Place Making, Keeping, and Guarding:
A Museum/Cultural Centre in a Gentrifying Ethnic Enclave

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Abstract

Neighbourhoods experiencing multiple waves of redevelopment may include residents with various reasons for supporting or resisting a museum or cultural centre. The data were collected and triangulated from a mixed-methods survey of 48% of residents ($n = 195$), qualitative interviews with neighbourhood-association attendees ($n = 17$), field notes, and archival data representing stakeholder groups. Survey questions focused on resident ratings of the importance of specific components of proposed development, neighbourhood-association organizational collective efficacy, and demographic variables. Sample demographics represent three groups: generational, predominantly Indigenous and Latinx residents; those who had relocated to the neighbourhood during urban renewal; and newer residents who represent neighbourhood demographics of the city as a whole. The three groups show mean differences in their answers to survey questions based on length of time in the neighbourhood. Models created from the results show differences among the three groups' reasons for their support of a heritage museum or cultural centre. Thematic analysis of survey and interview data from generational and newer-resident perspectives resulted in themes focused on development that maintains culture. Study results highlight differences in priorities among newer residents and planners who focus on tourism and streetcar-related economic development versus generational residents and activists who focus on people, culture, and place.

Keywords: colonialism; ethnic groups; gentrification; migration; residence characteristics; resistance

Heritage tourism is a global economic driver with common challenges regarding whose past and present are centred (Jamal & Hill, 2004; Mohanram, 1996; Urry & Larsen, 2011; Walker, McKeehan, & Folkwein, 2020). Community-engaged planning and public archaeology moved away from top-down development and execution focused on passive observers of objects to actively involved local partners who are engaged in places with relevant, meaningful, holistic, and historic contextualization (Jojola, 2016; Merriman, 2004; Okamura & Matsuda, 2011). Tucson Origins Heritage Park (TOHP) is a proposed museum or cultural centre west of downtown Tucson, Arizona, United States, in the Menlo Park (MP) neighbourhood (Launius & Boyce, 2021). This is an instrumental case study focused on support in community planning for the proposed TOHP, given the variability in identities during several waves of displacement related to migration and economic development during Spanish colonial and U.S. colonial settlement (Walker et al., 2020). The study is a case example of methodology for how to understand and acknowledge concerns of diverse local publics in comprehensive community planning of museum audiences (Launius & Boyce, 2021; Merriman, 2004; Okamura & Matsuda, 2011; Walker, Jojola, & Natcher, 2013; Watkins, 2001). The following vignette provides more contemporary neighbourhood context for the gentrifying ethnic enclave.

Tucson Origins Heritage Park Vignette

MP is a predominantly Mexican American ethnic enclave with a high poverty rate (32%) and a recent streetcar-related economic development (American Community Survey, 2017; U.S. Census, 2009). The Southern Arizona Regional Orientation Center (SAROC) was supported by a 1999 bond and 2016 city resolution that protects the San Agustín Cultural Center and Settlement Area of the TOHP property due to historic and economic importance (Pima County, 2014). MP has a strong sense of community (SOC) and is rooted in dynamic and actively engaged residents who maintain Mexican American and Indigenous cultural traditions (Walker, Ince, Riphenburg-Reese, & Littman, 2018; Walker, Littman, Riphenburg-Reese, & Ince, 2016).

Shifts in national borders and waves of settler colonialism changed the land use, demographics, and political dynamics of the MP neighbourhood (Erickson, 1994; Sheridan, 1986; Walker et al., 2020). The O'odham (Sobaipuri, Tohono [desert people], and Akimel [river people]) are the Indigenous Peoples who inhabited the TOHP area prior to Spanish Jesuit Catholic contact (BWS Architects, 2008; Launius & Boyce, 2021). The O'odham named the place "Chuk Shon," which means "village of the spring at the foot of the black mountain" (BWS Architects, 2008). The O'odham experienced several waves of colonization and occupation (Launius & Boyce, 2021). Spaniards settled the area (1694–1856), which included communal agriculture (ejidos), herding, mining, and Catholicism, and the renaming of the area as "Tucsón" (Erickson, 1994; Otero, 2010; Taylor, 1972; Weber, 1973).

The TOHP plans outline intentions to restore the Chuk Shon Indigenous village and irrigation channels, as well as the first European buildings in Tucsón built in the Spanish colonial era in 1770 (Catholic chapel, convent, granary, settler house, and horse ranch), and communal agriculture via the existing Mission Garden (BWS Architects, 2008; Donovan, 1973). U.S. settlement began in 1856 after the Mexican-American War, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), and Treaty of Mesilla (1853–1854), also known as the

Gadsden Purchase (Launius & Boyce, 2021). U.S. settlement as a second iteration of colonization as a structure that emphasized individual ownership of land plots, businesses, and tourism and renamed the area "Tucson" (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008; Launius & Boyce, 2021; Otero, 2010; Sheridan, 1986). The land for the proposed TOHP became a landfill (1953–1962), which required remediation that began in 2017. Many Latinx residents relocated to the neighbourhood during urban renewal in the 1970s (Launius & Boyce, 2021). The neighbourhood still has rural and agricultural uses (i.e., presence of gardens, horses, chickens, and goats). MP's latest residents include a higher percentage of European Americans and higher-income homeowners, who live in a recent planned housing and local business development called Mercado San Agustin. TOHP and the new San Agustin Mercado District are designed to spur the economic development of neighbourhood housing, businesses, and tourist attractions. The proposed TOHP and existing Mercado have streetcar stops that opened in 2014, which connect with downtown Tucson, museums, art galleries, restaurants, government buildings, and the University of Arizona.

The visioning of TOHP is a collaboration of public, private, and nonprofit organizations. As of 2018, TOHP and the surrounding land had 10 iterations of draft plans. Family length of residence in MP at the time of data collection included three cohorts focused on the predominantly Latinx/Native American population present before urban renewal (41 years or more), families who had relocated to the area during urban renewal (5 to 40 years), and households tied to the most recent development (less than 5 years). The three resident cohorts have different experiences in political processes and varying interests in TOHP. Residents cohorts with different Indigenous affiliations, race, and class-based demographics have various stratified experiences with access to decision-making tables and voice, including emotional connection (an attachment to place, ongoing commitment to remain in the neighbourhood, and investment in relationships), SOC, resident stability, spending power, involvement, and influence on the neighbourhood large-scale developments (Almeida, Rozas, Cross-Denny, Lee, & Yamada, 2019; Logan & Molotch, 2007; Walton, 2018).

Place Making, Keeping, and Guarding

Contemporary place making efforts often use arts, culture, story, and attachment to place as drivers of economic development and gentrification while ignoring living, present-day Indigenous people with prior history and connections to the place (Launius & Boyce, 2021; Okamura & Matsuda, 2011; Pritchard, 2018; Rudkevitch, 2017; Watkins, 2001). Place making frequently coincides with place branding with "one-of-a-kind marketable features of the past, present, and future within a city and utilizing them to build up the tourism industry" (Rudkevitch, 2017, p. 24). Indigenous planners' critique of place making presumes "the frontier was not a barren wilderness. On the contrary, [Indigenous communities][1] had already built much of the infrastructure which explorers and settlers appropriated to develop their roadways, farmsteads, and townships" (Walker et al., 2013,

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[1] The word used in the original text ("tribe") has been replaced to represent the language used in Canada by Indigenous Peoples and by anti-colonial and decolonial scholars and allies. The use of this word carries problematic colonial implications.

p. 460). Place making attempts "to paint the American settlement experience as a necessary extension of progress and urbanization" (Walker et al., 2013, p. 461). Place making centres a public good that maximizes land value via the cultural and economic capital of managing archaeological commodities viewed as cultural resources and property (Jojola, 2008; Merriman, 2004; Okamura & Matsuda, 2011; Watkins, 2001).

