in these neighborhoods. There is, however, little direction from the literature as to whether this personalization is likely to be in the form of Southwest-style housescape characteristics (as described above), or if the long tenure of these Mexican-Americans in the Midwest

would have lessened any common cultural heritage with the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest.

Postwar Industrial Suburb

This landscape type consists of Mexican-American communities drawn to industrial jobs in suburban areas during the decades after World War II. This type is quite similar to Postwar Industrial Magnet, but differs in its suburban location. Accordingly, this section of the literature review focuses only on those aspects of this landscape type that differ from the previous type. There is very little of this additional literature, drawn from only two authors.

This additional literature is entirely about where this landscape type might be found within the region - only in suburbs of large metropolitan cities, such as Detroit or Chicago. Abrahamson says that in general, since the 1970s, many immigrant enclaves have formed initially in the suburbs, since manufacturing has moved to the suburbs from the central city. He contrasts this with the earlier process of immigrants initially settling in the central city (such as Old Immigrant Gateway, above), then moving into the suburbs as they acculturated (1996). Valdés states that many of these suburban Mexican-American neighborhoods formed when Anglo residents, often second-generation European immigrants, moved out to newer suburbs. Native Mexican-Americans then followed the same path of spatial acculturation, leaving central city neighborhoods for the inner suburbs. He also notes a phenomenon that may be bolstering these older suburban communities, that of new Mexican-American communities forming in affluent exurban areas due to employment in local landscaping and service jobs. He states that new Mexican-American migrants from rural areas may be attracted to established Mexican-American neighborhoods in suburbs due to the larger homes and yards (2000). Like the postwar industrial magnet, cities with this landscape type are likely to be suffering from the economic decline and blight common among Rustbelt cities.

Revitalized Rural Town

This landscape type consists of two closely related subtypes of small towns dominated by new large employers that create rapid Latina/o population growth. The

subtypes differ according to the economic sector of these main employers. This is one of the longest sections in this review, with a relatively large amount of relevant literature and a large number of different authors. The structure of this section is unique, discussing general information about this landscape type, then two subtypes. The general literature is dominated by sociology and anthropology, with less of a focus on Latina/o Studies than in the rest of the review. Two anthologies are particularly relevant to this section, including multiple chapters cited herein: *New Destinations: Mexican Immigration in the United States* (Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005) and *Apple Pie and Enchiladas: Latino Newcomers in the Rural Midwest* (Millard and Chapa 2004). Most of this description may be extended to the literature reviewed within the meatpacking town subtype. The second subtype, light industrial towns, has very little literature.

General information

This section reviews literature that applies to both subtypes of Revitalized Rural Town. The general literature contains several theories, including those of revitalization, concentration of rural poverty, and two-tiered cities, plus notes about several additional landscape characteristics.

A small collection of sources promote the idea that Mexican-American or other Latina/o growth is revitalizing rural cities in the Midwest, either socially or economically (Gouveia 2005; Grey and Woodrick 2005; Chapa et al. 2004). These sources echo ideas promoted by other authors about the alleged revitalizing influence of Latina/os on American cities, either partially or as a whole (Fishman 2005; Grey and Woodrick 2005; Davis 2000; Loukitou-Sideris 2002). The simplest form of this revitalizing influence on small Midwestern cities is the reversal of population loss, when the number of Latina/os arriving exceeds the number of non-Hispanic whites leaving, often a decades-long decline. Most of these sources do not focus on the built environment and therefore provide few examples of landscape changes. Planner Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris does focus on the built environment, but only that of commercial strips, as discussed above.

Another small subset of the literature theorizes about the rural concentration of poverty produced by the simultaneous arrival of less affluent Mexican-Americans and

other Latina/os and the departure of more affluent non-Hispanic whites, potentially creating a rural Latina/o underclass (Kandel and Cromartie 2004; Chapa et al. 2004; Gouveia 2005; Salamon 2003). These authors reason that employers such as meatpacking plants draw many Mexican-American and other Latina/o workers, usually recent immigrants, to demanding, low-skill, low-wage jobs. These employers choose isolated rural towns for economic reasons, but they require far more labor than the local population can provide. Local workers also generally prefer other jobs. Other long term social and economic trends, such as the industrialization of agriculture, have created a decades-long decline in the population of these towns, which continues in the non-Hispanic white population, especially among younger, college-educated residents. Without the tax base that these more affluent residents provide, the schools and public services of these towns decline, making it more difficult for the children of the Latina/o workers to acquire the education and skills needed to advance. This, these authors speculate, will lead to increasing poverty rates in these towns, bringing the host of social ills documented in blighted urban neighborhoods by sociologist W.J. Wilson, among others (1987; 1996). At first glance this theory may echo anti-immigrant rhetoric, but closer examination reveals that these claims rest upon actual case studies and analysis, making these thoughtful and sincere warnings more difficult to dismiss.

A third observation about these rural towns is that of the two-tiered Latina/o population (Griffith 2005; Salamon 2003; Millard et al. 2004). These authors observe that some rural towns with substantial newly-arrived Mexican-American populations already had a smaller group of well-established Mexican-American residents. These “top-tier” Mexican-Americans often have lived in town for more than thirty years and were born in the Midwest or in Texas. Many are settled migrant agricultural workers who have ascended into the middle class, own homes and businesses, and are involved in local non-Hispanic white society. This group contrasts dramatically with the larger group of newly-arrived, usually immigrant, working class Mexican-Americans. In fact, the two groups have little in common except the Spanish language and local Mexican or Spanish-language businesses, owned by the top-tier and patronized by the lower-tier. These authors report separation between the two tiers in several spheres - religion, residential areas, home ownership/renting – in addition to the definitive ones of socioeconomic class

and employment. In a study spanning several disciplines, Ann Millard et al speculate that local Mexican-American migrant workers form a third tier in this society during the growing season. They note that this annual influx can increase the local Latina/o population by 30% in areas that grow truck crops, bedding plants, or Christmas trees (Millard et al. 2004). The literature offers little indication of landscape expressions of this two-tiered phenomenon. Logically these towns could share landscape characteristics with either Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet or Revitalized Rural Town, possibly combining aspects of both. The greater numbers of the newly-arrived Mexican-Americans might lead them to dominate the landscape effects, but the top-tier might also have greater dominance due to their much longer tenure and greater economic and social capital.

The literature about revitalized agricultural towns reports many additional landscape characteristics. Multiple authors comment on the functioning of groups of rural towns as a single economic and social unit (Chapa et al. 2004; Millard et al. 2004; Salamon 2003). This typically was a concern in methodology development. Millard et al noted a threshold of 10-15% Hispanic residents at which Latina/os become "visible" to others in their communities (2004). This suggests that any reaction of non-Hispanic residents to the new Latina/o community would occur above this threshold, as would any expressions in the landscape of this reaction. It might also imply that the "Mexicanness" of the landscape noticeably increases above this threshold.

Railroads platted many small rural towns in the Midwest in the late 1800s through the early 1900s, a history that profoundly impacts the built environment. Kostoff provides an excellent description of this archetype: railroad tracks bisect the town, running between the town and waterfront where appropriate; a core of gridded streets square with the tracks; blocks subdivided by alleys, with equal-sized lots throughout. This standard layout, which even extended to street names, had a major impact on the land uses and status of different areas. Kostoff describes the platted town as being entirely on one side of the tracks, but notes that sometimes the other "wrong" side housed poor whites, African-Americans, or "migrant laborers," possibly indicating both Mexican-Americans and recent European immigrants. The street adjacent to the tracks was usually industrial,

with railroad buildings and warehouses, with a park near the railroad depot. Schools were located at the edge of town, where they were given lots by the railroad. There was typically a hotel built by the railroad as well, perhaps along the Main Street paralleling the tracks, lined with two-story retail and professional buildings at a density borrowed from larger cities in the East. Although Kostoff states that many railroads towns were abandoned when trucking replaced freight rail in the 1920s (1987), some may have survived to become Revitalized Rural Towns today. The town studied by Salamon appears to have been such a place (2003).

Housing for the new Mexican-American residents is generally poor, as reported by Millard and Chapa. They state that in general, these towns suffer from a lack of decent affordable housing, and that their Mexican-American residents usually live in the worst housing available (2004). Valdés, who says little about this landscape type, mentions that old motels often serve as housing for developing Mexican-American communities (2000), a characteristic that appears most applicable to this landscape type. Salamon characterizes the Mexican-American housing in her profiled city as older, less affluent housing between the railroad and the central business district, separated from more affluent housing by the rail line. Some of these older houses are large enough to house more than one related family. She also notes a number of large vegetable gardens in the backyards. A nearby trailer park provides even more affordable housing. This area is apparently recognized by local non-Hispanics as Mexican-American, since Salamon reports that it is known as “Little Mexico” (2003).

Crane and Millard report many new Protestant churches, especially several evangelical denominations, meeting in Anglo churches, in reused church buildings, or in new buildings. New Catholic churches are unusual, with one established Catholic church in a cluster of rural towns adjusting to serve the newcomers with Spanish masses, etc. They found that Mexican-American parishioners often drive up to 50 miles to attend such a church rather than attending a less-accommodating local one (2004). Salamon did find a Catholic church established in the 1980s to serve Mexican-Americans in her two-tiered study city (2003).

Salamon also provides more description of the overall landscape of her study city than most authors do. The central business district of her city has several businesses that serve the Mexican-American population, but are Anglo-owned, including a grocery stocking Mexican food, a barber shop, restaurants, and a bank. Salamon claims that these businesses primarily serve the lower-tier Mexican-Americans and migrant workers, who lack cars, while the top-tier Mexican-Americans shop where the town's Anglos do – in larger neighboring cities (2003). This is an example of the spatial manifestation of acculturation. Salamon also reports a separate "Mexican" bar at the edge of her town. She says that this serves as a gathering place for the local Mexican-Americans, but doesn't generally serve Anglos. The bar is also often rented for more formal events, like wedding receptions and *quinceañeras*. Salamon provides little other information about Mexican-American use of public spaces within the community, but she does mention that there is an organized Mexican-American presence in the town's Independence Day celebration (food booths and parade entries) and that Mexican-American teens are known for gathering in a park adjacent to the "Little Mexico" neighborhood (2003).

Meatpacking towns

A subset of the reviewed literature focuses specifically on rural towns that have experienced rapid Mexican-American and other Latina/o growth due to the arrival of a meatpacking plant (Stull and Broadway 2004; Millard and Chapa 2004; Chapa et al. 2004; Fenelly and Leitner 2002; Gouveia and Stull 1997; Haverluk 2004; Kandel and Parrado 2004). Some of these sources include regions other than the Midwest, especially the Southeast, but the profile of the meatpacking towns is consistent. These meatpacking plants are the focus of a body of literature from a somewhat different viewpoint than much of the literature in this review. Most sources focus primarily on the positive and negative effects on the town as a whole, while some focus more directly on the Latina/o population.

Meatpacking plants arrive in these towns as part of a larger restructuring in meatpacking, with companies moving plants to lower-wage, lower labor organization areas closer to livestock and feed producers. This spatial shift has coincided with the deskilling of meatpacking, creating a tremendous demand for low-skill immigrant labor (Stull and Broadway 2004; Chapa et al. 2004). A few sources also state that industrial

livestock feeding operations (CAFOs) are drawing Latina/o workers to these areas (Millard and Chapa 2004; Salamon 2003). These demanding, unappealing, often dangerous jobs have high turnover rates, accelerating the pace of change in these towns. In an interdisciplinary study, Jorge Chapa et al also state that the plants themselves are highly mobile, likely to leave these towns for others. They also describe ethnic tensions, bilingual demands on local schools and clinics, and general financial strain on public services due to the increased cost of serving a larger bilingual population (Chapa et al. 2004).

The literature describes a variety of landscape characteristics associated with meatpacking towns. Several sources mention the physical signs of inadequate housing: overcrowding of existing housing units, new trailer parks at the edge of town, and overburdened infrastructure such as sewer and water (Chapa et al. 2004; Fenelly and Leitner 2002; Gouveia and Stull 1997). Geographers Katherine Fenelly and Helga Leitner mention that these towns exhibit the disappearance of surrounding small farms and closing of small businesses, as the Anglo population has declined (2002). Physical signs of the disappearance of small farms might include an increasing scale of farm fields as smaller farms are consolidated into larger ones, and vacant or razed farmhouses.

Other authors noticed Spanish-language retail and restaurants in the central business district of meatpacking towns and many home-based Latina/o businesses in residential areas. They also imply an increase in gatherings in parks (Gouveia and Stull 1997; Haverluk 2004).

Light industrial towns

Two chapters within the same anthology describe rural towns with surging Mexican-American and other Latina/o populations due to recruitment by light industrial manufacturers (Millard and Chapa 2004; Millard et al. 2004). These towns are similar to the meatpacking towns, but the better average pay and working conditions of the factories attract local Anglos as well, creating greater integration in the workplace. Millard and Chapa report greater integration in housing in these towns as well (2004). The landscape descriptions of this subtype are very similar to those of meatpacking towns, yet the non-

landscape portraits are quite different. It seems likely that this greater economic and housing integration has more landscape implications than are currently reported.

Landscape characteristics included in the literature include plentiful Spanish-language and Mexican retail and restaurants in the central business district, Spanish signs in Anglo businesses, dilapidated housing near the central business district, apartments for new immigrants over the stores downtown, and trailer parks near the factories and city limits. The larger landscape surrounding the town includes a nearby crossroads of major roads, near but not in the town, with a main road leading into the central business district (Millard et al. 2004). This source focuses primarily on a single town, with no evaluation of how typical these landscape characteristics might be.

Global Service Cities

This landscape type consists of cities experiencing a rapid increase of Mexican-Americans, mostly immigrants, drawn to service jobs in the revitalized central business district. Like Revitalized Rural Town, Global Service City is a very recent phenomenon, developing over the last two decades. This is the shortest section in this review and includes only the work of planner Robert Fishman.

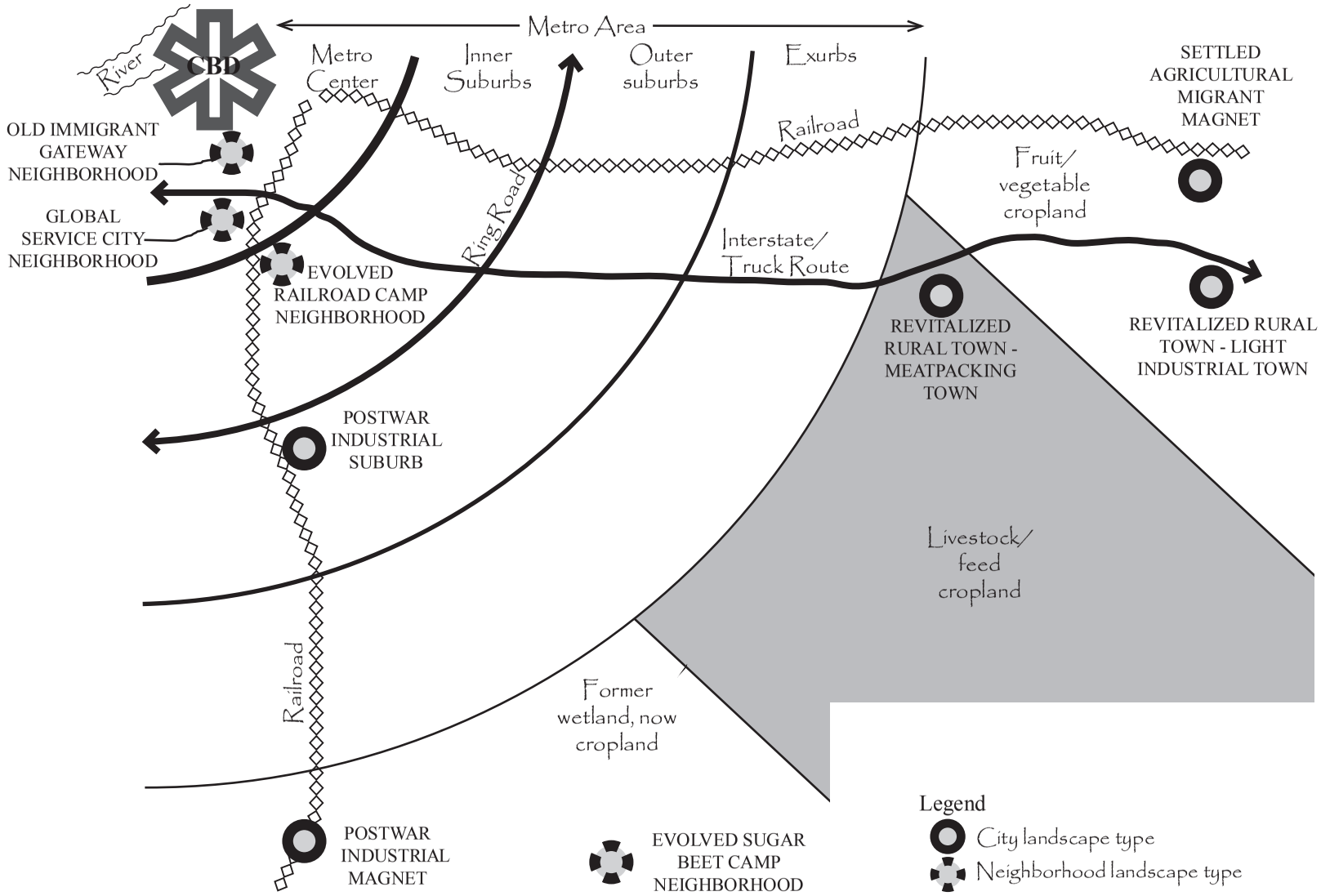
The literature provides little information about this landscape type at the regional or city scale. Fishman's assertion that service jobs associated with a revitalized central business district drive the formation of this landscape type (2005) implies that the city must be of a certain minimum population size and have an economically healthy central business district. *Revitalized* also implies that the central city area was formerly blighted.

Fishman describes "immigrants" (no specific nationality) reviving formerly blighted neighborhoods adjacent to the revitalized central business district. He presents this process as a multi-stage progression, beginning with new immigrants transforming residential neighborhoods adjacent to the central business district. Later these same neighborhoods become centers for warehouses and other support functions for service businesses. The immigrant community begins to include more skilled laborers working at these businesses, which brings more investment into the neighborhood. Finally, as the immigrants become more affluent, Fishman says they invest more into the built

environment of the neighborhood, via small ethnic businesses and home improvements (2005). These neighborhoods logically would have some remaining indications of economic disinvestment, such as vacant lots and buildings, combined with signs of revitalization, such as building remodeling and new businesses, and indications of a new Mexican-American identity, such as Spanish-language or Mexican businesses and institutions.

Fishman provides no description of housescapes in this landscape type (2005). It is possible that the kind of Southwest-style housescape characteristics described above might be included in this landscape type, but it's also possible that little housescape personalization would be seen, given the recent vintage and low affluence of these neighborhoods.

Figure 2.1: Theoretical locations of Mexican-American landscape types



Overall critique of literature

As a whole, the literature relevant to Mexican-Americans and the landscape of Midwestern small cities is incomplete. All sections of this literature review would benefit from additional work. Although the interweaving of information from built environment disciplines, like urban planning, with humanities literature greatly enriches this meager literature, it relies heavily on the accuracy of statements about topics not central to the authors' aims. This reliance may be unwarranted. Even high-quality sources may contain facts that are misleading when used in this way. For example, historians may cite extreme examples from the built environment to illustrate their points, instead of documenting typical conditions. Other authors profile only one town, with no comment about how representative that town is. The non-landscape focus of many of these sources may mean that these types are actually not expressed differently in the landscape.

The interdisciplinarity of this literature also provides some strengths, however. This review represents a broad variety of methods, paradigms, and theoretical backgrounds. These may be seen as multiple measures, increasing the validity of the common conclusion: that the landscape expresses the presence and population growth of Mexican-Americans, either through the actions of Mexican-Americans or the reactions of others.

