

Older Suburbs in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area

Decline, Revitalization, and Lessons for other Communities

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I. INTRODUCTION

Suburbs have become the predominant form of urban development in the United States, capturing most of the population and job growth in metropolitan areas. However, it has become clear that suburbs are a heterogeneous group that cannot all be discussed in the same breath. Alongside the “edge cities,” full of malls, gleaming office buildings, and expensive homes there are other suburbs, whose fate in recent years has come to more closely resemble the plight of inner cities. As traditional job bases have withered and new growth and investment have tended to concentrate farther out on the periphery, many older suburbs have become afflicted by poverty, crime, deteriorating housing stock, lack of investment, limited retail choices, poor schools, and so on.

Some who have written about the subject evoke the image of “crabgrass slums;” they see urban blight spreading ever farther out from the core as new investment ripples outward. However, this imagery may not be apt. Just as many central cities have experienced something of a rebirth in the last decade, so have some older suburbs begun to see a reversal of their fortunes. Shifting demographic and economic trends at the metropolitan level, new consumer preferences and transportation investments, and creative policy approaches all provide new possibilities for older suburbs to reinvent themselves and create a more prosperous future.

This does not necessarily mean an end to sprawl. For the time being it appears that several processes will coexist. Suburbanization and sprawl will continue, and certain types of investment will continue to gravitate towards the periphery. Central cities will serve as magnets for creative talent, young people, empty nesters, and immigrants, and will benefit economically as a result. And older suburbs, positioned in the middle, will likely experience a range of different fortunes: some will be able to take advantage of the new opportunities and prosper, while others will continue to stagnate.

Certainly many of the factors underlying success and failure are beyond the control of local governments. Regional patterns of wealth, systems of municipal finance, and the absence of significant regional control over land use all reduce the power of local government. However, it would be a mistake to imagine that communities have no control over their destinies. Ending sprawl and bringing about true metropolitan renewal will require action at all levels of government, but local actions will constitute a key element of success.

This paper is the result of research funded by the Local Government Commission (LGC) and the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) using a grant from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. The research has focused on the experiences of five communities in the Los Angeles area and this paper draws some conclusions how older suburbs can reverse their decline and prosper in a shifting metropolitan landscape.

The Los Angeles area offers a fascinating laboratory for experiments in urban and suburban revitalization. The second-largest metropolitan area in the country, and one that is still growing at an appreciable rate, the region’s vast size, diversity, and myriad cities small and large provide a wide array of different conditions and experiences. Moreover, Los Angeles is in many ways the quintessential “suburban city,” one that adopted a model of decentralized development early on.

The five cities examined in this paper—Azusa, Brea, Culver City, Pomona, and Riverside—represent both successful communities and ones that are still struggling. Not all these communities are “suburbs,” in the traditional sense of the term, which implies satellite cities built to accommodate a growing and/or decentralizing population. Several are among the oldest cities in the region, and Riverside is large enough and far enough from Los Angeles that it is very much a significant city in its own right. However, in a region as large, complex, and spread out as the Los Angeles metropolitan area the differences between classic suburbs and other communities that have found themselves

absorbed into the metropolitan fold are quite blurred. The same is true, to one degree or another, in other metropolitan areas. Therefore, the discussion of exactly what constitutes a suburb should not distract us from the central question of what revitalization strategies have proven successful in older communities.

Although the Los Angeles region offers a large number of rich cases studies, it is also very different from most other metropolitan areas in the country, and indeed unique in many ways. In size, metropolitan structure, population growth, economic health, and diversity it is difficult to compare the region to others. At first glance, it might seem that an older Midwestern suburb characterized by population loss, a stagnant regional economy, and a simple if stark racial divide would see few lessons in the experiences of a peer in the Los Angeles region that continues to increase its population despite economic hardships, that exists in the middle of a dynamic and growing regional economy, and that is part of the most racially and ethnically diverse metropolis in the country, if not the world.

Yet there are more similarities than are initially apparent. Specific policy prescriptions may not always be portable, but analytical techniques and insights often are. Perhaps one of the main things this study can offer is a way of looking at regions and places that is broadly applicable and an appreciation of the need for an understanding of place that is rooted in history and regional context.

The conclusions presented herein are based on both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Numbers are presented where useful and appropriate, but the work has also been informed by interviews, site visits, and historical inquiry, as well as by the authors' work in other places. Many people in the five cities generously donated their time to answer questions.

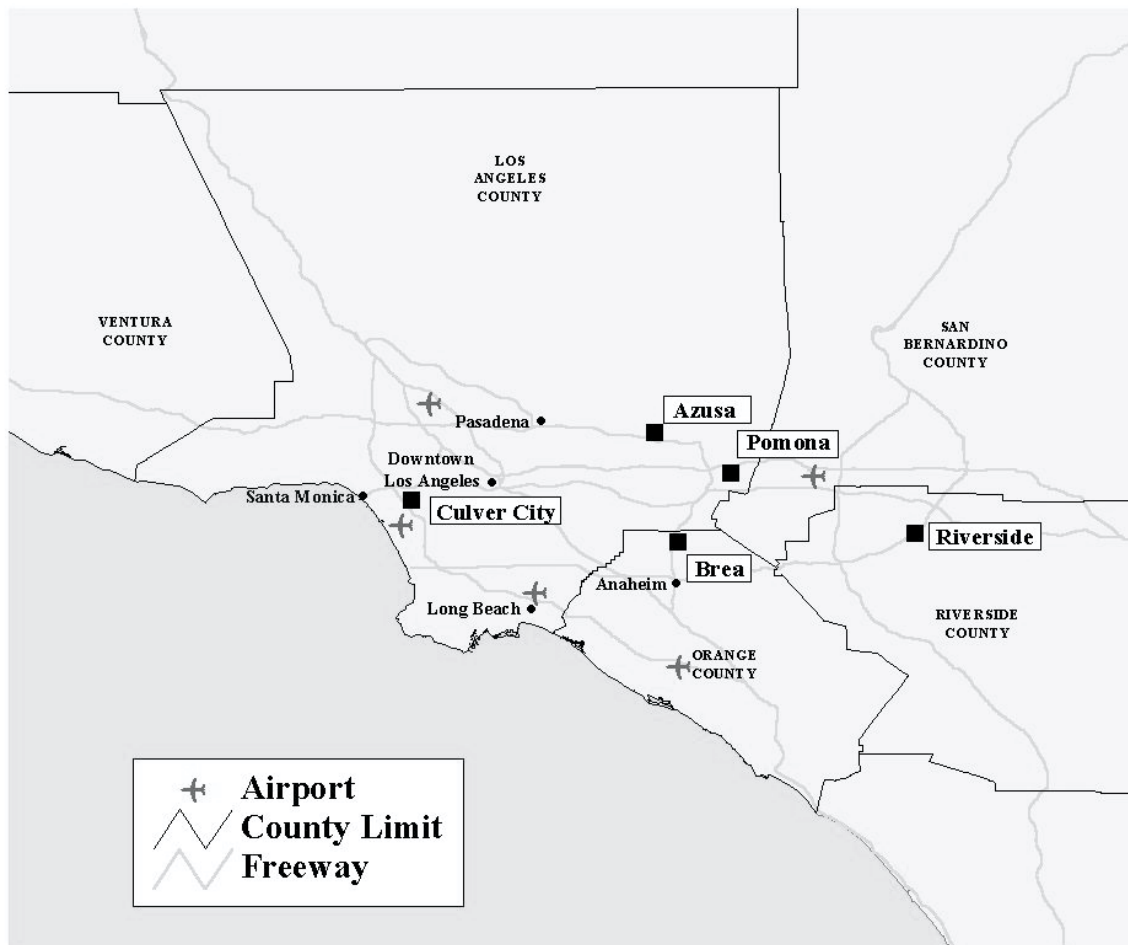
All analysis, whether quantitative or qualitative, has been aimed at understanding the nature of each place, the changes it has experienced over time, and its role—actual and potential—in the region. In contrast to the one-size-fits-all policies too often implemented by cities that have not taken the time to understand their own peculiarities, this approach represents the first step in formulating successful policies for revitalization tailored to the individual needs of any given city. In this sense, the methodology itself—understanding the place and how it fits into the region—constitutes part of a strategy for revitalization.

Since the larger economic and regional context shapes and constrains choices and possibilities, it is imperative to understand that context. The historical development and current trends that have shaped the Los Angeles region will therefore be the starting point of this paper.

II. THE REGION

The Los Angeles region is one of the nation's most diverse in terms of its employment base, its population, and the types of communities that constitute it. It is huge and spread out—Los Angeles County alone is larger than Delaware and Rhode Island combined—and characterized by rapid growth and change. The region's current spatial patterns are the result of more than a century of rapid evolution, and the dynamism that has always characterized the region continues to this day, shaping the metropolis and its communities in new ways.

Map 1: The Los Angeles Region and The Five Cities



This study will examine four categories of characteristics of factors that can serve as the basis for an analysis of the development and evolution of both regions and individual communities. First, the **natural environment** refers to the pre-existing and largely immutable characteristics with which any city or region must contend: climate, the amount and quality of arable land, access to water, presence or absence of natural resources, and so on.

Second, **people and society** refers to demographic and social factors such as population growth and diversity, racial segregation, and the role that individuals play as workers in the economy and the “new economy.” The meteoric rise of Los Angeles to second place in the nation's hierarchy of metropolitan areas was the result of constant growth and transformation of the population driven by

rural-urban migration, an influx of people from other parts of the country, and foreign immigration. These are also the sources of the diversity that has always characterized the population of Los Angeles. Population growth, immigration, and diversity are still very much present and are important for understanding both the historical evolution of the region and its current dynamics.

Third, the **built environment** refers to the impact that human settlement has had upon the land, whether in cultivating crops or building skyscrapers. Among the factors to understand in the case of the Los Angeles region include the decentralization of population and industry, the community building planning philosophy that shaped much development, the evolution of the housing stock, and the dramatic changes in transportation after World War II.

Finally, the growth of the region's communities must be understood in the context of their **economy**, which in this case means rapid economic development over the course of the 20th Century and certain key industries such as agriculture and oil. Today, changing forms of production, new industries, and the evolving interface between local, regional, national, and global economies all have implications for metropolitan patterns and constituent communities as well.

These four factors evolve in tandem and interact with one another in myriad complex ways. The population of Los Angeles would have been limited by the aridity of the region (the natural environment) had it not been for the projects that supplied the city's water needs (built environment). Population growth and economic growth fuel one another and to a significant extent drive the development of the built environment. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to examine all of these factors in detail, they constitute a useful framework to keep in mind.¹

The Los Angeles Metropolitan Area as defined by the Census comprises the five counties of Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino, Riverside, and Ventura. These counties have unique histories and have undergone multiple changes. San Bernardino County was created in 1853 from parts of Los Angeles, San Diego and Mariposa Counties. Orange County was created in 1889 out of southern Los Angeles County with three incorporated cities: Anaheim, Santa Ana, and Orange. Riverside County as we know it today was formed in 1893 from parts of San Diego and San Bernardino counties. The five communities to be examined lie in three of these counties: Los Angeles, Orange, and Riverside.

This chapter will present data for the five-county region organized by the four categories of factors described above in order to understand its evolution. Chapter 3 will examine the five cities in question in terms of these factors and their individual histories. Chapter 4 will discuss a number of policy interventions that have been pursued by these cities, as well as their results. Finally, Chapter 5 will present conclusions and recommendations that are drawn from the analysis in this paper and from the authors' other work.

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

California, besides its thousands of fertile acres that in the different sections will grow to perfection anything in plant life that can be raised anywhere on earth, its countless oil wells and mines of gold, silver and other metals, has within its confines more natural scenic attractions than any other equal area on the face of the globe...What is the attraction, gentlemen? Climate. What makes possible the climate? That wonderful ocean. On a clear day, step out to the last home on Washington street and gaze towards the ocean and what do you see?

Harry Culver, 1913

If Harry Culver's bombastic words overstate both the natural richness of California and the importance of climate, it should hardly be surprising. In 1913 he was already envisioning the city

¹ Among other things, it is beyond the scope of this paper to take into account explicitly history before roughly 1900, despite the fact that California has a long history of human settlement.

that would bear his name, and already beginning the marketing efforts for which he would become known. He had everything to gain from convincing people that he had chosen the ideal location for his city.

Even so, the natural environment has undeniably shaped California's development, and that of the Los Angeles region, in countless ways. The climate allowed agriculture to flourish, providing the initial motivation for the establishment of many towns and cities, including Azusa, Pomona, and Riverside. Oil helped set off an economic boom in the region generally and led to the establishment of Brea. And the mild climate not only attracted people fleeing colder climes by the millions, it also provided ideal conditions for the motion picture industry that helped Culver City grow and that is today nearly synonymous with Los Angeles.

If Los Angeles has always been a magnet, then certainly its natural environment has more than a little bit to do with that fact. Even when that same environment threw up barriers to growth—foremost among them the scarcity of water—Los Angeles found ways around those barriers even at the expense of other places.

A more detailed examination of the natural environment is beyond the scope of this paper, but all of the cities studied here owe a great deal of their history to the climate and oil wells with which the region had been blessed.

PEOPLE AND SOCIETY

POPULATION GROWTH

At the turn of the 20th Century, the Los Angeles region was fairly insignificant in California's demographic and economic growth. With barely one-sixth of the total state population and little or no industry, the region showed few signs that it would eventually overtake San Francisco, then the economic and demographic heart of California. However, a population of only 250,000 people in 1900 has increased to over 16 million today after a century of rapid and sustained growth.

The decades leading up to World War II marked the region's rise to prominence and its definitive transformation into a major metropolitan area with a significant concentration of economic activity. Two decades in particular—1900-1910 and the 1920s—stand out for their rapid population growth rates of 159 percent and 126 percent, respectively. As the section on the economy will discuss, these were also key decades in the economic transformation of the region, with oil, entertainment, and manufacturing, especially airplane building, attracting new residents and creating fortunes.²

Table 1 shows population growth in the metropolitan area during the first five decades of the 20th Century. Although all counties experienced population growth, Los Angeles County led the way, growing from fewer than 200,000 people in 1900 to nearly 3 million by 1940. As a result, the county increased its share of total regional population until it accounted for roughly 85 percent in the 1930s and 1940s.

² A good source of information on the changes that took place during the 1920s is Sitton, Tom and William Francis Deverell, eds. (2001). *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Region	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
California	1,485,053	2,377,549	3,426,861	5,677,251	6,907,387
Total 5-County Region	250,187	648,316	1,150,252	2,597,066	3,252,720
<i>Growth over previous decade</i>		<i>159.1%</i>	<i>77.4%</i>	<i>125.8%</i>	<i>25.2%</i>
Riverside County	17,897	34,696	50,297	81,024	105,524
Orange County	19,696	34,436	61,375	118,674	130,760
Los Angeles County	170,298	504,131	936,455	2,208,492	2,785,643
<i>Los Angeles County as % of 5-County Region</i>	<i>68.1%</i>	<i>77.8%</i>	<i>81.4%</i>	<i>85.0%</i>	<i>85.6%</i>
San Bernardino County	27,929	56,706	73,401	133,900	161,108
Ventura County	14,367	18,347	28,724	54,976	69,685

Source: U.S. Census.

The 1930s represented a period of relatively slow growth—only 25 percent in the region, compared to 125 percent in the 1920s—but with the entry of the United States into World War II and the expansion of defense-related industries, the region once again became a destination for new residents. All counties grew more quickly in the 1940s than they had in the previous decade.

Table 2 shows population growth in the post-war period. Although growth rates were far below their peak in previous decades, the sheer magnitude of the growth in absolute terms was astonishing: the region added 3.5 million residents between 1940 and 1960. This was also a time when suburban forms of building were becoming the norm (although as will be shown below they were not entirely new) and as a result the late 1940s through the 1960s marked another period of rapid physical transformation.

The metropolitan area expanded far beyond the City of Los Angeles, and far beyond Los Angeles County, transforming increasingly distant areas. Los Angeles County, which represented 85 percent of the region's total population in the 1930s and 1940s, saw its relative importance decline as other counties grew more quickly. Today it contains less than 60 percent of the total regional population. Decentralization within the county began somewhat earlier but has been no less significant: the share of total county population that lives in the City of Los Angeles fell from over 60 percent in the first few decades of the century to less than 40 percent today.

Region	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
California	10,586,223	15,717,204	19,953,134	23,667,902	29,760,021	33,871,648
Total 5-County Region	4,934,246	7,751,616	9,972,037	11,497,568	14,531,529	16,373,645
<i>Growth over previous decade</i>	<i>51.7%</i>	<i>57.1%</i>	<i>28.6%</i>	<i>15.3%</i>	<i>26.4%</i>	<i>12.7%</i>
Riverside County	170,046	306,191	459,074	663,166	1,170,413	1,545,387
Orange County	216,224	703,925	1,420,386	1,932,709	2,410,556	2,846,289
Los Angeles County	4,151,687	6,038,771	7,032,075	7,477,503	8,863,164	9,519,338
<i>L.A. County as % of Region</i>	<i>84.1%</i>	<i>77.9%</i>	<i>70.5%</i>	<i>65.0%</i>	<i>61.0%</i>	<i>58.1%</i>
San Bernardino County	281,642	503,591	684,072	895,016	1,418,380	1,709,434
Ventura County	114,647	199,138	376,430	529,174	669,016	753,197

Source: U.S. Census.

After 1960 regional growth slowed, never again rising above 30 percent in a single decade. Even so, the population has more than doubled since 1960, and the growth in absolute numbers is still tremendous—in the “low growth,” decade of the 1990s the region added nearly two million new residents. Equally importantly, the metropolitan area continues to expand outward due to the prevalence of low-density development and the concentration of growth on the fringes of the region. According to the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG), the trend of decentralization will continue through at least 2025. Los Angeles County is projected to continue declining as a share of total regional population, and both Orange County and Ventura County are expected to decline slightly. San Bernardino and Riverside counties will significantly increase their shares of the regional population. By 2025 one quarter of the region’s population will live in the “Inland Empire,” composed of these two counties and the eastern tip of Los Angeles County.

As the metropolitan frontier has moved farther and farther out, the places that were formerly at the edge—the older suburbs—have found themselves in a difficult position. Unable to compete with either the amenities of the core of the region or the developable land at the fringe, and facing problems of decay and abandonment, these places must reinvent themselves to play a new role in the metropolitan area.

IMMIGRATION

California has always been a magnet for immigrants, and it remains so, becoming home to one-quarter of the country’s new immigrants every year, roughly twice the state’s share of the total U.S. population. Within California, Los Angeles is the destination of choice, and along with New York, Los Angeles constitutes one of the two principal metropolitan destinations for new immigrants. In Fiscal Year 2000, over 100,000 of the new legal immigrants to the United States expressed their intention to live in the 5-County Los Angeles metropolitan area.³ Of course, the region is also a major destination for undocumented immigrants, who are not included in the INS statistic above.

The results of the recent wave of immigration and the role of the region in receiving new immigrants is visible in figures on the percentage of foreign-born residents of Los Angeles County, which rose from 9.5 percent in 1960 to 36.5 percent in 2000. While this is due to a combination of factors, including the net loss of native-born residents, it nevertheless represents an enormously significant statistic.

It is not only the quantitative aspects of this phenomenon that are important. The spatial distribution of immigrants has significant implications for many communities. Immigrants are not concentrated solely in Los Angeles proper but rather live in many parts of the county, as indicated by the fact that the percentage of foreign-born residents in the City of Los Angeles is only slightly higher—38 percent—than in the county as a whole. This is representative of the fact that suburbs, and particularly older suburbs, are playing a very different role in the process by which immigrants integrate into the United States. This will be discussed in more detail below.

RACE AND ETHNICITY

Racial and ethnic diversity, along with immigration, has significant implications for the evolution of communities in the region. In 1850, the U.S. Census recorded 15 blacks, 8 Jews and 2 Chinese residing in Los Angeles County. Today, in large part due to foreign immigration, the Los Angeles metropolitan area constitutes one of the most diverse regions of the country, and indeed one of the most cosmopolitan places on the globe. Table 3 shows the racial and ethnic composition of California, the metropolitan area, and the individual counties. The Los Angeles region is more diverse in racial and ethnic terms than California as a whole, and of the five counties, Los Angeles County appears to have the greatest diversity.

³ INS Office of Policy and Planning, Statistics Division, Annual Report No. 6, January 2002.

Table 3: Race and Ethnicity in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area, 2000

Region/County	Race (% of total)							Ethnicity Hispanic/Latin o (any race)
	White	Black	American Indian	Asian	Pacific Islander	Other Race	Two or More Races	
California	59.5	6.7	1.0	10.9	0.3	16.8	4.7	32.4
5-County Region	55.1	7.6	0.9	10.4	0.3	21.0	4.7	43.9
L.A. County	48.7	9.8	0.8	11.9	0.3	23.5	4.9	44.6
Orange County	64.8	1.7	0.7	13.6	0.3	14.8	4.1	51.3
Riverside	65.6	6.2	1.2	3.7	0.3	18.7	4.4	36.2
San Bernardino	58.9	9.1	1.2	4.7	0.3	20.8	5.0	39.2
Ventura	69.9	1.9	0.9	5.3	0.2	17.7	3.9	33.4

Source: U.S. Census.