Place keeping planning efforts focus on development that maintains economic, social, and ecological benefits for local communities (Rudkevitch, 2017). Place keeping focuses on a contemporary people with rights to reclaim, manage, and interpret archaeological materials linked to their past, present, and future (Jojola, 2016; Merriman, 2004; Okamura & Matsuda, 2011). Indigenous connections to place are distinct and "not a property right, [they are] negotiated through consent" and through a long-term history and relationship with an ecological place (Cronon, 1996; Gray, Coates, Yellow Bird, & Hetherington, 2013; Jojola, 2008, 2016, p. 52). Walker et al. (2013) described Indigenous place keeping as "maintaining a sense of place" (p. 463), "adhering to values such as stewardship and land tenure … traditional ways of managing land … the collective governance over land, its ecological principles, and cultural meaning" (p. 468) across generations, and "attaining a balanced and symmetrical interrelationship between humankind and the natural ecosystem that it occupies" (Jojola, 2008, pp. 42–43). Place keeping is a "basic responsibility—that it is their collective right to assert themselves as stewards of their territories" (Walker et al., 2013, p. 469). Place keeping includes maintaining cultural connections and meaning associated with the preservation and protection of places, Ancestors, and materials (Cronon, 1996; Merriman, 2004; Okamura & Matsuda, 2011; Watkins, 2001). Place keeping includes movements toward Indigenous-led museums and cultural centres with holistic management of sacred place-based cultural significance (Jojola, 2008; Watkins, 2001).

Place guarding perspectives may focus on seeking social justice via memorials, remembrance, as well as education and advocacy for social change (Perreault, 2017; Pritchard, 2018). Place guarding practices include sharing difficult knowledge, "confronting a learner with any knowledge, experience, or history that tests the limits of what they are willing or able to understand" (Perreault, 2017, p. 5), which includes remembrance and engagement with Indigenous memories of difficult experiences (Lonetree, 2012; Perreault, 2017).

Ongoing waves of occupation of the Chuk Shon land by other Indigenous, Spaniard, Mexican Americans who descend from Indigenous and Spaniards, and U.S. settlers resulted in the O'odham people experiencing disruptions of connections to place via forcible removal and relocation numerous times (Walker et al., 2013). Examples of difficult experiences with occupation in Chuk Shon include the forced: (a) removal and assimilation of the Sobaipuri (Akimel O'odham) by Jesuits in 1762; (b) O'odham labour at San Agustín; (c) displacement and relocation of Tohono O'odham people to U.S. reservations in 1874 and 1882 (Dobyns, 1976; Donovan, 1973; Greenleaf & Wallace, 1962). Launius & Boyce (2021) explained that "the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1881 allowed for the rapid mobilization of troops and supplies to enforce confinement on the reservation system" (p. 162). Place guarding names, problematizes, and resists the systematic and exploitative (a) removal, destruction, or desecration via development-related construction and excavation; (b) museum displays of previously buried Indigenous Ancestors and

sensitive sacred and cultural materials; and (c) bias toward European American views of a nostalgic history and comfort in interpretation (Merriman, 2004; Okamura & Matsuda, 2011; Walker et al., 2013; Watkins, 2001). Perreault (2017) noted that "memorial museums are most often situated on the very land where the mass atrocities they are commemorating took place" (p. 17), which enables dialogue about difficult knowledge and contextual understandings across time within the place (Lonetree, 2012; Mohanram, 1996). Place guarding engages in ethical relational practices via the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which enables Indigenous communities to determine how to appropriately manage previously buried Indigenous Ancestors and sacred or cultural materials associated with their heritage (Merriman, 2004; Watkins, 2001). Place guarding may resist modernization and gentrification via policy change (Launius & Boyce, 2021; Lees et al., 2008; Pritchard, 2018; Walker et al., 2013). Place guarding can, "heal deep cultural wounds by assisting the community to reclaim its culture and heritage" (Jojola, 2016, p. 53).

Inclusive pluralistic planning seeks to include variations in understandings across time and contextual understandings of the land, history, people, migration patterns, and buildings (Mohanram, 1996; Rudkevitch, 2017). Watkins (2001) asserted that "American Indians do not have the same power to present their sides of the story" within the diversity of cultures and experiences in a place (p. 178). Indigenous planning provides a means to museum or cultural-centre planning that is "mindful of the past, cognizant of the present, and suitable for the future" (Jojola, 2008, p. 43). Indigenous planning and design are culturally responsive means of engaging intergenerational collective responsibility for a place across time where local Indigenous communities can "integrate their own … cultural and traditional designs," knowledge, meaning, and values into community development projects like a museum or cultural centre (Jojola, 2008, 2016; Walker et al., 2013, p. 464). Indigenous consultation regarding museum planning and management of culturally sacred and significant materials can include ensuring accessibility and accommodations for ceremonial practices associated with the place, Indigenous Ancestors, or materials, such as designated spaces for offerings (Lonetree, 2012).

Study Purpose, Research Questions, and Hypotheses

This instrumental case study of TOHP serves as an example of essential critical analysis and engagement when developing museums or cultural centres focused on groups that continue to experience marginalization and silencing in political processes (Boast, 2011; Creswell, 2007; Walker et al., 2020). Indigenous perspectives are underrepresented in the neighbourhood sample, given the relocation of O'odham peoples. As a result, the region's original residents are made into ghosts in a study of their own ancestral territory (Erickson, 1994; Fanon, 1963; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Walker et al., 2020). Typical stakeholder engagement processes have structural inequality, but Indigenous voices were included in the concept design for TOHP (BWS Architects, 2008). Yet Indigenous perspectives are buried within the design among many other stakeholders voices whose political, social, and economic power are centred (Almeida et al., 2019).

The study purpose includes determining the impact of length of residence on resident ratings of the importance of tourism and museum or cultural-centre–focused community

economic development. The study includes resident ratings of how likely the neighbourhood association is to influence various components of neighbourhood community development (Ohmer & Beck, 2006). The authors aim to improve understanding of cultural dynamics in political processes where Indigenous and Latinx residents have experienced multiple waves of redevelopment (Launius & Boyce, 2021). The study has four research questions, each with specific hypotheses rooted in knowledge from existing research for quantitative questions.

Research Question 1: How do residents describe neighbourhood culture, development, and key considerations for TOHP as a museum or cultural centre in qualitative interviews, survey, and archival data?

Research Question 2: Do resident demographics vary based on the length of time they have lived in the MP neighbourhood? The authors hypothesized that residents who had lived in the neighbourhood longer (5–40 years and ≥ 41 years) would include a higher percentage of Latinx residents and homeowners who lived in the neighbourhood before or during urban renewal–related migration (Comey, Parkhurst, Thiel, & Hadley, 2010; Otero, 2010). Further, residents who reported living in MP less than five years would be more representative of the population of the city of Tucson as a whole, which has a lower percentage of Latinx residents (approximately 33% Latinx [U.S. Census Bureau, 2009]).

Research Question 3: Do residents have mean differences in their ratings of the importance of various factors (such as museum or cultural centre, creating more tourism, improving the business district, maintaining housing costs, and maintaining native cacti) based on the length of time they have resided in the neighbourhood? The authors hypothesized that the survey participants would vary on at least half of the study variables according to the length of time they had lived in the neighbourhood. Longer-term residents including generational (second or later generation represented by reporting that the family had resided in the neighbourhood for over 41 years) were expected to rate a lower level of agreement with tourism and visitor centre–related development. The lower level of agreement of longer-term residents would likely be influenced by their experiences of prior marketing of Tucson for tourism, as well as the relocation and displacement of Indigenous and Latinx residents of prior generations by residents of European descent, who often excluded them from decision-making processes (Otero, 2010; Sheridan, 1986).

Research Question 4: Do each of the three cohorts of MP residents have different predictors of the perceived importance of the museum or cultural centre? The analysis is exploratory and is also informed by qualitative analyses. Planning for tourism and economic development has an impact on neighbourhood multicultural social dynamics based on varied cultural perspectives (Launius, 2013; Launius & Boyce, 2021; Otero, 2010; Sheridan, 1986). Latinx residents commonly live in U.S. ethnic enclaves and experience generational discrimination, as well as geographically based engagement in shared cultural heritage and mutual aid (Gilster, Booth, Meier, & Torres-Cacho, 2020; Gilster, Meier, & Booth, 2019). Generational and longer-term residents are expected to have higher associations between the importance of maintaining historic cultures in their ratings for supporting a museum or cultural centre (i.e., longer-term residents support developing a

cultural centre that interprets and preserves their history, culture, language, and origin stories (BWS Architects, 2008).