The literature-based landscape typology

The landscape typology below expands upon the landscape types developed in the literature review. The landscape types used above are Old Immigrant Gateway, Evolved Railroad Camp, Evolved Sugar Beet Camp, Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet, Postwar Industrial Magnet, Postwar Industrial Suburb, Revitalized Rural Town, and Global Service City. The literature-based landscape typology includes all these types, as shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, with one alteration: the portrait of Revitalized Rural Town in the literature suggests that towns with meatpacking or other food-processing industry as their main new employer will have somewhat different built environments than those with light industry as their main new employer. Accordingly, separate types represent

these two implied sub-groups in the literature-based typology: Food-Processing Town, and Light Industry Town. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 reiterate the landscape characteristics implied by the portraits of these places in the literature, information thoroughly discussed and cited earlier in this chapter. The reiteration of this material here provides a more succinct and literal landscape-focused version that emphasizes certain expected traits. These traits are also re-organized here by landscape scale. Some of the literature-based landscape types were not suitable for use in the rest of this study, for the reasons noted in the "Notes" column in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

This chapter has reviewed and critiqued the literature concerning Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes in small cities, synthesizing its message about the built environment. The information about the interaction between Mexican-Americans and the built environment of the Midwest divides into eight landscape types. Although the amount of literature in each type varies, in general, none of the types is covered thoroughly in the existing literature. This literature review reveals a prevailing lack of direct focus on the built environment by people writing about Mexican-Americans, with a corresponding lack of direct focus on Mexican-Americans by people studying the built environment. Despite these limitations, these landscape types are the foundation for the research detailed in the rest of this dissertation, via the literature-based landscape typology.

Table 2.1: Literature-based landscape typology - established landscape types

Landscape type	*Expected regional landscape traits*	*Expected city landscape traits*	*Expected neighborhood landscape traits*	*Expected housescape landscape traits*	*Expected non-landscape traits*	*Notes*
Established Mexican-American Communities						
Evolved Sugar Beet Camp	Agricultural land cleared or drained ca. 1900; moderate quality farmland (not prime); away from towns settled before 1900	Rural; unincorporated ; lacks access via any major road	Outside city limits or surrounded by postwar or newer suburbs; in or adjacent to poorly drained land; infrastructure relatively poor	Vernacular housing; lots irregular; septic systems and wells or derelict privies; agricultural outbuildings (chicken coops, etc.)	Mexican-American population established 1910-1950; mean income relatively low to very low; neighborhood population probably declining unless also one of the other types	Too small/too "invisible"/too unknown to find; persistence?
Old Immigrant Gateway	On navigable waterways or railroads	Cities that had pre-war industrial growth; relatively large population	Urban location, adjacent to central business district; intact pre-war housing stock with gridded streets, regular rectangular lots with narrow frontage, small house setback, house covers large portion of lot, may have alleys behind with detached garages on them; or pre-grid organic pattern and aging infrastructure OR mostly pre-war vernacular housing stock on floodplain, ravine, or other topographically undesirable land with road pattern noticeably different from adjacent grid and relatively poor infrastructure; adjacent to freeways, factories, urban renewal/revitalization projects; Mexican-themed or Spanish-language businesses and institutions in neighborhood	Relatively high percentage of Southwest-style Mexican-American housescape characteristics	High percentage of renters; mean income relatively low; Mexican-American population established before WWII, also Mexican-American population growth in 1990s-present; adjacent African-American neighborhoods	Most examples in literature are in larger cities

Landscape type	*Expected regional landscape traits*	*Expected city landscape traits*	*Expected neighborhood landscape traits*	*Expected housescape landscape traits*	*Expected non-landscape traits*	*Notes*
Established Mexican-American Communities						
Evolved Railroad Camp	On railroad, especially at railyards or junctions	More recent Mexican-American neighborhood also in city with newer, larger housing	Adjacent to railroads, especially railyards, and brownfields; outside pre-war housing areas; on floodplain, in ravine, or other marginal land; infrastructure relatively poor; housing stock noticeably older than adjacent neighborhoods; Mexican-themed or Spanish-language businesses and institutions in neighborhood	Vernacular housing; lots irregular; septic systems and wells or derelict privies	Mexican-American population established before WWII; considerable percentage arrived in later decades; many waves of migrants	Persistence?
Postwar Industrial Magnet		Industrial growth in late 1940s-1970; on railroads or highways	Adjacent to postwar industry; adjacent to railroads or brownfields; divided by these features from other housing of similar age; surrounded by newer neighborhoods	Vernacular housing; lots irregular; septic systems and wells or derelict privies	Mexican-American population established in late 1940s, many of Tejana/o heritage; later waves of migrants; city's current economic health stagnant; overall population stable or declining	
Postwar Industrial Suburb	Adjacent to or within larger cities	Industrial growth in late 1940s-1970; on railroads or highways; in metro areas with Old Immigrant Gateway, Evolved Railroad Camp, or Evolved Sugar Beet Camp	Adjacent to postwar industry, railroads, or brownfields; divided by these features from other housing of similar age; surrounded by newer neighborhoods		Mexican-American population established ca. 1960s-1980s; later waves of migrants; central city's current economic health stagnant; overall population stable or declining	Logically not found in non-metro areas
Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet	Farmland where labor-intensive truck crops or fruit raised in 20th century	Had cannery and industry 1950-present	Adjacent to canneries or other industry;outside city limits or surrounded by postwar or newer suburbs; in or adjacent to poorly drained land; infrastructure relatively poor	Either vernacular housing and irregular lots or pre-war housing in gridded neighborhoods (similar to adjacent working class neighborhoods)	Mexican-American population established in 1930s to 1970, mostly Tejana/o; subsequent waves of arrivals	Overlap with Postwar Industrial Magnet

Table 2.2: Literature-based landscape typology – newly formed landscape types

Landscape type	*Expected regional landscape traits*	*Expected city landscape traits*	*Expected neighborhood landscape traits*	*Expected housescape landscape traits*	*Expected non-landscape traits*	*Notes*
New Mexican-American Communities						
Global Service City		Certain minimum population; economically healthy central business district	Adjacent to revitalized central business district; recent urban blight; no gentrification		Residents work in adjacent central business district in service jobs, primarily; high percentage of Mexican-Americans arrived since 1990	Logically not present in non-metro cities
Food-Processing Town	Away from major cities; major highway access; many abandoned, rented, or missing farmsteads; very large-scale farm fields without trees or fencerows; Farmland where livestock feed (corn and soybeans) raised; confined feeding operations in area	Relatively small percentage of housing newer than 1970; most neighborhoods poorly maintained; little current industry besides food processing; food processing plant(s) at edge of town or just beyond, with adjacent waste lagoons and semi parking; noticeable amount of livestock truck traffic	Mexican-themed or Spanish-language businesses and institutions in central business district; Anglo businesses exhibit signs in Spanish; Trailer parks adjacent to meatpacking plant OR no specific Mexican-American neighborhood - scattered throughout city OR transitional housing like motels or central business district apartments over stores	Little incidence of Southwest-style Mexican-American housescape elements	Food processing is major employer in county or city; Many area farms closed ca. 1980s; little or no labor union activity; city's population falling ca. 1960-1990; population decline reversed or stabilized in 1990s by influx of Latina/os; Anglo population relatively old	
Light Industry Town	Away from major cities; major highway access; many abandoned, rented, or missing farmsteads; very large-scale farm fields without trees or fencerows	Relatively small percentage of housing built ca. 1960-1990; some newer housing; industrial park(s) at edge of town; few other current employers; noticeable amount of semi traffic	Mexican-themed or Spanish-language businesses and institutions in central business district; Anglo businesses exhibit signs in Spanish; Trailer parks beyond city limits near industrial park(s) OR no specific Mexican-American neighborhood - scattered throughout city OR transitional housing like motels or central business district apartments over stores		Light industry is major employer in county or city; may employ 80% or more of town's population; Many area farms closed ca. 1980s; little or no labor union activity; city's population falling ca. 1960-1990; population decline reversed or stabilized in 1990s by influx of Latina/os; Anglo population relatively old	

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Chapter 3:
Phase I: Qualitative Research

In this chapter I present Phase I of this research, a qualitative study of eleven small cities in Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio. I relate the background, relevant literature, methods, results, and discussion pertaining particularly to this phase. This chapter also includes an explanation of the creation of a landscape type classification scheme from the Phase I findings, and the presentation of that scheme.

Two research questions guided this first phase of the research:

Research Question I.1: Will the landscape types drawn from the literature (Old Immigrant Gateway, Postwar Industrial Magnet, Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet, Food-Processing Town, and Light Industry Town) be supported by observation of actual cities?

Research Question I. 2: As the length of time increases since the establishment of a small city's Mexican-American community, does its physical landscape change in predictable ways, resulting in "old" and "new" types of landscapes?

Method

I studied eleven cities (Goshen, Indiana; Adrian, Michigan; Defiance, Ohio; Fremont, Ohio; Holland, Michigan; Logansport, Indiana; Delphi, Indiana; Frankfort, Indiana; Ligonier, Indiana; Sturgis, Michigan; and Bremen, Indiana) with population sizes of 3,000 to 35,100 residents (according to 2000 U.S. Census data) within northern Indiana, northwest Ohio, and southern Michigan, listed by the literature-based landscape types they represent in Table 3.2. Five types had at least one city specifically mentioned in the literature (see Table 3.1) and were logically present in small cities. Cities mentioned in the literature as the desired type of Mexican-American landscape also needed to be located within the selected study region, and have a Hispanic population of

at least 10% of the overall population or 1000 people minimum, according to 2000 Census data. The cities also needed to be small: an overall 2000 population of less than 50,000 and a location outside of a larger Census Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).

Table 3.1: Primary citations for Phase I study cities

Phase I study city	*Primary mention in literature*
Adrian, MI	Valdes 1991, 1992, 2000; Cardenas 1958; Rosenbaum 1997
Bremen, IN	Not from literature review
Defiance, OH	Valdes 1991, 2000
Delphi, IN	Not from literature review
Frankfort, IN	Aponte 1999
Fremont, OH	Valdes 2000
Goshen, IN	Not from literature review
Holland, MI	Valdes 1991, 1992
Ligonier, IN	Millard and Chapa 2004
Logansport, IN	Millard et al 2004,
Sturgis, MI	Not from literature review

Surprisingly few cities met these criteria, so I used local newspaper and historical reports (Horne 2000, 2000, 2000, 2000, 2000; Evanoff and Lopez 2007; *About La Casa* 2007) and Census information to select the remaining study cities. This compromise allowed the inclusion of three of the most well-documented landscape types, Old

Table 3.2: Literature-based typology of Mexican-American landscapes

Landscape Type	*Description*	*Primary Literature*	*Study Cities*
Established Mexican-American Communities (formed 1900-1970)			
Evolved Sugar Beet Camp	Unincorporated Mexican-American neighborhoods that evolved from temporary camps of sugar beet workers in the early 1900s	Valdés 1991	Not in study
Old Immigrant Gateway	Cities with urban neighborhoods that housed many waves of domestic and European migrants as well as Mexican-American migrants, beginning in the early 1900s.	Abrahamson 1996 Ford 1994 Valdés 2000 Wright 1981	Goshen, IN
Evolved Railroad Camp	Cities with temporary railroad worker housing that developed into Mexican-American neighborhoods, originating in the early 1900s.	García 1996 Jackson 1985 Valdés 2000	Not in study
Postwar Industrial Magnet	Cities that drew Mexican-American workers to the massive manufacturing boom after World War II	Valdés 2000	Adrian, MI Defiance, OH Fremont, OH
Postwar Industrial Suburb	Similar to Postwar Industrial Magnet, but in larger metropolitan area	Abrahamson 1996 Valdés 2000	Not in study

Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet	Cities where Mexican-American migrant agricultural workers "settled out" with local factory or cannery jobs, from the 1930s onward	Salamon 2003 Valdés 1991	Holland, MI
New Mexican-American Communities (formed 1970-present)			
Global Service Cities	Cities experiencing a rapid increase of Mexican-Americans, mostly immigrants, drawn to service jobs in the revitalized central business district	Fishman 2005	Not in study
Food-Processing Town	Rural towns with rapid Mexican-American population growth due to the arrival of a meatpacking plant	Gouveia 2005 Grey and Woodrick 2005 Millard and Chapa 2004	Logansport, IN Delphi, IN Frankfort, IN
Light Industry Town	Rural towns with rapid Mexican-American population growth due to recruitment by light industrial manufacturers	Gouveia 2005 Grey and Woodrick 2005 Millard and Chapa 2004	Ligonier, IN Sturgis, MI Bremen, IN

Immigrant Gateway, Food-Processing Town, and Light Industry Town, but still created an uneven sample.

I collected several different types of data for each study city, from remote sources and field observations, guided by a codebook. Remote data collection involved 1990 and

2000 Census data (www.census.gov); online data concerning largest employers[1]; 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.[2] I recorded these data in a narrative note file and in graphic format on a field notes map for each city, based on published street maps. I created a map of each city's percentage of Hispanic residents by Census block group and noted approximately two of the most Mexican-American block groups in each city, or all those with greater than 20% Hispanic residents. I downloaded the largest employers for each city and mapped their locations on a field notes map for each city. This map also included the general character of each area of the city, watercourses, floodplains, railroads and railyards, Mexican-American/ Spanish-language businesses, churches, and institutions, Catholic churches, and disamenities.

I then visited each study city to conduct field observations. I visually surveyed the selected Mexican-American block groups, adjacent neighborhoods, retail areas, and main employers. This included the entire city in the smaller study cities. I recorded my observations with an electronic voice recorder, digital photos, and handwritten notes on the field notes maps, driving while making most observations. A list of expected landscape traits, developed beforehand, guided my observations. I especially focused on what was unusual and unexpected within each city, as well as similarities between the different cities I visited.

Table 3.3 shows twenty example traits recorded for Frankfort, Indiana, out of the 250 total traits recorded for the study cities. All categories of data are represented, as well

[1] 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

[2] 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.

as the source for each trait shown. I also recorded the relative strength or prevalence of each trait.

The data emphasize conditions seen from the street, and the car probably insulated me from more subtle and smaller-scale details. All data was filtered through my gaze, which as a landscape architect raised in a small Midwestern town, was crucial for evaluating the typical landscape of these places and deviations from that typical

Table 3.3: Sample field observation data

Sample traits present in Frankfort, Indiana	**Data source**
City landscape traits	
Central business district appears economically depressed	Field observation
Considerable portion of housing dates from 1900-1920	Field observation
Industrial park	Field observation
City is on a major truck route	Map
Spanish-language businesses located throughout city	Field observation/online listings
Neighborhood landscape traits	
Mexican-Americans living in evolved workers' camp	Field observation/ Census
Mexican-Americans in vernacular housing	Field observation/ Census
Mexican-Americans living adjacent to industry	Field observation/ Census
Mexican-Americans living in pre-war rental areas	Field observation/ Census
Mexican-Americans living in owner-occupied areas	Field observation/ Census
Southwest-style housescape traits	
Many fenced/walled front yards	Field observation
Decorative metalwork fences or on houses	Field observation
Present in middle class areas	Field observation
Few vividly-colored facades	Field observation
Relatively permanent/costly examples	Field observation
Non-spatial traits	
Medium overall population size	Census
Overall population growth	Census
Most Mexican-Americans aren't citizens	Census
Most Mexican-Americans are immigrants	Census
Very high Mexican-American population growth	Census

landscape. However, this gaze was not that of a Mexican-American, a resident of these neighborhoods, or a current resident in these towns. This limitation was minimized by the

study's focus on physical landscape characteristics, and not preferences, perceptions, values, or motivations of residents.

Data analysis

After each site visit, I transcribed the voice recordings into an extensive written narrative of my impressions about each city. I then developed standardized codes for physical, social, economic, and geographic characteristics I observed in the different towns (see Table 3.3), and noted the appropriate codes for each city. 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 my written impressions of each place. This lent greater weight to traits that exhibited greater differences among the sample cities. I then reviewed these codes and my impressions pertaining to similarities between certain study cities in an iterative process that sorted the cities into groups based on economic, social, historical, functional, demographic, and built environment similarities. The final stage of data analysis abstracted and synthesized the schematic maps of the cities into a single schematic map for each landscape type.

Sample Qualitative Study City Profile for Frankfort, Indiana

To further illustrate the type of profile created for each of the eleven Phase II study cities, I have included a sample profile for Frankfort, Indiana. This profile includes an overview of the city, relevant Census data, a schematic map of the city, photos from the city, and additional detail concerning Frankfort's central business district, its Mexican-American community, apparent backlash against Latina/os, Mexican-American businesses, housing, and housescape characteristics.

Overview of the city

Frankfort, one of these study cities, is located just east of Interstate 65 in north central Indiana, just outside the Indianapolis metro area. It is near the median for overall population in this study, at about 17,000 residents in 2000 (see Table 3.4). It was included in the literature-based landscape type of Food-Processing Town, with Logansport and Delphi. The primary source for this city's selection for study indicated that it was a meatpacking town drawing new Latina/o workers (Aponte 1999), which field observation did not support.

The city sits at the intersection of several state and one national highways, with SR 28 serving as the main east-west thoroughfare and the connection to I-65. U.S. 421 runs north to Delphi, another city in this study, and its large meatpacking plant. Frankfort appears to be a railroad-era town, including several rail lines and a railyard (see Figure 3.1). Railroad-era industry, some derelict, is concentrated on the west side near the railyard. This older industry is dwarfed by the collection of modern truck-era manufacturers adjacent to Frankfort to the west, including five of the area's largest employers. During my visit, SR 28 was being widened in this area, apparently to handle the substantial amount of tractor trailer traffic generated by these plants. The location of these plants outside the city, scattered through farm fields, means that no housing is directly adjacent to the plants. Frankfort is the county seat of Clinton County, and the courthouse anchors the central business district (CBD). The city is also home to a large United Methodist retirement community on the north side. The east end of the city culminates in a sprawl retail area anchored by a Walmart. The countryside surrounding Frankfort is almost entirely level and filled with large industrial-scale farm fields, mostly field corn and soybeans.

As a railroad-era city, Frankfort is largely composed of gridded streets, with at least one major street running parallel to the main railroad line, similar to the archetypal railroad town described by Spiro Kostoff (1987). This rectilinear arrangement made this city, along with the other railroad cities in the study, relatively easy for me to navigate and understand, especially since my hometown is also a railroad city. Prior to this research, I recall visiting Frankfort only once, while assessing its courthouse's site plan for a former employer.