INCOME

California is still thought of as a wealthy state, but in reality per-capita income in California has converged with the U.S. average: whereas it was significantly higher in 1970, there is virtually no difference today. This comparison masks large differences within the state, which contains areas that are among the richest in the country and others that are quite poor.

There are also significant differences within the region, and the relative wealth levels of the various counties have shifted over time. As shown in Table 4, income in Los Angeles County has declined from slightly above the California level to somewhat below. Riverside and San Bernardino counties, poorer than California as a whole in 1970, have lost ground since then. However, two counties have improved their relative standing. Orange County is now clearly the wealthiest county in the region and well above the California level, while Ventura County has transformed from a clear laggard in the region, only slightly ahead of Riverside and San Bernardino, to surpass Los Angeles and occupy second place in the income distribution.

Table 4: Personal Income Per Capita Relative to California, 1970 and 1999

County	Wealth Index (California = 1.0)	
	1970	1999
Los Angeles	1.04	0.95
Orange	1.03	1.13
Riverside	0.91	0.78
San Bernardino	0.82	0.70
Ventura	0.87	0.99

Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis.

Poverty levels and income levels do not necessarily coincide. Los Angeles County has the highest poverty rate of the five counties despite having relatively high overall income. Riverside and San Bernardino counties have poverty rates higher than Orange and Ventura counties, but lower than Los Angeles County. This suggests significantly more income disparity in Los Angeles County than in the other counties.

Incomes vary not only by geography but also by demographic group. However, despite significant disparities among racial and ethnic groups, there is evidence that Los Angeles is increasingly a region divided by class rather than race or ethnicity. Immigrant groups include both well-educated professionals and unskilled workers. And one study finds that one of the largest gaps between rich and poor in Southern California exists within the African-American community: Better educated African-Americans are far more distant from poor blacks today than they were in 1970.⁴ Furthermore, there is no simple correlation between race or ethnicity and economic standing. For example, roughly half of U.S.-born Latinos and one-third of foreign-born Latino households had incomes higher than the regional median, and one-quarter of the total five-county middle class population in 1990 was Latino.⁵

As a result, the racial/ethnic and economic landscape are becoming significantly more complex. This type of change has significant implications for places that have been traditionally dominated by one racial or ethnic group, as well as places that have become more diverse in recent years.

CHANGING SUBURBAN DEMOGRAPHICS

The changing demographics of the region driving the transformation of many older suburbs. In contrast to previous patterns, in which central cities served as the arrival point for most immigrants and suburbs represented the middle-class aspirations of later generations, today many immigrants bypass central cities altogether and settle directly in suburban communities. This is true of highly paid, well-educated software engineers as well as working-class immigrants. Many immigrants choose to settle near others from the same country, with the increasing availability of immigrant and ethnic social networks and niche retail reinforcing the trend. The Los Angeles area is home to many suburban concentrations of immigrants and ethnic groups, such as the Vietnamese community in Little Saigon in Westminster, Orange County.

The influx of immigrants into many older communities is increasing diversity, as well as demand for housing and services. And as groups like Latinos come to represent a larger share of the region's middle class, traditionally Hispanic areas could benefit from higher incomes without losing their ethnic character. In some cases this leads to a reinvigorated retail sector, often one that caters primarily to ethnic niches. Many suburban strip malls are being revitalized and reinvented in response to these new demographic trends.⁶ Immigrants are also an important driving force behind entrepreneurial activity.

Other demographic trends are affecting the nature of suburbs as well. For example, a new Brookings Institution study reports that "non-family households" now dominate the country's suburban areas, indicating a shift from the traditional family household structure that has dominated suburban areas.⁷ In other words, young singles and "empty nesters," are an increasingly significant factor in the suburban population. These groups have different consumption patterns and often seek a certain level of urban amenities. As a result, they are contributing to the revitalization of old suburban commercial districts with new shops, restaurants, bars, and nightclubs.

⁴ Waldinger, Roger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, editors (1996). Ethnic Los Angeles. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

⁵ Rodriguez, Gregory, The Emerging Latino Middle Class. Pepperdine University School of Public Policy. The study defines middle class as all those whose household incomes are above the regional median and/or who own their own homes.

⁶ This phenomenon has been widely reported in the mainstream press, e.g. "Chinatown moves out to suburban strip malls.," *Contra Costa Times*, February 5, 2002.

⁷ Frey, William (2002). City Families and Suburban Singles: An Emerging Household Story from Census 2000. Washington, DC: Brookings.

Finally, suburbs are more diverse than ever, and although the evidence on segregation is ambiguous, and there is even some indication that segregation has increased in places,⁸ there is also significant evidence that at least in some parts of the region, the number of racially and ethnically diverse places has increased dramatically. One study has found that the number of “multiracial,, cities in Southern California has grown from 33 in 1980 to 72 in 2000, with the share of total cities that are racially balanced increasing from 22.1 percent to 40.7 percent over the same time period.⁹

The most striking changes have come in the wealthiest of the five counties, Orange County, where the percentage of multiracial cities increased from 3.8 in 1980 to 48.4 in 2000. However, in Los Angeles County, despite an increase in the number of multiethnic cities, some communities have moved in the other direction, decreasing their degree of racial balance. Two of the communities to be examined in this report—Azusa and Pomona—fall into this category. These are former multiethnic cities that are no longer classified as such.

BUILT ENVIRONMENT

As Greg Hise points out, suburbanization and “edge cities,, are not exclusively postwar phenomena.¹⁰ Beginning in the 1920s, planners and builders in Los Angeles envisioned their region as a model for a 20th-Century decentralized metropolis. This vision was coupled with the first applications of mass production techniques to homebuilding. To an extent this was a natural extension to the realm of planning and building of the principles that had been so successfully used in other parts of the economy, but it was also in part a response to the very real needs generated by the tremendous population growth of Los Angeles in the 1920s. Planned industrial decentralization in the Los Angeles region in the 1920s and earlier laid the foundations for many early that were more than just bedroom communities.

The projects that resulted from the convergence of these two ideas are notable in several respects. First, they attempted to create complete communities, with retail, recreation, and other amenities integrated into the fabric. Second, particularly with the onset of World War II and the need to supply labor to factories supplying the war effort, many communities were focused on a particular industry or factory. The federal government was actively involved in financing housing that served war industries. And third, they marked the birth of the modern residential building company that consolidated land subdivision, construction, and sales under a single roof.

After World War II such projects proliferated, and the two decades between 1940 and 1960 saw some of the most dramatic physical changes in the region’s built environment as the population expanded to eastern Los Angeles County and Orange County and communities were built to accommodate that expansion. In 1940 Los Angeles County had the highest agricultural output (in value terms) of any county in the entire United States. Orange County was in third place, down from second place ten years earlier (but, fittingly, it ranked first in orange production). By the 1960s a rapidly growing and decentralizing population had displaced most of the agriculture in those two counties; cities like Pomona and Brea underwent rapid and dramatic transformations from agricultural communities to collections of suburban housing.

⁸ E.g., Ethington, Frey, and Myers, The Racial Resegregation of Los Angeles County, 1940-2000. USC and University of Michigan Race Contours 2000 Study, PUBLIC RESEARCH REPORT No. 2001-04.

⁹ Myers, Dowell and Julie Pak, Racially Balanced Cities in Southern California, 1980-2000. USC Population Dynamics Group Public Research Report No. 2001-05. The authors define a number of degrees of multiracial balance. For example, to be classified as having four-way racial balance, a city must include minimum percentages of all four major demographic groups: Asians, Blacks, Latinos, and non-Hispanic whites.

¹⁰ Hise, Greg (1997). Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis. Johns Hopkins University Press.

However, with the passage of time, the concept of integrated communities as building blocks in the larger metropolitan fabric began to fray. The automobile had an impact that perhaps nobody in the 1920s could have imagined. The region's massive rail system collapsed from competition from cheap automobiles, cheap gasoline, and federally subsidized highway projects. The construction of freeways led to far more dispersed land use patterns and divided housing from jobs and basic services to an unprecedented degree. When these trends were coupled with constant population growth, the result was a decentralized metropolis that kept expanding, but without the coherence its early proponents had hoped for. Moreover, many builders did not use mass production for the goal originally envisioned—to build high-quality but affordable residences—but instead constructed shoddy housing that deteriorated quickly. Many communities that were caught in the first wave of post-war growth saw their retail bases fail and their housing stock deteriorate as the region continued to expand and investment passed them by for areas even farther out.

ECONOMY

JOBS

The economy of the Los Angeles metropolitan region is highly diversified, with significant percentages of its employment in manufacturing, trade, and the public sector as well as a variety of advanced services. Table 5 shows a basic breakdown of the region's employment.

Table 5: Employment Composition of the Los Angeles Region		
Employment Category	% of Total	Change, 1990-2001
<i>Total</i>	100.0%	9.0%
Total Farm	0.8%	-3.5%
Total Goods	19.2%	-10.1%
<i>Mining</i>	0.1%	-45.7%
<i>Construction</i>	4.6%	22.2%
<i>Manufacturing</i>	14.5%	-16.7%
Total Services	80.0%	15.1%
<i>Transportation & Utilities</i>	5.3%	23.6%
<i>Trade</i>	23.0%	6.0%
<i>Retail trade</i>	16.7%	8.2%
<i>F.I.R.E.</i>	5.8%	-4.7%
<i>Services</i>	31.5%	26.0%
<i>Government</i>	14.5%	15.7%

Source: California Employment Development Department.
 Note: Does not include self-employment.

The Los Angeles region, like California generally, has been characterized by an astonishingly rapid process of economic and industrial development, having evolved from backwater to agricultural leader to global economic power in barely a century. This section highlights some of the key aspects of that development and its impact on the region's communities.

AGRICULTURE

Early agriculture in California represented a significantly different phenomenon than agriculture elsewhere on the American frontier. Rather than being composed primarily of subsistence farms, California agriculture arose nearly fully formed, ready to serve the urban markets that sprang up due

to the gold rush. From early on, California was a leader in applying technology and engineering skill to improving agriculture, including shipping, packing, and so on. The legacy of this history is that for better or for worse, mechanized, mass-production agriculture has reached a higher level of development in California than perhaps anywhere else in the world.

The Southern California climate made it ideal for producing a wide variety of crops, with citrus the most important in economic terms. All but one of the cities examined in this paper has agricultural origins.¹¹ As the region has grown and changed, its relationship with agriculture has evolved. Although by virtue of its name (or misnomer) Orange County provides the most obvious example of a place that has left behind its agricultural past, the case of Los Angeles County is at least as striking. Riverside and San Bernardino Counties have remained much more tied to an agricultural base, and cities like Riverside should be interpreted within that context. Azusa, Brea, and Pomona were agricultural communities that found themselves swept up in larger regional trends, namely the population growth and decentralization that, coupled with other trends leading to the decline of agriculture, caused the wholesale transformation of huge parts of the region.

OIL

Although oil production began in California as early as the 1860s, in its early years the state lagged far behind the principal eastern producers such as New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. However, by the beginning of the 20th Century California's importance as an oil producer had become apparent, just as the market for oil was booming due to the conversion of locomotives from coal to oil, the growing use of oil as a heating fuel, and increasing demand for gasoline. For nearly all of the first 40 years of the century California ranked first or second among the states in oil production.

Discoveries in the Los Angeles basin were made as early as 1892, and by the turn of the century fields inside the City of Los Angeles were producing significant amounts of crude. During the next 20 years the Los Angeles basin yielded four of the country's highest-producing oil wells, and oil production was intimately bound up with the influx of population into Los Angeles.

Nevertheless, it was the 1920s that marked the Los Angeles basin's heyday as an oil-producing region. During the decade six of the country's greatest oil fields of the first half of the century were discovered in the region: Huntington Beach in 1920, Long Beach in 1921, Torrance in 1922, Dominguez in 1923, Inglewood in 1924, and Seal Beach in 1926. Oil quickly became one of the driving forces of the Los Angeles and the California economies. By this time the automobile was already proliferating, providing a ready market for petroleum products. Thus, growing automobile use helped pull California's oil industry along at the same time that the oil industry facilitated the spread of the state's car culture.

Oil drove the industrial and residential development of much of the southern part of the Los Angeles basin as both industries and housing clustered around the oil fields. Housing and oil fields existed in close proximity for two reasons. First, in many cases oil was discovered in residential areas and, given the loose or nonexistent regulations of the time, wells were sunk between houses and in back yards. Second, a great deal of housing was built to serve the oil industry, and most of this housing tended to cluster near the oil fields in order to guarantee easy access. Some suburbs were transformed from semi-rural enclaves into working-class communities housing oil workers and their families. In other cases, new towns sprang up, sometimes built by the oil companies but often consisting of little more than collections of tents ("rag rows,") or homes built hastily by the workers themselves.

Oil production helped drive much of the industrialization of the Los Angeles area during the 1920s. Refineries, oil tool manufacturers, and other industries clustered near the wells and attracted workers. Suburbs were transformed from pastoral towns into blue-collar workers' suburbs as the southern half

¹¹ Culver City was built on two former ranchos, but it was never an agricultural community.

of the Los Angeles basin became an enormous manufacturing district. Towns like Brea, which was located in the heart of one of the region's clusters of oil fields, became home to wells, refineries, oil-related industries, and the workers that kept the oil economy going. The legacy of this industry is still seen in Brea today in the presence of Unocal and a number of industries that spun off from the oil industry.

INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATION AND AIRPLANES

The 1920s also marked the definitive transformation of Los Angeles into a manufacturing center and the growth of a fledgling airplane industry in Southern California that was eventually to lead to the region's prominence as a center of aircraft production during World War II and its later role as a center of the aerospace industry.

The airplane industry in the region dates back to 1912, when Glenn L. Martin founded the first firm in Los Angeles. In 1920 Donald Douglas, a Martin vice president, founded the Davis-Douglas Airplane Company as a spin-off of Martin, taking a number of employees with him. The 1930s were a period of rapid growth in the industry, and numerous firms set up shop in Southern California, representing a significant shift of activity from the concentrations in New York and Ohio. Eventually six firms (the "Big Six,") dominated airframe construction in the region: Douglas, Lockheed, North American, Northrop, Vega, and Vultee.

By the 1930s the industry had expanded beyond its original quarters, cramped multi-story lofts in Los Angeles and Santa Monica, to form a regional production network with major research and manufacturing centers in Santa Monica, Inglewood-El Segundo, and Glendale-Burbank. A host of manufacturers of parts, tools, and accessories clustered around these firms and their smaller competitors, and related manufacturers were found throughout the region.

This early growth created a solid foundation on which wartime production increases could occur. With federal investment the industry expanded quickly: by the early 1940s California's workforce in the aircraft industry accounted for half the national total and accounted for at least 40 percent of the state's total manufacturing workforce. The rapid growth of the industry attracted workers to the region, fueling demand for housing. The federal government and manufacturers alike recognized the importance of providing housing in order to keep wartime production at desired levels. As mentioned, the federal government was active in financing both the industries and the housing that served them.

Unlike extractive industries such as oil, whose location is determined entirely by the presence of the resource in question, the geography of the airplane industry is susceptible to human control and planning. As the industry grew, it moved inland in response to a number of factors: to locate next to airfields and away from the coast (to protect facilities from possible Japanese bombardment during World War II), to find larger spaces for new forms of production, to fit in with overall logic of decentralization, and to allow for housing in close proximity to factories.

The airplane industry laid the groundwork for the aerospace and defense industries that came to form one of the bedrocks of the region's economy. Firms such as Aerojet in Azusa and General Dynamics in Pomona were part of this phenomenon.

ENTERTAINMENT

The film industry in Southern California was born in 1906, when the New York-based Biograph Company made the first movie shot in the Los Angeles area. In 1911 Hollywood's first movie studio was founded, and just a few years later, in 1914, D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* marked the region's arrival as the center of the motion picture industry. By 1915 the area's studios employed over 15,000 people and produced between 60 and 75 percent of American films. As in

almost everything else, Los Angeles' rise to dominance in the movie industry happened with almost blinding speed.

Hollywood's role in today's entertainment industry needs virtually no explanation. But two aspects of the industry are worth highlighting. First, the industry is a key part of the region's diverse economic base, and, along with trade, led the recovery from recession. Moreover, entertainment is traditionally counter-cyclical, with sales increasing in times of economic downturn. Since September 11, box-office sales, video game sales, and Internet and cable viewing have all increased.

Second, unlike the oil industry, which remains, at its core, an extractive industry despite its need for an increasing amount of sophistication, knowledge, and technology, or aerospace, which is still a manufacturing industry, albeit an extremely complex and sophisticated one that relies heavily on science, entertainment is based almost exclusively on knowledge, talent, and, increasingly, technology. Even the natural resources of mild climate and perennial sunshine that attracted studios to Los Angeles in the first place are far less important than they were originally (witness Canada's success in luring film and television production away with tax breaks). This means that the entertainment industry responds to a different spatial logic than many of the region's other key industries, past or present.

These two characteristics have important local implications. For the region as a whole and certain places within it, entertainment provides a valuable buffer from over-dependence on industries such as aerospace. But it also means that cities with less fortunate geography than, say, Culver City will likely have a hard time capturing a piece of the entertainment pie.

THE AEROSPACE BUST AND THE NEW ECONOMY

In the early 1990s Southern California's aerospace industry was hit with a wave of crippling layoffs that contributed to the deep recession that engulfed the region. California emerged from its recession by the middle of the decade and by the end of the 1990s was the poster child of the "new economy," the somewhat amorphous term used to describe new industries that have emerged as leading economic drivers in recent years, such as high tech, multimedia, and biotech. With the dot-com bust of the new century, the San Francisco Bay Area suffered enormous job losses, but the Los Angeles region appears to have fared better. Having weaned itself off of aerospace, and being far less dependent on the high-tech industries that drove the Bay Area's economy, the region has remained fairly stable.

Many observers have pointed out the region's diverse economy as the main factor behind the relative stability. The Los Angeles metropolitan region still has a significant manufacturing base even as it has developed a vibrant high-tech sector. Trade and entertainment helped to lead the way out of the recession, and what remains of the aerospace industry is leaner and more technology-focused than before.

This balance of "new economy," and "old economy," firms appear to be healthy for the region, but this dichotomy of the types of industries obscures some important trends in "old economy," manufacturing industries. The mass-production model that prevailed in the U.S. for most of the 20th Century is giving way to a different approach to production. Whereas mass production was based on minimizing the cost of commodity goods and the application of relatively unskilled labor, many manufacturing firms are adopting a different production style, one that does not attempt to compete on the basis of cost, but rather creates goods for which people will pay a premium because of their high quality, their uniqueness, or their appeal to a market niche.

Firms carry out this "flexible specialization," or "high road," manufacturing by focusing on smaller quantities of high-quality, high value-added products with a significant design or R&D component rather than on large quantities of mass-produced goods. They demand more specialized skills from their employees, and they integrate more sophisticated technology into the production process,

becoming, in a sense, high-tech producers in low-tech industries. Evidence of this can be found in many industries, from garment manufacturing and printing to metalworking and food processing. Many manufacturing firms are increasing their employment in white-collar and technical or “high-tech,” professions such as engineering, computer programming, and design, and many technical jobs are actually located in manufacturing industries, not just in what might be termed high-tech industries. In addition, many of the more traditional jobs in the manufacturing industries will require higher skill levels than previously.

Many manufacturing firms are now faced with a choice: they can continue to pursue the traditional route, competing with firms in regions or countries with much lower wages and other costs, or they can adopt new production techniques that will allow them to compete on a different basis. The “low road,” approach often leads to a race to the bottom, with downward pressure on wages and working conditions as firms try to compete with their counterparts in lower-wage regions or countries. The “high road,” approach, in contrast, can lead to higher wages, more opportunities for skilled workers, better labor relations, and a higher level of firm commitment to the long-term health and stability of its host community, which is one of the key factors in attracting and retaining a high-quality labor force.

There are many examples of high-road manufacturing in Southern California. In Azusa, for example, interviews with firms in industries ranging from printing and furniture-making to metalworking, chemicals, and custom (plastic) injection molding showed a trend towards adopting flexible production techniques. They report, for example, using more numerically controlled machinery, which can be easily adapted to facilitate shorter production runs of specialized goods, but which require higher skill levels.

Both the rise of “new economy,” industries and the changes in manufacturing outlined above have important implications for metropolitan areas generally and older cities in particular. “New economy,” industries and high-road manufacturing are not driven by the location of natural resources, as in the case of oil, nor do they respond particularly well to policies intended to decentralize them, as was done with many traditional industries in the region. Instead, location decisions are driven much more by the search for a skilled and creative labor force.