Residents who had resided in the neighbourhood for 5–40 or 41 or more years were expected to have higher association between the importance of people getting to know each other and the cultural centre or museum because their experience of the neighbourhood is culturally relational with informal family gatherings, celebrations, and cultural festivals (Walker et al., 2016). For example, Dia de San Juan is an annual festival focused on the patron saint of water. The festival is timed as a means of welcoming the monsoon rains via Tohono O'odham and Mexican American music, dancing, and women demonstrating precise horseback riding in traditional Mexican dresses. MP residents have reported that local SOC is related to generational families who engage with one another on residential blocks and attend cultural events in the neighbourhood, as well as work together to preserve language, physical space, and unique local cultural traditions and special events in open-air sites (Merriman, 2004; Walker et al., 2016). Next, this study provides a description of resident experiences with waves of large-scale developments of MP.

Neighbourhood Context and History With Several Large-Scale Redevelopments

The MP neighbourhood is west of Interstate 10 and includes the city's largest open space. Open-space and outdoor activities, museums like TOHP, and cultural resources draw city tourism (Slusser & Mayro, 2014). MP is the location of seven diverse, annual, contemporary multicultural festivals often occurring in the space near the Mercado San Agustin, Barrio Kroeger Lane, and the nearby Saint Augustine Cathedral. The festivals are often a fusion of Indigenous, Latinx, and Catholic cultures and traditions of the Sonoran region (binational Mexico-U.S. desert ecosystem). The TOHP plans include space for ongoing outdoor cultural festivals; however, in April 2019 Menlo Park Neighborhood Association meeting minutes indicated concerns regarding the space for outdoor cultural festivals not being noted in planning documents. Generational Latinx families reside in the neighbourhood and consistently promote their culture and resist cultural devaluation (Otero, 2010; Sheridan, 1986). MP neighbourhood Latinx, Indigenous, and Catholic traditions are best understood in the context of over 4,100 years of residential history, including about 326 years of Spanish colonial and then over 165 years of ongoing U.S. occupation and development of the MP land (Erickson, 1994; Launius & Boyce, 2021; McIntyre, 2008).

Waves of Large-Scale Development

The MP neighbourhood has a complex history of migration into and out of the neighbourhood (Walker et al., 2020). Jesuit Catholic missionary Father Kino settled in the land now called MP in 1694. The Catholic Church stopped managing the San Agustín mission in 1842 before the Treaty of Mesilla and Gadsden Purchase (1853). Tohono O'odham relocation to reservation lands (1874) occurred before concentrated U.S. settlement of MP in the 1890s with several waves of large-scale redevelopments (Comey et al., 2010; Erickson 1994; Otero, 2010). Historical preservation efforts focus on the years between 1877 and 1964, which are bounded by the oldest remaining U.S. settler residence (1877) and urban renewal (Comey et al., 2010; Otero, 2010). The Indigenous populations relocated to and from Chuk Shon 170 to 300 years ago during Spanish and U.S. colonial

settlement and were only briefly mentioned in a document arguing the historical significance of the area, which mirrors common erasure of pre-contact Indigenous presence (Comey et al., 2010; Erickson, 1994; Merriman, 2004; Okamura & Matsuda, 2011).

More recent MP residential patterns are systemically caused by subdivisions with exclusionary zoning, which segregated neighbourhood home ownership (Comey et al., 2010; Launius & Boyce, 2021). The MP neighbourhood, the first development of agricultural land west of Interstate 10 in 1912–1913, was built for European American households and had race-restricted covenants (Launius & Boyce, 2021). Homeownership by people of Spaniard,[2] Indigenous, and multi-ethnic descent was limited to the Barrio Sin Nombre (1914) and Barrio Kroeger Lane subdivisions (1920s; Comey et al., 2010; Dobyns, 1976). Deed restrictions in 1921 limited non–European American home ownership to the areas to the south and west of the current Mercado San Agustin in Barrio Sin Nombre, South MP, and MP Annex.

The proposed location of TOHP is within the southeastern portion of the MP neighbourhood near two neighbourhood subsections with predominantly Mexican American residents who collectively had lower incomes prior to the Mercado District streetcar-related development. See Launius & Boyce (2021, Figures 1, 2, and 4) for a contemporary panoramic photograph of the TOHP footprint context, a map of the TOHP footprint and neighbourhood subdivisions, and a map of race and ethnicity by U.S. Census block in 2019, respectively. Resident experiences within a historical time period (residential cohorts) result in distinctive experiences of the place and may result in different ratings of the importance of proposed developments and their sense of the ability of the neighbourhood association to influence neighbourhood change.

Generational Mexican, African, and Asian American Residents

Households of European American descent did not choose to live west of Interstate 10 in large numbers as developers had hoped. As a result, Mexican Americans began buying homes in other sections of MP in large numbers, beginning in the 1940s during the World War II era and in the 1950s during exponential growth in the city (Comey et al., 2010). U.S. Census records indicate an Asian American household lived in MP in 1920, and Mexican American households and an African American household lived in MP as soon as 1930 (< 10% of households combined were Asian, Mexican, or African American in 1930; Comey et al., 2010; Sheridan 1986). Mexican Americans settled in Barrio Sin Nombre in rural, agricultural, and adobe-style homes in the 1930s adjacent to industrial uses such as San Agustín Mission and brick company (1894–1970s) and Tres Mesquites landfill (1953–1962; Comey et al., 2010; Dobyns, 1976; Donovan, 1973; Sheridan, 1986). Approximately 2,000 homes were built within the MP neighbourhood in the area north of Barrio Sin Nombre, which became predominantly owner-occupied by higher-income Mexican American families with Spanish surnames by 1960 (Fimbres, 2013; U.S. Census, 1960).

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[2] The authors have intentionally used "Spaniard" to refer specifically to colonists from Spain who occupied Chuk Shon from 1694 to 1856.

Urban Renewal Development

Tucson participated in the Model Cities program in 1965, and 58% of houses in MP violated code in 1967, which resulted in 21% of households accepting loans for repairs (Comey et al., 2010; Otero, 2010). Tucson experiences annual monsoon rains and street flooding; Barrio Kroeger Lane is adjacent to the Santa Cruz River and two washes that sometimes cause flooding with contamination from mining chemicals (Comey et al., 2010; Otero, 2010; Sheridan, 1986). Therefore, urban renewal–related neighbourhood investments in the 1970s included storm drainage, as well as sidewalks, paved streets, streetlights, and trees as improvements that drove additional migration to the neighbourhood (Comey et al., 2010). The convent and another building were archaeologically excavated in 1956 although later demolished for the landfill; the grain mill was rediscovered in 1967; the brick company was dismantled in 1973 during urban renewal; and land between Congress Street and Mission Lane was archaeologically excavated in the 1980s and 1990s (Desert Archaeology, 1992; Diehl, 2005; Donovan, 1973; Thiel & Diehl, 2001). Multiethnic residents moved to MP in the 1960s and 1970s during urban renewal–related migration (Comey et al., 2010; Otero, 2010). The director of the Arizona Historic Society began advocating for study and preservation of TOHP as a recreational area in the early 1970s (Donovan, 1973).

Streetcar- and Infill-Related Redevelopment

The Mercado San Agustin infill development began within Barrio Sin Nombre (a lower-income portion of the neighbourhood) in 2010 and includes a new open-air market, restaurants, businesses, and housing. The Mercado Annex opened in 2018 and includes 13 additional food and business venders adjacent to the southern streetcar stop and the Caterpillar commercial business offices located in what was the northern footprint of the proposed TOHP. The Gadsden Company built the Mercado San Agustin on top of recently excavated 800–2,100 BCE farming village/rancherias where 2,000 Indigenous people had lived in pit houses and dug irrigation channels (one of which is 3,500 years old; Rio Development Company, 2004; Thiel & Diehl, 2001). Home prices in the Mercado San Agustin range from $US 110,000 for 886 square feet (82.3 square metres) to $US 874,608 for 2,720 square feet (253.7 square metres), which is substantially higher than the median home value of $US 124,638 in the MP neighbourhood as a whole (American Community Survey, 2017). The Gadsden Company, which built the Mercado and Mercado Annex, shares a name with the Gadsden Purchase of the land where the Mercado has been built (see Figure 1). The Gadsden Purchase facilitated the completion of the transcontinental railroad (Launius & Boyce, 2021). The Gadsden Company built the Mercado Annex with businesses in re-purposed shipping containers that exemplify railroad cars. Menlo Park Neighborhood Association leaders frequently discuss plans for TOHP in meetings with a focus on a cultural centre or museum; however, residents may have different understandings of heritage tourism, cultural preservation, and cultural centres.