Table 3.4: Frankfort Census data table

	Census Tract 9502, Clinton County, Indiana	*Census Tract 9504, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Census Tract 9506, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Census Tract 9507, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 3, Census Tract 9502, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9504, Clinton County, Indiana*
Population trends								
Total:	5,347	4,179	4,952	3,891	3,498	3,645	1,640	1,069
Overall pop growth 1990-2000								
Pop growth as % of 1990 pop								
% white in 2000	96.73%	97.39%	83.40%	91.80%	94.80%	70.95%	93.29%	97.75%
White pop growth 1990-2000								
White pop growth as % of 1990 white pop								
% African-American in 2000	0.21%	0.10%	0.24%	0.18%	0.17%	0.36%	0.67%	0.28%
% Hispanic (any race) in 2000	2.32%	2.15%	15.13%	7.32%	3.97%	27.85%	4.70%	1.50%
Hispanic pop growth 1990-2000								
Hispanic pop growth as % of 1990 Hispanic pop								
% of local Hispanics living in this geographic unit	5.16%	3.75%	31.18%	11.87%	5.79%	42.26%	3.21%	0.67%
% Mexican origin out of overall population	1.66%	1.65%	12.78%	6.07%	3.23%	24.01%		
% Mexican origin out of Hispanic population	71.77%	76.67%	84.51%	82.81%	81.29%	86.21%		
Immigration and naturalization								
% US native	97.91%	99.95%	90.51%	95.55%	95.69%	82.63%	94.43%	100.00%

	Census Tract 9502, Clinton County, Indiana	*Census Tract 9504, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Census Tract 9506, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Census Tract 9507, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 3, Census Tract 9502, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9504, Clinton County, Indiana*
% in-state native	82.59%	82.17%	75.48%	77.15%	68.81%	61.59%	76.95%	77.81%
% immigrant of overall pop (any nationality)	2.09%	0.05%	9.49%	4.45%	4.31%	17.37%	5.57%	0.00%
% imm. Of total MA pop	89.89%	0.00%	66.82%	58.47%	100.00%	71.20%		
% all Mex. Imm. Now citizens	13.75%	N/A	3.55%	0.00%	0.00%	8.83%		
% all Mex. Imm. Not citizens	86.25%	N/A	96.45%	100.00%	100.00%	91.17%		
% Mex imm after 1990	91.25%	N/A	82.74%	87.68%	82.30%	84.75%		
% this era now citizens	15.07%	N/A	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	5.49%		
% this era not citizens	84.93%	N/A	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	94.51%		
% Mex. Imm. In 1980s	8.75%	N/A	8.27%	12.32%	17.70%	13.32%		
% this era Now citizens	0.00%	N/A	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	24.10%		
% this era Not citizens	100.00%	N/A	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	75.90%		
% Mex. Imm. 1980-2000	100.00%	N/A	91.02%	100.00%	100.00%	98.07%		
% Mex. Imm before 1980	0.00%	N/A	8.98%	0.00%	0.00%	1.93%		
Income								
Mfi as % of city's overall mfi	130.08%	126.08%	99.63%	115.89%	114.00%	76.97%	125.83%	155.62%
Hisp mfi as % of white mfi	46.64%	101.21%	61.09%	55.99%	109.17%	74.87%	46.79%	0.00%
Housing								
Median year structure built	1959	1953	1947	1945	1960	1940-	1978	1957
% renter-occupied	18.93%	14.58%	40.21%	32.27%	32.55%	46.56%	26.17%	14.29%
median oohouse value as % of city's mhv	139.16%	115.54%	85.64%	99.48%	123.63%	90.34%	154.83%	143.73%

Note: Census tracts may contain areas outside of the city of Frankfort.

	Block Group 2, Census Tract 9504, Clinton County, Indiana	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 2, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 3, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 4, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 5, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9506, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 2, Census Tract 9506, Clinton County, Indiana*
Population trends								
Total:	1,135	959	1,129	907	918	1,039	937	2,035
Overall pop growth 1990-2000								
Pop growth as % of 1990 pop								
% white in 2000	96.12%	84.88%	92.65%	90.41%	84.75%	64.68%	92.85%	89.39%
White pop growth 1990-2000								
White pop growth as % of 1990 white pop								
% African-American in 2000	0.00%	0.10%	0.53%	0.22%	0.11%	0.19%	0.21%	0.15%
% Hispanic (any race) in 2000	3.88%	13.76%	5.76%	7.72%	13.51%	34.46%	6.19%	9.68%
Hispanic pop growth 1990-2000								
Hispanic pop growth as % of 1990 Hispanic pop								
% of local Hispanics living in this geographic unit	1.83%	5.50%	2.71%	2.91%	5.16%	14.90%	2.41%	8.20%
% Mexican origin out of overall population								
% Mexican origin out of Hispanic population								
Immigration and naturalization								
% US native	100.00%	94.30%	96.66%	90.86%	84.96%	82.52%	98.85%	92.13%

Note: Census tracts may contain areas outside of the city of Frankfort.

	Block Group 2, Census Tract 9504, Clinton County, Indiana	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 2, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 3, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 4, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 5, Census Tract 9505, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9506, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 2, Census Tract 9506, Clinton County, Indiana*
% in-state native	87.71%	76.08%	78.63%	73.91%	73.56%	73.83%	75.95%	75.55%
% immigrant of overall pop (any nationality)	0.00%	5.70%	3.34%	9.14%	15.04%	17.48%	1.15%	7.87%
% imm. Of total MA pop								
% all Mex. Imm. Now citizens								
% all Mex. Imm. Not citizens								
% Mex imm after 1990								
% this era now citizens								
% this era not citizens								
% Mex. Imm. In 1980s								
% this era Now citizens								
% this era Not citizens								
% Mex. Imm. 1980-2000								
% Mex. Imm before 1980								
Income								
Mfi as % of city's overall mfi	106.51%	111.28%	108.75%	79.33%	98.98%	71.94%	87.25%	126.45%
Hisp mfi as % of white mfi	0.00%	95.36%	96.56%	33.80%	99.70%	59.93%	60.28%	47.84%
Housing								
Median year structure built	1952	1940-	1959	1957	1943	1940-	1962	1940-
% renter-occupied	9.93%	47.55%	21.28%	31.38%	41.53%	64.55%	32.29%	35.66%
median oohouse value as % of city's mhv	114.49%	84.33%	92.82%	82.77%	83.42%	87.08%	103.39%	99.61%

Note: Census tracts may contain areas outside of the city of Frankfort.

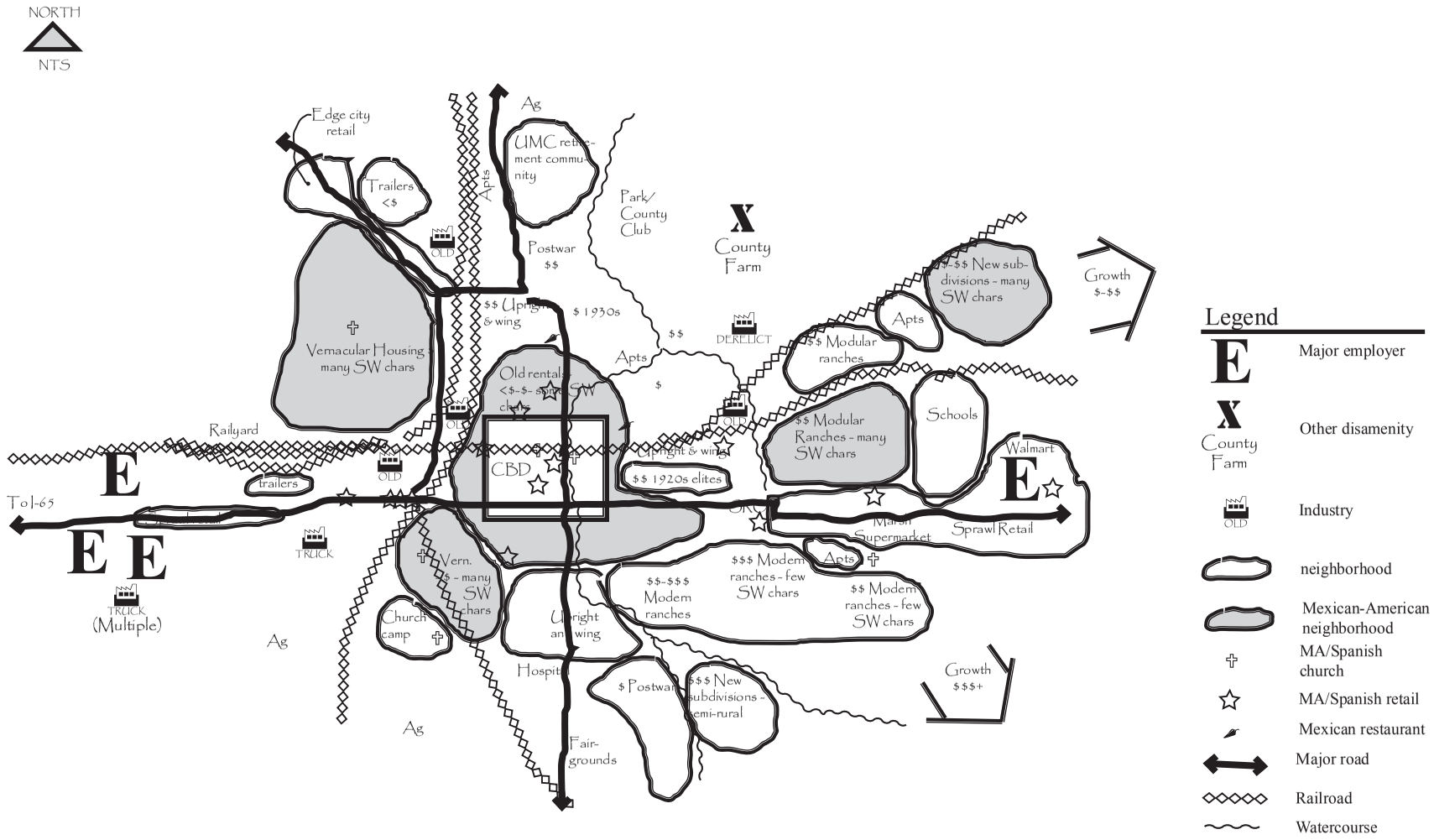
	Block Group 3, Census Tract 9506, Clinton County, Indiana	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9507, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 3, Census Tract 9507, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 4, Census Tract 9507, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 2, Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 3, Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 4, Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Frankfort city, Indiana*
Population trends									
Total:	919	1,542	966	990	883	994	896	872	16,662
Overall pop growth 1990-2000									1,908
Pop growth as % of 1990 pop									12.93%
% white in 2000	96.08%	97.21%	95.76%	90.10%	72.37%	64.39%	69.08%	78.90%	85.19%
White pop growth 1990-2000									-321
White pop growth as % of 1990 white pop									-2.21%
% African-American in 2000	0.22%	0.13%	0.10%	0.30%	0.79%	0.10%	0.22%	0.34%	0.29%
% Hispanic (any race) in 2000	3.26%	1.17%	3.73%	8.59%	25.25%	35.11%	30.02%	19.95%	13.53%
Hispanic pop growth 1990-2000									1,893
Hispanic pop growth as % of 1990 Hispanic pop									522.93%
% of local Hispanics living in this geographic unit	1.25%	0.75%	1.50%	3.54%	9.28%	14.53%	11.20%	7.24%	93.88%
% Mexican origin out of overall population									11.45%
% Mexican origin out of Hispanic population									84.57%
Immigration and naturalization									
% US native	100.00%	97.95%	100.00%	86.59%	84.58%	75.27%	90.21%	81.40%	90.95%

Note: Census tracts may contain areas outside of the city of Frankfort.

	Block Group 3, Census Tract 9506, Clinton County, Indiana	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9507, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 3, Census Tract 9507, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 4, Census Tract 9507, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 1, Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 2, Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 3, Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Block Group 4, Census Tract 9508, Clinton County, Indiana*	*Frankfort city, Indiana*
% in-state native	81.81%	72.48%	68.61%	62.46%	62.49%	55.91%	65.46%	63.39%	71.04%
% immigrant of overall pop (any nationality)	0.00%	2.05%	0.00%	13.41%	15.42%	24.73%	9.79%	18.60%	9.05%
% imm. Of total MA pop									72.21%
% all Mex. Imm. Now citizens									5.88%
% all Mex. Imm. Not citizens									94.12%
% Mex imm after 1990									84.60%
% this era now citizens									3.43%
% this era not citizens									96.57%
% Mex. Imm. In 1980s									11.76%
% this era Now citizens									12.35%
% this era Not citizens									87.65%
% Mex. Imm. 1980-2000									96.37%
% Mex. Imm before 1980									3.63%
Income									
Mfi as % of city's overall mfi	113.67%	120.43%	114.21%	108.91%	91.23%	62.51%	80.16%	82.86%	100.00%
Hisp mfi as % of white mfi	0.00%	106.17%	0.00%	100.58%	125.03%	85.99%	156.19%	72.12%	62.78%
Housing									
Median year structure built	1942	1972	1940-	1950	1940-	1940-	1943	1942	1951
% renter-occupied	26.51%	40.42%	19.52%	28.72%	61.90%	59.27%	39.52%	24.84%	38.17%
median oohouse value as % of city's mhv	89.82%	143.86%	123.37%	100.13%	111.23%	86.55%	84.07%	89.95%	100.00%

Note: Census tracts may contain areas outside of the city of Frankfort.

Figure 3.1: Schematic map of the Mexican-American landscape of Frankfort, Indiana



Central Business District

Frankfort's central business district (CBD) appeared to be about average for this study in terms of economic health: moderately depressed. General maintenance of both grounds and buildings is quite poor, with some empty properties, but more with marginal or better businesses. Upper floors are mostly boarded up and appear unoccupied. The most pronounced characteristic of the CBD is the tremendous number of vacant lots and parking lots in place of buildings. This strongly suggests that regardless of the CBD's current economic condition, it's been quite depressed for some time – the property values were apparently low enough that demolishing the buildings and paving the lots for parking appeared to be the highest best use. This is especially telling considering the abundance of on-street parking in Frankfort.

Mexican-American community

Frankfort's Mexican-American community, according to the Census, is almost entirely recent arrivals, mostly immigrants. The Hispanic population increased by over 500% during the 1990s, offsetting the declining local Anglo population (see Table 3.4). Census data also indicates that the relative income of local Hispanic residents in Frankfort is fairly low compared to other cities in this study. My field observation suggests that these data are no longer accurate, for reasons detailed below. Although Aponte mentions Frankfort as a meatpacking town (1999), the presence of so many large manufacturers just outside Frankfort as well as the twenty mile drive to the meatpacking plant (outside Delphi, another city in this study) suggest that the city more properly belongs in the Light Industry Town literature-based landscape type. Not only does Delphi have abundant available affordable housing, as well as a substantial Mexican-American community of its own, but Delphi's meatpacking plant is no shorter a commute from Frankfort than the many factory jobs in neighboring Lafayette, Kokomo, or Lebanon.

Backlash against Latina/os

Two sources mentioned ethnic tensions or a backlash against Mexican-Americans in Frankfort, occurring over the last decade (Evanoff and Lopez 2007; Horne 2000). Upon visiting Frankfort, I was somewhat surprised at this characterization in a city so much more prosperous and pleasant than many I studied, perhaps illustrating my

ignorance concerning racial tensions. I heard similar reports about Logansport during my earlier research (Dieterlen 2004), and Millard and Chapa document some tensions in Ligonier (2004). Frankfort differs from these in that it is less economically devastated. However, these cities all have very visible and apparently rapidly ascending Mexican-American communities, with strong immigrant components. They are definitely places in transition, with long-term (Anglo) residents leaving and many new (Mexican-American) arrivals. It seems possible that the real catalyst for backlash, regardless of the claims made by either side, is this rapid change.

Mexican-American businesses

Frankfort has a relatively large number of Mexican-American and/or Spanish-language businesses and churches. As shown in Figure 3.1, they are distributed throughout the city, with a slight concentration in the CBD. However, businesses and churches are also present in other retail corridors, in neighborhoods, at the edge of town, in the sprawl area near Walmart, and even in the rural area south of Frankfort on SR39. Most of these businesses are well-kept and prosperous, some with flamboyant Southwestern remodeling jobs. Many of these businesses stand out from their Anglo neighbors due to their prosperous, well-maintained, and new appearance. I suspect that these businesses are one element that has made Frankfort's Mexican-American community visible to the Anglo majority, possibly sparking backlash.

One business in the sprawl area is a Mexican bakery in a strip mall, sharing a name with a similar strip mall bakery in nearby Lafayette, Indiana. This suggests that there may be businesses with multiple stores around the region, an idea supported by a local newspaper article (Evanoff and Lopez 2007). Lafayette's Mexican-American community, while larger and better established than Frankfort's, is far smaller than that of Indianapolis, about fifty miles away from Frankfort. This finding suggests that certain aspects of Frankfort's Mexican-American landscape should be viewed in a regional context, in tandem with the landscapes of other area cities with substantial Mexican-American communities, a view outside the scope of this study's methods.

Housing

Frankfort's housing stock is generally newer than that of several cities in this study. However, there is still a core of older rental housing surrounding the CBD, with newer and more affluent housing radiating outward. The 2000 Census indicated that the Mexican-American residents were concentrated into these central older rental areas. My field observation suggests that these data, like many of the 2000 Census data for Frankfort, are now outdated. Two vernacular neighborhoods as well as two other modest owner-occupied housing areas appear to have a strong Mexican-American presence, judging by the percentage of Southwest-style housescape characteristics in these neighborhoods. This finding also supports the theory that Frankfort's Mexican-Americans now have a higher relative income than the 2000 data indicates, since these neighborhoods are all more affluent than the older rental core. Only one of these neighborhoods is in the part of Frankfort closest to the Delphi meatpacking plant.

I saw few trailer parks in or around Frankfort, whether new or established. Although this contradicts the expectation based on Millard and Chapa's report on Ligonier, it seems reasonable given the abundant supply of affordable housing already available in Frankfort, both renter- and owner-occupied.

Frankfort's vernacular housing appears to have many owner-occupied houses – well-maintained and personalized, while others are clearly run-down rentals. These houses are very modest – I estimated their value in the $50,000 range (in 2007). This means that homeownership is very affordable in Frankfort, especially for a household with multiple wage-earners, such as a group of adult Mexican immigrant workers. These neighborhoods are obviously older than the industry on the west side of Frankfort. They are adjacent to multiple railroads, a railyard, and several older (railroad era) industries. The southern one abuts a large church camp, a typically rural land use. Both neighborhoods are at the edge of town. The northern one, adjacent to the railyard, might be an evolved railroad workers' camp (not necessarily Mexican-American workers). These neighborhoods, given their apparent revitalization and physical isolation, may be ideal locations for the social front yard to affect crime and feeling of security on the street, another potential revitalizing effect.

The modest owner-occupied housing areas as shown on the schematic map are both in the east end of the city. While these aren't the most affluent housing in town, they are far more affluent than the older rental core. These neighborhoods include some very new housing at the far northeast edge of the city, one of the two growing edges of Frankfort. Southwest-style housescape characteristics are common in both these areas.

Housescape characteristics

The owner-occupied neighborhoods mentioned above contain some of the most elaborate and costly Southwest-style housescape characteristics in this study. In particular, several of these neighborhoods have front yards bounded by elaborate masonry walls, complete with archways and tile detailing. The relative value of the houses compared to the prevalent masonry walls is striking. These walls strongly express the value of enclosing the front yard, personalizing the yard, or perhaps creating a piece of Mexico or Texas in Indiana. They are also the most permanent housescape addition imaginable.

Other types of front yard enclosure were also very common in Frankfort, more common than in most cities in the study, including not just the typical chain link fence but also picket, wrought iron, and lattice. Lattice was also used in porch enclosures and in freestanding arches. Outdoor rooms and their components and alternatives – lush front yards and porches, furniture, decorative strings of lights – were also relatively common in Frankfort. Outdoor rooms here are less common than enclosure, but there are some especially fine examples.

In general, the housescapes here appear to have more money and time invested in them than those in most of the cities in this study. Again, this seems to contradict the 2000 Census data that says local Hispanic income is quite low – these housescapes contain a considerable amount of disposable income. Some housescape characteristics blur the line between vernacular Southwest-style and the "outdoor rooms" currently promoted by shelter magazines. It seems unlikely that high style garden design has such a presence in Frankfort's neighborhoods. It's perhaps more likely that either some Mexican-Americans in town have sufficient disposable income to create these kind of outdoor rooms or that some middle-class Anglos have been influenced by the abundance

of local Southwest-style outdoor rooms to create these spaces. If this is indeed a synergy of housescape characteristics, it's an interesting counterpoint to the local anti-immigrant, xenophobic sentiment.

Housescape characteristics are far more common in the owner-occupied neighborhoods than in the older rental core, a finding not unique to Frankfort in this study. Regardless of the percentages of Mexican-Americans living in these neighborhoods, personalization of the house façade and housescape is concentrated into the owner-occupied neighborhoods, a logical finding. Less obvious is the possibility that this movement into owner-occupied properties, or possibly single-family rental homes, creates an explosion of Southwest-style housescapes, another benchmark of visibility to local non-Hispanics. This lack of personalization in the older rental also means that the older rental neighborhoods look quite similar, to this Indiana native, to the older rental areas of other Indiana cities without substantial Latina/o communities. It seems likely, therefore, that Frankfort's Mexican-Americans were largely invisible to outsiders when they were concentrated into these older rental areas.

The sample profile of Frankfort, Indiana, provided above thoroughly illustrates the nature and extent of data collected for the eleven study cities. This data led directly to the Phase I results.