As Daniel Luria and Joel Rogers point out, most high-road manufacturing in the U.S. is concentrated in metropolitan areas for the simple reason that only those areas provide access to the skilled labor force, agglomeration economies, and density of customers that they rely on.¹² For example, capital goods companies, which account for the majority of high-road manufacturing, are more than four times as likely as average to be located in metropolitan areas. For the shops at the high end of the high end, the concentration is even more striking. Pushing the envelope a little more, Richard Florida and Gary Gates have focused on the importance of diversity to high-tech growth, claiming that communities open to gays, artists, bohemians, and immigrants are the types of diverse and inclusive places that foster the creativity and innovation necessary for high technology.¹³

Whatever the specific factors, it seems clear that there is a particular “geography of talent,” in the United States: Economic growth—at least economic growth driven by advanced industries and the new economy—occurs mostly in places that can attract skilled and creative workers.¹⁴ By and large, these are places that have high quality of life and ample amenities. Researchers differ on exactly

¹² See, e.g., Luria, Daniel and Joel Rogers (1999). Metro Futures: Economic Solutions For Cities and Their Suburbs. Boston: Beacon Press.

¹³ See, e.g., Florida, Richard (2002). The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life. Basic Books. Also see Florida, Richard and Gary Gates (2001). Technology and Tolerance: The Importance of Diversity to High-Technology Growth. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy.

¹⁴ Florida, Richard (2000). The Economic Geography of Talent.

what constitutes high quality of life, and indeed it may differ significantly depending on the type of worker in question. But it seems clear that industries that depend on high levels of human capital are increasingly organized around a new spatial logic.

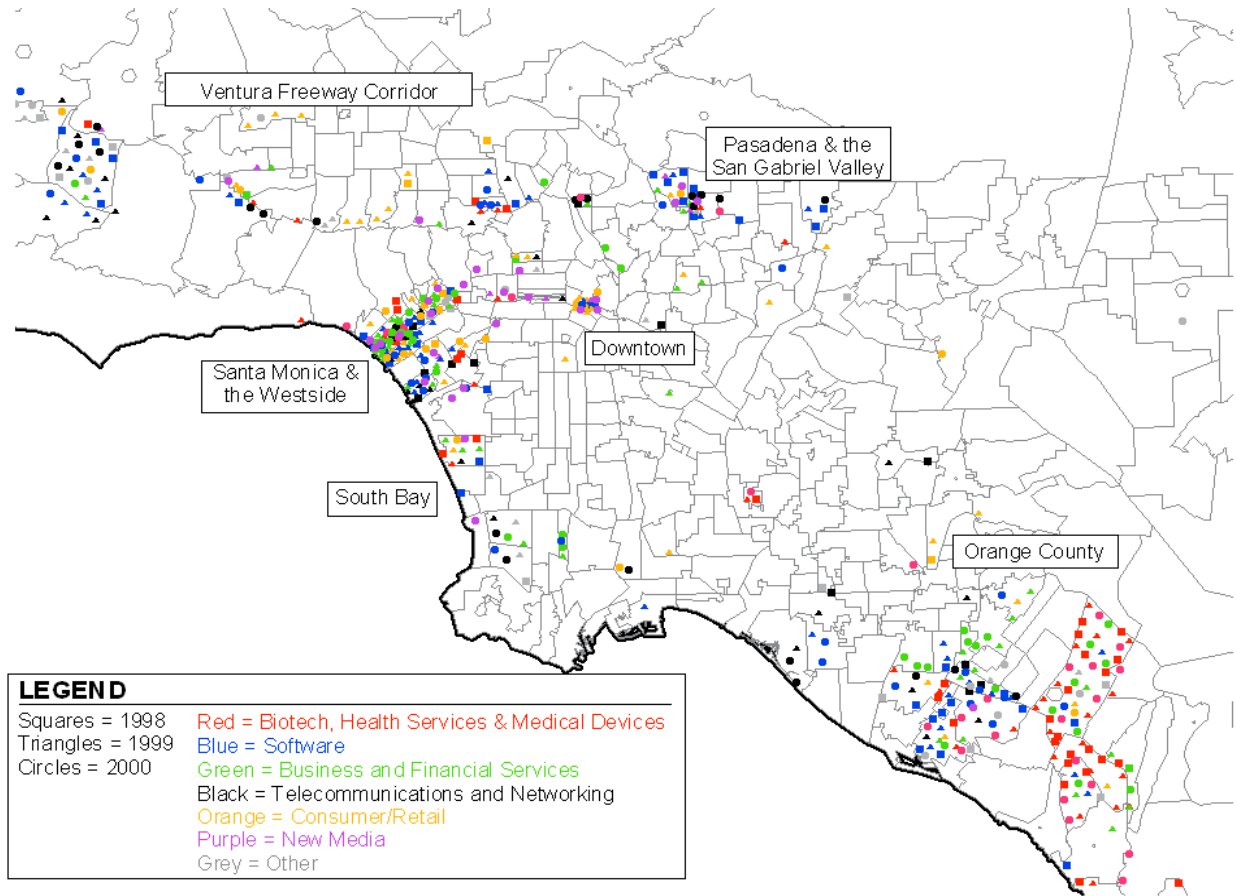
A similar spatial logic applies within any region: Firms that depend on human capital will locate near the most skilled workers, who will tend to be attracted to the most desirable parts of the region. Map 2 below shows venture capital investments in the Los Angeles region from 1998 to 2000 (an indication of the location of high-tech activity). Virtually all are concentrated in just three places: Santa Monica and the Westside, the Pasadena area, and Orange County. The South Bay and Ventura Freeway Corridor account for almost all the rest. Whereas a map of the oil industry would show essentially the location of oil wells, this map shows a distribution that is the product of human decisions rather than nature. While factors such as the structure of the transportation system and proximity to key locations and institutions such as universities and hospitals are undoubtedly important, so are amenities and the other components of high quality of life in the areas with high concentrations.

The places that appear prominently in the map above are, in a sense, the “lucky,” ones that entered the era of the new economy with the characteristics needed for success. Their continued success is not guaranteed, and it is by no means impossible for other places to capture a piece of the pie. But it is, for the time being, difficult to imagine Riverside or Pomona developing a large high-tech base.

However, the locations that have attracted high tech are not so well suited to high-road manufacturing because of their cost. Many older suburbs may make ideal locations for high-end manufacturing. They can provide the density, proximity to other parts of the metropolitan area, and amenities that such firms desire, but without the prohibitive costs of the most desirable areas. Culver City, which is seeing increasing growth of high-end multimedia and other “new economy,” industries, likely has limited potential as a manufacturing center, but Pomona, Azusa, and Riverside have significant potential. These areas may be losing out to cheaper locations in the struggle to attract low-end manufacturing, but they could be ideal for high-end firms.

This represents both an opportunity and a challenge for older communities. On the one hand, they may be perfectly positioned in between the expensive core and the cheap fringe to become the location of choice for high-road manufacturing, offering moderate costs, good access, highly skilled labor, and a variety of amenities. On the other hand, this means they must worry almost as much as the high-tech hotbeds about quality of life and their ability to attract and train skilled workers. Yet often they lack the resources to invest in the amenities they need to accomplish this.

Map 2: Venture Capital Investments in the Los Angeles Region, 1998-2000



Note: Copyright 2001 by LARTA, the Technology Alliance for Southern California

III. CASE STUDIES

With this regional background, we can turn to a closer examination of the five cities that are the primary focus of this report. It is important to keep in mind that these case studies are intended to be at least as illustrative as they are analytical. That is, they do not necessarily form the entire foundation for the conclusions and recommendations presented at the end of this document, which are based on work and thinking that extends beyond an examination of these five cities. Rather, the case studies are written to illustrate many of the challenges faced by older suburbs around the country and some of the solutions that have been tried to address those problems. They serve as examples of the conclusions and recommendations as much as they provide empirical support for them.

The five cities have different histories, different locations, different challenges, and different assets; they have different levels of wealth and their development and redevelopment efforts are at different stages. But all have experienced positive change in the last decade, and all have lessons to offer about the common challenges facing many older communities and about what strategies for confronting those challenges do and don't work. This section chapter will present a brief introduction to and history of each of the five cities, followed by a discussion of the same four characteristics—natural environment, built environment, people and society, and economy—used to examine the regional context. It will then discuss several categories of policy interventions that the cities have used—with varying degrees of success—to deal with the changes and challenges they have faced.

CITY HISTORIES

AZUSA

Azusa is a city of roughly 45,000 located in the San Gabriel Valley east of Pasadena. An important agricultural town until World War II, Azusa began life as a ranch. An Englishman who purchased the El Susa Rancho in 1844 planted vineyards, is credited with importing the first honey bees into the U.S. and, most importantly, planted a large orange orchard in 1867.

The U.S. government took much of his land in 1860 and made it available to homesteaders. The population grew quickly, a town was laid out in 1887, and the City of Azusa was incorporated in 1898. Along with Riverside and some other communities in the Los Angeles area, Azusa moved to the forefront of the citrus industry. For the first four decades of its life as a city Azusa's economy and population remained closely tied to agriculture, and citrus in particular. Although it grew steadily, in 1940 it was still home to only about 5,000 people.

After World War II the city experienced the same rapid growth and change seen throughout the region. Aerojet, founded in Azusa in the early 1940s by a group of scientists from CalTech interested in rocketry, got its start selling jet assist take off (JATO) rocket units to the military. In spite of cutbacks in military spending following World War II, Aerojet's employment grew to 2,800 during the company's first decade and the company became a major fixture in Azusa. Azusa Pacific University (APU) opened its doors as Azusa College in 1947, having gone by several different names in several cities since 1900. Along with Aerojet, the college represented Azusa's shift from an agricultural base to a manufacturing and service economy.

In the 1970s manufacturing began to struggle and the retail sector suffered. By the 1980s Azusa's decline was clearly visible. Many of the people who had moved to the city because of job opportunities in manufacturing moved on, reducing the size of the middle class. In many parts of the city, housing units deteriorated and served the role of housing of last resort for a low-income

population with few other choices. Overall, homeownership levels dropped below 50 percent, and by 1990, 14 percent of the population lived below the poverty line. Whereas in 1980 the city could be considered racially balanced according to the Myers-Park classification, it soon failed to meet that standard, becoming a predominantly Hispanic city. Internally, the city showed little cohesion. Downtown was isolated and struggling, and although many key elements of the city's job base remained, most notably Aerojet, there was little connection between Azusa's labor force and the city's employment base.

After the recession of the early 1990s, when the San Gabriel Valley began to create jobs at a faster rate than Los Angeles County as a whole, economic stagnation continued to plague Azusa. Azusa saw its employment growth lag far behind that of its neighbors and failed to capture a significant amount of employment in high tech or advanced industry, as those firms concentrated primarily in the western part of the Valley, closer to Pasadena.

During the late 1990s Azusa has shown significant signs of improvement. Crime is down, home prices and sales are up, and new housing and industrial space is coming on line. Aerojet's Azusa facility was recently acquired by Northrop Grumman and has been named one of the best manufacturing plants in the country. The city is now making great efforts to renovate its economic base and building stock. Azusa is setting higher standards for developers and seeing those expectations met, as is clearly demonstrated by the history of proposed developments on the 500-acre Monrovia Nursery site, Azusa's largest development opportunity. Finally, an ambitious General Plan update with extensive public involvement is setting the course for Azusa's future development.

BREA

Brea, located in prosperous Orange County, enjoys the highest per-capita income of the five cities examined here, a very healthy retail base, a diverse economy, and a high-quality housing stock. Although Brea's decline was never as significant as in some of the other cities, it nevertheless offers useful lessons about reinvention and revitalization.

As in the case of Azusa, Pomona, and Riverside, agriculture looms large in the history of Brea. Unlike those other cities, however, Brea's development was profoundly shaped by another element of the natural world: oil. At the end of the 19th Century, dry crops such as barley covered most of the arable land in the La Habra Valley, and Basque shepherds tended their flocks on the hillsides. However, oil had already been discovered, and in 1894 the Union Oil Company bought 1,200 acres of land on the western edge of what then was Olinda village. Oil production began in this pastoral environment the following year, and in 1908 the town of Randolph was founded for oil workers and their families. The name was changed to Brea ("tar,, in Spanish) in 1911.

While the gritty nature of the petroleum industry may seem at odds with agriculture, oil exploration did not spell the demise of Brea's agriculture; in fact, it shaped that agriculture at the same time that it profoundly influenced the rest of the city's development. Citrus production had begun in earnest in 1910, on the late side by California standards, when the Bastanchury Ranch Company began growing citrus on its grazing land. By the 1920s that land was home to what was said to be the largest citrus grove in the world.

The oil companies then got into the game. Initially, much of the marginal land owned by the oil companies had been used for pasturage and grain production. But, seeing the potential of higher-value crops, oil companies started contracting with growers to plant citrus. In 1925 the Union Oil Company contracted with the Bastanchury Ranch Company to cultivate roughly 2,100 unproductive acres with avocados and citrus.

But providing the land was not enough; citrus production also requires a reliable supply of water, and the lack of such a supply was one of the factors that had kept vegetable production in the valley at a

modest level. The Union Oil Company played a key role in supplying water both through its ownership of stock in the La Habra Water Company system, which entitled it to a share of the water the company piped in, and through its ability to drill deep wells. Few farmers enjoyed the knowledge, equipment, and capital necessary to drill such wells on their own, but many of the exploratory wells that yielded no oil could be tapped for water.

Thus, for a period in the 1920s Brea's citrus industry was successful and nearly synonymous with the oil industry. Fruit from the Union Citrus Orchards was packed under various labels, but the most widely known was the same "76,, that marks today's Unocal gas stations. Brea's early history was shaped by the natural conditions that made it suitable for both agriculture and oil.

However, the citrus industry began to run into problems during the Great Depression, and a virus dealt it a further blow in 1939. By 1941 the Union Oil Company was beginning to liquidate its citrus holdings, and although production continued for some years after, that date clearly marks the beginning of the end of the industry. At roughly the same time, Union Oil Company made the decision to transfer its pipeline division offices out of Brea. The offices closed in 1940, and key Union Oil figures, many of whom were civic leaders in Brea, left the city.

The decline of these industries opened the door for the city to take part in Orange County's demographic boom and transform itself from a small town into a vibrant city. This process was uneven, however, beginning with rapid population growth connected to the suburbanization of Orange County, as well as a certain amount of employment growth, and only later developing the retail balance and healthy housing stock that characterizes it today.

The 1970s and 1980s were marked by the same phenomena seen in many other cities: continued decline of the downtown, industrial change, increased automobile dependency. However, Brea's population continued to grow during the 1970s, and a new mall fortified the city's retail base. Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s, Brea has ridden the prosperity of Orange County as a whole to reshape itself physically and economically, building a new downtown and new housing and attracting high-end business services while maintaining a diverse mix of jobs, including manufacturing and other industrial jobs. The redevelopment of the Unocal property and the city's efforts to better connect its downtown with other areas offer the possibility of continued success.

CULVER CITY

Culver City is unique among the five cities studied here in that its early development was not based primarily on extractive industries. It is also the city that appears to have maintained the most consistent balance over time of residential and commercial uses. In fact, when Harry Culver began to plan the city that bears his name in 1913, he envisioned a place for families as well as commercial endeavors. His concept was in line with the vision of the Los Angeles region that, while greatly dispersed, maintained a close link between housing and industry. Although the target population included families of modest means that couldn't necessarily afford the prevailing suburban lifestyle, the idea for Culver City was not to create a working-class version of a middle-class residential suburb, but rather to link modest homes closely to jobs and civic institutions.

Culver carefully chose a location between Los Angeles and the resort town of Venice. He saw Venice as providing relief for city dwellers tired of their congested quarters, and chose a site that most of them would pass through on their way to the beach, and where he hoped they would stop to shop.

Little more than a decade later Culver City had thousands of residents, and in 1926 Culver City participated in National Better Homes Week, showing demonstration homes that were affordable to families of modest means yet included amenities not normally found in such units. Retail sprang up to serve the resident population and those who passed through. Culver's efforts to attract film

studios to his city were successful, and by the mid-1920s Culver City ranked second only to Hollywood in movie production. Other industries also moved in as well.

Along with the region as a whole, Culver City grew rapidly between 1940 and 1960, more than tripling its population. A series of annexations caused the land area to expand at the same rate. By 1960 it was nearing its current size and extent. The studios and manufacturing, including a significant base of aerospace and defense manufacturing, provided a solid job base, and many people both lived and worked in the city.

Manufacturing and the entertainment industry both ran into problems in the 1970s and 1980s, and by the 1990s much of the city's manufacturing was gone. However, during the last ten years the space left by manufacturing has largely been filled by Internet firms, multimedia firms, and other high-end service providers. In entertainment, too, Culver City has seen something of a renaissance. In the early 1990s Sony purchased the MGM studio and the Culver Studio and quickly made a major investment to renovate the properties and convert both studios into state-of-the-art digital facilities. Culver City became home to the global headquarters of Sony Pictures Entertainment.

The overall growth in high-tech, coupled with the growing ties between high-tech and entertainment in such fields as multimedia and computerized special effects, has driven an increase in high-end jobs. Many of these are connected to the entertainment industry, but more and more are not. The initial concentration of computer and multimedia firms attracted by the studios led to a clustering effect that attracted others more interested in being around similar firms than in being close to the entertainment industry.

Culver City was named the second best place to live in Los Angeles County in 1994. Good schools and a desirable housing stock meant that the city could provide some of the most important attractions, even if it was judged aesthetically lacking. Moreover, the diversity of the local economy had prevented the city from suffering unduly from the collapse of the aerospace industry. While this is an enviable position, the city recognizes that there is still much to do, and is making efforts to improve its downtown, maintain its economic diversity and vitality, and improve its overall appearance and physical condition.

POMONA

Pomona is probably the most troubled of the cities studied. Although its median household income is not the lowest in the group, it had the highest poverty rate in 1990 and fares worse on the basis of other social indicators. For example, Pomona has the highest overall crime rate of any of the cities (along with Riverside) and the highest murder rate. In 2000 the city suffered 24 homicides, more in both absolute and proportional terms than the other cities, including Riverside with its much larger population. Crime is a particular problem in certain neighborhoods such as Angela/Chanslor, which have also suffered severe blight, disinvestment, and abandonment.

Pomona city traces its origin back to the 1870s, when a rail line was built eastward from Los Angeles and speculators purchased the land that was to become Pomona and attempted to attract investors and residents. However, there was little activity until the following decade, when a permanent water supply was constructed and Pomona became caught up in the fury of population growth and land speculation that briefly affected all of Southern California as a result of the fare war between the two principal railroads that served the area. Pomona grew quickly, and soon it was the largest city in the area, complete with a vibrant citrus industry (thanks to its rich industrial land and rail connection) and a wide array of supporting industries and civic institutions.

Although Pomona is home today to a number of institutions of higher learning, its early experience in this regard was inauspicious: civic leaders in Claremont lured newly founded Pomona College away from its eponymous city. This experience may have set the tone for Pomona's later relationship

with its educational institutions. Even today Claremont is generally viewed as a more desirable location for faculty to live and provides more of the college town retail environment that students and faculty alike tend to patronize. This is a barrier to Pomona's ability to fully take advantage of the presence of its academic institutions.

After World War II, as the metropolitan region expanded, the future looked bright: Pomona experienced rapid population growth and economic expansion. New industries moved to the city and housing was built to serve them. Household income was on the low side compared to the other cities studied, but the differences were not as large as today. The city easily passed bond measures to finance innovative projects.

However, even before the end of the 1960s the city was experiencing problems. General Dynamics cut its workforce after the loss of a major contract; the construction of new housing slowed down following a region-wide period of over-building; and the new freeway drew shoppers (and businesses) away from the downtown.

Part of the problem lay in the way Pomona had managed the transformation from a reasonably self-contained agricultural community into a bedroom community. Caught up in the dynamics of an ever-expanding region, Pomona failed to fashion itself into a healthy city or a functioning suburb. When greener suburban pastures opened up, the city experienced population loss, abandonment, and deterioration. Many neighborhoods became housing of last resort for an increasingly poor and marginalized population. Between 1980 and 2000 Pomona fell off the Myers-Park index of racially balanced cities. Increasingly, the city became home to a concentration of low-wage jobs that provided a meager living for a mostly immigrant workforce. The 1993 strike at Cal Spas, a manufacturer of hot tubs and other "home resort," products, epitomized the problems.

Despite its many problems, Pomona today is rich with assets. It is home to the Los Angeles County Fairplex, two Metrolink stations, two major hospitals, and four institutions of higher education (Cal Poly Pomona, DeVry Institute of Technology, Westech College, and Western University of Health Sciences). The city has a number of advanced industries (Rockwell Collins, Electro-Optical Systems, Pioneer Electronics) as well as more traditional manufacturing such as Cal Spas. Pomona has an attractive downtown, a stock of attractive older housing, and some key sites available for reuse or redevelopment, such as the General Dynamics facility. It has a significant number of skilled workers: for example, in 1990 fully 20 percent of the city's employed residents were in managerial and professional occupations. Western University is building veterinary school downtown that will bring students, faculty, staff, and ancillary economic activity. This is also a sign that Pomona's institutional residents have increasing confidence in the city. And Pomona has not even begun to realize the potential economic development benefits of its large medical establishment. The city is showing many signs that its revitalization efforts are paying off.