Figure 1. The Gadsden Company Mercado Annex

Note. Photograph of bike racks with developer branding near the Mercado San Agustin Annex and the Cushing Street & Convento streetcar stop in the Mercado San Agustin District. Photo copyright 2020 by Laura J. Folkwein.
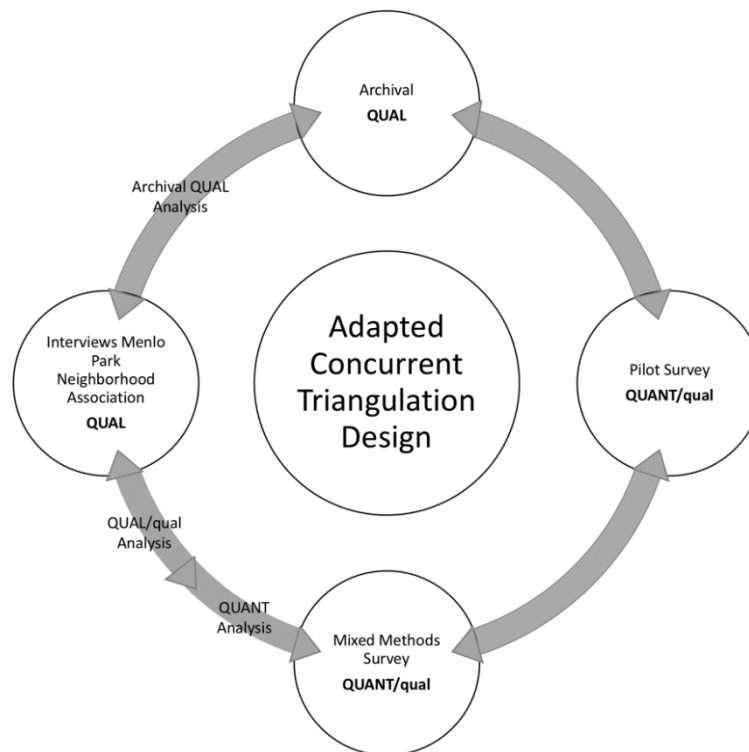
Methods

Research Design

This instrumental case study focuses on critically analyzing existing stakeholder perspectives (Creswell, 2007). The unit of analysis is current residents of the MP neighbourhood and Indigenous and activist perspectives of historic residents of Chuk Shon (Creswell, 2007). The study was designed in collaboration with the Menlo Park Neighborhood Association as a means of illustrating the complexity of multicultural neighbourhood organizations working together on neighbourhood planning during streetcar-focused economic development (Creswell, 2007). The study had Institutional Review Board approval at two universities in the western United States.

The study has a concurrent triangulation mixed-methods design, which was adapted to include a circular approach to quantitative and qualitative data analyses informed by Indigenous research methods (Chilisa, 2012; Plano Clark & Creswell, 2008; see Figure 2). The data were collected via (a) a pilot survey with Menlo Park Neighborhood Association leaders and attendees (*n* = 13) who expressed interest in understanding similarities and differences in the views of newer residents and longer-term residents; (b) mixed-methods

surveys with individual residents of the MP neighbourhood during the spring and summer of 2014 just before the opening of the streetcar stops (n = 195); (c) qualitative interviews with Menlo Park Neighborhood Association leaders (n = 17); and (d) field notes from observation of Menlo Park Neighborhood Association meetings and publicly posted archival documents and audiovisual materials bounded between 1999 to 2020 (Creswell, 2007). The archival data included documentation from the perspective of social planners (draft plans and ballot initiatives of the city, county, and local collaborators), neighbourhood-association documents (historic maps, bylaws, letters of support, meeting agendas/minutes, field notes from meetings, and emails), and records of local activist organizations (online documents and media focused on community organizing groups including local press, social media, and related websites; Creswell, 2007). Data analysis of the quantitative survey data, qualitative data (interviews and survey data together), and archival data were separate yet informed one another (Plano Clark & Creswell, 2008). The final interpretation of the data included merging all types of data, which were treated equivalently (Plano Clark & Creswell, 2008).

Figure 2. Mixed-Methods Research Design:
Concurrent Triangulation Informed by Indigenous Research Methods

Note. Concurrent triangulation design adapted to include a circular and interconnected approach informed by Indigenous research methods (Chilisa, 2012; Plano Clark & Creswell, 2008).

Sample

The resident survey sample included a 48% sample rate of every other door throughout the whole neighbourhood within approximately half a mile (1 km) of two MP

neighbourhood streetcar stops ($n = 344$). The study sample included 195 survey participants. Surveys were conducted in person between May and September 2014 in English ($n = 181$) and Spanish ($n = 14$) with a written translation and bilingual interviewers. Research participants signed informed consent forms before survey data were collected.

Seventeen neighbourhood-association attendees participated in recorded and transcribed qualitative interviews, which lasted 28 minutes on average. Mexican Americans and participants who had lived in the neighbourhood for a mean of ≥ 41 years interviews represented residents who experienced the urban renewal processes. Residents that lived in the neighbourhood for a mean of 19 years had shorter interviews correlated with more recent gentrification. Many Indigenous residents were relocated during colonization and lived outside the sampling frame proposed by the neighbourhood association. Indigenous perspectives are therefore underrepresented in the sample. The study archival data supplements Indigenous perspectives.

Study Measures

The quantitative measures used in this study included (a) original questions focused on how much residents agree with the importance of various local development projects; (b) individual items from the organizational collective efficacy (OCE) scale (Ohmer & Beck, 2006); and (c) demographic variables. The original local development questions had participants rate individual items (1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *neutral*, 4 = *agree*, and 5 = *strongly agree*) including (a) the importance of various neighbourhood assets including: a visitor centre, native cacti, maintaining historic cultures, and maintaining low housing costs; and (b) the importance of creating more tourism and a museum or cultural centre (such as TOHP). Items from the OCE included rating (1 = *very unlikely*, 2 = *unlikely*, 3 = *neutral*, 4 = *likely*, and 5 = *very likely*) the likelihood that the neighbourhood association could (a) improve cleanliness and upkeep, (b) improve economic development, (c) get people to know each other better, (d) improve the business district, and (e) get the city to provide better services (Ohmer & Beck, 2006).

Demographics included the length of time living in the neighbourhood, race/ethnicity, gender, level of education, children, income, and whether or not the study participant owned the home they resided in within the neighbourhood. Length of residence ("What is the total length of years your family lived in the neighbourhood?") was used as key measure in this study rather than forefronting race or ethnicity. Length of residence was measured as under 5 years and in 5-year increments between 5–10 and 71–75 years and then transformed into *< 5 years*, *5–40 years*, and *≥ 41 years*. Length of residence in the neighbourhood was selected instead of race or ethnicity because identities are complex in MP due to the history of colonization resulting in (a) waves of very different concentrations of ethnic identities; (b) border changes; (c) migration; (d) redevelopment of the geographic areas of interest over time; and (e) the problematization of race or ethnicity in this study because of complex, fluid cultural constructs where a resident may identify as Mexican American, European American, and a descendent of Indigenous Peoples (Launius & Boyce, 2021). Mexican Indigenous traditions and aspects of Spanish colonial culture influence Mexican American identities and experiences in Southern Arizona (Otero, 2010). Length of residence is a means of documenting the inequalities between the longer-term

residents who had lived in the neighbourhood for an extended period of time before urban renewal and had experienced migration of various racial and ethnic groups and systemic disinvestment in the neighbourhood (Jamal & Hill, 2004) and the newer, higher-income, and predominantly European descent residents associated with more recent gentrification.

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted with neighbourhood-association leaders, and neighbourhood residents completed surveys that asked open-ended questions. Menlo Park Neighborhood Association interviews included eight questions. Interview questions focused on (1) how long they had lived or worked in the neighbourhood; (2) what they liked about the neighbourhood; (3) what was hard about the neighbourhood; (4) how they were experiencing the neighbourhood development and streetcar changes; (5) whether they wanted the neighbourhood to change or not; (6) what they would like to see changed; (7) what they would like maintained; and (8) whether the streetcar stops might improve access to specific amenities. The open-ended questions in the survey included (1) their experience living in the neighbourhood and (2) their thoughts about the streetcar.