Figure 3.2: Frito Lay plant east of Frankfort on SR 28

Figure 3.3: Farm fields near Frankfort

Figure 3.4: Downtown Frankfort

Figure 3.5: Mexican grocery with masonry wall

Figure 3.6: Vernacular housing area

Figure 3.7: Masonry archway

Figure 3.8: Southwest-style remodeled home

Figure 3.9: Wood fence around yard

Results

This study resulted in an observation-based landscape typology, containing two types of established Mexican-American communities and three types of newly formed Mexican-American communities. The two types of established Mexican-American communities were Postwar Industrial Magnet and Entrepreneurs and Workers. The three types of newly formed Mexican-American communities include New Tenants, New Homeowners, and Community Succession. Each is described in more depth below.

Established landscape types

Postwar Industrial Magnet

This landscape type includes Fremont, Adrian, and Defiance. The Mexican-American communities of these cities are concentrated into classic minority neighborhoods as described by the literature: very modest housing and infrastructure, limited road connections to the larger city, poor visual access (difficulty seeing into or out of the neighborhood), proximity to disamenities such as industry and railroads, and "undesirable" locations: unincorporated areas, floodplain, and ravines. Residential concentration is relatively high despite the low numbers of immigrants or recent arrivals in their Mexican-American populations. This lack of growth extends to the cities' overall populations. Physical signs of economic disinvestment characterize the larger landscapes of these cities, although the built environment shows signs of a bygone prosperity, in keeping with the local economies' dependence on industry dating from World War II or before. This is most apparent in the central business districts, yet they contain no Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses. Instead, these businesses are in retail corridors and reused neighborhood retail buildings. These cities have moderate amounts of Southwest-style housescape characteristics, such as fenced front yards, front yards used as social spaces, Christian icons or shrines, and brightly colored house facades, relative to the other cities in this study, concentrated into their most Mexican-American neighborhoods (see Figure 3.10).

Entrepreneurs and Workers

I included Goshen and Holland in this type. This type had two defining characteristics: a high percentage of Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses, and a relative lack of Southwest-style housescape characteristics. The businesses

typically are in keeping with the appearance standards of their neighboring Anglo businesses, and they include much more specialized retail and professional offices than in other cities. 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 industry and thriving new employers. They have many economically healthy retail areas as well, including the central business districts, which may be considerably gentrified. Less gentrified central business districts may contain high percentages of Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses. These cities have relatively low residential concentrations of their Mexican-American communities, suitable to their more diverse socioeconomic status. However, they contain some Mexican-American neighborhoods that are similar in housing stock, age, condition, and character to those in other landscape types. Both cities in this landscape type also appear to be centers for current migrant agricultural workers, which may provide an additional market for their many businesses and services (see Figure 3.10).

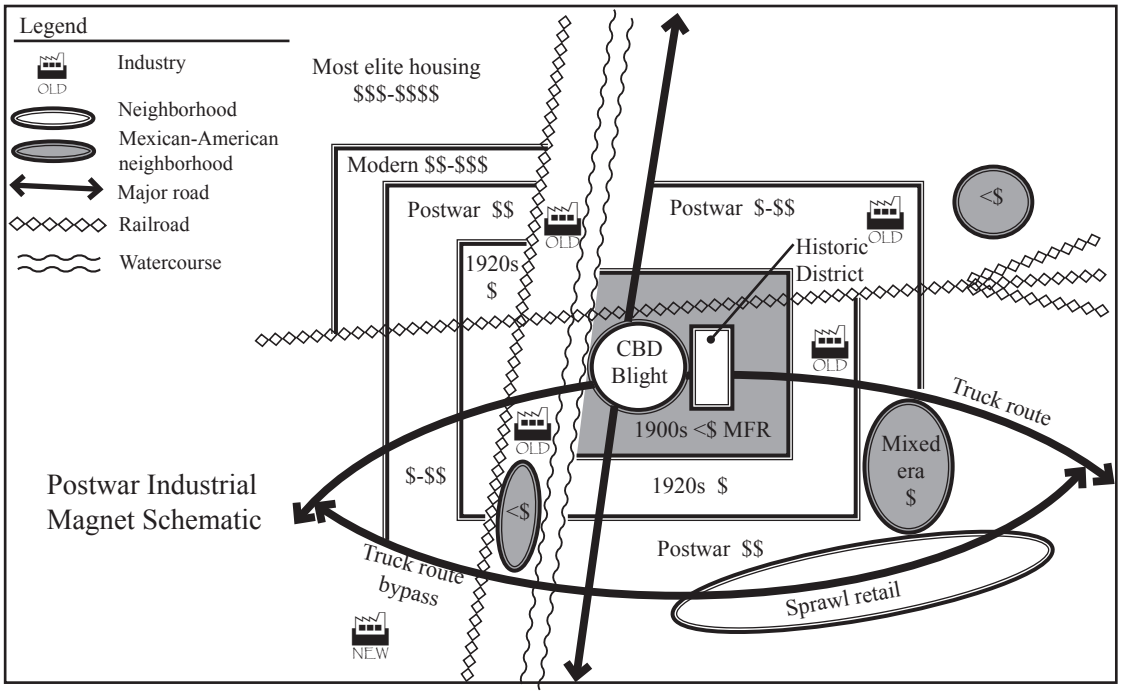
New landscape types

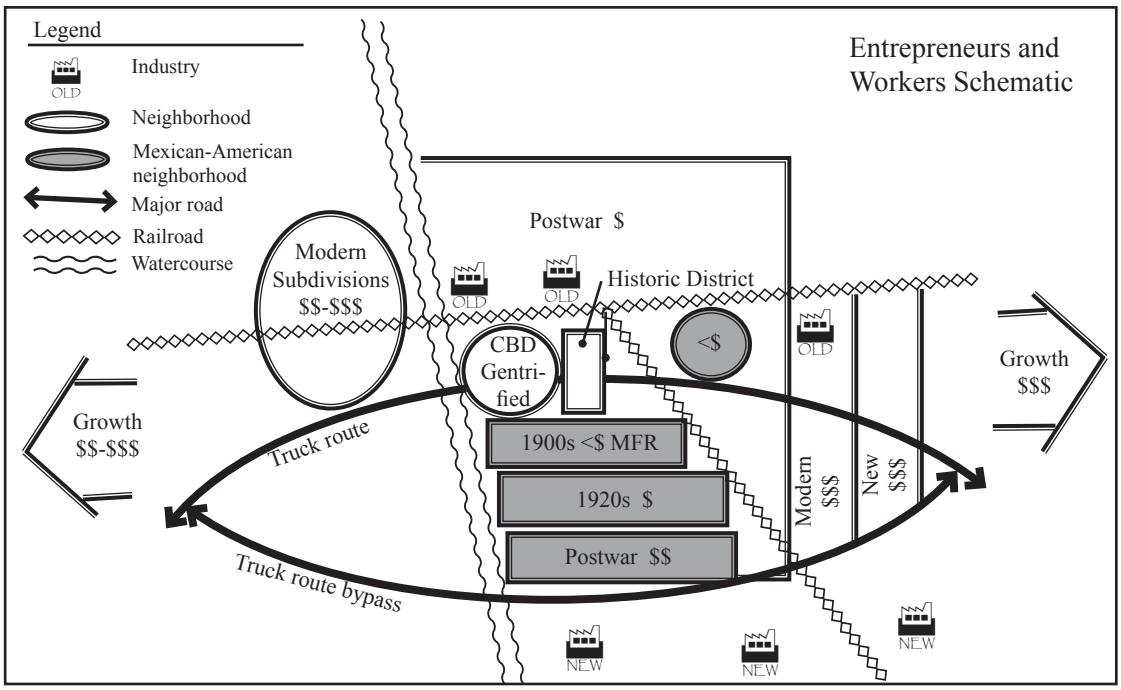
The remaining three landscape types share many characteristics. They consist of small rural towns economically devastated by the decline of family farms over the last few decades. In the late 1980s through the mid-1990s, these towns acquired new large employers, either in meatpacking or light manufacturing, who recruited Mexican-American and other Latina/o workers from out of state. This recruitment created rapid population growth, mostly due to Mexican immigrants, in a short period of time.

New Tenants

This landscape type 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 Anglo population, a newly-established and rapidly growing Hispanic population, and a large percentage of Mexican-Americans who are new immigrants. The central business district is economically depressed, and there is ample affordable housing, both renter- and owner-occupied.

Figure 3.10: Established Mexican-American landscape types





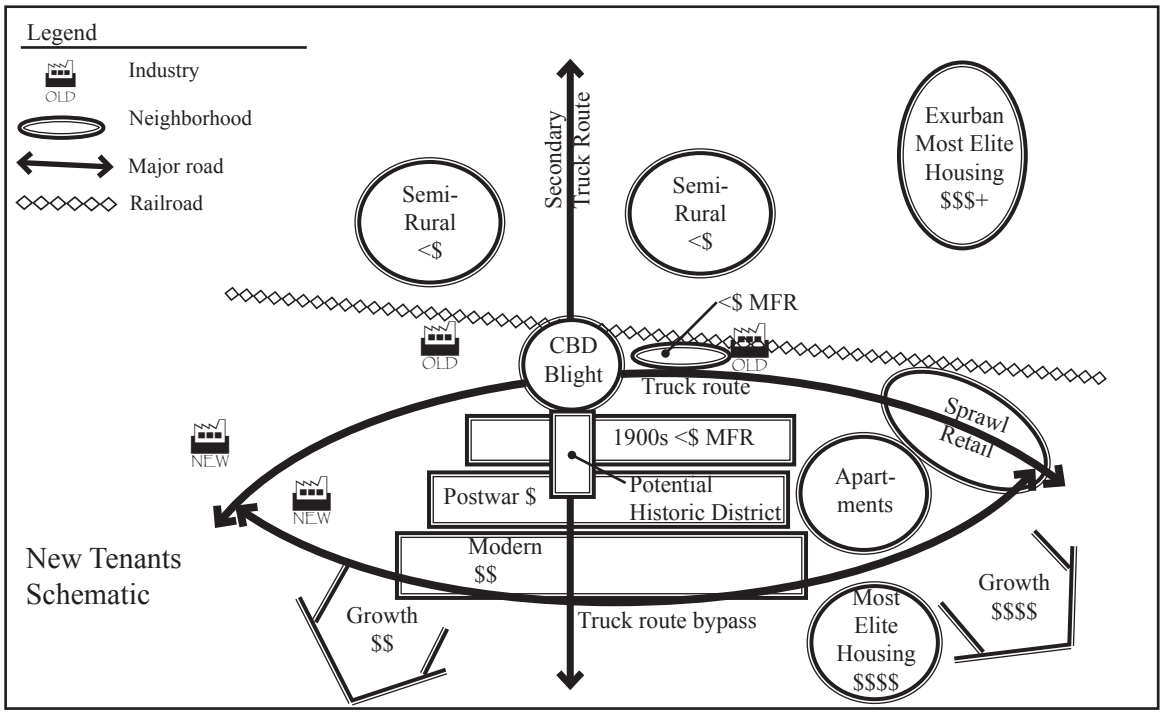
However, there are also several differences that distinguish this landscape type from the other types. This type had the lowest population percentage of Hispanic residents of any study city. As of 2000, the decline in Anglo residents offset the growth of the Hispanic population. This landscape type has the fewest perceptible Mexican-American neighborhoods in the new landscape types, making it difficult to gauge residential concentration. There are few Mexican-American/ Spanish-language businesses. The incidence of Southwest-style housescape characteristics was fairly low, with houses and neighborhoods that did display Southwest-style housescapes also displaying an unusually high number of cars parked in and around the housescapes (see Figure 3.11).

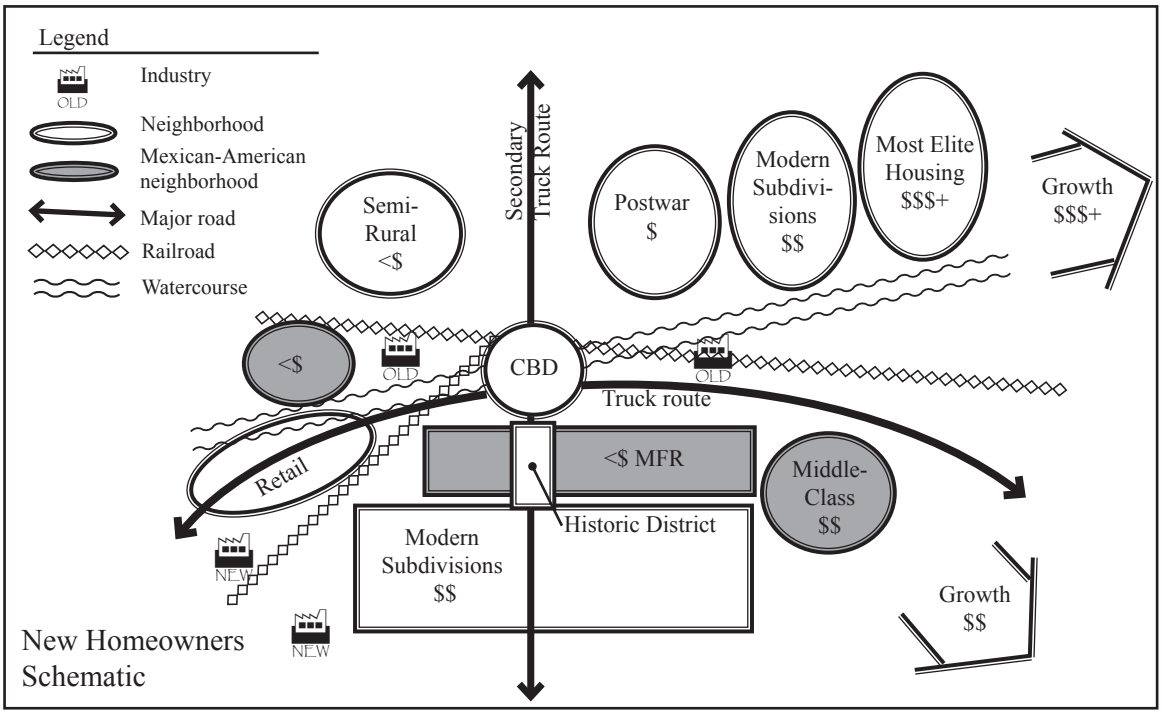
New Homeowners

I included Delphi and Sturgis in this landscape type, where new Mexican-American populations appear to be adapting to existing landscape inequalities. For example, the housing stock of these cities is strikingly bimodal – either affluent or very modest. The modest neighborhoods are either centrally-located older housing converted into multi-family rentals or vernacular housing in classic minority neighborhoods as described in Postwar Industrial Magnet. Mexican-Americans are highly concentrated into these more modest neighborhoods. A considerable percentage of the homes in these modest neighborhoods appear to be owner-occupied, given their maintenance levels and the 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. The quantity and quality of the existing housing stock appears to have been key in the development of this landscape type. The cities in this type have recently established, mostly immigrant Mexican-American communities experiencing tremendous population growth.

This landscape type has relatively few Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses, mostly in the central business districts. These retail areas appear to be in economic flux, with portions appearing mildly depressed or mildly gentrified. 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 (see Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.11: New Mexican-American landscape types





Community Succession

This landscape type included Frankfort, Logansport, and Ligonier. These cities share tremendous Hispanic population growth, sometimes exceeding 1000%; a high proportion of recent Mexican immigrants; and a lack of growth in the Anglo 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. Though relatively small and remote, the cities share proximity to a major truck route. Railroad lines also typically serve the large employers. The amount of industry appears to be more than the apparent 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. The built environment retains remnants of railroad-era prosperity, but there appears to have been a long period of economic decline between that era and the present. Housing stock mostly dates from this same era, the early 1900s or before, with large areas of vernacular worker housing.

The Mexican-American population of these cities is readily visible within the built environment. Mexican-American residential concentration is relatively low, although there are neighborhoods of older converted multi-family housing, classic minority housing, and modest owner-occupied areas similar to Mexican-American neighborhoods in the other landscape types. 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, although this may contradict 2000 Census data.

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 appear

to be branches of businesses in larger nearby cities. The central business districts 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. 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 (see Figure 3.12).

Discussion/conclusion

The observation-based landscape types appear to have several connections to the literature and to each other. Postwar Industrial Magnet most closely resembles the Southwestern Mexican-American neighborhoods portrayed in the literature (Diaz 2005; Arreola 2002; Rojas 2003). The literature may also have predicted Entrepreneurs and Workers - indirectly, in the "two-tiered" Mexican-American community described above. The very high percentages of Mexican-American/ Spanish-language businesses and institutions, their adherence to local Anglo 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 all support this theory. These traits may correspond with a smaller group of well-established, middle-class Mexican-Americans and a much larger group of newly-arrived, working-class Mexican immigrants. The presence of migrant workers may further enhance the "two-tiered" phenomenon by strengthening the lower tier.

The three new landscape types might be consecutive stages of development within a single landscape type, although this study was not designed to test this hypothesis and therefore cannot offer support for it. These three types could develop in succession as more time elapses since the advent of the new employers and the beginning of their recruitment of Mexican-American workers. New Tenants would be the first type to develop, where identifiable Mexican-American neighborhoods and other landscape characteristics have yet to develop, but the pre-existing factors for the other new landscape types are in place: an economically depressed central business district, a lack of growth in the Anglo population, and massive new industry. The relatively low

Figure 3.12: New Mexican-American landscape types – Community Succession

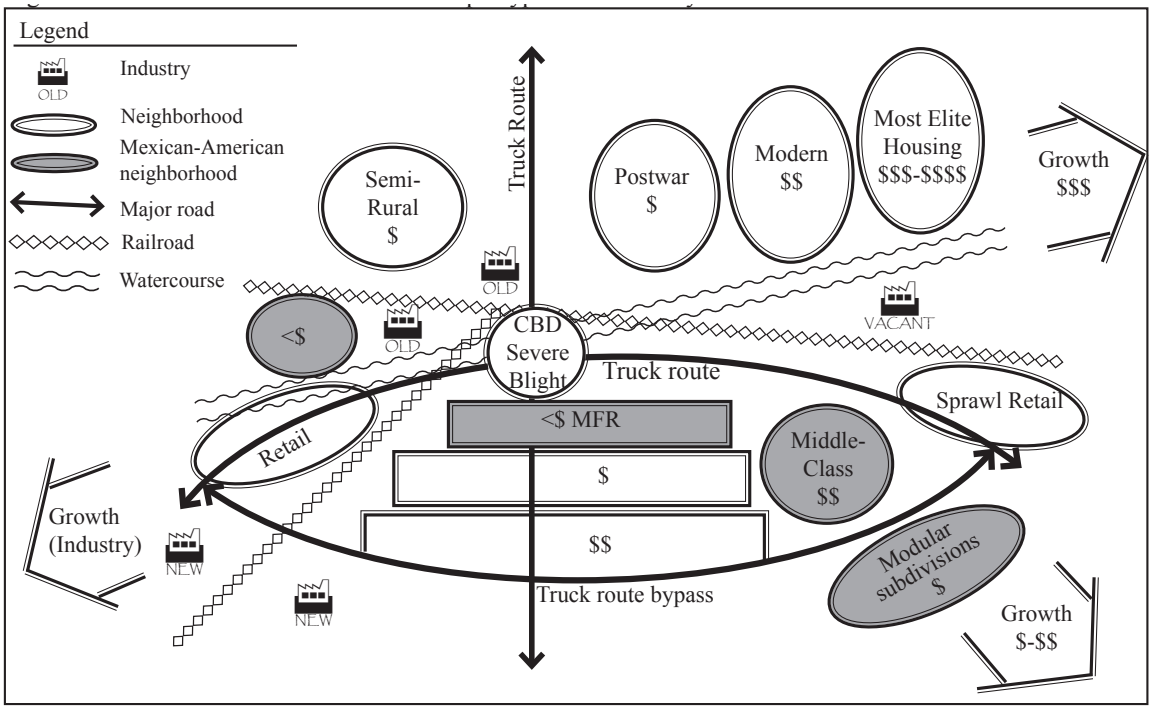
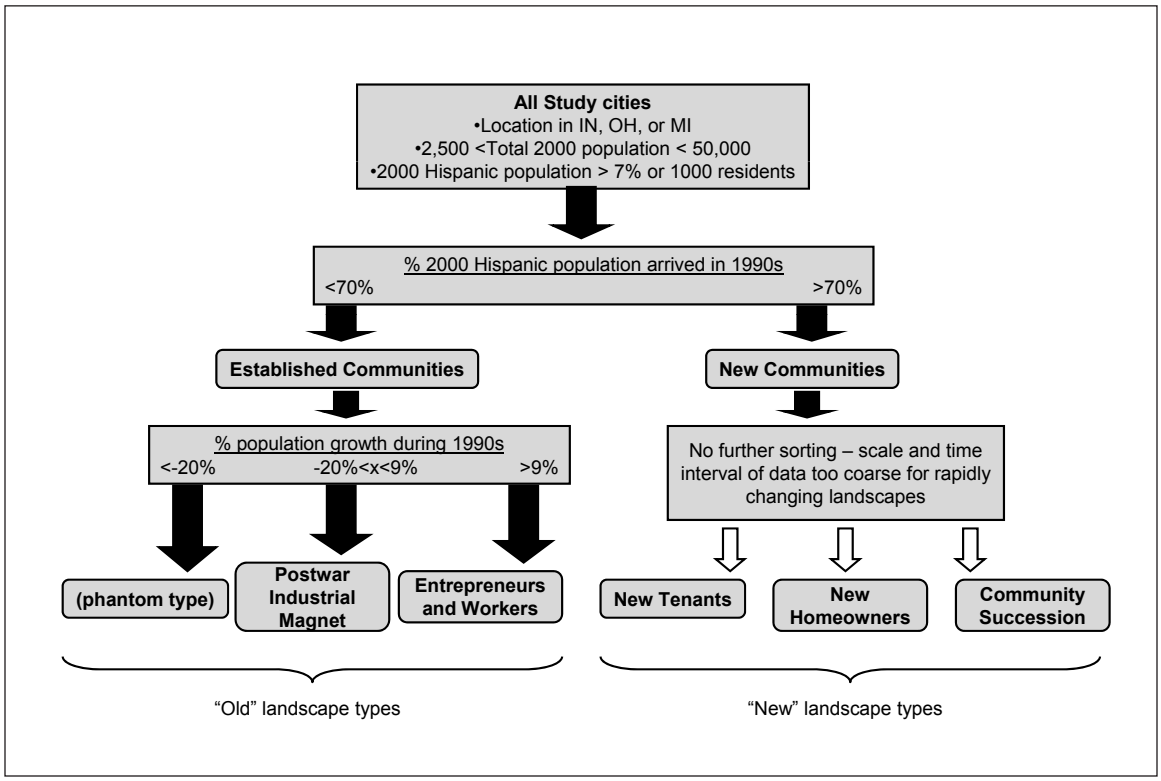


Figure 3.13: Landscape classification scheme



percentage of Mexican-American residents in the New Tenants city seems to support this interpretation; perhaps a certain population threshold has yet to be reached.