RIVERSIDE

Riverside is the largest of the cities examined in this paper and also the one that is least like a suburb. Far from Los Angeles, it is a growing, important city in its own right, and set to become the heart of inland empire, which will be home to one quarter of the region's population in 2025.

Riverside was founded as cooperative venture in 1870 by a group of eastern investors who laid out their new city in the fertile valley between the Rubidoux and Box Spring mountains. From the beginning agriculture was the economic base: navel orange trees were planted in the early 1870s, along with vineyards, wheat, and fruits. The town grew to the south and southwest to take advantage of gravity flow from the Santa Ana River. By 1882, Riverside could claim nearly half of California's more than 500,000 citrus trees.

The city was incorporated in 1883, and Riverside County was created in 1893 from parts of San Diego and San Bernardino counties. By the end of the 19th Century Riverside was an extremely wealthy city, with its agricultural base supplemented by innovative industries that sprang up to serve the agricultural sector with shipping services and machinery. In addition, Riverside's role as county seat gave it—and still gives it—a stable employment base in public administration. The local campus of the University of California and a nearby military base have also been important components of the local and regional economy.

The city's wealth, independence from Los Angeles, and role as a county seat helped it develop a solid base of affluent, involved citizens and key institutions that seem to have served it well to this day. Riverside's affluence during its heyday have also given it a rich stock of notable buildings constructed up until the 1930s.

As in other cities, the post-World War II period provided an initial boom, but the combined effects of changing regional patterns of investment, land use, and transportation, along with the challenges faced by the manufacturing sector, all took a toll on Riverside. The city began to be bypassed by newer communities on the eastern fringe of the metropolitan area. Infrastructure and the housing stock deteriorated, and the city made few investments in key amenities like libraries and parks.

By the late 1980s there was increased recognition of the problems the city was facing. The city's residents and leaders realized that Riverside was a mature older community that could no longer count on economic growth but that would have to struggle to reinvent itself.

This process has begun. The city's public administration employment and academic base—consisting of not only the University of California campus but also Riverside Community College, California Baptist University, and La Sierra University—provide a degree of stability on which to build. The city is increasingly focusing on the quality of its neighborhoods, the health of its downtown, and the value of its assets. It is also actively pursuing job creation and high-tech development, and is currently enjoying a period of relatively healthy economic growth compared to the rest of the country.

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Just as the natural environment has played a large role in shaping the region as a whole, so it has been influential in the histories of the individual cities. In Azusa, Brea, Pomona, and Riverside, the natural conditions lent themselves to agriculture, which was an early foundation of the economies of those cities. Although in most of those cities agriculture ceased to be a factor, in Riverside some modern fixtures—most notably the University of California—can be traced back to the city's agricultural roots. Another feature of the natural environment, oil, also shaped the economic history of Brea, and to a lesser extent Culver City.

However, the natural environment does not seem to be a key explanatory feature of the diverging fortunes of the cities over the last several decades. With the extractive industries reduced to minimal importance, and relatively few other differences among the cities' natural environments, other factors, such as location in the region and local policies, have come to the fore.

PEOPLE AND SOCIETY

The populations of the five cities have undergone dramatic changes over the course of the past century, with all cities experiencing rapid growth and change and only relatively small differences stemming from location or individual history. Racial and ethnic diversity have increased significantly over time and are important issues in all the cities, although they manifest themselves differently in each place. The changing economic fortunes of the cities are both reflected in and

determined by the income levels of the residents. Finally, many suburbs are playing a different role in the metropolitan area as a whole, particularly in regard to the settlement patterns of immigrants, and this is having a significant impact in many cases. The following sections examine population, income, race and ethnicity, and the changing composition of suburban populations.

POPULATION

In general, the five cities reflect regional population growth trends, with growth in percentage terms highest before and immediately following the Depression and World War II, then tapering off from the 1970s on. The exact pattern varies from city to city, however. For example, Culver City, incorporated in 1917, experienced explosive (as opposed to merely rapid) growth in the 1920s and, interestingly, grew at a much faster pace than the other cities through the 1930s, a time of slow growth in the region generally. It was also faster than all but Azusa to reach peak growth again after World War II, growing 120 percent during the 1940s. Despite its rapid early growth, Culver City matured earlier than the other cities: by 1960 it had nearly reached its current population. Table 6 shows population growth from 1920 to 2000.

City	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<i>Azusa</i>	2,460	4,808	5,209	11,042	20,497	25,217	29,380	41,333	44,712
<i>Increase</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	95.4%	8.3%	112.0%	85.6%	23.0%	16.5%	40.7%	8.2%
<i>Brea</i>	1,037	2,435	2,567	3,208	8,487	18,447	27,913	32,873	35,410
<i>Increase</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	134.8%	5.4%	25.0%	164.6%	117.4%	51.3%	17.8%	7.7%
<i>Culver City</i>	503	5,669	8,976	19,720	32,163	34,451	38,139	38,793	38,816
<i>Increase</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	1027.0%	58.3%	119.7%	63.1%	7.1%	10.7%	1.7%	0.1%
<i>Pomona</i>	13,505	20,804	23,539	35,405	67,157	87,384	92,742	131,723	149,473
<i>Increase</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	54.0%	13.1%	50.4%	89.7%	30.1%	6.1%	42.0%	13.5%
<i>Riverside</i>	19,341	29,696	34,696	46,764	84,332	140,089	170,876	226,505	255,166
<i>Increase</i>	<i>n.a.</i>	53.5%	16.8%	34.8%	80.3%	66.1%	22.0%	32.6%	12.7%

Source: U.S. Census.

The 1940s through the 1960s represent the period of greatest transformation for the region and for the five cities. These were the decades when agriculture all but vanished, cities developed manufacturing economies, and populations swelled. The timing of growth in individual cities appears to be linked to both industrial patterns and their location in the region. Azusa's burst of population growth occurred somewhat earlier than in many other parts of the region—more than doubling during the 1940s—due to the early creation of a defense manufacturing base. Brea, in contrast, experienced the majority of its growth in the 1950s and 1960s. This is due to the continued viability of the citrus and oil industries into the 1950s and the city's greater distance from the existing centers of population (suburban expansion only reached Orange County in the 1950s and 1960s). These factors delayed the conversion of land to residential uses.

In most of the cities, population growth in the 1940s through the 1960s was linked to a decline in traditional industries. For example, the residential population that grew up around Brea's extractive industries was always quite small and spread throughout the La Habra Valley, including in the modern city of La Habra, which has a history that closely parallels that of Brea. The large amount of land devoted to profitable citrus production and oil exploitation deterred residential building.

However, the decline of the oil and citrus industries, combined with post-war growth and suburbanization of the regional population, spurred a building boom, particularly after 1950. In the

1950s and 1960s Orange County’s population grew roughly five times faster than that of Los Angeles County and the population jumped from about 200,000 to 1.4 million. This trend drove 164 percent population growth in Brea during the 1950s and 117 percent growth during the 1970s. The city increased its population from about 3,200 in 1950 to nearly 18,500 in 1970 and quintupling its housing stock, transforming from an agricultural community into a suburb and manufacturing center.

The dramatic transformations of the post-war period had significant implications for all these cities. Changes in regional growth patterns, transportation infrastructure, and industrial structure forced cities to rethink their identities and their role in the region. The way that the cities dealt with rapid housing construction, the gap between retail development and population growth, and other issues facing them during this period had a significant impact on their future.

One fact of note is that all the cities have experienced steady population growth throughout their lives. The two partial exceptions are Culver City, which has increased its population only slightly since 1980, and Pomona, which experienced a temporary drop in the early 1970s. This is vastly different from the experience of older communities in some other metropolitan areas, in which population losses have been common and associated with income declines, either absolute or relative to the region (Lucy and Phillips). In the Los Angeles region, with its growing population, poor economic health is not necessarily connected to a loss of population. In fact, the two most prosperous cities are the ones with the slowest population growth, although it is not clear if there is a causal relationship, and if so, in which direction it goes.

INCOME

Table 7 shows median household income from 1950 to 2001 in constant dollars. Whereas the difference in median household income between the wealthiest and the least wealthy city was only about 30 percent in 1950, it was nearly 70 percent in 2001. This is due mainly to the rapid increase in Brea, which has gone from roughly average to leading the pack, whereas Azusa has fallen from second wealthiest to second poorest. Riverside, which had one of highest per-capita incomes in the nation in the late 19th century, had already fallen to last place among the five cities by 1950, and while it fared better than Azusa and Pomona for several subsequent decades, it once again has the lowest median household income, although not the highest poverty rate.

All cities experienced income declines during the 1970s, a reflection of national trends and inflation, but it is noteworthy that Brea and Culver City both recovered in the 1980s, reaching or surpassing their 1970 level by 1990. The other cities had not recovered by 1990. Azusa and Pomona have since regained their 1970 level, but Riverside has not.

City	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2001
Azusa	\$24,343	\$37,186	\$42,794	\$33,711	\$40,266	\$44,913
Brea	\$23,401	n.a.	\$59,590	\$52,882	\$64,717	\$69,951
Culver City	\$26,732	\$44,971	\$54,083	\$45,352	\$54,259	\$55,353
Pomona	\$21,287	\$37,666	\$44,403	\$31,556	\$40,573	\$45,763
Riverside	\$20,686	\$38,936	\$47,228	\$36,594	\$43,943	\$41,560

Source: U.S. Census.

Table 8 shows poverty rates in 1990. As at the county level, median income and poverty rates do not necessarily coincide. Pomona has the highest poverty rate—significantly higher than

Riverside—despite having higher median household income. However, overall the figures provide few surprises: the two wealthy cities have low poverty rates, the others have rates that are significantly higher.

City	Poverty Rate
Azusa	14.3%
Brea	3.5%
Culver City	6.7%
Pomona	18.4%
Riverside	11.9%

Source: U.S. Census

RACE AND ETHNICITY

Just as the region as a whole is extremely diverse in racial and ethnic terms, and becoming more so, so are the cities, as shown in Table 9.

City	Race (% of Total)							Ethnicity Hispanic/Latino (any race)
	White	Black	American Indian	Asian	Pacific Islander	Other Race	Two or More Races	
Azusa	52.3	3.8	1.3	6.1	0.2	30.5	5.7	63.8
Brea	77.3	1.3	0.5	9.1	0.2	7.8	3.8	20.3
Culver City	59.2	12.0	0.7	12.0	0.2	10.2	5.7	23.7
Pomona	41.8	9.6	1.3	7.2	0.2	34.9	5.0	64.5
Riverside	59.3	7.4	1.1	5.7	0.4	21.0	5.1	38.1

Source: U.S. Census.

Table 9: Race and Ethnicity in Cities Studied, 2000

Naturally, this diversity has affected the cities in different ways. There is no simple correlation between diversity and income: the wealthiest county in the region, Orange County, has experienced the most dramatic increases in diversity. Culver City, the second most affluent community studied, is now classified as a four-way racially balanced city, the most complete type of balance, by Myers and Park. In contrast, Azusa and Pomona, the two most struggling cities, were formerly classified as racially balanced but have been removed from the list because they have become less diverse.

One interpretation is that while prosperity and diversity are completely compatible, poverty and diversity are not. Those places that experience economic hardship end up as housing of last resort for an increasingly poor and marginalized—and homogeneous—population, even if they experience an initial increase in diversity. This can be seen at the city level in Azusa and Pomona, as well as at the neighborhood scale. In Pomona, the Cherry-Hadley neighborhood in the northeast of the city went from having virtually no Black residents in 1960 to being 78 percent Black a decade later. The new residents of the neighborhood suffered property deterioration and abandonment, a decline in property values, and poverty. The causes are complex—including white flight, a cycle of disinvestments and abandonment, failed HUD programs, etc.—but the fact remains that as the neighborhood declined economically it also experienced a decrease in diversity. Managing diversity is clearly difficult, and more so in a challenging economic environment.

CHANGING SUBURBAN DEMOGRAPHICS

As described earlier, many suburbs—and particularly suburbs in the Los Angeles area—are hardly the homogeneous family-oriented communities of the 1950s. They are racially and ethnically diverse, and increasingly home to immigrant populations, young professionals, and empty nesters. Many of these groups are looking for amenities formerly considered “urban,” such as specialty food and retail, restaurants, cafes, and so on. Many suburbs have seen new life injected into their downtowns as entrepreneurs respond to growing niche demand and have seen demand for more urban styles of housing grow.

It is difficult to say how these trends will affect the five cities in question, but it seems clear that they are occurring there to one degree or another. Pomona is seeing an increase in loft-style housing in its downtown, indicating a growth in the population of young professionals and others interested in urban amenities. And the presence of immigrants holds the promise of both increased entrepreneurship and demand for specialty retail that fits better in a small-scale environment than in a mall. As shown in Table 10, all five cities have significant percentages of immigrants, many of them new immigrants. Older communities need to be aware of these trends, keep track of them, and develop strategies to take advantage of them.

City	Percentage of Immigrants
Azusa	34%
Brea	17%
Culver City	27%
Pomona	37%
Riverside	20%

Source: U.S. Census.

BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Housing and transportation are two of the most salient aspects of the built environment. Growth of the housing stock has generally matched population trends fairly closely in all the cities, but the qualitative aspects of housing development are at least as important as the quantitative trends. Housing that is not planned to preserve its value over time can quickly deteriorate, playing a key role in sparking a cycle of decline.

Housing and transportation are closely related in that changing regional transportation patterns opened up new areas to growth. The five cities all benefited from this to one degree or another; however, they also suffered when that process meant that even newer areas became the focus of regional growth and investments. Changing transportation modes are also closely related to the decline of downtown retail.

HOUSING

Table 11 shows each city’s stock of housing units from 1950 to 2000. The numbers for the first few decades are straightforward, but the change from 1990 to 2000 is surprising in several cases. Culver City increased its housing stock despite negligible population growth, suggesting smaller household sizes and a more affluent population. Azusa and Pomona, in contrast, lost housing units in the 1990s, an indication of economic decline. This is more significant given that the population increased in both places, indicating that household size, and perhaps overcrowding, is on the rise.

These numbers mask the qualitative aspects of the story, as both Azusa and Pomona have in fact been paying significant attention to upgrading their housing stock, as the section on policy will discuss. Therefore, even though they have lost units, improvement of existing units has been a central part of the strategy for revitalization.

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Azusa	n.a.	5,856	8,175	10,488	13,196	13,013
Brea	1,114	2,755	5,461	11,203	12,648	13,327
Culver City	n.a.	11,044	13,075	16,718	16,943	17,130
Pomona	n.a.	22,584	28,864	32,153	38,459	37,855
Riverside	n.a.	28,600	45,928	64,166	80,260	85,974
Source: U.S. Census.						

The way in which cities dealt with their transformation into suburbs, and the accompanying rapid housing construction, appears to have had a significant impact on their subsequent fortunes. For example, in Pomona, the rush to build housing led to poor planning and construction in many neighborhoods. Tract houses, intended to be inexpensive starter homes, often used low-quality building materials, and many subdivisions were poorly planned. Some developers had their subdivision plans approved under the county's lower development standards and then asked the city to annex the development, which it always did.

By the early 1970s the problems stemming from these policies were becoming visible. In effect, the housing constructed in the 1950s and 1960s had turned Pomona into a suburban bedroom community, but one with poor planning, shoddy construction, and little lasting value. These problems were not unique to Pomona, nor were they the only source of decline, but they were a significant factor.

When the Pomona Freeway was extended to the east about 1970 residential construction boomed in San Bernardino County, spawning places like Chino to the east of Pomona. Pomona's outdated, deteriorating housing stock couldn't compete with the new suburban frontier, and the city actually lost 7 percent of its population between 1970 and 1975, even as Chino grew by 30 percent. Homes were abandoned, especially in the subdivision tracts. Abandonment triggered by an ill-advised HUD program and white flight caused by the growing Black population in the city sent the housing market into a tailspin. New housing built at Phillips Ranch in the late 1970s and 1980s helped reverse the population decline, but was physically and functionally separate from the rest of the city. The city has now begun the long and difficult task of repairing its housing stock.

The desirability of the housing stock is reflected in its market value. Table 12 shows median home value. These figures generally confirm what would be expected given the significant income disparities among the cities.

City	Median Value
Azusa	\$143,400
Brea	\$248,600
Culver City	\$271,900
Pomona	\$134,000
Riverside	\$136,000
Source: U.S. Census.	

While cities can only prosper by building a high-quality housing stock that retains value over time, they also need to ensure that there is housing accessible to a wide range of people. A diverse labor force can help attract and sustain a diverse economic base, but a range of housing types and prices is necessary to ensure that the population does not become too homogeneous on any measure.

TRANSPORTATION

Regional transportation patterns have influenced everything from the locations of the cities themselves to the nature of population growth and the fortunes of their downtown retail sectors. Through the 1920s, the trajectory of rail lines—both national and regional—was a major factor spurring the founding and growth of cities. The presence of railroads also influenced the physical development of cities.

In a 1913 speech to a gentlemen's club in Los Angeles in which he announced his intention to found a new city, Harry Culver pointed to regional transportation infrastructure as a major factor in his choice of a site for Culver City:

If you draw a straight line from the Story building to the Ocean Front at Venice, at the half-way mark you will find three intersection electric lines—the logical center for what we propose to develop a townsite.

Pomona also owes its location to the railroads. When a rail line was built eastward from Los Angeles in the 1870s, speculators purchased the surrounding land and attempted to attract investors and residents. The railroad also determined much of the urban structure of Pomona: most of the city's commercial activities, whether retail, industrial, or transportation-related, clustered around the station and along the tracks, which also divided the large attractive homes built by prosperous citizens to the north of the rail line from the cottages on small lots inhabited by citrus workers. These patterns are still visible to this day.

Similar processes could be cited for all five cities. As noted earlier, passenger and freight rail lines were immensely important in shaping both local and regional development patterns in Los Angeles, and indeed in enabling the initial growth of the city and metropolitan area.

After World War II, however, a number of factors changed both the nature of the transportation system and the relationship between transportation and land use. Automobiles replaced trains for passenger transportation, and a new regional system of freeways was built. Although many of the freeways followed the rail lines that had helped shape the region, they frequently bypassed the downtowns that had been built around train stations. Freight rail remained viable for somewhat longer, and in fact rail access remained an important factor in industrial development even after the demise of the passenger railroads. For example, rail access was an important factor driving industrial development in Culver City's Hayden Tract in the 1940s. Nevertheless, the traditional relationship between transportation and development came to a fairly abrupt end after the war.

At the same time, the model of cohesive neighborhood units that had been part of the decentralized planning philosophy in Los Angeles before World War II was abandoned in favor of a more sprawling form of suburban development that embraced the dominance of the automobile. Land uses were separated, and new regional shopping centers intended to maximize automobile access sprang up along major roads and freeways. Thus, even though decentralization was not new, the phenomenon of segregated land uses and auto dependency was.

These trends affected the cities in a variety of ways, changing the nature of their connections to the rest of the region and their internal dynamics. The construction of freeways was an important factor driving the decentralization of population at the metropolitan level, driving the growth of formerly

independent towns and cities and catalyzing their transformation into suburbs and manufacturing centers. These transformations occurred in all the cities examined as freeways replaced rail service at an increasing pace beginning in the 1950s. The construction of the San Bernardino freeway from Los Angeles to Pomona in 1954 made Pomona become a part of the Los Angeles metropolitan area for the first time in its history and drove the city's population growth and transformation from an agricultural community into a suburb. In Brea, the arrival of the Orange Freeway (Highway 57) in 1972 connected the city to eastern Los Angeles County to the north, to the heart of Orange County in the south, and to the regional freeway network.

Freeways were, in some respects, a positive development that allowed the cities to capture development. For example, a number of firms chose to take advantage of Brea's location in the center of the region and freeway access. For example, Albertson's opened a large facility in 1973, and Brea also became more attractive to insurance and banking back-office operations, which city officials actively promoted. In Azusa and Riverside similar stories could be told.

Even so, the increased dominance of automobiles also had many negative effects. Downtowns and traditional commercial corridors suffered as traffic was diverted away from local streets and new auto-oriented retail centers sprang up along the freeways. More generally, the local cohesion of the cities was undermined as jobs, housing, and retail increasingly became part of regional markets. Almost by definition, residents of suburbs were not necessarily employed in local industries, but rather commuted. The cities went from being relatively self-contained communities to suburbs in which housing, jobs, and shopping were all present but scarcely integrated. They housed residents that commuted to distant jobs, provided jobs for residents of other cities, and if they were lucky enough to maintain a healthy retail base, it was in the form of auto-oriented retail to serve a regional market.

Although the dominance of the automobile in Southern California—and indeed in most American metropolitan areas—will not be seriously challenged for some time to come, there are signs that the transportation dynamics are changing once again. First, there is increased demand for alternatives to the automobile, particularly within any given community. Among other things, people want walkable downtowns (even if they have to drive to get there).