Data Analysis

The first author, Walker, analyzed the quantitative survey data with the SPSS software in two steps. First, an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) provided a comparison of statistically significant differences in means scores for individual items for resident cohorts based on their length of time residing in the neighbourhood. Second, a linear multiple regression analysis created models predicting ratings of the importance of having a museum or cultural centre in the neighbourhood for each group based on known group differences. The final model for each residential cohort group includes the 4 to 5 variables that have significant relationships with the importance of having a museum or cultural centre. Data were screened prior to analysis to ensure assumptions of normality and linearity.

Leader interviews and open-ended surveys were analyzed with thematic analysis of the data conducted with the Atlas Ti software (Braun & Clark, 2006). Data analysis included first creating in vivo codes in the language of the study participants and then creating rules for inclusion and definitions for the themes by comparing across interviews (Braun & Clark, 2006). An inter-rater reliability process with four reviewers resulted in 100% agreement on 54 quotes (Koch, 1994). The study results include final codes with quotes supporting the main themes (Braun & Clark, 2006; Creswell, 2007; Koch, 1994). The results and discussion include the triangulation and synthesis of various data types (Creswell, 2007). The archival data were then compared and contrasted with the qualitative interviews (Clark & Creswell, 2007). The study results included embedded analysis that highlighted differences in perspectives among newer residents and generational residents (Creswell, 2007). Interviews provided a rich description of key concepts related to neighbourhood changes in the words of current residents. Field notes and archival data documented contextual information related to neighbourhood-association and planning meetings, data collection processes, and activist perspectives.

Results

The results include qualitative and then quantitative results.

Qualitative Results

Qualitative data provides an in-depth description of resident perspectives on the importance of cultural preservation, which can inform planning for TOHP. The study results include (a) archival data describing contemporary stakeholder perspectives including Indigenous input to concept design and (b) three main themes from qualitative interviews.

Archival Data Describing Contemporary Stakeholder Perspectives

The archival data resulted in five different themes with different interpretations for each of the three groups including: (a) group composition; (b) land use and management; (c) engagement; (d) purpose, power, and political support; and (e) the interpretation of public votes. Each of these different perspectives were described for each theme (see Table 1).

The composition of the groups are social planning, community development, and social movement–focused, respectively. Social planning and community development perspectives often overlap, which results in the neighbourhood association's engagement in planning efforts and a collective articulation of hopes that the project fits within the existing neighbourhood character, culture, and use of public spaces. Some neighbourhood-association leaders have seats in both governmental and community-based organizations with the power to inform and help implement developments. The neighbourhood leaders may represent newer, gentrifying, and Mexican American resident perspectives with business and political power focused on Spanish colonial perspectives and a linear-progress worldview (Gray et al., 2013; Lonetree, 2012). In contrast, the Protect Chuk Shon group represents generational residents whose worldview reflects Indigenous perspectives regarding the sacredness of land and expectations to preserve the connected Indigenous culture and practices (Gray et al., 2013). The Protect Chuk Shon group labels the tourism-focused economic development as a privatized (the Rio Nuevo Board mission was changed to private development), new colonial approach that will likely commodify, misrepresent, and perpetuate myths about the cultures they highly value (Lonetree, 2012). Planners need to be aware of these varied perspectives as they collaboratively make decisions about the museum or cultural-centre approach and materials.

Indigenous perspectives in the 2008 TOHP concept design. The TOHP concept-design planning process in 2008 listed 51 Tribal Representatives, including seven Tohono O'odham Nation and one Ak-Chin Indian Community ("place where the wash loses itself in the sand or ground") representatives whose specific perspectives were documented during five meetings between March 30, 2007, and June 19, 2008 (BWS Architects, 2008). The Indigenous perspectives within the planning document emphasize living Indigenous people singing songs or telling their own stories interpreting culture and history in manners that follow cultural protocols (such as telling stories in winter; BWS Architects, 2008). Anselmo Ramon asserted that "the beginnings of O'odham must be a focal point.

Table 1
Summary of Archival Data Describing Contemporary Stakeholders

	Planning Group	Neighborhood Association	Protect Chuk Shon
Group Composition	– Collaboration of public organizations, governor-appointed Rio Nuevo Board (RNB), Tohono O'odham Nation, private developers, local and national tourism, and land management organizations.	– Residents of MP neighbourhood. – Includes resident representation on development committees (such as the Urban Land Institute Implementation Committee).	– Diverse residents displaced by the convention centre (1971); Indigenous and Mexican American residents in and around MP for five or more generations; land as sacred; maintain cultural traditions.
Land Use	– TOHP is designed as a five-acre, public-private partnership built by Pima County and managed, operated, and maintained by the Western National Parks Association.	– Letters of support: mission re-creation, cultural plaza, public art, and a rural atmosphere with architecture, vistas, and open space that respect the agricultural and cultural heritage of the area matching the 2013 desert-park plan.	– "Organized effort to save the Indigenous spirit of a place, once again under threat … not … authentic community, but the profit margins a new fabricated tourist attraction or shopping … could bring."
Engagement	– Collaborations: University of Arizona, regional interpretive and educational institutions (Tohono O'odham initial consultation and expected leadership in interpretation), public lands agencies, Native American nations, and Mexico.	– Fiesta park to host family events, historical and cultural celebrations. – Pedestrian environment aligned with city-wide planning for a nearby Arts District and Downtown Pedestrian Improvement Plan.	– Teach-ins to reclaim/restore cultural heritage and protect ancestral lands from "new colonialists'" development. – Procession focused on the beautification of land, ceremonial blessing, and Indigenous dancers in 2011.
Political Support	– Voter-approved bond: made economic development of the region explicit and provides a public financial investment that includes job creation, as well as business and tourist attraction.	– Mercado: Locally owned business anchor for district; RNB and the Friends of Tucson's Birth Place funded $US 54 million by City Council (2008) to purchase property, clean up landfill, design, and infrastructure for Mission Garden and the convent.	– "Militarized and occupied city" business land grab. – Local residents and city/Indigenous politicians preserve and respect the land and history rather than "erase and commodify cultural identity … social memories."
Interpretation of Votes	– $US 27-million, voter-supported proposition to plan and create a state tax structure to re-create Spanish colonial era convent, chapel, mission garden (includes Indigenous crops), granary, Chuk Shon village, and surrounding infrastructure.	– Supported the proposition; expectations for free membership and access to historical and archaeological museums. – Passed a resolution in support for unsupported bond measure 426 (acquire and remediate land, plan, and construct the SAROC).	– The Occupy Tucson group as a "model for decolonizing ourselves … puts humanity and the earth as a priority over profit and politics … disrespect towards history, culture, and people … dissolve … group and end this suit … that would privatize this land and our heritage."

The O'odham still live here [and are] not just past tense," and the project should "recognize the richness of culture that still exists" (as cited in BWS Architects, 2008, p. 59). Joe Joaquin, a Tohono O'odham cultural-preservation leader, said "that this land ties us to our beginnings" and noted "the importance of understanding this area … place names … plants also play a significant role—know what plants are in O'odham" (as cited in BWS Architects, 2008, p. 60). Joaquin also described the importance of "tracking the water table over time, and questioned whether 'civilization is really progress,'" which illustrates critiques of settlement that placed water in disharmony with the ecosystem after European settlement (as cited in BWS Architects, 2008, p. 59). Elias Mike as a youth participant expressed support for TOHP but asserted the need to tell the stories in a manner that describes culture and beliefs while also explaining that Indigenous people were pushed aside from a "sacred place for O'odham people" (as cited in BWS Architects, 2008, p. 60).

Qualitative Interview Main Themes

The qualitative data analysis of neighbourhood-association interviews and open-ended resident surveys resulted in three main themes: (a) development that maintains culture (from neighbourhood-association interviews and resident surveys); (b) we've been pioneers together (neighbourhood-association interviews); and (c) we called it urban removal, not urban renewal (from resident surveys).