As more time passes, the Mexican-American population grows within the city, with more of the non-Hispanic residents leaving and the Mexican-American residents personalizing their space and becoming more economically stable. With the development of identifiable Mexican-American neighborhoods, the New Homeowners type develops. One of the characteristics of this landscape type is a fairly high residential concentration of Mexican-Americans within the city's more modest housing, but the very high Mexican-American population growth rate in these cities makes it very unlikely that this concentration level can persist. The lack of non-Hispanic population growth in these cities may also make more housing available to the newcomers or lower property values to a more affordable level.

As the Mexican-American population becomes even larger and more well-established socially and economically, the signs of personalization in the built environment become more pronounced, and the Community Succession landscape type develops. In these cities, the Mexican-American residents have moved beyond the city's most modest neighborhoods, purchasing homes in middle-class areas. Their abundant Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses and institutions are further evidence of the ascendance of their Mexican-American communities. The contrast between the 2000 Census data and the field observation data for Frankfort, one of the Community Succession cities, supports this theory. The Census data suggests that Frankfort would be more similar to the New Homeowners type, with an overwhelmingly working-class Mexican-American population highly concentrated into a few of the city's most modest neighborhoods. However, as described in the sample profile above, I observed many Southwest-style housescape characteristics in lower-middle and middle-class neighborhoods of owner-occupied houses, including some of the most permanent and flamboyant housescape characteristics in this study. Frankfort also had abundant Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses, another sign that the Mexican-American residents have achieved some level of economic success. These findings strongly suggest that when data was collected for the 2000 Census, Frankfort was more

similar to the New Homeowners landscape type, but developed into the Community Succession type by the time of this study's data collection, in the summer of 2007.

Support for research questions

In Research Question I.1, I asked, "Will the landscape types drawn from the literature (Old Immigrant Gateway, Postwar Industrial Magnet, Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet, Food-Processing Town, and Light Industry Town) be supported by observation of actual cities?" The findings of this research provided mixed support for Research Question I.1, as indicated in Table 3.5. The literature's depiction of these landscapes was more uniformly reliable concerning landscapes of newly formed communities. The same six cities in the Food-Processing Town and Light Industry Town literature-based types appear in the three new observation-based landscape types. This suggests that other factors are more important than the economic sector of the main employer, which defined the two literature-based types. However, the only literature-based landscape type completely supported by these findings was one of the established Mexican-American landscape types, Postwar Industrial Magnet.

Research Question I.2 asked, "As the length of time increases since the establishment of a small city's Mexican-American community, does its physical landscape change in predictable ways, resulting in 'old' and 'new' types of landscapes?" The findings support Research Question I.2. All cities from the established literature-based landscape types are contained in Postwar Industrial Magnet or Entrepreneurs and Workers, the two established observation-based landscape types. Likewise, all cities from the new literature-based landscape types are contained in New Tenants, New Homeowners, or Community Succession, the new observation-based landscape types. No observation-based type mixes "old" and "new" cities together. This means that the observed landscape characteristics of these cities were not similar enough between established and new to produce any mixing of the two groups in the observation-based types.

Creation of classification scheme

I used these findings to create a classification scheme (Figure 3.13), which will allow additional small Midwestern cities to be sorted into their most likely Mexican-American landscape

Table 3.5: Findings support for Research Question I.1

Literature-based landscape type	*Study cities*	*Outcome*
Established Mexican-American Communities		
Old Immigrant Gateway	Goshen, IN	Not supported
Postwar Industrial Magnet	Adrian, MI Defiance, OH Fremont, OH	Strong support – this group is present intact in the observation-based typology.
Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet	Holland, MI	Not supported
New Mexican-American Communities		
Food-Processing Town	Logansport, IN Delphi, IN Frankfort, IN	Partial support – all in new observation-based landscape types
Light Industry Town	Ligonier, IN Sturgis, MI Bremen, IN	Partial support – all in new observation-based landscape types

type. I created this scheme via an iterative process that began with a comprehensive review of all data gathered for these study cities, and their grouping into landscape types. Some traits were more influential in dividing the cities into landscape types, becoming the defining characteristics of individual landscape types. These traits became the basis of the initial version of the classification scheme.

The identification of these variables was only a portion of the task, however – a quantitative classification scheme also needs benchmark values for each variable, or the

specific numerical values below which a certain case belongs to one landscape type, and above which it belongs to a second landscape type. I initially determined these benchmark values by comparing the values for the study cities in the salient landscape type groups.

This process created a classification scheme that didn't reliably sort the cities into their pre-determined landscape types. I returned to my field observation notes, looking for non-spatial or non-Mexican-American landscape traits that were characteristic of some types but not others. I tried these additional traits in the scheme until I found ones that reliably sorted the cities, then determined the benchmark values in the same way.

All the variables I incorporated into the classification scheme (see Figure 3.13) have a theoretical basis, in addition to working with the cities. This helps guard against using common traits that were mere coincidence, a potential hazard given the small sample. The selected variables also had to be the appropriate type of data for use in the classification scheme: objective, numerical, available for smaller cities (2,500 to 50,000 residents), and feasible for use with a larger number (approximately 100) of cities. These criteria eliminated many potential traits from consideration. I found Census data, or other government data derived from Census data, to be the most suitable source for these variables. I was unable to find a comparable spatial or landscape database, in terms of scope, detail, numerical focus, and ease of access.

The finalized classification scheme

Figure 3.13 shows the landscape type classification scheme created from the Phase I data. This scheme allows a person to identify a given city as one of the Mexican-American landscape types, shown in the row of boxes across the bottom of the figure.

To use the classification scheme to identify the most likely landscape type of a particular city, begin at the top of the figure with the selection criteria in the box headed "All Study Cities." If the given city meets these criteria, it is within the intended population of this classification scheme, and the scheme may be used to classify it. Conversely, if the city does not meet these criteria, it falls outside the scheme's intended population, and it may not be classified using this scheme; the given city is not a small Midwestern (in this case, Indiana, Ohio, or Michigan) city with a substantial current Latina/o population.

If the given city meets the criteria in the top box, follow the arrow to the next box, "% Hispanic population arrived in 1990s," and compare the value for this variable to the choices at the bottom of the box. Then follow the arrow below the appropriate choice to the next set of boxes, which identifies the given city as a "new" or "established" community. If the given city is an "established" community, work through the next set of boxes and arrows in the same manner, arriving at the landscape type of the given city at the lower left of the diagram.

However, the classification scheme cannot differentiate further between the various "new" landscape types (as represented in the diagram in the lower right corner). The inability to reliably sort the New Communities into their respective landscape types is a direct result of the limitations of the available data, particularly Census data. The typical new community is small, even compared to the other cities in this study, and rapidly changing. This rapid change means that Census data from 2000 is often outdated, as was the case with Frankfort, Indiana, in Phase I. The comprehensive Census will not be updated until 2010, still a few years away at this writing. Thus the rapid change in New Communities has occurred within this interlude. The Census Bureau does release interim data, the American Community Survey, but these focus on larger cities and do not generally extend to communities as small as the typical new community as described in this study. This limitation underscores both the rapid pace of change within these New Communities and their invisibility to many scholars studying societal and demographic changes. It also highlights the essential difference between the New Communities and the established ones, which may be readily categorized with 2000 data because they are much less dynamic in both non-spatial and spatial ways. The New Communities branch of this classification scheme could be considered suspended until the 2010 Census data is released, which will allow the additional classification of the New Communities.

Finally, Figure 3.13 contains a "phantom type" box in the extreme lower left. This type was not among the eleven study cities. However, a city with such a crash in overall population during the 1990s would logically be a different sort of place with a correspondingly different landscape than the Postwar Industrial Magnet. Since this type was not represented within this study or within the literature as a fully-formed type, the existence of this phantom type and the benchmark value of -20% are speculative.

Implications for the literature

These findings have several implications for the existing literature. The mixed support for Research Question I.1 suggests that the literature as summarized in the literature-based typology isn't particularly accurate. It's also possible that communities that differ in non-spatial ways may be the same in spatial ways, or that the spatial differences may not have been detected by the methods of this study. However, the mixed support for Research Question I.1 also suggests that some statements incorporated in the literature-based typology were correct. In particular, the findings support the portrait of similar neighborhoods in several different kinds of larger Mexican-American landscapes. The different depictions within the literature of established and new landscapes, as expressed in Research Question I.2, also appear to be correct. The findings suggest that newly formed Mexican-American landscapes in small Midwestern cities are different in basic and predictable ways from well-established Mexican-American landscapes in similar Midwestern cities. This may support the claim within the literature that immigration has fundamentally changed between the early 1900s and the current era.

In a larger view, the findings of Phase I encourage those studying Mexican-Americans to consider the physical landscape. This research supports the view that landscape is a legitimate and visible expression of Mexican-American ethnicity, demographic change, and the attitudes of others toward Mexican-Americans. Conversely, those who study the built environment could be encouraged to consider the literature of other fields, such as the humanities, to inform research in new areas.

Critique of Phase I research

My findings are a snapshot of physical landscape conditions at one point in time, not causation of landscape changes, either from the Mexican-American minority or the non-Hispanic majority. The coarseness and scale of the method may mean that smaller groups or traits are not portrayed accurately in the findings. The use of mentions within the literature to select study cities failed to address how unique or typical these cities might be. The observation-based landscape types can probably be generalized to other Midwestern cities of similar size, economic, social, and historical characteristics, but further research is needed to test this generalizability. The selection method also created

an uneven sample, varying from one city to three for each literature-based type. This limitation could be resolved in future studies by using other key descriptors, such as those identified in these findings to identify study cities.

Significance of Phase I

The larger significance of the Phase I findings spans several disciplines, mirroring the literature review. The message of landscape change – that newly Mexican-American landscapes differ from established ones – is simple, but profound. It means that the context of public use of spaces shaped by designers and planners may need to change as this country's interior becomes more ethnically and racially diverse. It also suggests that the built environment can serve as a metric of the presence and situation of local Mexican-Americans, an unconscious expression intrinsically resistant to political revision. If the built environment institutionalizes racism (Harris 2007), then the finding that new and established Mexican-American communities inhabit predictably different landscapes suggests that the level or expression of racism may also be predictably different between these two groups. These findings also may support the claims that immigration to the U.S. has fundamentally changed, adding that this different immigration may be associated with new and different landscapes.

Although non-spatial aspects of the Midwestern Mexican-American experience have been studied, interaction with the built environment, especially outside of the region's largest cities, has largely been ignored. Phase I began to fill this gap, describing five distinct types of landscapes inhabited by Mexican-Americans in small Midwestern cities. These findings strongly suggest that newly formed Mexican-American communities inhabit different landscapes than well-established ones do, but the larger implications of these findings will remain speculative until future work is completed on this topic. This future work might also test whether these types apply outside the Midwest or whether there are additional landscape types in other regions. Despite the need for further investigation, these findings carry a clear message: even in a region known for

tradition and insularity, society is changing and with it the landscape in which everyday life is lived.

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Chapter 4:
Phase II: Quantitative Research

In this chapter I present Phase II of this research, a quantitative study that applies the landscape type classification scheme developed in the previous chapter to the entire states of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. I relate the methods, results, and discussion pertaining particularly to this phase.

The transition from Phase I to Phase II entails more than just the beginning of a new chapter. It includes a shift in research paradigm from the qualitative nature of Phase I to the quantitative nature of Phase II. This paradigm shift is evident in the change in the nature of phenomenon studied. In Phase I, data collection included a broad, comprehensive survey of the landscape of a small number of study cities, including the documentation of a wide variety of landscape traits. In contrast, Phase II examines a much larger number of study cities, but does so in a much narrower fashion. Here a small number of variables, defined in advance and measured numerically via available data, represent the built environment of these cities, in compliance with the conventions of quantitative research.

Phase II has two parts. The first part applies the classification scheme developed in Phase I (shown in Figure 3.13) to a much larger group of study cities, sorting them into three landscape types. The second part of Phase II uses statistical procedures to answer two questions about the data collected. The first question is, “are the groups of study cities by landscape type created with the classification scheme significantly different, statistically, from each other on the basis of a group of dependent variables?” These dependent variables represent the Mexican-American landscape of each study city (see Table 4.1). The second question guiding statistical analysis concerns whether the dependent variables covary with a group of independent variables, representing study city characteristics not associated with their Mexican-American landscapes (see table 4.1).

These independent variables include the ones used to sort the cities in the classification scheme.

Table 4.1: Phase II independent and dependent variables

Independent Variables	*Dependent Variables*
Population in 2000	Percent of local workers employed by largest economic sector
Percent Hispanic population in 2000	Percent of local Hispanic population in most Hispanic block group
Hispanic population in 2000	Median value of Hispanic-owned housing/ overall median value of housing by place
Percentage of Hispanic population arrived in 1990s	Percent Hispanic renters by place
Percent population growth in 1990s	
Percent Anglo growth/ percent Hispanic growth in 1990s	
Hispanic income/overall income	
Hispanic income/Hispanic state income	
Overall local income/state income	

Phase II bridges the gap between case study and larger generalizability concerning Mexican-American landscapes in small cities of the Midwest. The purpose of this research phase is to identify the most likely Mexican-American landscape type of each small city with a substantial Mexican-American population in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. I identified these landscape types in Phase I through study of eleven small cities mentioned in the existing literature concerning Mexican-American landscapes in small Midwestern cities. However, the distribution of these types outside of the original study cities remains unknown. Are these types equally common? Are certain types present only in certain areas of this region? Are some types unique to the original study cities?

This chapter answers these remaining questions by applying these types to the entire states of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, revealing the distribution of each landscape type across this region. I identify the most likely landscape type of all small cities with substantial Mexican-American populations, map the regional distribution of these landscape types; and statistically test the resulting groups of cities by landscape type. This research phase will examine whether case studies of a small number of landscapes may be generalized to a wider study region, providing insights into the generalizability or unique nature of the landscapes studied in greater depth in the case studies.

The following research questions guided Phase II.

Research Question II.1: Will the results from all appropriate study cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan support the previously defined Mexican-American landscape types (Postwar Industrial Magnet, Entrepreneurs and Workers, and New Communities)?

Research Question II.2: Will the results from all appropriate study cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan support a clear division between newly formed and well-established Mexican-American landscape types?

Research Question II.3: Will the groups formed by the application of Mexican-American landscape types to all appropriate study cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan vary significantly based on their Mexican-American landscape characteristics?

Research Question II.4: Will non-Mexican-American landscape variables vary together with Mexican-American landscape variables in the study cities?

Limitations of Phase II

The results of this phase are limited to small cities (2,500 - 50,000 residents) with Mexican-American populations above 7% of the overall population or 1,000 residents minimum. The results are most relevant to the states studied - Ohio, Indiana, and

Michigan. However, no theoretical basis excluded adjacent states from the study region, so the results of this study may be applicable to them as well.

The methods of this study use selected demographic, economic, and landscape variables to represent the more comprehensive landscape type profiles in Chapter 3. This simplification allows the study of a larger number of places and the use of available quantitative data. It rests on the fundamental assumption that where these selected variables are present, the rest of the traits in the landscape profiles will also be present. A similar assumption is common in the identification of types of organisms, such as field guides to birds or plant identification keys, but its application to landscape types is somewhat innovative. I included a test of a random selection of each landscape type group for additional variables drawn from the appropriate landscape type (detailed below in "Methods") to further support this assumption.

A final limitation to this study was the use of proxy variables to represent Mexican-American landscape characteristics. The apparent lack of any database of relevant landscape characteristics comparable in detail, geographic breadth, availability, and quantitative format to the Census data required this use of proxies. While maps, aerial photos, or site visits may reveal landscape traits of study cities in smaller samples, these methods were incompatible with the mission of this research to apply the landscape type profiles to all relevant cities within a three state area. The completion of this research required this compromise; future studies may use the findings of this research to develop more refined methods.

Method

In Phase I, I documented three types of landscapes inhabited by Mexican-American residents in small cities in the Midwest (see Chapter 3). I list these types here, along with the critical predictive traits of each used in the classification scheme (Figure 3.13), for the reader's convenience.

Postwar Industrial Magnet: The critical predictive traits of this landscape type were a percentage of the local Hispanic population arrived in the 1990s of less than 70%, and an overall population growth during the 1990s of between -20% and 9%.

Entrepreneurs and Workers: The critical identifying characteristics of this landscape type were a percentage of the 2000 Hispanic population arrived during the 1990s of less than 70% and overall population growth during the 1990s of greater than 9%.

New Communities: The critical identifying characteristic of the New Communities landscape type was greater than 70% of the 2000 Hispanic population arrived during the 1990s. This landscape type includes three subtypes, which differ primarily in the visibility of their Mexican-American population within the built environment: New Tenants, New Homeowners, and Community Succession.

I began this phase by applying two selection criteria, an overall population by place in 2000 between 2,500 and 50,000 residents, and a Hispanic population by place in 2000 of at least 7% or 1000 residents, to all Census Designated Places for 2000 in the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. Fifty-three cities in these three states met these criteria. The manageable size of this population allowed me to study the entire population of small cities instead of selecting a sample.