Second, new transportation infrastructure is beginning to have an impact. Four of the five cities are currently or will likely soon be host to regional passenger rail infrastructure. Metrolink, the new regional commuter rail network, serves both Pomona and Riverside, both of which have downtown stations. The Gold Line light rail project will connect Azusa to Pasadena, the rest of the San Gabriel Valley, and Los Angeles. The city will host two stations near both the downtown and the new development at the Monrovia Nursery site. And the proposed Mid-City/Exposition light rail line would link Culver City to downtown Los Angeles and the rest of the region's rail network. To be sure, transit still accounts for a small percentage of total transportation, but just as railroads shaped Los Angeles through the 1920s, they once again hold the potential to affect the development of the region, particularly by spurring revitalization immediately around the stations and in downtowns.

The desire for increased mobility choices and pedestrian-friendly environments, along with the reintegration of transit and development, has the potential to dramatically change the prospects of downtowns and, more generally, change the way we think about suburban design. These trends promise new opportunities for communities that never fully adapted to the age of the freeway.

ECONOMY

The cities have experienced four distinct periods in their economic history. First is the period before World War II. To be sure, the individual histories are far from homogeneous and every decade was different, but even so, the pre-war era is one in which the cities contained little industry, their populations were relatively small, and they were far more self-contained than after the war. The

second period, the post-war years of the 1950s and 1960s, was a time of rapid expansion and industrialization. The third period, the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s, was characterized by stagnation, economic restructuring, and the decreasing importance of manufacturing. This is the period during which most of the cities began to struggle. Finally, the 1990s, especially the late 1990s, marked a period of change and some signs of turnaround even in the cities that were hardest hit. Many of the economic, demographic, and other trends that create new opportunities for older suburbs converged during this time. This section will examine some of the economic trends over time.

JOBS AND INDUSTRY

All the cities examined have at least some degree of economic diversity today, although this has not always been the case. In Azusa and Pomona, agriculture, and citrus in particular, were the basis of growth and development until the 1940s. The other businesses that were present, such as packing houses and banks, existed primarily to serve the agricultural sector and the local population. Brea had oil in addition to agriculture but its economy was still based almost entirely on extractive industries.

Culver City and Riverside stood out from early on due to their wider range of economic activities. Although Culver City has been home to an oil industry, its early history is far more closely connected to the entertainment industry. Thanks to Harry Culver's active promotion and more than a little luck, by 1926 Culver City was second only to Hollywood in film production, with six studios including Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), the Cecil B. DeMille Studio, and United Artists. Over the years, Culver City has been chosen for the production of such classic films as *Gone with the Wind*, *Ben Hur*, and *The Wizard of Oz*, as well as television series such as *Dallas*. The city also attracted industrial operations such as Western Stove in 1922 and Helms Bakeries in 1930.

Riverside, despite its clear agricultural roots, probably had the most diverse and prosperous economy of any of the communities in the early part of the 20th Century. Riverside's economy was aided not only by the natural fertility of the region and by a significant flow of investments, but also by a marked capacity for innovation. A successful agricultural cooperative emerged, the California Fruit Growers Exchange (owner of the Sunkist label), and the city's growers, packers, and shippers pioneered refrigerated shipments and developed new packing machinery. A citrus experiment station (the predecessor of the University of California campus in Riverside) pioneered new growing techniques, and a dynamic industry sprang up to produce machinery for harvesting and packing. By the mid-1890s Riverside had one of the highest per-capita incomes in the United States. Investors built the first golf course and polo field in Southern California, and the spectacular Mission Inn was built in 1902.

Riverside's economy was further aided by the city's role as county seat and the opening of March Field near Riverside as part of the American war effort in World War I. The base grew in importance in the 1920s and the years leading up to World War II, bringing a great many military and civilian workers to the area. Some of the city's capacity for building citrus machinery was even applied to the manufacture of military hardware, namely the Water Buffalo amphibious tanks used during World War II. At the height of its activity, the base supported 85,000 troops and was a major fixture in the region's economy until its realignment in 1996. The downsized facility is now known as March Air Reserve Base. Norton Air Force Base in San Bernardino was another important piece of the regional economy from 1942 until its closure in 1994.

Just as the two decades following World War II constituted a time of rapid and profound demographic change, so too were they a period of intense economic transformation. All the cities studied experienced rapid industrialization and economic growth and diversification and saw the decline of their traditional agricultural sectors. Although the decline of agriculture was in part the result of urbanization and industrialization, which raised land values and made agriculture less viable, there were

also independent factors such as drought, competition from other states, and disease that dealt heavy blows to the region's citrus industry during the 1940s and 1950s. The cities were swept up in the process of growth and industrialization that forever changed California, turning the state into a manufacturing powerhouse and concentrating a large portion of the nation's defense and aerospace industries in Southern California.

In Azusa, the creation of Aerojet in the early 1940s and Azusa Pacific University in 1947 symbolized the shift away from agriculture towards a manufacturing, service, and residential base. With the arrival of more manufacturing firms, the city grew into a middle-class manufacturing center. In 1960 agriculture represented less than two percent of total employment while manufacturing, which had only a small share in 1940, accounted for nearly one third of the total.

In Pomona, the opening of a General Dynamics plant to manufacture weapons for the U.S. Navy in 1952 increased the city's manufacturing employment by nearly 200 percent. The city also witnessed the expansion of Cal Poly Pomona, which despite its roots as a secondary school and then a small junior technical college, only grew into the institution we know today after World War II. In 1940 agricultural jobs had represented 10 percent of the city's total employment, with most of the rest in transportation, wholesale, and other industries related to the citrus industry. By 1960 only 3 percent of the population worked in agriculture, compared to 36 percent in manufacturing.

In Brea, the 1950s were also a time of rapid industrialization and population growth, but the city retained more of a link with its traditional industries. Despite a decrease in oil production and Unocal's decision to move its pipeline division out of Brea, the company maintained a presence in the city, opening a research center in 1951. The facility was later expanded and named the Hartley Research Center. The center generated spinoffs (such as Brea Chemicals), patents, and royalties. Shaffer Tool Works, a product of the oil industry, also grew, supplying oil-related equipment to companies around the world. Growth and economic change also brought entirely new industries. In 1950, Kirkhill Rubber Company moved to Brea. The firm's contracting for Douglas Aircraft constituted its entrée into the aerospace industry, and many Kirkhill products were eventually used in the Apollo space program. Fender musical instruments were also manufactured in Brea for a period. In addition, there were firms producing beverages and fruit products, a link to the city's agricultural past.

In Culver City the Hayden Industrial Tract, established in the 1940s, drew a wide range of industrial businesses even as the studios flourished. Manufacturers of curtains, sheet metal, housing siding, clothing, cabinets, lamps, chemicals, and machinery, as well as printers and wholesalers, were attracted to the city's industrial area. By the 1960s more advanced manufacturing, including aerospace and defense industries, had entered the mix. In 1964 Avnet consolidated all the Los Angeles area operations of Avnet and Hamilton Electro into a new Hamilton-Avnet Electronics facility in Culver City. The company expanded in 1974. The city also attracted a certain number of firms closely connected to the aerospace industry, and many of its residents worked at nearby Hughes Aircraft.

Riverside dealt well with the transformation from a prosperous agricultural community with a small social and economic elite to a middle-class industrial city. The percentage of the labor force was employed in agriculture fell from 14 percent in 1940 to under 5 percent in 1960, while manufacturing rose to 17 percent of the total. The city became home to Fleetwood Enterprises, a manufacturer of housing and recreational vehicles, a Rohr aircraft plant, Bournes, Inc., a maker of electronic components, and a wide variety of other manufacturers. There were also big increases in retail employment, finance, insurance, and real estate, and public administration and education. The Citrus Experiment Station became the Riverside campus of the University of California in the 1950s, and the city's role as county seat contributed to growth both directly and indirectly.

The 1970s through the 1990s represented another period of transition as the traditional engines of economic growth began to falter. As in the nation as a whole, manufacturing passed its heyday. While the effects were far worse in many other parts of the country than in the Los Angeles region, which never suffered a wholesale decline of manufacturing, all five cities saw their industrial sectors struggle. In Culver City, Helms Bakeries, one of the mainstays of the economy, went out of business in 1969, one of the first signs that the long-term viability of manufacturing was in doubt. Other firms also struggled, in Culver City and elsewhere.

The studios suffered as well, and by the late 1970s the Culver Studio, where *Gone With the Wind* and many other films had been made, was dilapidated. The defense industries saw their fortunes rise and fall but by the recession of the early 1990s it was clear that aerospace would no longer be the linchpin of the region's economy. General Dynamics in Pomona had increased employment to roughly 10,000 jobs in the 1980s, but by the end of that decade it had closed. Moreover, the closure and realignment of military bases, such as March Air Force Base in 1996, dealt a further blow to employment.

The late 1990s were a time of growth, but by that point the cities' economies had diverged and showed very different structures. Table 13 shows the current composition of the local employment base in the five cities. There is no simple correspondence between a city's wealth and its employment composition. Azusa and Pomona, two of the least prosperous cities, are heavily reliant on manufacturing, but so is Brea, the wealthiest. Riverside, the poorest city in the group, has a very small manufacturing base, but so does Culver City, one of the wealthiest. Brea has arguably the most diverse economy, Culver City the least.

Sector	Azusa	Brea	Culver City	Pomona	Riverside
Extractive Industries (Mining, Oil, Agriculture)	4.9%	0.9%	0.4%	0.5%	1.8%
Construction	4.0%	7.4%	3.2%	4.1%	8.9%
Manufacturing	32.0%	25.9%	8.8%	24.3%	10.2%
Transportation, Utilities, Communication	3.0%	4.4%	3.8%	5.7%	3.4%
Wholesale Trade	6.3%	9.8%	7.2%	7.3%	4.7%
Retail Trade	9.8%	16.4%	18.5%	13.7%	15.5%
F.I.R.E.	2.1%	10.2%	5.8%	3.0%	5.8%
Services	36.8%	24.1%	50.8%	39.7%	40.1%
Public Administration	1.0%	1.0%	1.6%	1.7%	9.5%
Total Employment	19,165	41,685	43,708	46,423	138,590
Source: Dun and Bradstreet.					
Note: Services includes education and health services.					

Brea has maintained a significant manufacturing base while also building other sectors. It has the highest percentage of employment in finance, insurance, and real estate (F.I.R.E.) of any of the cities and significant employment in high-end services, giving it arguably the most diverse economy. Moreover, Brea's manufacturing is not necessarily any more "high tech," than what exists in Azusa or Pomona—it includes significant employment in beverages, furniture, medical equipment, printing and publishing, rubber and plastics, heating and refrigeration equipment, and motor vehicle parts, among other industries.

Culver City's loss of manufacturing has not had an unduly negative impact on the city's job base because manufacturing jobs have been replaced in recent years by high-end service jobs. Hamilton Avnet Electronics moved out and its property was converted into a high-tech center. When Parker Seal moved out, an Internet firm with a larger employment base moved into the facility. When Murray's Iron Works moved to an enterprise zone in South Central Los Angeles, software and architecture firms redeveloped the property. The Hayden Tract is the clearest example, with many of its industrial buildings reclaimed through adaptive reuse to serve high-tech and multimedia firms. Far from being left vacant or being torn down, the buildings have been transformed into architectural showpieces.

However, the service sector, which accounts for more than half the city's employment, includes not just high-end services but also low-end services such as building maintenance and security. Moreover, the economic transformation has left the city with only small percentages of employment in all industries other than retail trade and services.

Azusa and Pomona also have significant manufacturing bases. Azusa's largest concentration is in aerospace (Northrop-Grumman, which purchased the Aerojet facility), and the city also has significant employment in optical instruments, machinery, metal products, furniture, and food processing. Pomona's manufacturing includes baked goods, furniture, paper, glass, plastic, and metal products, mechanical and electrical equipment, and a large concentration in radio and television equipment (due mainly to Pioneer Electronics). Pomona also has a large concentration of medical employment due to its hospitals, and both cities have educational employment related to their universities. However, neither one has a significant base of high-end services.

Finally, Riverside has only a small manufacturing base, but its role as county seat and as home to a major university gives it a higher share of employment in public administration than the other cities, as well as a significant percentage of medical and educational employment and some business and management services.

Many cities witnessing the erosion of their manufacturing base are asking what the long-term effects will be. Some officials in Culver City cite concern over the city's lack of economic diversity in general and the disappearance of manufacturing in particular. Will the job base become more bifurcated, with well-paid information-intensive jobs and poorly paid low-end service jobs? Will the many industrial businesses—warehouses, distributors, and so on—that have clustered around the studios face pressure due to rising costs, and if so, what will the impact be?

An industrial base—including both manufacturing and other industrial activities like wholesale trade—is important for several reasons. First, it helps provide economic diversity that can help shield an economy (whether local or regional) from the worst effects of boom and bust cycles. Second, many of the jobs in industrial sectors pay better wages than low-end service jobs in retail, hospitality, and the like. Strategic Economics has analyzed average wages in a number of sectors in San Francisco and found that industrial jobs pay significantly more than low-end service jobs. Table 14 shows some selected examples. Moreover, for the lowest skill categories, industrial jobs tend to pay more than other sectors.¹⁵

¹⁵ These data are for San Francisco and are therefore not directly comparable to every city in this study. The industrial businesses that have remained in San Francisco despite high costs tend to be higher-end firms that pay better wages. Nevertheless, these findings coincide with other studies that suggest that, overall, industrial jobs, and particularly manufacturing, pay higher wages than the low end of the service economy.

Sector	Average Hourly Wage
Industrial Jobs	
<i>Printing and publishing</i>	<i>\$25.51</i>
<i>Auto repair</i>	<i>\$19.82</i>
<i>All Manufacturing</i>	<i>\$19.54</i>
Service Jobs	
<i>Hotels</i>	<i>\$13.99</i>
<i>Eating and drinking</i>	<i>\$11.50</i>

Source: California Employment Development Department, Strategic Economics.

This means that industrial jobs are good targets for cities in order to maintain economic diversity, provide good jobs, and avoid excessive bifurcation of the labor market between high-end, high-skill jobs and low-end, low skill jobs. High-road manufacturing is particularly well suited to achieving these ends.

Not all cities have been equally successful at attracting such high-road manufacturing, even when they have some of the assets that could help them do so. The wealthier cities in this group may have been had more success than the rest at attracting industrial businesses that are linked to key service sectors. For example, with the exception of Azusa, all the cities have significant concentrations of medical services jobs. Pomona, with its two hospitals, has 14 percent of its employment in medical services. Yet only Brea and Culver City have sizeable concentrations of employment in the manufacturing and distribution of medical instruments and equipment. Although these industries account for only a small percentage of total employment in each city, they are large in comparison to medical services employment. In other words, the wealthy cities appear to have been able to attract industrial firms that are linked to the medical services establishment and that presumably pay relatively high wages; the other cities have not.

OCCUPATION

Table 15 shows the occupational breakdown of city residents in 1990. Residents' occupations generally reflect the cities' levels of wealth and employment structures, with a couple of notable exceptions. First, Brea has a fairly low percentage of its residents working in industrial occupations (precision product, craft, and repair and operators, fabricators, and laborers). This suggests that Brea's housing stock may not be affordable to a significant portion of the workers in those occupations. Second, there may be a mismatch in Pomona (and possibly other cities) between residents who work in high-skill jobs and the high-skill jobs that are located in the city. Anecdotal evidence from Pomona suggests that the higher-skill residents tend to work elsewhere, while the city's high-skill jobs in the city tend to be filled by outsiders.

City	Managerial and professional	Technical, sales and administrative support	Service	Farming, forestry and fishing	Precision product, craft and repair	Operators, fabricators and laborers
Azusa	17.9%	31.8%	11.8%	2.7%	13.6%	22.3%
Brea	37.2%	36.3%	7.8%	0.1%	9.8%	8.9%
Culver City	39.8%	35.1%	9.1%	0.9%	7.9%	7.2%
Pomona	19.7%	27.0%	13.3%	2.4%	13.3%	24.2%
Riverside	27.2%	33.0%	12.3%	1.9%	14.0%	11.6%

Source: U.S. Census

The lack of connection between a city’s resident population and its job base may be cause for concern. In Pomona, for example, a smaller percentage of the new jobs created by General Dynamics in the 1980s appears to have gone to Pomona residents than in earlier decades, when there was a stronger connection between employers and the surrounding population. A similar phenomenon is visible today: as mentioned earlier, many of the people who hold professional jobs in Pomona live elsewhere. These are examples of a lack of connections among the different elements of a city that are indicative of a decline in local cohesion.

RETAIL SALES

One key indicator of a community’s overall fiscal and economic health is its sales tax base. This is particularly true in California, where Proposition 13, passed in the late 1970s, has had the effect of making local governments overly reliant on sales tax as a revenue source.

The five cities show striking differences in their retail taxable sales per capita, as shown in Table 16. Brea and Culver City have per-capita taxable sales roughly five times higher than Azusa and Pomona, and 2.5 times higher than Riverside. Although these figures are influenced by many things, including income, they almost certainly indicate retail “leakage,” in Azusa and Pomona and “injection,” in Brea and Culver City.¹⁶ That is, the first two cities are losing retail dollars to other cities because their residents shop elsewhere, while the second two are capturing dollars from non-residents in addition to serving most of their residents’ retail needs.

City/County	Per Capita Taxable Sales 2000	Per Capita Taxable Sales 1970 (2000 Dollars)
Azusa	\$5,296.94	\$8,536
Brea	\$25,832.36	\$6,936
Culver City	\$26,409.11	\$22,670
Pomona	\$4,592.59	\$13,169
Riverside	\$9,884.49	\$10,300
Los Angeles County	\$7,387.21	n.a.
Orange County	\$9,656.43	n.a.
Riverside County	\$7,888.30	n.a.

Source: California State Board of Equalization.

¹⁶ The report *Culver City at the Crossroads*, published in 1995 by the city’s Redevelopment Agency, suggests that the retail base is not as strong, and that Culver City had lost ground compared to surrounding cities. However, that conclusion is based on data from the early 1990s, when California was in a deep recession. The most recent data suggest that the city’s sales tax base has become stronger.

In addition to the current striking differences between the cities, historical data provide an even more interesting picture. Culver City has remained in the highest position, but the other cities have undergone significant changes. Brea, which was in last place in 1970, is essentially equal with Culver City today. Azusa and Pomona have both experienced a significant deterioration in their retail sales bases.

All of the cities examined saw dramatic shifts in their retail situations in the post-war period. Populations grew, creating more demand, but the increasing dominance of automobiles and the construction of new freeways, combined with shifting spatial patterns of population, contributed to the decline of the traditional downtown and the rise of regional retail. The rail lines and main streets that had constituted the principal transportation corridors lost their importance, and the downtowns that had grown up along them suddenly found themselves severed from the regional transportation network. Residents were willing to travel farther to regional malls that could accommodate their automobiles, and the traditional retail centers lost most of their customer base.

Retail became concentrated in a smaller number of retail centers, and cities found themselves in the position of having to compete to host such centers. As a result, population growth was no longer a guarantee of retail growth, and indeed, retail decline or stagnation could easily accompany population growth. In Brea, for example, retail development in the small downtown had failed to keep up with rapid population growth, and most residents went to Fullerton or elsewhere to do their shopping. Although Fullerton had always offered a wider variety of retail, the construction of the Orange Freeway in 1957 removed most through traffic from Brea Boulevard, which had previously been the city's main north-south thoroughfare, draining more life from the already-struggling downtown. Brea ranked last among the five cities in taxable sales per capita in 1970.

Brea responded with the construction of the Brea Mall, opened in 1977. The mall provided shopping opportunities for Brea residents and became a major regional shopping center. The project constituted a huge boost to the city's tax base just at a time that Proposition 13 was making an imbalance of residential and retail development more untenable than ever. More recently, Brea has implemented a successful program of downtown revitalization. The combination of both regional and pedestrian-oriented retail, along with the overall prosperity of the city and its surrounding area, accounts for its strong per-capita sales.

In Pomona, city leaders recognized the dangers to their downtown early on and acted, but with disappointing results. As the city transformed from an agricultural community to a residential and industrial city in the 1950s, a consulting firm was hired to prepare a plan for the downtown retail district. In the context of Southern California in the 1950s it was a remarkable plan. The firm proposed closing the Second Street shopping district, including several cross streets, to automobiles and creating a pedestrian mall. California passed the Pedestrian Mall Act in 1960, and Pomona acted quickly to take advantage of it, completing the Pomona Mall in 1962. The city also built a civic center consisting of city hall, a library, a police station, and a fire station.

However, even this innovative pedestrian mall couldn't compete with the large regional shopping centers such as Montclair Plaza, opened in 1968 just to the east of Pomona. Pomona's per-capita taxable sales, which were second only to Culver City's in 1970, began their slide to last place among the five cities.

In Riverside, the effect of transportation trends, combined with the reigning planning philosophy, had a similar effect on the city's downtown. Not only did Main Street, both literally and figuratively, become far less important as a retail destination because of changing transportation and land use patterns, but the city actively promoted alternatives.