Development that maintains culture. Long-term and newer residents from the neighbourhood association and resident surveys generally stated the importance of maintaining historic components of the neighbourhood. Residents defined the historical culture as including (a) character (old-neighbourhood feeling, being small and quiet without a lot of traffic, retaining the horse stables, and the physical ecosystem); (b) spirit and wisdom of the people (archaeology noting history—irrigation canals, pottery, artifacts, and pit houses—as well as the current strong sense of historical roots and community of people who have known each other for generations); (c) culture (example of repurposing the closed neighbourhood school for cultural groups to teach culture and language); (d) local cultural festivals; (e) homes (maintenance of affordability for historic residents); and (f) businesses (tortillas, tamales, menudo, raspados [Spanish term for a Mexican snow cone typically with ice cream, fresh fruit, and salted nuts], and Mexican bakery). Many survey participants described the increased density and height of housing and the streetcar stops as out of line with the historic feel of the neighbourhood. One long-term Mexican American resident who completed an in-depth interview said, "The Mercado's a good change, a positive change … They have menudo … on the weekends," and a second interviewee noted they appreciated the use of the Mercado kitchen for community events like quinceañera (Spanish for a Mexican 15-year-old female's coming-of-age celebration), as well as the Mexican American–focused desserts (cakes and raspados) and Mission Gardens. A newer, European-descended settler who completed an in-depth interview said, "It's got a great opportunity for the cultural asset tourist attraction.… the birthplace of Tucson … has the history … where we need large plazas … for these events that take place … the All Souls procession and Dia de San Juan." The maintenance of culture might also mean naming the impacts of settler colonial practices such as the ecological and cultural impacts of occupying, mining the land, and developing a landfill.

We've been pioneers together. The newer residents saw their moving into the neighbourhood before the opening of the streetcar line, businesses, and new housing as adventuresome and innovative. These newer residents appreciated the neighbourhood culture and enjoyed the opportunity to mingle across cultures, ethnicities, ages, sexual orientations, education levels, and incomes. Residents interviewed noted the historic mix of people in the neighbourhood, including those who are Mexican, Chinese, Native American, African American, and Jewish, all groups that experience discrimination. A newer, European-descended resident who completed an in-depth interview said, "I like its diversity … connection to downtown … the fact that the streetcar is going to be here … the Mercado … how that development was built around the archaeological features here … the architecture … designed for bringing people together." While the newer residents found the social components of the neighbourhood surprising, the social components and SOC within the neighbourhood are a known asset for the long-term residents. Many interviewees talked about how they are broad-minded, work together, and have an institutional memory of accomplishments in which they take pride.

The same newer resident quoted above described their support for all of the proposed heritage tourism and cited research documenting the economic benefits of cultural tourism. They asserted their desire for continued development of retail when asked if they wanted to see the neighbourhood change, stating, "I do believe in evolution! [laughing]… change is inevitable.… You've got to stay in and … nudge it.… If you're going to stand in the middle of the railroad tracks and say no, you're probably not going to get it." In contrast, three survey participants noted that neighbourhood investments are "more for tourism than for our small community…," "for the white people and not the Hispanic or Mexican families…. the streetcar is gentrifying the neighbourhood …," and "building those half-million-dollar homes that they built behind the Mercado did not bring any more Hispanic people to the neighbourhood; it brought a lot of [pause] white populations. We have not seen any growth for our Hispanic people here."

We called it urban removal, not urban renewal. Other study participants who are longer-term residents described the neighbourhood changes in a manner that highlighted differences in treatment within the neighbourhood. One longer-term resident in-depth interview participant said that in the past they had known their neighbours and they handled any concerns internally, which contrasts with the dynamics now where their neighbours call the police if neighbours' cars are parked illegally. They described experiencing too much cultural difference between the main MP and the Barrio Sin Nombre portion of the neighbourhood, which resulted in their experiencing disrespect from their neighbours and their perception that people who spoke in meetings were treated in what they described as an arrogant and biased manner. For example, one survey participant said, "There was a leader from the MP meetings that came in here and said, 'You're not low-income; you're low-class.' So I don't go to meetings."

Some longer-term residents stated that the neighbourhood is fine the way it is and that they do not like the recent changes that block views and will likely displace them. A long-term resident who completed an in-depth interview described how residents could see desert animals (quail, roadrunners, and jackrabbits) through western fences prior to recent redevelopment and the associated increased traffic. The resident said, "We begrudgingly

agreed, which was our mistake. But I don't know if it would have passed anyway—whether or not we agreed.… it's like Tucson … urban renewal. We called it urban removal because they threw out the barrios." Some survey participants think the poor treatment and investments in the neighbourhood for new populations are intentional. For example, one survey participant stated,

> It's a tool they've been using forever. It's economic segregation. What they do is … they're making this area really, really nice, which is good, but at the same time they're not doing it for that benefit. I feel that they're doing it so that they can kick everybody out through property taxes, which from what I hear they're thinking about raising again. But it's raising our property value so much that we can't afford to pay for the property taxes. So a lot of the people that have been here for many, many years are forced out, to leave, because they can't keep up with the property taxes. And the people, the new people that are moving in there are making the prices ridiculous. I know we're downtown and everything, it's a great area, it is just happening too fast.

Quantitative Results

The quantitative analyses test differences in resident redevelopment priorities and how priorities differentially relate to the importance of a museum or cultural centre based on length of residence for that family in the MP neighbourhood.

Length of Residence in Neighbourhood and Demographics of Study Participants

The study participant demographics varied based on how long residents had lived in the neighbourhood (see Table 2), which may shape the meaning and relevance they made of the TOHP as potential museum patrons or engaged cultural-centre participants. Significant differences were recorded in populations that had lived in the area for 41 years or more ($n = 49$), 5 to 40 years ($n = 82$), and those who had moved in less than 5 years before this research took place ($n = 62$). Latinx representation shifted in the study sample from 85% among residents who had lived in the neighbourhood for 41 years or more to 63% (5 to 40 years) and 32% (less than 5 years; $p < .05$). Newer residents in the sample were much less likely to have children (24% for less than 5 years compared with 45% for 5 to 40 years and 41 years or more; $p < .05$). Newer residents were also much less likely to be homeowners (22% for less than 5 years, 54% for 5 to 40 years, and 83% for 41 years or more; $p < .001$).

Agreement Ratings and Mean Differences Based on Length of Time in Neighbourhood

All resident cohorts rated maintaining historic cultures at a high level of agreement ($m = 4.3$–4.5; 75 to 91% *agree* to *strongly agree*; see Tables 3 and 4). Residents living in the neighbourhood for between 5 and 40 years and for 41 or more years also rated OCE to improve the economic development of the neighbourhood the second highest ($m = 4.2$; 77% *likely* to *very likely* for less than 5 years, 86% for 5 to 40 years, and 89% for 41 years or more). The study participants varied on 6 of the 11 study variables according to the amount of time they had lived in the neighbourhood. Study participants who had lived in the neighbourhood for 41 years or more had statistically significant lower mean scores on 5 of the study variables, which indicated their neutral ratings (3 = *neutral*), while other

groups agreed (4 = *agree*), including on the importance of (a) having a museum or cultural centre such as the TOHP in the neighbourhood (65% *agree* to *strongly agree* compared with 77% for less than 5 years and 79% for 5 to 40 years); (b) creating more tourism in the neighbourhood (31% *agree* to *strongly agree* compared with 55% for less than 5 years and 62% for 5 to 40 years); (c) OCE to improve the business district of the neighbourhood (48% *likely* to *very likely* compared with 63% for less than 5 years and 69% for 5 to 40 years); (d) maintaining low housing costs in the neighbourhood (56% *agree* to *strongly agree* compared with 80% for less than 5 years and 75% for 5 to 40 years); as well as (e) maintaining native cacti (61% *agree* to *strongly agree* compared with 91% for less than 5 years and 84% for 5 to 40 years). The study participants who had lived in the neighbourhood for 5 to 40 years had a statistically significant higher mean score for the importance of having a visitor centre in the neighbourhood (61%, compared with 47% for less than 5 years and 42% for 41 years or more), which indicates a higher level of support for the visitor centre.