I tested the validity of the critical predictive traits representing each landscape type by classifying and testing the study population in two halves[1]. First I randomly selected approximately 50% of the study cities (27 cities) and identified a most likely Mexican-American landscape type for each one using the critical predictive traits. This produced three groups of cities, one for each landscape type.

I randomly selected 20% (one case minimum) in each group to test for the presence of predetermined test variables (see Table 4.2), landscape variables drawn from the landscape type profiles. I determined whether these variables were present and whether they met the expected value shown in Table 4.2 for each selected city, using aerial photos via Google Maps, and Census maps via American Factfinder (www.census.gov). If the city had a majority of these expected values, I considered it to have passed the test. I then classified the remaining 26 study cities in a similar fashion,

[1] This decision also was intended to allow prediction of the classification of the second half of the study cities based on the results of the first half, but subsequent analysis revealed that the data was not suited to prediction.

again randomly selecting 20% (one case minimum) in each landscape type to test with the test variables.

After classification of the cities was complete, I analyzed data for all study cities, including both non-spatial demographic and economic independent variables drawn from Census data, and Mexican-American landscape variables, represented by proxy variables also drawn from Census data (see Table 4.3). These proxy variables are the result of a compromise needed to maintain the large number of study cities. As detailed in Chapter 2, literature relevant to this study is quite limited and did not contain similar variables. The proxy variables used herein are therefore the result of my reasoning, informed in places by the literature review and pragmatically driven by the data available for use in this study.

The rationale behind the relationships illustrated in Table 4.3 are as follows: Marked dominance of the local economy by a single meatpacking plant or one or more light manufacturers was an important trait in the Phase I profile of the New Communities, but I was unable to find this data in an appropriate form for use in Phase II. I used percent of local workers employed by largest economic sector to represent this trait, reasoning that those cities dominated by a single employer would have a very high concentration of workers into a single sector. I reasoned that the more residentially concentrated local Mexican-Americans were, the fewer neighborhoods would have considerable Mexican-American populations, because more Mexican-Americans would be living in a single neighborhood. Naturally, greater residential concentration means there is less integration, since these terms denote opposing conditions. Thus I used a rough measure of residential concentration, the percent of local Hispanic population in the most Hispanic block group, to measure these traits. The quality and socioeconomic status of housing in Mexican-American neighborhoods relative to other local neighborhoods should correspond roughly to the property value of Mexican-American homes relative to other local homes, since those of higher socioeconomic status generally live in more expensive homes, so I used the median value of Hispanic-owned housing divided by the overall median value of housing by place to represent this trait. Finally, I reasoned that in general, renters are less able to personalize the exterior of their homes and housescapes, so I used the percentage

of Hispanic renters by place or block group to represent the level of potential personalization in Mexican-American neighborhoods.

Additional procedures used in Phase II analysis included descriptive statistics, Kruskal-Wallis tests, and Spearman (Rank) Correlations. The final step in this method was to map each group of study cities by their most likely landscape types.

Table 4. 2: Test variables and test case results

Test variables	*Expected value*	*First round test cases*		*Second round test cases*		
Postwar Industrial Magnet		Melvindale, MI	Port Huron, MI	Whiting, IN	Fostoria, OH	Highland, IN
Most Mexican-American block group(s) adjacent to disamenities	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Absent
Most Mexican-American block group(s) on floodplain or at edge of town	Present	Present	Present	Absent	Present	Absent
Most Mexican-American block group(s) incorporated in city's gridded streets	Absent	Present	Present	Present	Absent	Present
Highway bypass with sprawl retail area	Present	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent	Absent
Old industry - urban location, on railroad or river, rail sidings/yard, smaller buildings, smokestacks	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Absent
New industry - semi traffic, large parking lots, large pole buildings	Absent/little	Little	Present	Little	Present	Present
New residential development	Absent/little	Absent	Little	Absent	Little	Present
Railyards	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Absent
		Test passed	*Test passed*	*Test passed*	*Test passed*	*Test failed*
Entrepreneurs and Workers		Imlay City, MI	Monticello, IN	Warsaw, IN	Hobart, IN	
New residential development	Present	Present	Present	Present	present	
Old industry - urban location, on railroad or river, rail sidings/yard, smaller buildings, smokestacks	Present	Present	Present	Present	Absent	
New industry - semi traffic, large parking lots, large pole buildings	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	
		Test passed	*Test passed*	*Test passed*	*Test passed*	

New Communities		Munster, IN	Kokomo, IN	Huntingburg, IN		
Major surface truck route or interstate	Present	Present	Present	Present		
Surrounded by rural area - not part of larger metro area	Present	Absent	Present	Present		
New industry - semi traffic, large parking lots, large pole buildings	Present	Present	Present	Present		
Old industry - urban location, on railroad or river, rail sidings/yard, smaller buildings, smokestacks	Absent/little	Little	Present	Little		
Large number/size of factories relative to town	Present	Absent	Absent	Present		
Large industrial parks or exurban clusters of industry	Present	Present	Present	Present		
		Test passed	*Test passed*	*Test passed*		

Table 4.3: Variables representing Mexican-American landscape traits

Mexican-American landscape trait	Variable used to represent
Many or few large local employers	Percent of local workers employed by largest economic sector
Number of Mexican-American neighborhoods and their level of ethnic integration.	Percent of local Hispanic population in most Hispanic block group
Relative quality and socio-economic status of housing in Mexican-American neighborhoods	Median value of Hispanic-owned housing/ overall median value of housing by place
Level of potential personalization in Mexican-American neighborhoods	Percent Hispanic renters by place or block group

Results

This study produced three kinds of results: a classification by most likely landscape type for each study city, maps revealing the regional dispersal of each landscape type, and statistical findings concerning the groups of cities by landscape type, and the relationship between independent and dependent variables.

The classifications of each study city by most likely Mexican-American landscape type are shown in Figure 4.1 and in Table 4.4. I classified all Census Designated Places in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana as either one and only one of the three landscape types or as not within the study population. This study identified eighteen cities as the Entrepreneurs and Workers type, twenty-six cities as the Postwar Industrial Magnet type, and nine as the New Communities type.

Table 4.4: Results for all study cities

Study city	*State*	*Total 2000 pop.*	*% 2000 Hisp. Pop.*	*2000 Hispanic pop. by place*	*% 2000 Hisp. Pop. arrived in 1990s*	*% pop. growth in 1990s*	*Most likely landscape type*
Columbus city, Indiana	IN	39059	2.81%	1096	75.09%	22.82%	New
Decatur city, Indiana	IN	9528	7.69%	733	20.19%	10.23%	Ent. & Workers

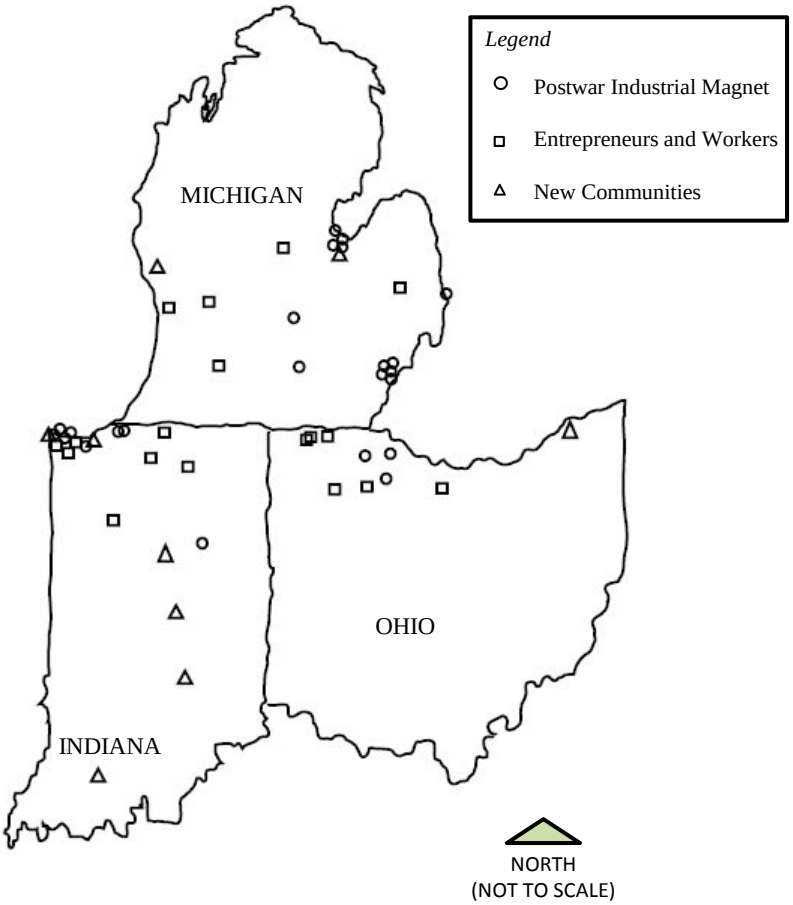
East Chicago city, Indiana	IN	32414	51.61%	16728	3.18%	-4.36%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Griffith town, Indiana	IN	17334	8.43%	1461	35.25%	-3.25%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Highland town, Indiana	IN	23546	6.61%	1557	40.98%	-0.63%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Hobart city, Indiana	IN	25363	8.05%	2042	48.19%	16.23%	Ent. & Workers
Huntingburg city, Indiana	IN	5598	9.81%	549	91.26%	6.79%	New
Kokomo city, Indiana	IN	46113	2.61%	1204	96.01%	2.56%	New
La Porte city, Indiana	IN	21621	6.52%	1410	97.92%	-93.44%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Lake Station city, Indiana	IN	13948	20.61%	2875	72.87%	0.35%	New
Lawrence city, Indiana	IN	38915	4.73%	1840	75.54%	45.41%	New
Marion city, Indiana	IN	31320	3.60%	1128	59.66%	-3.98%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Merrillville town, Indiana	IN	30560	9.65%	2950	64.88%	12.12%	Ent. & Workers
Michigan City city, Indiana	IN	32900	3.15%	1035	-81.64%	-2.73%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Mishawaka city, Indiana	IN	46557	2.79%	1297	54.05%	9.27%	Ent. & Workers
Monticello city, Indiana	IN	5723	11.22%	642	28.82%	9.28%	Ent. & Workers
Munster town, Indiana	IN	21511	4.88%	1050	95.24%	7.83%	New
Plymouth city, Indiana	IN	9840	14.99%	1475	64.20%	18.51%	Ent. & Workers
Portage city, Indiana	IN	33496	9.94%	3330	87.39%	15.26%	New

Schererville town, Indiana	IN	24851	6.34%	1576	97.14%	-92.09%	Ent. & Workers
Warsaw city, Indiana	IN	12415	9.21%	1144	97.49%	-89.57%	Ent. & Workers
Whiting city, Indiana	IN	5137	25.56%	1313	85.69%	-74.53%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Winona Lake town, Indiana	IN	3987	8.28%	330	96.36%	-91.86%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Allen Park city, Michigan	MI	29376	4.73%	1389	96.64%	-95.53%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Bay City city, Michigan	MI	36817	6.72%	2473	60.13%	-5.44%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Beechwood CDP, Michigan	MI	2963	13.47%	399	-448.62%	10.72%	Ent. & Workers
Bridgeport CDP, Michigan	MI	7849	10.29%	808	78.34%	-8.40%	New
Buena Vista CDP, Michigan	MI	7845	9.82%	770	-2.99%	-4.28%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Carrollton CDP, Michigan	MI	6602	10.77%	711	90.59%	-89.10%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Comstock Park CDP, Michigan	MI	10674	7.22%	771	19.46%	63.46%	Ent. & Workers
East Lansing city, Michigan	MI	46525	2.69%	1252	97.27%	-97.53%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Ecorse city, Michigan	MI	11229	8.94%	1004	92.70%	-91.76%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Imlay City city, Michigan	MI	3869	19.20%	743	-10.36%	32.45%	Ent. & Workers

Jackson city, Michigan	MI	36316	4.05%	1469	97.37%	-96.08%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Kentwood city, Michigan	MI	45255	3.88%	1757	45.70%	19.64%	Ent. & Workers
Lincoln Park city, Michigan	MI	40008	6.39%	2556	96.03%	-93.89%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Melvindale city, Michigan	MI	10735	8.90%	955	-66.28%	-4.29%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Muskegon city, Michigan	MI	40105	6.38%	2560	75.51%	-0.44%	New
Port Huron city, Michigan	MI	32338	4.28%	1383	-2.39%	-4.02%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Saginaw Township North CDP, Michigan	MI	24994	4.09%	1023	97.07%	-95.56%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Southgate city, Michigan	MI	30136	3.98%	1198	83.22%	-2.06%	New
St. Louis city, Michigan	MI	4494	7.50%	337	95.53%	-91.20%	Ent. & Workers
Archbold village, Ohio	OH	4290	12.42%	533	92.17%	-84.51%	Ent. & Workers
Ashtabula city, Ohio	OH	20962	5.32%	1115	96.80%	-94.85%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Bowling Green city, Ohio	OH	29636	3.48%	1031	35.01%	5.18%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Campbell city, Ohio	OH	9460	10.97%	1038	39.79%	-5.76%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Findlay city, Ohio	OH	38967	3.95%	1539	51.07%	9.14%	Ent. & Workers
Fostoria city, Ohio	OH	13931	7.92%	1104	92.56%	-92.63%	Post. Ind. Magnet

Gibsonburg village, Ohio	OH	2506	8.30%	208	-398.56%	-2.83%	Post. Ind. Magnet
Ottawa village, Ohio	OH	4367	7.35%	321	47.66%	9.20%	Ent. & Workers
Painesville city, Ohio	OH	17503	12.89%	2256	97.78%	-85.63%	New
Wauseon city, Ohio	OH	7091	9.79%	694	91.91%	-89.02%	Ent. & Workers
Willard city, Ohio	OH	6806	12.47%	849	94.56%	-86.33%	Ent. & Workers

Figure 4.1: Map of all study cities by most likely Mexican-American landscape type



The tests of each round of classifications generally supported the critical predictive traits. Each of the cases randomly selected for the test had a majority of the expected values for the test variables for the appropriate landscape type, suggesting that the critical predictive traits did not need revision. Both rounds of testing generally supported these landscape types, with 74% of the expected values of the test variables met for the first half of the study cities and 61% of the expected values of the test variables met for the second half of the study cities. The lower percentage for the second half reflects the testing of Highland, Indiana, as Postwar Industrial Magnet. This Chicago-area city met none of the expected values for the test variables in this landscape type. Without Highland, the percentage of the expected values of the test variables met for the second half of the study would have been 79% (see Table 4.2).

A nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis test offered mixed support for the difference of the landscape type groups as created by the classification scheme. With all study cities included in the test (n=53), the groups were only significantly different on one of the four dependent variables, residential concentration of the Hispanic population, (X^2= 5.406, $p<0.1$). With the Chicago-area cities in Indiana removed (n=44), statistical support for the difference of the landscape type groups became stronger, but was still mixed. In this test, the landscape type groups were significantly different on two of the four dependent variables, residential concentration of the Hispanic population ($X^2 = 5.148$, $p<0.1$) and percentage of the Hispanic population who rent ($X^2 = 7.608$, $p<0.05$). A separate nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis test only weakly supported a significant difference between the New Communities group and the "Old" types (combined Postwar Industrial Magnet and Entrepreneurs and Workers), with only one of the four dependent variables, percentage of Hispanic residents who rent, yielding a significant difference ($X^2 = 3.058$, $p<0.1$), and this was only with the Chicago-area cities removed (n=44).

I tested the economic and demographic independent variables and the Mexican-American landscape dependent variables using Spearman (Rank) Correlations. Table 4.5 lists significant correlations.

Discussion

Several aspects of this study and its results merit discussion. These include the findings' implications for the research questions, the apparent lack of New Communities, the Chicago-area cities, the larger significance of the study for Mexican-Americans in the Midwest, implications for the existence of landscape types, and the use of spatial variables to study Mexican-Americans in the Midwest. I then address the implications for the larger question of the use of quantitative methods to generalize and inform qualitative study of multicultural landscapes and critique the method used in this phase.

Implications for research questions:

In Research Question II.1, I asked, "Will the results from all appropriate study cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan support the previously defined Mexican-American landscape types (Postwar Industrial Magnet, Entrepreneurs and Workers, and New Communities)?" The groups created by the classification scheme generally answered Research Question II.1 affirmatively, in that some of the study cities fell into all three landscape types. The implications of the findings for the existing Mexican-American landscape types also moderately support these types.

Table 4.5: Significant correlations between economic, demographic, and Mexican-American landscape variables

	Population in 2000	% Hispanic in 2000	Hispanic population in 2000	Percentage of Hispanics arrived in 1990s	% pop. growth in 1990s	% Anglo growth/% Hispanic growth in 1990s
Independent variables						
Population in 2000		-0.703**	0.738**	0.405**		
% Hispanic in 2000	-0.703**					-0.292*
Hispanic population in 2000	0.738**			0.401**		
Percentage of Hispanics arrived in 1990s	0.405**		0.401**		0.482**	
% population growth in 1990s				0.482**		
% Anglo growth/% Hispanic growth in 1990s						
Hispanic income/overall income						-0.387**
Hispanic income/Hispanic state income						
Overall local income/state income					0.316*	
Dependent variables						
% of local workers in largest economic sector	**-0.348***		**-0.490****			**0.237**
% local Hispanics in most Hispanic block group	**-0.782****	**0.518****	**-0.580****			
Relative value of Hispanic-owned homes			**0.274***			**-0.336***
% of Hispanic residents who rent						

** $p<0.01$

* $p<0.05$

Unstarred values: $p<0.1$

	Hispanic income/overall income	Hispanic income/Hispanic state income	Overall local income/state income	% of local workers in largest economic sector	% local Hispanics in most Hispanic area	Relative value of Hispanic-owned homes	% of Hispanic residents who rent
Independent variables							
Population in 2000				**-0.348***	**-0.782****		
% Hispanic in 2000					**0.518****		
Hispanic population in 2000				**-0.490****	**-0.580****	**0.274***	
Percentage of Hispanics arrived in 1990s							
% population growth in 1990s			0.316*				
% Anglo growth/% Hispanic growth in 1990s	-0.387**			**0.237**		**-0.336***	
Hispanic income/overall income		0.602**		**-0.364****		**0.287***	**-0.381****
Hispanic income/Hispanic state income	0.602**		0.687**	**-0.425****		**0.395****	**-0.542****
Overall local income/state income		0.687**				**0.252**	**-0.407****
Dependent variables							
% of local workers in largest economic sector	**-0.364****	**-0.425****				-0.461**	0.367**
% local Hispanics in most Hispanic block group							
Relative value of Hispanic-owned homes	**0.287***	**0.395****	**0.252**	-0.461**			-0.413**
% of Hispanic residents who rent	**-0.381****	**-0.542****	**-0.407****	0.367**		-0.413**	

** p<0.01

* p<0.05

Unstarred values: p<0.1

The first of these landscape types, Postwar Industrial Magnet, seems most common around the region's largest cities, Detroit and Chicago, and near Toledo, but not near other major cities such as Cleveland or Cincinnati. This was the most common landscape type in this study. Although these are not affluent cities overall, their Hispanic residents are not particularly more disadvantaged than the general population, perhaps due to their long local residence. Residential concentration of the Hispanic population within this landscape type was lower than in the Phase I landscape profile, suggesting that either the case study cities were atypical, or that this variable measured a different quality than that intended. This second explanation seems more likely, since this was a crude measure of residential concentration (simply the percentage of a place's Hispanic residents living within the Census block group with the highest percentage of Hispanic residents). An additional Spearman (Rank) Correlation revealed this variable to be correlated with the total population of the city (r_s= -0.782, $p<0.01$). I had no preexisting theories about the size of the cities by their landscape type, but even if this variable unintentionally measured total population, the finding of the landscape type groups as significantly different on this variable is still valid. However, it may mean that the measure of residential concentration used in this study actually measured total population or another quality altogether.