Magnolia Avenue was a victim of these trends. Built in the late 1870s as a grand tree-shaded boulevard that would help market land owned by the fledgling Riverside Land and Irrigating Company, by 1889 the Avenue boasted an electric streetcar that turned it into a thoroughfare uniting the city. However, unplanned development in the corridor, along with construction of the Riverside Freeway, started the decline of the grand boulevard. Construction of large automobile-focused shopping centers at various nodes (such as the Tyler Mall, now the Galleria at Tyler, and Riverside Plaza) pumped new blood into Magnolia Avenue when they first opened in the 1960s and 1970s (at the same time that they drained more life from downtown), but their subsequent decline in the past decade has resulted in further disinvestment.

Riverside created an outdoor pedestrian mall in its downtown in 1966. While it was never a great success, it was not a complete failure like so many similar projects. The presence of a relatively stable employment base in the state office buildings, courts, and other public administration buildings, gave the mall a customer base that most other cities couldn't count on. Downtown Riverside also remained a draw for tourists throughout the decades, and many of the main attractions, including the Mission Inn, are adjacent to the mall.

Due to a variety of factors, including the relative health of the pedestrian mall and Riverside's role as the administrative and entertainment hub of its region, taxable sales per capita have remained stable since 1970 in real dollar terms and reasonable stable relative to the average level of the five cities. Even so, the city recognizes the need to strengthen its retail base in general and its downtown in particular.

In Azusa, the arrival of the 210 freeway, which was built in segments between 1955 and 1981, roughly coincided with the creation of the Foothill Shopping Center on the city's east side in 1960. This precipitated the departure from downtown of several major businesses, including J.C. Penny and the Sears Catalog Center, which moved to the new shopping center. The freeway and the shopping center, combined with an overall attitude of neglect on the part of the city government, led Azusa's downtown to fall into a state of disrepair.

Between the early 1970s and the early 1980s new malls opened in the neighboring cities of West Covina and Covina, draining life not only from what remained of the downtown, but also from Foothill Shopping Center. Azusa's sales tax base, already precarious in 1970, deteriorated even further. From 1970 to 2000 taxable sales per capita declined by 38 percent in real terms. Even when the retail sector grew in terms of employment, such as during the 1990s, it was declining in terms of per-capita sales. This stands in sharp contrast to the increasingly healthy retail environments of neighboring cities. Not only is Azusa unable to attract shoppers from other parts of the region, it is losing significant revenues due to the spending of its own residents in other communities.

Perhaps because it was founded as an urban residential community and therefore post-war growth was less of a sea change, Culver City managed to maintain a better balance of land uses than most of the other cities from the 1940s through the 1960s. There was a increase in entertainment offerings, notably the construction of the Culver Theater, and a general increase in retail activity. In 1970 Culver City had a solid retail base that yielded by far the highest per-capita taxable sales of any of the five cities. Even so, Culver City experienced a similar deterioration of its downtown due to freeways, regional retail, and competing retail within the city. Culver Center, completed in 1950, was one of the shopping centers that drew shoppers and businesses away from downtown. The Fox Hills Mall was opened in 1975. Now the challenge in Culver City, as in other cities, is to ensure the health of the city's downtown within a strong overall retail base.

IV. POLICY INTERVENTIONS

Despite their differences, all of these communities have faced similar challenges. The five cities studied experienced two distinct periods of transition that mirrored trends in the region and, to a great extent, in the nation as a whole. The post-war period saw rapid demographic growth and economic transformation, combined with an expansive form of suburban development that led to the decentralization of metropolitan areas around the country. Although decentralization was not new in Los Angeles, it accelerated and turned its back on the philosophy of building balanced communities that had marked early efforts at decentralization in the region.

The meteoric rise in popularity of the automobile, which had begun in the 1920s, continued anew after a hiatus brought on by the Depression and World War II. Rail service declined, new freeways were built, and residents began to travel long distances to work or shop. The cohesion that had characterized many communities disappeared as home, work, and retail became increasingly disconnected. While the growing industrial base attracted residents eager to live near their place of work, most of the cities also came to increasingly resemble bedroom communities from which many residents commuted long distances to work.

The 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s marked the second period of change. After being in a position to benefit from the rapid growth and industrialization experienced on the periphery of the region from the 1940s through the 1960s, the cities all found themselves losing out to other parts of the region as growth and investment continued to expand outward. This was exacerbated by the general decline of manufacturing throughout the country. Moreover, the dramatic changes in transportation over the course of just a few decades had severed the ties between housing, jobs, retail, and institutions that had once characterized these cities. With their internal cohesion gone, and lacking clarity about how to position themselves in a changed region, all the cities watched as their downtowns declined, housing began to deteriorate, and the industrial base began to change under pressure from competition from abroad as well as cheaper regions in California and elsewhere in the country and the world.

The 1970s were in many ways a crucial decade as the need to adapt was made manifest and poor planning in earlier decades came to haunt cities like Pomona. The cities that were able to begin addressing their problems in the 1970s laid the groundwork for later success, while those that ignored the signs of decline during that decade, such as Azusa, slipped farther and farther behind.

By the late 1980s most or all of the cities had realized that they could no longer afford inaction. The recession of the early 1990s delayed some of the movements for change that were starting to gather momentum, but by the late 1990s efforts were well underway. We now appear to be entering a new phase of development that is facilitating those efforts. Demographic patterns, transportation trends, lifestyle preferences, and other factors are creating new opportunities for older communities like the ones examined here.

Over the decades, the five cities have tried a variety of strategies to cope with growth and change and the problems they engendered. Their efforts have met with different degrees of success, in part due to factors beyond their control but in part due to the policies themselves. Likewise, the cities are continuing to employ different strategies, but there is a remarkable degree of similarity in the broad goals of those strategies if not in the exact details or implementation.

This section will discuss eight broad categories of strategies that the cities have used and are using: downtown revitalization, planning and public participation, housing strategies, transportation, retail strategies, employment development, creating connections, and strategies for placemaking and quality of life.

This is not intended to be an exhaustive survey. Rather, it attempts to highlight certain projects and types of policies. It includes discussion of the following projects, which were supported by the Local Government Commission:

- Azusa: An ambitious General Plan update with extensive public participation.
- Brea: Effective connections between residential neighborhoods and community facilities such as schools, recreation, and shopping.
- **Culver City??**
- Pomona: Conversion of a defunct shopping center into a mixed-use development of schools, retail, and other uses.
- Riverside: Revitalization of a struggling auto-oriented commercial corridor.

DOWNTOWN REVITALIZATION

All the downtowns examined suffered due to the changes in transportation and shopping patterns cited above, but there was little recognition of the value of downtowns and retail market trends didn't necessarily support revitalization efforts. As a result, there was little action, and few cities developed a long-term vision for how to deal with the changing environment. Pomona stands out as the main exception to this, having built its downtown pedestrian mall in the early 1960s. Ultimately, that effort turned out to be, in a sense, too visionary for its time.

While downtown retail does not and probably never will compete directly with malls, "big box," stores, supermarkets, and other large-scale retail, it provides an amenity value that many consumers and businesses desire. By the late 1980s there was a growing recognition of the value of an attractive, vibrant downtown, and consumers were beginning to demand pedestrian-oriented retail and entertainment environments. All five cities have been paying increasing attention to their downtowns, with promising results.

In Azusa, the Redevelopment Agency began to take an interest in the downtown in the late 1980s, but efforts to make changes suffered from the lack of a long-term vision and from the fact that Azusa Avenue, the main commercial street, was a state highway and therefore controlled by the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans). State control over commercial corridors is a major impediment to retail revitalization since Caltrans tends to be more concerned about the ability of state highways to move traffic than about their role as local main streets. By the late 1990s, however, things had started to change. Azusa took control of Azusa Avenue from Caltrans in 1998 and promptly began to invest in street improvements.

Since then, 24 new businesses have opened in downtown Azusa, historic buildings are being renovated, and the city is currently in the process of selecting a developer for a mixed-use project that would occupy an entire block of the downtown with residential, retail, and office development. The city's general plan process begun in 1999 will help to solidify the planning framework for downtown and tie it more closely to the city's other neighborhoods.

Brea's downtown presented challenges that went beyond retail decline. Unsystematic planning throughout the city's early history (common in areas with oil production, as described earlier) had left industrial sites next to housing and retail. Infrastructure was outdated and in poor condition, and the small lots could not easily accommodate modern retail development. There were few buildings of merit, and many were poorly constructed.

A charrette held in 1989 resulted in a consensus that the city should recreate a viable downtown. However, the widening of Brea Boulevard that was done as a result of the charrette led many to conclude that the wider street lacked the intimacy desirable in a pedestrian-oriented downtown, and the decision was made to build a new downtown from scratch, with its core along Birch Street to the

west of the existing commercial center. This area provided a larger amount of developable land and would avoid the problems of a busy thoroughfare.

In 1997 the city modified its downtown plan to reflect those decisions and barely four years later the first phase of the project was complete, with more than 500,000 square feet of retail and entertainment space (including 22 movie screens), approximately 140 single family units and 62 loft apartments, along with parking for 2,880 cars. The downtown includes retail along Brea Boulevard as well as along the more pedestrian-oriented Birch Street Promenade. The architecture is high-quality and eclectic, with different designers in charge of different buildings even when those buildings were built by the same developer.

The rapid completion of the downtown redevelopment project. The developer attributes that to the high degree of cooperation with the city, and to the city's land assembly efforts.

In Culver City, a charrette was held in 1990 to generate ideas for revitalizing the struggling downtown, and over the course of the 1990s the Redevelopment Agency invested a significant amount of money in parking, streetscape improvements, and other projects. Results have been mixed. Despite the fact that the process started at almost exactly the same time as Brea's downtown revitalization efforts, the transformation has been much less significant, although this may be largely due to the different aims of the two cities. Residents did not want their downtown to become a major regional destination like Santa Monica's Third Street Promenade, but rather to serve local needs more effectively.

Culver City's downtown accounts for less than 1 percent of the city's tax base, but it is only a small piece of the total retail picture, and in any case its impact cannot be measured by numbers alone. The downtown revitalization efforts served as a demonstration project that made residents more supportive of other redevelopment efforts, such as efforts to transform industrial buildings in the Hayden Tract. In addition, many businesses that moved to the city in recent years cited the quality of the appearance of downtown as one of their primary reasons for locating in Culver City.

Pomona is also actively engaged in downtown revitalization and may finally be able to capitalize on the efforts of 40 years ago. The downtown is coming back to life, with new housing, artists' lofts, new retail, and the planned renovation of the Fox Theatre. The arts district and antiques shops constitute a regional draw, and the growing preference for urban living has given downtown housing a boost.

Finally, Riverside rounds out the picture with its efforts. Although there is increased focus on the quality and individuality of Riverside's neighborhoods, downtown is at the center of attention. The city is developing a mixed-use strategy to revitalize downtown, add a mixture of housing types, reinvigorate the retail center, and turn it into a vibrant urban hub for the entire region. These efforts are at an earlier stage than in most of the other cities, but form a key part of Riverside's overall economic development efforts.

PLANNING AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Just as poor planning can precipitate decline, good planning is an essential element of recovery. And although the mantra of public participation is often repeated merely for the sake of appearances, several of the cities examined have demonstrated that a sincere attempt to engage the public can lead to better results.

Pomona's transformation from a self-contained agricultural community into a shoddy suburb is an example of how poor planning can contribute to a city's decline. Rather than using planning to ensure that the new residential stock could hold its value over time and help the city adapt to its new role, lack of attention to quality resulted in rapid decline once the city no longer enjoyed the benefits of being on the suburban frontier. Many of Pomona's recent efforts are designed to reverse these

mistakes. Although some of the redevelopment efforts in the 1990s showed signs of this tendency again, with attempts to attract low-end manufacturing and big box retail, there has also been a deliberate effort to build on and enhance the city's very real assets and quality of place.

Perhaps the clearest attempt to embrace comprehensive planning and community participation as a tool for revitalization is in Azusa, which in 1999 embarked on an ambitious General Plan update, employing a process that embodies extensive public participation. Over the course of the planning effort over 1,000 people attended four citywide "planning congresses," and numerous smaller workshops. Moreover, the process is ambitious in its scope. From the start, the city committed to creating a plan that would incorporate the most advanced principles of urban design and planning to create a sustainable, livable community. The plan is intended to encourage high-quality design, increase mobility options, build on Azusa's historical and natural assets, and better connect and integrate the many elements of the city. While many of these techniques and principles have already been applied in wealthier communities, Azusa is innovative in its commitment to using them to help reverse decline and foster revitalization in a struggling city.

Although the General Plan is not yet complete at the time of this writing, a 500-acre site owned by the Monrovia Nursery, which is leaving Azusa, is serving as a smaller test case of the principles of planning and participation. When the Nursery announced its impending departure, its owners, along with the city, originally proposed the construction of a housing enclave. Azusa residents rejected the proposal in a special election, citing objections to the project's density, its lack of usable open space and connectivity to the rest of the city, its exclusive nature, and the lack of community input. The Nursery then financed a special planning process to redesign the project with extensive public participation. The new plan includes a mix of housing and retail, a range of housing types with varied architecture that reflects the city's traditional styles, a network of hiking trails, and other features that residents wanted in order to raise the quality of the development and to integrate it more closely with the rest of the city. The plan also anticipates that the new neighborhood will be anchored at one end by a transit station for the future extension of the Gold Line light rail system that will connect Pasadena and other cities in the San Gabriel Valley to downtown Los Angeles. The result is a plan that is both better in many ways and that has been embraced by the public.

Culver City has also taken steps to use careful planning to create a more sustainable, livable city, including embarking on a new Strategic Plan process in the year 2000. Unlike General Plan updates, which deal very directly with physical design features such as land use, housing and transportation, the Strategic Plan process encompasses a broader range of issues including education, safety, economic development, social equity, and the environment. Many of the goals set in the last Strategic Plan, which was written in the late 1980s—including construction of a new City Hall, revitalization of downtown, and school improvements funded by the passing of a ballot measure—had been achieved or were well underway by the end of the 1990s.

Culver City has used innovative methods to involve the community, including children, in the planning process. For example, in the first months of the project the city developed a curriculum guide so that the schools could engage children and teenagers in the strategic planning process.

There are other examples of planning and community engagement. In Brea, the downtown process engaged citizens extensively in the planning and design process. The city is also planning for the future of a 120-acre parcel owned by Unocal, and it appears that the city and company are working together, and that Unocal is committed to continuing its long history of engagement in the city and will make every effort to ensure that the development serves Brea's long-term interests. The city is also in the process of updating its General Plan and has been deeply engaged in thinking broadly about its future. And in Riverside there are ongoing processes to plan the revitalization of downtown and the Magnolia Avenue Corridor.

All the cities have recognized the value of careful planning even as they recognize the constraints within which they must operate. They have shown that planning can help a troubled city turn itself around and help make a healthy city work better, and that planning allows cities to set high standards for development and achieve them. They have also shown that when the public is engaged in all aspects and phases of a city's redevelopment and revitalization strategies, and the city is committed to good planning and high-quality development, public opposition is minimal and projects progress smoothly.

Planning requires vision and leadership as well as technical expertise, and efforts to make changes often suffer from the lack of a long-term vision or from the inability to see vision through to implementation. The best examples of planning demonstrate a blend of vision and leadership with active public involvement. And although there are forces beyond the control of cities, the best planning goes a long way towards helping cities shape their destinies.

HOUSING STRATEGIES

All of the cities have recognized that careful attention to their housing stock is an important part of a larger revitalization and economic development strategy. After two decades in which the housing stock was allowed to deteriorate, at least in certain neighborhoods, all the cities are making efforts to rehabilitate housing and to add new, high-quality housing, including in the downtown areas.

In Azusa, new housing both downtown and in other parts of the city promises to change the character of the built environment. In addition to new projects, the city has made an effort to encourage rehabilitation of its existing housing stock. Property values have increased significantly, presumably in part due to these efforts. All the city's policies reflect a mentality of setting high expectations for both the maintenance of existing housing and the development of new housing. The Monrovia Nursery site is a clear example of this. The challenge for Azusa is to ensure that its current residents benefit from these changes. Although higher housing prices are a positive sign in many ways, they also raise the danger of the city becoming unaffordable to a significant segment of the population.

As described earlier, Pomona's housing stock suffered severe deterioration and abandonment beginning in the 1970s. During the last decade, the city has made great efforts to reverse these trends by actively pursuing code enforcement and buying and rehabilitating dilapidated apartment buildings in an effort to reverse the downturn in the most deteriorated neighborhoods, as well as improving policing to enhance safety. This attention to the nuts and bolts issue of housing quality appears to be paying off. Even the most dilapidated housing is not beyond help: Helena Gardens in neighboring Montclair provides an example of a dangerous, impoverished housing development that successfully transformed itself into a safe and healthy neighborhood.

New housing is also part of Pomona's strategy. Some new housing, such as what has been built downtown, is well integrated with other elements of the city. Unfortunately, this is not true of all the housing built in Pomona. The Philips Ranch development consciously turns its back on the city both physically and symbolically. Isolated from most of the city, it is clearly meant to serve a regional employment market and orient its residents to the regional shopping centers rather than towards downtown. Even the main access route in the north, originally slated to be named "Pomona Ranch Road,,," was ultimately called "Ranch Road,,," in order to downplay the connection with the rest of the city. Far from increasing the degree of integration in the city, the development reduced it, and serves as a model of housing development that does not serve the long-term interests of the city.

Brea has created a diversity of housing types, as well as instituting award-winning affordable housing programs. The downtown project included approximately 140 single family units and 62 loft apartments, and more downtown housing is planned. Housing is viewed as an integral part of

downtown revitalization efforts, and the public has been willing to accept higher-density housing downtown both because of this connection and because of the clear desire to preserve the hills surrounding the city as open space and the consequent need to accommodate new housing in already developed locations.

Riverside has also begun to confront its problems actively, enforcing codes and reinvesting in its housing stock to address deterioration, improve the quality, and focus on providing a range of housing opportunities for all income levels.

TRANSPORTATION

As mentioned earlier, the two main trends that are beginning to challenge the dominance of the automobile are the resurgence of transit and the demand for pedestrian-friendly downtowns and neighborhoods. All five cities are beginning to capitalize on these trends.

In all the cities, downtown revitalization includes significant improvements to the streetscape and the pedestrian environment in order to reduce the dominance of the automobile. Brea's new downtown was built from scratch in order to provide an appropriate walking environment. Although there is a significant amount of parking and the overall design recognizes that dealing with the issue of automobile access is a necessity, particularly in Southern California, the downtown accommodates automobiles without overly disrupting other activities. The publicly-financed parking garages are a large part of the strategy to minimize the impact of automobile infrastructure, as surface parking takes up far more space and is much more disruptive to the urban fabric.

Downtown housing is another part of the picture. Although housing is not a transportation strategy *per se*, locating housing in downtown areas gives more people the opportunity to walk to downtown services and attractions as well as to rail and other transit service, which tend to serve downtowns better than other areas. Part of the value of mixed-use downtowns stems from the fact that they allow reduced automobile dependence for those who live there. All five of the cities have built or are planning significant new downtown housing in order to capitalize on this demand and to support the pedestrian-friendly and "24/7," character of their downtowns.

Major transit infrastructure also holds promise for spurring revitalization. All the cities except Brea either have or will likely gain a rail connection. There is a wide difference of opinion about exactly how much impact these connections will have, but evidence from other parts of the country strongly suggests that transit infrastructure, and rail in particular, can be an important component of a revitalization strategy.

For example, transit orientation has been identified as one component revitalization of the Magnolia Corridor in Riverside. And Azusa's two future Gold Line stations are an important part of the planning for both the city's downtown and the Monrovia Nursery development. With such significant external connections, these cities can knit together some of their internal elements and provide them with a link to the region. Just as pre-World War II downtowns and commercial corridors represented a high degree of local cohesion, blending housing, retail, employment, and transportation functions, rail infrastructure can support the return to this model that is already occurring in some places.

RETAIL STRATEGIES

As cities watched their downtowns deteriorate and their tax bases erode in the post-World War II era, most of them chose to compete on the terms of regional retail, with varying degrees of success. Pomona and Riverside, while supporting bold downtown projects earlier than most other cities (and before their time had come), also supported auto-oriented retail.

Among the largest projects in the five cities were the Fox Hills Mall in Culver City, opened in 1975, and the Brea Mall, opened in 1977. These malls solved the immediate problem by stanching the flow of retail dollars. But it is not clear that they represent viable long-term solutions or models for other cities. Malls and other auto-oriented retail have arguably caused traffic, damage to downtowns, and other detrimental impacts on the character of cities. Furthermore, not every city has the advantage of a location in a prosperous area, as did Brea and Culver City, and of course not every city can host a regional mall. To a great extent regional retail is a zero-sum game.