Table 2
Study Cohort Participant Demographics

Variable	Specific Groupings	Participants	< 5 years	5–40 years	≥ 41 years
Race/Ethnicity	Latinx	58.9%	32.1%***	63.2%*	84.8%*
	European American	30.6%	46.4%	31.6%	8.7%***
	Native American	2.8%	5.4%	1.3%	2.2%
	Other ethnicities	7.7%	16.1%*	3.9%	4.3%
Gender	Female	50.3%	48.3%	54.5%	45.7%
	Male or transgender	49.7%	51.7%	45.5%	54.3%
Education	High school education or higher	88.1%	91.8%	82.9%	93.5%
	Less than a high school education	11.9%	8.2%	17.1%	6.5%
Children	Children	37.4%	23.7%*	44.6%	44.4%
	No children present	62.6%	76.3%	55.4%	55.6%
Area median income (AMI)	Income above AMI	23.6%	26.9%	21.2%	23.8%
	Income below AMI	76.4%	73.1%	78.8%	76.2%
Housing status	Homeowner	51.6%	21.7%***	53.8%***	83.3%***
	Renter	48.4%	78.3%	46.2%	16.7%
	Total *Number*	193	62	82	49

Note. Other ethnicities = African American, Asian American, and biracial or multiracial. The survey sample included 1.1% of residents who identified as transgender.

Table 3
Resident Cohort Agreement by Development or Organization Collective Efficacy Item

Item	< 5 years	5–40 years	≥41 years
Maintain the historic cultures	90	75	91
Museum or cultural centre (TOHP)	77	79	65
Native cacti	91	84	61
Maintain low housing costs	80	75	56
Visitor centre	47	61	42
Create more tourism	55	62	31
OCE to improve economic development	77	86	89
OCE to improve cleanliness and upkeep	69	68	63
OCE to get the city to provide better services	65	66	59
OCE to improve business district	63	69	48
OCE to get people to know each other	60	56	49

Note. Percentage of participants who rated the first 6 items as *agree* to *strongly agree* and OCE items as *likely* to *very likely*.

Table 4
Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) for Study Variables by Length of Time in Neighbourhood

Item	All study participants Mean (*SD*)	< 5 years	5–40 years	≥ 41 years
Museum or cultural centre (TOHP)	3.98 (0.92)	4.05 (0.82)	4.09 (0.91)	3.69 (1.00)*
Visitor centre	3.51 (1.07)	3.39 (1.14)	3.74 (1.01)*	3.27 (1.03)
Native cacti	4.06 (0.89)	4.27 (0.72)	4.15 (0.89)	3.61 (0.95)***
Maintain the historic cultures	4.39 (0.67)	4.30 (0.65)	4.49 (0.62)	4.31 (0.76)
Maintain low housing costs	3.82 (1.03)	4.04 (0.74)	3.91 (1.04)	3.47 (1.16)*
Create more tourism	3.48 (1.08)	3.62 (1.02)	3.72 (1.01)	2.92 (1.09)***
OCE to improve cleanliness and upkeep	3.64 (1.01)	3.65 (0.84)	3.82 (1.04)	3.35 (1.10)
OCE to improve economic development	4.13 (0.81)	4.03 (0.88)	4.19 (.80)	4.15 (0.75)
OCE to get people to know each other	3.47 (0.90)	3.48 (0.90)	3.58 (0.84)	3.28 (0.98)
OCE to improve business district	3.55 (1.04)	3.65 (1.00)	3.70 (1.03)	3.21 (1.05)*
OCE to get city to provide better services	3.61 (1.07)	3.57 (0.98)	3.73 (1.06)	3.49 (1.17)

Note. 1 = *strongly disagree* or *very unlikely*, 2 = *disagree or unlikely*, 3 = *neutra*l, 4 = *agree* or *likely*, 5 = *strongly agree* or *very likely*. Variables with a statistically significantly different mean score compared to the other two groups on the study variables are noted with * ($p < .05$), ** ($p < .01$), or *** ($p < .001$).

Predicting the Importance of a Museum or Cultural Centre

Resident ratings of the importance of creating tourism, of maintaining various neighbourhood assets, and of individual OCE items were associated with how important they rated having a museum or cultural centre in the neighbourhood. Analyses included the development of a model for all residents, as well as three additional models for the resident cohorts (see Table 5). The qualitative and archival data informed co-variant inclusion or exclusion in each model. The less-than-5-years model includes more tourism, improving economic development, cleanliness, and upkeep because qualitative themes focused on the Mercado being built around archaeological features and architecture, cultural assets that attract tourism and event attendance, and the economic benefits of cultural tourism. The 5-to-40-year model focuses on maintaining lower housing costs and getting people to know each other more because the qualitative interviews focused on gentrification and tourism pricing residents out of the neighbourhood rather than on development and events that are for the residential community. The 41-years-or-more model focuses on maintaining the historic cultures, getting to know each other, improving the business district, and getting the city to provide better services due to qualitative themes focused on (a) the sacredness of the place and culture, neighbourhood character, and Spanish language; (b) rootedness, generational relationships, and wanting Indigenous people to tell their own stories at TOHP; (c) appreciation of the Mexican American Mercado foods; and (d) experience managing problems among themselves rather than calling the police. Creating more tourism is excluded from the 41-years-or-more model because tourism was described as commodifying culture in the archival documents.

Table 5
Regression Models Predicting the Importance of a Museum or Cultural Centre

Item	Model 1: All study participants	Model 2: < 5 years	Model 3: 5–40 years	Model 4: ≥ 41 years
Constant	.353 (.402)	.432 (.604)	1.419 (.561)	-.538 (.699)
Visitor centre	.377 (.056)***		0.376 (.102)***	.238 (.086)*
Native cacti	.262 (.072)***			
Maintain the historic cultures	.281 (.281)**			.634 (.119)***
Maintain low housing costs			−.268 (.086)**	
Create more tourism		.335 (.114)**	.380 (105)***	
OCE to improve cleanliness and upkeep		.363 (.112)**		
OCE to improve economic development		.262 (.130)*		
OCE to get people to know each other			.235 (.104)*	.380 (.096)***
OCE to improve business district				.282 (.092)**
OCE to get city to provide better services				−.374 (.081)***
N (%) of sample	181 (100%)	56 (30.6%)	76 (41.5%)	49 (26.8%)
% Variance explained	42%	51%	51%	80%

Note. Includes unstandardized beta coefficient (standard error). Each of the items was rated with the following scale: 1 = *strongly disagree* or *very unlikely*, 2 = *disagree* or *unlikely*, 3 = *neutral*, 4 = *agree* or *likely*, 5 = *strongly agree* or *very likely*; *p <.05 **p <.01 *** p <.001.

Model 1 includes all survey participants: 42% of the variance in the importance of the museum or cultural centre was predicted by the importance of having a visitor centre, as well as maintaining the historic cultures and native cacti (p < .01). Model 2 includes survey participants who had reported living in the neighbourhood for less than 5 years: 51% of the variance in the importance of the museum or cultural centre was predicted by the importance of creating more tourism and improving the economic development, cleanliness, and upkeep of the neighbourhood ($p < .05$). Model 3 includes survey participants who had reported living in the neighbourhood from 5 to 40 years: 51% of the variance in the importance of the museum or cultural centre was predicted by the importance of the creating more tourism and a visitor centre, as well as maintaining low housing costs and helping people get to know each other more (p < .05). Model 4 includes survey participants who had lived in the neighbourhood 41 years or more: 42% of the variance in the importance of the museum or cultural centre was predicted by the importance of maintaining historic cultures, getting to know each other, improving the business district, and getting the city to provide better services.

Discussion

The discussion focuses on lessons learned as a form of reflexive and anti-oppressive practice that considers Indigeneity, citizenship, and waves of colonialism.

Settler Colonial Place Making and Branding

Newer residents and those involved in social planning generally focused on settler colonial place making and place branding via the streetcar, housing, and economic development centred on cultural tourism as a "one-of-a-kind marketable feature" (Lees et al., 2008; Pritchard, 2018; Rudkevitch, 2017, p. 24). The perception that the Protect Chuk Shon or other Indigenous activist groups are standing in the middle of the railroad tracks and saying no to the development of TOHP does not acknowledge the complex and painful current and historic experiences of non–European American residents—confinement on reservations and race-restricted zoning directly related to the development of the transcontinental railroad (Launius & Boyce, 2021). Longer-term residents described current class power dynamics and tensions in the neighbourhood, including discriminatory treatment by neighbours with political power, which keeps some longer-term residents from attending meetings, which has an impact on their access to decision-making tables. Barriers to participation are rooted in restrictions on voting rights (received by the Tohono O'odham in 1948), waves of forced removal and exclusion, and decision-making structures that privilege overwhelmingly white neighbourhood "elites" that represent a new colonial worldview and self-interest (Launius & Boyce, 2021; Lonetree, 2012; Otero, 2010; Sheridan, 1986). Protect Chuk Shon described TOHP as homage to their history and culture and are against the commercial development of sacred land in a manner that creates caricatures and commodifies the cultures of Indigenous Peoples within a Spanish colonial era re-creation (Launius, 2013; Launius & Boyce, 2021). In archival data, activists have stated that Chuk Shon's history was buried once in the landfill and should not be buried again in the creation of TOHP.