The second "old" landscape type, Entrepreneurs and Workers, was less clustered, but was largely confined to northern Indiana, northwest Ohio, and central lower Michigan. This was the second most common type in the study. The primary additions to the landscape type profile for this type from the findings were that this type varies more than the other two, and that the larger, newly-arrived group of Mexican-Americans seems to dominate the quantitative data on income, renter status, and Hispanic-owned home values. This makes these cities appear more similar to the New Communities on the basis of this data, although the initial qualitatively-developed landscape profiles were quite different.

The New Communities landscape type was, surprisingly, the least common in Phase II. I found this type mostly in Indiana, scattered throughout the state. It is the only

landscape type I found in southern Indiana. This phase added little other new information to this landscape type's profile.

In Research Question II.2, I asked, "Will the results from all appropriate study cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan support a clear division between newly formed and well-established Mexican-American landscape types?" The findings did not provide a clear answer to Research Question II.2. Cities were present in both the "old" types, Postwar Industrial Magnet and Entrepreneurs and Workers, and the New Communities type. When taken together, the "old" landscape types (Postwar Industrial Magnet and Entrepreneurs and Workers), were more common by far in this study than the New Communities were. "Old" landscape types were distributed across northern Indiana, northwest Ohio, and central lower Michigan, with clusters near or within metro Detroit, Chicago, and Toledo. Economic and demographic data for the "old" landscape types weren't meaningful, since the Postwar Industrial Magnet and Entrepreneurs and Workers differed considerably on these variables. Overall, the results of this study seem to suggest that while well-established and newly formed Mexican-American communities inhabit different types of landscapes, the factors that separate the two "old" landscape types in this study, such as current economic health and current level of Mexican-American population growth, are more important regarding the built environment. The statistical results as described in the Results section only weakly support a new/old divide, and only without the Chicago-area cities.

In Research Question II.3, I asked, "Will the groups formed by the application of Mexican-American landscape types to all appropriate study cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan vary significantly based on their Mexican-American landscape characteristics?" The statistical findings of the nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis tests provide a moderate answer for Research Question II.3. The landscape type groups created by the classification scheme varied significantly on one to two of the four dependent variables, as discussed above.

In Research Question II.4, I asked, "Will non-Mexican-American landscape variables vary together with Mexican-American landscape variables in the study cities?" The correlation results thoroughly answer Research Question II.4. Most (78%) of the

non-Mexican-American landscape variables (demographic or economic variables) did vary together with at least one of the Mexican-American landscape variables. Exceptions to this were Percentage of Hispanic residents arrived in the 1990s and Population growth in the 1990s, which were not significantly correlated with any Mexican-American landscape variables. All of the Mexican-American landscape variables varied together with at least one of the independent variables. This suggests that landscape and non-spatial characteristics are associated in these places.

Apparent lack of New Communities:

If this method accurately counted the New Communities, there are far fewer of these in these three states than the other landscape types. Despite the somewhat greater coverage of New Communities in the literature and mainstream media, the "Old" communities would be a far more common situation, and thus of greater concern to designers and planners.

However, it seems more likely that this phase underestimates the number of New Communities within Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. The method may have misidentified many of them as Postwar Industrial Magnet and/or Entrepreneurs and Workers or the selection criteria may not have identified them as study cities. The possibility that this phase's method misidentified many of the New Communities seems fairly unlikely. The New Communities' critical identifying trait that cities have at least 70% of their Hispanic populations arrived since 1990 is a fundamental part of the New Communities profile, making misidentification unlikely. However, the numerical threshold for this question (70%) may be too high - a lower percentage may have caught more New Communities. However, the cities selected for testing supported this 70% threshold, as did the original case study cities.

The more likely scenario is that the selection criteria for study cities were too narrow to catch many New Communities. They may have fallen below the minimum overall 2000 population of 2,500 residents, or the minimum Hispanic population in 2000 may be at fault. It is generally accepted that the 2000 Census tended to undercount

Hispanic residents, and the New Community profile includes several traits that could exacerbate this undercount: many new arrivals, many immigrants, perhaps many undocumented immigrants, monolingual Spanish speakers, and non-traditional housing units such as boardinghouses. Thus the true number of Hispanic residents in these cities in 2000 may have been well above the official Census data. Simply lowering the minimum Hispanic population in the selection criteria may set too low a threshold for the other two landscape types. The best solution may be to employ a sliding scale for selection of study cities, using different criteria for cities that seem likely to be New Communities, in an iterative process.

Another factor contributing to the potential misidentification of New Communities is the length of time elapsed between the collection of 2000 Census data and the date of this research (2007-2008). The rapid change that characterizes these new communities may have been too dramatic and recent to be adequately captured in the 2000 Census data, as seemed to be the case with Frankfort, Indiana, in Phase I. The Census Bureau designed the 2006 American Community Survey to address this kind of problem, but it does not include places as small as these cities. If this time-lag is indeed the problem, it lends additional support to the landscape type profiles, since only the New Communities had outdated data. In contrast, the more static Entrepreneurs and Workers and Postwar Industrial Magnet cities appear to have been adequately captured by this method.

Chicago-area cities

This phase identified a cluster of cities with likely Mexican-American landscape types within the Chicago metropolitan area of extreme northwestern Indiana (see Figure 4.1). This cluster includes all three landscape types. While cities of less than 50,000 total population may remain legitimate small cities even when they have been engulfed by the suburban sprawl of a larger metropolitan area, I question whether these cities are comparable enough to non-metro small cities to be meaningfully identified as one of these landscape types. The increased significance of the statistical tests of the landscape type groups when these Chicago-area cities are removed seems to support the fundamental difference between these cities and the non-metro small cities. Nonetheless,

my findings show cities in this region of all three landscape types. Several were identified as New Communities, which might reflect the movement of Mexican-American Chicagoans to more suburban locations, a trend mentioned by Valdés (2000).

Implications for the study of Mexican-Americans in the Midwest

A typical portrayal of Mexican-Americans in the Midwest is mostly working class renters concentrated into minority neighborhoods. My findings reveal a wider diversity, including many Mexican-American homeowners, some in middle class areas. In 83% of the cities in this phase, Mexican-Americans are, at least in part, a well-established part of the community. As such, many of them are native Midwesterners, native to other parts of the U.S., or immigrants who left Mexico decades ago. The popular perception that all Midwestern Latina/os are immigrants just arrived from Mexico may be due more to the inability of non-Latina/os to see the true diversity of their own communities than to the actual composition of this ethnic group.

The existence of landscape types

A larger question embedded within this phase is whether there is a logical basis for classifying landscapes as types. The results of this phase provide moderate support for this idea: every place's landscape is not totally unique, but instead there exist groups of places with physical landscapes that are similar in predictable and consistent ways. At minimum, these findings provide ample justification for further research on this larger question, with methods targeted more closely to parsing this relationship.

Use of spatial variables to study Midwestern Mexican-Americans

Researchers who study Mexican-Americans in the Midwest usually do not focus on spatial issues, but this finding suggests that they might use spatial variables as a measure of community change, integration, and health. The inclusion of spatial variables in scholarship about Mexican-Americans in the Midwest would not only add an important additional dimension, but also provides a potential measurement of change highly unlikely to be manipulated for political reasons. These findings also lend support to the existence of landscape types as a predictable and consistent phenomenon.

Implications for quantitative methods in multicultural landscape study

This method was at least moderately successful in generalizing my qualitative findings about Mexican-American landscape types across the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. Although the method could be refined and improved, its general structure and design is a viable alternative for multicultural landscape researchers to predict where a given phenomenon exists, similar places without it, and whether a specific study site is unique or representative of many other places. This kind of information will allow more parsimonious and elegant studies that yield more insightful and targeted findings with less work.

Methods critique

This innovative method produced results that allowed an intelligent critique of the landscape types, and provided both additional information about them and some unexpected findings. However, several refinements to this method would be well advised. The selection criteria may need to be adjusted to catch more of the New Communities in the study cities. This may resolve itself in studies completed shortly after the 2010 Census data becomes available, because the data used would then be more current. Hopefully the Census will have less of a problem with systematically undercounting Latina/o residents in the 2010 data, which would further strengthen this method.

The use of proxy variables to represent the Mexican-American landscape traits (shown in Table 4.3) is a weak point in the method, since confident establishment that each of these variables truly represents the landscape trait assigned to it would constitute several additional studies. However, the exact variables used may be refined while preserving the overall method. Alternatively, with a larger research team and/or a smaller number of study cities, proxy variables could be eliminated by evaluating the landscape of each study city directly, either via aerial photos and maps or via field observation.

Ideally, small cities that are part of a larger metro area could be reliably removed from the study population. However, since some current suburbs are in fact small cities surrounded by sprawl development, rejecting all cities in metro areas would eliminate some legitimate small cities from the study. This presents a choice for the researcher, with the accumulation of information about a given landscape type weighed against the

identification of every city of that type in the study region. Future studies using this method to investigate phenomena with a larger anticipated effect size might err on the side of excluding all small cities in metro areas. Those that are exploratory, such as this one, or that anticipate a smaller effect size might tolerate the possibility of including some suburbs in order to achieve a larger sample size or study population.

Strengths of this method include the use of aerial photos and maps to assess the landscape of the cities chosen as tests. I easily, quickly, and definitively assessed most of the test variables (Table 4.2) using this method. I completed data collection much more quickly and reliably than I could have on site. For landscape variables that are rapidly changing or of a smaller scale, site visits are naturally still the best method, but for these types of variables, the remote data collection was more than satisfactory. Also, the assumption that a few variables can stand in for an entire suite of characteristics, as discussed in "Limitations," above, appears to have worked in this study, according to the results of the test variables. The ability to include the entire study population of cities in the study region instead of a sample greatly increased the study's validity as well.

The classification of the study cities into most likely Mexican-American landscape types met several criteria for quality classification schemes. Each city was classified as one and only one landscape type. Each landscape type had at least one city in it; no new landscape types were definitely found. The classification scheme uses objective quantitative data and clear thresholds by which to judge it, allowing anyone to sort a particular city with this scheme and get the same results. The identification of the most likely landscape type of each city is definite within the scheme, not open to subjective interpretation.

I developed this phase in order to evaluate the larger significance of Midwestern Mexican-American landscape profiles I developed through case studies of a small number of cities, in Phase I. I faced a problem common in multicultural landscape research: I had intriguing findings about a small number of places, but no ability to gauge whether these places were unique or representative of many other similar places. This

study applied these three types of Mexican-American landscapes to all small cities in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, identifying the most likely Mexican-American landscape type of each city, and mapping these cities by type across the region. These findings not only provide new information about Mexican-Americans in the non-metro Midwest and about an innovative landscape research method, but also about the ability of quantitative study to apply insights gained through qualitative multicultural landscapes research to a much larger region. This latter finding promotes multicultural landscapes research more closely focused on phenomena of interest due to their unique character or to their representation by a large number of similar places. It also aids the design of future studies comparing similar places with and without a given landscape phenomenon.

Studies such as this one and potential future multicultural landscapes research matter, because the United States becomes a more ethnically and racially diverse nation by the day. This trend affects the built environment in which people live as much as any other aspect of daily life. Yet the scholars best situated to study the built environment have tended to overlook disempowered minorities of all kinds. If we wish to remain relevant in the country the United States is becoming, we must design, plan, and study the built environment for the people who actually live in the communities we serve, not the people we imagine to live there. This phase contributes another potential method to the arsenal of scholars seeking to make their message about multicultural landscapes heard.

Chapter Bibliography

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Chapter 5:
Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter I review several issues linking the first and second phases of this research, covered in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively. These discussion topics include support within the study's findings for the overall mixed methods research questions, which encompasses the final Mexican-American landscape typology and the differences between landscapes inhabited by well-established and newly arrived communities. I then discuss additional implications of this study for the literature, critique the study's overall methods, and offer direction for future research. I close this chapter with the presentation of a few guidelines for designers and planners working in small cities of the Midwest with Mexican-American communities.

Support for mixed methods research questions

This section discusses the support within Phases I and II for the overall, mixed methods research questions first presented in Chapter 1. Within this section I address both the final landscape typology and the difference between landscapes inhabited by well-established and newly arrived Mexican-American communities.

Overall Research Question 1: Landscape types

In Overall Research Question 1, I asked, "Will the final landscape typology support the literature-based landscape types of Old Immigrant Gateway, Postwar Industrial Magnet, Mid-Century Cannery Magnet, Food-Processing Town, and Light Industry Town?" The overall findings provide mixed support for this research question. Two of the landscape types mentioned in the question, Old Immigrant Gateway and Mid-Century Cannery Magnet, were not present at the end of Phase II. However, Postwar Industrial Magnet was present in Phase II, and appeared in its findings as a distinct landscape type. The two final types mentioned in the question, Food Processing Town

and Light Industry Town, were arguably present in the Phase II findings as the combined New Communities type, although the defining characteristic of these landscapes was not employer type, as originally hypothesized.

These findings inform the final Mexican-American landscape typology, presented below. To produce this final typology, I incorporated information from both Phase I and Phase II, synthesizing data from each phase. I balanced the definite characteristics of the small sample in Phase I with the more assumption-based findings of the much larger sample in Phase II. In places this required speculation to reconcile conflicting information, while in other places the Phase II findings repeated the observations from Phase I. Where the portrayal of these communities in the literature appeared to fit my data, I have incorporated depictions from the literature. These final landscape types are summaries; for complete discussion and citations, please see Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

Final Mexican-American landscape typology

Postwar Industrial Magnet:

Postwar Industrial Magnet was the most common landscape type identified in this study, constituting 45% of the 64 cities studied in Phase I and II together. This landscape type is most common around Detroit, Chicago, and Toledo. The small cities may be within the metropolitan area of these larger cities or simply near it. Like these larger metropolitan areas, these cities depended heavily on early to mid-20th century industry, and have declined with those industries. Factories in these cities may be underused or derelict, and are usually located on railroads or waterways, often close to the city's center. These are not affluent cities, with abundant signs of blight and economic disinvestment in their built environments. Their Mexican-American residents are as economically disadvantaged as the rest of the residents, but not necessarily more so. Mexican-Americans in these cities are the most likely within this study to be homeowners, probably because they are the most well-established. However, these cities may have relatively high residential concentrations of Mexican-American residents within modest vernacular neighborhoods. These neighborhoods in particular have a considerable amount of Southwest-style housescape characteristics. The central business districts of these cities are generally economically depressed, yet house few Mexican-

American/Spanish-language businesses. Retail corridors and reused neighborhood retail buildings are the most common locations for these businesses, which occur here in moderate percentages.

New Communities:

The hallmark of the New Communities type is a considerable Hispanic population that first arrived after 1990 (in some cases, the late 1980s), in response to the arrival of one or more large meatpacking, food processing, or light manufacturing facilities. National or transnational corporations select these generally rural towns for their new facilities due to the low local levels of labor organization, taxes, and regulation, often supplemented by additional abatements granted by the city or county. However, the local labor force is unable or unwilling to fill all the new jobs, so the employers recruit Latina/o workers from the Mexican border, producing a workforce that is mostly Mexican immigrants, including some undocumented immigrants. Current population trends show a continued lack of growth in the Anglo population (these cities typically have very few residents who are neither Anglo nor Latina/o) and a very high rate of growth in the Hispanic population, sometimes exceeding 1000% in the last decade. The typical New Community's economy formerly depended on agriculture, and has since declined in population and affluence for decades, visible through abundant signs of blight and disinvestment in the built environment. Combined with rural norms of building and landscape maintenance, this can create a low standard of building and grounds maintenance throughout all land uses and socioeconomic classes. Housing stock includes abundant affordable housing, including both renter- and owner-occupied units. Large industrial parks or zones in former farmland outside of the city limits house the new factories, which may be surprisingly abundant relative to the size of the city. Generally major truck routes near the cities serve the factories. Rail lines may also serve the factories as secondary access.

This landscape type appears to have three subtypes, possibly different phases in their development after the arrival of the new employers. Preexisting factors, such as level of disinvestment, amount of affordable housing, or level of resistance encountered by Mexican-American newcomers, might also determine which landscape subtype

develops. These types vary in the apparent residential concentration of Mexican-American residents, the percentage and locations of Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses, the percentage of Southwest-style housescape characteristics, the percentage of Mexican-American homeowners, and the level of apparent blight throughout the city.

Subtype 1 (New Tenants) would develop first. It displays all common characteristics listed in the previous paragraph, but there are few signs in the built environment of a Mexican-American presence. Signs of physical blight, such as abandoned houses, empty retail buildings, and unkempt public spaces, are less severe, but there is also less revitalization of residential, retail, and institutional buildings and landscapes.

The second subtype (New Homeowners) differs from the first by the presence of a greater number of Mexican-American landscape traits. These include greater percentages of Southwest-style housescape characteristics, especially within the city's most affordable neighborhoods. Residential concentration of Mexican-Americans appears to be higher within these cities, at least in some cases, and focused on these more modest neighborhoods. In the cities I visited, these modest neighborhoods predated the arrival of the Hispanic population by at least fifty years. While these neighborhoods generally have smaller, vernacular housing, poor infrastructure (including street paving and sidewalks), limited road and visual access, and adjacent disamenities such as floodplains or derelict factories, they also appear to have a considerable percentage of owner-occupied homes. These cities have few Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses or institutions.

The final subtype (Community Succession) displays far more Mexican-American landscape characteristics. Residential concentration of Mexican-Americans is low, although modest neighborhoods similar to those described in Subtype 2 are present. Southwest-style housescape characteristics abound in more affordable residential areas as well as in modest owner-occupied neighborhoods. Some examples are visible within middle-class neighborhoods as well. These housescapes include more costly and permanent items, such as Virgin of Guadalupe shrines and masonry walls, than in any other landscape subtypes or types. There is a high percentage of Mexican-

American/Spanish-language businesses and institutions throughout the city, including the central business district, retail corridors, and sprawl retail areas. While the very high percentage of newly arrived Mexican-Americans contributes to a considerable number of renters, the Southwest-style housescape characteristics strongly suggest that many Mexican-American residents here own homes, including some within the middle class.

The New Communities were 23% of the 64 cities included in both phases of this study, making them the least common of the three landscape types, according to this method and selection criteria. They were also distributed differently than the other two types, scattered throughout Indiana, without any apparent clusters. This was the only landscape type I found in the southern half of Indiana.

Entrepreneurs and Workers:

This landscape type varied more than the others in this research. This variation may be due in part to the apparent presence within the city of a Mexican-American population stratified into two groups: a much smaller, well-established middle class core, and a much larger working-class group of new (mostly Mexican immigrant) arrivals. These two groups may have little in common beyond their surnames and the Spanish language, but they meet in the relatively high percentage of Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses, which may be owned by the core group and patronized by the new arrivals. These businesses are unique in this study in their tendency to blend into the surrounding context of healthy retail areas. They may include more specialized businesses or professional services (such as accounting or legal services) than those in the other landscape types. These cities are generally more affluent than those in the other landscape types, and therefore have fewer signs of blight in the built environment. This extends to the central business district, which may be thriving with many local businesses, including Mexican-American/Spanish-language ones; or gentrified beyond the reach of any locally owned businesses. Although field observation strongly suggests that there are Mexican-American homeowners in middle-class neighborhoods (marked by the presence of Southwest-style housescape characteristics), the presence of the much larger lower tier of new arrivals lowers average income, renter status, and value of Latina/o-owned homes to the level of the New Communities, masking the much smaller

Mexican-American core. These cities may contain modest Mexican-American neighborhoods similar to those described in New Communities. They also may be service, retail, and cultural centers for current migrant agricultural workers. This somewhat ephemeral group could contribute to the larger amount of variability within this type. Although I identified no subtypes of Entrepreneurs and Workers within this study, this large amount of variability makes it likely that subtypes do exist.

Entrepreneurs and Workers cities were more evenly distributed, without noticeable clusters, across northern Indiana, northwest Ohio, and central lower Michigan. This was the second most common type in this study, with 31% of the total 64 study cities identified as this type.

Other potential landscape types

During the course of this research, I inferred several additional landscape types from either literature or findings, but could not test them for various reasons. Since these types were never tested, this research can offer no comment on whether they actually exist.