More recently, pedestrian-oriented retail has regained a market. It appears that this type of retail environment can co-exist with large-scale regional retail in the form of malls and “big box,” stores, even in the same city. At roughly the same time as Brea built its new downtown, the Brea Mall underwent an extensive renovation and expansion, nearly doubling its space. The mall and the downtown complement each other rather than compete. The mall is a regional center for high-end fashion and housewares, while the downtown focuses more on different retail niches and entertainment. It has succeeded in creating a mix of uses and an environment that is not available anywhere else in the vicinity: a wide choice of movies and restaurants, as well as other retail, in a pedestrian-oriented environment. Efforts are underway to better connect the downtown to the mall and other public areas.

Brea’s mix of both regional retail and a pedestrian downtown that is primarily intended to serve the city’s residents is somewhat unusual and constitutes a difficult mix to achieve. Brea’s retail base has undoubtedly been helped by the rising tide of prosperity in Orange County at large. However, by providing both types of retail, the city appears to have not only captured regional retail dollars but, perhaps more importantly, to have created a retail base that is fully integrated with the other elements of the community.

Pomona’s early moves to create an attractive pedestrian mall in its downtown may ultimately pay off, as the city is now well positioned to build on that asset. But perhaps the most interesting retail project in Pomona involves a deteriorating shopping center. The Plaza Azteca, which straddles the border of Pomona and its neighbor Montclair, was once an active shopping center that served as a regional commercial facility until the construction of the newer, larger mall in Montclair in the late 1960s. Freeway construction and the consequent abandonment of the former state highway routes near the shopping center contributed to further decline as automobile dealers and other highway-related commercial ventures also moved out. The area surrounding the shopping center is an ethnically and economically diverse older suburban neighborhood that for many years has been experiencing decline.

Pomona is also in the process of creating value from defunct retail properties, not only revitalizing the retail base but using as a catalyst for other community development goals. In 1995, faced with widespread school overcrowding, the Pomona Unified School District decided to take on a unique role and attempt to become the catalyst for a revitalization of the area. The District purchased the old Plaza Azteca mall and started the process of converting the 550,000 square foot shopping center into a mixed-use complex with educational and commercial uses that can serve as the anchor to a broader community revitalization program. The project, known as the “Village @ Indian Hill,,,” is in the process of converting the ailing shopping center into a pedestrian-scaled commercial village surrounded by schools and other educational facilities. Commercial space is now 90% leased; anchor tenants include a drugstore and a theater. A portion of the mall has been converted into the Pueblo Elementary School and a second school, Pantera Elementary School, was built on the rear of the site. Plans have been prepared to convert an old Ralph’s Giant store into a third elementary school.

Other educational facilities have been added to the Village, which now boasts a child development center, visual and performing arts gallery, and facilities for job training programs and teacher training. A partnership with NASA produced the NASA/Jet Propulsion Laboratory Educator Resource Center (ERC). ERC is part of a national network that provides expertise and facilities to assist

educators in staff development. It also houses the Applied Technology Classroom (ATC) that serves as a teaching laboratory to demonstrate integrated technology in the instructional process. The Pomona Unified School District has installed a fiber optic network in the Village that can be utilized for the creation of a “smart community,, for business, educational, and resident access, as well as security in the area.

In Riverside the city is focusing much of its attention on the Magnolia Avenue corridor, a major arterial with strip commercial development that is home to the Riverside’s earliest auto-oriented retail projects and that now exhibits many symptoms of disinvestment. In 1996, at the city’s request, the Local Government Commission organized a two-day “SWAT Team,, visit by a team of technical experts from across the nation to discuss revitalization of the corridor. The group met with representatives of neighborhoods along the Avenue and discussed issues and opportunities for improvement. Following the visit the City Council appointed a task force to expand on the recommendations made by the expert team. The task force recommended a dual planning strategy that would focus both on the corridor as a whole and on the seven local districts that the corridor passes through. The task force also determined that future plans should focus on such issues as the Avenue’s role as a transit-oriented corridor and strengthening what was “right,, along Magnolia Avenue while fixing what was “wrong,,. They also recommended doing a study of the entire 17-mile corridor to establish a framework for identifying, prioritizing and coordinating future short- and long-term planning efforts along Magnolia Avenue.

Riverside is also focusing on the downtown, and the pedestrian mall in particular. Riverside’s pedestrian mall was more successful than most because of its relatively stable downtown employment base (due to its role as county seat), but it still fell short of expectations. However, the city has given the area continuous support throughout its life, investing in new pedestrian amenities, supporting a weekly street fair, and engaging the Project for Public spaces to help improve the physical conditions. The mall is well poised to be an integral part of Riverside’s downtown revitalization.

EMPLOYMENT DEVELOPMENT

There are many reasons that a diverse employment base is desirable. *Sectoral* economic diversity (having a broad range of industries) means that the local economy is not overly dependent on one industry and is more resilient and responsive to change in the broader regional economic structure. *Occupational* economic diversity (having a range of different job types) means that employment is available for a diverse population, including relatively high-quality jobs for people with low skill levels.

To be sure, diversity is not a prerequisite for wealth. Culver City, the other wealthy city, has what is probably the least diverse economy. But while it is prosperous, there are worries about the long-term effects of its lack of diversity.

The creation and maintenance of a diverse base requires conscious policy. Brea, arguably the wealthiest of the cities, also has what is probably the most diverse employment base. The city has maintained employment diversity even as it has added population and pursued retail development, in part by creating land use patterns that support different types of jobs. Some areas of the city are developed as office parks, while other areas are set aside for industrial uses. It is unlikely, however, that the city will see more industrial development. The planned redevelopment of 120 acres of property owned by Unocal will likely include a mix of moderate-density housing, retail, and office, and possibly a community college or other educational use.

Azusa’s new General Plan focuses on how to maintain and increase employment diversity by explicitly recognizing what types of activities can and should mix with other land uses and which ones are better off separated. For example, many manufacturing firms and other industrial uses are

not compatible with residential development and small-scale retail. Azusa is considering using fairly traditional zoning to segregate incompatible uses into areas that provide the infrastructure, amenities, and facilities necessary to support the activities in question. In mixed-use areas, New Urbanist typological coding will be used instead of zoning. Azusa has recognized that a variety of controls and policies is necessary to achieve the overall balance of land uses in the city.

However, providing land and real estate is not always enough. In Culver City, efforts to attract office employment not related to entertainment have met with mixed results. In the 1970s the city built its first concentration of office space at Corporate Pointe, on land annexed in the 1960s. This last project was in large part intended to thwart state plans to build a large amount of low-income housing to replace housing destroyed by the 105 freeway. Although it did add to the city's employment base, and in so doing had the effect of further diversifying the city's economy, it is still not fully built out.

Attracting or retaining industries is one strategy; helping existing firms improve is another. Azusa is looking at ways to help its manufacturing industries pursue "high-road," strategies. IndustryWeek magazine recently selected the Northrop-Grumman facility (the former Aerojet plant) as one of the best manufacturing plants in North America. The plant has embraced new management and quality control procedures, its value-added per employee is up 20 percent since 1996, and its employee retention rate has risen as well. While Aerojet could never have been characterized as "low-road," mass production, the plant's recent success shows that advanced industry and high-road manufacturing have a place in Azusa. While this cannot be attributed to the city's efforts, it does have implications for city policy, and it provides a compelling example for other firms. Already, other manufacturing facilities are adopting flexible specialization techniques, and industries such as printing are replacing struggling industries such as metalworking. The city may be able to support these trends through workforce training, carefully understanding the needs of high-road manufacturers, and helping firms connect with the resources they need to improve.

Riverside Regional Technology Park broke ground in 1999 as a collaborative venture of the University of California at Riverside, the city, the county, and private industry. The centerpiece of the project will be the University Research Park, intended to foster and attract high-tech industry to the city. Similar efforts could pay off in Pomona, building on the city's academic establishment and medical facilities.

The challenge of employment development extends beyond jobs. Housing policy is closely connected to other economic development efforts. A diversity of housing types and prices can help ensure a diverse labor force, which can be a selling point for many firms. It can also mean that the city is capturing the benefits of the jobs it hosts by also being home to many of the workers, who will spend money locally. Highly paid jobs will not benefit the city or its residents nearly as much if the majority of those who hold those jobs live elsewhere. Furthermore, the goal of economic development efforts should be to create good jobs for city residents. As in the case of improving housing quality housing, the challenge when creating more high-end employment is to ensure that it benefits the city's current resident workforce. Cities should also actively look for ways to prepare their current workforce for better jobs as they are created, in addition to making the city a desirable place to live for new residents who can find jobs there.

CREATING CONNECTIONS

One of the phenomena seen in the post-World War II era, and in the 1970s and 1980s in particular, was a decline in local cohesion. Fewer people lived and worked in the same place, or shopped locally. Many institutions became increasingly disengaged from their surroundings. Physically, cities became more disjointed as well, with zoning segregating uses so that housing no longer mixed with shopping and other uses. Freeways, arterial streets, parking lots, and other infrastructure designed for automobiles created physical obstacles.

More recently, many cities have realized the negative impact of these changes. Many cities are spending a great deal of money to rebuild their urban fabric and reconnect their neighborhoods. Some are also paying attention to the less tangible connections. For example, while it would be unreasonable to suggest that cities should be entirely self-contained, there are efforts to enhance internal connections, such as the link between jobs and resident workers.

Brea's development program has focused on creating both tangible and intangible connections within the city. The new downtown, while undoubtedly a regional draw, is also a physical and symbolic center for the city that can draw residents together. Current efforts are focused on improving physical and visual connections between the downtown and the Civic Center/Mall area less than a mile away. Better pedestrian facilities and a shuttle bus, as well as revitalization and infill housing in surrounding neighborhoods, are among the strategies. The city has resisted the creation of the "gated communities," that are proliferating elsewhere in California, ensuring instead that new residential development is integrated with the rest of the city. The focus on building a range of housing types means that Brea can accommodate workers in all sectors of its diverse employment base, although as the occupation and employment figures show, the city's labor force is more heavily oriented towards professional jobs than its employment base, an indication of a mismatch and possibly a housing affordability problem, despite the city's efforts to provide affordable housing. The city is also hoping to build more high-end housing to attract the top executives of Brea-based firms. Such policies aim to make Brea an attractive and affordable option as a place to live for people employed in a wide range of occupations in the city.

In Pomona, the internal connections in the city seem to be increasing as well. Most of the new housing is being built downtown, where it is well integrated into the fabric of the city, rather than in enclaves such as Phillips Ranch. Institutions based in Pomona are becoming more involved in the city. For example, Cal Poly Pomona has programs to help provide residents of the Angela Chanslor neighborhood with better access to job training, social services, and education.

STRATEGIES FOR PLACEMAKING AND QUALITY OF LIFE

As quality and uniqueness have become more important, cities have begun to invest in creating high-quality, unique places. They recognize quality of life as one of the main assets that any city or region can build as part of a strategy for succeeding in the new economic environment in addition to being a worthwhile goal in its own right. They are trying to create good places and leverage the quality of those places into both direct benefits for citizens and longer-term benefits that stem from being desirable places for residents and employers.

Most of the strategies described above, from transportation and streetscape improvements to the creation of pedestrian-oriented downtowns and the restoration of historic buildings, are part of an overall strategy to make good places. All five cities have been pursuing this goal in both large and small ways. In Riverside, the population has recently passed bond measures to support schools and libraries and the city has refocused attention on parks after years of neglect. In Azusa, workshops and "citizen congress," meetings initially focused on complaints about the most pedestrian of issues: traffic, dirty streets, and other problems with the nuts and bolts of life in the city. In response, the city has improved its efforts to keep the streets clean and has planted over 2000 trees.

The cities are also trying to get the word out. Azusa is working hard to show the region that its negative image is not merited. Riverside is investing in marketing, an activity that now accounts for a substantial portion of its economic development budget, in an attempt to create an image of Riverside as a good place to live, work, and have fun and to capitalize on its central role in the county and the region.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is much to be optimistic about in all five cities. To be sure, some are facing greater challenges than others, but all are taking steps to take advantage of the opportunities for revitalization and continued success. The successes and failures of these cities provide valuable lessons for other communities.

Cities are not entirely in control of their destinies. They are subject to accidents of history and to many forces beyond their control. Orange County's rise to prosperity and the wealth of West Los Angeles created an environment in which Brea and Culver City had greater opportunities for revitalization than the other cities. Brea and Culver City may not have faced all the challenges of other cities, and may have enjoyed more advantages, but the cities examined show clearly that part of the difference in their varying degrees of success lies in how well they have responded to their larger context. Nevertheless, their success also lies in seeing opportunities and creating connections, both internal and to the rest of the region. They have worked hard to reinvent themselves, and have continuously looked for new ways to adapt and change. They have focused on building high-quality, unique places with lasting value.

Older suburbs are no longer benefiting from being at the edge of a growing metropolis, nor can they offer the amenities of the core. Instead, they must define a new role for themselves in the metropolitan area. Fortunately, immigration and other demographic trends, the increasing importance of place and uniqueness, and the changing nature of manufacturing all indicate a different context for revitalization than the one that existed just ten or 15 years ago. The factors for success have changed, and older communities arguably have more opportunities now to revitalize than at any time in recent history.

In order to take advantage of these opportunities, policymakers must focus on desired functional outcomes. That is, they must pursue measurable improvements in the quality of a community and the quality of life of its residents rather than simply focusing on the strategies used to reach those goals, which will necessarily vary. A pedestrian-oriented downtown is not necessarily feasible or even desirable in all communities; a healthy retail base with physical and economic cohesion is. Preservation or adaptive re-use of older structures is only one strategy for achieving the desired outcome of creating a unique place that builds on its history and assets. As Brea has shown, good places can also be built from scratch.

The following recommendations describe both an appropriate approach to policymaking and a set of desirable functional outcomes. They are deliberately general since the goal is to lay out a vision for how to think about healthy cities rather than to attempt to prescribe specific policies or actions, given the vastly different challenges faced by communities with different histories in different locations. They do not all flow directly from the case studies above, but rather reflect a broader set of conclusions drawn from a wider body of work. Examples from the five cities have been, and will be, used to clarify the conclusions more than to support them empirically.

BEGIN WITH AN UNDERSTANDING OF PLACE

While it may seem trivial to point out that every place is unique, too often this simple truth is lost in the rush to adopt the solution of the moment, be it a casino, a mall, or any other economic development fad. High-quality, viable, sustainable communities can only be built on the basis of their own unique history, situation, and assets.

The first step in any revitalization—and a key part of any economic development program—is to gain an understanding of the nature of the place in question. Regions differ vastly: the population growth and immigration experienced by Los Angeles stands in marked contrast to the stagnation and decline of many “rustbelt,” cities. No two cities are comparable, as we can see from the five examined here. And even within a given city, neighborhoods vary dramatically.

Each place should be understood as unique, but also part of its larger context. The four variables introduced in the regional analysis—people and society, economy, natural environment, and built environment—are a starting point, but they must be analyzed in historical and regional context. Brea’s history as a booming residential and industrial community following the decline of the citrus and oil industries is fundamentally different from Pomona’s slow decline, not to mention the evolution of Culver City into a center for entertainment and information-based industries. The transformation of Orange County has created a different regional context than development in the San Gabriel Valley.

An understanding of the history of a place provides a solid foundation for its future health and stability. Not only does history tell us what a place has been and can be, it also provides some of the main assets for the future.

RECOGNIZE THE POWER OF PLACE

For most of the 20th Century the organizing principle of the American economy was mass production, which emphasizes quantity and homogeneity. These principles affected transportation and urban development along with virtually every other facet of society. Buildings, neighborhoods, and even entire suburbs were virtually interchangeable, in accordance with the principles of mass production and modernism.

However, as the economy has shifted towards an information- or knowledge-based production mode, people have placed increasing emphasis on quality and uniqueness. Markets of all kinds have become increasingly segmented, consumers want choice, and producers respond to those changing demands. This is the rationale behind the “flexible specialization,” production that has replaced much mass production. In neighborhood design, these trends translate into the need to strike a better balance between form and function, an increased emphasis on maintaining and enhancing quality of life, a renewed sense of the importance of place, and a greater desire for choice. Compare the strategy of giving different architects control over each of the major buildings in downtown Brea to the mass production of identical homes. Witness the importance that almost all these cities have placed on their historic buildings, compared to the callous indifference with which such buildings were razed in the 1950s and 1960s.

An appreciation of uniqueness is important both for understanding the nature of a place and for shaping its future. Diversity is becoming more rather than less important. Uniqueness has value. Cities should not strive to look like and imitate their neighbors, but instead should create a unique identity based on their particular situation, history, location, and assets. They should use the power of place to build value and forge an appropriate strategy for job creation, urban design, housing, and retail.

Downtowns are perhaps the most visible examples of this. After decades in which identical regional malls captured most retail spending, downtowns are making a comeback. They may represent a modest share of total retail spending, but they offer something that malls and big box stores cannot. They have a unique identity that is intimately connected to the identity of the larger community. This connection has value that can be leveraged into economic development.

The correct job creation strategy clearly varies from place to place. Culver City has the smallest manufacturing base in absolute and relative terms of all the cities in this study. Although officials in Culver City worry about losing that base completely, they recognize that their location is not ideal for most price-sensitive activities. Their strategy has focused mainly on using their assets to build a high-end employment base in entertainment and services. Such a strategy would be a mistake in Azusa or Pomona, which are not as well positioned to attract “new economy,” industries or entertainment firms but which could be ideal locations for high-end manufacturing. Riverside, with its base of employment in public administration, has other avenues open to it.

Likewise, not every city can build a regional mall. But most cities can find a retail niche that will allow them to attract their own residents as well as outsiders looking for a particular type of retail or retail experience. Azusa can serve as a Hispanic retail center for the San Gabriel Valley. Pomona can create a transit-oriented, pedestrian-friendly downtown based on its historic buildings, academic institutions, and artist community. As a regional center, Riverside can focus much more on supplying many of the retail needs of the rapidly growing population of the Inland Empire.

In the housing arena, too, unique neighborhoods hold their value over time. In many cities around the country, older neighborhoods are making a comeback because of their housing stock. The pre-World War II housing in Pomona and Riverside is likely to be more valuable for longer than the newer and more homogeneous housing built in the 1950s. The key, then, is to ensure that housing built today can maintain its value in the same way that pre-war housing has done, by offering the uniqueness and quality that create value in today’s market.

FOCUS ON ASSETS

Some cities are blessed with a fortuitous location, skilled labor force, excellent transportation connections, and historic buildings. Other cities have few visible assets. Yet any successful revitalization strategy must focus on creating and building assets appropriate to a particular place, and using the existing assets of the place in question.

Assets are sometimes found in surprising places. The Center for Neighborhood Technology has examined urban neighborhoods and identified often-overlooked tangible assets such as concentrated purchasing power (a function of density), mass transit infrastructure, accessibility to the central city, and abandoned and underutilized land. From this perspective, vacant land is not merely blight but an important resource for development and revitalization. Many of these same assets can be found in older suburbs.

Other literature (Harkavy and Zuckerman, 1999) highlights the role of “eds and meds,” (educational and medical institutions) as “hidden assets.” Although much of the relevant literature focuses on large cities, many of the conclusions are also valid for smaller ones. Four of the cities examined in this study—Azusa, Culver City, Pomona, and Riverside—are home to significant academic institutions¹⁷ and four—Brea, Culver City, Pomona, and Riverside—have hospitals.

There are many other examples of assets in these communities. Culver City is turning a blighted industrial area into an architectural landmark and center for high-end jobs. Azusa has easy access to the San Gabriel Mountains and the recreational opportunities they provide. Pomona and Riverside have a rail connection to Los Angeles, and Azusa and Culver City are next in line. Three of the cities—Culver City, Pomona, and Riverside—are renovating historic theaters. And all of them attract immigrants, who have been seen in many cities to contribute greatly to revitalizing the housing stock and the retail base. In some cases the city in question has been able to capitalize on these assets; in other cases that remains to be done.

¹⁷ Brea is home to the Southern California College of Business and Law, a small, specialized school.

Cities must focus on their particular assets and advantages. For example, unlike Culver City or Brea, Pomona cannot ride the waves of entertainment and high-tech development in West Los Angeles or Orange County. Unlike cities farther out in the Inland Empire, it cannot count on attracting companies with large amounts of cheap vacant land—already firms, just like housing before them, are leapfrogging over Pomona to locate in San Bernardino and Riverside counties. Instead, Pomona must find its own niche based on its assets. It may not be able to compete with locations in Orange County, but it offers many things that places to the east do not. How many locations in the Inland Empire can offer proximity to universities, a rail station, and a historic downtown? Pomona could be an ideal location for firms connected to the city’s medical complex and manufacturers interested in pursuing a high-road type of production.

The Center for Neighborhood Technology points out that just as important as these tangible assets are intangible ones such as sense of place, community, social capital, institutions, relationships, and shared knowledge. The General Plan process in Azusa has made it clear that whatever the city’s problems, many of its residents feel a strong connection to the place and to the community and are willing to devote time and energy to improving it. In Brea, Unocal’s long history, desire to be a good corporate citizen, and vested interest in the place have helped create a spirit of cooperation between the city government, the company, and the public that appears likely to lead to high-quality development on the 120-acre development site for which Unocal is now creating a plan. And Riverside’s history of wealth, institutions, and an involved citizenry ready to invest in the community appears to have left a legacy that is helping its current efforts. The city has enjoyed relatively enlightened political leadership in recent years, with strong community participation in the visioning process currently underway. The four university and college campuses can play a role in helping the city build its quality of life, educate its future workforce, and attract business.