Place Keeping and Guarding

In contrast, generational residents, activists, and neighbourhood-association participants focused on people, culture, and place as a form of place keeping and place

guarding (Pritchard, 2018; Rudkevitch, 2017). Longer-term residents reported a strong sense of relationships, historical roots, and SOC for people who have known each other for generations. The strongest existing consensus among residents focused on maintaining the place holistically as a rural desert park with the associated economic, social, and ecological benefits (Launius & Boyce, 2021; Rudkevitch, 2017). The vision included large plazas for the cultural festivals; restoring the open space that supports the desert ecosystem, including native cacti and wildlife corridors; and a visitor centre (Rosen, Bowers, Bueter, & Hagendorn 2013). Launius & Boyce (2021) said, "The Tohono O'odham Nation is in negotiations with the Rio Nuevo board to obtain control over the *Tres Mesquites* landfill site, where the Nation is considering establishing a desert park and an adjacent Indigenous interpretative center" (p. 168).

Long-term residents saw TOHP as a cultural centre that "positions people as dynamic and contemporary, rather than static and fixed in the past" (Brady, 2011, p. 204; Lonetree, 2012; Mithlo, 2004). Indigenous participation in political, economic, and planning decisions is essential when creating memorials and museums to honour their Indigenous Ancestors (Lonetree, 2012; McIntyre, 2008; U.S. Congress, 1989). Institutions with commitments to community-based museum approaches include consultation and collaboration with Indigenous communities focused on shared power, authority, and accountability (Lonetree, 2012). TOHP should have Indigenous consultation—with any communities with an ecological relationship and history in the place—regarding managing culturally significant and sacred materials, as well as ensuring accessibility and accommodations for ceremonial practices associated with the place, Ancestors, or materials (i.e., spaces for offerings; Lonetree, 2012; Nie, 2008). Consultations extend beyond the managing of materials to initiating and maintaining ongoing, reciprocal, and nourishing relationships with Indigenous communities (Field Museum, 2020). For example, the Autry Museum of the American West has separate spaces for NAGPRA-related work such as consultation, a private changing room, and a ceremonial garden with medicinal plants selected with Elder consultation. *Exhibiting Kinship* (www.exhibitingkinshippodcast.com) is an emerging podcast focused on how Indigenous people are working within museums to create changes to practices in order to respectfully engage contemporary Indigenous Peoples in manners that are healing and do not perpetuate colonial museum practices. For example, *land acknowledgements* are Indigenous protocols that acknowledge Indigenous Peoples who had often been removed from ancestral territories and the specific manners that museums have been complicit in perpetuating harms (Field Museum, 2020). Land acknowledgements should not be performative statements or actions that are not linked to ongoing commitments and respectful actions that engage with contemporary peoples (Field Museum, 2020). Land acknowledgements are an honest first step to repairing relationships and acknowledging difficult knowledge.

Gray et al. (2013) asserted the importance of Indigenous Peoples' connections to place. Indigenous Peoples have a "worldview in which knowledge is relational: Indigenous people are not *in* relationships, they *are* relationships" (p. 702). The desert-park vision links with O'odham voices in the TOHP concept-design process, emphasizing subtle interpretation focused on O'odham place names and plant names within the natural ecosystem (BWS Architects, 2008). Indigenous interpreters, tour guides, as well as recorded voices and images in exhibits and videos, can orient tourists and other visitors

who hear about the history and the significance of the land, place names, people, and culture from Indigenous perspectives (Basso, 1996; Séliš-Q̓lispe Cultural Committee, 2015). Indigenous ownership and operation of museums includes museum processes that privilege Indigenous perspectives in operations by examining colonial histories, challenging stereotypes, and maintaining culture and survival (Gray et al., 2013; Launius & Boyce, 2021; Lonetree, 2012). Indigenous museum leadership also includes a focus on truth telling, healing, and enacting cultural protocols for how artifacts found in the Chuk Shon ground are managed and whether or not materials are displayed (BWS Architects, 2008; Gray et al., 2013; Lonetree, 2012).

Closing Vignette: Relevant Indigenous and Neighbourhood Cultural-Centre Models

The United States has approximately 200 Indigenous-owned-and-operated museums and cultural centres that may have economic development and tourism benefits for Indigenous communities (Lonetree, 2012). The Cocopah Museum and Cultural Center in Arizona is a model cultural centre with traditional and modern museum exhibits, meeting spaces, and a park (Lonetree, 2012). Cultural-centre models such as Three Chiefs Culture Center (formerly known as the People's Center) in Saint Ignatius, Montana, provide some museum displays of Salish and Kootenai history and materials, with a larger emphasis on meeting/gathering spaces, Indigenous games, and visible activism focused on local issues for the living Native American communities (Three Chiefs Culture Center, n.d.). The White Mountain Apache Cultural Center and Museum (WMACCM) is an Arizona example of a sovereign form of economic development via heritage tourism that has a similar vision to that for TOHP. The WMACCM includes a welcome centre and park-like environment with hiking trails that provide recreational and educational opportunities (Welch, Hoerig, & Endfield, 2005).

Another example of a cultural centre is the Western Legacies Museum (WLM) in the Blair-Caldwell African American Research Library in Denver, Colorado, which tells the story of African American experiences with historic racially restrictive zoning and segregated civic organizations, and features past and present African American political leaders (Denver Public Library, n.d.). The WLM is an urban neighbourhood–based model for telling the stories of African Americans within the active space of a library building, which is complemented by rotating current local artists and exhibits (Denver Public Library, n.d.). The WLM depictions of difficult knowledge of African American experiences with restrictive zoning and voter disenfranchisement can inform similar experiences in TOHP, whether stakeholders identify with Chuk Son, Tucsón, Tucson, or a specific MP subdivision's history.

Conclusion

Planning and preservation efforts often privilege perspectives of those whose identities had rights to own land, vote, and engage in and influence political processes due to state-sanctioned structural advantages (Launius & Boyce, 2021; Logan & Molotch, 2007; Walton, 2018). A successful TOHP will implement best practices that engage Indigenous and Latinx people and cultures as equal partners with decision-making authority over content focused on their experiences in a place connected to their origin stories and experiences with waves of large-scale development of their neighbourhoods

(BWS Architects, 2008; Lonetree, 2012). The museum or cultural centre will also ideally include the collective vision of generational and newer residents who support maintaining Indigenous and Latinx cultures, restoring the open space that supports the desert ecosystem, and providing a visitor centre and cultural festival spaces that demonstrate hospitality and orient guests to historic and contemporary experiences of the place (BWS Architects, 2008; Rosen et al., 2013). Indigenous planning is a means to establish values to guide consensus building by engaging local communities in a manner that centres the communities with the longest histories with the place (Jojola, 2016). Places with heritage museums or cultural centres do not need place making, rather a reclaiming of prior meaning and connections via place guarding and a return to responsible place keeping (Okamura & Matsuda, 2011; Walker et al., 2013; Watkins, 2001). Nina Sanders, an Apsáalooke curator, asked essential questions for those working in museums with Indigenous content:

> How this going to heal us? … What kind of conversations are being created around it? … How can I share that in a way where I am not packaging it up like it belongs to me? As a curator that looks like allowing other people in, to have an opinion, asking them to write about it … creating exhibitions that are engaging.… it should be an all-inclusive process … embrace it, enjoy it, experience it, grow from it.… Talking about culture, talking about peoples' histories, talking about sacred objects, about ideas, prayers, dances, these are very personal things, so … if you do not have a deep understanding of them, then who are you speaking to, what are you speaking for, and why are you doing it? These are very important questions we have to ask ourselves in museums. We have to build trust … in growing these institutions to where it is not a one-sided conversation. (Garcia & Roberts, 2021)

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