These types include those in the literature-based typology (Chapter 2) not tested in Phase I. These types were Evolved Sugar Beet Camp, Evolved Railroad Camp, Postwar Industrial Suburb, and Global Service City. In addition, the Phase II findings suggest that there may be one or more additional landscape types in suburban areas, such as extreme northwestern Indiana. Table 5.1 compares these other potential landscape types with all other types included in the three typologies.

Table 5.1: Comparison of landscape typologies

Literature-based types	*Observation-based types (Chapter 3)*	*Final types (Chapters 4 and 5)*	*Reason for omission from testing*
Evolved Sugar Beet Camp			Intrinsically difficult to find
Old Immigrant Gateway			Not supported by Phase I findings
Evolved Railroad Camp			No example cities in literature
Postwar Industrial Magnet	Postwar Industrial Magnet	Postwar Industrial Magnet	N/A
Postwar Industrial Suburb		Possible Suburban Communities in Chicago-area?	Not in small cities
Settled Agricultural Migrant Magnet			Not supported by Phase I findings
	Entrepreneurs and Workers	Entrepreneurs and Workers	N/A
Global Service City			Not in small cities
Food-Processing Town	New Tenants	New Communities	N/A
	New Homeowners		N/A
Light Industry Town	Community Succession		N/A

Overall Research Question 2: New and established landscapes

In Overall Research Question 2, I asked, "Will cities that have newly formed Mexican-American communities have a consistently different landscape type than those with well-established Mexican-American communities?" The findings from Phases I and II support this research question. The final landscape types include two well-established types, Postwar Industrial Magnet and Entrepreneurs and Workers, and a newly formed type, New Communities. In both Phases I and II, these types or their antecedents appeared as distinct, definite types, with no cities present in both types or ambiguously identified.

However, the Phase II findings did not indicate that the well-established types shared common traits lacking in the New Communities type. These findings instead presented Postwar Industrial Magnet and Entrepreneurs and Workers as two distinct landscape types, as different from each other as they are from New Communities. These findings agree with the corresponding Phase I profiles, which were similarly distinct from each other. Thus it is perhaps more accurate to say that the landscapes associated with newly formed and well-established communities differ in predictable and consistent ways, but the time elapsed since the establishment of the Mexican-American community is not the most influential factor. Another view of this finding is that Entrepreneurs and Workers, given its similarity to New Communities in the quantitative data, is actually both a well-established and a newly formed type, which makes it differ from both the well-established type of Postwar Industrial Magnet and the newly formed type of New Communities. Viewed in this light, the overall findings of this research more strongly support Overall Research Question 2: not only are the well-established and newly formed communities different, but they are so different that a separate combination type exists between them.

Two larger questions informed the selection of the newly formed/well-established question: whether immigration has fundamentally changed, and whether the embodiment of racism in the built environment has changed (see Chapter 1). The findings concerning Overall Research Question 2 could be interpreted to support the idea that immigration has indeed changed, because, within this study, the situation and environment currently receiving immigrants differ substantially from those which formerly received them. Two cautions are appropriate, however. The first is that there was some evidence that the Phase I Postwar Industrial Magnet cities had Mexican-American populations originating in those born in the southwest U.S., including former migrant agricultural workers, not in immigrants arriving directly from Mexico (Carlson 1975; Valdés 1991; Cárdenas 1958). Thus this may not truly compare immigrants then and immigrants now, but rather domestic migrants then and immigrants now.

The second caution is not to overemphasize the influence of immigration alone. The places characterized in the three landscape types are indeed different, but they differ

in many respects, including their overall economic health, their histories, and their general population growth or decline. These factors may have far more influence over the environments inhabited by Mexican-Americans in these landscape types than any aspect of the residents themselves. It may be that the experience of immigrants has changed, because they arrive in a different country than they did in 1890 or 1920.

The newly formed/well-established research question also concerned the expression and perpetuation of racism in the built environment. The findings of this study could be interpreted as indicating a change in racism against Mexican-Americans in the non-metro Midwest, because the landscape inhabited by them has changed. Certain findings of this research, such as the appearance in Phase I of New Communities with a lower residential concentration of Mexican-Americans and many Mexican-American homeowners, seem to show greater equality. However, the surrounding elements have changed as well. Racism could easily have persisted yet be expressed differently in a landscape where many other things have changed. For example, during the period in which Mexican-Americans originally arrived in the Postwar Industrial Magnet cities, these were thriving communities where factory jobs drew workers of many ethnicities and races. There was probably great demand for housing and a fair amount of affluence in these communities then, as well as a city center more valued by local elites than it would be after decades of suburbanization and urban blight. This situation is very different than that which greets newly arrived Mexican immigrants in the New Communities today, where a long decline may have lessened non-Latina/os desire or ability to exclude Mexican-Americans.

Contribution to the literature

In Chapter 2, I identified a gap in the extant literature concerning Mexican-Americans and the landscape of Midwestern small cities. This gap included the lack of scholarship focused on the interaction of Mexican-Americans with the built environment of the Midwest, especially comparing well-established Mexican-American communities with newly formed ones. I also commented on the relative scarcity of scholarship concerning Mexican-Americans and the built environment in any part of this country. This dissertation makes a major contribution toward filling that gap. To the best of my

knowledge, this dissertation contains the first typology of Mexican-American landscapes in the Midwest, and indeed, the first empirically-based descriptions of these landscapes. It provides a portrait of current conditions in the places studied, in contrast to the histories that constitute the majority of the small number of sources that address Mexican-Americans in the Midwest. This dissertation also contributes to the literature by using a mixed methods research design to apply the information gained through case studies of a small number of cities to a much larger area, that of the states of Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio. Unlike virtually all of the extant literature about Midwestern Mexican-Americans, which focuses on non-spatial concerns and therefore omits information about the built environment, this dissertation focuses explicitly on the built environment and champions the value of study of the built environment. This lack of focus on the built environment in the relevant extant literature makes it unsuitable for use by practicing landscape architects, architects, and planners. In contrast, this dissertation provides advice for practitioners on how to apply its findings to the shaping of the built environment in Midwestern small cities (see below).

Implications for the literature

The findings of this research contain a wealth of implications for literature about Mexican-Americans in the non-metro Midwest. These implications include the presence and diversity of Mexican-Americans in these communities, relevant findings for various theories within the literature about Mexican-Americans and the built environment, and the role of Mexican-American culture in the creation of these landscapes. I also discuss the amount of coverage in the literature relative to the proportion of particular landscape types in my findings.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion to be drawn from this research is also the most basic, that Midwestern small cities do in fact contain Mexican-American landscapes. Most small cities in the three states studied in Phase II do not have considerable Mexican-American or other Latina/o populations, but 64 cities do. Mexican-Americans reside in the Midwest beyond Chicago, Detroit, and the invisible army of migrant workers that support the region’s agriculture. This research depicts them as homeowners, as business owners, as new arrivals rebuilding residential neighborhoods

and retail areas, and as well-established community members fully integrated into their larger communities, a heterogeneity often overlooked.

Earlier in this dissertation, I mentioned two theories that some scholars have regarding Mexican-Americans and the built environment: that Mexican-Americans and other Latina/os or other immigrants are revitalizing portions of the U.S. where they settle, and that Latina/os in meatpacking communities are forming concentrations of rural poverty (see Chapter 2). My findings from Phase I include a considerable amount of support for the first theory. In several of the communities I visited, I witnessed revitalization of the built environment that appeared to be the work of newly arrived Mexican-Americans. I saw renovated houses and housescapes, renewed retail buildings and districts, and reused churches and other buildings repurposed as churches. To a lesser extent, there were also signs of revitalization in Mexican-American communities in Postwar Industrial Magnet in Phase I. Here these were mostly reused neighborhood retail buildings and public art, particularly murals. Phase II findings could not contribute to this support, since the method of the second phase didn't allow for assessment of these signs of revitalization.

In contrast, my findings provide no support for the theory that impoverished Latina/os are concentrating in the rural Midwest. The Phase II findings suggest that in the least affluent cities in this study, there is approximate economic parity between non-Hispanic and Hispanic residents, while in the more affluent Entrepreneurs and Workers cities, Hispanic residents generally lag behind in income and property values. I found no study cities that had mostly impoverished Latina/os.

Embedded within the literature reviewed for this research, the initial parts of this study, and perhaps within the very concept of cultural landscapes is the assumption that the landscapes inhabited by Mexican-Americans are most influenced by the common characteristics of those residents. Throughout the course of this research, I have come to realize that this may be too narrow a view. In the communities I studied, many factors probably influence the neighborhoods in which Mexican-Americans buy or rent homes, the retail areas where Mexican-American/Spanish-language businesses or churches open, and where Mexican-Americans work, study, and spend their leisure time. These factors

could include property values, discrimination in housing, availability of affordable housing to rent or buy, adjacent land uses, proximity to good or bad schools, available commercial space near prospective clientele, available and affordable church buildings, and so forth. These are determined by the local economy, political decisions and governance within these communities, and the attitudes of Anglos and others within the community. Certain landscape characteristics, such as Southwest-style housescapes, may well be culturally based, yet even these must be influenced heavily by factors beyond culture, such as local ordinances and their enforcement, the tolerance of non-Latina/o neighbors, and the preexisting size and shape of the front yard. Perhaps it is illogical to expect that a historically disempowered minority group comprehensively shapes their own built environment. It may be more rational to expect that some power to shape that environment lies with those who hold other political, economic, and social power within the local community.

Literature's coverage of different landscape types:

In general, Mexican-Americans and the built environment, particularly outside of the Southwest, are understudied, as are Mexican-Americans in the Midwest. I explored this lack of literature much more thoroughly in Chapter 2. Now, I am able to add a comparison of the literature's coverage of each landscape type with its presence in my findings.

There was a relative abundance of literature concerning Old Immigrant Gateway, yet I found no evidence of this landscape type in Phase I. This type may not exist in small cities, or it may be indistinguishable from Postwar Industrial Magnet. I suspect that the characterization of this type in the literature is based primarily on the nation's largest cities, and that the extension of this type to smaller cities may be unwarranted.

The only other landscape type with a substantial amount of literature was New Communities, originally titled Food-Processing Town and Light Industrial Town. Although the final landscape typology included New Communities, it was the least common type found in Phase II (possibly due to the selection criteria, as discussed in Chapter 4). In contrast, the more common Postwar Industrial Magnet and Entrepreneurs and Workers have far fewer mentions in the existing literature, an odd mismatch. The

arrival of substantial numbers of Latina/os in the New Communities is certainly newsworthy and fascinating, so the relative abundance of scholarly attention is understandable. However, the Phase II findings suggest that there are many more communities of the other two landscape types, which have been relatively ignored by scholars.

Critique of methods used

The methods used in this research were nearly as exploratory as the topic itself, and as such, merit discussion. This research followed a mixed method design presented by Cresswell and Clark (2007). This design worked well in this research. Most difficulties occurred below the organizational level of the Cresswell and Clark design, in operationalizing variables, for example. The research design's balance of qualitative and quantitative phases performed as intended: each phase added information to the overall findings that the other phase was unable to collect, and each phase helped balance the other's limitations. For example, the Phase II findings showed Entrepreneurs and Workers to be quite similar to the New Communities, but the Phase I findings indicated that these were very different places.

I studied the physical landscape directly rather than through its residents' perceptions, preferences, and values. I believe this was an entirely appropriate choice given the exploratory nature of this topic. The role of residents' beliefs and motivations in their behavior regarding these landscapes is an intriguing topic, but more difficult to study without having at least some information about the landscapes themselves. The findings of this research now would form a fine foundation for a future study of these landscapes through their residents.

This research used a literary foundation borrowed from other disciplines, mostly the humanities, with mixed success. There were substantial limitations, as evidenced by the marked difference between the literature-based landscape typology and the observation-based landscape typology created in Phase I (see Table 5.1). It seems likely that literature more intentionally focused on the built environment would have more accurately portrayed the types of landscapes inhabited by Mexican-Americans in the non-

metro Midwest. However, in the absence of such literature, I believe the findings and large amount of additional information gathered in this study more than justify the use of this arguably inadequate literature review.

The inclusion of qualitative methods was very successful. I was initially suspicious, as many adherents of quantitative research probably are, of the deliberate incorporation of the researcher's viewpoint, antithetical to the rules of quantitative research. However, it became clear that my history as a native of a small Indiana town, as an Anglo woman, as a practicing landscape architect, and as a sometime resident outside the Midwest was essential to this research. The researcher's eye is a critical component in observing the landscape, either via remote data or on site. A native sees what is typical and what is unusual, and has an intuitive understanding of the structure - physical, social, and economic - of small Midwestern cities. This familiarity with the norm is priceless in allowing the researcher to identify components that don't appear to conform.

The data collection methods used in Phase I, the qualitative phase, also were appropriate. The incorporation of standard landscape architectural site inventory and analysis techniques to collect data was very successful, with good reason – thousands of practitioners use these techniques, so they are truly tested. The one drawback of these methods is their opacity to those outside landscape architectural practice. It has been a continuing challenge to articulate a process learned largely by nonverbal example and hands-on experience.

One of my objectives in this research was to apply a more rigorous scientific research design and method to the kind of topic more typically reported with informal narrative styles. This goal may have been too ambitious, requiring many assumptions and compromises, especially in Phase II. However, I believe that this research provided far more data and findings, of different kinds and greater depth, than could have been produced using the more common narrative research style. My struggle within this research to select a sample and operationalize landscape variables has hopefully created a foundation for future research that more successfully investigates cultural landscapes phenomena using generally accepted research designs and methods.

Call for future research

There are many opportunities for future research concerning Mexican-American landscapes in the non-metro Midwest. The question is not whether there should be future research, but which part of the immense gap in the literature should be addressed first. The suggestion of revitalization of the built environment by newly arrived Mexican-American communities is a tantalizing prospect, due to its potentially profound significance for the future of rural communities and perhaps blighted inner suburbs. The possible relevance of the landscape types herein developed outside of the small cities or the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan is an intriguing question. Do similar landscape types exist in suburban areas, or other areas of new Latina/o population growth, such as the southeastern U.S.? What role do the perceptions and preferences of not only Mexican-American residents, but also their Anglo and African-American neighbors play?

As discussed in Chapter 4, this research design and method has great potential for use by multicultural landscapes researchers. This type of topic is a natural fit for case study methods, but this mixed-methods approach could be well employed to either generalize the findings of a case study across a much larger geographic area or to select appropriate communities for study, either because of their unique character or because they represent a large number of similar communities.

In a broader context, the use of spatial characteristics to measure non-spatial change or current conditions and the inclusion of spatial characteristics in research about economic or demographic phenomena deserves more scholarly attention. The finding that spatial and non-spatial traits appear to change together, both in the qualitative observations and in the statistical correlations in Chapter 4, strongly suggests that spatial traits could be used to identify and measure non-spatial traits of research interest. This could potentially benefit the researcher in that spatial information is difficult to manipulate for political reasons. A second implication of this correlation is a strengthening of the notion, near universal within landscape architecture, architecture, and planning, but otherwise rare, that the built environment matters. Non-spatial studies of neighborhoods or cities would do well to consider the built environment, and that the

physical setting for their primary topic of interest may be shaping or reflecting its changes.

Guidelines for practitioners

The ultimate significance of the findings of this research lies in their use by landscape architects, planners, and architects working in the small cities of the Midwest. In Chapter 1 I opined that Latina/o population growth could be changing the context for assumptions about public use of spaces. Here I offer a sampling of guidelines for practitioners concerning the changing of those assumptions.

1. **See the actual context, not your assumptions** – Begin with considering the possibility of a Mexican-American presence within the city. Except in the rare project specifically targeted to social services or minority organizations, clients are unlikely to mention the presence of a local Mexican-American community. In New Communities this may be because the Latina/o population of the city has arrived so recently and grown so quickly that local non-Latina/os are unaware of its extent. They might also assume that the Latina/o community is only temporary and therefore does not need to be considered in community planning decisions. Alternatively, in Postwar Industrial Magnet, local residents may be accustomed to ignoring Mexican-American neighborhoods, especially modest vernacular ones.

   This attempt to see beyond preconceived assumptions extends to the physical landscape and opportunities within it. Does the context of the project site include Southwest-style housescape characteristics, such as front yards enclosed with fences and used as social spaces, brightly painted house facades or site furniture, or decorative metal or tilework? These landscape characteristics extend to outdoor behaviors and land uses as well, including street vendors, the display of retail merchandise on sidewalks, and family gatherings in parks.

2. **Widen your design palette** - Incorporate those Mexican-American landscape elements and land uses you see. Take advantage of the variety around the project site to widen the range of locally acceptable landscape elements, materials, uses, and behaviors. This provides the designer with a wider range of inspirations and a

potential connection to authentic sense of place. It could also contribute to the larger goal of making local Mexican-American landscapes (and possibly their residents) more widely accepted within the community by legitimizing similar elements and/or alternatives to the Anglo status quo. Of course, it's important to distinguish between a self-conscious attempt to make sitework look "Mexican" and the appropriate incorporation of materials, colors, forms, and land uses borrowed from Mexican-American neighborhoods.

3. **Design to accommodate and capitalize** - Suit your design (and to the extent possible, relevant policies) to local Mexican-American participation, behaviors, and landscape traditions exhibited locally. This is a wide-ranging guideline. Examples could include encouraging a link between a trail system and a nearby Mexican-American modest vernacular neighborhood or expanding a sidewalk in a retail area to allow for exterior display of merchandise, greater street life, and potential pushcart vendors. The redesign of a residential street corridor could incorporate a sidewalk detail and alignment that allows an orderly connection with front yard enclosure fences. Designing to accommodate and capitalize is especially useful when the design program relates to these behaviors or traditions – for example, a streetscape designed to increase street life, or a plaza intended as a festival space.

This research has investigated Mexican-American landscapes in the small cities of the Midwest, exploring their relationship with economic and demographic characteristics, and creating the first typology of Midwestern Mexican-American landscapes in non-metro areas. In so doing, this research has established that Mexican-American landscapes do exist in small cities of the Midwest, and that they are valuable cultural landscapes worthy of attention and preservation. I found three physical landscape types consistent across groups of these cities. These landscape types are associated with the length of time elapsed since the arrival of the Mexican-American community, but also with overall non-spatial traits of these cities, such as population decline or growth and economic health. In addition, many of the economic, demographic, and Mexican-American landscape traits of

these cities are correlated with each other; the spatial and non-spatial traits change together.

This research is significant for several reasons that transcend disciplinary boundaries. The finding that landscapes inhabited by newly arrived Mexican-Americans differ from those inhabited by well-established Mexican-American communities may support the views that the experience of immigrants in the U.S. has changed and that racism's expression in the built environment has changed as well. Past demographic changes on the scale of the current influx of Latina/os in parts of the U.S. outside the Southwest have substantially altered the built environment, either directly or through related societal trends. Although this research studies associations, not causation, it provides new information about how the built environment may be changing in response to this demographic shift. This research reinforces the existence and value of Midwestern Mexican-American cultural landscapes, even outside of the region's major cities. Finally, this research both states the need for practicing designers and planners to realize that the context for projects in similar cities has changed, and provides some insights as to how to adapt to this changed context.

This dissertation began with a story about my epiphany on the banks of Wildcat Creek outside Lafayette, Indiana. In that same city, there is a large park designed and built in the Victorian days of promenades, when parks were designed for well-dressed patrons to stroll on summer Sundays, seeing and being seen. I became professionally involved with this park through the redesign of a large circular swimming pool into a modern water park, a refitting for contemporary tastes and uses. Although we as landscape architects may value historic parks for their echoes of the past, we design for the present, in parks with perimeter walking paths, fitness trails, and natural areas. But designing for a lone [Anglo] jogger or dog walker in a park that will see most of its use in Latina/o family picnics on Sunday is as inappropriate as designing a new park for Victorian promenades. The nation is changing, even in the non-metro Midwest. Good design must accommodate actual uses and users, and good designers must be aware that even an ordinary park in an ordinary small town can be touched by globalization. We

necessarily use assumptions about land use and land users in order to do the business of design and construction, but we risk being blinded by these assumptions. This blind spot is deceptively large; in fact, it can hide the world's impact on your hometown.

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