FOSTER DIVERSITY AND BALANCE

Although diversity is most often used to refer to ethnic and racial diversity, in fact there are many types of diversity that affect communities. Racial and ethnic diversity, diversity of immigrants and native-born, economic diversity (of households and workers, sectoral diversity of the economy, a mix of small and large businesses), and land use diversity (housing, employment, retail, etc.), are all part of the picture.

A diverse economy is less susceptible to large economic swings. The economy of the Los Angeles area is currently healthier than that of the Bay Area in part because of the lower degree of dependence on high-tech industries. Riverside’s diverse economic base—with industry, academia, and public administration—has helped the city avoid serious fiscal crises. Culver City has been economically successful in part because of its diverse economic base. With a solid base in entertainment, the city avoided excessive dependence on aerospace.

Local economies can pursue economic diversity as a road to stability and adaptability. A diverse economic base can more easily adapt to changes, meaning that a city can remain an integral part of the regional economy as individual industries rise and decline. A balance of land uses and industries can help ensure this stability.

Maintaining economic diversity requires looking carefully at the land and real estate needs of the industries that are desired and ensuring that the city can provide those things. Some commercial uses—such as many industrial activities—are not compatible with residential or office development and should be segregated from other uses. Increasing integration of some land uses (e.g. residential and retail) is desirable, but there are exceptions to this rule.

Diversity in the labor force can be a strength and a key part of an economic development strategy. A diverse population base—with a mixture of skills, occupations, and income levels—supports a diverse economic base by providing employers with access to a wide range of employees. An embrace of racial and ethnic diversity, as well as economic diversity, can be part of an economic development strategy. There is evidence that the creative employees required by many of today’s “new economy,” industries, as well as by more traditional industries pursuing “high-road,” competition, are attracted to places that welcome diversity.

A diverse population can only be supported with a diverse housing stock that serves the needs of the entire range of population. This means that housing policy should be explicitly linked to economic development strategies and should strive to provide a variety of housing types, from apartments to single-family houses, for a variety of income levels. Cities should look for ways to attract and retain highly skilled residents while also preserving and expanding housing opportunities for lower-skill and lower-income residents.

There are projects that demonstrate that mixing income levels and housing types in new developments is feasible. Many New Urbanist developments include a mixture of apartments, townhouses, and single-family homes, and the Redbridge housing development in Tracy, CA contains everything from 1,000 square foot bungalows to 4,800 foot mini-mansions mixing cheek by jowl. The development has been a success from the point of view of the developer, the residents, and the City Council.¹⁸

Brea has succeeded in retaining and building significant economic diversity even as it has grown and become more prosperous. It has a viable downtown as well as a regional mall, and a wide variety of housing types, including affordable housing. Riverside has attempted to treat its diversity as an asset in its economic development strategy.

Achieving and maintaining racial diversity is a complex task. As mentioned earlier, both Azusa and Pomona have dropped off the list of racially balanced cities in the Los Angeles area. While neither could be termed homogeneous, they have lost racial and ethnic diversity as well as economic diversity. And Brea, for all its economic diversity, is arguably the least diverse of the cities studied in racial and ethnic terms, and significantly less diverse than Orange County or the region as a whole. By the standards of many older suburbs in other metropolitan areas it may not look homogeneous, but it does not represent the ethnic or racial diversity of Southern California.

CREATE LOCAL COHESION

Local cohesion means the degree to which the different elements of the place relate to one another successfully. Do residents shop locally? Do people employed locally in a wide range of occupations also choose to live in the place? Are the local institutions, such as universities, involved with the rest of the city? Does the housing stock match the job market? Is high-end housing integrated with other housing and with the fabric of the city as a whole rather than being segregated in an enclave? A simple numerical balance (such as a balance of jobs and housing) is not necessarily sufficient, or even desirable; the issue is instead about ensuring sufficient connections among the community’s different elements.

The trends of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s disrupted the cohesion that had previously been a characteristic of most towns and cities. Freeways separated jobs from housing even more, creating bedroom communities where residents had no connection to the local job base, and severed the connection between housing and retail, which concentrated in regional malls.

¹⁸ “Not Anytown, USA: Tracy development integrates income spectrum to defy norm,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 18, 2002.

Pomona demonstrates a lack of local cohesion. The city's professional and academic jobs are not, for the most part, held by city residents, and the residents of the higher-income housing stock do not generally work in Pomona. Most of the city's residents travel elsewhere to shop. Pomona has roughly the same breakdown of employed residents working in the city and outside it as the other cities in this study, but there appears to be less synergy among the different elements of the city—jobs, housing, and retail. Philips Ranch is oriented away from the rest of the community and physically separated from it.

Culver City and Brea, in contrast, demonstrate a higher degree of local cohesion. Although no hard data could be obtained, anecdotally both cities are considered desirable places to live by all segments of their population and by most of the people who work in them. The result is that employees in Culver City's entertainment industry or Brea's high-tech firms—as well as in the manufacturing plants and warehouses located in those two cities—are more likely to live and shop in the same place that they work. Likewise, regardless of their place of employment, the residents of Brea and Culver City seem less likely to be oriented away from their home city in other areas of their lives.

Despite their success in attracting shoppers from outside, Brea and Culver City are not necessarily models for other places in this regard. Simple mathematics dictates that not every city can enjoy above-average per-capita retail sales. For most cities, capturing more of their internal spending and serving the needs of their residents may be a more realistic goal. It may also be a more desirable goal. The Long Island suburb of Hempstead went from being a major regional shopping center through a period of decline with 70 percent downtown retail vacancy in the early 1990s. Since then, immigrant entrepreneurs have injected new vitality into the retail core, creating businesses that serve the local population. This is viewed as good for stability (Kotkin, 2001).

There are promising trends. In Pomona and Riverside, the main universities are becoming more actively involved in the city through neighborhood improvement efforts in Pomona, the Riverside Regional Technology Park, and other initiatives. Azusa's General Plan process has focused on ways to knit together the disparate elements of the city, and public workshops on the Monrovia Nursery site have led to a project that will be more fully integrated with the rest of the city, including the downtown, and that will serve as a link to the new Gold Line.

Perhaps the most important lesson to remember is the need to create an integrated housing stock. For cities seeking to reverse years of decline, the desire to develop high-end housing at all costs is perhaps understandable, but if housing is truly to serve as an integral part of a high-road economic development strategy it must be built as part of the city and not an appendage to it. As cities add housing to attract a higher-income resident base, they should take great care to avoid creating high-end enclaves. Pomona's Philips Ranch is not integrated with the rest of the city and does not contribute to the overall cohesion. Azusa, faced with a similar situation, has gone to great lengths to ensure that new development at the Monrovia Nursery site will be integrated with the rest of the city, and that residents have input into the way that site is developed. And Brea has been quite successful at integrating different types of housing and has consistently opposed all proposals to build gated communities.

MAINTAIN AND EXPAND REGIONAL CONNECTIONS

Whatever the importance of internal coherence, all these cities are part of a larger regional context and they require appropriate connections to the rest of the region. Without those connections, cities become isolated and stagnate. Connections include viable transportation links, the ability to attract outsiders as shoppers or employees, and residents' ability to participate in the larger regional labor market.

Brea attracts shoppers from outside; Azusa and Pomona do not. Culver City is located in a part of the region that affords its residents with access to a wide range of employment opportunities; options in Riverside are more limited.

External connections are particularly important in the case of cities that have lost their traditional job base. In Pomona, as well as in many typical older suburbs in declining industrial areas around the country, much of the housing stock was built to serve a particular industry or even a particular firm. While reinvigorating the local employment base is part of the solution, so is forging connections—both tangible and intangible—to the regional economy. Are appropriate transportation links in place? Do residents have the skills and access to information they need to participate in the regional labor market? Can the city attract firms that serve regional industries as suppliers and contractors (e.g. in the way that metalworking firms until recently served the aerospace industry)?

In Pomona the attempt to connect to the regional labor market was one factor in the city's decline because of the poor planning and shoddy housing that characterized that attempt. Cities must undertake such a transformation with an eye to creating long-term value. Riverside can leverage its position in the Inland Empire to benefit from being at the center of that region, while also benefiting from being a part of the greater Los Angeles area.

BALANCE AND CONNECT THE LOCAL AND THE REGIONAL

Successful cities require a balance of internal coherence and external connections. Moreover, since external connections and local elements shape each other, they both benefit from an appropriate interface. The interface between the two, as much as the nature of either one alone, is an important factor shaping a city's development trajectory.

Transportation links must not only connect different places as nodes in a system, but must also connect to the individual elements of each place. The decline of rail transportation and the rise of the freeways was one of the factors that caused the regional population to bypass Pomona's downtown retail in favor of new regional shopping centers even as Cal Poly continued to draw employees and students from throughout the region. Pomona's retail base became isolated from the city's external connections, just as it was isolated from the other internal elements.

Unlike Pomona, Brea has a balance between its internal elements and its regional connections. This has not always been the case—the freeways and mall helped to destroy the downtown—but the end result is that the downtown that connects to the rest of the city also serves as a regional draw. The same strategy could work in other cities. Downtown retail can be defined by the nature of the local population while also attracting customers from elsewhere. Strong ties with local universities can help support industries that sell their products far away.

This observation has significant implications for both planning and design. The various components of a city should be planned and designed with the external linkages in mind, and vice-versa. A shopping district with regional appeal will be less effective if it is not easily accessible, just as the benefits of a transit link will not be fully realized without supporting development in the vicinity of the station. Housing should be integrated into the fabric of the city, both physically and economically, yet it is unrealistic to expect that all, or even most residents will work in the city where they live. Housing will be more desirable and more effective as part of an overall economic strategy if it is also linked to transportation and serves the regional labor market.

REINVEST AND REINVENT

In a dynamic environment, reinvention and adaptation are not episodic events but rather ongoing challenges. Cities must continuously reinvest in their infrastructure and their built environments. They must reinvent themselves as the surrounding context changes.

Even when Culver City was named the second-best place to live in Los Angeles County in the mid-1990s, its bland and even unattractive physical appearance was highlighted. Since then, the city has invested heavily in its appearance, even as it has transformed an aging industrial zone into a concentration of innovative architecture and high-end jobs.

Brea began the process of transformation when it changed from an economy based on citrus and oil into a residential community with a new job base. It continued it with its redevelopment efforts that led to the construction of the mall and the civic center. And more recently, it has radically reshaped its downtown. For better or for worse, Brea built its mall to capitalize on freeway connections in order to not be left behind by the growing trend of regional retail. It only later worked to revitalize its downtown when the pendulum began to swing back in favor of compact, walkable retail areas.

Ironically, Pomona's much earlier attempt to create a pedestrian mall was unsuccessful because it was, in a sense, too visionary. The complete dominance of auto-oriented retail and transportation in the 1960s and 1970s spelled failure for many such projects. It may have been the right idea, but it came at the wrong time: the new freeways spawned regional shopping centers while the old downtowns along the railroad became obsolete and declined. It was a good idea that didn't work in the context of the time.

For cities in California, redevelopment authority (which permits tax-increment financing and facilitates land assembly) is one of the most important tools for reinvestment. Culver City has one of the most aggressive, and arguably successful, histories of use of redevelopment in the state. The Culver City Redevelopment Agency was created in 1971, and by 1975 the three project areas comprised virtually all the commercial and industrial land in the city. This has meant that the city has been able to capture virtually all of the property tax increases in those areas, and by extension much of the general increase in prosperity in the entire West Los Angeles area. With one of the more successful redevelopment agencies in the state, and high bonding capacity, the city has been able to afford high levels of spending on infrastructure construction and repair, historic renovations, incentive programs, and affordable housing.

The city, mainly through its redevelopment agency, has invested in a number of successful projects and is planning others. The Fox Hills Mall was the Redevelopment Agency's first project, and a Costco built in the late 1990s has been extremely successful financially. The Culver Theater, empty since 1989, appears to be set to receive an overhaul and will once again be used as a venue for live performances, thanks to an agreement between the Redevelopment Agency and the Center Theatre Group.

BUILD LONG-TERM VALUE

Good places hold their value over time and afford more possibilities for reinvention. Building long-term value in the housing stock, in the retail base, and in the employment base creates greater fiscal stability as well as greater market viability. This requires, among other things, that communities recognize that successful economic development does not usually consist of a single large scale project, but rather can be composed of many smaller incremental actions aimed at maintaining and renewing the most fundamental elements that create a place.

Much of the housing built in Pomona in the 1960s ended up abandoned and blighted due to poor planning and shoddy construction. In contrast, there is much more emphasis on quality in the new housing being built today, and the new housing stock in all the cities seems more likely to hold its value over time. Creating unique, high-quality neighborhoods does not mean creating exclusively upscale housing, but it does require careful planning and a coordinated economic development strategy.

In contrast to the deteriorated malls and shopping centers in many older suburbs, vibrant downtowns hold the promise of more staying power, particularly given the changing economic environment. Although Pomona's downtown revitalization plan was not a success when first implemented, the presence of the historic downtown will likely be a significant asset that can help build future value.

Finally, a "high road," approach to job creation can create higher long-term value. This does not mean creating only jobs for highly skilled workers in advanced industries. Rather, it means fostering industries of all kinds that compete on the basis of quality and innovation, and that therefore pay their workers more and invest more heavily in the place that supports them.

PAY ATTENTION TO THE BASICS

Cities are in many ways analogous to individual houses. To maintain and enhance the value of their houses, homeowners must continuously reinvest in their property, painting rooms, repairing the roof, and replacing leaky plumbing. Without reinvestment, the property will eventually deteriorate to the point where it has no remaining economic value.

In the same way, neighborhoods and cities can quickly deteriorate if they are not cared for regularly. The safety and condition of the housing stock should be constantly monitored, codes should be enforced, and cities should develop programs to ensure that the housing stock is well cared for. Regular maintenance is far less expensive than wholesale renovation, and it prevents the damage from spreading.

Measures such as planting trees and cleaning streets may seem like drops in the bucket in the context of some of the larger challenges faced by these cities, but such small measures, along with the large strategies, are crucial for arresting and reversing decline and building the quality of life necessary for success.

BALANCE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

In the past, the desire to make way for a new vision has too often resulted in the destruction of what came before. Such actions ignore the value of existing elements of a city as assets. The past has shaped the present and should inform the future. At the same time, it is important to avoid embracing the past in empty nostalgia. Cities must reinvent themselves continuously, but they must do so with an understanding of what makes them unique and the forces that have shaped them in the past.

Culver City's Hayden Tract builds on the city's industrial past even as it fashions a high-tech future. The adaptive reuse of industrial buildings has given the area a unique character that constitutes a significant selling point. Riverside's concentration of historic buildings are a tremendous asset that should be preserved even as the city makes bold plans to reshape its downtown for the future.

MAKE NO SMALL PLANS

Planning can send a strong signal to developers, residents, and those who might consider relocating to the city that a framework is in place to manage the city's growth and change. A good plan shows

that the community has endorsed a collective vision of what it can be and is taking steps to implement that vision. Although the value of such a plan is intangible, it is real. Planning also allows cities to set high standards for development and see those standards met.

No matter what challenges a city may face, planning—and especially bold planning—can make a difference. 100 years ago architect and urban planner Daniel Burnham urged his peers to “Make no small plans: they have no magic to stir men’s blood.,, However Victorian the language and however overused the quote, the idea still applies today. Reinvention and timidity are poor partners, and cities that want to position themselves for success in changing regions must create bold plans for their future. Brea’s downtown is successful in part because of the vision and leadership that supported it. The Hayden Tract in Culver City has few, if any, precedents and has placed its bets on innovative architecture. Bilbao, Spain has taken a gamble that bold architecture could help turn the gritty industrial city around, and it seems to be paying off.

Boldness does not mean giving up a sense of reality. Rather, it means thinking outside the box and being willing to set high standards. In an environment that demands constant innovation and reinvention, cities should constantly search for ways to push the envelope even as they continue to focus on the basics. This means that planning should be *proactive* rather than *reactive*. Cities should not merely respond to trends but should create a vision of where they want to go. Implementation may be incremental and take many years, but cities that have the vision, dedication, and leadership can successfully reinvent themselves.

Even the boldest plan requires sustained leadership. Often the difference between success and failure lies not so much in the quality of the vision as in the strength of the implementation. As cities think about how to reinvent themselves and create long-term value, elected officials, institutions, and the public at large need to be deeply involved for the long haul.

RECOGNIZE LIMITS

Although the above recommendation exhorts older communities to pursue bold initiatives and reinvent themselves, a word of caution is in order. At the end of the day, individual cities still operate within a regional context that they have limited power to shape. They will have to respond to trends rather than creating them. Even the boldest plans must be tempered by realism. Not all communities can become high-tech meccas (nor should they), nor can they even emulate Brea or Culver City.

There are many possibilities to create stable, healthy communities without a regional mall or high-tech entertainment-focused employment base. An awareness of the limits of any given community will help avoid the risk that unrealistic plans will distract attention from the nuts-and-bolts policies—building local-serving retail, improving the quality of employment no matter what the particular industries, creating and maintaining a high-quality housing stock, and focusing on quality of life.

For example, those leading the change in Riverside are aware of the challenges. The fundamental realities of the city and its regional context have not changed. Riverside has moderate median income, a very competitive retail base in surrounding areas, and an aging housing stock in a region that offers a large supply of new housing. However, with its rich history and assets, Riverside has many options to create a unique and high-quality place. The city is treating the realities soberly, but it is also actively looking for ways to reinvent itself for a new era.

The main tools that cities have at their disposal—government and markets—also have their limits. The market alone cannot build or maintain healthy cities and communities, but neither can

governments solve all problems or create miracles where there is no market support. Cities must recognize the limits of both markets and government.

FORGE REGIONAL PARTNERSHIPS

Finally, while cities individually have limited control over their regional context, collectively they have a great deal. Whatever the merits, drawbacks, and prospects of stronger regional institutions, cities have a great deal of freedom to forge partnerships with their neighbors to avoid fruitless competition and shape their regional context for the better.

APPENDIX: LESSONS FOR OTHER PLACES

The recommendations above are abstracted from the above analysis and informed by other work done by Strategic Economics. They are presented as fairly broad principles because the challenges and context faced by communities outside of the Los Angeles region and California may be very different from the ones described in this paper. Although these recommendations are relevant to all communities, it is worth pointing out some of the main differences that may exist.

First, many communities in Los Angeles region are not classic suburbs. The region evolved as a multi-centered metropolis to a far greater degree than, for example, the industrial cities of the Midwest, and however true the epithet of “suburbs in search of a city,, may have been, the suburbs in question were not the same as those in a more typical Eastern or Midwestern metropolitan area. As Greg Hise makes clear, the decentralization in Los Angeles was not pursued randomly but rather was based to a great degree on the planned dispersion of both residents and industry. This means that the pattern of concentric circles of development, with rings of housing radiating out from a commercial and industrial core, applies even less to the Los Angeles region than to other places.

The speed with which these cities transformed is also different. The rapid transition from small agricultural community to eclectic mix of suburb, industrial center, and city that characterizes places like Azusa, Brea, and Pomona has few analogs in other parts of the country. The sheer speed of the growth in these communities and the region as a whole during that period of change probably has no parallels.

Second, the regional context is very different in the Los Angeles area. The Los Angeles region as a whole has not experienced the type of dramatic decline in manufacturing seen in the rustbelt cities, even if individual cities within it have suffered such a decline. Many metropolitan areas do not enjoy the essentially healthy, growing regional economy that Los Angeles has been able to count on in all but a few periods. Neither do all of them experience the population growth that is a characteristic of the Los Angeles area even in the worst of times. As mentioned earlier, all of the cities examined have experienced steady growth throughout their lives, in contrast to many older suburbs elsewhere that have lost population. The problem in the Los Angeles region is how to divide a growing pie equitably, not how to make the pie grow. The way to make a decentralized metropolis like Los Angeles work today may be different from what should happen in places that grew up in a different time, with a different philosophy.

Third, cities examined here are actually quite rich with assets and may not be typical of many older suburbs. Even Pomona, which is in the most challenging situation, has significant institutions of higher education and hospitals on which to base its efforts, as well as a historic downtown. This stands in marked contrast to some struggling communities that have little other than a deteriorating housing stock.

Fourth, the level of diversity, both economic and demographic, that characterizes the nation’s second largest metropolitan area creates challenges even as it constitutes a potentially significant asset. Whether the ultimate effect is positive or negative, the fact remains that this diversity adds complexity that is simply not present in most other regions and suburbs.

Finally, California places stricter limits on local property taxes than most other states, making cities more dependent on sales taxes. This increases the importance of retail and changes the dynamic of land use planning. Cities elsewhere in the country may have more fiscal flexibility, or at least may face different fiscal challenges.